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The School of Patriotism in the Sermons of Karol Wojtyła

Patriotism is a value which continues to lead to numerous polemics. Writing from a feminist perspective, Magdalena Środa has claimed that she associates the term “patriotism” with aggression or something that is very boring.² Among those who have discussed this topic, there is a lack of consensus not only on the substance of the matter but even with regards to how many kinds of patriotism there are. It suffices to have a look at the very titles of different publications. Jan Józef Lipski has written about two kinds of patriotism,³ while Andrzej Walicki has written of three.⁴ Perhaps no one, however, has come up with as many different kinds of patriotism as the above-mentioned Magdalena Środa, who has counted a total of six different kinds of patriotism: sentimental (mythical), republican, civic, urban, cosmopolitan, and organic patriotism.⁵ For those who have tried to count the number of kinds of patriotism part of a statement by Władysław Bartoszewski

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² M. Środa, *Patriotyzm jest nudny*, “Wprost” 19 (2011), p. 40.

³ J.J. Lipski, *Dwie ojczyzny, dwa patriotyzmy. Uwagi o megalomanii narodowej i ksenofobii Polaków*, Warszawa 2006.

⁴ A. Walicki, *Trzy patriotyzmy*, Kraków 1991, p. 7.

⁵ M. Środa, *Jaki patriotyzm?*, “Gazeta Wyborcza” 103 (2010), p. 15.

is worth noting: “Patriotyzm jest jeden, tak jak uczciwość jest jedna, moralność jest jedna, godność jest jedna, honor jest jeden [...]. Patriotyzm jest jeden, patriotyzm — czyli stosunek do ojczyzny. Stosunek do wartości. Stosunek do narodu. Stosunek do państwa”.⁶

In light of various questions that patriotism and its understanding in the twenty-first century raise through various intellectual currents and ideologies,⁷ it is worth taking a closer look at the teachings of the great patriot Karol Wojtyła on this topic. The centenary of the Polish Pope’s birth in 2020 is conducive to such an attempt. In this article, the author analyzes Karol Wojtyła’s sermons dealing with the topics of patriotism and love of one’s fatherland that were given before his election to the Chair of St. Peter. In light of them, one can indicate that the future pope’s patriotism was shaped by the history of Poland and the country’s monuments; examples of great, heroic figures; and love for one’s nation, language, tradition, and culture.

The history of Poland and its monuments as a school of patriotism

Karol Wojtyła, a major intellectual, was the bishop of a city that has been the intellectual center of Poland for centuries. He could easily decipher the great history of his nation and its struggle for freedom in the squares, streets, university buildings, churches, and houses he passed each day.⁸

The Wawel Cathedral in particular played a major role in the life of Karol Wojtyła, which he expressed on numerous occasions. His relationship to this church began when as an adolescent boy in the fifth grade of the middle school he participated in the singing of the so-called Tenebrae there on Holy Wednesday.⁹ This religious service remained anchored in his memory throughout his life. He shared this experience years later in 1976, when he became the first Pole invited

⁶ “There is but one patriotism, just as there is one honesty, one morality, one dignity, and one honor [...]. There is but one patriotism, or one’s attitude towards his or her fatherland, one’s attitude towards values, one’s attitude towards the nation, and one’s attitude towards the state”: W. Bartoszewski, *Patriotyzm czasu wojny i pokoju* [in:] *Patriotyzm polski: jaki jest? jaki winien być?*, Warszawa 2001, p. 14. Regarding the topic of polemics concerning the understanding of patriotism across the ages, it is worth seeing: K. Panuś, M. Skwara, *Wprowadzenie* [in:] *Kazania patriotyczne*, wydali i opracowali K. Panuś i M. Skwara, (Kazania w Kulturze Polskiej. Edycje Kolekcji Tematycznych, 7), Kraków 2019, p. 711–728, <https://doi.org/10.21906/9788376431819> [accessed 30.09.2020].

⁷ Zob. *Naród, Ojczyzna, patriotyzm. Kompendium nauczania Kościoła katolickiego*, red. P. Gołóbców, G. Sokołowski, Wrocław 2019, p. 13.

⁸ Zob. G. Weigel, *Świadek nadziei. Biografia papieża Jana Pawła II*, Kraków 2000, p. 238–239.

⁹ Cf. M. Radej, *Kaznodziejstwo biskupa, arcybiskupa i kardynała Karola Wojtyły w katedrze na Wawelu*, Kraków 2008, p. 15–17.

to the Vatican in order to give a retreat for Pope Paul VI and officials of the Roman Curia. In light of this unusual presentation, he recalled:

Nie zapomnę nigdy pierwszego przeżycia tych słów i tej liturgii w wielkiej „oprave” katedry wawelskiej. [...] Pamiętam rzędy ławek zajęte przez alumnów z seminarium, stalle, w których godnie zasiadywali prałaci i kanonicy kapituły, wreszcie przy wielkim ołtarzu katedry Metropolity Krakowskiego, niezapomnianego Księcia Adama Sapiechę. W centralnym miejscu wielki trójnóg, na którym paliły się świece, wygaszane w miarę jak zebrani kończyli śpiewać poszczególne psalmy. [...] Nieraz zastanawiałem się nad tym przeżyciem, którego nigdy już później nie dała mi w takim stopniu Ciemna Jutrznia, nawet w tej samej katedrze. Tamto było jedyne w swoim rodzaju. Polegało na jakimś wielkim odkryciu.¹⁰

With the passage of time, Karol Wojtyła's relationship to the Wawel Cathedral continually deepened. When Cardinal Adam Sapieha ordained him on November 1, 1946, the following day the newly ordained priest celebrated his first Mass in the oldest part of the cathedral, in the Romanesque St. Leonard's Crypt. Years later, he would explain his motivation in selecting this place in *Gift and Mystery*, a book published on the fiftieth anniversary of his priestly ordination:

I chose this place for the celebration of my first Masses in order to express my spiritual bonds with those buried in that Cathedral. Given its history, it is a monument without parallel. More than any other Polish church, the Wawel Cathedral is full of historical and theological significance. The kings of Poland are buried there, beginning with Władysław Łokietek: there they were crowned and there they were laid to rest. All who visit the Cathedral find themselves immersed in the nation's history.¹¹

Karol Wojtyła's relationship with the Krakow cathedral did not end with the celebration of his first Mass. On September 28, 1958, he was ordained an aux-

¹⁰ "I will never forget the first time I experienced those words and that liturgy in their great 'framework' in the Wawel Cathedral. [...] I remember the rows of benches taken up by seminarians; the choir stalls where chapter canons and Monsignors sat for hours; and, finally, the unforgettable Archbishop of Krakow, Prince Adam Sapieha, at the cathedral's great altar. In the central place, there was a great hearse on which candles burned and became extinguished as those gathered gradually finished singing the various Psalms. [...] I have often thought about this experience, which I never again had during the Tenebrae, even in the same cathedral. That experience was one of a kind, and it was a sort of great discovery": K. Wojtyła, *Znak sprzeciwu. Rekolekcje w Watykanie od 5 do 12 marca 1976*, Paryż 1980, p. 81, 82.

¹¹ John Paul II, *Gift and Mystery: On the Fiftieth Anniversary of My Priestly Ordination*, New York 1996, pp. 46–47.

iliary bishop in front of the main altar of that cathedral by Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak accompanied by Bishops Franciszek Jop and Bolesław Kominek. From that point, the future pope's ties to the Wawel Cathedral consistently grew deeper, until he was named Archbishop of Krakow on December 30, 1963. Karol Wojtyła's solemn installation in the Wawel Cathedral and his taking over the office of the shepherd of the Archdiocese of Krakow took place on March 8, 1964, the fourth Sunday of Lent.

At that time, the new Archbishop of Krakow said the following important words about the magnitude of this place of worship:

Zdajemy sobie wszyscy dobrze sprawę, że wejść do tej katedry nie można bez wzruszenia. Więcej powiem: Nie można do niej wejść bez drżenia wewnętrznego, bez lęku; bo zawiera się w niej — jak w mało której katedrze świata — ogromna wielkość, którą przemawia do nas cała nasza historia, cała nasza przeszłość; przemawia zespołem pomników, przemawia zespołem sarkofagów, ołtarzy, rzeźb, ale nade wszystko przemawia do nas cała nasza przeszłość, cała nasza historia — zespołem imion i nazwisk. Wszystkie te imiona i nazwiska znaczą i wyznaczają [...] olbrzymią, tysiącletnią drogę naszych dziejów.¹²

Through its complex of the moments and sarcophagi of kings, bishops, bards, and national heroes, the Wawel Cathedral pointedly expresses the nation's history and facilitates becoming deeply rooted in the history of the fatherland and becoming acquainted with its great figures for the visitor. The panorama of both political, economic, and social events as well as the spiritual history of the nation are present in it.¹³ If merely entering the Wawel Cathedral is moving, it must have all the more made the man who crossed the threshold of that church to begin his new ministry as archbishop tremble internally all the more.

The statement that the Wawel Cathedral is the heart of the nation and the Church is important to understanding Karol Wojtyła's patriotism. From that vantage point, one must look broadly at not only the entire fatherland stretching from north to south and from east to west, but also beyond its borders to the whole world, although undoubtedly from that place one sees the entire his-

¹² "We know very well that it is impossible to enter this cathedral without being moved. I will say more: It is impossible to come inside it without trembling internally, because like few other cathedrals in the world it has a great magnitude through which all of history and all our past speak to us; it speaks through a complex of monuments, sarcophagi, altars, and statues, but above all the entirety of the past and all our history speak to us through a complex of names. All these names indicate and signify [...] an enormous, thousand-year path of our history": K. Wojtyła, *Kazanie wygłoszone w czasie ingresu Arcybiskupa-Metropolity w katedrze wawelskiej 8 marca 1964* [in:] K. Wojtyła, *Kazania 1962–1978*, Kraków 1979, p. 11.

¹³ Cf. M. Radej, *Kaznodziejstwo...*, p. 21.

tory of our nation, salvation history in our nation's history, best. This heart is very old, as it is a thousand years old. It could seem, Karol Wojtyła claimed, that "nie udźwignie dalej tak wielkiej przeszłości i tylu bogactw, wybitnych postaci i świadków, a jednak wciąż bije i czerpiemy z niego siłę".¹⁴ Here, "rozumie się do końca, do samych korzeni, tę rzeczywistość jaką stanowi naród polski, ojczyzna nasza, Kościół w tysiącletnich dziejach tego narodu".¹⁵ Furthermore, according to Wojtyła, the Wawel Cathedral is the heart of all Poles, wherever they may be, including in the United States of America and various countries across the world. That which unites them is the heart that beats on Jasna Góra and beats in the Wawel Cathedral.¹⁶ Simple life experience leads the preacher to conclude: "Dopóki bije serce — żyje człowiek. Dopóki bije serce — żyje Naród".¹⁷ Thus, the role of the cathedral in Polish life is akin to that of a heart, to one of the most important human vital organs.¹⁸

With the Wawel Cathedral in the background, Karol Wojtyła spoke about love for the fatherland in a sermon preached on Corpus Christi on May 25, 1978. At the fourth altar of the procession, he explained its importance in a poignant way. He made an appeal that we would not allow the truth about the history of the Polish nation to become distorted. At that point, Karol Wojtyła said some important words:

Nasze oczy podnoszą się w górę, rysują się przed nami wieże Wawelu. Wawel, to znaczy nasza przeszłość; przeszłość wciąż obecna w naszych sercach, w naszej współczesności, w naszej polskiej rzeczywistości. Modlimy się więc za ojczyznę, widząc całą jej przeszłość. Przeszłość wielką i trudną; przeszłość, która całym pokoleniom wyciskała łzy. Całe pokolenia krwawiły, nosiły kajdany! Tym cennie-

¹⁴ "...it will no longer be able to carry such a great past and so many riches, great figures, and witnesses, but it continues to beat and we gain strength from it": K. Wojtyła, *Kazanie na Boże Narodzenie wygłoszone 25 XII 1969*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E III 6, p. 252; idem, *Kazanie na niedzielę Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego wygłoszone 22 IV 1973*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E III 17/54a, p. 1; idem, *Kazanie na niedzielę Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego wygłoszone 11 IV 1971*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E VII 11, p. 52.

¹⁵ "...one fully understands, down to the very roots, the reality of the Polish nation, our fatherland, and the Church in the thousand-year history of this nation": idem, *Kazanie na Mszy św. z udziałem abpa Luigi Poggi wygłoszone 7 II 1974*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E VII 14, p. 31.

¹⁶ Idem, *O błogosławionej Jadwidze Królowej z okazji uroczystości oświęcimskich. Kazanie wygłoszone w katedrze wawelskiej 15 października 1972* [in:] *O świętej Jadwidze królowej Polski mówią...*, zebrał i opracował M. Jagosz, Kraków 1997, p. 227.

¹⁷ "As long as the heart beats, the person lives; As long as the heart beats, the Nation lives": ibidem.

¹⁸ M. Radej, *Kaznodziejstwo...*, p. 24–25.

sza jest dla nas ta ojczyzna, ponieważ okupiona ceną tyłu pokoleń. Nie oderwiemy się od tej przeszłości! Nie pozwolimy jej sobie wyrwać z duszy! Ona jest treścią naszej tożsamości także i dzisiaj! Chcemy, ażeby nasza młodzież poznawała całą prawdę o dziejach Narodu. Chcemy, ażeby dziedzictwo polskiej kultury, bez żadnych dewiacji, było przekazywane coraz to nowym pokoleniom Polaków! Naród żyje prawdą o sobie. Ma prawo do prawdy o sobie! [...] Dlatego tu na tym miejscu zanosimy modlitwy o przyszłość naszej ojczyzny, Bo Ją miłujemy! bo Ją miłujemy! To jest nasza wielka miłość! I niech nikt nie śmie rozliczać nas z miłości ojczyzny, do Polski! Niech się nikt nie waży!¹⁹

This was the last Corpus Christi procession led by Karol Wojtyła from the Wawel Cathedral to the streets of Krakow before his election to the Chair of St. Peter on October 16, 1978. The exceptional length of this quotation is justified not only by its beauty, but also by the importance of the matters with which it deals. At that time, the communist regime struggled against love of the fatherland and a feeling of national belonging, instead promoting an affinity for the local traditions of proletarian internationalism that was devoid of patriotism. It was said that the worker had no fatherland, or that his fatherland was at best the working class. There raged a true struggle between proletarian internationalism and national identity that tried to erase the former at all costs. It is only in this context that Karol Wojtyła's final words from the above-quoted sermon become comprehensible. "Zanosimy modlitwy o przyszłość naszej ojczyzny, bo Ją miłujemy! Bo Ją miłujemy! To jest nasza wielka miłość! I niech nikt nie śmie rozliczać nas z miłości ojczyzny, do Polski! Niech się nikt nie waży!"²⁰ The communist ideology, which preached the class struggle and class dictatorship, did not succeed in annihilating national identity or religious awareness. The feelings of national and

¹⁹ "Our eyes are raised up and we see the towers of the Wawel before us. The Wawel means the past, the past that is still present in our hearts, in our everyday life, and in our Polish reality. Thus, we pray for our fatherland, seeing the entirety of its past, the past that was great and difficult and that made many generations shed tears. Many generations bled and were handcuffed! Thus, this fatherland is all the more valuable for us because it was bought by the struggles of so many generations. We will not cut our ties to that past! We will not allow for it to be extirpated from our souls! It is also our identity today! We want our young people to learn the full truth about the history of the Nation. We want the legacy of Polish culture to be passed on to future generations of Poles without any deviations! The nation lives thanks to the truth about itself. It has the right to the truth about itself! [...] Thus, it is here that we present our prayers about the future of our fatherland because we love it! Because we love it! This is our great love! May no one dare to try to make us reject our love for Poland, our fatherland! May no one dare!": K. Wojtyła, *Kazanie w czasie procesji Bożego Ciała 25 maja 1978* [in:] idem, *Kazania 1962–1978*, Kraków 1979, p. 64.

²⁰ "We present our prayers about the future of our fatherland, because we love it! Because we love it! This is our great love! May no one dare to try to make us reject our love for Poland, our fatherland! May no one dare!": ibidem.

religious identity remained untouched, and in fact, in a sense became strengthened.

Love for one's fatherland is also taught by material monuments that our ancestors have left behind. One of them to which Karol Wojtyła frequently referred is worth noting. It is Queen Jadwiga's rationale, which is stored in the treasury of the Wawel Cathedral until the present. The royal rationale is very similar to an archbishop's pallium with the difference that whereas a pallium is a modest vestment made of white cotton marked by six black crosses, a rationale can be richly decorated. Only the bishops of Krakow have had the privilege to wear it in Poland. Upon arriving in Krakow, Queen Jadwiga decided that the rationale that had been used until that point was too modest and insufficiently ornamental. Thus, she decided to make a new one. This was supposed to simultaneously be a coronation gift that was appropriate to the custom according to which royal spouses made an effort to place a rich gift in their cathedral after coronation. In accordance with this custom, Jadwiga began working on the creation of a new rationale. In the embroidery workshop, the rationale was covered in hundreds of tiny pearls that delicately glimmered amidst the gold inscriptions. At the end of the rationale, one can read the foundress's name: *Hedvigis regina, Ludovici regis filia*. The rationale also contains the crest of the White Eagle and the coat of arms of the Angevin kings of Hungary.

As has already been mentioned, Karol Wojtyła liked to emphasize and reference this gift of Queen Jadwiga for the Wawel Cathedral. He expressed his gratitude to the queen most beautifully in his Easter sermon in the memorable year of 1978.

Moi Drodzy, kiedy jako następca biskupów krakowskich mam sprawować uroczystą Mszę św., zwłaszcza w największe święta, wkładam na siebie racjonął królowej Jadwigi. I muszę myśleć o tej postaci, od której już dzieli nas 600 prawie lat; o tych palcach, które to wspaniałe dzieło — przede wszystkim szatę liturgiczną, ale zarazem dzieło sztuki — utkały. Muszę myśleć o człowieku, który w ten sposób o tyle stuleci przedłużył swoje istnienie w naszej pamięci.²¹

Cardinal Wojtyła also referred to the rationale in his other speeches on the Wawel Hill, especially on the six-hundredth anniversary of the queen's birth, both

²¹ "My dear brethren, when I celebrate another Mass as the successor to the archbishops of Krakow, especially on the great holidays, I put on Queen Jadwiga's rationale. I must then think of this figure, who is separated from us chronologically by nearly six hundred years and the fingers that weaved this wonderful work, which is above all the liturgical vestment, but also the work of art. I must think about the person who prolonged her existence in our memory across the centuries in this way": idem, *Homilia wielkanocna* 26 marca 1978 [in:] idem, *Kazania 1962–1978*, Kraków 1979, p. 45.

in his sermon and during the main ceremonies,²² as well as during his meeting with youths.²³ In this way, he consolidated the memory of Jadwiga and her great works. He noted that love of one's fatherland is taught by great works of one's native culture.

Models of love of the fatherland

Great figures in Polish history in whose life love of the fatherland fully shone also played an important role in Karol Wojtyła's school of patriotism. Apart from the saints, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Krakow also frequently expressed his great admiration for his predecessor in St. Stanislaus' episcopal see, Prince Adam Stefan Sapieha (1867–1951). His life perfectly reflected the struggles that the Polish nation faced in the twentieth century. First, this was the painful experience of the First World War. Next, the nation had to undergo a dramatic struggle for survival with two totalitarian systems. During the Second World War, this was the Nazi ideology, which was followed by many years of the history of communist dictatorship in the postwar period. Both totalitarian systems and, on the one hand, the horror of the war and the Nazi concentration camps and, on the other, communist terror and repression weighed heavily on the twentieth century.

In his speech during an academic session on the occasion of the Millennial Anniversary of the Baptism of Poland, Karol Wojtyła emphasized that the decisive and unswerving attitude of Prince Adam Stefan Sapieha towards the enemy, especially during the time of the German occupation, made him a great moral authority in Polish society. Being of short stature and advanced in age, as at the time the war broke out the archbishop was seventy-three years old,²⁴ he nonetheless had a very mighty spiritual power that shaped both Church life and social life. "Okres okupacyjny był dla Niego — jak i dla całego narodu — jakąś krańcową

²² "Ma to prawo i obowiązek biskup Kościoła krakowskiego, który do dzisiaj nosi na swych szatach przez nią haftowany racjonal" [The bishop of the Church in Krakow, who until the present day has been wearing this rationale weaved by her hands, has this right and duty]; K. Wojtyła, *Obchody sześćsetlecia urodzin Królowej Jadwigi*, Katedra Wawelska, 17 lutego 1974 [in:] *O Świętej Jadwidze...*, p. 244.

²³ "Ja, biskup krakowski, który na swoich szatach noszę jeszcze żywą pamiątkę jej miłości do Kościoła: ten racjonal zrobiony rękoma królowej Jadwigi" [I, the bishop of Krakow, who wears this still-living memento of her love of the Church, this rationale made by the hands of Queen Jadwiga]; K. Wojtyła, *Kazanie do młodzieży*, Katedra Wawelska, 17 lutego 1974 [in:] *O Świętej Jadwidze...*, p. 250.

²⁴ K. Wojtyła, *Adam Stefan Kardynał Sapieha Metropolita Krakowski oraz duchowieństwo Archidiecezji w okresie ciemnej nocy okupacji — przemówienie [...] podczas Sesji Naukowej Tysiąclecia, 7 maja 1966, „Notificaciones e Curia Metropolitana Cracoviensi” 5–6 (1966), p. 123.*

próbą duchowej siły”.²⁵ The attitude of this Unswerving Prince of the Church was a clear guideline and source of hope for a better future for the tormented nation. During five years of terrible suffering, the eyes of not only the clergy and lay faithful of the Archdiocese of Krakow turned towards him, but literally those of the entirety of Poland and all Poles who were thrown out of their country because of the war.²⁶

Unquestionably, this did not mean that the Church should usurp the authority and the aims that the nation should implement as part of its social duties. This meant mutual aid, respecting the rules of the autonomy and independence of both entities. The unification of forces against a common enemy was an effective means of defense. Archbishop Sapięha was a clear sign of this unification and identification. During the Second World War, his efforts, which aimed to defend civilians against the oppression of the invader and to provide material aid, clearly presented the unity of the Church with the suffering nation. The Germans chose Krakow to be the headquarters of the General Government. “Metropolita krakowski musiał stanąć oko w oko z najeźdźcą, który nie liczył się z żadnym prawem boskim ani ludzkim, zadufany w swej sile — brutalnej i okrutnej. Siły tej używał zaś w tym celu, aby wyniszczyć naród polski w sensie biologicznym i duchowym. Przed wyniszczeniem zdeptać, poniżyć, odczłowieczyć”.²⁷

According to Wojtyła, during the dark night of Nazi occupation²⁸ Cardinal Sapięha was a spiritual leader who expressed the nation’s attitude. “Wróg może nas gnębić i uciskać, ale nigdy nie sięgnie do duszy polskiej i nie potrafi jej ujarzmić”.²⁹ Through his decisive and unwavering nature as well as the power of his spirit, Cardinal Sapięha was the greatest clear authority of the Church and nation who defended the nation’s spirit at a time when so many authorities had been overthrown. His unassuming and delicate frame intimidated the enemy, who thought it possessed strength and military power. Meanwhile, for the Polish nation he was a guidepost and source of consolation as well as faith in a better

²⁵ “The period of the occupation was a kind of the extreme trial of spiritual strength for both him and the entire nation”: *ibidem*.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 124, “The archbishop’s Church activity and national activity were very closely tied to one another. During the time of the occupation, the lives of both the nation and the Church were in peril. According to the testimony of the Germans themselves, the Church was the main anchor of the nation”.

²⁷ “The Archbishop of Krakow had to look the invader, who respected no human or divine laws and was arrogant about his force, in the eye. This force was used in order to destroy the Polish nation in the biological and spiritual sense. Before destroying it, he had to trample on the nation, humiliating and dehumanizing it in the process”: *ibidem*, p. 123.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

²⁹ “The enemy can oppress and torment us, but it will never be able to reach into the Polish soul and vanquish it”: *ibidem*, p. 125.

tomorrow!³⁰ The cathedral was closed during the occupation. On All Saints' Day celebrations in 1939, Archbishop Sapieha celebrated his last Mass, in which the inhabitants of Krakow were not allowed to participate. Throughout all the years of the occupation, Prince Adam Stefan Sapieha was not allowed to enter his own cathedral.³¹ During the difficult time of the occupation, Sapieha, like all Poles, knew neither the day nor the hour. He suffered upon seeing his closest collaborators fall into the hands of the Gestapo and be sentenced to imprisonment in jails and concentration camps.

In these difficult historical moments, numerous priests and lay faithful with a great feeling of responsibility for the nation came to aid Cardinal Adam Sapieha. Attracted to the decisive example of their bishop, they saw in him both a pastor and the father of the fatherland.³² In his Wawel sermons, Karol Wojtyła expressed great reverence to all those who led the Church and the nation during this terrible time. Many of them paid for this support with prison sentences, internment in concentration camps, or death.³³

In all his sermons in the Wawel Cathedral that mentioned the figure of Adam Sapieha, Karol Wojtyła expressed his love and admiration for this prelate. This was not only because of the fact that Sapieha laid his hands on Wojtyła on November 1, 1946, thus making him a priest. This reverence for Cardinal Sapieha was evident in the sermon that Wojtyła gave during his installation Mass at the cathedral basilica on the Wawel Hill. The new Bishop of Krakow confessed to his audience that he had realized he would be his successor: "Poniżej tego ołtarza spoczywa mój... boję się wymówić... Poprzednik. Boję się wymówić dlatego, że wszyscy w Polsce wiedzą, co znaczy to nazwisko i imię — a przed chwilą słyszeliśmy, że Ojciec Święty mnie wskazał jako jego następcę: Adam Stefan Kardynał Sapieha".³⁴

³⁰ Ibidem.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² Ibidem, p. 125–126, "Głęboką czcią otaczamy pamięć wielu kapłanów, którzy wraz z Księciem Metropolitą przeprowadzili Kościół i naród przez ten straszliwy okres. Wielu przypłaciło to więzieniem, obozem lub śmiercią. Wspominamy również wielu wybitnych ludzi świeckich, którzy wtedy stali tak blisko Księcia Kardynała, czując w nim nie tylko Pasterza, ale prawdziwego «Pater patriae» w latach najboleśniejszego doświadczenia" [We have great reverence for the numerous priests who along with the Archbishop led the Church and the nation throughout this terrible period. Many paid for this with their lives or internment in a concentration camp or prison. We also recall the numerous great laypeople who at that time were close to the Cardinal-Prince, seeing him as not only a shepherd but a true *Pater patriae* during the time of the greatest trial].

³³ Ibidem.

³⁴ "Below this altar rests my — I'm afraid of saying this — great predecessor. I am afraid to say this because everyone in Poland knows what his name means, and a moment before we heard that the Holy Father has chosen me to be his successor. That name is Adam Stefan Cardinal Sapieha": K. Wojtyła, *Kazanie wygłoszone w czasie ingresu...*, p. 12.

Cardinal Adam Sapieha strove for an inimitable unification of the Church and the nation, particularly in their greatest historical struggles.³⁵ After the war, meanwhile, during the difficult years of Stalinist terror, this great shepherd did everything to save the Church in Poland from communist enslavement. Cardinal Karol Wojtyła recalled in the cathedral that it was he who gave the Holy See's letter containing the Holy Father's recommendation for Stefan Wyszyński, then-Bishop of Lublin, to be elevated to the seat of the Primate of Poland, which had become empty after the death of his predecessor, Cardinal August Hlond.³⁶ Subsequent years would attest to how good a decision this was.

All of Cardinal Sapieha's efforts related to external and internal threats were in their essence efforts in favor of the right of people to a life of dignity. Nothing can justify doing harm to a fellow human being. Cardinal Sapieha protested that the crimes perpetrated against the nation be punished. Karol Wojtyła emphasized this in his sermons. Every person has the right to life, including the right to live in his or her fatherland. Cardinal Sapieha's efforts were on behalf of this right.³⁷ The closest to Cardinal Sapieha's heart "was always the question of the person; that is what the person needs most. This topic was most accurately inscribed in the broad context of the life of the Church and nation. That was the case after the First World War and to an even greater extent this was also true during the Second World War and the terrible occupation".³⁸

It is easy to see that Cardinal Adam Sapieha's spiritual leadership was implemented in the defense of the persecuted nation. The archbishop's attitude personified the stance of national opposition to the enemy's destructive activities, especially during the two world wars. This shepherd's decisive resistance to the invader and his subsequent initiatives in favor of respecting human rights raised the spirits of the Poles, who were worried about the growing uncertainty about tomorrow and the increasing possibility of an unexpected death. In building the unity of the Church with society, the bishop-prince's father-like concern led him to seek out methods of defense against dangers. All his efforts in this area essentially led to one aim, namely, to the right to a life of dignity that every human

³⁵ Idem, *Kazanie na pogrzebie ks. inf. Edwarda Lubowieckiego wygłoszone 22 XII 1975*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E III 12, p. 338.

³⁶ Idem, *Kazanie wygłoszone w katedrze wawelskiej na srebrny jubileusz prymasostwa ks. kard. Stefana Wyszyńskiego, 12 listopada 1973* [in:] idem, *Kazania 1962–1978*, Kraków 1979, p. 465.

³⁷ Cf. idem, *Kazanie na niedzielę Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego wygłoszone 18 IV 1976*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E III 13, p. 98–99.

³⁸ „...to zawsze była sprawa człowieka: tego najbardziej potrzebującego człowieka. I zawsze ta sprawa była najtrafniej wpisana w szeroki kontekst życia Kościoła i narodu. Tak było za czasów I wojny światowej i tak też, w o wiele jeszcze większym wymiarze, było za czasów II wojny światowej i straszliwej okupacji”: idem, *Kazanie na pogrzebie ks. inf. Edwarda Lubowieckiego...*, p. 336.

being deserves regardless of race, nationality, or religious affiliation, and so persecuting or killing humans could not be easily justified.

Pope Paul VI was also impressed by Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha's greatness. The Pope recalled his encounter with the cardinal many years earlier in his conversations with Karol Wojtyła. Karol Wojtyła confessed in his sermon that Paul VI frequently referred to this figure with great reverence.³⁹

Thus, according to Karol Wojtyła great figures in one's national history — saints and providential statesmen — can be very instructive in bringing us up in love for the fatherland and responsibility for the nation. Sanctity in no ways contradicts engagement in building the good of the fatherland. On the contrary, it is realized through the faithful fulfillment of God's commandments, which serve the good of the person living in a specific place and time.

Love for one's nation and its language, tradition, and culture

When preaching the Word of God, Karol Wojtyła also spoke of the concern the Church has for building up the highest values in the nation. Only bringing up people in the truth can be a fundament, while Christ is the source and fullness of the truth. Faithfully accepting the Redeemer as the basis for personal and communal education leads to the greatest heights being attained by people of culture. Such an understanding of education and culture are built by the state that should serve the comprehensive development of the person.

According to the Krakow bishop, true love for the fatherland is based on deep attachment to and love for what belongs to one's culture, irrespective of time and place. Thus, the creative force of true patriotism is the most noble love.⁴⁰ However much the person esteems the value of the fatherland, he or she should remember that God, who alone is the only one with the right to create moral norms regardless of individual nations, is above all nations. Thus, Christian love for the fatherland is not only concern for its highest economic, social, and cultural, but its spiritual and religious development as well.

The family home should be the first source of one's sense of the fatherland. In a regular home and regular family, the person should experience love and respect for his or her fatherland. In any case, such is the normative horizon in Poland. The

³⁹ Idem, *Kazanie wygłoszone w katedrze wawelskiej po śmierci Pawła VI, 10 sierpnia 1978* [in:] idem, *Kazania 1962–1978*, Kraków 1979, p. 518.

⁴⁰ Later, as the Pope he expressed his love for his fatherland by kissing the Polish soil. "I kissed the Polish soil from which I had been raised", John Paul II said as he began his first pilgrimage to Poland at the Okęcie airport in Warsaw on June 2, 1979. During that same month four years later, on June 16, 1983, John Paul II compared this earth to a mother's hand and called the fatherland itself the "earthly mother".

fatherland is a great family home, and a small fatherland, which is the seed of all patriotic feelings that make us capable of heroism, has its beginning in the home.⁴¹

Cardinal Karol Wojtyła devoted much attention to the problems of marriage and the human family during his teaching addressed to the inhabitants of Zakopane. He frequently visited the capital of the Polish Tatras around Christmastime for the Feast of the Holy Family, the main patron of the Zakopane parish. Because the theme of the family is at the center of the mystery of Christmas, this topic dominated Karol Wojtyła's teaching in Zakopane. He first emphasized the fundamental value of the family to the normal functioning of each person and each nation. In his sermon from January 12, 1969, which was titled: *Objawienie się Boga rodzinie ludzkiej* [God's Revelation to the Human Family], he in fact said that our future will ultimately depend on our family, which is the beginning of the person; it shapes and prepares him or her for life in society.⁴² The family is an indispensable place for human formation. It is there that the person learns to live and grows in all dimensions. The fact that in His desire to save humanity God first became a person and lived in the family gives much food for thought.

Meanwhile, in his sermon on December 30, 1973, Cardinal Wojtyła emphasized that marriage and the family are not only the smallest social unit, but the most precise one as well; thus, it can be easily destroyed. Just as it is easiest to destroy the most precise and smallest mechanism, destroying marriage and the family is equally easy.⁴³ Thus, there must be efforts to ensure the mutual love of husband and wife, parents and children. Marriage and the family cannot be prone to the risk of being broken. This is the most human, and simultaneously the most divine, connection. In his December 28, 1969, sermon, Karol Wojtyła emphasized that marriage and the family come from God. Therefore, the person must accept this gift and fulfill his or her duties as God wants. Thus, during every wedding God's words, which best describe the essence of marriage, are recalled: "Whatever you bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven". Strong family ties are found where the family is strong in God. Meanwhile, where that strong family flowing from God breaks down, the family is weakened; a family strong in God is the basis of the strength of all society and the entire nation.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Cf. W. Chudy, *Rodzina a wartość patriotyzmu* [in:] *Servo veritatis. Materiały międzynarodowej konferencji dla uczczenia 25-lecia pontyfikatu Jego Świątobliwości Jana Pawła II*, Uniwersytet Jagielloński 9–11 października 2003, Kraków 2003, p. 263.

⁴² K. Wojtyła, *Objawienie się Boga rodzinie ludzkiej* [in:] „*Na Was można zawsze liczyć!*” *Nauczanie pasterskie arcybiskupa Karola Wojtyły — papieża Jana Pawła II w Zakopanem*, red. G. Cisło et al., Zakopane 2017, p. 30.

⁴³ Idem, *Promieniowanie Świętej Rodziny* [in:] *Na Was można zawsze liczyć...*, p. 50.

⁴⁴ Idem, *Naszą Ojczyznę tworzą także Polacy znajdujący się poza jej granicami* [in:] *Na Was można zawsze liczyć...*, p. 38.

An important test of belonging to the Polish nation is attachment to Polishness while abroad as an immigrant. Cardinal Karol Wojtyła noted this aspect of cultivating language and the traditions of one's homeland during his sermon preached to the Polish diaspora from across Podhale in the United States on the Feast of the Holy Family in Zakopane on December 28, 1969. The speaker shared his recollections of his visit to Chicago. Upon arriving at the airport of this huge city, he wondered if he was in America or in Poland, as all those who greeted him were donned in Krakow or highlander folk costume. However, the children found it difficult to express themselves freely in Polish. At times, they were capable of saying only every other word, the preacher noted.⁴⁵ In this context, Karol Wojtyła spoke admiringly of the elderly priests who had worked among the Polish diaspora in the United States for many years and spoke beautiful Polish, having learned the language at home.⁴⁶

The topic of immigration and preserving one's cultural roots was also discussed by Karol Wojtyła during the visit of Cardinal John Cody, Archbishop of Chicago, and Bishop Alfred Abramowicz as well as the priests of the Archdiocese of Chicago who accompanied him on August 28, 1977. The Archbishop of Krakow interpreted the need for love of the fatherland within the spirit of the Fourth Commandment: Honor thy mother and father. It requires one to love not only one's closest family, but the fatherland, which is like a mother, as well.

Odchodząc stąd, z tej ziemi twardej, skalistej, nieurodzajnej, zabrali z sobą w sercu wielką miłość i wielką tęsknotę. Może stąd powstała ta pieśń: «Góralu, czy ci nie żal? Góralu, czy ci nie żal?». Może nawet częściej ją śpiewają za oceanem w Chicago, aniżeli tutaj w Nowym Targu, na Podhalu, bo tutaj góralowi nie żal, bo jest w swojej własnej ziemi, patrzy na swoje góry, nie odchodzi od stron ojczytych, od swoich lasów i hal, od tych potoków srebrzystych nie odchodzi. A tam odszedł; odszedł za chlebem,

Karol Wojtyła said of emigrants.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 37.

⁴⁶ Cf. ibidem, p. 38.

⁴⁷ "Leaving here, leaving this hard, rocky, barren soil, they took along with them great love and yearning in their hearts. Perhaps that is where the words of the song come from: 'Highlander, do you not regret it? Highlander, do you not regret it?' Maybe it is sung even more frequently across the ocean in Chicago than here in Nowy Targ in Podhale as here highlanders have nothing to regret as they are in their land, look at their mountains, and do not leave their fatherland, their forests and pastures; they do not depart from these silver brooks. But the highlander left to make a living": idem, *Spotkanie ze społeczeństwem Podhala 28 VIII 1977* [in:] M.S. Fryźlewicz, *Kardynał Karol Wojtyła do nowotarżan*, Nowy Targ 2014, p. 96.

In the concept of the fatherland and the feeling of love for it, the natural and supernatural, national and transcendent, particular and universal become one. Karol Wojtyła frequently expressed this topic in his sermons. He discussed it and presented the history of the Polish nation, its thousand-year history and culture, and also current social, political-moral, and religious-patriotic problems in a masterful way. He also emphasized that concern for the state of the fatherland and its future fate should also be rooted in knowledge of the history of past events, which to an extent are an aid and a science to arrive at conclusions for the future. The present and the future arise from the past.⁴⁸ We must be sensitive so that the past communicates to us would take on the significance of the present.⁴⁹

The concept of the nation, and especially of the fatherland, contains within itself a series of elements. Thus, the nation is the spiritual space whose necessary components are language, culture, ethics, and tradition. Memory of them decides about the permanence of the concept of the fatherland, which binds together the structure of numerous elements. Without this binding space of the spirit, the human community would be a mere crowd or mass, just as a house without construction and mortar would be a mere pile of stones.⁵⁰ The nation develops in this spiritual space.⁵¹

However, the human individual is always the basic component of the nation. Although the nation is a supra-individual value, the value of the individual person and respect for him or her decides about the value of the entire nation and the

⁴⁸ Idem, *Kazanie na niedzielę Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego wygłoszone 18 IV 1976...*, p. 98.

⁴⁹ Idem, *Kazanie na uroczystość Objawienia Pańskiego wygłoszone 6 I 1971*, Archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie. Akta Kardynała Karola Wojtyły, E III 8, p. 13.

⁵⁰ Cf. W. Chudy, *Rodzina a wartość patriotyzmu...*, p. 259–260.

⁵¹ Although this transcends the chronological framework adopted for this article, it would be impossible not to mention here John Paul II's speech in UNESCO in Paris on June 2, 1980, during which the Pope strongly emphasized the relationship between the culture and bringing up of not only the individual, but of the entire nation as well. John Paul II said that in order to live the nation must possess self-consciousness expressed through culture, "The Nation is, in fact, the great community of men who are united by various ties, but above all, precisely by culture. The Nation exists 'through' culture and 'for' culture, and it is therefore the great educator of men in order that they may 'be more' in the community. It is this community which possesses a history that goes beyond the history of the individual and the family. [...] I am the son of a Nation which has lived the greatest experience of history, which its neighbors have condemned to death several times, but which has survived and remained itself. It has kept its identity, and it has kept, in spite of partitions and foreign occupations, its national sovereignty, not by relying on the resources of physical power, but solely by relying on its culture. This culture turned out in the circumstances to be more powerful than all other forces. [...] There exists a fundamental sovereignty of society which is manifested in the culture of the Nation. It is a question of the sovereignty through which, at the same time, man is supremely sovereign" (John Paul II, *Address to UNESCO*, June 2, 1980, at: Interreligious Encyclopaedia of Religion and Science [INTERS.ORG], <http://inters.org/John-Paul-II-UNESCO-Culture> [accessed April 16, 2020]).

feeling of the fatherland. Freedom is an essential element without which the nation could not function. Karol Wojtyła emphasized that the Poles understand this perfectly, as they fought for their sovereignty over many long decades. Active freedom is love, and the fatherland is based around love of something. It is more or less conscious love which is the truth that builds the home of the fatherland. It is freedom that is worth fighting for; gift and struggle permeate the concept of the fatherland.⁵² Love, which is a basic component of the concept of the fatherland, is always love for people and is the core of the most authentic patriotism.

In concluding the above reflections, it should be emphasized that in the search for the proper conceptualization of patriotism, which would allow for its appropriate reception and implementation in today's pluralistic society, it is worth seeking out the teaching of Karol Wojtyła and his thinking that was elaborated in his native land at the time when he was a bishop and later the Archbishop of Krakow. The patriotism that the future pope taught grows from love of one's fatherland and monuments; the examples of great, heroic figures; and love for one's nation and its language, traditions, and culture.

Summary

Patriotism is a value which continues to lead to numerous polemics. Writing from a feminist perspective, Magdalena Środa claims that she associates the word "patriotism" with aggression or great boredom. Among those who have discussed this topic, there is a lack of consensus not only on the substance of the matter but even regarding how many kinds of patriotism there are. "There is but one patriotism, just as there is one honesty, one morality, one dignity, and one honor [...]. There is but one patriotism, or one's attitude towards his or her fatherland, one's attitude towards values, one's attitude towards the nation, and one's attitude towards the state" (Władysław Bartoszewski). Among the many questions that patriotism and its understanding give rise to in the twenty-first century, it is worth recalling the teaching of Karol Wojtyła, who was unquestionably a great Pole and patriot. The centenary of the Polish Pope's birth in 2020 is conducive to such an effort. On the basis of the sermons that Karol Wojtyła preached before his election to the Chair of St. Peter, we can indicate that his patriotism was shaped by the material monuments of Polish history, the figures of great national heroes, and love of one's nation, language, tradition, and culture.

Keywords

patriotism, fatherland, nation, historical monuments, Wawel Cathedral, national heroes, native language, tradition, culture

⁵² K. Wojtyła, *Myśląc Ojczyznę* [in:] idem, *Poezje i dramaty*, Kraków 1979, p. 87–90.

W szkole patriotyzmu Karola Wojtyły

Streszczenie

Patriotyzm jest wartością, która wciąż wywołuje wiele polemik. Pisząca z pozycji feministycznych Magdalena Środa stwierdza, że: „słowo *patriotyzm* kojarzy się z agresją lub ze śmiertelną nudą”. Dyskutantów rozważających ten problem dzieli nie tylko meritum sprawy, lecz także nawet liczba patriotyzmów. Tymczasem „patriotyzm jest jeden, tak jak uczciwość jest jedna, moralność jest jedna, godność jest jedna, honor jest jeden [...]”. Patriotyzm jest jeden, patriotyzm — czyli stosunek do ojczyzny. Stosunek do wartości. Stosunek do narodu. Stosunek do państwa” (Władysław Bartoszewski). Wobec wielu pytań, jakie nasuwa patriotyzm i jego rozumienie w XXI wieku, warto przyjrzeć się nauczaniu Karola Wojtyły, który był niekwestionowanym wielkim Polakiem i patriotą. Skłania do tego także przypadające w roku 2020 stulecie jego urodzin. Na podstawie kazań Karola Wojtyły sprzed wyboru na Stolicę Piotrową można wskazać, że jego patriotyzm kształtowały zabytki materialne historii Polski, przykłady wielkich, bohaterskich postaci i miłość do swojego narodu, jego języka, tradycji i kultury.

Słowa kluczowe

patriotyzm, Ojczyzna, naród, zabytki historyczne, katedra na Wawelu, bohaterowie narodowi, język ojczysty, tradycja, kultura

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