

FROM CONFLICT TO MARRIAGE. THE RELATIONS OF THE PIASTS OF POLAND AND THE ÁRPÁDS OF HUNGARY IN THE 1130S. PART 2.

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Abstract: BARABÁS, Gábor. *From Conflict to Marriage. The Relations of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary in the 1130s. Part 2.* The research into the relations between certain rulers, territories or peoples can be considered one of the classic topics of Medieval Studies. The Polish-Hungarian contact in the Middle Ages is no exception, several scientific and popular works have dealt with the relations of the Piasts and Árpáds, and their respective realms. Since we can only speak indirectly about the international relations of the High Middle Ages, the personal contacts of the rulers and the dynastic ties established between the ruling families are of great importance when studying the various elements of the relations. This paper focuses on an interesting and controversial episode of the matrimonial history of the Piasts of Poland and the Árpáds of Hungary. In my opinion, despite the poor state of the sources, it can be assumed that King Béla II of Hungary and Duke Bolesław III Wrymouth of Poland in 1135 – 1136, in order to put an end to their hostilities, concluded an agreement on a double marriage between their dynasties. Only one of the two planned marriages was realized, yet I believe that the hypothesis formulated in this study can be supported by a thorough analysis of the remaining sources and the political conditions of the 1130s.

Keywords: Poland, Hungary, twelfth century, genealogy, dynastic relations, peace, matrimony

“It is as difficult as finding a way out of the labyrinth in the dark of night without Ariadne’s thread” (Wertner 1892, 259.)

This paper is the second part of a contribution to the history of the dynastic relations of the Árpáds of Hungary and the Piasts of Poland in the 1130s. In my previous study (Barabás 2025) I examined the conflict that arose between the king of Hungary, Béla II the Blind (1131 – 1141) and the Polish prince, Bolesław III Wrymouth (Krzywousty) (1107 – 1138) in the early 1130s. The controversy was caused by the decision of the latter to support the late King Coloman the Learned’s (1096 – 1116) illegitimate son, Boris, against the new Hungarian ruler. Boris’s mother Euphemia Vladimirovna of the Rurik dynasty, the second wife of King Coloman, was deposed by the king for adultery, Boris Kolomanovich was born and raised in the Rus’ and tried to gain power in Hungary only after the death of Stephen II, seeking help in the Byzantine Empire and later by the Polish prince, his alleged father’s old ally (Makk 1972, 42; Font 2021, 133-135). In 1132, Boris and Bolesław III led an army into the Kingdom of Hungary, but they were severely defeated at the River Sajó. The Polish ruler then had to face an alliance formed by Béla II and Soběslav I (1125 – 1140), the Bohemian prince, and probably Vladimírko Volodarevich of Zvenigorod. This tense situation lasted until 1135, when Emperor Lothair III (1125/1133 – 1137) forced Bolesław III to acknowledge his submission at the Reichstag in Merseburg, and – probably – consequently to withdraw his support from Boris Kolomanovich (Makk 1987, 63-64; Makk 1996, 170-171,

175-176; Kristó 2000, 15-16; Font 2021, 135-136. See furthermore: Zupka 2016; Rostkowski 2019, 117-119). According to Hans-Otto Gaethke the reconciliation of Bolesław III with King Béla II happened already prior to the Reichstag (Gaethke 2024, 169-171, 181).

Based on the analysis of the remaining Polish narrative sources, it can be stated that in 1136 the daughter of Bolesław III, Judith got engaged to the son of the Hungarian king. The relevant sources do not give the name of the groom, therefore we cannot be sure which son of Béla II was involved in the planned wedding, presumably the future Géza II, or perhaps his brothers, the later usurpers, Ladislas or Stephen. In the end, the engagement was not followed by an actual marriage,¹ Géza II proceeded to marry Euphrosyne, the sister of Grand Prince Iziaslav Mstislavich of Kiev, in 1146 (Font 2021, 119-120). Conversely, Judith entered into matrimony with Otto, the son of Albert the Bear, the future Margrave of Brandenburg (1157 – 1170), in 1148 (Jasiński 1993, 252, 255, 257-258). The annulment of the betrothal has been linked by certain Polish scholars to the fact that another marriage had already provided a sufficient basis for Piast-Árpád relations at this time (Jasiński 1993, 256; Piastowie, 98).

This second example of the Piast-Árpád dynastic relations in the 1130s cannot be called completely clear either, even if there is no doubt that this family tie was established. Drawing upon the extant narrative and pragmatic sources in Poland, it is beyond doubt that the wife of Mieszko III the Old (Stary), the son of Bolesław III, married the daughter of a Hungarian ruler. This is attested by a contemporary source, the chronicle of the Bishop of Cracow, Wincenty Kadłubek (*Chronica Polonorum*), written in the early thirteenth century.² The chronicler, however, did not record the name of the wife or the fact of which Hungarian ruler's daughter she was. Similarly laconic statements are found in the historical works of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries that followed the work of Kadłubek.³

Nevertheless, the fifteenth-century historian Jan Długosz does indeed provide the names of both parties, and, according to his narrative, the marriage took place in 1153, when Mieszko III wed Gertrude, the daughter of King Béla II, and sister of Géza II, to ensure peace and to erase the memory of the former conflict between King Béla II and Bolesław III the Wrymouth.⁴ At the end of the nineteenth century, Mór Wertner, based on a sixteenth-century work by Martinus Cromerus (Cromer 1555), which mentions Béla II's daughter Gertrude,⁵ without reference to Długosz, identified the Hungarian king's daughter as Gertrude and her father as Béla II (Wertner

¹ Stephen married Mary Komnena, a Byzantine princess and niece of Emperor Manuel Komnenos, in the late 1150s. A few years later, Ladislas turned down the offer of marriage in Constantinople. See Makk 1978, 13, 20-21; Makk 1989, 70.

² "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Bielowski 1872, 378-379; Plezia 1994, 131; Mühle 2014, 300-301). For Kadłubek see EMC 955-956; von Güttner-Sporzyński 2017.

³ "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Ćwikliński 1878, 635); "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Kürbis 1970, 55); "Ex filia regis Ungarie" (Węclewski 1878, 479); "ex filia regis Ungarorum" (Pawłowski 2013, 57). See Jasiński 1993, 236.

⁴ "[...] filiam Bele ceci Hungarie regis mortui et sororem Geyse Hungarie regis Gertrudim nomine, virginem et moribus et forma inclitam accepit in consortem, que ex Hungaria in Poloniam traducta splendidam et magnificam dotem in vasis aureis et argenteis ceteraque suppellectili invexit, nupciarum quoque solennitas Poznaniensi civitate pluribus diebus sub frequentia plurimorum hospitem habita. Ea enim affinitas ideo expetita et accepta est, ut priorum veterumque discordiarum et bellorum inter Belam Hungarie regem et Boleslaum Polonorum ducem Crzywovsty vocatum, patrem Mye(cz)sz(lawi) initarum obliteraretur memoria, et inter finitima sibi Hungarie et Polonie Regna quies et animorum idemptitas atque tranquillitacio proveniret" (Ioannis Dlugossii V – VI 1973, 51).

⁵ "[...] Mieziſlaus uero Eudoxiam. Verum is, hac non ita multo post mortua, nondiu exacto a primis nuptiis biennio, aliam duxit, Gertrudim Geise regis Vngarorum sororem, Belae caeci filiam." (De origine et rebus, 148). See furthermore Báling 2021, 523, footnote 52.

1892, 303-304). The former is quite interesting because the eminent Hungarian genealogist himself published a decisive excerpt from a contemporary document, which refers to Mieszko III's first wife as Elizabeth,⁶ a fact confirmed by several other sources as well.⁷ Wertner makes only a fleeting reference that Gertrude and Elizabeth might be considered identical (Wertner 1892, 306).

Polish medieval studies have clearly favoured the version of Elizabeth (Piastowie, 109; Jasiński 1993, 235-240), but there are several theories as to which Hungarian king's daughter was the wife of the Polish prince, Mieszko III. In addition to the name given by Długosz and his successors, King Béla II, it has been suggested that the princess in question was not, in fact, the daughter of the Hungarian monarch, but rather his sister, that is to say, the daughter of Prince Álmos, the brother of King Coloman the Learned. This theory, created by the renowned Polish historian Oswald Balzer at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Balzer 2005, 289-292, Báling 2021, 506), which was accepted, among others, in the 1970 edition of the Chronicle of Greater Poland and in the 1976 edition of the documents of the Church of the Virgin Mary in Lubin (Kürbis 1970, 157, note 306; Perzanowski 1976, 6, note 22; 84, note 38), was already contested in the twentieth century, with scholars underlining that Álmos was never a Hungarian king, which contradicts the surviving data (Jasiński 1993, 236-237; Piastowie, 109). The most prominent Polish genealogist of the second half of the twentieth century, Kazimierz Jasiński, theorised that Elizabeth was in fact the daughter of King Stephen II. He argued that, although the Hungarian chronicle tradition states that Stephen II had no children, this could be a later fabrication constructed under the rule of the descendants of Prince Álmos, the so-called Álmos branch. Furthermore, he argued that medieval sources focused primarily on male descendants, while daughters were often not mentioned at all (Jasiński 1993, 238).

Moreover, he contends that the biographical data concerning Mieszko III, specifically his purported birth in the years 1121 – 1122, precludes the likelihood that his wife was the daughter of Béla II, who married Helena, the daughter of the Serbian Grand Duke Uroš I, in 1129 (Makk 1996, 172; Farkas 2016, 114, 117; Kádár 2017, 789). Additionally, Jasiński also pointed out that Mieszko III's daughter, Elizabeth, married the Bohemian duke Soběslav II (1173 – 1178), whose mother, Adelaide, was the daughter of Prince Álmos, and therefore the sister of Béla II (Piastowie, 119; Báling 2021, 520), meaning that the couple would have been related in the second degree. The Polish historian pointed out that in a similar case, an appeal to the Holy See would have been unusual, so the later marriage could be considered a disqualifying factor for both Álmos and Béla II as fathers of the bride (Jasiński 1993, 237).

The most recent comment on this issue was made by Eduard Mühle, former director of the German Historical Institute in Warsaw, who published the Latin-German bilingual edition of Wincenty Kadłubek's chronicle in 2014. Mühle chose the name Elizabeth in his translation, but did not make a decision regarding the Hungarian king in question. Although Béla II is not mentioned by Mühle, both Álmos and Stephen II are considered to be possible identifications of the father of the bride (Mühle 2014, 301).

It is evident that none of these solutions has found general acceptance within the field of Hungarian historical research, a phenomenon that may be attributed to the absence of any explicit mention in the Hungarian sources of the case. As mentioned above, Mór Wertner considers the wife of Mieszko III to be the daughter of Béla II, and refers to her as Gertrude (Wertner 1892, 303-304). In his article on Polish-Hungarian relations, Gyula Kristó does not provide a name, but he

⁶ "Mesacho Pollonie dux et prima uxor eius Helizabeth [...]" (Piekosiński 1886, II, 16, nr. CCCLXXVI.)

⁷ "Domina Elisabeth ducissa uxor Mesiconis" (Perzanowski 1976, 6). "Comemoracio Elisabeth ductricis" (Perzanowski 1976, 84). See Jasiński 1993, 244.

identifies the wife of Mieszko III as the daughter of King Béla II by referring to Kadłubek's chronicle (Kristó 2000, 16). In his work on the history of the twelfth-century Hungarian Kingdom, Ferenc Makk places the marriage of the king's sister Gertrude and "one of the Polish princes" around 1146, i.e. during the reign of Géza II (Makk 2000, 84-85). The historian from Szeged demonstrated greater caution in other works, such as his 1996 monograph, which mentions only the "dynastic bond" between the family of Géza II and "one of the Polish princely courts" (Makk 1996, 184). Tamás Kádár mentions the name Elizabeth as the daughter of Béla II, ruling out the possibility of the Gertrude version. It is important to point out that in a footnote Kádár also presents the theory of Álmos and Stephen II as the fathers of the bride, stating in connection with Jasiński's analysis of the topic that it is worthy of further consideration (Kádár 2012, 82, note 91). Most recently, Péter Báling addressed the issue in his monograph on the family relations of the early Árpáds definitely rejecting the idea that Béla II had a daughter named Gertrude. Although not explicitly stated in the analysis, Báling presents the Polish theories in the context of Stephen II, so presumably the historian is accepting the version that Elizabeth was his daughter (Báling 2021, 506, 523). It is important to note here that the source already cited by Wertner and referenced also by Báling (Wertner 1892, 303; Báling 2021, 523, note 52), the biography of the Bishop of Bamberg, St. Otto, according to which King Béla II had only one daughter, named Sophia, can be questioned for the same reasons as the sources regarding the childlessness of Stephen II. The former, though, is undoubtedly a contemporary source, not an afterthought, as the report of the Hungarian chronicle regarding Stephen II, the son of King Coloman the Learned, which was definitely written under the rule of the branch of Álmos, attests.⁸

Polish genealogical research places the birth of both Mieszko III and Elizabeth around 1125, primarily on the basis of the later activities of the former (Jasiński 1993, 238, Piastowie, 107). Similarly, precise data on the timing of the matrimony remains elusive. Jasiński has noted that in 1140/41 Mieszko III attended the meeting in Łęczyca with his wife, where he negotiated with his brother Bolesław IV the Curly (Kędzierzawy) and their mother Salomea, without and against their eldest brother, the *senior dux*⁹ Władysław II the Exiled (Wygnaniec).¹⁰ However, according to the Polish historian, the actual *terminus ante quem* was the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth in 1138, after which the marriage of the young Piast prince, who had gained power over Greater Poland, and an Árpadian princess would have been politically unrealistic because of the geographical distance and the fact that Władysław II had the sovereign power over the territories bordering the Kingdom of Hungary. Drawing upon extant research, Jasiński identified the imperial assembly of 1135 in Merseburg as the *terminus post quem*, when Bolesław III, the Bohemian duke Soběslav I, and King Béla II made peace with each other under the pressure of Emperor Lothair III.¹¹ As mentioned in the first part of this study, the Polish prince then

⁸ I am grateful to Péter Báling for this remark.

⁹ Poland entered into the era of territorial fragmentation after the death of Bolesław III Wrymouth in 1138. See Lukowski – Zawadzki 2019, 13-27; Berend – Urbánczyk – Wiszewski 2013, 174-176.

¹⁰ The contemporary monk of Zwiefalten, Ortlieb reports: "[...] preclarissimos filios duces Bolezlaum et Misiconem cum uxoribus elorum, filiabus scilicet regum Ungariae et Rusziae, de regionibus suis fecit ad generale colloquium convenire." (Pertz 1852, 91). A broader narrative from the seventeenth century: "[...] praeclarissimos filios suos Duces Bolezlaum ac Misiconem cum Uxoribus eorum, filialibus scilicet Regum Ungariae et Russiae de Regionibus suis fecit ad generale colloquium venire, quo colloquio in Civitate, quae vocatur Lantsza cum Regni Primatibus habito [...]" (Sulger 1698, 100). See Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 89, 107-108. For the contacts of the Piast dynasty, especially of Bolesław III Wrymouth and his wife, Salomea see Wiszewski 2010, 512-516.

¹¹ The reconciliation might have happened earlier. See Gaethke 2024, 169-171, 181. For the former conflict caused by the support provided to Prince Boris by Bolesław III, see Makk 1972, 42, Makk 1987, 63-64;

pledged himself to abandon his support for Boris, the pretender to the Hungarian throne (Makk 1989, 32-33; Makk 1996, 176). The union of Mieszko and Elizabeth, according to Jasiński, could thus have been instrumental in the restoration of the previously strained relationship between the Polish and Hungarian monarchs (Jasiński 1993, 238-239; Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 107). It is noteworthy that Jan Długosz also saw the intention to settle the conflict between Béla II and Bolesław III behind the marriage, which was mentioned by him though with the wrong date and bride's name (Ioannis Dlugossii V – VI 1973, 51).

The precise date of Elizabeth's death is unknown, although the *necrologium* of Lubin provides the date, 21 July, albeit without specifying the year (Perzanowski 1976, 84). Jasiński draws attention to the fact that Bolesław, the first son of Mieszko III's second marriage to Eudoksia, the daughter of Iziaslav Mstislavich,¹² was born in 1159, so Elizabeth's death must have occurred in 1158 at the very latest, and the Polish historian assumes that it happened between 1151 and 1154. Mieszko and his first wife had two sons, Odon and Stephen, and three daughters, Wierzchosława Ludmilla, Judith, and Elizabeth (Jasiński 1993, 239-241; Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 106). Among them, the name Stephen, which is foreign to the Piast naming tradition, also reinforces the assumption that Mieszko III's wife, Elizabeth, came from the Hungarian royal family. Jan Długosz himself interpreted the naming in this way.¹³

In my opinion, there can be no doubt that the daughter of the Hungarian king was indeed called Elizabeth, so we can safely dismiss the version of Gertrude as a genealogical curiosity once and for all. While the precise origins of the name preserved by Długosz remain uncertain, it is worth mentioning that one of the daughters of Bolesław III and his second wife, Salomea, was named Gertrude (Jasiński 1993, 245-246; Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 94-95; Pac 2022, 417). Mieszko III's sister entered the monastery of Zwiefalten in 1138 or early 1139, where she was buried in 1160 (Pertz 1852, 85, 91. See Jasiński 1993, 246-247; Wiszewski 2010, 512-516; Pac 2022, 262). While it may be of little consequence, the contemporary monk-historian Ortlieb did make a note in the monastery of Zwiefalten that informs us about the meeting in Łęczycza. It is no more than a hypothesis, but it is not inconceivable that the name Gertrude preserved by Długosz, was connected to Mieszko III's wife, the daughter of the Hungarian king, due to her being the sister of the Polish prince.

Kazimierz Jasiński's reconstruction is clearly remarkable, despite the poor state of the sources. Nevertheless, it cannot be regarded as definitive, despite the thoroughness of his argumentation. Indeed, his arguments can be challenged on several points regarding the identity of the princess's father. The purported date of the marriage, 1135 – 1138, does not, in my opinion, unequivocally preclude the possibility that the agreement between Béla II and Bolesław III concerned the daughter of the former, who was still a child, and not her collateral relative, i.e. the child of the late King Stephen II. The eldest son of Mieszko III, Odon, was probably born around 1145 (Szczur – Ożóg 1999, 116), so it cannot be excluded that his mother was born from a marriage between Béla II and Helena concluded in 1129. In fact, if we place Elizabeth's birth around 1122 – 1125, following Jasiński, she gave birth to her first – known – child relatively late by the standards of the time. By analogy, it seems not at all inconceivable that in the 1130s there was an engagement between the older son of Mieszko III and the slightly younger daughter of the Hungarian king (Cf. Jasiński 1993, 251-253), which became official when the bride reached the

Makk 1996, 175-176; Kristó 2000, 16.

¹² According to recent research she was the daughter of Yury Dolgoruky. See Dąbrowski 2008, 677-687; Font 2021, 142.

¹³ “cui matre obsecrante Stephanus nomen inditum est; in Hungarie enim Regno Stephanus rex suus nepos et fratre germanus principabatur” (Ioannis Dlugossii V – VI 1973, 62).

appropriate age.¹⁴ The situation was similar almost a century later in the case of the marriage of King Andrew II's son, Coloman, and Salomea, daughter of Prince Leszek the White of Cracow (Font 2021, 177-185; Font – Barabás 2019, 21-41).

A more compelling argument against the Álmos lineage is that Mieszko III's and Elizabeth's daughter became the wife of the Bohemian duke Soběslav II around 1173. Jasiński's assertion that a papal dispensation would have been required for a union between second-degree relatives, which he considered to be a special case, is noteworthy. However, there are also examples of marriages between close relatives among the Piasts: Bolesław III Wrymouth received a papal dispensation from his third-degree kinship with his first wife Zbyslava, according to the testimony of his chronicler, Gallus Anonymus (Báling 2021, 78-79). The thirteenth century provides several further examples of intra-dynastic marriages between members of the Piast family (See Kozłowski 2020, 174-222). For the twelfth century, it should also be noted that no papal registers from the period before the beginning of the pontificate of Innocent III in 1198 have come down to us, with only a handful of exceptions (Frenz 1986, 46-47), which means that the survival of petitions submitted to the papal court is at the very least accidental. Thus, in a given case, the absence of evidence may not be evidence of absence regarding an application for dispensation.

Finally, as a conclusion of both parts of my paper, it is important to note that, on the basis of the remaining sources and their interpretation, it is far from impossible that in the mid-1130s Bolesław III and Béla II could have reached an agreement on two marriages to settle their formerly contentious relationship. As we have seen, the engagement between Bolesław's daughter Judith and the son of the Hungarian king, possibly the later monarch Géza II, can be dated to 1136 (Barabás 2025). In my opinion, the argumentation of Kazimierz Jasiński rightfully suggests that the marriage of the later Prince Mieszko III the Old and Elizabeth can also be placed at this time. It is conceivable, therefore, that the establishment of amicable relations between the monarchs in 1135 was sealed by a plan for a double wedlock.¹⁵ It is indisputable that only one of the two plans was realised, namely that of Mieszko and Elizabeth, regardless of whether the latter was the daughter of Stephen II or Béla II. However, it cannot be ruled out that there was indeed a plan to betroth the daughter of the Polish prince¹⁶ to one of the sons of the Hungarian king, which perhaps did not take place because Bolesław III died in 1138 and the political situation changed. In the absence of further data, we can only speculate as to whether Judith arrived in the Kingdom of Hungary after the agreement, as was customary, or whether she did not travel there at all. It is possible that the journey was delayed for some reason, and then the plan was ultimately dismissed because of the death of Bolesław III. However, the close proximity of the actual marriages of Géza II and Judith in 1146 and 1148 respectively suggests the hypothesis that they broke off their engagement shortly before (Jasiński 1993, 256). In the case of Elizabeth, however, there is no reason to doubt that after the agreement the Hungarian princess travelled to Poland to meet her

¹⁴ See e.g. the betrothals of the children of Prince Henry I the Bearded of Silesia in 1207 (Zientara 2002, 154-155).

¹⁵ In his work on Polish-Hungarian relations, Endre Kovács does not explicitly link the peace and the engagement of Géza II and Judith, but the fact that the two are mentioned one after the other suggests this (Kovács 1973, 21).

¹⁶ Regarding another daughter of Bolesław III born to Salomea, Dobroniega, who was close in age to Judith, it has also been suggested in scholarship that she was betrothed to Conrad of Płock around 1136, when she was still a child, but the marriage did not take place later. Dobroniega married the future Count Dietrich II of Lausitz (1156 – 1185), son of the Margrave Konrad of Meissen (1123 – 1156), in 1146 – 1148. The latter can also be paralleled with Judith's marriage to Otto, both of whom served diplomatic purposes on behalf of Bolesław IV the Curly and Mieszko III the Old against Władysław II the Exiled, who sought imperial support. See Jasiński 1993, 251-253.

future husband, based on the realization of the marriage and her participation in the meeting in Łęczyca, only the time of her arrival in Poland is unknown.

As already mentioned above, Polish research has posited the hypothesis that the marriage of Judith and Géza II was not carried out because the matrimony of Mieszko III and Elizabeth provided sufficient grounds for the settlement of the formerly turbulent Polish-Hungarian relations, or because the young age of the parties would have delayed the realisation of the planned wedding. However, it cannot be entirely discounted that Géza was engaged to an unknown daughter of the Polish prince, whose death marked the end of the engagement, and that Judith's name was only later connected with the planned marriage. Moreover, there is also the idea that the engagement of Bolesław III's daughter to the son of the Hungarian king, as preserved in the annals, could, in fact, be derived from the other marriage. That is to say, the reports merely "reversed" the family backgrounds of the parties. However, this latter idea did not become widely recognised (Jasiński 1993, 255-256; Szczur – Ozóg 1999, 98). Although the initial two ideas appear to be very plausible, in contrast to the others, I think that the proximity in time of the actual marriages of Judith and Géza II is more of a counter-argument in this regard (Cf. Jasiński 1993, 257).

One thing is certain: around 1135 Bolesław III abandoned his earlier policy of supporting Boris (Makk 1996, 176). There is, unfortunately, an absence of direct evidence that would clearly confirm that the two engagements under analysis can be linked to the reconciliation between the Hungarian and Polish rulers, and the sources themselves raise many questions. However, I believe that, in accordance with the nature of medieval diplomacy, it is not impossible that the two planned matrimonyes that the sources capture could indeed be linked to the settlement of the relationship between King Béla II and Duke Bolesław III. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that, even though the Hungarian Fourteenth Century Chronicle-composition (*Illuminated Chronicle*) mentions the fact that Bolesław III supported Boris against Béla II, it provides another explanation for the change in his alliances. According to the chronicle, it happened during the campaign of 1132 when a Hungarian envoy, sent by members of the lay elite, argued that it was unworthy to support a bastard against the lawful king, Béla II, after which event, the Polish duke returned home.¹⁷

It is also noteworthy that in 1135 – 1136 Bolesław III had two unmarried sons of appropriate age, Bolesław IV the Curly and Mieszko III (Jasiński 1993, 224-245). The son of the prince born from his first wife, Zbyslava, the later senior duke Władysław II the Exiled, was out of the question in 1136, not only because of his age, since he was born in 1105, but also because he had wed ten years earlier Agnes, daughter of the Austrian margrave Leopold III of Babenberg, half-sister of the later German king Conrad III (Jasiński 1993, 57-58; Font 2021, 141).

For Bolesław III Wrymouth, after his submission to Emperor Lothair III at the imperial assembly in Merseburg in 1135, it must have been particularly important to break the isolation that had developed around him. This assertion is well substantiated by the fact that his eldest son born to his second wife, Salomea, Bolesław IV the Curly, married the Prince of Pskov, Vsevolod Mstislavich's daughter Verhuslava in 1136 – 1137 (Font 2021, 141-142; Jasiński 1993, 228-229). As we have seen, Mieszko's first union with his Hungarian wife of disputed origin can also be placed

¹⁷ "Proceres autem regni Hungarie miserunt ad ducem Rutenorum et Polonorum, qui pro Boricho venerant, dicentes: „Non decet vos contra iustitiam querere regnum homini adulterino, nos enim scimus, quod de iure regnum habere debeat Bela, et ipse regnat cum consensu totius regni“. Hiis auditis duces Ruscie et Polonie destiterant amplius adiuvere Borichoni et reversi sunt singuli in suas provincias." (Chronici Hungarici compositio saeculi XIV. 1999, 451. cap. 161). See Bak – Veszprémy 2018, 302-303.

in this period. The marriage plan of Bolesław III's daughter Judith also aligns with this historical context.¹⁸

On the Hungarian side, too, the reconciliation, sealed by kinship ties, must have been of significant importance. If we accept that there was an anti-Boris motive behind the marriage of Géza II to Euphrosyne, the sister of the Grand Prince of Kiev, Iziaslav Mstislavich (Font 2021, 140), it is equally conceivable that around 1136 it was perhaps even more important for the Hungarian royal court to permanently deprive Boris of one of his main supporters, Bolesław III Wrymouth.

Regarding the complex dynastic relations of the 1130s, the assumption can provide a further element, namely that the previously mentioned Vladimirko Volodarevich of Zvenigorod, an ally of the Hungarian monarch Béla II, was married to a Hungarian woman, perhaps a daughter of the Hungarian king. However, in contrast to the Piast–Árpád relations outlined above, the theory is not even indirectly supported by sources, as Márta Font has recently pointed out (Font 2021, 120).

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¹⁸ See furthermore footnote 16 for the case of Dobroniega, daughter of Bolesław III.

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