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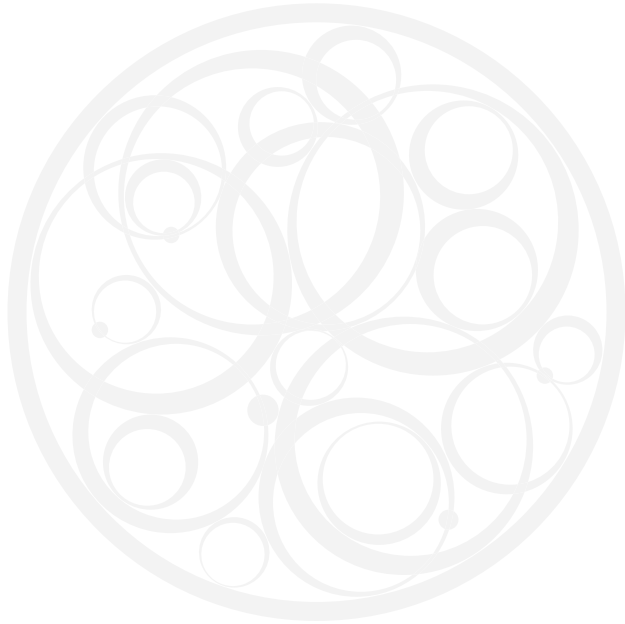
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## FOREWORD

THE PRESENT BOOK is a revised and expanded version of a Hungarian monograph on the life of Prince Coloman's published in 2017. The core arguments of the authors have not been changed, but the explanation and development of certain problems have of necessity been altered to cater for a wider readership, whose members may not be familiar with the intricacies of Hungarian and, in a broader sense, Eastern European medieval history. The bibliography has been changed, to include studies both in Eastern-European languages and in world languages. This shows how Hungarian and other Eastern European historians are increasingly publishing the results of their research in foreign languages, although these papers may not always be known to the Western scientific community. In addition, the number of citations has been reduced in order to make the text easier to read.

Coloman, the main character of the book, it is important to recognize, is a significant figure in the historiography of several contemporary countries, which means that we as historians need to be aware of sensitivities around his heritage. His role in Galicia makes him interesting for Ukrainian and Russian historical researchers; his Polish wife has the same importance for Polish scholars, while his years in Scepus are of note for Slovak historians and his role as the duke of Slavonia engages Croatian and Bosnian historians. But as a member of the Árpáadian dynasty, Coloman's life was organized and led by the rules of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary, and so we need to examine him carefully in the context of the kingdom of the Árpáds. So, while the authors utilized information found in the historiography of various countries, a secondary aim of this book has been to make available the results of recent Hungarian research, especially as this has previously been somewhat neglected internationally due to the language barrier.

The fact that Coloman is a key historical figure in Russia and the Ukraine, Croatia and Bosnia, Poland and Slovakia, as well as Hungary today justifies this first monograph on Coloman in English. We hope that this work will resonate among scholars in our neighbouring countries as well as among medievalists worldwide, and we hope that this publication draws more scholars into the fascinating world of medieval east-central Europe.

It is quite a challenge in the case of a study on Eastern European history written in English to handle the diverse spellings of toponyms and personal names in different versions in both historical sources and modern languages. The personal names and toponyms of Slavic languages using Cyrillic letters complicate this picture even further, especially because the rules are not the same regarding the English transcription of each language (Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Bulgarian, and so on). One cannot rely exclusively on spelling in sources either, because the name of a single person can appear in different versions, not to speak of the difference between the languages of the sources (especially the medieval Eastern Slavic chronicles) and those used in today's countries. Even when a set of rules exists for the transcription of Cyrillic in scientific publications, in practice one can find more than one version in historical works written in English. It seems clear to us that there is no single solution, which would not be open to criticism, which is why we have produced below a pragmatic table of alternatives and our preferred forms.

We have had to face other challenges beyond transcription and transliteration, particularly the usage of geographical and personal names in general. For toponyms for places which lay within the borders of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, generally Hungarian versions have been adopted, although their current names in other languages, if outside present-day Hungary, are also supplied at the first mention. Rivers are referred to in their English form (for instance, Danube, Vistula).

Furthermore, the medieval practice regarding the names of certain territories is often inconsistent, and the size of some of the territories has changed over the course of time. In certain cases, the medieval term has been used (for instance, Scepus), but in other places a different approach has proved necessary. For instance, to distinguish between the medieval principality and the settlement, the term “Galicia” is used exclusively for the principality, while “Halych” is used for the settlement, even though Eastern Slavic Chronicles did not make any distinction. The term “Poland” is also used, although the authors are aware of the fragmentation of the territory in the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. So, Poland refers in this study to a particular territory, not a single political entity. We have also added nicknames for certain persons, to help identify people with the same forenames, even if in several cases they are not historically adequate, for instance Iaroslav “the Wise,” Mstislav “the Mute,” and so on.

The book is in two parts. Part One focuses on Coloman’s life in the Principality of Galicia and on the circumstances and events leading up to his coronation and on his reign as a Hungarian royal prince in this Rus’ian principality. Part Two concentrates on his life and actions as duke of Slavonia, when he ruled the southern territories of the Realm of St. Stephen (medieval Hungary) at the grace of his father, Andrew II, and later his older brother, King Béla IV.

The rationale for this division is that Coloman’s life falls into two separate phases. He became ruler of the Rus’ian principality of Galicia as a child as a result of his father’s political achievements and Hungarian expansion in the region, but after a few years he was forced to leave Galicia and move back to the Kingdom of Hungary. At this point a new phase of his life began. He became the duke of Slavonia in 1226 and consequently the second mightiest person in the kingdom, with power over several territories (Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia) as well as Hungarian counties. The first part of the book has been written by Márta Font, the leading expert of Hungarian-Rus’ian relations in the early and central Middle Ages, who discusses this period of Coloman’s life in its broader political context. The second part has been written by Gábor Barabás, whose research on Coloman has focused on papal-Hungarian contacts in the early thirteenth century, due to the duke having an especially good relationship with Pope Gregory IX. This book combines the fruit of their separate researches, providing new insights into both phases of Coloman’s life.

The bibliography consists of a full list of primary sources and selected secondary literature. Where necessary, titles have been provided in English in square brackets. Short forms are provided in the footnotes where the full reference is in the bibliography. All other secondary material is cited in full in the footnotes.

The authors would like to express their gratitude to Dániel Bagi, Tamás Fedeles, Gergely Kiss, Endre Sashalmi and their other colleagues in Pécs, as well as colleagues at

other universities and institutes in Hungary. Finally, the authors are grateful to Béla Nagy for the maps, and to Ernő Marosi, Myroslav Voloshchuk, and Péter Terejánszky for the photos, likewise to the publishers, especially to Anna Henderson, Ruth Kennedy, and the Hungarian and English peer reviewers of the book for their valuable suggestions and remarks.

*The authors*

### Transliteration and Forms of Placenames

Form used in this book	Current names	Common English form	Hungarian form	Versions used in sources
Bács	Bač		Bács	ecclesia Bachyensis / Bachiensis
Belz	Belz	Belz		Бельз
Berestie	Brest	Berestie		Берестье
Čazma	Čazma		Csázma	Chazma
Chernigov	Чернігів	Chernigov	Csernyigov	Чернигов, Щернигов
Cherven'	Czermno	Cherven'		Червен, Чернен
Đakovo	Đakovo		Diakóvár	Дуаоу
Dniester	Дністр	Dniester	Dnyeszter	Днестръ
Esztergom	Esztergom		Esztergom	Strigonium
Galicia (principality)	Галичина		Galicia	Галичь, Galicia
Gorodok	Horodok	Gorodok		Городок
Gömör County	Gemer		Gömör megye	Gemer, Gumur
Halych (city)	Галич		Halics	Галичь
Holm	Chełm	Kholm		Хольм
Iaroslavl	Jarostaw	Iaroslavl		Ярославль
Jasov	Jasov		Jászó	Jazow
Kalocsa	Kalocsa		Kalocsa	ecclesia Colocenensis
Kecerlipóc	Kecеровský Lipovec		Kecerlipóc	Lipov
Kraków	Kraków	Cracow	Krakkó	Cracovia, Korokau
Limnica	Лімніца	Limnitsa		

<b>Form used in this book</b>	<b>Current names</b>	<b>Common English form</b>	<b>Hungarian form</b>	<b>Versions used in sources</b>
Liubachev	Lubaczów	Liubachev		Любачевъ
Liubech	Любеч	Liubech		Любск, Любець, Любы
Lutsk	Луцк	Lutsk	Luck	Лоугцьк, Луческ, Лючьск
Lukva	Луква	Lukva		Луква
Lvov	Львів	Lvov	Lemberg	Львов, Lwów, Lemberg
Macsó	Mačva		Macsó	Macho
Mazovia	Mazowsze	Mazovia	Mazóvia	Masovia
Našice	Našice		Nekcse	Neccha
Nyitra	Nitra		Nyitra	Nitra
Omiš	Omiš	Almissa	Almissa	Almissa
Ozora	Usora		Ozora	Usora
Pereiaslavl	Переяславль	Pereiaslavl		Переяславль Южный
Petrinja	Petrinja		Petrinya	Petrina
Ponizhie	Понізія	Ponizhie		Понижье
Poprád	Poprad		Poprád	Poprad
Peremyshl	Przemysł	Peremyshl		Перемышль
Požega	Požega		Pozsega	Posega, Posaga
Rogozhino	Рогожно, Рогізно	Rogozhino		Рогожина, Погожино
Rovišće	Rovišće		Rojcsa	Riucha
Samobor	Samobor		Szamobor	Zumbur
Sanok	Сянік, Sianik	Sanok		Санок
Sáros, County	Šariš		Sáros	comitatus Sarossiensis
Scepus (district)	Spiš	Szepes	Szepesség	Scepus, Scepusium
Senj	Senj		Zengg	Senia
Slavonia	Slavonija	Slavonia	Szlavónia	Slavonia
Só	Tuzla		Só	Soli
Spiš castle	Spišský hrad	Szepes	Szepesi vár	



<b>Form used in this book</b>	<b>Current names</b>	<b>Common English form</b>	<b>Hungarian form</b>	<b>Versions used in sources</b>
Spišský Štiavnik	Spišský Štiavnik		Savnik	monasterium B. V. de Scepus, de ordine Cisterciensi
Split	Split		Spalato	Spalato
Suzdal'	Суздаль	Suzdal'	Szuzdal	Суздаль, Суждаль
Szepeshely	Spišská Kapitula		Szepeshely	Capitulum Scepusiense
Szepesolaszi	Spišské Vlchy		Szepesolaszi	Latina villa
Szepestamásfalva	Spišské Tomášovce		Szepestamásfalva	villa Thome
Szepesváralja	Spišské Podhradie		Szepesváralja	suburbium Scepus
Trepol'	Тернопіль	Trepol'		Трыполь
Topusko	Topusko		Toplica	Toplica
Torchesk	Торческ	Torchesk		Торчъскъ Торочъский град
Trogir	Trogir	Trogir	Trau	Trau
Terebovl'	Теребовля	Terebovl'		Теребовль, Trembovlia
Transylvania		Transsylvania	Erdély	Transylvania, Ultrasilvania
Várad	Oradea		Nagyvárad	Warad, Varadinum
Varaždin	Varaždin		Varasd	Worosd
Virovitica	Virovitica		Verőce	Wereuche, Vereuce
Vistula	Wisła	Vistula		Visla, Висла
Vladimir Volynsky	Владимир	Vladimir Volynsky	Vlgyimir	Владимир, Володимир
Vladimir	Владимир на Клязьме	Vladimir	Vlgyimir	Владимир, Володимир
Volhynia	Волинь	Volyn'	Volhínia	Волынь, Lodomeria, Ladomeria
Vukovar	Vukovar		Valkóvár	Walkow, Wolcou

Form used in this book	Current names	Common English form	Hungarian form	Versions used in sources
Wieprz	Wieprz			Вепрь
Wrocław	Wrocław	Breslau	Boroszló	Wratislav
Zadar	Zadar		Zára	Zara
Zagreb	Zagreb		Zágráb	Zagrab
Zvenigorod	Звенигород	Zvenigorod		Звенигород, Звинигород

### Recurrent Individuals

Form used in this book	Common or alternative English form	Alternative form(s)	Dates, Title or description
Andrew II	Andrew of Jerusalem		King of Hungary (1205–35) and father of Coloman
Prince Andrew	Andrew of Hungary		Prince of Peremyshl (1224–34), Prince of Galicia (1227–34), third son of Andrew II and younger brother of Coloman
Béla IV	Béla the Great		King of Hungary (1235–1370) and older brother of Coloman
Coloman the Learned	Coloman the Learned		King of Hungary (1095–1116)
Daniil	Daniel Romanovich of Galicia	Daniil or Danylo Rurikovich	Prince of Vladimir Volynsky (1218–38), Prince of Galicia (1230–53), King of Galicia (1253–64)
Domald	Domald of Sidraga		ca. 1160–1243, Count of Split, Zadar, and Šibenik
File		Füle, Filja	military leader in Galicia, master of stewards in the court of Hungarian queen (wife of King of Béla IV) (1231–32)
Duke Friedrich	Frederick II the Quarrelsome	Friedrich II der Streitbare	Duke of Austria and Styria (1230–46)
Emperor Friedrich II	Frederick II of Sicily	Friedrich II	Holy Roman emperor (1220–50)
Grzymiślawa of Sandomierz	Grzymiślawa of Luck		ca. 1185/95–1258, duchess of Sandomierz, wife of Leszek the White, mother of Salomea, and mother-in-law of Coloman

<b>Form used in this book</b>	<b>Common or alternative English form</b>	<b>Alternative form(s)</b>	<b>Dates, Title or description</b>
Henry the Bearded	Henry I the Bearded	Henryk Brodaty, Heinrich der Bärtige	Duke of Silesia (1202–38), Prince of Kraków (1231–38)
Henry II	Henry II the Pious	Henryk Pobożny	Duke of Silesia and Kraków (1238–41)
Leszek the White	Leszek the White	Leszek Biały	Duke of Kraków and Sandomierz (1202–27)
Mstislav Udaloy, Mstislav Mstislavich	Mstislav Mstislavich the Daring		Prince of Novgorod (1210–18), Prince of Galicia (1221–27)
Roman Mstislavich	Roman II Mstislavich, the Great		Prince of Volhynia (1170–99), Prince of Galicia–Volhynia (1199–1205)
Salomea	Salomea of Kraków		1211/12–69, Wife of Coloman
Bishop Stephen	Bishop Stephen II of Zagreb		Bishop of Zagreb (1225–47)
St. Stephen	Stephen I of Hungary		King of Hungary (1000–38)
Stephen V	Stephen V of Hungary		King of Hungary (1270–72)
Thomas of Split	Archdeacon Thomas of Split, Thomas the Archdeacon	Thomas Archidiaconus	ca. 1200–68, author of the <i>Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalateninorum pontificum</i>
Vasilko	Vasilko Romanovich		Prince of Volhynia (1238–69), younger brother of Daniil Romanovich
Volodislav	Volodislav Kormilichich	Vladislav or Ladislaus Ruthenus	Leader of the <i>boyars</i> in Galicia from 1206 to the 1220s

### Timeline of Coloman's Life in Galicia

1213 (September)	Andrew II's interrupted campaign; Boyar Volodislav's government
1214 (fall)	The meeting or Council of Scepus
1214 (end)	Coloman and Benedict in Galicia
1214 (end) to 1215 (early)	Coloman's coronation in Hungary
1215	Coloman in the besieged Halych; Leszek fails to send help; Andrew II asks for the mediation of the Pope
1215/16	King Andrew takes Peremyshl from Leszek
1216 (early)	Coloman's coronation in Galicia
1219 (early)	Coloman's expulsion; Mstislav's first campaign
1219 (summer)	Renewal of the Polish–Hungarian alliance
1219 (October)	Mstislav expelled by the Polish–Hungarian army
1220/21	Mstislav's second campaign
1221	File's campaign from Galicia to Volhynia
1221 (August)	Mstislav's third campaign; Coloman and his wife Salomea's captivity in Halych
1221 (end) to 1222 (early)	Mstislav's pact with King Andrew; captives are released; Prince Andrew is engaged in marriage

### Timeline of Coloman's Life in the Kingdom of Hungary

1221/22 to 1226	Coloman and Salomea living in the Scepus region
1226	Coloman becomes duke of Slavonia and visits the Dalmatian cities
1233	Coloman is entrusted by Pope Gregory IX to become lay guardian of two widowed Polish duchesses
1235	Coloman participates in his older brother's coronation as sword-bearer
1236/37	Coloman's assumed campaign in Bosnia
1241 (early)	Coloman joins forces with King Béla IV against the Mongol invaders; takes part in the battle of Muhi
1241 (April)	Coloman's death in Slavonia

## INTRODUCTION

MÁRTA FONT and GÁBOR BARABÁS

PRINCE COLOMAN, SECOND son of King Andrew II (1205–35) and younger brother of King Béla IV (1235–70), is perhaps not the best-known member of the Árpadian dynasty (1000–1301), nor of medieval Hungarian rulers, yet his life was quite extraordinary. He was the second member in his dynasty with this name, the first being King Coloman the Learned (1095–1116). The man who would later become King of Galicia and Duke of Slavonia was born in 1208, the fourth child of Andrew II and Queen Gertrud of Andechs, making him a prince of the ruling Árpád dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

Coloman was barely six years old when he was engaged for marriage to Salomea, the daughter of Leszek the White (Biały), Duke of Kraków, as a result of an agreement in 1214 between their fathers over the Scepus region (Szepes, Spiš). Not long afterwards (it is disputed exactly when, as we shall see later) he was crowned king of a principality of the Kievan Rus', Galicia (Halych), receiving the royal title with crucial papal approval and crown coming from Pope Innocent III (1198–1216).

A few years later, probably in 1221, Coloman and his wife were forced to leave Galicia, in today's western Ukraine, and moved to Hungary, and settled down in the Scepus. Another few years passed by and he became the duke (*dux*) of the southern part of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom, Slavonia, in 1226, and retained his royal title, derived from his coronation in the Rus'ian principality of Galicia. As the ruling leader of a part of the Kingdom of Hungary, he was authorized to govern Slavonia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and the attached Hungarian counties (*comitatus*). Nevertheless, he was also active in other Hungarian affairs that have not been considered strictly as his remit; for instance, he mediated between his father and older brother, Béla, or supported the new king even after his enthronement.

Coloman probably led a successful military campaign to Bosnia around 1236 against the local Bogomil heresy, the so-called Bosnian Church, and also took part in the battle of Muhi against the Mongol invaders in 1241. He was able to escape from the battlefield but was seriously wounded and died from his injuries a few weeks later near Zagreb, in Čazma (Csázma).<sup>2</sup>

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1 Wertner, *Az Árpádok családi története*, 436–38, 448; Kristó, *A feudális széttagolódás Magyarországon*, 32–33; *Korai magyar történeti*, 316 (entry by Tibor Almási); Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és alattvalóik. Magyarország története 1301-ig [Árpáds and Their Subjects. History of Hungary Before 1301]* (Debrecen: Csokonai, 1997), 74–87.

2 Font, "II. András orosz politikája és hadjáratai," 125; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 204–14, 217; Procházková, "Koloman Haličský na Spiši," 244–45; Procházková, "Some Notes on the Titles of Coloman," 105–6; Hollý, "Princess Salomea and Hungarian–Polish Relations," 12; Zsoldos, "Szepes megye kialakulása," 25; Györffy, "Szlavónia kialakulásának oklevélkritikai," 229; Zsoldos, "Az ifjabb király országa országa," 243–44; Zsoldos, *Családi ügy*, 24–25; Weisz and Zsoldos, "A báni joghatóság Szlavóniában," 477; Kádár, "Az Árpád-házi uralkodók," 94; Barabás, "The Titles of the Hungarian Royal Family," 37–43.

## The Origin of Coloman's Name

The name Coloman was rather uncommon in the *family of the holy kings*, the so-called Árpáadian dynasty. The first member who bore this name was King Coloman the Learned, and the prince was probably given this name by his mother, Sophia. The queen would have been familiar with the cult of the Irish pilgrim, Coloman, who died as a martyr at the Bavarian–Moravian border in 1012.<sup>3</sup> The figure of King Coloman the Learned was not very popular among later members of the dynasty, since he blinded both his brother, Prince Álmos, and his son, King Béla II (1131–1142). Therefore, it is no wonder that the name Coloman was given only to the child of Prince Boris, a son of Coloman who had been expelled to Byzantium,<sup>4</sup> and it must have served merely to emphasize dubious ties to the Árpáds.

It is quite surprising that Roger of Apulia, archdeacon of Nagyvárad (Oradea), in the early thirteenth century counted King Coloman among the holy kings of Hungary (i.e., the Árpáds) while describing the Mongol invasion of 1241–42 in his work *Carmen miserabile*.<sup>5</sup> His mistake can be possibly traced back to information in the *Hungarian Illuminated Chronicle* (*Chronicon Pictum*, a variant of the chronicle-family known in historical research as the *Chronicle-Composition of the Fourteenth Century*) that Coloman was bishop of Várad before he became ruler. Roger may have heard these favourable recollections in local oral history while he was in Várad.

Nevertheless, the memory of Coloman the Learned was not cherished in the ruling dynasty and that is why we assume that Andrew II's second son was not named after Coloman the Learned, but it just have been his mother's choice. Gertrude, being a member of the Andechs family, must have been familiar with the cult of St. Coloman, who was especially popular in the territory of the Babenbergs, in Austria. The earliest source, the *Annales Mellicenses* of Melk, mentioned the tomb of the martyr around 1012–14, and is confirmed by several later monastic annals. A *Passio* of Coloman was written in the mid-twelfth century, while a century later Friedrich of Babenberg intended to establish a new bishopric under the patronage of Coloman.<sup>6</sup> This testifies to the continuing popularity of the saint. In our opinion, the cult must have been known across the Austrian duchy among the members of the Andechs dynasty, even though there is no evidence of Coloman being used elsewhere as a family name. Let us also not forget Andrew II's

**3** Font, *Koloman the Learned*, 13.

**4** *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 1:429; In Byzantium Boris was called Kalamanos. see Gyula Moravcsik, *Az Árpád-kori magyar történet bizánci forrásai [Byzantine Sources for Árpáadian Hungary]* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 271 and 303.

**5** *Master Roger; Korai magyar történeti, 576–77* (entry by Tibor Almási); Kornél Szovák, "A váradi irásbeliség hagyománya," in *Nagyvárad és Bihar a korai középkorban. Tanulmányok Biharország történetéről 1*, ed. Attila Zsoldos (Nagyvárad: Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2014), 129–46 at 135–38. The section about Ladislaus might have described Coloman as the first bishop as well (see *ibid.*, p. 138); Gábor Thoroczky, "A magyarországi legendairódalom és történetírás a 14. század közepéig," in Gábor Thoroczky, *Az ismeretlen Árpád-kor. Püspökök, legendák, krónikák* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2016), 184–208 at 204.

**6** *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 2:552, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 1:432.

daughter, Maria, since her son from Tsar Ivan Asen II also received the name Coloman,<sup>7</sup> so the name appeared again one generation later close to the Árpáadian dynasty.

## The Narrative Sources for Coloman's Life

Narrative sources written in Hungary are extremely laconic concerning Coloman. Just three points of interest are mentioned with regard to his life and all of them very concisely; firstly, he is listed among the children of Andrew II; secondly, his presence is noted at his elder brother's coronation; and, lastly, his death is mentioned as caused from his fight against the Mongols.<sup>8</sup>

The role of the young Coloman in Galicia is reflected in several *Old-Russian Chronicles*. Significant information can be found in the thirteenth-century *Codex Ipatiev*, the so-called *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* (hereinafter *GVC*), and other texts that used this source. Several codices from the Moscowian and Novgorodian codex-family also contain relevant information, primarily related to key figures from the history of Galicia. *The First Novgorodian Chronicle* reports the deeds of Mstislav Udaloy (Удалой / Удатный / *udaloy* (the "Reckless", or "Brave") or *udatnyj* (the "Successful") who defeated and captured Coloman. The *Voskresensk Chronicle* describes the Galician interest on the part of the princes of Smolensk, especially Mstislav Romanovich Staryj ("the Old", Старый 1212–23), the grand prince of Kiev at the time of Coloman's stay in Galicia. The early-thirteenth-century events of Galicia-Volhynia also found their way, although significantly shortened, via various redactions, into the compilations constructed in Moscow in the late fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup>

The content from the *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle* prevailed in several traditions; the most complete form of the text can be found in the *Codex Ipatiev*, which is straight narrative with no chronological division. The separation of the text into sections by dates is solely the work of a later copyist or redactor, not the chronicler, and so the dating is not reliable. The Ukrainian historian, Hrushevsky, made the necessary corrections, clearing up the chronological mess, and historical research uses information based on his corrections. Despite the problematic chronology, the *GVC* is a very valuable source also for literary, linguistic, historical, and art-historical aspects.<sup>10</sup> It has impor-

**7** Cf. Gábor Szeberényi, "A Balkán. 800–1389 [The Balkans, 800–1389]," in *Kelet-Európa és a Balkán 1000–1800 közt: intellektuális történelmi konstrukciók vagy valós történelmi régiók?*, ed. Endre Sashalmi (Pécs: Kelet-Európa és a Balkán Története és Kultúrája Kutatási Központ, 2007), 279–330 at 326.

**8** *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 1:212, 1:464, 2:41, 2:45, 2:82, 2:205, 2:206, 2:210, 2:281, 2:339 (1); *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 1:467, 2:42, 2:206–7 (2); *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 2:42–43, 2:282, 2:570–71 (3)

**9** Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 53–72; Márta Font, "Die Chronistik der Ostslawen," in *Handbuch Chroniken des Mittelalters*, ed. Gerhard Wolf and Norbert H. Ott (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 805–35 at 826–33; PSRL, 15, 25.

**10** The latest edition of the *GVC* is listed in the bibliography below under *Kronika halicko-wołyńska*. The editors argue that the original text survived in the so-called Hlebnikov Codex, in previous literature used the text of Ipatiev Codex, see: Hrushevsky, "Khronologia podij," 2; Hodinka, *Az orosz évkönyvek*, 285; Антон I. Генсюрский, *Значения форм прошлого часу в Галицко-Волыньском*

tant information also on Hungary. The text of the *GVC* contains several parts—*svod* (*свод*)—written by different authors in different places. The chapters about Coloman are in the *svod* which contains the *gesta*-style biography of Prince Daniil (1201–1264).<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, the Hungarian prince and his supporters as enemies of Prince Daniil are depicted negatively.

Polish narrative sources emphasize the relationships of the Polish princes in Rus', and Coloman is only touched upon because of his role in the dynastical relations and his involvement in the fight against the Mongols in 1241. The chronicle of Wincenty Kadłubek, bishop of Kraków, was written in the early thirteenth century and describes events only till 1206, so Coloman's years in Galicia are not included. Kadłubek's chronicle is useful for showing the relation of Lesser Poland to Rus' in the previous period, since it illustrates the relationship of Duke Leszek of Kraków, Coloman's father-in-law, with his eastern neighbours. Another part of the chronicle about the Kingdom of Galicia written by Bishop Boguchwał of Poznań and his continuator Godysław Pasko, also has to be considered. The value of the source is disputed, since it contains important mistakes (e.g., it calls King Coloman the Learned's descendant Boris (Colomanidis), king of Galicia, and believes him to be the son-in-law of Bolesław III (1107–38)). But the legends surrounding Salomea, Coloman's wife, is an essential part of the traditional legends in Polish literature. The princess got engaged to Coloman as a young child and after her husband's death she returned to Poland and established the Order of the Poor Clares. The princess was later beatified and her title as queen, thanks to her marriage to Coloman, has been emphasized. This seems to be the sole reason why the Hungarian prince is mentioned in the legend at all. The text reveals no details on Salomea's childhood in Galicia or her life in Hungary.<sup>12</sup>

The chronicle of Jan Długosz from the late fifteenth century seems to offer the most information. The author used earlier Polish chronicles, and he must have been familiar

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*limonocy* [Significance of the Perfect Forms of Verbs in the Galician–Volhynian Chronicle] (Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1957); Антон І. Генсьорський, *Галицько-Волинський літопис (Процес складання, релакції у редактори)* [The Galician–Volhynian Chronicle: Its Creation, Compilations, and Compilers] (Київ: Видавництво Академії наук Української РСР, 1958); Jitka Komendová et al., *Письменность Галицько-Волинського княжества: историко-філологічні дослідження* [Literature of the Galician–Volhynian Principality: Historical and Philological Analyses] (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2016). For an English translation and commentary see: *The Galician–Volhynian Chronicle*.

**11** See Font, “II. András orosz politikája és hadjáratai,” 114–15; Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 78–79; Font, *Geschichtsschreibung des 13. Jahrhunderts an der Grenze zweier Kulturen*, 28–43; Lammich, *Fürstenbiographien des 13. Jahrhunderts in den Russischen Chroniken*; Jitka Komendová, *Středověká Rus a vnější svět* [The Central Rus' and the Outside World] (Olomouc: Monse, 2005); Dąbrowski, *Rodowód Romanowiczów*, 60–77; Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz Król Rusi. O ruskiej rodzinie książęcej*.

**12** *Magistri Vincentii Chronica Polonorum* in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 2:249–447; For recent dating see *ibid.*; Godysław Pasko, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 2:467–598 at 515–16; For an assessment see Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 158. The text of the legend is at *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, 4:776–96.



with some version of the *Old Rus'ian Chronicles*.<sup>13</sup> Długosz was a great compiler from earlier works.<sup>14</sup> For instance, his work combines the *Chronicle of Greater Poland* with Kadłubek's concerning Coloman's Galician activity, even though the merging of the two texts caused several inaccuracies and logical contradictions. Długosz recites the events of 1205–21 combined, there are repetitions concerning 1211, 1220, and 1224, and summaries for 1217 and 1220. In Labuda's view, Długosz had relatively rich source-material, and at the same time he had no information of his own. The value of Długosz as a source is hard to determine, since he got events the wrong way round sometimes and also made mistakes concerning the years, supposedly, on account of his use of the thirteenth-century *Old Rus'ian Chronicles*.<sup>15</sup>

Concluding this survey of the narrative sources, we should note a peculiar work, the so-called *Hungarian–Polish Chronicle* (*Chronicon mixtum, Chronicon Hungarico–Polonicum*).<sup>16</sup> It is a quite extraordinary literary work, yet as a historical source it requires especially careful treatment. It contains elements from the legend of St. Ursula and from the legend of St. Stephen by Bishop Hartvik at the start of the twelfth century, yet all other stories in the chronicle regarding the conquest and early history of Hungary contradict more authentic records, so belong to the realm of imagination.<sup>17</sup> Despite its low value as historical evidence, it has played a disproportionate role in modern histories and what it might say about Coloman. According to certain scholars, it was written in Coloman's environment, in his court in Slavonia (Ryszard Grzesik), or in the Scepus (Martin Homza), as the narrative indeed suggests. It is likewise assumed that the chronicle reflects the disagreement of Coloman and his younger brother, Andrew, which might link the chronicle to Coloman as duke of Slavonia. In terms of the survival of the text, we should mention the theory that Salomea was the one who brought the manuscript with

**13** *Ioannis Dlugossii Annales seu Cronicae*, 6:168–286. One could have been a *svod* constructed in the first half of the thirteenth century in the southern part of the Rus', the second is the *svod* of Smolensk from the mid-fifteenth century, which contains information from Vladimir–Suzdal, Novgorod, and the southern Rus'. See Наталия Щабелева, *Древняя Русь в «Польской истории» Яна Длугоша [Old Rus' in the History of Poland of Jan Długosz]* (Москва: Памятники исторической мысли, 2004), 34–52.

**14** Gerard Labuda, *Zaginiora kronika z pierwszej połowy XIII wieku w Rocznikach Królestwa Polskiego Jana Długosza [A Missing Chronicle from the First Half of the Thirteenth Century in Jan Długosz's Annals of the Polish Kingdom]* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza, 1983), 47–58, 160–200.

**15** See Aleksander Semkowicz, *Krytyczny rozbiór Dziejów Polskich Jana Długosza (do roku 1384) [A Critical Analysis of the Polish History of Jan Długosz (to 1384)]* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1887), 195–96; Labuda, *Zaginiora kronika*, 18–200 (cited in footnote above); Labuda's statement has not been accepted by every Polish researcher (e.g., Józef Matuszewski, *Relacja Długosza o najazdzie tatarskim w 1241 r [The Relation between Długosz and the Mongol Invasion of 1241]* (Łódź: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1980). See further: Font, *Árpád-házi királyok*, 115–18.

**16** Critical editions exist in the *Chronica hungaro–polonica; Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, 2:289–320.

**17** Péter Tóth, "A lengyel–magyar vegyes krónika [The Hungarian–Polish Chronicle]," in *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolcensis, Sectio philosophica*, 9 (2004): 223–42 at 223; Csákó, "A Magyar–lengyel Krónika," 291–92. And see further below, p. xx.

herself to Poland after her husband's death; whether that is true or false, the four extant copies are from Poland. With these caveats, we can still make use of the *Hungarian-Polish Chronicle* as historical source.

### Charters as Sources of Coloman's Life

The reconstruction of Coloman's life would not be possible based solely on narrative sources; so we have to examine relevant charters. The diplomas issued in the name of the prince form most important group. Fortunately, a modern edition contains all of the necessary information regarding the known charters. Unfortunately, not every text is nowadays available in its entirety; some are only available as later transcriptions or even just mentions. The first of Coloman's charters was issued in 1226 and the last in the year of the prince's death in 1241, so all of them belong to his Slavonian era, even if some reveal information concerning his earlier years. These charters represent the corpus on which the actions of Coloman as the duke of "whole Slavonia" has been reconstructed here. However, beyond the ducal charters we can avail ourselves of the documents of his father, Andrew II, his older brother, Béla IV, and their descendants, most of all King Stephen V (1270–72). Lastly, we can make use of Hungarian ecclesiastical charters, secular ones, as well as the papal charters.<sup>18</sup>

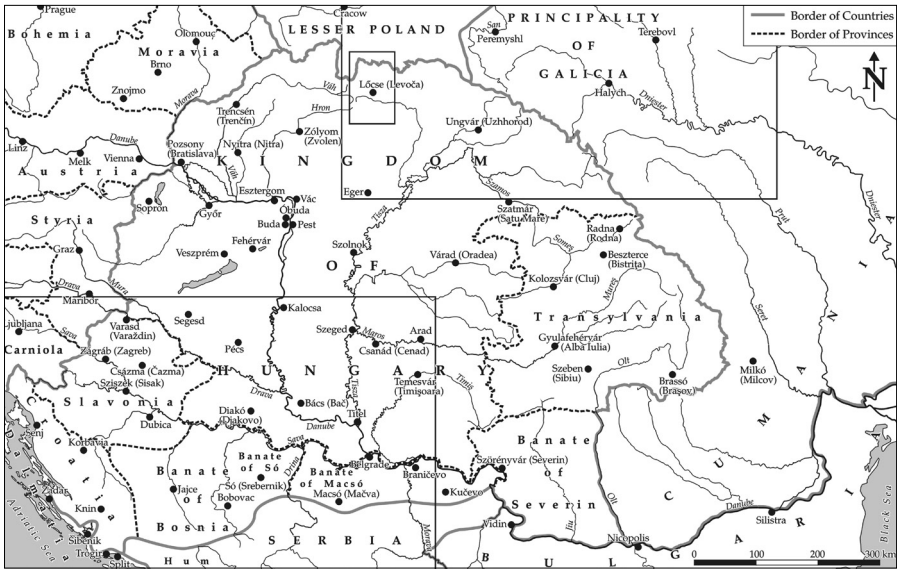
### Material Remains as Sources of Coloman's Life

Only a handful of material artefacts exist that could be linked to Coloman. He was likely the initiator of the construction of a part of the castle of Scepus, but separating it from other parts of the stronghold has proven almost impossible. The same can be said for several other buildings in Galicia or Slavonia. No contemporary illustration of Coloman has survived, and his tombstone with his figure carved in stone is unfortunately lost for good. The only likeness is an image of him as Salomea's husband in the church of the Poor Clares in Kraków and that dates from the seventeenth century.<sup>19</sup>

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**18** See *Regesta ducum, ducissarum, and Regesta regum stirpis Arpadianae*. Use of the online database of the Hungarian National Archive is also essential (see DL – DF. <http://archives.hungaricana.hu/hu/charters/search/>); for papal charters see *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*; *Regesti del Pontefice Onorio III*; and the *Registres de Grégoire IX*.

**19** Maja Cepetić, "Granice srednjovjekovnih biskupskih posjeda Dubrave, Ivanića i Čazme [The Borders of the Medieval Diocesan Estates of Dubrava, Ivanić, and Čazma]," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. 3, 40 (2013): 217–33; Goss, "Slovak and Croatian Art in the Thirteenth Century," 260–68; Janovská, "Building Activities in Spiš in the Thirteenth Century"; Михайло Фіголь, *Мистецтво стародавнього Галича*. [*The Art of Old Halych*] (Київ: Мистецтво, 1997); Федунків, Зеновій, "Галицький замок [Castle of Halych]," *Пам'ятки України* 189, no. 6 (2013): 44–53; Cescuian Niezgod, *Błogosławiona Salomea Piastówna [Blessed Salomea from the Piast Family]* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Franciszkanów Bratni Zew, 1996); Vladimir P. Goss, *Four Centuries of European Art 800–1200. A View from Southeast* (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2010), 212, 214.



**Map 1. The Kingdom of Hungary and its Neighbouring Territories in the 1230s—The Stages in Coloman's Life.**