

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE:
BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC

OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

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The University of Debrecen
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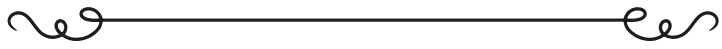
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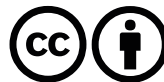
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The Turul and the White Eagles King Andrew II of Hungary and his Polish Relatives*

ABSTRACT

The research of the relations between certain rulers, territories or peoples can be considered as one of the classic topics of historiography in general and of Medieval Studies as well. The history of Polish–Hungarian contacts in the Middle Ages is no exception, several scientific and popular works have dealt with the relations of the Piasts and Árpáds, and their respective realms. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize, that we can only speak indirectly about international relations concerning the High Middle Ages, the personal contacts of the rulers and the dynastic ties established between the ruling families are of great importance when studying the various elements of the relations.

This paper focuses on the analysis of certain episodes of the relations of the rulers of Poland and King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235) in the early thirteenth century. Family ties were of paramount importance in the case of the Hungarian king as well. This was particularly true given that during his reign matrimonial relations were reestablished between the Árpáds and the Piasts after a hiatus of nearly eighty years. In 1214, Andrew II made an agreement with the ruler of Cracow, Leszek the White, on the marriage of their children, Prince Coloman and Princess Salomea. However, the Hungarian king’s relations with Poland were not limited to the marriage of his second son. The relation between the brothers-in-law, Andrew II and Duke Henry I the Bearded of Silesia, or the case of Władysław Odonic of Greater Poland, and his hypothetical exile in Hungary are perhaps not among the most well-known episodes of this era, but they offer quite interesting details regarding the Polish-Hungarian relations.

Keywords: Poland, Hungary, Andrew II, genealogy, dynastic relations, dynastic policy, matrimony

Introduction

Historical research of Polish–Hungarian relations have a long history, with a series of scholarly works on the subject, this study is a short contribution to this topic. Its focus is on an important aspect of the relationship between

* Research for this study was supported by the János Bolyai Scholarship of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (BO/00173/24) and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Pécs.

the Kingdom of Hungary and the Polish principalities, the family connections of the two dynasties in the early thirteenth century. The scope of the present paper does not allow for a detailed discussion of all aspects of Polish-Hungarian relations, such as every detail of military, ecclesiastical or social history, my aim is to analyse the family ties of King Andrew II of Hungary (1205–1235) to the Piast princes of Poland. Therefore, I intend to present a few, somewhat arbitrarily selected episodes, which are linked to the Polish relatives of Andrew II, and can be considered generally as not particularly well-known contacts. Nonetheless, it should be stressed right at the beginning that regarding the High Middle Ages, strictly speaking, we cannot speak of foreign affairs, the use of the notions of foreign policy or international relations would be misleading. The personal nature of power meant that relations between rulers and dynasties, dynastic policy were the decisive factor that also shaped the course of events. This latter contact, in addition to certain symbolic acts, could be forged mainly through creating family ties and marriages.

The Proverbial Mythical Birds

But before we turn our attention to the relevant family matters, we must first clarify the two terms in the title of this paper and how they are related to each other. The name “turul” does not need any special explanation for Hungarian readers or the scholars of Medieval Studies, it is the name of the legendary bird of the ruling dynasty, the Árpáds. The notion appeared at first in the work of the unidentified Hungarian chronicler, Anonymus who wrote his *gesta* probably at the beginning of the thirteenth century,¹ in the so-called dream scene of Emese, yet the name turul is missing from the text, the author merely used the word falcon regarding the dream.² According to the narrative of Simon of Kéza, the chronicler of the late thirteenth century, the *turul* served as the coat

¹ *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 1. Ed. Dunphy, R. Graeme. Leiden, 2010. 102.

² “Ugek, [...] qui duxit sibi uxorem in Dentumoger filiam Eunedubeliani ducis, nomine Emesu, de qua genuit filium, qui agnominatus est Almus. Sed ab eventu divino est nominatus Almus, quia matri eius pregnantis per sompnum apparuit divina visio in forma asturis, que quasi veniens eam gravidavit et innotuit ei, quod de utero eius egrederetur torrens et de lumbis eius reges gloriosi propagarentur, sed non in sua multiplicarentur terra” – *Anonymus and Master Roger*. Edited translated and annotated by Bak, János M. – Rady, Martin – Veszprémy, László. Budapest, 2010. 12–15.

of arms of the Huns, or Hungarians, from Attila to Grand Prince Géza.³ Nevertheless, I must emphasize that in this case I am using the symbol for the Árpáds merely for the sake of the bird analogy.

The notion of white eagle is equally self-explanatory, as it is still a central part of the coat of arms of Poland. The history of this symbol goes back to the story, which can be traced back to the so-called Chronicle of Greater Poland (*Kronika Wielkoposka*)⁴ from the late thirteenth, or, according to other opinions the fourteenth century,⁵ according to which the eldest of the three Slavic brothers, Lech, Czech and Rus, Lech, migrated north from Pannonia following a white eagle and at its nest founded Gniezno, the future archbishop's seat.⁶ Interestingly, according to the Chronicle of Greater Poland, the ancestral homeland of all Slavic peoples was Pannonia, hence Lech's journey from there, and according to this narrative even the Hungarians themselves were Slavs.⁷

³ *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, vol. I–II. Edendo operi praefuit Emericus Szentpétery, socii operis erant I. Balogh [et al.], Eds. Szovák, Kornél – Veszprémy, László. Budapest, 1999. I. [hereinafter *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*] 152. Simon de Kéza / Simon of Kéza: *Gesta Hungarorum / The Deeds of the Hungarians*. Eds. Veszprémy, László – Schaer, Frank. (Central European Medieval Texts, 1.) Budapest, 1999. 42–43.; *Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon*. Eds. Kristó Gyula – Engel Pál – Makk Ferenc. Budapest, 1994. [hereinafter *Korai Magyar*] 60, 693.

⁴ The 1555 chronicle of the Polish humanist Marcin Kromer, or Martinus Cromerus (*De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum*) contains the complete story, while the Chronicle of Greater Poland contains only the nest motif. “alba aquila” – Cromer, Martinus, *De origine et rebus gestis Polonorum libri XXX*. Basel, 1555, 26. See *Gall Névtelen, A lengyel fejedelmek avagy hercegek krónikája és tettei*. Translated with an introduction and notes by Dániel Bagi. Budapest, 2007. 90. note nr. 38.

⁵ *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, vol. 1. 2010. 394.

⁶ “postquam autem Lech cum sua progenie memora latissima ubi regnum Polonie constitit peragrasset, tandem veniens ad quendam locum amenissimum agris fertilissimum piscium et ferarum habundancia repletum tentoria sua fixit in eodem ibique primam habitacionem pro sui et suorum conservacione edificare cupiens dixit: Nidificemus! Unde et locus ille usque ad Gnezna, id est nidificacio, appellatur” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris – Kronika Wielkopolska*. Ed. Kürbis, Brygida. (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova, VIII.) Warszawa, 1970. [hereinafter *Chronica Poloniae maioris*] 7.

⁷ “Pannonia sit mater et origo omnium Sclauonicarum nacionum [...] Item de Hungaris qui et ipsi sunt Slawi [...]” *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 4, 7. See Grzesik, Ryszard, “Megjegyzések a középkori lengyel krónikákban és évkönyvekben említett magyarokról”, = *Századok* 136:1, 2002, 485–493, here 488.

However, it should be stressed, despite Simon of Kéza's mention of the ruling dynasty as the Turul-kindred,⁸ that there is no data which could confirm that the name was actually used in the royal family. From the thirteenth century onwards, the notion of the family of the holy kings ('beata stirps') is encountered in several instances,⁹ but in the following I will use the term Árpáadian dynasty, which has been taking root in scholarship and public consciousness since the eighteenth century.¹⁰ The same can be said of the first ruling family of Poland, the Piasts,¹¹ a name that was in use from the sixteenth century onwards.¹² In their case, the white eagle was verifiably present in the representation of the dynasty already in the early period, but applied to the family, it is a completely arbitrary association, which is only intended to strengthen the bird metaphor.

In my paper I will examine the family links between the two dynasties and their impact on their respective countries in the early thirteenth century. However, methodological issues must first be addressed in connection with this approach. As mentioned above, in medieval context, we need to be careful while researching relations between different political entities. The notions of modern diplomacy are of limited application to the period. The very concepts of foreign policy or international relations raise questions, especially as it is disputable whether, or rather to what extent we can even speak of states before the late Middle Ages at all.¹³ What is certain is that in the early and high Middle Ages, personal power and relations played a decisive role, and the contacts between rulers were therefore also decisive in the system of interactions between terri-

⁸ "capitaneis Arpad, filius Almi, [...] de genere Turul" – *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I. 165.

⁹ Klaniczay, Gábor, *Holy rulers and blessed princesses: dynastic cults in medieval central Europe*. Cambridge, 2002. 228–232.; Korai Magyar, 1994. 60.

¹⁰ Korai Magyar, 1994. 60.

¹¹ The figure of Piast, the ploughman, later a wheelmaker, first appeared in the early twelfth century in the historical work of an unknown author, Gallus Anonymus entitled *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*. The story has undergone many changes in later narrative. See Tapolcai László, "Piast alakjának változása a lengyel történelmi hagyományban", = *Világtörténet* 30:2, 2008, 20–27.

¹² Hertel, Jacek, *Imiennictwo dynastii piastowskiej we wcześniejszym średniowieczu*. Warszawa, 1980. 30–31.

¹³ Sashalmi Endre, *Az emberi testtől az óraműig*. Second Edition. Pécs, 2021. 9–10.

tories. Therefore, one should speak instead of foreign policy rather of external relations in the period under study, i.e. the early thirteenth century.¹⁴

External Relations in High Middle Ages

The scope of this paper does not allow us to go into detail on all aspects of relations between medieval rulers, including conflicts and their management methods,¹⁵ so I will concentrate on the role and importance of marriages. However, a further concept, the so-called *amicitia*, literally friendship, in a broader sense alliance,¹⁶ cannot be omitted, since the kinship relations that developed could be the basis for it, but could also serve to strengthen it. Alliances may have been formed despite existing kinship ties, whether blood or acquired, even if considerations of ‘friend of a friend, enemy of an enemy’ (*amicus amicis, inimicus inimicis*) were more common.¹⁷ We must not forget, of course, that belonging to the same family was no guarantee of a balanced relationship at all, but internal, dynastic conflicts were so much a part of everyday life that, in some cases, staying out of them or even harmonious relations between powerful relatives were the exception rather than the rule. Not surprisingly, then, examples of family feuds abound in the history of both the Árpáds and the Piasts.¹⁸

Before we turn to the family-relations between the two dynasties, we must also touch on the issue of marriages. In particular, since the adoption and the consolidation of Christianity and the establishment of the church organisation in the two countries went on in roughly parallel way from the mid-

¹⁴ In using this term, I am following in the footsteps of Tamás Körömdi. Nevertheless, the use of terms of diplomacy does not seem to be entirely avoidable, as has been pointed out by authors of relevant Hungarian works in recent years and decades. See Makk Ferenc, *Magyar külpolitika (896–1196)*. Szeged, 1996. 5.; Báling Péter, *Az Árpád-ház hatalmi kapcsolatrendszerei. Rokonok, barátok és dinasztikus konfliktus Kelet-Közép-Európában a 11. században és a 12. század elején*. (Arpadiana, VII.) Budapest, 2021. 25–29.; Rudolf Veronika, *Közép-Európa a hosszú 13. században: Magyarország, Csehország és Ausztria hatalmi és dinasztikus kapcsolatai 1196 és 1310 között*. (Arpadiana, XV.) Budapest, 2023. 11.

¹⁵ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 54–61. and passim.

¹⁶ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 193–199.

¹⁷ See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 203–204.

¹⁸ Bagi, Dániel, *The territorial divisions, power struggles, and dynastic historiography of the Árpáds of 11th- and early 12th-century Hungary, with comparative studies of the Piasts of Poland and the Přemysls of Bohemia*. (Arpadiana, II.) Budapest, 2020. 168–320.

dle of the tenth century.¹⁹ From the eleventh century onwards, the Christian norms of marriage²⁰ became key criteria for the right to the throne, most of all that of the legitimate birth, i.e. to be born of a Christian wedlock.²¹ However, it would be misleading to think that the adoption of Christianity would have immediately led to the consolidation of the new mentality, as the pagan revolts of the eleventh century in both the Polish and Hungarian cases testify to the opposite.²² In the case of the “Christianisation”²³ of marriage, too, it can be said that it was essentially completed by the twelfth century, by which time pagan customs, such as concubinage, polygamy, abduction of women, dismissal of wives and the prohibition of remarriage, had been fully enforced.²⁴

In the Piast family, at the turn of the millennium, the norms of Christian marriage had not yet become exclusive for Bolesław I the Brave (Chrobry) (992–1025) and his descendants,²⁵ but in the early twelfth century Bolesław III Wrymouth (1102–1138) had already invoked the illegitimate origin of his brother Zbigniew in their conflict. So did later the Hungarian rulers from the Álmos-lineage, who used the same argument in the case of the alleged son of King Coloman the Learned (1096–1116), Boris Kolomanovich.²⁶

¹⁹ Font Márta, *A keresztény nagyhatalmak vonzásában. Közép- és Kelet-Európa a 10–12. században*. Budapest, 2005. 87–129.; Koszta, László, “State Power and Ecclesiastical System in Eleventh Century Hungary”, In: Petrovics, István – Tóth, Sándor László – Congdon, Eleanor A. (eds.), *In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin”. Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik*. (Capitulum, VI.) Szeged, 2010. 67–78. Berend, Nora – Urbańczyk, Przemysław – Wiszewski, Przemysław, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c.900–c.1300*. New York, 2013. 118–137, 144–160.

²⁰ The regulations of Canon Law were still in motion in this period, e. g. regarding the prohibition of marriages between relatives, or the necessary free will of the parties. See Erdő Péter, “A házasság kánonjogi arculata a történelemben”, In: Erdő Péter, *Egyházjog a középkori Magyarországon*. Budapest, 2001. 220–238, here 229–232.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68.

²¹ Font, *A keresztény*, 2005. 150–152.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 63.; Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 161–165.

²² Font, *A keresztény*, 2005. 91–92.

²³ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 64.; Bagi, *The territorial divisions*, 2020. 181–182.

²⁴ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 73–74.

²⁵ See for instance the second wife of Mieszko I, Oda, who was a nun previously, or the detrudded wives of Bolesław I the Brave. Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 144.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 87–88, 90.

²⁶ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 67.

Without going into detail here about the development of canon law regarding the Christian marriage,²⁷ it should be pointed out that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 prohibited marriage between relatives of the fourth degree, while the free consent of the parties became obligatory later in the thirteenth century.²⁸ However, it was possible to turn to the Apostolic See for a dispensation from the kinship ties.²⁹ In the end, we should not forget that the principle of Canon Law regarding the indissolubility of marriage³⁰ was not always applied in practice in the eleventh-twelfth centuries, as the case of King Coloman the Learned clearly shows it, who sent away his second wife, Euphemia, daughter of the grand prince of Kiev, Vladimir Monomakh (1113–1125) because of adultery. The previously mentioned Boris (Kolomanovich) was the son of the princess.³¹

However, similar examples became increasingly rare during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but a later case, that of the Bohemian ruler Ottokar I (1198–1230), shows that it was still possible to dissolve a marriage at the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In 1198, the new ruler of Bohemia had repudiated his first wife, Adele, the child of Otto II, Margrave of Meissen (1156–1190), and married Constance, daughter of King Béla III of Hungary (1172–1196). He did this with the approval of Bishop Daniel of Prague and on the basis of canon law arguments. In fact, Ottokar I wrote to Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) that he had not previously been aware of the existence of a fourth degree of kinship between him and Adele. The pontiff did not accept the argumentation and the new situation, the expulsion and the new marriage, and proceedings were brought against the bishop

²⁷ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 63–90.

²⁸ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68–69.; Erdő, *A házasság*, 2001. 229–231.

²⁹ Erdő, *A házasság*, 2001. 232–233. In the case of Bolesław III Wrymouth, his court chronicler, Gallus Anonymus thought it important to point out that the Polish prince had received a papal dispensation from his third-degree relationship with his first wife Zbyslava. See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 78–79.

³⁰ See Kozłowski, Wojciech, “The Dynastic Horizons of the Árpáds and Piasts, ca. 1150–1250”, = *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 15, 2009, 85–102, here 86.

³¹ Chapter 149 of the Fourteenth Century Chronicle Composition states that Coloman the Learned caught Euphemia in adultery and sent her home to Kiev, where she gave birth to his son Boris. *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I. 429. See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 500–501.; Font, Márta, *The Kings of the House of Árpád and the Rurikid Princes: Cooperation and conflict in medieval Hungary and Kievan Rus’*. (Arpadiana VIII.) Budapest, 2021. 118–119.

of Prague, who had fulfilled the king's wish previously, but without any success, and the marriage with Constantia lasted.³²

With regard to the political role of marriages, Péter Báling, based on former research, has recently drawn attention again to the fact that political considerations were indeed of paramount importance in the context of the evolving marital relations, especially since in the spiritual sense, both brothers-in-law and godparents were considered to be close kinsmen.³³ However, as with all alliances, close relations, friendships were only valid in the lives of the parties concerned. In addition, the role of marriage in cultural transfer should not be overlooked, since spouses did not travel to their new homes alone, but usually with a smaller or larger entourage, which also could have an impact on the welcoming courts. The study of marital relations can therefore provide results not only from the point of view of political history but also from a social-history perspective.³⁴

Overview of the Piast-Árpáadian Family Relations until the End of the Twelfth Century

For the purposes of this paper, I cannot go into the whole history of Piast-Árpáadian relations, the beginnings of the contacts are full of problematic data that are not easy to interpret. The second wife of the Polish ruler Bolesław I the Brave was definitely of Hungarian origin, who is not known by name and is generally identified as the daughter of the Hungarian ruler, Prince Géza. She gave birth to their son Bezprym.³⁵ However, the claim that the mother of the first Hungarian king, St. Stephen (1000–1038), i.e. the wife of Grand Prince Géza, was a Polish princess, Adelheid, seems to be highly doubtful.³⁶ The idea that the son of the first Hungarian king, Prince Emeric,

³² Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 25–26. and *passim*.

³³ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68.

³⁴ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 14.; Kozłowski, *The Dynastic Horizons*, 2009. 86–87.

³⁵ Kristó Gyula, "A magyarok és a lengyelek kapcsolatai a 10–12. században a források tükrében", = *Történelmi Szemle* 42, 2000, 1–18, here 5–6.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 87–89.; *Piastowie. Leksykon Biograficzny*. Ed. Szczur, Stanisław – Ożóg, Krzysztof. Kraków, 1999. [hereinafter *Piastowie*] 25.; Jasiński, Kazimierz, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*. Warszawa–Wrocław, 1993. 83, 85–86.

³⁶ Grzesik, Ryszard, "Adelheid, az állítólagos lengyel hercegnő a magyar trónon", *Aetas*, 10:3. 1995, 114–126.; Kristó, A magyarok, 2000. 7–9.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 94, 261–263.

married the daughter of the Polish ruler Mieszko II (1025–1034), which can be found in several Polish narrative sources, also belongs to the realm of fiction.³⁷ For the later period, the situation is much clearer thanks to the greater number of sources that have come down to us, as the case of King Béla I of Hungary clearly shows it. Having been forced to flee Hungary under the reign of St. Stephen in the 1030s, he found refuge in the court of the Polish ruler Mieszko II and married his daughter Richeza. She gave birth to their children, the future kings of Hungary, Géza I (1074–1077) and St. Ladislas I (1077–1095), and their younger brother Lampert.³⁸

Furthermore, it is worth mentioning the strong alliance between King Coloman the Learned (1096–1116) and Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1107–1138). Even though the Polish prince was related to Prince Álmos, the younger brother of Coloman the Learned,³⁹ eventually Bolesław III Wrymouth initiated negotiations with King Coloman the Learned, who, albeit with some hesitations, recognised the similarities in their situations, as the Polish prince was also fighting for power in Poland with his brother, Zbigniew.⁴⁰ From this point onwards, the two rulers began to cooperate. After Bolesław III drastically ended his own internal conflict by blinding his own brother, as a form of penance, he took part in a pilgrimage to Hungary in 1113.⁴¹ A lasting alliance was thus established between the two rulers, which also meant friendship in arms. This endured until the death of Coloman and the reign of his son, King Stephen II (1116–1131) persisting until 1127. In that year, the Hungarian ruler attacked the Polish borders in connection with his intervention in the internal conflicts of Kievan Rus.⁴²

³⁷ Kristó, *A magyarok*, 2000. 11.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 329–335.

³⁸ Kristó, *A magyarok*, 2000. 12.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 390–398.

³⁹ Álmos married Predslava Iziaslavna, a sister of Prince Sviatopolk Iziaslavich of Kiev (1093–1113) in 1104, meanwhile Bolesław III had been married to Predslava's sister Zbyslava, probably since the previous year. See Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 518.; Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 104–105, 128.; Piastowie 78.; Jasiński, *Rodowód pierwszych*, 1993. 188–189.

⁴⁰ Dalewski, Zbigniew, *Ritual and Politics Writing the History of a Dynastic Conflict in Medieval Poland*. Leiden–Boston, 2008. 77–84.

⁴¹ Kristó, *A magyarok*, 2000. 15–16.; Dalewski, *Ritual and Politics*, 2008. 87, 100.; Bagi, *The territorial divisions*, 2020. 128–129.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 251.; Zupka, Dušan, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000–1301)*. Leiden–Boston, 2016. 156–161.

⁴² *Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*. cap. 153, in: *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, I, 434.; *Chronica de Gestis Hungarorum e Codice Picto Saec. xiv. The Illuminated Chronicle: Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex*.

After the death of Stephen II, who passed away without a male heir in 1131,⁴³ the branch of Prince Álmos rose to power in the Kingdom of Hungary with the new king, Béla II the Blind (1131–1141). In this situation the Polish prince chose to support King Coloman's illegitimate son, Boris (Kolomanovich), against the new Hungarian ruler. This situation lasted until 1135, when Emperor Lothair III (1125/1133–1137) forced Bolesław III to acknowledge his submission at the imperial assembly in Merseburg, and consequently to withdraw his support from Boris Kolomanovich.⁴⁴ The reconciliation was sealed with the betrothals of Bolesław III's son, the future Mieszko III the Old and Elisabeth, probably daughter of Béla II, and possibly Bolesław's daughter, Judith and the future King Géza II (1141–1142). Whether we can indeed count with both betrothals, is questionable, yet it is beyond doubt, that the former was realised in the end.⁴⁵ As we will see later, this matrimony among the two dynasties was the last one for over eight decades.

In 1138, a major turning point in the history of the Polish Principality occurred, for after the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth, the era of the political fragmentation began.⁴⁶ In his “testament” or “last will”, the prince divided

Edited and translated by Bak, János M. – Veszprémy, László. (Central European Medieval Texts, 9.) Budapest–New York, 2018. 282–283.; Kristó, A magyarok, 2000. 15–16.; Font, The Kings, 2021. 131–133.; Dalewski, Ritual and Politics, 2008. 187.

⁴³ Kádár Tamás, “Saul herceg, Bors ispán és Iván úr. Megjegyzések, észrevételek a II. István király uralkodása vége körüli trónutódlási küzdelmek történetéhez”, = *Századok* 151, 2017, 787–808.

⁴⁴ Makk Ferenc, “Borisz, egy XII. századi trónkövetelő”, = *Acta Antiqua et Archaeologica Supplementum 1987: Suppl. 6. Studia in honorem Aegonis Maróti sexagenarii*, 6, 1987, 61–65. 63–64.; Makk, Ferenc, *The Árpáds and the Comneni: Political Relations between Hungary and Byzantium in the 12th century*. Budapest, 1989. 31–33.; Makk, Magyar külpolitika, 1996. 170–171, 175–176.; Kristó, A magyarok, 2000. 15–16.; Piastowie 82.; Font, The Kings, 2021. 135–136.; Zupka, Ritual and Symbolic, 2016. 172–175.

⁴⁵ Barabás, Gábor, “From Conflict to Marriages. The Relations of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary in the 1130s. Part 1.”, = *Konštantínove listy* 18, 2025. 30–38.; Piastowie 98, 107.; Jasiński, Rodowód pierwszych, 1993. 235–240, 255–256.; Wertner Mór, *Az Árpádok családi története*. Nagy-Becskerek, 1892. 303–306. 324–331.; Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 523. note 52.

⁴⁶ Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 174–175, 205–208.; For the system of relations between the Piast princes and its scientific interpretations see Pauk, Marcin R., “Language of Power and Communication in the Piast Dynasty: Toward a Reappraisal of Polish Political Culture of the 12th–13th Century”, In: Vercamer, Grischa – Zupka, Dušan (eds.), *Rulership in Medieval East Central Europe Power, Rituals and Legitimacy in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland*. Leiden – Boston, 2022. 178–197.

his territory among his sons, creating three major duchies, Lesser Poland, Greater Poland and Silesia. From the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century, a number of smaller duchies emerged (Sandomierz [Sandomir], Kalisz, Mazovia, Kujavia, Opole, Glogów, Legnica, etc.), led by members of various branches of the Piast dynasty, which ruled almost entirely independently and often came into alliance or conflict with each other.⁴⁷

The period of fragmentation of the Polish principalities, in addition to the complication of internal, family relations, which became – to put it mildly – almost inextricably entangled, naturally left its mark on the Piasts' external relations as well. It is perhaps an oversimplification, but it is not too far from the truth to say that from the middle of the twelfth century there was a major change in the dynastic horizon of the Piasts. Members of the family at the head of the consolidating principalities naturally had to pay special attention to their relations with their relatives, so much so that in the second half of the thirteenth century the number of marriages between the branches of the dynasty – often disregarding the norms of Canon Law – was particularly significant.⁴⁸ In addition to this, the influence of the emperor and the marital relationships established with certain imperial princely families, including the Bohemian Přemyslids, are also noteworthy, as is the influence of the marriage contracts with the princes of Rus' in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁴⁹

King Andrew II and the Piast Rulers of Poland

As far as the Piasts' kinship with the Árpáds is concerned, after the aforementioned betrothals and marriage of the 1130s, which raised several problems of interpretation, there was a serious hiatus, and the first marital relation between the two dynasties had to wait until 1214, the betrothal and – possibly – later marriage of Prince Coloman, son of Andrew II, and Salomea, daughter of Leszek I the White (Biały) of Cracow.⁵⁰ This does not mean, however, that the two families were not once again related. Around 1200, but certainly before 1203, the younger son of King Béla III, Prince Andrew,

⁴⁷ Berend – Urbańczyk – Wiszewski, *Central Europe*, 2013. 174–175.

⁴⁸ See Pauk, *Language of Power*, 2022. 195–196.

⁴⁹ Kozłowski, *The Dynastic Horizons*, 2009. 89–90.

⁵⁰ Font, Márta – Barabás, Gábor, *Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208–1241). Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power*. Leeds, 2019. 21–29.

who had repeatedly rebelled against his older brother, King Emeric,⁵¹ married Gertrude, daughter of Berthold VI, Count of Andechs, Margrave of Istria and Duke of Merania, a young woman, who later became notorious in Hungarian history.⁵² The marriage was advantageous for the future king Andrew II, as it brought him into kinship with a relatively recent imperial princely family.⁵³ More importantly for the purposes of this study, however, one of Gertrude's sisters, Hedvig, was betrothed to Henry I the Bearded (Brodaty) (1201–1238), a member of the Silesian Piasts, almost a decade earlier, probably between 1186 and 1190. Although it is not known when exactly the marriage took place,⁵⁴ it is certain though that Henry became the leader of the Silesian Duchy of Wrocław following the death of his father, Bolesław I the Tall (1173–1201) in 1201.⁵⁵

In the case of Hedvig, it is well documented that she maintained close ties with her family in her new home and with the Bishopric of Bamberg, which had strong ties to the Andechs family.⁵⁶ Although recent research has basically redrawn the picture depicted by earlier historiography that “Germans” would have flooded the Hungarian royal court thanks to Queen Gertrude,⁵⁷ it is undeniable that family ties played an important role in her case as well. As an example, one need only refer to the role of her brother, Berthold, who, in addition to becoming Archbishop of Kalocsa despite his young age, became the holder of a number of secular dignities in the Kingdom of Hungary.⁵⁸

⁵¹ Körmendi, Tamás, “The Struggle between King Emeric of Hungary and Duke Andrew in Dalmatia”, In. Komatina, Ivana (ed), *Stefan the First-Crowned and his Time*. Belgrade, 2020. 195–211.; Gál, Judit, *Dalmatia and the Exercise of Royal Authority in the Árpád-Era Kingdom of Hungary*. Budapest, 2020. 120–125. Zsoldos Attila, *Az Aranybulla királya*. Székesfehérvár, 2022. 17–37.

⁵² Korai Magyar, 1994. 234.; Rudolf, Közép-Európa, 2023. 31–32.; Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 33.

⁵³ It is also worth noting that Gertrude's sister, Agnes was the wife of King Philip II of France until her death in 1201. See Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 748.

⁵⁴ Zientara, Benedykt, *Heinrich der Bärtige und seine Zeit*. München, 2002. 106–108.

⁵⁵ Piastowie 375.; Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 110.

⁵⁶ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 107.

⁵⁷ Körmendi Tamás, “A Gertrúd királyné elleni merénylet körülményei”, In. Majorossy Judit (ed.), *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára*. Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013. Szentendre, 2014. 95–124, here 118.; Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 221–222.; Zsoldos, Attila, *The Golden Bull of Hungary*. (Arpadiana, IX.) Budapest, 2022. 128–130.

⁵⁸ Zsoldos Attila, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301*. Budapest, 2011. 37, 43, 126, 142.; Kiss Gergely, “Meránia és Aquileia között. Berthold kalocsai érsek pályafutásának egyházkormányzati tanulságai”, In. Majorossy Judit (ed.), *Egy történelmi gyilkosság margójára*:

The brothers-in-law, Andrew II and Henry I the Bearded, were both involved in the struggle for the imperial throne that ensued after the death of Emperor Henry VI (1191–1197).⁵⁹ To begin with, it is worth noting that the royal siblings, King Emeric and Andrew II were also related to the Bohemian ruler Ottokar I, whose wife Constance, as mentioned above, was the daughter of King Béla III.⁶⁰ Accordingly, in 1204, the elder brother Emeric aided the Bohemian monarch with troops, Cumans hired as mercenaries, against the Hohenstaufen German King Philip of Swabia.⁶¹ Ottokar I later changed his position, and instead of the other pretender, Otto IV of the Welf family, made an alliance with Philip of Swabia. In 1208, the Hohenstaufen ruler prepared for a large-scale campaign, with Cumans hired as mercenaries sent by Andrew II among his troops. The king of Hungary sided with Philip because of his wife's family, since the Andechs dynasty had pledged their allegiance to him.⁶² Although the situation was very similar in the case of Henry I the Bearded because of his wife, Hedvig, the Silesian Piasts initially sided with Teobald (Diepold), the son of Ottokar I's cousin and rival, who presumably found refuge in Wrocław. Henry the Bearded thus remained neutral in the German interregnum, despite his family ties, until the reconciliation between Philip of Swabia and Ottokar II.⁶³

Before the planned campaign of 1208, however, the Hohenstauf ruler Philip of Swabia was assassinated in Bamberg, where he was attending the wedding of Otto VII, Duke of Merania, and his niece, Beatrix of Burgundy in June. Although the perpetrator, the Count Palatine of Bavaria, Otto VIII, was motivated by personal grievances, yet the location and their involvement in the wedding led to accusations against members of the Andechs family, an imperial ban was even imposed on Bishop Eckbert of Bamberg and Margrave Henry of Istria. The brothers fled to their sibling and their brother-in-law in the Kingdom of Hungary, and Andrew II attempted to

Merániai Gertrúd emlékezete, 1213–2013, Szentendre, 2014. 87–94.; Barabás, Gábor, “Von propositio bis consensus: Die Päpste, die ungarischen Könige und die kanonischen Wahlen in der ungarischen Kirche im 13. Jahrhundert”, = *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung / Journal of East Central European Studies* 70, 2021, 187–226, here 198–199.; Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 221–222.

⁵⁹ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 150–157.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 43–46.

⁶⁰ Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 24–25, 29–30.

⁶¹ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 425–426.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 36–37.

⁶² Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 426.

⁶³ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 152–153.; *Piastowie 376*.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 28–29, 73.

reconcile with Otto IV and thereby settle the situation of his relatives.⁶⁴ It is to be underlined that one of the grievances that led to the assassination was linked to Henry I the Bearded, who, under pressure from Philip of Swabia, refused to allow Otto VIII to marry his daughter Gertrude.⁶⁵ In any case, it is noteworthy that the Meranian brothers did not choose the somewhat nearer Wrocław as their place of refuge, but the more distant Kingdom of Hungary, i.e. the court of Andrew II.⁶⁶

Regarding this situation we can therefore only speak of an indirect link. All in all, we do not have any source material at our disposal that would allow us to assume a close relationship between Henry I the Bearded and the Hungarian royal court. The assassination of Gertrude in 1213 certainly played a role in this situation, as her death marked the end of the brother-in-law relation.⁶⁷ However, the children of Andrew II, including the future king Béla IV (1235–1270) and Saint Elisabeth, were cousins of the Silesian princely family. In the case of the latter, it is noteworthy that, after her canonisation in 1235, her cult quickly spread in Silesia, as this kinship also increased the prestige of the local princely family.⁶⁸ It is also worth mentioning that the annals of the Cistercian abbey of Henryków (*Rocznik henrykowski*) give an accurate account of Elisabeth's death, and even provides the name of her father, King Andrew II.⁶⁹ As the father's name is not mentioned in Elisabeth's early legends, this may suggest that in Silesia there was interest not only in

⁶⁴ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 426–427.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 43–46.; Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 168.

⁶⁵ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 202. 154–155.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 44.

⁶⁶ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 202. 156.; Rudolf, *Közép-Európa*, 2023. 45. See furthermore regarding the interpretation of the events in narrative sources of the Rus': Tolochko, Oleksiy P., "St. Elisabeth and St. Kunegund: Two Hungarian Saints in the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle", In: Bagi, Dániel et al. (ed.), *Hungary and Hungarians in Central and East European Narrative Sources (10th–17th Centuries)*. Pécs, 2019. 91–105.; Maiorov, Alexander V. "The German King Philip of Swabia, Hungarian Queen Gertrude of Andechs-Merania, and St Elizabeth of Thuringia in Rus' Chronicles", = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 69:2, 2021, 253–292, here: 258–272.

⁶⁷ See Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 222.

⁶⁸ Zientara, *Heinrich der Bärtige*, 2002. 233, 322.; Klaniczay, *Holy rulers*, 2002. 202–204, 220–221.

⁶⁹ "Anno Domini 1231 obiit sancta Elizabeth, filia Andree regis Ungarie et uxor lantgravii Hassie" – *Rocznik henrykowski*. Ed. Bielowski, August. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* III. Lwów, 1878. 705–706, here 705.

Saint Elisabeth's life but in the genealogy of the Hungarian royal family as well.⁷⁰

In addition, the possible role of Andrew II has been raised in historiography in the case of a papal intervention linked to Henry I the Bearded. In fact, Pope Innocent III's charter issued in 1210 concerning the testament of Bolesław III Wrymouth and the line of succession to the throne of Cracow, i.e. the system of seniority,⁷¹ was favourable for the two eldest Piasts, Mieszko IV Tanglefoot (Płatonogi) of Opole (1202–1211) and his nephew Henry I the Bearded against the Duke of Cracow, Leszek I the White I. It has been speculated that Andrew II may have been behind the papal charter, in order to weaken the domestic position of his rival in the contest for Galicia and Volhynia.⁷² Although the hypothesis is not supported by sources, it is certainly worth considering.

The case of the Teutonic Knights is an even less direct link, but it is certainly worth mentioning. Andrew II invited the order into his kingdom, to the South-Eastern part of Transylvania, the so-called Burzenland in 1211, and drove them out by force of arms in 1225.⁷³ In the same year, Henry I the Bearded met with Conrad of Mazovia, who later invited the Teutonic knights to Poland. The Duke of Wrocław proposed to his kinsman the use of the military power of the Teutonic Order against the Prussians. According to Benedykt Zientara, Andrew II's former and Henry's current brothers-in-law, the Meranian siblings Eckbert and Berthold, the latter by then already be-

⁷⁰ Grzesik, Ryszard, "Obraz stosunków polsko-węgierskich w czasach piastowskich w rocznikach polskich", = *Studia Źródłoznawcze, Commentationes* 41, 2003, 1–18, here 9–10.

⁷¹ Die Register Innocenz' III. Bände I–XVI. Eds. Hageneder, Othmar et al. Graz et al., 1964–2024, XIII. 148–149. no. 82. See with further literature Barabás Gábor, "Barátból ellenség. Władysław opolei herceg és a Přemysl-Árpád konfliktus a 13. század második felében", = *Történelmi Szemle* 67, 2025, 1–30, here 2–3.

⁷² Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 162–163. For the struggle regarding Galicia and Volhynia see below and Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–202.

⁷³ Zimmermann, Harald: *Der Deutsche Orden in Siebenbürgen. Eine diplomatische Untersuchung. 2. durchgesehene Auflage.* (Studia Transylvanica, 26.) Köln–Weimar–Wien, 2011.; Hunyadi, Zsolt, "The Teutonic Order in Burzenland (1211–1225): New Reconsiderations", In: Houben, Hubert – Toomaspoeg, Kristjan (eds.), *L'Ordine Teutonico tra Mediterraneo e Baltico: incontri e scontri tra religioni, popoli e culture.* (Acta Teutonica, 5.) Galatino, 2008. 151–170.; Pószán, László, *Hungary and the Teutonic Order in the Middle Ages.* (Arpadiana, VI.) Budapest, 2021. 27–108.

coming Patriarch of Aquileia,⁷⁴ played a key role in establishing the link between Konrad and the Order.⁷⁵

In addition to his Silesian brother-in-law, Andrew II was related to another Piast prince as well, though not very closely. As mentioned earlier, the former marriage between the Árpáds and the Polish princely family took place in the 1130s. In the case of Elisabeth, the wife of Mieszko III the Old (Stary) we cannot be sure whether she was the daughter of King Stephen II or his predecessor, Béla II, but we can certainly regard her as being of Árpád descent.⁷⁶ Their grandson was Władysław Odonic, Prince of Kalisz and later that of Greater Poland (1229–1234).⁷⁷ It would be rightful to ask the question, in what way such a distant relation could be interesting regarding Andrew II. To explain this, we must begin with the family situation of Odonic, who was the child of Odon, the first-born son of Mieszko III the Old and Elisabeth. However, Odon died in 1194, while Mieszko III was still alive. Odon's son was four years old at the time, so he came under the guardianship of his grandfather Mieszko and then of his uncle Władysław III Spindleshanks (Laskonogi) (1202–1229). From 1206 onwards, he tried to obtain his paternal inheritance from Spindleshanks, but it was not until 1216 that he succeeded in his endeavours. However, later he clashed with his former supporters, Henry I the Bearded and Leszek I the White, and suffered a severe defeat at the hands of his uncle Władysław Spindleshanks, who had meanwhile reconciled with the dukes of Wrocław and Cracow, leaving no option for Odonic but to go into exile.⁷⁸ And the first location of this expatriation was – perhaps travelling through the duchy of Casimir of Opole⁷⁹ – apparently the Kingdom of Hungary. At least according to the annals of the chapters of Poznań and Gniezno,⁸⁰ which information found its way into the Chronicle

⁷⁴ Eubel, Conrad, *Hierarchia catholica medii aevii sive summorum pontificum, S.R.E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series ab anno 1198 usque ad annum 1431 perducta*, vol. I. Münster, 1913. 99.; Kiss, Meránia, 2014. 91.

⁷⁵ Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 222.

⁷⁶ See the references in footnote 45.

⁷⁷ Piastowie 131–136.

⁷⁸ Piastowie 131–133.; Przybył, Maciej, *Władysław Laskonogi. Książę wielkopolski 1202–1231*. Poznań, 1998. 80–124.

⁷⁹ Pelczar, Sławomir, *Władysław Odonic. Książę Wielkopolski, wygnaniec i protektor Kościoła (ok. 1193–1239)*. Kraków, 2013, 175.

⁸⁰ “Item anno Domini 1217. Wlodizlaus obtinuit Kalis et foilium Odonis fugavit in Ungariam.” – *Annales Capituli Posnaniensis*. Ed. Perlbach, Max, In. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum*, vol. XXIX. Hannover, 1892, 431–469, here 439. It is worth noticing

of Greater Poland as well.⁸¹ As Benedykt Zientara has pointed out, there is no reason to doubt the credibility of the report,⁸² yet, we have no further account of contemporary sources on Odonic's stay in Hungary whatsoever. We can only assume that in the court of Andrew II the distant relative was

that the information is not included in the recent edition of the annals of the Chapter of Poznań (Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej 965–1309, In. *Annales Poloniae Maioris*. Ed. Kürbis, Brygida. (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova, VI.) Warszawa, 1962. [hereinafter Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej] 21–78, here 24.). The annals of Gniezno mention this event by 1227. “Włodzislaus obtinuit Kalis et filium Odonis fugavit in Ungariam.” – Rocznik kapituły gnieźnieńskiej 1192–1247, In. *Annales Poloniae Maioris*. Ed. Kürbis, Brygida. (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova, VI.) Warszawa, 1962. 1–20, here 3. For the interpretation of the data regarding Odonic see Körmendi Tamás, *Az 1196–1235 közötti magyar történelem nyugati elbeszélő forrásainak kritikája*. Budapest, 2019. 14, 184–187. Tamás Körmendi considers the data from the annals of Poznań to be the primary source. Interestingly, the annals of the Chapter of Poznań also mention a flight to Hungary in 1146 in connection with Władysław II the Exiled (1138–1146). “Wladislaus filius Boleslai dicti Crziwousti circa Poznan a fratribus fugit confusus Ungariam” – Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej, 23. Presumably, the author was here conflating two events, the exiles of the two Władysławs. See Grzesik, *Obraz stosunków*, 2003. 8. Cf. Kádár Tamás, “A külföldi uralkodóházak tagjai, a külhoni hűbéres fejedelmek, valamint az egyházi főméltóságok és a pápai legátusok tartózkodásai Magyarországon 1000–1205 között”, = *Történeti Tanulmányok* 26, 2018, 6–83, here: 55–56. The flight of Odonic is to be found in the Annals of Greater Poland, which is based on the data of the two aforementioned annals. Rocznik wielkopolski. Ed. Bielowski, August. In. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* III. Lwów, 1878. 1–42, here 7.

⁸¹ “Wladislaus patrums suus congregato exerictu ipsum de castro Kalisz fugientem usque in Hungariam profugavit. [...] Qui post aliquot annos reddiens Uszcze castrum Swantopelcone capitaneo Pomoranie sibi auxilium prebente anno Domini MCCXXIII subintravit ipso die Dionisii et sociorum eius.” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 80. The information can be read in Długosz's chronicle as well, yet, similarly to the work of Matthias Miechovius (Maciej Miechowita) by the year 1214. “[...] ad Andream Hungarie regem perveniens causis itineris expositis, humane amiceque ab illo exceptus, fatus et habitus est. [...] ab exilio Pannonico [...] reversus [...]” – *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae. Libri XII. Liber quintus, Liber sextus (1174–1240)*. [hereinafter *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales*] Varsaviae, 1973. 221, 238. See furthermore: Matthias Miechovius, in *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungaricae aevo ducum et regum ex stirpe Arpad descendendum ab anno Christi DCCC usque ad annum MCCC*. Ed. Gombos, Albinus Franciscus, I–III. Budapest, 1937–1938. (reprint: Budapest, 2011), II. 1603. no. 3673. See Gładysz, Mikołaj, *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*. Leiden–Boston, 2012. 166.; Körmendi, *Az 1196–1235*, 2019. 189–190.

⁸² Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 212.; Piastowie 132–133.; Kozłowski, Wojciech, *The Thirteenth-Century Inter-Lordly System. Lordly Identity and the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance*. Kiel, 2020. 155.

received with the respect due to him, if the king himself was present at all when Odonic arrived.

In 1217, Andrew II fulfilled the vow he had inherited from his father, Béla III, and set off for the Holy Land to take part in the Crusade.⁸³ The king of Hungary was supposed to be in Split by 25 July at the latest, according to his contract with the doge of Venice, but he arrived there only on 23 August, i.e. he could have left the centre of his realm, Székesfehérvár sometime in July or early August.⁸⁴ The sources do not give precise date for Odonic's journey, so we cannot be sure that he arrived at the royal court before Andrew II and his army left, as we can read in the *Annales seu Cronicae* of the fifteenth century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz.⁸⁵ However, the view that the Polish prince accompanied Andrew II to the Holy Land was long dominant in Polish medieval studies,⁸⁶ some even stated that he travelled to Hungary of his own accord to do so. This is supported by the document of Pope Honorius III of 9 February 1217, by which he placed Odonic and his territory under protection.⁸⁷

The idea that an unnamed Piast prince was to be found in the entourage of Andrew II,⁸⁸ is based on an alleged Hungarian royal charter dated to 1246.⁸⁹ Despite the obvious forgery of the charter, we do not necessarily have to reject the data it contains, and Polish medieval historiography treats

⁸³ Sweeney, James Ross, "Hungary in the Crusades, 1169–1218", = *The International History Review* 3, 1981, 467–481, here 478–481.; Veszprémy, László, "The Royal Árpád Dynasty of the Hungarian Kingdom Under the Spell of Jerusalem and the Holy Land (1000–1301)", = *Jerusalem HAJJ, Hungarian Academy in Jerusalem Journal* 1, 2026, 29–87, here 53–79.

⁸⁴ Veszprémy, The Royal, 2026. 62–63.

⁸⁵ See note 81.

⁸⁶ See recently Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 161–173.; Pelczar, Władysław Odonic, 2013. 173–181.

⁸⁷ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*. I–II. Ed. Potthast, August. Berolini, 1874. [hereinafter *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*] nr. 5818, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia maximam partem nondum*, vol. I–IV. Ed. Theiner, Augustin. Romae, 1860–1864. [hereinafter *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*] I. 7, nr. XV. See Zientara, Heinrich der Bärtige, 2002. 12. Cf. Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 168.

⁸⁸ "mare transivisset, in acie et sub vexillo ducis Poloniae" – *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus – Árpád-kori új okmánytár*, vol. I–XII. Ed. Wenzel Gusztáv. [hereinafter *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus*] Budapest, 1860–1873. VII. 207, nr. 136.

⁸⁹ *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica. Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. I–II/1. Ed. Szentpétery, Emericus. Budapest, 1923–1943. [hereinafter *Reg. Arp.*] II/2–4. Manuscriptis Emericus Szentpétery adhibitis et completis critice digessit Iván Borsa. Budapest, 1961–1987, nr. 843.

the participation of a Piast ruler in the crusade as a fact.⁹⁰ However, since we have no other source for this other than the above mentioned charter, we are left to speculate on indirect links. In addition to Władysław Odonic, three other candidates have been proposed in historiography: Casimir of Opole, who also had Hungarian connections,⁹¹ Henry II the Pious (Pobożny) (1238–1241), son of Henry I the Bearded, therefore nephew of the Hungarian king and Casimir, the prince of Pomerania.⁹² In Polish medieval studies, the presumed involvement of the first two rulers, especially that of Odonic, gained recognition.⁹³ However, lately Mikołaj Gładysz has argued that, on the one hand, the papal charters issued to Odonic in 1217 and 1218 to protect him and the Church of St Paul of Kalisz,⁹⁴ rather support the possibility that the prince of Kalisz remained in Poland. On the other hand, there is no evidence that Władysław Spindleshanks actually came into possession of Kalisz as early as 1217.⁹⁵ Overall, Gładysz concludes that Odonic could not have been the Piast who was in the Holy Land with Andrew II, and that Casimir of Opole is the only plausible candidate.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, this statement was not accepted by everyone, recently Sławomir Pelczar in his monograph on Odonic rejected Gładysz's argumentation. After reviewing the results of earlier historiography, Pelczar clearly testifies the participation of Odonic in the crusade of Andrew II, using, among other things, the Polish duke's exile to Hungary as evidence for that.⁹⁷

Furthermore, it should be also taken into consideration that one of the Arabic sources reporting on the crusade of Andrew II mentions the military exploits of the Hungarian king's relative, his sister's son to be precise.⁹⁸

⁹⁰ Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 161–163.

⁹¹ Regarding the wife of Casimir, Viola the possibility is to be mentioned, that she was a member of the Árpáadian dynasty. See Barabás, Gábor, "Prinz Koloman und Herzogin Viola von Oppeln. Beitrag zu einem historiographischen Disput", = *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 32, 2016, 1–24.

⁹² Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 163.

⁹³ See Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 166–170.; Pelczar, *Władysław Odonic*, 2013. 173–181.

⁹⁴ *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, nr. 5818 and 5841, *Vetera monumenta Poloniae*, I. 7. nr. XV and 9. nr. XVIII.

⁹⁵ Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 166–169.

⁹⁶ Gładysz, *The Forgotten*, 2012. 170–173.

⁹⁷ Pelczar, *Władysław Odonic*, 2013. 176–180.

⁹⁸ Major Balázs, "A magyar keresztesek arab szemmel", In: Laszlovsky József – Majorossy Judit – Zsengellér József (eds.), *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik*, Máriabesnyő–Gödöllő, 2006. 113–118, here 117.

If we accept this information, considering the possibility of the source does not provide an accurate degree of kinship, it could apply equally to Odonic and to Casimir of Opole, who may have had a wife of Hungarian origin.⁹⁹

Despite all this, we should not necessarily doubt Odonic's stay in Hungary, but it can be dated to the following year rather than to 1217. However, we can conclude that even if Andrew II did indeed receive his distant relative with the respect he deserved, as Długosz stated, we do not have any data on his subsequent stay. However, it has been suggested in the research that Odonic's marriage to Jadwiga, the mother of his children, may have taken place during the period of his exile. This, however, is based solely on the date of birth of his first-born son, the future ruler of Greater Poland, Przemysław I.¹⁰⁰ However, one thing seems certain based on the remaining Polish sources, Odonic reappeared in Polish politics in 1223, whether he was in Hungary until then or whether he was in the Empire and Bohemia afterwards, as many assume on the basis of Długosz, we cannot be sure.¹⁰¹ At last, it has to be mentioned regarding medieval Polish-Hungarian relations that the second son of Odonic, Bolesław the Pious married Yolanda, the daughter of King Béla IV of Hungary in 1256. Their second daughter, Jadwiga (Hedvig) became the wife of Władysław Lokietek, and their daughter, Elisabeth was married to king Charles I of Hungary (1308–1342).¹⁰²

As mentioned earlier, in addition to his brother-in-law and his distant cousin, Andrew II had much closer ties to another Polish ruler, even if their relationship had its ups and downs. In 1214, during the meeting in Szepes (Spiš), the Hungarian king came to an agreement with Prince Leszek of Cracow on the marriage of their children, Prince Coloman and Princess Salomea. Naturally, as in almost all similar cases, there were political motivations behind this new alliance. One cannot say that Andrew II consciously revived the Piast-Árpád marriage ties that had been dormant for decades. The marriage was clearly motivated by the Hungarian king's struggle for the Principality

⁹⁹ Horwat, Jerzy, *Książęta górnośląscy z dynastii Piastów. Uwagi i uzupełnienia genealogiczne*. Ruda Śląska, 2005. 25. See Barabás, Prinz Koloman, 2016. 14.

¹⁰⁰ Jasiński, Kazimierz, "Genealogia Piastów wielkopolskich. Potomstwo Władysława Odonica", = *Nasi Piastowie, Kronika Miasta Poznania* 63:2, 1995, 34–66, here 38.

¹⁰¹ Piastowie 133.

¹⁰² Piastowie 143, 147, 158, 211.

of Galicia and, more specifically, by his need to reach a compromise with his Polish rival, Leszek the White.¹⁰³

Andrew II had a very intense personal experience regarding the neighbouring principality of the Rus', Galicia, as he played a role in his father King Béla III's expansion plans in Galicia during his childhood in the 1180s.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, the death of Roman Msitslavich, Prince of Galicia and Volhynia, in 1205 can be considered the starting point regarding the struggle over the principalities in early thirteenth century. The Rus'ian prince lost his life in the battle of Zawichost fought with the ruler of Cracow, Leszek the White,¹⁰⁵ after which event his widow, whose name is uncertain (Anna, Maria, Eufrosyne?),¹⁰⁶ attempted to retain her late husband's territory for her minor children, Daniel and Vasilko, and to exercise power on their behalf. However, this idea clearly contradicted the customary law of seniority that had developed in Rus'.¹⁰⁷

The widow turned to Andrew II for support against the rulers of the Rus', most notably Prince Rurik Rostislavich of Kiev, and their ally, Leszek the White, who wanted to take over the principalities.¹⁰⁸ As a result, the Hungarian ruler became increasingly involved in the struggle for Galicia–Volhynia. Without going into the details of the following events, it can be concluded based on the research of Márta Font, that Andrew II initially appeared as a supporter of Daniel and Vasilko, coming to terms with Leszek the White, then in 1207–1210 he reached a compromise with the Igoreviches of Chernigov, who had maternal ties to the rulers of the Principality of Galicia, and who were able to acquire the territory. Then, anew in agreement with Leszek the White, he supported Daniel again, placing him on the throne of Galicia with the support of a royal army. At the same time, the ruler of Cracow sought to place the younger Romanovich brother, Vasilko, on to Volhynia, which is why his troops took part in the Hungarian campaign. In 1211, however, with the sup-

¹⁰³ For the rivalry and King Andrew II's pursuit with further literature see Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–202.

¹⁰⁴ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 153–159.

¹⁰⁵ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160.; Holly, Karol, "Princess Salomea and Hungarian – Polish Relations in the Period 1214–1241", = *Historický Časopis* 55:Supplement, 2007, 5–32, here 8.; Jędrzejewska, Patrycja, "Zapomniana księżna halicka?: Rola Salomei w kreowaniu relacji polsko-węgierskich i polsko-ruskich", = *Resovia Sacra* 28, 2021, 209–234, here: 208–211.

¹⁰⁶ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–162, 166–167.

¹⁰⁷ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 160–161.; Jędrzejewska, *Zapomniana księżna halicka*, 2021. 208–211.

¹⁰⁸ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 167–169.

port of Volhynia, Leszek attacked Galicia, which led to a Hungarian-Polish conflict.¹⁰⁹

After these events, in 1214 both the Hungarian and Polish rulers realized that they would have to come to a compromise in order to achieve their goals.¹¹⁰ This took place during a meeting between them, which was held in the Spiš-region, presumably at the Spiš Castle. The event is known only from the laconic account of the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle (GVC).¹¹¹

According to the narrative, Leszek was the initiator who, through his envoy, proposed the demarcation of their spheres of interest to Andrew II, which met with the latter's approval. The GVC clearly reports on a personal meeting, and if we accept this statement, it can be concluded that the choice of location had a symbolic meaning, in accordance with contemporary customs. The meeting took place on the territory of the Hungarian king, i.e., the party of higher rank, greater prestige and power.¹¹² At the same time, the territory of Spiš was directly neighbouring Lesser Poland, so in part, the choice of location can be interpreted as meeting the requirements of encounters between equal parties.¹¹³ Based on this, it is safe to say that Andrew II made a gesture toward Leszek with his choice of location.

The details of the meeting, which most likely took place in early autumn, and thus that of a symbolic communication between the two rulers, are unfortunately completely unknown, and we can only speculate about them. Was it Leszek, the lower-ranking party, who approached Andrew II, who was waiting for him on foot or on horseback? Was there kneeling, prostration, or the exchange of the kiss of peace?¹¹⁴ These and other similar questions cannot be answered at all. However, in light of the circumstances, most of all based on the location it can be reasonably assumed that it was Andrew II who was in a position of power to negotiate with his lower-ranking counterpart. However, he also needed to reach a compromise, which explains the afore-

¹⁰⁹ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 167–177.

¹¹⁰ Jędrzejewska, *Zapomniana księżna halicka*, 2021. 211–212.

¹¹¹ *The Galician–Volhynian Chronicle*. An annotated translation by Georg A. Perfecky. (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies, 16.) München, 1973. 24. For the GVC see Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 63–75.

¹¹² Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, 2016. 143–144.

¹¹³ Even if, in the absence of a border river, this did not exactly result in a place between two countries. For the meetings of rulers with further literature see Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, 2016. 139–147.

¹¹⁴ See with further literature Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic*, 2016. 139–147.

mentioned location near the border and the outcome, namely the marriage between their children. Overall, the agreement may have been more favourable to Leszek, who also could hope that the betrothal of his daughter to a son of a king can strengthen his position among the Piast princes of Poland.¹¹⁵

Naturally, strengthening alliances through family ties can be considered a common practice, and spiritual kinship established through marriages of children was regarded as equivalent to blood kinship.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, it seems highly significant that, after nearly eight decades, the Hungarian ruler reestablished kinship ties between the royal family and the Piasts again.¹¹⁷ Of course, one must not forget the circumstances that changed in the meantime, namely the fragmentation of Poland,¹¹⁸ which means that the relationship between Andrew II and Leszek was completely different from their eleventh- and twelfth-century predecessors'.¹¹⁹ The Hungarian king was no longer facing a Piast king or prince of Poland, but rather several princes with their own territories, who were often in conflict with each other.

The GVC's report on the meeting of Spiš does not name the parties to be married, it does state merely that the son of Andrew II wedded Leszek's daughter. It is well known, though, that Salomea, the daughter of the Prince of Cracow, became the wife of Prince Coloman, the second son of the Hungarian king.¹²⁰ Although no other source besides the GVC reports on the meeting of Spiš, Salomea's marriage also appears in her *vita*¹²¹ and in Jan Długosz's aforementioned historical work,¹²² as well as in certain annals compiled in Lesser Poland, although mostly in connection with her death.¹²³

¹¹⁵ Holly, *Princess Salomea*, 2007. 10, 12–13.

¹¹⁶ Báling, *Az Árpád-ház*, 2021. 68.

¹¹⁷ Andrew II referred to Leszek as his relative in his letter to Pope Innocent III “ad cognatum nostrum L. Ducem Polonie” – *Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus*, VI. 374. nr. 227.; *Reg. Arp.* nr. 302.

¹¹⁸ See above.

¹¹⁹ For the relations in the 1130s see Barabás, *From Conflict*, 2025.

¹²⁰ Font – Barabás, *Coloman*, 2019. 21–23.

¹²¹ According to the legend it was Andrew II who asked Salomea for his son, and Leszek only agreed to it under duress. *Vita Sanctae Salomeae reginae Haliciensis*. Ed. Kętrzyński, Wojciech. In. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. IV. [hereinafter *Vita Sanctae Salomeae*] Lwów, 1884. 770–796, here 776–777.

¹²² Ioannis Długossii *Annales*, V–VI, 204–205.

¹²³ *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, in. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series Nova, vol. V. Annales Cracovienses priores cum kalendario*. Ed. Kozłowska-Budkowa, Zofia. Warszawa, 1978. 19–105, here 99–100. Coloman is only referred to as king of Galicia in *Rocznik traski – Rocznik krakowski*. In. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica II*. Ed. Bielowski, August.

On the other hand, the marriage between Prince Coloman and the daughter of Leszek the White is missing from several contemporary narrative sources, such as the *Dzierwa Chronicle*¹²⁴ or the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*.¹²⁵ However, in the latter, dated nearly a century earlier than the actual date, we can read that the son of the Hungarian king, Coloman, married the daughter of Bolesław III the Wrymouth and received the territory of Spiš as a dowery.¹²⁶ The story itself raises suspicion, as Bolesław III's contemporary was Coloman the Learned, and his son, the future Stephen II, therefore, the account is certainly incorrect. As among others Ryszard Grzesik pointed out, the chronicle probably combined Prince Coloman's engagement to Salomea and the subsequent marriage with the case of Bolesław III's daughter, as indicated by the mention of Spiš and Galicia in the text.¹²⁷ It is worth taking a further look at Jan Długosz's work, as he reports the marriage of Coloman and Salomea, albeit by the year of 1208, and refers to the bride as the sister of Leszek the White.¹²⁸ Without delving into the methods of Długosz in detail, it should be noted that the chronicler does in fact mention a meeting between the Polish and Hungarian rulers in the Spiš-region, yet, according

Lwów, 1872. 826–861, here 840. Coloman is not mentioned in connection with Salomea in every annals written in Lesser Poland. E.g. *Rocznik małopolski*. Ed. Bielowski, August. In: *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. III. Lwów, 1878. 135–202, here 170, 171.

¹²⁴ *Chronica Polonorum auctoris incerti dicti Dzierwa*. Ed. Pawłowski, Krzysztof (Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova Series, XV.) Kraków, 2013. 74–76.

¹²⁵ *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 79–80.

¹²⁶ “Iste Boleslaus filiam suam de Ruthena genitam Colomanno regis Ungarorum filio matrimonialiter copulavit. Cui nomine dotis castellanium de Spis quoad viveret possidendam assignavit. Quem Colomanum una cum rege Ungarorum Halliciensibus in regem prefecerat ipsum coronari facientes. Cuius coronacione rex Boleslaus prout erat credulus per regem Ungarorum dolose circumventus castellanium de Spiss [dedit] et loco eiusdem castellanium Premisliensem nomine dotalicii filie sue recepit. Hec autem dolositas fecit origo dissensionum inter Polonos et Ungaros prout in sequentibus patebit. Et sic castellania de Spiss a Polonis alienata per Ungaros usque ad presens fraudulententer detenta occupatur” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 39. See Grzesik, *Megjegyzések*, 2002. 490.

¹²⁷ Grzesik, *Megjegyzések*, 2002. 490–491.; Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 136–137.

¹²⁸ “<et uxorem suam Salomeam in reginam> [...] Colomannus Salomeam virginem, sororem Lesthkonis ducis Cracoviensis, accipit in uxorem cum qua usque ad mortem celibem vitam ducens et sibi et consorti decus virginitatis servivit.” – Ioannis Długossii *Annales*, V–VI, 204. Coloman and his wife, Salomea are mentioned in other parts as well. Ioannis Długossii *Annales*, V–VI, 212, 285., Ioannis Długossii *Annales*, VII–VIII, 160. The mistake regarding the relation of Leszek and Salomea is quite surprising, since in another part of his chronicle Długosz states that she was the daughter of the prince of Cracow. Ioannis Długossii *Annales*, V–VI, 250. See Tolocho, St. Elisabeth, 2019. 105.

to him it was King Béla III, Andrew II's father, who met Prince Casimir II the Just of Cracow (1177–1194), the father of Leszek the White in order to make peace in 1193.¹²⁹ This statement, however, cannot be corroborated with other sources, but analysing the background of the information would exceed the scope of this study.

Turning back to the historical events, but without delving into the issues surrounding the young princess, Salomea's departure from Cracow and the date of the young couple's marriage,¹³⁰ it should be noted that, in addition to the demarcation of spheres of interest, as a result of the agreement between Andrew II and Leszek the White, Coloman, after a while alongside Salomea, became the representative of Hungarian rule in Galicia in the following years.¹³¹

However, keeping the focus of this study in mind, we must emphasize the fact that although Andrew II accepted the initiative from Leszek the White, who offered his firstborn child, Salomea, aged around four,¹³² for the matrimony which was meant to seal their alliance, the Hungarian king made the decision to wed her to Coloman, who was not his eldest son. The fact that the king did not choose his firstborn son, Prince Béla, clearly shows that the alliance was not so important to him that he would bind himself to the prince of Lesser Poland by using of his heir. However, we must not forget that in the previous year, 1213, Andrew II had to cope with the assassination of his wife, Queen Gertrude.¹³³ Meanwhile in 1214, his opposition within the realm of Hungary took action against the king and applied the traditional way of the Hungarian lay elite by supporting another member of the royal family. They forced Andrew II to let Béla to be crowned, i.e. to be recognized as heir to the throne,¹³⁴ which can be considered as quite a common practice in Hungary. It is not inconceivable that all this may have

¹²⁹ “Conveniunt deinde personaliter Bela Hungarie rex et Kazimirus Polonorum dux in Antiqua Villa, et omnibus offensis atque iniuriis hincindio remissis fedus dudum inter Hungarorum et Polonorum regna stabilitum iureiurando innovant, et amicitias comunes sincere et integre coli, et tam prosperos quam adversos successus vicissitudinaria relacione participare debere decernunt. Et eo federe icto muneribusque invicem datis discedunt.” – Ioannis Dlugossii Annales, V–VI, 154.

¹³⁰ Font – Barabás, Coloman, 2019. 31–36.; Holly, Princess Salomea, 2007. 15–23.

¹³¹ Font, The Kings, 2021. 155–165.

¹³² Holly, Princess Salomea, 2007. 11.; Font, The Kings, 2021. 159–161.

¹³³ Körmendi, A Gertrúd királyné, 2014.

¹³⁴ Zsoldos, Az Aranybulla, 2022. 222–226.; Zsoldos, Attila, “The Golden Bull of Andrew II”, In. Foronda, François – Genet, Jean-Philippe (eds.), *Des chartes aux constitutions. Autour*

prompted the Hungarian ruler not to involve Béla in dynastic politics at that time. In this regard, we may even consider that resolving the situation in Galicia was a pressing matter for Andrew due to internal tensions, which is why he may have agreed to what could be considered an unequal marriage. In addition to all this, it seems likely that Andrew II had plans for a marriage of higher rank than that of the Piast family for his firstborn son.

The fact that Andrew II arranged his children's marriages based on political merits, is not surprising at all. This is clearly evident by the fact that in the early 1220s, he ordered the repudiation of the wife of his firstborn son Béla, Maria Laskaris, after the death of her father, Theodore I Laskaris, Emperor of Nicaea (1205–1221). In the end, however, the king did not achieve his goal, as Béla resisted his father's will with papal support.¹³⁵ At the same time, we must not forget that, in addition to pragmatism, motives that could even be described as impulsive, arising from the immediate circumstances, also appear in the dynastic politics of the Hungarian king. This is particularly visible on the examples of the engagements made in 1218 on the way home from the Crusade, including Prince Béla's aforementioned marriage.¹³⁶

The wedlock of Coloman and Salomea proved to be lasting, unlike their "rule" in Galicia, as their stay there ended by 1221 at the latest.¹³⁷ Although their marriage remained childless,¹³⁸ Salomea's impact on the Hungarian royal court is tangible in her presumable role in creating another marriage between the Árpád and Piast families during the reign of Béla IV, namely between the future Prince Bolesław V the Chaste (1243–1279), the son of Leszek the White, hence the brother of Prince Coloman's wife, and Kinga, King Béla's eldest daughter.¹³⁹

Regarding the relations between Andrew II and Leszek the White after 1214, it can be concluded that the agreement of Spiš and the resulting kin-

de l'idée constitutionnelle en Europe (XIIe–XVIIe siècle). Paris–Rome, 2019. 57–80, here: 60–62, 76–77.

¹³⁵ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 260–262.

¹³⁶ Zsoldos, *Az Aranybulla*, 2022. 260.; Veszprémy, *The Royal*, 2026. 70–72.

¹³⁷ Font, *The Kings*, 2021. 190.

¹³⁸ According to the legend of Salomea, both preserved their virginity even after marriage. *Vita Sanctae Salomeae, 777–778*. See Hollý, *Princess Salomea*, 2007. 30.

¹³⁹ For the marriage see Kozłowski, Wojciech, "The Marriage of Bolesław of the Piasts and Kinga of the Árpáds in 1239 in the Shadow of the Mongol Menace", In: Petrovics, István – Tóth, Sándor László – Congdon, Elanor A. (eds.), *"In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin" Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztolnyik*. Szeged, 2010. 79–100.; Hollý, *Princess Salomea*, 2007. 29–30.

ship did not prevent later confrontations. Their planned cooperation soon fell apart, after Leszek failed to provide military assistance, Andrew II occupied the territories of Galicia that had previously been ceded to Leszek, while the prince of Cracow once again decided to support Daniel and Vasilko and established contact with Prince Mstislav Mstislavich Udaloy. However, his efforts were not crowned with success, so in 1219 he again approached Andrew II. However, in 1221, alongside the treaty between Andrew II and Mstislav regarding Galicia and the marriage of their children, Leszek also had to renounce Volhynia in favour of Daniel. Leszek the White approached Andrew II again in 1227, but the ruler of Cracow was assassinated on November 23, 1227, at a meeting of the Piast princes in Gaşawa,¹⁴⁰ the Hungarian king thus lost his former opponent and ally for good.

Concluding remarks

The main aim of this paper was to emphasize that one of the central elements of the research on Polish–Hungarian relations in the high Middle Ages is the kinship between the Piasts and the Árpáds. I cannot, of course, claim that this would be a novelty, as research on dynastic relations and genealogy has a long history. However, it is possible to say that a systematic analysis of the marriages and other connections between two dynasties will allow us to identify new elements in the history of the Kingdom of Hungary at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and its ruler Andrew II, which can enrich our knowledge of his realm, as well as of his external relations as well. Nevertheless, the same statement is quite valid for the “other side”, the Polish principalities and the Piast dynasty as well.

Nevertheless, I must underline that this study could not undertake a complete presentation of the Polish contacts of King Andrew II of Hungary, its focus being on certain, arbitrarily selected episodes, which, I have the – subjective – impression, are less known compared to other elements of his external relations. Hopefully, I have succeeded in pointing out, with regard to Henry the Bearded and Władysław Odonic that broadening the perspective of the investigation, considering “both sides”, may help to reconstruct and interpret the medieval contacts more accurately. The family tie created newly between the Árpáds and the Piasts, i.e. the marriage of Prince Coloman and

¹⁴⁰ Piastowie 187.

Princess Salomea and the alliance of their fathers are well known in historical research. The analysis of the elements of the meeting of Andrew II and his counterpart, Leszek the White, and the circumstances of their alliance can also provide additional information on the Polish contacts of the king of Hungary.

EAST CENTRAL EUROPE: BETWEEN THE BALTIC AND THE ADRIATIC OSTMITTELEUROPA: ZWISCHEN OSTSEE UND ADRIA

Aims and Scope

The East Central Europe: Between the Baltic and the Adriatic (ECE) is a peer-reviewed academic journal published by the Institute of History at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Debrecen. As its title suggests, the journal focuses on the history of Central Europe, covering the region between the Baltic and Adriatic Seas. This region was for centuries a crossroads and meeting point where diverse ethnic groups, religions, traditions, and political entities interacted in unique ways. In addition to studies directly examining the history of the region, the editors welcome methodologically and/or theoretically relevant contributions for the analysis of historical processes.

The journal seeks to create an interdisciplinary platform to facilitate dialogue and disseminate new research on the region, whose findings are often limited in international scholarship due to language barriers and the influence of national narratives. To support this goal, ECE is an open-access journal, published at least once annually, available in both print and online formats.

Zielsetzung

Ostmitteleuropa: Zwischen Ostsee und Adria (ECE) ist eine begutachtete wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, die vom Historischen Institut der Philosophischen Fakultät der Universität Debrecen herausgegeben wird. Wie der Titel schon andeutet, konzentriert sich die Zeitschrift auf die Geschichte Mitteleuropas, insbesondere auf das Gebiet zwischen Ostsee und Adria. Diese Region war über Jahrhunderte ein Schnittpunkt und Begegnungsraum, in dem unterschiedliche ethnische Gruppen, Religionen, Traditionen und politische Einheiten auf einzigartige Weise interagierten. Neben Studien, die Geschichte der Region direkt untersuchen, erwarten die Herausgeber methodisch und/oder theoretisch relevante Beiträge zur Analyse historischer Prozesse.

Die Zeitschrift möchte eine interdisziplinäre Plattform schaffen, um den Dialog zu fördern und neue Forschungsergebnisse über die Region zu verbreiten, deren Ergebnisse aufgrund von Sprachbarrieren und der Prägung durch nationale Narrative international nur begrenzt bekannt sind. Zur Unterstützung dieses Ziels ist ECE eine Open-Access-Zeitschrift, die mindestens einmal jährlich erscheint und sowohl in gedruckter als auch in digitaler Form verfügbar ist.

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