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"A knight from Flanders". Noble Migration and Integration in the North in the Late Middle Ages

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Abstract

This chapter deals with the migration and integration processes of noble newcomers in the medieval Nordic Kingdoms, especially in the medieval area of Finland – then a part of the Swedish Realm. It focusses on the case of the Fleming family, the representatives of which arrived from Western Europe to Denmark, Sweden and Finland in the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries. It appears that they managed to assimilate into the local elite partly thanks to their good connections with the rulers of the Union of Kalmar that was uniting all the Nordic kingdoms under the Danish ruler. The situation offered special opportunities for newcomers such as Klaus Fleming, who had gained a position of trust in Denmark. On the other hand, the political turmoil could also change the situation from favorable to unfavorable. To strengthen one's position amongst the local nobility, it was also important to create important connections via marriages. Studying the local laws of distributing inherited landed property, the author points out how marriage helped newcomers like the knight Klaus Fleming to get access to landed property – the source of wealth and power at that time. The author also discusses the position and role of women as receivers and mediators of property, and their more active roles as widows and mothers or links between male relatives. Special attention is given to *marital economy* as defined by Amy Louise Erickson and Maria Ågren.

Artikkelissani käsittelen aatelisiatulokkaita Kalmarin unionin aikaisessa pohjolassa, erityisesti Ruotsin valtakunnan itäisella alueella, joka nykyään tunnetaan Suomena. Esimerkkitapauksena tarkastelen ritari Klaus Flemingin ja hänen jälkeläistensä asettumista Suomeen. Pohdin erityisesti, mitä säilyneet tiedot kertovat Ruotsin myöhäiskeskiaikaisten aatelisperheiden avioliitto- ja liittolaisuusmenettelyistä. Artikkelissani tarkastelen myös sitä, miten Fleming-suvun vaiheet suhteutuvat aikakauden aateliston yleisiin oloihin sekä aatelismiesten ja –naisten asemaan sukuverkostoissa. Niukkanakin lähdeaineisto kertoo aikakauden ylhäisten sukujen jäsenistä ja näiden keskinäisistä liittolaisuussuhteista.

Vaikka aatelisto sai hallitsijalta läänityksiä, sen vauraus perustui keskeisesti perintömaahan, johon sukulaisilla oli vahvat oikeudet. Avioliittojen kautta tulokkaat ja heidän lapsensa saattoivat silti saada haltuunsa perintöomaisuutta, jopa merkittäviä kartanoita Lounais-Suomen vaurailla rannikkoseuduilla, minne eliitin, valtakunnallisen hallinnon ja kirkon toiminta keskittyi. Analyysissäni korostankin aviotalouden [marital economy] merkitystä. Tätä käsitettä ovat käyttäneet mm. Amy Louise Erickson ja Maria Ågren, jotka korostavat, että avioliitto oli keskeinen omistusoikeutta, perimystä ja omaisuuden hallintaa määrittävä instituutio.

Flemingin suku rantautui Suomeen 1300-1400 –lukujen vaihteessa, kun ritari Klaus Fleming sai hoitaakseen Suomen laamanninviran. Klaus Flemingin jälkeläisille kertynyt maaomaisuus kuvastaa hyvin aikakauden bilateraalisia sukulaisuuskäsityksiä ja perintömenettelyjä: sekä miehet että naiset

perivät lakisääteisen osuuden maaomaisuutta, joten myös aviovaimojen kautta siirtyi merkittäviäkin asuinkartanoita. Miesten oli myös luovutettava vaimoilleen merkittäviä tiloja huomenlahjana, puolisonsa leskeneläkkeenä; naisella oli huomenlahjaansa vahva käyttö- ja omistusoikeus. 1500-luvun alussa osa Klaus Flemingin miespuolisista perillisistä oli saavuttanut niin arvostetun aseman, että he saivat puolisokseen Tukholman ja Uplannin läänistä kotoisin olevien vauraiden aatelisperheiden tyttäriä ja kirjasivat näiden perintökartanon asuinkartanokseen.

Introduction

While emigration, immigration and integration are hot topics in present day Europe, they are not exactly something new. Numerous examples of active migration and its consequences can be found in medieval Europe, for example. Taking a look at the medieval Baltic Sea region, historians can easily observe migration by merchants and craftsmen. Medieval towns had their lively networks, and merchant sons were sent abroad to learn languages, skills and habits that would be useful for them. Even common people and servants would leave their home districts to serve in castles or towns far away. They were even able to communicate relatively easily with each other, thanks to the fairly close resemblance of Low-German, often used by merchants, and different Nordic languages (with the exception of Finnish and Estonian). These people of different origins would often live in harmony with each other, even though linguistic and cultural differences could sometimes be used as rhetorical weapons in everyday quarrels and for political objectives[1].

Noble men and women, too, might change their princely or royal lords, entering the service of another regent in another country[2]. Medieval people did not identify themselves with a nation in the same way as modern Western people do: rather, they had sworn fidelity to their ruler and his *regnum* and identified themselves as his subordinates. In certain conditions, this bond could be annulled and a new one estabilished with another ruler[3]. As Nordic kingdoms had elective monarchies, even rulers might be welcomed from abroad or banished to exile. As a consequence, noble persons might find it necessary to leave their country of origin if they wished to stay loyal to their lords or ladies.

Noble immigrants represented a very privileged group compared to common migrants, and they could avoid many difficulties that newcomers might face in a foreign country. Even these privileged immigrants would, however, face certain special economic and political challenges while settling down in their new place of residence. To follow a ruler and to get offices in a new kingdom was not enough. The newcomers had to acquire property and establish relations with the local nobility and aristocracy. Noble immigration was connected to the power struggles of the time, and political turmoil could be fatal for the aspirations of the newcomers.

In the following, I am going to analyze the migration and integration process of noble immigrants in the Nordic Kingdoms during the time of the Union of Kalmar, from the late 1390s to the 1520s. During this period, all Nordic kingdoms – Denmark, Norway and Sweden[4] – were, at least in principle, united under one ruler, Queen Margaret, and this had some special consequences for noble migration in the area of the Union. I will give special attention to the offspring of one newcomer, Klaus (Pedersson) Fleming – a trusted man of Queen Margaret, whose descendants later had very prominent positions in 16th- and 17th-century Swedish warfare and politics. The courses of theirlives are useful in analyzing what kind of economic and marital arrangements would help these newcomers to settle down. In fact, my main argument is that these two factors – economics and marriages – were remarkably intertwined when it came to integrating the newcomers.

Indeed, so many important economic arrangements of the time were connected to marriage that Amy Louise Erickson and Maria Ågren have suggested a term *marital economy* to be used when discussing the distribution of wealth in the medieval and early modern North. This included ne-

gotiating economic arrangements in connection with getting married, then the division or annexation of the property of the married couple, and finally the position of children or relatives as heirs or supporters of their elderly parents[5]. The Swedish patterns of inheritance had special consequences in the marital economy and marital strategies of the nobility. Emphasizing these elements, I am going to discuss the logic of marital economy in a special historical situation, in the context of the Union of Kalmar.

Newcomers and the Union of Kalmar

The Union of Kalmar, formed in the 1397, would, in principle, last until the 1520s and 1530s, even though it faced continuous inner conflicts, crises and dethroning of rulers and competing rulers from the 1430s onwards. As a widowed queen mother, Queen Margaret had even earlier been ruling Norway and Denmark in the name of her little son Olaf. After Olaf's early death, Margaret had adopted her infant cousin, Eric of Pomerania (Erik av Pommern), to become her successor. From the age of eighteen, he was referred to as the ruler of the three Nordic kingdoms. In practice, Margaret kept ruling until her death as the *fullmektig frue og rette husbonde* [Dan. plenipotentiary mistress and lawful householder – words that usually refer to a male head of the house or family][6].

In the words of Steinar Imsen, the Union could be characterized as a dynastic confederation, as the kingdoms were not merged into one[7]. The Swedish aristocrats had a Council of their own, for example, and the subordinates of each kingdom made a certain difference between people of 'Swedish', 'Norwegian' and 'Danish' origins – though not exactly in the nationalistic sense of modern times[8]. Nevertheless, the Union was dominated by the Danish ruler, and many trusted men of hers would gain important positions and offices in Norway and Sweden[9]. The Union certainly inspired more migration in the upper strata of the society, when noble and aristocratic persons would move and form marital alliances over the old borders of kingdoms[10].

Many of the newcomers from Denmark had ancestors from the Northwest of the Continent as well. Hence, in medieval and early modern Swedish genealogies, there were many references to French, German, Danish and Norwegian ancestors, as recorded in the genealogies written by Abbess Anna Fickesdotter (Bülow)[11], Convent of Vadstena, Sweden:

> [...] the same coat of arms is used by my Father's kin in Germany and France, for I have been told that my paternal great grandfather, son of well-born parents, was born in France [...] and my kin is now living in all of the following three kingdoms: Sweden, Denmark, and earlier even Norway, and both my paternal and maternal kin are to be found in Germany[12].

Some of the references, such as those claiming kinship with Charlemagne, were mere fiction, but often there was a justified consciousness of foreign ancestors two or three generations back. The abovementioned Abbess Anna Fickesdotter also commented on the close connections between her noble ancestors and the Royal family of Erik of Pomerania, thus pointing out one element typical of noble emigrants of the time: they had a privileged position in the royal court.

> My maternal grandmother's father was called Erik Krummedike, and his wife was Lady Beata; both were of respectable and well-born parents, and I have been told that she was born in Bavaria and a relative to King Erik [of Pomerania], which is probable, as their children were very much loved by the King [Erik] and Queen Philippa[13][...]

Royal connections were important for the Fleming family[14] as well. The members of this family are first mentioned in Pomerania and Denmark in the middle of the 14th century. The surname refers to Flemish origins, and one 16th century Swedish genealogy even ventured to make a following statement of the origins of the Fleming family as follows:

> A knight from Flanders came to Finland and 'made a good match there'; his name was Klaus Fleming, and he became the forefather [of the Fleming family described below][15].

If one takes a closer look at the medieval documents, it becomes clear that this genealogical note is actually merging facts relating to many generations and referring them to one character. The aforementioned Klaus Fleming did, indeed, move to the area ofFinland[16] at the turn of the 15th century. However, he had not come all the way from Flanders to Finland. Earlier his grandfather seems to have held an office as a bailiff in Barth, Pomerania, from the 1330s to the 1350s. Klaus Fleming's father, Peder Fleming, was active in the area of Denmark and Sweden proper (i.e. the area of present day Sweden); he was later buried in Stockholm[17].

Thus, it is difficult to date the moment of migration from Pomerania to Sweden or Denmark. It seems that both Peder Fleming and his sons occasionally changed their lords in the area of the Baltic Sea Region. We can, however, observe the gradual migration and integration of the members of the family in the Nordic area. In the end, Johannes Fleming settled in Sweden proper; Herman Fleming stayed in Denmark and became a Lord Chamberlain there, while Klaus Fleming, the protagonist of this study, finally settled down in Finland[18].

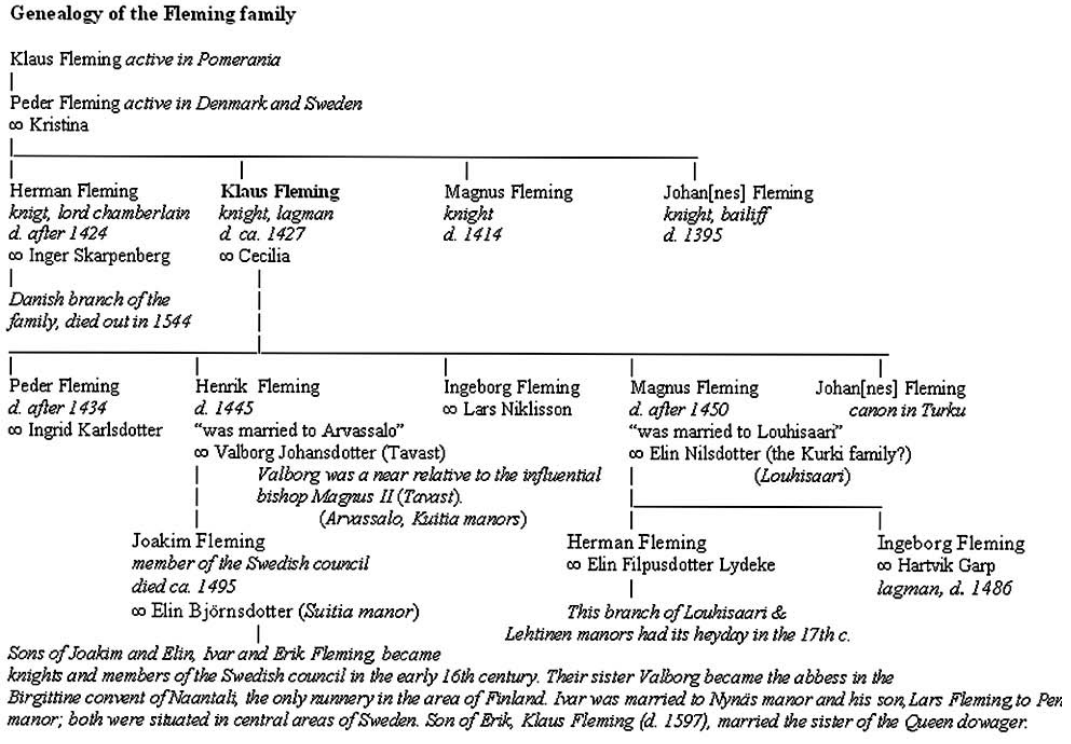

Fig. 1
Genealogy of the Fleming family.

In the 1380s and 1390s, Klaus Fleming and his brother Herman had appeared many times in the service of Queen Margaret[19]. Around 1396, Klaus Fleming was dubbed a knight – a sign that he had been accepted into the elite of the nobility[20]. The Fleming brothers were not alone in their progress: even other privileged newcomers, with their origins in the area speaking Germanic languages, would obtain positions of high prestige. It has been suggested, albeit with some reservations, that newcomers of this kind were useful allies for the ruler Their local networks were modest and they had only little, if any, allodial landed property. Consequently, they had to be loyal to the regent, to whom they owed their position. This may be partly relevant, even though it must be noted that these newcomers would establish their own connections and even gain influence over the regent as trusted persons and even economic supporters of the king or the queen[21].

In the early years of the Kalmar Union, Queen Margaret was securing the position of the Danish regent by nominating her favorites to important positions in the three kingdoms[22]. It was then that Klaus Fleming was made the *lagman* [Sw. the supreme judge] over the whole area of Finland In the North of Europe, judicial offices were mostly held by noblemen who seldom had any coherent theoretical education in legal matters. At the *ting* [Sw. the district court], their scribes and other learned men would provide them with information about legislation.

Earlier, the office of *lagman* of Finland had been in the hands of prominent noblemen born and raised in the Swedish Realm. The predecessor of Klaus Fleming, however, had been a lesser local nobleman, who had proved to be fickle in his political opinions and had finally fled from the Kingdom. In the light of these events, Queen Margaret may have been especially anxious to give the office to someone she could trust, and Klaus Fleming seemed to have some contacts to the area through his father[23]. As a *lagman* Klaus Fleming would not only distribute justice; he would also look after the interests of the Queen and take care of relations with the Hanseatic League – functions in which he had gained experience already while in Denmark[24]. It was typical of the time that the offices and spheres of responsibility were not clearly defined. Rather, it was the social status of a person that defined his or her sphere of action.

Marital economy and integration

At this point, it was not yet clear whether Klaus Fleming and his offspring would stay in Finland for a long while. It seems that Klaus Fleming, his wife Cecilia and his eldest son, Peder, had planned to live their lives in Denmark or in Sweden proper, when Klaus' nomination to the office of *lagman* in Finland changed the situation[25]. Many noblemen would settle down to the area where they had their office, trying to accumulate their wealth and landed property there. Others, however, kept options open for new moves. Occupants of important positions in the area of Finland did not always accumulate landed property or contract marriages there; they regarded their stay in the Eastern part of the kingdom as a mere temporary arrangement and were looking for more central positions for themselves or for their offspring[26].

If we use local accumulation of landed property as an indicator for a newcomer's state of integration, we may conclude that Klaus Fleming was not rapidly extending his estates in the area Finland. The queen gave him some fiefs which he could tax and thus gather income. As a judge, Klaus Fleming would also acquire some property and even land via his judicial activities, because part of the fine was paid to the judge as a payment for his work. Some fines would be paid in landed property, or the judge could lend money to the offenders so that they could pay their fines, and then take their estates in exchange[27]. Thus, having an office was an important source of wealth, but Klaus Fleming did not or could not himself acquire the possession of inherited allodial real estates – the most important resource for income and status.

The situation changed with the next generation, probably with the help of the father. This was when the genealogy's note about "making a good match" became actual. It was *via marriages* that the sons of Klaus Fleming, like many other newcomers, came to possess their most important manors in the area ofFinland and Sweden proper – manors given as dowries or inherited from the maternal side. Moreover, they would accumulate their wealth in the areas of the Southwest of Finland, the local centre of lay and ecclesiastic administration that had close contacts toSweden proper[28].

Though not yet a prominent landowner, Klaus Fleming had gained important social capital and a position near the ruler[29]. In economic and social terms, he or his offspring would make desirable fiancé(e)s. Therefore, they could hope to marry money – or, preferably, landed property. It seems that Klaus Fleming was already married when he arrived in Finland. (It is, of course, possible that he later contracted another marriage with a Finnish noblewoman: however, the records of landed property do not support this idea.) His two sons, however, did strike a good match there. As the contemporary phrase would put it, the sons of Klaus Fleming 'were married into wealthy manors' [Sw. *blev gifta till*] in the most affluent areas ofFinland The saying implies that their wives owned or inherited these manors, which would then be inherited by their offspring. Henrik Klasson Fleming got through marriage the Arvassalo manor in present-day Kalanti, while his brother Magnus Fleming acquired the possession of Louhisaari (also called Villnäs in Swedish) in Lemu, both situated in the Southwestern coast ofFinland[30].

When these marital arrangements are observed, it is of importance to pay attention to local practices of inheritance. From the 14th century at the latest, the law of the Swedish Realm had prescribed that all siblings should have their lawful share of the inherited property of the family[31]. Both male and female heirs, and always all of the siblings, were to share inherited property and landed property evenly, even though women were to get one half of the proportion given to male relatives. Thus, property would be inherited bilaterally, both from the maternal and paternal side. Medieval Swedish legislation knew no explicit primogeniture and there are very few marriage contracts insinuating that the dowry included everything a woman could ever inherit from her own family[32]. The strong legal rights of direct heirs, still prevailing in the Finnish legislation, have their origins in this medieval practice.

Unlike in many other areas, then, women living in the Swedish realm had an automatic right to inherit from their relatives. Moreover, women also maintained their inheritance rights even after getting married and having been given their dowry[33]. The respective roles of women and men in the administration of this inherited property, however, were different. According to both law and tradition, the father was the primary administrator of the property of his unmarried daughter. The father was the *giftoman,* the person who had the right to make the final decision on her marriage (with her consent, though). After she was married, her husband was to administer her property and also to take legal action on her behalf[34].

When an aristocratic father chose to accept a certain suitor for his daughter, he also accepted the transfer of the property to the hands of his son-in-law. In return, he could expect the son-in-law to become a loyal member of the family. The future son-in-law had, on the other hand, endless options for a bright future, the chance that his offspring might inherit even more than was originally agreed to be the inherited portion of his wife[35].

The bridegroom was not, however, only on the receiving side; the *morgongåva* [Sw. morning-gift] institution placed also obligation on him. The *morgongåva* had similarities with the English dower, the property that would provide a woman with her annuity in a case of widowhood. An aristocratic father could demand that his daughter be given a considerable *morgongåva,* often in landed property. Widows had strong rights to their *morgongåva*; while other inherited property

was strictly in the hands of the family, a widow could give the *morgongåva* away, even though it would most often go to her children. The *morgongåva* institution brought some balance to the unequal share of inherited property, even though it is not clear how big a portion of man's property was usually given to his wife as a *morgongåva*[36]. Even Klaus Fleming's daughter, Ingeborg, got a local manor as a *morgongåva* when she was married with a Finnish nobleman[37].

These legal practices illustrate the consequences of marital arrangements for the economic position of medieval noblemen. The system of inheritance and concepts of kinship can be characterized as bilateral. In the more southern parts of Europe, the nobility had already begun to emphasize the importance of unilaterality and male lineage. Even though the male lineage was dominant in some points, Swedes thought of kinship in terms of bilaterality and saw agnate relations as an important way of creating networks of power[38].

Bilaterality was also important for the immaterial heritage. Most children were given names of their ancestors, and these Christian names were inherited both from the paternal and maternal side[39]. Even coats of arms could be inherited from mother to son or from wife to a husband – especially if the male lineage had died out[40]. Common men could even acquire noble rank through a noble wife – a practice that became an object of criticism in the 16th century[41]. 'A good match' could also implicate that a man could obtain an office that had earlier belonged to a male relatives of his wife. While judicative or administrative offices were not officially hereditary (many of them should, according to the law, have been elective), they were, in practice, often given from father to son, or from an uncle to a nephew, or from a father-in-law to a son-in-law[42].

The benefits of bilaterality were known to the contemporaries and affinal networks were cherished. Sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law and even cousins- or uncles-in-law were called 'dear sisters and brothers' or, if elderly, asked for 'fatherly support and advice'. Even if the formal letters did not necessarily reflect genuine feelings, they illustrated the expectations of friendship inside the family – words 'friend and relative' were used almost synonymously[43].

For the offspring of Klaus Fleming, this system could be helpful. Provided that the sons had some kind of *morgongåva* – at least a pile of money – to offer, they could be married into wealth and establish good connections through their relatives-in-law. Apparently, they benefited from the wealth and influential position of their father. Even Ingeborg was married into a noble family; unfortunately, due to the scarcity of sources, less is known of her husband and their possible offspring.

The marital relations were often exclusively described as being created between men, and women seem to be rather passive links between men, at least at first sight – women inherited property, but it spent a lot of time in male hands. Sometimes, though, even women could be important agents in these processes. A widowed mother could act as a guardian and a *giftoman* to her daughter or even other female relatives. Abbess Anna Fickesdotter mentioned a widow, Lady Anna, who inherited from both her husband and son. Because the son had first inherited from his father and Anna had then inherited from her son, she was now the owner of all the property left by her husband. However, she had no close relatives in Sweden. Therefore, she invited her Danish cousin to live in Sweden and to become her sole heiress[44]:

> Sten Bengtsson died and the child did not live long thereafter, so the widow [Lady Anna] inherited all property; and as Lady Anna was of Danish origins and had no near relatives in Sweden, she sent for a daughter of her maternal aunt, Maid Helvig, daughter of Lord Axel Bragde in Denmark, and made the maid her sole heiress, and so with good people's help this good Maid was given to Bengt Fadersson[45].

While migrating men could and often would take care of offices, it seems that noble women would mostly migrate in connection with this kind of marital arrangements. Either they were wives or daughters of a migrating nobleman, or they migrated to be married abroad, usually due to an arrangement made by her parents or other guardians – or by the king and the queen, if the woman had been living under their protection at the royal court[46]. This was the case with Lady Anna and her cousin Helvig, as well as with the Danish noblewomen Ingeborg Åkesdotter (Tott) and her niece, Anna Hansdotter (Tott). The male members of the Tott family gained a mighty position in the Union from the 1460s on, and even their female relatives were married in accordance with this political development. Ingeborg was first betrothed to a Norwegian aristocrat and then to the Swedish Sten Sture, later the *riksföreståndare* [Sw. a substitute ruler] of Sweden. Anna was married to an important nobleman in Finland[47]. As maids, these women may have had little say in their marriage; later, however, as widows, they could exert some influence through marital arrangements and social networks[48].

One of these prominent widows was Gunilla Johansdotter (Bese). Her case illustrates the influence and the limitations of influence of a wealthy widow. In 1511, she was left a widow after her husband Erik Turesson (Bielke), the local governor of the Viborg Castle. Lady Gunilla took care of the Castle and its administrative district for a while. She did not want to be the governor for a longer time; her main concern was to keep things going and to secure a good economic compensation for her family. If she had handed the Castle over to a new governor, she and her children would have lost the income of the fief of Carelia. Gunilla managed to find a good compensation: she was granted a good annuity, and the position of the governor was transferred to her newly wed son-in-law[49].

It is also of importance to note that not all men were married, nor were all women. Some would live decades before marrying, waiting for a good match. In some cases, some of the siblings were prevented from marrying in order not to transmit estates from the family – part of the strategies of the marital economy, too[50]! These children might take vows and go to the service of the church – creating connections that Olle Ferm has deemed important in his analysis of the medieval networks of the Swedish Oxenstierna family. Even the Fleming family established connections to the local church of the area of Finland. Klaus Fleming's fourth son, Johan, became a canon in Turku. Johan's abovementioned brother, Henrik, was married into the family of the powerful Bishop of Turku, Magnus II Tavast. The family was also supporting the local Brigittine Convent of Naantali, and they cherished the (apparently false) family tradition that their relative had been the first abbess of the convent[51].

Crises and final integration

Notwithstanding all the examples of rational planning presented, it is important not to over-emphasize the strategy-like patterns of marital economy. It is not always easy to decide whether the influence of the parents or of the family was decisive, or whether the children were "naturally" brought up to choose their spouses in the same circles. Every now and then the sources reveal that some marriages which, in the eyes of posterity, seem to have been well calculated and successful, were first objected to by parents and appeared disasterous to other contemporaries. Moreover, marriages and other settlements that may have seemed profitable at first, may have proved later to be disasters.

Still, at the turn of the 1430s it may have seemed that the members of the Fleming family had played their cards well in the area of Finland. After the arrival of the first generation and the marriages of the second, it seemed that there were chances for a peaceful integration under the rule of Queen Margaret and later King Erik of Pomerania. In the late 1420s, the *lagman* position was given to Peder Fleming, the eldest son of Klaus Fleming, so he was following in the steps of his

father. The other children too seemed to be well established and integrated in local networks[52]. All seemed to be well and the future prospects of the Fleming family seemed to be bright.

At this time, however, the Union went into crisis. Different interests had led to continuous conflicts between Swedish and Danish aristocrats from the 1430s, when there were armed rebellions and peasant uprisings. It is during these rebellious times that Peder Fleming disappears from the documents – had he fled? Or had he been killed? Some noble people of foreign origins are known to have been ousted from Sweden at the time. The scanty sources do not give details about Peder's fate, but his disappearance seems to be indicative of the change in power relations. When King Erik of Pomerania was ousted, the Fleming family could no longer rely on their connections with the royal house in Denmark. The Union was not officially abandoned, but the Swedes would often elect *riksföreståndare* of their own. Klaus Fleming's sons were no longer mentioned in important positions or as knights. Perhaps their integration had not been as thorough as one might have expected[53].

Nevertheless, Henrik, Ingeborg, Magnus and Johan Fleming had their families, their relatives-in-law and their manors in the area of Finland As years went by, they assimilated to the local nobility. In this position, Klaus' grandson, Joakim Henriksson Fleming, would become a member of the Swedish Council in the late 15th century. Joakim's sons and grandsons, for their part, became supporters of the rising power of the royal Vasa family in 16th-century Sweden. They would gain an important position as supporters of the Swedish king against the aspirations of the Danish regent, and they were now experts in the politics and military affairs of the Eastern area of the Swedish realm. Thanks to their higher position, some of these men were able to marry rich heiresses and to acquire important manors in central areas of Sweden proper[54].

In conclusion, it might be stated that the integration process of the newcomers was a complicated one. It was possible to gain influential positions through marriage, important offices, good political and social networks – but if one of these was missing, the newcomer might find himself in a vulnerable position. Still, the noble immigrants of the Union period were certainly privileged ones, and they had many options available even in troubled times.

Notes

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1 See, for example, M. Lamberg, *Dannemännen i stadens råd. Rådmanskretsen i nordiska köpstäder under senmedeltiden*, Stockholm 2001, pp. 57-69; Id., *Perceptions of Finns and Ethnic Boundaries in Sweden during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era*, in "NORDEUROPAforum" 2004, pp. 11-23; Id., *Piikojen selviytyminen myöhäiskeskiajan ja uuden ajan alun Tukholmassa,* in M. Rahikainen, K. Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *Työteliäs ja uskollinen. Naiset piikoina ja palvelijoina keskiajalta nykyaikaan*, Helsinki 2006, pp. 50-72; M. Lamberg, *Finns as aliens and compatriots in the late Medieval Kingdom of Sweden,* in O. Merisalo, P. Pahta (eds.), *Frontiers in the Middle Ages*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2006, pp. 129-132.

2 J. Heinänen, *On German Knights in Denmark during the Reign of Valdemar Atterdag 1340-1375*, in "Ennen ja nyt", 2004, 4, pp. 1-8.

3 J. Korpela, *Viipurin linnalääänin synty*, Joensuu 2004, pp. 29-30.

4 Today, there are five Nordic countries:Finland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Iceland. In the late Middle Ages, however, only three kingdoms existed.

5 A.L. Erickson, *The marital economy in comparative perspective,* in M. Ågren, A.L. Erickson (eds.), *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain 1400-1900*, Hants 2005, pp. 4-5.

6 S. Imsen, *Late Medieval Scandinavian Queenship,* in A.J. Duggan (ed.), *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, Woodbridge 1997, pp. 53-54.

7 Imsen, *Queenship* cit., p. 69.

[8] For a critique against nationalistic history see, for example, Heinänen, *On German Knights* cit., pp. 1, 7.

[9] Imsen, *Queenship* cit., p. 60.

[10] J. P. Maarjberg, *Regimen politicum and Regimen Regale. Political Change and Continuity in Denmark and Sweden (c. 1450- c.1550)*, in "Scandinavian Studies", 2000, 72, pp. 145-146; T. Hockman, *Kolmen polven perilliset. Ingeborg Aakentytär (Tott) ja hänen sukunsa (n. 1460-1507)*, Helsinki 2006, pp. 28-40.

[11] Family names were not frequently used among the medieval Swedish nobility. 'Brahe' and 'Fleming' were among the few used, and it was only at the end of the 16th century that the younger generations started a regular use of family names based on their family's coat of arms, such as Leijonhufvud/Lewenhaupt, 'Lion Head'. Aristocratic women and men were often addressed with the combination of their title and their Christian name only ('Lady Beata', for example); most of the noble men and almost all women would sign their letters with their Christian name and patronymic only.

[12] "then samma sköll förer all min Fadhernis slächt änn i dagh i Tydzland och än i Francia / thy att som migh är underwijst war min Fadher Fadher Fadher född i Frankarijke af godha föräldra [--] och är min slächt i alla thenne try rijke / Som är Swerige / Dannmarck och hafwer warit i Norige / theszlijkest och uppå Fädherne och Möderne i Tydzland." In A.F. Bülow, *Chronicon genealogicum...,* ed. J. Peringskiöld, Stockholm 1718, pp. 9-10. Translations from Swedish originals to English have been made by Anu Lahtinen. Square brackets have been used to mark obscure words and omissions. Punctuation marks have not been added to Swedish transcriptions presented in footnotes. In English translations, however, normal orthography and grammar has been striven for.

[13] "Min Modher modher Fader heet Her Erik Krommedijk och hans hustru Frw Beata / uthkomme af hedherliga och goda föräldra / och som mic war sagt war hon född i Beijerland och skyl Konung Erik / hwilket är och sanno lijkt / ty att hann och Drottning Philippa älskadhe mycket theres barn.", in Bülow, *Chronicon* cit., p. 12. About King Eric and Philippa see, for example, Imsen, *Queenship* cit., p. 55.

[14] The name Fleming (known around the Baltic Sea and in England) refers to presumed Flemish origins and is known as a nickname but also as a hereditary surname. The representatives of this specific family can be recognized from the middle of the 14th century. Their Flemish origins are difficult to trace – quite obviously, they were not called 'Fleming' in their place of origins. See *Hermanno dicto Flæming,* in H. Nielsen (ed.), *Diplomatarium Danicum 4: V*,Copenhagen 1998, document number 20; G. Setterkrans, *Ätten Flemings ursprung*, in "Släkt och hävd", 1956, 7, pp. 21-27; B. Hildebrand, *Fleming, adelssläkt*, in E. Grill (ed.), *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon vol. 16*, Stockholm 1966, pp. 111-112.

[15] "En riddere aff Flanderen kom till Findland, och fick ther gott gifftermåll, hans nampn war Claes Fleming, aff samme Claes Flemingäre tesse effterschreffne kompne.", in K. Grotenfelt (ed.), *Jaakko Teitin valitusluettelo Suomen aatelistoa vastaan v. 1555-1556*, Helsinki 1894, pp. 26-27. Italics by AL.

[16] The area of present day Finland was a Swedish possession until 1809. It was not an independent state in the Middle Ages, but it was sometimes referred to with special name *Österland* [Eastern land] or 'Finland'; in the beginning of 15th century it was united under one bishopric and *lagsaga* [Sw. administrative district for a *lagman*]. I have used term 'Sweden proper' to refer to the area of present day Sweden.

[17] H. Donner, *Ätten Fleming i Danmark*, in "Genos" 1932, 3, pp. 38-44.

[18] *Ibid.,* pp. 38-44; Setterkrans, *Ätten Flemings ursprung* cit., pp. 21-27; Hildebrand, *Fleming* cit., pp. 111-112.

[19] T. Riis (ed.), *Diplomatarium Danicum 4:III*,Copenhagen 1993, documents number 6, 7, 228, 426, 441; H. Nielsen (ed.), *Diplomatarium Danicum 4:IV*, Copenhagen 1994, document number 260; Id., *Diplomatarium 4:V* cit., documents number 20, 59, 384, 385, 426, 432; Andersen, *Diplomatarium 4:VI* cit., documents number 48, 55, 56, 145, 205, 278, 371, 384, 394.

[20] Klaus Fleming is referred to as a knight in Sweden in 1396. See Andersen (ed.), *Diplomatarium Danicum 4:VI* cit., document number 145.

[21] Donner, *Ätten Fleming* cit., pp. 38-44; Heinänen, *On German Knights* cit., pp. 4-5; B. Fritz, *Jean Marie Maillefer, Chevaliers et princes allemandes en Suède et en Finlandeà l'epoque des Folkungar (1250-1363)* (a review article), in "Historisk tidskrift (Sweden)", 2003, 4, pp. 658-659. About newcomers as lenders see Bülow, *Chronicon* cit., pp. 10-11; Riis, *Diplomatarium Danicum 4:III* cit., documents number 6, 7, 228.

[22] Imsen, *Queenship* cit., p. 60.

[23] Donner, *Ätten Fleming* cit., pp. 38-44; E. Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse och 1500-talsadel*, Helsingfors 1970, pp. 122, 137-138.

[24] Andersen, *Diplomatarium Danicum 4:V* cit., documents number 384, 385, 426; R. Hausen (ed.), *Finlands medeltidsurkunder II (1401-1430)*, Helsingfors 1915, documents number 1525, 1550, 1557, 1574.

[25] Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse*cit., pp. 137-138. Cf. also Hausen, *Finlands medeltidsurkunder II* cit., document number 1751.

[26] Hockman, *Kolmen polven perilliset*cit., pp. 186-187.

[27] V.-P. Suhonen, *Kaksi Maunu-kuninkaan kartanoa*, in "SKAS, Suomen Keskiajan Arkeologian Seuran jäsenlehti", 2003, 7, pp. 4-9; Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse* cit., pp. 135, 143, 180-181.

[28] Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse* cit., pp. 122-123, 130-131, 135, 143, 180-181; A. Lahtinen, *Omaisuutta, ystäviä ja vaikutusvaltaa. Avioliittojen merkitys Flemingin sukupiirissä,* in "Historiallinen aikakauskirja", 2002, 100, pp. 354-362; E. Ulsig, *The nobility of the late Middle Ages*, in K. Helle (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia. Prehistory to 1520*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 635-636.

[29] O. Ferm, *Bengt Jönsson (Oxenstierna). Riddare, lagman, riksföreståndare och boksamlare*, in O. Ferm, S. Nyström (eds.), *Bengt Jönsson (Oxenstierna) och hans värld. En samling studier*, Stockholm 2004, pp. 20-21, 35, 49-51.

[30] J.E. Roos (ed.), *Ivar Flemings jordebok,* Helsinki 1958, p. 6.

[31] About the process see E. Sjöholm, *Några arvsrättsliga problem i de svenska medeltidslagarna*, in "Scandia" 1968, 34, pp. 164-193.

[32] B. Sawyer, *Kvinnor och familj i det forn- och medeltida Skandinavien*, Skara 1992, pp. 53-61; A. Lahtinen, *Gender and Continuity: Women, Men and Landed Property in Medieval Finland*, in A. Lahtinen, K. Vainio-Korhonen (eds.), *History and Change*, Helsinki 2004, pp. 34-35. Of the consequences of primogeniture see, for example, A.L. Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*, London 1995, pp. 3, 19-20, 228-229; M.S. Hartman, *The Household and the Making of History. A Subversive View of the Western Past*, Cambridge 2004, p. 66; Ulsig, *The nobility* cit., p. 636.

[33] Lahtinen, *Omaisuutta* cit., pp. 354-362. Cf. C. Nolte, *Gendering Princely Dynasties*, in "Gender & History" 2000, 12, pp. 707, 712.

[34] H. Gunneng, *Kvinnlig arvsrätt under svensk medeltid*, in B. Sawyer, A. Göransson (eds.), *Manliga strukturer och kvinnliga strategier*, Göteborg 1987, pp. 79-90; A. Lahtinen, *Gender and Continuity* cit., pp. 34-40.

[35] Of the possibility that a maid was given more than her lawful lot, see Gunneng, *Kvinnlig arvsrätt* cit., p. 83. Cf. Sjöholm, *Några arvsrättsliga problem* cit., p. 187.

[36] M. Korpiola, *Between Betrothal and Bedding: The Making of Marriage in Sweden, ca. 1200-1610,* Helsinki 2004, pp. 47-52; Id., *Between Betrothal and Bedding: Formation of Marriage in Sweden 1200-1610* (forthcoming). I would like to thank historian Birgit Sawyer for her (to my knowledge) unpublished comment on the influence of the *morgongåva* institution to the division of inherited property. I think it is important, however, not to overestimate this influence. See also T. Småberg, *Det stängda frälset. Makt och eliter i det medeltida lokalsamhället: Marks och Kinds härader i Västergötland ca 1390-1520*, Göteborg 2004, p. 231.

[37] J. Ramsay, *Frälsesläkter i Finland intill stora ofreden, A-G*, Helsingfors 1909, p. 4; Suhonen, *Kaksi Maunu-kuninkaan kartanoa* cit., pp. 4-9.

[38] About kinship in medieval and early modern Sweden, see C. Winberg, *Grenverket. Studier rörande jord, släktskapssystem och ståndprivilegier,* Stockholm 1985, pp. 10-50; Sawyer, *Kvinnor och familj* cit., pp. 34-36, 53-54.

[39] A. Sondén, *Den bundna namngivningen*, in "Släkt och hävd" 1959, 10, pp. 273-275. In the Fleming family, among the inherited names were such female names as Hebla, Philippa, Valborg, Elin, Ebba, Ingeborg and Margareta; the most often mentioned male names were Klaus, Peder, Herman, Erik, Joakim, Sigge and Lars.

[40] Grotenfelt (ed.), *Jaakko Teitin valitusluettelo* cit., pp. 20-21; R. Stenbock, *Torpa. Historik jämte ägarelängd*, Södertälje 1925, pp. 16, 49.

[41] Grotenfelt (ed.), *Jaakko Teitin valitusluettelo* cit., pp. 27, 34-36, 108-109.

[42] See, for example, Y. Blomstedt, *Laamannin- ja kihlakunnantuomarinvirkojen läänittäminen ja hoito Suomessa 1500- ja 1600-luvuilla (1523-1680)*, Helsinki 1958, pp. 31-35; H. Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen poliittinen asema pohjoismaisen unionin loppuvaiheissa 1512-1523*, Porvoo 1953, p. 25; Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse* cit., pp. 138-145.

[43] Småberg, *Det stängda frälset* cit., p. 236-238; U. Koskinen, *Friends and brothers. Rhetoric of friendship as a medium of power in late-16th-century Sweden and Finland,* in "Scandinavian Journal of History", 2005, 30, pp. 238-248.

[44] Bülow, *Chronicon* cit., p. 4.

[45] "Sidhan Steen Bängdtson blef dödh lifde barnet eij längdt ther efter / och så föll alt arfwet in till henne / och för dy at fru Anna war kommen af Danska byrdh och hade eij så närborne arfwa i Swerige / lät hon sände efter sina modher syster dotter Jomfrw Hellewij Her Axel Bragdes dotter i Danmark / som han giorde till sin ärfwinge / och sa med gode wäners hiälp wartt the godha Jomfrw gifwin Bängt Fadherson till hustrw [...]" Bülow, *Chronicon* cit., p. 4.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 13; cf. also Hockman, *Kolmen polven perilliset* cit., p. 65.

[47] Maarjberg, *Regimen politicum* cit., pp. 144-146; Hockman, *Kolmen polven perilliset* cit., pp. 32-45, 66.

[48] See A. Lahtinen, *Svenska slottsfruar under 1500-talet*, in Å. Karlsson (ed.), *Kvinnor och politik i det tidigmoderna Norden*, Reykjavik 2007 (forthcoming).

[49] Pohjolan-Pirhonen, *Suomen poliittinen asema*cit.,p. 21, 24-25, 40-45; A. Lahtinen, *"Un chevalier de Flandre" et sa lignée dans l'élite nordique. Stratégies familiales et patrimoniales de la noblesse suédoise du au XVe siècle*, in E. Mornet (ed.), *Les élites nordiques et l'Europe occidentale (XIIe-XVe siècle)*, Paris 2007 (forthcoming).

[50] Lahtinen, *Omaisuutta* cit., pp. 355-356.

[51] Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse* cit., p. 138; A.-P. Palola, *Maunu Tavast ja Olavi Maununpoika. Turun piispat 1412-1460,* Helsinki 1997, pp. 438, 465; A. Lahtinen, *Siskot ja veljet. Myöhäiskeskiaikaisen ylimysperheen sukupuolitetut elämänalueet*, in A. Lahtinen (ed.), *Tanssiva mies, pakinoiva nainen. Sukupuolten historiaa*, Turku 2001, pp. 116-129; Ferm, *Bengt Jönsson* cit., pp. 146-147, 153; Lahtinen, *Flemingin sukupiiri keskiajalla ja uuden ajan alussa* in I. Lounatvuori, M.-T. Knapas (eds), *Louhisaaren kartano – suku ja rälssi, säteri ja kirkko*, Helsinki 2005, pp. 21-23.

[52] Donner, *Ätten Fleming* cit., pp. 38-44; Setterkrans, *Ätten Flemings ursprung*cit., pp. 21-27; Hildebrand, *Fleming* cit., pp. 111-112; Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse* cit., pp. 137-142; Lahtinen, *Flemingin sukupiiri* cit., pp. 21-23. Cf. Ulsig, *The nobility* cit., p. 636.

[53] Maarjberg, *Regimen politicum* cit., pp. 141-142*;* K. Katajala, *Against Tithes and Taxes, for King and Province. Peasant Unrest and Medieval Scandinavian Political Culture*, in K. Katajala (ed.), *Northern Revolt. Medieval and Early Modern Peasant Unrest in the Nordic Countries,* Helsinki 2004, pp. 39, 45-46, 49; Anthoni, *Finlands medeltida frälse* cit., pp. 137-142; Ulsig, *The nobility* cit., p. 650-652.

[54] For the famous representatives of the family in the 16th century, see K. Blomstedt, *Fleming, Eerik Jaakkimanpoika*, in Id. (ed.), *Kansallinen elämäkerrasto II*, Porvoo 1929, pp. 53-59; Id., *Fleming, Iivari Jaakkimanpoika,* in Id., *Kansallinen elämäkerrasto II* cit., pp. 59-64; Id., *Fleming, Lauri Iivarinpoika*, in Id., *Kansallinen elämäkerrasto II* cit., pp. 70-77; B. Federley, *Fleming, Klas (Eriksson)*, in E. Grill (ed.), *Svenskt biografiskt lexikon vol. 16*, Stockholm, pp. 126-133.

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