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THE LAST JAGIELLONIAN: JOHN PAUL II AND THE JAGIELLONIAN IDEA

ABSTRACT The Jagiellonian idea was a constant inspiration in the political and social action of John Paul II in relation to Poland and Central Europe throughout the entire period of his pontificate. It is difficult to find another political idea – apart from his consistently anti-totalitarian and anti-communist stance – which would determine his teaching to a greater extent. The purpose of this article is to present the author's interpretation as to which experiences and ideas shaped this approach of the Polish pope. Reference will be made to the pope's statements, his political thought and practical actions as the head of the Holy See.

Key words: the Jagiellonian idea, John Paul II, Central Europe, Poland

THE ORIGINS OF THE POPE'S JAGIELLONIAN IDEA

Searching for the roots of the pope's thought on the European East, Paweł Rojek describes the outlook on regional politics of the political organization which John Paul II belonged to during the Second World War. This Christian Democratic organization was known as the 'Union' Federation for National-Catholic Organizations (Federacja Organizacji Narodowo-Katolickich 'Unia'). Before joining the seminar, Karol Wojtyła acted in cultural organizations affiliated to the Union – the Union of Culture (Unia Kultury) and the Rhapsodic Theatre (Teatr Rapsodyczny). This information is widely known, though not in a political context. The members of the Union shared similar views with the affiliated Institute of Central Europe (Instytut Europy Środkowej), which postulated the implementation of the Intermarium idea and promoted federal ideas¹ in Central Europe. Therefore, it designated Poland as the unifying force in

¹ P. Rojek, *Liturgia dziejów. Jan Paweł II i polski mesjanizm*, Kraków 2016, pp. 120, 123, 126.

relation to the Eastern European nations living between the Adriatic, Baltic and Black seas, thus referring to the multicultural tradition of the First Polish Republic, which was also to counteract Russian or German domination in this region. Perhaps these views on the political situation in the region, popular among Union members, were the reason why this organization was disbanded in Stalinist times. Years later it cannot be said for certain to what extent these youthful ideas inspired Karol Wojtyła after assuming the position of pope. It is worth noting, however, that unionism (the political attitude of promoting the idea of a Union) was inspired by messianism; thus, when examining the potential roots of Wojtyła's political ideas, we once again encounter ideas related to Polish Romanticism, including, of course, Prometheism (*prometeizm*), centred around supporting the independence tendencies among the peoples of the Soviet Union.²

Nevertheless, several other elements, which in my opinion played a more important role in the context of this article, must also be emphasised. Firstly, the cult of Saint Jadwiga (or Saint Hedwig) and Saint Casimir. Reading the pope's social message by examining his personal views on specific saints is a legitimate approach. In his essay "Święci – wzorce polskiego etosu", Stefan Wilkanowicz attempts to reconstruct the political program behind the cult of Queen Jadwiga of Poland. He points to numerous features of the queen, such as: serving her country, readiness to bring peace (by alleviating the conflict between Władysław Jagiełło and his cousins, thereby saving the Polish-Lithuanian Union), a peaceful attitude towards the Order of the Teutonic Knights, postponing the decision to go to war with the Order, helping the poor, supporting science, social commitment, opting for peaceful Christianisation rather than the obligatory and militant methods used by the Order, finally building closer relations in Central Europe, from Hungary to Lithuania.³ Queen Jadwiga's biographer, Oskar Halecki, maintained close relations with Polish bishops, especially with cardinal Karol Wojtyła. In a monograph devoted to the queen, he stresses the importance of the queen, a member of the House of Anjou, being crowned the king of Poland and marrying the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagiełło, for the development of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: *Owing to the legacy of Jadwiga, the two centuries that will follow her death are rightly considered to be two great centuries in Polish history. When considered in a pan-European context, they also reveal progress in what can be described as the formation of Central and Eastern Europe.*⁴

With reference to the second Jagiellonian saint celebrated by John Paul II, the pope emphasised his religious as well as social virtues. The pope explained the social significance of Prince Casimir as a role model in a sermon given to commemorate the 500th anniversary of his death. He emphasised the building of relations between Poland and other countries: *I am greatly moved every time I think about this saint being born at the*

² Cf. P. Kowal, "Powrót Prometeusza", in I. Hofman (ed.), *Ukraiński polonofil. Pamięci Bohdana Osadczyka*, Lublin 2012, pp. 183-202; idem, "Prometeizm", in Z. Najder et al. (eds.), *Węzły pamięci niepodległej Polski*, Kraków-Warszawa 2014, pp. 629-632.

³ S. Wilkanowicz, "Święci – wzorce polskiego etosu", *Znak*, no. 8-9 (1984), pp. 1040-1041.

⁴ O. Halecki, *Jadwiga Andegaweńska i kształtowanie się Europy Środkowowschodniej*, transl. by M. Borowska-Sobotka, Kraków 2000, p. 263.

*Wawel Castle in Kraków in 1458 as the son of the great Casimir IV Jagiellon, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania – and his mother was Elizabeth of Austria (from the House of Habsburg), also known as the ‘mother of kings.’*⁵ The pope then drew attention to Casimir’s social attitude, his commitment to charity and personal modesty.⁶ The first application to the Holy See concerning the canonisation of the prince is said to have been sent by King Sigismund the Old after the Battle of Orsha,⁷ in which the Polish-Lithuanian forces defeated the army of the Grand Duchy of Moscow, thwarting Moscow’s attack and breaking up the coalition against Poland and Lithuania, which also has a symbolic meaning.

THE ROLE PLAYED BY HALECKI

Exploring the topic of John Paul II’s inspiration with the history of the Jagiellonian dynasty, is necessary to focus on the work of Oskar Halecki. When his achievements are taken into account, it is truly surprising how little known this historian is in Poland. After World War II, unable to reconcile with the fact that Poland had fallen under Soviet influence, Halecki decided to stay in exile. His books were not published in the Polish People’s Republic due to anti-communist views and emphasising the role of Christian heritage in the development of Europe. However, his ideas were passed on in church circles, since the Church used its own channels to supply its libraries. Karol Wojtyła was without a doubt a keen reader of Oskar Halecki’s works, interested – especially as a Kraków bishop – in Jagiellonian history, particularly the beatification of Jadwiga, incidentally propagated by Halecki himself. The Polish hierarchy of the Catholic Church valued Halecki as an intellectual interpreting the history of Poland in the Christian spirit, which was of great importance during the difficult political period of the communist regime. No wonder then that this exiled professor was greatly trusted by the leaders of the Polish Church and his views inspired them ideologically. As part of the 10-year millennial celebrations of the Baptism of Poland Halecki published a monograph titled *Od unii florenckiej do unii brzeskiej*⁸ (From Florence to Brest), devoted to the many years of efforts to bridge the gap between Western and Eastern Christianity. On 13 January 1966, when addressing Pope Paul VI, Halecki gave a lecture titled “Tysiąclecie Polski katolickiej” (The Millennium of Catholic Poland), which was one of the most important events of the Roman millennium celebrations.⁹ In his extensive speech, Halecki devoted a lot of time to propagating the idea of a Jagiellonian Poland,

⁵ Jan Paweł II, “Z homilii podczas uroczystości 500-lecia śmierci św. Kazimierza”, *Znak*, no. 8-9 (1984), p. 1011.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1013.

⁷ H.D. Wojtyńska, “Problem kanonizacji św. Kazimierza”, *Znak*, no. 8-9 (1984), pp. 1025-1029.

⁸ Cf. O. Halecki, *Od unii florenckiej do unii brzeskiej*, vol. 1, transl. by A. Niklewicz, Lublin 1997, p. 13.

⁹ M. Kornat, “Oskar Halecki a Stolica Apostolska”, in M. Dąbrowska (ed.), *Oskar Halecki i jego wizja Europy*, vol. 1, Warszawa–Łódź 2013, p. 144.

comparing the values of Jadwiga of Anjou to those of St. Augustine and highlighting her 'spiritual legacy' as the reason – according to his interpretation – for signing the Union of Lublin.¹⁰ Cardinal Wojtyła met Halecki in person not only in Rome, but also during a visit to the USA in 1969,¹¹ when he invited the professor to a meeting in order to talk about, among other things, about the history of Jadwiga of Anjou and discuss the issue of her beatification.¹² Trust was a fundamental issue in such relations between laymen and Church representatives and Cardinal Wojtyła most certainly placed confidence in Halecki, if only because of the researcher's intellectual format. It is of course impossible to measure to what extent thoughts and ideas shared by Wojtyła and Halecki later influenced the views of Pope John Paul II – both heroes are no longer with us. However, I believe that Halecki significantly influenced the historiosophic line of the Episcopate in the period of the Millennium of the Baptism of Poland, that is at the beginning of the epoch when the cardinal from Kraków was elected to his office.

Here it is worth answering the question of how Halecki understood the Jagiellonian idea. Since he may be considered one of the most renowned researchers and interpreters in this area, his definition should be regarded as a trustworthy source. In order to reconstruct his approach I would like to quote Krzysztof Baczyński, a notable expert on the Jagiellonian times in Central Europe, who analysed Halecki's thoughts on the subject.¹³ According to Halecki the Jagiellonian idea – in the shape that it was most probably presented numerous times in his conversations with cardinal Wojtyła – was based on the following principles: 1) Central and Eastern European nations must cooperate with each other because of the cyclical threat posed by Germany and Russia; 2) this cooperation should assume the form of a federation, organized adequately to the times at hand; 3) the federation should be based upon the medieval Jagiellonian union, which included, on a voluntary basis, Poland, Lithuania and Rus' (Ukraine) and, in shorter periods, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary and Croatia; Halecki considered the solutions practised in the region between the 14th and the 16th century, the times of splendour of the Jagiellonian idea, as a basis for this union-federation; 4) the strength of such a union/federation would be to abide by the principle of voluntary participation in its creation and duration; 5) geographic links, such as a rivers or common threats, should be considered a factor conducive to the creation of the federation; 6) the Jagiellonian idea should be based on tolerance, compromise and cooperation between nations in accordance with the principles of western Christian civilization; at this point he also mentions the idea of a Polish 'civilising mission' and

¹⁰ O. Halecki, "Pierwsze tysiąclecie katolickiej Polski. Przemówienie wygłoszone w Rzymie w dniu 13 stycznia 1966 r. w Audytorium Palazzo Pio w Rzymie" (translated from Italian, Rome 1966), in J. Cisek, *Oskar Halecki. Historyk, szermierz wolności*, Warszawa 2009, p. 66.

¹¹ Cardinal Wojtyła would later go to the USA in 1975. See B. Nowożycki, "Działalność Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego w latach 1942-1989", *Archiwum Emigracji. Studia – szkice – dokumenty* (Toruń), no. 1-2 (2011), p. 280.

¹² J. Cisek, "Wstęp", in idem, *Oskar Halecki...*, p. 11.

¹³ It is worth remembering Halecki's text titled "Idea jagiellońska" (The Jagiellonian idea) from 1937 in this context (*Kwartalnik Historyczny*, no. 1-2 (1937), pp. 486-510).

voluntary assimilation;¹⁴ 7) the ‘purest’ incarnation of the legal and political doctrine of such a union can be found in the views of, among others, Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic,¹⁵ who, in opposition to the Teutonic Order’s approach to the law and policy of converting pagans by force, demanded *in defence of the Lithuanians [...] freedom of faith and condemned aggressive wars*.¹⁶ Halecki used the term ‘Jagiellonian Federation’ even in reference to the times after 1569 when the First Polish Republic was no longer ruled by the Jagiellonians – the Jagiellonian idea in this approach, which is worth noting, thus comprised not only the Jagiellonian state itself but also referred to its legacy.¹⁷ It must be stressed that Halecki considered the Jagiellonian idea on the one hand a strategic and geopolitical solution and on the other the reason for the specific political structure of Poland.

THE JAGIELLONIAN IDEA ACCORDING TO FATHER WŁADYSŁAW BUKOWIŃSKI

In addition to Halecki, it is worth mentioning one more figure that certainly inspired cardinal Wojtyła in the years before he became pope – Father Władysław Bukowiński, commonly known as the Apostle of Kazakhstan, due to having conducted missionary activities for many years, despite his imprisonment in Gulag camps several times, in Kazakhstan, but also in other areas of Central Asia and in the European part of the USSR. After World War II, many priests from the eastern territories of the Second Polish Republic found themselves in new Polish borders, but some decided to continue their work in the territories incorporated into the Soviet Union. In fact the complete separation of priests who remained to the East of the Polish Church never really took place. Due to poor access to relevant sources, the matter remains scarcely recognized,¹⁸ it is however no secret that Church hierarchs in Poland, especially cardinals Karol Wojtyła and Stefan Wyszyński, maintained discrete and personal relations with such figures as Father Serafin Kaszuba,¹⁹ Father Michał Aronowicz or Father Władysław Bukowiński; the latter maintained close relations with Wojtyła, then cardinal/archbishop, to which I will soon return. The Primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszyński, met with envoys sent by Father Bukowiński several times – as is clear from his notes. On 2 July 1965 he received

¹⁴ K. Baczkowski, “Oskara Haleckiego jagiellońska wizja dziejów”, in M. Dąbrowska (ed.), *Oskar Halecki...*, vol. 1, p. 64.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-62.

¹⁶ O. Halecki, “Pierwsze tysiąclecie katolickiej Polski...”, p. 65.

¹⁷ Cf. idem, *The Limits and Divisions of European History*, London–New York 1950, p. 95.

¹⁸ An impressive list of literature on the subject of the archdiocese of Lviv can be found in: M. Muzyka, *Ks. Karol Jastrzębski 1882-1966. Katecheta, duszpasterz, promotor kultu Bożego Miłosierdzia w Archidiecezji Lwowskiej*, Lwów–Kraków 2017, pp. 5-8.

¹⁹ W. Bukowiński, *Wspomnienia z Kazachstanu. Wybór wspomnień i informacji dla moich Przyjaciół*, Warszawa 2016, pp. 154-155.

Father Bukowiński personally and Bukowiński left him a journal on the situation of the Church in the Soviet Union.²⁰ Priests had to adapt to the irregular conditions of the Soviet republics: they were often wandering missionaries, travelling across the country from Riga to Siberia. Thanks to this they also had a broad view of the situation of believers in the Soviet Union and could convey this knowledge to Church hierarchs in Poland, and this information was then passed on to the Holy See.²¹ There were at least several dozen priests who worked in this way. Bukowiński was greatly respected by his contemporaries, as evidenced by the record of Primate Wyszyński. In 2016 he began to be worshipped as blessed in the Catholic church. It is also worth mentioning the unique memories which Bukowiński wrote down at the request of Cardinal Wojtyła in 1969; they constitute one of the most moving testimonies of the Catholic church in the East during communist times. It was Cardinal Wojtyła's will that Bukowiński's memories reach a publisher in Paris in the autumn of 1977.²² In addition to being a record of events, they present the historiosophic musings of an exceptional priest, exiled from his diocese (the diocese of Lutsk) after the war. Father Bukowiński states the following in his work: *In a superficial way, it may seem that the Jagiellonian idea has become completely outdated in favour of the triumphant Piast idea. This could not be further from the truth. The Jagiellonian idea is a way or rather a certain style of regulating the approach of Poland and Poles to its/their nearest neighbours, especially from the east. By this I mean Lithuanians, Belarusians, Ukrainians, Latvians and most of all Russians. And who could deny that Polish-Russian relations are still a painfully current issue?*²³ These remarks made by the priest concerning the program of Polish Eastern policy are also interesting because the figure of the Apostle of Kazakhstan most certainly influenced the views of Karol Wojtyła, who met him several times during Bukowiński's stay in his homeland.

JADWIGA'S BEATIFICATION

The lengthy beatification process of Jadwiga of Anjou began in 1949. After taking Peter's throne the new pope clearly accelerated the procedures. He approved additional forms of worship of the candidate and on 8 June 1979 celebrated a solemn mass devoted to Jadwiga at the Wawel Castle.²⁴ His sermons and actions, in Gniezno and especially Kraków, from 1979, when the pope returned to the issue of the baptism of Rus' and Lithuania, may be read as direct preparation of John Paul II's neo-Jagiellonian

²⁰ Archive of the Archdiocese of Warsaw, Stefan Wyszyński, Pro memoria, 10 April 1957, 24 March 1958, 2 July 1965, copy in the author's collection.

²¹ Cf. *ibid.*, 27 November 1965, copy in the author's collection. Perhaps the journal on the situation of Catholics in the Soviet Union given to Casaroli was based on data gathered by Father Bukowiński.

²² P. Jegliński, "Wstęp od wydawcy. Książka, która zmieniła moje życie", in W. Bukowiński, *Wspomnienia z Kazachstanu...*, pp. 10-11.

²³ W. Bukowiński, *Wspomnienia z Kazachstanu...*, p. 51.

²⁴ Z. Świątek, *Budzenie wawelskiej Pani Królowej*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1989, pp. 64-65.

program in respect to all of the nations of the region, especially Poland's eastern neighbours. Activities carried out in the religious sphere thus reflected the emerging political program of the pontificate – the affirmation of Queen Jadwiga went against the current of the historical policy of the leaders of the Polish People's Republic.²⁵ Making reference to the figure of Saint Casimir was no less troublesome for communist authorities. Promoting the Jagiellonian concept in any form had to be read as anti-Soviet activity not only by Warsaw, but also by Moscow and the leadership circles of the Eastern Bloc. In consequence, the acceleration of Jadwiga's beatification had only seemingly a solely religious significance.

The plan of giving a new definition to the role of the papacy in overcoming the divisions of Europe found expression in the famous Gniezno sermon given by John Paul II, one of the pope's first speeches behind the Iron Curtain, made on 3 June 1979 on Lech's Mound (Wzgórze Lecha).²⁶ During his first visit as the head of the Catholic Church in a communist country, John Paul II, referring to the mission of the Slav pope, spoke in favour of the other nations of the region and predicted the political unification of the continent.²⁷ It is worth quoting here a slightly longer fragment of the sermon: *Does not Christ want this, does not the Holy Ghost dispose that this Polish pope, this Slav pope, at once reveal the spiritual unity of Christian Europe, which consists of two great traditions: the West and the East? We Poles who have been taking part in the Western tradition for millennia, just as our Lithuanian brothers, have always respected the traditions of the Christian East throughout our millennium. Our lands welcomed these traditions, whose beginnings date back to New Rome – to Constantinople. But we would also like to ask our brothers, who constitute the expression of the tradition of Eastern Christianity, to remember the words of the Apostle: 'One faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all. The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' (Eph 4, 5-6). That they remember them and that now, in the era of searching for a new Christian unity, in the era of new ecumenism, and join hands with us to create this great work, into which the Holy Spirit breathes life!*²⁸ The pope then drew attention to the baptism of the Croats, Slovenes, Moravians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Vistulans, Serbs, Slovaks, Polabian Slavs, Obotrites, Veleti and Sorbs, and added that: *We must also remember the baptism of Rus' in Kiev in 988 [...] the baptism of Lithuania in the years 1386 and 1387, which, thanks to our blessed Queen Jadwiga, was strengthened by the baptism of Grand Duke Mindaugas a hundred years earlier, ended the official Christianisation of Europe. Pope John Paul II – a Slav, a son of the Polish nation,*

²⁵ K. Baczkowski, "Oskara Haleckiego...", p. 57.

²⁶ Janusz Cisek, a researcher of Halecki's works, shows how the pope's idea of overcoming the divisions in Europe was shaped by the influence of Halecki's ideas on the same subject known to John Paul II, for instance in the following works: *Borderlands of Western Civilization* (1952). See J. Cisek, "Wstęp", p. 41.

²⁷ B. Geremek, *Szansa i zagrożenie. Polityka i dyplomacja w rodzinnej Europie*, interview by D. Maciejewska, Warszawa 2004, pp. 37-38.

²⁸ Jan Paweł II, "Homilia w czasie mszy św. odprawionej na Wzgórzu Lecha", Gniezno, 3 June 1979, Zintegrowana Baza Tekstów Papieskich, at <<http://nauczaniejp2.pl/dokumenty/wyswietl/id/544>>, 18 September 2017.

*feels how far into the earth of history extend the roots from which he himself, with all of you, has grown.*²⁹

The Gniezno sermon was one of the most important in the first phase of the pope's pontificate. In a comprehensive study titled *Liturgia dziejów*³⁰ (The Liturgy of History), Paweł Rojek introduces interpretations showing the affinity of the John Paul II's ideas with Polish messianism (millenarianism, passionism and missionism);³¹ one should also add Prometheism (*prometeizm*) as an idea co-occurring in the history of Polish Romanticism with messianism (for instance in Mickiewicz's *Dziady*). The fact that the his message is embedded in Romanticism allows the pope to be recognised – like Czesław Miłosz and other Polish intellectuals and researchers – as 'the last Polish Romantic';³² which gives us a better understanding of the his attitude towards the political situation in Central Europe under communist rule.

A JAGIELLONIAN AMONG SOVIETS

Since Pope John Paul II supported the Jagiellonian vision of Central Europe as well as the liberation currents in the region, sending public signals to Ukraine, Lithuania and Belarus, against the interests of the Soviet Union, he was identified as an enemy by the communist power apparatus. Towards the end of October in 1978, the head of the Ukrainian KGB stated that the choice of Cardinal Wojtyła for the position of pope meant nothing good in terms of Soviet political goals. The recently presented documents which also reveal the opinion of the Moscow headquarters leave no doubt as to how the threat associated with the election of the cardinal from Kraków as the leader of the Holy See was assessed in the centre of the nervous system of the Soviet state. It must be said that the KGB rightly predicted the direction in which the policy of the new head of the Vatican would develop.³³ In 1980 Yuri Andropov, as head of the KGB, issued orders to intensify the fight against Catholicism in the Soviet Union, because, according to his assessments, the new pope wanted to conduct more offensive actions against this state.³⁴ Thematic information prepared by chief of intelligence General Jan Słowikowski on 28 May 1981 sheds light on how the new configuration in

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ P. Rojek, *Liturgia dziejów...* Paweł Rojek also quotes other interpretations, for instance by George Williams, which suggest that the relation between the pope's teaching and messianism had already weakened or disappeared during his pontificate.

³¹ Ibid., p. 41.

³² Ibid., pp. 12-13.

³³ Records of the College of Europe in Natolin, F. Fedorczyk, USSR, "Komitet Bezpieczeństwa Państwowego (KGB) Ukrainiejskiej SRR, Komunikat, stan na 1 listopada 1978 roku", transl. by J. Prystasz, p. 2, at <<http://www.3rnatolin.eu/wp-content/uploads/3r-library/01.11.1978-KGB-o-wyborze-Jana-Paw%C5%82a-II-na-papie%C5%BCa.pdf>>, 16 June 2017.

³⁴ R. Dzwonkowski, *Religia i Kościół katolicki w ZSRS oraz w krajach i na ziemiach okupowanych 1917-1991. Kronika*, Lublin 2010, pp. 321-322.

the Vatican was perceived by the Security Service (SB). Among other things, the document contains his views on the topic of possible succession after the death of Cardinal Wyszyński.³⁵ Some important conclusions may be drawn from this text. Słowikowski believed that during the pontificate of John Paul II the Vatican will not remain neutral in respect to the lands situated within the borders of the Second Polish Republic. He states that: *in the new situation, the Church must become the centre of influence on the societies of neighbouring countries.*³⁶ Most importantly, John Paul II tried to influence the societies of the Soviet republics rather than focus on the relationship with Kremlin authorities.

At this point attention must also be drawn to John Paul II's actions as a political leader in the first period of his pontificate. Mention must be made of several gestures towards the Lithuanians, Belarussians and Ukrainians. According to the accounts of Father Roman Dzwonkowski the choice of a Pole for the position of pope met with a broad response in the Soviet Union.³⁷ One of the first things Karol Wojtyła did was send his zucchetto to the Gate of Dawn. It was not about a 'Polish accent' but about a signal transmitted to Catholics in the East.³⁸ Gestures of support for the exiled bishop Julijonas Steponavičius, apostolic administrator in Vilnius, the Vilnius Committee for the Defense of Believers, established in October 1978, as well as Greek Catholics, and especially their emigré leader Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, with whom he met on 20 November 1978, pointed to the new approach of the pope.³⁹ John Paul II publicly spoke in Belarussian, for example during Christmas in 1980.⁴⁰ Cardinal Slipyj, the head of the Greek Catholic Church, was the only hierarch apart from Primate Wyszyński who was not allowed to kneel down by the pope during the homage ceremony,⁴¹ which was in itself a very meaningful gesture.

The ideological views and inspirations of the new pope I have reconstructed are undoubtedly reflected in his actions. John Paul II decided to conduct a slow reorientation of the existing policy towards the East, previously shaped by Agostino Casaroli. Traces of tensions in the Roman Curia concerning this topic can be found in the reports of the

³⁵ Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, 0449/5/36, Jan Słowikowski, Thematic information concerning: succession after Cardinal Wyszyński, 28 May 1981, p. 158.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ R. Dzwonkowski, *Za wschodnią granicą 1917-1993. O Polakach i Kościele w dawnym ZSRR*, interview by J. Pałyga, Warszawa 1995, pp. 275-279.

³⁸ G. Weigel, *Świadek nadziei. Biografia papieża Jana Pawła II*, transl. by M. Tarnowska et al., Kraków 2000, p. 359.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 332; A. Grajewski, "Wokół udziału komunistycznych służb specjalnych w zamachu na Jana Pawła II", in M. Skwara, A. Grajewski, *Agca nie był sam. Wokół udziału komunistycznych służb specjalnych w zamachu na Jana Pawła II*, Katowice 2015, pp. 391-395; D. Morawski, *Pomost na Wschód. Obserwacje i refleksje watykańisty*, Londyn-Lublin 1991, pp. 148-149.

⁴⁰ S. Janowicz, "Czy Pan Bóg nie rozumie po białorusku?", *Biuletyn Informacyjny MKZ NSZZ Solidarność*, no. 17 (1981), p. 8 [repr. in: *Annus Albaruthenicus* (2016), p. 7].

⁴¹ M. Melnyk, "Wartości prawicowe w procesie dialogu i pojednania polsko-ukraińskiego", *Częstochowskie Teki Historyczne*, vol. 3 (2012), p. 245.

Ministry of the Interior. Referring to diplomats of the Polish People's Republic, their author stated that according to Casaroli Wojtyła did not represent the correct 'political format' patronizingly remarked that he was still 'on the road to maturity'. Additionally, Archbishop Luigi Poggi was said to regard the new pope as a mediocre politician, inflexible and overly meticulous.⁴²

Casaroli himself, who, as co-creator of the *Ostpolitik*, which was revised during the new pontificate, kept his position under John Paul II, but also, in 1979, after the death of Cardinal Jean-Marie Villot, even received a nomination for the position of secretary of state, explained the Vatican's new course as a result of political processes in the communist bloc rather than a change in the attitude of the Holy See or the Holy Father's will, which would differ from his predecessors.⁴³ Hansjakob Stehle, a researcher of the Vatican's policy towards the East, writes that allowing Casaroli to maintain his position, or even promoting him, can be interpreted a sign of continuation in this field.⁴⁴ In my opinion this move should be understood as an outward message, a signal sent to the Roman Curia itself, that there would be no revolution in the foreign politics of the Vatican, which is also not tantamount to the preservation of the current policy towards the East, as evidenced by the first gestures of the pope. Perhaps Casaroli's promotion served as a political veil for the changes carried out by the pope?

Conclusions drawn from the Roman residency of the Polish communist intelligence show that the issue of John Paul II's visit to the Soviet Union was first considered in 1983, when he was tale part in the 500th anniversary of the death of St. Casimir. It seems that after 1984 the pope left Casaroli more freedom in trying to reach an agreement with the Soviets on more favourable terms than before. It is difficult to find other sources that confirm this, but in 1980 a confidential conversation probably took place between John Paul II and Vadim Zagladin, then deputy member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and deputy head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

From today's perspective, it is clear that the goal of the Soviet authorities was to maintain the temporary status of the post-Yalta borders in Central Europe. Uncertainty about the future reinforced the conviction that Soviet guarantees for the region should be preserved. Ola Hnatiuk refers to documents found in the archives of the Ukrainian Security Service which confirm that information stating that the Soviet Union wanted to give the territories of the former Stanisławów, Lviv and Tarnopol voivodeships back to Poland was purposely disseminated in the 1970s.⁴⁵ The belief that only the USSR is

⁴² "Informacja nr 1 Departamentu IV Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych dotycząca biografii i charakterystyki osoby byłego metropolity krakowskiego Karola Wojtyły, 17 października 1978", in A.C. Żak (ed.), *Pielgrzymki Jana Pawła II do Polski w wojskowych materiałach archiwalnych*, Warszawa 2015, p. 21.

⁴³ A. Casaroli, *Pamiętniki. Męczeństwo cierpliwości. Stolica Święta i kraje komunistyczne (1963-1989)*, transl. by T. Żeleźnik, Warszawa 2001, pp. 232-233.

⁴⁴ H. Stehle, *Tajna dyplomacja Watykanu. Papiestwo wobec komunizmu (1917-1991)*, transl. by R. Drecki, M. Struczyński, Warszawa 1993, p. 305.

⁴⁵ B. Sienkiewicz, "Ukraina a sprawa polska. Lwów – laboratorium pamięci", interview with O. Hnatiuk, *Newsweek Historia*, no. 10 (2016), p. 27.

able to prevent these and other sources of unrest, especially connected with the issue of recognizing the western borders of Poland, constituted one of the foundations of the Soviet policy towards Poland and remained in the consciousness of many citizens.

THE FIRST TEST OF THE JAGIELLONIAN IDEA

In order to observe how the Jagiellonian thought of John Paul II developed, it is extremely important to focus on the pope's pilgrimage to Poland in 1991. The pilgrimage was of special significance because the pope returned to his country for the first time after the political changes which took place in 1989, that is at the very beginning, when the foundations of statehood were taking shape after the collapse of the Soviet Bloc. The pilgrimage did not adequately expose the issue of Poland's relations with its neighbours and the position of Poland in Europe, all the more important since the young independent state already experienced some difficulties in relation to matters of policy towards the East and the rights of religious and ethnic minorities in Poland. Examples include Polish-Ukrainian disputes in Przemyśl, as well as Polish actions in Lithuania aimed at establishing Polish autonomy within the limits of independent Lithuania and the political emotions inspired by these events. It seems that the pope clearly recognized that these are matters which must be reflected in his teachings, especially since he received alarming information from bishops in Lubaczów and Łomża, Marian Jaworski and Juliusz Paetz, concerning tensions between Poles and representatives of national minorities in Poland. *Nota bene* this is most probably why he demanded respect for the rights of minorities during his visit in the presence of Prime Minister Jan Krzysztof Bielecki.⁴⁶

The most serious problem that John Paul II faced was the matter of the Greek Catholic cathedral in Przemyśl. He had to take a stand there in the face of an acute ethnic conflict. The object of the dispute was the church of St. Teresa in Przemyśl, taken from the Greek Catholics in 1946. In January 1991 the Greek Catholics agreed with the Barefoot Carmelite Order that the church would be returned to them for a period of five years; the pope supported this solution. On 15 February in Warsaw, Greek Catholic bishops (Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk and representatives of the Episcopate Józef Glemp and Bronisław Dąbrowski), Greek Catholic bishop Jan Martyniak, apostolic nuncio Józef Kowalczyk and the head of the Barefoot Carmelites Benignus Wanat signed the appropriate agreement. The rank of those present at the signing is the best testimony that in winter 1990/1991 the conflict was so pressing that church authorities decided to solve it at a high level. The answer was the creation of the Barefoot Carmelites Social Committee for the Defence of the Polish Church in Przemyśl⁴⁷ and the Committee's picketing of Ignacy Tokarczuk's bishop's palace.

⁴⁶ A written account by Jan Krzysztof Bielecki submitted to the author in 2017.

⁴⁷ I quote this name after *Encyklopedia Solidarności* (The Encyclopaedia of Solidarity). The name of the committee appears in several forms in various sources, such as the Social Committee for the Defence of

Tensions rose in the city, rumours spread that the creation of the Committee was inspired by the KGB, allegedly also shared by Bishop Tokarczuk.⁴⁸ The scale of distress had to be so great that in April Bishop Tokarczuk, along with his auxiliary bishops, decided to send a letter addressed to the members of his diocese, read in all parishes.⁴⁹ The letter was of great importance for the people of south-eastern Poland. The document conveyed several important messages: firstly, gestures made towards Greek Catholics are associated with equivalent gestures towards Roman Catholics in Ukraine, they are not an abstract act of openness on part of the Polish side – this message was supposed to be an argument for the loaning of St. Teresa's church to the Greek Catholics; secondly, the pope's motivation to compensate for communist crimes against the Greek Catholics was underlined; thirdly, the order of intentions in the prayers made by Przemyśl bishops suggested a different approach to the Roman Catholic diocese in Ukraine and the fate of Greek Catholics in Poland. In the first case the approach was more institutional, in the second more personal. The authors of the letter unequivocally appealed for the execution of the pope's will.

In response, participants of the protests from the Committee undertook, in their own words, 'twenty-four-hour watch', which in practice meant the occupation of Mount Carmel. In the following days the press brought alarming information about the development of events: several dozen to several hundred people organised a blockade of the church of St. Teresa. Closed masses were organised in the building and passers-by were not allowed to enter. A spokeswoman for the protesters declared that 'days of contemplation' were taking place at the church and the participants were determined not to allow for Martyniak's ingress. Two significant Solidarity activists supported the protesters when negotiations began.⁵⁰ The involvement of important figures in the protest revealed the potential of the dormant Polish-Ukrainian conflict on the border.

The Secretary of the Episcopate, Bishop Alojzy Orszulik, tried to make contact with representatives of the Przemyśl Committee, but this had no effect. It was decided that Greek Catholic masses would temporarily continue to be held in the garrison church dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus in Przemyśl.⁵¹ Both secular and church authorities were against the forceful resolution of the conflict. Bishop Jan Martyniak's ingress was thus moved to the Latin Cathedral of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. John the Baptist. Bishop Martyniak's official reception of the diocese was hosted by the Roman Catholic Bishop Tokarczuk.⁵²

It is not without reason that I allowed myself to give a longer description of the somewhat forgotten events which happened in Przemyśl in the early 90s, as this was the first moment when Polish society, liberated from communist rule, reacted to an

the Church.

⁴⁸ A. Orzechowski, *Pogranicze 1991-1998. Romantyzm i niezależność*, Przemyśl 2009, p. 46.

⁴⁹ "Słowo biskupów przemyskich. W sobotę ingres bp. J. Martyniaka", *Nowiny*, 8 April 1991.

⁵⁰ A. Orzechowski, *Pogranicze...*, p. 45.

⁵¹ "Krajobraz po ingresie", *AZ. Dziennik Obywatelski*, 17 April 1991.

⁵² M. Nyczek, "Ingres władcyki przemyskiego", *Nowiny*, 15 April 1991.

issue of a multicultural and multireligious nature. The Roman Catholic majority displayed a complete lack of empathy for Greek Catholics. Most importantly, if we assume that Przemyśl was the first test of what cooperation between Poles and Ukrainians in the Third Polish Republic might look like, then the pope's vision of multiethnic relations in Central Europe did not survive the 'stress-test' well. Neither Bishop Tokarczuk's determination to stave off the crisis in the eve of the pope's arrival, nor the efforts of the authorities brought any effect. The conflict remained unresolved until John Paul II's arrival in Poland in June 1991. The pope finally offered the garrison church to the Greek Catholics – a different church than originally intended – and met with the Greek Catholic community in Poland there. When visiting the church he spoke partly in Ukrainian, mentioning the martyrdom of the Greek Catholics. Myroslaw Lubacziwski attended the meeting.⁵³ The pope's speech made it clear that he cared deeply for good Polish-Ukrainian relations: *Brothers and sisters, how greatly I would like those Jasna Góra Greek Catholic celebrations [the pope is referring to the millennium celebrations of the baptism of Rus' from 1988, which, since they could not be celebrated in Ukraine, were moved to Jasna Góra at the behest of John Paul II – P.K.] to be prophetic in one more respect: that God accept them as a symbolic seal of reconciliation and true brotherhood between Ukraine and Poland. Our two nations have felt so much bitterness and anguish over the past several decades. Let this experience serve as a cleansing that will allow us to forget old disputes, qualms and mutual distrust, and most importantly help us forget past wrongs. Today, literally everything – and most of all our common faith in Jesus Christ – calls for reconciliation, brotherhood and mutual respect; searching for that which connects. Inciting aversions and nationalisms from the past would be to act against the Christian identity; it would also be a blatant anachronism, unworthy of both great nations. Oh, how greatly I wish that Catholics of both rites would love each other!*⁵⁴ Since, in addition to the Greek Catholics from Poland, the papal mass was attended by several thousand Ukrainians and Cardinal Lubacziwski, John Paul II's meeting with the Greek Catholics in Przemyśl may also be regarded as a kind of substitute for a visit to the Ukraine, which was not yet possible.

The events in Przemyśl for the first time since 1989 revealed the great potential of the historical conflict and Polish-Ukrainian rivalry. Even the pope's authority was not sufficient to calm the hostile moods on the Polish-Ukrainian border. The conflict in Przemyśl led to perhaps the only example of John Paul II's decision not being carried out, disobedience to his will was even demonstrated and he had to partially give way. Ignacy Tokarczuk was also unable to force through the pope's decision concerning the recent opposition activists in Przemyśl. The conflict over Mount Carmel revealed the difficulties to come in future Polish relations with an independent Ukraine and highlighted the importance of issues connected with national minorities in both countries in this context.

⁵³ "Konflikt o Karmel rozwiązany", *Nowiny*, 3 June 1991.

⁵⁴ Jan Paweł II, "Przemówienie do wiernych Kościoła bizantyńsko-ukraińskiego", Przemyśl, 2 June 1991, Opoka, at <http://www.opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/jan_pawel_ii/przemowienia/09przemysl_02061991.html>, 15 April 2017.

FAREWELL TO THE DIOCESE OF LVIV

During his visit in 1991, after decades, John Paul II abolished the long-term makeshift functioning of apostolic administrations in the east of Poland and elevated them to the rank of diocese; thus erasing the last administrative relic in ecclesiastical organisation from the times of the Second Polish Republic. This meant that the borders of the diocese in the Third Polish Republic would from that moment coincide with the borders of the country, and a new church administration in place of the Polish one would be formed in the territories of neighbouring countries; Belarussia, Ukraine and Lithuania, respectively. These changes were confirmed by decision from 25 March 1992. That is when John Paul II elevated the diocese of Białystok, which stemmed from the archdiocese of Vilnius, to the rank of archdiocese. Similarly, the diocese of Przemyśl, which, before the war, was part of the archdiocese of Lviv, became an archdiocese,⁵⁵ and the apostolic administration in Lubaczów became a part of the diocese of Zamość-Lubaczów.

The pope's actions corresponded to his ideological programme for Polish politics at the threshold of independence, and, as I have already mentioned, this was a Jagiellonian, or neo-Jagiellonian, programme. There was primarily one detail that differentiated it from the classical Jagiellonian approach: there was no mention of the extraordinary civilising role of Poland, which is often found in various approaches to the Jagiellonian idea. In this context it is worth taking a closer look at the pope's teachings during the 1991 pilgrimage. This visit conveyed the following message when it comes to international matters: Poland should participate in the unification of the continent, in erasing the civilisational division into East and West, and, in its own interest, should pursue an Eastern policy without historical resentments. According to the programme, this policy was to follow the Jagiellonian tradition, developed by John Paul II from the very beginning of his pontificate. Regarding the visit to Podkarpacie, there were three important aspects of the pilgrimage according to the local press: 1) the diocese of Przemyśl as the next destination in the pope's plan to visit all the diocese, 2) 'the western bridgehead of the Lviv metropolis' coming to the archdiocese in Lubaczów, 3) the visit of the Byzantine-Ukrainian rite to the diocese of Przemyśl.⁵⁶ The Holy Father considered the pilgrimage as a stop on his way to the East, which was confirmed by the pope's comments in Lubaczów. Archbishop Jaworski, then apostolic administrator of this ecclesiastical structure and metropolitan bishop of Lviv, received John Paul II in Lubaczów.⁵⁷ The pope, referring to Jaworski as *heir to the apostolic heritage of Blessed Jakub Strzemię* in his first speech, alluded to the connections with the archdiocese of Lviv. These considerations enabled John Paul II to highlight the significance of the history of the First Polish Republic in the context of relations with Ukraine and Lithuania: *And thus from the very beginning we are in the area where two Christian traditions and two cultures*

⁵⁵ W. Roszkowski, *Najnowsza historia Polski 1980-2006*, Warszawa 2007, p. 73.

⁵⁶ M. Nyczek, "Trzy etapy, 31 maja – 2 czerwca 1991", *Nowiny*, 3 June 1991.

⁵⁷ S. Wilk, "Struktura administracyjna Kościoła w Polsce przed bullą *Totus Tuus Poloniae populus*", in J. Walkusz (ed.), *Kościół w Polsce. Dzieje i kultura*, vol. 12, Lublin 2013, pp. 139-140.

meet: the byzantine culture, connected with Russia, and the Latin, with Poland, the Poland of Piast and later the Jagiellonian Poland. On the other hand, that which developed into the Republic of Two Nations, has its point of reference in the metropolis of Lviv, just as the historical heritage of the Piasts had its point of reference in the metropolis of Gniezno.⁵⁸

On the one hand the pope's visit to Lubaczów was a kind of crowning as well as final event for the archdiocese of Lviv within Polish borders.⁵⁹ On the other hand the history of this diocese became a pretext for the pope to speak about what Poland should be like – he could develop his thought about the Jagiellonian nature of Poland, which, over the years, played a greater role in his deliberations than the Piast tradition. The model of a Jagiellonian Poland was, above all, a pretext to emphasise the multinational tradition of the First Polish Republic and presenting it as a model of cooperation with other nations in Central Europe in the context of the Third Polish Republic.⁶⁰ Interestingly, practically no references to the Second Polish Republic were made.

After the mass on 3 June 1991, during which John Paul II referred to, among other things, the Lwów Oath, the pope stressed the role of Bishop Władysław Kiernicki, Father Rafał (*who doesn't know him?* – asked the pope), a legendary Polish Catholic priest from the communist times, before that a soldier in the Home Army and an exile who, after the war, worked as a night watchman in Stryjski Park in Lviv.⁶¹ The pope also spoke with representatives of the clergy from Ukraine. At one point he stated that: *Beyond the river San, beyond Zbrucz, in the East, the Church is coming back to life.* It was in Lubaczów that the pope said he would like to visit Lviv, *those lands, those churches.*⁶²

The motif of the Republic of Two Nations returned in the pope's speech in Łomża addressed to the Lithuanians. The pope referred to contemporary Lithuanian problems at the time of leaving the Soviet Union, he pointed to Lithuania's relations with Europe and spoke about the issue of the Lithuanian minority in Poland, emphasising the importance of institutions such as the minority secondary school in Puńsk. At the same time he pursued the programme which began in Przemyśl and Lubaczów and consisted of building bonds between Poland, Ukraine and Lithuania by referring to their shared history: *The figure of St. Casimir, who is worshipped as a patron both by Poles and our Lithuanian brothers, illuminates the shared historical past of both neighbouring nations and casts a ray of hope for the future harmonious, fruitful co-existence and cooperation in all areas of national existence, always respecting to universally recognised principles*

⁵⁸ Jan Paweł II, "Przemówienie wygłoszone w czasie nawiedzenia prokatedry", Lubaczów, 2 June 1991, Opoka, at <http://www.opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/jan_pawel_ii/przemowienia/10lubaczow_02061991.html>, 15 April 2017.

⁵⁹ It is worth noting that on 18 September 1975 Cardinal Karol Wojtyła celebrated mass in Jasna Góra on the occasion of the 600th anniversary of the archdiocese of Lviv.

⁶⁰ Cf. A.M. Wierzbicki, "Piastowski Wyszyński, jagielloński Wojtyła. Dwie chrześcijańskie interpretacje polskości", *Więź*, no. 1 (2016), pp. 32-33.

⁶¹ J. Mandziuk, "Z dziejów archidiecezji lwowskiej", *Saeculum Christianum. Pismo historyczno-społeczne*, vol. 2, no. 2 (1995), p. 52; M. Leszczyński, *Archidiecezja lwowska obrządku łacińskiego w granicach Polski 1944-1992*, Lublin 2011, p. 455.

⁶² M. Nyczek, "Za Sanem, za Zbruczem Kościół powraca do życia", *Nowiny*, 4 June 1991.

*of international order, leading to lasting peace in this part of Europe.*⁶³ During an ecumenical meeting in Białystok one of the main motifs was that of reconciliation between the Catholics and Orthodox, embedded in a specific historical context. John Paul II stated that: *Standing in front of Your Excellency during this solemn prayer, during which this call was repeated many times: ‘Hospodi, pomiluj – Lord, have mercy over us’, we cannot but humbly admit that in the relations between our Churches in the past, the spirit has not always been that of evangelical brotherhood. Painful experiences live on in our collective memory, as do the deep roots of distrust, still completely, or to a significant extent, insurmountable. We all bear the burden of historical wrongdoings, we all make mistakes. If we claim to be without sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us’ (1 J, 1,8). Wherever harm has occurred, no matter on which side, it must be overcome by acknowledging one’s guilt before God, begging his forgiveness: Hospodi, pomiluj i prosti!*⁶⁴ During the summer the pope again visited Poland for a short period of time. This time, during a mass in Kraków on 13 August, the pope again returned to the idea of a unified Europe and the interpretation of Queen Jadwiga’s mission in this context, previously brought up during a visit in 1979: *Jadwiga, whose Angevin heritage originates from France, in order to, in its ancestral branches, reach the Kingdom of Naples in the south of Italy and at the same time Hungary. Jadwiga – daughter of Ludwig, King of Hungary and Poland, granddaughter to Elizabeth of Poland, Queen of Hungary. Jadwiga, who in turn opened our history to the East. All of this has a very contemporary meaning when we face the imperative of a more reconciled Europe, built on respect for human rights and rights of nations.*⁶⁵

During the pope’s visit in 1991, the sermons from Przemyśl, Lubaczów, Łomża and Białystok, and the sermon given in August in Kraków, constituted a certain chain of statements regarding the relations of Poland and Poles with their eastern neighbours, as well as Poland’s mission in the international arena and the in the unification of Europe. The main motifs that appeared in them were: recalling the tradition of the First Polish Republic as a foundation for the state, emphasising the importance of historical reconciliation, minority rights and the shared experience of communism. The following speeches were in a way answers to current problems in Poland’s policy towards the East. This resulted in a consistent vision of the pope concerning relations with neighbours in the period after independence, and at the same time constituted preparation for achieving the goal of sending a religious message to individual nations of the Soviet Union. Despite the failure in Przemyśl, the pope’s message at a crucial time of changes in Eastern policy was politically clear and, most importantly, he did not modify the

⁶³ Jan Paweł II, “Przemówienie do pielgrzymów litewskich”, Łomża, 5 June 1991, Opoka, at <http://www.opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/jan_pawel_ii/przemowienia/18lomza_05061991.html>, 16 April 2017.

⁶⁴ Idem, “Przemówienie wygłoszone w czasie nabożeństwa ekumenicznego w prawosławnej katedrze św. Mikołaja”, Białystok, 5 June 1991, Opoka, at <http://www.opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/jan_pawel_ii/przemowienia/22bialystok_05061991.html>, 16 April 2017.

⁶⁵ Idem, “Homilia w czasie mszy św. beatyfikacyjnej Anieli Salawy, odprawionej na Rynku Głównym”, Kraków, 13 August 1991, Zintegrowana Baza Tekstów Papieskich, at <<http://naucajaniej2.pl/dokumenty/wyswietl/id/490>>, 18 September 2017.

general overtone of his ideas in respect to Polish-Ukrainian relations. John Paul II put such a strong emphasis on good relations between Poland and its eastern neighbours for several reasons; besides his intellectual formation and experience, strictly pragmatic considerations are no less significant: nationalist tension in Poland would hamper the pope's plans for the evangelisation of the moribund Soviet Union.

If one takes into consideration the scale of his involvement, it must be acknowledged that the pope's eastern message did not receive much attention in the media. Among those who publicised it was Marek Zieliński, of the *Więź* periodical, previously working for the Parisian *Kultura* for a number of years, who would soon join the ranks of the Polish diplomacy. In his text "Sumienie Wschodu"⁶⁶ (The Conscience of the East), Zieliński summarised the eastern aspects of the pope's pilgrimage. He emphasised that during the Warsaw meeting with diplomats, the Holy Father promoted the concept of Europe *as a spiritual and material whole*. He made allusions to the recent, shocking events in Przemyśl, which took place during the pope's visit. The *Więź* publicist points to social attitudes as a threat to Poland's policy towards the East – the events in Przemyśl made a clear mark on his thoughts on the subject. He commented on the pope's teachings, especially during meetings with groups of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Kazakhs and Russians, in the following way: *The purpose of the pilgrimage was to make Poland immune to the infection caused by old diseases: social selfishness, particularism, hatred towards others, injustice.*⁶⁷ He considered the references to the community on the continent, common roots and Christianity as a continuation of the old motifs in the pope's teaching. It was clear that John Paul II, travelling around the eastern part of Poland and taking advantage of the opportunity to meet representatives of eastern nations, had actually been preparing for his next trip, this time to the East.⁶⁸ It is interesting how Zieliński understood the idea of the pope's declarations on matters of eastern policy: *Russians, Lithuanians, Ukrainians, Belarusians need Poland and the Poles. Not as colonisers of the East, because these times have thankfully passed. And not as defenders of sacred trenches or thirsting for the retrieval of lost lands. We important to them as Christians, as people of conscience, faith, tolerance and freedom, people of the cross of Christ.*⁶⁹ Religion, the Church's evangelical mission in the East, which was obviously important to the pope, were to guarantee the realisation of a completely different programme of eastern policy than before.

THE JAGIELLONIAN TESTAMENT

Much could be written on the Jagiellonian themes in the teachings of John Paul II – the issues I have presented were present practically throughout the entire pontificate,

⁶⁶ M. Zieliński, "Sumienie Wschodu", *Więź*, no. 9 (1991), pp. 67-73.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 69-70.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

especially in relation to Poland and Poles, Polish foreign policy, as well as the relations between Poland and the nations of the First Polish Republic and those of Roman Catholics and Christians of other faiths and rites. The length of the article does not allow for a full presentation of this material. That is why I chose to present two key moments – the very beginning of the pontificate, the years 1978-1980, and the period of the decline of the Soviet Union, which, in a political sense, without a doubt constituted a kind of political apogee of the pontificate. During his pilgrimage to Poland in 1991, in a series of sermons – which may be described as Jagiellonian – John Paul II summarised his views on the issue of Poland's position in the region built in accordance with the Jagiellonian tradition, referring, inter alia, to two figures of 'Jagiellonian saints' central to the pope's teachings: Saint Jadwiga and Saint Casimir. For the sake of completeness, two more 'Jagiellonian' speeches must also be added, which took place in special political circumstances and confirmed the Jagiellonian approach of John Paul II. The first is a speech addressed to Poles made by the pope during the National Pilgrimage to Rome on 19 May 2003. Context is key in this case – on 7 and 8 June 2003 a referendum was to take place on Poland's accession to the European Union. During the referendum campaign there was a heated debate and the celebrations in Rome gave the pope a chance to speak in the presence of representatives of state authorities, numerous pilgrims and the media. The speech is one of the most recognised statements made by the pope about politics in Poland and its meaning consisted in supporting the idea of Poland joining the European Union. Because of the importance of this message I have taken the liberty of quoting a longer passage: *Today, while Poland and the other countries of the former 'Eastern Bloc' are entering the structures of the European Union, I repeat these words, which I am not saying in order to discourage you but, on the contrary, to point out that these countries have a great mission to carry out on the Old Continent. I know there are many who are against this integration. I appreciate their concern to preserve the cultural and religious identity of our nation. I share their worries, as well as the economic arrangement of forces in which Poland – after years of unlimited exploitation by the former system – appears to be a country with great possibilities but also scarce means. I must stress, however, that Poland has always been an important part of Europe and today cannot abandon this community which, it is true, is living through crises at various levels but constitutes a family of nations based on the common Christian tradition. Poland's entry into the structures of the European Union, with equal rights to the other countries, is for our nation and for the neighbouring Slav nations an expression of historical justice and, on the other hand, can constitute an enrichment for Europe. Europe needs of Poland. The Church in Europe needs the Pole's witness of faith. Poland needs Europe. The period from the Union of Lublin to the European Union represents a great synthesis, but this synthesis' content is rich and varied. Poland needs Europe. It is a challenge that we and all the nations are confronted with at present, and which, on the wave of the political transformations in the region of the so-called Central-Eastern Europe, are emerging from the spheres of influence of atheistic Communism. This challenge, however, imposes a task on believers – the task of actively building the spiritual community, on the basis of the values that have made it possible to withstand decades of programmed efforts to introduce atheism.*

*May the Patroness of this work be St Hedwig, the Lady of Wawel, the great precursor of the union of nations on the basis of the common faith. I thank God for allowing me to canonize her during that very pilgrimage.*⁷⁰

Due to the subject matter of these considerations, it must be emphasised that the pope viewed the federal Polish Republic based on the work of Jadwiga of Anjou, as a kind of prefiguration of the European Union. Interestingly, the key phrase, added by the pope himself, *from the Union of Lublin to the European Union!*, refers to the title of Halecki's work, which was probably known to the pope, *From Florence to Brest*. This is where we touch upon a key issue – the pope's vision of Poland as a country with *tendencies towards agreements and unions*,⁷¹ contained in the last book published by John Paul II. In this work, a kind of testament, the pope reminds us of the importance of Jagiellonian heritage for Polish statehood. The Jagiellonian idea is repeatedly described in the context of three dimensions: the state (the union with Lithuania), religious (the union of Brest) and in internal politics (Paweł Włodkowic, Matthew of Kraków, Nicolaus Copernicus, religious tolerance under Sigismund II Augustus). It is interesting that in the pope's view Poles themselves allowed for the destruction of the Jagiellonian heritage, which, in the interpretation of John Paul II, allowed to pursue an effective policy already in the times of King John III Sobieski, not only for the benefit of Poland, but more broadly in the European dimension.⁷² *Memory and Identity* constitutes an exceptional account John Paul II's political thought and an underestimated programme document referring directly to political and systemic solutions desirable for Poland from the point of view of the pope.

SUMMARY

In a notable essay published a few years ago, Marek A. Cichocki and Dariusz Karłowicz present the following vision of the social role of John Paul II: *We consider this research, which leads us to understand the nature of Polish politics, to be very promising, especially when it comes to the metapolitical and political role of John Paul II in Poland. His thoughts on the shape of the Polish State, its past and future, republican traditions, its place in the world, its foundations, architecture and mission (yes, a mission which cannot be ignored!) – were not only an intellectual, but also a causative activity. John Paul II was our spiritual leader and, in a sense, a political leader – someone in the vein of a monarch, holding a number of important political and metapolitical functions which, in a mixed government, are performed by the head of state. As a king and spiritual authority the Pope shaped*

⁷⁰ John Paul II, "Address to the pilgrims who had come for the canonization of Józef Sebastian Pelczar and Urszula Ledóchowska", 19 May 2003, Vatican.va – The Holy See, at <https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/speeches/2003/may/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20030519_pelczar-ledochowska.html>, 7 January 2018.

⁷¹ Jan Paweł II, *Pamięć i tożsamość. Rozmowy na przełomie tysiącleci*, Kraków 2005, p. 143.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 144.

*the face of Poland both in the dimension of facts and the norms adopted by the political community.*⁷³ If one were to further extend their bold yet now commonplace metaphor, it must be said that, in light of the considerations included in this article, if John Paul II were a king of Poland, then he would be from the Jagiellonian dynasty. The pope's version of the Jagiellonian idea was in reality a political programme for Poland – this is confirmed by John Paul II's statements and actions from the very beginning of his pontificate. It was a Jagiellonian vision adapted to the times in which the pope functioned, devoid of Polish paternalism, largely directed at building good relations with Lithuania, Ukraine and Belarus. Before 1991, the pope's views were expressed primarily in his approach to the Soviet Union and its domination in Central Europe. From 1991 onwards John Paul II used the idea of a Jagiellonian Poland in his speeches on the policy of an independent Poland, its relations with its neighbours, the relations between Poles and ethnic and religious minorities etc. The pope's speech from 2003 is particularly noteworthy in this context. It exemplifies John Paul II's practical and causative approach to referring to the Jagiellonian tradition. It is worth stressing one important thing: in John Paul II's thinking the Jagiellonian idea was not that much in opposition to the Piast idea that was promoted by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński and which indeed in post-war Poland was used together with the idea of strengthening Polish influence on its western parts. The Jagiellonian idea, as the pope understood it, was, first and foremost, in opposition to Polish nationalistic thinking and its vision of Poland's role in Europe.

The pope's upholding of this tradition was, in the religious sphere, based on spreading the cult of two figures associated with the Jagiellonian dynasty: Jadwiga of Anjou and Casimir IV Jagiellonian (1458-1484), since, according to John Paul II, the religious dimension of the Jagiellonian idea was an important element in its propagation among Polish citizens, in wider social circles. The situation in Przemyśl from 1991 is a perfect illustration of the fact that the pope's teachings were not always met with a warm reception. Without a doubt they agreed with current trends in international politics, ideas of a unified Germany, and, above all, the emergence of a larger, stronger European Union made up of European communities, but they were not necessarily socially comprehensible. For researchers in this area, it remains a mystery why this 'Jagiellonian' aspect of the Polish pope's teachings is one of the most forgotten.

Translated by John Czekalski

⁷³ M.A. Cichocki, D. Karłowicz, "Jan Paweł II w krainie liliputów", *Teologia Polityczna*, 22 October 2016, at <<http://www.teologiapolityczna.pl/dariusz-karlowicz-marek-a-cichocki-jan-pawel-ii-w-krainie-liliputow/>>, 14 October 2017.

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