

POPE JOHN XXIII



JOURNAL
OF A SOUL

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POPE JOHN XXIII

JOURNAL
OF A SOUL

TRANSLATED BY DOROTHY WHITE



GEOFFREY
CHAPMAN

Geoffrey Chapman

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Translator's Note

A translator's duty is to present his author to his readers and then efface himself completely. His task is to present and not misrepresent, *tradurre e non tradire* as the Italians say, and this is all the more necessary and desirable when the author of the book is as well known, beloved and revered as Pope John.

So I have aimed at the closest possible translation consistent with acceptable English. Nothing has been heightened, toned down, or omitted.

The quotations from holy Scripture are from the Revised Standard Version of the Bible, except where the context, particularly in the Psalms, required a closer resemblance to the version used by Pope John, in which case the Douai version is used.

I am very grateful to all who have so generously helped me with suggestions and research, and particularly to Father I. G. Capaldi, S.J., for his patient and scholarly advice.

DOROTHY M. WHITE.

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Introduction

I

This volume needs no preface: a few words will suffice to introduce it and give some explanation of how it has been put together. The reader will form his own opinion and, after reading it, will draw the conclusions and perhaps make the new resolves that have already been suggested to him by the sense of trustful affection which the author's name at once inspires.

These pages have been put together by the patient willing labour of secretaries, with the loving anxiety of sons. Although we have known the original text for a long time, this compilation has been for us like a new discovery.¹ This book, in the very nature of its prayers and its spontaneous outpourings, reveals the intimate feelings and true character of a man and priest whose transparent goodness enabled us to catch a glimpse of an inner life rich in the beauty of holiness, and we are sure that it will console the hearts of men and keep them better company than many accounts of his life which may unintentionally dwindle into rhetoric and become the stuff of legend.

Whoever sets out to write about Pope John and his work must perforce take into account his writings, especially the most personal of these: some are already published² and others, particularly his letters, will

¹ Jacques Maritain, speaking of the *Journal* of Raïssa, his beloved companion, wrote: 'Although I had loved Raïssa's poems so much and had been privileged to see them born, as it were, although I had been the witness of her life and sufferings, nevertheless the reading of the notes gathered into this collection has been like a revelation of what I already knew, and knew very well, but only through that veil of futilities which clouds all human understanding. Now I find myself a little bewildered by it.' (*Journal de Raïssa*, edited by J. Maritain, Paris, Desclée de Brouwer, 1963, pp. 6-7.)

² (1) Sac. Dott. Angelo Roncalli, *La 'Misericordia Maggiore' di Bergamo e le altre istituzioni di beneficenza amministrate dalla Congregazione di Carità*, Bergamo, S. Alessandro Press, 1912, 133 pp., 2 maps, 1 full-page plate; (2) (Angelo Roncalli), *In memoria di Mons. Giacomo Maria Radini Tedeschi, Vescovo di Bergamo*, Bergamo, S. Alessandro Press, 1916, 488 pp.; 2nd ed., 1922; 3rd ed., Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1963, 320 pp., 50 illustr.; (3) Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, *Gli inizi del Seminario di Bergamo e S. Carlo*

gradually see the light. Meanwhile, eight months after his most holy death, we present these intimate and transparent records.

II

The present fairly substantial volume is a rare, if not indeed a unique, document, for we know of no other collection of this kind which records, through an almost uninterrupted series of spiritual notes, the whole life of a priest who became Pope, and reveals what he kept a jealously guarded secret behind his smiling and innocent gaiety: his prayer, his soul. In fact it contains notes, resolutions, meditations written on the occasion of various retreats and Spiritual Exercises from 1895, when the author was barely fourteen, until 1962, a few months before his death at the age of eighty-one. It therefore embraces a span of almost seventy years—one might say his whole life. In the first period (1895–1904) there are simple, detailed records; then comes the more complete vision of the whole, and the immediate programme. There are some chronological gaps; in fact the almost complete absence of any notes between 1916–1923 suggests that some pages are missing.¹

Pope John called these diaries of his *Journal of a Soul* (*Il Giornale dell' Anima*), a title suggested to him in his youth, and which he used as a heading for his notes for 1902. These unpremeditated notes, written at night, by the flickering light of an oil lamp, consist of reminiscences of ascetic effort reconsidered in tranquillity. In the freshness and spontaneity of style

Borromeo. Note storiche, con una introduzione sul Concilio di Trento e la fondazione dei primi Seminari, Bergamo, S. Alessandro Press, 1939, 90 pp., 7 full-page plates; (4) *Fontes Ambrosiani in lucem editi cura et studio Bibliothecae Ambrosianae moderante Johanne Galbiati. XIII–XVII: Gli Atti della Visita Apostolica di S. Carlo Borromeo a Bergamo (1575)*, edited by Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, with the collaboration of Don Pietro Forno, 2 volumes in 5 parts, Florence, Leo S. Olschki, 1936–57; (5) *La vita diocesana*. Official periodical of the Bishop and Curia of Bergamo, 1909–14. 'The historical notes contained herein, biographical references, chronicle, and reviews of books, are almost all by Prof. Don Angelo Roncalli' (from a note by Pope John); (6) Angelo Giuseppe Card. Roncalli, *Scritti e discorsi*, 4 volumes, 1953–8, Rome, Ed. Paoline, 1959–62; (7) *Discorsi, messaggi, colloqui del Santo Padre Giovanni XXIII*, 5 volumes, 1958–63, Vatican Polyglot Press; (8) Angelo Roncalli, *Il Cardinale Cesare Baronio*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1961, 64 pp., 10 plates; (9) Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli, *Souvenirs d'un Nonce: Cahiers de France (1944–1953)*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1963, 280 pp., 82 illustr.; (10) Seven letters written by Card. Roncalli to Don Giuseppe De Luca are published in *Giovanni XXIII in alcuni scritti di Don Giuseppe De Luca*, Brescia, Morcelliana, 1936, pp. 69–81.

¹ There are also nine notebooks containing records of Masses, beginning with 10 August, 1904. The notebook containing the days from 11 July, 1915, to 31 December, 1920, is missing.

they well deserve the title, which applies equally to all the other notes which follow: bundles of dog-eared papers, rumpiled copy-books—he kept them always by his side, often re-reading long passages in which he recognized his old self. These records were known only to his spiritual directors and to a few other intimate and trusted friends.

In the spring of 1961 the Pope handed over to me these notebooks and papers. At the time I was busy finishing the first collection of his writings and speeches, and planning other volumes for which he suggested the generic titles: *Bergomensia* (1899–1920), *Romana* (1921–4), *Orientalia* (1925–44), *Gallica* (1945–52), and *Veneta* (1953–8).

On this occasion I asked him whether I might publish these notes as well and he replied: ‘You may do so. At first I felt some reluctance about publishing and letting others re-publish my private papers. . . . I am well aware that people want to know everything about a Pope, and everything may be useful to historians. But they are a more intimate part of me than anything else I have written; my soul is in these pages.’ He paused to read over again the first pages of 1895–9, and with his mild eyes suffused with tears he went on: ‘I was a good boy, innocent, somewhat timid. I wanted to love God at all costs and my one idea was to become a priest, in the service of simple souls who needed patient and attentive care. Meanwhile I had to fight an enemy within me, self-love, and in the end I was able to get the better of it. But I was mortified to feel it constantly returning. I was troubled about my distractions during prayer and I imposed severe sacrifices on myself to get rid of them. I took everything very seriously and my examinations of conscience were detailed and severe. . . . Now, at a distance of more than sixty years, I can look upon these first spiritual writings of mine as if they had been written by someone else, and I bless the Lord for them. . . . You may publish them after my death. They will do some good to souls who feel drawn towards the priesthood and the more intimate union with God.’¹

¹ We quote here three thoughts recorded by Pope John:

‘Sunday, 9 July, 1961. A peaceful Sunday. Mgr Loris showed me my old notebooks, which he has kept and is now carefully arranging. We passed the time pleasantly among these notes I wrote half a century ago, and those which refer to my later spiritual and priestly service. He would like to publish them all; I feel a certain reluctance, however; they are papers that might perhaps do some good—but they should be published after my death.’

‘Monday, 10 July, 1961. [. . .] Meanwhile Mgr Loris is full of enthusiasm about the collection of my old manuscripts, which I too am glad to go through again. Spare me, O Lord.’

‘Tuesday, 11 July, 1961. [. . .] In the garden this evening I met Cardinal Valeri and I made him stay with me under the pagoda, re-reading my old notebooks with Mgr Loris, in an edifying exchange of memories we have in common.’

III

To the *Journal of a Soul* we have added those papers (prayers, letters and successive drafts of his will) which best illustrate the characteristics of the whole series.

Everything here speaks of the piety of John XXIII, who talked constantly with God and was always at God's disposal, not for a life of contemplation (although he had the qualities this life demands, as is clearly shown in these pages) but for a life of priestly service to souls, and in circumstances which were radically changed eight times during his life: he was a seminarist, then secretary to a Bishop, spiritual director of the seminary at Bergamo, President of the Central Council for Italy of the *Pontificie Opere Missionarie*, Visitor and Apostolic Delegate in the Near East, Nuncio in France, Patriarch of Venice, and Pope.

This profound piety is at the roots of his simplicity as a man and his dignity as a priest, his unalterable serenity and his courage.

Something he said in 1959 illustrates his imperturbable inner calm and certitude. As we read the words today they seem to explain his ecclesiastical career, and serve as a fitting introduction to this volume: 'Above all I am grateful to the Lord for the temperament he has given me, which preserves me from anxieties and tiresome perplexities. I feel I am under obedience in all things, and I have noticed that this disposition, in great things and in small, gives me, unworthy as I am, a strength of daring simplicity, so wholly evangelical in its nature that it demands and obtains universal respect and edifies many.'¹

This piety made him accessible to other men. People called him the good Pope, everyone's Pope, the parish priest of the world: he persuaded men to pray, to ponder the Gospels, to reform the morals of the world by reforming themselves. And at the end he drew everyone to be present not at a spectacle of splendid liturgical pomp but at a death bed as solemn as a Papal Mass. He ennobled death. He made people say it was a beautiful thing to die like that. The crowds who gathered in St Peter's Square, many of them for the first time and feeling astonished at such an unexpected occurrence, looked each other in the eyes and suddenly, mysteriously, felt they were all of one family. They wondered how this had come about.

The voice of the people at once proclaimed their judgment: he was a great priest! In this generally voiced opinion, the people were praising this man's service to souls, a service which no alteration of time or circumstance could diminish or restrict in its range.

¹ Cf. p. 299.

When Pope John died, some astonishing things happened, from which mankind may still draw comfort and renewal of faith. Peace returned to many homes, sick men who had despaired accepted their fate; disobedient children became biddable; young married couples, mindful of his words, 'Caress your children from me',¹ said to each other: 'We must love each other in the right way.' His poverty impressed public opinion, was a consolation to the poor; many prodigal sons tried to alleviate his terrible sufferings by repeating prayers remembered from their childhood, almost as if they were standing around his bed; some decided to return to the sacraments.

This book offers the key to the mystery, if indeed there be a mystery, of his priestly soul, which succeeded in making contact with the soul of his age, thus arousing such deep, sincere, I would almost say thoughtful, feelings that even now it is hard to explain them.

IV

Journal of a Soul reveals much to those who wish to know its author better.

First of all, there is the influence of his upbringing in his own family, an education made up of few words but good examples and ingrained habits.

Almost more vivid than the memory of his father and mother is that of his bachelor uncle, great-uncle Zaverio, the *barba*, the real head of the family. A man who had never got beyond the first grades of the elementary school but had learnt the law of God from the order he saw in nature and from the simple, profound teaching of his humble parish priest and who, in his dealings with his neighbour, was guided by his readings in Sacred Scripture. He was a Christian wholly absorbed in the love of God, in his devotions to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and the Most Precious Blood, and in the constant practice of Christian discipline and piety.

Then there is the memory of the priests whom Providence had placed in his path, and who had a profound influence on his training; in particular, Father Francesco Rebuzzini, the parish priest who baptized him and watched over his youth; Father Francesco Pitocchi, a Redemptorist, the spiritual director of the Roman Seminary at the Apollinare; Mgr Vincenzo Bugarini, the Rector of this seminary; and above all and by far the most important, the Bishop, Mgr Radini Tedeschi. After his family,

¹ *Discorsi, messaggi, colloqui, cit.*, vol. IV, pp. 592-3.

it was these priests who imparted to this predestined youth that respect for God's law, that fear of God, upon which a noble destiny may be founded, the pure whole-hearted love of the Gospel, with its supreme lesson of the Beatitudes; the sense of service in the Church and for the Church, who is the guardian of truth, mistress of charity, source of our most daring hopes, and finally that fidelity to practices of piety which bred in him the noblest and most hard-won Christian virtues. The proof of this lies in the text of the exercises drawn up by Mgr Radini Tedeschi, which the young secretary copied in his own hand and then, as it were, made his own, keeping it always by his side among the other notebooks of *Journal of a Soul*. Thus it was that this man, who when raised to such a great position amazed his contemporaries with his extraordinary accessibility to everything and everyone, was rooted in the strongest, purest and most ancient tradition of Christian piety. This is what kept his faith invincible, making him receptive to the mysterious revelations of God; this is what gave him a tranquil, firm hope because of which, in all circumstances, his heart enjoyed perfect peace in union with his Lord. Because of this piety, no obstacle could prevent him from undertaking great enterprises and announcing them even at the advanced age of seventy-seven. Because of this piety the practice of the hardest virtues, humility, conformity to God's will, self-denial and patience, became second nature to him and led even to the willing acceptance of everything: physical suffering, misunderstanding, scorn.

Here was a boy of fourteen who, on entering the seminary, at once wrote in his unformed hand in his penny copy-book the august words addressed by the Council of Trent to all priests: ' . . . Let them also avoid minor faults, which in them would be very great' and made of these a rule for his whole life. As a young seminarist, seized with the holy horror of sin—not only of grave sin but even of those small failings which are called venial sins—he made a solemn vow to keep himself free from voluntarily committing the slightest venial sin; and, as a grown man and a Bishop, after twenty-five years of priesthood (and many times again in later life) he could thank the Lord for having preserved him from grave sin, and even from venial sin, deliberately intended.

There are entries like these: 'All around me in this great house is solitude, absolute and magnificent solitude, amid the profusions of nature in flower; before my eyes the Danube; beyond the great river the rich Rumanian plain, which sometimes at night glows red with burning waste gas';¹ or again: 'Every evening from the windows of my room, here in

¹ Cf. p. 215.

the residence of the Jesuit Fathers, I see an assemblage of boats on the Bosphorus; they come round from the Golden Horn in tens and hundreds; they gather at a given rendezvous and then they light up, some more brilliantly than others, offering a most impressive spectacle of colours and lights. I thought it was a festival on the sea for Bairam which occurs just about now. But it is the organized fleet fishing for bonito, large fish which are said to come from far away in the Black Sea. These lights glow all night, and one can hear the cheerful voices of the fishermen. I find the sight very moving. The other night, towards one o'clock, it was pouring with rain, but the fishermen were still there, undeterred from their heavy toil.¹ The precise details reveal a keen observer and a clear, simple style of writing which has its own charm.

There are notes like the following: 'It really looks as if God has lavished upon me his most tender and motherly care; he has led me out of so many difficulties and, through countless acts of kindness he has brought me here to Rome. It must be for some particular purpose of his: there can be no other reason for my Master's infinite generosity.'² (This is written by a young man of twenty who has been selected to complete his studies in Rome.) 'I do not seek, I do not desire, the glory of this world; I look forward to greater glory in heaven.'³ 'So long as charity may triumph, at all costs, I would choose to be considered as of little worth. I will be patient and good to a heroic degree, even if I am to be crushed.'⁴ 'Above all I wish to continue always to render good for evil, and in all things to endeavour to prefer the Gospel truth to the wiles of human politics.'⁵ 'I insert in my coat of arms the words *Obœdientia et Pax* (Obedience and Peace), which Cesare Baronius used to say every day when he kissed the Apostle's foot in St Peter's. In a way these words are my own history and my life. O may they be the glorification of my humble name throughout the centuries!⁶ These words reveal both his habitual humility before God and his clear consciousness of his own worth before men . . . so clear as to be disconcerting.

But it is impossible to describe all that may be found in this book, whether clear and explicit, or barely perceived through the veil of intimate records, or reflected in a mind which examines itself with regard to things, places and men, and refers everything to God. A whole life is here, and what a life!

¹ Cf. p. 234.

⁴ Cf. p. 218.

² Cf. p. 87.

⁵ Cf. p. 228.

³ Cf. p. 206.

⁶ Cf. p. 206.

V

Some things are more easily understood if one has some idea of the geography of Sotto il Monte.

The bells of the Franciscan Friars Minor of Baccanello, near Calusco d'Adda, two kilometres from the Roncalli homestead, could be heard calling the Brothers to choir; for the country-folk they chimed the hours of prayer, work and rest. Beyond the river Adda lies Somasca, where the Venetian nobleman St Jerome Emiliani (1486-1537) founded his Congregation for orphans and for the education of the children of the poor. Also beyond the Adda, in Milanese territory, is the sanctuary of the Madonna del Bosco. As a child little Angelo Roncalli used to go with his mother to the Madonna del Bosco; they went on foot, or in a little cart drawn by a donkey. On the hills of the *Comune* of Sotto il Monte the ruins of austere monuments and even the very place names still speak of the great age of the Benedictines.¹ Not far away is the restored monastery of Pontida. Memories such as these of a poor and innocent childhood are not easily forgotten.

Then came the years spent in the seminary of his native diocese. The seminary of Bergamo was founded by St Charles Borromeo and reformed by St Gregory Barbarigo; in recent times, during the period of the suppression of their Order,² it benefited from the labours of the Society of Jesus.

So it is that we find in Angelo Roncalli, through the merits of his kith and kin and his contacts with the great institutions of the Church, a devotion to the Sacred Heart, to the Most Precious Blood, and to the Mother of Jesus; a Franciscan kind of poverty, cheerful and contented; the care of the poor and the destitute; an application to humanistic studies; and a desire, of Ignatian inspiration, for the reform of morals and methods, in order to preserve undiminished the powerful appeal of Christian doctrine which sanctifies men and sets them free.³

¹ Cf. *Monumenta Bergomensia*, II, N. Tagliabue—L. Chioldi, *Il priorato di Sant'Egidio dei Benedettini Cluniacensi in Fontanella del Monte (1080-1473)*, with a dedication to Pope John XXIII, Bergamo, 1960.

² Cf. introductory note to the 'Little Rules', p. 413 below.

³ Throughout his life John XXIII listened most anxiously and carefully to all pronouncements, particularly those of the Popes, which aimed at the encouragement of the missionary and pastoral spirit among the clergy. For example, we quote this passage from 'Notes of an Audience', written after a meeting with Pius XII, on 16 September, 1949: 'I went on to thank him in the name of France for the welcome which His Holiness gives to the French people of all ranks of society who go to see him and are so much edified by him. It was a great joy to hear him say: "But it is my great preoccupation and consola-

VI

The last time Pope John spoke to the faithful gathered in St Peter's Square was on 22 May, 1963, the eve of the Ascension. The air seemed to throb with expectation, anxiety and hope. He came to the balcony, very pale but unfaltering, greeted the crowds with a wide gesture of his hands, then recited the Marian antiphon: 'O Queen of Heaven, rejoice, alleluia.' Then he spoke a few words, pleasantly and cheerfully. His voice was strong and melodious. 'I wish you all a happy Feast of the Ascension! Let us hasten after our ascending Lord; as we cannot follow him yet but must remain on earth, in his Holy Church, let us imitate the apostles who gathered in the room of the Last Supper, praying for the Holy Spirit. Just now you have heard and every day you hear: everything in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'¹

After he had given his blessing the Pope lingered a little, smiling, and ended with a greeting: '*Saluti, saluti . . .*'

The next day he again recited the prayer and blessed the crowd but did not speak to them. His Way of the Cross was now ascending, mounting towards the summit of his sacrifice; henceforth nothing was to distract him from preparing for the great passing.

The sunset of his long life saw his piety as clear and pure as it had been in the morning hours: trust in God, imitation of Christ, readiness to set out for the realms of eternity, without regrets, without fears; charity towards all, most tender and generous, and, for all, forgiveness: 'Having loved his own who were in the world, he loved them to the end',² and all returned his love.

VII

Pope John often mentioned a letter he intended to write to all the clergy (*Epistola ad clerum universum*) for the close of the Council, after the example of St Pius X who, on the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination as a priest (1908), issued his *Haerent animo*, an apostolic exhortation to holiness of life, addressed to all the Catholic clergy in the world.

He intended to put this together from his personal papers, from the notes he was preparing, and from his collections of jottings, in which

tion, Monsignor, to welcome these men of the world, even if they are of another way of thinking. Is this not the true business of the shepherd? Am I not here for those who have sinned and gone astray, who are all equally my children?"

¹ *Discorsi, messaggi, colloqui, cit.*, vol. V, pp. 489-90.

² John 13: 1.

almost every day he used diligently to copy thoughts and comments from the Fathers of the Church and other spiritual writings.

The letter got no further than his heart; but its substance, indeed its very soul, is in this volume. Today, with lovable simplicity and tenderness, he would offer it to young and old, in order that, meditating upon it together, they might find in it the everlasting truth of the Gospel.

It is our humble and confident prayer that this truth may be expressed in new religious devotion, such as he showed in life and death, and may attract, confirm or inspire with fervour the souls of all who read it.

VIII

My grateful and heartfelt thanks go to:

The Sisters of the Istituto delle Poverelle for their aid in the transcription from the original texts;

The Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura for checking the transcribed texts and the editing of this volume in its first, Italian, edition;

Luigi Felici, the papal photographer, to whose kindness and courtesy I owe many of the excellent photographs here reproduced;

Giacomo Manzù, the sculptor, who has enriched this volume with two photographs of his Door of Death (in St Peter's in Rome), Plates 23 and 26.

Padre Giulio Bevilacqua, of the Oratory at Brescia, for the 'Meditation' which in a few short pages expresses all his love for the Pope whom he had known since they were young together.

DON LORIS CAPOVILLA.

Vatican City, 25 January, 1964.

Fifth anniversary of the announcement of the
Second Vatican Ecumenical Council.

Meditation

As we ponder on Pope John's *Journal of a Soul* we understand the complexity of the Church today, as she sets forth bravely and determinedly 'towards new ways of feeling, wishing and behaving',¹ her mind and heart absorbed in the study of all those modes of life in which men are hastening and struggling in their search for security. If Pope John were to send one more message to the Church he would surely begin with Paul's words to the Church of Corinth: 'You yourselves are our letter of recommendation, written on your hearts, to be known and read by all men; and you show that you are a letter from Christ delivered by us, written not with ink but with the spirit of the living God, not on tablets of stone but on tablets of human hearts.'²

To understand St John the Baptist, the forerunner of Christ, we must understand the solitude in which he grew to maturity and of which he became the loud, authentic voice; so, if we are to understand the bold direction given to the Church by Pope John, we must enter into his interior solitude: it was this daily examination of his spiritual life which turned him into the man of mission, the Good Samaritan of our time, the man who makes straight the highways 'to make ready a perfect people for the Lord'.³

In *Journal of a Soul* we perceive and are allowed to enter the flowering solitude of his intimate relations with God. And yet a superficial perusal might leave a doubtful, even a disappointing, impression. It might be thought that we are confronted here with a literal and formalistic piety,

¹ Cf. speech of Pope Paul VI, inaugurating the second session of the Ecumenical Council (*L'Osservatore Romano*, 30 September, 1963).

² 2 Cor. 3: 2-3.

³ 'God grant that both Johns may make their voices heard in the universal Church through our very humble pastoral ministry . . . and that there may be proclaimed to the clergy and all people this work of ours by which we would make ready a perfect people for the Lord, to make straight his paths, so that the crooked may be made straight, and the rough ways may be made smooth, and all flesh may see the salvation of God' (cf. *Discorsi, messaggi, colloqui, cit.*, vol. I, p. 4).

such as we find in thousands of pious books which have abounded in post-Tridentine times: a piety centred more on human contrivance than on the word of God, one that puts its trust in an exasperating profusion of wire entanglements, instead of in that wide free air we breathe when we are familiar with Sacred Scripture, the liturgy and the writings of the Fathers. This spirituality might seem to be reduced to interminable examinations of conscience, which arouse in the minds of our contemporaries distrust or even revolt; it is a method which apparently sees God not as love and fatherhood, from whom all fatherhood derives, but only as the Judge who pronounces eternal judgments on the frailty of the creature, a breath of wind that passes and comes no more. Does the question that haunted Job not rise to our lips too: 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?'¹

Yet this kind of spirituality produced Pope John: the tree is to be judged by its fruit. This rigorously constructed spirituality is technique, the letter of the law; yes, but it is not only technique and the letter of the law, for within it lives and from it soars a great conception. Every technique degenerates if it remains purely mechanical, that is, isolated from all noble inspiration. On the other hand no great conception can be realized without a rule, without a discipline. Now there is evident in Pope John's *Journal* a powerful and exalted evangelical impulse which dominates his whole existence, and preserves this constant examination of his own life from any puritanical or pharisaical contamination. His confessions are too precise, too detailed, too intent on calling everything by its right name, ever to become a stale habit or, worse still, a mask or a pose. Today, too many rebels publish their confessions, shameless exhibitions before a public greedy for scandal, and destined merely to disguise their shame. Here, instead, all is real: the simplicity, the awareness of being a creature, scrupulous moderation and reserve, extreme human sensibility, above all, the will to aspire to the fulness of Christ.

The *Journal* records constant, one might almost say, obstinate growth, in step with the very slow rhythm of nature and grace. It is a growth in understanding and knowledge of God's purpose, and an increasing embodiment of this purpose in his personal life and ecclesiastical office. God's design for us, being eternal, keeps pace with us; it grows with us and we grow with it.

'What is the result of this spiritual concentration of mine? Nothing remarkable or exciting but, as it seems to me, a consolidation of my principles and positions in the eyes of the Lord and in all that regards my

¹ Cf. Job 14: 4.

own humble life and my sacred ministry in the service of Holy Church. Even without exaggerating the importance of my entering upon this last, possibly rapid and brief, period of my life, I feel something more mature and authoritative in me, in relation to all that interests and surrounds me . . .' (p. 237).

Thus the formal framework becomes less rigid, the letter yields more and more to the spirit, all effort is unified and directed towards a few very clear purposes: 'After having skimmed through the doctrine of various ascetical authors, I am now quite content with the Missal, the Breviary, the Bible, *The Imitation* and Bossuet . . .' (p. 267). 'My spiritual life must be intensified. No overloading with devotions of a novel and secondary character, but fidelity to those which are fundamental, with passionate fervour . . . gather[ing] speed as I near the end' (p. 280).

The great faith of his childhood is gradually transformed into charity: 'I desire and think of nothing else, but to live and die for the souls entrusted to me' (p. 282).

Two great aspects of his pastoral mission have now taken possession of him: 'To preach the good news to the poor and to comfort the broken-hearted' (p. 290).¹

He was born with an ecumenical mind: he understood everyone and was accessible to everyone; he made every effort to speak with all. 'I want to study Turkish with more care and perseverance. I am fond of the Turks . . . I know that my way of dealing with them is right; above all it is Catholic and apostolic' (p. 228).

In 1959, when he was Pope, he could sum up his life in these words: 'Since the Lord chose me, unworthy as I am, for this great service, I feel I have no longer any special ties in this life. . . . The whole world is my family. This sense of belonging to everyone must give character and vigour to my mind, my heart and my actions' (pp. 298-9).

The *Journal* shows an ever more concentrated and profound understanding of the Paschal mystery, which teaches us that only by dying can we conquer death. He is now calmly and steadfastly endeavouring to 'empty' himself.² He is beginning to see nought but Christ, and Christ crucified, 'the solution of all difficulties' (p. 146).

His life was peaceful, because Pope John knew how to turn the very stones into gestures of love, and so into joy. But towards the solemn sunset of his life he was aware of the impending mystery of pain. 'I think the Lord Jesus has in store for me . . . for my complete mortification . . . some great suffering and affliction of body and spirit' (p. 292).

¹ Cf. Luke 4: 18.

² Phil. 2: 7.

‘ . . . The rather sombre prospect for the future convinces me that the Lord wants me all for himself along the royal road of the holy Cross’ (p. 217).

But he set out along this road not as we, poor bundles of aching atoms, would have done, resigned to what we cannot avoid, but as a giant who runs his race: he asks for suffering, seeks the hard road, prepares his soul for the sacrifice. What he asks for (he who had always asked for so little) is ‘to be always and evermore a victim, a sacrificial offering, an apostle . . .’ (p. 218).

So when he wrote these solemn and significant words about the opening of the Council: ‘After three years of preparation, certainly laborious but also joyful and serene, we are now on the slopes of the sacred mountain’ (p. 325), perhaps in his heart he already knew that the mountain was not the Council but the hill of Calvary. We may deduce this from some words, spoken confidentially, which show his usual sublime faith and charity: ‘Now I understand what contribution to the Council the Lord requires from me: my suffering.’¹ So the Cross took possession of him and set its dread mark on every one of his senses, on his speech, on the mystery of his silences, on all the inmost recesses of his soul.

During his unforgettable agony, the angel who watches by the altar of the holy sacrifice explained to him his sublime purposes. ‘I make the sign of the Cross on your eyes, that you may see the splendour of God; on your ears, that you may hear the Lord’s voice; on your nostrils, that you may breathe the sweetness of Christ; on your lips, that you may utter words of life; I make the holy sign upon your shoulders, that you may bear the yoke of Christ’s service.’

His wounds have become the wounds of the Church in Council, a Church determined to abandon all triumphal ways, and to follow the Via Dolorosa, the only road upon which the Son of Man can meet the tragic man of our own times. This is the Church handed on by John XXIII to Paul VI.

The new Pope, in order to make more apparent this unbroken continuity between the bed on which Pope John suffered his agony and the throne upon which Paul had begun to drink from his own chalice, decided, twenty centuries after Peter’s departure thence, to return to the land where the Cross had been erected, where the sepulchre was left

¹ ‘*Oh je sais quelle sera ma part personnelle de collaboration au Concile. . . . Ce sera la souffrance.*’ (From the Commemoration of Pope John, preached in the Vatican Basilica by Cardinal Suenens, 28 October, 1963. Cf. *L’Osservatore Romano*, 28–29 October, 1963.)

empty, where the primacy was established, not as a primacy of power but only as a primacy of love.

The immeasurable emotion and enthusiasm of the whole world have shown that this gesture has been understood as a gesture of return to Christ crucified, as a gesture of continuity with this brief pontificate which conquered the world,¹ as a gesture of communion and peace with Christian churches and with the community of all peoples. Hearing the message from Bethlehem,² Pope John must have rejoiced like Abraham, who desired to see the day of the Lord: he saw it and was glad.

GIULIO BEVILACQUA, CONG. ORAT.

Brescia, 18 January, 1964.

¹ 'But what had he done to arouse such world-wide expressions of love and gratitude? In one of the most arresting books of recent years a Jewish child asks the Elder what the Just Man must do. The Elder, without hesitation, replies: "Do you ask the sun to do anything? It rises, it sets, it rejoices your soul" (Cf. André Schwarz-Bart, *Le dernier des justes*, Paris, du Seuil, 1959, p. 157). This is what Pope John did: he was born, he died, he rejoiced our souls. Perhaps someone will feel tempted to repeat about the Pope what has recently been written about Christ, the "gracious messenger of impossible love". The Pope of Pentecostal mind has indeed inspired irresistible impulses of love. Elijah has gone and only an Elisha can wear his cloak. Pope John, I kiss your hand that can never cease to bless, I would kiss your heart that no heavy tombstone can stifle.' (From Giulio Bevilacqua, 'Il Morte di Giovanni XXIII', in *Humanitas*, XVIII, June, 1963, pp. 559-60.)

² Pilgrimage of Pope Paul to Palestine, 4-6 January, 1964. 'We all promise you to live as Christians, trying constantly to respond to your grace and to reform our morals. We shall endeavour to spread throughout the world your message of salvation and love.' (From *Messaggio di Betlemme*, 6 January, 1964. Cf. *L'Osservatore Romano*, 7-8 January, 1964.)

It is instructive to reflect for a moment on the task which Pope John's pontificate, with the far-reaching changes that it has wrought not only in the actual working of the Church but also in the expectations with which from now on people, Christian and non-Christian, Catholic and non-Catholic, look to the Church, presents to those who follow him in the papacy.

This has been summed up by Cardinal Bea, in his essay 'On the Image of Paul VI': 'Seldom was the familiar phrase "difficult succession" to a pontificate rich in prestige and in works so true as after the death of Pope John XXIII. "Good Pope John" had acquired a widespread popularity even outside the Catholic Church; he had decided upon, prepared and begun the vastest and the best-prepared Council of all time; he had set the Church in motion towards a rediscovery of the traces of her more fervent youth, towards the revelation of her conquering power to the men of today; by his encyclicals and especially by the Council, he had attracted the interest and admiration of world opinion. Now he was dead, his work just begun, and there was universal grief and consternation.

The vacancy of the Apostolic See, with the inevitable and numerous conjectures as to his probable successor, was far from creating a halo of prestige for whoever should succeed Pope John and receive his heritage. Conjectures, while partly assisting the more

perspicacious minds to a discernment of persons and of their qualities, are always largely equalizing, at least as regards the various likely candidates, because conjectures—even when calmly voiced, which is not generally the case—tend to exalt one's own candidate by criticizing those of others. For all these reasons, it was certainly no empty word when Paul VI himself, the day after his election, spoke of his "spirit trembling before the vastness of the task" imposed upon him, and of the weighty legacy received from his predecessor.' (From *The Mind of Paul VI*, London, 1964, p. ix.) *Translator's note.*

Bibliographical Note

This book consists chiefly of previously unpublished writings. These are as follows:

Journal of a Soul. Exercises and Spiritual Notes, 1895-1962 (pp. 4-325)

Three letters, one to Angelo Roncalli's parents and two to the rector of the Roman Seminary (pp. 329-34)

The rejected part of the *Spiritual Testament* (pp. 345-54)

The 'Little Rules' of *Ascetic Life* (pp. 417-26)

Maxims Heard or Gleaned from Various Sources (pp. 427-30)

The main core of the volume is *Journal of a Soul*, the text of which is arranged in chronological order, together with pertinent letters and prayers. All the individual sections of the text, whether previously published or not, have been numbered consecutively in arabic numerals in square brackets, placed in the margin in order to facilitate reference.

The text is taken from a series of notebooks and loose sheets kept in folders. The notebooks are worn with use and the ink is often faded. The folders contain sheets of different types of paper in different sizes; some are hand-written and others are typed, the latter in the small characters found on some portable machines. In the sheets the individual sections do not always follow in the chronological order observed in this book.

As has been stated in our Introduction, John XXIII, having agreed to publication of the manuscripts after his death, re-examined the material in 1960-2. He restricted himself to minimal revisions, for the most part stylistic, adding a few indications of date and place. These revisions are easily identifiable, apart from the handwriting, by the blue ink and by the uniform thickness of line indicating constant use of the same fountain pen. Inasmuch as a critical text is not offered here, the revisions are not specifically indicated as such. Note that occasionally italic type has been used for some passages underlined in red in the manuscript.

We give here a summary description of the notebooks and groups of

sheets, indicated by roman numerals, as well as of the individual sections of the text, indicated by arabic numerals, as has been mentioned. Not included in this summary are certain previously published materials whose source is stated in footnotes accompanying the text.

I. [I, 112]; 1895. Notebook with black cover containing square-ruled sheets; 6×12.5 cm.; 64 pp., 5 blank. On the inside of the cover is a Latin motto, 'Fuge quae . . . in ore saecularium nugae sunt, in ore sacerdotum blasphemiae' (Faults which are trifles in the mouths of lay people are blasphemies in the mouths of priests). Boyish handwriting. In addition to text [I] and [112], there is a copy of [111] with minor variations. See below, No. XXXVIII.

II. [2, 4¹, 6]; 1896, 1898. Notebook with black cover containing square-ruled sheets 6×11 cm.; 40 pp. Does not follow chronological order. Boyish handwriting.

III. [3]; 1897. One square-ruled sheet, yellowed; 13.5×21.5 cm. Written on both sides in a small, compact hand.

IV. [4]; 1898. Notebook with black cover containing square-ruled sheets; 9×12.5 cm.; 58 pp. Boyish handwriting.

V. [5, 7, 10, 11]; 1898-1901. Notebook with black cover containing square-ruled sheets; 10×13.5 cm.; 52 pp., of which the last 18 are blank. On the inside of the cover is an author's note from 1961-2: '4 October, 1898. Spiritual notes from the monthly retreat after the death of my parish priest, Father Rebuzzini, the saintly guardian of my childhood and my vocation.' The first sheet containing writing was removed by the author. Boyish handwriting.

VI. [8, 9]; 1900. Four square-ruled sheets, 22×27.5 cm., folded in half, plus a half sheet; in all 18 pp., of which 6 are blank. On the first page below the title of [8] the author added in 1961-2: 'February, Seminary of Bergamo,' and below the title of [9]: '27 February, 1900.' Minute handwriting.

VII. [12]; 1902. Four sheets, 21×31 cm., folded in half, forming 16 pp., densely covered. In 1961-2 the author added below the title: 'With Father Francesco Pitocchi', underlining in red these words, together with the date and the passage printed in italics on p. 91.

VIII. [13, 14]; 1902, 1903. Fifteen sheets, 21×31 cm., folded in half, forming 60 pp., of which the first serves as a title page; the verso of this sheet and the last 5 are blank. On the title page is written 'Soli Deo honor

¹ Text [4] is divided between notebooks II and IV. The first group of 'Spiritual Notes' goes from 27 February to 26 May, 1898, the second from 3 June to 1 October, 1898.

et gloria—Journal of a Soul—16 December, 1902'. In 1961-2 the author added beneath the heading of [13] '1902', and made a few very slight changes in the text.

IX. [15-17]; 1903. Six sheets, 21 × 31 cm., folded in half, forming 24 pp., of which one is blank.

X. [18-20]; 1903, 1904. Six sheets, 21 × 31 cm., folded in half, forming 24 pp., of which three are blank. In 1961-2 the author added two words to [18] and the date to [20].

XI. [21-8]; 1904, 1907-11. Ten sheets, 21 × 31 cm., folded in half, forming 40 pp.; on the first is a table of contents for the group, except for [22] and [23] inserted later. The verso of the first sheet and eight others are blank. In 1961-2 the author made a few slight corrections. [22] is written on a lined sheet, 13.5 × 21 cm., inserted in the fascicle. [21] and [23] are incomplete. There is a change in the handwriting between 1904 and 1907, and a note of 1912 affixed at the end of [21].

XII. [29-35]; 1912-15, 1919, 1924. Nine sheets, 21 × 29 cm.,¹ folded in half, forming 36 pp.; on the first is a list of writings contained in the fascicle, except for [33]. The list ends with the words 'Thoughts and spiritual resolutions' and the signature 'd.a.r.'. The verso of the first sheet and two others are blank. In the middle are two little fascicles related to [31] and [32]. The first consists of 8 square-ruled sheets, 15 × 19 cm., torn from a pad and written on one side only. The second consists of three sheets of paper headed 'Bishop of Bergamo—Private Office', 21 × 27.5 cm., folded in half, forming 12 pp., of which one serves as a title page. The verso of this is blank. There are some underlinings from 1961-2. The handwriting has reached a maturity which was to be preserved with little change until 1960-1.

XIII. [36]; 1925. Two sheets of watermarked paper, 16 × 23 cm., folded in half, forming 8 pp. The sheets are in a folder, 17.5 × 25 cm., upon which is written: 'Retreat in preparation for episcopal consecration. Rome—Villa Carpegna—13-17 March, 1925.'

XIV. [37, 38]; 1926-7. Two sheets, 20.5 × 28.5 cm., folded in half, forming 8 pp.

XV. [39-43]; 1928, 1930, 1931, 1933-4. Five sheets of watermarked paper, 20 × 26.5 cm., folded in half, forming 20 pp. In the middle are two fascicles relating to [40] and [41]; the first comprises 2 sheets, 17 × 29 cm., folded in half, forming 8 pp., of which 7 are typewritten and the

¹ The second part of [35], 'Particular Reflections', comprises 5 pp., 11 × 16.5 cm., taken from a diary of 1924.

last blank; at the end of the text, a handwritten signature and date.¹ The second comprises two sheets, 22 × 29 cm., folded in half, forming 8 pp. Some corrections from 1961-2.

XVI. [44]; 1935. One sheet of watermarked paper, 19.5 × 26.5 cm., folded in half, forming 4 pp. At the beginning the words 'Spiritual Exercises' are typewritten.

XVII. [45]; 1936. Two sheets, 20 × 22 cm., folded in half, forming 8 pp.

XVIII. [46]; 1937. Two sheets, 22 × 27 cm., folded in half, forming 8 pp., of which the last is blank.

XIX. [47-53]; 1939-40, 1942-5, 1947-8. Fourteen sheets, 20 × 29 cm., folded in half, forming 56 pp., of which the last four are blank; pencilled numbers on the upper right of the rectos, from 1 to 31, covering [47] and [48]. In the middle is an additional small fascicle containing [49], of 5 sheets, 22 × 29 cm., folded in half, forming 20 pp., of which one is blank, numbered in ink on the upper right of the rectos, from 1 to 10. [50] is written in ink on the last page of [49]. [49, 52, 53] are typewritten. Some corrections from 1961-2.

XX. [54]; 1950. Six sheets, 21 × 27 cm., written on both sides and numbered on the upper right of the rectos, from 1 to 6. In 1961-2 they were enclosed in a white sheet upon which is written 'Spiritual retreat at Oran in Africa. 6-9 April, 1950'.

XXI. [55]; 1952. Four sheets, 21 × 27 cm., folded in half, forming 16 pp., of which one serves as a title page, numbered on the upper right of the rectos from 1 to 7. The verso of the title page is blank. At the end the prayer to the Sacred Heart is underlined in red.

XXII.² [56, 57]; 1953-4. Four sheets, 21 × 27 cm., folded in half, of which 2 are blank. Corrections and additions from 1961-2.

XXIII. [58]; 1955. Four sheets, 21 × 28 cm., folded in half, forming 16 pp., of which the last 4 are blank.

¹ On p. 7, which contains the 'Offering of a Crucified Life' by Father Lintelo, is stapled an undated clipping from an unidentified newspaper with the following prayer of Cardinal Tosi: 'O sweet Jesus, grant me true love, the love of the Cross, not of those heroic crosses whose splendour nourishes self-love, but of those ordinary crosses which we bear with such repugnance, of those crosses which appear every day in our lives and which are found at every hour along our path—opposition, failure, abandonment, obstacles, adversities, coldness, impatience, rejection, scorn, bodily infirmity, mental depression, silence and aridity of the heart. Only then shall I know that I love you; though I may not feel or know this, it will be enough.—O sweet Jesus, may your will always and without exception be fulfilled in me!'

² [56-60] are preceded by a small sheet, 12 × 15 cm., probably from 1961-2, listing them under the general heading 'Exercises with the episcopate'.

XXIV. [59]; 1956. Four sheets of paper headed 'The Cardinal Patriarch', 21 × 28 cm., folded in half, forming 16 pp., numbered on the upper right of sheets 1 to 3; only the fourth sheet is written on both sides. The last 8 pp. are blank.

XXV. [60-1]; 1957-8. Three sheets of paper headed 'The Cardinal Patriarch', 21 × 29 cm., folded in half, forming 12 pp., of which the last is blank. On the first was added in 1961-2 the date '1958' and the name of the preacher.

XXVI. [62]; 1958. Three sheets, 15 × 20.5 cm., torn from a pad and written on one side only.

XXVII. [63, 64]; 1959, 1960. Four sheets, 22 × 31 cm., folded in half, forming 16 pp., of which the last 3 are blank.

XXVIII. [65, 67]; 1961, 1962. Sixty-three pp., 13.5 × 20.5 cm., written on an unused diary for 1959. Numbering from 1 to 54 in the upper left and right for [65]. Some corrections.

XXIX. [66]; 1961. Three sheets, 13.5 × 20 cm., with the papal emblem at the top, written on both sides. The text breaks off at the end.

XXX. [68]; 1962. Nine pp., 13.5 × 20.5 cm., written on the same 1959 diary.

XXXI. [69]; 1962. Six pp., 15.5 × 20.5 cm., written on a diary for 1962; the fifth page is blank.

XXXII. [70]; 1962. Two pp., 20.5 × 30 cm., written in a large notebook with a dark red cover, which bears the title 'Second Vatican Council. Various Notes'.

XXXIII. [71]; 1901. A letter on one sheet, 21 × 29.5 cm., folded in half.

XXXIV. [72, 73]; 1901. Two letters, each on a single sheet, 21 × 26.5 cm., folded in half.

XXXV. [76]; 1954. Six typewritten sheets, 22 × 30 cm., numbered from 3 to 8 in the upper right. All the sheets, except no. 6, are signed at the bottom in ink 'Ang. Gius. card. Roncalli Patriarca'. On the last the final invocations, the signature and the date are written in ink. Some corrections. These six sheets contain the second part of the typewritten will prepared in September, 1954. The first 2 sheets contain [75], previously published by *L'Osservatore Romano*.

XXXVI. [77]; 1939-44. Two typewritten sheets, 22 × 30 cm., of which one is written lengthwise; corrections, various additions, and handwritten signature.

XXXVII. [110]; 1959. Thirty-six sheets written on the recto only, of which 25 are 14.5 × 22.5 cm. and 11 20.5 × 28 cm. On the first

two sheets are pasted 2 half pages of printer's proofs¹ with various corrections and additions. The lower part of sheet 3 has been cut away. Numbering in the upper right with red ink from 1 to 25 and from 27 to 37.

XXXVIII. [111]; 1895. Five small square-ruled sheets, torn from a notebook, 7.5 × 10 cm. Worn pages, faded ink, tiny handwriting. These sheets are in a letter envelope on which the Pope, perhaps in 1961-2, has written 'The Little Rules. Special direction reserved for certain seminarists. Bergamo Seminary, 1895.'

The executor of Pope John XXIII's will has placed all the manuscript material of this volume in the secret archives of the Vatican. The *Fondo Giovanni XXIII* of the archives, established in 1960, contains other documents and letters of the Pope.

¹ See note 1, p. 403.

Chronology 1881–1963¹

This chronology will help the reader to understand the spiritual pilgrimage of John XXIII, whose life was truly spent in unceasing contemplation, meditation and prayer. These are the salient events of his life as seminarist, priest, Bishop and Pope, with special reference to his religious activities.

1881–1900

- 1881 25 November. Angelo Giuseppe, son of Battista Roncalli and Marianna Mazzola, was born at Sotto il Monte (Bergamo) in the Brusico district. He was baptized the same day by the parish priest, Father Francesco Rebuzzini, in the church of Santa Maria. His godfather was his great-uncle Zaverio Roncalli, head of the family, the brother of his grandfather Angelo.²
- 1888 First communion at Sotto il Monte. The admission to communion of a boy of seven was unusual at that time.
- 1889 13 February. Confirmed at Carvico by the Bishop of the diocese, Mgr Gaetano Camillo Guindani.
- 1892–1895 A pupil at the minor seminary of Bergamo.

¹ For a more detailed chronology of His Holiness John XXIII cf. Loris Capovilla, *Giovanni XXIII, Sette Letture*, 2nd ed., Libr. Ed. Vaticana, 1963, pp. 226–71; and for the time he spent in France, 1944–53, cf. *Souvenirs d'un Nonce, Cahiers de France (1944–53)*, Rome, Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1963, pp. 233–72.

² His grandfather was Angelo, 1826–1914; his great-uncle, patriarch of the family, Zaverio, 1824–1912; his father Battista, 1854–1935; his mother Marianna Mazzola, 1854–1939. His brothers and sisters were: Maria Caterina, 1877–83; Teresa, 1879–1954 (married Michele Ghisleni in 1899); Ancilla, 1880–1953; Zaverio, 1883 (married Maria Carrara in 1907); Maria Elisa, 1884–1955; Assunta Casilda, 1886 (married Giovanni Battista Marchesi in 1907); Alfredo, 1889; Giovanni Francesco, 1891–1956 (married Caterina Formenti in 1919); Enrica, 1893–1918; Giuseppe Luigi, 1894 (married Ida Biffi in 1922); Luigi 1896–98.

- 1895-1900 A student at the major seminary of Bergamo, until his second year of theology.
- 1895 24 June. Received the clerical habit and the first tonsure.
- 1896 Beginning of *Journal of a Soul*.
- 1897 First written resolutions about 'Holy Purity'.
- 1898 3 July. Received the minor orders of porter and lector.
- 28 August. At the closing ceremony of the celebrations for the sixteenth centenary of St Alexander, patron saint of Bergamo, he was present in the church of Sant'Alessandro in Colonna for the Pontifical Mass and heard the sermon preached by Cardinal Giuseppe Sarto, Patriarch of Venice (the future Pius X).
- 25 September. Death of Father Francesco Rebuzzini, parish priest of Sotto il Monte.
- 1899 25 June. Received the minor orders of exorcist and acolyte.
- September. At Ghiaie di Bonate Sopra, in the house of Father Alessandro Locatelli, he met for the first time Mgr Giacomo Maria Radini Tedeschi.
- 1900 February. Retreat at the seminary of Bergamo.
- 27 February. Consecration to the Sacred Heart of Jesus.
- September. Pilgrimage to Rome for Holy Year. On 20 September he went to Loreto and then to Assisi.

1901

- January 4 At half past six in the morning he arrived in Rome, as a student of the major Roman Seminary, the Apollinare. He held a scholarship from the foundation of Canon Flaminio Cerasola.¹ Because of his youth, he began his theological studies again from the begin-

¹ The diocese of Bergamo, besides its major seminary in the city, has its own college in Rome, founded as early as 1640 by Canon Flaminio Cerasola, inaugurated in 1729, and now for the last hundred years absorbed into the Pontifical Roman Seminary. Here are lodged for their theological studies from ten to fifteen diocesan students recommended by the Bishop and chosen, after a competitive examination, by the Guardians of the *Confraternita dei Bergamaschi* in Rome, which administers the charitable foundation.

- ning. With him were two clerical students from Bergamo, Achille Ballini from Boltiere and Guglielmo Carozzi from Curnasco.
- 10 Attended the multilingual congress in honour of Christ the Redeemer at the Collegio Urbano di Propaganda Fide, in the Piazza di Spagna.
- 31 Attended the performance of Lorenzo Perosi's Christmas Oratorio at the church of the Santi XII Apostoli.
- April 28 First spiritual retreat at the Roman Seminary of the Apollinare.
- June 25 Degree in theology. Prize for Hebrew.
- November 30 Began his military service in the 73rd Infantry, Lombardy Brigade, at Bergamo, in the Umberto I Barracks.

1902

- May 31 Promoted Corporal.
- November 15 Indefinite leave while awaiting discharge.
- 30 Promoted Sergeant.
- Rome. Returned to his studies at the Roman Seminary.
- Prefect of young students of theology.
- December 10-20 Retreat at the Roman Seminary, after military service.

1903

- January 2 Father Domenico Spolverini was appointed Vice-rector of the Roman Seminary.
- 17 Present at the funeral of Cardinal Lucido Maria Parocchi at the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso.
- April 1-10 Retreat in preparation for the subdiaconate.
- 11 Ordained subdeacon at the church of St John Lateran by Cardinal Respighi, Vicar General to the Pope.
- 29 Watched the procession of Edward VII, King of England and Emperor of India, to the Vatican.
- May 2 Watched the procession of the Emperor of Germany, William II, to the Vatican.
- July 20 Death of Pope Leo XIII.
- August 4-10 Election and coronation of Pope Pius X.

- December 9-18 Retreat, in preparation for the diaconate.
18 Ordained deacon at St John Lateran by Cardinal Respighi.

1904

- July 13 Received doctorate in sacred theology. Professor Eugenio Pacelli was Invigilator at the written examination.
- August 1-10 Retreat under the Passionists at the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Rome.
- 10 Ordained priest at the church of Santa Maria in Monte Santo in the Piazza del Popolo by Mgr Giuseppe Ceppetelli, Titular Patriarch of Constantinople, Vicegerent.
- His first Masses were said as follows:*
- 11 At St Peter's, in the Crypt. The same day he was received in special audience by Pope Pius X.
- 12 At Roccantica, the country villa of the Roman Seminary. He visited the Cathedral of Orvieto.
- 13 In Florence, at the church of the Santissima Annunziata.
- 14 In Milan, at the Cathedral, at the altar of St Charles.
- 15 At Sotto il Monte, for the feast of the Assumption, the titular feast of his native parish.
- November Resumed his studies in the higher classes of the Roman Seminary at the Apollinare.
- December 1-4 Rome. He took part in the Marian Congress for the fifteenth anniversary of the proclamation of the Immaculate Conception of Mary. The promoter of the Congress was Mgr Giacomo M. Radini Tedeschi.

1905

- January 8 Beatification of Jean-Marie Vianney, the Curé d'Ars. In the afternoon, after the papal choir music in St Peter's, the appointment of the Vatican Canon, Mgr Giacomo Maria Radini Tedeschi, as Bishop of Bergamo, was announced.
- 9 Mgr Bugarini presented Father Angelo Roncalli to Mgr Radini.

- January 29 In the Sistine Chapel Pius X consecrated Mgr Giacomo M. Radini Tedeschi as Bishop; Father Angelo Roncalli, appointed secretary to the new Bishop, acted as his ordinary chaplain and held the book of the Gospels on the shoulders of Mgr Radini.
- March 23 Visited the Abbey of Grottaferrata.
30 Visited the original Benedictine monastery of Subiaco.
- April 2 Mgr Radini left Rome.
9 Arrival of Mgr Radini at Bergamo.
19-21 Retreat in the monastery of the Camaldolesi of Frascati.
30— First pilgrimage to Lourdes. Also visited Lyons, Paray-le-Monial, Ars and Montpellier.
- May 17
- December 8 Mgr Radini began his pastoral visitation. Father Roncalli accompanied him as his secretary. First friendly contacts with Cardinal Andrea Ferrari, Archbishop of Milan.

1906

- September 19— Pilgrimage to Palestine.
October 22
- October Began teaching Church history in the diocesan seminary; later on he was also to hold the chair of apologetics and then that of patrology.

1907

- September 1-7 Retreat at Martinengo (Bergamo) with the Religious of the Holy Family.
- December 4 Lecture on Cardinal Cesare Baronius on the third centenary of his death.

1908

Began his historical account of *Gli Atti della Visita Apostolica di san Carlo Borromeo a Bergamo, 1575* (*Records of the Apostolic Visit of St Charles Borromeo to Bergamo*).

First meetings with the Prefect of the Ambrosian Library of Milan, Mgr Achille Ratti.

- September 10-19 Pilgrimage to Lourdes. Visited Marseilles, Toulouse and Nîmes.
 October 25-31 Retreat at Martinengo.

1909

- January Publication of the first number of *La Vita Diocesana*, the official periodical of the Bishop and Diocesan Curia. Printed at the Tipografia Vescovile Seccomandi, Via Pignolo 103, Bergamo. Editor: Rev. Dr Guglielmo Carozzi. Father Angelo Roncalli was on the editorial staff.
 September 19-25 Retreat at Martinengo.
 November 3 Mgr Radini instituted the Diocesan Congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart.

1910

- April 26-28 The 33rd Synod of the diocese of Bergamo, of which Father Angelo Roncalli was secretary.
 October 2-8 Retreat at Martinengo.
 20 After the approval of the new diocesan statutes of Catholic Action he was appointed president of its fifth division. Niccolò Rezzara was general president.

1911

- June 11 At Padua with Mgr Radini he took part in the celebrations for the 150th anniversary of the beatification of Gregory Barbarigo.
 July 30— Stayed at Einsiedeln in Switzerland, and made visits to Geneva, Fribourg and Annecy.
 August 12
 October 1-9 Retreat at Martinengo.
 November 6 Was inscribed as a Member (external) of the Diocesan Congregation of the Priests of the Sacred Heart.

1912

- September 11 Pilgrimage to Mariazell in Austria.
 12-16 Vienna for the 23rd International Eucharistic Congress. Celebrated Mass in the Capuchin Fathers' church of St Augustine (Augustinerkirche).

- September 17 Cracow. Celebrated Mass in the Cathedral. Visited the salt mines of Wieliczka.
- 19 Budapest. Celebrated Mass in St Peter's Church.
- 21 Publication of the collective letter of the Lombard episcopate: *Il XVI centenario dell'editto di Milano e la libertà della religione nelle scuole* (The 16th centenary of the Edict of Milan and religious liberty in schools). Father Roncalli edited the text, at the request of his Bishop, with permission from Cardinal Ferrari.
- October 13-19 Retreat at Martinengo.

1913

- August 8 Celebrated Mass at the shrine of Oropa, Piedmont.
- October 19-25 Retreat at Martinengo.

1914

- August 20 Death of Pope Pius X.
- 22 Death of Mgr Radini.
- September 27—
October 3 Retreat with the Priests of the Sacred Heart at Bergamo.

1915

- May 24 Recalled to military service. Organized the 'Soldier's Mass' in Bergamo, and was co-ordinator of religious assistance to the troops.

1916

- March 28 Military Chaplain to the reserve hospital at Bergamo, called the 'new hospital' (*ricovero nuovo*), and of others in various places.
- August 22 Publication of his volume: *In memoria di Mons. Giacomo Radini Tedeschi, vescovo di Bergamo*, Società Editrice S. Alessandro, Bergamo.
- September 24 Presented this volume to Pope Benedict XV.

1918

- November Opened the Students' Hostel (*Casa dello Studente*)

in Bergamo in the Palazzo Marenzi, via San Salvatore, 8.

December 10 Finished his military service. Was appointed spiritual director of the seminary at Bergamo.

1919

April 28—May 3 Retreat with the Priests of the Sacred Heart in Bergamo.

1920

September 9 Addressed the Sixth National Italian Eucharistic Congress held in Bergamo on the theme 'The Eucharist and Our Lady as objects of the Christian's love'.

December 10 Received the first notice of his appointment to Rome in the service of Propaganda Fide.

1921

January 18 Rome. At the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide. Began his work as president of the central Council for Italy of the Pontificie Opere Missionarie (Papal Missions).

February 2 The Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, Andrea Carlo Ferrari, died in Milan. Father Angelo Roncalli, deeply moved, was present at his funeral on 7 February.

April 1 He started a tour of the Italian dioceses in order to spread the missionary ideal and to organize the Pontificie Opere della Propagazione della Fede.

October 29 Celebrated Mass in the Marian shrine of Bonaria in Sardinia.

December 5-7 Retreat at Montecassino.

17-30 Travelled in France, Belgium, Holland and Germany. Celebrated Mass in the following places:

17 Chambéry Cathedral.

18-19 Fourvière, Lyons.

20 Paris, Redemptorist Fathers.

21 Paris, Montmartre.

22 Paris, Redemptorist Fathers.

- 23 Brussels, Redemptorist Fathers.
 24 Aachen Cathedral.
 25-28 Witten, in Holland, Redemptorist Fathers.
 27 Cologne Cathedral.
 28-29 Munich Cathedral.

1922

- June 13 Death in Rome of Francesco Pitocchi, Redemptorist, formerly spiritual director of the Roman Seminary.

1924

- January 13-19 Retreat at Villa Carpegna, Rome.
 February 14 Mgr Vincenzo Bugarini, formerly Rector of the Roman Seminary, died in the home of Mgr Roncalli at Santa Maria in Via Lata.
 November Appointed Professor of patrology at the *Pontificio Ateneo Lateranense* (the Lateran University).

1925

- March 3 Appointed Apostolic Visitor in Bulgaria and raised to the episcopate with the title, *pro hac vice*, of Archbishop of Areopolis.
 13-17 Retreat at Villa Carpegna (Rome).
 19 Consecrated Bishop by Cardinal Giovanni Tacci, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Church, at San Carlo al Corso (Rome); assistant consecrating Bishops were Mgr Francesco Marchetti Selvaggiani and Mgr Giuseppe Palica.
 April 25 Began his residence in Sofia, Ulitza Lioulin, 3.
 August 26 Courtesy visit to the Holy Bulgarian Synod in Sofia, and meeting with the Metropolitan Stefan Gheorghiev.

1926

- November 27-December 2 Retreat in Rome at the monastery of St Paul, accompanied by Father Kurteff. Retreat given by the Abbot Ildefonso Schuster.

December 5 Present at the church of San Clemente in Rome at the episcopal consecration of Mgr Stefan Cyril Kurteff, Titular Bishop of Briula, Apostolic Exarch for the Bulgarian Catholics of the Byzantine rite in Bulgaria.

1927

August 20 Meeting with the Armenian Archbishop of Nicomedia, Primate of Bulgaria, Stépanosse Hovagnimian.¹

November 1-4 Guest of the seminary at Bressanone.
9-13 Retreat at Ljubljana in Slovenia, Jesuit House.

1928

December 20-24 Retreat at Babek on the Bosphorus, Istanbul, villa of the Lazarist Fathers. Immediately afterwards he began his Apostolic Visit to the Georgian Catholics of Turkey, which ended on 5 February, 1929.

1929

August 17 Czestochowa. Celebrated Mass in the national Marian shrine of Poland.

September 21 Sotto il Monte. Consecrated the parish church.

1930

April 28—May 4 Retreat at Rustchuk in Bulgaria, with the Passionist Fathers.

1931

June 18-21 Retreat at Bujukada (Istanbul) with the Conventual Franciscans.

September 26 Appointed first Apostolic Delegate to Bulgaria.

1933

September 4-8 Retreat at Sofia with the Capuchin Fathers.

¹ During the Audience granted to the Observers at the Second Vatican Council, on 13 October, 1962, John XXIII spoke of this priest (cf. *L'Osservatore Romano*, 14-15 October, 1962).

1934

- August 27-31 Retreat at Rustchuk in Bulgaria with the Passionist Fathers.
- September Sofia. President of the Congress of Byzantine studies.
- November 24 Transferred to the Apostolic Delegation to Turkey and Greece and appointed Apostolic Administrator of the Apostolic Vicariate of Istanbul.
- 30 His title *pro hac vice* Archbishop of Areopolis was changed to that of Archbishop of Mesembria.

1935

- January 4 Took leave of the Bulgarians.
- 5 Arrived at the Apostolic Delegation in Istanbul.
- May 3-12 First apostolic tour of Greece and the islands.
- June 13 In Turkey the government decrees prescribing lay attire for the clergy in public were announced.
- July 28 Death of his father, Battista Roncalli, at Sotto il Monte.
- December 15-22 Retreat in Istanbul.

1936

- January 12 Initiated Sunday catechetical instruction at the Cathedral and the recital of the Divine Praises in Turkish.
- April 18— Greece. He visited Corinth, Nauplia, Mycenae, May 29 Epidaurus, Delphi and Thebes in Boeotia. From 17-20 May on Mount Athos.
- Publication of the first volume of *Gli Atti della Visita Apostolica di San Carlo Borromeo a Bergamo* (see note p. xvi)
- October 13-16 Retreat at Ranica (Bergamo), villa of the Daughters of the Sacred Heart.

1937

- May 4-8 Visited the monasteries of Yalova, Gemlik and Bursa in Asia Minor. Also to Nicaea and to Mudanya.
- July 25 Consecrated Mgr Antonio Gregorio Vuccino, Bishop of Syra, Greece.

- August 7-30 Greece. Visited the islands of Tinos, Delos, Syra and Corfu. Then Patras, Aghis Laura, Olympia, Sparta, Messene and Tripolis. On board the ship *Kephallinia*, near Patras, he met the Greek Archbishop John Chrysostom Papadopoulos.
- December 12-18 Retreat in Istanbul.

1938

- January 30 Celebrations for the fifteenth centenary of the translation from Cappadocia to Istanbul of the remains of St John Chrysostom.
- February 20 Consecrated Mgr Giuseppe Descuffi Archbishop of Smyrna (Izmir).
- March 6 Began the pastoral Visitation of the Apostolic Vicariate of Istanbul.
- November 1-10 In Greece; visited Volos, the Meteora monasteries, Thebes and Chalcis.

1939

- February 20 Death of his mother, Marianna Mazzola, at Sotto il Monte.
- May 27 At the Phanar he paid an official visit to the Patriarch Benjamin, to thank him, in the name of the Holy See, for his participation in the mourning of the Catholic Church for the death of Pope Pius XI, and in the universal rejoicings for the election of Pius XII.
- June 1-6 Beirut. Cardinal Eugène Tisserant presided over the Eucharistic Congress.
- 7-10 Palestine: Jerusalem, Jaffa, Palmyra, Homs and Aleppo.
- July He published the volume, *Gli inizi del seminario di Bergamo e san Carlo Borromeo. Note storiche con una introduzione sul Concilio di Trento e la fondazione dei primi seminari*, Società Anonima Editrice S. Alessandro, Bergamo.
- November 12-18 Retreat at Istanbul with the Jesuit Fathers of Ayas Pasa.

1940

November 25— December 1 Retreat at Terapia (Istanbul) with the sisters of Our Lady of Sion.

1941

June 26—July 8 At Sofia. Meeting with the Orthodox Metropolitan Stefan.
 July 8—October 7 Visited war-devastated Greece. On 10 September met the Archbishop of Athens, Damaskinos.

1942

October 25-31 Retreat at the Delegation in Istanbul.

1944

December 6 Received confidential information of his appointment as Apostolic Nuncio to Paris.
 22 Nominated Apostolic Nuncio in France.
 23 Departure from Istanbul.
 24-27 Christmas at Ankara.
 27-28 Travelling by air via Cairo, Benghazi, Naples to Rome.
 29 Audience with Pius XII.
 30 Arrived at Orly airport, Paris.

1945

January 1 Presented his credentials. In the name of the Diplomatic Corps he offered New Year greetings to General Charles de Gaulle, President of the provisional government of the Republic.
 March 26-April 2 Retreat in the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes.
 June 22-27 Lyons, for the seventh centenary of the First Ecumenical Council of Lyons. Visited Ars and the Abbey of Cluny.
 September 18 Visited German prisoners of war at Chartres, paying special attention to the many seminarists among them. He supported the efforts of the heroic Abbé Franz Stock, and with the help of the Holy See and the

collaboration of generous priest instructors from Germany, he was able to start regular courses of theological studies and ecclesiastical training in that concentration camp.

1946

- June 11 Consecrated Mgr Alfredo Pacini, Titular Archbishop of Germia.
- August 15 Celebrated Pontifical Mass in the Marian shrine of Our Lady of La Salette (France).

1947

- December 8-13 At Clamart in 'Manresa', the country house of the Jesuit Fathers, for the annual retreat.

1948

- November 23-27 At En Calcat (Dourgne), a Benedictine monastery, for annual retreat.

1949

- June 29 Ordained forty-nine priests at Notre-Dame in Paris, during the vacancy caused by the death of Cardinal Emanuel Suhard.

1950

- February 15-23 In Belgium and Holland, staying at the Apostolic Nunciatures of Brussels and the Hague. Visited Namur, Louvain, Malines, Antwerp, Ghent, Bruges, Schoten, Amsterdam and Rotterdam.
- March 18-April 15 Visit to North Africa. Arrived at Algiers in the m.v. *La Ville d'Oran* on 19 March, twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration as Bishop.
- April 6-9 Retreat at Oran, in the Bishop's palace.
- 16-20 Visited various places and shrines in Spain.
- November 1 Rome. Present at the proclamation of the dogma of the Assumption of Mary.

1952

- April 10-12 Retreat at Montmartre in Paris, at the Convent of the Carmelite Nuns.
- August 30—
September 1 Visited Savoy for the 350th anniversary of St Francis de Sales' consecration as Bishop.
- November 10 Because of the grave illness of the Patriarch of Venice, Pius XII asked Mgr Roncalli to accept promotion to that See, when it should fall vacant.
- 29 Announcement of his promotion to the Cardinalate.
- December 28 Death of Mgr Carlo Agostini, Patriarch of Venice.

1953

- January 12 Created a Cardinal.
- 15 Received his Cardinal's *biretta* from Vincent Auriol, President of the French Republic. On the same day Pius XII announced in Consistory the promotion of the new Cardinal to the Patriarchate of Venice.
- March 15 On *Laetare* Sunday (the fourth Sunday in Lent) celebrated Mass at the altar of the Blessed Gregory Barbarigo in the Cathedral of Padua. In the afternoon made his solemn entrance into Venice.
- May 15-21 Retreat at Fietta del Grappa with the Episcopate of the Three Venetias.
- August 26 Bergamo. Consecrated as Bishop Mgr Giacomo Testa, Apostolic Delegate in Turkey and Greece, Titular Archbishop of European Heraclea.
- September 11-13 Turin. Took part in the National Eucharistic Congress. In the evening of 11 September, at the Alfieri Theatre, gave a talk on the subject 'The Eucharist as the foundation of social solidarity and peace'.
- 20 Venice. In the Carmelite church consecrated his auxiliary, Mgr Augusto Gianfranceschi, Titular Bishop of Emeria.
- 26 Somasco (Bergamo). Consecrated the altar of the chapel dedicated to 'Mary, Mother of Orphans'.
- 27 Piacenza. Consecrated Bishop Silvio Oddi, Apostolic Delegate to Jerusalem and Palestine, Titular Archbishop of Mesembria.
- October 29 Castel Gandolfo. Received his Cardinal's hat.

1954

- February 28 Began his pastoral visitation of the diocese of Venice.
 May 28-June 1 Rome. Present at the canonization of St Pius X.
 June 6-12 Retreat at Torreglia (Padua) with the Bishops of the
 Three Venetias.
 29 Set his spiritual testament in order and made
 various arrangements, which were further revised at
 different times, until the final note of 12 September,
 1961.
- July 8-15 Lourdes. Took part in the pilgrimage from the
 Three Venetias.
 16-28 Pilgrimage in Spain.
 29 Stopped at the Abbey of Saint-Michel de Cuxa
 (Perpignan, France) to venerate the relics of the
 Venetian Doge, St Peter Orseolo.
- August 29 Crowned the Madonna del Bosco (at Imbersago,
 Como).
- October 20-31 The Lebanon. Papal Legate at the National Marian
 Congress at Beirut.

1955

- May 20-25 Retreat at Torreglia (Padua) with the episcopate of
 the Three Venetias.
 September 5 Inaugurated the celebrations for the fifth centenary
 of the death of St Lawrence Giustiniani.

1956

- May 4 Lecce, Fifteenth National Eucharistic Congress.
 Spoke on the theme 'The Holy Eucharist and Social
 Life'.
 9-15 Fatima. Present at the national celebrations of the
 twenty-fifth anniversary of the consecration of
 Portugal to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. In
 Lisbon, visited the Italian colony and the Patriarchal
 Seminary.
- June 11-15 Retreat with his clergy in the seminary in Venice.
 September 5 Close of the celebrations for the fifth centenary of
 St Lawrence Giustiniani, which were honoured