



WŁADYSŁAW ROŻKOW* – LUBLIN

THE HISTORY OF THE PARISH OF ST STANISLAUS THE BISHOP AND MARTYR IN HORODOK PODILSKYI IN 1941–1991

Abstract

As of the end of the 18th century there were two churches in Horodok Podilskyi – one under the invocation of St Anne and St Anthony, and the other of St Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr. In 1935, these temples were closed by the Soviet authorities and soon devastated, including the chapel built in 1845 in the cemetery part. Catholics in Horodok were deprived of pastoral care.

The revival of religious life in Soviet Ukraine occurred during the German occupation period. The faithful regained their temples and were able to worship freely. In 1943, thanks to the efforts of the Catholics of Horodok, Rev. Franciszek Oleń from the Diocese of Lutsk began to visit the cemetery, where he celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments. Toward the end of 1944, Rev. Jan Olszański, a 25-year-old priest from the Lviv Archdiocese and future bishop of the Kamianets-Podilskyi Diocese, assumed the post of parish priest in Horodok. His catechization of children, which was forbidden in the USSR, caused him to be expelled to the village of Manykivtsi in 1959. Over the years, pastoral care for the Catholics of Horodok was provided by commuting priests. It was not until 1970 that Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz was assigned to St Stanislaus Parish and served there as parish priest until 1977. Due to his deteriorating health, caused by constant harassment from the local authorities, the clergyman left Horodok Podilskyi and was replaced by Rev. Wladyslaw Wanags, MIC.

At the outset of his work in Horodok, the new parish priest intended to build a new church in place of the small chapel, retaining the former name of St Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr. In 1988, despite opposition from state authorities, Rev. W. Wanags decided to begin construction of the church. On 17 September 1988 Bishop Vilhelms Nukšs consecrated the new church in Horodok. It was the first Catholic temple established in Soviet Ukraine.

* Władysław Rożkow – MA in history, Doctoral School of the Catholic University of Lublin
e-mail: wladyslavrozhkov@kul.pl
<https://orcid.org/0000-0001-9577-564X>

Keywords: Horodok; Podolia; Diocese of Kamianets-Podilskyi; Rev. Franciszek Oleń; Bishop Jan Olszański; Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz; Rev. Władysław Wanags

The purpose of this article is to present the history of the parish of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr in Horodok in 1941–1991, one of the few Roman Catholic communities in Podolia that survived throughout the post-war Soviet period. The proposed dates are important milestones. The year 1941, *terminus a quo*, is associated with the start of the German-Soviet war, in the aftermath of which a revival of religious life took place in the territories beyond the Zbruch River, as well as the reactivation of Catholic parishes that had been liquidated by the communist authorities in the interwar period. One of the first religious communities in Podolia that succeeded in resuming its activities at the time was the Parish of Horodok. In contrast, the year 1991, *terminus ad quem*, is associated with the collapse of the USSR, which ended a certain phase of State-Church relations and finally put an end to religious persecution in Ukraine.

The history of the parish until 1941

Horodok is a small town located on the Smotrych River, in the southwestern part of Khmelnytskyi (formerly Kamianets-Podilskyi) Oblast in Ukraine. Its establishment dates to the second half of the 14th century. For many centuries, the largest national group living in Horodok were Poles, which is why the town was colloquially referred to as Little Warsaw.¹ To this day, the area is home to a large Polish population, belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, which makes up a large part of the population of Horodok and nearby towns.

The Roman Catholic parish in Horodok was erected in 1496. Its first wooden church was burned by the Tatars in 1550. In 1589, Ruthenian Governor Mikołaj Herbut founded a new, brick church, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. This temple had survived until the 18th century. In 1779, the church of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr was erected in its place. Slightly earlier, in 1732, a brick filial church of St Anne was built in Horodok.² In 1778, Conventual Franciscans from Kamianets settled at the temple. The monks brought with them to Horodok the grace-famous image of St Anthony of Padua. This saint was recognized as the pa-

¹ Official statistics show that Poles now make up about 30% of the city's population. However, as Marek Koprowski pointed out, according to some data, the percentage is at least twice as high. 'Some Poles have simply become Ukrainianised and are only now returning to their roots. Whoever wanted to be promoted in Soviet times had to declare to be Ukrainian, especially in Horodok, where openly admitting Polishness was treated almost like publicly declaring oneself an enemy of the Soviet people.' M. Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, Warsaw 2011, p. 27.

² The State Archive of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast in Khmelnytskyi (hereafter: APOCh), Podolskaja duchownaja rimo-katoliczieskaja konsistorija [Roman Catholic Clergy Consistory of Podolia], f. 685, op. 2, spr. 133, Wizitnaja wiadomost' Grudieckago prichodskago kostiela w Podolskoj gubernii w Kamienieckom ujezdzie sostajaszcziego za 1862 god [Visitation Records of the Parish Church in Horodok of the Podolian Governorate, Kamianets Uezd for 1862], k. 140.

tron saint and protector of the city, and was referred to as St Anthony of Horodok. After the departure of the Franciscans in 1832,³ the miraculous image remained in St Anne's Church, and in 1856 it was moved to the Church of St Stanislaus.⁴

In 1866, as a result of the dissolution of the Kamianets Diocese, the Parish of Horodok came under the jurisdiction of the Lutsk bishops.⁵ This state of affairs lasted for more than half a century, as the possibility of reactivating the bishopric in Kamianets-Podilskyi did not arise until after the fall of the tsarist rule (1917).⁶ However, hopes for the revival of the Kamianets Diocese were dashed by the provisions of the 1921 Treaty of Riga, under which Podolia became part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, since 1922 part of the USSR.⁷

Most of the faithful of the Kamianets Diocese were Poles, among whom the Catholic Church and its clergy enjoyed great authority. The Church itself, helping its followers to preserve their own identity – by defending and promoting Polishness – was for the Soviet authorities a fundamental obstacle to the upbringing of Polish communists.⁸ In view of this, one of the first actions undertaken by the Bolsheviks as part of the Sovietization of Podolia was to combat Catholicism. Enormous personal and financial resources were involved, and an efficient and extensive repressive apparatus was used for these purposes.⁹

³ In 1832, as part of the post-Uprising repression, the tsarist authorities liquidated the Franciscan monastery in Horodok and seized its property. The monastery building was taken over by the Daughters of Charity, but they too had to leave the town in 1870, as they exerted too much influence on the residents and hindered their Russification. Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 29.

⁴ Cf. A. Sidłec'kyj, *Światy Antonij z Paduji, pokrowytel Gorodka*, „Głos Seminarji”, 17 (2013) issue 1, pp. 6–7.

⁵ Cf. B. Kumor, *Kasata diecezji kamienieckiej na Podolu w 1866*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) pp. 209–217.

⁶ On 24 September 24 1918, Pope Benedict XV resumed the Diocese of Kamianets, appointing Rev. Piotr Mańkowski as its Ordinary. Cf. W. Rosowski, *Dzieje rzymskokatolickiej diecezji kamienieckiej w latach 1918–1941*, Lublin 2008, p. 45; S. Nabywaniec, *Odrodzenie diecezji kamienieckiej i jej losy po 1918 r.*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) pp. 157–207.

⁷ Marek Koprowski points out that ‘[...] when the Republic of Poland was reborn, along with the Diocese of Kamianets, the residents of Horodok hoped that their town would be incorporated into it. Many of them joined the Polish army. However, the border was established on the Zbruch River, twenty kilometres west of Horodok.’ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 29.

⁸ J. Szymański, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu. Obwód winnicki 1941–1964*, Lublin 2003, p. 28.

⁹ It is worth noting that Article 7 of the Treaty of Riga, signed at the end of the Polish-Bolshevik war, guaranteed religious freedom to the Polish population living in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus: ‘Russia and Ukraine shall ensure to persons of Polish nationality, located in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, on the basis of equality of nationalities, all rights, securing the free development of culture and language and the performance of religious rites. [...] Persons of Polish nationality located in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus have the right, within the framework of internal legislation, to cultivate their native language, organize and support their own education, develop their culture and create associations and unions for this purpose. The same rights, under domestic legislation, will be enjoyed by Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian nationals located in Poland. The two contracting parties undertake to each other not to interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of the regime and life of the Church and religious associations located in the territory of the other party. Churches and religious associations to which persons of Polish nationality in Russia, Ukraine and Belarus belong

As soon as the Bolshevik authorities occupied Podolia, the same legal order as in Soviet Russia began to apply there. And so the nationalization of industry and land, including Church property, began. Some priests tried to oppose this. One of them was Rev. Józef Sadowski,¹⁰ administrator of the Parish of Horodok. For resisting the Soviet authorities, the clergyman almost paid with his life. When the Bolsheviks consolidated their power and nationalized church lands in 1921, Rev. J. Sadowski threatened those who dared to occupy the land with an anathema. In response, CHEKA decided to arrest the priest. However, they did not anticipate the reaction of the parishioners. The faithful began ringing bells, and then several thousand people amassed. The Chekists fired in the air and threatened to open fire on the crowd¹¹. The faithful were not frightened by these threats and demanded the priest's release. Fearing the reaction of the faithful, the officers released the reverend. During the night, two parishioners, Liczniarawski and Koluga, drove him to the Polish border, which he crossed and thus saved his life. After returning to Horodok, both men were arrested and then shot.¹²

have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to independently arrange their internal Church life. The aforementioned churches and religious associations shall have the right, within the limits of internal legislation, to use and acquire movable and immovable property necessary for the performance of religious rites and the maintenance of clergy and ecclesiastical institutions.' It would seem that the Treaty of Riga left the Polish population living in the Soviet state a considerable amount of freedom. However, the wording about arranging the Church life within the limits of internal legislation left no illusions. Domestic law was considered by the Bolsheviks as superior to the international agreement. Poles left behind in a communist-ruled country were to realise that very soon. *Traktat pokoju między Polską a Rosją i Ukrainą, podpisany w Rydze dnia 18 marca 1921 r.*, Journal of Laws of 1921 item 300; G. Szubtarski, *Antykościelne ustawodawstwo w ZSRR za rządów Włodzimierza Lenina (1917–1923)*, „Kościół i Prawo”, 2 (2013) issue 2, p. 71; D. Sula, *Kościół katolicki na Ukrainie w latach 1921–1939*, in: *Państwo – religia. Instytucje państwowe i obywatele wobec religii w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XX wieku*, ed. J. Durka, vol. 1, Kalisz 2014, p. 110.

¹⁰ Rev. Józef Sadowski (1872–1934) – graduate of the Zhytomyr Major Seminary; ordained in 1897; administrator in Kumaniv (1902–1907) and Horodok (1910–1921), minister in Chornokincy and Sydoriv (1921–1930), parish priest in Zimna Voda (1930–1934). Cf. R. Dzwonkowski, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego w ZSSR 1917–1939. Martyrologium*, Lublin 1998, pp. 422–423.

¹¹ On 23 April 1921, Bishop P. Mańkowski wrote a letter to Prime Minister Wincenty Witos, in which he informed the latter of the situation of the Church in Podolia; he mentioned, among other things, the events in Horodok: ‘Do the facts such as: the arrest in the church of Rev. Sadowski in Horodok in Podolia on Easter Sunday, the shooting of the crowd, and finally the release of the priest due to the intimidating attitude of the population of several thousand [...]; or the escape of Rev. Balicki from Kupyn because he had been warned that he was to be arrested, and the arrest of a dozen parishioners in exchange for him and keeping them in prison for up to several weeks; or: the hiding of Rev. Liniewicz of Zalitsi out of necessity to escape persecution, imply the possibility of a peaceful stay and normal work under Bolshevik rule? [...] Do the constant arrests without even giving reasons, searches, looting, constant harassment, give any guarantee of possible living conditions. [...] I look in vain for a reference in the treaty to the return of the Church and individuals to their property.’ P. Mańkowski, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw 2000, p. 367.

¹² Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 30.

From 1921 to 1927, the Horodok Parish was managed by Rev. Franciszek Trocki.¹³ In 1927, he was arrested and imprisoned in the GPU prison in Proskuriv. Subsequently, by a decision of the Judicial College of the OGPU on 25 March 1929, he was charged with ‘[...] conducting anti-Soviet activity, on the grounds of backwardness and religious superstition, spreading anti-Semitic sentiments and disobedience to the Soviet authorities, using the religiosity of the masses for propaganda in favour of the bourgeois Polish state’ and was sentenced to 10 years in gulag.¹⁴ Evidence against the clergyman included religious literature found during the search, a proclamation from the Polish Episcopate calling for the fight against Bolshevism, a Catholic newspaper with an article titled *Co mówi się i pisze się o Żydach* (*What People Say and Write about Jews*), and a church calendar for the priests of the Kamianets Diocese for the year 1925, published in Buchach.¹⁵

Since the end of 1927, the Parish of Horodok was administered by Rev. Ryszard Szyszko-Bohusz.¹⁶ He worked there for less than 2 years, and then was arrested

¹³ Rev. Franciszek Trocki (1889–?) – graduate of Zhytomyr Major Seminary; ordained in 1912; vicar in Proskuriv (1912–1916), administrator in Yarmolyntsi (1916–1921), parish priest in Skazyntsi, administrator in Horodok and Kupyn (1921–1927); arrested in 1927, then sentenced to 10 years in the camps; released in 1932, by exchange of political prisoners returned to Poland; auxiliary chaplain in the garrison in Toruń (1932–?). Cf. Dzwonkowski, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego*, pp. 486–488.

¹⁴ The Soviet authorities tried to thoroughly falsify the real causes of religious persecution, by employing targeted legislation and the ubiquitous propaganda. Arrests of clergy and lay faithful, sentencing them to devastating labour in gulags, destitute exiles and death sentences were presented as punishments for counter-revolutionary, anti-Soviet and espionage activities. Article 58 of the *RSFSR Criminal Code* served as the basis for these sentences, which contained fourteen points so broad that it gave the authorities unlimited powers in terms of political prosecutions. In his work entitled *The Gulag Archipelago*, Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote: ‘There is indeed no such offence, intention, deed or kind of inaction under the sun that cannot be reached by the punishing hand of Article fifty-eight’ (A. Solzhenitsyn, *Archipelag Gulag. Próba dochodzenia literackiego*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1998, p. 66). Rev. F. Trocki was also convicted under this very article. R. Dzwonkowski, *Kaplani-męczennicy i wyznawcy wiary w diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej w XX wieku*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) p. 238.

¹⁵ APOCh, NKWD Głównoje Uprawlenije Gosudarstwennoj Biezopasnosti [NKVD Main Administration of State Security], f. P-6193, op. 12, spr. II – 5393, Postanowlenije o priwleczienii w kaczestwie obwiniajemoego Trockogo Francyska Iwanowicza [Decision to Initiate Proceedings against the Suspect Franciszek Trocki, Son of Jan], 15 X 1928, k. 22; ibidem, NKWD Głównoje Uprawlenije Gosudarstwennoj Biezopasnosti, f. P-6193, op. 12, spr. II – 5393, Wypiska iz protoroła zasiedanija Kollegii OGPU (sudebnoje) [Excerpt from the Minutes of the OGPU Judicial College Meeting], 25 III 1929, k. 37.

¹⁶ Rev. Ryszard Szyszko-Bohusz (1881–1937) – graduate of Zhytomyr Major Seminary; ordained in 1906; vicar in Korets (1906–1910) and Kyiv (1910–1914), administrator in Obodivka (1914–1920), pro-synodal judge of the Diocesan Clergy Court in Kamianets-Podilskyi, chancellor of the curia of the Kamianets Diocese (from 1920), administrator in Horodok, Chankiv and Tynna (1920–1929); arrested several times by the Soviet security organs (1922, 1924, 1929); sentenced by the OGPU to 8 years of forced labour (1930); sentenced to death by the NKVD troika (1937). N. Rublova, S. Kokin, I. Kuras, *Biografiji rymo-katolyc'kych swiaszczenykiw, represowanych radians'koju wladaju*, „Z archiwu WUCZK-GPU-NKWD-KGB”, 21 (2003) issue 2, pp. 434–435.

for the third time by the OGPU in the fall of 1929 and sentenced to 8 years of slave forced labour.¹⁷

After the imprisonment of Rev. R. Szyszka-Bohusz, despite numerous obstacles from state factors, the parish in Horodok continued to function and priests from nearby towns came there from time to time. However, as a result of the intensification of anti-religious policies, the situation of Catholics in the Soviet Union worsened day by day.¹⁸ In addition to the numerous repressive measures, which were becoming increasingly brutal, the faithful also faced soaring taxes on rent, assurance, land annuities and other financial burdens. When these fees reached such an amount that paying them became impossible, churches were closed.¹⁹

The closure of the temples was a deliberate and prolonged process that gradually gained momentum. In 1931, in the Kamianets Diocese, churches in Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Nemyriv and Zbryzh were closed. A year later, the churches in Yampil, Snitkiv, Rashkiv and Verbovets were taken, followed by the churches in Letychiv, Hraniv, Zavaliyki and Balta in 1933. In 1934, in Podolia, the churches in Kopaihorod, Medzhybizh, Mykolaiv and Pechera were seized from the faithful and given for various purposes. In 1935, the Soviet authorities took over the temples in Sharivka, Sharovechka, Ulanov, Hnivan, Zhmerynka, Voronovytzia, Obodivka, Bershad, Holoskiv, Zhvanets, Kytaihorod, Dunaivtsi, Mukariv, Proskuriv, Felsztyn, and Kamianets-Podilskyi.²⁰ In the same year, the state authorities closed two churches in Horodok.²¹ Soon the temples were devastated,²² but the authorities

¹⁷ State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Kyiv, Kryminalni sprawy na rehabilitowanych osob [Criminal Cases of Rehabilitated Persons], f. 6, spr. 68067-ФII, vol. 1, Prigovor Wierchownogo Suda USSR USSR ‘po diełu ksiendzow’ [Verdict of the Supreme Court of the USSR on Priests], 27 June 1930, k. 1–19.

¹⁸ According to Emilia Gulko’s account, by 1932 the Horodok parish had almost completely died: ‘Prayer groups stopped functioning, no one gathered for prayers, as it was forbidden. Even visiting the cemetery was not allowed [...]. Funerals were held without crosses, or any Christian symbols. When the deceased was escorted to the cemetery, we could not pray at the grave or linger at the grave for any length of time.’ For an interview with Emilia Gulko conducted by Rev. P. Gonczaruk, see P. Gonczaruk, *Wira i žyttia. Swidoctwa wirujuczych*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 2 (2003) p. 644.

¹⁹ R. Dzwonkowski, *Kościół katolicki w ZSSR. Zarys historii*, Lublin 1997, p. 245.

²⁰ Idem, *Kościół katolicki obrządku rzymskiego w Ukraińskiej SRS 1921–1939*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 8–9 (2014–2015) pp. 303–304; Rosowski, *Dzieje rzymskokatolickiej diecezji kamienieckiej*, pp. 141–144.

²¹ APOCh, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia [Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies Working in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast], f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za III kwartał 1949 [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Third Quarter of 1949], 12 X 1949, k. 108.

²² From the memoirs of Włodzimierz Malecki, historian and witness to the devastation of the temples in Horodok: ‘A series of powerful explosion was heard. We were very frightened – thinking the war was coming... The Communists often told us that Piłsudski would attack us soon. In the

failed to destroy the miraculous image of St Anthony. According to accounts from local parishioners, the church janitor cut the image out of the frames, wrapped it around his body, covered it with clothes and, under the watchful eye of NKVD officers, carried it out of the temple. The faithful placed the image in the cemetery chapel. It was from then on the only place where they could gather for communal services. However, the Soviet authorities were not going to tolerate this. In 1937, they arrested a thousand people in Horodok overnight, including all educated Poles, and deported them to Kazakhstan. Soon after that, they also closed the chapel in the cemetery. According to some testimonies, the image of St Anthony in the chapel was thrown into a public toilet by NKVD officers. Someone passing by noticed it, pulled the painting out of the cesspool, cleaned it and gave it to Sister Katarzyna Kuryłowska, then leader of the underground Catholic community in Horodok.²³

As a result of the Communists' consistently implemented anti-religious policies, the Catholic Church in Podolia virtually ceased to function in 1937. All Catholic churches were closed, destroyed or converted into granaries, stables, factories, clubs, etc. Only two churches remained in the USSR – in Moscow and Leningrad (Saint Petersburg), intended for the religious practices of foreign diplomats.²⁴

German occupation (1941–1944). Rebirth of the parish and the pastoral ministry of Rev. Franciszek Oleń

The situation of the Catholic Church in Podolia changed during the German occupation. Beginning in August 1941, churches that had been liquidated by the Soviet authorities before the war began to reopen in the Kamianets Diocese.²⁵ The cemetery chapel in Horodok was one of the first religious buildings in Podolia to be recovered at the time.²⁶ On 15 August 1941, on the feast of the Assumption

morning, the entire Smotrych valley, where our city is located, was as if in a thick fog, but it was lime dust from the blasted temples and smoke from the burned synagogue.' D. Poluchowicz, A. Densiewicz, *Przygody Świętego Antoniego na Podolu*, <http://slowopolskie.org/przygody-witego-antoniego-na-podolu/> (accessed on: 23.09.2020).

²³ Koproński, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 33–34.

²⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow, NKVD SSSR [NKVD of the USSR], f. P-9401, op. 2, spr. 6531, *Sprawka o sotojaniu rymko-katoliczieskich kostiołow na tierritorii SSSR* [Note on the Status of Roman Catholic Churches in the USSR], 4 V 1944, k. 2; W. Rożkow, *So-wiecka administracja państwowa wobec duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego na Podolu w latach 1944–1964*, in: *Studia z historii najnowszej Polski*, eds. R. Łatka, M. Przeperski, vol. 2, Warsaw 2020, p. 75.

²⁵ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedenija o naliczii diejstwujuszczich molitwiennych zdanij rieligioznych kultow – kromie rusknoj prawosławnojj cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskojj obłasti 1 VII 1945 goda [Data on Functioning Houses of Prayer for Religious Worship, Except for the Russian Orthodox Church in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast on 1 July 1945], 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22.

²⁶ From Emilia Gulko's account: '[One day] Marysia came running to me and said: "I was with the German. I told him that our sons and husbands are at war, and we would like to pray for them. We will pray for you as well, just let the cemetery chapel be renovated so that we can gather there for prayers. And he let us do it!'" Interview with Emilia Gulko, p. 643.

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, services were resumed in the Horodok temple.²⁷ The image of St Anthony of Padua, rescued from the Bolsheviks, was soon placed in its place there. In 1942, a local painter under the surname of Kulpa pasted the surviving fragment of the miraculous painting into canvas and recreated the painting in its original size.²⁸

Initially, pastoral services in Horodok, as in many other towns occupied by the Third Reich, were provided by chaplains of German army units. Realizing the need for pastoral care of Catholics beyond the Zbruch River, Bishop of Lutsk Adolf Szelażek²⁹ sent several priests to the Kamianets and Zhytomyr dioceses with the intention that in time more would join them. At the end of November 1941, he asked, through his plenipotentiaries, the local German authorities for permission to reactivate pastoral work in the area. However, Reichskommissariat Ukraine did not agree to issue a general permit to priests, but only to process individual applications.³⁰

In 1943, thanks to the strenuous efforts of the Catholics of Horodok, Rev. Franciszek Oleń³¹ returned to them from the Diocese of Lutsk.³² According to

²⁷ Ibidem.

²⁸ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 33–34.

²⁹ Bishop Adolf Szelażek (1865–1950) – ordained in 1888; vicar in Płock (1888–1889), student at St Petersburg Theological Academy (1889–1893); after returning to Płock in 1893, he worked as a lecturer at the Major Seminary and as a secretary at the consistory general, then as regens of the consistory, pro-synodal examiner (1902–1910), defender of the marriage knot in the bishop's court (1894–1896), rector of the Major Seminary in Płock (1909–1918); auxiliary bishop of Płock (1918–1925), and ordinary of the Diocese of Lutsk (1926–1950). He was arrested by Soviet authorities in 1945; the trial that followed demanded the death penalty for him. Released in 1946 thanks to the intervention of the Holy See, he left the USSR for Poland. Cf. B. Karwowska, W. Rozykowski, L. Zygnier, *Ks. Biskup Adolf Piotr Szelażek (1865–1950). Kapłan, biskup, wygnaniec*, Podkowa Leśna 2010.

³⁰ R. Dzwonkowski, *Odrodzenie życia religijnego w diecezji lucko-żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej 1941–1991*, in: *Restaurare omnia in Christo. 25-lecie reaktywowania Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego na Ukrainie. Diecezja kijowsko-żytomierska*, eds. J. Ślepowroński, W.W. Żurek, Kyiv-Zhytomyr 2017, p. 88; Rożkow, *Sowiecka administracja*, p. 76.

³¹ Rev. Franciszek Oleń (1910–1991) – ordained priest in 1939; vicar in Volodymyr-Volynskiy (1939), minister in Stara Huta (1939–1942); in 1942 he went to the Zhytomyr Diocese with his pastoral ministry; in 1943–1945 he worked in Podolia, including Horodok, Makariv, Skazyntsi, Stara Huta (according to Maria Dębowska, the frequent change of location indicates that the priest probably did not obtain permission from the German authorities for a longer stay in any town or village); from 1945 he served as a minister in the Diocese of Koszalin-Kołobrzeg. M. Dębowska, *Kościół katolicki na Wołyniu w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, Rzeszów 2008, pp. 312, 439; *Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa w diecezjach żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej*, ed. M. Dębowska, Rzeszów 2010, p. 29; W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags (1931–2001) – obrońca Kościoła na Podolu*, Biały Dunajec-Ostróg 2018, p. 26.

³² On 7 October 1943, Rev. Franciszek Oleń sent a letter to Bishop A. Szelażek, in which he informed him about the situation of the Church in Podolia: ‘As I have already written to Your Excellency, I am in Horodok [Podilskiy]. The parishioners here are very pious, but also abandoned, as there was currently no priest here. Although there is one priest here in Kamianets, he is now paralysed, and so he cannot contribute at all. As regards the other places, churches have been preserved here

accounts from local parishioners, his pastoral work in Horodok and nearby towns was outstandingly hard and exhausting. He has baptised thousands of children, blessed countless married couples, heard the confessions of multitudes of the faithful and anointed many of the sick. His pastoral work lasted from dawn to dusk. As a result of exhaustion, the clergyman often lost consciousness. One the Horodok parishioner recalled years later: 'Rev. Oleń was brought to us. He looked as if he was dead. He could no longer continue to work for us. He advised us to ask for a permanent minister to be sent to Horodok.'³³

The return of the Soviet authorities. The beginning of the pastoral work of Rev. Jan Olszański (1944–1946)

In July 1944, after the Soviet army entered Podolia, Bishop A. Szelażek, knowing the expectations and religious needs of the local Catholics, appointed Father Adolf Kukuruziński³⁴ administrator of the Kamianets Diocese. However, lacking an adequate clergy staff as a result of the mass murders committed by Ukrainian OUN-UPA nationalists against the Polish population of Volhynia, the bishop appealed to the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv for personal support for the pastoral mission in Podolia. In his refusal of September 3, 1944, the Metropolitan of Lviv Archbishop Boleslaw Twardowski³⁵ explained his in-

in Yarmolyntsi (there were two, and one remains), in Felsztyn, in Skazyntsi, one in Kamianets, in Kutkivtsi and Smotrych". *Pismo ks. Franciszka Olenia do bpa Adolfa Piotra Szelażka*, in: *Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa*, p. 104.

³³ W. Juszcyszyna, *Pols'ko-ukrajins'ki wzajemny na terytoriji Chmelnyk'koji oblasti: polakya ta Rymo-katołyč'ka Cerkwa w Gorodku*, in: *Represiji proty polakiv ta inszych nacionalnojej na Podilli: rol i misce w kraju*, ed. I. Jaszczuk, Khmelnytskyi 2016, p. 430.

³⁴ Rev. Adolf Kukuruziński (1894–1970) – ordained priest in 1917; performed pastoral duties in Proskuriv, Lutsk, Volodymyr-Volynskyi, Zdolbuniv, Ostroh, Berestečko; Ph.D. in canon law at the Catholic University of Lublin (1927); from 1927–1939, lecturer at Lutsk Major Seminary, employee of Lutsk Diocesan Curia, deputy director of Diocesan Institute of Catholic Action, prison chaplain; during World War II, clerk at Lutsk Diocesan Curia, cathedral parish priest in Kamianets-Podilskyi and administrator of Kamianets Diocese (1944); arrested by NKVD in 1944, sentenced under Article 54 of the CC of the USSR to 10 years of gulag; after his release from the camps (1957), expelled by the Soviet authorities to Poland; auditor of the diocesan court in Opole (1957–1959), official of the same court (from 1959), chaplain to the Sisters of Notre Dame in Głubczyce (1960–1962), chaplain to the Franciscan Sisters of the Hospital in Proszków (1961–1970). APOCH, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj oteziot Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za I kwartał 1945 g. [Information Report of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the First Quarter of 1945], 21 IV 1945, k. 8; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 35–36; J. Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim w 1945 r.*, in: *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księdzu Markowi Tomaszowi Zahajkiewiczowi*, eds. W. Bielak, S. Tylus, Lublin 2006, pp. 480–481; W. Urban, *Duszpasterska siejba kapłanów repatriantów na Ziemiach odzyskanych w latach 1945–1970*, Wrocław 1972, p. 57.

³⁵ Archbishop Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944) – ordained in 1886; graduate of the Pontifical Gregorian University, after studying in Rome he worked as prefect of the Lviv Major Seminary; chancellor of the Lviv Archdiocese (1895–1902), parish priest in Ternopil (1902–1918), auxiliary

ability to fulfil the request with analogous reasons given by the Bishop of Lutsk. The fruitless intervention of Bishop A. Szelażek did not end the efforts to support the pastoral mission beyond the Zbruch.³⁶ As a result of a renewed request for personnel assistance, made during Rev. A. Kukurużyński's visit to Lviv, the following clergymen were selected following an appeal by the Metropolitan Curia to the superiors of male religious orders to undertake pastoral missions in the East: Fr Aleksander Emil Zonn, CM,³⁷ Fr Martynian Wojciech Darzycki, OFM,³⁸ Fr Aleksander Beń, OFM,³⁹ Fr Hilary Marcin Wilk, OFMCap.⁴⁰ In October 1944,

bishop of the Lviv Archdiocese (1918–1923), metropolitan archbishop of Lviv (1923–1944). Cf. G. Chajko, *Arcybiskup Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944). Metropolita lwowski obrządku łacińskiego*, Rzeszów 2010.

³⁶ *Pismo abpa Bolesława Twardowskiego do bpa Adolfa Piotra Szelażka*, in: *Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa*, pp. 208–209; Dębowska, *Kościół katolicki na Wołyniu*, p. 319; J. Wołczański, *Misja pastoralna ks. Jana Olszańskiego na Podolu z lat 1944–1989 w relacjach sowieckich władz wyznaniowych*, in: *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917–1990)*, eds. M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański, vol. 2, Rzeszów-Lwów 2017, p. 240.

³⁷ Fr Alexander Emil Zonn, CM (1899–1976) – ordained priest in 1934, took perpetual vows in the Congregation of Missionary Fathers in 1938; administrator of the parish of Minoty (1934–1935), rector of the church in Vaskovichi (1935–1936), prison chaplain in Lviv (1938–1940), vicar of St Vincent Parish in Lviv (1940–1941), chaplain of the Institution for the Mentally Ill (1942–1943); in 1944 he went on a mission to the East, pastored in Uman, Zavallia, Novohrad-Volynskiy and Kyiv; after 1946 he returned to Poland; until 1961 administrator of the Gozdnicza parish; transferred to Kraków, served as confessor and itinerant missionary. Szymański, *Kościół na Podol.*, pp. 284–285.

³⁸ Fr Martynian Wojciech Darzycki, OFM (1918–2009) – joined the Bernardines in 1934; ordained priest in 1943; minister in Lviv, then in the village of Krymok (1944–1946); in 1946 he was sentenced to 8 years of gulag, 5 years of exile and 5 years of deprivation of civil rights; released from the gulag in 1952, pastored in Murafa, Sharhorod; from 1957 until his death, he worked in Miastkówka [now Horodivka]. Cf. L. Karłowicz, *Ciernista droga. Życie i działalność o. Martyniana Darzyckiego OFM więźnia Kołomy*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1997; R.O. Jusiak, *O. Martynian Wojciech Darzycki OFM (1918–2009) – bernardyn, odnowiciel franciszkanów na Ukrainie*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2014.

³⁹ Fr Aleksander Beń, OFM (1912–1991) – took his perpetual vows in 1934, ordained priest in 1939; in 1939–1944 pastored in Boremel in Volhynia, Torchyn and Lviv; vicar of the cathedral parish in Kamianets-Podilskiy (1944), after the arrest of Fr A. Kukurużyński (28 December 1944), parish priest of the same; arrested in January 1945, then sentenced under Article 54 of the CC of the USSR to 8 years of gulag; after his release from the camps (1956), conducted clandestine pastoral activities in Kazakhstan. APOCh, *Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia*, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, *Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomoczenogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za I kwartał 1945 g.*, 21 IV 1945, k. 8; M. Dębowska, L. Popek, *Duchowieństwo diecezji łuckiej. Ofiary wojny i represji okupantów 1939–1945*, Lublin 2010, pp. 41–42; Szymański, *Kościół na Podol.*, p. 307; J. Żaryn, *Starania ks. dr Teodora Benscha o uwolnienie czternastu księży diecezji łuckiej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie” (1997) issue 1, p. 70; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 121–122; S. Barcik, *Franciszkanie lagiernicy*, in: *Duchowieństwo polskie w świecie. Materiały VII Międzynarodowego Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej. Papieski Uniwersytet Urbiański. Rzym, 17–18 października 2002 r.*, eds. A. Judycka, Z. Judycki, Toruń 2002, pp. 32–33.

⁴⁰ Fr Hilary Marcin Wilk, OFMCap (1917–1998) – ordained in 1942; performed pastoral work in Kraków and Lviv, administrator of Kryvotyn parish (1944–1946); sentenced to 8 years of

all of the above-mentioned monks received permission from the NKVD to live and carry out a pastoral mission beyond the Zbruch.⁴¹

At the end of September 1944, the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv published a communication to diocesan priests encouraging them to undertake pastoral missions in the East.⁴² A 25-year-old vicar from Kachanivka, Rev. Jan Olszański, made a spontaneous response to the new challenge.⁴³ After receiving a year's leave granted by Archbishop B. Twardowski, he was appointed parish priest in Horodok in October 1944.⁴⁴ Without much difficulty at the time, he obtained permission from the Soviet authorities to conduct pastoral activities.⁴⁵

imprisonment in 1946, was released from the gulag in 1952; parish priest in Bar (1952–1958); in 1958 deprived of the right to serve in the priesthood and sentenced to a year of forced labour, in 1959 deported by the Soviet authorities to the border in Przemyśl, arrived in Poland in May 1959; worked, among other places, in Sędziszów Małopolski, Bolków, Nowa Sól and Skomielna Czarna; returned to Ukraine in 1991 and served in parishes in Starokostiantyniv and Krasyliv. H.M. Wilk, „Ty nie zginiiesz”, Lublin 2002, pp. 17–26, 103–171; The Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine in Kyiv (hereafter CAPSOU), Centralnyj komitet Komunistycznoji Partiji Ukrajiny [Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine], f. 1, op. 23, spr. 2741, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam religioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Ukrainskoj SSR za trietij kwartał 1953 g. [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Ukrainian SSR for the Third Quarter of 1953], 21 XI 1953, k. 2–3; J.L. Gadacz, *Słownik polskich kapucynów*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1986, pp. 415–416.

⁴¹ Szymański, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu*, pp. 38–39.

⁴² Wołczański, *Misja pastoralna*, p. 240.

⁴³ Rev. Jan Olszański (1918–2003) – graduate of the Metropolitan Major Seminary in Lviv; ordained in 1942; vicar in Kachanivka (1942–1944), parish priest in Horodok (1944–1946 and 1948–1959), vicar of the parish of Our Lady of Perpetual Help in Lviv (1946–1948), parish priest in Mavkovychi (1959–1991), diocesan bishop in Kamianets-Podilskyi (1991–2002). APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti [Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the Council of Ministers of Ukraine in Khmelnytskyi Oblast], f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 45, Ankieta na służyciela religioznoho kulta [Survey of the Servant of Worship Jan Olszański], 15 I 1970, k. 65; APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 45, Awtobiografija [Autobiography of Rev. Jan Olszański], 15 I 1970, k. 68; Cf. J. Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański. Duszpasterz – patriota – człowiek*, in: *Pasterz i twierdza. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana księdzu biskupowi Janowi Olszańskiemu ordynariuszowi diecezji w Kamieńcu Podolskim*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków-Kamianets-Podilskyi 2001, pp. 9–19; idem, *Misja pastoralna*, pp. 239–264; R. Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRS 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003, pp. 451–453; A. Hlebowicz, „Trwajcie”. *Biskup Jan Olszański (1919–2003)*, „Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej”, 64 (2006) issue 5, pp. 73–81.

⁴⁴ Archives of Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak in Kraków, Files of the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv, ref. 1053, Do Wielebnego Ks. Jana Olszańskiego kooperatora w Kaczanówce, 20 IX 1944, no page number; APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 45, Jego priepodobiju księdzu Ioanno Olszańskomu [To the Most Reverend Father in God Jan Olszański], 4 X 1944, k. 70.

⁴⁵ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Kamienec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo

The young priest was received in the Horodok parish with great enthusiasm. As Stanisław Gumeniuk pointed out, immediately after Rev. J. Olszański arrived in Horodok, crowds of believers began to flow into the cemetery shrine: ‘Oh, how many people were coming to our chapel at that time, even though it could hold as much as 50–60 of them; it was “filled with” 300 and more. Hundreds of people crowded around the shrine to hear the word of God.’⁴⁶ The events were also recorded in the memoirs of Zuzanna Michalska: ‘The chapel was crowded all the time. There was even no room to cross yourself. It was just the same outside – there were crowds of the faithful, all chilled to the bone, standing and listening to the Mass.’⁴⁷ Particularly large crowds of the faithful at the cemetery chapel could be seen during holidays and church celebrations, above all during the indulgence on June 13, when Catholics from all over the Kamianets Diocese came to Horodok. One local parishioner recalled years later:

Everyone that could arrived for the indulgence of our miraculous St. Anthony of Padua: on foot, on carts... Many pilgrims arrived on the evening of 12 June. Local Catholics tried to shelter them in their homes for the night; however, there were so many pilgrims that most of them had to sleep in the cemetery, on the graves. These graves had been very overgrown. After the indulgence, all vegetation was levelled and there were no more weeds to be seen. During the solemn Mass, crowds stood at the chapel so large that there was not enough room to swing a cat.⁴⁸

After the Red Army occupied the territory of Soviet Ukraine and the eastern provinces of the Second Polish Republic, which became part of the USSR, the Soviet authorities modified their previous methods of fighting religion. At that time, significant changes were made in USSR policy toward the Church. The main tool for carrying out the new religious policy became the Council for the Orthodox Church, established on 14 September 1943, which was a *de facto* branch of the USSR Ministry of State Security (MGB). It was to oversee the introduction of government regulations relating to the religious sphere, submit draft resolutions and legislation on religious cults, register buildings, clergy and religious communities, keep statistical records, and inform the republican government about the religious situation.⁴⁹

Sometime later, on 19 May 1944, the Council for Religious Cults under the USSR Council of Ministers was established to control the activities of non-Orthodox

Sowieta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za III kwartał 1949, 12 X 1949, k. 109.

⁴⁶ S. Gumeniuk, *Kim ty jesteś...?*, „Głos Podola”, (2000) issue 1–2, pp. 7–10.

⁴⁷ An interview with Susanna Michalskaya conducted by Rev P. Gonczaruk, cf. P. Gonczaruk, *Wiara i życie. Świadectwa duchowych przeżyć osób prześladowanych na Podolu w latach 1918–1990*, Lublin 2016, p. 37.

⁴⁸ Interview with Maria Szczucka conducted on 4 November 2019 by the author (audio recording; author’s private archive).

⁴⁹ Szymański, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu*, p. 110.

communities, including Old Believers.⁵⁰ Between 1943 and 1944, the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR adopted more than a dozen documents outlining the directions of religious policy and determining how to resolve various issues related to the activities of religious communities. In February 1945, the Council for Religious Cults sent out an instruction to regional plenipotentiaries on the conditions for legalizing religious organizations. The faithful were required to have protocols for electing members of parish committees and revision commissions, to have a room suitable for religious practice, and to have a priest referred by the church administration centre. Religious buildings in the USSR, along with objects of worship, were considered state property, so in order to gain access to the temple and its equipment, each registered religious community had to sign a contract with the district executive committee, in which it undertook to take care of the material goods entrusted to it, make them available to representatives of the Council of Deputies and the Council's Plenipotentiary for Religious Cults, and use them exclusively for religious purposes.⁵¹

The Catholic parish in Horodok was officially registered on 17 January 1945.⁵² According to reports by the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults, the number of believers in the Horodok parish in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast at the time was about 3,000. Concurrently, according to these documents, the residents of Horodok accounted for slightly less than half of the total parishioners (about 1,400 people), with more than 53% of the faithful arriving from nearby villages: Bedrykivtsi, Novosilka, Nove Porichchia, Kreminna, Chornyvody, Zhyshchyntsi, Lisohirka, Pidlisnyi Oleksynets and others.⁵³ The situation was different with the so-called 'twenty', i.e. a 20-member parish committee: 60% of the members were the citizens of Horodok.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ CAPSOU, Centralnyj komitet Komunistycznej Partiji Ukrainyjiny, f. 1, op. 23, spr. 887, Postanowienie Sowjeta Narodnych Komissarow SSSR nr 572 ob organizacii Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow [Decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR No 572 on the Establishment of a Council for Religious Cults], 19 V 1944, k. 2.

⁵¹ Rożkow, *Sowiecka administracja*, p. 77.

⁵² APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka o riegistracii rieligioznoho obszczestwa [Certificate of Registration of Religious Community], 25 IV 1945, k. 121; V. Rożkov, *Losy świątyń i wspólnot rzymskokatolickich w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim (chmielnickim) w latach 1944–1964*, Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne 2021, issue 115, p. 427.

⁵³ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamienec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamienec-Podolskoj oblasti za III kwartał 1949, 12 X 1949, k. 109.

⁵⁴ APOCh, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Spisok imuszczestwa Gorodokskogo rimsko-katoliczieskogo prichodskogo kostiela [Inventory of the Roman Catholic Parish Church in Horodok], b.d., k. 122; ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Tipowoj dogowor [Standard Agreement], 20 VIII 1948, k. 124.

In 1945, there were 34 parishes in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, with 6 Roman Catholic priests.⁵⁵ As the number of registered communities significantly exceeded the number of clergy, priests had to serve several to a dozen parishes, sometimes very far from their place of residence. And thus, for example, Rev. J. Olszański, a Horodok resident, regularly commuted with pastoral ministry to Kutkivtsi, Kupyn, Yarmolyntsi, Zinkivtsi, Cherche, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Tynna, Skazyntsi, Kumaniv, Vilkhovets, Bebechy, Felsztyn⁵⁶ and Sharivka.⁵⁷

Departure of Rev. John Olszański. The fate of the Horodok community in 1946–1948

Over time, the number of priests working in the Kamianets Diocese began to decline sharply. Dominik Milewski,⁵⁸ Michał Żukowski,⁵⁹ Łukasz Makolądra,⁶⁰

⁵⁵ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedenija o naliczii dejstwujuuszczich molitwiennyh zdanij rieligioznych kultow – kromie ruskoy prawoslawnoj cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za II kwartał 1945 g. [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Second Quarter of 1945], 1 VII 1945, k. 12–15.

⁵⁷ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 18, Spiec'zapiska o naliczii rimsko-katoliczieskich rieligioznych obszczin i namieczijemyje mieroprijatija po otsieleniju molitwiennyh domow, kostiołow, kaplic, rospusku i sniatiju s registracii obszin etogo kulta [Note on the State of Roman Catholic Religious Communities and Planned Undertakings aimed at Closing Prayer Houses, Churches, Chapels, Dissolving and Depriving Communities Belonging to this Religious Institution of Registration], 28 VIII 1949, k. 37.

⁵⁸ Rev. Dominik Milewski (1897–1981) – ordained priest in 1929; vicar in Klewan (1929–1931), parish priest in Rafalivka and administrator of Chortoryisk parish (1931–1933), parish priest in Hlybochok (1933–1943), during the German-Soviet war (1941–1945) member of the partisan unit of the Home Army, parish priest in Slavuta (1943–1945). APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 19, Sprawka [Certificate], 17 V 1950, k. 38; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedenija o naliczii dejstwujuuszczich molitwiennyh zdanij rieligioznych kultow – kromie ruskoy prawoslawnoj cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj Oblasti za wriemia s 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast from 10 January to 1 December 1945], 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; W. Stoczkowyj, W. Nesterenko, *Rymsko-Katolycka Cerkwa na Podilli u 20-ti – 90-i roku XX st. Istoryko-geograficzne doslidzenia*, Kolomyia 2001, p. 36; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, p. 480.

Jacek Muzyka,⁶¹ Fr Julian Kowalski, CR⁶² were forced to end their pastoral work in Ukraine and leave for Poland.⁶³

⁵⁹ Rev. Michał Żukowski (1899–1983) – ordained in 1923; vicar in Buchach (1923–1926), prefect of common schools in Sarny (1930–1937), in 1937–1943 ministered in parishes in Kovel and Zasyki, from 1944 worked in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Diocese, where he held the authority of vicar general; he exercised his priestly ministry in Wovkovyntsi, Bar, Mynkivtsi, Kozarivka, Yaltushkiv. After being deported from the USSR, he settled in Toruń in 1946. Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, pp. 477–479; H. Dąbkowski, *Wspomnienie o ks. mgr Michale Żukowskim (1899–1983)*, in: *Kresowi księża harcerze. Od Kamieńca Podolskiego do Nowogródka*, ed. H. Dąbkowski, Warsaw 1999, pp. 37–44.

⁶⁰ Rev. Łukasz Makolądra (1910–1998) – ordained in 1935; worked as administrator of the Skalat parish; during the pogroms organized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), served as priest in the Krasne parish; in 1945, parish priest in Sataniv. APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedienija o naliczii diejstwujuszczich molitwiennych zdanijach rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnoy cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti na 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj Oblaści za wriemias 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda, 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, p. 481; W. Urban, *Archidiecezja lwowska*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945. Metropolie wileńska i lwowska, zakony*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1992, p. 109.

⁶¹ Rev. Jacek Muzyka (1889–1966) – ordained priest in 1915; vicar in Svirzh (1915–1919), Kulykiv (1919–1921), expositus in Mahdalivka (1921–1930), parish priest in Toky (1930–1945); in 1945 he served as minister in Krasyliv; as part of expatriation he left for Poland. APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Swiedienija o naliczii diejstwujuszczich molitwiennych zdanijach rieligioznych kultow – kromie russkoj prawosławnoy cerkwi po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti na 1 VII 1945 goda, 1 VII 1945, k. 21–22; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj Oblaści za wriemias 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda, 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, p. 481–482.

⁶² Fr Julian Kowalski CR (1885–1979) – joined the Resurrectionists in 1913; ordained a priest in 1920; in 1920–1939 worked in Siedlce, Garwolin, Zdolbuniv, Kraków, Warsaw; in 1939–1946 supervisor of the Resurrectionist religious house in Lviv; in 1944 began working in Podolia – in Proskuriv and Sharivka; in 1946 left for Poland; served as minister in the towns of: Gdańsk, Brzennik, Wilkanów and Idzików. S. Bizuń, *Historia Krzyżem znaczone. Wspomnienia z życia Kościoła katolickiego na Ziemi Lwowskiej 1939–1945*, Lublin 1994, p. 87; Szymański, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim*, pp. 480–481.

⁶³ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 1, Informacyonnyj otcziot upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri SNK SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti za wriemias 10 I po 1 XII 1945 goda, 2 XII 1945, k. 32–35; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot za II kwartał 1946 goda po rieligioznym kultam po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti [Report on Work in the Sphere of Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Second Quarter of 1946], 8 VII 1946, k. 25–26; ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow

In October 1946, in response to orders from his superiors and MGB officials, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast suspended Rev. J. Olszański from performing his duties in the Horodok parish and transferred him to Proskuriv, presumably to have a better control his activities. After less than a week of his work in the town, as a result of blackmail and various restrictions by the Soviet authorities, the clergyman was forced to discontinue his ministry in Podolia and leave for Lviv, where he took up duties as vicar of the parish of Our Lady of Perpetual Help.⁶⁴

While living in Lviv, despite numerous obstacles from state factors, Rev. J. Olszański tried to carry out very active pastoral activities, and worked in various fields both among the still numerous Polish community at the time, and among Ukrainians of the Greek Catholic rite using religious services in Roman Catholic churches after the liquidation of their Orthodox Church during the Lviv pseudo-sobor in 1946. He was particularly committed to the Metropolitan Basilica, where he conducted catechization of schoolchildren, which was forbidden in the Soviet state.⁶⁵

After the departure of Rev. J. Olszański to Lviv, there was no longer any priest on the territory of the Kamianets Diocese who could perform pastoral service.⁶⁶ The lack of clergy led the faithful in many localities, including Horodok, to hold traditional, familiar services without the presence of a priest. Quite often, these took the form of a simplified Mass, presided over by a person well versed in the liturgy who enjoyed great authority and trust in the religious community. Fr Martynian Wojciech Darzycki, OFM, recalled: 'People arranged services themselves when there was no priest nearby. On Sundays, candles were lit, altar servers brought out the missal, and a chalice was placed on the altar. The choir began the singing usually performed at Mass, and it was the Mass for Four Voices. Also, the

trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Swiedienija o służytelach rieligiznych kultow pri molitwiennych zdaniach [Data on Servants of Religious Worship at Houses of Worship], 8 VII 1946, k. 27; ibidem, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot za III kwartał 1946 goda po rieligioznych kultam po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti [Report on Work in the Sphere of Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Third Quarter of 1946], 5 X 1946, k. 34.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 6, Otcziot za II kwartał 1947 goda o rabotie po rieligioznych kultam po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti [Report on Work in the Sphere of Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Second Quarter of 1947], 2 VII 1947, k. 13–14; ibidem, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot o rabotie za IV kwartał 1946 g. [Report on Work for the Fourth Quarter of 1946], 31 XII 1946, k. 46; The State Archive of Lviv Oblast, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam rieligii pri SM SSSR po Lwowskoj oblasti, f. P-1332, op. 2, spr. 77, Ksiondz Olszanskij Jan Janowicz [Biography of Rev. Jan Olszański], 18 IV 1956, k. 30; ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam rieligii pri SM SSSR po Lwowskoj oblasti, f. P-1332, op. 2, spr. 77, Ankieta na służytela kulta [Survey of the Servant of Worship], 18 I 1947, k. 4; Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański*, p. 12.

⁶⁵ Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański*, p. 12.

⁶⁶ APOCh, Ispołnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 3, Otcziot o rabotie za IV kwartał 1946 g. [Report on Work for the Fourth Quarter of 1946], 31 XII 1946, k. 46.

entire church sang hymns. The lesson and the Gospel falling on a given Sunday were read.⁶⁷ In turn, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, A. Steciuk, informing his superiors about the situation of the Church in Podolia in one of his reports, noted:

[...] on weekdays, church services tend to be individual [...], while on Sundays they are collective. Collective services are presided over by organizers, that is, people familiar with the order of the church liturgy. These people, during the Sunday service, which normally must be conducted by a priest, skip the priestly prayers and give the choir signs indicating which prayers must be sung [...]. In other words, there is reading and singing of prayers in the church, accompanying the Mass celebrated by the priest.⁶⁸

In 1947, due to the absence of a permanent minister in Horodok, the Soviet authorities decided to close the cemetery chapel and the community was dissolved. However, these intentions were unfruitful, as the Polish community of several thousand living there kept a round-the-clock vigil at the temple with pitchforks and sticks in hand until the danger had passed. The successful defence of the chapel further integrated the Catholic population and strengthened them morally for further struggle.⁶⁹

The return of Rev. Jan Olszański and his second stationary stay in Horodok (1948–1959)

At the end of the second year of Rev. J. Olszański's work at the parish of Lady of Perpetual Help in Lviv, the state authorities demanded that he return to Podolia, arguing that there was a lack of clergy in those areas.⁷⁰ In fact, the transfer of the young priest from Lviv was intended to reduce the activity of the Catholic Church in the area. This was a widespread method of the Soviet authorities. They wanted the largest parishes to have their pastoral work carried out by old men, after whose death the community could be deprived of its registration.⁷¹ With no guarantees to continue his pastoral mission, Rev. J. Olszański decided to return to the Proskuriv parish. The clergyman's second stay in Proskuriv also did not last

⁶⁷ Z. Lech, *Szpieg Watykanu!*, „Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą”, (1993) issue 4, pp. 571–572.

⁶⁸ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowietu dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 25, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie Upołnomocziennogo Sowietu po dielam rielioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR, pri Kamieniec-Podolskom oblipolkomie za III kwartał 1953 g. [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast for the Third Quarter of 1953], 27 X 1953, k. 58–59.

⁶⁹ R. Dzwonkowski, *Za wschodnią granicą 1917–1993. O Polakach i Kościołach w dawnym ZSRR z Romanem Dzwonkowskim rozmawia Jan Pałyga*, Warszawa 1993, p. 222.

⁷⁰ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowietu dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 15, spr. 21, Upołnomocziennomu Sowietu po dielam rielioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskoj oblasti tow. P.M. Sierdiuchenko [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults to the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, Comrade P.M. Serdyuchenko], 1 X 1948, k. 50.

⁷¹ Wołczański, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański*, p. 12.

long and was certainly not easy.⁷² Thanks to the efforts of his former parishioners, who repeatedly approached the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults, Rev. J. Olszański finally succeeded in obtaining permission to return to Horodok. On 20 November 1948, the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast, P. Serdyuchenko, registered Rev. J. Olszański as parish priest in Horodok.⁷³

Between 1948 and 1953, only 2 Catholic communities with a permanent minister functioned in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast – in Polonne and Horodok.⁷⁴ According to data from the Council for Religious Cults, in 1950, 50–70 parishioners attended services at the Horodok chapel on weekdays, 100–150 on Sundays, 200–300 on church feast days, and about 2,000 worshippers on Easter, with a maximum of 150 people at a time.⁷⁵ As the cemetery chapel did not meet the growing needs of the community, local Catholics, led by Rev. J. Olszański, began to write petitions to the state authorities requesting permission to expand it. For one such petition in 1951, they managed to collect some 11,000 signatures.⁷⁶

As one witness recalled years later, ‘[...] what, particularly disturbed the local officials, were the church chants resounding throughout Horodok.’ These testified to the high level of religiosity of the local population, who openly declared their faith despite numerous oppressions and persecutions. This was undoubtedly thanks to the parish priest, who, both by word and his own example, was able to develop in the Catholics of Horodok an attitude of loyalty to God and the Church.⁷⁷ The Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast wrote in a report:

⁷² Rożkow, *Sowiecka administracja*, p. 80.

⁷³ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 14, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblasti za III kwartał 1949, 12 X 1949, k. 109.

⁷⁴ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 25, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie Upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rielioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR, pri Kamieniec-Podolskom oblipołkome za III kwartał 1953 g., 27 X 1953, k. 57.

⁷⁵ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 18, Dokad o sostojanii i diejatelnosti rieligioznych obszczin w Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblasti na 1 maja 1950 goda [Report on the Status and Activity of Religious Communities in the Kamianets-Podilskyi Oblast as of 1 May 1953], 23 V 1950, k. 109.

⁷⁶ From the memoirs of Stanisław Gumeniuk: ‘Back in those days, thinking not so much about building – that could only be dreamed of – but about expanding the shrine, believers voluntarily signed the petition. That was in 1951, almost eleven thousand signatures were collected. [...] The local secretary of the District Committee, Comrade Szczerbata, who especially hated “everything that thinks differently” said of the priest at a party conference: “It’s either him or me!” The forces were uneven. Interestingly, soon after the priest was driven away from us, she died in an accident.’ Gumeniuk, *Kim ty jesteś?...*, pp. 7–10.

⁷⁷ Ibidem.

[...] Rev. Olshansky is trying to use his authority and his own example, which must be followed by the church activists and the general faithful (sometimes even violating Soviet legislation on cults in the process), to embrace the largest possible group of people with his activities and to influence their consciousness. [...] He devotes a great deal of his time to prayer. On weekday mornings, days and evenings, he kneels in the chapel (2.5–3 hours each time) and recites prayers with his head lowered. During that time, there are usually 20–25 people in the chapel who follow his example.⁷⁸

Despite numerous prohibitions and obstacles from the state authorities, Rev. J. Olszański made attempts to organize regular and active pastoral work in Horodok. According to the Council for Religious Cults, in 1953 the priest baptised 800 children, blessed 100 married couples, and celebrated 100 funerals.⁷⁹ Not surprisingly, his activities were of great concern to local officials. In October 1954, the Khmelnytskyi Regional Executive Committee asked the Council for Religious Cults to direct the priest to another parish, arguing that the priest notoriously violated Soviet religious law, including conducting services outside the cemetery chapel, treating the sick, writing medical prescriptions for them, distributing his photos and illegally visiting the faithful. In early November 1954, after considering a request from the regional authorities, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults of the Ukrainian SSR, Pyotr Vilchovyi, sent a letter to his subordinate in Khmelnytskyi, indicating that there were no legal grounds for expelling Rev. J. Olszański from Horodok. He stressed that in the case of ‘open-air’ services, preventive interviews were held with the clergyman, while regarding information about other offences, no evidence was found to confirm them. Thus, the attempt of the local authorities to deprive the parish in Horodok of pastoral care failed, and Rev. J. Olszański was still able to carry out the pastoral mission there.⁸⁰

In his 1958 report entitled *On Forms and Methods of Religious Propaganda Implemented by Clergy and Religious Activists*, the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, informing his superior in Kyiv about the situation of the Roman Catholic Church in Podolia, paid special attention to the Horodok parish and its pastor:

⁷⁸ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowieta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 28, Dokładnaja zapiska o rieligioznoj diejatel'nosti rimsko-katoliczeskogo rieligioznogo obszczestwa w g. Gorodok, Gorodokskogo rajona [Report on the Activities of the Roman Catholic Religious Community in Horodok, Horodok Raion], 13 X 1954, k. 89.

⁷⁹ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowieta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 28, Priesiedatelu Sowieta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR tow. Polanskomu I.W. [To the Chairman of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Polanski I.W.], 16 VI 1954, k. 229.

⁸⁰ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowieta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 21, spr. 97, Upołnomocziennomu Sowieta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obł'istpołkome tow. Steciuku A.N. [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Regional Executive Committee, Comrade Steciuk A.N.], 7 XI 1954, k. 66–67.

It is worth noting that the religious community in Horodok is very active. About 800 people visit the chapel every Sunday. On days of church celebrations, especially Easter, more than 2,500 faithful gather there. Catholics from Tynna, Yarmolyntsi, Solobkovitsi and Kamianets-Podilskyi are constantly gathering there. [...] Rev. Jan Olszański, who serves the Horodok parish, tries to perform church canons in front of the faithful. [...] He regularly delivers sermons on religious topics before the faithful. He tries to embrace as many of the faithful as possible with his preaching activities. This is borne out by the fact that until 1954 he celebrated Mass in the chapel and delivered homilies at the entrance to the temple. When forbidden to do so, he repeatedly requested permission to preach at the entrance. By his example and fanaticism, praying for hours on his knees, and strictly adhering to the canons, he attempted to create a strong ecclesiastical asset, which in turn strengthens his authority among the faithful. This is confirmed by the fact that by 1954 almost every believer had Olszański's photos attached next to the paintings. He is willing to travel to other religious communities for priestly services. In 1957, he travelled to Mynkivtsi (7 times), Pidlynsnyi Mukariv (8 times), Zalistsi (6 times).⁸¹

At the end of the 1950s, during the period of the intensified anti-religious campaign, the activity of the Horodok parish priest, supported by the enthusiasm of the faithful, began to concern the state authorities even more. In 1958, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, in a special letter dedicated to the activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the regions, addressed his superiors with a proposal to limit the travels of Rev. J. Olszański. In it, he stressed that the clergyman very often visits the faithful of various localities, celebrates Masses and other services there, thereby 'exerting a great influence on the masses.'⁸² Of particular concern to the authorities was the priest's activities among children and young people, especially the inclusion of them in regular catechization, which was forbidden under Soviet legislation.⁸³

In December 1958, the state authorities adopted a decision to remove the 'overzealous' priest from Horodok. On 26 December, Rev. J. Olszański was sum-

⁸¹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 40, Dokładnaja zapiska o formach i mietodach rieligioznoj propagandy duchowienstwom i rieligioznym aktywom sriedi nasielenija [Note on Forms and Methods of Religious Propaganda Carried Out among the Population by the Clergy and Religious Activists], 14 IV 1958, k. 54-55.

⁸² Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 40, Informacionnaja zapiska upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpołkome o rieligioznoj diejatielnosti rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi w nasielionych punktach Chmielnickoj oblasti [Information Note of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Executive Committee on the Religious Activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the various Localities of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast], 2 VIII 1958, k. 66-67.

⁸³ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 21, spr. 97, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obl'istpołkome tow. Steciuku A.N., 27 XII 1958, k. 44.

moned to Kyiv, to the plenipotentiary of the USRS Council for Religious Cults.⁸⁴ He recalled his visit as follows:

They summoned me to Kyiv and said: ‘You will not see Horodok again.’ And then everything they said was made up. I allegedly won twenty-five thousand roubles in the lottery. And I allegedly donated these roubles to an orphanage. When they told me this, I asked them:

– And what was I supposed to do with that money, I suppose I would have donated it to a good cause?

– And that’s a no-no, because you should donate it to the ‘raion.’ Instead, you gave it to ‘detsad’ and now the children will say that the priest gave them food. Well, of course, they knew very well that it was all a lie, but they needed a reason to expel me from Horodok.⁸⁵

On 23 February 1959, Rev. J. Olszański was suspended from pastoral activities in Horodok.⁸⁶ One of the parishioner recalled years later:

When they were about to take Rev. Jan Olszański away, we kept a constant watch day and night. As he celebrated his last Mass, he walked out to the pulpit and fainted there. During the consumption of the last communion, people cried and shouted: ‘Jesus, don’t abandon us!’ [...] After the last Mass, Father Olszański attached a small heart to the image of St Anthony.⁸⁷

After a short break, Rev. J. Olszański was directed by the state authorities to the village of Manykivtsi, which is far from major centres.⁸⁸

The fate of the Horodok community after the expulsion of Rev. Jan Olszański (1959–1970)

The eviction of Rev. J. Olszański as the only minister of the Horodok parish, who was also well-liked and respected, became a serious blow to the local Catholics. The townspeople of Horodok did not come to terms with this decision of the authorities and wrote numerous petitions and complaints demanding his re-

⁸⁴ Ibidem.

⁸⁵ J. Olszański, *Wygнали mnie z Gródka* (interview with Bishop J. Olszański conducted by K. Renik), in: K. Renik, *Podpolnicy. Rozmowy z ludźmi Kościoła na Litwie, Łotwie, Białorusi i Ukrainie 1990–1991*, Warsaw 1991, p. 302.

⁸⁶ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 43, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri ispołkowie Chmielnickogo Obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, za pierwoje poługodije 1959 goda [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Regional Council of Deputies in Khmelnytskyi, for the First Half of 1959], 20 VIII 1959, k. 147.

⁸⁷ An interview with Jadwiga Śnigórska conducted by Rev P. Gonczaruk, cf. P. Gonczaruk, *Wiara i życie. Świadectwa duchowych przeżyć osób prześladowanych na Podolu w latach 1918–1990*, Lublin 2016, pp. 53–54.

⁸⁸ APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 43, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po diełam rieligioznych kultow pri ispołkowie Chmielnickogo Obłasnego Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, za pierwoje poługodije 1959 goda, 20 VIII 1959, k. 147.

turn.⁸⁹ In 1960, due to the ‘intrusive activity’ of Horodok Catholics in the case of Rev. J. Olszański, the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults approached his superiors with a proposal to refer the clergyman to another district.⁹⁰ The authorities in Kyiv recognized that the expulsion of Rev. J. Olszański to the Khmelnytskyi Oblast would not solve the problem, but agreed to transfer him to another parish as long as the need arose.⁹¹

In parallel with efforts to suspend Rev. J. Olszański from his duties as minister of the Horodok community, the state authorities also took steps to close the chapel in the cemetery. Local officials suggested to the faithful that since they needed a larger place to pray, they would be given a larger replacement room on the condition, however, that they agreed to demolish the temple and turn the cemetery into a park.⁹² Refusing to agree to such an arrangement, Horodok parishioners began guarding the chapel around the clock, lest someone set it on fire or tried to blow it up. In the end, they succeeded in defended it.⁹³ Resistance from local Catholics was not the only obstacle to installing a city park in the cemetery. On the other side of the cemetery was the St Alexander Nevsky Orthodox Church. Having failed to obtain the consent of the Orthodox Christians for the liquidation of the church, on top of that having only one replacement room suitable for religious worship in it, the state authorities had to abandon their plans.⁹⁴

⁸⁹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 49, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom ob’ispolkome za 1961 god [Information Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Executive Committee for 1961], 26 I 1962, k. 31; Central State Archive of Higher Authorities of Ukraine in Kyiv (hereinafter: CAPWOWU), Soviet po dielam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Ukrainskoj SSR [Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the USSR], f. 4648, op. 4, spr. 356, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom ob’ispolkome za 1964 god [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Oblast Executive Committee for 1964], 29 XII 1964, k. 143.

⁹⁰ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 46, Priedsiedatielu ispolkoma Gorogokskogo rajonnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia tow. Radomskomu [To the Chairman of the District Executive Committee at the Council of Deputies working in Horodok, Comrade Radomski], 31 XII 1958, k. 2.

⁹¹ Ibidem, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 42, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Ob’ispolkome tow. Steciuku A.N., 7 VI 1960, k. 13.

⁹² CAPWOWU, Soviet po dielam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Ukrainskoj SSR [Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR], f. 4648, op. 5, spr. 166, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligii pri Sowietie Ministrow SSR po Ukrainskoj SSR [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR], 11 IV 1969, k. 6.

⁹³ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 39.

⁹⁴ APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 46, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow USSR tow. Poloniku K.F. [To the Chairman of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Polonikov K.F.], 30 V 1960, k. 15.

The transfer of Rev. J. Olszański from Horodok meant that local Catholics were completely deprived of receiving sacramental services. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, only three priests worked in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast: J. Olszański, Andrzej Gładysiewicz⁹⁵ and Antoni Borysowicz.⁹⁶ Concurrently, only the latter had the right to carry out pastoral ministry outside his parish, for in 1959 priests J. Olszański and A. Gładysiewicz were forbidden by the state authorities to leave the territory of their parishes for ‘failure to comply with the provisions of Soviet religious law.’⁹⁷ It should also be noted that the pastoral activities of Fr. A. Borisowicz,

⁹⁵ Rev. Andrzej Gładysiewicz (1914–1983) – ordained priest in 1939; vicar in Kovel (1939–1940), parish priest in Volodymyr-Volynskyi (1940–1945); arrested by the NKVD in 1945, then sentenced to 10 years of gulag and 5 years of deprivation of civil rights, left the camps in 1953, after which he spent 1953–1956 as an exile in Norilsk; parish priest in Polonne (1956–1983). APOCh, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 37, Informacyonnyj otcziet o rabotie Upolnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri ispolkome Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia za II połudodije 1956 goda [Informational Report on the Work of the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies Working in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast for the Second Half of 1956], 27 I 1958, k. 263; M. Kuczer, *Ksiądz Andrzej Gładysiewicz (1914–1983), duszpasterz parafii Polonne na Podolu*, in: *Wyrwać i przetrwać jak Bóg daje. Świadkowie Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego na Ukrainie Sowieckiej 1917–1991*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków 2010, pp. 329–354.

⁹⁶ Rev. Antoni Borysowicz (1893–1966) – ordained a priest in 1917; studied at the St Petersburg Theological Academy, then at the Jagiellonian University; in 1921–1923 worked in the parishes in Khalopyenichy, Byerazino, Małe Dolce and Dobrovody, chaplain and prefect of the Nazareth Sisters Middle School in Kalisz (1923–1926), headmaster of the same middle school (1926–1939), parish priest in Paberżè (1939–1944), then in Minsk (1944); arrested in 1944, sentenced to 5 years’ exile to Tyumen in Siberia, released in 1950; after regaining freedom, he returned to Paberżè, where he sought permission for 9 months to undertake legal pastoral activities; in 1951 he was arrested again and sentenced to 3 years’ exile to Ad-Boksar in Kazakhstan, from where he returned in 1953; in 1953–1966, St Anne’s parish priest in Grechany. APOCh, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 25, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR po USRR tow. Wilchowomu P.A. [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the USSR Council of Ministers in the USSR, Comrade Wilchowyj P.A.], 23 IX 1953, k. 105; *ibidem*, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 28, Priedsiedatielu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR tow. Polanskomu I.W. [To the Chairman of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Polański I.W.], 23 XI 1954, k. 95; *ibidem*, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Kamieniec-Podolskogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 34, Priedsiedatielu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Sowietie Ministrow SSSR tow. Polanskomu I. W., 24 III 1956, k. 23; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 138–140.

⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, Ispolnitelnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 46, Dokład o sostojanii i rieligioznoj diejatielnosti rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi na tierritorii Chmielnickoj oblasti po sostojaniju na 1 oktiabria 1960 goda [Report on the Status and Religious Activities of the Roman Catholic Church in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast as of 1 October 1960], 1 X 1960, k. 80–81.

parish priest in Grechany, were also very limited at this time, both by his constantly deteriorating health and obstacles from state factors.⁹⁸

In the absence of pastoral care, many Catholics from Horodok began attending churches in Mavkovychi and Grechany.⁹⁹ The rest of the faithful, who did not have the opportunity to travel such a long distance every week (more than 50 kilometres one way), continued to use only their chapel, taking part in so-called para-liturgies and other services. The issue of declining worshippers' attendance at the Horodok temple has been raised more than once by Soviet officials. A letter from B. Radoski, chairman of the District Executive Committee in Horodok, addressed to the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, A. Steciuk, dated May 1959, reads as follows:

[...] the activity of Horodok Catholics, compared to previous years, began to wane to some extent. This can be explained by the fact that there is no priest in Horodok. This has had a positive effect on the attendance of Catholics at the chapel, especially young people. While in previous years 1.5–2 thousand worshippers visited the chapel on Easter, in 1959 the numbers amounted to about 160 people, including 50 young people, and 150 women.¹⁰⁰

In the mid-1960s, some priests, aware of the needs of the Horodok community, began secretly visiting it. One of them was Rev. Bronisław Mirecki.¹⁰¹ Over time, thanks to the efforts of the faithful, official visits by priests to the Horodok

⁹⁸ The report of the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast for the first half of 1959 reads as follows: 'I advised Rev. Borysowicz to travel as little as possible to other churches for Holy Masses. It is worth noting that starting in April this year, the minister from Grechany did not travel to any other church. Nevertheless, he still has a desire to visit communities without a permanent priest.' APOCh, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 43, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri ispołkome Chmielnickogo Oblasnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, za pierwoje poługodije 1959 goda, 20 VIII 1959, k. 146.

⁹⁹ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 49, Informacyonnyj otcziot o rabotie upołnomocziennogo Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom obl' ispołkome za 1961 god, 26 I 1962, k. 27.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, Ispołnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 42, Upownowaženomu Rady w sprawach religijnych kultiw pri Chmelnyckomu obłwykonkomi tow. Steciuku O.N. [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults at the Khmelnytskyi Regional Executive Committee, Comrade Steciuk A.N.], 7 V 1959, k. 50.

¹⁰¹ Rev. Bronisław Mirecki (1903–1986) – ordained priest in 1933; vicar in Zhydachiv (1933–1935), administrator of the parish of Nove Selo (1935–1939), administrator in Pidvolochysk (1939–1944), and parish priest of the same (1944–1958), in 1958–1974, after being removed from the register of clergy by the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults, he carried out clandestine pastoral activities, parish priest in Halushchyntsi (1974–1986). The State Archive of Ternopil Oblast in Ternopil, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri SM SSSR po Tiernopolskoj obłasti [Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Ternopil Oblast], f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 42, Informacyonnyj otcziot o sostojanii i diejatielnosti rieligioznych kultow w Tiernopolskoj obłasti za 1-je poługodije 1959 goda [Information Report on the State and Activity of Religious Cults in the Ternopil Oblast for the First Half of 1959], 17 VI 1959, k. 3; K. Kaczmariski, *Niezłomny kapłan z Podola. Ks. kanonik Bronisław Mirecki*

chapel also became possible. After all, this was not permanent pastoral care, as the state authorities only agreed to occasional (maximum 3–4 times a year) visits by clergymen to Horodok.¹⁰²

In 1969, the Catholics of Horodok had a visit by Rev. A. Gładysiewicz from Polonne. In his sermon, delivered in the cemetery chapel, the clergyman referred quite emotionally to the situation of the Horodok community at the time. He stated, among other things, that if the faithful had spoken out more strongly, more forcefully in defence of Rev. J. Olszański, the authorities would never have dared to expel him. He urged them to renew their efforts to seek permission from the authorities for a permanent priest to take charge of their community. He even threatened that if they did not do so, he and other priests would stop coming to Horodok. The plea was successful. The Catholics of Horodok resumed their efforts to obtain permission for a permanent priest to settle in their town.¹⁰³ As recalled by S. Gumieniuk:

Delegations from our community have travelled dozens of times to Khmelnytskyi, Kyiv and Moscow, as well as to Riga. The religious authorities demanded that the minister candidacy be presented, and the church authorities said they would not do so until 'spravka' [certificate] was settled. All in all, our delegates visited not only the Council on Religious Affairs under the Ukrainian government in Kyiv, but also Prime Minister Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Verkhovna Rada Nikolai Podgorny and a member of Polański's political bureau. Each of these decision-makers had to agree that our parish should get a permanent pastor.¹⁰⁴

The pastoral work of Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz (1970–1977)

Intense efforts by Horodok Catholics culminated in 1970, when the state authorities gave permission for Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz to begin pastoral ministry in the town.¹⁰⁵ On February 5, the clergyman was officially registered as a minister of 3 parishes: in Horodok, where he had a designated place of residence, in Ho-

(1903–1986), in: *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917–1990)*, eds. M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański, vol. 2, Rzeszów-Lviv 2017, pp. 89–100.

¹⁰² APOCh, Ispolnitielnyj Komitet Chmielnickogo oblastnogo Sowjeta dieputatow trudiaszczichsia, f. P-338, op. 9, spr. 45, Upolnomocziennomu Sowjeta po dielam rieligioznych kultow pri Chmielnickom Obł'istpołkome tow. Steciuku A.N., 11 II 1960, k. 3.

¹⁰³ F. Karasiewicz, *Spogady pro duszpastyr's'ku praciu*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, (2012) issue 6, p. 469.

¹⁰⁴ Gumieniuk, *Kim ty jesteś?...*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁵ Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz (b. 1940) – ordained in 1968; vicar in Daugavpils (1968–1970), parish priest in Horodok (1970–1977), administrator in Derazhnia, Holozubyntsi (1970–1977), parish priest in Derazhnia (1977–1992), resident at the Holy Spirit Seminary in Horodok (since 1992). APOCh, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Awtobiografija, 4 II 1970, k. 24; ibidem, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Awtobiografija, 4 II 1970, k. 24; ibidem, Upolnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Charakteristika na gr-na Karasiewiczza F.I. [Opinion on citizen Karasiewicz F.I.], 16 X 1979, k. 45.

lozubyntsi and Derazhnia.¹⁰⁶ As there was no parsonage at the Horodok cemetery chapel, he was registered in a house at 19 Chkalov Street.¹⁰⁷ Rev. F. Karasiewicz recalled the beginning of his work in Podolia as follows:

I arrived in the regional capital, Khmelnytskyi, by plane. A religious representative came out to the airport to pick me up; he put me in a hotel and told me to wait for the necessary documents. It was an obvious ploy. I was immediately approached by KGB officers who began to ‘trick’ me into agreeing to cooperate with their institution, otherwise I would not get a ‘certificate.’ I strongly refused. After three days, the plenipotentiary stated to me that in that case I would get a ‘spravka’ (certificate), but only for six months. Then I threatened that if I did not receive a permanent ‘spravka,’ I would return to Latvia and serve the people there. The plenipotentiary, seeing my determination, finally agreed, and on 14 April 1970, I appeared in Horodok. I remember standing outside the chapel at seven o’clock in the evening, and within a dozen minutes some hundred people had gathered to greet me. At the first Mass, which I celebrated half an hour later, a crowd of several hundred people gathered around the temple. When I went out in front of the chapel after the Mass ended, I saw a crying girl standing at the gate. When I asked her why she was crying instead of being happy that the parish had received a young priest, she replied, wiping away her tears: ‘I am happy, but I am crying because I realize how hard it will be for you to work in Horodok.’ [...] The girl said that she would pray for me. It quickly became clear to me that prayer was sorely needed. I was subjected to intense pressure, and was harassed about practically everything – children attending Masses, adults not sneaking to the chapel via side paths through the cemetery, but demonstratively and *en masse* walking in to the chapel through the main gate of the cemetery, etc. My every step was followed. A KGB representative was present at every service. The faithful were summoned for questioning.¹⁰⁸

At the very beginning of his work in Horodok, Rev. F. Karasiewicz and his parishioners took the trouble to renovate the chapel. However, the state authorities did not agree to this. In view of this, decision was made to carry out the renovation work in such a way so that local officials would not know about it. For example, the chapel’s ceiling was repaired in this way. It was removed and the attic was reinforced with beams. Thanks to the rebuilding of the temple and the construction of a choir, the harmonium gained its new place, as well as the parish choir, led by organist Józef Zakrzewski, who commuted from Dunaivtsi. The internal remodelling of the chapel was not the only change. In order for the crowd of faithful coming to Masses to take an active part in them, one of the building’s windows was enlarged. In this window Rev. F. Karasiewicz began to celebrate liturgies, which put him in contact with the faithful. Mass attenders who could not fit in the small chapel

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowieta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Sprawka [Certificate], 5 II 1970, k. 21.

¹⁰⁷ Karasiewicz, *Spogady*, p. 435.

¹⁰⁸ Ibidem, pp. 435–436, 469; cf. Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 41–42.

formed circles at the window. The closest one was formed by children, the next by teenagers, and the next by adults.¹⁰⁹

After a few months, Rev. F. Karasiewicz and his parishioners installed a portable sound system in the chapel, so that all those present in the cemetery adjacent to the chapel could hear the words spoken at the altar and from the pulpit. After the service, during which the sound system was used for the first time, someone from the parish reported to the priest that 2 employees of the district executive committee, assisted by a militia officer, were waiting for him at the entrance to the temple. Having learned of this, the clergyman quickly dismantled the sound equipment and carried it out of the chapel. After all the faithful left the temple, the searches began. Having found no apparatus, the guests left the chapel. The next day, the people who attended the service were questioned, however to no avail. In his memoirs, Rev. F. Karasiewicz stressed that the story of the search in the chapel was a clear confirmation for him of the words he once heard from one of the KGB officers: 'Remember, our collaborators are everywhere, even in the church.'¹¹⁰

In 1972, the state authorities decided to discontinue Rev. F. Karasiewicz's pastoral service in Horodok and move him to Grechany. In response, a few hundred Catholics from Horodok went to Grechany, kidnapped the priest in liturgical vestments right after the service ended, and in a procession the whole crowd proceeded to the front of the local Lenin monument. There, as Rev. Roman Dzwonkowski pointed out, the people fell to their knees and, raising their hands, began to call out: 'Lenin, don't take the priest away from us! There is no word in your constitution about taking the priest away from us!' A crowd of about a thousand people gathered. The authorities were stunned by this view. People were asked to come to the office and Rev. F. Karasiewicz was reinstated to continue his pastoral work in the Horodok parish.¹¹¹

The approval of the clergyman's return to Horodok did not mean that the authorities intended to leave him alone. Years later, Rev. F. Karasiewicz recalled:

They came to me from Kyiv and Khmelnytskyi, trying to convince me to work less actively. The local plenipotentiary, who was constantly in trouble because of me, also urged me to at least abstain from formally showing the effects of my pastoral ministry. You baptised ten, take account of only one, he advised. You gave five weddings, show only one, etc. He explained that he had a wife and children and did not want to be constantly singled out by my zealotry as the worst performer, who should have been expelled from the party long ago. He often implored me: 'Say no word about politics. In your sermons, address God, the Mother of God, the Lord Jesus, but leave politics alone, or it will not end well.'¹¹²

Rev. F. Karasiewicz did not intend to reduce the pace of his activities. During the Easter celebrations in 1973, he confessed 4316 people. He was able to determine the exact number from the cards issued before the Easter confession. On

¹⁰⁹ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, pp. 43–44; Karasiewicz, *Spogady*, p. 452.

¹¹⁰ Ibidem, pp. 437–438.

¹¹¹ Dzwonkowski, *Za wschodnią granicą*, p. 288.

¹¹² Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 47.

each, the penitent had to write their name, year of birth and place of residence. When a parishioner did not make an Easter confession, the parish priest would send a picture with an invitation and encouragement to take the sacrament.¹¹³

Working beyond his strength, having to commute to 2 parishes and harassment from state authorities severely strained the health of Rev. F. Karasiewicz. In 1975, the clergyman was hospitalized with symptoms of a heart attack.¹¹⁴ Over the next 2 years, his health deteriorated so much that he was no longer able to serve 3 parishes. In 1977, Rev. Karasiewicz resigned from his role as parish priest in Horodok and moved to Derazhnia.¹¹⁵

The activity of Rev. Władysław Wanags, MIC (1977–1991)

After the departure of Rev. F. Karasiewicz, the Catholics of Horodok began to seek the arrival of another priest. The faithful gathered for prayer in private homes. Particularly important was the house of 2 female catechists, whom many called aunts, without even suspecting that they were actually Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The sisters kept the Blessed Sacrament at their home. It was concealed inside the statue of Our Lady of the Immaculate Conception. Prayers were performed in this house practically every day, from noon until late in the evening. Para-liturgical services were held, the rosary was prayed, and catechesis was conducted for children and youth.¹¹⁶

In February 1977, state authorities gave permission for a Marian Father from Latvia, Rev. Władysław Wanags,¹¹⁷ to come to Horodok. After obtaining permission from Bishop Julijans Vaivods¹¹⁸ and the plenipotentiary of the Council for

¹¹³ Ibidem; Karasiewicz, *Spogady*, pp. 458–459.

¹¹⁴ APOCh, Upoňnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dziełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Elektrokardiograficzieskoje issledowanije [Electrocardiographic examination of Rev. F. Karasiewicz], 2 VIII 1975, k. 38; ibidem, Upoňnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dziełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Uważajemyj Iwan Tichonowicz [Dear Mr Ivan Tichonovich – Letter from Rev. F. Karasiewicz], 8 VIII 1976, k. 39.

¹¹⁵ Ibidem, Upoňnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dziełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 44, Charakteristika na służytiela Dierazniaskogo kostioła Karasiewiczza Franca Iosifowicza [Opinion on the Servant of Worship of the Derazhnia Church Karasiewicz Franciszek Iosifowicz], 7 VII 1988, k. 47.

¹¹⁶ Koprowski, *Kresy we krwi*, p. 48.

¹¹⁷ Rev. Władysław Wanags, MIC (1931–2001) – ordained priest in 1973, took perpetual vows in the Congregation of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in 1979; vicar in Latgale (1973–1976) and Liepāja (1976–1977), parish priest in Horodok (1977–1996). Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, pp. 15–80; M. Biletska, *Ks. Władysław Wanags MIC i jego posługa na Podolu w latach 1977–2001*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 107 (2017) pp. 33–62.

¹¹⁸ Bishop Julijans Vaivods (1895–1990) – ordained priest in 1918; chancellor of the bishop's curia in Liepāja (1918–1944), vicar in Liepāja (1944–1958); in 1958 arrested and sent to a 2-year gulag for compiling and distributing anti-state writings; vicar in Riga (1962–1964), apostolic administrator of the Archdiocese of Riga (1964–1990), Cardinal-priest from 1983. Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance, Ministry of the Interior, 0639/108, vol. 5, State of the Church

Religious Affairs of the Latvian SSR, the clergyman arrived in Ukraine.¹¹⁹ He celebrated the first Mass in the Horodok parish on Ash Wednesday, 23 February 1977. In his autobiography, he noted:

Other priests celebrate the first Mass in a new parish in white chasubles, with organs, choir singing, while I was in a purple – penitential – chasuble, and with ashes sprinkled on my head. I did not know anyone. Alone, with Jesus and Mary, but without a home or church. How painful of an experience it was! Until today, I see that it was God who sent me to Ukraine, and I admit that Divine Providence was watching over the people.¹²⁰

Initially, the faithful had little confidence in the new pastor. They knew that he had graduated from a military school and speculated that he might have been a KGB agent. Very soon, however, the situation changed dramatically. On 9 April 1977, Holy Saturday, just before the solemn Mass, the chapel caught fire. As soon as he heard about it, Rev. W. Wanags immediately rushed to extinguish it. He climbed the ladder to the burning roof and, taking off his cassock, began smothering the fire with it, but the fire kept reigniting. The clergyman noticed a suspicious, smoking object. Without much thought, he pulled it out of the fire and dropped it on the ground. When people came closer, they saw that it was a bottle of burning tar. The fire was successfully extinguished, while the priest suffered several severe burns. The parishioners bandaged him so that he could celebrate the Mass.¹²¹ The priest commented on the event as follows: ‘People were in a great awe. They began to pray for me. In this way, the Lord God has granted me a chance to win their hearts. The enemies, on the other hand, thought that if the chapel had burned down, the new priest would be blamed, and then the parishioners themselves would expel him. They were disappointed.’¹²²

in the Latvian SSR. Informacja z pobytu tajnego współpracownika ps. Jakub w ZSRR, 22 IV 1965, k. 63–66; Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa*, pp. 611–612.

¹¹⁹ APOCh, Upołnomoczeniyy Sowieta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Upołnomocziennomu Sowieta po dielam religii pri Sowietie Ministrow USSR po Chmielnickoj oblasti tow. Bubiakowu I.G. ot Wanagsa Władysława Pawłowicza, ksiendza rymko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the USSR Council of Ministers in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, Comrade Bubiakov I.G. from Wanags Władysław, s. Paweł, a priest of the Roman Catholic Church], 22 II 1977, k. 190.

¹²⁰ W. Wanags, *Autobiografia to jest krótki życiorys księdza W. Wanagsa do 25 września 1986 roku*, Archives of the Parish of St Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr in Horodok, p. 21 [manuscript].

¹²¹ Cf. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 32.

¹²² W. Wanags, *Nie sprzeciwiaj się Bogu* (interview with Rev. W. Wanags conducted by Rev. S. Kurlandzki), in: S. Kurlandzki, L. Danilecka, *Panie, do kogóż pójdziemy? Marianie na Ukrainie*, Warszawa 2001, p. 226. The growth of Rev. W. Wanags’ authority among the people brought him to the attention of local authorities. KGB operatives took every opportunity to get the clergyman to cooperate. After one of the subsequent conversations, a long and tiresome one aimed at imposing collaboration, Wanags, pretending not to understand the essence of the conversation, took out the money and handed it to his interlocutor. And when the man became indignant, pointing out that he was not taking bribes, the priest explained: the official had not said anything specific during the conversation, so the clergyman, not understanding the purpose of the visit, assessed the situation as extortion to pay him money. The officials failed to realize their intention. After some

At the very beginning of his work in Horodok, Rev. W. Wanags decided to expand the cemetery chapel, which could not accommodate all the faithful, and was also in ruins.¹²³ About 230 parishioners attended services every day (130 in the morning, 100 in the evening), and 500–600 people gathered on Sundays.¹²⁴ Particularly large crowds of believers (about 3,000) could be seen during holidays and church celebrations, when Catholics from all over the Khmelnytskyi Oblast came to Horodok,¹²⁵ while the area of the chapel did not exceed 80m². The interior was damp, the ventilation was not working properly, and the wooden floor was completely destroyed by mould. In 1978, the ceiling collapsed along with the wall on the south side. As far as possible, with the efforts of parishioners, renovations were carried out to the room.¹²⁶ Rev. W. Wanags intended to build a new church, retaining the existing invocation of St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr. To this end, he and the faithful continually petitioned the municipal authorities for permission to expand the chapel, but their pleas were consistently denied by the authorities.¹²⁷

time, the secret service personnel invited the priest for an interview, which was to take place at a plot of land in the forest. ‘What kind of official are you to operate a money exchange office in the forest?’ – replied W. Wanags to the proposal and refused to go with them. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 33.

¹²³ Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwec conducted on 20 June 2013 by the author (audio recording; author’s private archive).

¹²⁴ APOCh, Upořnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O rasszyrienii molitwiennogo doma [On the Extension of the House of Prayer], 29 X 1987, k. 169; ibidem, Upořnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Ob uwieliczenii poleznoj ploszcziadi molitwiennogo doma w gorodie Gorodkie [On the Extension of the House of Prayer in the Town of Horodok], 26 VIII 1987, k. 150.

¹²⁵ Ibidem, Upořnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka ob obstanowkie w rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka [Report on the Situation in the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok], 18 XII 1987, k. 191.

¹²⁶ Ibidem, Upořnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Spieczifikacyja molitwiennogo doma rimsko-katoliczieskoj cerkwi w gorodie Gorodok [Specification of the House of Prayer of the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok], 8 V 1979, k. 142.

¹²⁷ Ibidem, Upořnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Ob obstanowkie w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorodokskoj katoliczieskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka [On the Situation of the Faithful of the Horodok Catholic Church], 16 X 1987, k. 177–178. From the memoirs of Rev. W. Wanags: ‘After some time, a commission from Moscow and Khmelnytskyi arrived. I sat them in a room, and the one from Moscow says: “Why don’t you listen to the authorities?” “What do you mean I don’t listen?” “You want to expand the chapel, don’t you?” “Yes, I do, and that’s what I’m asking the authority – to allow a small expansion: 5 metres from the front, 5 metres from the back, 5 metres from the right and 5 metres from the left, because people are freezing and getting wet outside.” “That’s too much. And why five meters each way?” “What do you mean, you don’t know that there were five wounds in the Lord Jesus?” They became outraged and cried out: “Expel him out of Horodok and don’t let him build 5 wounds!” People prayed fervently and I finally received permission.’ Wanags, *Nie sprzeciwiąj się Bogu*, p. 227.

In 1981, parishioners wrote a request for permission to expand the chapel by 154 m². On 23 July, the Executive Committee of the District Council of Deputies authorized its expansion to a total area of 211 m². Construction work continued until 1983.¹²⁸ However, the chapel was still too small, so Rev. W. Wanags, together with parishioners, renewed efforts to expand it once again. For several years, the authorities refused to agree to any change, even the slightest one, often without informing the faithful about their refusal.¹²⁹

On 5 and 16 February 1987, the faithful applied to the district and Regional Executive Committee to request permission to expand the old part of the chapel to the width of the part built in 1983 (the addition would be about 100 m²).¹³⁰ In mid-June 1987, the parishioners visited the District Executive Committee, the union and republican Council on Religious Affairs, the Regional Party Committee, the office of the Council on Religious Affairs plenipotentiary, they also wrote a complaint to the *Ogoniok* magazine and an application to the Executive Committee.¹³¹ In late August and early September, the faithful submitted another application, this time for permission to expand the chapel by additional 254 m². After four years of resistance on the part of the authorities, Rev. W. Wanags began to think of starting construction work regardless of their decision.¹³² In order to curb his

¹²⁸ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O rasszyrienii molitwiennogo doma rimsko-katoliczieskogo objedinienija w g. Gorodok [On the Extension of the House of Prayer of the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok], 15 XI1987, k. 172.

¹²⁹ A report by the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast about an interview with representatives of the Horodok parish reads: 'The faithful of the Horodok parish, who came on their own initiative, said that in early January 1986 they submitted an application to the District Executive Committee and the Union Council for Religious Affairs with a request to enlarge the chapel building. Receiving no response, they turned to the District Executive Committee on the matter on 3 March 1986. Deputy Chairman W. Z. Krocak said that their application was considered and the request was denied. He explains that there is enough chapel space for all parishioners. He refused to communicate the official resolution to the faithful.' APOCh, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka o biesiedie s wierujuszczimi gorodokskoj katoliczieskoj obszcziny gr. Torczinskoj Janinow, Guminskoj Gieniefoj, Narwa Tadeuszem [Note on a Conversation with the Faithful of the Horodok Catholic Community, Citizens Torczyńska Janina, Gumińska Genowefa, Narwa Tadeusz], 5 III1986.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Zajawa do upownowazhenogo w sprawach religij pry Radi Ministriw SRSR tow. Bubiakowu wid wykonawczogo organu Rymo-katolyckiego pry chodu m. Gorodka [Application to the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Comrade Bubiakow I.T. from the Executive Body of the Roman Catholic Parish of the Town of Horodok], 16 II 1987, k. 174.

¹³¹ Ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O sostojanii w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorogokskoj katoliczieskoj cerkwi [On the Situation in the of the Faithful of the Horodok Catholic Church], 16 X 1987, k. 177.

¹³² A report on the situation in the Horodok parish by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, A. Gorodecka, reads: 'While in the office of the Plenipotentiary of the

‘enthusiasm,’ the authorities directed the Deputy Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast, A.W. Potanow, to address him. During a visit to the Horodok parish on 28 September 1987, he insisted that the faithful stop writing applications, while imposing a plan for rebuilding the chapel drawn up by the authorities. In response, Rev. V. Wagnas said that the proposed project would not meet the needs of the parish, and that the faithful would demand a larger temple. The conversation was described by A.W. Potanow as follows:

Wanags was unyielding. He kept saying about democracy, or how that the authorities have destroyed the churches. Furthermore: ‘We are being ignored, redirected to and from, but we will keep fighting for what we deserve. The disabled, the elderly stand in the cold and rain... Is this justice?! Give us what we ask for. We will demand what we have included in our drawings – the baptismal font and other rooms.’ It was explained to Wanags that all these matters are handled by the local authorities, so the faithful should be discouraged from travelling to Moscow and Kyiv. Wanags replied: ‘We understand. We are just asking.’ And then he added: ‘People will stand up for what they need.’ Tears appeared, prayers began: ‘God, you will help us, you will listen to us.’ Once again, a conversation of a preventive nature was held. Wanags retained his position.¹³³

Efforts to expand the chapel and the priest’s strong position among parishioners led to an escalating conflict with the authorities. KGB officers were constantly tracking the clergyman, listening to his sermons to find any controversial statements. People were incited against the priest, meetings were held in clubs, where false stories were spread about him, including the attribution of extremism, mental disorders, and the pursuit of power or religious fanaticism. The Horodok parish priest was repeatedly summoned for ‘preventive’ talks, and a lawsuit was also prepared against him, which – thanks to the resistance of parishioners – was eventually ineffective. After some time, a new lawsuit was prepared, but the charges were proven to be falsified. Several attempts have been made to assassinate the priest. On one occasion his car was rammed by a truck, but Rev. W. Wanags was not in the car at the time. Behind the wheel was another priest, who was seriously injured as a result of the accident. Attempts were also made to beat up the Horodok pastor, which also failed – he was fit and physically strong enough to defend himself even when several opponents attacked him.¹³⁴

In the mid-1980s, the Council for Religious Affairs of the region began the procedure for resettling Rev. W. Wanags from Khmelnytskyi Oblast. The state authorities wanted the initiative for the priest’s transfer to come from the parishioners

Council for Religious Affairs on 28 August 1987 Rev. Wagnas stated: ‘It is democracy now. I promised the faithful to build a real church, and I will do it, even if the authorities do not allow it.’ APOCh, Upoňnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O sostojanii w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorogokskoj katoliczieskoj cerkwi, 16 X 1987, k. 177.

¹³³ Ibidem, Upoňnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Sprawka, 1 X 1987, k. 197.

¹³⁴ Roźkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 37.

themselves or the Riga Curia, so they used every opportunity to discredit him in the eyes of the faithful and other priests.¹³⁵ Attempts were also made to influence Cardinal J. Vaivods through the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Latvian SRS Kokor-Trop to have the hierarch refer Rev. W. Wanags to another parish.¹³⁶

The party leadership instructed the Horodok Executive Committee not to issue a permit for the construction of a church; to influence Rev. Wanags to reduce his enthusiasm for pastoral work and make him leave Horodok; to determine who among the parishioners opposes the authorities, initiating conflicts; to tighten requirements for members of the Religious Cults Control Committee in order to introduce coordinated actions directed at weakening religion.¹³⁷ In 1988, Rev. W. Wanags began building a church without a permit. The reaction of the authorities was immediate: the clergyman was accused of violating the law and

¹³⁵ CAPWOWU, Sowiet po diełam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Ukrainskoj SSR [Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR], f. 4648, op. 7, spr. 304, Upoñnomocziennomu Sowieta po diełam rieligij pri Sowietie Ministrow Łatwijskoj SSR po Ukrainskoj SSR [To the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs under the Council of Ministers of the Latvian SSR], 29 IV 1985, k. 45.

¹³⁶ The allegations were presented in detail in the document entitled *O przeniesieniu z obwodu [chmielnickiego] gródeckiego księdza Wanagsa W.P.*: ‘Wanags, native to Latvia, has been working in the region since 1977, and was evaluated positively in the first years. Recently, he has been creating conflict situations. It is taken into account that he suffers from schizophrenia. Attention should be paid to the following aspects:

– He attempts to subordinate other priests (8 of them).

– He demands a leadership position. He is provoking the faithful to write petitions and to organize demonstrations in order to remove the “blockade around Catholics” in order to obtain permission for an addition to the building (of an area of 256 m², and additional 336 m², whereas 135 m² was allowed).

He is attempting to build a garage, laundry room, checkroom, pantry, storage. At the same time, word is spreading that a “spiritual centre of Ukraine” will be created out of the Horodok church. He incites the faithful to write petitions to revive the activities of churches “closed by the Soviet power” (79 in the past, 13 now), in connection with this he created conflict situations in Vilkhovets, Sataniv, Tynna, Smotrych in the Dunaivtsi Raion. He is to be replaced by priest Tkacz Wiktor Leonidowicz, who is native to our region. He graduated from Riga Major Seminary a year ago and was then sent to our oblast. There was an earlier agreement with the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Latvian SSR, Mr Kokor-Trop, to dismiss Wanags by the Riga Curia. We realize that it will be quite difficult to arrange this under the new working conditions. And we do not insist on removing him from the registered list. Please take advantage of the Council’s suggestion that the Riga Curia dismiss Wanags (and appoint its alumnus Tkacz Wiktor Leonidowicz to the Horodok parish) from our region.’ APOCh, Upoñnomocziennyj Sowieta po diełam religij pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, O pieriemieszczeni i z oblasti Gorodokskogo księdza Wanagsa W.P. [On the Transfer of Rev. Wanags W.P. from the Horodok Raion], 5 X 1987, k. 195–196.

¹³⁷ Ibidem, Upoñnomocziennyj Sowieta po diełam religij pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Ob obstanowkie w sriedie wierujuszczich Gorodokskoj katolickiej cerkwi g. Gorodka, 16 X 1987, k. 177.

of extremist activity, as a May 1988 report by the Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast clearly confirms:

Wanags Władysław Pawłowicz has been working in the Horodok parish since February 1977. He very quickly put an end to feuds and division among the faithful, as a result of which he secured a firm position and authority. He is distinguished by his religious fanaticism, is prone to extremism, fabrication and spreading unhealthy rumours, including that the Soviet authorities are planning his physical elimination. On more than one occasion, he encouraged members of the executive body, ordinary believers to violate the law on religious worship to pressure the Soviet party organs on the expansion of the church. He has a negative influence on other priests, and constantly incites the faithful of Sataniv, Tynna, Smotrych, Yarmolyntsi, Solobkovitsi to uncompromisingly demand that the local authorities register parish communities. He spreads the belief that with a more hard-line position of the faithful, Horodok will become the “spiritual centre” of Ukraine’s Catholics. He is prepared very poorly in terms of politics – he does not follow the press, but is interested in the activities of the Pope and Church in Poland, has close contacts with the clergy of the Baltic republics.¹³⁸

Construction work on the cemetery chapel in Horodok was carried out at night. After some time, it was possible to build an underground room under the temple. This allowed the faithful to gather for prayer and receive the sacraments in dignified conditions. One day BBC radio informed that in Horodok, Ukraine, the faithful were praying in catacombs. The information could have negatively affected the image of the USSR in the international arena during perestroika, when the Soviet authorities were anxious that the Union be portrayed abroad as a democratic state where there is no political or religious persecution.¹³⁹ Thanks to this radio information, the state authorities decided to issue a building permit for the church and even appointed an architect. He drew up a design, according to which the temple was to look like a large gymnasium. Rev. W. Wanags, dissatisfied with the design, left for Riga to commission an architect in that city to carry out the plan for the church. The new design was approved by an architect authorized by the authorities, but the party leadership did not like the church being too tall. However, in the end it was possible to obtain permission to build a temple according to the drawings of an architect from Riga.¹⁴⁰

The construction of the church was proceeding under constant harassment and trouble caused by state authorities. Among other things, the delivery of construction materials to the site was obstructed. Therefore, parishioners ordered them for themselves, kept them at home, and later secretly brought them to the chapel. All

¹³⁸ Ibidem, Upołnomocziennyj Sowjeta po dielam religii pri Kabinetie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Charakteristika na służytiela kulta Gorodokskogo kostiela Wanagsa Władysława Pawłowicza [Opinion on the Servant of Worship of the Horodok Church, Wanags Władysław Pawłowicz], 25 V 1988, k. 177.

¹³⁹ Rożkow, *Książdz Władysław Wanags*, p. 44.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem; Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec.

construction work was carried out with the resources and strength of the faithful. Even the elderly, women and children participated in the construction.¹⁴¹

A long struggle against the authorities took place over permission to supply a baptistery at the front of the church. In order to solve the problem, Rev. W. Wanags addressed the City Council. In an interview with the secretary, he asked: 'Can a man be headless?' 'No', the official replied, not understanding what the clergyman was arriving at. 'And can there be a church without a head, without a cross?' 'Also no', replied the secretary. 'Then I am going to complain about you to the court', Rev. Wanags announced to him. 'What right did you have to remove the head of the church from the construction plan?!' The decision to build a baptistery was made, and during the erection of the 'head' no representative of the authorities appeared at the construction site.¹⁴²

Despite the construction work undertaken, the church was still too small. The sacristy, presbytery, rectory and parish hall were missing. Rev. W. Wanags decided to expand the church without waiting for permission from state authorities.¹⁴³ Only a few days after the work began, a representative of local authorities appeared at the site: 'A city official comes in and asks: "What are you doing here, what's going to be here?" "There will be an apartment for the priest and housekeeper, a kitchen, a dining room, and a garage." "Then write an application for permission." I did write it and submitted to the office. A month passes, and there is no answer. I concluded that silence is consent. I took the Bible, went to the office and said: "Peace be unto you!" An official approached to greet me, and I handed him a Bible with the words: "Hold the Scripture so that you know what was, what is and what will be." And he replied: "You can build one floor." I tell him: "God Bless!" He said nothing about the design neither gave written permission.'¹⁴⁴ After some time, a commission from Moscow and Kyiv arrived. Officials accused the parish priest of building without authorities' permission. The clergyman replied that he received verbal permission, which was the basis for the said commission to approve the construction project.¹⁴⁵

Rev. W. Wanags also failed to obtain permission for the addition of a porch in the church. Its construction was necessary for the people to not freeze during Mass in winter. Consequently, he began the construction, once again 'illegally.'¹⁴⁶ By the time the authorities realised that, it was too late: the walls were standing,

¹⁴¹ Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn conducted on 18 June 2013 by the author (audio recording; author's private archive).

¹⁴² Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 45.

¹⁴³ Wanags, *Nie sprzeciwiaj się Bogu*, p. 227.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 227–228.

¹⁴⁵ Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwec.

¹⁴⁶ From the memoirs of Józef Szpyszko: 'A loud "Peace be unto you!" dispersed the morning silence and shook the remnants of sleep from several hundred parishioners. A merry murmur passed over the crowd and immediately hushed, and half a thousand pairs of eyes turned their gaze with undisguised curiosity to the priest who had just appeared on the threshold of the church. Rev. Wanags carefully scanned the crowd, already gathered in front of the church at dawn. Men with shovels and axes here, women with brooms and buckets there, their gazes are blazing – what a nice view! Nothing

and it would have been hard to dismantle them, as it was unpredictable how people would have acted then.¹⁴⁷

After all construction work was completed, Rev. W. Wanags travelled to Riga and invited Bishop Vilhelms Ņukšs¹⁴⁸ to consecrate the church, which took place on 17 September 1988.¹⁴⁹ A miraculous image of St Anthony was placed in one of the side altars of the church.¹⁵⁰

In 1988, the Council for Religious Affairs cancelled the provision stipulating that religious buildings are state property.¹⁵¹ This was of utmost importance to believers and gave hope that the long-standing efforts to register religious

can stop them now. Just one more effort, and finally the temple of the dreams will be ready. With a satisfied nod, the priest raised his eyes to heaven and whispered his thanks to God.

– Well, shall we build the porch? – he turned to the crowd.

– Of course! Let's build! – they replied with approval.

– Then let us pray that the Lord God bless our efforts. After the Our Father and Hail, Mary, Rev. Wanags divided the duties and the people got down to work. The courtyard of the church was filled with the hum of voices, the clatter of trucks, the clank of shovels – construction was in full swing. After all, it is imperative to finish as soon as possible, as long as officials have not found out... But they have. They came, assessed the situation, pressed their lips together, and began to search for Rev. Wanags.

– How can it be – Mr priest breaking the law?

– But how can there be a house without a vestibule? – he replied with outrage. – Winter will be cold, people will freeze, as there is no antechamber.

– Without permission, it is not allowed – the officials stubbornly repeated and crossed their arms on their chests, with their whole posture making it clear: 'We won't allow it!'

People have gone silent. They stood, listening closely to how their parish priest would defend himself. And he just shrugged his shoulders and said: – Not allowed means not allowed. We will not be building.

Officials seemed satisfied with such an answer. They thanked him for his forbearance, shook hands with the priest, turned and walked away. Wanags bid them a polite farewell, watching them until their silhouettes completely disappeared, and returned to the parishioners. And they stood frozen solid, with shovels and buckets in their hands, with a silent question in their wide-open eyes: 'What will it be?'

– Hey, keep digging! – Wanags waved them – the bureaucrats have gone, we must finish before they return.

They managed to finish the porch. When the officials returned, they were left with no choice but to approve the addition project.' Interview with Józef Szpyczko conducted on 15 May 2016 by A. Podluk (audio recording; private archive of A. Podluk).

¹⁴⁷ W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 46.

¹⁴⁸ Bishop Vilhelms Ņukšs (1938–1993) – ordained in 1964; vicar of Krāslava parish (1964–1965), vicar of St Mary Magdalene parish in Riga (1965–1966), vicar of Our Lady of Sorrows church in Riga (1966–1967), St Anthony parish priest in Riga (1967–1977); St Albert parish priest in Riga and dean of the Riga deanery (1979–1987), auxiliary bishop of the Riga Archdiocese (1987–1993). I. Čigāne, *Vilhelms Ņukšs - priesteris uz mūžiem!*, „Ludzas Zeme”, (2015) issue 70, p. 6.

¹⁴⁹ W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 48.

¹⁵⁰ N. Szpyczko, *Śladami Księdza Władysława Wanagsa, niestrudzonego slugi Maryi*, „Rota” (2004) issue 49, p. 1.

¹⁵¹ J. Sosnowskich, *Transformacja gosudarstwiennno-konfessionalnych odnoszenij w 1985–1997 gg. Na materialach Czeliabinskoj oblasti*, Chelyabinsk 2014, p. 23.

communities and reclaim temples would see fruition. The news of the construction of the church in Horodok, which was the first Catholic temple in Ukraine to be built during the Soviet era, further mobilized the Catholics of Podolia.¹⁵²

Realizing the needs of the gradually strengthening Catholic Church in Ukraine, Rev. W. Wanags decided to establish a lower seminary in Horodok. Having received permission from his superior Rev. Viktors Pentjušs, MIC,¹⁵³ he erected 2 buildings and announced recruitment. There were 18 candidates who lived in the lower seminary and attended school in Horodok.¹⁵⁴

On 23 April 1991, the Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine adopted the *Law On Freedom of Conscience and Religious Organizations*. Then a new stage of Ukraine's spiritual revival began.¹⁵⁵ In that year, Rev. J. Olszański became diocesan bishop of the reactivated Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese.¹⁵⁶ He proposed to Rev. W. Wanags to establish a higher seminary to prepare candidates for the priesthood. In 1991, news of the seminary's establishment was officially announced in Horodok, and after just one month, 20 candidates¹⁵⁷ began formation in the first year under the supervision of Rev. Jan Ślepowroński.¹⁵⁸

In November 1989, Rev. W. Wanags managed to obtain permission from the state authorities to build the House of Mercy, a shelter for the poor elderly.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵² Cf. W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 53.

¹⁵³ Rev. Viktors Pentjušs, MIC (1915–2007) – ordained in 1942; arrested in 1948, after four months of investigation, sentenced for ‘aiding the German occupier and anti-Soviet agitation’ to 10 years of forced labour in a gulag (a coal mine in Vorkuta); released from the gulag in 1956. Rehabilitated in 1989, by a decision of the Latvian Prosecutor General's Office. From 1972 to 1991, he served as father confessor at Riga Major Seminary and was later appointed vice chancellor. Cf. R. Dzwonkowski, *Leksykon duchowieństwa...*, p. 469.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn.

¹⁵⁵ W. Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags...*, p. 49.

¹⁵⁶ Archive of the Curia of the Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese, Joannes Paulus Episcopus Servus Servorum Dei dilecto filio Joanni Olszanski [Nomination Bull of Rev. Jan Olszański], 16 February 1991, no ref.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. J. Niemiec, *Utworzenie i początki działalności Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej obrządku łacińskiego w Gródku Podolskim 1991–1992*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, (2002) issue 1, pp. 61–91.

¹⁵⁸ Rev. Jan Ślepowroński (b. 1959) – ordained in 1985; rector of the Major Seminary in Horodok (1991–2001), parish priest in Bar (2001–2012), rector of the Major Seminary in Vorzel (2012–2017), since 2017 parish priest in Vilkhovets. *Schematyzm Kamjanec-Podilskoj dijecezji*, Kamianets-Podilskyi 2003, p. 9; *Ks. Jan Ślepowroński*, <http://www.orient.sacro.pl/index.php?a=gl&s=246&szczeg=216> (accessed on: 7.01.2021).

¹⁵⁹ APOCh, Upoñnomocziennyj Sowieta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Riszennia Wykonawczogo komitetu pro zajawu czeñniw dwadciatky Gorodockoji rymo-katolyckoji obszczyny [Decision of the Executive Committee on the Composition of the 20-member Council of the Horodok Roman Catholic Community], 22 XI 1989, k. 205; *ibidem*, Upoñnomocziennyj Sowieta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj oblasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 43, Zakluczenije o razrieszenii objedinieni-ju rimsko-katoliczeskoj cerkwi g. Gorodka na stroitelstwo Doma Miłosierdija [Decision to Allow the Community of the Roman Catholic Church in the Town of Horodok to Build a House of Mercy], 4 XII 1989, k. 204.

However, after the construction work was completed, by the decision of Bishop J. Olszański, the edifice was handed over to the Major Seminary, which continued to develop. Then Rev. W. Wanags, having received material assistance from Poland, began the construction of the fourth building, which still houses the House of Mercy.¹⁶⁰ However, when the Superior General of the Congregation of Marian Fathers came to Horodok and saw that Rev. W. Wanags was building a House of Mercy, he categorically forbade him to do so. He was concerned that there would not be enough funds for the construction and everything would have to be financed by the congregation from its funds. In light of Rev. W. Wanags' resistance, his superior allowed him to make his own decision regarding the construction of the House of Mercy. During his next visit, the Superior General was surprised that Rev. W. Wanags succeeded in carrying out his construction plans.¹⁶¹

The elderly living at the House of Mercy receive full medical and nursing care, comfortable living conditions and food. Rev. W. Wanags purchased 30 hectares of farmland, so residents are provided with food. He also managed to receive material assistance from the Wspólnota Polska Foundation to buy a tractor and farming tools. However, there was a shortage of funds for medicine, so Rev. W. Wanags often travelled abroad in search of benefactors.¹⁶² He served as St Stanislaus parish priest until August 1996. Due to his deteriorating health, he handed over his duties to Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn, MIC.¹⁶³

Conclusion

The 20th century was an exceptionally difficult period for the parish in Horodok. The Bolsheviks' seizure of power in Podolia gave rise to nearly seventy years of persecution of the Catholic Church, which was considered a dangerous enemy of the communist order. In fighting the Church, the Soviet authorities used a variety of methods, including the physical elimination of the clergy and the most zealous believers. As early as 1937, in consequence of anti-religious policies consistently embodied by the authorities on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, the Catholic Church virtually ceased to function. All the temples have been closed, destroyed or converted to factories, stables, granaries or clubs. However, the Soviet authorities failed to completely destroy the faith among Catholics, who found various ways to

¹⁶⁰ Rożkow, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags*, p. 49.

¹⁶¹ Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn.

¹⁶² Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec.

¹⁶³ Rev. Antoni Andruschyszyn, MIC (b. 1951) – ordained in 1986; took perpetual vows in 1990; from 1987 to 1996 served as parish priest in Slavuta and in 10 systematically recovered and rebuilt churches throughout the area, parish priest in Horodok (1996–2003), vicar in Khmelnytskyi (2003–2006), vicar in Chernivtsi in Podolia (2006–2013), currently vicar in Khmelnytskyi. APOCh, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 17, Ankieta na służytiela rieligioznogo kulta, 23 IX 1988, k. 22; ibidem, Upoŋnomocziennyj Sowjeta po diełam religii pri Kabinietie Ministrow Ukrainy po Chmielnickoj obłasti, f. P-6416, op. 1, spr. 17, Awtobiografija, 23 IX 1988, k. 23; A. Andruszczyszyn, *Dziesięć kościołów „na sumieniu”* (interview with Rev. A. Andruszczyszyn conducted by L. Danilecka), in: Kurlandzki, Danilecka, *Panie, do kogóž pójdziemy?*, pp. 75–88.

lead a hidden religious life, and at the first opportunity reopened temples seized by the authorities. Such a possibility arose after the Third Reich attacked the USSR in June 1941 and German troops occupied Ukraine. Thanks to the initiative of the faithful and incoming ministers, Catholic parishes began to function again in Podolia and religious life developed.

The cemetery chapel in Horodok was one of the first Catholic temples in Podolia to be recovered at the time. In August 1941, services began to be held again in the Horodok temple. Initially, as in many other towns occupied by the Third Reich, pastoral services were provided by chaplains of German army units. After some time, thanks to the efforts of the Catholics of Horodok, Rev. Franciszek Oleń from the Diocese of Lutsk began to visit the cemetery, where he celebrated Mass and administered the sacraments.

In the fall of 1944, Rev. J. Olszański, the future bishop of the Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese, took over as parish priest in Horodok. His catechization of children, which was forbidden in the USSR, caused him to be expelled by state authorities to the village of Manykivtsi in 1959. From then on, the Horodok community was deprived of permanent pastoral care. It was not until 1970 that Rev. Franciszek Karasiewicz was assigned to St Stanislaus Parish and served there as parish priest until early 1977. Due to his deteriorating health, the clergyman left Horodok, and a priest from Latvia, Rev. W. Wanags, MIC, was appointed in his place after some time. In 1988, he led the dedication of the church he illegally built in Horodok. It was the first Catholic temple erected in Soviet Ukraine.

The Catholic Church, persecuted in the Soviet state, was doomed to total destruction. However, as it turned out, faith in God and the dedication and courage of the lay and clergy faithful were stronger than totalitarianism. In the struggle for its survival, the Catholic Church on the territory of the USSR not only persevered, but strengthened itself spiritually, as clearly confirmed by the history of the Horodok parish.

REFERENCES

Sources

Archives of Archbishop Eugeniusz Baziak in Kraków
ref. 1053 – Records of the Metropolitan Curia of the Latin Rite in Lviv.

Archives of the Institute of National Remembrance
0639/108 – Ministry of the Interior.

Archive of the Curia of the Kamianets-Podolskyi Diocese
no ref. – Documents and correspondence of Bishop Jan Olszański.

The State Archive of the Russian Federation in Moscow
f. P-9401 – NKVD SSSR.

The State Archive of Khmelnytskyi Oblast in Khmelnytskyi
 f. 685 – Roman Catholic Clergy Consistory of Podolia.
 f. P-6193 – NKVD Main Administration of State Security.
 f. P-338 – Executive Committee of the Council of Deputies Working in the Kamianets-Podilskyi (Khmelnytskyi) Oblast.
 f. P-6416 – Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the USSR Council of Ministers in the Khmelnytskyi Oblast.

The State Archive of Lviv Oblast in Lviv
 f. P-1332 – Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs to the USSR Council of Ministers in the Lviv Oblast.

The State Archive of Ternopil Oblast in Ternopil
 f. P-338 – [Plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Cults under the Council of Ministers of the USSR in the Ternopil Oblast.

State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine in Kyiv
 f. 6 – Criminal Cases of Rehabilitated Persons.

The Archive of the Parish of St Stanislaus the Bishop and Martyr in Horodok
 Wanags Władysław, *Autobiografia to jest krótki życiorys księdza W. Wanagsa do 25 września 1986 roku* (manuscript).

The Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine in Kyiv
 f. 1 – Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine.

Central State Archive of Higher Authorities of Ukraine in Kyiv
 f. 4648 – Council for Religious Affairs, under the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

Printed sources

- Andruszczyszyn Antoni, *Dziesięć kościołów „na sumieniu”* (interview with Rev. A. Andruszczyszyn conducted by L. Danilecka), in: *Panie, do kogóż pójdziemy? Marianie na Ukrainie*, eds. S. Kurlandzki, L. Danilecka, Warszawa 2001, pp. 75–88.
- Bizuń Stanisław, *Historia Krzyżem znaczone. Wspomnienia z życia Kościoła katolickiego na Ziemi Lwowskiej 1939–1945*, Lublin 1994.
- Dąbkowski Henryk, *Wspomnienie o ks. mgr Michale Żukowskim (1899–1983)*, in: *Kresowi księża harcerze. Od Kamieńca Podolskiego do Nowogródka*, ed. H. Dąbkowski, Warsaw 1999, pp. 37–44.
- Gonczaruk Paweł, *Wiara i życie. Świadczenia duchowych przeżyć osób prześladowanych na Podolu w latach 1918–1990*, Lublin 2016, pp. 36–38 [interview with Zuzanna Michalska], pp. 53–54 [interview with Jadwiga Snigórska].
- Gonczaruk Paweł, *Wira i життя. Swiadczenia wirujuczych*, „*Studia Catholica Podoliae*”, 2 (2003) pp. 640–646 [interview with Emilia Gulko].
- Gumeniuk Stanisław, *Kim ty jesteś...?*, „*Głos Podola*”, (2000) issue 1–2, pp. 7–10.
- Karasiewicz Francysk, *Spogady pro duszpastyrs'ku praciu*, „*Studia Catholica Podoliae*”, 6 (2012) pp. 435–494.
- Mańkowski Piotr, *Pamiętniki*, Warsaw 2000.

- Olszański Jan, *Wygнали mnie z Gródka* (interview with Bishop J. Olszański conducted by K. Renik), in: K. Renik, *Podpolnicy. Rozmowy z ludźmi Kościoła na Litwie, Łotwie, Białorusi i Ukrainie 1990–1991*, ed. K. Renik, Warsaw 1991, pp. 293–303.
- Traktat pokoju między Polską a Rosją i Ukrainą, podpisany w Rydze dnia 18 marca 1921 r.*, Journal of Laws of 1921, item 300.
- Wanags Władysław, *Nie sprzeciwiaj się Bogu* (interview with Rev. W. Wanags conducted by Rev. S. Kurlandzki), in: *Panie, do kogóż pójdziemy? Marianie na Ukrainie*, eds. S. Kurlandzki, L. Danilecka, Warsaw 2001, pp. 222–258.
- Wilk Hilary Marcin, *„Ty nie zginiesz”*, Lublin 2002.

Audio sources

Collection of Władysław Rożkow

Interview with Rev. Antoni Andruszczyszyn conducted on 18 June 2013 by the author (audio recording).

Interview with Rev. Oleg Siwiec conducted on 20 June 2013 by the author (audio recording).

Interview with Maria Szczucka conducted on 4 November 2019 by the author (audio recording).

Collection of Anastazja Podluk

Interview with Józef Szpyszko conducted on 15 May 2016 by A. Podluk (audio recording).

Studies

- Barcik Symeon, *Franciszkanie lagiernicy*, in: *Duchowieństwo polskie w świecie. Materiały VII Międzynarodowego Sympozjum Biografistyki Polonijnej. Papieski Uniwersytet Urbaniański. Rzym, 17–18 października 2002 r.*, eds. A. Judycka, Z. Judycki, Toruń 2002, pp. 29–37.
- Biletska Maria, Ks. *Władysław Wanags MIC i jego posługa na Podolu w latach 1977–2001*, „Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne”, 107 (2017) pp. 33–62.
- Chajko Grzegorz, *Arcybiskup Bolesław Twardowski (1864–1944). Metropolita lwowski obrządku łacińskiego*, Rzeszów 2010.
- Čigāne Iveta, *Vilhelms Nūkšs - priesteris uz mūžiem!*, „Ludzas Zeme”, (2015) issue 70, p. 6.
- Dębowska Maria, *Kościół katolicki na Wołyniu w warunkach okupacji 1939–1945*, Rzeszów 2008.
- Dębowska Maria, *Popek Leon, Duchowieństwo diecezji łuckiej. Ofiary wojny i represji okupantów 1939–1945*, Lublin 2010.
- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Kapłani-męczennicy i wyznawcy wiary w diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej w XX wieku*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 1 (2002) pp. 235–254.
- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Kościół katolicki obrządku rzymskiego w Ukrainie SRS 1921–1939*, „Studia Catholica Podoliae”, 8–9 (2014–2015) pp. 297–320.
- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Kościół katolicki w ZSSR. Zarys historii*, Lublin 1997.
- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Leksykon duchowieństwa polskiego represjonowanego w ZSRS 1939–1988*, Lublin 2003.
- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Losy duchowieństwa katolickiego w ZSSR 1917–1939. Martyrologium*, Lublin 1998.

- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Odrodzenie życia religijnego w diecezji łucko-żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej 1941–1991*, in: *Restaurare omnia in Christo. 25-lecie reaktywowania Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego na Ukrainie. Diecezja kijowsko-żytomierska*, eds. J. Ślepówroński, W.W. Żurek, Kyiv-Zhytomyr 2017, pp. 85–117.
- Dzwonkowski Roman, *Za wschodnią granicą 1917–1993. O Polakach i Kościołe w dawnym ZSRR z Romanem Dzwonkowskim rozmawia Jan Pałyga*, Warsaw 1993.
- Gadacz Jan Ludwik, *Słownik polskich kapucynów*, vol. 2, Wrocław 1986.
- Gonczaruk Pawło, *Wira i żyttia. Swidoctwa wirujucznych*, „*Studia Catholica Podoliae*”, 2 (2003) pp. 640–646.
- Hlebowicz Adam, „*Trwajcie*”. *Biskup Jan Olszański (1919–2003)*, „*Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej*”, 64 (2006) issue 5, pp. 73–81.
- Jusiak Roman Oktawian, *O. Martynian Wojciech Darzycki OFM (1918–2009) – bernardyn, odnowiciel franciszkanów na Ukrainie*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 2014.
- Juszczyszyna Wiktoria, *Pols 'ko-ukrajins 'ki wzajemyny na terytoriji Chmelnyc 'koi oblasti: polaky ta Rymo-katołyč 'ka Cerkwa w Gorodku*, in: *Represiji proty polakiw ta in-szych nacionalnostej na Podilli: rol i misce w kraju*, ed. I. Jaszczuk, Khmelnytskyi 2016, pp. 418–438.
- Kaczmarek Krzysztof, *Niezłomny kapłan z Podola. Ks. kanonik Bronisław Mirecki (1903–1986)*, in: *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917–1990)*, eds. M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański, vol. 2, Rzeszów-Lviv 2017, pp. 89–100.
- Karłowicz Leon, *Ciernista droga. Życie i działalność o. Martyniana Darzyckiego OFM więźnia Kołomy*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1997.
- Karwowska Beniamina, Rozynkowski Waldemar, Zygner Leszek, *Ks. Biskup Adolf Piotr Szelążek (1865–1950). Kapłan, biskup, wygnaniec*, Podkowa Leśna 2010.
- Koprowski Marek, *Kresy we krwi*, Warsaw 2011.
- Kuczer Marija, *Ksiądz Andrzej Gładysiewicz (1914–1983), duszpasterz parafii Polonne na Podolu*, in: *Wytrwać i przetrwać jak Bóg daje. Świadkowie Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego na Ukrainie Sowieckiej 1917–1991*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków 2010, pp. 329–354.
- Kumor Bolesław, *Kasata diecezji kamienieckiej na Podolu w 1866*, „*Studia Catholica Podoliae*”, 1 (2002) pp. 209–217.
- Lech Z., *Szpieg Watykanu!*, „*Duszpasterz Polski Zagranicą*”, (1993) issue 4, pp. 565–574.
- Nabywaniec Stanisław, *Odrodzenie diecezji kamienieckiej i jej losy po 1918 r.*, „*Studia Catholica Podoliae*”, 1 (2002) pp. 157–207.
- Niemiec Jan, *Utworzenie i początki działalności Wyższego Seminarium Duchownego diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej obrządku łacińskiego w Gródku Podolskim 1991–1992*, „*Studia Catholica Podoliae*”, (2002) issue 1, pp. 61–91.
- Reaktywowanie duszpasterstwa w diecezjach żytomierskiej i kamienieckiej*, ed. M. Dębowska, Rzeszów 2010.
- Rosowski Witalij, *Dzieje rzymskokatolickiej diecezji kamienieckiej w latach 1918–1941*, Lublin 2008.
- Rożkowi Władysław, *Losy świątyni i wspólnot rzymskokatolickich w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim (chmielnickim) w latach 1944–1964*, „*Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne*”, 115 (2021) pp. 419–446.
- Rożkowi Władysław, *Ksiądz Władysław Wanags (1931–2001) – obrońca Kościoła na Podolu*, Biały Dunajec-Ostróg 2018.
- Rożkowi Władysław, *Sowiecka administracja państwowa wobec duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego na Podolu w latach 1944–1964*, in: *Studia z historii najnowszej Polski*, eds. R. Łatka, M. Przeperski, vol. 2, Warsaw 2020, pp. 73–90.

- Rublowa Natalia, Kokin Sergij, Kuras Iwan, *Biografiji rymo-katolyč'kich swiaszczenykiw, represowanych radians'koju władoju*, „Z archiwii WUCZK-GPU-NKWD-KGB”, issue 21 (2003) issue 2, pp. 374–438.
- Schematyzm Kamjanec-Podilskoj dijeceziji*, Kamianets-Podilskyi 2003.
- Sidlec'kyj Andrij, *Swiatyj Antonij z Paduji, pokrowytel Gorodka*, „Gołos Seminariji”, 17 (2013) issue 1, pp. 6–7.
- Sołżenicyn Aleksander, *Archipelag Gułag. Próba dochodzenia literackiego*, vol. 1, Warsaw 1998.
- Sosnowskich Jelena, *Transformacja gosudarstwiennno-konfessionalnych odnoszenij w 1985–1997 gg. Na materiałach Czielabinskoj oblasti*, Chelyabinsk 2014.
- Stoczkowij Wałerij, Nesterenko Wałerij, *Rymsko-Katolycka Cerkwa na Podilli u 20-ti – 90-i roku XX st. Istoryko-geograficzne doslidżenia*, Kolomyia 2001.
- Suła Dorota, *Kościół katolicki na Ukrainie w latach 1921–1939*, in: *Państwo – religia. Instytucje państwowe i obywatele wobec religii w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w XX wieku*, ed. J. Durka, vol. 1, Kalisz 2014, pp. 107–128.
- Szpyczko Nela, *Śladami Księdza Władysława Wanagsa, niestrudzonego sługi Maryi*, „Rota”, (2004) issue 49, pp. 1–10.
- Szubtarski Grzegorz, *Antykościelne ustawodawstwo w ZSRR za rządów Włodzimierza Lenina (1917–1923)*, „Kościół i Prawo”, 2 (2013) issue 2, pp. 63–75.
- Szymański Józef, *Kościół katolicki na Podolu. Obwód winnicki 1941–1964*, Lublin 2003.
- Szymański Józef, *Kościół katolicki w obwodzie kamieniecko-podolskim w 1945 r.*, in: *Historia świadectwem czasów. Księdzu Markowi Tomaszowi Zahajkiewiczowi*, eds. W. Bielak, S. Tylus, Lublin 2006, pp. 471–482.
- Urban Wincenty, *Archidiecezja lwowska*, in: *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją 1939–1945. Metropolie wileńska i lwowska, zakony*, ed. Z. Zieliński, Katowice 1992, pp. 91–171.
- Urban Wincenty, *Duszpasterska siejba kapłanów repatriantów na Ziemiach odzyskanych w latach 1945–1970*, Wrocław 1972.
- Wołczański Józef, *Misja pastoralna ks. Jana Olszańskiego na Podolu z lat 1944–1989 w relacjach sowieckich władz wyznaniowych*, in: *Kościół katolicki w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej w obliczu dwóch totalitaryzmów (1917–1990)*, eds. M. Krzysztofiński, J. Wołczański, vol. 2, Rzeszów-Lviv 2017, pp. 239–264.
- Wołczański Józef, *Ksiądz biskup Jan Olszański. Duszpasterz – patriota – człowiek*, in: *Pasterz i twierdza. Księga jubileuszowa dedykowana księdzu biskupowi Janowi Olszańskiemu ordynariuszowi diecezji w Kamieńcu Podolskim*, ed. J. Wołczański, Kraków-Kamianets-Podilskyi 2001, pp. 9–19.
- Żaryn Jan, *Starania ks. dr Teodora Benschka o uwolnienie czterestu księży diecezji łuckiej*, „Komunikaty Mazursko-Warmińskie”, (1997) issue 1, pp. 61–71.

Online Sources

- Ks. Jan Ślepowroński, <http://www.orient.sacro.pl/index.php?a=gl&s=246&szczeg=216> (accessed on: 7.01.2021).
- Poluchowicz Dmytro, Denysiewicz Anna, *Przygody Świętego Antoniego na Podolu*, <http://slowopolskie.org/przygody-witego-antoniego-na-podolu/> (accessed on: 23.09.2020).
- Dzieje parafii pw. św. Stanisława – Biskupa i Męczennika w Gródku Podolskim w latach 1941–1991.

DZIEJE PARAFII PW. ŚW. STANISŁAWA – BISKUPA I MĘCZENNIKA W GRÓDKU PODOLSKIM W LATACH 1941–1991

Abstrakt

Od końca XVIII wieku w Gródku Podolskim funkcjonowały dwa kościoły – jeden pw. św. Anny i św. Antoniego, drugi pw. św. Stanisława – Biskupa i Męczennika. W 1935 roku świątynie te zostały zamknięte przez władze sowieckie, a wkrótce zdewastowane. Zamknięto także kaplicę wybudowaną w 1845 roku na cmentarzu. Katolicy z Gródka zostali pozbawieni opieki duszpasterskiej. Odrodzenie życia religijnego na Ukrainie Sowieckiej nastąpiło w okresie okupacji niemieckiej. Wierni odzyskali świątynie i mogli swobodnie sprawować nabożeństwa. W roku 1943, dzięki staraniom katolików gródeckich, zaczął do nich przyjeżdżać ks. Franciszek Oleń z diecezji łuckiej, który odprawiał w kaplicy cmentarnej Msze św. oraz udzielał sakramentów. Pod koniec 1944 roku funkcję proboszcza parafii w Gródku objął 25-letni kapłan z archidiecezji lwowskiej ks. Jan Olszański, przyszły biskup diecezji kamieniecko-podolskiej. Prowadzona przez niego katechizacja dzieci, która była w ZSRS zakazana, spowodowała, że w 1959 roku został on wydalony do wioski Manikowce. W ciągu wielu lat opiekę duszpasterską nad katolikami z Gródka sprawowali dojeżdżający kapłani. Dopiero w 1970 roku do parafii św. Stanisława skierowano ks. Franciszka Karasiewicza, który pełnił tam funkcję proboszcza do 1977 roku. Z powodu pogarszającego się stanu zdrowia, spowodowanego nieustannym nękaniami ze strony lokalnych władz, duchowny opuścił Gródek Podolski, a na jego miejsce wyznaczono ks. Władysława Wanagsa MIC. Już na początku swojej pracy w Gródku nowy proboszcz miał zamiar w miejsce małej kapliczki zbudować nowy kościół, zachowując dotychczasowe wezwanie św. Stanisława – Biskupa i Męczennika. W 1988 roku pomimo sprzeciwu władz państwowych ks. W. Wanags zdecydował się na rozpoczęcie budowy kościoła. W dniu 17 września 1988 roku bp Vilhelms Nukšs poświęcił nowy kościół w Gródku Podolskim. Była to pierwsza świątynia katolicka powstała na Ukrainie Sowieckiej.

Słowa kluczowe: Gródek Podolski; Podole; diecezja kamieniecko-podolska; ks. Franciszek Oleń; bp Jan Olszański; ks. Franciszek Karasiewicz; ks. Władysław Wanags