

FRIENDS, FOES, AND FAMILIES POLISH-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE MID-THIRTEENTH CENTURY*

The paper aims to analyse Polish-Hungarian relations in the mid-thirteenth century from the perspective of the relationship between King Béla IV of Hungary and the Piast princes of Poland. More broadly, it examines the role of the Piast coalitions in the most significant series of conflicts of the period, namely, the Bohemian–Hungarian struggle for the so-called Babenberg legacy, i.e. the duchies of Austria and Styria. The study focuses on the family ties and alliances of the ruling dynasties – the Árpáds of Hungary and the Piasts of Poland – by analysing the effects of the turbulent internal relations among the Piast princes of the Polish duchies.

Keywords: Kingdom of Hungary, Kingdom of Bohemia, Polish principalities, thirteenth century, dynastic relations

Introduction

Research into the history of Polish–Hungarian relations has a long history. If we narrow our analysis to the Middle Ages, it can be argued that the subject has been widely studied. The present study focuses on an important aspect of the relationship between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Polish principality(ies), namely the relations between the ruling dynasties, the Árpáds and the Piasts, in the mid-thirteenth century.

With regard to this approach, it should be emphasized at the outset that in the high Middle Ages, strictly speaking, we cannot use the notions of foreign policy or foreign relations; the personal nature of power meant that relations between rulers were the decisive factor. Therefore, the contacts of the monarchs, especially their alliances, alongside certain symbolic acts, could be forged main-

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ly through the creation of family ties by means of marriage.¹ One of the most important aspects of analysing the relations between dynasties is, therefore, to outline these family ties and assess their effects on the external relations of the ruling families.

We can safely say that during the selected era, roughly between the 1240s and 1270, the relationship between the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds was more complex than ever before in this regard. King Béla IV of Hungary (1235–1270) played a key role in the development of this situation. After the Mongol invasion of 1241–1242, he made an enormous effort to establish a system of alliances through the marriages of his children. Among his sons-in-law were several western and eastern rulers, such as Henry XIII of Bavaria and Lev Danilovich of Halych, as well as two Piast princes: Bolesław V the Chaste of Cracow and Bolesław the Pious of Greater Poland.²

However, the eastern threat of the Mongols was far from being the only factor influencing the Hungarian ruler's foreign policy. In the 1250s, Béla IV became embroiled in a serious conflict with King Ottokar II of Bohemia over the duchies of Austria and Styria, also known as the Babenberg legacy. The conflict naturally affected the Piast princes of Poland, many of whom sided with Ottokar II, while others supported Béla IV. Some Piast princes even took an active part in the fighting.

In this study, I examine the development of alliance systems, the course of the Bohemian–Hungarian conflict, and the role played by the kinship ties between the Árpáds and the Piasts in shaping the course of events. Accordingly, it is essential to examine closely the alliance systems of the two rival rulers, with particular reference to the role of the Polish princes within them, as well as the internal relations among the Piasts.

¹ Regarding the so-called *Spielregeln* of Medieval society and other aspects of communication and relations cf. Gerd ALTHOFF, *Verwandtschaft, Freundschaft, Klientel. Der schwierige Weg zum Ohr des Herrschers*, in: Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter. Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*. Zweite Auflage, Darmstadt: WBG, 2014, 185–198; Gerd ALTHOFF, *Rules and Rituals in Medieval Power Games A German Perspective*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2020, *passim*; Dušan ZUPKA, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000–1301)*, Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2016. (East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 39) *passim*.

² Cf. Gábor BARABÁS, *A fehér sasok és a turul: Lengyel–magyar dinasztikus kapcsolatok az érett középkor alkonyán* [The White Eagles and the Turul: Polish–Hungarian Dynastic Relations at the End of High Middle Ages], *Studia Quinqueecclesiensia*, 1, Pécs, 2025, 33–67, here 44–46.

Dynastic Relations in Poland and Hungary in the Twelfth–Thirteenth Centuries

These relations are of particular importance, since Poland had experienced an era of fragmentation following the death of Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1107–1138).³ By the first half of the thirteenth century, members of various branches of the Piast dynasty ruled not only the three major duchies created by of Bolesław III's "testament" (Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, and Silesia), but also several other territories, including Sandomierz, Kalisz, Mazovia, and Kuyavia. These rulers governed largely independently and were often in conflict with one another.⁴ The so-called "testament" or "last will" of Bolesław III, and its corollary, is known only from sources written several decades later: the thirteenth century chronicle of Vincenty Kadłubek⁵ and a charter issued by Pope Innocent III (1198–1216) in 1210.⁶ According to these sources, the ducal seat of Cracow, together with the title of *senior dux*, was reserved for the eldest male member of the family. In principle, this arrangement was intended to uphold seniority and principate.⁷

³ Nora BEREND, Przemysław URBAŃCZYK and Przemysław WISZEWSKI, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c.900–c.1300*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013, 174–175, 205–208; Adam LUBOCKI, Lengyelország és Csehország a 13. század elején [Poland and Bohemia at the Outset of the Thirteenth Century], in: *Mongol invázió Európa ellen (1236–1242)*, (János B. Szabó and Dorottya Uhrin, eds.) Budapest: Corvina, 2022, 183–195, here 183–184. For the evaluation of the system of duchies see Marcin R. PAUK, *Language of Power and Communication in the Piast Dynasty: Toward a Reappraisal of Polish Political Culture of the 12th–13th Century*, in: *Rulership in Medieval East Central Europe Power, Rituals and Legitimacy in Bohemia, Hungary and Poland* (Vercamer, Grischa and Zupka, Dušan, eds.), Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2022, 178–197.

⁴ BEREND, URBAŃCZYK, WISZEWSKI, *Central Europe, 174–175*; Dániel BAGI, *Divisio Regni: 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 Přemyslids of Bohemia*, Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020, 222–225.

⁵ *Magistri Vincentii dicti Kadłubek Chronica Polonorum – Mistrza Wincentego Zwanego Kadłubkiem Kronika Polska. Monumenta Poloniae Historica Nova Series vol. XI*. Ed. Marian Plezia. Kraków: Nakładem Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności, 1994, 118–120; *Die Chronik der Polen des Magisters Vincentius – Magistri Vincentii Chronica Polonorum* (Eduard Mühle, transl. and ed.), Darmstadt: WBG, 2014, 278–280. Cf. also BAGI, *Divisio Regni*, 51–52.

⁶ "[...] dux Polonie certam dederit singulis filiorum suorum in Polonia porcionem, principalem civitatem Cracone, maiori natu reservans instituit, ut semper, qui esset de ipsius genere prior natu, civitatem teneret eandem ita, quod, si maior decederet vel cederet iuri suo, qui post eum de toto genere maior esset, ipsius civitatis possessionem intraret." *Die Register Innocenz' III. Vols I–XV* (Othmar Hageneder et al., eds.), Graz et al.: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Historisches Institut beim Österreichischen Kulturforum in Rom, Institut für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, 1964–2022, XIII, 148–149, nr. 82. Cf. also Benedykt ZIENTARA, *Heinrich der Bärtige und seine Zeit*, München: Oldenbourg, 2002, 162–164.

⁷ LUBOCKI, Lengyelország, 183–184.

Accordingly, after the death of Bolesław III, the eldest son, Władysław II the Exile (Wygnaniec) (1138–1146), received power, as the eldest sibling, over Silesia, Lesser Poland, the eastern half of Greater Poland, the western half of Kuyavia, and the area around Gdańsk. His brothers, Bolesław IV the Curly (Kędzierzawy) and Mieszko III the Old (Stary) governed Mazovia and the eastern half of Kuyavia, together with the western part of Greater Poland.⁸ However, following a dramatic turn of events, in 1146 his brothers expelled Władysław II from the realm. He attempted to secure support for his return from the Duke of Bohemia, Vladislav II (1140/1158–1172), then from the German king Conrad III (1138–1152), and finally from Pope Eugene III (1145–1153), but to no avail. Little Poland, Cracow, and with it the title of *senior dux*, fell to Bolesław the Curly (1146–1173). After his death in 1173, he was succeeded by his younger brother, Mieszko III the Old (1173–1177, 1191, 1198–1199, 1201),⁹ who tried to sought his authority over the other duchies that had emerged in the meantime, but without success. In 1177 he had a conflict with his youngest brother, Casimir II the Just (Sprawiedliwy) (1177–1194),¹⁰ as well as his nephew Jarosław of Opole and his own son, Odon.¹¹

The last two decades of the twelfth century were characterised by the struggle of Bolesław III Wrymouth's two surviving sons, Mieszko III the Old and Casimir II the Just, and, after the latter's death in 1194, by the rule of his son, Leszek I the White (Biały) (1198–1227, in several instalments).¹² From 1202 onwards, rivalry also developed between Mieszko the Old's son, Władysław III Spindleshanks (Laskonogi) (1202–1206, 1228–1229)¹³ and Władysław II the Exile's son, Mieszko IV Tanglefoot (Płatonogi) (1210–1211).¹⁴ The idea that the eldest relative should act as princeps did not always prevail in practice, and the support of the secular elite and the Church in Lesser Poland and Sandomierz became a decisive factor in the control of Cracow.¹⁵

⁸ Józef DOBOSZ, *Kazimierz II Sprawiedliwy*, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2014, 11–38; A. Bruce BOSWELL, The Twelfth Century: from Growth to Division, 1079–1202, in: *The Cambridge History of Poland: From the Origins to Sobieski (To 1696)* (W. F. Reddaway et al., eds.), New York: Octagon, 1978, 43–59, here 50–51; Jerzy LUKOWSKI and Hubert ZAWADZKI, *A Concise History of Poland*. Third Edition, Cambridge et al.: Cambridge University Press, 2019, 13–14; ZIENTARA, Heinrich, 90–92; *Piastowie, Leksykon Biograficzny* [Piasts. Biographical Lexicon] (Stanisław Szczur and Krzysztof Ożóg, eds.), Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literaricke, 1999, 107–115, 173–179, 357–362.

⁹ *Piastowie*, 107–115.

¹⁰ *Piastowie*, 173–179.

¹¹ *Piastowie*, 112, 173–174.

¹² *Piastowie*, 181–187.

¹³ *Piastowie*, 122–128.

¹⁴ *Piastowie*, 12–714.

¹⁵ BEREND, URBAŃCZYK, WISZEWSKI, Central Europe, 175, 224–225; BOSWELL, The Twelfth, 51, 54–55; DOBOSZ, *Kazimierz II*, 101–203; LUKOWSKI and ZAWADZKI, *A Concise*, 14–15; ZIENTARA, Heinrich, 99–102, 105–113.

In the case of Hungary, the unity of the kingdom was never seriously endangered, even though dynastic conflicts were no stranger to the Árpáds either. If we limit our attention to the period from the mid-twelfth century onwards, it can be stated that in 1162–1163, following the death of King Géza II (1141–1162), his son and successor, Stephen III (1162–1172) was challenged by his uncles, the so-called counter-kings or usurpers, Ladislav II (1162–1163) and Stephen IV (1163). Ultimately, both royal claimants failed to become permanently king of Hungary.¹⁶ After the death of Stephen III, his younger brothers, Béla and Géza, the latter with the support of their mother, Queen Euphrosyne, fought for the throne and the former ultimately succeeded.¹⁷ The sons of Béla III (1172–1196), Emeric (1196–1204) and Andrew were engaged in a civil war in the years following the death of their father,¹⁸ and the relationship of King Andrew II (1205–1235) to his firstborn son, the future Béla IV (1235–1270) was not free from disagreement either.¹⁹ Nevertheless, as stated above, the Kingdom of Hungary did not go through the process of fragmentation comparable to that experienced by Poland from the second half of the twelfth century onwards. Apart from a handful of exceptions, the kings ruled over their entire realm, even though eventually they might occasionally be challenged by their relatives.

The Babenberg Legacy and the Rise of Bohemian–Hungarian Tensions

Regarding the above-mentioned conflict between King Ottokar II of Bohemia and King Béla IV of Hungary, the investigation must begin in 1246. On 15 June, Frederick II the Quarrelsome of Austria (1230–1246), the last male member of the Babenberg dynasty, was killed in the Battle of Leitha River. He fought against Béla IV of Hungary, which ended in victory from the Austrian point of view.²⁰

¹⁶ Ferenc MAKK, *Magyar külpolitika (896–1196)* [Hungarian Foreign Politics (896–1196)], Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1996, 199–202.

¹⁷ MAKK, *Magyar külpolitika*, 206–207.

¹⁸ Tamás KÖRMENDI, The Struggle between King Emeric of Hungary and Duke Andrew in Dalmatia, in: *Stefan the First-Crowned and his Time* (Ivana Komatina, ed.), Belgrade: Istorijski institut, 2020, 195–211.

¹⁹ Attila ZSOLDOS, The Golden Bull of Andrew II, in: *Des chartes aux constitutions. Autour de l'idée constitutionnelle en Europe (XIIIe–XVIIe siècle)* (François Foronda and Jean-Philippe Genet, eds.) (=Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 160. – Le pouvoir symbolique en Occident 1300–1640, 12.), Paris-Rome: Éditions de la Sorbonne – École française de Rome, 2019, 57–80, here: 61–62, 76–77, 79–80; Attila ZSOLDOS, *The Golden Bull of Hungary*, Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2022. (Arpadiana IX), 130–141, 151–155.

²⁰ Jenő SZÚCS, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The Last Árpáds], Budapest: MTA TTI, 1993, 77; Peter ROHÁČ, Boj o babenberské dedičstvo a I. česko-uhorská vojna [The Struggle for the Babenberg Legacy and the First Czech-Hungarian War], *Vojenská história*, 20, 1, Bratislava, 2016, 18–42, here 18. Beside the death of Frederick II, the passing of a Polish duke Mieszko II the Obese of Opole is also commemorated in

The conflict originated during the time of the Mongol invasion, when Frederick II took advantage of Béla IV's dire situation and took over several Hungarian counties.²¹ The vacant duchies of Austria and Styria were considered imperial fiefs. Therefore, Emperor Frederick II (1220–1250) took measures to fill them by appointing governors.²² Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254), who was in serious conflict with the emperor, also took action, as he was determined to prevent the Hohenstaufens from gaining power. In this situation, the pontiff received a request from Béla IV, who, presumably on the basis of his role in the death of Frederick II of Austria, claimed the territory for himself.²³ Innocent IV supported the Hungarian monarch, who was also in a favourable position because King Wenceslas I of Bohemia's (1230-1253) son, the margrave of Moravia, Vladislav, who claimed the duchies through his wife Gertrude, the niece of Frederick II, died in 1247.²⁴ However, Béla IV did not take any decisive action, and there are several possible explanations for this. According to the traditional view, the Hungarian king was occupied with his alliance with Daniel Romanovich of Halych and the growing Mongol threat. More recently, Veronika Rudolf has drawn attention to the significance of the death of the German elected king Henry Raspe and the fact that Béla IV did not have sufficient support in the duchies of Austria and Styria.²⁵

It was presumably the Hungarian monarch's inactivity that motivated Pope Innocent IV to turn his attention to Duke Frederick II's surviving female relatives, his sister Margaret and his niece Gertrude. The pontiff favoured the latter, who was married to Margrave Hermann VI of Baden. The husband was unable, however, to take effective power in the duchies, a circumstance that led to the strengthening of the local secular elite, the so-called ministerials.²⁶ The Hungar-

the continuation of Cosmas of Prague's chronicle, which event is of importance regarding the Piast supporters of King Béla IV. *Canonicorum Pragensium continuationes Cosmae*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum* IX. Ed. Georg Henrich Pertz, Hannover, 1851, 163–181, here 172.

²¹ Veronika RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa a hosszú 13. században: Magyarország, Csehország és Ausztria hatalmi és dinasztikus kapcsolatai 1196 és 1310 között* [Central Europe in the Long Thirteenth Century. Power Relations and Dynastic Contacts of Hungary, Bohemia and Austria Between 1196 and 1310], Budapest: HUN-REN Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2023, 115; Attila BÁRÁNY, The Response of the West to the Mongol Invasion (1241–1270), in: *The Mongols in Central Europe: The Profile and Impact of their Thirteenth-Century Invasions* (Balázs Nagy, ed.), Budapest: ELTE Eötvös Kiadó, 2023, 43–84, here: 62–63.

²² RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 138.

²³ *Idem*, 139–140.

²⁴ *Idem*, 140.

²⁵ *Idem*, 140–141; Toru SENGA, IV. Béla külpolitikája és IV. Ince pápához intézett „tatár-levele” [The Foreign Policy of Béla IV and his so-called “Tatar-Letter” sent to Pope Innocent IV], *Századok*, 121, Budapest, 1987, 584–612, here 594–604. Cf also ROHÁČ, *Boj o babenberské*, 18–22.

²⁶ RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 141–142.

ian monarch was active in the military field on only two occasions. In 1248–1249 Hungarian troops took part in the infighting between King Wenceslas I of Bohemia and his son Ottokar on the side of the former, while in 1250 Béla IV confronted the Austrian ministerials, Henrik of Haßbach and the Preußel brothers, who had previously invaded Hungarian territory. It seems unlikely, however, that he was already motivated at this time by the idea of conquering Austria.²⁷

However, all that changed at the end of 1250, when first Margrave Hermann VI of Baden and then Emperor Frederick II died, leaving the Austrian and Styrian duchies effectively without a lord. In these circumstances, the local ministerials turned to the heir to the Bohemian throne, the future King Ottokar II, who married Margaret of Babenberg in February 1252. The late Duke Frederick II's niece, Gertrude, turned to the Hungarian monarch, who arranged her marriage with his ally, Roman, the son of Prince Daniel Romanovich of Halych.²⁸

The emerging Bohemian–Hungarian rivalry soon turned into an armed conflict, and Béla IV, accompanied by Roman, invaded Austria in the summer of 1252. The main army laid siege to Vienna, ultimately without success, while a smaller force attacked Styria and the Cuman army of the Hungarian king occupied Moravian territory. Béla IV left the conquered territories under the supervision of the newlyweds, Roman and Gertrude, and returned home. Roman's 'reign', however, was not to prove long-lasting, and Ottokar regained the territory soon afterwards without any serious difficulties.²⁹

The first confrontation between the future Bohemian monarch and the allies of Béla IV took place soon afterwards. The Hungarian king had strong connections to the Piasts of Poland from the beginning of his reign. His younger brother,

²⁷ *Idem*, 143–147.

²⁸ *Idem*, 153–154; Márta FONT, *The Kings of the House of Árpád and the Rurikid Princes: Cooperation and conflict in medieval Hungary and Kievan Rus'*, Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2021, 221–223; Angelika HERUCOVÁ, *Vojná o Babenberské dedičstvo a Štefan V [War for the Babenberg Legacy and Stephen V]*, *Historický časopis*, 65 (2017), 3–24, here 6–7; Martin HOMZA, *Niekoľko poznámok o vladárskej sebareprezentácii Béla IV. na pozadí konfliktu o Babenberské dedičstvo [Some Notes on the Legal Self-representation of Béla IV before the Background of the Conflict over the Babenberg Legacy]*, in: INGENII LAUS. *Zborník štúdií venovaný jubiliujúcemu prof. PhDr. Jánovi Lukačkovi, CSc.* (Eva Benková and Marek Púčik, eds.), Bratislava: Filozofická fakulta Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2017, 111–127, here 113–115; Dariusz DAJBROWSKI, *Stosunki polityczne między królem Węgier Belą IV, niektórymi książętami polskimi i Romanowiczami w latach 1242 – 1250 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kwestii matrymonialnych) [Political Relations between King Béla IV of Hungary, certain Polish Princes and the Romanovich Princes in the Years 1242–1250 (With Particular Emphasis on Matrimonial Issues)]*, in: *Polska w kręgu polityki, kultury i gospodarki europejskiej*, (Zbigniew Zyglewski, ed.), Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2007. 45–63, here 53–59; ROHÁČ, *Boj o babenberské*, 22–28.

²⁹ RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 155–159; FONT, *The Kings*, 223–224; HOMZA, *Niekoľko*, 115, ROHÁČ, *Boj o babenberské*, 28–31; SZÚCS, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 83–84.

Prince Coloman of Slavonia, wed Salomea, the daughter of Leszek the White, while Henry II the Pious of Silesia was his cousin on his mother's side.³⁰ Behind the marriage of Salomea's brother, Bolesław, to Béla's daughter, Kinga (probably in 1239), we may suspect both connections. Kinga's legend highlights Salomea's initiating role. Karol Holly accepts the legend's information on Salomea's – and her mother's, Grzymisława's – decisive role in the preparation of the marriage. He even interprets the union of Kinga and Bolesław as a morganatic marriage, which probably was not to Béla IV's liking.³¹ On the other hand, Wojciech Kozłowski has argued convincingly, in my opinion, that the marriage was intended to strengthen the alliance with Henry II the Pious in light of the growing Mongol menace.³²

Returning to the Přemyslid–Árpáadian conflict, in the spring of 1253, Béla IV's son-in-law, Bolesław V the Chaste (Wstydlivy, also in English 'the Shameful'; 1243–1279), Prince of Cracow and Sandomierz,³³ met the Hungarian monarch's Galician ally, Daniel Romanovich, who had been crowned king that year with papal approval,³⁴ together with his son Lev, at Cracow. The combined armies devastated Moravia, especially Opava. At first, they were defeated, and despite some minor victories afterwards, they were unable to unite with Béla IV, who laid siege to Olomouc.³⁵ The relationship between Bolesław, Daniel, and the Hungarian king needs no special discussion, both were related to Béla.³⁶ However, another Polish prince, Władysław of Opole,³⁷ also took part in the campaign

³⁰ For the marriage of Henry I the Bearded and Hedwig of Andechs cf. ZIENTARA, *Heinrich*, 106–108.

³¹ Vita b. Kingae, in: *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*, vol. I–IV (Albinus Franciscus Gombos, ed.), Budapest, 1937, Reprint: Budapest, Nap: 2011, III. 2452–2456. nr. 5025., here 2453. Cf. Karol HOL-LY, Princess Salomea and Hungarian – Polish Relations in the Period 1214–1241. *Historický Časopis*, 55 Supplement (2007), 5–32, here: 219–230. Cf. also Patrycja JĘDRZEJEWSKA, Zapomniana księżna halicka? Rola Salomei w kreowaniu relacji polsko-węgierskich i polsko-ruskich [The Forgotten Duchess of Galicia? The Role of Salomea in Creating Polish–Hungarian and Polish–Russian Relations], *Resovia Sacra* 28 (2021), 209–234, here 217–218.

³² Wojciech KOZŁOWSKI, The Marriage of Bolesław of the Piasts and Kinga of the Árpáds in 1239 in the Shadow of the Mongol Menace, in: "In my spirit and thought I remained a European of Hungarian origin": *Medieval Historical Studies in Memory of Zoltan J. Kosztołnyik* (István Petrovics et al., eds.), Szeged: JATE Press, 2010, 79–100.

³³ *Piastowie, 191–197*; Karolina MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydlivy. Książę krakowski i sandomierski 1226–1279. Długie panowanie w trudnych czasach* [Bolesław V the Chaste, Prince of Cracow and Sandomierz 1226–1279. Long Reign in Difficult Times], Kraków: Avalon, 2021.

³⁴ FONT, *The Kings*, 224; MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydlivy*, 234–238.

³⁵ RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 161–162; ROHÁČ, *Boj o babenberské*, 31–39; SZŰCS, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 83–84.

³⁶ FONT, *The Kings*, 121, 213; KOZŁOWSKI, *The Marriage*.

³⁷ "[...] dux Bolezlaus Cracouie et dux Wladizlaus Opoliensis cum Ruthenorum exercitu terram Opaviensem vastaverunt [...]"] – *Annales Capituli Cracoviensis*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica scriptorum* XIX. Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hannover, 1866, 584–607, here 600; *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series Nova*, vol. VIII (Brygida Kürbis, ed.), Warszawa: Państwowe

with his troops, and in his case, the situation was somewhat more complicated. According to the so-called Galician–Volynian Chronicle, a historical work written in the Rus',³⁸ the Prince of Opole joined the armies of Bolesław and Daniel at the River Odra. During the siege of Opava, Daniel and Władysław fell out with each other. According to the narrative, the latter was blamed for the failure of the military operation, due to false advance information and the prior exhaustion of the necessary timber. The Polish historian Norbert Mika argues that this is a deliberate interpretation, intended to diminish Daniel's responsibility by casting the Duke of Opole as a scapegoat.³⁹

At this point, in search of the reasons for Władysław's involvement, let us introduce the prince who inherited the duchies of Opole and Racibórz in 1246, following the death of his brother Mieszko II Obese (Otyły, also in English 'Mieszko the Fat'; 1230–1246).⁴⁰ In the preceding years, the younger prince and his mother, Viola, had held the territories of Kalisz and Wieluń, mainly thanks to the Silesian prince Henry II the Pious. He, however, lost his life in April 1241 at the battle of Legnica, fighting the Mongol invaders.⁴¹ Afterwards, Władysław of Opole had to contend with the son of Władysław Odonic, Przemysł I of Greater Poland (1239–1257).⁴² The latter took possession of Greater Poland, including the territories in question, in the second half of the 1240s.⁴³ These were later acquired by his brother, Bolesław the Pious (Pobożny) (1239–1279),⁴⁴ the Piast

Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970, 101. cap. 106; *The Galician–Volynian Chronicle*. An annotated translation by Georg A. Perfecky, München: Wilhelm Fink, 1973, 64–65, (Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies 16) (=GVC). Cf. also RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 161; Wojciech KOZŁOWSKI, *The Thirteenth-Century Inter-Lordly System. Lordly Identity and the Origins of the Angevin-Piast Dynastic Alliance*, Kiel: Solivagus, 2020, 211–212; Norbert MIKA, *Walka o spadek po Babenbergach 1246–1278* [War for the Babenberg Legacy 1246–1278], Racibórz: WAW, 2008, 41–43. Márta Font mentions the participation of “Władysław of Greater Poland”. FONT, *The Kings*, 224.

³⁸ Cf. the cited literature in FONT, *The Kings*, 63–75.

³⁹ GVC 65–67. See MIKA, *Walka*, 43–46.

⁴⁰ *Piastowie*, 715; 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* (Martina Bolom-Kotari and Jakub Zouhar, eds.), Hradec Králové: Univerzita Hradec Králové, 2012, 192–208, here 193.

⁴¹ Przemysław WISZEWSKI, *Henryk II Pobożny Biografia polityczna* [Henry II the Pious. A Political Biography], Legnica: Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, 2011, 186–205.

⁴² *Piastowie*, 138–141.

⁴³ *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 94. cap. 89. Cf. also *Księżęta i księżne Górnego Śląska: praca zbiorowa* [Dukes and Duchesses of Upper Silesia. Collective Work] (Antoni Barciak, ed.), Katowice: Societas Scientiis Favendis Silesiae Superioris – Instytut Górnośląski, 1995, 120–121; *Piastowie*, 138.

⁴⁴ *Piastowie*, 142–147; Marcin HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny. Wielkopolska na drodze do zjednoczonego królestwa (1224/1227 - 6, 13 lub 14 IV 1279)* [Bolesław the Pious. Greater Poland on the Road to a United Kingdom (1224/1227 - 6, 13 or 14 April 1279)], Kraków: Avalon, 2010.

prince, who in the second half of the 1250s married Yolanda (Jolanta), daughter of King Béla IV.⁴⁵

Regarding the complicated family and diplomatic relations, it is worth noting that Przemysław I and Władysław of Opole later settled their relationship, as the Duke of Opole renounced his claims to Kalisz and married Przemysław I's sister, Euphemia, in 1251.⁴⁶ The ruler of Greater Poland was also closely related to another branch of the Silesian Piasts, as he married Elizabeth, daughter of Henry II the Pious in 1244.⁴⁷ It should also be mentioned that after 1241 Władysław of Opole's brother, Mieszko II the Obese, was allied with Conrad of Mazovia (1194–1247), having been married to his daughter Judith since 1239. As a result, Mieszko had several conflicts with his father-in-law's nephew, Bolesław V the Chaste, over their rivalry for control of Cracow.⁴⁸

Władysław of Opole and the Campaign of 1253

The reason why Władysław of Opole led his troops into Moravia as part of the 'Hungarian' coalition in 1253 cannot be determined with precision. The sources that report the events, such as the *Annales Capituli Cracoviensis*,⁴⁹ provide

⁴⁵ Mór WERTNER, *Az Árpádok családi története* [Family-History of the Árpáds], Nagy-Becskerek: Pleitz, 1892, 489–491; *Piastowie*, 143; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 77–78.

⁴⁶ *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 96. cap. 94. See *Książęta i księżne*, 41, 121; Jerzy HORWAT, *Księstwo opolskie i jego podziały do 1532 r.: książęta, miasta, Kościół, urzędy, własność prywatna* [The Duchy of Opole and its Divisions until 1532. Princes, Cities, the Church, Offices, Private Property], Rzeszów: Uniwersytet Rzeszowski, 2002, 37; Kazimierz JASIŃSKI, *Rodowód Piastów śląskich. Piastowie wrocławscy, legnicko-brzescy, świdniccy, ziębiccy, głogowscy, żagańscy, oleśniccy, opolscy, cieszyńscy i oświęcimscy* [The Genealogy of the Silesian Piasts. The Piasts of Wrocław, Legnica-Brzeg, Świdnica, Ziębice, Głogów, Żagań, Oleśnica, Opole, Cieszyn and Oświęcim], Kraków: Avalon, 2007, 511; *Piastowie*, 722; KOZŁOWSKI, *The Thirteenth-Century*, 182; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 47.

⁴⁷ *Piastowie*, 138.

⁴⁸ *Książęta i księżne*, 90; Jerzy RAJMAN, Mieszko II Otyły książę opolsko-raciborski (1239–1246) [Mieszko II Obese, Prince of Opole–Racibórz (1239–1246)], *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 100, Warszawa, 1993, 19–41, here: 28, 34–36; Jerzy HORWAT, *Książęta górnośląscy z dynastii Piastów: Uwagi i uzupełnienia genealogiczne* [Upper Silesian Princes from the Piast Dynasty. Notes and Additions to the Genealogy], Ruda Śląska: Drukarnia Archidiecezjalna w Katowicach, 2005, 28; HORWAT, *Księstwo*, 35–36; JASIŃSKI, *Rodowód*, 508; MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydliwy*, 64–161.

⁴⁹ “Eodem anno dux Bolezlaus Cracovie et dux Wladizlaus Opoliensis cum Ruthenorum exercitu terram Opaviensem vastaverunt et multam familiam et predam aliam idem Rutheni aduxerunt.” – *Annales Capituli Cracoviensis*, 600, and *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, in: *Annales Cracovienses priores cum kalendario. Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series Nova*, vol. V (Zofia Kozłowska-Budkowa, ed.), Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1978, 19–105, here: 85, cap. 220; “Item eodem anno Boleslaus dux Cracoviensis filius Lestkonis condam ducis Cracoviensis post mortem Henrici patru sui ducatum ex integro obtinuit et Lublin a Rutinis rehabuit, vocatis Rutinis et Wladislaum ducem Opoliensem cum exercitibus suis terram Opavie devastavit.” – *Annales Sanctae Crucis Polonici*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum XIX* (Georg Heinrich Pertz, ed.), Hannover, 1886, 678–687, here 681. Jan

no concrete evidence, nor does the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle.⁵⁰ Consequently, we must formulate hypotheses. According to the renowned Polish medievalist Jerzy Wyrozumski, and the Hungarian historian Veronika Rudolf, who has recently studied the Babenberg legacy in depth, the Duke of Opole's participation may have been motivated by territorial claims to Opava dating back to the twelfth century.⁵¹ Additionally, the Polish historian Norbert Mika has pointed out that tension had existed between Władysław and Bishop Bruno of Olomouc since 1249, over the burning of Racibórz initiated by the latter.⁵²

While the possibility of a material or even emotional motivation should not be entirely dismissed, there are other possible explanations. If dynastic ties were the determining factor in the case of the other members of the coalition supporting Béla IV, it is also possible that the participation of the Duke of Opole was due to his family ties, as he was related through his wife, Euphemia, to the Piasts of Greater Poland, Przemysł I and Bolesław the Pious. However, the latter's marriage to Béla IV's daughter, Yolanda, took place years later, probably around 1256–1258,⁵³ and therefore this assumption could be safely rejected. This is all the more so given that Bolesław the Pious himself did not take part in the military venture of 1253. It may, however, be important to note that the son of Henry II the Pious, Bolesław II the Horned (Rogatka; 1248–1278),⁵⁴ the Prince of Legnica, had claims to Kalisz,⁵⁵ a circumstance that may have caused tension between him and his relative in Opole.

Another hypothesis must therefore be considered, locating the reasons for Władysław's participation in the campaign in his family background. Władysław's father was Casimir of Opole, and his mother was Princess Viola. It should be pointed out that recent research indicates that Casimir was the Polish

Długosz and Matthias Miechovius do not mention the participation of Władysław of Opole: *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae incliti Regni Poloniae*. Libri XII. Cracoviae 1873. (reprint: Liber sextus. Varsaviae 1973, Liber septimus, Liber octavus, Varsaviae 1975), VII–VIII. 94; Matthias Miechovius: *Chronica Polonorum*, in: *Catalogus Fontium Historiae Hungaricae*, vol. I–IV (Albinus Franciscus Gombos ed.), Budapest, 1937, (Reprint: Budapest, Nap: 2011), II, 1592–1608. nr. 3673, here 1605.

⁵⁰ GVC, 64–66.

⁵¹ Jerzy WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung polnischer Fürsten am Kampf um das Erbe der Babenberger*, *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne*, 121, Kraków, 1997, 7–21, here 9; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 161; Tomasz JUREK, *Der Einfluß Böhmens auf das geteilte Polen im 13. Jahrhundert*, in: *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Přemyslidenzeit* (Ivan Hlaváček and Alexander Patschovsky, eds.), Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2011, 161–201, here 181.

⁵² MIKA, *Walka*, 45; ROHÁČ, *Boj o babenberské*, 36; MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydlawy*, 237.

⁵³ WERTNER, *Az Árpádok*, 489; *Piastowie*, 143.

⁵⁴ *Piastowie*, 408–412.

⁵⁵ *Książęta i księżne*, 120–121.

prince who took part in the Fifth Crusade in 1217–1218 with Andrew II, and then returned from it, presumably in the company of the Hungarian monarch, although other opinions can also be found.⁵⁶ However, this seems to be at best a distant connection, although it cannot be ruled out that the comradeship of their fathers may have played at least a marginal role in Władysław's participation as an ally of Béla IV in the campaign of 1253.

In my opinion, it is also possible to look for the connection with the Hungarian royal family on the maternal side, through Viola. The family background of the Duchess of Opole has long been a subject of interest in Polish research. As I analysed in a previous article,⁵⁷ Viola is traditionally considered to be of Bulgarian origin, based on the data of the fifteenth century Polish chronicler Jan Długosz.⁵⁸ The marriage of Casimir of Opole, a particularly exotic one among the Piasts, is, according to the most accepted explanation in the historiography, understood as the result of the journey home from the Fifth Crusade alongside Andrew II, when the Hungarian ruler passed through the Bulgarian Empire on his way home, after travelling through the Kingdom of Cilician Armenia and the Empire of Nicea.⁵⁹ Andrew II, after previously arranged dynastic marriages,⁶⁰ betrothed his daughter Mary to the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Asen II, albeit under duress.⁶¹ According to Władysław Dziewulski, this event may have provided an excellent opportunity for the Piast prince, who was in the entourage of the Hungarian king, to find himself a wife from the Bulgarian elite.⁶² If we accept

⁵⁶ Mikołaj GŁADYSZ, *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2012, 161–173. Other opinion: Sławomir PELCZAR, *Władysław Odonic. Książę Wielkopolski, wygnaniec i protektor Kościoła (ok. 1193–1239)* [Władysław Odonic. Prince of Greater Poland, Exile and Protector of the Church (ca. 1193–1239)], Kraków: Avalon, 2013. 176–180.

⁵⁷ Gábor BARABÁS, Prinz Koloman und Herzogin Viola von Oppeln. Beitrag zu einem historiographischen Disput, in: Gábor BARABÁS, *Popes, Rulers and their Delegates: Chapters of Papal–Hungarian Relations in the Thirteenth Century*, Pécs: University of Pécs, Center for Ecclesiastical Studies, 2023, 197–218.

⁵⁸ “Viola genere et natione Bulgara, Ducissa de Oppol, moritur.”; *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae*, VII–VIII. 76.

⁵⁹ László VESZPRÉMY, II. András magyar király keresztes hadjárata, 1217–1218 [Crusade of Andrew II, King of Hungary 1217–1218], in: *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik* (József Laszlovszky et al., eds.), Máriabesnyő – Gödöllő: Attraktor, 2006, 99–111, here 105–106.

⁶⁰ Andrew II betrothed his third son, also named Andrew, to the daughter of the Armenian king of Cilicia, while the future Béla IV was betrothed to Mary, daughter of the emperor of Nicea, Theodoros I Laskaris. Cf. VESZPRÉMY, II. *András*, 105–106.

⁶¹ WERTNER, *Az Árpádok*, 436–437.

⁶² Perhaps the daughter of Tsar Kaloyan or Boril. Władysław DZIEWULSKI, *Bułgarka księżną opolską?* [A Bulgarian Princess of Opole?], *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny Sobótka*, 24 (1969), 159–183, here: 159–169. Cf. also BARABÁS, Prinz Koloman, 204–208.

this theory, we have another, also not especially close: Hungarian connection in the case of Władysław of Opole, which could explain his involvement in the Bohemian–Hungarian conflict of the 1250s. However, as in the case of the previous theory, the temporal distance involved tends to weaken this hypothesis.

The theory of Bulgarian origin based on Długosz's data has been criticised in the scholarly literature. Certain scholars have stated that Viola came from the Rus',⁶³ while others suggest that she may have been of Hungarian or even Dalmatian origin.⁶⁴ The Polish historian Jerzy Horwat has suggested that the princess could have been the daughter of King Béla III or King Emeric, i.e. that she was a previously unknown princess of the Árpáadian dynasty.⁶⁵ Horwat used the name Władysław as an argument in support of his hypothesis, arguing that in the case of Casimir and Viola, alongside the Piast family tradition, the Árpáds may also have played a role in the naming of their child.⁶⁶

I dealt with Viola's origin previously, in the context of the papal mandates given to Duke Coloman of Slavonia, the second son of the Hungarian monarch Andrew II. At the end of 1233, Coloman received an assignment from Pope Gregory IX as a secular protector in the case of Viola, who had been widowed in 1230, and her children.⁶⁷ In my opinion, Coloman's papal mandate is a legitimate argument in favour of the princess's presumed Hungarian origin.⁶⁸ Nevertheless, it must be underlined that the Hungarian royal prince's authorization as papal protector cannot be used exclusively as an argument for Viola's belonging to the Hungarian royal family. Coloman had borne the royal title of Galicia since his childhood,⁶⁹ while his wife, Salomea, had connections in the Rus' through her mother, Grzymisława, which could be an argument for the supposed Rus'ian

⁶³ 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), 61–78, here 63–78. Cf. also BARABÁS, Prinz Koloman, 208–211.

⁶⁴ 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) / Slowakei und Kroatien Band I. Historische Parallelen und Beziehungen (bis zum Jahre 1780)* (Veronika Kucharská et al., eds.) Bratislava – Zagreb: Department of Slovak History, Faculty of Philosophy, Comenius University Bratislava, 2013, 110–119, here 113–116.

⁶⁵ HORWAT, *Księstwo*, 28–30; HORWAT, *Książęta*, 24–27.

⁶⁶ HORWAT, *Księstwo*, 30; HORWAT, *Książęta*, 27.

⁶⁷ The widow and her children needed the support of the Apostolic See against Henry I the Bearded of Wrocław. See ZIENTARA, *Heinrich*, 280–281.

⁶⁸ BARABÁS, Prinz Koloman, 212–217.

⁶⁹ Márta FONT and Gábor BARABÁS, *Coloman, King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia (1208–1241) Medieval Central Europe and Hungarian Power*, Leeds: Amsterdam University Press, 2019, 31–42.

origin of Viola. In addition, the hypothesis of Dalmatian descent, also traced back to the Crusade of 1217–1218,⁷⁰ would likewise explain Prince Coloman's otherwise extraordinary involvement in the affair of the widowed duchess of Opole.⁷¹

I think that all three ideas, with the exception of Bulgarian origin, could explain Władysław's participation in the Polish-Rus'ian coalition supporting Béla IV, although not to the same extent. Hungarian ancestry would speak for itself, while a Rus'ian origin could have created a link between Grzymisława, the mother of Bolesław V the Chaste,⁷² or even Daniel Romanovich, and the duke of Opole. The possibility of Dalmatian origin is perhaps the least significant aspect in this regard. Based on all this, although we must remain within the realm of assumptions, I believe that in the case of Władysław of Opole, material considerations and the desire to avenge the earlier attack on Racibórz cannot have been the sole reasons for his decision to join the conflict on the side of Bolesław V the Chaste, and thus that of the Hungarian king. It does not seem impossible that, in addition to his claim to Opava, the duke of Opole may also have been motivated by family traditions.

Władysław's participation in the conflict does not have to be evaluated exclusively from the point of view of the Hungarian group of allies. Polish and Silesian power relations must also be taken into account. Władysław's father, Casimir of Opole, had initially supported Leszek the White against his relative, Prince Henry I the Bearded of Wrocław.⁷³ It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that his son Władysław likewise sought an alliance with Bolesław V the Chaste against his Silesian neighbours.

Peace, Negotiations and a Change of Heart

Returning to the conflict between Béla IV and Ottokar II, it is important to note that the parties temporarily ended their hostilities in 1254 with a peace agreement negotiated by their representatives in Buda and confirmed in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia). According to Veronika Rudolf's convincing assessment, one factor that played a major role in this was that Béla IV realised, that, after the death of King Wenceslas I, Ottokar II now had the resources of the entire Kingdom of Bohemia at his disposal, as the late monarch had not previously supported his son militarily. This change in circumstances in turn, motivated

⁷⁰ DĄBROWSKI, *Slovak*, 113–116.

⁷¹ BARABÁS, *Prinz Koloman*, 212–217.

⁷² FONT, *The Kings*, 159–160.

⁷³ See GLADYSZ, *The Forgotten*, 150–154.

the Hungarian monarch to make peace.⁷⁴ Furthermore, the new Bohemian king was motivated by his planned Prussian crusade.⁷⁵ According to the agreement, the Duchy of Austria, the former Styrian territories on the lower Enns, and most of the former County of Pitten were given to Ottokar II, while the Duchy of Styria went to Béla IV.⁷⁶ According to the remaining sources, the Polish princes who had fought on the Hungarian side in 1253 were not involved in the negotiations.⁷⁷ As with the reason for the earlier military involvement, it is also unclear what circumstances might have motivated Władysław of Opole to change his previous alliance relations after the campaign of 1253. What is certain is that the new Bohemian ruler, Ottokar II, put considerable effort into strengthening his relations with the opposing Piast princes.⁷⁸

The following year provided a good opportunity to achieve this goal. On 8 May 1254, members of the Polish secular and ecclesiastical elite met in Cracow. Those present included, among the Piast rulers, Bolesław V the Chaste, his cousins, Dukes Casimir I of Kuyavia (1233–1267)⁷⁹ and Siemowit I of Mazovia (1248–1262),⁸⁰ as well as Przemysł I of Greater Poland and Władysław of Opole.⁸¹ Their solemn gathering coincided with the day of Saint Stanisław, the eleventh-century martyred bishop of Cracow, to celebrate his recent canonisation by Pope Innocent IV (1243–1254) in Assisi in September of the previous year. One might reasonably suggest that political negotiations may have occurred.⁸² In this

⁷⁴ RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 166–167.

⁷⁵ David SYCHRA, The Role Played by Bishop Bruno of Olomouc in the Prussian Crusades of the Bohemian King Ottokar II Premislav, in: *The Expansion of the Faith: Crusading on the Frontiers of Latin Christendom in the High Middle Ages* (eds. Paul Srodecki and Norbert Kersken), Turnhout: Brepols, 2022, 147–163, here 155–156; JUREK, *Der Einfluß*, 184.

⁷⁶ *Regesta diplomatica necnon epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*. I–VII. eds. Karel Jaromír Erben et al., Praeae 1855–1963, (=RDEBM) II. 12–13. nr. 24; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 168–169.

⁷⁷ RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 168.

⁷⁸ *Książęta i księżne*, 93–94; KOZŁOWSKI, *The Thirteenth-Century*, 112–113; JUREK, *Der Einfluß*, 181–182; WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 10.

⁷⁹ *Piastowie*, 201–202.

⁸⁰ *Piastowie*, 267–270.

⁸¹ “[...] et preclari principes Kazimirus Cuyauie et Lancicie dux, Premisl dux Polonie, Semouitus dux Mazouie, Boleslaus Prudicus dux Cracouie et Sandomirie.” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 101. cap. 105; “[...] et nobiles viri duces Polonie: Kazimirus dux Lancicie et Cuyauie, Premisl dux Polonie, Semouitus dux Mazouie, Boleslaus dux Cracouie et Sandomirie, Wladislaus dux de Oppol.” – *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, in: *Annales Poloniae Maioris*, ed. Brygida Kürbis. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica Series Nova*, VI. Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962, 21–78, here 34; *Książęta i księżne*, 121. Compare the data in the Silesian annals, where only the fact of canonisation is recorded. *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum* XIX. ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hannover, 1866, 526–570.

⁸² WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 10; KOZŁOWSKI, *The Thirteenth-Century*, 278–279; JUREK, *Der Einfluß*, 182–184.

respect, it is noteworthy that of the Silesian Piasts, only the Duke of Opole is mentioned in the sources, indicating that Władysław was presumably still aligned with the rulers of Lesser Poland and his wife's brother, Przemysł I. However, the change of parties was underway.

Regarding the cult of Stanisław, it should be pointed out that Ottokar II presumably recognized the potential of his canonisation. He sent an envoy to the assembly in Cracow, Bartholomew of Prague, who successfully negotiated with Bishop Pandota of Cracow, resulting in the Bohemian king obtaining a relic, with the arm of Saint Stanisław being sent to Prague.⁸³ Ottokar II's donations to the bishopric of Cracow can also be interpreted in this political context: it is certain that his aim was to secure Bolesław V the Chaste's support. However, family ties may have been more relevant in his case: Bolesław did not betray his father-in-law, Béla IV.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, Lesser Poland did not directly border the Kingdom of Bohemia, so the threat the prince faced was not immediate.

The situation was quite different in the case of the Duke of Opole, as he had to face not only the now king of Bohemia Ottokar II, but also his own Silesian relatives, who had committed themselves to the king's side. Two out of Henry II the Pious's four surviving sons entered the church, and Conrad even rose to the dignity of bishop of Passau, while in 1256 Władysław became provost of Vyšehrad and thus chancellor to Ottokar II. Meanwhile, in 1248, Bolesław II the Horned and Henry III the White (Biały; 1248–1266)⁸⁵ divided the territories, with the former taking over Legnica and the latter Wrocław. The influence of the Bohemian monarch can be therefore described as considerable.⁸⁶

The conclusion of peace between Ottokar II and Władysław took place in July 1256, probably in Opava,⁸⁷ as the Bohemian king confirmed several earlier privileges for the bishopric of Olomouc there in mid-July.⁸⁸ The text of the peace records that a minor adjustment was made to the borders of the Duchy of Opole and Moravia in favour of the Polish side.⁸⁹ According to Wyrozumski, the territorial aspects of the treaty support the theory that the Duke of Opole was moti-

⁸³ *Canonicorum Pragensium*, 175. See JUREK, *Der Einfluß*, 182–184.

⁸⁴ WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 10–11; SYCHRA, *The Role*, 156–157; MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydlivy*, 238–243.

⁸⁵ *Piastowie*, 415–417.

⁸⁶ WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 11; JUREK, *Der Einfluß*, 173; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 202.

⁸⁷ RDEBM II. 48–49. nr. 127; WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 11; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 202.

⁸⁸ RDEBM II. 41–44. nr. 106–109.

⁸⁹ This is the first known Bohemian–Polish border demarcation. See JUREK, *Der Einfluß*, 166–167.

vated by his territorial claims when he entered the conflict in 1253.⁹⁰ In any case, it is indeed revealing that Władysław was already attempting to make amends for the damage inflicted on the bishopric of Olomouc before the peace treaty.⁹¹ The letters of Bishop Bruno, who later led the negotiations, dated 7 November 1255 and 2 June 1256, refer to the previous reparations made by the Duke of Opole, i.e. Władysław.⁹²

Without dismissing the importance of territorial claims, I think that Władysław's rapprochement with Ottokar II can be interpreted from other perspectives. First of all, we have to consider the circumstances of the Hungarian-Bohemian peace, since the agreement between the two kings left out the allies of Béla IV, which probably did not fill the Prince of Opole with unmitigated satisfaction. In addition, as I have mentioned above, Ottokar II mobilised considerable efforts to win over Bolesław V the Chaste, as he formulated it in his letter to the Bishop and Chapter of Cracow regarding the release of those captured in the earlier attack.⁹³ We can be quite sure that the ruler of Opole was approached in a similar manner. Moreover, the fact that the prestige of Otto II was clearly on the rise may have played a role in Władysław's change of allegiance, especially as the Bohemian monarch, acting as a 'defender of the faith', led his first crusade against the Prussians in 1255, starting from Wrocław, where he had previously spent Christmas with Henry III the White and Bolesław II the Horned.⁹⁴ It is worth noting again that the planned campaign may have been a motivating factor for Ottokar II in concluding the peace treaty of Buda in 1254.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 11. Cf. *Książęta i księżne*, 121.

⁹¹ See RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 161, 202.

⁹² *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae. Urkundensammlung zur Geschichte Mährens*. I–XV. ed. Anton Boczek et al., Brünn, 1836–1903 (=CDEM) III. 198–199. nr. 222; CDEM III. 209. nr. 132; RDEBM II. 29. nr. 74; RDEBM II. 38. nr. 100.

⁹³ "Qorum nos terras et presertim dilecti consanguinei et affinis nostri, Illustris Cracowie et Sandomirie Ducis Boleslai [...]” – *Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry krakowskiej ś. Wacława*. I–II. ed. Franciszek Piekosiński, Kraków 1874–1883. I. Obejmująca rzeczy od roku 1166 do roku 1366. 61–62. nr. 44. See WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 10.

⁹⁴ *Annales Otakariani*. Ed. Rudolf Köpke, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptorum IX*. Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, Hannover, 1851, 181–194, here 181; Robert ANTONÍN, The Rhetoric of the Crusades and Anti-Paganism in the Political Propaganda of Ottokar II Premislas of Bohemia, in: *The Expansion of the Faith: Crusading on the Frontiers of Latin Christendom in the High Middle Ages* (eds. Paul Srodecki and Norbert Kersken) Turnhout: Brepols, 2022, 291–302, here 298–299; SYCHRA, *The Role*, 147–158; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 171.

⁹⁵ SYCHRA, *The Role*, 155–156.

King Béla IV and his Piast Allies

Naturally, Béla IV was not idle after the peace with the Piasts.⁹⁶ His son-in-law, Bolesław V the Chaste, continued to be a staunch ally, and it was presumably through his mediation that a new kinship was established. Among other sources, according to the *Annals of the Chapter of Poznań* and the *Chronicle of Greater Poland*, Bolesław the Pious, Prince of Greater Poland and later of Kalisz, married Helena, actually Béla IV's daughter Yolanda, at the court of Bolesław V the Chaste in Cracow in 1256/1258.⁹⁷ It seems certain that the aim of the marriage was to forge an alliance between Bolesław the Pious and the Hungarian ruler.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, it would be misleading to look at the new family ties that emerged between the Árpáds and the Piasts solely from the perspective of the Hungarian royal family.⁹⁹

We may now turn to examine the new relations of Béla IV. The new son-in-law of the Hungarian monarch, Bolesław the Pious, was born between 1224 and 1227. He was the son of Władysław Odonic, a prince of the Piast branch of Greater Poland, making Bolesław the great-grandson of Mieszko III the Old and a Hungarian princess, Elisabeth.¹⁰⁰ The early life of the prince was heavily influenced by the conflict between his father and their relatives, including his brother Władysław Spindleshanks of Greater Poland and the Silesian duke Henry I

⁹⁶ For the marriages of the children of Béla IV and his system of alliances. cf. SENGA, IV. Béla; KOZŁOWSKI, The Marriage.

⁹⁷ “[...] dominus Boleslaus dux Polonie copulavit sibi in terra Cracouiensi apud ducem Boleslaum, filium condam Lestkonis, filium regis Ungarie nomine Helenam.” – Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej, 43; “Boleslaus Polonie dux, frater Przemislonis iam defuncti, Helenam Bele regis Ungarie filiam de sorore Heduisgis procreatam, quam anno uno ante obitum Przemislonis fratris sui apud Boleslaum ducem Cracouie sibi copulaverat, in uxorem in terram suam de terra Cracouiensi adduxit cum sollempnitate regali.” – *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, 110. cap. 121. Cf. also *Piastowie*, 143; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 55.

⁹⁸ It is assumed that Bolesław the Pious was one of the suitors of Margaret, daughter of Béla IV, who in the end remained a nun. See Szent Margit legendája [The Legend of Saint Margareth], in: *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek. Szentek a magyar középkorból 1.* (Géza Érszegi, ed.), Budapest: Osiris, 2001. (=Millenniumi magyar történelem – Források), 104–173, here: 113; *Legenda Vetus, Acta Processus Canonizationis et Miracula Sanctae Margaritae de Hungaria – The Oldest Legend, Acts of the Canonization Process and Miracles of Saint Margaret of Hungary*, (Ildikó Csepregi, Gábor Klaniczay, and Bence Péterfi, eds.), Budapest: CEU Press, 2018. (Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 8) 66–67. See *Piastowie*, 143; Gábor KLANICZAY, *Agnes of Bohemia and Margaret of Hungary: A Comparison*, in: *Queens, Princesses and Mendicants. Close Relations in European Perspective* (Nicholas Jaspert and Imke Just, eds.), Wien: LIT Verlag, 2019, 263–281, here: 272.

⁹⁹ Károly Kapronczay emphasized the aims of Bolesław the Pious. Károly KAPRONCZAY, *A magyar-lengyel történelmi kapcsolatok évszázadai* [Centuries of Hungarian–Polish Historical Relations], Budapest: Mundus, 2000, 15.

¹⁰⁰ Kazimierz JASIŃSKI, *Rodowód pierwszych Piastów*, Warszawa – Wrocław: Uniwersytet Wrocławski, 1993, 235–240.

the Bearded.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, Bolesław received an excellent education, which included instruction in Latin.¹⁰²

After the death of their father, Odon, in 1239, the elder brother Przemysław I took over the duchy of Greater Poland left to the siblings. Bolesław was given shared authority over the duchy in 1245 and he was granted the Kalisz region as early as 1247, although he exercised little power there.¹⁰³ In 1249, another partition occurred, when Bolesław took possession of Gniezno. Shortly afterwards a conflict emerged between the brothers, resulting in Przemysław I imprisoning Bolesław from 1250 to 1253.¹⁰⁴ Following his release, Bolesław reconciled with his older brother, and this time they permanently divided their paternal legacy. The siblings took part in the disputes of the Silesian Piasts, supporting their brother-in-law Conrad of Głogów (1249–1274) against Henry III the White, Prince of Wrocław (1248–1266). In 1255, Bolesław the Pious became allied with his future brother-in-law, the husband of Princess Kinga, Bolesław V the Chaste, when the two Bolesławs were united with Casimir of Kuyavia and Prince Siemowit of Mazovia against the Pomeranian princes Świętopełk and Mściwój.¹⁰⁵

Bolesław V the Chaste and Siemowit continued to support Bolesław the Pious, but the situation was different with Casimir of Kuyavia. In 1258, the latter eventually found himself in a serious conflict with Bolesław the Pious, who in June 1257 had taken control of the whole of Greater Poland after the death of his brother Przemysław I, when Przemysław had attacked Casimir with the aim of regaining the Łąd region. In the struggle, Bolesław V the Chaste also supported his brother-in-law. In 1262, after the peace between Ottokar II and Béla IV, Casimir of Kuyavia and Bolesław the Pious – with mediation by the Bishop of Włocławek – settled their conflict.¹⁰⁶

The support of the Duke of Cracow is not surprising, since, as noted earlier, he had shortly before become brother-in-law to Bolesław the Pious. The examination of the Piasts' family connections may provide further insights into the conflict. Therefore, it is not insignificant to the topic of this paper that around 1251 Władysław of Opole married Euphemia, the sister of Bolesław the Pious and Przemysław I. The changing power-relations are reflected in a new marriage.

¹⁰¹ ZIENTARA, *Heinrich*, 159–172; Maciej PRZYBYŁ, *Władysław Laskonogi. Książę wielkopolski 1202–1231* [Władysław Laskonogi, Prince of Greater Poland 1202–1231], Poznań: Wydawnictwo WBP, 1998, 71–115.

¹⁰² *Piastowie*, 142; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 28–29.

¹⁰³ HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 29–38.

¹⁰⁴ *Idem*, 38–52.

¹⁰⁵ *Piastowie*, 142–143; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 52–55.

¹⁰⁶ *Piastowie*, 143; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 77–92.

In 1257, the sister of the Duke of Opole, Euphrosyne, married Casimir I of Kuyavia, son of Conrad of Mazovia, who owned the territory of Łąd in Greater Poland, a source of conflict with Bolesław the Pious.¹⁰⁷ Some historians speculate that this may have been the motivation for Bolesław the Pious to align with Béla IV against Casimir and the Přemyslid-oriented Silesian princes, now including Władysław of Opole.¹⁰⁸

The Second War and the Peace Between Béla IV and Ottokar II

War broke out once again between the kings of Bohemia and Hungary in 1260, which naturally affected their allies. In the light of the events of the past few years, it should not have come as too great surprise that Władysław of Opole sided with Ottokar II, as did Henry III the White of Wrocław.¹⁰⁹ Béla IV was supported by his son-in-law, Bolesław V the Chaste, and his relative Leszek II the Black (Czarny), later Prince of Sieradz, then of Łęczyca, Inowrocław, and finally of Cracow and Sandomierz,¹¹⁰ the elder brother of the future king of Poland, Władysław I the Elbow-High/Short (Łokietek).¹¹¹ As for the absence of the most recent son-in-law of the Hungarian king, one can only speculate that he may have been occupied by his conflictual relationship with the Ascanian dynasty, the margraves of Brandenburg. In July 1260, shortly before the Battle of Kressenbrunn fought between the Hungarian and the Bohemian monarchs, Bolesław the Pious's niece Constance, daughter of Przemysł I, married the son of Margrave John, Conrad.¹¹² For the Prince of Greater Poland, settling his relationship with the Ascanians seems to have taken priority over involvement in his father-in-law's conflict.

The surviving Polish sources that provide any account of the Battle of Kressenbrunn,¹¹³ such as Długosz's fifteenth-century work, merely record the support of the Polish princes and note that Béla was in the camp with the princes

¹⁰⁷ JASIŃSKI, *Rodowód*, 513–514; *Piastowie*, 722–723; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 46.

¹⁰⁸ *Książęta i księżne*, 44, 121; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 77–78. Casimir's third wife was Euphrosyne, and their eldest son was Władysław Łokietek, who became King of Poland in 1320. JASIŃSKI, *Rodowód*, 513; *Piastowie*, 210.

¹⁰⁹ MIKA, *Walka*, 60–61; SZŪCS, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 86–87; For Władysław of Opole see *Książęta i księżne*, 121.

¹¹⁰ *Piastowie*, 203–218.

¹¹¹ Leszek's grandfather, Conrad I of Mazovia, was the younger brother of Leszek the White. See *Piastowie*, 200–201.

¹¹² *Piastowie*, 144; HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 89.

¹¹³ Polish narrative sources focused on the Mongol attack of 1259. See WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 12.

who aided him, Bolesław V the Chaste and Leszek II the Black.¹¹⁴ We cannot be absolutely certain that all the Piasts actually took part in the battle.¹¹⁵ Ottokar aus der Gaal, an almost contemporary Styrian chronicler, for example, does not report their involvement.¹¹⁶ However, there is no reason to doubt that the Piast princes faced one another. Ottokar II himself mentioned Bolesław V the Chaste and Leszek II the Black among the allies of Béla IV in his letter to Pope Alexander IV in October 1260 concerning the peace with the Hungarian king.¹¹⁷ Although Ottokar II did not refer to his own allies in this letter, we can be sure that Władysław of Opole clearly committed himself to him, as Długosz states. The Duke certainly supported the king with troops, and it seems very likely that he personally took part in the Battle of Kressenbrunn, which ended in victory for Ottokar. The Duke of Opole and Henry III the White were in Wrocław in late May,¹¹⁸ and according to the *Annales Otakariani*, they led their troops themselves to the previously agreed assembly at Pohořelice. Later, the idea of leaving was raised, but in the end, they remained with the Bohemian king.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁴ “Belam siquidem Hungarie regem Boleslaus Prudicus Cracowiensis et Sandomiriensis dux velut gener socerum, item Lestko Niger Siradiensis dux Kazmiri Kuyawiensis et Lanciciensis ducis filius, quem secum una Boleslaus Pudicus in soceri solacium adduxerat [...]. Przemisalum vero Bohemie ducem Henricus Wratislawensis, Wladislaus Oppoliensis duces [...] adiuvabant. [...] Bela Hungarie rex cum ducibus auxiliarius in castris continebat.” – *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae*, VII–VIII. 129. Cf. regarding the battle Peter ROHÁČ, II. česko-uhorská vojna o babenberské dedičstvo 1260 a bitka pri Kressenbrunne [Second Czech–Hungarian War for the Babenberg Legacy 1260 and the Battle of Kressenbrunn.]. *Vojenská história*, 20, 2, Bratislava, 2016, 23–44, especially 32. It is worth mentioning here that around 1260, Leszek the Black came into conflict with his father and his new wife Euphrosyne of Opole, the sister of Władysław. *Książęta i księżne*, 44; *Piastowie*, 203.

¹¹⁵ The Mongol threat may have played a role in this. Cf. RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 202–203.

¹¹⁶ *Ottokar aus der Gaal: Stájer Rimes Krónika (Részletek)* [Ottokar aus der Gaal: Styrian Rhyme-Chronicle (Excerptions)], translated by Dániel Bagi, Budapest: Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2023, (=SRK) 119–121; Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Deutsche Chroniken*. V/1. ed. Joseph Seemüller, Hannover, 1890, 98–100. cap. LXIV–LXV.

¹¹⁷ “[...] grauis belli, quod aduersus Belam et natum eiusdem Stephanum Ungarie reges illustres, et Danielem, regem Russie, et filios eius, et ceteros Ruthenos ac Tartharos, qui eidem in auxilium venerant, et Boleslaum Cracouiensem, et Lestkonem iuuenem Lansacie duces [...]” – RDEBM II. 103, nr. 271. See WYROZUMSKI, *Beteiligung*, 12.

¹¹⁸ See RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 205.

¹¹⁹ “Qui cum venerabilis domini Brunonis Olomucensis episcopi et Henrici Sleziae et Wladislai Opoliensis illustrium ducum castra in pratis circa Pohorliz metata clam invadere et percutere decrevisset [...] Nam cum imponeretur dictis Henrico Zleziae et Opoliensis ducibus, quod ipsi primi a loco castrorum ad propria intenderent remeare, confusibiliter solvendo exercitui vausam taliter tunc daturi, hiidem tanquam viri strenui et prudentes inficiantur dictum de ipsis, et huiusmodi consilii portum seu radicem in Branburgensem referunt marchionem.” – *Annales Otakariani*, 183–184. Cf. RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 205–206.

The conflict between Ottokar II and Béla IV in 1260 ended in a peace treaty, which was finalised in Vienna the following year, and was confirmed by a marriage bond. The Bohemian monarch married Kunigunde,¹²⁰ the granddaughter of Béla IV and daughter of Princess Anna and Rostislav Mikhailovich.¹²¹ In view of the outcome of the Árpáadian–Přemyslid conflict, it is not surprising that Władysław of Opole and the other Silesian Piasts attended the solemn coronation of Queen Kunigunde in December 1261.¹²² His stay in Prague also gave him the opportunity to take steps to adjust the border between his duchy, Opole–Racibórz, and Moravia.¹²³

It is worth mentioning that Ottokar aus der Gaal's rhymed chronicle reports that a few years later the Bohemian monarch sent invitations to Wrocław and Poland for the wedding between his niece, Kunigunde of Brandenburg and Béla IV's younger son, Prince Béla, in 1264, near Pozsony (Bratislava). The report seems unlikely, and the chronicler does not explicitly mention any of the Polish princes among the participants of the wedding, a detail confirmed by the *Annales Ottokariani*.¹²⁴ Nevertheless, the hypothesis has been formulated that Bolesław the Pious attended the wedding. Ottokar aus der Gaal's passage "Krawâten, Poznær ouch einen hâten",¹²⁵ which was translated by Dániel Bagi in his recent Hungarian edition as "the lord of the Croats and the Bosnians", could be interpreted as mentioning Poznań and thus referring to the Prince of Greater Poland.¹²⁶ In my opinion, however, the

¹²⁰ HOMZA, Niekoľko, 117. RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 214–219. The engagement of the younger Hungarian prince, Béla, to Kunigunde, daughter of Otto III, Margrave of Brandenburg, can also be interpreted in this context. Prince Béla married Ottokar II's niece in 1264, and it is possible that the aim was to strengthen the position of Béla IV in his conflict with his son Stephen. Cf. SRK 121–129; *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, cap. LXV–LXVIII, 100–108; Attila ZSOLDOS, *Családi ügy. IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as években* [Family Affair. The Struggle of King Béla IV and Younger King Stephen in the 1260s], Budapest: MTA TTI, 2007, 34–35; HOMZA, Niekoľko, 117–118; Jakub PALKO, *Kráľovič Belo (1249 – 1269): Dux tocius Sclavoniæ, Dalmaciæ et Croaciæ* [Prince Béla (1249 – 1269): Dux tocius Sclavoniæ, Dalmaciæ et Croaciæ], Bratislava: Slovenský ústav v Ríme, Katedra slovenských dejín Filozofickej fakulty Univerzity Komenského v Bratislave, 2022, 68–86; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 226–227; ROHÁČ, II. česko-uhorská vojna, 41–42; SZÚCS, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 88.

¹²¹ Rostislav Mikhailovich and his wife, Princess Anna were forced to leave the Rus' and settled down in Hungary. Cf. FONT, *The Kings*, 214–220.

¹²² "presentibus etiam ducibus Poloniae" – *Canonicorum Pragensium*, 178.

¹²³ *Książęta i księżne*, 121.

¹²⁴ "[...] dâ stözent her an, Brezlâ unde Pôlân, Sahsen, Mîhsen, und Düringen." – *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, 102, cap. LXV, line 7710. See also SRK 123–129. Cf. *Annales Otakariani*, 186–187. See HOMZA, Niekoľko, 121–126; PALKO, *Kráľovič*, 77–85.

¹²⁵ *Ottokars Österreichische Reimchronik*, 107, cap. LXVII, line 8081.

¹²⁶ Cf. PALKO, *Kráľovič*, 83–84.

context of the passage in question makes it unlikely that the author would have referred to a city rather than a territory.

There is no doubt that Władysław of Opole was in league with Ottokar II. In January 1262, he and Henry III the White of Wrocław participated in the meeting of Bolesław V the Chaste and Bolesław the Pious in Danków, which was initiated because of the conflict between Duke of Greater Poland and Casimir I of Kuyavia.¹²⁷ In June of the same year Władysław and Henry III met the sons-in-law of Béla IV, the two Bolesławs once again, with the intention of bringing them into an alliance with Ottokar II, but without success.¹²⁸

A Hungarian Dynastic Conflict, Ottokar II and the Piasts

The period of the alliance between Béla IV and Ottokar II, which began in 1260, lasted until the death of the Hungarian monarch in 1270. It is no surprise that there is no evidence of a Bohemian-Hungarian military encounter at this time. A relevant conflict did take occur, however, in the 1260s, but within the borders of the Hungarian Kingdom. In 1265, Béla IV waged war on his son, Stephen, who bore the title junior king (*rex iunior*) and reigned over the Eastern part of the realm from the early 1260s onwards.¹²⁹ Despite the existing alliance of the older king with the Bohemian ruler, no large-scale military intervention by either the latter or any of the Polish princes is known.¹³⁰

We cannot forget the role of Princess Kinga, wife of Bolesław V the Chaste, who certainly supported her father Béla in the family conflict. This is indicated by the fact that Prince Stephen's infant son, the future King Ladislas IV (1272–1290), was placed under the care of his aunt after his capture by the royal forces. In a letter to her niece, Queen Kunigunde of Bohemia, Kinga asked her relative to persuade King Ottokar II to support Béla IV, because her husband, Bolesław

¹²⁷ *Piastowie*, 144.

¹²⁸ *Książęta i księżne*, 121; According to Karolina Maciaszek, not two, but only one meeting took place. MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydlawy*, 246–247.

¹²⁹ ZSOLDOS, *Családi*; Attila ZSOLDOS, *The Árpáds and Their People*, Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020, 89–90.

¹³⁰ RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 225–237. Nevertheless, based on the research of Veronika Rudolf and Dániel Bácsatyai, it seems to be possible that a smaller German contingent of 200 men was sent by Ottokar II under the leadership of Henrik Preußel to Béla IV, but it was probably not ultimately deployed. RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 238–241; Dániel BÁCSATYAI, IV. Béla és István ifjabb király belháborújának időrendje [The Chronology of the Civil War between King Béla IV and Younger King Stephen], *Századok*, 154 (2020), 1047–1082, here 1070–1071.

V the Chaste, was ready likewise ready to do so.¹³¹ However, no evidence of an armed intervention has survived.

According to the charter commemorating the peace between Béla IV and Stephen, issued in 1266, the text of which was preserved in a diploma of Pope Clement IV (1265–1268) dated June of the same year, the agreement was extended to the king's allies. Thus, in addition to Ottokar II, the guarantee of non-aggression on the part of Junior King Stephen was also valid for the sons-in-law of Béla IV, Bolesław V the Chaste and Bolesław the Pious, as well as for Prince Leszek II the Black.¹³² Obviously, Béla's alliance system is recorded here, so it is no wonder, that the Silesian princes, such as Władysław of Opole are absent. It can be argued that the reconciliation of the Bohemian and Hungarian rulers did not go hand in hand with a close restoration of the former military friendship between Béla and Władysław. In 1268, the daughters of Béla IV, Kinga and Yolanda, as well as their sister Constance, visited their father's court, which can be interpreted as a form of support for the king. According to Veronika Rudolf, the persuasion of his daughters may have played a role in preventing the conflict between Béla and Stephen from escalating further.¹³³

Naturally, Béla IV's Polish allies were also affected by the changed situation in 1260, as both Bolesławs became related to Ottokar II as well. Nevertheless, there were instances of conflict. The Annals of the Chapter of Cracow (*Rocznik*

¹³¹ "[...] una cum dilecto domino et marito nostro carissimo scribimus, hortamur et supplicamus Dilectioni Vestrae, quatenus compatientes insolitis et injustis serenissimi domini et patris vestri ac nostri dolorum persecutionibus, inducere monitis, persuasionibus atque consiliis maritum vestrum dignemini ad succurrendum in forti brachio et armato contra temeritatem filii, paternae gloriae titulum iufirmantis; maxime cum dilectus dominus et maritus noster carissimus non parcendo personis, laboribus aut expensis, id ipsum faciendo omnes vires suas fideliter exponere sit paratus" – *Árpádkori új okmánytár – Codex diplomaticus Arpadianus continuatus*. I-XII, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel, Pest - Budapest, 1860-1874, (=ÁÚO) III. 161–162. nr. 105. See ZSOLDOS, *Családi*, 78. Karolina Maciaszek dealt with the issue without the results of recent Hungarian medieval studies. MACIASZEK, *Bolesław V Wstydlivyy*, 247–249.

¹³² "[...] idem Rex carissimus filius noster promisit, quod nec ipse, nec sui cognati, vel amici nos, dominam Reginam, consortem nostram carissimam, matrem suam, Ducem Belam, filium nostrum predilectum, fratrem suum, dominam Annam Ducissam, sororem suam, Ducem Belam, filium eiusdem, Regem Boemorum, generum ipsius et nostrum, Bolizlaum Cracovie, Bolyzlaum Gnezdensem, Lynznyk filium Ducis Cazmerii. Duces, nec terras ipsorum vel homines ad eos spectantes, et quoslibet alios nobis adherentes molestabit, turbabit vel aliquatenus impugnabit." – ÁÚO III. 130, nr. 88, *Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae critico-diplomatica – Az Árpád-házi királyok okleveleinek kritikai jegyzéke*, vol. 1–2/1 (Emericus Szentpétery. ed.), Budapest, 1923–1943; vol. 2/2–4, ed. by Iván Borsa. Budapest, 1961–1987, I, 449, nr. 1481. (=RA), *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab anno post Christum Natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV*. Ed. August Potthast, Berolini, 1874, nr. 19711; *Les Registres de Clément IV, 1265–1268*. ed. Édouard Jourdain, Paris, 1945, nr. 332. Cf. RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 240; ZSOLDOS, *Családi*, 79–80.

¹³³ RA I, 488–489, nr. 1604. See RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 242–243.

kapituły krakowskiej) report that Ottokar II, on his way home from his second crusade against the Prussians¹³⁴ in the winter of 1267–1268, devastated territories in Greater Poland.¹³⁵ The *Annales* do not give the reason for the conflict, but suggest that the alliance between Bolesław the Pious and King Béla IV was behind the attack on Greater Poland.¹³⁶ As previously mentioned, this view is not firmly held, since there has been no conflict between Béla IV and Ottokar II for years at this point. If we are to give credence to the *Annales*, the last sentence must be taken as conclusive, according to which the conflict between Ottokar II and Bolesław the Pious was the result of violence used during the crossing, i.e., it was not the continuation of an earlier conflict. This is especially likely, since, as we have seen, the ruler of Greater Poland did not intervene in favour of his father-in-law against the Bohemian king earlier. In addition, it is worth pointing out that the announcement was preserved in the annals of the chapter of Cracow, and there is no trace of it in the annals of the chapter of Poznań.¹³⁷ Furthermore, it seems also seems possible that the Bohemian king attacked Bolesław because of the conflict between the ruler of Greater Poland and the Silesian Piasts, Ottokar II's supporters, as Marcin Hlebionek suggested.¹³⁸

In 1270, Béla IV and shortly afterwards his wife Queen Mary also passed away. Their daughter Princess Anne, who had been actively involved in the earlier conflict, taking with her a significant part of the royal treasury and other nobles who had previously been on the side of the elder king, saw the best solution in fleeing to Prague, to the court of Ottokar II. Shortly before his passing away, the Hungarian king had written to Ottokar II asking him to extend a 'fatherly embrace [to] his wife, daughter and followers'.¹³⁹ What followed was the renewal of the Přemyslid–Árpáadian conflict, this time with new participants on the Hungarian side: King Stephen V (1270–1272) and after his early death, his son, Ladislas IV.

¹³⁴ SYCHRA, *The Role*, 162–163.

¹³⁵ "Premizl qui et Othacarus rex Bohemorum cum potencia sui exercitus venit in Thorum contra Pruthenos cupiens Martis miliciam exercere. Qui propter adversitatem temporis et hyemis mansuetam temperiem non adepto voto, fraudati desiderio, expensis et laboribus inutiliter consumptis, dampnis rapinis et aliis iniuriis terre domini Bolezlai ducis Polonie graviter illatis, retro domum, unde venerant sunt reversi. Unde idem dux ipso rege discordavit." – *Rocznik kapituły krakowskiej*, 98. cap. 246.

¹³⁶ *Piastowie*, 145; GŁADYSZ, *The Forgotten*, 344.

¹³⁷ Cf. *Rocznik kapituły poznańskiej*, 46–48.

¹³⁸ HLEBIONEK, *Bolesław Pobożny*, 93–94.

¹³⁹ "[...] amplexu paterno recipiatis [...]" – ÁÚO III. 204, nr. 134. See ZSOLDOS, *Családi*, 124; RUDOLF, *Közép-Európa*, 248–250; HERUCOVÁ, *Vojná*, 11.

Concluding Remarks

The relations between the Piast rulers of Poland were affected by the power centres in their neighbourhood, as many of them were related to the Bohemian or the Hungarian royal families. The rivalry between the Přemyslids of Bohemia and the Árpáds of Hungary for the Babenberg legacy, i.e. the duchies of Austria and Styria was of particular importance in this regard: almost every Piast prince joined one camp or another. Among them, one Piast prince stood out. Władysław of Opole's case is especially interesting, since initially he took part in the 'coalition' supporting Béla IV, on the side of Bolesław V the Chaste of Cracow, but soon afterwards he reconciled with the Bohemian monarch, Ottokar II, and supported him until the latter's death at the Battle of Marchfeld in 1278. There are several possible explanations for the change of sides. Unlike his Silesian relatives, he did not initially side with the Přemyslid monarch. In addition to the territorial claim to Opava and the avenging of the attack on Racibórz, as expressed in the literature, my research suggests that Władysław of Opole's possible Hungarian family ties may have played a role in his initial choice of party. This research also shows the complex family and political ties of the Piast dukes, and highlights their importance¹⁴⁰ in 1253 and in the subsequent change of allegiance.

Beside the change of parties made by the ruler of Opole, one can observe the shifting paradigm of the relations of the more or less independent dukes of Poland. At first sight, it certainly looks as though the rulers built two 'coalitions', with one group supporting King Ottokar II of Bohemia, the other supporting King Béla IV. Nevertheless, the relevance of the individual interests following the dukes' decision and the importance of family-ties cannot be forgotten when analysing the historical processes. In the end, one may safely say that the constantly shifting combination of those factors defined the chain of events. The case of Bolesław the Pious, Duke of Greater Poland and son-in-law of King Béla IV is also especially interesting in this regard. His marriage to Princess Yolanda, daughter of the Hungarian king is traditionally considered to be a political act, which made Bolesław the Pious member of the 'Hungarian coalition'. Nevertheless, there is no sign of any his active involvement in the series of Přemyslid-Árpáadian conflicts. It is even assumed that his marriage was rather meant to strengthen his alliance with his namesake, Bolesław V the Chaste. Hence, its roots have to be sought within the inner relations of the Piast princes.

¹⁴⁰ See KOZŁOWSKI, *The Thirteenth-Century*, 214–215.

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Sažetak

Prijatelji, neprijatelji, obitelji. Poljsko–ugarski odnosi sredinom 13. stoljeća

Autor u radu analizira poljsko–ugarske odnose sredinom XIII. stoljeća kroz odnose između ugarskoga kralja Bele IV. i poljskih velikih knezova iz dinastije Pjastović, a u kontekstu utjecaja koalicija dinastije Pjastović na važne političke sukobe u tom razdoblju u borbi za tzv. Babenberšku baštinu, odnosno, borbu za vojvodstva Austrije i Štajerske. Središte istraživanja čine obiteljske veze i savezništva dviju vladarskih dinastija, ugarskih Arpadovića i poljskih Pjastovića, analizirajući učinke turbulentnih unutarnjih dinastičkih odnosa.

Većina vladara iz dinastije Pjastović koji su podržavali ugarskoga kralja Belu IV. bila je u srodstvu s ugarskom dinastijom Arpadović. Bolesław V. Stidljivi, knez Krakova, i Bolesław Pobožni, vladar Velike Poljske, bili su zetovi Bele IV., dok se Leszek II. Crni, kasnije knez Krakova, oženio unukom ugarskoga kralja. Inicijalno je i Vladislav Opolski, knez iz dinastije Pjastović koji nije bio u srodstvu s Belom IV., stao na njegovu stranu protiv Otokara II., kralja Češke. Iako je kasnije prešao na stranu susjednog češkog vladara, značajno je njegovo sudjelovanje u borbama na ugarskoj strani. Smatram da je uz Vladislavove neposredne političke i financijske interese određenu je ulogu u odluci koga poduzeti moglo imati i podrijetlo njegove majke, kneginje Viole, koja je bila ugarskog, ruskog ili možda dalmatinskog podrijetla. Ova se pretpostavka temelji na analizi izvora koji se odnose na Vladislavove roditelje. Podrijetlo Viole već je dugo predmet rasprava u historiografiji, no njezina povezanost s pripadnikom dinastije Arpadovića, vojvodom Kolomanom Slavonskim, predstavlja dodatni argument u prilog toj interpretaciji. Nadalje, Vladislavov otac, Kazimir Opolski, prema podacima iz kasnije ugarske kraljevske povelje i posrednim dokazima, vjerojatno je sudjelovao u križarskom pohodu kralja Andrije II. 1217./1218. godine, što čini dodatnu poveznicu između opolskih Pjastovića i ugarskih Arpadovića. S obzirom da postojeći izvori ne nude eksplicitna tumačenja, u radu se iznosi nekoliko hipoteza koje podupiru ove tvrdnje.

