

GRZEGORZ KAMIL SZCZECINA

HISTORICAL ASPECTS IN THE PREACHING OF BLESSED REV. JERZY POPIELUSZKO

A b s t r a c t. Form Blessed Rev. Jerzy Popiełuszko and the content of his sermons, preached in the church Stanislaus Kostka in Warsaw's Żoliborz already permanently etched in the history of Polish. Celebrated by him during martial law masses for the country attracted crowds of the faithful, and the content of homilies were full of patriotic and historical aspects. "Żoliborz preacher" in their teaching often referred to the events connected with the history of Polish, as well as profiles of genuine patriots to show a true and lasting values, as well as a remedy for man during the communist enslavement. Images of Polish history in the ministry, "the words" served Rev. Popiełuszko to show the source of hope and witness the strength and, above all, to the example of the rebirth of the nation, even the most tragic moments of history. Using the historical aspects of the "martyr of communism", he also wanted to show where lies the cause of the fall of man and the nation, and how, building on God, tormented society can be reborn.

Key words: Popiełuszko, teaching, history of Poland, patriotism, Homeland.

The basic form of pastoral activity of Blessed Father Jerzy Popiełuszko¹ was a ministry resulting from the implementation of the priestly vocation,

GRZEGORZ KAMIL SZCZECINA, MA - PhD student at the Institute of Church History and Patrology at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin; correspondence address: Al. Raławickie 14, 20-950 Lublin; e-mail address: grzesszczecina@interia.pl

¹ Jerzy Popiełuszko was born on September 14, 1947 in Okopy near Suchowola (today's diocese of Białystok). Since childhood, he was very devoted and zealous in his love for God and neighbor. After graduating from high school in Suchowola in 1965, he entered the Metropolitan Higher Seminary in Warsaw. During his priestly formation, he was appointed to compulsory military service for two years. He completed the service in Bartoszyce, where, despite facing harassment and mockery from other servicemen, he bravely showed his attachment to God and the Church. He was ordained a priest in 1972. From 1980, he was a resident at the parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka in the Warsaw district of Żoliborz. After the imposition of martial law (1981-1983) he began to celebrate the Masses for the Homeland, which gathered thousands of believers. In his quiet and matter-of-fact sermons, he defended the dignity of man and nation, and called for giving Christian witness in the difficult times of communism in Poland. He organized help and support for the families of interned workers. Therefore, he was persecuted by the authorities. On

focused on the Mass liturgy and its integral part – proclaiming the word of God.² During the twelve years of his priestly ministry, this “steadfast priest” delivered many homilies and occasional speeches. However, his greatest sermons were preached from 1982 to 1984, during the Holy Masses for the Homeland³ held every month in the St. Stanislaus Kostka Church of Żoliborz, a district of Warsaw.⁴ At that time, Father Jerzy preached twenty-six sermons, which form a coherent whole of his teaching. They are rich in patriotic and historical content.

The historical aspects of the “Żoliborz” sermons preached by the “martyr of communism” were aimed at the development of the love of the faithful for their Homeland – in accordance with the fourth commandment of the Decalogue.⁵ When analyzing the sermons of Father Jerzy, attention should be drawn first to the Popiełuszko family and their living historical memory and “spirit of Polishness.”⁶ Attachment to faith, religiosity, love for the “little homeland,” were evident to the people of Podlasie, the region where Alfons (Father Jerzy) Popiełuszko was raised. The cultural and patriotic wealth of Podlasie was what shaped fortitude, personality and love for Poland. The regional customs mingling with national traditions have been and continue to

October 19, 1984, he was abducted and murdered by the Security officers. He was beatified on 6 June 2010. His canonical process began on September 20, 2014 in the diocese of Crételi in France. Cf. G.K. SZCZECINA, *Aktualność przesłania moralnego bł. ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki w perspektywie przemian społecznych w Polsce po 1989 roku*, Nowy Sącz 2015, pp. 21-54.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 55.

³ The Idea of the Mass for the Homeland is rooted in Polish tradition. Since the reign of Władysław Jagiełło, it became a church custom to organize Masses and prayers in political intentions (before important battles). Pope Clement XIII ordered three-day prayers for Poland in 1767 before its first partition. During national uprisings and partitions, there was a significant increase in the services “for the prosperity of the homeland.” Cf. J. SOCHOŃ, *Tama*, Cracow 2010, pp. 125-126; J. KOMAR, *Warszawskie manifestacje patriotyczne 1860-1861*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 189-193 et seq.

⁴ The Masses for the Homeland in the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka were initiated by Fr. Prelate Teofil Bogucki in October 1980. From February 1982, they were held regularly on the last Sunday of the month. Then Fr. Bogucki entrusted to Fr. Jerzy Popiełuszko, their celebration, homilies and all organizational preparations. From January 1982 to September 1984, the sermons for the services for the Homeland were registered and published. In several Polish cities, prayer considerations (the Way of the Cross), rosaries and homilies were also recorded. Cf. Z. MALACKI, *Świadek trudnych czasów*, [in:] *Ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, ed. Z. Malacki, Warsaw 2004, pp. 6-7; A. MULARSKA, *Święty wśród nas. Błogosławiony ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko*, Cracow 2015, pp. 344-348.

⁵ Cf. A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, “Ateneum Kapłańskie” 143(2004), fasc. 3, pp. 476-477.

⁶ Cf. M. KINDZIUK, *Matka świętego. Poruszające świadectwo Marianny Popiełuszko*, Cracow 2012, pp. 9-64.

be something special for our Nation. Being long remembered, they beget authentic love for the homeland. The Popiełuszko family was rich in the patriotic attitudes of their ancestors.⁷ The uncle of Alfons (Father Jerzy) Popiełuszko, Alfons Gniedziejko, was a soldier of the Home Army. He died in 1945, when he tried to rescue his imprisoned comrade.⁸ Jerzy Popiełuszko was given his original name, Alfons, “in memory” of his uncle. The young Alek (Father Jerzy) received from his family an ardent love for Poland.⁹ It is worth to stress the fundamental significance of the future events in the life of Alfons (Father Jerzy) for shaping his patriotic attitude¹⁰ and the influence of prominent figures, including Father Teofil Bogucki,¹¹ the Primate of the Millennium – Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński, and Pope John Paul II. The then so-

⁷ According to family messages, Józef (St. Rafał) Kalinowski was the uncle of Marianna Gniedziejko (Marianna Popiełuszko’s mother). He was a Carmelite priest. He died in 1907 and was beatified by John Paul II in 1983 in Cracow, and canonized in 1991 in Rome. Before joining the Carmelitan Order, he took part in the January Uprising, for which he was sent to Siberia. Another family legend was also the figure of Marianna Popiełuszko’s brother, Alfons Gniedziejko, who was a member of the Home Army (AK). He died at the age of 21; *ibid.*, pp. 23, 55; A. MULARSKA, *Święty wśród nas*, pp. 23-24.

⁸ According to private accounts, Alfons Gniedziejko (17 October 1924-29 April 1945) belonged to the company commanded by Sgt. Władysław Markiewicz alias “Limba”, operating within the AK in the area surrounding Suchowola. He was murdered by the Bolsheviks together with five of his fellow soldiers during their attempt to recapture the interrogated soldiers. See the account of Capt. Bronisław Karwowski, own set; the account of Fr. Kazimierz Gniedziejko, *ibid.*, E. GABREL, *Suchowola. Jej przeszłość i teraźniejszość*, Suchowola 2012, pp. 244-246; *Traktowałem Go jak starszego brata – rozmowa z ks. Kazimierzem Gniedziejką*, [in:] *Modlitwa za Polskę. Ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko we wspomnieniach bliskich*, ed. P. Czartoryski-Sziler, Szczecinek 2004, pp. 37-44.

⁹ *Błogosławiony Jerzy Popiełuszko. Zapiski, listy i wywiady ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki 1967-1984*, ed. G. Bartoszewski, Warsaw 2010.

¹⁰ Alfons (Fr. Jerzy) Popiełuszko during his seminary formation held a military service in the clerical military unit in Bartoszyce in the years 1966-1968. Cf. A. POPIELUSZKO, *List 1; List 2; List 3; List 4*, [in:] *Błogosławiony Jerzy Popiełuszko. Zapiski, listy, wywiady ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki 1967-1984*, pp. 23-33.

¹¹ Fr. Prelate Teofil Bogucki (1908-1987) was born near Wysokie Mazowieckie. He came from farmstead gentry, so he was brought up in a religious and patriotic spirit, with dignity and modesty. He graduated from the Metropolitan Major Seminary in Warsaw, accepting the ordination on June 14, 1936. He worked in numerous parishes, instilling the spirit of patriotism in the faithful, assisted the poor and suffering. During the Second World War he was the chaplain of the Home Army in the Warsaw Uprising. He was particularly interested in history. He always strived for the good of the Homeland. He was endowed with many important functions in the structures of the Church. In 1974 he became a parish priest in the parish of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Żoliborz, where he introduced monthly Masses for the Homeland. He became known as an outstanding priest devoted to God, man and Poland. Cf. J. SOCHOŃ, *Tama*, pp. 123-124.

cio-political “climate” of Poland and the struggle between the communist state and the Catholic Church were also of great importance.¹²

To properly analyze the teaching of Father Popiełuszko, one should refer to the time when the “Warsaw priest” served among the workers. He celebrated the Mass for the Homeland for the first time in January 1982, two months after the proclamation of martial law in Poland.¹³ Most members of the Solidarity Movement¹⁴ were interned, and those who were not imprisoned were hiding. Manifestations of the opponents of Jaruzelski’s junta were often brutally suppressed, and their participants were arrested. The martial law regime suppressed all independent activity. This context is essential for understanding the phenomenon of Father Popiełuszko and his patriotic sermons. The sermons were a kind of evangelical response to the reality of martial law, to the evil experienced by Polish people from the then authorities. By referring to various historical facts, Father Popiełuszko explained the nature of the basic values that were fundamental for the survival of the nation: truth; freedom and human dignity; Homeland, solidarity, justice, love and fortitude. According to Father Jerzy, they were the foundation of humanity and society. He taught how to implement them in case of crisis. Crowds that came to the church in Żoliborz to attend the Masses for the Homeland proved that his words were needed by the nation.¹⁵ The teaching of Father Jerzy aimed not only at the formation of the conscience of individuals, but also at the formation of national conscience.¹⁶ His Christian patriotism found fullest embodiment in this field, as he was aware that this meant “taking care of national conscience. Because – as he said – when the national conscience was failing, there were great misfortunes in our history. However, when the national conscience was awakened, revived by a sense of responsibility for the homeland, the nation was restored. That was the case during uprisings, as it was during the January Uprising, as it was during the

¹² See J. ŻARYN, *Dzieje Kościoła katolickiego w Polsce (1945-1989)*, Warsaw 2003.

¹³ Martial law was imposed in Poland, and the Military Council of National Salvation took over power (from 12/13 December 1981 to 22 July 1983). Citizens’ rights, activities of unions and associations were restricted, curfews were introduced, strikes were forbidden. Cf. *PWN Universal Encyclopedia*, 20th edition, Warsaw 1997, pp. 804-805.

¹⁴ In September 1980, representatives of committees of new trade unions from plants all over Poland, decided to establish the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union “Solidarity,” headed by Lech Wałęsa as chairman. On the wave of victories, creative and scientific associations independent of the authorities began to emerge. Prior to its registration, “Solidarity” had 3 million members, and it was constantly growing; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 792-793.

¹⁵ Cf. B. ŁOZIŃSKI, *Nie tylko “zło dobrem zwyciężaj,”* “Gość Niedzielny” 2010, no. 20, pp. 28-29.

¹⁶ Cf. G. BARTOSZEWSKI, *Obraz życia i działalności ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, pp. 464-465.

«Solidarity» Movement. «Poles [...] have a well-developed national conscience. They know how to fight for an order in their homeland, for reliability, for the peace of God and for the possibility of enjoying freedom we all deserve.»¹⁷ We must strengthen our skills as warriors if we want to remain a nation that, though with a cross upon its shoulders, walks with dignity towards the resurrection.»¹⁸

The analysis of Popiełuszko's sermons shows that there are many threads, elements or issues related to history in the subject of patriotism as the Christian virtue of the love for the Homeland. Popiełuszko's teaching and activity can be regarded as a spiritual continuation of the first pilgrimage of Pope John Paul II to his homeland, whose words: "Lord, send out your Spirit and renew the face of the earth – this earth!" (Homily in Victory Square, 2 June 1979) made it possible for Poles to get up off their knees after the humiliation they had suffered from the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The words of John Paul II breathed "the spirit of courage" into Poles.¹⁹ Therefore, Popiełuszko's preaching, full of love for the homeland and historical references, can be considered a powerful fragment of patriotic education of the great sons of our Nation.²⁰

1. INTERPRETATIONS OF SELECTED PERIODS OF POLAND'S HISTORY

According to Father Popiełuszko, John Paul II and Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński were role models for all preachers when it comes to historical-patriotic themes. In his sermons and occasional speeches, the Primate of the Millennium emphasized the need to know the history of the Homeland, be-

¹⁷ S. WYSZYŃSKI, *W godzinie wielkiego rachunku sumienia – podczas poświęcenia kamienia węgielnego, Otarzew 2 X 1980*, [in:] IDEM, *Kościół w służbie Narodu. Nauczanie Prymasa Polski czasu odnowy w Polsce, sierpień 1980–maj 1981*, Rome 1981, p. 76.

¹⁸ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, ed. Z. Malacki, Warsaw 2004, p. 136; cf. IDEM, *Homilia z 25 kwietnia 1982 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 39-42; IDEM, *Homilia z 27 czerwca 1982 r.*, [in:] *ibid.*, pp. 45-47; IDEM, *Homilia z 26 września 1982 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 53-56; IDEM, *Homilia z 27 marca 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 79-82; IDEM, *Homilia z 26 czerwca 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 93-98; IDEM, *Homilia z 30 października 1982 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 113-119; IDEM, *Homilia z 25 marca 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 145-148; IDEM, *Homilia z 24 czerwca 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 155-159.

¹⁹ Cf. G. BARTOSZEWSKI, *Przedmowa*, [in:] *Błogosławiony Jerzy Popiełuszko*, pp. 18-19.

²⁰ See *Jan Paweł II. Dzieje Polski*, ed. A. Zwoliński, Warsaw 2011.

cause the nation that forgets its history, cuts its roots.²¹ In his speeches and sermons during his pilgrimages to Poland, John Paul II repeatedly referred to the history of the nation, to the facts and historical events that shaped the national consciousness of the subsequent generations of Poles, becoming our great “catechesis of history” closely related to the Church.²² It is characteristic that the “words” of Wyszyński and Wojtyła were important sources of inspiration for Popiełuszko’s teaching. Their thoughts can be found in every sermon of Father Popiełuszko. Moreover, he often recalled the words of our national bards: Mickiewicz,²³ Krasiński,²⁴ Słowacki,²⁵ Norwid,²⁶ Konopnicka,²⁷ Lechoń,²⁸ Witkiewicz²⁹ or contemporary Polish poets, deeply moved by the terror of martial law.³⁰ During the aforementioned Masses for the Homeland held in the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Warsaw, actors in a special artistic setting recited poems.³¹ The poems, precisely selected by Father Popiełuszko, were an excellent complement to his sermons.³²

²¹ See Z. JANIEC, *W służbie Bogu i Ojczyźnie. Kazania i artykuły*, Sandomierz 2001.

²² Cf. Jan Paweł II. *Dzieje Polski*, p. 158 et seq.; A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne*, pp. 479-480.

²³ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 stycznia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 67; IDEM, *Homilia z 25 września 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 106, 108.

²⁴ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 25 kwietnia 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 42; IDEM, *Homilia z 25 września 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, p. 108.

²⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁶ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 26 grudnia 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 65.

²⁷ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 27 czerwca 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 45.

²⁸ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 26 sierpnia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 162.

²⁹ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 24 kwietnia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 83.

³⁰ Fr. Popiełuszko often referred to the poems of Teresa Boguszewska (born Hanna Królak), an anti-communist activist.

³¹ Fr. Jerzy collaborated with actors such as Jan Englert, Piotr Fronczewski, Halina Łabonarska, Kazimierz Kaczor, Krzysztof Kolberger, Maja Komorowska, Marta Lipińska, Marian Opania, Jarema Stępowski, Zbigniew Zapasiewicz and Jerzy Zelnik. He also collaborated with singers such as Bogusław Morka and Piotr Szczepanik (who performed patriotic songs). Cf. Ł. MAREK, *Msze święte w intencji Ojczyzny z udziałem ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, [in:] *Tyś jest Kapłanem na wzór... Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko w Bytomiu 8 X 1984 r.*, ed. A. Sznajder, Katowice 2010, p. 25; E.K. CZACZKOWSKA, *Ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko*, Warsaw 2004, pp. 166-167.

³² Cf. J. KOTAŃSKI, *Język miłości, język nienawiści. Język homilii księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki a język komunistycznej nowomowy*, [in:] *Tyś jest Kapłanem na wzór*, pp. 49-50; see *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Ofiara spełniona. Msze święte za Ojczyznę odprawiane w kościele św. Stanisława Kostki w Warszawie w latach 1982-1984*, ed. G. Bartoszewski, Warsaw 2004.

The times of the Polish People's Republic are a period of disregard or even struggle against Polish national and Christian traditions. That is why Father Jerzy Popiełuszko believed that the thousand-year history of the Polish Nation is an inexhaustible source of wisdom for Poles. In one of his sermons he said: "You can not create history without history, you can not forget about the Christian way of our nation. You can not cut the roots of a thousand-year-old past. [...] The nation could not be destroyed despite the partitions, the lost uprisings and banishments to Siberia, despite the nationalization and Russification, despite Drzymała's wagon and Kulturkampf, because it was deeply rooted in previous centuries of national history. It could not be destroyed because it lived on the history and culture of previous centuries."³³ A certain exemplification of Popiełuszko's words can be found in the homily of John Paul II of June 2, 1979, when he said: "The history of the nation deserves the right assessment according to what it has contributed to human development, to human consciousness, heart and conscience. This is the deepest current of culture. This is its firmest support, its core, its strength. It is impossible without Christ to understand and assess the contribution of the Polish nation to the development of man and humanity in the past and also today [...] It is necessary to follow the traces of what, or rather who, Christ was for the sons and daughters of this land over generations. And not only for those who openly believed in him and professed him with the faith of the Church, but also for those who appeared to be at a distance, outside the Church. For those who doubted or were opposed. [...] It is therefore impossible without Christ to understand the history of the Polish nation – this great thousand-year-old community that is so profoundly decisive for me and each one of us. If we rejected this key to understanding our nation, we would lay ourselves open to a substantial misunderstanding. We would no longer understand ourselves. It is impossible without Christ to understand this nation with its past so full of splendour and also of terrible difficulties."³⁴

The national uprisings have a special place in our history. Father Jerzy paid a lot of attention to this issue. He described the national uprisings as the heroic and patriotic deeds of his compatriots, including the 19th century uprisings against the occupants, the 1920 defense of Warsaw known as "the

³³ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 25 września 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 107.

³⁴ JOHN PAUL II, *Homilia podczas Mszy św. na Placu Zwycięstwa, Warszawa 2 VI 1979*, [in:] *Jan Paweł II. Dzieje Polski*, pp. 7-8.

miracle on the Vistula”, the 1944 Warsaw Uprising and the 1980 anti-communist “Solidarity” movement.³⁵ A good example is his sermon preached on January 30, 1983, on the 120th anniversary of the January Uprising. When describing the insurgents’ courage, fortitude, reliability and trust in God, Father Popiełuszko mentioned the period prior to the January Uprising, when the residents of Warsaw bravely celebrated the anniversary of the “military uprising” of 1830/1831, despite legal prohibitions. With reference to the January Uprising, he said: “From the beginning of the history of our homeland, our forefathers shed blood, not to allow current violence to take away the greatest national value – to take away freedom. Because «for freedom’s battle, once begun, Bequeath’d by bleeding sire to son...»³⁶ Poles knew how to defend their homeland against the invaders. They were able to claim true freedom for their homeland during the partitions. They have always been accompanied by the lights of the Gospel of Christ that freedom is a gift of God alone. There were many uprisings, of which the uprisings in November and January deserve special attention, because both are still close to us and there is so much analogy to our reality in them.”³⁷ Father Popiełuszko reminded that all the uprisings, up to the August uprising of 1944, were a heroic struggle for freedom and independence. Although these uprisings ended in a military defeat, they aroused national consciousness and became a lesson of patriotism for the entire Nation and future generations of Poles.³⁸ The analysis of Popiełuszko’s teaching proves that he saw authentic patriotism “in the interest of restoring freedom to the Homeland.” By mentioning the insurgents from 1863, he revealed the fundamental truth that even though the uprising failed, “it broadened immensely the circle of Poles aware of their identity, aware of the legacy of fathers and grandfathers, aware of their aspirations as a nation. It was a great grain thrown into the Polish soil.”³⁹ The World Wars were presented in Popiełuszko’s sermons as a time of suffering,

³⁵ Cf. A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, p. 480.

³⁶ A. MICKIEWICZ, *Giaur*, [in:] IDEM, *Poematy dzieła*, vol. II, ed. Cz. Zgorzelski, Warsaw 1997.

³⁷ J. POPIEŁUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 stycznia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 67.

³⁸ Cf. A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, p. 484.

³⁹ J. POPIEŁUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 stycznia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 70; cf. IDEM, *Homilia z 27 czerwca 1982 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 45-47; IDEM, *Homilia z 26 września 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 53-56; IDEM, *Homilia z 31 października 1982 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 57-60; IDEM, *Homilia z 27 lutego 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 73-77; IDEM, *Homilia z 24 kwietnia 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 83-88; IDEM, *Homilia z 29 maja 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 89-92; IDEM, *Homilia z 28 sierpnia 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 99-104.

but also of heroic deeds, testimonies and “sacrificing the best sons on the altar of freedom [...]”⁴⁰ In one of his sermons, he said: ”The pursuit of freedom did not end after World War II. We had examples of the next national uprisings, in which people called for the right to freedom and respect for human dignity more than for everyday bread. Because these rights were not respected.”⁴¹ It is significant that the historical events presented in Popiełuszko’s preaching served not only to illustrate the fortitude of Polish spirit, the image of boundless love for God and for the Homeland, but most of all to reveal the basic values defining man and society (truth, human freedom and dignity, justice, solidarity, love).⁴²

Father Popiełuszko was truly concerned about the events in Poland at that time. He was aware that human rights to religious and political freedom were not fully respected. It was the time of enslavement of people’s consciences and limitation of civil liberties by the communist authorities, which evoked obvious objections in society. Therefore, Father Jerzy explained that “A nation with a thousand years of Christian tradition would always strive for full freedom. For violence would not overcome striving for freedom, as violence was the power of those who possessed no truth. Man could be defeated by violence, but he could not be enslaved. A Pole who loved God and Homeland would rise from every humiliation, because he used to kneel only before God. There were many examples of that in ancient and contemporary history.”⁴³ The analysis of Popiełuszko’s sermons and other speeches reveals that he lived in the spirit of patriotism, and the history of Poland played

⁴⁰ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 stycznia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 71.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁴² Cf. G.K. SZCZECINA, *Aktualność przestania*, pp. 55-90; J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 25 września 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, pp. 105-111; IDEM, *Homilia z 26 lutego 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 139-144; IDEM, *Homilia z 27 maja 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 149-153; IDEM, *Homilia z 24 czerwca 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 155-159; IDEM, *Homilia z 13 sierpnia 1984 r., kościół św. Brygidy w Gdańsku*, [in:] *Siedem nieznanych kazań księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki. Słowa pisane przed śmiercią*, ed. A. Kasica, A. Stec, Cracow 2010, pp. 11-18; IDEM, *Homilia z 19 sierpnia 1984 r., kościół św. Stanisława Kostki w Warszawie*, *ibid.*, pp. 21-26; IDEM, *Homilia z 26 sierpnia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, pp. 161-166; IDEM, *Homilia z 9 września 1984 r.*, w: *Kazania patriotyczne*, ed. A. Majewski, Paryż 1984, pp. 196-198; IDEM, *Homilia z 23 września 1984 r., kościół św. Stanisława Kostki w Warszawie*, [in:] *Siedem nieznanych kazań*, pp. 43-46; IDEM, *Homilia wygłoszona 8 października 1984 r. podczas Mszy św. za Ojczyznę w kościele pod wezwaniem Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w Bytomiu*, [in:] *Tyś jest Kapłanem na wzór*, pp. 11-15.

⁴³ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 stycznia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 72; cf. IDEM, *Homilia z 27 listopada 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 121-126; IDEM, *Homilia z 25 grudnia 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 127-132; IDEM, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 133-138.

a significant role in his preaching. This is confirmed by the fact that in his “Żoliborz sermons” the term “nation” occurred 156 times, and the term “homeland” occurred 139 times.⁴⁴ Father Popiełuszko was aware that historical memory is an integral part of understanding the present and Polish culture, which lies at the heart of the nation’s identity and consciousness, threatened by various influences either in the earlier periods of Germanization and Russification or in his day.⁴⁵ Therefore, on one hand, Popiełuszko’s preaching aroused great enthusiasm of the faithful, and on the other it caused a clear concern of the People’s Party.⁴⁶ The motif of the liberation of the Homeland from political evil, the exodus of the Nation from slavery to freedom and the construction of a new Christian reality, was to mobilize the listeners to take action and raise their awareness of the obligation to love for the Homeland based on love for God. Father Popiełuszko, willingly referring to the history of the Nation, pointed to the painful and lofty moments of Polish history, to liven the listeners with this love.⁴⁷

2. HISTORICAL PATTERNS OF PATRIOTISM

In “the Żoliborz teaching” of Father Jerzy Popiełuszko preached during the Masses for the homeland, one can find the role models of great Poles. Popiełuszko mentioned great patriots, national heroes, in a special way merited for Polish history. He presented the figures of those loving God, the nation and the homeland in a heroic way, often sacrificing their lives to it. According to Popiełuszko, Romuald Traugutt,⁴⁸ St. Maksymilian Kolbe, Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński and John Paul II were particularly attractive examples of love for God and the Homeland (Popiełuszko also referred to such historical figures as King Jan Kazimierz,⁴⁹ Jan III Sobieski,⁵⁰ Augustyn Kordecki,⁵¹

⁴⁴ Cf. R. TŁUCZEK, *Wizja narodu polskiego w nauczaniu ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, w: *Nauczanie społeczne i męczeństwo ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, ed. T. Guz, A. Niedużak, R. Tłuczek, Lublin 2009, p. 166.

⁴⁵ Cf. J. POPIEŁUSZKO, *Homilia z 25 września 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, pp. 105-111; IDEM, *Homilia z 26 sierpnia 1984 r.*, *ibid.*, pp. 161-166.

⁴⁶ Cf. J. SOCHOŃ, *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko*, Cracow 2010, pp. 46-53; A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, pp. 481-482.

⁴⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 479.

⁴⁸ Cf. R. BENDER, *Traugutt Romuald*, [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XIX, Lublin 2013, column 994-996.

⁴⁹ Cf. J. POPIEŁUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 maja 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 43.

Tadeusz Kosciuszko,⁵² Bishop Stanisław Okoniewski,⁵³ Józef Piłsudski,⁵⁴ Stanisław Witkiewicz,⁵⁵ Paweł Włodkowic,⁵⁶ Stefan Żeromski,⁵⁷ and General Józef Hauke-Bosak).⁵⁸ However, Popiełuszko most often mentioned Romuald Traugutt, one of the last dictators of the January Uprising, and St. Maksymilian Kolbe, who died in the German concentration camp of Auschwitz-Birkenau, and their love for the Homeland. When referring to his contemporaries: the Primate of the Millennium and the Polish Pope, Popiełuszko often quoted from their speeches and religious-patriotic sermons.

Cultivating the memory of the January Uprising in his preaching, Father Popiełuszko regarded modern times as a reference to the then occupational situation of the Homeland. In the mid-19th century, the Poles, enslaved by the invaders, struggled for freedom. The national uprising and unequal struggle against the tsarist Russian Empire aroused Polish spirit of uncompromising struggle and independence. At that time, there were also heroic witnesses who wanted to sacrifice everything for their homeland. One of them was Romuald Traugutt. As mentioned, he had a special place in the teaching of “the Solidarity chaplain.” In the sermon given during the Mass for the Homeland on January 29, 1984, on the occasion of the anniversary of the January Uprising, Father Jerzy said: “General Romuald Traugutt, the most prominent leader of the January Uprising, is an example of a man who was able to keep his dignity to the very end, serving God, family and homeland with all his heart.”⁵⁹ As a corroboration, he quoted Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. According to Wyszyński, Romuald Traugutt taught us to combine our love for the Homeland with love for God. When describing

⁵⁰ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 maja 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 89.

⁵¹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁵² Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 stycznia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 69; IDEM, *Homilia z 30 października 1983 r.*, *ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵³ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 24 kwietnia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 84.

⁵⁴ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 30 października 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 117.

⁵⁵ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 24 kwietnia 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 84.

⁵⁶ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 25 września 1983 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 108.

⁵⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵⁸ Cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 133.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

Traugutt, Popiełuszko often referred to Wyszyński's notes being evidence of his deep religiosity and genuine patriotism. In his letter to general Józef Hauke-Bosak, Traugutt wrote: "Polish soldier should be a true soldier of Christ: he should spread purity of morals and unblemished virtue, and not lawlessness and demoralization,"⁶⁰ Father Jerzy quoted this in his sermon. When testifying before the Russian military commission of inquiry, Traugutt said: "The sole and real goal of our uprising was to regain independence and establish in our country an order based on Christian love, respect for the law and all justice."⁶¹ He explained the fact of becoming the leader of the uprising as follows: "Only unlimited trust in Providence and firm belief in the holiness of our affairs gave me strength and courage to exercise battered power. I remembered that power was an act of sacrifice, not an ambition..."⁶² In his letter to Pope Pius IX,⁶³ Traugutt wrote: "Moscow understood that it could not cope with Catholic Poland, so it took its anger out on our spiritual shepherds."⁶⁴ Father Popiełuszko quoted Traugutt to exemplify his truly patriotic attitude. Traugutt was full of love for God and for the Homeland, when he gave his life, being hanged near the Warsaw Citadel. At the time of his death, he was full of truth, peace, courage, bravery and inner freedom. Traugutt's attitude was close to Father Jerzy, who regarded such an attitude as a remedy for the problems of contemporary Poles. In order to pour hope into the hearts of listeners, tired of the social situation of that time, Popiełuszko said: "The Primate of the Millennium said that Traugutt «had taught us to combine our love for the Homeland with love for God...» [...] Romuald Traugutt is an example of a Pole who considered his duty not to save himself where others sacrificed everything. A Pole who was aware of

⁶⁰ *Dokumenty Komitetu Centralnego Narodowego i Rządu Narodowego 1862-1864*, ed. E. Halicz, S. Kieniewicz, I.S. Miller, Wrocław 1968, p. 346; cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 133.

⁶¹ A. BORKIEWICZ-CELIŃSKA, *Proces Romualda Traugutta i członków Rządu Narodowego*, [in:] *Akta Audytoriatu Polowego z lat 1863/64*, ed. E. Halicz, vol. I, part 2, Warsaw 1960, p. 218; cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 134.

⁶² *Polska działalność dyplomatyczna 1863-1864. Zbiór dokumentów*, ed. A. Lewak, vol. II, Warsaw 1963, p. 245; cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 134.

⁶³ Giovanni Maria Mastai (1792-1878) was a pope from 16 May 1846 to 7 February 1878. He strongly supported the independence efforts of Poles on the international stage. Cf. Z. ZIELIŃSKI, *Pius IX*, [in:] *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XV, Lublin 2011, column 753-756.

⁶⁴ *Polska działalność dyplomatyczna 1863-1864. Zbiór dokumentów*, p. 245; cf. J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 134.

the fact that whoever wanted to do much for his homeland, could not cover God with himself but he had to cooperate with God.”⁶⁵

Father Popiełuszko also referred to St. Maximilian Kolbe in his Żoliborz sermons. Kolbe was a role model for Popiełuszko from his early youth, as mentioned by his mother.⁶⁶ When visiting his grandmother Marianna Gniedziejko in Grodzisko during his summer holidays, Young Alek (Father Jerzy) Popiełuszko often spent time reading “The Knight Of The Immaculate,” the Franciscans’s magazine published by Father Maximilian Kolbe. On October 31, 1982, during the Mass for the Homeland, Father Popiełuszko pointed to the newly canonized Father Maximilian⁶⁷ as a heroic model of boundless faithfulness to God and heroic love of man – in the conditions of camp bondage and contempt for people. In his sermon, he prayed to Father Kolbe: “St. Maximilian, the patron of tormented Poland, today we stand at the altar of Christ, faced with your image. We stand to make a prayer to the throne of God, that through you we may have a dialogue with God on our behalf and on behalf of all those who suffer in concentration camps and prisons, suffer for the struggle for justice and truth in our Homeland. [...] Father Maximilian, the martyr of today, making you a saint ensures us that the power of evil, deception, contempt and hatred for mankind must be overcome. St. Maximilian, you are a symbol of the victory of a man who is enslaved by force, but free in spirit.”⁶⁸ Father Popiełuszko considered Father Kolbe as an example of a man who was able to overcome fear and was ready to die for religious values – guided by love of God, love of neighbor and love of the homeland.⁶⁹ That is why Popiełuszko said: “St. Maximilian [...] you were not afraid to go to Japan to tell the truth about Christ. You were not afraid of suffering and loss of life. Thanks to this, your free spirit lives and bears fruit. [...] We need you so much, [...] as a model of a man who is not afraid of intimidation. You are a saint who can be called the patron of tormented Poland. For which saints would be able to claim his enslaved nation today more than you who have been beaten and persecuted. You looked at the frightened brothers who were in prison with you, and then in the camp

⁶⁵ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 29 stycznia 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 135.

⁶⁶ Cf. . M. KINDZIUK, *Matka świętego*, pp. 57-58.

⁶⁷ The canonization of St. Maximilian Kolbe took place in Rome on October 10, 1982.

⁶⁸ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 31 października 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 57.

⁶⁹ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 25 marca 1984 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, pp. 145-148.

and in the hunger bunker. You were taken to the camp without a verdict, just because you belonged to the sons who loved their homeland and the truth. You accepted suffering and death for another man.”⁷⁰ Father Jerzy presented St. Maximilian M. Kolbe as a role model for contemporaries, especially regarding the attitude of sacrificial love of Poland and the heroic defense of human dignity.⁷¹ In “the Żoliborz sermons,” St. Maximilian Kolbe was a symbol of the victory of a man enslaved by force, but free in spirit. This was confirmed in the “catechesis” on truth and freedom contained in the Żoliborz social teaching of Father Jerzy.⁷² In his speech of October 1982, Popiełuszko recalled the life of St. Maximilian Kolbe, by saying: “To be a free-spirited man, one must live in truth. Living in truth is bearing witness to the truth, admitting to it and asking for it in every situation. Truth is immutable. Truth can not be destroyed by one or another decision, by one or another law. This is basically our bondage, that we submit to the rule of lies, that we do not disclose them and do not protest against them every day. We do not protest, we are silent or pretend to believe in them. Then we live in hypocrisy. The courageous testimony of truth leads to freedom. A man who gives testimony to the truth is a free man, even in the conditions of external enslavement, such as concentration camps or prisons. If most Poles in the present situation entered the path of truth, and if they did not forget what was true for them a year ago, we would become a free-spirited nation right now. And external or political freedom would have to come sooner or later as a consequence of this freedom of spirit and dedication to the truth.”⁷³

*

In summary, it should be emphasized that Blessed Father Jerzy Popiełuszko and his patriotic preaching have a special place in the history of the Church and the Polish nation in the 20th century.⁷⁴ The collections of his sermons preached during the Masses for the Homeland in the church of St. Stanislaus Kostka in Warsaw, have been released to the public after his

⁷⁰ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 31 października 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, pp. 58-59.

⁷¹ Cf. A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, pp. 488-490.

⁷² Cf. G.K. SZCZECINA, *Aktualność przesłania moralnego*, pp. 56-79.

⁷³ J. POPIELUSZKO, *Homilia z 31 października 1982 r.*, [in:] *Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984*, p. 57.

⁷⁴ Cf. A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, pp. 490-491.

martyrdom and with regard to the ongoing beatification process. They have been published in Polish, as well as in foreign languages, including English,⁷⁵ French,⁷⁶ Spanish,⁷⁷ German.⁷⁸ This shows the great interest and importance of these sermons for many people of our time.⁷⁹ Father Jerzy Popiełuszko often referred to the history of Poland, giving examples of authentic patriots. The historical aspects of “the Żoliborz sermons” are a natural source of hope and testimony of strength, and an example of the restoration of the nation even after the most tragic historical experiences. These references and examples have served Popiełuszko to raise the spirits; moreover, they taught and continue to teach where to look for the causes of both disasters and victories in national life.⁸⁰ The history of Poland has always been permeated with the Christian spirit, and thus – the presence of fundamental values, such as truth, freedom, solidarity, and justice, in the life of the Nation. It is their implementation that Father Popiełuszko regarded as the achievement of true freedom for man and country. Therefore, the teaching of Blessed Father Jerzy Popiełuszko is still up-to-date and he is the patron of our latest Polish history. This is corroborated by the words of John Paul II from the telegram on the 10th anniversary of Popiełuszko’s death: “At the grave of Father Jerzy, we learn responsibility for Poland and for all this Christian heritage that has been given to us over the centuries. Let us pray to God the Father that the sacrifice of this priest may bring fruit to our homeland. That there may be people who in this martyrdom will find inspiration for their own sanctification and encouragement and strength for authentic service to man.”⁸¹

⁷⁵ See J. POPIELUSZKO, *The Way of my Cross*, transl. M.J. Wrenn, New York 1986.

⁷⁶ See J. POPIELUSZKO, *Le chemin de ma croix. Messes a Varsovie*, ed. M. de Wieyzka, Paris 1984.

⁷⁷ See J. POPIELUSZKO, *Sermones en Varsovie. Las homilia del sacerdote aseinado en October de 1984*, transl. B. Girban, Barcelona 1985.

⁷⁸ See J. POPIELUSZKO, *An das Volk. Predigten und Überlegungen 1982-1984. Herausgegeben von Franciszek Blachnicki*, Düsseldorf 1985.

⁷⁹ Cf. A. LEWEK, *Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, pp. 488-491.

⁸⁰ Cf. P. NITECKI, “Z miłości umarłeś...” , *O miłości Ojczyzny i Kościoła w czasach komunizmu w dwudziestolecie męczeństwa ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, “Ateneum Kapłańskie” 143(2004), fasc. 3, p. 432.

⁸¹ JOHN PAUL II, *Telegram w 10. Rocznicę męczeńskiej śmierci ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki*, Watykan 19 X 1994, [in:] *Jan Paweł II. Dzieje Polski*, pp. 359.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SOURCES

- Błogosławiony Jerzy Popiełuszko Zapiski, listy i wywiady ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki 1967-1984, ed. G. Bartoszewski, Warsaw 2010.
- BORKIEWICZ-CELIŃSKA A., Proces Romualda Traugutta i członków Rządu Narodowego, [in:] Akta Audytoriatu Polowego z lat 1863/64, ed. E. Halicz, vol. I, part 2, Warsaw 1960, pp. 216-219.
- Dokumenty Komitetu Centralnego Narodowego i Rządu Narodowego 1862-1864, ed. E. Halicz, S. Kieniewicz, I.S. Miller, Wrocław 1968.
- Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania patriotyczne, ed. A. Majewski. Paris 1984.
- Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko. Ofiara spełniona. Msze święte za Ojczyznę odprawiane w kościele św. Stanisława Kostki w Warszawie w latach 1982-1984, ed. G. Bartoszewski, Warsaw 2004.
- MICKIEWICZ A., Giaur, [in:] Poematy dzieła Tom II Adam Mickiewicz, ed. Cz. Zgorzelski, Warsaw 1997.
- Polska działalność dyplomatyczna 1863-1864. Zbiór dokumentów, ed. A. Lewak, vol. II, Warsaw 1963.
- POPIELUSZKO J., An das Volk. Predigten und Überlegungen 1982-1984. Herausgegeben von Franciszek Blachnicki, Düsseldorf 1985.
- POPIELUSZKO J., Le chemin de ma croix. Messes a Varsovie, ed. M. de Wieyzka, Paris 1984.
- POPIELUSZKO J., Sermones en Varsovie. Las homilia del sacerdote aseinado en October de 1984, tłum. B. Girban, Barcelona 1985.
- POPIELUSZKO J., The Way of my Cross, tłum. M. J. Wrenn, New York 1986.
- POPIELUSZKO J., Homilia wygłoszona 8 października 1984 r. podczas Mszy św. za Ojczyznę w kościele pod wezwaniem Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w Bytomiu, [in:] Tyś jest Kapłanem na wzór... Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko w Bytomiu 8 X 1984 r., ed. A. Sznajder, Katowice 2010.
- POPIELUSZKO J., Homilia z dnia 24 czerwca 1984 r., [in:] Ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko. Kazania 1982-1984, ed. Z. Malacki, Warsaw 2004.
- Report of Capt. Bronisław Karwowski, own set
- Report of Fr. Kazimierz Gniedziejko, own set
- Siedem nieznanych kazań księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki. Słowa pisane przed śmiercią, ed. A. Kasica, A. Stec, Cracow 2010.
- WYSZYŃSKI S., Kościół w służbie Narodu. Nauczanie Prymasa Polski czasu odnowy w Polsce, sierpień 1980-maj 1981, Rome 1981.

LITERATURE

- BARTOSZEWSKI G., Obraz życia i działalności ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki w świetle jego „Zapisków” (1980-1984), „Ateneum Kapłańskie” 143(2004), fasc. 3, pp. 459-476.
- BENDER R., Traugutt Romuald, w: Encyklopedia Katolicka, vol. XIX, Lublin 2013, column. 994-996.
- CZACZKOWSKA E.K., Ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko, Warsaw 2004.
- PWN Universal Encyclopedia, 20th edition, Warsaw 1997.
- GABREL E., Suchowola. Jej przeszłość i teraźniejszość, Suchowola 2012.

- Jan Paweł II. Dzieje Polski, ed. A. Zwoliński, Warsaw 2011.
- JANIEC Z., W służbie Bogu i Ojczyźnie. Kazania i artykuły, Sandomierz 2001.
- KINDZIUK M., Matka świętego. Poruszające świadectwo Marianny Popiełuszko, Kraków 2012.
- KOMAR J., Warszawskie manifestacje patriotyczne 1860-1861, Warsaw 1970.
- KOTAŃSKI J., Język miłości, język nienawiści. Język homilii księdza Jerzego Popiełuszki a język komunistycznej nowomowy, [in:] Tyś jest Kapłanem na wzór... Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko w Bytomiu 8 X 1984 r., ed. A. Sznajder, Katowice 2010, pp. 46-54.
- LEWEK A., Kaznodziejstwo patriotyczne ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki, „Ateneum Kapłańskie” 143(2004), fasc. 3, pp. 476-493.
- ŁOZIŃSKI B., Nie tylko “zło dobrem zwyciężaj,” ‘Gość Niedzielny’ 20(2010), pp. 28-29.
- MALACKI Z., Świadek trudnych czasów, [in:] Ks. JERZY POPIELUSZKO, Kazania 1982-1984, ed. Z. Malacki, Warsaw 2004, pp. 3-8.
- MAREK Ł., Msze święte w intencji Ojczyzny z udziałem ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki, [in:] Tyś jest Kapłanem na wzór... Ks. Jerzy Popiełuszko w Bytomiu 8 X 1984 r., ed. A. Sznajder, Katowice 2010, pp. 22-45.
- MULARSKA A., Święty wśród nas. Błogosławiony ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko, Cracow 2015.
- NITECKI P., “Z miłości umarłeś...” O miłości Ojczyzny i Kościoła w czasach komunizmu w dwudziestolecie męczeństwa ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki, „Ateneum Kapłańskie” 143(2004), fasc. 3, pp. 427-434.
- SCHAUBER V., SCHINDLER H., Ilustrowany leksykon świętych, Kielce 2002.
- SOCHOŃ J., Tama, Cracow 2010.
- SZCZECINA G.K., Aktualność przesłania moralnego bł. ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki w perspektywie przemian społecznych w Polsce po 1989 roku, Nowy Sącz 2015.
- TŁUCZEK R., Wizja narodu polskiego w nauczaniu ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki, w: Nauczanie społeczne i męczeństwo ks. Jerzego Popiełuszki, ed. T. Guz, A. Niedużak, R. Tłuczek, Lublin 2009, pp.165-175.
- Traktowałem Go jak starszego brata – rozmowa z ks. Kazimierzem Gniedziejką, [in:] Modlitwa za Polskę. Ksiądz Jerzy Popiełuszko we wspomnieniach bliskich, ed. P. Czartoryski-Sziler, Szczecinek 2004, pp.37-44.
- ZIELIŃSKI Z., Pius IX, [in:] Catholic Encyclopedia, vol. XV, Lublin 2011, column 753-756.



The preparation of the English version of Roczniki Teologiczne (Annals of Theology) no. 4 and its publication in electronic databases was financed under contract no. 753/P-DUN/2017 from the resources of the Minister of Science and Higher Education for the popularization of science.