

# The Beginnings of the Polish Uniate Mission among the Bulgarians

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The Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord was a Catholic order that was founded by the patriotic Polish émigrés operating in the West during the great crisis of values and methods of regaining independence. Instead of revolution and struggle, the need for internal transformation and a return to the Catholic foundations of social order in Poland was indicated. For them, the resurrection of Christ was the source of Poland's resurrection, national values should take a place subordinate to Christian, timeless and universal values. According to their logic, Poland's subjugation was also a punishment for the historical betrayal of the Christian order. Among other things, the discriminatory treatment of the Uniate Church in former Poland was pointed out. Unable to operate on Polish soil, the Resurrectionists pursued their plans to support the church union abroad. The Russo-Turkish wars as well as the global clash between Russia and Western countries in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century created favourable conditions to start acting among the Slavs liberating themselves from the yoke of Ottoman Turkey. With the support of the Holy See, the mission of Polish monks among Orthodox Bulgarians began in 1862, offering them a path to the union of the Orthodox Church with Rome, the one that was followed by the Ruthenians in the Republic of Poland at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Overcoming bureaucratic, civilisational and cultural obstacles, the Resurrectionists took on pastoral work in the Greek-Slavic rite, educating young people and preparing the future Bulgarian Uniate clergy. The Bulgarian Greek Catholic Church, which exists to this day, is the result of a mission undertaken by Polish monks.

**Keyword:** Resurrectionists, Union, Bulgaria, Rome, Adrianople, Pope, Orthodoxy, Church.

## Начало польской униатской миссии среди болгар

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Конгрегация Воскресения Господня была католическим орденом, основанным патриотически настроенными польскими эмигрантами, действовавшими на Западе во время

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великого кризиса ценностей и методов восстановления независимости. Вместо революции и борьбы была указана необходимость внутреннего преобразования и возврата к католическим основам общественного строя в Польше. Для членов ордена Воскресения Христа было источником воскресения Польши, национальные ценности должны были занять место, подчиненное христианским, вневременным и общечеловеческим ценностям. По логике конгрегатов, подчинение Польши было также наказанием за историческое предательство христианского порядка. Среди прочего указывалось на дискриминационное отношение к униатской церкви в бывшей Польше. Не имея возможности действовать на польской земле, «воскресенцы» реализовали свои планы по поддержке церковного союза за рубежом. Русско-турецкие войны, а также глобальное столкновение России со странами Запада во второй половине XIX в. создали благоприятные условия для начала действий среди славян, освобождавшихся от ига Османской Турции. И конгрегация многого достигла, многое сделала. Подтверждением чему служит канонизация И. Кунцевича. При поддержке Святого Престола в 1862 г. началась миссия польских монахов среди православных болгар, предложившая им путь к объединению Православной церкви с Римом, тот путь, по которому пошли русины в Польской Республике в конце XVI в. Проблема заключалась в том, что Болгария — первая славянская страна, которая была крещена именно по православному образцу. Перед миссией стояли неимоверные трудности, поскольку она оказалась вовлеченной в большую и весьма своеобразную политику, составлявшую сложный контекст для религиозных проблем. Преодолевая бюрократические, цивилизационные и культурные препятствия, «воскресенцы» взялись за пастырскую работу по греко-славянскому обряду, просвещая молодежь и готовя будущее болгарское униатское духовенство. Болгарская греко-католическая церковь, существующая по сей день, является результатом миссии польских монахов.

*Ключевые слова:* воскресенцы, уния, Болгария, Рим, Адрианополь, папа римский, православие, церковь.

## Direction Bulgaria

Members of the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord, founded as a Polish order in exile in 1836, underwent a profound metamorphosis, moving away from a revolutionary, anti-Christian attitude and converting to Catholicism<sup>1</sup>. They deeply reevaluated the concepts of homeland, patriotism and freedom. In the new “theology of the nation”, the issue of Polish independence was inextricably linked with God’s world order. In the hierarchy of values, Poland’s resurrection was subordinated to Christ’s Resurrection. The Resurrectionist priests taught about Poland as the “Mary’s Kingdom”. While waiting for the resurrection of Poland, its historical mission towards the Slavic nations was also pointed out and in particular towards the Slavic East, Russia and the nations subordinated to it<sup>2</sup>. Working in this direction, the Resurrectionists had outstanding achievements, such as the canonisation of Saint Jozafat Kuncewicz in 1867, a martyr for the union of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, education of the Uniate clergy for Ruthenians in Galicia and others.

Among other very brave and large-scale actions for the union of Churches, the most important role is undoubtedly played by the case of the “Bulgarian Union”, which in the public consciousness is a kind of flagship of the Congregation. The work started in 1869 and has continued to this day, although it is represented by a rather modest group

<sup>1</sup> Dolina J. Powstanie i początkowy rozwój zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego // Prawo Kanoniczne: Kwartalnik Prawno-Kanoniczny. 1978. Vol. 21, no. 1–2. P. 129.

<sup>2</sup> Kajsiewicz H. Kazania i mowy przygodne. Paryż, 1848. P. 202.

of believers, approximately 10,000 of the faithful gathered around the Apostolic Exarchate for Bulgarians of the Byzantine Rite based in Sofia<sup>3</sup>. Bulgaria is a Slavic country that was one of the first to adopt Eastern Christianity. Tsar Boris was baptised in 862 by monk Methodius from Constantinople, and the country was baptised in 866. Distancing himself from Constantinople as a centre of power that threatened the existence of the Bulgarian state, the ruler also established contacts with Rome and in 866 Pope Nicholas I sent to Bulgaria two bishops and many priests to establish a separate patriarchate. In 917, the successor of Tsar Boris, Simeon the Great, proclaimed the autocephaly of the Bulgarian Church and its independence from Constantinople. A patriarchate based in Preslav was established. Unlike the Greek Church, the Bulgarian Church used the Church Slavonic language in its liturgical life, adopted from the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition, which had a decisive influence on the spirituality of the Bulgarians. The Byzantine Emperor Basil II the Bulgar Slayer annihilated the Bulgarian Patriarchate in 1019 but retained the autocephalous archbishopric within the Patriarchate of Constantinople. At the turn of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> centuries, Tsar Kaloyan established an ecclesiastical union with Rome and received a royal wreath from Pope Innocent III. Then the second Bulgarian Patriarchate was established with its capital in Tarnovo, and its independence was recognised by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Germanus II. The jurisdiction of the Tarnovo Patriarchate also spread to areas reaching the lands of modern Romania, and the Church Slavonic language entered the official sphere in these lands. The Turkish invasion in 1393 and the conquest of Byzantium and Bulgaria put an end to the second Bulgarian patriarchate united with the pope. The church structures conquered by the Turks were subordinated to the Patriarch of Constantinople. There came centuries of denationalisation of the Bulgarians by the Greek Church, the Greeks imposed their language and staffed Orthodox churches in Bulgarian lands with their<sup>4</sup>.

## Religion and the national issue

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the process of emancipation of individual nationalities belonging to the Orthodox Church under the rule of the Ottoman Porte began. However, due to the existence of the universal Patriarchate of Constantinople, adversities in the national melting pot of the Orthodox inhabitants of Turkey revealed the complex connections between the Church and national movements. The patriarchate supported the integrity of the empire and — even though Orthodox Christians, antagonised with the Muslim government, demanded independence — it condemned co-religionists who called for independence. On the wave of the national revival, Bulgarians began to demand from the Patriarch of Constantinople the consecration of Bulgarian bishops and the creation of a national church board, they postulated the establishment of a separate Bulgarian patriarchate<sup>5</sup>. However, the independence aspirations did not find support among the ordinary clergy and monks. The internal tensions were also compounded by rapidly changing geopolitical arrangements, which in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century particularly reverberated in the

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<sup>3</sup> Nitkiewicz K. *Katolickie Kościoły Wschodnie. Kompendium prawa*. Sandomierz, 2014. P. 112.

<sup>4</sup> Oriente Cattolico. *Cenni storici e ststistiche*. Città del Vaticano, 1974. P. 181–182; Urban J. *Unia w Bułgarii // "Oriens"*. 1935. Lipiec-sierpień. P. 107.

<sup>5</sup> Ławreszuk M. *Prawosławie wobec tendencji nacjonalistycznych i etnofiletycznych*. Studium teologiczno-kanoniczne. Warszawa, 2009. P. 186.

Balkans. The Crimean War (1853–1856), which was a breakthrough in relations between Russia and the West, and the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878) at the meeting point of the interests of polarising Western Europe, Russia and declining Turkey took their toll on these lands. The Orthodox Bulgarians, who had an opponent not only in the person of the Sultan but also in the Patriarch of Constantinople, had to look for allies in Russia and the West. The Bulgarian national idea itself was fed by the currents of Russian Slavophilism and Pan-Slavism<sup>6</sup>, and also referred to the demands of European nationalisms. In the conflict between Turkey and Russia, Orthodox Greeks firmly supported the Turks, hence the Bulgarians turned their eyes towards Russia<sup>7</sup>.

A faction oriented towards contact with the West that emerged among the faithful Bulgarians was much smaller. On the religious level, it became visible in the Bulgarian Church's movement towards uniting with the Holy See. The Uniate option was dictated largely by political reasons, and to a lesser extent by purely religious reasons. Supporters of the union, drawing closer to the West, wanted, on the one hand, to distance themselves from the Orthodox Greeks, who were hostile to them, and, on the other hand, to dissociate themselves from Russia. This direction was supported by France, as well as Polish émigrés, still led by Prince Adam Czartoryski. It must be admitted, however, that due to the growing social unrest in Poland, this topic had little impact on the minds of Poles in general<sup>8</sup>.

## The beginnings of the Bulgarian Uniate Church

The supporters of the union were led by two Bulgarian bishops, Hilarion and Arsenius, part of the clergy and the faithful of the Bulgarian Church. About two thousand Bulgarians signed a declaration in favour of forming a union with Rome, in which, among other things, it was announced that “the Bulgarian nation has not forgotten that it was once ‘Catholic’, that it accepts all Catholic dogmas and recognises the authority of the Pope in the Church”. The rest of the letter was full of hatred towards the Greeks and contained support for the pro-French political option, confirming the thesis that there were strong political reasons for this decision<sup>9</sup>. On 30 December 1860, delegations from many Bulgarian towns gathered in the Bulgarian Church in Constantinople to formalise the decision of part of the nation. The Bulgarian clergy present among them solemnly recognised the Pope as the visible head of the Church and placed the Catholic profession of faith in the hands of the apostolic delegate Brunoni and the Armenian Uniate bishop Hassun. “We believe in the dogmas of the Catholic Church”, said the Bulgarian clergy, “and we ask that our liturgy be preserved.” During the Christmas celebrations on 6 January 1861 — on the millennium of the baptism of Tsar Boris — the first Bulgarian-Catholic service took place during which the name of the Pope was mentioned in the liturgy<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Anderson M. S. *The Eastern Question 1774–1923. A Study in International Relations*. New York, 1966. P. 170–171.

<sup>7</sup> Lebedev A. P. *Istoriia Greko-Vostochnoi tserkvi pod vlast'iu turok*. St. Petersburg, 2012. P. 154–155.

<sup>8</sup> Urban J. *Unia w Bułgarii // “Oriens”*. Lipiec-sierpień. 1935. P. 107–108; *Korespondencja z Bułgarii*, dnia 8 maja 1871r. // *Unia*. 1871. No. 24. 24 maja. P. 2.

<sup>9</sup> *Korespondencja z Bułgarii*, dnia 8 maja 1871r. // *Unia*. 1871. No. 24. 24 maja. P. 2.

<sup>10</sup> Urban J. *Unia w Bułgarii*. P. 107–108.

The act of concluding the union of the Bulgarian Church with Rome looked very solemn and was supposed to recall the event from over two centuries ago, two hundred and sixty years ago, when Russian bishops from the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth swore their allegiance to the head of the Catholic Church. In March, a Bulgarian deputation arrived in Rome, consisting of Archimandrite Joseph Sokolsky, Deacon Raphael and two laymen: Dragan Tsankov, editor of the "Bulgaria" newspaper, and Jerzy Mirkowicz, a doctor. On behalf of the Bulgarian nation, at a meeting with Pius IX on 8 April 1861, they announced that after centuries of dissent, their people were returning like the prodigal son to his father's house. On 14 April, the ceremonial act of accession of the representatives of the Bulgarian Church to the authority of the Pope took place in the Sistine Chapel. It was, of course, not a representation authorised by the Bulgarian Church. There was no hierarchy, so as part of the establishment of the Uniate structure in the Vatican, Fr. Sokolsky was consecrated a bishop. The consecration was to be performed by the Holy Father himself in an extremely solemn setting and in the presence of the highest church and secular dignitaries. After the Pope's arrival, cardinals, bishops, prelates, students of the Propaganda College, the Greek College, Mekhitarists principals, Polish Basilians with famous Father Dąbrowski, Maronites and Melkites, as well as the King of Naples with his family, princes of the blood, and envoys from foreign courts crowded the room. It was extremely moving to see Pope Pius IX, sitting among the Latin and Eastern hierarchs, being approached by the nominated bishop Sokolsky, "a serious old man with a milky white beard who struck the ground with his aged forehead in front of the Servant of the Servants of God." The event reported by Bishop Józef Sebastian Pelczar, the chronicler of the pontificate of Pius IX, was filled with symbolism arousing hope that it was the beginning of the restoration of the unity of the Church lost in 1054. During the Holy Mass, the rite of consecration of the Bulgarian bishop took place. Then "the new bishop was dressed in a golden dalmatic, a rich mitre was placed on his temples and a Greek-shaped crosier was placed in his hand. Dressed in this way, he sat down on the Pope's chair in front of the altar, and the Pope, with his head uncovered, stood on his right, resembling the guardian angel of the Slavic Church, and hummed *Te Deum laudamus* with a strong voice. While the singers sang the Ambrosian hymn alternately with the people, the archbishop, surrounded by the clergy, went around the chapel, blessing everyone with the sign of the holy cross; and returning to the altar, he blessed in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit the faithful, the clergy and the Pope himself who bowed his head before him. Then the holy father "sat down and received three deep obeisances from the archbishop"<sup>11</sup>.

The union for Bulgaria, which began with such a pompous celebration, required extensive and effective activities to place the indefinite position of the country, located at the crossroads of great religions and the interests of great powers, in the area of the achievements of Western culture and Catholicism. A providential mission of this worthy cause was awaited. Politically, it also caused a great shock among the parties involved in the crucible of Balkan problems. Fr. Kajsiewicz pointed to the importance of the Bulgarian union in the international arena: "France, which had initially helped this movement, began to move closer to Russia, and stopped defending it from the combined pressure of the Greeks, Moscow and England; the money coming from France quickly ran out due to the greed of the Eastern clergy, Archbishop Sokolsky found himself unexpectedly in the Kiev

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<sup>11</sup> Pelczar J. S. Pius IX i jego wiek. T.2. Kraków, 1880. P. 18–20.

Lavra, in short, the whole movement like a straw fire, having at first released a great flame, was extinguishing miserably”<sup>12</sup>.

Russia reacted sharply to the new situation, fearing the emergence of a new centre of the union, with which the eastern power fought consistently and effectively. Archbishop Sokolsky was somehow abducted shortly after his ordination. Opinions about this good old man were quite lenient, and his attachment to Catholicism was questioned. Jesuit Jakub Pierling characterised him as a man “without energy, a blank slate in terms of education”<sup>13</sup>. Walerian Kalinka<sup>14</sup> in a letter to Fr. Kajsiewicz called Bishop Sokolsky simple and uncouth, who was seduced by the Muscovites. He continued, “The old man was tired of the constant demands of the newly converted Bulgarians. It is said that he sometimes had to resort to his crosier to drive away the intruders”<sup>15</sup>. However, the magazine *Civiltà Cattolica* noted that he was a wonderful man, but in whom the purity of a dove was not combined with the prudence of a snake. This can also explain why he accepted the invitation to board a Russian military ship moored in the port of the Bosphorus, which, after a night cruise, delivered him to Odessa, and then he was taken to the Kiev Lavra, where the Bulgarian hierarch spent the rest of his life in peace and quiet<sup>16</sup>. There are testimonies that he remained faithful to Catholicism and was the only Uniate bishop in the empire who ordained the Chełm students brought up in the spirit of loyalty to Russia, ultimately future converts to Orthodoxy. For this purpose, Archbishop Sokolsky would come to Chełm for ordination. The Uniate bishops from Galicia and Hungary, affiliated with the Holy See, refused to perform these sacramental activities, not wanting to increase the number of apostates<sup>17</sup>.

## Outpost of the Resurrectionists in Bulgaria

The Bulgarian union required arduous work from scratch, consisting in educating young people, learning about the traditions of the Eastern Church, and rearing in love and devotion to Catholicism. Two years of efforts by French and Italian priests in this

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<sup>12</sup> Kwiatkowski W. Historia zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego 1842–1942. Albano, 1942. P. 231.

<sup>13</sup> Boudou A. *Stolica Święta a Rosja // Stosunki dyplomatyczne między niemi w XIX stuleciu*. T. 2. Kraków, 1930. P. 510.

<sup>14</sup> Walerian Kalinka (1826–1886) Polish priest, outstanding historian and independence activist. After his involvement in the Krakow Uprising of 1846, he left Poland and went into exile, where he became close to the circle of Prince Adam Czartoryski. He actively participated in the creation of the Sultan's Cossack regiment in Turkey, as the nucleus of the future Polish army. On behalf of Hotel Lambert, he carried out diplomatic tasks in European capitals. One of the leading Polish historians dealing with the declining period of the Republic of Poland, author of fundamental works “The Four-Year Sejm” and “The Last Years of the Reign of Stanisław August”. In 1868, he joined the Congregation of the Resurrection and worked for the Union among Bulgarians and Ruthenians. From 1882, he headed the Ruthenian Institute for Greek Catholic youth in Lvov. See: *Mrówczyński J.* Ks. Walerian Kalinka. Poznań-Warszawa-Lublin, 1972; *Osadzy W.* *Kazatskie pokhozhdeniia Valeriana Kalinki, budushchego monakha ordena voskresentsev // Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. History*. 2022. Vol. 67, issue 1. P. 144–156.

<sup>15</sup> Cited in: *Smolikowski P.* Paweł, Założenie misji ks // *Zmartwychwstańców w Andryanopolu*. Kraków, 1897. P. 4–5.

<sup>16</sup> *Tamborra A.* *Katolicheskaia tserkov' i russkoe pravoslavie. Dva veka protivostoniia i dialoga*. Moscow, 2007. P. 244.

<sup>17</sup> *Dylągowa H.* *Dzieje Unii Brzeskiej (1596–1918)*. Warszawa; Olsztyn, 1996. P. 116.



field did not bring any tangible results<sup>18</sup>. This task could best be performed by Catholic Slavic priests, faithful to the Catholic Church and aware of the importance of the union in the work of religious unification of the Slavic region. In June 1862, Pope Pius IX invited Fr. Kajsiewicz and ordered him to send to Bulgaria priests who would like to adopt the Eastern rite and work as missionaries. Before the mission began, the head of the Church sent the leader of the Resurrectionists to the site to familiarise himself with the state of affairs and report on the expedition<sup>19</sup>.

In the first days of July, Fr. Kajsiewicz, accompanied by Fr. Karol Kaczanowski and former Chełm Uniate priest Józef Mosiewicz went to Istanbul to explore the possibilities of starting the activity of the Congregation among Bulgarians. Ultimately, both clergymen were supposed to adopt the Eastern rite and stay at the institution, which would in the future be transformed into a centre for the education of the Uniate clergy for the Bulgarian nation. In the case of Fr. Mosiewicz, this plan failed, and Fr. Kaczanowski became a pioneer of Uniate pastoral care among Bulgarians. It was assumed that the mission of the Resurrection priests would cooperate closely with secular Polish centres operating in the East. Poles would spread political propaganda, bolstering the anti-Russian sentiments of the Bulgarian population and attracting them to the West, while the clergy would strengthen Catholicism, winning over the reborn nation "for the good of God and the Catholic Church"<sup>20</sup>.

## Polish emigration and the Uniate movement among Bulgarians

It should be noted that as a result of the activities of Prince Adam Czartoryski's agency in Turkey, the roads to the Bulgarian mission were paved much earlier, before the Roman celebrations and the consecration of the first Uniate bishop. The above-mentioned Michał Czajkowski, the famous Sadyk-Pasha, established contacts with Bulgarian patriots though without any major results. Consultations on sending Resurrection priests to Bulgaria were conducted by Fr. A. Jełowicki with Prince Czartoryski. In July 1844 in Cassis, Fr. E. Duński met with Bolesław Wielogłowski, the agent of the Hotel Lambert among the Bulgarians. He reported that the lack of Slavic missionaries was acutely felt. In July 1846, Fr. Jełowicki presented Karol Kaczanowski and Hipolit Terlecki as the Congregation candidates for work in the East. Prince Czartoryski was sceptical about this proposal "due to remembering their political past, which unfortunately has not faded away"<sup>21</sup>.

With his usual enthusiasm, Fr. Terlecki turned his gaze to the "Turkish Slavs" to then take action and establish relations with "our Ukraine and Little Russia"<sup>22</sup>. It was supposed to be part of the implementation of his great plan of universal "conversion" of the Slavs, and the lack of significant political obstacles in the south of the Slavic region could be an introduction to the project of unitary Rus. Fr. Terlecki's activities in the spirit of Catholic

<sup>18</sup> Misja XX. Zmartwychwstańców w Bułgarii, Paryż, w sierpniu 1863 r. // General Archives of the Resurrection Fathers in Rome (ACCR). Leaflet, file: "Missio Bulgarica. 64947–65000. Documenta et Epistolae".

<sup>19</sup> Kwiatkowski W. Historia zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego 1842–1942. P. 231.

<sup>20</sup> ACCR, file: "Resoconti-Articoli-Diario. Scritti in tadesco 1872–1878–1881. Lettera di P. Andrea Spetz 1881".

<sup>21</sup> Kuzicki J. Nieść wiarę i nadzieję na obcej ziemi. Polskie duchowieństwo katolickie w życiu religijnym i polityczno-społecznym Wielkiej Emigracji we Francji (1831–1863). Rzeszów, 2014. P. 457.

<sup>22</sup> List H. Terleckiego do H. Kajsiewicza, 26 sierpnia 1846 r. // Smolikowski P. Historia Zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego. T. IV. Kraków, 1896. P. 275.

zeal — as mentioned above — were met with the indifference of Prince Czartoryski's circles, as well as of the French government, on whose support he counted very much. In July 1847, having obtained special procuration from the Pope, Fr. Terlecki went to the Middle East and the Balkans. The stay of the Resurrectionist in Istanbul caused concern and opposition from the Russian ambassador, as well as considerable political unrest caused by the activities of Polish emigrants in France. At the beginning of 1848, Fr. Terlecki went from Istanbul to Turkish Bulgaria to familiarise himself with the conditions of religious life there and to investigate the possibility of establishing a church union in the Balkans. However, in his opinion, the religious situation was terrifying: "From the bishop, who is always a Greek, to the last priest, everything is for sale, all ordinations are sold, ignorance is the greatest... but the national movement is starting, schools are being established"<sup>23</sup>.

The Hotel Lambert became more involved in Bulgarian affairs in the early 1850s after the arrival of Poles, participants of the Hungarian uprising, in Shumen. The efforts of Polish émigrés were aimed at reducing Russian influence on the mood of activists of the Bulgarian national movement. The area of religious life was strategic in this context. Taking advantage of the tension between the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Bulgarian Church, the Uniate trend among Orthodox Bulgarians was strengthened. In 1855, the Bulgarian writer and journalist, Dragan Tsankov, started publishing a Uniate magazine "Bulgaria"<sup>24</sup>. In France, future Resurrectionist W. Kalinka, a person closely cooperating with Prince Czartoryski's entourage, was active in the same field. Thanks to his involvement, in 1859 the work of the French Oratorian, Father Louis Lescoeur, *Le schisme moscovite et la Pologne catholique*, was popularised among emigrants, which was the ideological foundation for activities in favour of the union. W. Kalinka, together with Fr. Lescoeur, organised Holy Masses in Paris for a church union in Bulgaria<sup>25</sup>.

### Difficulties and progress of work for the union of churches

Father Kajsiewicz came into close contact with this environment. At the beginning of 1862, he met the founder of the Assumptionist congregation, Fr. Emmanuel d'Alzon, who drew up plans for cooperation between both congregations for the benefit of the Bulgarian Church. The Resurrectionists were to work among the Bulgarians, and the Assumptionists were to spread the idea of the union among the Greeks and Romanians. It was planned that the two communities would unite to implement the union programme in the East. This plan failed and was opposed by, among others, Father Jełowicki, fearing that the Resurrectionists would lose their Polish character. However, a positive result of this would-be cooperation was that — probably — thanks to Fr. D'Alzon, it was possible to convince Rome to entrust the affairs of the Bulgarian mission to the Resurrectionists as there were still fears that Poles would introduce political unrest into the mission<sup>26</sup>.

Returning to the activities of the Resurrection priests, it should be mentioned that after priests Kajsiewicz and Kaczanowski came back from the expedition to the East, they went to Pope Pius IX, at his request, to submit a report. In the presence of the secretary of the Congregation for Propaganda, Monsignor Simeoni, Fr. Kajsiewicz introduced Chełm

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<sup>23</sup> Kuzicki J. Nieść wiarę i nadzieję na obcej ziemi. P. 459.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. P. 461.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. P. 463–464.

<sup>26</sup> Smolikowski P. Paweł, Założenie misji ks. P. 11–12.



priest Beregowicz, who had spent nine years as a prisoner in Orthodox monasteries for his loyalty to the union, to the Pope. The Uniate declared his willingness to go on a mission to Bulgaria. The Pope agreed to allow the Resurrectionists to conduct an independent mission, separate from the Assumptionists. As Fr. Kaczanowski reported in a letter of 23 December 1862, the Pope accepted the project proposed by Fr. Kajsiewicz, who planned to establish a missionary school for the Bulgarians in Adrianople<sup>27</sup>.

Adrianople was a symbolic city in the consciousness of the reborn Bulgarian nation. The city chosen as the centre of the Catholic mission was associated with the victorious battles of the Bulgarians in the Middle Ages, recorded in historical chronicles, constituting part of the great Bulgarian superpower myth<sup>28</sup>. In mid-April 1863, priest Kaczanowski and a young monk, Marcin Janus, went to Adrianople. After meeting with the missionaries, Pope Pius IX told Fr. Kajsiewicz: "You are sending an old man and a child. Your beginning is humble"<sup>29</sup>. After a few months, they were joined by Fr. Tomasz Brzeska, Fr. Szymon Kobrzyński and deacon Bartłomiej Morawiec. The priests adopted the Eastern rite to be able to work among the Uniate Bulgarians<sup>30</sup>.

The Pope's fears turned out to be justified. The Resurrectionists came on a mission to an environment completely devoid of any foundations of Catholic consciousness. The idea of the union was briefly approved by the Bulgarians as a symbol of independence from the Orthodox Greeks who were appropriating their sphere of religious life. While at the beginning of 1861, the number of Bulgarian Uniates was estimated at about 14.5 thousand, in the second half of that year there was practically nothing left of this enthusiasm. The Uniate Church was limited to one parish in Constantinople, two in Adrianople Thrace, two (sometimes three) in Macedonia, a total of several dozen priests and several thousand believers<sup>31</sup>.

Apart from the internal condition of the adepts of the Bulgarian Uniate Church, serious external factors also hindered its development. Fr. Kajsiewicz wrote about it in a report to the Holy Father, mentioning that in Bulgarian villages "schismatics" deprived Uniates of access to water in common wells; they broke contracts with them and demanded immediate repayment of loans; through bribery, they directed the hostility of the Turkish authorities against the Uniates; deprived the Uniate population of the opportunity to use the church and bury their dead in cemeteries<sup>32</sup>. The cold attitude of the bishop, apostolic administrator for the Bulgarian Uniates, Raphael Popov, consecrated on 19 November 1865, was also a very unpleasant experience for the Resurrection missionaries. In the camp in Bulgaria that was unfavourable to the Resurrectionists, there were also Assumptionist and Lazarist monks — missionaries a Paulo. Fr. Semenenko saw this attitude as a desire to take over the funds transferred to the Congregation of the Resurrection of Our Lord by the Congregation of Propaganda and the French government. He also took

<sup>27</sup> Smolikowski P. Paweł, Założenie misji ks. P. 14–15.

<sup>28</sup> Józwiak W. Adrianopol — dziennik frontowy // Bułgarystyka — tradycje i przyszłość. Poznań, 2020. P. 321–322.

<sup>29</sup> Smolikowski P. Paweł, Założenie misji ks. P. 16.

<sup>30</sup> Kwiatkowski W. Historia zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego 1842–1942. P. 232; Missya i zakład wychowawczy XX // Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego w Adrianopolu. Sprawozdanie za rok szkolny 1890/1. Kraków, 1892. P. 6.

<sup>31</sup> Popek P. Misja polskich zmartwychwstańców w Adrianopolu. Wybrane problemy // Zeszyty Naukowe Towarzystwa Doktorantów UJ. Nauki Społeczne. 2018. No. 23. P. 131.

<sup>32</sup> Kwiatkowski W. Historia zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego 1842–1942. P. 233.

appropriate steps to inform the Congregation of Propaganda about the unfriendly actions of Catholic circles in Bulgaria towards the Resurrectionists and ensured Monsignor Simoni's complete espousal and support for them<sup>33</sup>.

The mission of the Resurrectionists, supported by the Roman Curia, also enjoyed benefits from Polish society, especially from Poles in exile gathered around the Hotel Lambert. Chasubles and liturgical equipment were donated by the Polish Ladies' Charitable Society headed by Anna Czartoryska. In the spring of 1862, 30 chasubles were prepared, not counting other liturgical vestments; each of these chasubles was decorated with the Eagle and the coat of arms of Lithuania. They were consecrated at the Hotel Lambert by the nuncio in Paris, Archbishop Flavio Chigi. All the items were transferred to the Holy Father's deposit as "a gift from Polish ladies to the Bulgarian union". W. Kalinka, who was deeply involved in Uniate affairs, raised money for the purchase of Pochaiev print liturgical books<sup>34</sup>.

In the Prussian partition, the Society of Saint Josaphat was established especially to support the Bulgarian mission. It was approved on 6 October 1871 by the Bishop of Chełm, Jan Nepomucen Marwicz, and granted indulgences by Pope Pius IX. It was supposed to support the union in Bulgaria with prayer and alms. The organisation's statutes included a provision regarding the organisation's profile: "The Society aimed at supporting the Bulgarian Mission. <...> Members of the Society are all Catholics who every day say one 'Our Father' and one 'Hail Mary' for the intention of the Bulgarian Mission with the addition: 'Sweetest Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us, Saint Josaphat, pray for us'. Moreover, each of them must give alms in the form of at least one piece of silver every month"<sup>35</sup>. In July 1873, the Society had 172 donating members in the Chełm diocese, the so-called "Pius crowns" dedicated in honour of Pope Pius IX, who celebrated his jubilee at that time.

Thanks to Fr. Kalinka's efforts, a branch of the Society of Saint Josaphat was established in Kraków. With the active support of the local apostolic administrator, Bishop Antoni Junosza Gałęcki, who approved the Society's statutes, local priests joined the work of the Uniate mission. The bishop's secretary also became the secretary of this facility<sup>36</sup>. Unfortunately, problems in the Society's environment began to accumulate soon.

Moreover, the Association of Saints Louis, headed by the Archbishop of Munich; the bishop of Wrocław, who organised the diocese fund-raising for the mission; the Archbishop of Gran, the Primate of Hungary; the Archbishop of Zagreb; the Archbishop of Ołomouc; the Association of Saints Xavier in Aachen; the Association of the Holy Sepulchre in Cologne, as well as other clergy and lay people offered the Society short-term help<sup>37</sup>. To muster support for the mission its principal Fr. Brzeska went to European countries and brought back substantial donations. In 1871 in Austria he managed to obtain 16,000 francs donated to the mission by the Austrian government and the local government of Vienna<sup>38</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> Semenenko P. Listy Tom VI, zebrał i opracował M. Traczyński. Rzym, 1998. P. 22–23.

<sup>34</sup> Kuzicki J. Nieść wiarę i nadzieję na obcej ziemi. P. 467.

<sup>35</sup> „Wykaz przyjęcia do Stowarzyszenia św. Józafata” // ACCR. No. 64922. P. 4.

<sup>36</sup> Mrówczyński J. Ks. Walerian Kalinka. P. 394.

<sup>37</sup> T. Brzeska. Z egzaminu szkoły katolicko-bułgarskiej i francuskiej w Adrianopolu założonej i utrzymywanej przez ojców misjonarzy Zmartwychwstania Pana Naszego Jezusa Chrystusa, Adrianopol, 10 października 1872 r. // ACRR. No. 64839. P. 7.

<sup>38</sup> List P. Semeneki do H. Kajsiewicza, Villa Catena przy Poli, 3 września 1871 r. // Semenenko P. Listy Tom VI. Rzym, 1989. P. 30.

Seeing the progress of the development of the Bulgarian mission of Resurrection priests from the perspective of ten years of its activity, the prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, Cardinal Barnabo, emphasised that “after God, the hope for a better future for the Bulgarian Church rests mainly on the zeal and success of the Fathers Resurrectionists”<sup>39</sup>. At the request of Pope Pius IX, he went to the Association of Christian Schools in the East to obtain additional funds for the mission. Initially, 12,000 francs were secured from this source, but after a year the subsidy dropped to 2,000 francs. With great effort, it was sometimes possible to raise the amount to 4 or 5 thousand. In retrospect, the later general principal of the congregation, Fr. Władysław Kwiatkowski, wrote that “of all our undertakings, the Bulgarian Mission is, from a human perspective, the least secure and seems to have the most uncertain future; but we have experienced plentiful evidence of God’s protection in this matter and it has made us firmly convinced that it has the most lasting basis because it is based on God”<sup>40</sup>.

## Education of Bulgarian youth

The main goal of the activity of the Resurrectionists in Bulgaria was the education of the local Catholic intelligentsia and, above all, the Uniate clergy. The school founded in Adrianople quickly advanced to the status of a prestigious secondary school, which operated in the years 1864–1914. At the beginning of its activity, it had about a hundred students, and at its peak, the number reached one hundred and fifty. Until the establishment of the secondary school in Sofia in 1888, the Resurrectionists’ secondary school in Adrianople had the highest rank and offered the highest level of education in the lands inhabited by the Bulgarians. Its diplomas were recognised by foreign universities as diplomas of their own secondary schools. Students who graduated with honours were admitted without entrance examinations to universities in France, Switzerland and Austria<sup>41</sup>.

The scope of education offered to Bulgarian students by the Resurrection priests’ school was impressive. They were taught catechism, the doctrine of faith, sacred and universal history, geography, rhetoric, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, astronomy, physics, mechanics, chemistry, physiology — hygiene, zoology, botany, mineralogy, logic and languages: Bulgarian, Church Slavonic, French, Turkish, German and Latin. The emphasis was put on drawing and calligraphy, and classes in gymnastics, singing and playing instruments were conducted<sup>42</sup>.

The secondary school in Adrianople attracted the attention of the entire community of the region and was an important centre of the city’s cultural life. The end of the school year was an event honoured by the presence of the highest dignitaries of the province and attracted widespread interest among the broad masses of the population, despite the fuelled anti-Catholic sentiments. On 29 June 1881 — as the Resurrectionists reported — “military music attracted such a mass of people to the doors of our college that the gen-

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<sup>39</sup> ACRR. No. 64848. List kard. A. Barnabo do ks. Dauphina, dyrektora Stowarzyszenia Szkół Chrześcijańskich na Wschodzie, Rzym, 29 listopada 1873 r., *Z misji bułgarskiej // Pielgrzym*. 1874. No. 25. Czerwiec. 195.

<sup>40</sup> Kwiatkowski W. Historia zgromadzenia Zmartwychwstania Pańskiego 1842–1942. P. 235–236.

<sup>41</sup> Mleczko W. Nauka i świętość. Formacja kapłańska w myśli i działalności zmartwychwstańców. Kraków, 2014. P. 182–183.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. P. 183.

darmerie and city guards sent to maintain order during the public ceremony that ends the school year barely managed to cope with their task. At 3½, Wassa Effendi, the local Vice-Governor, accompanied by the local General Commander, appeared surrounded by guards of honour, and soon afterwards other generals arrived, as well as the consular body residing in our city, and many families of distinguished residents, merchants, civil and military officials. In front of such a large gathering composed of representatives of various nationalities, which could barely fit in our yard, our children gave four performances in Bulgarian, French, German and Turkish. During the intervals, apart from declamations in these languages, our students played several pieces of music by more successful composers; at the end, awards and citations were handed in. Out of 63 non-residents and 84 residents, 31 received awards, 25 citations, and 77 were promoted to the next grade. The local dailies, so cautious towards us, expressed some recognition for our facility<sup>43</sup>.

The spiritual and intellectual atmosphere created by the Resurrectionists spread to Bulgarians searching for their identity. The Congregation offered the reborn Slavic nation a solid platform for the development of its elites. In 1868, the first Bulgarians joined the community of the Resurrectionists: Georgij Dimon from Malko Tarnovo and Demetrius Pesko. After eight years of operation of the mission in Adrianople, in 1871 14 monks worked at the facility and 150 students attended the school<sup>44</sup>. As the number of students increased, the Resurrection priests could start choosing the best candidates in a competition when recruiting students for the school. The students were very enthusiastic about the decision to wear uniforms showing their membership in the school community. However, fearing the reaction of the Turks, they were not in a hurry to go out in public in the new outfits, so as not to provoke aversion towards attempts to train future “Christian soldiers”<sup>45</sup>. Belonging to the Resurrection priests’ secondary school in Adrianople was considered a visible sign of social advancement and prestige among the local Bulgarian community. The national character of the religious revival of Bulgarians in the Uniate centers of Resurrection priests during the struggle for independence has become in public opinion a model of preserving ancient native traditions, continuing the legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the Apostles of the Slavs<sup>46</sup>.

In 1867, a dormitory was opened at the secondary school for students coming from outside Adrianople. Funds were obtained for 50 pupils. The popularity of the residence hall was so great among Bulgarians that the Resurrectionist priests who ran it had to turn down some applications to the facility due to the growing debts caused by the growing number of residents. In addition to a good education, the students of the Resurrectionist facility even excelled in excellent use of the Bulgarian literary language. Boys came to the boarding school from Thrace, Eastern Rumelia, Macedonia and also from abroad, from the newly established Principality of Bulgaria. Struggling with the lack of funds and the growing number of applicants willing to qualify for boarding school accommodation, the mission coordinators increased the number of places beyond those planned in the budget.

<sup>43</sup> An anonymous letter to an unknown editor, Adrianopol, grudzień 1881 r. // ACRR. No. 64870. P. 1–2.

<sup>44</sup> *Koperek S. Misja bułgarska. Historia — wspomnienia — nadzieja na przyszłość // Misja bułgarska zmartwychwstańców: 150 lat w służbie Kościołowi i społeczeństwu. Kraków, 2013. P. 40.*

<sup>45</sup> „Korespondencja o. Pawła Smolikowskiego CR z o. Piotrem Semenemką CR” // ACCR. List P. Smolikowskiego do P. Sememenki, Adrianopol, 8 stycznia 1876 r. P. 6.

<sup>46</sup> *Proykov C. Korzenie katolickiej społeczności w Bułgarii sięgające Cyryla i Metodego // Misja bułgarska zmartwychwstańców: 150 lat w służbie Kościołowi i społeczeństwu. Kraków, 2013. P. 139–140.*

The reason for this additional burden was the following: “These days, although we already have nine students [sic] above the number set for the current school year, we had to admit one boy, otherwise his father, although a Catholic, would have sent him to a schismatic boarding school”<sup>47</sup>.

## Activities of Father Paweł Smolikowski

After the arrival of Fr. Paweł Smolikowski, the dormitory for Bulgarian youth increased its educational importance as part of the mission’s activities. Not only were new premises acquired, expanding the possibilities of accepting new pupils, but an educational programme was also developed and implemented in the place of permanent residence of secondary school students. In 1875, he became the prefect of the secondary school. His activities were aimed at creating a solidary atmosphere in the internal community. Emphasis was placed on the development of self-government among students and the heightening of a sense of common responsibility for the life of the dormitory. The prefect entrusted all residence hall matters to the boys and only coordinated their activities. The residents of the facility themselves took care of order, cleanliness, maintenance of the refectory, looked after material matters, etc. Everything was arranged in such a way that Fr. Smolikowski only watched over the whole thing, and “the whole machine ran by itself” even when he was not there<sup>48</sup>. Through conversations, reflection on various life situations and discussion of pious readings, feelings of mercy, responsibility, solidarity and mutual help were instilled in the students. In order to mend the conscience, Fr. Smolikowski introduced one-day retreats every month. To make the upbringing at the dormitory as authentic and familiar as possible to the boys living there, the prefect employed the “presence method”, trying to be present at the facility every day and constantly at the children’s service<sup>49</sup>.

In 1878, Fr. Smolikowski founded the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Vocation at the boarding school. The initiative to integrate around pious goals came from two ten-year-old boys, Ivan Georgiev and Ivan Dymov, the biggest “rapscallions in the entire dormitory”. They themselves established “the rules of conduct” aiming at self-improvement in discipline and religious life. Seeing the boys’ desire to devote themselves to clerical life in the future, Fr. Smolikowski, created the regulations of the Brotherhood of Our Lady of Vocations on the basis of the initiative of the dormitory residents. The Brotherhood’s activities were quite effective. In December 1878, six former members of the Brotherhood went to the seminary in Adrianople. Two years later, five other boys entered the Resurrectionist novitiate<sup>50</sup>.

Before ending his mission in Adrianople in the school year 1880/1881, Fr. Smolikowski founded the Circle of Saints Cyril and Methodius, which focused on more “political” tasks — ideological preparation of Bulgarian boys for life in society. The members of the Circle read and discussed political newspapers under the guidance of the prefect, analysed the international situation, and explained the principles of social life. Their homework was to write historical essays. The ideological and political formation was also

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<sup>47</sup> ACRR, nr 64870, An anonymous letter to an unknown editor, Adrianopol, grudzień 1881 r. // ACRR. No. 64870. P. 6.

<sup>48</sup> *Mrówczyński J.* *Sluga Boży ksiądz Paweł Smolikowski CR (życie i dzieło).* Kraków, 2000. P. 170–171.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.* P. 180–181.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.* P. 183–184.

supposed to be the basis for an apologetic attitude towards the Catholic Church in the society dominated by the Orthodox population, as well as in the face of spreading liberalism that easily won over Bulgarians who were dimly aware of the truths of faith. The aid for the members of the Circle was Fr. Smolikowski's "Controversial Catechism" containing question and answer discussions intended to defend the teaching of the Church and the religious understanding of the world<sup>51</sup>.

The next step in the development of the Resurrectionists' Bulgarian mission was the strategic decision of the Holy See of 1873 to open a theological seminary for Bulgarians in Adrianople. This was the initial premise of the Bulgarian mission, assuming that the educational institution would ultimately be transformed into a seminary for the future Bulgarian Uniate clergy<sup>52</sup>. Thanks to Fr. Semenenko's efforts, the Bulgarian seminary was established as a branch of the Congregation for Propaganda, which also regulated the issues of its financing and made it independent from the authority of the local bishop<sup>53</sup>. It must be remembered that relations with Bulgarian bishops, who were quite unstable in their faith, were often tense. The official opening of the seminary took place in July 1876, and Fr. Łukasz Wronowski became its rector. Most of the classes were conducted by Fr. Smolikowski. In 1877, the seminary had six candidates for priesthood from the Adrianople school. After five years, this number increased to ten, and in addition, Bulgarian candidates were sent for formation to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith and to the novitiate of the Resurrectionists in Rome<sup>54</sup>. The Greek-Slavic missionary seminary in Bulgaria existed from 1876 to 1895. It was an important base for the development of the Bulgarian Uniate Church and increased the religiosity of the local population. Several dozen priests, including two bishops, graduated from it<sup>55</sup>.

Similarly to the situation with the boarding school, the seminary owed the improvement of the quality of its activities to Fr. Paweł Smolikowski's presence. Although formally Fr. Łukasz Wronowski was the rector, the curriculum was carried out mainly by Fr. Smolikowski. He taught classes in Latin, history and philosophy. Then the scope of lectures was expanded to include Greek, Church history, theology and, other subjects when necessary<sup>56</sup>. The seminary was modelled on Latin seminaries, the language of instruction was Latin. Thanks to Fr. Smolikowski's efforts, the knowledge of and passion for the Eastern rite entered the atmosphere of the students' education. The implementation of the mission in this rite required a lot of prudence and knowledge of canonical regulations, many matters had to be consulted and practices that had never existed in the Bulgarian environment were introduced. In certain matters, Fr. Smolikowski consulted a famous specialist in Eastern liturgy, Fr. I. Dolnicki, a Ruthenian from Galicia, a graduate of the Greek College in Rome. For example, practices of administering the sacrament of confession raised his doubts: "If I am allowed to absolve in Slavic, then I must have prayers and absolution because I do not have the ritual with me and I do not know what formula to

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid. P. 196–197.

<sup>52</sup> Article "Francja" from an unknown magazine with a handwritten note "1863–1854" // ACCR. No. 64920.

<sup>53</sup> List P. Semeneni do A. Jełowickiego, Rzym, 4 marca 1874 r. // Semenenko P. Listy. T. VI. P. 42.

<sup>54</sup> An anonymous letter to an unknown editor, Adrianopol, grudzień 1881 r. // ACCR. No. 64870. P. 2.

<sup>55</sup> *Młeczko W. Wkład zmartwychwstańców w formację duchowieństwa unickiego* // *Misja bułgarska zmartwychwstańców: 150 lat w służbie Kościołowi i społeczeństwu*. Kraków, 2013. P. 105–106.

<sup>56</sup> *Mrówczyński J. Sługa Boży ksiądz Paweł Smolikowski* CR. P. 190.



use in Bulgaria, whether deprecativam, like the Greeks or literally translated from Latin “like Ruthenians”?<sup>57</sup>

As a visionary, Fr. Smolikowski drafted an ambitious project for educating Greek Catholic clergy in Bulgaria, faithful to the Catholic Church and deeply rooted in the authentic spirituality of the Christian East. In addition to substantive education, he emphasised spiritual formation and organised conferences and readings of pious works. To raise the level of education of the seminarians, the Resurrectionist intended to send all graduates to Rome for several years to continue their studies and obtain doctorates. In his long-term plans, he saw the possibility of opening a Slavic College in Rome<sup>58</sup>.

Outside Adrianople, another mission was established in the town of Malko Tarnovo in 1862, which initially did not augur dynamic development. Due to the lack of priests, supporters of the transition to the union scattered and the institution was close to disappearing. The arrival of the Bulgarian Resurrectionist, Fr. Izydor Giorgiev, changed the situation and the Catholic community, initially consisting of five families, grew. Soon, thanks to his patience and unyielding perseverance, it was possible to gather a sufficient number of believers to establish a Catholic community among the Orthodox<sup>59</sup>. In 1884, taking advantage of the experience of Adrianople, he founded a four-grade school attended by fourteen boys<sup>60</sup>. The faithful Bulgarians from Malko Tarnovo wrote to the Pope: “We see from the Divine Mercy that many of the schismatics, realising their error from day to day, reject the Photian [sic!] schism and propaganda, unite with us and recognise the Holy Father as the Vicar of Jesus Christ. Thanks to these numerous returns to the bosom of the Catholic Church, we have multiplied significantly, so much so that the place we have for prayer cannot accommodate all of us; — that is why we feel a great need for a church that could embrace us and all those who join us, and to have it we need a fund, which we do not have”<sup>61</sup>.

## Plans: From Bulgarian land to Poland

The several-month-long visit of Fr. Walerian Kalinka, who came to Adrianople on a visitation in November 1874, was of great importance for the development of the mission. He was a visionary who was able to combine the efforts of his brothers from the congregation in various areas of pastoral activity into a comprehensive programme incorporated into the great message that motivated the first Resurrectionists to found a community. According to him, only Polish missionaries could best accomplish the apostolate task in the East “because they have a holy fire in their souls, which other nationalities, at least to this extent, lack.” He planned to copy his activities among the Bulgarians on Polish soil and thought about the prospect of a mission among the local Uniates. “A Bulgarian”, he wrote, “always reminds me of a Ruthenian or Lithuanian peasant, and my heart always opens to him. I would love to — he added — settle among this population and I think

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<sup>57</sup> ACRR, file: “O Paweł Smolikowski CR. Listy do różnych zmartwychwstańców”. List P. Smolikowskiego do J. Felińskiego, Mentorella, 8 czerwca 1873 r. P. 31.

<sup>58</sup> *Mrówczyński J.* Sługa Boży ksiądz Paweł Smolikowski CR. P. 186.

<sup>59</sup> Rapporto annuale G. Gazufaloff al L. Zapała, Malko Tirnov, 8 giulio // ACCR. No. 64887.

<sup>60</sup> *Mleczko W.* Nauka i świętość... P. 181.

<sup>61</sup> ACRR, document without a signature, „Tłumaczenie podania Bułgarówz Małej Tyrnowy przez ręce Ojca Tomasza do Ojca Świętego”.

I would feel as if I was close to Poland. And if I were to serve in a Bulgarian parish, even for the rest of my life, it would seem to me that I am a parish priest in a Polish village and that I work for the Polish Church”<sup>62</sup>. According to Fr. Kalinka, Bulgaria was a specific laboratory in which the coexistence of Eastern and Latin Catholic rites was perfected, and the experience of harmonious coexistence of Catholics in Slavic lands was created. There was a precedent for the existence of a religious congregation whose members belong to different rites: “This difference in rites not only does not hinder the Mission in any way but actually makes it much easier. It cannot shake the brotherly love of the members of the Congregation, bound by common position, unity of purpose, the same rule and one superiority; and it exerts the safest influence on the faithful and the youth entrusted to the direction of the Mission”<sup>63</sup>.

Due to historical circumstances, the Bulgarian mission remains a local but lasting initiative, one of the few ambitious projects of the Resurrectionists that has survived in a modest form to this day.

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