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Coloman, the King of Galicia: The Problems of Coronation

The date and location of Coloman's coronation is not once mentioned in the known sources, yet, it is undoubted that it happened, even certain circumstances of it are known thanks to four charters: two letters of Andrew II written to Pope Innocent III, a diploma of Honorius III and a donation of the Hungarian sovereign given to Demeter of the *Aba* genus, one of the officials of the newly crowned Coloman. The last two sources were issued long after the events (in 1222 and 1234), they do not reveal the location or the date, yet, they confirm the fact of the enthronement. The author analyses the information of abovementioned four charters concerning the Coloman's coronation and also the question about the coronation of Salomea, Coloman's Polish wife.

Keywords: Coronation, Hungarian Kingdom, Principality of Cracow, Principality of Galicia, Papacy and Eastern Europe



Prince Coloman was the second son of King Andrew II (1205–1235) and younger brother of King Béla IV (1235–1270). He was the second member in the *Árpádian* dynasty with this given name after King Coloman the Learned (1095–1116). He was born in 1208, as the fourth child of Andrew II and Queen Gertrud of *Andechs*.¹

Hungarian Kingdom and Principality of Galicia

The decades of Andrew II's reign in Hungary were accompanied by the king's goal to obtain the territory of Galicia. The first campaign started already right after his enthronement in 1205, and he gave up the attempts only after the death of his youngest son, Andrew (1234). It is impossible to decide, whether the prince's sudden death or other circumstances forced the Hungarian king to do so, since he passed away in the following year.

¹ WERTNER 1892. p. 436–438, 448; ALMÁSI 1994. p. 316; ZSOLDOS 2005. p. 74–87; FONT – BARABÁS 2017. p. 11, FONT – BARABÁS 2019. p. 1; BARABÁS 2019. p. 107–108.

Andrew II's childhood experiences and his interest regarding Galicia must not be underestimated, since his father, King Béla III (1172–1196), intended to strengthen the Hungarian rule in the principality by putting his offspring there.² Andrew was born around 1177, so he must have been approximately 11 or 12 years old in the time of the Hungarian campaign of 1188–89. At this age, he was probably aware of the nature of the Hungarian claim for Galicia, and his father's military and diplomatic conception might have made an impact on him. Andrew II's grandmother, Euphrosyne Mstislavna came from the Rurikid dynasty, whereas his grandfather, King Géza II (1141–1162), led several campaigns to the territory of the Kievan Rus', even if their goals and events diverged in several aspects from those under Béla III.³ Experiences from Géza II's time could not have played a role in Andrew's intentions; still the memory of the campaigns could not fade away completely. Andrew II, in fact, did refer to his grandfather, father, and the events of their time, although these are of different nature.⁴ The short reign of Béla III in Galicia shows various types of actions: he incarcerated Galician princes who sought shelter in the Hungarian court, while he also negotiated with the local elite and the grand prince of Kiev. The solution of the "affair of Galicia" and the fact that the prince escaped from the Hungarian prison, returned to Galicia, and stabilized his rule with the help of the Cracowian prince, Casimir II the Just (1177–1194), and the sovereign of Vladimir–Suzdal, Vsevolod (1176–1212) foreshadowed the Polish–Hungarian rivalry for Galicia.

Roman Mstislavich ruled, between 1199 and 1205, not only Galicia and Volhynia, but he also controlled the river road of Dniester down to its influx by the Black Sea. The Galician prince intervened on several occasions in the quarrels of his western neighbors, the princes of Cracow and Mazovia, yet the local princes, Leszek the White and Conrad, united and turned against Roman and his expansion in 1205. The prince of Galicia lost his life on the battlefield of Zawichost as the result of this new conflict.⁵ Roman's firstborn son, Daniel, was four and his second son, Vasilko, two years old in 1205. The prince's widow made an attempt to keep the territory together for his small children.

The illustrated events suggest that the Cracowian duke and the Hungarian king were rivals after 1205 in the "lordless" territory, even if they had to make compromises from time to time. Their shared priorities were primarily to strengthen their influence, and they supported Daniil and Vasilko while their mother acted as their regent (1205–1206). Andrew II came to an agreement with the sons of Igor (Igorévichs), who were given Galicia in

² PSRL II. column 659–667; FONT 1996. p. 293–311; FONT 2005. p. 179–187.

³ The title was used in two Dalmatian charters regarding Béla III „[...] *regis Vngarie* [...] *nec non Galacie(!)*”, see: SMICIKLAS II, p. 234, nr. 217, and p. 247, nr. 231.

⁴ See in the charter of King Andrew II, the so-called *Andreanum*: “our pious grandfather of blessed memory” and “our father of blessed memory”. See: *Anjou-kori Oklevéltár* IV. p. 178–180.

⁵ The medieval Polish history writing provided a detailed narrative about this event. See DŁUGOSZ VI, p. 192–197. For the relationships among the Polish princes see CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 59–62; SAMSONOWICZ 2014. p. 48–51.

return for a certain amount of taxes (1207–10). Meanwhile, the child Daniil continued to reside in the Hungarian court.

When the underage Daniil was enthroned in Galicia, the Hungarian-Polish cooperation reached a new level (1211, 1213), yet soon enough the collaboration faced hardships again. It became clear for both parties, as early as 1214, that the rule over Galicia would have been possible only as the result of a Polish-Hungarian cooperation, which needed a more solid foundation. For that purpose the idea emerged to seal the deal with the marriage of their two children, Coloman and Salomea, who were expected to rule in Galicia together.

Leszek and Andrew came to an agreement at a personal gathering in the Scepus region (Hungarian: Szepesség, today in Slovakia: Spiš).⁶ It was convenient that the meeting of the Hungarian king and the Polish prince took place near the common border; it is similarly understandable that the sovereign of lower rank and of younger age, the prince, visited the older king. It is questionable, where exactly they met in the Scepus region, or where they found an eligible venue (it might have been a royal residence) for the “summit meeting”, for the reception, and the catering of the king, the prince, and their entourages. The *Galician-Volhynian Chronicle (GVC)* noted only the name of the Scepus region.

The meeting was prepared by the visit of the duke’s envoys, Lestich⁷ and Pakosław, castellan of Cracow. The *GVC* gives credit to Leszek for the idea of the dynastic marriage as the affirmation of the alliance. It is no wonder that Pakosław took an active part in the arrangements, given the circumstance that the agreement was favourable for him. The object of the bargaining was the Galician territory, yet Cracow had claim only for the vicinal Peremyshl and Liubachev.⁸ Those two centers geographically belonged to the drainage basin of the river Vistula (the area of the rivers San and Bug), whereas all the other rivers belonged to the draining basin of Dniester.

The date of the agreement of the Scepus region cannot be discovered in the *GVC* or in any other sources, yet the year of 1214 is not disputed in the

⁶ PSRL II, col. 732; *Kronika Romanowiczów*, p. 53; PAULER 1899. II. p. 54–55; WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 58; PASHUTO 1950. p. 200; PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998. p. 66; HOLLY 2007. p. 12, 14–15; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 171; DĄBROWSKI 2016. p. 83–84.

⁷ “Lestich” is not a given name, but it derives from the word Lestco (the Latin version of Leszek), it is a “paternal name”. It was not used by the Poles, still, the eastern-Slavic chronicler could use it referring to a certain relative of Leszek. It would be logical to think of his son, but Leszek married his spouse only in 1207, and he did not have a son by that time. A mystical Polish king also bore the name Lestco (See: *Magistri Vincentii Chronika Polonorum*, p. 18.), therefore the passage could be also interpreted as “someone from the family of the Polish prince”. The historiography mentions only Pakosław, and the other members of the mission are not named. The name Lestich as an independent version can be seen in the name register PSRL II. p. XXI. For the origin of the name Leszek and its bearers see CHRZANOWSKI 2013. pp. 25–26. Further interpretation see: *Kronika Romanowiczów*, p. 52. footnote 162,

⁸ PSRL II, col. 731; *Kronika Romanowiczów*, p. 59–60.

historiography.⁹ A more precise dating is beyond the realm of certainty; one can only work with presumptions. The majority of the researchers assume the date to be the fall of 1214, solely Holovko disagrees, as he opted for a summer meeting of the rulers.¹⁰

The Coronation

The date and location of Coloman's coronation is not mentioned in the known sources, yet it is undoubted that it happened, even certain circumstances are revealed thanks to four charters: two letters of Andrew II written to Pope Innocent III, a diploma of Honorius III, and a donation of the Hungarian sovereign given to Demeter of the Aba genus, one of the officials of the newly crowned Coloman. The last two sources were issued long after the events (in 1222 and 1234), they do not reveal the location or the date, yet they confirm the fact of the enthronement.

The first royal letter sent to Innocent III is dated to 1214, it must have followed the summit of the Scepus region. Andrew II intended to handle several cases, first of all he requested a papal permission in order to let Coloman to be crowned king of Galicia by Archbishop John of Esztergom (*filium nostrum [...] in regem inungat*).¹¹ The second letter¹² was meant to thank for the received licence and formulated a petition for a golden crown for Coloman (*coronam auream Regie dignitati congruentem filio nostri conferre*). Furthermore, the Hungarian king made the promise that he would send a clergyman from Galicia to participate at the Fourth Council of Lateran. The council started in November 1215, so the royal letter was probably written in August, at the very latest.

Regarding the coronation, it has to be emphasized that in the Hungarian Realm the reigning archbishop of Esztergom¹³ had the right for the enthronement, yet it concerned solely the Hungarian kings and it did not require a papal permission. The case of Coloman was different; it was a new phenomenon without any preliminary history, and therefore the papal licence was essential. Innocent III's approval was supposed to be secured with the formulation of the request that it was motivated by the local elite and people, who were eager to join the Roman Church (*Galiciae principes et*

⁹ PSRL II, col. 732; *Kronika Romanowiczów* p. 52–53; BALZER 2005. p. 482–483; HRUSHEVSKY 1901. p. 1–72, 337; PASHUTO 1950. p. 200; KRIPIAKEVYCH 1984 p. 89; STÖKL 1981. p. 500–501; FENNELL 1983. p. 37; KOTLIAR 2002. p. 106; ALEXANDROVYCH – VOYTOVYCH 2013. p. 52–53.

¹⁰ WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 58; FONT 1991. p. 126; FONT 2005. p. 225; HARDI 2002. p. 134; VOLOSHCHUK 2005. p. 98–99; HOLLÝ 2007. p. 7; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 171; DĄBROWSKI 2016. p. 83; CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 72; HOŁOVKO 2006. p. 276.

¹¹ CD III/1, p. 163–164; RA nr. 294.

¹² CD VI, p. 374–375; RA nr. 302; PAULER 1899. II, p. 496, fn. 55; WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 62.

¹³ The right of the archbishops of Esztergom for the coronation can be documented already in the 11th century. Archbishop Berthold of Kalocsa, brother of Queen Gertrude, tried but failed to extend the rights of the prelates of Kalocsa. The quarrel was ended by the charter of Pope Innocent III issued on 9th of May 1209. See: KOSZTA 2007. p. 250–251; KOSZTA 2013. p. 109–111; KISS 2013. p. 46–47; BARABÁS 2014. p. 295–299.

populus, nostri ditioni subiecti humiliter a nobis postularunt). The agreement of the Scepus region was not even mentioned in the first letter, whereas the second indicates a matrimonial contract (*contractum*) and asks for papal mediation to convince Leszek to send help for Coloman, who was under siege in the castle of Galicia. It is of crucial importance that Andrew II also expressed gratitude for the papal approval of Coloman's coronation (*referentes gratiarum actiones, quod postulatio nostra super coronando filio nostro in Regem Galicie ad mandatum Apostolicum optatum consecuta est effectum*), and it was not only regarding an unction anymore, like earlier, but rather a coronation. The requested golden crown and letter were meant to serve the purpose to stabilize Coloman's rule in Galicia (*perpetuam stabilitatem pretendat*).

There is no record of the crown's delivery; however, a royal charter of 1234 reports it: *sepedictum filium nostrum optento ex indulgentia Sedis Apostolice dyademate, Illustrem Regem Gallicie feliciter inunctum fecissemus inclite coronari*. [We made our aforementioned son to be crowned with a diadem and successfully unctioned to be illustrious king of Galicia as the result of the Apostolic See's indulgence].¹⁴

Despite the poorly remained sources, several theories emerged concerning the date and location of the coronation.¹⁵ It seems to be certain that the crown was sent already by Innocent III, therefore the *terminus ante quem* is dated to July 16, 1216; whereas the *terminus post quem* was August of 1215.

In our opinion, it is reasonable to make a distinction between the acts of unction and coronation, as already the Hungarian Gyula Pauler and Ubul Kállay did it at the end of the 19th and the outset of the 20th century.¹⁶ Based on the remaining charters we can reconstruct the following course of events: holding the papal license Archbishop John of Esztergom aneiled and crowned Coloman in Hungary, and the prince left to Galicia only afterwards. The ritual of the unction was meant to express the power of God's grace of the sovereign, yet the crown was also necessary for the ceremony. Based on Andrew II's previous experiences, it was essential to demonstrate Coloman's royal status for the Galicians, and that is why he needed the requested golden crown.

For instance, Nataša Procházková and Đura Hardi opted for using the dates of Ubul Kállay, and Mikola Kotliar only presented the year (1215); Marek Chrzanowski and Witalii Nagirnyj dated the coronation for the first half of 1215, Martin Homza emphasized the role of the archbishop of

¹⁴ CD VI, p. 546; RA nr. 529.

¹⁵ 1214: DROBA 1881; 1215: PASHUTO 2019. p. 278; first half of 1215: WŁODARSKI 1966. p. 62; CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 72; winter of 1215 – spring of 1216: KÁLLAY 1903; 1217: PAULER 1899. II. p. 57.

¹⁶ PAULER 1899. II. p. 57, 496. note 55; KÁLLAY 1903. p. 672–673.

Esztergom, meanwhile Karol Hollý referred only to the fact that the coronation is indisputable.¹⁷

In our view, the coronation happened late 1214 or early 1215 at the very latest, probably before the departure of the Hungarian army (we do not have any reason to suspect that the newly crowned king did not leave with the royal force from Hungary). The first ceremony – the unction and the coronation – must have taken place in Esztergom; the requirements of the Hungarian royal enthronement were not fulfilled in this case, and therefore they were not restrained to designate Székesfehérvár as location. It is also assumed that Andrew II assigned the future officials of the new king's royal court, but only one of them is known, Demeter of the Aba kindred, the master of the stewards (*dapiferum eidem instituentes [...] fecimus*).¹⁸

The second coronation was probably a ceremony presented for the locals in Galicia. Andrew II, despite his request from the Pope, did not receive any help from his ally, Leszek the White, so he invaded Peremyshl despite the agreement of the Scepus region on the turn of 1215 and 1216. In our opinion, the second enthronement happened in relation to this move in early 1216; it is even possible that Andrew II and Archbishop John of Esztergom also participated in it. The new wave of the Polish-Hungarian conflicts started also at this time with Andrew II's occupation of western Galicia, which territory was earlier conceded to Leszek. If we are looking for the cause of the change, we have to get back to the agreement of the Scepus region. It has to be emphasized that both the Hungarian king and the Prince of Cracow de facto ceased the support of the sons of Roman, it could have been also regulated de iure in the deal. Leszek contradicted the agreement when he handed over Vladimir, one of the most relevant – and in this time still prestigious – center of Volhynia, to Daniil and Vasilko. The Romanovich siblings acquired such support, as a result of Leszek's move, which offered adequate ground for the realization of their Galician aspirations. This turn of events meant more enemies for Coloman. In our opinion, Andrew II was motivated by a possible coalition of Peremyshl, Cracow, and Volhynia by occupying the western part of Galicia. The Hungarian king and Coloman controlled the whole Galician territory in the first half of 1216, and they must have possessed the crown too, so there were no hindrances in the way of the coronation in the settlement of Galicia, which was the sole seat of a bishopric of the area.¹⁹ The ceremony served as the declaration of the Hungarian rule as well.

Droba stated, based on the record of Długosz, that Bishop Wincenty Kadłubek of Cracow was also present at the enthronement.²⁰ We do not consider this version realistic; it is rather likely that not one single prominent

¹⁷ PROCHÁZKOVÁ 1998. p. 67; HARDI 2002. p. 138; KOTLIAR 2002. p. 106; CHRZANOWSKI 2013. p. 72; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 172; HOMZA 2009. p. 147; HOLLÝ 2007. p. 11. Cf. BARABÁS 2016. p. 92–94.

¹⁸ ÁÚO VI, 546; RA nr. 529.

¹⁹ The first mention of a bishop of Galicia derives from 1153. In Peremyshl a local bishop appeared at first in 1220, and he came from Novgorod. See: SHCHAPOV 1989. p. 212.

²⁰ DŁUGOSZ VI, p. 204; DROBA 1881. p. 400–418.

Polish person, not even the bride, Salomea, attended Coloman's with the Roman Church, and the record of the Voskresensk Chronicle can contribute to this statement: "the Hungarian king set his son into Galicia, he expelled the bishop and the priests from the church and brought a Latin priest there".²¹

The Queen: Salomea

We do not know much about Coloman's wife, Salomea, even her date of birth is ambiguous, and the years 1211–12 are only hypothetical based on the report of her legend, according to which she was three years old by the time she arrived to Hungary. These dates imply that Salomea was sent to Andrew II's court right after, or not much later, the summit of the Scepus region, yet there is no source which could support this assumption. The end of Salomea's life is better known, since her legend alongside with several Polish chronicles gives the exact day of his death: 10th of November 1268. Unfortunately, her age is not revealed there.²²

The Polish chronicles of the 13th century mention the names of her parents (Leszek and Grzymisława) and record the cult of Blessed Salomea, yet the meeting of the Scepus region and the marriage of the princess are unstated. For her Polish environment she became relevant only after she returned home after the death of her husband, and she had her share in the acclimatization of the order of Saint Claire in Poland. She not only joined the order but also gave donations to their nunneries in Sandomierz and Skała.²³

She is illustrated in her legend – following the rules of the genre – as a person destined from her childhood to be a nun; she was wed to Coloman only because of the demand and the threat of the Hungarian king. The marriage had a positive effect in the eyes of the legend's author: Salomea contributed to the marriage of her younger brother, Bolesław V, the Chaste, to King Béla IV's daughter, princess Kinga – later Saint Kinga of Poland –, and as a result the later saint was sent to Cracow.²⁴

Salomea became very "valuable" in the light of the new Polish-Hungarian pact in 1214. The engaged girls often were sent to the court of their future family after the deals were sealed, according to the medieval custom, so it could be imaginable that the same happened to Salomea. It has to be stated, however, that the marriages used to take place traditionally only after the parties reached adulthood; around the ages of 14–16 in the Middle Ages. One

²¹ *Voskresensk Chronicle*, p. 119.

²² MARZEC 1999, p. 189–191; *Vita et miracula sanctae Salomeae*. According to her legend, she died on the vigil of St. Martin (10th of November), but certain chronicles (e.g. the *Chronica Poloniae maioris*, *Chronica principum Poloniae*) report 17th of November. Based on the interpretation of the sources, the 10th November is authentic. See KÜRBIŚÓWNA 1958, p. 150; NIEZGODA 1997, p. 238.

²³ MPV III, p. 38, nr. 71; *Vita et miracula sanctae Salomeae*, p. 784; KDM I, p. 90–93, nr. 75–76.

²⁴ About the marriage of Coloman and Salomea: *Vita et miracula sanctae Salomeae*, IV, p. 777. About Kinga: *Vita et miracula sancti Kyngae*. In: MPH IV, p. 682–744. Kinga was canonized by Pope John Paul II in 1998.

has to keep in mind that Coloman's and Salomea's engagement was primarily a diplomatic arrangement, like it happened to Coloman's sister, Elizabeth of Thuringia, or later to the aforementioned royal princess, Kinga. Summarizing, we can state that it would have been completely ordinary, if Salomea was sent to Hungary as early as 1214, nevertheless, it is of crucial importance that Salomea's father, Leszek the White, was not particularly eager to fulfil the requirements of the agreement of the Scepus region. It seems, therefore, fair to think that the Cracowian princess has not been sent to Hungary in 1214.

Salomea's legend states that her reign lasted twenty-five years in Galicia. This data is undeniably false, but if we identified the period of twenty-five years as her marriage, it gives us the year of 1217 as the date of Salomea's arrival to Hungary, considering Coloman's death in 1241. If the twenty-five years refer to the princess's stay in Hungary, then given the time of her return to Poland in 1245, we got 1220. Therefore, we can date Salomea's arrival in Coloman's court between 1217 and 1220. Certain Polish and Ukrainian authors think of 1218 or 1219,²⁵ in our opinion, the Hungarian-Polish campaign in the fall of 1219 gave the perfect opportunity for Salomea's arrival, therefore she was sent from Cracow directly to Galicia, not to Hungary.

Coloman as a child was not in control of the events in Galicia, nor was his young wife. Their adult life started in Hungary only after they were set free from their captivity (1221/1222), and their marriage was probably arranged also at this time. Salomea is called *regina* (queen) in her biography, that is why the question emerged in the historiography: where and when was she crowned? The fact of the event is based on the data in the chronicle of Długosz, yet not all of his records are authentic (e.g. he wrote about Leszek's and Grzymiśława's marriage in 1220).²⁶

The appearance of the term *regina* in the legend and in the following Polish chronicles does not necessarily mean that she was indeed crowned, it refers rather to her marital status on King Coloman's side. In our view, the Hungarian practice of the queens' coronation is not relevant regarding Salomea, as Karol Hollý stated it.²⁷ She was no queen of the Hungarian Kingdom, and she was not bound by the customs of the realm; neither were used the complicated regulations concerning the Hungarian kings' coronation in Coloman's case. A charter of Pope Gregory IX has to be taken into consideration, in which Salomea as the wife of King Coloman (*uxor Colomani regis*) appears.²⁸ Summarizing the evidences, it can be stated that the coronation of Salomea is plausible.²⁹ There could have been only one

²⁵ WŁODARSKI 1957. p. 70; NIEZGODA 1997. p. 237; NAGIRNYJ 2011. p. 178; DĄBROWSKI 2016. p. 102.

²⁶ DŁUGOSZ VI. p. 204, 231–232.

²⁷ WŁODARSKI 1957. p. 71; NIEZGODA 1997. p. 241; HOLLÝ 2007. pp. 14–15; BARABÁS 2014. p. 301–302.

²⁸ SMIČIKLAS III, p. 360. "*Salomee regine, uxori Colomanni regis, nati ... illustris regi Ungarie, salutem*" – RGIX. nr. 2126.

²⁹ FONT 2005. p. 212.

particular point of time when it was not beyond the realm of possibility: her assumed arrival in Galicia in the fall of 1219; yet the constant wars do not seem to support this theory. The coronation – in our view – after they settled down in Hungary after being released from captivity was no longer justifiable.

Salomea's years in Hungary are completely obscure to us; maybe that was the intention of the author of her legend. She must have been, however, a constant member of the royal court, and she might have had an effect on the good relationship between Béla and Coloman. As a possible result of this is the engagement of Béla's daughter, Kinga and Bolesław V, Salomea's brother in 1239.³⁰

Conclusions

1. It has to be emphasized that even though we agree with Pauler concerning the fact of the two coronations, we oppose to the chronology presented by him (1217). The dating of the coronation in Hungary at the turn of 1215–16 by Ubul Kállay does not suit the illustrated picture either. In the historiography, a single coronation is traditionally accepted, but in several cases the authors assume an earlier dating.
2. Coloman used the title of king during his life together with the title duke of Slavonia, but after the compromise between Andrew II and Mstislav in 1222 he lost the chance to come back to Galicia. Between 1226–1234 he did not participate in the father's campaigns to Galicia. Andrew II tried to transfer the Coloman's royal title to Andrew. The papal response informs us of the royal petition, yet Honorius III rejected the appeal: "*regia Serenitas non turbatur* (The royal majesty is not to be disturbed)".³¹
3. Coloman remained under the authority of Andrew II, despite his royal title, not solely because of his minor age. The Hungarian king still and continuously considered himself to be the real sovereign of Galicia and Volhynia, as the practice of the royal chancellery proves it, since the title was constantly in usage in the royal charters, even after the coronation of Coloman.
4. Coloman's coronation is important as the foundation of regnum-tradition in Galicia, which was followed by Daniil in 1253.

³⁰ MPH IV, p. 685.

³¹ See the letter from 25th of January 1223. THEINER I, nr. 65.

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