

Sebastian Graniczkowski  
<https://orcid.org/0009-0001-9486-4605>  
*Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow*

## **“Each bishop wears the violet of suffering on his face more than the violet of robes”— Review of the joint work “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, edited by R. Łatka and D. Zamiatała**

The joint work edited by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatała, entitled *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski* [Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the Polish Episcopate]<sup>1</sup>, was published by the Warsaw Institute of National Remembrance in 2023, as another volume in the series *Biskupi w Realach Komunistycznego Państwa* [Bishops in the Realities of the Communist State]. It's divided into thirteen chapters ranging from 20 to 30 pages each, preceded by an introduction from the volume's editors. The book comprises 350 pages, including a bibliography, abbreviation, and personal index. The first three texts cover general research, from the appointment of a new primate through the appointments of bishops during his tenure to an attempt at an overall view of the period from 1948 to 1981. The following nine chapters focus on the Primate's relationship

<sup>1</sup> *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, eds. R. Łatka, D. Zamiatała, Warszawa 2023.

with various entities and figures within the Polish Episcopate, such as the Extraordinary Episcopate Commission for Church Construction Affairs, pastoral care for emigrants, bishops of Wrocław, Krakow's Metropolitan Archbishop Karol Wojtyła, archbishops and bishops of Poznań, Lublin bishops, Silesian bishops, bishops of Włocławek, and the Częstochowa diocese. The volume concludes with a critical edition of the final letter sent by Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński to Pope John Paul II, dated May 10, 1981, just eighteen days before his death.

The very introduction to the mentioned book, authored by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatała, serves as an excellent “compass” for researchers or readers interested in the figure of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński. The authors thoroughly discussed the available literature, directing the reader to other works that delve into various topics surrounding the Primate<sup>2</sup>. The editors’ familiarity with the existing literature on the subject raises no objections, especially considering that Rafał Łatka even published a comprehensive compilation of works released in recent years concerning the Cardinal, accompanied by an assessment of their substantive value<sup>3</sup>. The same author had previously written a monograph focusing on the Polish Episcopate in 1970–1980. This work also included, among other topics, a discussion in the fourth chapter of the bishops’ perspectives on selected socio-political issues from 1970 to 1978, which in some way relates to the themes addressed in the reviewed publication<sup>4</sup>. The discussed journal aimed to fill a research gap regarding Cardinal Wyszyński’s relationship with the Episcopate. However, it was noted that the publication did not intend to exhaust this topic entirely but rather serve as an encouragement for further research<sup>5</sup>.

The first chapter by Jerzy Pietrzak focuses on the nomination of a new primate after the death of Cardinal August Hlond. The author presents the facts, elucidating the complexities and ambiguities of the papal nomination process. This lucid presentation was greatly aided by organizing the text thematically rather than chronologically. Initially, the author

2 *Wstęp*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 7–8.

3 R. Łatka, *Co nam zostanie po beatyfikacji? Przegląd publikacji dotyczących prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego wydanych w latach 2020–2021*, „Myśl Polityczna” (2021) No. 3, pp. 193–212.

4 R. Łatka, *Episkopat Polski wobec stosunków państwo—Kościół i rzeczywistości społeczno-politycznej PRL 1970–1989*, Warszawa 2019.

5 *Wstęp*, p. 8.

describes the atmosphere within the Episcopate following the funeral of the former Primate and the stance of the hierarchs' body, advocating for the separation of the two episcopal seats—Gniezno and Warsaw. Additionally, the chapter highlights their letter to Pope Pius XII dated November 16, 1948, proposing Bishop Stanisław Wyszyński for the office of Metropolitan of Warsaw and Archbishop Walenty Dymek of Poznań as the Archbishop of Gniezno—the Primate of Poland<sup>6</sup>. The author then delves into the exchange of letters between the secretary of the deceased Primate Hlond, priest Antoni Baraniak, and the Apostolic See. It is explained that the dying hierarch indicated Bishop Stefan Wyszyński for the inseparable office of Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, information that his secretary conveyed to the Pope just two days after Hlond's death—on October 24, 1948. Hence, on November 12, 1948, Pope Pius XII acceded to the last will of Cardinal August Hlond<sup>7</sup>. Jerzy Pietrzak's text also addressed an important matter: the resistance against this decision from the Metropolitan of Krakow, Cardinal Adam Stefan Sapieha, who, similar to the Episcopate, considered it necessary to separate the two archiepiscopal seats. There was also resistance from the nominee, Bishop Wyszyński, who argued that managing two such important archdioceses was beyond his strength and competencies<sup>8</sup>. The text concludes with the description of the ad limina apostolorum visit in December 1948, attended by the bishops of Płock and Łódź—Tadeusz Zakrzewski and Michał Klepacz. During this visit, Pope Pius XII reaffirmed his decision to appoint Bishop Wyszyński as the Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw<sup>9</sup>.

The author of the second chapter, Jan Kopiec, conducted a thorough study of the new bishopric appointments during the tenure of Primate Wyszyński. This study was supported by subchapters introducing the issue, dedicated to the history of bishopric appointments in Poland, as well as the territorial changes after the war and their influence on shaping the

6 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 12–17.

7 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, pp. 18–19.

8 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, pp. 21–23.

9 J. Pietrzak, *Episkopat Polski i nominacja nowego prymasa Polski Stefana Wyszyńskiego*, pp. 23–29.

image of the Church in the Polish People's Republic<sup>10</sup>. The author further demonstrated that the significant concern and efforts regarding efficient bishopric appointments stemmed from the Primate's conviction that a diocese should not remain without a shepherd, especially considering the specifics of the ruling authority. As examples of such an approach by the Primate, the appointments of Bishop Czesław Falkowski and Bishop Piotr Kalwa were cited, conducted in a very short time after Wyszyński was nominated primate<sup>11</sup>. The discussed text could also be necessary due to its thoroughly worked-out statistical aspects in the form of compilations and lists included in the annex<sup>12</sup>.

In the general part, the third and final text focused on attempting a holistic view of Cardinal Wyszyński's role as the head of the Polish Episcopate. Rafał Łatka first presented the scope of authority granted to the hierarch holding this position and then compared it with the Primate's actual practices<sup>13</sup>. The author then moved to a chronological description, opting for a non-obvious division of the period of Wyszyński's leadership of the Episcopate, which included the initial years—from assuming the office to the period of internment, the years 1956–1957, and 1956–1981. The author emphasized the period of 1956–1957 due to the strengthening of Wyszyński's position as the leader, stemming from his return from internment and the accompanying conviction about martyrdom<sup>14</sup>. Rafał Łatka also highlighted the adept utilization by Wyszyński of the talents of his collaborators. Over the years, the author considered the following figures as among the most significant: Archbishop Antoni Baraniak, Bishop Zygmunt Chromański, Bishop Michał Klepacz, Bishop Bronisław Dąbrowski, Bishop Bolesław Kominek, Cardinal Karol Wojtyła, Bishop Ignacy Tokarczuk, Archbishop Jerzy Stroba, and Cardinal Franciszek

10 J. Kopiec, *Troska prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego o nowych biskupów w Polsce*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 33–38.

11 J. Kopiec, *Troska prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego o nowych biskupów w Polsce*, p. 40.

12 J. Kopiec, *Troska prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego o nowych biskupów w Polsce*, pp. 44–49.

13 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981). Próba całościowego spojrzenia*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 53–57.

14 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981)*, pp. 57–67.

Macharski<sup>15</sup>. The author concluded by emphasizing that in the figure of Cardinal Wyszyński as the leader of the Episcopate, one should see not only a superb organizer but more a leader than an autocrat. He highlighted that Wyszyński led to the point where “the episcopate appeared outwardly as fully unified”<sup>16</sup>. The author’s argumentation and the thesis are confirmed not only by Rafał Łatka’s logical reasoning but also by the conclusions drawn from further articles in the discussed volume.

The series of nine subsequent articles, delving into more specific issues, focused on the relationship between the Primate and the hierarchs representing particular entities. Ryszard Gryz, for instance, first described the Primate’s influence on the establishment of the Extraordinary Episcopal Commission for Church Construction and then his support for its chairpersons, Bishop Herbert Bednorz and later Bishop Jerzy Modzelewski<sup>17</sup>, Józef Szymański delved into the intricate issue of pastoral care for the emigration, initially entrusted to Bishop Józef Gawlina and, after his death, to Bishop Władysław Rubin<sup>18</sup>. Dominik Zamiatała, Józef Marecki, Elżbieta Wojcieszek, Mariusz Leszczyński, Adam Dziurok, Antoni Poniński, and Paweł Kostrzewski, in their works, depicted a mosaic of relationships between Cardinal Wyszyński and various hierarchs across different dioceses, effectively creating a cohesive overall picture: a shepherd who cares about good relations with every member of the Episcopate, a cardinal who leads but isn’t afraid to seek help from those more competent in specific matters, and someone capable of prioritizing the Church’s welfare and the Episcopate’s interests over personal animosities or viewpoints. At this point, it’s worth mentioning the example of priest Kazimierz Lagosz, whom the Primate often criticized for his communist-leaning sermon content, personally viewing him as “a man exhausted by wild ambitions”. However, Wyszyński didn’t hesitate to delegate canonical

15 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981)*, pp. 67–68.

16 R. Łatka, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński jako przewodniczący episkopatu Polski (1948–1981)*, p. 71.

17 R. Gryz, *Nadzwyczajna Komisja Episkopatu do spraw Budownictwa Kościółów*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 75–101.

18 J. Szymański, *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński a duszpasterstwo emigracyjne*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 102–124.

responsibilities to him to protect the Church's unity<sup>19</sup>. However, one cannot overlook instances vastly contrasting with the situation of Priest Lagosz. Such was the undoubtedly warm relationship between the Primate and Archbishop Baraniak. It's essential to note that their imprisonment, aimed at breaking them, brought them even closer. While Wyszyński was in Komańcza and learned about Baraniak's imprisonment, he wrote on August 2–3—the anniversary of both hierarchs' ordination—"I am very grateful for this grace for Bishop. It seems that each Bishop wears the violet of suffering on his face more than the violet of robes"<sup>20</sup>. Those words became a "manifesto" for Cardinal Wyszyński throughout his entire service to the Church during the communist era, perfectly aligning with his profound humility and perseverance in the face of persecution.

However, alongside the undoubted strengths of this part of the publication, it also brought forth numerous question marks. It prompted the author of this review to present several observations regarding the continuation of research. The book's fundamental flaw was the lack of exploration of the relationship between the Cardinal and the dioceses of Kielce and Przemyśl. Particularly enriching for the publication could have been the examination of Cardinal Stefan Wyszyński's connections with Ignacy Tokarczuk, Bishop of Przemyśl, and Czesław Kaczmarek, Bishop of Kielce. These figures played a significant role in the history of Church-state relations in the Polish People's Republic, as evidenced by their occasional appearance on the margins of the chapters in the work. Neglecting these aspects would be a missed opportunity and thus warrant further discussion in future research.

Admittedly, the thoroughness of the research presented in the book would have been enhanced if the chapter dedicated to the bishops of Wrocław had been expanded to include the period from 1976 to 1981, encompassing Henryk Gulbinowicz's tenure as Archbishop of Wrocław. Additionally, the section devoted to Krakow's Metropolitan, Karol Wojtyła, could have been extended to explore the relationships between the Primate and the auxiliary bishops and Franciszek Macharski, the new metropolitan after 1978. The limitation of the chapter focusing on the

19 See more: D. Zamiatała, *Relacje prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego z ordynariuszami wrocławskimi w latach 1949–1974*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 130–132, 141.

20 See more: E. Wojcieszek, *Relacje prymasa Stefana Wyszyńskiego z arcybiskupami i biskupami poznańskimi*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, p. 178.

more western metropolitan area up to 1974, thereby excluding the issue of Archbishop Gulbinowicz's relationship with Primate Wyszyński, was reasonably justified by the need to access the entirety of Cardinal Gulbinowicz's legacy for a comprehensive examination of this complex matter<sup>21</sup>. It's also worth noting that one of the editors, Rafał Łatka, even before the publication of the work discussed in the review, compiled documents alongside Filip Musiał concerning Archbishop Gulbinowicz's relations with the security apparatus<sup>22</sup>.

The dedication of a chapter to the relationship between the Primate and the Krakow Metropolitan Karol Wojtyła was due to the scarce amount of contact Cardinal Wyszyński had with other bishops<sup>23</sup> seems, however, insufficient to consider the elaboration on the relationship between the Primate and the Krakow Metropolitan as comprehensive. While it's true that the detailed accounts of both hierarchs, well-covered within the discussed publication, held a significantly prominent place, further research on the Primate's relationship with the Episcopate would warrant some attention to two particular figures—Bishop Julian Groblicki, who, after Cardinal Wojtyła's election, on October 24, 1978, was chosen as the capitular vicar until the nomination of a new metropolitan<sup>24</sup>, but especially to the new Metropolitan, initially the Archbishop and later the Cardinal—Franciszek Macharski<sup>25</sup>. Here, it would be exciting to investigate the Primate's opinions on his influence over the Episcopate in 1979–1981, perhaps through his work in the Joint Commission of Representatives of the Polish Government and the Episcopate of Poland<sup>26</sup>.

21 *Wstęp*, p. 9.

22 „Dialog należy kontynuować...”. *Rozmowy operacyjne Służby Bezpieczeństwa z ks. Henrykiem Gulbinowiczem 1969–1985. Studium przypadku*, eds. R. Łatka, F. Musiał, Warszawa–Kraków 2020.

23 *Wstęp*, p. 9.

24 *Zawiadomienie o wyborze wikariusza kapitulnego*, „Notificationes e Curia Metropolitana Cracoviensi” (1979) No. 1–3, p. 30.

25 *Bulla papieska mianująca ks. dra Franciszka Macharskiego arcybiskupem metropolitą krakowskim*, „Notificationes e Curia Metropolitana Cracoviensi” (1979) No. 4–5, pp. 45–46.

26 More about the Commission and Cardinal Macharski's work within it can be read in: K. Michalski, *Działalność Komisji Wspólnej przedstawicieli Rządu PRL i Episkopatu Polski 1980–1989*, Warszawa 2012.

However, all the observations and reservations presented should be viewed through Rafał Łatka's words in the introduction, where he emphasized that the discussed work did not exhaust the subject and that further research should be conducted. It is worth noting that a particular foundation has already been established, for example, regarding the situation of individual Polish bishops in the People's Republic of Poland<sup>27</sup>, which could serve as a good starting point for continuing the reviewed research. Also, with these in mind, the reviewer highlighted significant issues that require priority exploration.

The critical edition of the last letter by Cardinal Wyszyński to John Paul II, dated May 10, 1981, deserves separate discussion. One of the authors of the text, Grzegorz Sokołowski, came across the letter during research in 2020. Initially, the Primate asked the Pope to maintain the personal union in the Gniezno and Warsaw metropolis, which, despite his previous views, he saw as a way to enhance the practical significance of the office of the Primate<sup>28</sup>. In the second part of the letter, the Cardinal listed three names of clergypersons whom he considered most suitable to succeed him in office after his passing. He first mentioned Bishop Bronisław Dąbrowski, then Bishop Józef Glemp, and finally, priest Kazimierz Romaniuk, the rector of the Warsaw seminary. He also commented on speculations about the possible assumption of the Primate's office by Archbishop Henryk Gulbinowicz, Bishop Kazimierz Majdański, and Bishop Zbigniew Józef Kraszewski in a brief yet suggestive manner: "There are also fears regarding certain bishops' names, but I prefer to leave that in the Archives"<sup>29</sup>. The letter is meticulously crafted, showing attention to detail. Besides effectively using footnotes to provide a broader personal and scholarly context, the supplementary footnotes are noteworthy. For instance, the editors traced the source of a quote mentioned by the Primate earlier, presenting it in a footnote.

In summary, the collective work edited by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatała, titled *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, is an excellent

27 *Biskupi w rzeczywistości politycznej Polski „ludowej”*, ed. R. Łatka, Warszawa 2020; *Biskupi w rzeczywistości politycznej Polski „ludowej”*, t. 2, ed. R. Łatka, Warszawa 2022.

28 J. Pietrzak, G. Sokołowski, *Prymas Polski Stefan Wyszyński o swoim następcy. Ostatni list do papieża Jana Pawła II z 10 maja 1981 r.*, in: *Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski*, pp. 326–328.

29 J. Pietrzak, G. Sokołowski, *Prymas Polski Stefan Wyszyński o swoim następcy*, p. 330.

study of the Primate's persona within the context of issues related to the Episcopate. It presents a coherent, clear, and logical narrative, whether delineating the general context or delving into the specifics of Cardinal Wyszyński's relationships with institutions and figures. The comprehensive approach to addressing this subject matter deserves recognition, making it an excellent starting point for further, more profound research. Each chapter could essentially serve as the foundation for an academic monograph.

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## Abstract

Sebastian Graniczkowski

*Each bishop wears the violet of suffering on his face more than the violet of robes”—Review of the joint work “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, edited by R. Łatka and D. Zamiatała*

This article serves as a review of the collective work edited by Rafał Łatka and Dominik Zamiatała, entitled “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski” (“Primate Stefan Wyszyński and the Polish Episcopate”), published by the Warsaw Institute of National Remembrance in 2023 as part of the “Bishops in the Realities of the Communist state” series. The individual chapters of the work were discussed, presenting the most important themes covered in them, such as the complexities associated with the nomination of Cardinal Wyszyński as Primate of Poland, in accordance with the will of his predecessor—Cardinal August Hlond; the Primate’s concern about new bishop nominations; Cardinal Wyszyński’s skillful combination of the primate’s office with the function of the chairman of the episcopate; the Primate’s unifying openness to cooperation with individual bishops, especially with his own secretary, and then the Metropolitan of Poznań, Archbishop Antoni Baraniak, or the Metropolitan of Kraków, Karol Wojtyła; the Primate’s relations with hierarchs representing specific entities. Some shortcomings were also noted, such as the omission of Primate Wyszyński’s relations with two dioceses or the incomplete development of relations with the Kraków metropolis. Finally, reference was made to the critical edition of the last letter of Primate Wyszyński to John Paul II, included in the publication under discussion.

**Keywords:**

Stefan Wyszyński, Polish Episcopate, Antoni Baraniak, August Hlond, Karol Wojtyła, John Paul II

# Abstrakt

Sebastian Granickowski

*„Każdemu biskupowi bardzo jest do twarzy ten fiolet cierpienia, bardziej niż fiolet szat”. Recenzja pracy zbiorowej „Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, pod red. R. Łatk i D. Zamiatały*

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi recenzję pracy zbiorowej pod redakcją Rafała Łatk i Dominika Zamiatały, pt. “Prymas Stefan Wyszyński i Episkopat Polski”, wydanej w 2023 roku nakładem warszawskiego Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej, w ramach serii Biskupi w Realach Komunistycznego Państwa. Omówiono poszczególne rozdziały pracy, przedstawiając najważniejsze ujmowane w nich wątki, jak m.in. zawiłości związane z nominacją kard. Wyszyńskiego na prymasa Polski, zgodnie z wolą poprzednika—kard. Augusta Hlonda; troska prymasa o nowe nominacje biskupie; umiejętne łączenie przez kard. Wyszyńskiego urzędu prymasowskiego z funkcją przewodniczącego episkopatu; jednocześnie episkopat otwartość prymasa na współpracę z poszczególnymi biskupami, zwłaszcza z własnym sekretarzem, a potem metropolitą poznańskim abp. Antonim Baraniakiem czy metropolitą krakowskim Karolem Wojtyłą; relacje prymasa z hierarchami reprezentującymi konkretne podmioty. Zauważono też pewne niedostatki, np. pominięcie relacji prymasa Wyszyńskiego z dwiema diecezjami czy niekompletne opracowanie stosunków z metropolią krakowską. Na koniec odniesiono się do krytycznej edycji ostatniego listu prymasa Wyszyńskiego do Jana Pawła II, zamieszczonej w omawianej publikacji. Dodatkowo oceniono zakres przeprowadzonych badań i wskazano możliwości i potencjalne kierunki dalszego rozwoju podejmowanych zagadnień.

## Słowa kluczowe:

Stefan Wyszyński, Episkopat Polski, Antoni Baraniak, August Hlond, Karol Wojtyła, Jan Paweł II

