

## Expressing Papal Constancy. Media Attention and the Funeral of Pope John Paul II (1978-2005)\*

*Dominic Olariu*

### INTRODUCTION

“And why does death interest us? This is the secret of life”.<sup>1</sup> The death of the highest Pontiff, in centuries, is primarily an event affecting a wide segment of Christian society. This article analyses the funeral of Pope John Paul II, in April 2005, and aspects of the transitory nature and continuation of the pontifical status associated with it, whilst also examining the massive media attention the funeral attracted. I will attempt to show that the extremely intense interest of the media was predictable and was utilised by the Holy See in order to promulgate the concept of pontifical and, therefore, ecclesiastical continuation, and perhaps even to prepare for the canonisation of this Pope.

As discussed below, the Pope's funeral was at that time the most widely broadcast or publicised event that had ever been held and, in this sense, represented a unique phenomenon. However, in its reference to ancient funeral rites on which it was based, the ceremony also represents an epitome of ecclesiastic self-imaging. Since this essay focuses on the tension between elements of ecclesiastic caducity and glorification and, furthermore, on the efficacy of the lying-in-state of the corpse for propagating a specific image of the Church via the mass media, it adopts an interdisciplinary perspective, combining approaches from visual culture with aspects of papal history and drawing also on what has been referred to as an anthropology of images.<sup>2</sup>

Thanatological studies as well as historical and cultural research of the papal body have, in the last decades, changed our understanding of the general phenomenon of the lying-in-state of senior dignitaries in Western societies and, in particular, that of the popes.<sup>3</sup> First and foremost Agostino Paravicini Bagliani's fundamental investigations have demonstrated how and why since the thirteenth century the pope's body has become the recipient of rituals of papal humbling and glorification.<sup>4</sup> In spite of these innovative approaches, to date there has been no analysis of the ceremonial strategy and the specific elements of Pope Wojtyła's funeral; likewise there has been no analysis of the role played by single protagonists or units with regard to the organisation and execution of the funeral. This is not surprising as the Vatican did not officially disclose any precise information regarding specific details of the ceremony. For instance, the Vatican appears to have established a tacit correlation, ex-



tending well beyond the obsequies, between John Paul II and Pope John XXIII, whose embalmed body is on permanent display inside St. Peter's Basilica. However, it has failed to explain the specific purpose of this association. A nuanced elucidation of the Vatican's position regarding its own image as mirrored in the ceremony and made widely public would be highly valuable for a better understanding of Vatican policy with regard to media presence and presentation.

The approach of the present study echoes the lack of comprehensive information from the Holy See regarding its intentions when it sanctioned widespread media coverage of the funeral of John Paul II. Thus, the study relies on sources from the mass media and from secondary studies. In so doing, the present study reflects the public reception of the funeral and, therefore, the public image of the Catholic Church.

#### UNIQUE PUBLIC ATTENTION REGARDING THE FUNERAL CEREMONY OF JOHN PAUL II

The funeral of Pope John Paul II, which took place on 8 April 2005, has remained in the memory of the general public (fig. 102). On that day, believers worldwide gathered in churches and in front of public screens to pay their last tribute to the Pontiff. Everywhere, enormous projection screens were installed, 27 alone in the streets and squares around the Vatican, and in various gathering places such as the Colosseum.<sup>5</sup> In Rome, close to one million people attended the event. While the Vatican admitted it was impossible to provide the exact number of radio and television stations that were broadcasting the funeral service, it can be stated that 137 stations from 81 countries had requested permission for the live televising of the farewell mass from the Pontifical Council for Social Communications.<sup>6</sup> *Radio Vatican's* live programme was broadcast by several hundred stations in Europe and the Americas, in seven different languages, offering an alternative to the televised event.<sup>7</sup> Additionally, all those who were unable to follow the live broadcast could at least view photos and programmes recorded on the Internet via their computer screens, as well as recorded videotapes.

In terms of those attending the funeral mass, press attention was chiefly focused on the exceptionally high number of pilgrims and on the wide range of official invitees, mostly consisting of high-ranking religious figures and politicians. Among those present at Holy Mass were 169 foreign delegations including statesmen and women, four kings and five queens, 70 heads of state and government, and dozens of ministers and ambassadors.<sup>8</sup> Regarding the clergy, 157 cardinals celebrated the funeral mass, accompanied by 700 bishops, 3,000 prelates, and some 300 other priests, who distributed Holy Communion.<sup>9</sup> According to estimates by the Italian Government, from 4 to 7 April, some 21,000 visitors an hour crossed the threshold of St. Peter's Basilica to honor the body of John Paul II resting in front of the main altar, which was equivalent to an average of 350 visitors a minute. The pilgrims spent on average 13



hours waiting in queues, the longest of which measured five kilometres with waiting times of up to 24 hours.<sup>10</sup> More than three million pilgrims had made their way to Rome by 8 April 2005, and two billion viewers watched the live broadcast of the funeral mass on television or recordings of it throughout the same day.<sup>11</sup> Undoubtedly, the passing of John Paul II attracted unprecedented media attention.

#### ENORMOUS FASCINATION FOR FUNERALS OF CELEBRITIES

That said, during the twentieth century, other funerals had attracted enormous crowds. For instance, one million spectators witnessed the exhibition of Mao Zedong on his catafalque in September 1976 on Tiananmen Square. The funeral of Ayatollah Khomeini in June 1989 attracted several million and, in March 1953, the lying-in-state of Joseph Stalin was attended by five million visitors – if Kremlin statistics are to be believed.<sup>12</sup> However, prior to the broadcasting of the obsequies for John Paul II, only the funeral service held on 6 September 1997 at Westminster Abbey, London, for Princess Diana, who had died on 31 August, had hitherto attracted an equally vast television audience as for John Paul II in April 2005. Two, possibly two and a half, billion viewers in 187 countries watched the funerary ceremony for Diana.<sup>13</sup> More recently, the funeral of Michael Jackson on 7 July 2009, is believed to have attracted a still larger television audience.<sup>14</sup> In point of fact, the funerals of John Paul II, Princess Diana and Michael Jackson are those that have generated the most media attention of all time.

These figures illustrate the enormous fascination the general public has with the funerals of celebrities and dignitaries. Furthermore, the mentioned statistics reveal that the enormous media interest in the pope's ceremony was to be anticipated. On the one hand, Wojtyła had effectively contributed to attracting significant media curiosity in his person by his efforts to connect with Christians around the world. The "Marathon Pope", as he was nicknamed, had travelled around 1.16 million kilometres on his trips to 129 countries worldwide, and about one billion people, namely one sixth of the world population at that time, had seen him *realiter in persona*.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the media were expecting to make enormous financial gains by broadcasting Wojtyła's requiem. Indeed, CNN, Sky News, BBC World and RAI benefited hugely in financial terms from the pontiff's funeral mass.<sup>16</sup>

#### PONTIFICAL FUNERAL CEREMONY AND THE CONTINUITY OF THE PAPACY

The Pontifical Council for Social Communications of the Vatican has, in several statements made since 1989, confirmed its awareness of the effects of various forms of media attention.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, in his Apostolic Letter "The Rapid Development" of 24 January 2005, John Paul II discussed the benefits and dangers of mass media, while at the same time stressing the importance of the media for evangelisation purposes.<sup>18</sup> As he noted, "in fact, the Church is



not only called upon to use the mass media to spread the Gospel but, today more than ever, to integrate the message of salvation into the 'new culture' that these powerful means of communication create and amplify".<sup>19</sup> Therefore, it is possible to suggest that the public image in the media of John Paul II's funeral was strategically planned.

As far as the funeral ceremony of John Paul II is concerned, it is possible to argue that public curiosity in ancient rituals, rooted in archaic burial traditions, was an additional and powerful factor underlying the intense media attention. Indeed, the Vatican may have had a particular interest in publicising age-old funeral rituals. In covering the funeral of John Paul II, the media emphasized the rituals in the wake of a papal death. Media coverage conjured up the "magic of ancient rituals of the church", something that did not fail to stir the curiosity of the general public (fig. 103).<sup>20</sup> For example, the triple coffin of the pontiff and the silk fanon, which covered his face, were intensely commented on and shown in the media.<sup>21</sup> Triple coffins – the outer part was made of walnut or pine wood, the middle part zinc and the interior part cypress wood – were already recommended for use in the fourteenth century by the surgeon Guy de Chauliac, and their use can be explained by the hydrophilic effect of cypress wood and lead and the solidity of walnut and pine wood.<sup>22</sup> The veil used to cover the face of John Paul II was traditionally used with rites for senior ecclesiastics and royalty. The French patriarch Pierre Ameil (1340 c.-1401) refers to it in his funeral ceremonial *Ordo Romanus XV*; and in 1609 the historian André du Chesne relates this same funerary custom, adopted by the kings of France, to an imitation of the veil that is said to have covered the face of Christ.<sup>23</sup>

These ancient rites may be perceived as additional catalysts for the "media construction of collective rituals", to cite the title of an essay by Joan Kristin Bleicher.<sup>24</sup> Bleicher takes the broadcast of Princess Diana's funeral as a paradigm for an analysis of the phenomenon of mass mourning when amplified by mass media. This phenomenon, she argues, depends on the degree of familiarity of the deceased person. "Stars are the mythological half-gods of the twentieth century. [...] The mass media assign the status of celebrities to certain individuals and make them protagonists of their narrative".<sup>25</sup>

Mass mourning is an ancient and well-known phenomenon. It may be viewed from different perspectives, but socio-psychological studies understand it as an important element during the transitory period to the successor. At the beginning of the last century, Robert Hertz affirmed, "in a given society, the shock caused by death varies a great deal in intensity depending on the social status of the deceased. In the case of the death of a leader or a high dignitary, a veritable panic seizes the entire group".<sup>26</sup>

According to Hertz, death not only ends the corporal existence but, at the same time, destroys the social being imprinted on or, in other words, projected onto the physical individual. This social being is shaped by society through rites of consecration, involving extensive effort proportional to the social significance of the deceased. Its annihilation, on the contrary, amounts for a society to a kind of sacrilege. "With the death of a human being, a society thus not



only loses one of its members, rather its fundamental vision of life itself is affected, its self-confidence as such".<sup>27</sup>

By analogy, I would like to suggest, the old rites that were observed during Wojtyła's funeral contributed to managing the loss of the social being of the papacy, projected onto the pontiff. At the same time, they displayed the capacity and, in particular, the continuity of the papacy. The widespread broadcasting of the funeral of Pope John Paul II intensified both these aspects, namely the exhibition of rites, enhancing mass mourning, as well as the continuation of the papacy. The actual papal funeral ceremonial acts observe ancient rites since they are "ancient custom", as it specifies.<sup>28</sup> Regardless of the internal reasons why the Vatican followed ancient customs, the public display of John Paul II and the reference to old traditions during the mass mourning, had to be perceived as a reference to the continuation of the pontifical institution despite the death of the pontiff.

Similarly, in the twentieth century anthropological studies of funerary rites has led researchers to interpret the ancient royal funeral effigies as physical embodiments of the process explained by Hertz, namely a soothing response to mass mourning.<sup>29</sup> Royal effigies, hyperrealist portrait-mannequins of the monarchs made of wax and other substances, were embodiments of the concept of kingdom. They were employed after the passing of French and English kings during the interregnum, namely until the appointment of a successor, from the beginning of the fourteenth century onwards for several centuries. Carlo Ginzburg has argued that from an anthropological and psychological perspective, the effigies served during the interregnum to prepare mourners to bear the unbearable.<sup>30</sup>

In addition to this psychological effect, Ernst Kantorowicz, drawing on juristic discussions of the later Middle Ages, has argued that the royal effigies embodied the social being of the kingdom. As he put it, "the king has two bodies, one physical, which is destined to perish, the other institutional, which is perpetuated in the kingdom".<sup>31</sup> By contrast, "the pope did not have two bodies or substances like a king, but only a natural body, that is born and dies".<sup>32</sup>

In a similar vein, Joëlle Rollo-Koster, in her studies with regard to the funeral ceremony formulated by the aforementioned patriarch Pierre Ameil, as well as in her article in the present volume, interprets the lying-in-state of the deceased pontiff's body as the display of the social being of the pontifical institution, incorporated in the corpse. The papal ceremonial *Ordo Romanus XV*, written by Ameil between 1378 and 1389, required for the first time the pope's embalmed body to be publicly exposed during the funeral, which since that time lasts nine days and is called *novemdiale*. Rollo-Koster interprets the fact that the exposition of the pope's corpse had been integrated into the pontifical ceremonial symbolised the transformation of "the dead man pope into an institutional object".<sup>33</sup> During the exposition, the pontifical remains functioned as the union of the physical body with the institutional being, namely the papacy.

As I understand Rollo-Koster, the pope's body was comparable in its psy-



chological effect to the royal effigies during the interregnum. It emphasised the transience of each individual pope, but at the same time soothed the intensity of mass mourning and, through the rites observed during the funeral ceremony, accentuated the continuity of the institution of the papacy. The public display of the pontiff's body thus amounted not only to being an exposition of the corpse of the deceased individual but also to a public manifestation of the institution of the papacy. Generally, Kantorowicz's theory of the king's two bodies has been contested with regard to the institution of the papacy and the pope. But in spite of the fact that jurisprudence of the later Middle Ages did not discuss the two bodies of the pope, the exposition of his embalmed corpse, in a sense, hinted at the very fact that the papacy continued in his flesh or, at least, that the continuation of the papacy through the election of a new pontiff was imminent.

#### THE TRADITION OF LYING-IN-STATE

The public exposition of the remains of high dignitaries has been a constant practice in Western tradition since at least the beginning of the thirteenth century, following a first millennium of complete disinterest for this subject in Western Christian culture. The moment of this transition is easy to identify: the thanatopractice of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is rather well documented in Western Europe. The funerals, as part of which the corpse was publicly exposed, increased their duration, and a sophisticated mortuary ceremonial accompanied the remains.<sup>34</sup>

In the beginning, the practice of lying-in-state was restricted to those from within the higher echelons of society, but was soon expanded to those individuals who died in an odour of sanctity. The lying-in-state of St Bernardino of Siena is such an example. After his demise in 1444, his body was openly presented to the faithful for worship in the Cathedral of L'Aquila for no less than twenty-six days. Another impressive case regards the circumstances linked to the death mask of St Francis of Paola. In 1507, the painter Jean Bourdichon is reported to have taken a cast of the saint's face, who had died 12 days earlier at the Minim monastery at Plessis outside Tours in France and whose body had remained intact. A notarial document states that

"It was Jean Bourdichon whom the Queen charged to make the portrait of the holy man, as the artist himself testified in the minutes of the canonisation dated to the year 1513. He says that he made a cast of his features, which had remained unchanged for twelve days, in order to paint them more exactly".<sup>35</sup>

The handbook of the surgeon Louis Penicher, published in 1699, demonstrates how common the practice of lying-in-state was, since it features multiple descriptions of various individuals displayed in public from the fifteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.<sup>36</sup>

Common practice since the thirteenth century, the public lying-in-state of the pontiff's body continues into the present. Over time, it has been subject to



variations with regard to certain details and each public exposition of the pontifical remains must be analysed in the light of its historical and cultural context. However, the aspects of glorification and continuation were always a central part of the public lying-in-state.<sup>37</sup> Pope John Paul II himself confirmed the use of the nine-day period of the *novemdiale* in his Apostolic Constitution *Universi Dominici Gregis* from 1996.<sup>38</sup> There, he also refers to the new funeral ceremonial *Ordo Exsequiarum Romani Pontificis*, written by Archbishop and then papal Master of Ceremonies Piero Marini, finished only in 1998 and published in 2000.<sup>39</sup> There, the *novemdiale* is called “an ancient consuetude” and, for instance, the translocation of the corpse from the “papal house” to St. Peter’s Basilica is said to “follow the consuetude of the Liturgical Celebrations of the Highest Pontiff”.<sup>40</sup> Although this *Ordo* provides general instructions on how to proceed during the obsequies, it leaves sufficient margin to vary details of the ceremony.<sup>41</sup> Thus, it was possible to present the funeral of John Paul II to the public in such a way as to highlight the fact that it was rooted in ancient traditions, and as an expression of the continuity of the papacy.

#### THE BODY OF JOHN XXIII ON PERMANENT DISPLAY

The exposition of the remains of John Paul II is closely linked with another mortuary tradition, namely the permanent display of a dignitary’s body, as practised for the remains of Pope John XXIII since Pentecost 2001 inside St. Peter’s Basilica (fig. 104, pl. XVIII). Perfectly embalmed and displayed to the curious visitor in a Snow-White-like crystal coffin, the body of John XXIII was publicly exposed for the first time on the 3 June 2001 on St. Peter’s Square, thirty-eight years to the day after his death. One cannot but assume that the choice of date was perfectly coordinated.<sup>42</sup> For the *Papa buono*, as he was called during his lifetime, had been beatified ten months to the day earlier. Furthermore, 3 June 2001 was Pentecost Sunday and John Paul II said mass while at the same time paid a tribute to John XXIII. The importance of this event was underscored by the very fact that it was the first exhibition of a papal body to take place in the open air after a very long time, namely after the lying-in-state of John Paul I in 1978.

John’s XXIII permanent display deliberately established a conceptual analogy with other pontiffs exhibited in glass shrines. These popes enjoy a particular veneration, since Celestine V (d. 1296) and Pius X (d. 1914) were canonised and Innocent XI (d. 1689) was beatified.<sup>43</sup> Thus, by permanently displaying the remains of John XXIII in a glass shrine, his body was consciously identified with those of highly revered popes. I would suggest that this kind of public exposition had the effect of increasing veneration for John XXIII. This effect must be considered all the more significant because the displaying of bodies in glass shrines is a general practice often used for saints, such as for the bodies of Bernadette Soubirous or St James of the Marches.<sup>44</sup> Only recently, this very practice has been repeated by displaying the incorrupt bodies of St Padre Pio and St Leopold Mandic inside glass shrines for a celebration of the Jubilee of Mercy, on 5 February 2016, in the sanctuary of St. Peter’s Basilica.



As far as Pope John XXIII is concerned, an analogy with Rollo-Koster's interpretation of Pierre Ameil's concept regarding the lying-in-state seems plausible. The aim of the Vatican in its public display of Pope John XXIII's body in a perfect and, as such, extremely exceptional state of physical conservation is, I would argue, to symbolise the constancy of the papacy. In its shrine, the corpse is presented as an intact body, its facial expression thoughtfully fixed in a state reminiscent of eternal and blissful sleep (fig. 105). A layer of wax applied on the visage, indistinguishable to the unacquainted observer, highlights the freshness of the physiognomy, transforming it into the countenance of an almost unearthly protagonist imbued with faith and certainty of good things to come. Seen from this angle, one cannot but perceive this body as a deliberate demonstration by the Vatican of the living and enduring nature of the institution of the papacy.

#### THE CANONISATION OF JOHN PAUL II

As I have tried to show, the display of the corpse of Pope John Paul II was meant to be associated with the idea of pontifical constancy. This interpretation is all the more obvious because the very idea of papal constancy was previously formulated with regard to the permanent display of John XXIII. In addition, media attention on Wojtyła's funeral ceremony prepared the way for the pontiff's beatification and canonisation. Theologian and cultural historian Hubertus Lutterbach has analysed the diverse effects that the intense media attention given to the exposition of John Paul II had on the followers of this event. He notes the creation of the conviction that "the body of the conservative pope will be subjected to a conservation for all eternity" and that the pope would continue to live despite his death.<sup>45</sup> Lutterbach cites the strikingly high number of newspaper articles which discussed the "survival" of the pope after his death.<sup>46</sup> He concludes that the pope was related to the underlying public idea of a "God's man".<sup>47</sup> Moreover, these articles point to the way in which the idea of pontifical constancy was actually being promoted and, crucially, they also show the extent to which the media endowed John Paul II with supernatural powers. The latter association certainly played an essential role in the early demand by the public for the canonisation of the pope.

Obviously, it would be wrong to attribute the public requests for John Paul II's canonisation solely to the media attention given to his funeral. However, intense public attention as well as the analogy established between the exhibited bodies of John Paul II, John XXIII and the bodies of other venerated popes were, I would argue, decisive in propagating a glorified vision of the "Marathon Pope". Benedict XVI started the beatification of John Paul II after only 87 days, despite the fact that Vatican rules require a waiting time of at least five years. The association established between John Paul II and John XXIII is confirmed, well after the obsequies of John Paul II, by the fact that both popes were canonised at the same time in a joint celebration, the first of this kind to ever take place, on 27 March 2014.



## CONCLUSION

“Why death? Because death is the extreme. He who controls it controls extremely [...]”.<sup>48</sup> Maurice Blanchot’s statement seems in hindsight somewhat programmatic with respect to the display of the body of John Paul II. The Vatican seems to have utilised this pontiff’s death to underscore the rootedness of the papacy in old traditions, and thus its future continuation through time. The body of John Paul II was the key to this conceptual agenda. There is an intrinsic simultaneous reference to death and to life, to cessation and continuation in displaying a dead body. This very concept seems to have been employed by Pierre Ameil as early as the late fourteenth century in prolonging the duration of the public display of the pope’s dead body. This very idea has been strengthened by the Vatican since the beginning of the new millennium through the display of the perfectly embalmed and seemingly incorruptible body of Pope John XXIII, and, finally, by the media coverage of the displayed remains of John Paul II during that incredible week in April 2005.

## NOTES

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<sup>1</sup> D. Laferrière, *L’Odeur du café*, Montreal 2001<sup>2</sup> [Montreal 1991], p. 66. Author’s translation.

<sup>2</sup> H. Belting, *An Anthropology of Images: Picture, Medium, Body*, EN tr. by T. Dunlap, Princeton 2011; ed. orig. *Bild-Anthropologie. Entwürfe für eine Bildwissenschaft*, Munich 2001.

<sup>3</sup> A. Paravicini Bagliani, *The Pope’s Body*, EN tr. by D.S. Peterson, Chicago 1999; ed. orig. *Il corpo del papa*, Turin 1994. To this larger context also belong the somewhat older investigations on the two bodies of the king provided by E. Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, Princeton 1957; R.E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France*, Geneva 1960; A. Boureau, *Le simple corps du roi. L’impossible sacralité des souverains français – XV<sup>e</sup>-XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris 1988; K. Marek, *Die Körper des Königs. Effigies, Bildpolitik und Heiligkeit*, Paderborn 2009 with bibliographical references. On the dead body, see in particular P. Ariès, *The Hour of our Death: The Classic History of Western Attitudes toward Death over the last one Thousand Years*, EN tr. by H. Weaver, New York 1991; ed. orig. *L’Homme devant la mort*, Paris 1977; Id., *Western Attitudes toward Death from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Baltimore 1974, ch “Tamed Death”, pp. 1-25; Id., *Images of Man and Death*, EN tr. by J. Lloyd, Cambridge 1985, ch “From Home to Grave”, pp. 94-138; ed. orig. *Images de l’homme devant la mort*, Paris 1983; J. Le Goff, N. Truong, *Une Histoire du corps au Moyen Âge*, Paris 2003, ch “Vivre et mourir au Moyen Âge”, pp. 97-144.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to his *Pope’s Body*, also see A. Paravicini Bagliani, M. A. Visceglia, *Il Conclave. Continuità e mutamenti dal Medioevo a oggi*, Rome 2018 (La storia. Temi, 66), ch “La morte del papa”, pp. 149-218. Also see the concise explanations of these rites in A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il papato e altre invenzioni. Frammenti di cronaca dal Medioevo a papa Francesco*, Florence 2014 (mediEVI, 5), ch “I. I funerali di Giovanni Paolo II. 1. L’antico rituale in morte dei papi”.

<sup>5</sup> For these numbers, see S. de Ravinel, *Ces autres obsèques qui déplacèrent les foules*, in “Le Figaro”, Saturday, 9 April (2005), p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> The Pontifical Council for Social Communications, a media council at the Vatican, deals with questions relating to the means of social communication and with all social media issues. Its beginnings date back to 1948, the year when Pope Pius XII founded the Pontifical Commission for Educational and Religious Cinema. I do not know any publication investigating this institution from outside the Vatican. For an overview of its history, see *A Brief Outline and History of the Pontifical Council for Social Communications*, in “The Holy See”, date nd, <[http://www.vatican.va/roman\\_curia/pontifical\\_councils/pccs/documents/rc\\_pc\\_pccs\\_pro\\_14101999\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/pontifical_councils/pccs/documents/rc_pc_pccs_pro_14101999_en.html)> (4 August 2019).

<sup>7</sup> See the statistics provided by the Holy See Press Office and published on 13 April 2005: *Vatican Reveals Surprising Statistics on Funeral Mass of John Paul II*, in “Catholic News Agency”, 13 April



2005, <[https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/vatican\\_reveals\\_surprising\\_statistics\\_on\\_funeral\\_mass\\_of\\_john\\_paul\\_ii](https://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/vatican_reveals_surprising_statistics_on_funeral_mass_of_john_paul_ii)> (4 August 2019).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*; A. Barluet, *Un Sommet diplomatique improvisé qui a réconcilié les ennemis d'hier*, in "Le Figaro", Saturday, 9 April (2005), pp. 8-9.

<sup>9</sup> Catholic News Agency, *Vatican reveals ...*, cit.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> For these numbers, S. de Ravinel, *Ces autres obsèques ...*, cit.

<sup>13</sup> M. Weinberg, *Mourning a Princess*, in "BBC", 31 August 1997, <[http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/witness/august/31/newsid\\_3186000/3186299.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/witness/august/31/newsid_3186000/3186299.stm)> (4 August 2019).

<sup>14</sup> According to the following estimation: Admin, *Michael Jackson Funeral Tops Pope John Paul II as No. 1 Media*, in "The Global Language Monitor", 8 July 2009, <<https://www.languagemonitor.com/news/michael-jackson-funeral-tops-pope-john-paul-ii-as-no-1-media/>> (4 August 2019).

<sup>15</sup> N. Potzl, *Der Menschenfischer*, in "Spiegel Geschichte", IV (2012), pp. 134-137: 136.

<sup>16</sup> According to the statements of the following site hosted by the French Catholic Church, Infocatho, *Peut-on généraliser le sens des audimats ?*, in "FlashPress – Infocatho", 16 April 2005, <[http://infocatho.cef.fr/fichiers\\_html/archives/deuxmilcinqsem/semaine15/25nx15eglisek.html](http://infocatho.cef.fr/fichiers_html/archives/deuxmilcinqsem/semaine15/25nx15eglisek.html)> (4 August 2019).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. *supra*, note 6.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of precisely John Paul II's ambition to make use of the mass media, see P. Anyidoho, *Pope John Paul II and Media Effects Theory: Audiences and Messages Interface*, in "International Journal of Scientific Footprints", IV (2016), 2, pp. 1-11.

<sup>19</sup> *The Rapid Development*, Apostolic Letter, 24 January 2005, <[https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost\\_letters/2005/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_apl\\_20050124\\_il-rapido-sviluppo.html](https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/2005/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_20050124_il-rapido-sviluppo.html)> (4 August 2019).

<sup>20</sup> See for instance H. Yannou, *Un Rituel funéraire simplifié depuis Paul VI*, in "Le Figaro", 4 April (2005), p. 3; R. Krieger, *Der Fischerring ist zerbrochen*, in "Handelsblatt", 4 April (2005), p. 4; I. Fisher, *With High Praise and Tight Security, Pope is Laid to Rest*, in "Herald Tribune", 9-10 April (2005), pp. 1, 5: p. 5. Quote from *Große Gesten, kühne Auftritte*, in «n-tv.de», 31 March 2006, <<https://www.n-tv.de/politik/dossier/Papst-Johannes-Paul-II-article176993.html>> (4 August 2019).

<sup>21</sup> For instance: *Del luto a la fuma blanca*, in "Diez Minutos", no. 2800 (2005), pp. 46-47: 46; A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Des Défunts bien conservés*, in "Notre Histoire. Hors Série. Jean-Paul II", April (2005), p. 65; H. Yannou, *Un Rituel ...*, cit.

<sup>22</sup> G. de Chauliac, *Regimen custodiae corporum mortuorum*, in *Guidonis de Cauliaco in arte medica exercitissimi Chirurgia*, VI, Lugduni, Sebastianus de Honoratis 1559, doctrine I, ch VIII, p. 339: "Et in capsula plumbea ponatur bene clausa et limitata cum ferro calido. In qua capsula ponantur herbarie odorifere, rosae, maiorana, menta, balsamita; aut in capsula de cypresso, aut de nogerio; et firmetur". For the triple coffin, see also A. Gurugé, *The Next Pope: After Pope Benedict XVI*, New Hampshire 2010, p. 77. See also the excellent commentaries on the actual funeral ceremonial, Parish of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme: *Il Conclave*, date nd, <<http://www.conclave.it/leggevigente.php?id=parteprimacap5par28>> (4 August 2019).

<sup>23</sup> M. Dykmans, *Le Cérémonial papal de la fin du Moyen âge à la Renaissance*, 4 voll.s, Brussels, Rome 1977-1985, IV, *Le Retour à Rome ou le cérémonial du patriarche Pierre Ameil*, Brussels 1985 (Bibliothèque de l'Institut historique belge de Rome 36), p. 247: "faciem velatam cum velo de serico". A. du Chesne, *Les Antiquitez et recherches de la grandeur de maiesté des Roys de France [...] divisées en III Livres*, Paris, Jean Petit-Pas 1609, I, bk. 3, VI, bk. 2, p. 535. Following Du Chesne, Charlemagne, the model of the French kings, had "un suaire sur la teste le quel suaire couvroit le visage". For other examples, see D. Olariu, *Genèse de la représentation ressemblante de l'homme. Reconsidérations du portrait à partir du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Bern 2014, pp. 130-133. As A. Paravicini Bagliani reminds us, many of the rites observed during papal ceremonies were imitations of imperial rites. See A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il papato e altri invenzioni ...*, cit., chs. "I. I funerali di Giovanni Paolo II. 1. L'antico rituale in morte dei papi" and "2. I novendiali di Gregorio X"; Id., *Pope's Body ...*, cit., pp. 23-24, 35, 86, 95, 136, 146, 220-221.

<sup>24</sup> J.K. Bleicher, *Prinzessin Diana. Mediale Konstruktion kollektiver Rituale*, in "Zentrum für Medien und Kommunikationswissenschaft an der Universität Hamburg News SS 98", Hamburg 1998, pp. 30-34.

<sup>25</sup> Id., *Fernsehen als Mythos: Poetik eines narrativen Erkenntnissystems*, Opladen 1999, pp. 301-302.

<sup>26</sup> R. Hertz, *Mélanges de sociologie religieuse et folklore*, Paris 1928, p. 81. Author's translation.



<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84. Author's translation.

<sup>28</sup> P. Marinus, *Ordo Exsequiarum Romani Pontificis*, Vatican City 2000. This wording appears several times, for instance with regard to the *novendiale*, ch 133, p. 202: "*antica consuetudine*". Cf. *infra*, notes 39-42.

<sup>29</sup> On royal effigies, cf. *supra* note 3.

<sup>30</sup> The idea is described in C. Ginzburg, *Représentation. Le mot, l'idée, la chose*, in Id., (edited by), *À distance. Neuf essais sur le point de vue en histoire*, Paris 2001, pp. 73-88: 79; ed. orig. in "Annales", XLVI (1991), pp. 1219-1234. See also D. Olariu, *Genèse ...*, cit., ch "La dépouille et l'évocation de présence", pp. 378-380.

<sup>31</sup> A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Pope's Body...*, cit. p. XVI.

<sup>32</sup> R. Elze, *Sic transit gloria mundi: la morte del papa nel medioevo*, in "Annali dell'istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento" III (1977), pp. 23-41: 36. Citation from A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Pope's Body*, cit. p. XV.

<sup>33</sup> See the article by J. Rollo-Koster (*Un ou deux corps ? La mort du pape dans un cérémonial de la fin du Moyen Âge*) in this book. See also Ead., *Death of Clergymen: Popes and Cardinals' Death Rituals*, in Ead. (edited by), *Death in Medieval Europe: Death Scripted and Death Choreographed*, London 2016, pp. 164-185.

<sup>34</sup> See the explanations of the *novena*, corresponding to the here-mentioned *novendiale*, by A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Pope's Body ...*, cit., pp. 144-146, where he explains that the period of public exposition of the body was extended from one to nine days during the thirteenth century. On the first documented exposition of a pope's corpse, that of Pope Innocent III (d. 1216), see *ibid.*, pp. 122-123. Furthermore, see A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il papato e altre invenzioni ...*, cit., ch "L'antico rituale in morte dei papi", for the expositions of Innocent III and King Philip II of France (d. 1223). For the exposition of Philip II of France and the exposition and embalming of King Louis VIII of France (d. 1226), see D. Olariu, *Embaumement. Une archéologie de la ressemblance*, in Id., *Genèse ...*, cit., pp. 81-210: 98-112.

<sup>35</sup> Author's translation. For these two public displays, see D. Olariu, *Genèse ...*, cit., pp. 138-139, 229-230, 234-235, 241.

<sup>36</sup> L. Penicher, *Traité des embaumements selon les anciens et modernes, avec une description de quelques compositions balsamiques et odorantes*, Paris 1699.

<sup>37</sup> For this point, A. Paravicini Bagliani, *Il papato e altri invenzioni ...*, cit., pp. 6-9: "I *novendiali* rendevano possibile l'autenticazione pubblica della salma, una devozione popolare prolungata, e certo anche la glorificazione del defunto".

<sup>38</sup> The English text of the Constitution, 22 February 1996, <[http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost\\_constitutions/documents/hf\\_jp-ii\\_apc\\_22021996\\_universi-dominici-gregis.html](http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_22021996_universi-dominici-gregis.html)> (4 August 2019). For this constitution, see also A. Gurugé, *Next Pope ...*, cit., pp. 53-80.

<sup>39</sup> P. Marinus, *Ordo Exsequiarum ...*, cit. On the rites concerning the pontiff's death, see also A. Gurugé, *Next Pope ...*, cit., pp. 74-79.

<sup>40</sup> P. Marinus, *Ordo Exsequiarum ...*, cit., p. 12, no. 2, p. 202, no. 133, p. 83, no. 63.

<sup>41</sup> The *Ordo* states that the Master of the Liturgical Celebrations of the Highest Pontiff may adapt the entire execution of the funeral to specific circumstances. *Ibid.*, p. 16, no. 19.

<sup>42</sup> For John XXIII, see D. Olariu, *Genèse ...*, cit., pp. 165-169; Id., *Körper, die sie hatten, Leiber, die sie waren. Totenmaske und mittelalterliche Grabskulptur*, in H. Belting, D. Kamper and M. Schulz (edited by), *Quel corps? Eine Frage der Repräsentation*, Munich 2002, pp. 85-104: 99-101.

<sup>43</sup> Celestine V is exposed in the Church of Santa Maria di Collemaggio in L'Aquila; Pius X and Innocent XI are exposed in St. Peter's Basilica.

<sup>44</sup> The bodies of these saints are displayed in glass shrines in the Bernadette chapel of the sanctuary Espace Bernadette Soubiron in Nevers and in the St. James Convent Sanctuary in Montepredone respectively.

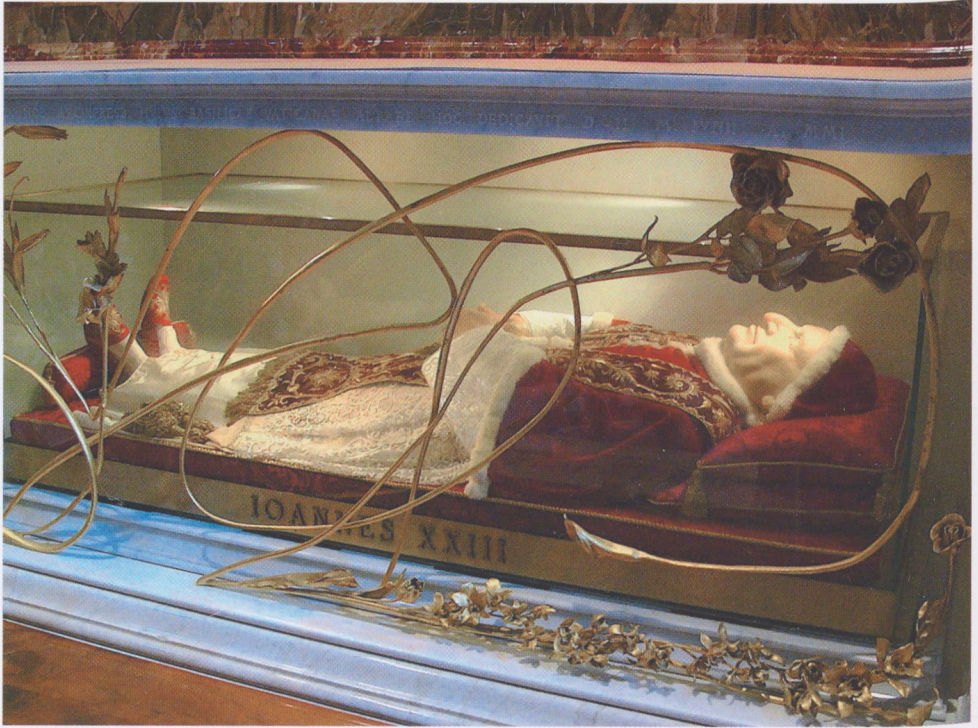
<sup>45</sup> Quote from B. Kerneck, *Fit für die Ewigkeit*, in "TAZ", no. 7634 (2005), p. 17.

<sup>46</sup> H. Lutterbach, *Johannes Paul II. Im Leben fehlbar, im Tode fortlebend? Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Jesuanizität des göttlichen Stellvertreters auf Erden*, in H. Kuhlmann (edited by), *Fehlbare Vorbilder in Bibel, Christentum und Kirchen: von Engeln, Propheten und Heiligen bis zu Päpsten und Bischöfinnen*, Berlin 2010, pp. 197-224.

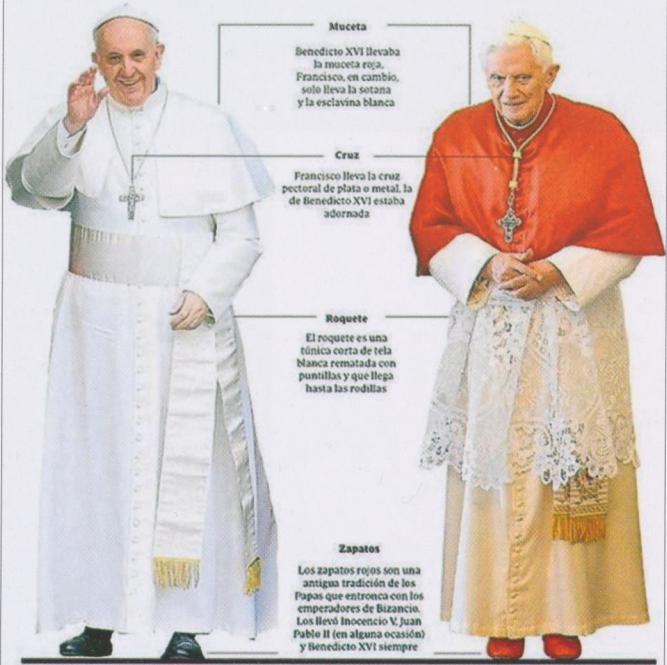
<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-77.

<sup>48</sup> M. Blanchot, *The Space of Literature*, EN tr. by A. Smock, London 1982, p. 90; ed. orig. *L'Espace littéraire*, Paris 1955.





**Diferencia en la vestimenta de Benedicto XVI y Francisco**



- XVIII. *Displayed body of Pope John XXIII in the altar dedicated to him, Rome, St. Peter's Basilica (after <[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mausoleum#/media/File:Reliquenschrein\\_Papst\\_Johannes\\_XXIII\\_-\\_Petersdom.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mausoleum#/media/File:Reliquenschrein_Papst_Johannes_XXIII_-_Petersdom.jpg)>)*
- XIX. *Exemple de graphique mobilisé dans les médias pour mettre en scène les différences de vestiaires entre les deux Papes. Ici dans le journal espagnol ABC (d'après <<https://www.abc.es/sociedad/20130316/abci-papas-vestimenta-diferente-201303152300.html>>)*







4 **Corriere della Sera** **IN PRIMO PIANO** **Corriere della Sera**

**GIOVANNI PAOLO II**

**L'abbraccio in San Pietro**  
La basilica aperta giorno e notte. «Vostro con i colori della Passione»

**I riti** Dopo l'esposizione in sala Clementina, alle 17 la salma del Pontefice verrà trasportata a spalle dai «sedari» attraverso il Portone di Bronzo, sotto il colonnato. I fedeli potranno assistere alla traduzione solo dalla piazza

**Nella Cappella privata**  
La cappella privata di papa Giovanni Paolo II, situata nella Sala Clementina, è stata allestita per ospitare la salma del Pontefice. La cappella è stata decorata con opere d'arte e oggetti personali del Pontefice. La salma sarà esposta in una bara di legno scuro, con un coperchio in oro e un baldacchino in seta.

**Nella Sala Clementina**  
La Sala Clementina, situata nella Cappella Pontificia, è stata allestita per ospitare la salma del Pontefice. La sala è stata decorata con opere d'arte e oggetti personali del Pontefice. La salma sarà esposta in una bara di legno scuro, con un coperchio in oro e un baldacchino in seta.

**I paramenti**  
I paramenti sono i vestiti che il Pontefice indossa durante i riti funebri. Sono composti da una tunica, un surcot, un mantello e un cappello. I paramenti sono conservati nella Cappella Pontificia.

**I pontefici nella storia**  
1914: La salma di papa Pio X è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.  
1939: La salma di papa Pio XI è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.  
1958: La salma di papa Pio XII è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.  
1963: La salma di papa Giovanni XXIII è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.  
1978: La salma di papa Paolo VI è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.  
1978: La salma di papa Giovanni Paolo I è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.

**Corriere della Sera** **IN PRIMO PIANO** **Corriere della Sera** **5**

**I FUNERALI** Oggi la Congregazione dei cardinali deciderà. **GLI ARITI** La comita di velluto rosso è quella più in-demando dal Papa a Venezia. Sotto: La mitra bianca con i trofei di croce scelti dal museo delle celebrazioni. Il pontefice in allungato

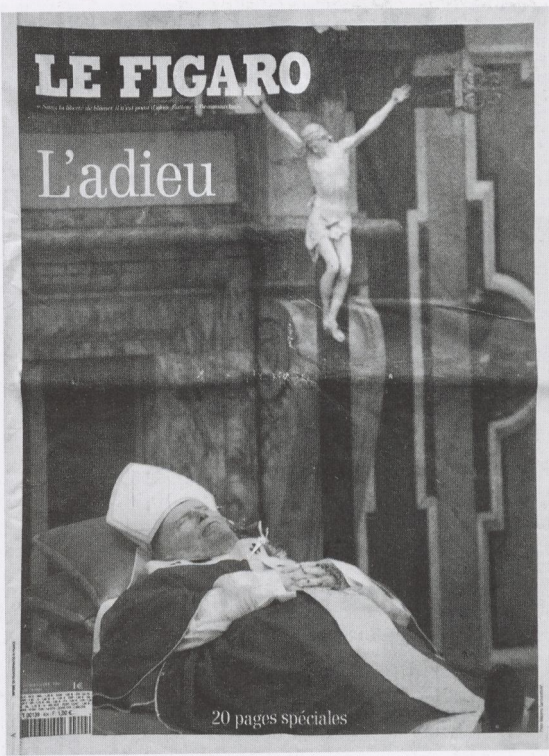
**I riti per l'esposizione**  
Una salma in un'urna per essere esposta in un'urna di legno scuro con un coperchio in oro e un baldacchino in seta.

**1958** La salma di papa Pio XII è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.

**1963** La salma di papa Giovanni XXIII è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.

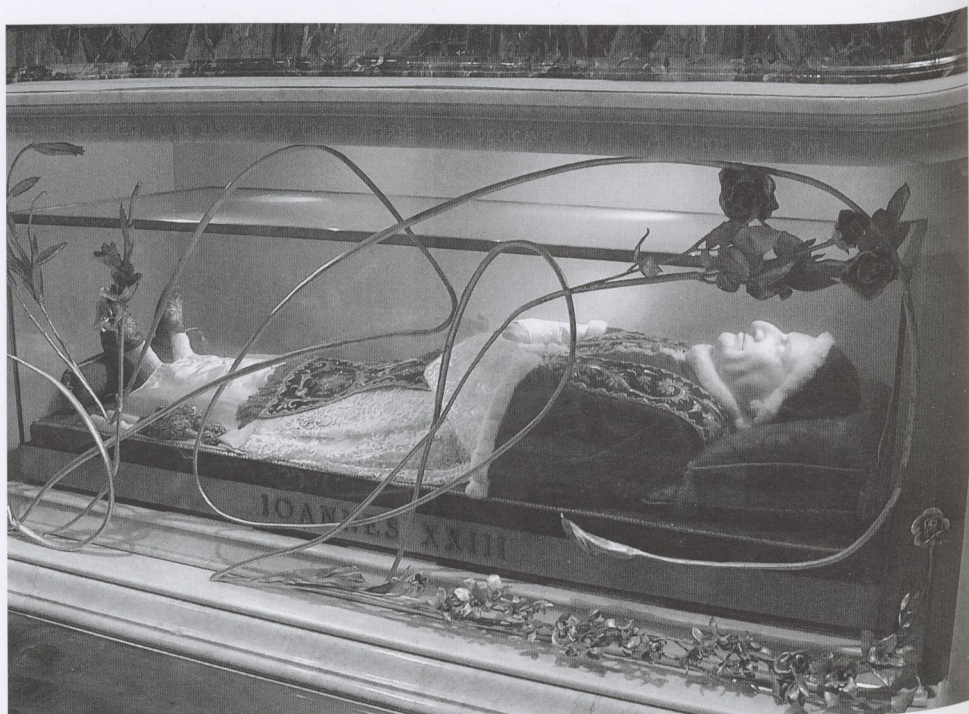
**1978** La salma di papa Paolo VI è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.

**1978** La salma di papa Giovanni Paolo I è esposta nella Cappella Pontificia.



- 101. *Portrait of Leo XIII*, Rome, Archivio Storico Fotografia Felici (© Archivio Storico Fotografia Felici)
- 102. *The farewell*, titles the French newspaper *Le Figaro* on its cover, Monday, 4 April 2005 (photo by Author)
- 103. The Italian newspaper *Corriere della Sera* consecrates a double page to illustrate the specific rites, obsequies, and habits following the pontiff's death, Monday, 4 April 2005 (photo by Author)







### Diferencia en la vestimenta de Benedicto XVI y Francisco



104. *Displayed body of Pope John XXIII in the altar dedicated to him*, Rome, St. Peter's Basilica (after <[https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diskussion:Mausoleum#/media/File:Reliquienschrein\\_Papst\\_Johannes\\_XXIII\\_-\\_Petersdom.jpg](https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diskussion:Mausoleum#/media/File:Reliquienschrein_Papst_Johannes_XXIII_-_Petersdom.jpg)>)

105. *Countenance of embalmed John XXIII*, Rome, St. Peter's Basilica (photo by Author)

106. Exemple de graphique mobilisé dans les médias pour mettre en scène les différences de vestiaires entre les deux Papes. Ici dans le journal espagnol ABC (d'après <<https://www.abc.es/sociedad/20130316/abci-papas-vestimenta-diferente-201303152300.html>>)

107. *MauPal, Le pape François "Superman"*, Rome, Rione Borgo Pio (photo de l'auteur)

