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Coloman of Galicia and his Polish Relations.  
*The Duke of Slavonia as Protector of Widowed Duchesses*

Rivalry in Galicia

At the beginning of the 13th century the main contact area of Polish-Hungarian relations was Galicia, where the interests of the Árpáds and Piasts met that of the local elite.¹ The origins of the Polish connections of Prince Coloman (1208–1241)² can also be found there. The Polish-Hungarian competition in this area was strengthened especially after the

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death of Roman Mstislavić in 1205, although the Hungarian endeavour concerning Galicia was already noticeable at the time of King Béla III. Roman was killed in the battle of Zawichost, while he was fighting certain Polish dukes (Leszek the White and Konrad of Masovia). His widow, Maria, had no choice but to try to protect the interests of their sons, Daniel and Vasilko. In this situation she turned to the Duke of Cracow, Leszek the White, while seeking the support of Andrew II as well. The Hungarian king arranged a personal meeting with Maria and came to an agreement with Leszek in 1206.

The next conflict broke out in 1213, when Andrew II planned a campaign to support Maria and Daniel. On his way to Galicia he learned about the assassination of his wife, Gertrud of Merania. The king turned back to Hungary, while his army, led by Vladislav Kormilić, continued

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5 Font, Árpád-házi királyok, 179–187.
7 Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 10.
marching to Galicia. After his first successes Vladislav functioned as the Hungarian governor of Galicia. The widow of Roman seemed to be unsatisfied with the turn of events, so she contacted Leszek the White again. Daniel raised an army with the support of the Cracowian duke and defeated Vladislav in the battle by the river Bóbrka.\textsuperscript{10} Despite this victory, Leszek and Daniel could not accomplish the much desired territorial control.\textsuperscript{11}

The reaction of Andrew II to these events was a campaign against Cracow. According to certain suppositions, the Hungarian king planned to place his second son, Coloman as king on the throne of Galicia as early as 1213.\textsuperscript{12} Later on he wrote about this issue to Pope Innocent III and he described the plan as the idea of certain boyars of Galicia, the so-called Hungarian party.\textsuperscript{13} In this situation Leszek found himself in a dilemma: he could either fight the Hungarian king or cooperate with him. The Duke of Cracow chose the second option as the events of 1214 show us.\textsuperscript{14}

In the fall of this year one of the most important actions of the selected era took place, namely the meeting of Spiš (Scepusia, Szepesség) of Andrew II and Leszek the White. The meeting of the rulers was also a turning point in the life of Prince Coloman, the second son of the Hungarian king. In the so-called agreement (or treaty) of Spiš Andrew and

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{10} Font, “II. András orosz”, 124–125; Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 11.
\bibitem{11} Font, “II. András orosz”, 125; Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 11.
\bibitem{12} Cf. ibid. 11-12.
\bibitem{13} RA no. 294. See: Font, “II. András orosz”, 125–126; Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 11-12.
\bibitem{14} Font, “II. András orosz”, 125–126; Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 12.
\end{thebibliography}
Leszek came to the decision that their alliance should be confirmed by the marriage of Coloman and Salomea, the daughter of Leszek. Concerning the effects of the agreement one can find two contradictory opinions. On the one hand, and this is the conventional view, the agreement is considered favourable especially for the Hungarian king, since according to the agreement Coloman should have ruled over Galicia as king, while Leszek only got Przemyśl and Lubaczów in return. On the other hand it has to be emphasised that the daughter of the Cracowian duke was engaged to a member of the Árpáds, and this kind of event had happened only once since 1138, so Leszek could benefit from the prestige of this marriage. According to some scholars he could even secure the coronation of Salomea in the agreement – at least, later events can point to this conclusion.

As a result of the agreement of Spiš Coloman was placed in Galicia at the end of 1214, and was waiting for the coronation, perhaps already in the company of his bride. It is interesting, however that there is no mention of Salomea in the

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16 Font, “II. András orosz”, 125.
18 Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 12; Đura Hardi stated that the assurance of Marias and Daniels rule in Vladimir was also part of the agreement of Spiš. Đura Hardi, Naslednici Kijeva [The Successors of Kiev]. (Novi Sad, 2002) 134.
letter of Andrew II, which he sent to Pope Innocent III. In another royal charter from the following year we learn about the papal grant of Coloman’s coronation. Yet, it is also questionable if Salomea was crowned too, at the inauguration of her husband. Gerard Labuda, for example, denied this possibility, based on the assumed age of the duchess. Furthermore, he assumes the participation of the Cracowian bishop, Vincenty Kadłubek at the coronation. The Slovak historian Karol Hollý, on the contrary, interprets this hypothesis as an indicator of Salomea’s attendance of the ceremony. It is also possible to suppose multiple acts: namely that the unction and the first coronation was performed right after the meeting of Spiš in Hungary, Esztergom, while the second one with the crown sent by the pope only later. Mára Font earlier counted with one coronation and dated this event to the pontificate of Innocent III, so before July 1216 and she thought it was performed in Galicia. At the outset of the 20th century Ubul Kállay claimed that the coronation had happened in Hungary at the turn of 1215 and

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20 RA no. 294. It can be assumed that it was composed before the meeting of Spiš. For that see Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 15.
21 RA no. 302.
23 Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 17.
24 Font, “II. András orosz”, 126–127. For the changes in her opinion see her upcoming work on Coloman (Márta Font, “Kálmán és Salomea. A koronázás problémái” [Coloman and Salomea, Problems of the Coronation], in In memoriam Koszta László, ed. T. Fedeles – Zs. Hunyadi (Szeged, 2016) in print.
1216.\textsuperscript{25} In the 1920s Polish historian Bronisław Włodarski, and recently the Slovak Nataša Procházková also opted for the Hungarian location, while earlier Gerard Labuda had argued for a coronation in Galicia.\textsuperscript{26}

In Salomea’s case it is even more difficult to come to a conclusion about her participation, since there are even less sources known. The date of her leave of Cracow itself is questionable, so we do not know exactly when Salomea was brought to Galicia to Coloman. According to the traditional view it did not happen right after the meeting of Spiš or even after the coronation of the Hungarian prince,\textsuperscript{27} since the daughter of the Cracowian duke was in a very young age. Otherwise it is also assumed that Leszek did not intend to observe the terms of the agreement, so it is not surprising that there is no evidence of the coronation of Salomea.\textsuperscript{28} Karol Hollý on the other hand emphasised the weak points of this argumentation. The doubts based on the age of the duchess, for instance, can be refused by many analogues. Concerning the intentions of Leszek the White, he employs the

\textsuperscript{25} Ubul Kállay, “Mikor koronáztaék meg Kálmánt Halics felkent királyát a pápától küldött koronával?” [When and Where was Coloman, the Aneled King of Galicia Crowned with the Crown sent by the Pope?], Századok 37 (1903) 672–673.


\textsuperscript{27} Márta Font dates it to 1219. Font, “II. András orosz”, 128.

\textsuperscript{28} Summarising: Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 17–18.
evaluation of the agreement of Spiš and states that its outcome was favourable for the Polish duke, so he was rather interested in preserving the deal. And as the most important argument he came up with the letter of Andrew II sent to Pope Innocent III in 1215, in which we can find a passage about the accomplished marriage. Furthermore, Hollý refers to the later legend of Salomea reporting on her trip to Galicia at the age of three, right after the agreement mentioned several times. In connection with this idea he takes it probable that the young couple was crowned together. We cannot decide this question though definitely, yet, the queen status of Salomea is thanks to his husbands’ title not doubtful, as her addressing in the letter of Pope Gregory IX in 1234 proves it.

The “rule” of the new king in Galicia did not last long, and probably ended in 1221 or 1222 at the latest. It is questionable if Coloman and Salomea spent the whole time there, or they were expelled in 1219 from Galicia, and got back there later as a result of a Hungarian campaign. The end of the Ruthenian episode of the life of the royal couple caused the attack of Mstislav Udalyj, the duke of Novgorod. Peace was restored through the engagement of Andrew, the third son of Andrew II, and the daughter of Mstislav. Coloman

29 Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 18.
30 RA no. 302.
31 Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 18–19.
32 Ibid. 19-20.
33 Although it did not require the act of coronation.
36 Font, “II. András orosz”, 129; Font, Árpád-házi királyok, 213–214.
and Salomea had to move to Hungary in this situation: first they settled in Spiš,\(^{37}\) but in 1226 Coloman followed his elder brother, Béla, as the Duke of Croatia and Dalmatia.\(^{38}\)

**Coloman and the monastery of Spiš**

Coloman got in touch with Polish matters, however, already before becoming the Duke of Slavonia,\(^{39}\) in Spiš. As we mentioned already, after his return from Galicia he spent many years there, in the north-eastern part of Hungary, in a location near his former Kingdom, as well as Poland.\(^{40}\) We do not know about an active political role of Coloman (or Salomea) of this time, but there is one case in which the prince and his Polish connection could have played an important role. So, it is very likely that Coloman was the founder of the Cistercian monastery of Spiš (Savnik – Spišský Štiavnik), or at least

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\(^{38}\) Font, Árpád-házi királyok, 217; Gyula Kristó, A feudális szét tagolódás Magyarországon [The Feudal Fragmentation in Hungary] (Budapest, 1979) 48.


his father managed to do it with his cooperation.\textsuperscript{41} It has to be mentioned as well that according to other views the monastery was founded by Dionysius, son of Ampud, the Hungarian master of the treasury (\textit{magister tavernicorum regali\textae}). It also has to be considered that he was the count of Spiš in 1216 and he later became a close trusted man of Coloman.\textsuperscript{42} The significance of this foundation can be found in the circumstances of its own formation. On the basis of the statute of the general chapter of Citeaux\textsuperscript{43} we know that the abbots of the Polish monasteries Sulejów and Koprzywnica were sent to examine the petition of Dionysius concerning a new monastery. They must have found there suitable conditions, because the right was granted to Dionysius to bring monks there from another Polish monastery, Wąchock.\textsuperscript{44}


Among the medieval Cistercian monasteries in Hungary this one was quite a unique case considering the circumstances mentioned, because the other foundations happened from French or Austrian bases (the new monasteries were filiates of Clairvaux, Pontigny or Heiligenkreutz). Only three other abbeys belonged to the Morimond-group besides the monastery of Spiš: Cikádor, Borsmonostor and Zagreb. However, the role of the Polish monasteries can be explained by the fact of geographical closeness, or internal colonization as well, but the presence of Coloman in Spiš by the time of the foundation (1223) allows us to take his Polish contacts into consideration as one of the reasons for the participation of the mentioned monasteries. It is interesting too that there is no other known evidence of a Polish participation in the ecclesiastical matters of Coloman, which perhaps can be explained by the distance between Slavonia and the Polish lands.

46 Font, Dinasztia, Hatalom, Egyház, 412; Koszta, “Die Gründung von”, 76.
47 Font, Dinasztia, Hatalom, Egyház, 413.
50 Martin Homza stated that the initiative of the foundation had come from Salomea herself, although he later modified this presumption. Martin Homza, “Vzťahy Spiša a Malopoľska od roku 1138 do roku 1241” [Relations between Spiš and Lesser Poland from 1138 to 1241], in Zborník príspevkov k slovenským dejinám, ed. J. Bobák (Bratislava, 1998) 106, 111. See: Procházková, “Koloman Haličský”, 245; Vida, “A ciszterci rend”, 462.
Papal Protections and Coloman

The next relevant topic of the Polish-Hungarian relations concerning the life of Coloman and Salomea was the papal protection of two Polish duchesses and their sons. On 23rd December 1233 two charters were issued in the papal chancellery, both addressed to the Duke of Slavonia.51 These letters were meant to secure the protections of the Apostolic See given to Grzymisława of Sandomierz52 and to Viola of Opole.53 Due to their requests Pope Gregory IX took the widowed duchesses under his and Saint Peter’s defence, as we


learn this from the charters sent directly to the duchesses. Prince Coloman was ordered as a lay conservator to protect them, their children as well as their belongings and rights. The papal protection of laymen was not an extraordinary phenomenon in the first half of the 13th century, as this practice was growing under the pontificate of Innocent III. The significance of these cases, however, is the role of the Hungarian prince. Though he was not the only appointed protector, as the archbishop of Gniezno and the bishop of Wrocław were involved in both cases as ecclesiastical guardians concerning Viola, together with the bishop of Olomuć, while in the case of Grzymisława with the bishop of Cracow. Coloman was neither the only temporal power entrusted by the pope. The interests of Grzymisława had to be guarded by Henry the Bearded, Duke of Silesia, who previously had acted many times in favour of the duchess and maintained an especially good relationship with the papacy.
The reason of the papal mandate given to the Hungarian duke and the tasks imposed on him, although similar, were not the same in the two cases. The ground for Coloman’s assignment can be traced down through the analysis of the situations of Grzymisława and Viola and their connection to the Duke of Slavonia or broadly to the Hungarian royal family. The case of the duchess of Sandomierz seems to be clearer than the other one, so we will examine it first.

She was the widow of Leszek the White, the mother of Salomea, and the mother-in-law of Coloman. The Cracowian duke was murdered at the meeting of the Polish dukes in Gąsawa on 27th November 1227. After this event Władysław III Laskonogi (Spindleshanks), ruler of Greater Poland and Konrad of Masovia, the brother of Leszek fought for the throne of Cracow. The widow of Leszek renounced the rights of her son in favour of Władysław in 1228, so she received the territory of Sandomierz in return. After the death of Laskonogi Henry the Bearded became the greatest supporter of mother and child against Konrad of Masovia.62 The Duke of Silesia, as already mentioned, helped Grzymisława contacting the Apostolic See: his contribution was inevitable,

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since the widow and her son by this time were captured by Konrad.\textsuperscript{63}

Concerning the papal mandate of Coloman we can state with relative certainty that the reason for it can be found in his kinship with Grzymisława. The Polish historian, Benedykt Zientara was of this opinion as well,\textsuperscript{64} while Karol Hollý the role of Salomea emphasizes.\textsuperscript{65} Unfortunately we do not possess any concrete data concerning Coloman’s activity in the interest of his mother-in-law. It is furthermore questionable, if the Hungarian prince could do or wanted to do anything at all in this situation. On the one hand the distance between Poland and Slavonia (the latter being the southwestern part of Hungary) has to be emphasised, although we have to take into consideration that the prince possessed the territory of Spiš until his death,\textsuperscript{66} an area directly neighbouring Lesser Poland. On the other hand it has to be underlined that by the time of the issuing of the papal charter the duchess already had been freed from her captivity, while later, thanks to the mediation of the Polish prelates, an agreement was made between Henry and Konrad in which the rights of Grzymisława and her son, Bolesław\textsuperscript{67} were likewise secured.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{64} Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 285.
\textsuperscript{65} Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 28–29.
\textsuperscript{67} For the assumable role of Salomea in the later marriage of her brother, Boleslaw the Shy with the latter Polish saint, Kinga, daughter of King Béla IV see Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 31–32; Kozłowski, “The Marriage of”, 80–99. Cf. Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobożny 158–160, 235–236.
\textsuperscript{68} Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 286–287.
The second case is not as simple as the previous one, since the connection of Viola to Coloman cannot be proven easily. She was the widow of Duke Casimir of Opole, who died in 1230, or perhaps already in 1229. After the death of her husband Viola became the guardian of their sons, Mieszko and Władysław, and as a regent the leader of the Duchy of Opole-Racibórz. This situation, however, did not last long: in 1231 the already mentioned Silesian duke, Henry the Bearded, as the closest male relative of the young children, claimed the guardian status above them, and so the

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rule over Opole.\textsuperscript{70} His purpose was probably to secure the resources of the duchy for himself in the struggle for rule over Cracow.\textsuperscript{71} Therefore, his pushing Viola into the background can be understood only indirectly as part of the conflict of the Piast stirpes.\textsuperscript{72}

In this situation Duchess Viola turned to the Apostolic See in 1233, trying to secure her and her sons rights against the demands of the neighbouring Silesian duke. The already mentioned papal charters\textsuperscript{73} show us that Pope Gregory IX granted the request of Viola. He also decided on the mandate of ecclesiastical and temporal protectors, but it remained partially ineffective similarly to the proclamation of the papal protection. As we mentioned, Henry the Bearded had especially good relations with the papacy,\textsuperscript{74} so he could manage to solve the problem with a compromise. Due to this settlement Henry remained the guardian of the underage princes, but he acknowledged their right for Opole, while he, in fact, did not give up the real power over the duchy. In return, Viola and her sons could take possession Kalisz and

\textsuperscript{71} Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 280–281; Dziewulski, “Bułgarka księżną opolską?”, 172–173; Swoboda, “Księżna kaliska Bułgarką?”, 77.
\textsuperscript{72} Casimir himself was not directly involved in the struggles, although he was occasionally part of several alliances. Cf. Barciak, Książęta i księżne, 70; Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 207–239.
\textsuperscript{73} RPR no. 9349; RPR no. 9337, RGIX no. 1645; RPR no. 9348, RGIX no. 1646.
\textsuperscript{74} Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 173–176, 289.
Ruda in Greater Poland, which were occupied recently by Henry the Bearded.75

Before we get back to the question of Coloman’s involvement, we have to state concerning this case that we do not know any sign of a practical activity of the Slavonian duke in the interest of Viola. The only clue for his apostolic mandate is the several times-mentioned papal charter.76 Due to the lack of further information on Coloman’s possible arrangements we are not able to find the cause of this papal mandate, so we have to focus on the other party, i.e. Viola. There is no evidence of any Hungarian-Polish interaction form the 1220s or from the time after the death of Casimir which could explain the participation of Coloman. Nevertheless, the situation of Grzymisława presents itself as a potential parallel case, so we have to examine too, if Viola had any direct connection to Coloman at all.

About the descent of Viola, in contrast to later chapters of her life,77 sadly, there is only one single data known, the notice of Jan Długosz in his work Annales Regni Poloniae form the 15th century. The annalist wrote the following passage for the year of 1251 concerning the death of Viola: “Viola genere et natione Bulgara, Ducissa de Opol, moritur”.78 On the

76 RPR no. 9349.
77 See Swoboda, “Księżna kaliska Bułgarką?”, 61.
78 Długosz I. 327.
basis of this information Viola in Polish historiography is traditionally considered a Bulgarian duchess.\(^79\) This theory is, however, not the only one present, since according to other views Viola could have a Hungarian, Ruthenian,\(^80\) and Dalmatian or Croatian\(^81\) origin as well. In this paper we cannot present all arguments about the various views concerning Viola's descent,\(^82\) but we have to try to answer the remaining question: What was the reason for the papal mandate of Coloman?

First of all, we have to stick to the disputed descent of the duchess. As already mentioned, on the basis of the other case we have to assume that there could be some connection between the protected Polish widow and the Slavonian duke. It seems to be very tempting to agree automatically with the Hungarian version, which could easily explain the duty of the Hungarian king's son. In the case of Coloman one has to

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take into consideration that the Dalmatian, or even the Ruthenian origin of Viola could also be a reasonable supposition.\textsuperscript{83} The question itself is more difficult than a simple choice between theories, since there are many details in the various hypotheses which deserve further considerations.

For instance, a Hungarian royal charter of 1246\textsuperscript{84} was used for the identification of Viola, in which we can learn about the participation of an unknown Polish duke at the crusade of Andrew II in 1217–1218. The letter itself is probably not authentic,\textsuperscript{85} and it is known only from a later transcript.\textsuperscript{86} Yet, it is interesting, how a single passage was used as a source for the Bulgarian origin,\textsuperscript{87} as well as for the Hungarian,\textsuperscript{88} or a Dalmatian one.\textsuperscript{89} It has been assumed that Casimir of Opole was the Polish duke, who accompanied the Hungarian King on his crusade\textsuperscript{90} and on his way back home he found a Bulgarian wife from the family of the tsars.\textsuperscript{91} Even though this assumption was taken into consideration as right, it still would not be enough evidence for any of the versions concerning the descent, in our opinion. It has to be at least mentioned that this imaginable involvement of the

\textsuperscript{83} See: Dąbrowski, “Slovak and Southern”, 113–116
\textsuperscript{84} RA no. 843.
\textsuperscript{85} János Karácsonyi, Hamis, hibászeltű és keltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig [Catalogue of Forged, Wrong- and Undated Diplomas until 1400] (Budapest, 1902) 18.
\textsuperscript{86} In a charter of King Ladislaus IV (1272–1290) which was issued on the 7th September 1274. DL 401 19.
\textsuperscript{87} Dziewulski, “Bułgarka księżną opolską?”.
\textsuperscript{88} Horwat, Książęta górnośląscy, 25–26.
\textsuperscript{89} Dąbrowski, “Slovak and Southern”, 115–116.
\textsuperscript{90} Gładysz, Zapomniani krzyżowcy, 156–169.
\textsuperscript{91} Dziewulski, “Bułgarka księżną opolską?”, 166–169.
Opolian duke could itself be a reason behind the latter mission of Coloman, the son of Andrew II.

Regarding the origin of Viola the Ruthenian version has to be taken into consideration as well, since the role of Coloman could be explained this way through a relationship between the duchess and the duke, dated from the time when he was the ruler of Galicia.\textsuperscript{92} It is also interesting in this point of view that between 1214 und 1217 Casimir of Opole had an especially good relationship with Leszek the White: this situation could be a possibility for a Ruthenian marriage for the duke of Opole.\textsuperscript{93} The Ruthenian origin of Grzymisława can also be taken into consideration as a clue regarding Violas assumable Eastern-Slavic heritage too,\textsuperscript{94} especially concerning the papal mandate of Coloman. This assumption, however, cannot be supported by any concrete source, so it remains only a hypothesis.

Concerning Coloman’s Polish relations there is another connection we have to take into consideration, since beside his mother-in-law there is another relative of his, who played an important role in the examined matters of the early thirties, Henry I the Bearded. His wife Hedvig (Jadwiga) of Silesia was the sister of Gertrud of Merania, mother of Coloman,

\textsuperscript{92} Font, Árpád-házi királyok, 204–214, 217; Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 285.
\textsuperscript{93} See Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 207–208, 256; Dziewulski, “Bułgarka księżną opolską?”, 163–165.
\textsuperscript{94} Cf. Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 13; Dąbrowski, “Piasten und Rjurikiden”, 178.
therefore the Silesian duke was a kin to him.\textsuperscript{95} We have already mentioned Henry’s role in both cases, so the presumption that Coloman’s papal mandating could be in connection with this kinship, is possibly not really far from the reality. It has to be emphasized, however that Henry was the fellow temporal protector of his nephew only in the case of Grzymisława. Concerning the papal protection of Viola, the Silesian ruler was, on the contrary, even the opponent, against whom the help of the Apostolic See was sought for the widowed duchess. We think it is possible, but not provable that the parallel involvement of the related dukes in the first case could led to the idea of Coloman’s dual authorization at the papal Curia.

If we get back to the question of the nature of the relationship between Coloman and Viola, we have to analyze the papal charter sent to the duke. In this text there is no evidence of any kinship between the protected person and the authorized protector.\textsuperscript{96} It does not mean, however that this state of affairs rules out the possibility altogether, since neither does the other papal diploma contain a clue to the relationship between Coloman and his mother-in-law.

Regarding Coloman’s tasks we have to examine the papal mandates as well. The one about the protection of Viola, unlike the other, cannot be found in the papal register\textsuperscript{97} – a

\textsuperscript{95} See Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 163, 175; Procházková, “Postavenie haličského kráľa”, 70; Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobožny, 69–77. Cf. Kozłowski, “The Dynastic Horizons”, 92. For the possible effects of such kinships on the relations of the relatives involved see Dąbrowski, “Piasten und Rjurikiden”, 189.

\textsuperscript{96} VMH I. no. 204, RPR no. 9352, RGIX no. 1649.

\textsuperscript{97} Cf. RGIX
condition that can complicate the question even further. It has to be emphasised, however that not every papal charter can be found in the registers, since there was never a goal to reach a fullness: the documents were selected on the basis of various criteria, such as juridical relevance, or the petition of the recipients of the charters. In the case of a papal protection the situation is further complicated by the fact that the protected persons had their share in its proclamation, as well as in the delivery of the charters to the protectors. In the case of Viola it could have an effect on the tradition of the text. Every single charter can be be found in the register of Pope Gregory IX except this one, which is known to us only thanks to an edition from the modern era. The reason for this situation is (and probably will remain) unclear, but there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the charter, and so the authorisation of Duke Coloman.

Searching for the possible causes of the papal mandate of the duke the hypothesis has to be mentioned as well that Coloman could have been chosen for the task in the papal Curia either by mistake or due to his relations to Duchess Grzymisława, since the duties of the protection were given to Coloman within a very short time span, and this situation could cause the dual authorization. In the daily work of the

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101 Fried, Der päpstliche Schutz, 307.
102 RGIX no. 1645–1649.
103 RPR no. 9349; CDH III/2. 373.
papal chancellery, especially by the delegated jurisdiction in the *audientia litterarum contradictarum*, undeniably there can be found many defaults,\(^\text{104}\) but in the case of a papal protection it is hard to imagine a total coincidence concerning the selection of a secular protector. The order to protect Viola, her sons and all their rights was given to Coloman,\(^\text{105}\) so we do not think it is possible that the task of the duke was the result of a misunderstanding. The authorisation of the Slavonian duke probably cannot be explained by his assumed experience in matters of papal protections either, because beside these two cases we do know not many similar episodes from the life of the King of Galicia, although there are some: in October 1233, i.e. in the same year, Ninoslav, the Ban of Bosnia was taken under the protection of the Apostolic


\(^{105}\) “Quum igitur dilectam in Christo filiam, V. viduam, ducissam in Opal, ac filios eius, in devotione ecclesie persistentes, cum omnibus bonis, que in presentiarum iuste ac rationabiliter possident, sub Apostolice Sedis protectione recuperinus speciali, serenitatem tuam rogandem attende, ac hortandam, quaterus ipsos, ducissam et filium eius, terram et alia bona sua, habeas pro divina et nostra reverentia propsensus commendata, et tan a duce ac alius supra dictis, quam alii etiam, qui eos contra protectionis nostre tenorem molestare presumserint, tradita tibi potestate defendas” – CDH III/2. 372–373; RPR no. 9349.
See, Coloman, as the Duke of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia was also informed about the papal decision. The fight against the heretics in the Balkans was the reason behind the papal protection of the Hungarian prince, when Gregory IX gave him a similar assurance about the safety of his family and belongings on 17th October 1234, while he was supposed to lead a campaign against the heretics of Bosnia.

In short, it has to be stated about the examined question that according to our knowledge on the genealogy of the Árpáds there is no evidence of any person with the name Viola. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that the Duchess of Opole was a Hungarian or even a member of the royal family. Concerning this question one argument, namely the pa-

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106 RPR no. 9304, RGIX no. 1521. Furthermore, it has to be mentioned that before the named mandates about the Polish duchesses, it was only this time that he was contacted from the papal side. See RPR no. 9305, 9349, 9352.

107 RPR no. 9305, RGIX no. 1522.


pal authorisation of Duke Coloman has been almost completely disregarded until now. In the light of the involvement of the Arpadian prince, the Hungarian origin of Viola seems to be more plausible than previously assumed, although the Ruthenian and even the Dalmatian possibilities cannot be disapproved either.

Conclusion

At the end of this short summary about the Polish relations of Duke Coloman we can underline the fact that his Polish wife, Salomea and so his kinship with Leszek the White had an enormous effect on the intensity of the connections mentioned. The matters of the reign and life of the young couple in Galicia and the papal protection of Grzymisława, the mother of Salomea, can confirm this statement splendidly. Coloman had however a second Polish link as well, his aunt, Hedvig (Jadwiga) of Silesia, who was the sister of the murdered Hungarian queen, Gertrud of Merania. This way the Silesian duke, Henry I the Bearded, the husband of Hedvig was a kin to Coloman as well. This connection, however, was less reflected in the life of the Duke of Slavonia. The direct crossing of their œuvres can be observed only regarding the two papal protections. In the case of Grzymisława Henry was the fellow laymen protector of Coloman, while concerning Viola he was his opponent, who the duchess of Opole had to be protected from. There is no evidence of any direct interactions between the Hungarian prince and the Polish

111 With the exception of Dariusz Dąbrowski. See Dąbrowski, “Slovak and Southern”, 113–116.
participants. The questions concerning the reason of Coloman's papal authorisation and his contact with Viola are therefore unique topics, since the origin of the duchess is a long disputed issue in the Polish historiography, to which the papal mandate of Coloman could be a small contribution.

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