

Gábor Barabás
University of Pécs

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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¹ Cf. Márta Font, *Árpád-házi királyok és Rurikida fejedelmek [Arpadian Kings and The Rurikid Princes]* (Szeged, 2005) 179–214; Nataša Procházková, "Some Notes on the Titles of Coloman of Galicia", in *Slovakia and Croatia Vol I. Slovakia and Croatia Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, ed. V. Kucharská – S. Kuzmová – A. Mesiarkin (Bratislava – Zagreb, 2013) 104.

² Géza Kanyó, "Kálmán herceg 1208–1241" [Coloman, Hungarian Prince 1208–1241], *Katholikus Szemle* 9 (1895) 250–267, 414–445; Tibor Almási, "Kálmán. Magyar herceg" [Coloman, Hungarian Prince], in *Korai magyar történeti lexikon (9–14. század)*, ed Gy. Kristó – P. Engel – F. Makk (Budapest, 1994) 316.

death of Roman Mstislavič³ in 1205,⁴ although the Hungarian endeavour concerning Galicia was already noticeable at the time of King Béla III.⁵ Roman was killed in the battle of Zawichost, while he was fighting certain Polish dukes (Leszek the White and Konrad of Masovia).⁶ 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.⁷ The Hungarian king arranged a personal meeting with Maria and came to an agreement with Leszek in 1206.⁸

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.⁹ The king turned back to Hungary, while his army, led by Vladislav Kormiličič, continued

³ Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów książąt halicko-wołyńskich* [The Genealogy of the Romanowicz of the Duchy Galica-Lodomeria] (Poznań – Wrocław, 2002) 23–44.

⁴ Karol Hollý, "Princess Salomea and Hungarian–Polish Relations in the Period 1214–1241", *Historický Časopis* 55, Supplement (2007) 10.

⁵ Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 179–187.

⁶ Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 10; Dariusz Dąbrowski, "Piasten und Rjurikiden vom 11. bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts", in *Die piastische Herrschaft in kontinentalen Beziehungsgeflechten vom 10. bis zum frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. D. Adamczyk – N. Kersken (Wiesbaden, 2015) 180.

⁷ Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 10.

⁸ Márta Font, "II. András orosz politikája és hadjáratai" [The Russian Policy and the Campaigns of King Andrew II], *Századok* 125 (1991) 119, 122–123; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 11.

⁹ For this see recently Tamás Körmendi, A "Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei" [The Circumstances of the Assassination of Queen Gertrude], in *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára. 1213–2013. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete*, ed. J. Majorossy (Szentendre, 2014) 95–124.

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.¹⁰ Despite this victory, Leszek and Daniel could not accomplish the much desired territorial control.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 1213.¹² 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.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.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

¹⁰ Font, "II. András orosz", 124-125; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 11.

¹¹ Font, "II. András orosz", 125; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 11.

¹² Cf. *ibid.* 11-12.

¹³ RA no. 294. See: Font, "II. András orosz", 125-126; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 11-12.

¹⁴ Font, "II. András orosz", 125-126; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 12.

Leszek came to the decision that their alliance should be confirmed by the marriage of Coloman and Salomea, the daughter of Leszek.¹⁵ 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.¹⁶ 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.¹⁷ According to some scholars he could even secure the coronation of Salomea in the agreement – at least, later events can point to this conclusion.¹⁸

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.¹⁹ It is interesting, however that there is no mention of Salomea in the

¹⁵ Font, "II. András orosz", 125; Nataša Procházková, "Koloman Haličský na Spiši pred rokom 1241" [Coloman of Galicia in Spiš before 1241], in *Terra Scepusiensis. Stan badań nad dziejami Spiszu*, ed. R. Gładkiewicz – M. Homza (Levoča – Wrocław, 2003) 244; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 12.

¹⁶ Font, "II. András orosz", 125.

¹⁷ Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 12, 14, 15. Cf. Wojciech Kozłowski, "The Dynastic Horizons of the Árpáds and Piasts, ca. 1150–1250", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 15 (2009) 85, 89–94.

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.

¹⁹ Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 15. Márta Font denied this option. Font, "II. András orosz", 127.

letter of Andrew II, which he sent to Pope Innocent III.²⁰ In another royal charter from the following year we learn about the papal grant of Coloman's coronation.²¹ 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.²² 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.²³ Márta 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.²⁴ At the outset of the 20th century Ubul Kállay claimed that the coronation had happened in Hungary at the turn of 1215 and

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.

²² Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 16-17; Gerard Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza: próba rekonstrukcji* [A Lost Chronicle from the First Half of the 13th Century in the Annales of the Polish Kingdom by Jan Długosz] (Poznań, 1983) 54-55.

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.

1216.²⁵ 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.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,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.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

²⁵ Ubul Kállay, "Mikor koronázták 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.

²⁶ Nataša Procházková, "Postavenie haličského kráľa a slavónskeho kniežaťa Kolomana z rodu Arpádovcov v uhorskej vnútornej a zahraničnej politike v prvej polovici 13. storočia" [King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia. Coloman of the Árpadian Dynasty. In the First Half of the 13th Century], *Medea* 2 (Bratislava, 1998) 67; Procházková, "Koloman Haličský", 244–245; Labuda, *Zaginiona kronika* z, 54. Summarising Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 17.

²⁷ Márta Font dates it to 1219. Font, "II. András orosz", 128.

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.²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.³¹ In connection with this idea he takes it probable that the young couple was crowned together.³² We cannot decide this question though definitely, yet, the queen status³³ of Salomea is thanks to his husbands' title not doubtful, as her addressing in the letter of Pope Gregory IX in 1234 proves it.³⁴

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.³⁵ 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.³⁶ 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.

³⁴ RGIX no. 2126. See Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 19-20. Márta Font didn't deny the possibility of the coronation. Font, "II. András orosz", 128.

³⁵ Cf. Font, "II. András orosz", 128-129; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 22-23.

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

³⁷ See Attila Zsoldos, “Szepes megye kialakulása” [The Formation of Szepes County], *Történelmi Szemle* 43 (2001) 25; Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 25–26.

³⁸ Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 217; Gyula Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon* [The Feudal Fragmentation in Hungary] (Budapest, 1979) 48.

³⁹ The question of Coloman’s role in the genesis of the so called Polish-Hungarian Chronicle is not the subject of this paper. For this see recently Adrien Quéret-Podesta, “Vom Ungarn der Árpáden zum Polen der Piasten. Zur Entstehung und zum Schicksal der sogenannten Ungarisch-polnischen Chronik” in *Mittelalterliche Eliten und Kulturtransfer östlich der Elbe. Interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu Archäologie und Geschichte im mittelalterlichen Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. A. Klammt – S. Rossignol (Göttingen, 2009) 70–71, 73, 75; Judit Csákó, “A Magyar-lengyel Krónika és a hazai elbeszélő hagyomány” [The Hungarian-Polish Chronicle and the Domestic Narrative Tradition], *Századok* 148 (2014) 305–315.

⁴⁰ See Zsoldos, “Szepes megye kialakulása”, 25; Hollý, “Princess Salomea”, 25–26.

his father managed to do it with his cooperation.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 (*magister tavernicorum regaliium*). 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.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 Cîteaux⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

⁴¹ For the detailed introduction of this topic see Beáta Vida, "A ciszterci rend kezdeteinek vitatott kérdései a Szepességben" [The Disputed Questions about the Beginnings of the Cistercian Order in Spiš], in Fons, skeepsis, lex. Ünnepi tanulmányok a 70 esztendő Makk Ferenc tiszteletére, ed. T. Almási - É. Révész - Gy. Szabados (Szeged, 2010) 462. Cf. Beatrix Romhányi, "The Role of the Cistercians in Medieval Hungary: Political Activity or Internal Colonization?", *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 1 (1994) 194; Beatrix Romhányi, *Kolostorok es társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon* [Monasteries and Collegial Chapters in the Medieval Hungary] (CD Rom, 2008) 'Savnik'

⁴² Kristóf Keglevich, "A szepesi apátság története az Árpád- és Anjou-korban (1223-1387)" [History of the Abbey of Spiš in the Árpád- and Angevin Era], *Fons* 14 (2007) 5-11.

⁴³ For the catalogues about the foundations of the Cistercian monasteries cf. Dániel Bácsatyai, "Az egresi ciszterci monostor korai történetének kérdései" [The Questions of Early History of The Cistercian Monastery of Egres], *Századok* 149 (2015) 264-267.

⁴⁴ Romhányi, "The Role of", 190; Procházková, "Koloman Haličský", 245; Keglevich, "A szepesi apátság", 5; Márta Font (ed.), *Dinasztia, Hatalom, Egyház. Régiók formálása Európa közepén (900-1453)* [Dynasty, Power, Church. Formation of Regions in the Middle of Europe (900-1453)] (Pécs, 2009) 413.

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).⁴⁵ Only three other abbeys belonged to the Morimond-group besides the monastery of Spiš: Cikádor, Borsmonostor and Zagreb.⁴⁶ However, the role of the Polish monasteries can be explained by the fact of geographical closeness,⁴⁷ or internal colonization⁴⁸ as well, but the presence of Coloman in Spiš by the time of the foundation (1223)⁴⁹ allows us to take his Polish contacts into consideration as one of the reasons for the participation of the mentioned monasteries.⁵⁰ 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.

⁴⁵ László Koszta, "Die Gründung von Zisterzienserklöstern in Ungarn 1142-1270", *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 23 (1997) 66-68; Font, *Dinasztia, Hatalom, Egyház*, 409-413.

⁴⁶ Font, *Dinasztia, Hatalom, Egyház*, 412; Koszta, "Die Gründung von", 76.

⁴⁷ Font, *Dinasztia, Hatalom, Egyház*, 413.

⁴⁸ Romhányi, "The Role of", 190.

⁴⁹ Keglevich, "A szepesi apátság", 5.

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

⁵¹ See Procházková, "Postavenie haličského kráľa", 71; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 217; Márta Font, "A világi igazgatás intézményrendszerének kialakulása az Árpád-korban (1000-1301)" [The Formation of the Institutions of the Laical Administration in the Árpád-era (1000-1301)], in M. Font - T. Fedeles - G. Kiss, *Magyarország kormányzati rendszere (1000-1526)* (Pécs, 2007) 32; Martin Homza, "Król Halicza Koloman jako *dux Scepusiae*" [Coloman, King of Galicia as *dux Scepusiae*], in *Historia scepusii*. Vol. I. ed. M. Homza - S. A. Sroka (Bratislava - Kraków, 2009) 148; Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 25; Gábor Barabás, *Das Papsttum und Ungarn in der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (ca. 1198- ca. 1241). *Päpstliche Einflussnahme - Zusammenwirken - Interessengegensätze. Publikationen der ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien*. Bd. VI. (Wien, 2014) 226-230.

⁵² See Benedykt Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige und seine Zeit: Politik und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Schlesien* (München, 2002) 255, 285; Johannes Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz für Laienfürsten. Die politische Geschichte des päpstlichen Schutzprivilegs für Laien (11-13. Jahrhundert)* (Heidelberg, 1980) 290. For the earlier history of Sandomierz see Andrzej Buko, "Sandomierz sedes regni principalis and State Formation Processes in Little Poland", in *Frühgeschichtliche Zentralorte in Mitteleuropa*, ed. J. Macháček - Š. Ungerman (Bonn, 2011) 643-651.

⁵³ See Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 280-281, 289; Anna Grabowska, "The Church in the Politics of the Duke of Opole Mieszko II. Obese (1238-1246) in the Light of Diplomatic Sources", in *Cogito, Scribo, Spero. Auxiliary Historical Sciences in Central Europe at the Outset of the 21st Century*, ed.

learn this from the charters sent directly to the duchesses.⁵⁴ Prince Coloman was ordered as a lay conservator⁵⁵ to protect them, their children as well as their belongings and rights.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷ 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 Olomuc,⁵⁸ while in the case of Grzymisława with the bishop of Cracow.⁵⁹ 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,⁶⁰ who previously had acted many times in favour of the duchess and maintained an especially good relationship with the papacy.⁶¹

M. Bolom-Kotari – J. Zouhar (Hradec Králové, 2012) 193, 198–199; Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 290.

⁵⁴ RPR. no. 9337. RGIX no. 1645; RPR no. 9351, RGIX no. 1647.

⁵⁵ Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 309–310.

⁵⁶ For the papal protection see Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, and Gábor Barabás, “Viola opolei hercegnő és Kálmán szlavón herceg. Egy historiográfiai vita margójára” [Duchess Viola of Opole and Coloman, Duke of Slavonia. Contribution to a Historiographical Dispute], *Világtörténet* 37 (2015) 6–7; Id., “Prinz Koloman und Herzogin Viola von Oppeln. Beitrag zu einem historiographischen Disput”, *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 32 (2016) 2–3.

⁵⁷ Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 264–265.

⁵⁸ RPR no. 9348, RGIX no. 1646.

⁵⁹ RPR no. 9350, RGIX no. 1648.

⁶⁰ RGIX. no. 1650.

⁶¹ See Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 285.

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 Grzymiśława 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 Grzymiśława contacting the Apostolic See: his contribution was inevitable,

⁶² For the conflict see Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 249–284; Przemysław Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobożny. Biografia Polityczna [Henry II the Pious. A Political Biography] (Legnica, 2011) 26–27, 229–231. Cf. Wojciech Kozłowski, "The Marriage of Bolesław of the Piasts and Kinga of the Árpáds in 1239 in the Shadow of the Mongol Menace", in *Capitulum VI "In my Spirit and Thought I Remained a European of Hungarian Origin."* Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik, ed. I. Petrovics – S. L. Tóth – E. Congdon (Szeged, 2010) 84–85.

since the widow and her son by this time were captured by Konrad.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,⁶⁴ while Karol Hollý the role of Salomea emphasizes.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,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, Bolesław⁶⁷ were likewise secured.⁶⁸

⁶³ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 173–176, 284–286. Cf. Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobożny, 28, 106–110, 235.

⁶⁴ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 285.

⁶⁵ Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 28–29.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hollý, "Princess Salomea", 26; Homza, "Król Halicza Koloman", 148.

⁶⁷ For the assumable role of Salomea in the later marriage of her brother, Bolesław 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.

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.⁶⁹ 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

⁶⁹ See Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobożny 28, 124, 235; Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 280–281; Władysław Dziewulski, “Bułgarka księżną opolską?” [A Bulgarian Duchess of Opole?], *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii (Wrocław, 1969) 171–172; Wincenty Swoboda, “Księżna kaliska Bułgarką? Przyczynek do rozbioru krytycznego *Annalium Długosza*” [A Bulgarian Duchess of Kalisz? Contribution to the Critical Analysis of the *Annales* of Długosz], *Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza* 3 (1980) 61–62; Kazimierz Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich. Piastowie wrocławscy, legnicko-brzescy, świdniccy, ziębiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy, oleśniccy, opolscy, cieszyńscy i oświęcimscy* [The Genealogy of the Piasts of Silesia] (Kraków, 2007) 501–205; Jerzy Horwat, *Księstwo opolskie i jego podziały do 1532 r. : książęta, miasta, Kościół, urzędy, własność prywatna* [The Duchy of Opole and its divisions till 1532. Dukes, of the City, Church, Offices, Private Property] (Rzeszów, 2002) 33–34; Jerzy Horwat, *Książęta górnośląscy z dynastii Piastów: Uwagi i uzupełnienia genealogiczne* [The Dukes of Upper Silesia from the Piast Dynasty. Notes and Extensions on the Genealogy]. (Ruda Śląska, 2005) 23; Antoni Barciak, *Książęta i księżne Górnośląska : praca zbiorowa / pod red. Antoniego Barciaka* [The Princes and Princesses of Upper Silesia. A Collective Work Edited by Anton Barciak] (Katowice, 1995) 70, 89; Anna Pobóg-Lenartowicz, “Viola, Bułgarka, księżna opolską. Przyczynek do migracji małżeńskich w średniowieczu” [A Bulgarian Duchess of Opole. A Contribution to the Matrimonial Migration in the Middle Ages.], in *Kobiety i procesy migracyjne*, ed. A. Chlebowska – K. Sierakowska (Warszawa, 2010) 13–16; Grabowska, “The Church in”, 192–193.

rule over Opole.⁷⁰ His purpose was probably to secure the resources of the duchy for himself in the struggle for rule over Cracow.⁷¹ Therefore, his pushing Viola into the background can be understood only indirectly as part of the conflict of the Piast stirpes.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 charters⁷³ 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,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

⁷⁰ Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobożny 28, 124, 155–156, 235. For the practice of the custody by the mothers or by closest male relatives cf. Pavol Hudáček, “The Legal Position of Widows in Medieval Hungary up to 1222 and the Question of Dower”, *Historický Časopis* 62. Supplement (2014) 11.

⁷¹ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 280–281; Dziewulski, “Bułgarka księżną opolską?”, 172–173; Swoboda, “Księżna kaliska Bułgarką?”, 77.

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.

⁷³ RPR no. 9349; RPR no. 9337, RGIX no. 1645; RPR no. 9348, RGIX no. 1646.

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 from the 1220s or from the time after the death of Casimir which could explain the participation of Coloman. Nevertheless, the situation of Grzymiśława 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* from 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

⁷⁵ See Dziewulski, "Bułgarka księżną opolską?", 173-175; Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 289; Grabowska, "The Church in", 192-193; Wiszewski, Henryk II Pobożny 155-156, 235.

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 Croatian⁸¹ origin as well. In this paper we cannot present all arguments about the various views concerning Violas 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

⁷⁹ See Dziewulski, "Bułgarka księżną opolską?"; Barciak, *Książęta i księżne*, 44, 69-70, 89, 114, 120; Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 280; Jasiński, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich*, 501-502, 506; Mikołaj Gładysz, *Zapomniani krzyżowcy: Polska wobec ruchu krucjatowego w XII-XIII wieku* [The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the 12th and 13th Centuries] (Warszawa, 2004) 166-167; Pobóg-Lenartowicz, "Viola, Bułgarka, księżna"; Grabowska, "The Church in", 192.

⁸⁰ See Swoboda, "Księżna kaliska Bułgarką?"; Horwat, *Księstwo opolskie*, 28-30; Id., *Książęta górnośląscy*, 24-27.

⁸¹ Dariusz Dąbrowski, "Slovak and Southern Slavic Threads in the Genealogy of the Piast and Rurikid Dynasties in the Thirteenth Century" in *Slovakia and Croatia Vol I. Slovakia and Croatia Historical Parallels and Connections (until 1780)*, ed. V. Kucharská - S. Kuzmová - A. Mesiarkin (Bratislava - Zagreb, 2013) 113-116.

⁸² See: Dąbrowski, "Slovak and Southern", 112-116; Barabás, "Viola opolei hercegnő", 10-18; Id., "Prinz Koloman und", 7-15.

take into consideration that the Dalmatian, or even the Ruthenian origin of Viola could also be a reasonable supposition.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 1246⁸⁴ 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,⁸⁵ and it is known only from a later transcript.⁸⁶ Yet, it is interesting, how a single passage was used as a source for the Bulgarian origin,⁸⁷ as well as for the Hungarian,⁸⁸ or a Dalmatian one.⁸⁹ It has been assumed that Casimir of Opole was the Polish duke, who accompanied the Hungarian King on his crusade⁹⁰ and on his way back home he found a Bulgarian wife from the family of the tsars.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

⁸³ See: Dąbrowski, "Slovak and Southern", 113–116

⁸⁴ RA no. 843.

⁸⁵ János Karácsonyi, *Hamis, hibáseltű és keltezetlen oklevelek jegyzéke 1400-ig* [Catalogue of Forged, Wrong- and Undated Diplomas until 1400] (Budapest, 1902) 18.

⁸⁶ In a charter of King Ladislaus IV (1272–1290) which was issued on the 7th September 1274. DL 401 19.

⁸⁷ Dziewulski, "Bułgarka księżną opolską?" .

⁸⁸ Horwat, *Księżęta górnośląscy*, 25–26.

⁸⁹ Dąbrowski, "Slovak and Southern", 115–116.

⁹⁰ Gładysz, *Zapomniani krzyżowcy*, 156–169.

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.⁹² It is also interesting in this point of view that between 1214 und 1217 Casmir 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.⁹³ The Ruthenian origin of Grzymisława can also be taken into consideration as a clue regarding Violas assumable Eastern-Slavic heritage too,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,

⁹² Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 204–214, 217; Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 285.

⁹³ See Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 207–208, 256; Dziewulski, "Bułgarka księżną opolską?", 163–165.

⁹⁴ Cf. Holly, "Princess Salomea", 13; Dąbrowski, "Piasten und Rjurikiden", 178.

therefore the Silesian duke was a kin to him.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 lead 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.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 register⁹⁷ – a

⁹⁵ See Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 163, 175; Procházková, "Postavenie haličského kráľa", 70; Wiszewski, *Henryk II Pobożny*, 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.

⁹⁶ VMH I. no. 204, RPR no. 9352, RGIX no. 1649.

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,⁹⁸ since there was never a goal to reach a fullness: the documents were selected on the basis of various criteria, such as juridical relevance,⁹⁹ or the petition of the recipients of the charters.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ In the case of Viola it could have an effect on the tradition of the text. Every single charter can be found in the register of Pope Gregory IX¹⁰² except this one, which is known to us only thanks to an edition from the modern era.¹⁰³ 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

⁹⁸ See Othmar Hageneder, "Die Register Innozenz' III.", in *Papst Innozenz III, Weichensteller der Geschichte Europas*, ed. T. Frenz (Stuttgart, 2000) 92.

⁹⁹ See Hageneder, "Die Register Innozenz III.", 93.

¹⁰⁰ Hageneder, "Die Register Innozenz' III.", 98-99.

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,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,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

¹⁰⁴ See Gábor Barabás, “A pápai kiküldött bíraskodás Magyarországon a kezdetektől a 13. század közepéig” [Delegated Papal Jurisdiction in Hungary from the Origins to the Middle of the 13th Century], *Történelmi Szemle* 55 (2013) 196–197; Othmar Hageneder, *Die geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit in Ober- und Niederösterreich. Von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Linz, 1967) 59–60; James Brundage, *The Medieval Canon Law* (London, 1995) 139; Peter Herde, “Zur päpstlichen Delegationsgerichtsbarkeit im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit”, *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonische Abteilung* 119 (2002) 23; Ludwig Falkenstein, “Appellationen an den Papst und Delegationsgerichtsbarkeit am Beispiel Alexanders III. und Heinrichs von Frankreich”, *Zeitschrift der Kirchengeschichte* 97 (1986) 55–56.

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 receperimus speciali, serenitatem tuam rogandam duximus attente, ac hortandam, quatenus ipsos, ducissam et filium eius, terram et alia bona sua, habeas pro divina et nostra reverentia propensius commendata, et tam a duce ac aliis supra dictis, quam aliis etiam, qui eos contra protectionis nostre tenorem molestare presumerint, tradita tibi potestate defendas*” – CDH III/2. 372–373; RPR no. 9349.

See,¹⁰⁶ Coloman, as the Duke of Slavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia was also informed about the papal decision.¹⁰⁷ The fight against the heretics in the Balkans was the reason behind the papal protection of the Hungarian prince,¹⁰⁸ 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.¹⁰⁹

In short, it has to be stated about the examined question that according to our knowledge on the genealogy of the Árpáds¹¹⁰ 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-

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.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. Barabás, *Das Papsttum und*, 243–254.

¹⁰⁹ *“Hinc est, quod te affectionis paterne brachiis amplexantes, peronam tuam cum omnibus bonis tuis, que impresentiarum rationabiliter possides, sub Beati Petri et nostra protectione suscipimus, et presentis scripti patrocinio conformamus, districtius inhibentes, ut dum pro reverentia Redemptoris contra hereticos perstiteris debellandos, nullus super bonis eisdem te presumat indebite molestare”* – CDAC I. 322, RPR no. 9735, RGIX no. 2123. Cf. Fried, *Der päpstliche Schutz*, 288.

¹¹⁰ See Mór Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története* [The Genealogy of the Árpáds] (Nagybecskerek, 1892) 421–424. About the problem of the versions of the name Viola see Barabás, *“Viola opolei hercegnő”*, 17, 22–23; Id., *“Prinz Koloman und”*, 14–15, 20–21.

pal authorisation of Duke Coloman has been almost completely disregarded until now.¹¹¹ 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 oeuvres 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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