Y-DNA AND RECORDS OF MEDIEVAL LAND INHERITANCE IN ROLANDH AND TEPPONEN LINEAGES OF VEHKALAHTI, FINLAND

by M Sjöström [1]

ABSTRACT

The present study assesses family legends in the process of critical reconstruction of lineages through the 1400s-1500s. Despite a tradition of kinship, the clan has two distinct Y DNA haplotypes. The article argues that the Tepponen lineage is likely to be descended from a son-in-law of one branch of the late-medieval Roland family. Landed inheritances (*moisio,* or homesteads) in the later Husula, Vehkalahti, are the principal basis for the genealogical reconstruction of this clan whose several branches continue to the present day, having meanwhile (in the 1600s-1800s) become known by the surname Piljerta and its variations. Possession of allodial land indicates that the earliest division in the 1400s was between three lineages. The unusual denominator 216 in the mantal figures enables us to draw some plausible solutions to specific problems in the branching. An historical record is lacking for individual family members during the late-medieval period, although they are referred to in a genealogical chart recorded by Tilas. Contemporary documentation for individuals is found only from the 1540s onwards. The Tilas chart is evaluated critically, and is cross-referenced against contemporary documentation from the 1500s and 1600s. DNA-testing indicates that the Pyötsaari and Heikkilä branches diverged at two brothers, probably born *c.*1430-*c.*1450. The article argues that Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula, lord of Junnila (*fl.*1618-1633) was the youngest son of Johannes Råland,[2] rather than the latter's great-grandson. This reconstruction fits the proposal that four brothers shared the Junnila-Knuuttila patrimony. On the basis of recorded mantal figures and joint liability for cavalry service obligations, the author argues that the Jaakkola lineage in Husula is a branch of the Junnila.

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1. Medieval branching of the Rolandh clan

Several privileged landed families in the later Husula, Vehkalahti, emerged from the poorly documented medieval epoch in the mid-1500s, holding hereditary allodial lands, *moisio* (homesteads) of the Roland near Pukki-Pyöli. They shared heraldry (in the 1600s, at latest) (see Fig 1)[3] and a tradition is recorded that they are from the

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[2] The name "Roland" is variously spelled in different sources, and the forms Roland, Råland, Rolam and Rolandh are used in context throughout this article.

[3] Their arms include a heart and an arrow (either the heart is above the arrow, or the arrow pushes through the heart), as well as a steel-gloved hand with weapon. In the 1618 *rälssi* inspection (Jesperi Matinpoika Krus, "Förteckning öfwer Nye och Gamble Frelsis Landhbönder uthi Finlandh a. 1618," in *Undersökningar om Finska Adelns Gods och Ätter,* ed. Wilhelm Gabriel Lagus (1860)) they reported that their medieval documents (such as confirmations of noble rank and tax exemption) had been taken and lost during Russian attacks. In the *rälssi* inspection of 1639 a head of the clan (squire Sihvo of Junnila) presented their ancestral signet ring, *"en signets ring, däruti skall vara en beväpnad hand, en pil ock ett hjärtä uppå pilen*". The name Piljerta (directly adopted from the heraldry) was first documented in 1651, according to Eeva-Liisa Oksanen & Markku Oksanen, *Vehkalahden knaapit* (2003), 101.

same stem (see the Tilas chart, Fig 3 below). Their properties support the idea of a single root, with lands divided between branches in accordance with the Nordic inheritance system.[4] The name Husula was probably not yet in use in the 1400s, becoming fully adopted only in the late 1500s.[5]





Figure 1.

Two examples of 17th century heraldry showing the common theme of a gloved hand holding an arrow that penetrates the heart.

The clan is supposed to descend directly from the three sons of the Rolandh family, who are historically undocumented. When studying these data it is important to note 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. [6]

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[4] This clan was the epitome of poverty-stricken, stay-at-home rustic nobility, in social class much closer to peasantry than to aristocracy. The yeoman farmer was a free man who owned his land, not wealthy enough to employ servants or farm labourers, nor large enough to have crofters or tenant farmers. Essentially they were subsistence farmers where the head of the household did most of the work himself supported by his family members.

The clan claimed hereditary noble rank (rustic nobility) and considered themselves landed gentry. Apparently their hereditary and social position derived from their role as medieval warrior companions. They seem to have been characterised as wild nobility, and they and even their neighbours became dubbed as "Husula nobility" a name derived from the clan's home district, or sometimes "knaves". The clan was and is numerous, and from about 1600 onwards their patrimonies have been divided into small farms bordering on non-viability. They are typified by limited wealth. The only household within the clan to have, from about 1600 to 1700s, sufficient wealth for gentleman lifestyle, seems to have been the Junnila. Their *moisio* held land rights to approx 270 hectares (10%-30% of it being cultivated farmland), and it remained undivided in their cognatic heirs to the late 1700s.

It is worth noting that any farm in Finland is likely to be mostly (70-90%) forest with only a small proportion of farmed land. Excepting the lords of Junnila, other households in Husula were generally subsistence yeoman farmers, holding only 5 to 20 hectares of farmland. From the 1600s, these were increasingly fragmented with households rarely holding more than 90 hectares apiece (and often much less).

[5] Korhonen observes that this clan's members and branches did not sell their land, but rather continued to increase in numbers in their patrimonial village; Martti Korhonen, *Vehkalahden pitäjän historia II – yhteiskunnallisesta kehityksestä 1600-luvulla sekä maakirjatilojen synty* (1981), 523.

[6] 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: during one he interviewed a local schoolmaster, Johannes Liceen (d. 11 May 1742) whom he had obviously met in an earlier visit in the 1730s when he travelled the region as mining administrator; while he dated several of his notes and drawings as December 1769, decades after the region had been ceded. These 1769 papers included several family trees of the branches that Tilas rubricised as the Piljerta.

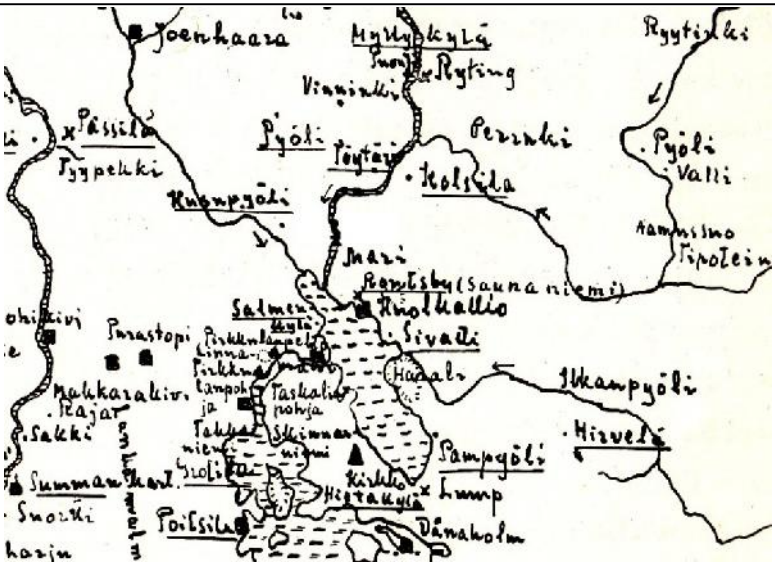


Figure 2. ***Map of central areas of Vehkalahti.***
Outlines the location of Husupyöli in the context of other central places of Vehkalahti. Husupyöli, practically the same as Husula, is located to the west of the largest river, Vehkajoki, when it flows into the modern day Kirkkojärvi (that was probably still an inlet, 'lahti'*, in late-medieval centuries). In principle, nothing on the eastern bank of this River belongs to Husula. As the map shows, a smaller river comes to the Vehkajoki delta through the Husupyöli/Husula some of whose fields are in the smaller 'valley'. See also Appendix III.*

I use the term "aetiological myth" to refer to legends and myths about origins. Aetiological myths 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. When interpreting myths and legends, it is crucial to try and separate chaff and hot air from tangible real events. The family lore of brothers as sons of a notable forefather is a typical feature of aetiological myths. Despite such reservations, it is likely that a key brotherhood relationship would be remembered correctly for at least a century or so.

In this case, the 1600s tradition as recorded in the Tilas chart (figure 3)[7] links the branching to the grandsons of the mythical forefather. This grandson element adds

[7] The genealogical chart recorded and copied by Tilas (see footnote 6), displays three brothers who started main branches in Husula. Tilas' note in the chart reads "*utaf en ganska gammal genealogie copierad ibland Husgavlarnes uråldrige documenter,*" (from a rather old genealogy copied from among ancient documents of the Husgavel). In January 1920, Councilman Juho Piljerta recounted the clan legend that several brothers had divided the ancestral lands and were forefathers of the main branches – as recorded by Ragnar N Rosén "Veckelaksknaparna," *Masters Dissertation*, University of Helsinki (1920), 26. Piljerta's account is a very clear example of how garbled a legend can become within a few centuries.
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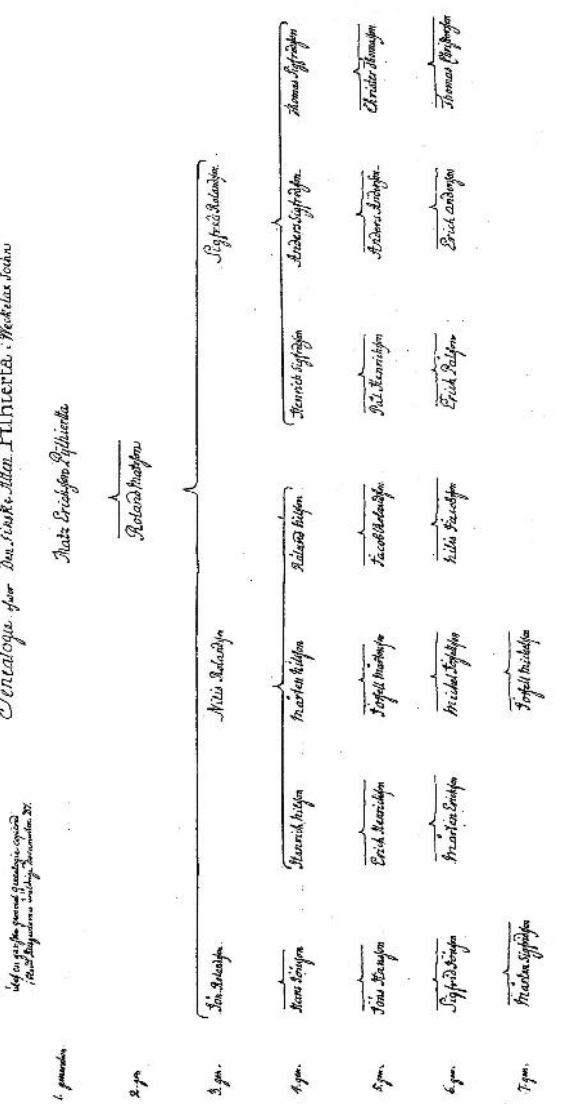


Figure 3. ***Genealogical chart of the earliest 'Piljerta' (from Tilas)***

Contd/ Tilas admits that his information about precise passage of lineages generation by generation in the 1500s-1600s is non-existent. He complains that the clan was so numerous that he has gathered genealogical tables about 7 separate widespread branches, all of 6 or 7 generations, without knowing how closely they approach their original forefather. "*Denna slägten har warit och är än så talrik, at jag deröfwer fådt genealogiske tabeler öfwer 7 serskilte widsträckte grenar, allasammans af 7 åtminstone 6 generationer, utan at man kan weta, huru nära tilsammans de nalkas deras första stamfader*"; Daniel baron Tilas, "Berättelse om the så kallade knapar i Weckelax sokn och Finland," essay manuscript in the Tilas Collection in *Genealogica*, p.11. Elsewhere Tilas admits that branches charted in his collection cannot be linked together, "*grenar som icke kunna ledas tilsammans.*"

to the plausibility, given that usual pattern in myth-recall is to reduce generations, conflating everything to the forefather. Their aetiological myth (from Councilman Piljerta) tells of the forefather, Old Man ("*ukko*") of Husula *moisio*, whose sons started the key branches. Roland – the second generation - clearly became eponymous, unhistorical as he is to our eyes. The cultural prominence of Roland in this family is corroborated by its use as a by-name in several branches during the 1500s – the eponymous Roland must have lived considerably earlier than the byname's prevalence among men who were more or less remote cousins.

So although I caution against assumptions about "brothers" in the family, it must be noted that the traditional lands of Husula display a clear pattern of origin from division into three equal portions.[8] In the absence of more solid information and for purposes of the reconstruction I will assume that there were indeed three late-medieval sons of "the Rolandh family". I must emphasise that none of this family are attested in any near-contemporary documentation before the 1540s. All the individuals from the 1400s, including Matias Eeronpoika and Roland Matinpoika, are unhistorical, based on the Tilas chart (which has its provenance in mid-1700s and was probably made *c*.1680), on the names of farms and on the genealogical observations of Johannes Ottenpoika from 1625 by way of Aminoff and Wikman.[9]

In addition to the chart shown in figure 3, Daniel Tilas also prepared in 1769 a number of other family trees for seven families in various sub-branches of this clan, by collecting the details of living families together with their deceased agnatic ancestry for four to seven generations.[10] One aim of this study is to see how well those family trees connect to the Tilas chart, and also to compare the detail on origins with contemporary documentation for people in the 1600s.

The Tilas chart can be dated to the early 1680s based on the dates of the last generation (and, from the deaths of their fathers, the penultimate generation). The final generation shown in the chart are generally historical individuals from the 1670s-1690s. The motive to collect comprehensive genealogical material in the early 1680s, would have been the need for these noble families to fight for their privileges at the time of the Great Reduction,[11] and to provide evidence of their birth to noble rank. From the late 1500s noble rank in Sweden, was perceived as hereditary by agnatic descent, and the culture turned against acceptance of noble succession via the female line.

The people gathering reminiscences and making notes in *c*.1680, could be expected to have accurate information for perhaps about two generations back, but in earlier generations (*c.*1600 or before) may have made many mistakes, such as incorrect patronymics, wrong filiations, erroneous identifications and missing generations.

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8 In support of there being three original branches are a number of records particularly in the 1500s that refer to three separate households within the Roland clan.

9 Count Kustavi Aminoff, *Finska Adelns och Riddarhusets Historia*. M Phil Dissertation, University of Turku Academy (1827). Some Vehkalahti nobility is discussed on pp.25-27. Petteri Kustavi 'PG' Wikman, *Sjö- och stapel-staden Fredrikshamns historia, ifrån stadens grundläggning intill närwarande tid: uti kronologisk öfwersigt med föregående tafla af Kymmenegårds län* (1846), Suppl.I p.6.

'Mathis von der Sahe' was clearly not the forefather of this clan. It is wrong to propose such a relationship when there is contrary evidence from his place of residence and from heraldry

10 Tilas Collection, *Genealogica, op.cit.*

11 In the Great Reduction of 1680 under Charles XI of Sweden the crown recaptured fiefs earlier granted to the nobility, reduced tax exemptions and reformed obligations of service.

Their information for the contents of the chart could plausibly have come from:

- some idea of the late-medieval brothers portioning the patrimony
- some idea of which main branch they each belonged to
- some vague names from the 1500s

Consequently the portion of the chart relating to the 1500s should be considered unreliable.

Korhonen[12] observed that the contemporary records of Husula landowners from the mid-1500s and their patronymics are at marked variance with the names in the Tilas chart. On chronological grounds, the fourth generation of the chart should be replaced by several generations in each branch. In this study I aim to gather near-contemporary data about the people in Husula of the 1500s, and to see how the Tilas chart could be reconciled with such information. I attempt to reconstruct the inheritance patterns of landholdings, and to use indications from the chart to suggest which of the three unhistorical brothers was ancestor of which later landholding and its lineage.

Important evidence about the lineage comes from the 1625 claim by Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula, the then head of the Junnila branch: there were five generations between him and Matias Eeronpoika. Two separate men both claimed six generations of descent in 1625 High Court cases. This squire Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula, lord of Junnila in Husula (born before *c*.1570; died after 1633, presumably before 1638) claimed in the High Court in Turku,[13] direct sixth-generation descent from Matias Eeronpoika, whom, he claimed:

- had acquired land (*moisio*, manor) in Husula, Vehkalahti, in the time of Queen Margrethe Valdemarsdatter, when Eric of Pomerania was already king of Sweden, *ie* presumably in the very early 1400s, and
- had borne arms depicting a weaponed hand holding an arrow that penetrated a heart.

Another man, Sihvo's neighbour, judge and nobleman Siffer Jussinpoika Vilken, lord of Tavastila (*c.*1560-*c*.1639), claimed sixth-generation descent from the Eerikki

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[12] Martti Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 148. He makes clear that there must be several mistaken patronymics in the Tilas chart.

[13] Sihvo Jussinpoika of "Husala" presented his family tree document ("*sin Slägt-Linea*") to the High Court Proceedings, claiming "*att han i sjette led var afkommen en Matts Ericsson, som först förvärfvat Frälse uppå Husala, samt fört i vapnet en beväpnad hand som höll en pik, och på pikspetsen ett upp- och nedvändt hjerta*", Aminoff, *op.cit.* (1827), 26.

Kustavi Aminoff had utilised the archives of the Turku High Court, and reported on p.26 of his dissertation the contents of documents that have subsequently been destroyed, from the High Court case of 1625 of Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula and others. The documents were gathered by the Court's First Advocate-Fiscal, the presumably Jutish-born Johannes Ottenpoika, and incorporated in the Court Protocol seen by Aminoff . Most of the Turku High Court Archives were destroyed in the Great Fire of Turku on 4-5 September 1827.

Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula: "*…äfwen i 6:te led, såsom dess slägtregister utwisade, ledde sin härkomst från en Matts Eriksson, som först (under Margarethas och Pommerske hertigen Erik XIII regering) förwärfwat frälse på Husula…*" Wikman, *op.cit.* (1846), 6.

Lassenpoika who had acquired Reitkalli and Hietakylä in 1383 and 1396 respectively.[14]

Male-line descendants have in recent years carried out Y-DNA tests to investigate their agnatic genealogy. Something of a surprise was revealed in that among the families of this single clan tradition, there are two clearly different Y haplotypes, implying that the branches cannot all be descended from one and the same medieval man, but rather from two distinct late-medieval men.

The initial screening test, made by five men, used about a dozen Y-DNA loci. Subsequently three of these men completed the full 67-marker test of FamilyTreeDNA.[15] One of the two haplotypes is a Baltic-type variant of N1c1. The screening test found it in one male of the Heikkilä branch, in one of the senior Jaakkola branch, and one of the Pyötsaari lineage (which branched in the early 1700s from the lords of Jaakkola). The Heikkilä-branch and the Pyötsaari-branch individuals proceeded to the full test and their 67 markers matched closely. The Jaakkola cannot easily be considered a branch of the Heikkilä,[16] instead the Jaakkola (and its cadets, the Pyötsaari branch) must descend from an early branching within the clan in the 1400s.[17] This implies that the Baltic-type N1c1 haplotype would likely be that of the early 1400s forefather.

In contrast the other haplotype among the co-heirs of a portion of the same Husula land is typical of the Karelian N1c1 Y haplotype. The common patrilineal ancestor of this 'Karelian' family and of the Baltic-type Jaakkola-Heikkilä forefather, would have lived a couple of millennia ago. These co-owners of Husula having the Karelian haplotype have carried the byname Tepponen (Teppoinen, Tappain) since at least the 1500s.

Both these haplotypes, being N1c1, indicate that both of these male lines come from a prehistoric Uralic population around the Baltic Sea. The Karelian haplotype of the Tepponen lineage has many matches (branching over two millennia) among the population of Eastern Finland. This would indicate that the allodium-owning lineage of Tepponen in Husula, Vehkalahti, started from someone in the Middle Ages who belonged to the then-indigenous population of Karelia.

This Rolandh and Tepponen clan of Husula, Vehkalahti, was basically Finnic. Consequently, one should not expect Scandinavian onomastics and customs among them. One of the reasons why non-contemporary documentation from the 16th and 17th centuries often got the patronymic wrong (for example, in the fourth generation of the Tilas chart) so that the full written name appears incorrect, could be that patronymics were not used as part of the name in Finnish culture. In Finnic culture, if another man's name was part of what a man was sometimes called, it

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[14] Siffred Jussinpoika Vilken's 1625 court presentation was discussed in the article: M Sjöström, "Medieval landed inheritances of the Junkar and Vilken lineages of Vehkalahti, Finland," *Foundations* 3 (2011): 428-429. The main sources are: Aminoff, *op.cit.* (1827), 26, and Wikman, *op.cit.* (1846), 6.

[15] http://www.familytreedna.com/

[16] There is no support from property records for the Jaakkola to have branched from the Heikkilä. There are not even attested men in the Heikkilä branch who could have had sons with the patronymics recorded in the Jaakkola branch.

[17] Six out of their 67 markers are different, while 61 are identical. Six mutations (out of 67 possibilities) in five centuries is not inconsistent with what is experimentally known about the rate and likelihood of mutations. The DNA-tested lines, the Pyötsaari branch and the Heikkilä branch are consequently reconstructed in this study to have diverged at two brothers, probably born *c.*1430-*c.*1450.

could equally have been a remote ancestor's name or that of one's own father. The systematic use of patronymics in documentation from the centuries of Swedish-control in Finland, was an imposition of non-Finnic usage with which local clerks had to comply. It was usually no problem for fully contemporary recording, because the clerks were able to ask the first name of his father from the person they were dealing with. The problem was bigger, and mistakes more frequent, when people were asked for the name of -say- their great-grandfather (including what was his patronymic). Those who responded, if they were of Finnic culture, did not actually think in terms of patronymics. The question became in effect two-part, asking two different things. The name of the great-grandfather may be well recalled, but his father's name could be wrongly recalled. That said, those who followed Indo-European-based Scandinavian culture in Finland, probably thought somewhat more in terms of patronymics.

2. The Tepponen lineage

A reconstruction of some of the Tepponen in the 1500s-1600s is presented in genealogical tables by Korhonen.[18] Ulvelin has prepared a systematic genealogical directory of most of the descendants to the present day.[19] The Y-DNA findings thus far are consistent with a shared patrilineal forefather for the two Tepponen branches that lived 1794-1870, their branching at that time being attested by archival documentation (two paternal half-brothers born in 1817 and 1846 respectively). Probably the Tepponen lineage in some way comprised cognatic descendants of the unhistorical Niiles Rolandinpoika, one of the three original brothers of the Rolandh family. The Tepponen families' apparent common ancestor was Niiles Rolandh (*fl*. 1543-1558). The historical Niiles' first name is consistent with the idea that he was the maternal grandson of the unhistorical Niiles Rolandinpoika (mentioned in the Tilas chart, Fig 3) – and the chronology fits that very well, assuming that the non-historical Niiles Rolandinpoika was born roughly in the 1440s.

A $^{145}/_{216}$ mantal[20] property of allodial land in Husula represents about a third of the presumed inheritance from the legendary ancestor Matias Eeronpoika. In Husula real-estate mantal figures, both the denominator and the numerator tend to be unusual numbers, which can give clues for the identification of real estate.[21]

The mantal figures show that the Tepponen family held exactly a third of the "traditional" lands of Husula as their *moisio*. Thus their share of property is fully consistent with the old tradition that the ancestral land was once divided precisely

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[18] Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 148-150. I have been apprised that Korhonen's genealogical tables were substantially adopted from unpublished tables collected and reconstructed by Ragnar Rosén.

[19] Tuula Ulvelin, *Pihlhjärta-Tepponen knaappisuku Vehkalahdelta* (2003).

[20] For an explanation of the mantal system in property registers, see the author's article in the previous issue of *Foundations* **3**(5), Sjöström, *op.cit.* (2011), particularly footnote 16, p.433. The mantal is an evaluated measure of the wealth of a farm, not a simple unit of area, taking into account the productivity. As assessed by me from hectarages of a variety of real estate each with a mantal figure, a real estate of one full mantal is usually perceived as a manor. I believe that in the medieval epoch, one mantal would have represented an entity with enough productivity to equip one full-time mounted warrior, and provide revenue for the warrior's family, while a number of farmers cultivated their plots on that mantal and obtained a livelihood for themselves and their families. The one-warrior model of 'man'tal, would come from a requirement of one full-time armed man.

[21] The medieval family lands of Salmenkylä-Husula-Pyöli are described in more detail in Appendix III.

between three brothers.[22] However the Y-DNA results indicate unequivocally that the male line had been broken at some juncture. The mantal figure of the Tepponen lands in Husula was $^{145}/_{216}$ mantal.[23]

The genealogical tradition in the Tepponen branch appears to have exhibited an element of the so-called patriarchal fallacy, which presumes 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, those females being sometimes forgotten or glossed over, leading to myths of unbroken male descent.

The simplest plausible explanation in this case is inheritance through a single foremother – a daughter of that branch would have inherited the lands of one of the three original brothers, and the Tepponen Y haplotype would have come from the husband of that lady. As there is no plausible opportunity[24] for such a female link after the early 1500s, the heiress generation must presumably have occurred between 1450-1500. Since the male line is traceable generation-by-generation from 1556 to the present day, the hypothesised marriage would have taken place around 1450 to 1500.[25]

The Tepponen name[26] signals a somewhat different and more Karelian cultural context from that prevailing in Vehkalahti, one of the outposts of more western

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[22] It appears that the Roland patrimony was originally about 2 mantal, presumably at the time of settlement by the legendary ancestor Matias Eeronpoika in the early 1400s. Consequently, each of the original three branches should have received a *moisio* of about $^{2}/_{3}$ mantal (and seemingly of ¼ skat) of traditional Husula lands.

[23] The figure of $^{145}/_{216}$ mantal was already documented in the Land Register of 1730, KA 8788; and so used as a basis for Great Parcelling, 1826-1836, in Husula and other villages with joint benefices with Husula (MHA G17 23/17-25, National Archive Institution of Finland, Helsinki, *Delnings Instrument öfver Strömsby, Husula, Husuböhle, Böhle och Stensböhle Byars Ägor i Weckelax Socken Kymmene Härad och Wiborgs Län*, dated 1831). The Great Parceling included in 1826 measurements, in 1831 the apportioning decisions by the real-estate surveyor, and in 1836 judicial confirmation proclaimed by the district court. *1855-1864 Communion Book of Vehkalahti parish*, p.83 and *1890-1899 Communion Book of Vehkalahti parish*, p.81; and still in force at the present day (real-estate stem Husula no. 3), as checked from automated data of the Land Survey Board, Register of Real Estate of Finland, automated database maintained by the Land Survey Board of Finland (Maanmittauslaitos).

[24] Excepting the tiny possibility of a fatal error somewhere in the lineage reconstruction made by Korhonen (1981). If that were so it would be contrary to the consistent hereditary passage of allodial landed property.

[25] This assumes a total absence of "Non-Paternity Events" (NPE) in the recorded male line between 1500 and 2000. The name 'Husu' attested in both lineages in the 1500s as an explicit byname, is evidence to exclude NPE through that period. The byname of the Husu lineage of Säkkijärvi, as well as the placename Husu and occasional byname Husu in the Tepponen lineage of Husula of Vehkalahti, combined with the male-line genetic match, argue against NPE in this Tepponen lineage of Vehkalahti between 1500-2000.

[26] Sirkka Paikkala, "Sukunimet sukututkimuksessa" *Sukutieto* 4 (1997): 4-10, reports that that the formation of Karelian surnames was already taking place in the 1200s. Generally speaking (not referring specifically to the names Husu and Tepponen), hereditary bynames and surnames became prevalent in the 13th to 15th centuries among commoners of Eastern Finnish regions. This may be the earliest surname system used by lowly commoners in the entire world. Paikkala's conclusion is supported by occasional fragmentary evidence in late-medieval documents and archaeological finds. Eastern Finnish surname tradition is well known to be tightly tied to the male line. Daughters carried the feminine version of their own family name to the grave, but their children carried their father's family name. The

customs. Other old names of homesteads and households in Husupyöli and Husula have the –la ending, while Tepponen displays the more eastern –nen ending.[27] It is plausible that Tepponen may be a byname brought by the husband of the reconstructed heiress.

A male line bynamed Husu[28] and resident in the district of Säkkijärvi (some hundred kilometers from Husula, Vehkalahti) shows (by the 67-marker FamilyTreeDNA test) a relatively close match with this Tepponen family. The byname "Husu" indicates (together with the genetic match) that the Säkkijärvi Husu branch probably came from a Husula. The number of mutations separating these matching kinsmen indicates their most recent common patrilineal ancestor was roughly six or seven centuries ago (and the first historical male Husu of this haplotype was documented in the mid-1500s in Säkkijärvi). This lineage could be descended from either a male line direct descendant, or a fairly close agnatic collateral kinsman, of the first Tepponen owner of allodial lands in Husula, Vehkalahti. The Y-DNA findings are not at all inconsistent with a patrilineal forefather some five or six centuries ago shared by the Tepponen family of Husula of Vehkalahti and the Husu lineage of Säkkijärvi.[29]

A simple explanation is that at some time a male with the byname Husu, or from a place of that name, arrived in Vehkalahti and married the heiress of one branch of the Roland family. His name became adopted as the name of a hamlet, which name extended to a larger tract over the centuries, so that by the 1700s the name also covered other hamlets inhabited by descendants of the wife's cousins etc. This initial settlement must have taken place early (before 1500) because one village was already called Husupyöli/Husula in the contemporary records of the 1500s. Tentatively, I hold it likelier that Husula of Vehkalahti got its name as brought to Vehkalahti[30] by the Karelian Husu lineage from the isthmus of Karelia where there are other places named Husula and other lineages named Tepponen.

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tradition of agnatic family names in Eastern-Finnish culture makes it closely parallel to the passage of Y-DNA. In contrast, in Western Finland, farms had names and their cultivators generally were known under that name if 'surname' was even needed, and farm names passed to the issue of a daughter if it was the daughter's family who continued the maternal grandparents' farm.

[27] An attested Karelian-Ingrian lineage explicitly bynamed Teppoinen resided for centuries in the Ronnu village of Kivennapa district in the isthmus of Karelia and one hamlet where they lived, was known as Husula (Husula of Kivennapa). Kivennapa was the border parish on the borders of Veliki Novgorod and Ingria, being itself the furthest district and parish in the province of the Margraves of Viipuri. Families bynamed Tepponen lived in several places in the isthmus, such as Muolaa, Rautu, Vernitsa, Valkjärvi, Kivennapa, and even across the border in Ingria; Erkki J Hämäläinen, three unpublished reports: *Ratsumestari Tuomas Pekanpoika Tepposen (c.1536-1609) suku* (2007), *Tietoja Valkjärven Teppolan ja Valkiamatkan sekä Raudun ja Inkerinmaan Tepposista* (2007), *Matti Petrinpoika Tepposen (1711-1789) esipolvet isän puolelta* (2005), as well as a memo of 2002 (Huuhtanen) from the Family Association of Tepponen of Kivennapa.

[28] There was also another family bynamed Husu, in Luumäki of Lappee district, who were also tax-exempted squires, Luumäki being a neighbour on the north-east border of Vehkalahti district. Henrik Impola, *Frälset och dess rusttjänst i Finland på 1500-talet* (2011), 167, presents some prosopography of a squire Heikki Olavinpoika Husu, of Luumäki (b. *c.*1530; *fl.*1581; d. after 1602) and his son, squire Olavi Heikinpoika Husu, of Luumäki (*fl.*1592).

[29] The above-mentioned DNA-tested male from a lineage of Säkkijärvi origin reports his forefather as having been Pekka Juhonpoika Husu, *fl*. 1549 at Säkkijärvi.

[30] This place in Vehkalahti had thus already earlier been held by the Råland clan, before adoption of the Husu name.

My assessment is that this first male of the Husu in Vehkalahti was not of the male lineage of Matias Eeronpoika, but rather was a son-in-law of the unhistorical Niiles Rolandinpoika. This is simplest way to reconcile the genealogy with the Y-DNA results and the specific appearance of Karelian nomenclature.

The flöte pasture rents are useful early documents recording contractual rents received by the crown from a specific holding of "small" flöte pastures. Niiles Rolandh[31] is recorded as one contractual payer from the tax-exempt allodium of Husula. The main property was exempt from regular land taxes but obliged to equip cavalryman and horse, whereas an annual payment was required from the pastures. All the flöte pasture records between 1543 and 1558 mention the same Niiles Rolandh.[32] The flöte rents for three (1543, 1549, 1555) of the thirteen extant Rolls were cited by Rosén.[33] The relevant Rolls for 1545, 1548 and 1553 have not survived. There is a risk of inconsistency about the filiation between on one hand Heikki Niilonpoika of Rolanspyy (*fl*.1556) and his supposed brother Martti Niilonpoika Husu (mentioned in 1567, bynamed Husu), and on the other hand the contractman Niiles Roland (*fl*.1543-1558), namely his being their father. Martti Husu and Heikki of Rolanspyy were documented as owners of the inherited lands in 1561, and Heikki was recorded in cavalry service in Viipuri in 1556.[34] Heikki Niilonpoika was a gentleman in Rolanspyy (*fl*.1556-1562). He must have been born before 1540, probably in the early 1530s. I have not found any document before 1558 that explicitly mentions either Martti or Heikki as an owner of ancestral land. There remains a possibility that their elderly father was the owner of the *moisio*, living up to 1558, his name being recorded in land documentation, while his son(s) were already registered for cavalry service. However, if documentation is unearthed to indicate that either of those sons already held patrimonial land before 1558, that would be a severe blow to the reconstruction that they were sons of the 1543-58 Niiles Rolandh, because a son cannot have been the owner of patrimonial land in the lifetime of his father.[35] Consequently their father must rather have passed on the obligation for cavalry service in his lifetime, some years before his death, to his progeny. Specifically, if Martti Husu was the landowner already in

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31 Contrary to what Ragnar Rosén writes, (*Vehkalahden pitäjän historia I – Suur-Vehkalahden asutus- ja aluehistoria n vuoteen 1610* (1936), 167) Niiles Rolandh was not the brother of Jussi Roland, their kinship must have been somewhat remoter. Jussi Roland (a forefather of the Junnila branch) was not identical with his contemporary Jussi Pukki (who was a forefather of Pukki-Brandstaka lineage in Husupyöli).

32 The five flöte contractmen in this parish are explicitly recorded as old tax-exempted nobility, quoted from the 1539 Register of Taxes by Rosén, *op.cit.* (1936) 161.

33 Rosen, *op.cit.* (1920), 56-7; Archive sources: National Archives institution of Finland [Kansallisarkisto], Helsinki, *Rolls in Voudintilit series* – the *1543 Roll of Lands of the Viipuri province*, p.32v (KA 5000) and the *1558 Roll of Land Rents and Accounts of the Vehkalahti et al. bailiwick*, p.39v (KA 5167). For facsimile examples of these documents see the online edition of this journal.

34 1556 cavalry inspection roll in Viipuri. This force was convened for war in the isthmus of Karelia against a Russian assault from Veliki Novgorod on places such as Kivennapa, and to defend the pivotal Viipuri fortress, a Finnish outpost, stronghold and economic centre towards the east.

35 Except in the case of advance inheritance. If Niiles Rolandh was indeed alive when his name was used in those flöte pasture records up to 1558. There are cases where a still undivided family property was for some years recorded under the name of a deceased previous owner, without necessarily any indication that the owner was already dead. Advance inheritance, during the lifetime of the father, is also possible, but the question then is why the flöte pasture would remain in the father's name if the farm of which it is part had already been conveyed to the son.

1555, then Niiles Rolandh should be deceased by 1555 or have resigned his lands to his sons, if he really were the father of Martti Husu.



Figure 4.

Tepponen homestead (moisio) monogram from the year 1694, Niiles Martinpoika Piljerta in Husula nos. 1 and 3.

This Niiles Piljerta is reported (in the Tepponen 1 family tree of Tilas 1769) to have been son of Martti, one of the agnatic members and co-lords of old Tepponen (Husula no.3) and thus himself an agnatic Husu = Tepponen. The mystery to me about this Niiles, is why he held a portion of Husula no.1 (later, his heirs through his younger son Martti held $^{3}/_{7}$ of Husula no.1 and they were called Tepponen there) and resided in no.1 and also is recorded as residing in Salmenkylä. Niiles' heirs through his elder son Sihvo, held a *moisio* of $^{3}/_{10}$ of Husula no.3 and were called Tepponen. The property in no.3 appears as natural passage by hereditary right from Heikki Niilonpoika of Rolandspyy (*fl.*1556). The acquisition of $^{3}/_{7}$ of Husula no.1 to the Tepponen may be complicated, possibly involving the Anttila sub-branch (see Appendix IV).

In the 1618 Krus Roll, the Tepponen clan appears to have comprised three sub-branches, who together equipped "one hest" [36] as shared responsibility: Tuomas Sihvonpoika Tappain (*fl.*1603-1639), Vehvilä Martinpoika 'Jovald' of the Husu (*fl.*1613-1626) and Eero Heikinpoika (*fl.*1603-1626). Each of these men held $^{1}/_{12}$ skat[37] of land value, and the Tepponen patrimony was ¼ skat altogether.

Since the last two decades of the 1600s, the Tepponen clan (and Husula real estate no.3) appears to have comprised several sub-branches, who together equipped "one hest" as shared responsibility: the households of Anttila-Husu , Vehvilä-Jovald-Mikkola, and sub-branch of Samuli Sihvonpoika Teppoin.[38]

3. Reconstruction of the post-medieval Junnila and Jaakkola branch

Reconstructions of some of the Junnila in the 1500s-1600s and of the Jaakkola since the 1600s were presented in genealogical tables by Korhonen.[39] The Y-DNA findings are consistent with a shared patrilineal forefather in the early 1700s between the Pyötsaari branch and the senior Jaakkola branch of the Råland clan, their branching at that time being attested by archival documentation (two brothers born in *c.*1720 and *c.*1725 respectively).[40]

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36 Stallion, *cf* its cognate *Hengist* in Anglo-Saxon mythology.

37 Share, unit of wealth, measure of taxation, *cf* its cognates *sceat* in Anglo-Saxon and *skat* in Scots, as well as the words *skot* and *scotfree*.

38 In the well-documented 1800s, the heirs of Vehvilä-Jovald-Mikkola household (Mikkola of the Huuk root and Joffel of the Pöljäniemi root) held ½ of the stem no.3. In other words, their portion was about $^{1}/_{3}$ mantal in Husula. This would indicate that Martti Husu's lineage had inherited half of old Tepponen and all the others the other half, indicating two brothers at that stage.

39 Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 157, 151. See also comment in footnote 18.

40 As to the wider genealogical position, the Y DNA findings are not at all inconsistent with a shared patrilineal forefather some six centuries ago between the Pyötsaari branch and the Heikkilä branch.

In the mid-1500s, Junnila *moisio* (manor) in what later was known as Husula was held by a certain Johannes 'Jussi' Roland (*fl.*1546-1570).[41] In 1625, Sihvo of Junnila – if his son and not great-grandson – made the implied claim that this Jussi was fifth generation from the forefather Matias Eeronpoika. 'Jussi' Roland is attested in 1551 in the recognition of tax exemption, listed as holding 1/6 skat in "*Pöölipyy.*" [42] The Tilas chart indicates this Jussi as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Jon, eldest son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. Heirs of this Jussi held lands of Husula real-estate stem no.2, Junnila. The placename Husula is not recorded in conjunction with this Jussi Roland, instead he is variously recorded as allodial landowner in Husu-Pööli or Pukkipööli

The same lands were held during the following almost seventy years, at least as portions, by at least four different men with the patronymic Jussinpoika – which means each had a Johannes as his father. These were Martti Jussinpoika of Husu-Pyöli (*fl.*1562-1565),[43] Hannes (*fl.*1571),[44] Tuomas (*fl.*1581), Yrjänä (*fl.*1603) and Sihvo Jussinpoika (*fl.*1618, 1625, 1633). Korhonen[45] (and probably therefore Rosén's unpublished genealogies) presents genealogical tables showing Sihvo Jussinpoika as agnatic great-grandson of the said Jussi Råland, landowner in Husu-Pööli. However, I regard that precise relationship implausible on chronological grounds and overruled by the six-generation claim in the 1625 High Court Proceedings: in the 1625 lawsuit Sihvo Jussinpoika was a respected, mature leader who had been empowered to represent his family and kinsmen in the high court. His son, Sihvo Sihvonpoika Piljerta, was an adult landowner in 1638. In view of this I consider that Sihvo Jussinpoika (*fl.*1618) as Jussi Råland's (*fl*.1570) great-grandson compresses too many generations into too a small number of years, and would still leave Sihvo Jussinpoika implausibly young to fill such a dignified representative role in the high court, as well as too young to have an adult son in 1638.

The six-generations claim from Matias Eeronpoika poses almost unsurmountable difficulties, if Sihvo (*fl.*1618 as an adult) had been great-grandson of Johannes

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41 The suggestion that this Jussi's patronymic was Antinpoika, is based on Lagus, *op.cit.* (1860), 564, and on Eric Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse och 1500-talsadel* (1970), 375. Both have reported that this allodial Husu-Pööli landowner bore the name Jussi Antinpoika in the Roll of 1566. Impola, *op.cit.* (2011), 203, has however suspected an error of interpretation or of reading and he suggested that this Jussi Råland might have carried the patronymic Hannunpoika or that his patronymic remains unknown. Impola's adoption of Hannunpoika as the patronymic appears to be based on no better than the Tilas chart of *c.*1680, which is quite late to reflect reliably the patronymic of a man who had died over a century earlier, and whose father was presumably dead before 1546. The reliability of this patronymic is militated against by the 'max-one-century rule' of near-contemporaneity, and I do not regard Hannunpoika as a trustworthy patronymic for Jussi Roland. See also footnote 31 above.

42 Oksanen, *op.cit.* (2003), 54. The 1/6 was only a quarter of what I reconstruct this entire branch to have held.

43 Impola, *op.cit.* (2011), 294. Martti Jussinpoika possibly predeceased his supposed father who lived until 1570.

44 A member of this branch, "Hannes Joninpoika," shown as 4th generation in the Tilas chart, belongs as an historical name to the latter half of the 1500s (*fl.*1570-1590; Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 157; Impola, *op.cit.* (2011), 138-9) and that historical person cannot be the son of a man from the mid-1400s. His father was the historically attested Jussi [Antinpoika] Råland (of the mid-1500s), and cannot have been the unhistorical Joonas Rolandinpoika who must have been born before the mid-1400s.

45 Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 157.

(*fl.*1570) rather than his son. This militates strongly against the great-grandsonship, even more strongly than the chronological concerns outlined above. If Sihvo had been great-grandson of this Johannes Råland (*fl.*1570), then the latter would have been third generation (great-grandson) from a man who lived in *c.*1400.

My reconstruction is simply that Sihvo Jussinpoika was the fourth surviving and youngest son of Jussi Råland (*fl.*1546-1570). In this model, Sihvo would have been born in or before *c.*1570 – which makes him mature enough for the impression I gained about his high court presence in 1625 and for having the aforesaid son. Sihvo Jussinpoika (*fl.*1618) if already very mature in 1625, would not easily fit as the son of the historical Johannes Hannunpoika 'Jussi' of Junnila (*fl.*1613), apparently the grandson of Jussi Råland. My conclusion is that the Tilas chart is incorrect with this filiation, and indeed has several errors around and before the year 1600 indicative of the date (*c.*1680) of preparation of the tree on which the chart was based.

From the oldest traditions, the lords of Junnila were thought to be the most senior branch of the Roland clan (the Piljerta), whereas the position of the Jaakkola branch has always been unclear: there have been several versions of their place in the clan filiations.[46] Three pieces of property evidence indicate, in my view, the likeliest genealogical position for the Jaakkola branch, started by Jaakko Rolandinpoika, *fl*.1638-72):

- the Jaakkola family (and their farm) was jointly responsible for providing a mounted warrior together with the Junnila family (and their farm/manor). This shared liability is seen in several cavalry service registers of the 1600s, and up to its end in 1743[47] (*eg* 1698, 1727).[48] The 1730 Land

[46] Tilas charts Jaakko Rolandinpoika (*fl.*1638), the first historically attested member of the Jaakkola branch, as a descendant of the Tepponen branch, but this cannot be so. Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 151 (and presumably Rosén), seemingly on the basis of the Tilas chart, grafts the Jaakkola branch as an agnatic sideline of the Tepponen family. However, the Y DNA results of Tepponen on one hand and Pyötsaari on the other show this to be genetically impossible. The Jaakkola branch cannot be an agnatic branch of the Tepponen – instead, the Jaakkola branch must be another agnatic line from the same stem as the Heikkilä branch. Moreover, the chronology is also problematic: Jaakko (*fl.*1638-1672) supposedly being grandson of Niiles (*fl.*1543-1558) who already had another adult son in 1556,the generation stretch here is too great. Niiles Rolandh was himself born in about 1500. Roland, Jaakko's father, is apparently not himself attested in any documentation – he is known solely from Jaakko's patronymic (this Roland would have been adult in the early 1600s, before 1620). Jaakko who was active up to 1672, would probably have been born in the 1610s. Instead there existed a Roland Niilonpoika who (according to Impola (2011), 344) flourished as adult in 1574-77 and cannot be the father of a man who flourished up to 1672, but would have been of his grandfather's generation. It is all too possible that Roland father of Jaakko has been erroneously confounded with some other Roland who belonged to the Niiles branch (such as the attested Roland Niilonpoika *fl*.1574-77) when they were trying to chart their clan branchings in *c*.1680 (almost a hundred years after the time of the two Rolands).

[47] The medieval obligation in Vehkalahti, Finland, for cavalry service ended permanently in 1743. On 24 November 1741, Ulrica Eleanor, queen of Sweden and onetime sovereign over Finland, descendant of the Vasa dynasty, died without issue. Her king-consort Frederick survived. The country was at war. Kaarle Petteri Ulrik, duke of Gottorp (1727-1762), was the closest living blood relative to queen Ulrica Eleanor, as the grandson of her late sister who by marriage had become duchess-consort of Sleswick and Holsatia in Gottorp. Kaarle Petteri Ulrik's guardian and maternal aunt, Elisabeth, had her troops occupy Finland (invasion started February 1742) under the command of Field Marshal James Francis Edward Keith, cadet of Marischal and Inverugie (1696-1758), who summoned the Diet of

Register (KA 8788) also explicitly refers to this shared liability for cavalry service, one jointly equipped horse and man (hest no.62 in the service system), from Jaakkola and Junnila. Similarly in the 1694 Rustholli catalogue, Rolof Niilonpoika of Jaakkola shares responsibility with Martti Sihvonpoika of Junnila

- observing that the allodial lands in Husula have very unique mantal figures, with a denominator of 216,[49] there should be a reason why the Jaakkola land has been precisely a third ($^{29}/_{108}$) of the Junnila land ($^{29}/_{36}$), particularly as none of the other lineages have their numerators consistent with those of Junnila and Jaakkola. A possible explanation is that a *moisio* was originally divided into four equal parts, one of them passing to the Jaakkola and three of them to the Junnila.
- The Jaakkola household (Husula real-estate stem no.4) is supposed to have held some lands of Knuuttila.[50] This must be so if they were co-owners of

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Finland to convene from 8 October 1742 at Turku, Finland. This Diet soon proclaimed duke Kaarle Petteri Ulrik as King of Finland. However the Swedes managed to repossess much of Finland in the Treaty of Turku on 7 May 1743. Elisabeth and Kaarle Petteri Ulrik kept the Finnish lands east of the River Kymi – and Vehkalahti was part of that. Those lands were later known as "Old Finland", being in a sense the surviving continuation of the Kingdom of Finland from 1742. Elisabeth's administration discontinued the centuries-old system of cavalrymen equipped from the rustic nobility of Old Finland. From 1743 to 1917, Old Finland (and other territories with which it merged), was governed as a separate territory with its own administration, law system, governance and constitution, in many aspects similar to the principalities of Germany. The hereditary monarchical ruler of these territories was always a member of the family of the dukes of Gottorp.

48 See also Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 523, based on the 1688 Land Register, and p.239.

49 *1730 Land Register* KA 8788; *1826-1836 Great Parcelling*, MHA G17 23/17-25; *1855-1864 Communion Book of Vehkalahti parish*, pp.71, 78, 83 and 88; *1890-1899 Communion Book of Vehkalahti parish*, pp.69, 77, 81 and 88. The modern automated data of the Land Survey Board, Real Estate Register of Finland, shows: Husula no.1 (Peltola and Heikkilä, and the other Tepponen specifically in Husula One) $^{145}/_{216}$ mantal (189.54 hectares); Husula no.2 (Junnila) $^{174}/_{216}$ mantal (269.43 hectares); Husula no.3 (this is the old Tepponen stem: Tepponen in Husula Three, Mikkola, Joffel and Anttila) $^{145}/_{216}$ mantal (222.68 hectares); Husula no.4 (Jaakkola, including later Jouhikainen) $^{58}/_{216}$ mantal (89.33 hectares). The listed original sources all give identical numbers. The entire Husula (including the Knuuttila) was thus approximately 770 hectares.

The online edition of this journal has an image showing mantal figures for Husula in (and since) 1730, as tabulated by Rosén from the *1730 Land Register* [KA 8788]; Rosén, *op.cit.* (1920), appendices p.11.

50 The Junnila's other legal acquisition (defended in 1651 in the High Court by Sihvo Piljerta, also indicated in 1633 when Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula is recorded as holding lands in Salmenkylä as well as Husula) whereby they and their family had acquired another manor in the neighbourhood (in the adjacent villages of Salmenkylä and Pyöli) by the name of Knuuttila. The Knuuttila lords in the 1500s possibly were of the clan of Brand/Brandstaka. Knuuttila may have been purchased, or else inherited via some sort of cognatic ancestry from a collateral relative without closer heirs, so that the Junnila household (Husula real-estate stem no.2) and the Jaakkola household (no.4) owned the rights to its lands. After the Great Parcelling, all the Knuuttila exclave in the midst of Salmenkylä was part of Husula no.2 (Junnila, this can be observed in modern real-estate maps of the Salmenkylä area, courtesy of Land Survey Board of Finland). Certain fields in the place where the Husula Comprehensive School is now located (and which are part of stem no.4 Jaakkola) belonged to Salmenkylä up to the 1800s, according to MHA 1774 '*verollepanokartta*' taxation map of Salmenkylä. The acquisition of the Knuuttila manor is generally thought to have taken place sometime in the 1610s. See Korhonen, (1981), 10-11 and Impola, (2011), 244. Korhonen,

Knuuttila which was apparently acquired before Jaakkola and Junnila were separated and to which the other branches of Husula – nos.1 and 3 - had no rights or share. When the Great Parcelling allocated all their lands, it was the Junnila that received all the exclave in the midst of Salmenkylä. The Jaakkola received Salmenkylä lands in the place today occupied by Husula Comprehensive School, presumably as their share of Knuuttila. The connection clearly comes from the 1610s acquisition of the Knuuttila manor.

- Additionally, regarding the elderly Sihvo Jussinpoika of Junnila falling into inactivity after 1633, it is not necessarily any coincidence that it was the year 1638 when both his son and heir (Sihvo Sihvonpoika Piljerta) and Jaakko Rolandinpoika appear in active documentation as landowners. Such a simultaneous emergence could be explained if they had completed formalisation of the division of the patrimony between each other. My experience from other family histories indicates that brothers have often kept patrimony in joint possession, but cousins tend rather to make a formal division of land holdings.

These considerations support the idea that the Junnila and the Jaakkola do originate from the same one of the three early branches.

The Junnila held more land than either the old Tepponen (no.3) or the Peltola-Heikkilä (no.1). The Knuuttila acquisition (footnote 50) is a clear reason why the Junnila landed inheritance was bigger than the 'original third' of Husula (whose size $^{145}/_{216}$ i.e roughly $^{2}/_{3}$ is recognisable in no.3 Tepponen and no.1 Heikkilä real estate), and why the numerator figure of the Junnila (174 or 232) was inconsistent with that of the Tepponen and of the Heikkilä branches. Because the Jaakkola branch shared the numerator consistency with the Junnila, the Jaakkola also seem to have been co-owners of the acquired manor (Knuuttila) in Salmenkylä and Pyöli.[51]

The outcome of four equal parts from the Junnila-Knuuttila properties is most easily explained by inheritance and division between four equal brothers.[52] How could one branch end up with three quarters of their ancestral land? One plausible explanation lies in the customary law at that time regarding collateral inheritance (the principle

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(1981), 524-5 and Oksanen, (2003), 139 & 160, describe a 150-year-long 'battle' against their Salmenkylä neighbours, concerning the utilisation by these Piljerta of their properties in the midst of Salmenkylä.

51 Reflections on the numerators of mantal figures relevant to the Junnila (Husula stem no.2) and Jaakkola (Husula stem no.4) real estate: 174+58=232 Junnila and Jaakkola together; 232-145=87 supposed value of acquisitions (such as Knuuttila).

It looks as though the mantal of the acquired lands was about $^{87}/_{216}$, *ie* about 40% of one mantal. Presumably, the acquisition of Salmenkylä-Pyöli lands (the Knuuttila) had already taken place prior to the 1618 Krus Roll, because the then head of this branch, Sihvo Jussinpoika, is there recorded as holding $^{1}/_{3}$ skat of land value, which is $^{1}/_{12}$ higher than the ¼ skat which was the quantity for the two other main branches (Tepponen and Heikkilä-Peltola) in the same record. The Knuuttila acquisition is usually thought to have taken place sometime in the 1610s.

52 Daughters do not feature in this because 1) Y-DNA passes strictly through males, 2) these lands held a responsibility to equip a family member as a cavalryman to the king's troops, cavalry service being considered a manly operation, 3) daughters only inherited half that a son (*ie* her brother) would inherit 4) conventionally in the lower nobility, daughters did not inherit land but received their inheritance shares as movables (often as dowries at the time of marriage).

of Proximity of Blood): if a person died without issue, leaving a surviving sibling and a child of an already-deceased sibling, the collateral inheritance passed to the heirs who were strictly closest in blood. In such a case, the child of a deceased sibling was two steps removed from the owner, while the surviving sibling was closer to the owner, being merely one step removed. Thus the surviving sibling alone inherited all that portion.[53]

I presume that the forefather of the Jaakkola branch (in my reconstruction), one of the sons of Johannes 'Jussi' Råland (*fl.*1546-1570), died earlier than his brothers. In the case of deaths around 1600 of two other elder sons of Johannes Råland, their heir would have been their youngest brother Sihvo Jussinpoika (*fl.*1618-1633), while the son of the already-deceased forefather of the Jaakkola branch received merely his father's original fourth and nothing from his childless uncles. In that way, Sihvo Jussinpoika held three fourths of the original Junnila and Knuuttila, passing that portion onwards to his branch. The Jaakkola farm (allodial land, *c.*90 hectares) was thus formed on the basis of a moiety, one fourth of the original Junnila and Knuuttila manors.

4. Reconstruction of post-medieval Peltola and Heikkilä branch

The Y-DNA findings are not at all inconsistent with a shared patrilineal forefather some five centuries ago between the Pyötsaari branch and the Heikkilä branch. Their last common patrilineal ancestor would have been the unhistorical Roland Matinpoika, if the Tilas chart is worth anything in that regard. A reconstruction of some of the Heikkilä in the 1500s-1600s was presented in genealogical tables by Korhonen.[54]

The online edition of this article provides links to facsimiles of a number of relevant documents

a) Landowners and tenant farmers in the hamlet then known as 'Pukkipyöli' in 1558. Source: Older Accounts Series (Voudintilit), National Archive Institution of Finland, Helsinki, the 1558 Roll of Land Rents and Accounts of the Vehkalahti *et al*. bailiwick, p.51v (KA 5167). Names are: Jussi Pukki (lord of Pukkila), Martti Husu (lord of Tepponen), Antti Roland [in my assessment, he was lord of Peltola; part of his branch later became known as Heikkilä), Jussi Roland (lord of what became known as Junnila), Heikki Jaakonpoika, Eero Matinpoika (known to rent one of farms owned by dominus Johannes Vilken), Lasse Jussinpoika, Henrikki Maununpoika (lord of what was later known as Paavola) and Lasse Matinpoika (elsewhere bynamed Lääti, known to rent a farm owned by dominus Johannes Vilken). The situation of allodial lands in this place was still clear-cut at this stage (if I have interpreted the source material and genealogies correctly): The Roland clan comprised no more and no less than three branches (Jussi Roland of the future stem no.2, Antti Roland of the future stem no.1, and Martti Husu, son of Niiles Roland, of the future stem no.3). The Pukki clan displays already two branches: Pukkila and Paavola. The lords in Teinpyöli are at this time listed elsewhere than in this village, not geographically close to those of the Pukki.

b) Heads of households in 1571, in the hamlet then known as Husupyöli. Source: Older Accounts Series, the 1571 Roll of Tithes of Kymenkartano county, p.11v (KA 5357).

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53 Another possibility is that one of the brothers purchased the share of one or two of his brothers, thus increasing his portion.

54 Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 153-4. See also comment in footnote 18.

Names are: Sihvo Antinpoika (his branch was later known as Heikkilä, in my assessment he was lord of Peltola), Martti Antinpoika (lord of Töytäri in Teinpyöli), Jussi Pukki (lord of Pukkila), Lemetti Henrikinpoika (who might have been in what was later known as Paavola of Husupyöli), Martti Niilonpoika (elsewhere bynamed Husu, lord of Tepponen), Tuomas Jussinpoika (co-lord of Junnila), Lasse Matinpoika (Lääti, tenant farmer under the Vilken), Matti Augustininpoika and Martti Ollinpoika.

c) Landowners in 1621, in the hamlet then known as Husupyöli. Source: Older Accounts Series (Voudintilit), National Archive Institution of Finland, Helsinki, the 1621 Catalogue of Inspection of Cattle and Tillage of the Viipuri, Savonlinna and Kymenkartano counties, p.285 (KA 6073b). Names are: Kristian Tuomonpoika (lord of Peltola), Antti Antinpoika, Vehvilä Martinpoika (eponymous lord of what became known as Joffel, apparently a half of the stem no.3, old Tepponen), Eero Heikinpoika (co-lord of Tepponen), Sihvo Jussinpoika (lord of Junnila and Knuuttila), and Heikki Sihvonpoika (eponymous lord of what became known as Heikkilä).

d) Shared liabilites for cavalry service of allodial landowners of Husupyöli in 1618. The illustration (online) is an extract from Krus (1618), 84, not the original hand-written source but the 1860 printed edition edited by Lagus. The branch known as Peltola in the 1700s here owns $^1/_3$ of the stem no.1 lands (in the 1800s, they owned only $^1/_7$ of stem no.1), while Antti Antinpoika and his presumed great-nephew Paavali Heikinpoika together own $^2/_3$, the latter being forefather of the Heikkilä branch (whose property later was $^3/_7$ of stem no.1). The simplest explanation would be three sons of Antti Hannunpoika Råland, lord of old Peltola.

In the 1618 Krus Roll, one of the three branches appears to have comprised three sub-branches, which jointly equipped "one hest" (see footnote 36): Paavali Heikinpoika, Antti Antinpoika and Risto Tuomonpoika (illustrated in the online edition of this issue). Each of them held $^1/_{12}$ skat of land value, and the branch's *moisio* was ¼ skat altogether. My impression is that this branch's patrimony essentially ended up as the land-register entity Husula no.1.[55]

In the last two decades of the 1600s, the Husula real estate no.1 appears to have comprised several sub-branches, who jointly equipped one hest: the households of Peltola, Heikkilä, Rolof Sakarinpoika and Ambrosius Tuomonpoika, as well as later the family of Niiles Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen.

The Tilas chart assigns Paavali Henrikinpoika of Heikkilä as a descendant of this third branch. Henrikki, Paavali's father, was attested as Henrikki Sihvonpoika in contemporary record. So in this case, Tilas has the fourth generation consistent with the historical record but there are generations missing between the third and fourth. The Tilas chart assigns Antti Antinpoika (*fl*.1575) as a descendant of this third branch. Antti, Antti's father, was attested as Antti Hannunpoika, not Antti Sihvonpoika. Similarly, Tilas assigns Risto Tuomonpoika of Peltola as a descendant of this third branch. Tuomas, Risto's father, was attested as Tuomas Matinpoika, not Tuomas Sihvonpoika. Tilas thus makes several mistakes around the year 1600 and earlier.

All in all, in the 1500s there were distinct individuals, who are known only from the patronymics of their sons, and with a claimed traditional descent from the third son (non-historical Sihvo) of the eponymous late-medieval Roland.

In the early 1500s there must have lived an individual, Hannes, who is known only from the patronymic of his son, with a claimed traditional descent from the third son (Sihvo) of the non-historical medieval Roland. The later Heikkilä branches were

[55] See Appendix IV for a discussion of the "Anttila conundrum."

apparently descended from Hannes, who could plausibly have been grandson of the non-historical Sihvo. The 1571 Silver Tax Roll documents one Sihvo Antinpoika Råland (*fl.*1562-1581) who would have been an elder son of Antti Hannunpoika who was last recorded in 1561. Sihvo's son Henrikki 'Heikki' (*fl.*1620-1624, presumably a mature man in that decade) is indicated in the Tilas chart as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Sihvo, third of the original three brothers of Husula. However Heikki cannot have been the son of that Sihvo, chronologically he should rather have been an approximately 4th generation descendant.

A reconstruction of some of the Peltola branch in the 1500s-1600s is presented in a genealogical table by Korhonen.[56] The size ($^{1}/_{12}$) of Kristopher Tuomonpoika's property in 1618, compared with precisely the same numbers held both by Antti Antinpoika and by Heikki Sihvonpoika, creates a presumption that Risto (Kristopher, Kristian)[57] should have been heir of Antti Antinpoika's otherwise unknown brother.

The later Peltola branch in Husula was apparently descended from a Matias. Chronologically Matias could have been son of Antti Hannunpoika Råland, but nothing is known for certain. The Anttila branch is presumed extinct. The latest Peltola branch is not known to exist any longer. The Heikkilä branch (continuing to the present day) has the Y-DNA haplotype that is practically identical with the Jaakkola branch.

It is possible that Peltola was the earliest name for the third branch of the Råland, and it is well known that Heikkilä came into use in the 1600s at the earliest and may been subsequent to the use of Peltola. Some lands of this branch became later known as Pajula.

We can at this point draw a conclusion that the variability of patronymics of several men traditionally held to belong to this clan, born around 1500 or even earlier (so that their fathers would have been born in the mid-1400s), argues that the common agnatic forefather of these lineages was born in the first half of the 15th century at the latest. In other words, by the 1540s the clan had already been expanding for a century.

5. Medieval family legend of the Piljerta

I have set out above some near-contemporary information about the families of this clan in the 1500s-1600s. In the light of this, I now turn to look at assessments by other researchers of the family legends and of the Tilas chart.

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[56] Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 159. Eerik Matinpoika in the Korhonen table in the 1560s may be a mistaken interpretation, because a (presumably non-noble) tenant farmer of that name lived in Husupyöli as tenant of the Vilken noble house.

[57] The variance in renditions of Risto's first name in variety of records implies strongly that his true name was Finnish, and that clerks rendered it in 'official language' according to their own varying perceptions. The generic name itself is usually rendered Risto in modern Finnish, but its foreign variants include Christopher, Krister and – seemingly mistakenly - Christian.

Images of the following sources may be found in the online edition of this journal:

- Legend to connect heraldry with the forefather Matias Eeronpoika, findings from the archive of Turku High Court.[58]
- Legend to support the timing of the forefather Matias Eeronpoika:[59] In the time of Queen Margrethe and Eric of Pomerania, king of Swedes and Goths, Matias Eeronpoika received allodial land in Husula, Vehkalahti.

The family legend recorded by Wikman states that the unhistorical Matias Eeronpoika acquired property in Vehkalahti in what was later known as Husula (which at the time belonged to the dominion of Sweden). during the early days of the Union of Kalmar (early 1400s) in the time of Queen Margrethe Valdemarsdatter (d.1412, regent of Sweden from 1389), when Eric of Pomerania was already king of Sweden (king of Sweden from 1396). King Eric XIII is known to have sojourned in Finland in 1403 and in 1407 at least. The young king Eric is documented as dealing with Viipuri province in 1403, aged about 21. Vehkalahti is located in that province. It seems likely therefore that the unhistorical forefather Matias Eeronpoika received his privilege in 1403, if it really was Eric XIII who granted it.[60]

As described above, Tilas had copied the earliest family tree *c.*1680 from "*ancient documents of the Husgavel family in Salmenkylä,*" showing successive medieval generations of the Rolandh clan comprising: Matias Eeronpoika, his son Roland Matinpoika, and the latter's three sons, the eldest of whom was Joni (possibly Joonas, or Johannes) who we can assume was also known as Junnu/Junni, from whom stemmed the most senior agnatic line of the clan. These three brothers are said to have started the main branches in Husula.

Among the problems of reconstruction, the foremost is the lack of systematic records from earlier than the 1540s. Late-medieval incidental documents from south eastern Finland were either never written or have since been lost – the region has had recurring difficulties such as wars and destruction because of its location near the Russian border. The late Middle Ages is consequently severely under-documented for the purposes of this study. We are left with mainly legends and distorted tales, and my attempt to reconstruct these lineages from the allodial patrimonies in Husula, Vehkalahti.

The brother-model presented in Tilas' chart, is essentially the same as the Tale of Councilman Juho Piljerta (that Piljerta had heard from his grandfather) recorded by

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58 Taken from Aminoff, *op.cit.* (1827), 25-7.

59 Taken from Wikman, *op.cit.* (1846), 6.

60 As the lineage belongs to the Finnic haplogroup N. It is tempting to assume that the family root would be a local village elder or indigeneous chieftain, whose family succeeded in getting their pre-conquest landholding transformed into Swedish-type allodial property by starting to provide cavalry service and other means of class assimilation. See also Appendix III. However, I suggest this is incorrect reconstruction: the Baltic haplotype of the Råland, the onomastics and the 1625 narrative of the forefather's land acquisition (as opposed to it being his ancestral land), rather indicate that this family were newcomers to the region. Moreover, there is no certainty that any family in Vehkalahti perpetuated any pre-1200s Finnic family, given that the region was essentially unpopulated before the 1200s. This does not exclude a possibility that some of the heritage (or even of the land) passed via foremothers who were daughters of the indigenous population, but that possibility could apply to any family including those (the Pukki) whose Y-DNA haplotype refers to a patrilineal root in Syria. The Tepponen lineage of course shows all indications of indigeneous Finnic origin, but the reconstruction produced for this study times them to a few generations later than the first Råland-clan forefather in Vehkalahti, and to have roots rather from the Karelian isthmus.

Rosén in 1920 – the legend that several brothers divided the ancestral lands and became forefathers of the main branches. An image of this (in Finnish) is available in the online edition of this journal.[61]

The Roland family properties support the idea of the one root, divided between three equal branches in accordance with the Scandinavian inheritance system. The traditional lands of Husula display a clear pattern of origin from division into three equal portions. The Councilman's account of more than three brothers is therefore probably garbled and I have in this study accepted the existence of three late-medieval sons of 'the Roland family'.

In 1625 a family register existed, which Sihvo of Junnila presented to the High Court.[62] On the other hand, in the 1700s there existed "*ancient documents of the Husgavel family*" one of which was the genealogical chart from *c.*1680 (Tilas chart, Fig.3) of the Husula clan.

All these medieval people are unhistorical. The existence of Matias Eeronpoika and Roland Matinpoika and the latter's son Joonas (as well as his other sons Niiles and Sihvo) are not attested by any contemporary documentation. None of the Rolandh family are attested before the family members of the 1540s. The earlier ones are based merely on the 1625 claim (see above) plus the Tilas chart. The farm name Junnila suggests a past owner with a name sounding like "Juun." Contemporary

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61 The Tale of councilman Juho Piljerta. Image taken from Rosén, *op.cit.* (1920), 26.
Piljerta narrated the tale in January 1920. He had heard it from his grandfather: "*In the ancient past, there lived in Vehkalahti the Old Man of Husula ('Husulan ukko') . He had five sons, Heikki, Joonas, Tahvo, Jaakko and Martti. When the king needed troops, he gave a promise of tax exemption to everyone who would embark for the war with their own horse. The youngest son, Martti, decided to go, the others assisted so that the Husula village obtained full exemption from taxes. Houses were named after the sons: Heikkilä, Junnila, Tepponen, Jaakkola. Then a battle took place in Kolsila, when the commander of the Swedes lost his horse. At that moment Martti, with the speed of an arrow, attacked a Russian, took his horse and gave it to his commander. Because of this heroic act, Martti received a Coat-of-Arms and the name Piljerta. Then he married daughter of Huggut and settled to live in Pyötsaari island.*
*c*f. also Korhonen (1981), 147.

Commentary: The tale reflects symbolism at several levels. Almost nothing should be taken literally. The one who married the daughter of Huggut and obtained Pyötsaari, was named Matias not Martti, and lived in the mid-1700s (Matias Piljerta, *c.*1725-1773). Their eldest son bore the name Martti Piljerta (1751-1827). The eponymous men could not credibly be brothers. The real eponymous Heikki and the real eponymous Jaakko apparently both lived in the 1600s having nonidentical patronymics. The supposed eponymous Junni lived possibly back in the 1400s if the eponymous Junni were not the Johannes (Jussi) Rolandh (*fl.*1546-1570). And there is no sign of the actual existence of Tahvo other than merely this tale. Indeed, the original fact of a number of brothers founding main branches, has in the retelling given other names to the original brothers, to reflect the much-later established names of the surviving households. The eponymic ones of the well-attested farms of Anttila, Joffel and Mikkola are not incorporated in the Tale, so it should be presumed that these eponymic men (Antti, Vehvilä and Miikkael) were perceived as less than full-branch forefathers in the clan folklore. No explanation is given to the farm name Peltola, except the obvious (farm field). The land quantities do not support the original existence of as many as four or five brothers, instead it argues for the existence of precisely three brothers [as I have explained above]. An intriguing observation is that long before 1920, the memory of the really unusual male name Roland had apparently vanished altogether from the clan tales (the Councilman did not mention that name at all) despite the fact that some three centuries earlier, that first name was still in clannish legends as the father of the original brothers. The Councilman's tale narrated merely about 'Old Man' as their father.

62 See footnote 13, and Aminoff, *op.cit* (1827), 26; Wikman, *op.cit.* (1846), 6.

records of Husula landowners from the 1540s and their patronymics show some marked variance from the names in the Tilas chart.

My alternative approach is to interpret the inheritance patterns of landholdings and use the Tilas chart for clues, taking note of the compression at the fourth generation in the chart as already mentioned. My reconstruction proposes that the 1625 Sihvo Jussinpoika was the youngest son of Johannes Råland, lord of Junnila in Husula (*fl.*1546-1570), whose father should have been an Antti according to the patronymic if correctly identified in the 1566 Roll.

The seven generations including Matias would thus be:

- Matias Eeronpoika, lord of what was later called Husula (*temp.* queen Margrethe I and king Eric XIII, *c.*1403)
- Roland Matinpoika (*fl.* first half of 15th century), in 1625 Sihvo Jussinpoika implicitly claimed as the first generation from the forefather Matias.
- Joonas Rolandinpoika, 'Joon/Juun', 'Junnu', 'Junni', senior co-heir of what was later called Husula, in 1625 implicitly claimed to be second generation from Matias. His name Jon is corroborated by the name of the manor Junnila held by his heirs. Roland's sons were plausibly born *c.*1430-*c.*1450.
- unidentified (possibly Hannes), heir of Junnila in what was later called Husula (*fl.* in the late 1400s) inferred from the 1625 claim by Sihvo of Junnila that there was a third generation from Matias Eeronpoika.
- Antti (or possibly unidentified) presumed born before 1500 and died before 1546, implicitly claimed in 1625 by Sihvo of Junnila as fourth generation from the forefather
- Johannes 'Jussi' Råland, lord of Junnila in Husa-Pööli (*fl.*1546-1570), implicitly claimed in 1625 as fifth generation from the forefather Matias.[63]
- his sons, youngest of whom would been: Sihvo Jussinpoika of Junnila and Knuuttila (*fl.*1618-1633, recorded in 1625). Meanwhile this article proposes a hypothesis that the Jaakkola branch of the Piljerta is descended from one of the elder sons of squire Jussi Råland.

The six-generations claim made in 1625 by Sihvo Jussinpoika of Junnila is an important testimony about the lineage, but how reliable would that claim be?

As far as I know, the source documentation from which Wikman drew his information in 1846 no longer exists, while the sources for Aminoff were destroyed in the Great Fire of Turku in 1827.[64] We must therefore take on trust Wikman's accuracy in the timing (queen Margrethe and king Eric) obtained from some authentic source reflecting what Sihvo had presented in court over two centuries earlier. The detail in Wikman's narrative suggests that it is not total invention, but reflects genuine knowledge of the High Court proceedings. It is quite plausible that a two-centuries-old document still existed in 1846, and Wikman lived in the very region of the lands (*moisio*) under study. Even so we cannot rule out the possibility

[63] Prosopographical concerns were expressed by Impola, *op.cit.* (2011), 203. The Tilas chart indicates this Johannes as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Jon, eldest son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. I have accepted this tradition. In the 1551 list of reduced nobles Jussi Råland held 1/6 skat in "Pöölinpyy". I find heirs of this Johannes to hold lands of Husula real-estate stem no.2, Junnila.

[64] Aminoff, *op.cit* (1827), 26; Wikman, *op.cit.* (1846), 6.

that he or his source misinterpreted something. The Aminoff 1827 testimony corroborates some of Wikman (although not the timing) and is based on his reading in Turku itself of the then-extant 1625 High Court Proceedings documents.

A rough calculation suggests that six agnatic generations is very plausible. An adult descendant in 1625 via the eldest brother would be around sixth generation from the *c.*1400 forefather. This gives a generational average of approximately 35 years. Therefore, even without the six generations claim by Sihvo, an independent estimate might well reach the same conclusion of six generations from the early reign of king Eric XIII.[65]

One other question is whether Sihvo Jussinpoika reliably remembered and recounted his precise descent from the claimed forefather. 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, namely 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 through which the hereditary main residence or property had passed tends to be remembered for longer, perhaps even as much as ten generations as a recitation of family lore. On this basis I see no forceful reasons to reject the number six.

Were this Matias Eeronpoika family's medieval members recorded historically (which they are not), it would be a male-line dynasty of the "second-oldest" category of Finland, comparable with any of the still existing oldest lineages in the *Ritarihuone* (nobility) of Finland (where the few oldest agnatic lineages can trace to their earliest historical forefathers living in the late 1400s; the vast majority of the *Ritarihuone* are '*parvenus*', with no attested agnatic root in the Middle Ages). However, since the earliest contemporarily documented forefathers in this clan are from the 1540s, they have a lower precedence. This Matias Eeronpoika family history is anyway somewhat more recent, by a couple of decades, than the Junkar and Vilken families, whose attested forefather was flourishing in the same region in 1383[66].

6. Miscellaneous branches claimed to be of this clan

Perttuli in Vilkki manor, Salmenkylä:

Tilas[67] copied a text indicating in a marginal note that Eerikki Kaarlenpoika Husgavel, nobleman, reported (8 June 1696) to governor Lindhielm that his neighbour in Salmenkylä, Perttuli Matinpoika Vilkki (*fl.*1684, 1696), lord of Vilkkilä manor in Salmenkylä (Römspyy) of $^{3}/_{8}$ mantal, was of the Piljerta family. Piljerta is not and cannot be the same agnatic line as the medieval Vilken of Vehkalahti.[68]

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[65] Contrary to some speculation, it is practically impossible that Matias Eeronpoika was active in *c.*1357 at the time when 'Pomeranian' noblemen came to Finland during the reign of Eric XII, Given that Matias Eeronpoika was active in the early 1400s during the reign of Eric XIII, his birth could have been around the 1370s.

[66] Lineages from Eerikki Lassenpoika who had acquired Reitkalli and Hietakylä in 1383 and 1396; Sjöström, *op.cit.* (2011), particularly p.427.

[67] Swedish Archive, *Genealogica* see footnote 6 above. An image of the document is included with the online edition of this journal.

[68] This Perttuli was presumably the youngest son of Matias Tuomonpoika Vilkki (*fl.*1611-*c.*1632), who had managed to increase the Vilkkilä manor to comprise ½ mantal. Matias

Matias Olavinpoika Piljerta:

He is listed as one gentleman with land, presumably in Pyöli, Vehkalahti, in the cavalry inspection of 1651.[69]

Pentti Petrinpoika Piljerta:

Otherwise unknown to me, he is mentioned in 1678 as having been authorised by his fellows in Vehkalahti to travel to Stockholm together with ensign Olavi Husgavel, to lodge the local gentry's pleas with the royal administration.[70] I have not managed to trace either Pentti Piljerta or Petteri Piljerta from relevant 17th century land records.

The Posa (Påsa) lineage of Kauskila, in Lappee district:

This lineage of rustic nobility lineage with tax-exempted landholdings in a neighbouring district had heraldry that was essentially the same as the 'Piljerta': a gloved hand holding an arrow which penetrates a heart. The lineage survived to at least the 1700s, and included provincial bureaucrats.[71]

7. Overall conclusions

The Roland family properties (*moisio*, traditional lands of Husula) support the idea of one root divided between three equal branches in accordance with the Nordic inheritance system. The same pattern of three brothers is shown in the Tilas chart (Fig 3) from *c.*1680. Despite the lack of direct contemporary historical evidence for them, I have here accepted the existence of three late-medieval sons of 'the Roland family'.

Contemporary records of Husula landowners from the 1540s and their patronymics show marked variance from the names in the Tilas chart, particularly its fourth generation, which is almost completely garbled. Chronological data effectively confirm that the Tilas chart condensed three to five generations into one, so that his chart is unreliable for the names of the late 15th and all of the 16th centuries. The fourth generation names from the Tilas chart should be ignored.

Additionally, the 18th century family trees collected by Tilas in 1769, showing various sub-branches of the clan comprising 7 families, are occasionally at variance with the Tilas chart, with differences of detail in the 17th century roots of the

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Tuomonpoika was presumably son of one Tuomas Simonpoika, lord of Vilkkilä in Salmenkylä (*fl.*1555-1574), who had by some unknown means managed to settle in allodial lands in Salmenkylä sometime after 1551, on lands presumably held there earlier by members of the Brand/Brandstaka clan. Tuomas Simonpoika was probably not of any direct agnatic lineage of the Salmenkylä families, neither Vilken nor Brand. A lot of mid-1500s Brand and Brandstaka lands in Salmenkylä seems the only possible explanation as a source for Matias Vilken's ½ mantal estate in the early 1600s, for example because to the end of the 1600s, the entire Salmenkylä was hereditary tax-exempted allodial land, except for the ½ mantal estate (previously in ownership of the Horn) after 1614, and a small amount of "deserted" land $^{5}/_{24}$ mantal maximum.

69 Eeva-Liisa Oksanen & Markku Oksanen, *op.cit.* (2003), 101.

70 Oksanen & Oksanen, *op.cit. (*2003), 109.

71 The Posa lineage landowners were recorded by Impola, *op.cit.* (2011), with the page references as shown: Nuutti Posa, of Kauskila, pp.237-8; Yrjänä Posa, p.224; Yrjänä Yrjönpoika Posa; Matias Posa, lord of Niemi in Jääski, p.270; Niiles Posa, of Kauskila, pp.311-2; Sihvo Nuutinpoika Posa, sheriff of Lappee, and Krister Posa, lord of Possila in Kauskila, pp.79-80.

various sub-branches. Mistakes are also found in these trees when comparing with contemporary documentation for people earlier than a couple of generations before those still alive in 1769. The last decade of the 1600s is somewhat unreliable.

I propose here comprehensive tables of descent for the identified branches of the Rolandh and the Tepponen through the 1400s-1700s. My approach is to interpret the inheritance patterns of landholdings and then use the Tilas chart for clues to indicate which of the unhistorical three brothers was ancestor of which later landholding and its lineage. The tables in Appendices I and II present a retrograde reconstruction from 16th and 17th century attestations back towards a derived outline through the 1400s and early 1500s. The starting points are the historically supported branch lineages from the 1500s to the present day more or less as given by Rosén, Korhonen and Oksanen & Oksanen.[72] These are extended by reconstruction to the inferred three brothers in the 1400s of the Roland family of Husula, aiming to provide greater internal consistency than Tilas. The reconstruction involved discarding some names in the Tilas chart and expanding some of those lineages.

I have annotated the tables to show which lineages have been checked by Y–DNA, and which not. This provides a basis for informed expansion of DNA analysis to the yet uncharted branches of this clan.

The tables extend beyond medieval times to more modern descents as the latter are of key importance in the reconstruction of the medieval branching. The details of sub-branch-level mantal fragments, related to portions of 'real-estate stem' unit allow confirmation of earlier records based on the more accurate and detailed data from the 19th century, and will provide a basis for other researchers to check validity of the work.

Contemporary documentation starts essentially from the 1540s. Earlier medieval people are historically undocumented including Matias Eeronpoika and Roland Matinpoika, as well as the latter's sons Joonas, Niiles and Sihvo. In contrast, the more extensive sections from the 1500s to 1800s are based on relatively solid published data, mostly from Korhonen.[73] These are included here also to give context for the DNA analysis and enable the reader to check that line of reasoning.

The earlier sections aim to display the late-medieval reconstruction in context of the more certain later material. The tables also summarise the findings in this study regarding the reconstruction of the slightly difficult period between *c*.1680 and the early 1700s.

In regard to the Y-DNA evidence, it is clear there are two distinct haplotypes, so that the branches cannot all descend from a single medieval male, but from two distinct late-medieval men. Jaakkola and Heikkilä do match, showing a Baltic haplotype. The Karelian-haplotype Tepponen, represents a distinct agnatic lineage from that of Jaakkola and Heikkilä. These two haplotypes are separated by a few millennia. I have suggested that the Baltic N1c1 haplotype would represent the 15th century forefather, and that the Karelian haplotype of the Tepponen comes from a son-in-law in one of the three branches.

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72 Rosén, *op.cit.* (1920); Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981); Oksanen & Oksanen, *op.cit. (*2003).

73 Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), although in several cases I have re-organised the grafting of sub-branches onto the late-medieval stem.

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Scanned images of some of the documents cited in this article may be found at the following URL (see footnotes 33, 49, 67 & 79, plus main text at pp.543-4, 546-7):
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Appendix I: The Rolandh lineage reconstructed

1 Eerik, the forefather, known solely from the patronymic of his non-historical son

1.1 Matias Eeronpoika, legendarily acquired Husula (*temp*. queen Margrethe Valdemarsdatter and king Eric XIII)

1.1.1 Roland Matinpoika. His legendary baptismal name is afterwards visible as recorded byname of several 1500s members of this clan. Either he or his father Matias is presumably the one referred to as 'Ukko' of Husula

1.1.1.1 Joonas, 'Junni', senior co-heir of what became known as Husula,

1.1.1.1.1 unknown name, heir of Junnila in Husula

1.1.1.1.1.1 [Antti], heir of Junnila in Husula (b. bef. 1500; d. bef. 1546)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Johannes [Antinpoika] 'Jussi' Råland, lord of Junnila in Husu-Pyöli (*fl.*1546-1570; b. bef. *c.*1520)[74]

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 one of the (elder) sons (b. after *c.*1540)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Roland [Roland of Junnila, heir of ¼ Junnila and Knuuttila] (b. bef. 1600, possibly 1590s, probably died before his presumed uncle Sihvo, or in the 1620s) Y-DNA shows he was agnate with the Heikkilä in Husula; his name is known solely from the patronymic of his historically-attested son; his father was not necessarily a Niiles; my hypothesis is that his father or paternal grandfather would have been one of elder brothers of squire Sihvo Jussinpoika of Junnila (b. bef. *c.*1570; d. aft. 1633); DNA shows this Roland cannot have been a male-line member of the Tepponen and consequently his father cannot have been Niiles of Tepponen.

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Jaakko Rolandinpoika, lord of a fourth moiety [of Knuuttila-Junnila] (b. bef. *c.*1620; *fl.*1638-1672; d.aft.1672).[75] The Jaakkola house in Husula presumably derived its name from him.

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2 Niiles Jaakonpoika, lord of a fourth moiety (of Knuuttila-Junnila) *ie* Jaakkola (*fl.*1681-1688; b. bef. *c.*1640; d. aft. 1688)[76]

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1 Sihvo Niilonpoika Piljerta, lord of Jaakkola rustholli (*fl.*1688-1690; b. *c.*1660s)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1.1 Eerikki Sihvonpoika Pihl (b. *c.*1690; d. 29 July 1752 Hamina)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1.1.1 Samuli Sihvo Pihl (b. *c.*1723; d. 4 June 1772 Hamina)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.2 Roland Niilonpoika, 'Rolof', 'Olavi', Piljerta, lord of Jaakkola rustholli (b. *c.*1660; *fl.*1693-1712)[77]

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3 Matias Niilonpoika Piljerta, co-lord of Jaakkola rustholli (*fl.*1693-1697; b. bef. *c.*1670)

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[74] One Jussi Antinpoika recorded in 1566 as landowner in Husa-Pööli, was likeliest this gentleman. The Tilas chart indicates this Johannes as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Jon, eldest son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. I have accepted this tradition. I find heirs of this Johannes 'Jussi' to hold lands of Husula real-estate stem no.2, Junnila; *cf* Impola (2011), 203.

[75] First historically attested member of the Jaakkola branch.

[76] The Tilas chart (Fig 3, based on genealogy drawn in *c.*1680) indicates this Niiles as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Niiles, second son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. As such the Jaakkola branch is adopted to Korhonen 1981 p.151. I have chosen to discard the Tilas suggestion for late-1500s-early-1600s-filiation and instead argue this to have branched from the Junnila. The Jaakkola chart drawn by Tilas in December 1769 claims that this Niiles's father were Roland (the name of his grandfather). On the other hand, the Tilas chart (fig.3) reports that his father was Jaakko Rolandinpoika, who also is in record in contemporary documentation. The latter filiation is deemed more trustworthy. The 1769 work is all too late to reliably reflect the correct filiation in the mid-1600s, over a century earlier.

[77] Ulvelin, *op.cit.* (2003), 9, table 20

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2 Johannes Matinpoika Piljerta, co-lord of Jaakkola rustholli (b.*c.*1702; *fl.*1722, 1730; d. 14 Oct 1742 Jaakkola, Husula)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.3 Sihvo Matinpoika Piljerta, lord of Jaakkola rustholli in Husula (b. *c.*1690; d. 1750)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.3.1 Sihvo Sihvonpoika Piljerta, lord of Jaakkola rustholli (b.*c.*1720; *fl.*1782; d. 29 Apr 1787 Jaakkola, Husula) from him is descended that Jaakkola male whose screening-grade Y DNA test shows them as agnates of the Råland stem

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.3.2 Matias Sihvonpoika Piljerta, lord of Pyötsaari (b.*c.*1725; *fl.*1771; d.15 Febr 1773 Jaakkola, Husula) acquired in 1771 the island named Pyötsaari, from him descends the Piljerta of Pyötsaari whose 67-marker Y DNA test shows them as agnates of the Råland stem

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2 Hannes Jussinpoika, lord of Junnila in Husula (*fl.c.*1570-1590)[78]

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1 Johannes Hannunpoika of Junnila (*fl.*1613)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.3 Martti Jussinpoika of Husu-Pyöli (*fl.*1562-1565) [Impola (2011), 294], Tuomas Jussinpoika of Junnila (*fl.*1581) [Korhonen (1981), 157] and Yrjänä Jussinpoika of Junnila (*fl.*1603) [Korhonen (1981), 157]

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.5 Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula, lord of Junnila and Knuuttila (*fl.*1618-1633; b. bef. *c.*1570)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.5.1 Sihvo Sihvonpoika Piljerta, lord of Junnila and Knuuttila (b. *c.*1610; *fl.*1638-1651)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.5.1.1 Topias Sihvonpoika of Junnila (b. *c.*1640s; *fl.*1688-1694)

1.1.1.1.1.1.1.5.2 Martti Sihvonpoika Piljerta, lord of Junnila rustholli (b. est 1630; *fl.*1653-1708), his daughter and heiress (m *c.*1680) passed the Junnila to another House.[79]

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[78] Impola (2011), 138-139, Hannes Jussinpoika of Husula was listed in the 1571 Silver Tax Roll which catalogued payments that took place presumably in 1570.

[79] The Junnila table drawn by Tilas in December 1769 claims that this Martti's son-in-law Iisakki would have been his son and the descendants continued the agnatic line. However near-contemporary records correctly illuminate the son-in-law's background and marriage to this family. Either the 1769 work is too late to reflect reliably the correct paternity of the man in the 1680s, almost a century earlier, or the descendants attempt to claim another agnatic ancestry than what it truthfully was.

Which Sihvo was the father of Martti Piljerta, lord of Junnila in Husula (*fl*.1653-1708)? Martti's father was not Sihvo Sihvonpoika Piljerta, lord of Junnila (*fl*.1638-1651), but rather the latter's father, squire Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula, lord of Knuuttila and Junnila *moisio* (b.*c.*1570; *fl.*1618-1633), according to notes in an old document specified below. The paternity is identically shown in the Tilas chart (Fig 3) which was drawn during Martti's lifetime (*c.*1680) and to which Martti was undoubtedly one of informants.

Daniel Tilas copied many routine documents in the manorial archive of the Husgavel of Salmenkylä. One such was a document from the 1623 High Court proceedings, listing a number of local noblemen summoned, one of whom was squire Sihvo Jussinpoika of Husula, lord of Knuuttila and Junnila (*fl.*1618-1633). The subpoena had several small marginal notes written in a different hand, presumably decades later. One of the notes read: "*Sigfredh Jönsson til Husula, war Mårthen Sigfridsson Pijlhiertas fader til Hussula*". A facsimile of the document is linked to the online edition of this journal.

Martti Piljerta was incumbent lord of Junnila manor in the time of the Great Reduction, around 1680, and was one who had to defend the local squirearchy's privileges, including presentation of an array of old documentation about their birth to ancient nobility with privileges from time immemorial. In the 1680s, Martti Piljerta was obviously already at least fifty, and possibly older. His daughter and heiress gave birth to many of her children (grandchildren of Martti) in the 1680s. Martti lived at least up to 1708, being in record as lord because his maternal grandsons were evidently too young for legal responsibilities/obligations until 1708 and the son-in-law had died in the 1690s. In 1708 Martti Piljerta was perhaps about eighty (and possibly even older).

1.1.1.2 Niiles Rolandinpoika (because of the plausible chronology of Matias Eerikinpoika and Roland Matinpoika, this Niiles should have been born before 1450) The Tilas chart indicates that all the Tepponen were descended from him, whereas Y-DNA quashes any possibility of unbroken male-line descent. See Appendix II.[80]

1.1.1.3 Sihvo Rolandinpoika [my assessment: he was heir of what became Peltola]

1.1.1.3.2 unknown name, zero, one or a few generations

1.1.1.3.2.1 Hannes [of Peltola] (b. bef. *c.*1500; d. presumably bef. 1549)[81]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1 Antti Hannunpoika, bynamed Råland, lord of Peltola (*fl.*1549-1561) [Impola 2011 p.41, Korhonen 1981 p.153]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1 ? Matias, presumably heir of Peltola (b. bef. *c.*1540; died presumably bef. 1562)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1 Tuomas Matinpoika, co-lord of Peltola (b. *c.*1560; *fl.*1589-1613)[82]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1 Kristo(pher) Tuomonpoika, lord of Peltola (b. *c.*1590s; *fl.*1618-1650)[83]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1 Tuomas Ristonpoika, lord of Peltola (b. *c.*1635; *fl.*1653-1696)[84]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2 Samuli Tuomonpoika Piljerta, lord of Peltola (b. est 1660s; *fl.*1688..1712)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1 Eero Samunpoika (b. est 1690; *fl.*1723-1725)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.2 Johannes Samunpoika (b. est 1700; *fl.*1725)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3 Heikki Samunpoika Piljerta, lord of Peltola (b.*c.*1706; d.28 Jan 1753 Peltola, Husula)[85]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2 Johannes Heikinpoika Piljerta, lord of Peltola (b. 20 June 1744 Piljerta, Husula; d.2 Apr 1789 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.1 Heikki Juhonpoika, lord of Peltola (b. 6 Nov 1770 Peltola, Husula; d.31 Dec 1831 Husula)

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[80] The Tepponen lineage (Appendix II) appears not to be of unbroken male-line descent from Niiles Rolandinpoika, contrary to what the Tilas chart (Fig 3) claims.

[81] On chronological grounds, Hannes may well have been grandson of the non-historical Sihvo son of the eponymous Roland, or could be his son if he was fathered late in the father's life.

[82] The Tilas chart indicates this Tuomas as direct descendant of the unhistorical Sihvo of Peltola, third son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. As such the branch is adopted to Korhonen 1981 p.159. I have accepted that tradition, also because of this Peltola branch's attested grouping into real-estate stem no.1, Peltola-Heikkilä.

[83] Present in the 1618 Krus roll (Krus 1618) p.84 and p.103. Risto of Peltola owns $^1/_3$ of the stem no.1 lands in 1618 according to Krus p.84 (although in the 1800s, Risto's clearly extant heirs owned merely $^1/_7$), while Antti Antinpoika and his presumed great-nephew Paavali Heikinpoika together own $^2/_3$, the latter being forefather of the Heikkilä branch (whose property later was $^3/_7$ of stem no.1). If Risto was not heir of a third brother of the brothers Sihvo and Antti, then the division $^1/_3$ vs $^2/_3$ gives rise to an idea that the smaller are heirs of a son-in-law, his wife having inherited $^1/_3$ while her only brother inherited $^2/_3$. However, the same outcome could also occur in unbroken agnatic lines if there were originally three brothers and the heir of one of those three inherited additionally from an uncle who remained heirless. Whether the 1700s Peltola branch were agnates or were descended from a son-in-law, might be testable by Y-DNA provided Peltola male-line descendants still exist.

[84] The Heikkilä chart drawn in December 1769 by Tilas, claims that Paavali was the name of this Tuomas' father. Instead, the Tilas chart (Fig 3, based on genealogy drawn in *c.*1680) reports that his patronymic was Kristonpoika and that his father was Risto Tuomonpoika, who also is in record in contemporary documentation. The latter filiation is deemed more trustworthy. The 1769 work is all too late to reliably reflect the correct filiation in the early 1600s, well over a century earlier.

[85] Henrikki Piljerta and his agnatic successors held a small moiety ($^1/_7$) of Husula no.1 (the moiety was known as Peltola) up to mid-1800s.

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.2 Johannes Juhonpoika, lord of Peltola (b. 2 June 1773 Peltola, Husula; d.18 Febr 1846 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.2.1 Miikkael Juhonpoika, heir of Peltola (b. 19 Aug 1803 Peltola, Husula; d.18 June 1806 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.3 Martti Juhonpoika, of Peltola (b. 28 Oct 1782 Peltola, Husula; d.1 Sept 1839 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.3.2 Matias Martinpoika, lord of Peltola (b. 11 Apr 1817 Peltola, Husula; d.18 Dec 1848 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.3.2.1 Johannes Matinpoika, heir of Peltola (b. 5 July 1843 Peltola-Heikkilä, Husula; d.14 July 1849 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.4 Eero Juhonpoika (b. 11 March 1773; d.aft 1805)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.5 Matias Juhonpoika Piljerta, puusniekka of Naakka of Sivatti (b. 1784; d.14 Febr 1846 Töytäri, Sivatti-Römspyy)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.5.1 Eero Matinpoika Piljerta, *jure uxoris* of Töytäri of Sivatti (b. 4 May 1810 Naakka, Sivatti; d.3 May 1877 Töytäri, Sivatti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.5.1.2 Kaarle Eeronpoika Stöders, of Kotka (b. 7 Sept 1851 Töytäri, Sivatti, fl.1890s)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.3.2.5.1.2.4 his sons: Aleksanteri Konstantin Stöders (b. 11 Sept 1878 Vehkalahti; probably drowned in Oct 1895); Oskari Reinhold Stöders (b. 14 Febr 1881 Husula); Vihtori Stöders (b. 3 Dec 1883 Kotka); Edvart Stöders (b. 6 July 1886 Kotka)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.2 ?Matias Tuomonpoika (d. bef. 1657)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.3 ?Ambrosius Tuomonpoika, of Peltola in Husula (*fl.*1640-1680 - b. *c.*1610s; d. aft. 1680)[86]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.1.1.3.1 Tuomas Prusinpoika of Husula (*fl.*1681-1694)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2 Sihvo Antinpoika Råland, lord of Peltola in Husa-Pyöli (b. *c.*1540; *fl.*1562-1581)[87]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1 Henrikki Sihvonpoika 'Heikki', co-lord of Peltola (b. *c.*1570; *fl.*1620-1624)[88]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1 Paavali Heikinpoika [of Peltola], lord of Heikkilä in Husula (b bef *c.*1600 *fl.*1618-1646) 1618 Krus roll among cavalry, allodial ownership since 1626

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1 Henrikki Paavonpoika [of Peltola], lord of Heikkilä in Husula (b.bef.*c.*1620; *fl.*1650-1662), from whom the agnatic Heikkilä branch is descended, including the Heikkilä whose 67-marker Y DNA test shows them as agnates of the Råland stem.[89]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1 Johannes Heikinpoika Piljerta, lord of Heikkilä (*fl.*1663-1707; b. est 1645)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1 Heikki Juhonpoika Piljerta, lord of Heikkilä (*fl.*1697-1712; b. est 1670)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1 Johannes Heikinpoika Piljerta, lord of Heikkilä (*fl.*1746-1764; b.*c.*1697; d.29 Nov 1750 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Johannes Juhonpoika Piljerta, lord of Heikkilä (*fl.*1752; b.*c.*1725; d.29 Aug 1790 Heikkilä, Husula)

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[86] According to joint liabilities of cavalry service, Ambrosius held a moiety of Husula no.1 (Peltola-Heikkilä). Various genealogies have attached Ambrosius' filiation to different branches of the clan; Korhonen (1981), 154. This designation here (with a big question mark) is based on to which stem number his real estate belonged in terms of joint liability for equipping a mounted warrior.

[87] Impola (2011), 347; Korhonen (1981), 154.

[88] The Tilas chart indicates this Henrikki as direct descendant of the unhistorical Sihvo, third son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. As such the branch is adopted to Korhonen (1981) 154. Heirs of this branch are attestedly traceable in real-estate stem no.1.

[89] Henrikki Piljerta and his branch held $^{3}/_{7}$ of Husula real-estate stem no.1 (the moiety was known as Heikkilä).

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Johannes Juhonpoika Piljerta, lord of Heikkilä (b. 12 March 1760 Heikkilä, Husula; d.13 Febr 1819 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Eero Juhonpoika, lord of Heikkilä (b. 30 March 1783 Heikkilä, Husula; d.16 Aug 1829 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Matias Eeronpoika, lord of Heikkilä (b. 9 Sept 1825 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1 Kaarle Kustaa, of Heikkilä (b. 3 Dec 1848 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.4 Aleksanteri Matinpoika Heikkilä (b. 28 July 1869 Heikkilä, Husula; d.10 Oct 1934 Husula, Vehkalahti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.4.3 Einari Santerinpoika Heikkilä, *jure uxoris* of moiety of Tepponen of Husula (b. 11 Sept 1901 Heikkilä, Husula; d.2 Nov 1983 Husula, Vehkalahti), from him is descended that Heikkilä whose 67-marker Y-DNA test shows them as agnates of the Råland stem

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.3 Jeremias Juhonpoika, of Heikkilä (b. 13 March 1799 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.1.3.2 Anttoni Jeremianpoika, of Heikkilä (b. 21 June 1841 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2 Tuomas Juhonpoika Piljerta, of Mäntlahti (bc 1728; d.c1790s)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1 Tuomas Tuomonpoika, of Mäntlahti (b. 22 Aug 1768 Yrjäinen, Mäntlahti; d.22 June 1823 Yrjäinen, Mäntlahti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.2.1.2 Johannes Tuomonpoika, of Mäntlahti (b. 21 June 1815 Yrjäinen, Mäntlahti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3 Antti Juhonpoika Piljerta, lord of Takala of Husula (*fl.*1765; bc 1736; d.24 Apr 1816 Heikkilä, Husula), his maternal granddaughter brought in 1810s the Takala to another branch of the same House

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3 Henrik Heikinpoika Piljerta, of Rakuuna-Heikkilä (b.*c.*1700; *fl.*1738, *fl.*1746; d.25 Apr 1778 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3.1 Heikki Heikinpoika Piljerta, of Rakuuna-Heikkilä (b.*c.*1730; *fl.*1778; d.10 May 1795 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3.1.1 Tuomas Heikinpoika Piljerta, heir of Rakuuna-Heikkilä (b. 2 Dec 1754 Heikkilä, Husula; d.16 Nov 1790 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3.1.1.1 Heikki Tuomonpoika, of Rakuuna-Heikkilä (b. 1784; d.10 July 1824 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3.1.1.1.1 Antti Heikinpoika, of Rakuuna-Heikkilä (b. 5 Nov 1819 Heikkilä, Husula; d.6 Aug 1859 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.1.1.3.1.1.1.1.1 Aleksanteri Antinpoika, heir of Rakuuna-Heikkilä (b. 20 May 1855 Heikkilä, Husula; d.1 Apr 1859 Heikkilä, Husula), his sister brought the Rakuuna-Heikkilä to another agnatic house

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.3 Johannes Juhonpoika Piljerta, of tavern of Husula (b. est 1680; *fl.*1709..1737; d.aft 1737)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.2 Kaarle Heikinpoika Piljerta (*fl.*1693; b. est 1650)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.2.1 Heikki Kallenpoika Piljerta, lord of Vanhatalo of Heikkilä (b.*c.*1677; *fl.*1728..1736; d.7 Dec 1741 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.2.1.1 Kaarle Heikinpoika Piljerta, lord of Vanhatalo of Heikkilä (b.*c.*1705; *fl.*1738; d.26 March 1749 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.2.1.1.1 Kaarle Kallenpoika Piljerta, lord of Vanhatalo of Heikkilä (b.*c.*1735; *fl.*1748; d.1806)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.1 Eero Kallenpoika Piljerta, heir of Vanhatalo of Heikkilä (b. 16 Apr 1764 Heikkilä, Husula; d.19 Febr 1791 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.2 Aatami Kallenpoika, lord of Vanhatalo of Heikkilä (b. 19 Nov 1778 Heikkilä, Husula; d.30 Jan 1811 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.1 Eero Aataminpoika Piljerta, heir of Vanhatalo of Heikkilä (b. 1 May 1803 Heikkilä, Husula; d.1 Aug 1803 Heikkilä, Husula), his mother passed the Vanhatalo of Husula to another agnatic house (later known as Pajula) which so misleadingly took the name Piljerta

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.1.1.2 Aatami Kallenpoika Piljerta (b. 24 Oct 1743 Heikkilä, Husula; d.aft 1769)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2 Eero Kallenpoika Piljerta, co-lord of moiety of Heikkilä (b.*c.*1680; d.22 March 1742 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.1 Johannes Eeronpoika Piljerta, co-lord of moiety of Heikkilä (b.*c.*1707; d.3 Apr 1764 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2 Eero Eeronpoika Piljerta, *jure uxoris* of Kolsila-Teinpyöli (bc 1717; d.25 March 1777 Töytäri, Teinpyöli)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.1 Tuomas Eeronpoika Piljerta, lord of Kolsila-Töytäri (b. 17 Febr 1747 Töytäri; d.17 Sept 1812 Töytäri, Teinpyöli)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2 Eero Eeronpoika Piljerta, lord of Kolsila-Töytäri (b. 29 Apr 1749 Teinpyöli; d.12 May 1819 Teinpyöli)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2.3 Tuomas Eeronpoika Piljerta-Brandstaka-Stöder (b. 19 Nov 1793 Teinpyöli, Vehkalahti; d.2 Jan 1855 Vehkalahti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2.3.1 Johannes Tuomonpoika Piljerta-Brandstaka-Stöder, lord of Kolsila-Teinpyöli, alderman (b. 22 June 1817 Vehkalahti; d.29 Oct 1890 Vehkalahti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.2.3.2 Eero Tuomonpoika Piljerta-Brandstaka-Stöder, lord of Kolsila-Teinpyöli (b. 15 Nov 1819 Vehkalahti; d.7 Jan 1897 Vehkalahti)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.2.4 Miikkael Eeronpoika Piljerta, of Liikkala (b. 27 Sept 1756 Hamina; d.13 March 1831 Ahola, Liikkala)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3 Kaarle Eeronpoika Piljerta, *jure uxoris* of Peltola of Husula (bc 1725; d.28 Nov 1789 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3.1 Samuli Kallenpoika Piljerta, of Pyöli (b. 19 Aug 1756 Peltola, Husula; drowned 12 June 1796 Husupyöli)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3.1.2 Sihvo Samunpoika, *jure uxoris* of Takala of Husula (b. 14 Febr 1785 Pukkila, Husupyöli; d.12 Oct 1858 Takala, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3.1.2.1 Kaarle Kustaa Piljerta, lord of Takala of Husula (b. 15 Aug 1820 Heikkilä, Husula; d.28 Febr 1896 Heikkilä, Husula) – his daughter brought the Takala to another agnatic house

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3.1.2.1.1 Matti Takala, of Valkeala (b. 4 Febr 1851 Heikkilä, Husula; d.aft 1879)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3.1.2.1.1 Juho Takala, of Savonlinna (b. 14 Sept 1854 Takala-Heikkilä, Husula; d.aft 1895)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.2.1.1.1.2.2.3.3 Matias Kallenpoika Piljerta, of Saviniemi (b. 6 Febr 1769 Peltola, Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.3 Antti Antinpoika Råland, lord of Peltola in Husa-Pyöli (b.*c.*1550; *fl.1575*-1582)[90]

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.4.1.2.1 ?? Roland 'Olavi'/'Rolof' Sakarinpoika (*fl.*1682-1697; d.*c.*1698)[91]

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[90] The Tilas chart indicates this Antti as direct descendant of Sihvo, third son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. About some prosopographical identifications of Antti Antinpoika (*fl.1575*-1582), see Impola (2011), 34. One Antti Antinpoika (*fl.*1618, 1620, 1639) was listed in the 1618 Krus Roll, the 1620 Land Register and the 1639 *Rälssi* inspection (in Summa). He is grouped to share cavalry obligations with others of Husula stem no.1 whereby he presumably was from Sihvo's branch.

[91] The Heikkilä chart drawn in December 1769 by Tilas indicates this Roland as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Sihvo, third son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland, via the Heikkilä branch. Korhonen (1981), 151, has not accepted that, instead placing him to Jaakkola branch. I have accepted the Tilas suggestion, chiefly because of this branch's attested grouping to real-estate stem no.1 in their joint liability of cavalry service. On the

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.4.1.2.1.1 Jaakko Rolaminpoika (b. est 1681; d.10 Febr 1742 Husula)

1.1.1.3.2.1.1.4.1.2.1.2 Sakari Rolaminpoika (b. est 1683; d.Aug 1743 during wartime in Vehkalahti)[92]

Appendix II: The Tepponen lineage reconstructed[93]

1.1.1.2.4.1 Niiles Rolandh (*fl.*1543-1558)[94] Niiles' first name and chronology would be consistent with his being maternal grandson of 1.1.1.2 the non-historical Niiles, second son of the non-historical but eponymous Roland

1.1.1.2.4.1.2 unknown name

1.1.1.2.4.1.2.1 ? Sihvo

1.1.1.2.4.1.2.1.1 Tuomas Sihvonpoika Tepponen (b.c.1580; *fl.*1603-1639; d. aft. 1639) recorded in 1618 Krus roll as 'Tappain'

1.1.1.2.4.1.3 Martti Niilonpoika, by-named Husu, by-named Rolandh (b. est 1530s; *fl.*1558-1603; d. aft. 1603)[95]

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1 Vehvilä Martinpoika 'Jovald' (*fl.*1613-1626; d. aft. 1626) 1618 Krus roll

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1 Miikkael Vehvilänpoika (b. est 1610s; *fl.*1638-1672; d. aft. 1672) [Miikkael's descendants held as much as ½ of the Husula no.3, *ie* half of the old Tepponen; there is an inconsistency because Vehvilä Martinpoika is attested in Krus (1618), p.84, with merely a third of old Tepponen, not with a half)]

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1.1 Vehvilä Mikonpoika 'Joel' Piljerta, lord of Joffel (*fl.*1680-1710; b.*c.*1640; d. aft. 1710)[96]

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1.1.1 Heikki Vehvilänpoika (*fl.*1697; b. bef. *c.*1670; d. 12 Febr 1742 Husula), his sister Eeva was heiress

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1.3 Jaakko Mikonpoika, heir of Mikkola (b.*c.*1650s; *fl.*1682; d. bef. 1700)[97]

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1.3.1 Jaakko Jaakonpoika Piljerta, lord of Mikkola (b. aft. *c.*1680), his daughter (m. 1730 at latest) was heiress of moiety of Mikkola in Husula

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1.4 Eero Mikonpoika, lord of Joffel (bc 1660; *fl.*1682-1712; d. aft. 1712)

1.1.1.2.4.1.3.1.1.4.3 Eero Eeronpoika Piljerta (possibly the one who was b. *c.*1680; d. 16 May 1739 Husula), his daughter (m. 1744) was heiress of Joffel moiety of Mikkola and carried onwards the name Joffel

1.1.1.2.4.1.4 Heikki Niilonpoika, of Rolanspyy (*fl.*1556-1562; b. *c.*1530s)[98]

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basis of this Rolof's attested patronymic in contemporary documentation, his father was not Paavali Piljerta (as suggested by Tilas), instead the father's name was Sakari.

92 Ulvelin, *op.cit.* (2003), 8, table 13.

93 Probably cognatic descendants of the 1.1.1.2 Niiles Rolandinpoika in Appendix I. The ownership of the land value of 1/3 of original lands of Husula, strongly supports this descent and inheritance.

94 Identified with the contract tenant of Vehkalahti flöte pastures of the 1540s, Korhonen (1981), 149.

95 Impola (2011), 297, annotates years 1575, 1580, 1581 – 1558 landowner in 'Pukkipyöli', 1566 landowner in Husu-Pööli, 1571 silver tax roll; Korhonen (1981), 149, and Impola (2011), 297, attach him as landowner already in 1555

96 Ulvelin, *op.cit.* (2003), 9, table 15.

97 The Joffel table drawn in December 1769 by Tilas, has an incorrect baptismal name for the father of this Jaakko, and has conflated his brother Eero and the latter's son Eero to one single man.

98 Impola (2011), 166; Korhonen (1981), 148; Heikki is first mentioned in a 1556 cavalry inspection roll where he is presumably a young soldier, fulfilling the service on behalf of his family.

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1 Eero Heikinpoika, lord in Husula (b. est 1570; *fl.*1603-1626; d. aft. 1626) 1618 Krus roll

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1 Martti Eeronpoika, lord in Husula (b. est 1600; *fl.*1624)[99]

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1 Niiles Martinpoika Piljerta (b. est 1640; *fl.*1684-1710; d. aft. 1710).[100] Niiles surprisingly also held a share of Husula no.1; 1694 rustholli catalogue[101]

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1 Sihvo Niilonpoika Piljerta, heir of Tepponen (b. *c.*1660; *fl.*1688-1694; d. aft. 1694, bef. 1700, predeceased his father) [Korhonen (1981), 150]

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.1 Simo Sihvonpoika (b. aft. *c.*1680; *fl.*1725-1733)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2 Samuli Sihvonpoika Piljerta[102], lord of Tepponen in Husula Three (b. aft. *c.*1680; *fl.*1712; d. 15 Dec 1748 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.1 Samuli Samunpoika (d. young)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.2 Niiles Samunpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula Three (b. *c.*1710; *fl.*1782; d. 24 Apr 1789 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.2.1 Niiles Niilonpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula Three (b. *c.*1736; d. 16 Jan 1811 Tepponen, Husula) his daughter brought the moiety of 1/20 of Tepponen of Husula Three to another House

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.2.2 Johannes Niilonpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula Three (b. 27 Nov 1751 Tepponen, Husula; d. 29 March 1828 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.2.2.1 Matias Juhonpoika of Tepponen (b. 31 Dec 1794 Tepponen, Husula; d. 8 March 1870 Husula)[103]

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.1 Johannes Matinpoika Tepponen, of Husula (b. 10 May 1817 Tepponen, Husula; d. 7 Apr 1892 Husula) from him descend those whose screening-grade Y-DNA test shows them as agnates of the Tepponen stem

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.1.2.2.2.1.4 Eerikki Matinpoika Tepponen (b. 7 Feb 1845 Tepponen, Husula; d. 5 Oct 1935 Husula), from him descend those whose 67-marker Y-DNA test shows them as agnates of the Tepponen stem

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2 Martti Niilonpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b.*c.*1680; *fl.*1700; *fl.*1711-1712; d. bef. *c.*1720)[104] married the heiress Eeva Vehviläntytär (Eeva

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[99] The Tepponen 1 chart drawn by Tilas in December 1769 claims that this Martti's father was another Martti. On the other hand, the Tilas chart (Fig 3, based on genealogy drawn in *c.*1680) reports that his father was Eero Heikinpoika of Husula, who also is on record in contemporary documentation. The latter filiation is deemed more trustworthy. The 1769 work is all too late to reliably reflect the correct filiation in the early 1600s, almost two centuries earlier.

[100] Niiles' abode was close to Salmenkylä in 1683.

[101] The lineage Eero Heikinpoika – Martti Eeronpoika – to this Niiles, is from Korhonen (1981), 148; also based on two family trees recorded by Tilas (*cf* footnote 100), and I regard it as slightly uncertain, chiefly because there is apparently a lengthy interval (*c.*1625-*c.*1680) when neither Martti nor Niiles of this supposed branch are attested in preserved records as far as they have been systematically studied.

[102] A recorded key about the 1700s branches of the Tepponen: Samuli Sihvonpoika of Tepponen (d.1748) who (later) resided at Tepponen of Husula Three, was mentioned in the 1712 Poll Register as son of a (deceased) brother of Martti Niilonpoika of Tepponen of Husula One. In the 1700 Poll Register, Samuli's mother (her own name is not explicitly recorded) is mentioned as widowed daughter-in-law of the elderly Niiles of Tepponen (*fl.*1684-1710), being the widow of his deceased son Sihvo (*fl.*1688-1694). Samuli's branch held 3/10 of the Husula no.3, *ie* 30% of the old Tepponen.

[103] Matias' branch held ¼ of Husula Three in the late 1800s, the biggest share of the old Tepponen allodium.

[104] Martti somehow received 3/7 of the Husula no.1 (Peltola-Heikkilä) which formed the other Tepponen - and did not hold anything of the Husula no.3 *ie* the old Tepponen; about his family, see Ulvelin, *op.cit.* (2003), 10, tables 22 and 23.

Joelintytär) Piljerta, of the 'Jovald' branch of the Husu (b.*c.*1685; *fl.*1722-1730; d. 11 Jan 1760 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1 Martti Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b.*c.*1709; *fl.*1737-1773; d. 27 Aug 1774 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.1 Martti Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b.*c.*1730; *fl.*1773..1778; d.12 Apr 1779 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.1.1 Henrikki Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b. 31 March 1764 Husula, Vehkalahti; d.10 Dec 1838 Husula, Vehkalahti)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.1.1.2 Henrikki Henrikinpoika, heir of Tepponen in Husula One (d 1794 as young)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.2 Eerikki Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b. 2 May 1746 Tepponen, Husula; *fl.*1773-1791; d.16 March 1791 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.2.1 Eerikki Erkinpoika, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b. 27 Febr 1776 Tepponen, Husula; d.17 Oct 1840 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.2.1.1 Johannes Erkinpoika (b. 15 June 1812 Tepponen, Husula; d.24 March 1853 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.2.1.1.1 Anttoni Juhonpoika Tepponen (b. 11 Jan 1836 Tepponen, Husula; d.12 May 1868 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3. Niiles Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b. 22 March 1752 Tepponen, Husula; *fl.*1782; d.2 March 1791 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3.2 Tuomas Niilonpoika Tepponen, of Husula forge (b. 13 Dec 1780 Tepponen, Husula; d.8 Oct 1816)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3.2.1 Johannes Tuomonpoika (b. 30 May 1809 Tepponen, Husula; d.30 June 1867 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3.2.1.1 Matti Juhonpoika (b. 7 March 1846 Tepponen, Husula; d.21 Apr 1900 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3.3 Niklas Niilonpoika Tepponen, lord of Tepponen in Husula One (b. 16 May 1786 Tepponen, Husula; d.1 May 1822 Tepponen, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3.3.1 Tuomas Niilonpoika Piljerta (b. 11 Oct 1817 Tepponen, Husula; d.19 June 1890 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.4.1.1.1.2.1.3.3.1.1 Johannes Tuomonpoika (b. 1 Jan 1854 Heikkilä, Husula)

1.1.1.2.4.1.5 Roland Niilonpoika (*fl.*1574-1577), possibly also mentioned as Rolef Niilonpoika.[105]

1.1.1.2.4.1.6 Tuomas Niilonpoika (*fl.*1582-1585)[106]

1.1.1.2.4.2 Antti Rolandh (*fl.*1567)[107]

1.1.1.2.4.2.3.1 ? Antti

1.1.1.2.4.2.3.1.3 Eerikki Antinpoika Piljerta, lord of Anttila in Husula (b. *c.*1620; *fl.*1640-1684)[108] see also Appendix IV

1.1.1.2.4.2.3.1.3.3 Arvi Eerikinpoika Piljerta, lord of Anttila in Husula (b. bef. *c.*1660; *fl.*1680-1712)

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[105] Impola (2011), 344. In my assessment, it is next to impossible for this Roland to be father of a male who flourished 1638-1672 – such a man's father should have lived more than one generation later, such as in around 1610. This conflicts with the Tilas chart.

[106] Korhonen, (1981), 149.

[107] Impola, (2011), 41.

[108] The Tilas chart indicates this Eerikki Antinpoika as a direct descendant of the unhistorical Sihvo, third son of the unhistorical but eponymous Roland. As such the branch is adopted to Korhonen (1981), 153. I have chosen to ignore the Tilas suggestion for late-1500s-filiation and instead, based on this branch's attested grouping with real-estate stem no.3 since the mid-1600s, have placed this Eerikki in the Tepponen lineage. See Appendix IV.

1.1.1.2.4.2.3.1.3.3.4 Arvi Arvinpoika Piljerta, lord of Anttila in Husula (b. *c.*1680s; *fl.*1720-1731)[109]

1.1.1.2.4.2.3.1.3.3.4.1 Eerikki Arvinpoika Piljerta, lord of Anttila in Husula (b. bef. 1710; *fl.*1732-1763; d. 15 May 1763)[110] his daughter and heiress (m. 1759) passed the Anttila to another House.

Appendix III: Medieval allodial lands of Salmenkylä-Husula-Pyöli

[From figure 2 and footnotes 21 & 60]

Roland patrimony (Pyöli-Husula) was $^{435}/_{216}$ mantal, *ie* about 2.
Vilken branch (Sjöström, *op.cit.,* 2011) held: Lausula in Salmenkylä ½ mantal, Töytärinhovi in Tein-Pyöli ¼ mantal, Kirilä in Pyöli $^{1}/_{6}$ mantal, the later real-estate number 11 in Sivatti, Husgavel in Salmenkylä ½ mantal, Läätilä in Pyöli $^{1}/_{8}$ mantal, something in Sivatti, and one or two early-sold farms in Pyöli. All in all, the total original property in Pyöli-Salmenkylä(-Husula) of the reconstructed Vilken branch, was about 2 mantal.
Third and the least-identifiable of these is the hypothetical root of the later 'clan Brandstaka': suppose it also held about 2 mantal in Pyöli-Salmenkylä. The Pukki carried later the Brandstaka Arms; they held at least $^{3}/_{8}$ (but in the 1500s probably as much as ½) mantal in Pukki-Pyöli (Husupyöli). The Stödher (Styder, Steuder) later carried the Brandstaka Arms; they held about ½ mantal in Teinpyöli and Sivatti (since the 1600s, $^{7}/_{12}$ mantal in Teinpyöli and some land as numbers 6 and 12 of Sivatti). The Brand, Mulli and Kouko apparently carried the Brandstaka Arms in the 1600s; they held some 0.5-0.8 mantal in Salmenkylä and possibly something in Sivatti. If the later Brandstaka families are to have held about 2 mantal and the entire land was divided between these and no one else, then also the Knuuttila in Salmenkylä-Pyöli (they held about 0.4 mantal) should have its root in one of these Husula-Salmenkylä ancestries and then likeliest in the Brandstaka third. The flöte pasture holdings of the mid-1500s speaks for Knuuttila having origin in the 'clan Brandstaka': pasture holder Niiles Rolandh belongs clearly to the Råland clan, lady Kirsti (wife of Vundrank) is reconstructed to be descended from the Vilken, Hennikki Puonti held lands outside this (in Myllykylä) over the northern village border and presumably did not belong, and Eerikki Sihvonpoika of Knuuttila would consequently represent the third of these. All in all, the total original property in Pyöli-Salmenkylä-Husula of all the petty nobility (supposed Brandstake), was about 2 mantal or a bit more. The Pukki and the Styder together appear to have started from about 1 mantal, probably divided evenly between those two. Then Henrikki Mikonpoika Steuders before mid-1600s obtained pieces of land from some of the Pukki and the balance afterwards was: $^{14}/_{24}$ mantal *vs* $^{9}/_{24}$ mantal.
As early as the 1458 Verdict of Village Borders, delivered by margrave Eerikki Akselinpoika, the hamlets which later were known as Husula, Husupyöli, Pyöli, Teinpyöli and Römspyy (Salmenkylä) comprised one entity with clear borders. Korhonen (1981), 519-36, informs that originally, the whole entity was tax-exempted *rälssi* land.
The old residential area of Husu-Pyöli and Husula has been located some 4 kilometres north-west from the medieval church and the modern town centre of Hamina, on low moraine hills, surrounded by cultivated fields, between the roads to Sippola and to Lappeenranta, on the north bank of the Husula River. In the residential area, roughly the western side belonged to the Pukkila-Pyöli and the eastern side to the Råland clan. At the time of the first systematical records, in mid-1500s, members of the Råland clan were variously mentioned as living in Rolanspyy or in Pukkipyöli. In the later 1500s, Husupyöli began to denote more or less the same as Pukkipyöli. Only later did Husula come into use as the name of the the area of the Roland clan (*ie* the Råland and the Tepponen lineages).
Rosén (1936), 216, argues that the earliest population specifically in Husula region was even older than the 1200s-1300s settlement (largely from Sweden) in this long coast. According to Rosén (1936), 93-4, placenames in what later became known as Husula, Husu-Pyöli and Salmenkylä, are prevalently Finnic. However, Y-DNA shows that the Junkar, Vilken and the Pukki cannot have been Finnic families.

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[109] Arvi's successors appear to have held $^{1}/_{5}$ (=Anttila) of the Husula no.3, i.e 20% of the old Tepponen

[110] Eerikki's household (Anttila) is still occasionally recorded as 'Husu' in the 1730s; Vehkalahti parish burial registers.

Appendix IV: The Anttila conundrum

[From figure 4 and footnotes 55 & 108]

The Tilas chart assigns Eerikki Antinpoika, lord of Anttila (*fl.*1640-1684) as a descendant of the third branch, Peltola-Heikkilä, which was traditionally held to be descended from the non-historical Sihvo, third son of the eponymous late-medieval Roland. In Korhonen's reconstruction he treats Antti Antinpoika as the forefather of the lords of Anttila (Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 153). However, Antti, Eerikki's father, is situated in the area of the Tilas chart where mistakes and conflation are known to be present.

In the late 1600s and throughout the 1700s-1800s, the Anttila farm itself was unequivocally part of the stem no.3, old Tepponen. Anttila is shown as $^1/_5$ of old Tepponen in records of the 1800s. The joint liability of the Anttila for cavalry duties within stem no.3 (Tepponen) held firm, up to the dissolution of the service obligations of the rustic-nobility in *c.*1743. In the Anttila sub-branch, there are a few references to the household name Husu in parish registers around 1740. This can be interpreted as further evidence that they belonged to the genealogical branch of Husula stem no.3. The Anttila sub-branch went extinct in the male line in 1763 and the Anttila farm was continued by a daughter, still as part of Husula stem no.3. Such a property-grouping (including shared liabilities) indicates that the Anttila had inherited their lands from a sub-branch of the old Tepponen lineage. The Anttila in the late 1600s and afterwards, did not hold any land in stem no.1, which indicates they were not heirs to any sub-branch of the stem no.1, the branch of the non-historical Sihvo Rolandinpoika.

The idea that Eerikki Antinpoika, lord of Anttila (*fl.*1640-1684) was son of Antti Antinpoika of Peltola (*fl.*1575-1582, possibly but not necessarily *fl.* up to 1639) has also another point militating against its validity: chronological concerns. Korhonen, *op.cit.* (1981), 153, admits that Eerikki Antinpoika, lord of Anttila, flourished up to 1684. This indicates that Eerikki must have been born (several years) after 1600, perhaps as late as *c.*1620. The Peltola-Heikkilä-branch Antti Antinpoika however is already attested as adult in 1575 (Impola, *op.cit.* (2011), 34) and 1582, and presumably was born around the early 1550s (his presumed father, Antti Hannunpoika, was probably dead by 1562). Moreover, if he was one single person, Antti Antinpoika's adult career is surprisingly long: 1575-1639, very long to remain as a farmer given that most men retired from being masters of their farms at the age of around 60. None of the evidence points to this being one single Antti Antinpoika – there may have been two or several. Antti, the father of Eerikki Antinpoika, lord of Anttila, might credibly been born in the 1580s-1590s.

I have chosen to ignore the Tilas chart suggestion for late-1500s-filiation (that Eerikki Antinpoika of Anttila was son of Antti Antinpoika of Peltola) and instead (on the basis of real-estate stem grouping), placed Eerikki Antinpoika of Anttila in the Tepponen lineage agnatically.

It is merely a possibility that, had the lords of Anttila really been born of the Peltola-Heikkilä branch Antti and not of someone in the agnatic Tepponen lineage, they had made an exchange of lands against a property of another family in the Roland clan. Such an exchange transaction has no other independent evidence. I have not encountered any explicit evidence of such an exchange ever having taken place. Thus it is not appropriate to adopt such a major exchange as a basis for any reconstruction of these lineages. If the Anttila branch is believed to be descended from the non-historical Sihvo, third son of the non-historical but eponymous Roland, then the genealogy of these two branches is an indirect evidence for such an exchange having possibly taken place. If that exchange took place, its timing would be between 1618 and mid-1600s. Judged from the outcome, the exchange transaction would have most easily have taken place between the Anttila branch and the Heikki of Rolanspyy (Tepponen) branch. Niiles Martinpoika Piljerta, lord of Tepponen, as seen above held apparently a property of $^3/_7$ of the stem 1. His branch however had not given up all of their share in the stem no.3 because Niiles' elder son's heirs continued to hold $^3/_{10}$ of old Tepponen. The Anttila farm has apparently been merely $^2/_{10}$ of old Tepponen. An exchange transaction of $^3/_7$ of stem no.1 against $^1/_5$ of the stem no.3 does not appear to be good business from the viewpoint of the Anttila. That said, if Heikki Niilonpoika of Rolandspyy's portion had been ½ of his father Niiles Rolandh's total lands (as ½ was the share of 1700s descendants of Heikki's brother Martti Husu, which in itself is an inconsistent oddity since Vehvilä –Theophile- Martinpoika of the Husu is attested in Krus (1618), 84, with merely a third of old Tepponen, not with a half), then the attested property share of $^3/_{10}$ of Heikki of Rolanspyy's branch in the 1700s-1800s, is not easily explicable except making an assumption that they had given up $^2/_{10}$ of that and kept the mere $^3/_{10}$, which then leaves a question of why they gave up that $^2/_{10}$ and to whom.