Janusz Smołucha

ORCID: 0000-0003-2633-7093
Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow, Poland
E-mail: janusz.smolucha@ignatianum.edu.pl
DOI: 10.55159/tri.2023.0103.01

Medieval Origins of the "Jagiellonian Idea" and Its International Contexts

Abstract

The purpose of the article is to show the genesis of the "Jagiellonian idea," which the author links to the political and social changes in medieval Poland of the Piast era. Ecclesiastical law, which was associated with close relations with the Holy See and Rome, exerted a great influence on the formation of the state system of that time. Under the influence of these ties, the social system in Poland took shape somewhat differently than in other regions of Europe that were dominated by absolutism and had autocratic rulers. Under the law of the time, all members of society, despite class differences, were bound by the same ethical and moral principles. After the Jagiellonians took over the reign, the system evolved into a mixed monarchy, in which power was shared by three parliamentary branches: the king, the senate and the chamber of deputies.

"The Jagiellonian Idea," or a political system in which territories located between the Baltic Sea, the Black Sea and the Carpathian Mountains could voluntarily unite through alliances and unions, was first defined by historians living in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Karol Szajnocha, Julian Klaczko, Stanisław Krzemiński and Witold Kamieniecki should be considered the authors of this definition (Mackiewicz, 2014). In the interwar period, this notion was developed by, among others, Oskar Halecki and Witold Konopczyński (Konopczyński, 1929; Maternicki, 1992; Kornat, 2014; Halecki, 2021). Today, it is often juxtaposed with the concept of the so-called "Intermarium," being promoted by advocates of the geopolitical unity of Central and Eastern European countries that are threatened by domination by Russia and Germany (Avramchuk, 2017; Nowak, 1995). This article argues that the roots of the Jagiellonian idea originated in medieval Poland ruled by the Piasts.

The concept of the Jagiellonian idea refers to the political and cultural heritage of the Jagiellonian dynasty that sat on the throne of Poland and Lithuania and several other countries of Central and Eastern Europe from the late fourteenth to mid-sixteenth centuries. This idea is related to the real alliance of these countries and states against powerful external enemies, such as the Teutonic Order, and later also Moscow and the Ottoman Empire. The alliance was grounded in a system of values common to the societies living in this part of Europe, which grew out of local experience reinforced by Christian tradition and church law. In the following essay, I will try to show that the Jagiellonian idea sprang from the experience of medieval, Piast Poland. It turns out that all major elements of the system and institutions of the Piast monarchy were adopted by the Jagiellons and proved to be a sound basis for governing a state with a much larger population potential and area.

The beginnings of state formation in Central and Eastern Europe date back to the early Middle Ages. The bedrock of this process was when these countries adopted Christianity, which guaranteed their progress through access to the rich heritage of Mediterranean culture. The nations of the western and central parts of the region gravitated to Rome and the Latin heritage, while the south and east gravitated to Constantinople and the Greek tradition. The Poles, like

their close Slavic neighbors to the south, the Czechs, chose Rome and Latin civilization in 966 (Smołucha, 2019). The Hungarians, whose ruler Géza crowned himself and his family in 974, did the same (Sroka, 2018). Meanwhile, the ruler of Greater Kievan Rus, Prince Vladimir, decided to accept baptism in 988 from emissaries of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. This decision had a profound effect on the further development and transformation of the culture and civilization of all Ruthenia (Poppe, 1978). Vladimir followed in the footsteps of the Slavs living in the Balkans, including mainly Bulgarians and Serbs. In the Balkans, only the Croats, related to the Serbs, espoused close ties with Latin civilization and Rome.

Mieszko I, in deciding to accept baptism, wanted, on the one hand, to take away the German Empire's excuse for waging invasions and attempting to expand its dominion to the east. On the other hand, he may also have wanted to raise his importance in dealings with the German Reich. A personal motive for his conversion must not be ruled out either, as the life of St. Udalryk may indicate (Cetwiński, 2017). He sought a special relationship with Rome for this reason, as the famous document "Dagome iudex" testifies (Latoszek, 2017). There was clearly a danger of embarking on the same path as the Bohemians, who had accepted not only Christianity but also German supremacy a little earlier. When Boleslaus I recognized the feudal sovereignty of the German king in the middle of the 10th century, his state became permanently bound to the German Reich with all the consequences of this. From the "Dagome iudex" *regestum*, we learn that the ruler of Poland, Mieszko I, placed his state named *Civitas Schinesghe* under the protection of the Holy See. Accordingly, he pledged to pay to Rome a fief donation known as Peter's Pence. This custom, continued by subsequent rulers, was later transferred to all the faithful of the metropolis of Gniezno and survived until the 2nd half of the 16th century (Gromnicki, 1908)[1]. It is worth noting that this fee was customarily collected from the faithful in Poland once a year and sent to Rome. In the past, this small individual fee

---

1 Some researchers view this act as an archetype of later concordats with the Holy See. K. Burczak, 2019, pp. 46–47.

did not just used to be a mere symbol. In fact, it marked the different legal and political situation of the Polish territory, where imperial law did not apply (Krukowski, 2016).

The newly established Polish state chose to remain outside the empire to keep its freedom and independence. The baptism of Poland in 966 was one of the most momentous events in its history as it initiated cultural and religious changes that would shape Poland's national identity for centuries. The very concept of Poland and Poles, which had never existed before, was created on this foundation. Ties with Rome provided an opportunity for the intellectual and spiritual development of the elite, and enabled favorable agreements and alliances within countries belonging to the Christian community of nations (*Christianitas*). With this act, Poland was able to overcome threats and join a vibrant and exuberant civilization. By accepting baptism, Mieszko I introduced his subjects into a brand new area of civilization and culture. The greatest achievements in science and literature began to reach the country through Latin. There also appeared Romanesque architecture and art, whose reach coincided with the borders of the nascent state (Walkusz, 2017).

The Church had a profound influence on the legal and political institutions of Poland of the first Piasts. It was thanks to the Church that new ideas emerged in this part of Europe. Of particular importance was the requirement that the ruler must not violate the principles of natural and canon law, the interpretation of which rested with the clergy. From the very beginning, the Church spread the ideals of individual freedom and the inviolability of subject rights which guaranteed the safeguarding of all their interests (Vetulani, 1948). Churchmen were also responsible for the proper shaping of relations between the authorities and the subjects. Master Wincenty Kadłubek, who lived in the late 12th and early 13th centuries and is often referred to as the "father of Polish culture" wrote in his famous Chronicle that the highest value in the life of both individuals and the entire community is the good of the homeland (*salus patriae*). In the story of Grakch (the ruler of Krakow) and the dragon of Wawel, he shows his attitude to the role of authority and the ruler: the authorities are supposed to take care of the subjects and protect their freedoms rather than be tyrannical (Kadłubek).

The law that was based on canons issued by ecclesiastical authorities insisted on personal freedom resulting from the dignity of the human being created in the image and likeness of God. Under such law, all members of society, notwithstanding their status and wealth, were also bound by the same ethical and moral principles without exception. Everyone was also required to live according to the Christian model of a righteous and honorable man. Respect for traditional good customs helped in adhering to the rules of faith and the overall legal order. According to inner conviction and the guidance of the Church, their infringement was viewed as a sin. This principle gave rise to the belief that there was a legitimate right to resist wrongful authority that acted immorally, wickedly and repressively towards its subjects (Wyrozumski, 2009; Lewandowska-Malec, 2010).

Said limitation of monarchical power in Poland under the Piast dynasty as a basis for the later governance of the state, also during the Jagiellonian era, is connected with the history of the conflict between King Bolesław II the Bold and Bishop Stanislaw and its resolution. In accordance with tradition, all subsequent Polish rulers began their rule by participating in penitential pilgrimages to Skałka, as a symbol of the fact that every monarch was obliged to respect the freedoms of his subjects and that the Church would ensure that the king did not abuse his power (Kadłubek; Jagosz, 1979).

The adoption of Christianity paved the way for Poland's political alliances and treaties, which culminated in the Congress of Gniezno in the thousandth year. It set up an ecclesiastical metropolis with its capital in Gniezno and incorporated the three bishoprics of Kołobrzeg, Wrocław and Kraków, and the bishopric of Poznań a little later (Sikorski, 2016). One consequence of the agreement with the empire that was made at that time was the emergence of an original concept of a European political community that also included the united countries of Central and Eastern Europe. In this new political setup, the future Europe was to consist of four equal provinces: Rome (Italy), Gaul, Germania and Sclavinia (Slavonia). It is not without reason that the "Sclavinia project" was the first attempt to build political and cultural unity of the "Intermarium" in more than a century (Homza, 2018, pp. 65–80).

Although the projects considered at the time were short lived, the outstanding accomplishments of the reign of Bolesław I the Brave set the stage for future generations. The momentous royal coronation of the king, performed with the approval of the Holy See 25 years later, confirmed the sovereignty and independence of his rule. Since then, Poland emerged as an important player in international politics, and did not hesitate to take a stand on major issues (Dudek, 2000; Wieteska, 2011). In the Middle Ages, these included the ideological dispute between the empire and the papacy over supremacy in the Christian world. In this conflict, Poland usually sided with the Holy See. For this reason, it was perceived as a faithful ally of the popes and an actor stabilizing religious tensions in the Central and Eastern European region (Graff, 2004).

The rise of medieval Poland's economic power is linked to the reconstruction of the country that was undertaken after the barbarian Mongol invasions of central Europe in the mid-13th century. After decimating the population and ravaging many cities and regions, their armies eventually retreated from Polish and Hungarian lands to Eastern Europe, and maintained control over almost all of the territory of the former Kievan Rus for the next 200 years (Labuda, 1959). Such a long Mongol presence in these lands had a powerful bearing on the political culture and mentality of the people subjected to their oppression. The social and cultural changes that the Mongols initiated in Ruthenia were further strengthened by the persisting schism between the Orthodox and Latin Churches. In the mid-13th century, a new political force emerged in Eastern Europe, Lithuania, as most vividly demonstrated by the baptism and likely coronation of its ruler, Mindaugas, as king (Stopka, 1987). Soon after, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, rivaling Moscow, began the process of unifying the Ruthenian principalities under its rule. By 1340, it had succeeded in imposing its protectorate on Smolensk, Pskov, the principality of Halych-Volyn and Kiev, among others (Boyko, 2020).

For Poland and Hungary, the Mongol withdrawal from Central Europe meant that they needed to rebuild their ravaged countries. The new infrastructure was defensive: cities were surrounded by new stone walls, and castles and fortresses were erected so as to give shelter to the local population in the event of danger. Western

neighbors were approached for support in terms of people and money. In historiography, this reconstruction has been called colonization under German law, although settlers came not only from Germany, but also from Flanders and the Netherlands. Encouraged by the promises, they sought freedom and better living conditions in Eastern Europe. In exchange for hospitality, miners, artisans and farmers offered their skills, hard work and know-how. The total number of settlers may have been as high as 100,000. It was on their initiative that many new towns and villages were founded at that time and old ones were organized under new rules. Along with the settlers, Gothic architecture, which had been trying to make its way into the region for some time through political and ecclesiastical relations of the elite with the West, made a triumphant entry into Central and Eastern Europe. To this day, its extent marks a sharp boundary between different cultural and civilization zones (Kaczmarczyk, 1974; Kąkolewski, 2010).

In the 14th century, the Kingdom of Poland had gradually begun to emerge as a strong center of the Central European political state system. This was due to two remarkable rulers, Ladislaus the Short (Łokietek) and his son Casimir the Great. For many years, Ladislaus the Short was the leader of the national opposition against foreign domination in Poland. He succeeded in unifying the state through his admirable determination and indefatigable efforts (Marzec, 2023). However, he had control over little more than two core regions of Greater Poland and Lesser Poland, with Poznań and Kraków being the main political centers. At the very beginning of his reign, Łokietek lost control of the crucial province of Pomerania, along with the port of Gdansk, which was seized by the Teutonic Order. From this point, Poland was completely cut off from the Baltic Sea. Ladislaus the Short was strongly resolved to reclaim Pomerania (Judziński, 1994). His coronation in Cracow, Poland, in 1320, was the pinnacle of years of effort to revive and strengthen the Kingdom of Poland (Abraham, 1990). Even then, he based his foreign policy on partnership with Hungary. Friendly relations between the two countries were strengthened by the marriage of his daughter Elisabeth to King Charles Robert of Hungary of the Anjou dynasty. A few years later, however, he decided to gain another ally in Lithuania

under the rule of Gediminas, whose daughter Aldona was married in 1325 to his son Casimir (Wyrozumski, 1987).

Łokietek's successor, Casimir, carried on his father's policies. His almost forty-year reign was so successful he was the only one of all Polish kings who was later called "the Great." Throughout his life, he enjoyed extraordinary prestige, both at home and abroad. Almost the entire period of Casimir's reign fell during a time of great crisis in Western Europe, which was associated with the plague epidemic, the Hundred Years' War and the captivity of the popes in Avignon (Kurtyka, 2001). Suffice it to say that in this troubled century, a third of the Western population died out in a very short period of time. The demographic collapse led to a long-lasting economic and social crisis. It hit the central part of the continent with less force because there was relative peace between neighbors inland and there were no major centers of pestilence. These circumstances were conducive to the development of countries such as Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. At the time, they reduced the economic and cultural distance separating them from the West (Smołucha, 2019).

In Poland, King Casimir's work was particularly significant in the field of internal administration. With the help of experienced lawyers, he carried out changes in Polish law, which helped him restore order throughout the country. He decided to standardize the administration by creating central offices, and almost all local principalities were converted into provinces directly accountable to the king. He also promoted the development of cities, which benefited from the freedoms of Magdeburg law, but placed them under the control of a local court of appeal established in Krakow. Finally, he became famous as a defender of peasants, as well as Jews. The latter had already been granted various privileges in Poland in the previous century, and at the time they were settling in the country in increasing numbers, fleeing persecution in Western states (Zaremska, 2011).

In his foreign policy, Casimir was well aware of the need for territorial concessions to the neighbors. He recognized the sovereignty of Bohemia over almost all the Silesian principalities and tried to stave off the aggression of the Teutonic Order by taking legal action. This was vitally important when Casimir's involvement in Ruthenia

began after 1340 (Wróbel, 2007). Polish political leaders had not hesitated to openly criticize the Teutonic Order in the international arena before, even when they enjoyed the support of the popes. The problem with the Teutonic Knights was that they had brought methods of ruling and administering the state that had never been seen before in this part of Europe from the Middle East, where the order had been founded. It was a mixture of Byzantine civilization with barbaric measures in politics and organization of social life borrowed from Middle Eastern countries. In its complaints to Rome about the conduct of the Teutonic Knights, the Polish side constantly stressed their anti-Christian character. Poland pointed out their violation of all moral principles and laws established by God and men. It argued that the German order did not respect the rights of either its subjects or the Christian population of neighboring countries (Wojtkowski, 1966). The Teutonic Knights showed particular cruelty to pagan peoples: Samogitians and Lithuanians, and deliberately sought – as they had done earlier with the Prussians – their total extermination. The German knights organized armed looting expeditions against pagans. Their ultimate goal was to subjugate Lithuania to German domination. They summoned knights not only from Germany, but also from the rest of Western Europe to participate in these campaigns. Under the last two Piasts, this was already beginning to arouse mounting criticism and opposition in Poland (Łowmiański, 1954). There is no doubt that this critical attitude of the Polish court and society toward Teutonic lawlessness had a major impact on the later decision to make an alliance and union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The year 1340 opened a new chapter in Polish history. After the death of his cousin Yurii II Boleslav Troidenovych, Casimir the Great inherited Halych-Volhynia Ruthenia. Then began a dispute over the land between Poles, Hungarians and Lithuanians that lasted more than half a century. The Polish king based his claims on the agreements of the 1338 Congress of Visegrad. The eastward shift of the borders meant the involvement of Polish forces in the complicated affairs of Ruthenia, where, other than Lithuania and Hungary, Moscow and the Tartars also had political interests (Wójcikowska, 2015). Casimir the Great was well received by the local Ruthenian

population, as he granted the occupied lands full autonomy and guaranteed local customs. Lviv, a thriving commercial city at the crossroads of trade routes leading from the Black Sea and Moldavia and Wallachia, became the new capital of the region. It soon became a major center for the expansion of Western culture in Eastern Europe, alongside the capital city of Krakow (Wyrozumski, 2005).

One of the most important successes of Casimir the Great's reign was the founding of a university in Krakow in 1364. It played a very important role in the following centuries in promoting Western culture and science. The ruler intended this university to be a place for the training of civil servants to strengthen the expanding Kingdom and accelerate modernization in the economic, social and cultural areas. This prominent ruler was especially keen on reforming the law. It was supposed, with an efficient administration and judiciary, to provide a guarantee of the necessary security and sure tomorrow for all subjects (Uruszczak, 2014).

After Casimir the Great's death in 1370, his nephew, King Louis of Hungary, became his successor in Poland. This was a culmination of decades of political and cultural rapprochement between the two countries and peoples. The new ruler left the reins of rule in Poland to a strong faction of the nobles of Lesser Poland, who backed him, and limited his activity to promoting one of his daughters to the Krakow throne (Marzec, 2017). To achieve this goal, he granted extensive state privileges to the Polish knights in Kosice in 1374, modeled on the famous Golden Bull of Andrew II of 1222 (Rada, 2014; Baczkowski, 2012). From then on, knighthood in the state had a privileged position, which would evolve towards the formation of a strong noble stratum. Following the Hungarian model, King Louis agreed to reduce Polish knights' taxes to a small, symbolic levy. If extraordinary benefits were to be paid, for example, in the event of war, the knights' approval had to be obtained. Additionally, the knighthood was given the right to decide on all important domestic and foreign affairs, both locally and nationally. These concessions gave rise to parliamentary rule in Poland (Bagi, 1997). During the reign of the absent king in 1375, the first Latin archdiocese was established in Ruthenia, with its seat in Halych, which was moved to Lviv in 1412. This began the centuries-long

presence of the Roman Catholic Church in what is now western Ukraine (Krętosz, 2012).

When King Louis died in 1382, the Poles remained true to their obligations to the Anjou dynasty and invited his younger daughter, Jadwiga, to the throne. She was sent to Krakow in 1384 and crowned "king" of Poland, aged about 10. The choice of her future husband proved to be decisive for all of Central and Eastern Europe (Wróbel, 2020). Although Jadwiga was already engaged as a child to Prince Wilhelm of Habsburg, he had no chance for the Polish crown. The reason was the growing expansion of German power, which, having established itself on the Baltic Sea, also seized Bohemia and encroached on Hungary in that period (Przybyszewski, 1975).

The Polish lords chose the Lithuanian prince Jagiełło, who was probably much older than Jadwiga, and was a heathen[2]. This plan was part of a far-sighted political strategy to counter the development of a disadvantageous geopolitical alignment in Central and Eastern Europe. Not only Poland, but also Lithuania felt threatened by the increasingly aggressive policy of the Teutonic Order which was supported by the Emperor and the German Reich. Lithuania, furthermore, started to fear the rising power of Moscow, especially since its victory over the Tatars at Kulikovo Field in 1380. The Grand Duchy of Moscow then challenged Lithuania by becoming its greatest rival in the struggle for dominion in the Ruthenian lands (Błaszczyk, 1998; Gaca, Bąk, 2020). Jadwiga agreed to the plan, being also driven by her desire to convert the last pagan nation in Europe (Przybyszewski, 1975).

On August 14, 1385, Jagiełło signed a treaty in Kreva with Polish delegates and pledged to baptize Lithuania and incorporate its lands into the Polish Crown. The marriage was concluded in Krakow on February 18, 1386, followed by Jagiełło's baptism, during which he was given the new name of Ladislaus. The coronation ceremony took place on March 4. Jadwiga was 12 years old at the time and Ladislaus Jagiełło was 36 (Przybyszewski, 1975).

---

2 In Polish historiography, there has been a dispute for years about the age of Jagiełło the time of his marriage to Jadwiga, see T. Wasilewski, 1991, pp. 15–34; J. Nikodem, 2009, pp. 350–362.

In February 1387, King Ladislaus traveled to Lithuania to personally oversee the process of conversion to the Christian faith. A bishopric was established in Vilnius. This gave rise to an ecclesiastical structure and freedom charters based on the Polish model, which were granted to the Lithuanian Church and knighthood (Ochmanski, 1990). Around the same time, the queen ventured into Ruthenia to consolidate the sovereignty of the Polish Crown over territory to which the Hungarians also laid claim. The entire region with its capital in Lviv recognized her authority; in return, the people of Ruthenia were given confirmation of old privileges and obtained new ones. On the vast territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and southern Ruthenia, from the shores of the Baltic to the Black Sea, a process of great civilizational transformation was set in motion, one similar in scale to that which once accompanied colonization on Polish soil under German law. The Polish–Lithuanian Union produced momentous consequences both in the spheres of politics, culture, economy and social relations. In its wake, a political culture referring to the classical foundations of Latin civilization spread in Central and Eastern Europe. In Poland, it was further reinforced by Krakow scholars who based their theories on the doctrine of canon law. The most important of these included Stanisław of Skarbimierz and Paweł Włodkowic. They were convinced of the inalienable dignity of the human being and the supremacy of natural law over state law. According to this principle, fundamental human rights comprise the right to life and its protection, the right to liberty, the right to property and the right to a fair trial. Polish scholars argued that the state, whose duty was to uphold such rights, could function only with the consent of its inhabitants. Otherwise, a tyranny would emerge and mercilessly violate them. These objective, inalienable and universal rights should also always be considered in moral terms with constant consideration of the evangelical principles of love. According to Krakow scholars, the natural state of humanity was not war, but peace. However, nations have the right to resist external aggression – to wage a "just war" whose goal should be to restore justice and create peace (Wielgus, 2008; Rau, Turlejski, 2013; Włodkowic, Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Hesse and Mateusz of Krakow, 2018).

Based on the above principles, the mutual relations between the many nations, religions and societies comprising the Polish–Lithuanian state began to form under the auspices of successive rulers of the Jagiellonian dynasty. Mutual understanding and cooperation were guaranteed by observance of the law and respect for different religions, traditions and customs. Symbolic of such an understanding of the role and mission of the monarch in the state was the famous statement of the last of the Jagiellons, Sigismund Augustus: "I am not the king of your consciences" (Smołucha, 2023, p. 22).

When, in the course of the 15th century, the Jagiellons also managed to claim the thrones of the neighboring states of Hungary and Bohemia, this idea, dubbed "the Jagiellonian idea" many centuries later, spread to the entire area of the "Intermarium." This concept was not limited to common defense against the powers that endangered them, but also meant the free development of regional and cultural government, as well as the indifference of state power to national, religious and worldview differences while maintaining elementary control over ethical and moral matters. For nearly three centuries, this system enabled broad social strata, not only the nobility, but also the bourgeoisie and peasants in the early days, to become rich and improve their standard of living. Social and political life was developing in the powerful Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the countries associated with it quite differently than in other regions of Europe where absolutism and autocratic rulers dominated. In fact, the system of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth became a mixed monarchy, or *monarchia mixta*, where the different branches of the system of power, that is, the king, the aristocracy representing the Senate and the general nobility, which corresponds to the Chamber of Deputies, mutually balance each other in the likeness of the ancient triumvirates or all systems based on such a tripartite balance.

This dissimilarity is also well illustrated by the opinion of Nuncio Germanicus Malaspina. In his 1597 report on the system of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, he wrote:

> Those who first established such a form of government in Poland wanted to ensure that neither the king could exercise autocracy, nor the citizens

break away from obedience to the king, but that the king knew that he ruled over a free nation, and the nation that the king was of higher rank than any citizen… Therefore the greatest thought and care was given to this so that the king could not oppress the subjects, nor the subjects break away from the king's authority. The king, as the Poles say, is the eye, the tongue and the arm of the law. If the law could see, speak and act, the Poles would have no need of a king, for the law would be the king (Rykaczewski, 1864, pp. 76–77).

Despite the changing times and the subsequent changes in civilization and society, a unique love of freedom and tolerance for differing beliefs and views has survived in all countries once ruled by the Jagiellons. The best example of this is the resistance that Ukrainians put up to Russian subjugation. Central European countries have also traditionally recognized the subservient role of government to its citizens. The Jagiellonian idea, with its roots in the system of Piast Poland, as it turns out, can still be inspiring and alive for modern societies.

Bibliography

Abraham, W. (1900). *Stanowisko kuryi papieskiej wobec koronacji Łokietka* [The position of the papal curia towards the coronation of Łokietek]. Lviv, 3–31.

Avramchuk, O. (2017). Między ideą jagiellońską a Międzymorzem. Ewolucja kwestii ukraińskiej w poglądach politycznych Oskara Haleckiego (1891–1973) [Between the Jagiellonian idea and the Intermarium: The evolution of the Ukrainian question in the political views of Oskar Halecki]. *Klio Polska. Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Historiografii Polskiej*, 9, 57–79.

Baczkowski, K. (2012). Złota Bulla króla węgierskiego Andrzeja II z roku 1222 i jej wpływ na prawo oporu stanów przeciw monarsze w środkowej Europie w średniowieczu [The Golden Bull of King Andrew II of Hungary in 1222 and its impact on the law of resistance of the states against the monarch in Central Europe in the Middle Ages]. In: M. Starzyński (ed.), *Polska i jej sąsiedzi*

za Jagiellonów [Poland and its neighbors during the Jagiellons]. Krakow: Avalon, 145–158.

Bagi, D. (1997). Wpływy i znaczenie szlachty polskiej i węgierskiej pod koniec XIV wieku. Próba porównania przywileju budzińskiego z 1355 r. z przywilejem koszyckim z 1374 r. w świetle potwierdzenia złotej bulli z roku 1351 [The influence and importance of the Polish and Hungarian nobility at the end of the 14th century: An attempt to compare the Budzin privilege of 1355 with the Kosice privilege of 1374 in the light of the confirmation of the Golden Bull of 1351]. In: J. Wyrozumski (ed.), *Polska i Węgry w kulturze i cywilizacji europejskiej* (Poland and Hungary in European culture and civilization). Krakow: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 35–46.

Błaszczyk, G. (1998*). Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności* [History of Polish–Lithuanian relations from the earliest times to the present], vol. 1. Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 208–209.

Bojko, K. (2020). Polska a imperium mongolskie oraz Złota Orda w latach 1241–1502 [Poland and the Mongol Empire and the Golden Horde in 1241–1502]. *Perspektywy Kultury*, 4(31), 192–193.

Burczak, K. (2019). Dagome iudex jako prototyp konkordatów [Dagome iudex as a prototype of concordats]. *Roczniki Nauk Prawnych*, 1(29), 46–47.

Cetwiński, M. (2017). Chrzest Mieszka I. Przemiany opowieści [The baptism of Mieszko I: Transformations of the story]. *Prace Naukowe Akademii im. Jana Długosza w Częstochowie*, 16, 265–275.

Dudek, J. (2000). Konsekwencje Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego roku 1000 dla Polski i jej sąsiadów [Consequences of the Gniezno Congress of the year 1000 for Poland and its neighbors]. In: H. Szczegóła (ed.), *Szprotawski epizod Zjazdu Gnieźnieńskiego*. Szprotawa – Zielona Góra: Wydaw. Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej im. Tadeusza Kotarbińskiego, 7–23.

Gaca, A., Bąk, H. (2020). Unia kalmarska a unie polsko-litewskie – kilka uwag na temat ich początków i potrzeby kontynuacji badań porównawczych obu związków państwowych [The Kalmar Union and the Polish–Lithuanian unions: Some remarks on their origins and the need to continue comparative studies of the two state unions]. *Rocznik Lituanistyczny*, 6, 140.

Graff, T. (2004). Stosunki Polski ze Stolicą Apostolską na tle wyboru pseudopapieży od czasów wczesnopiastowskich do soboru pizańskiego. Wybrane aspekty i zarys problematyki [Poland's relations with the Holy See against the background of the election of pseudo--papists from the early Piast times to the Council of Pisa: Selected aspects and outline of the issues]. *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, 131, 43–76.

Gromnicki, T. (1908). *Świętopietrze w Polsce* [Peter's Pence]. Kraków: Czcionkami drukarni A. Koziańskiego.

Halecki, O., Kornat, M. (eds.). (2021). *Unia Jagiellońska i misja dziejowa Polski. Wybór pism* [The Jagiellonian Union and the historical mission of Poland: A selection of writings]. Krakow: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej.

Homza, M. (2018). Sclavinia – Intermarium? – Or About One Missing Roman Province. Meridional Vector in East-Central Europe. An Essay on Strengths and Weaknesses of Two Good Neighbors. *Politeja*, 6(57), 65–80.

Jagosz, M. (1979). Procesje ku czci św. Stanisława z Wawelu na Skałkę w okresie przedrozbiorowym [Processions in honor of St. Stanislaus from Wawel to Skałka in the pre-partition period]. *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 11, 6.

Judziński, J. (1994). Układy polsko-krzyżackie z 1309 roku w sprawie zwrotu Pomorza Gdańskiego [Polish–Teutonic treaties of 1309 on the return of Gdansk Pomerania]. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 2–3, 147–153.

Krukowski, J. (2016). Państwo polskie a Kościół katolicki w ujęciu historycznym [The Polish state and the Catholic Church in historical perspective]. *Roczniki Nauk Prawnych*, 2(26), 66.

Kaczmarczyk, Z. (1974). Kolonizacja niemiecka i kolonizacja na prawie niemieckim w średniowiecznej Polsce [German colonization and colonization under German law in medieval Poland]. In: A. W. Walczak, G. Labuda, J. Krasuski (eds.), *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w historiografii* [Polish-German relations in historiography], vol. 1. Poznań: Instytut Zachodni, 218–326.

Kadłubek, W. *Kronika Polska* [Chronicle of Poland], book. I, items 5–7.

Kadłubek, W. *Kronika Polska* [Chronicle of Poland], book. II, items 20–22.

Kąkolewski, I. (2010). Niemcy [Gemany]. In: M. Kopczyński, W. Tygielski (eds.), *Pod wspólnym niebem. Narody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [Under a common sky: The nations of the former Republic of Poland]. Warsaw: Dom Wydawniczy Bellona, 84–87.

Konopczyński, W. (1929). O idei jagiellońskiej [On the Jagiellonian idea]. In: *Umarli mówią, szkice historyczno-polityczne* [The dead talk: Historical and political sketches]. Poznań, 77–83.

Kornat, M. (2014). Profesor Oskar Halecki w życiu politycznym Polski i na forum międzynarodowym [Professor Oskar Halecki in the political life of Poland and in the international forum]. In: M. Dąbrowska (ed.), *Oskar Halecki i jego wizja Europy* (Oskar Halecki and his vision of Europe), vol. 3. Łódź – Warszawa: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 232–288.

Krętosz, J. (2012). Powstanie w 1412 roku metropolii lwowskiej obrządku łacińskiego oraz jego historyczny i kulturowy kontekst [The establishment of the Metropolis of Lviv of the Latin Rite in 1412 and its historical and cultural contexts]. *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne*, 45, 316–330.

Kurtyka, J. (2001). *Odrodzone królestwo. Monarchia Władysław Łokietka i Kazimierza Wielkiego w świetle nowszych badań* [A reborn kingdom: The monarchy of Ladislaus the Short and Casimir the Great according to recent research]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego „Societatis Vistulana".

Kuryłowicz, M. (1994). Rozprawa Jana Zamoyskiego o senacie rzymskim [Jan Zamoyski's treatise on the Roman Senate]. *Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska*, 49, 141–142.

Labuda, G. (1959). Wojna z Tatarami w roku 1241 [The war with the Tatars in 1241]. *Przegląd Historyczny*, 2(50), 189–224.

Latoszek, P. (2017). Papiestwo a regnum piastowskie w latach ok. 965-973 [The papacy and the Piast regnum in the years ca. 965–973]. *Saeculum Christianum*, 24, 60–63.

Lewandowska-Malec, I. (2010). Tradycje odpowiedzialności prawnej monarchy w Polsce [Traditions of the monarch's legal responsibility in Poland]. *Prawo i społeczeństwo*, 4, 14–17.

Łowmiański, H. (1954). Agresja Zakonu na Litwę w wiekach xii–xv [The aggression of the Order against Lithuania in the 12th–15th centuries]. *Przegląd Historyczny*, 2-3(45), 338–371.

Mackiewicz, M. (2014). Uwagi nad ideą jagiellońską w historiografii polskiej przełomu xix i xx wieku [Notes on the Jagiellonian idea in Polish historiography of the turn of the 20th century]. *Folia Iuridica Wratislaviensis*, 3/2, 9–24.

Marzec, A. (2017). *Pod rządami nieobecnego monarchy. Królestwo Polskie 1370–1382* [Under the rule of an absent monarch: The Kingdom of Poland in 1370–1382]. Krakow: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, 35 ff.

Marzec, A. (2023). Piastowska korona Władysława Łokietka [The Piast crown of Ladislaus the Short]. *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1(114), 1–21.

Maternicki, J. (1992). The Jagiellonian Idea. The History of the Myth and its Political Aspects (up to 1918). *Polish Western Affairs*, 33/2, 163–198.

Nikodem, J. (2009). *Jadwiga. Król Polski* [Jadwiga: King of Poland]. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 350–362.

Nowak, A. (1995). *Jak rozbić rosyjskie imperium. Idee polskiej polityki wschodniej (1733–1921)* [How to smash the Russian empire: Ideas of Polish eastern policy (1733–1921)]. Warsaw: Warszawska Oficyna Wydawnicza.

Ochmański, J. (1990). Powstanie, rozwój i kryzys sieci parafialnej w diecezji wileńskiej od chrystianizacji Litwy w roku 1387 do przełomu xvi/xvii wieku [The rise, development and crisis of the parish network in the diocese of Vilnius from the Christianization of Lithuania in 1387 to the turn of the sixteenth/seventeenth century]. *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 2(38), 23–28.

Poppe, A. (1978). Ruś i Bizancjum w latach 986–989 [Ruthenia and Byzantium in 986–989]. *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1(51), 9–10; 19–22.

Przybyszewski, B. (1975). Jadwiga i Wilhelm [Jadwiga and Wilhelm]. *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 7, 107–132.

Rady, M. (2014). Hungary and the Golden Bull of 1222 [Hungary and the Golden Bull of 1222]. *Banatica*, 2(24), 87–108.

Rau, Z., Turlejski, T. (2013). Wojna sprawiedliwa versus wojna święta. Zagadnienia doktrynalne historycznej konfrontacji [Just war versus holy war: Doctrinal issues of historical confrontation]. *Politeja*, 4(26), 21–25.

Rykaczewski, E. (1864). *Relacje nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690* [Reports of apostolic nuncios and others about Poland from 1548 to 1690], vol. 2. Poznań: B. Behr, 76–77.

Sikorski, D. A. (2016). Chrzest Polski i początki Kościoła w Polsce (do pierwszej połowy xi wieku) [The Baptism of Poland and the beginnings of the Church in Poland (to the first half of the 11th century]. In: J. Adamski and T. Janiak, (ed.), *Chrzest – św. Wojciech – Polska. Dziedzictwo średniowiecznego* Gniezna (Baptism – St. Adalbert – Poland: The heritage of medieval Gniezno). Gniezno: Muzeum Początków Państwa Polskiego, 33.

Smołucha, J. (2019a). Chrzest Mieszka i i jego znaczenie w dziejach narodu i państwa polskiego [The baptism of Mieszko i and its significance in the history of the Polish nation and state]. In: Ł. Burkiewicz, I. Kaczmarzyk, J. Łukaszewska-Haberkowa, L. Zinkow (eds.), *Polska kultura religijna. Studia o polskiej religijności na przestrzeni wieków* [Polish Religious Culture: Studies on Polish religiosity over the centuries]. Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, 29–39.

Smołucha, J. (2019b). Kulturowe i społeczne reperkusje pandemii dżumy w Europie Zachodniej i Środkowej. Wybrane aspekty [Cultural and social repercussions of the plague pandemic in Western and Central Europe: Selected aspects]. *Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum*, 1(25), 21.

Smołucha, J. (2023). The Concept of the Border in the Polish Consciousness and its Impact on the Culture and Identity of the Central and Eastern Europe in the Modern Period. In B. Varga (ed.), *Borders and Identity in the Modern Times in the Mediterranean and Central Eastern Europe*. Szeged: Université de Szeged, 22.

Sroka, S. A. (2018). Chrzest Węgier [The baptism of Hungary]. *Studia Pigoniana*, 1, 63–73.

Stopka, K. (1987). Próby chrystianizacji Litwy w latach 1248–1263 [Attempts to Christianize Lithuania in 1248–1263]. *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 19, 3–68.

Uruszczak, W. (2014). Powstanie Uniwersytetu w Krakowie w 1364 roku [The establishment of the University of Krakow in 1364]. *Czasopismo prawno-historyczne*, 1(66), 13.

Walkusz, J. (2017). Chrzest Mieszka I. Historia – interpretacja – od-działywanie [The baptism of Mieszko I: History – interpretation – impact]. *Kościół w Polsce. Dzieje i kultura*, 16, 7–14.

Wasilewski, T. (1991). Daty urodzin Jagiełły i Witolda. Przyczynek do genealogii Giedyminowiczów [The birth dates of Jagiełło and Witold: On the genealogy of the Gediminids]. *Przegląd Wschodni*, 1, 15–34.

Wielgus, S. (2008). Wpływ polskich uczonych średniowiecznych na kształtowanie się prawa narodów i związanych z nim praw czło-wieka [The influence of Polish medieval scholars on the formation of the law of nations and related human rights]. *Biblioteka Teologii Fundamentalnej*, 3, 94–117.

Wieteska, L. (2011). Piastowie i ich święty rzymski protektor [The Piasts and their holy Roman protector]. *Ecclesia. Studia z dziejów Wielkopolski*, 6, 50–53.

Włodkowic, P., Stanisław ze Skarbimierza, Hesse B., Mateusz z Kra-kowa [Stanisław of Skarbimierz, Hesse B., Mateusz of Krakow]. (2018). *Prawo ludów i wojna sprawiedliwa* (The law of nations and just war). Warsaw: Narodowe Centrum Kultury.

Wojtkowski, A. (1966). Tezy i argumenty polskie w sporach teryto-rialnych z Krzyżakami. Część pierwsza: (1310–1454) [Polish theses and arguments in territorial disputes with the Teutonic Knights. Part one: [1310–1454]. *Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie*, 1, 3–98.

Wójcikowska, E. (2015). Słowo o Bolesławie Jerzym II Trojdenowiczu (1310–1340) – ostatnim Romanowiczu na tronie halicko-włodzi-mierskim [On Yurii Boleslav II Troidenovych [1310–1340], the last Romanovich on the Halych-Volodymyr throne]. *Sensus Historiae*, 1(18), 189–199.

Wróbel, D. (2007). Kwestia krzyżacka a wschodnia polityka Kazi-mierza Wielkiego po roku 1343 [The Teutonic question and the eastern policy of Casimir the Great after 1343]. *Średniowiecze Polskie i Powszechne*, 4, 136–187.

Wróbel, D. (2020). *Na pierwszym planie – możni i szlachta polska wobec bezkrólewia po śmierci Ludwika Andegaweńskiego* [In the foreground: The mighty and the Polish nobility towards the interregnum after the death of Louis the Hungarian]. Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwer-sytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej.

Wyrozumski, J. (1987). Próba chrystianizacji Litwy w czasach Gie-
    dymina [The attempted Christianization of Lithuania in the time
    of Gediminas]. *Analecta Cracoviensia*, 19, 72–73.

Wyrozumski, J. (2005). Kraków i Lwów w średniowiecznej Europie
    [Krakow and Lviv in medieval Europe]. In: J. Purchla (ed.), *Kraków
    i Lwów w cywilizacji europejskiej* [Krakow and Lviv in European
    civilization]. Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 35–45.

Wyrozumski, J. (2009). Od ius resistendi do ius de non praestanda
    oboedientia w Polsce [From ius resistendi to ius de non praestanda
    oboedientia in Poland]. In: M. Małecki (ed.), *Świat, Europa, mała
    ojczyzna. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grodziskiemu
    w 80-lecie urodzin* [World, Europe, small homeland: Studies in
    honor of Professor Stanislaw Grodzisk on the 80th anniversary
    of his birth]. Bielsko-Biała: Wyższa Szkoła Administracji, 157–159.

Vetulani, A. (1948). Nowy zarys historii ustroju Polski w średniowie-
    czu [A new outline of the history of the system of Poland in the
    Middle Ages]. *Przegląd Historyczny*, 37, 52.

Zaremska, H. (2011). *Żydzi w średniowiecznej Polsce. Gmina krakowska*
    [Jews in medieval Poland: The Kraków community]. Warszawa:
    Instytut Historii PAN, 143–171.

Janusz Smołucha, PhD – professor at the Ignatianum Acad-
emy in Krakow. He is a historian and cultural studies scholar,
author of numerous works on papal diplomacy and Polish rela-
tions with the Holy See in the Middle Ages and the modern era.
His interests also focus on cultural transformations in Central
and Eastern Europe in view of relations with the Mediterranean
world. His passion is travel.