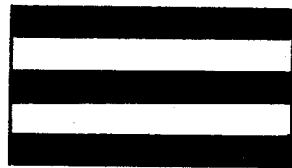


# **ELEVEN HUNDRED YEARS OF COMMON POLISH-HUNGARIAN HISTORY**

*(an outline)*

*by*  
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Polish-Hungarian World Federation  
Chicago, 1982

# TO MY HUNGARIAN FRIENDS

On the occasion of the 26th Anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution, my thoughts and my heart are with you. Together we are manifesting our desire for a better tomorrow for HUNGARY and POLAND, free from foreign interference in their internal problems.

The Polish-Hungarian World Federation understands the need for active cooperation among the different ethnic groups. It become an urgent necessity for those who share the same geographical territory to come to an understanding about the danger of being overrun by a hostile power. This was painfully true in the case of Hungary, in 1956, and is the ever-present danger facing Poland every day in her struggle for independence and self-determination.

We, in the Federation, are of the opinion that these people in East- and Central Europe must be given the opportunity to rebuild their former political and economic life, which they shared and enjoyed together. With these thoughts in mind we must insist on returning Transylvania to mother-land Hungary. Until all this is done, until the Captive Nations of Europe will regain freedom and independence through free elections in Hungary and Poland in particular, no peace in that part of the world can exist. "THE SOLIDARITY" in Poland teaches us that only our unity can restore safety, self-respect, dignity and decency to every citizen, no matter what language he speaks or to what church he goes. THIS IS THE BASIS OF OUR ACTION.

Our goal, no matter how remote it may seem, must be the Federation of Central-Eastern European Nations. This federation must, in the future create a political, economic, and military unity to counteract any aggression that may come.

With this desire, I wish to finish my most cordial greeting to all participating in the manifestation on the occasion of the Hungarian Revolution of 1956.

Dr. Karol Ripa  
President of The Polish-Hungarian  
World Federation.

@ Andrew Haraszi

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# I. INTRODUCTION.

In an attempt to discuss Polish-Hungarian relations through the long period of eleven centuries, let me clarify first of all, that Polish-Hungarian associations, which were usually excellent all these times, were representing not only memories, sentimental or tragic events. They represent evidences from the past, experiences for the present and hopes for the future, - and not only for the present and future of Poland and Hungary! When we are talking about Poland and Hungary, - we must keep in mind the present and the future of East-Central Europe as a whole!

Freedom in East-Central Europe could be and will be possible only on the base of the friendship and cooperation of the two most important regions of this European area: Poland and the Carpathian Basin. If Poland and Hungary are not free, other smaller nations of East-Central Europe will remain victims of alien imperialistic forces.

"...a free East Central Europe is indispensable for any sound balance of power on the Continent... The temporary disappearance of that whole region created a dangerous tension between suppressed nationalisms and apparently well-established imperialisms which usually were in dangerous rivalry with one another." (Oscar Halecki: *Borderlands of Western Civilization*, Preface, The Ronald Press Co., New York. 1952).

Consequently, the introduction of Polish-Hungarian relations and mutual friendship should be much more than simply a "nice story" for Polish and Hungarian patriots. It should be a stimulative testimony for other East-Central European intellectuals, advice and useful experience for all European peoples. If History is really the great teacher of Life, then the combined history of Poland and Hungary should provide good lessons not only for Poles and Hungarians, but for other Europeans and for American intellectuals.

Let us begin our approach to answer this question: which are those common geopolitical and cultural characteristics, which stimulated the mutual interests of Poland and Hungary? Well, here they are:

/1/ They are both very old nations of Europe, establishing their national states at about the same time, more than one thousand years ago. /2/ They both adopted Western (Roman) Christianity in association with the founding of their national states. /3/ At a very early stage of their nationhood, they both recognized their common fate; they were threatened by Pangermanism from their western-, and Russian-oriented Panslavism from their eastern side.

Recognizing their common geopolitical situation, they became good neighbours, showing each other friendship and affection, which was simply unparalleled in European history.

Their identical situation forced them to build dynastical relationships in the Mediaeval Age, and to build political, military, social, cultural and economic relations in the modern age. These relations effected real blessings for both nations; made them stronger, defended them and secured them through the course of more than ten centuries.

Those, who are able to speculate about friendly relations only on the base of race and language, may wonder about the traditions of Polish and Hungarian friendship. The facts, however, are here. The IXth century revealed the tribes of Polani, Siazani, Opolani, Mazowsani, Willani, Luziczani, - so the cradle of the Polish nation was unquestionably a Slavic cradle.

Very dissimilarly to this, in about the time of the appearance of these tribes in the Vistula and Oder-basins, Mongol- and Turkish looking tribal organizations arrived from Mother-Asia.

They did speak various dialects of the Magyar language, with large amounts of Finnish and Turkish vocabulary. The language of these nomad horsemen was not Slavic. Their language was not even similar to any members of the IndoEuropean language-family. Their race could be mentioned as "Turanian", and their language as a "Finno-Ugric branch of the Ural-Altai family" of languages. The Magyars came (896) to reconquer the previous Great Empire of Attila the Hun, and to re-establish the Carpathian empire of the proud Avar Khaganate.

...And the Polish- and Hungarian nations, which originated from so different racial, linguistic and cultural roots, - became friends for more than ten centuries.

My story will tell, why it happened, and how it happened.

## II. THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOMS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

Who would have suspected so friendly relationships between the Slavic-Poles and the Finno-Turkish-cultured Magyars?

The answer to this question is associated with /a/ realization of the very similar geopolitical situation and /b/ peaceful and carefully planned diplomacy. Both the Polish Dynasty of the Piasts and the House of the Arpads developed this foundation of good relationships in the most effective way!

Let me mention, that Prince Geza (972-997) had already married Adelheid in about 973. This young lady was the sister ( - according to some other sources, the daughter) of Mieszko I, the first recognized ruler of the united Polish tribes. (c. 960-992). We know that the Hungarian ruler's first wife Charlotte (Sarolt) from the Gyula-tribe died earlier, so the Polish princess was the 2nd wife of Geza, and became the beloved stepmother of Vajk, Geza's firstborn son. We have good reason to believe that it was partly due to her influence, that the young Vajk, under the name of Istvan (Stephen) I. became the founder of Hungarian Christianity, and the first royal saint of the Roman Church. (997-1038).

The traditional date of Polish Christianization was 966 when Mieszko was converted to Christianity, probably for political reasons, to deprive the Germans of any further excuse for aggression. Quite similarly, a few years later, Vajk was baptised as Istvan, wich symbolized the beginning of Hungarian Christianization, and it was also a good political step stabilizing Hungary's position between the German Empire and Byzantium. The Hungarian step seemed to have better immediate results.

"...Stephen's contemporary, Boleslav I. (the Brave "Chobry"; 992-1025), laid the foundation for the Kingdom of Poland, but the Emperor succeeded in extending his feudal authority over it." (D. Kosary: *Hist. of the Hung. Nation*, p. 25-26.)



In spite of it, however, when St. Istvan's oldest daughter, became wife of Boleslav, the wedding was the continuation of this long and fruitful line which resulted in the presence of Hungarian blood in the Polish dynasty and of Polish blood in the Hungarian dynasty.

The Russian danger was not yet present, but on the western frontiers the German might have already appeared. It was very logical for instance in the times of internal Hungarian struggles, when King Andrew I. (1047-1061) was aided by the German Emperor Henry III, Prince Bela, who was engaged in battle against his royal brother, was supported by Boleslav II (the "Bold"; 1058-1079). Prince Bela, who found first asylum, later military support in Poland, became king of Hungary (1061-63), and his Polish wife, Richeza, (daughter of Mieszko II) bore several children for him. In the time, when "...the capital of restored Poland being now at Cracow, Boleslav II. exercised a considerable influence on the affairs of Hungary." (Halecki: *A History of Poland*. p.19.)

The two oldest sons of King Bela had spent most of their time in Cracow. Both of them, later, became kings of Hungary. The first one was Geza I. (1074-77). The second son was born in Poland, he was called Vladislav by his Polish mother, and "Laszlo of Poland" by the Hungarians. This second one became a great chivalric king of Hungary, and also a royal saint. (1077-95; canonized in 1192.) These Hungarian warrior-kings exemplified the Polish-Hungarian virtues in their characters and also in their ruling systems. They were able to defeat the Germans, reestablishing Hungarian supremacy in the Carpathian Basin, in the critical times, when the so-called "Holy Roman Empire" was extremely strong. Their cousin, Boleslav II ("the Bold"; 1058-79)

"...took a lively interest in the quarrel over investitures which then divided the Christian world. Closely bound to Holy See, Boleslav, like his Hungarian ally, adhered to the side of Pope Gregory VII... - against the German emperor Henry IV. (Halecki: *A History of Poland*. p.19.)

The kings of Poland and Hungary opposed German penetration successfully, helping each other side by side. Under King Bela III (1172-1196), and his son and successor,

..... particularly Andrew II (1205-35), Hungarian influence also penetrated beyond the Carpathians into the Ruthenian principality of Halich, whose Latinized name first appeared in 1189: ...Galicia. It was in that region that Hungarian and Polish interests clashed with each other, although the usually friendly relations between both countries were even in this controversial issue leading to attempts at cooperation toward the turn of the century." (Halecki: *Borderlands of Western Civilization. p.55.*)

The solution was simple: Andrew II and Leszek II and Leszek I ("the White"; 1194-1227) agreed on it. The second son

of the Hungarian king, Kalman, Prince of Croatia at this time, married Salome, daughter of the Polish king. The young couple ruled Halich, thus a dynastic intermarriage solved the problem once again. (1215).

Another problem seemed to be much more serious and the cause of it was, unwillingly, the king of Hungary. Andrew II invited the Teutonic Order of Knights to Transylvania as a bulwark against the nomad Cuman tribes. The warriors of Hermann von Salza, great-grandmaster of the Order became increasingly unpleasant for the Hungarians. The king decided to transfer them from Hungary. Unfortunately for Poland, Duke Conrad of Masovia, younger brother of Leszek, invited them to Prussia (1228). The Teutonic Knights became quite unpleasant neighbours from then on.

Poland was an unhappy country under the reign of Boleslav V (1227-79), but Hungary was fortunate enough to have a great king, Bela IV. (1235-70), at the dangerous period of the Mongol invasion (1241), which devastated both countries.

King Bela followed the traditions of the past, fostering family-connections with the Piasts. His daughter, Kinga become wife of Boleslav V (1239). Kinga become one of the most respected, holy person of the Polish Church in times, when her aunt, St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and her younger sister, St. Margaret of Hungary were glorified also almost everywhere in European churches. To make the Polish-Hungarian connection even closer, Bela IV arranged the intermarriage of his youngest daughter, Ilona (Helene) to Boleslav, duke of Halich (1257).

### III. POLISH-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE LATE MEDIAEVAL AGES AND DURING THE RENAISSANCE.

The history of the great Arpad Dynasty came to an *end* in 1301, which was followed by seven years of internal conflict, but even at this time

"...In Poland, Vladislav IV "Lokietek"; (1305-1333), the organizer of national forces against the Teutonic Order Of Knights, was elevated to the throne through Hungarian assistance." (D. Kosary: *... of Hungarian Nation*. p.37.)

Two years later, Hungary became a great European power again, by two members of the Anjou-family, who rank among the greatest of Hungary's kings. They were: Charles Robert (1307-42) and his son, Louis the Great (1342-82).

Obviously, both the Piasts and the Anjous realized the importance of the continuous Polish-Hungarian connections. Charles Robert and Vladislav "Lokietek" confirmed their alliance (1320), when the king of Hungary chose Princess Elizabeth, Lokietek's daughter as his wife. "Lokietek" 's son, (Charles Robert's brother-in-law), Casimir (III) "the Great" (1333-70) was an universal genius. He realized once again that his close cooperation with Hungary could make both countries great powers of Europe. In the autumn of 1335

"...the Bohemian and. Polish kings were the guests of Charles Robert at his palace in Visegrad. Besides economic understanding, an agreement was reached for a common diplomatic front in many important matters relating to the future of East-Central Europe... This defensive system was further extended by a virtue of an agreement reached in 1339 by which the Hungarian king, upon the death of Casimir of Poland was to become the ruler of Poland." (D. Kosary: *History of the Hungarian Nation*. p.39.)

Although he married three times, Casimir had no sons. He was haunted for a long time before his death to find a successor. No one among the Piasts seemed to him worthy for the crown.

"He therefore destined it for his nephew, Louis of Hungary, and this promise of the succession, often formally stated, was, at the same time, the price of the Hungarian alliance." (*Halecki: A History of Poland*. p.59.)

Louis succeeded his father, Charles Robert (1307-1342) and he (1342-82) became a faithful follower of his great Polish uncle. He assisted him in several of his campaigns, and imitated almost all of his steps. When the Polish Congress of 1364 was coincided with the foundation of the University of Cracow (the second in Eastern Europe after the foundation of the Univ. of Prague; 1364), three years later, Louis of Anjou founded the university of Pecs. (1367), At the time, when Cracow welcomed hundreds of Hungarian students, Pecs also became a friendly host for many Polish scholars.

In 1370 Casimir "the Great" died, and Louis of Anjou became ruler of both nations. His great empire reached out to three seas; to the Baltic, Adriatic and to the Black Sea!

The problem was that the Hungarian king did not have a son either. In 1374, the Polish representatives summoned to Kassa (Kosice), found themselves obliged to guarantee the crown of the Piasts to whichever daughter of Louis should be named by the king. Louis' first idea was to leave Poland to his eldest daughter, Catherine, but she died already in 1368. Then the king of Hungary

"...destined Poland for his second daughter, Maria, betrothed to Sigismund of Luxembourg, son of the Emperor Charles IV. However, this project also was not realized... After the death of Louis the Great in 1382, Maria was raised to the throne of Hungary." (*Halecki: A History of Poland*. p.66).

Finally, the Queen mother, Elizabeth of Bosnia, proposed to the Poles her youngest daughter, Hedvig. Her Polish name became "Jadwiga". She really became a great gift of Hungary to Poland. (1384-99). In 1385 Jagello of Lithuania had sent his ambassadors to Cracow and to Buda to ask her hand. Jadwiga's marriage to Jagello symbolized the foundation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. This was the historical origin of the long list of Jagello-kings, who became rulers of Poland and Hungary.

After 1382, the two Hungarian sisters, Maria of Anjou and Jadwiga' the Saint ruled Poland and Hungary; but the great personal union was over.

The political power was transferred gradually to their husbands. following 1386, we could find Sigismund of Luxembourg on the Hungarian-, and Jagello on the Polish throne as sole rulers. Sigismund was succeeded by his son-in-law, Albert of Austria in the dangerous time, when the Turkish danger appeared from the Balkans and threatened first Hungary, - later perhaps Poland.

Jagello died in 1434, and his son, Vladislav became king of Poland in the same year and king of Hungary in,1440.The young ruler realized the Turkish danger. His Balkan campaign was supported by John Hunyadi, the great hero of Hungary and European Christianity. After some successes, came the disaster of Varna! The twenty year-old king died on the bloody battlefield, and Poland and Hungary lost a ruler, who was heroic enough to reunite the great Commonwealth of Louis the Great. John Hunyadi was able to stop the Moslem advance at Nandorfehervar (today: Belgrade) in 1456, but careful eyes could realize the growing Turkish shadow south of Poland and Hungary.

But, who was really careful in the great times of the Renaissance?

"This national evolution soon showed its influence in East-Central Europe too. One such Renaissance ruler was Casimir IV of Poland (1447-1492), but the greatest expression of "national absolutism was Matthias Corvinus of Hungary,"...son of the famous strategist Hunyadi." (D. Kosary: *Hist. of the Hung. Nation*, p.48). (1458-1490)

Mathias Corvinus, obviously, was also clever enough to preserve Polish friendship. Encouraged by the Pope, but with the aid of the Poles, he annexed Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and Lusatia., becoming the ruling king of all these territories. During his time, Hungary was unquestionably one of the greatest powers of Europe.

Hungarians used to say: "Matthias is dead, justice is over" What a sad experience it was, that decline appeared both in Poland and Hungary with Casimir IV the Son, Vladislav,

who was titled in Hungarian "Laszló Dobzse", because he was agreeing with everyone, without any personal decision. (1490-1516). His brothers, ruling in Poland, were not better than he was.

Vladislav was succeeded by his son Louis" in Hungary in 1516. Ten years later, on the battlefield of Mohacs, this young Jagello-king met the main force of the Turks. The Hungarian army was virtually annihilated. So, in 1526, just as in 1444, it was a young Jagello, who died in vain. The history of Hungary as a great European power was over and Poland faced horrible German, Russian, Turkish dangers from all sides. History proved once more that glory or fate were facing these two countries at about the same time.

#### **IV. POLISH-HUNGARIAN RELATIONS IN THE XVI<sup>TH</sup> & XVII<sup>TH</sup> CENTURIES.**

After 1540, Hungary was divided among the Habsburgs and the Turks; only Transylvania remained strictly Hungarian, under the protection of Constantinople. It is interesting to examine that even at this time Polish-Hungarian royal weddings seemed to be the ways to solution. King Sigismund's I of Poland (1506-1548) daughter, Isabella married to John Zapolya, who was the national candidate of Hungary against Ferdinand Habsburg. Zapolya's relationship with the Polish king was well founded, since his sister, Borbala was Sigismund's first wife. This marriage, contributed to Zapolya's respect as king of Hungary. (1526-40). Their son, John Sigismund was considered as the first Prince of Transylvania. (1540-71).

Another daughter of the Polish king, Anne, became the wife of Stephen Bathory, Prince of Transylvania, (1571-75), who later became one of the greatest kings of Poland. He united Poland's forces, and was victorious in his campaign against Tsar Ivan the Terrible. His cavalry raid almost reached Moscow,

and Russia had to give up all previously occupied lands in Livonia. Bathory's association with John Zamoyski, the great chancellor and able general represented one of the finest chapters of Polish-Hungarian understanding and mutual success. Bathory planned an Anti-Ottoman League in alliance with other Christian nations. but his early death made further steps impossible.(1675..86}

Sympathy between Poland and Hungary was unquestionable in the course of the following decades, but we must keep in mind that in the great European struggle between Protestant Reformation and Catholic-Counter-Reformation the two nations did not occupy exactly the same position. Poland was surrounded by the Greek-Orthodox Russians and the mainly Protestant Germans and Swedes, but in the same time, in the Carpathian Basin' Protestant Transylvania seemed to be the only stronghold of the true Hungarian national spirit, simultaneously facing the Ottoman Empire and the equally dangerous Catholic Habsburg imperialists.

Traditional Polish-Hungarian friendship got into controversial issues, when Protestant-spirited revolutionary Hungarian nationalism, sometimes even with Turkish aid, turned against the Habsburgs, and occasionally, Poland appeared as a military aid on the Habsburg side. In the Thirty Years War the faithfully Protestant Gabriel Bethlen, the greatest Prince of Transylvania, and elected king of Hungary, one of the greatest person of Hungarian history; (1613-29) almost occupied Vienna (1519), but his final victory. was prevented by George:. Homonnay, a candidate of. the~Habsburgs, who appeared in Northern Hungary. with Polish and Cossak troops.

Gabriel Bethlen.realized-that without a Polish alliance he would be unable to re-create the great Hungary of St. Stephen, Louis the Great and Matthias Corvinus. At the end of his life he was hoping to become – just as Stephen Báthory before him – the king of Poland. We have some reason to believe that he would have had the ability to become a second Bathory, definitely better than Sigismund III "Vasa" (1587-1 632), whose unfortunate rule just provoked Russian anger. To become king of Poland was also the dream of another Transylvanian prince. George Rakóczi II { 1648-60}, but he overestimated his possibilities, and thus caused his own downfall.

The unfortunate campaign ended in 1657, as part of his Transylvanian army fell into the hands of the Tatars, and this was the end of Transylvania, as a brilliant Princedom of Eastern Hungary.

It was also paradoxical, that in times, when Poles and Hungarians were still looking at each other with traditional sympathy, another great Hungarian and Protestant freedom fighter, Imre Thököly even used the aid of Sultan Mohamed IV (1649-87) to conquer Vienna. Austria was saved by John Sobieski (1674-96), who was not only an excellent military commander, but, - just as John Hunyadi 200 years ago, - a great defender of Christendom. When Kara Mustapha laid siege to Vienna (1683), the Christian forces, aided by Sobieski, won a complete victory over him.

This Turkish disaster marked the beginning of a sixteen years war of liberation, which resulted in the final collapse of Turkish domination over Hungary. The victims of Varna and Mohacs were avenged, the advance of Islam arrested for ever. However, when Sobieski was greeted a rather unfriendly attitude from Leopold I. of Habsburg (1658-1705), he could already speculate about the very questionable Austrian "gratitude", and about the fate of Hungary, which was liberated from the Turks (1683-1699) to become a humiliated colony of the Habsburgs.



## **v. RENEWAL OF THE POLISH-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP. STRUGGLES FOR FREEDOM AND NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE.**

We should realize that the traditional Polish-Hungarian mutual sympathy was slightly disturbed by the fact that in Poland the population remained mainly Catholic, and the leadership, worrying about Protestant Germanism, Orthodox Russianism and Moslem invasions, expressed common interests with Catholic Austria. On the other hand, in Hungary, anti-Habsburg feeling and nationalism were associated with revolutionary Protestantism, and Hungarian patriots occasionally did not mind using even Turkish protection.

By the end of the XVIIth Century drastic changes created quite different problems for both Poland and Hungary. These changes renewed the friendly Polish-Hungarian traditions once again. Hungary was "liberated" from the Turks (1683-99), but the country, including Transylvania become a humiliated province of the Austrian Empire. Poland soon learned that the previous aid to Austria did not mean much. The Habsburgs did not know the term: "gratitude". When the time came in which Russia and Prussia were equally eager to find an opportunity for interfering with Poland's internal problems, Poles couldn't count on Catholic Austria. The ungrateful Habsburg "did not remember" Sobieski any more, and were ready for new imperialistic opportunities.

The geopolitical situation. renewed the Polish-Hungarian friendship. The tragic difference was, not as great neighbouring powers, but as victimized, humiliated friends, they were seeking for each others hand at this time.

Without going into details, let us mention Francis Rakóczi as descendant of the great Princes of Transylvania, a nephew of Nicholas Zrinyi; who united the revolutionary Catholic and Protestant forces of Hungary, and was seeking the alliance of Louis XIV of France, against the Habsburgs. When his correspondence was disclosed, and he was able. to escape from

prison, he found asylum in the friendly and protective home of Helena Sieniawska of Poland. These were troublesome years for the Poles. The "Great Northern War" between the Swedes and the Russians of Peter the Great was fought largely on Polish soil. A possible Hungarian success represented some hope for Augustus II, to find an old friend in the midst of his troubles. Rákóczi returned to Hungary to fight "Pro Patria et Libertate", but finally the "Kurucz insurrection" was doomed. Rakóczi fled to his Polish friends again (1711), and died in self-exile in Turkey. (1735).

Hungary, as part of the Austrian empire was unable to aid Poland, when the three famous partitions were made. The first, in 1772 gave White Russia, Lithuania and the Ukraine to Russia; Poznan and Pomerania to Prussia, but it was indeed, the Austrians, who were the first to penetrate into Polish territory! One of the heroes of the Polish resistance was Casimir Pulaski.

A beautiful example of Polish-Hungarian cooperation was, when Pulaski, and his commanding officer, Col. Michael Kovats were fighting together, serving George Washington, for the independence of the United States of America. (1778-79).

On May 3, 1791, when Polish patriots put through a new Constitution, the effects of the Great French Revolution were obvious and manifested in Hungary too, but Hungarian writers could send to Poland only their sympathy and prayers. In the 2nd partition Poland lost Volhynia and Podolia to Russia, Danzig and Thorn to Prussia (1792).

"On the 24th March 1794, Kosciusko swore in the great square of Cracow to fight until the end for the liberty, the integrity, *and* the independence of his native land."  
(Halecki: *A H. of Poland*, p.206)

At about the same time Ignac Mart:inovics (who was previously a professor in the Academy of Lemberg-Lvov), and his "Hungarian Jacobins" revolted against the Habsburgs, but there was no practical connection between Kosciusko and Martinovics. The "Hungarian Jacobins" were executed and Kosciusko was forced to surrender. In the Third Partition of Poland, Russia took what remained of Lithuania and the Ukraine; Prussia received Warsaw, and Austria obtained the remainder of the Cracow region.

The appearance of Napoleon Bonaparte in East-Central Europe represented renewed hopes for both Hungary and Poland. Unfortunately, the Hungarian nobility ignored Napoleon's proclamation (1809), and the re-establishment of the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw": received only a very short life from history. By the Congress of Vienna Hungary was defeated once again, and most of the "Grand Duchy of Warsaw, was handed over to Russia; It became a "Polish kingdom", with the Russian tsar as king. Cracow became a "free state", but under the "protection" of Russia, Austria and Prussia.

Poland and Hungary, however, did not stop in their struggle for national independence! Poland was rising again, until the bloody fields of Ostrolenka warned them that Russia was still very strong. (May 26, 1831). Hungarian revolutionary forces were hoping for a Polish success, but

"...we must not forget that Austria was then governed by that Prince Metternich who inspired the reactionary policy of all the European monarchies, and whose rule of bureaucracy and police aimed also at stifling the national and liberal aspirations of the Poles of Galicia."

(Halecki: *A H. of Poland*. p.235.)

Polish refugees in Paris became friends of Hungarians, and nobody understood more the Polish tragedy than local Hungarian hearts. Of these immortal people let us only mention the friendship of Frederic Chopin and Ferenc Liszt, two great composers of musical romanticism. Their music represented not only the very best what XIXth Century Europe could produce, but for us, poles and Hungarians, it was also the expression of common national emotions.

Seventeen years later history produced one of the greatest and warmest co-operations between Polish and Hungarian national forces. When Hungary revolted against Austrian domination, Kossuth invited General Dembinsky, of Polish revolutionary fame, to become commander-in-chief of the Hungarian army.

"The Poles played a large part in the revolt of the Viennese and above all, in the Hungarian insurrection. The Polish General Bem, after having directed the defence of Vienna against Windischgraetz, distinguished himself, together

with many other Poles, in Kossuth's army." (Halecki: *A H. of Poland*, p.237).

One of the faithful admirers of General Bem was the great Hungarian poet, a Hungarian version of Adam Mickiewicz, Alexander Petofi, who served as Bem's adjutant.

The participation of Polish freedomfighters in the Hungarian army gave Nicholas I, Tsar of Russia an increasingly plausible argument for Russian intervention, and in fact history repeated itself, when Prince Paskievitz could report to the Tsar once more: "Your Majesty, Hungary - just as Poland - is laying under your feet... (1849). Kossuth and Bem were forced to leave and to find asylum in Turkey, and it is interesting to mention that

"Kossuth, as early as 1850, had expressed the opinion that a Hungarian, Polish, Croatian, Serbian and Rumanian federation could not only guarantee the independence of these peoples, but would be the strongest bulwark against any Russian attempt." (D. Kosary: *Hist. of the Hungarian Nation*. p.154).

The ill-famed Habsburg plan "divide and rule" was working very well. Oppressed Hungarians were unable to support Poland when she revolted against Russia in 1863. Polish political refugees associated with the Kossuth-emigration, but all these emigrants were politically too weak to provoke changes in their homelands. Hungary compromised with Austria in 1867, but Vienna remained the prime violinist in this "orchestra". Simultaneously, Poland was victimized by intense Russification paralleled by Bismarck's Germanization program.

## VI. POLISH-HUNGARIAN FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION IN THE XXTH CENTURY.

In the beginning of the XXth Century, Hungary seemed to be in a better situation than Poland, which was still divided by Russia, Germany and Austria. The Hungarians, however, were still dominated by Austrian political, military and economic interests and in times, when patriotic enthusiasm celebrated the one thousandth anniversary of the Hungarian Conquest (896-1896), very dark shadows appeared on the Hungarian sky. Russia attempted to undermine the structure of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and permanent irritation of the Slavic population seemed to be the best way to create hatred against the non-Slavic elements of the country.

When in 1908, Vienna proceeded to annex Bosnia-Herzegovina, it provoked resentment among the southern Slavs, notably to Serbia, where the people were counting increasingly on Russia's support. Russia now resumed her old Pan Slavist programme under a new form, acting to be willing to respect the independence of the other Slav nations. This "NeoSlavism" attracted not only the Czechs, but also many Poles:

Rigorous measures, however, in Russian-dominated Poland"...discouraged even those who had, in the light of the grave events which were preparing in Europe, believed a Polish-Russian reconciliation to be possible." (Halecki: *A H. of Poland* p.268).

Consequently, the Poles were the only branch of the Slavs, who did not join Russian-oriented Pan Slavism. Most of the Polish intellectuals realized that Pan Slavism could undermine Hungarian national existence, but it will not bring necessarily freedom to Poland.

As we all know, the Paris-treaties of 1919-1920 represented very different and opposing results on Poland and Hungary. For Poland, the end of the World War I. brought national reconstitution, but for Hungary it was a catastrophe. A newly-formed Polish cabinet declared Poland a republic,

and by the Treaty of Versailles' Poland received the greater part of Posen and tracts of West Prussia. while plebiscites were to be binding in Masuria and Upper Silesia. Danzig became a free city under the jurisdiction of Polish custom laws. but under the guardianship of the League of Nations. At the same time. Hungary. whose leaders opposed Austrians' ambition to provoke a war. was innocently punished. According to the Treaty of Trianon (1920) Hungary was shorn of almost three quarters of its territory and two-thirds of its inhabitants. Hungary declared complete independence from Austria. but she was ruined and stood alone. surrounded by artificially created multinational states.

Polish-Hungarian friendly connections re-appeared again. at the time of the Russo-Polish War of 1920.

.....when Hungary alone among the states of Europe offered effective military help to the Poles. Although this move was blocked by Czechoslovakia...Polish-Hungarian exchanges continued for a while...Divergent interests on international issues /e.g. Polish status quo policy versus Hungarian revisionism/ made a close collaboration between them impossible. Even so. Polish-Hungarian. relations continued to remain cordial throughout the interwar period." (Steven Bela Vardy: *Hungary since Trianon* p. 259.)

The new Polish state concluded an alliance with France (1921). to ensure the safety of both contracting parties against German revenge. This became the main foundation of Polish foreign policy.

"The alliance with France exacted an agreement with all the French allies in Central Europe. not only with Rumania. but also with other members of the Little Entente... The anti-Hungarian attitude of the Little Entente. prevented Poland from acceding to it. and even from closer collaboration with it." (Halecki: *A History of Poland* p.302).

The inter-war years and World War II showed again the common geopolitical situation and the common problems of both Poland and Hungary between Greater Germany and Russia. The Polish nation was the first victim at this time, and

when the shameless Nazi invasion penetrated into Poland, Hungary clearly expressed its willingness to do everything possible. The determination to preserve Hungary's neutrality

..... was...evident in (Prime Minister) Teleki's subsequent rejection of the German demand for the use of the Hungarian railroads to attack the retreating Polish Army from the south...The Prime Minister ordered for the mining of all bridges and tunnels leading to Poland to forestall a possible uninvited use of these lines by the Germans against the unfortunate state." (S.B. Vardy: *Hungary since Trianon*. p.283.)

As the war progressed, many prisoners of war, and about 200,000 Polish refugees found shelter and protection in Hungary, which readily opened its frontiers, providing brotherly welcome for them, and helping them to escape to the West. These included all those soldiers who later joined General L. Sikorski's Free Polish Army.

In April, 1943, the Germans announced that they had discovered the mass graves of thousands of Polish officers of Katyn, near Smolensk, where they obviously had been shot.

"When the Polish Government (already in London) requested an investigation by the International Red Cross of that unprecedented crime, Soviet Russia broke off diplomatic relations with that Government. (Halecki: *A History of Poland*, p.321-22.)

It should be mentioned in connection with this, that the chairman of the investigating committee was Dr. Ferenc Orsos, a specialist from Budapest. The investigation found evidences, which seemed to prove that the victims of Katyn were murdered about one year before the beginning of the Russo-German war, and they were obviously victimized by the order of Stalin. Since, simultaneously thousands of other Poles found their final fate in German concentration camps, it became unquestionably a fact that both Hitler and Stalin considered Poles as hostile, non important and destroyable elements. In the mean time, Hungary became an unwilling satellite of Nazi imperialism, but not for long. Hitler did not trust

the Hungarian government, and on March 19, 1944, the German forces conquered the country, turning it into a bloody battlefield.

The German conquest of Hungary was a good excuse for the Russians! While defeating Hitler's army on Hungarian soil, they conquered this unfortunate country, which became part of Soviet-dominated Europe.

The common, thousand-years-old Polish-Hungarian border, which was enthusiastically celebrated in Sept. 1938 by both Poles and Hungarians, disappeared from the political map of Europe again. North-Eastern Hungary was annexed to the Soviet-Union under the new name of "Carpatho-Ukraine", and the ill-famed "Yalta-agreement" between Roosevelt, Stalin and Churchill actually presented East-Central Europe to the Russians. (1945)

"In contradiction to Western Europe, liberated by the truly democratic Anglo-Saxon powers and therefore left free from any arbitrary interference with unavoidable internal difficulties of its peoples, almost all East Central Europe was being occupied by the Red Army and was therefore at the mercy of the Soviet Union, without any guarantees for the Western Allies that they would really be consulted and permitted to share in the discharge of the promised assistance." (Halecki: *Borderlands of Western Civilization* p.464-65.)

The Polish and Hungarian spirits did not sleep! Both nations desired freedom and political independence, consequently wonderful and fiery energies were ready for action! In 1956 Poles revolted in Poznan, and the news about this event reached Hungary on the 19th of October, 1956. On the 23th day of October, a mass demonstration in Budapest cheered the eternal Polish-Hungarian friendship. The enthusiastic crowd assembled around the statue of General Joseph Bern, hero of Ostrolenka and Transylvania. This was the symbolic beginning of the Hungarian Revolution for freedom and national independence. Prime Minister Imre Nagy proclaimed Hungary's neutrality and her withdrawal from the Warsaw Pact military alliance. He also asked the United Nations to take the Hungarian situation into consideration.



The Soviet military leadership negotiated with the Nagy Government, and even concluded an agreement for the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Hungary. (November 3, 1956). One day later

"...The Soviet divisions, which had encircled Budapest during the brief days of rebirth, opened their concerted attack on the city in the early hours...The Hungarian patriots fought bravely but without the hope of success. Appeals went out everywhere, but Western help was not forthcoming. And this while the West watched and made revolting gestures of 'moral support', the Hungarian Revolution of 1956, that short but glorious manifestation of Hungary's attachment to human liberty, came to a bloody and crushing end." (Steven Bela Vardy: *Hungary since Trianon*, p. 322-23).

Since 1956, Poland and Hungary are in similar positions behind the Iron Curtain. Hungarian Transylvania is under the Stalinist rule of Rumania, and genocide of the Magyars in. this unfortunate province is part of every-day.

What could we say, looking at these critical years, months, days of European History? Poles and Hungarians, we still have our eternal hope and trust in each other. We have our memories and our hope in God and in our future. We will never forget Cardinal Mindszenty, the great patriot who fearlessly faced both German and Russian invasions, and was victimized by both of these totalitarian systems. He was simply an earlier incarnation of Cardinal Wyszyński and of Karol Wojtyła. The latter became one of the greatest Popes of World History! He is unquestionably one representative of our hopes in the future, just as is the heroic Polish movement of today. This movement clearly indicates the struggle for freedom; freedom, not only for Poland, but for all Eastern European nations, - labourers, peasants and intellectuals.

The eleven hundred years of common Polish-Hungarian history revealed a long period of friendship, a long period of mutual understanding and mutual aid, and a long period of heroic struggles against our common enemies.

Poland and Hungary proved to be real borderlands of Western Civilization. Our struggle represented the desire of other Eastern European nations; - our struggle expressed the cultural instincts and hopes of all civilized Europeans.

We believe that now, in these critical and very decisive years the whole World is watching us; the whole World is beginning to realize that human- and national freedom must be universal! Nobody is secure in Western Europe, nobody is secure even here, on the American Continent, - until any part of the World is under alien, foreign political and military domination.

Let me repeat the sentence, which I mentioned in my Introduction: If History is really the great teacher of life, then the combined history of Poland and Hungary should and hope fully will provide good lessons, - not only for Poles and Hungarians, but for other peoples, and nations of the World.

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Dear Friend,

This is a personal invitation to you to join with us in working for a cause we consider very important. For a thousand years Poles and Hungarians have been brothers working for freedom and national independence for our people. Today the land of our forefathers is under the heel of Soviet oppressors. Can we do something about it as Poles and Hungarians? Yes, we can, if we are united. That is why we are extending the invitation to you to join the organization that can and does something about it: the POLISHHUNGARIAN WORLD FEDERATION.

The POLISH-HUNGARIAN WORLD FEDERATION was organized to cement and propagate the thousand-year friendship and through this friendship gain strength in unity. We are now a world organization with delegations in the principal countries of the free world.

Not only do we work to broaden the bond between Poles and Hungarians but we fight for the self-determination of the captive nations of Europe. Together with other ethnic groups we Poles and Hungarians united can by political, social and economic means achieve our goals.

Our president was granted an audience by Pope John Paul II.

By joining the Federation you will be casting a vote for freedom and for the brotherhood between the Poles and Hungarians. Please read the enclosed application form and then sign and return it. Please don't delay. Your support is greatly needed.

*Fraternally yours,*

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