

Cultural and Social History

The Journal of the Social History Society

ISSN: 1478-0038 (Print) 1478-0046 (Online) Journal homepage: <http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rfcs20>

A Visit to Remember: Stigmata and Celebrity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Andrea Graus

To cite this article: Andrea Graus (2016): A Visit to Remember: Stigmata and Celebrity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century, Cultural and Social History, DOI: [10.1080/14780038.2016.1237411](https://doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2016.1237411)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14780038.2016.1237411>



© 2016 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group



Published online: 13 Oct 2016.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
<http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rfcs20>

A Visit to Remember: Stigmata and Celebrity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century

Andrea Graus

Ruusbroec Institute, University of Antwerp, Antwerp, Belgium

ABSTRACT

Focusing on a type of religious celebrity that attracted European crowds at the turn of the twentieth century, the stigmatized female mystic, in this article I examine the role of the audience in the generation of a celebrity culture from below, i.e., as opposed to the current type of pre-manufactured mass-media celebrity. To examine the audience's role, I consider the thousands who visited two stigmatized laywomen: the Frenchwoman Marie-Julie Jahenny and the Spaniard Margalida Amengual. The article shows the importance of the personal experiences of the members of the audience, highlighting the role of word-of-mouth communication in the rise to fame of these two stigmatics. I argue that popular enthusiasm is key to achieving both celebrity and 'living saint' status. Drawing on the parallels between fans and religious devotees, I also provide evidence of the interplay between the cult of saints and celebrity worship.

KEYWORDS

Mysticism; celebrity studies;
popular religion; catholicism;
living saint

In 2011, Simon Morgan published an essay in this journal in which he reflected on the usefulness of the concept of 'celebrity' for historians and argued for the existence of celebrity cultures before the advent of modernity.¹ Indeed, much research understands celebrity as a phenomenon of recent times and essentially as a 'media production'.² Mass media and the emergence of mass society are cast as key factors in this formation process. Such assumptions have proved to be effective when analyzing celebrity from a top-down perspective. In this vein, little has been learned of the audience in celebrity culture – the fans – about their role in the social construction of famous individuals or regarding the relationship they establish with celebrities.³ Morgan correctly draws our attention to this issue arguing that, although it is difficult to find sources concerned with the audience, addressing celebrity from a bottom-up perspective uncovers a less centralized, authoritative and mass media-related manifestation of the phenomenon.

In a response to Morgan's essay, Aviad Kleinberg claimed that Morgan had not gone far enough in his reflection. Kleinberg argues that mass media and marketing are not necessary preconditions for celebrity. Drawing on an example from the thirteenth century, Kleinberg shows that celebrity culture can be traced way back in time by focusing, for example, on

CONTACT Andrea Graus  andrea.graus@uantwerpen.be

© 2016 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.
This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

medieval living saints. Large enthusiastic crowds pursuing these saints, trying to touch them or even ripping their clothes are just some examples of a millennial fanatic behaviour.⁴ In recent years, scholars have frequently related celebrity culture to the cult of saints, comparing, for instance, the commodification of famous people with the commercialization of relics, devotional cards and other religious memorabilia.⁵ However, there is little or no research on approaching this relationship from the opposite side: examining religious personalities as socially constructed celebrities. Hundreds of examples of religious celebrities can be traced through history in different contexts and religions; from the Christians Francis of Assisi and Mother Theresa to the Muslim Sheikh Abdul Qadir Jilani, the Hindu Pothuluri Veerabrahmam or even Siddhārtha Gautama himself.⁶

This article focuses on a type of Roman Catholic celebrity that attracted large crowds at the turn of the twentieth century: the stigmatized (female) mystic. These mystics were said to relive the Passion of Christ, especially on Fridays, like Jesus, and at the same time of day. While in ecstasy, they allegedly experienced the pain of crucifixion, which sometimes became visible through the bleeding of the sacred wounds. Stigmata can be imitative, mimicking the iconographic wounds of the Passion in the hands, feet, forehead and side; or they can be figurative, depicting an image, e.g., a cross, or in the form of a word.⁷ Hundreds of cases of stigmatized people attracted public attention throughout most European countries over the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among them, many were laywomen from rural villages with little religious or general education. Curious and pious visitors, sometimes coming from abroad, witnessed their 'Friday agonies' at the homes of these stigmatics. The mystics were submitted to ecclesiastical and medical inquiry, aiming to elucidate the natural or supernatural origin of the phenomena. Popular examples include the Belgian Louise Lateau (1850–83) or the German Anna Katharina Emmerick (1774–1824).⁸ For this article, I have chosen two lesser known cases, which share much in common and offer the possibility of a transnational approach: the Frenchwoman Marie-Julie Jahenny (1850–1941) and the Spaniard Margalida Amengual (1888–1918). These laywomen, Franciscan Tertiaries, carried the stigmata from their twenties. Soon, the remote villages where they lived started to attract thousands of visitors wishing to see the sacred wounds. Many of those visitors would become fervent fans and devotees.

Scholars have analysed the worship of the holy wounds within the framework of Catholicism and its understanding of redemptive suffering, correctly linking stigmata with politico-religious endeavours. Stigmatics' suffering atoned for the sins of humanity and, in countries such as Italy or France, it was related to the restoration of a 'Catholic realm'.⁹ Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, the belief in reparation and co-redemption through sharing in the Passion of Christ were emphasized within Catholic piety. The period saw the rise of popular devotions related to suffering and sacrifice, such as the cult of the Sacred Heart and of victim spirituality, which stigmatics can be seen as forming part of.¹⁰ Making a pilgrimage to a stigmatic's house became part of this devotional revival. Although the Catholic Church usually expresses its opposition to the worship of living individuals, popular enthusiasm turned many stigmatics into 'living saints' without the recognition of the ecclesiastical authorities.¹¹

Just like most of the so-called 'victim souls', the majority of stigmatics throughout history have been women. Drawing on this fact, scholars have provided insight into the feminization of religion during the nineteenth century. This religious turn was reflected, among other things, in the spread of Marian devotions – fostered by the astonishing rise of Marian

apparitions, especially in France¹² – and a positive re-evaluation of women's aptitude to become Catholic models and connect with the divine.¹³ Interestingly, female stigmata represented the paradox of the suffering of Christ in the body of a woman; an *imitatio Christi* that has inspired both outrage and fascination throughout the ages.¹⁴

During the *fin-de-siècle*, the physicality of stigmata also attracted the interest of physicians, keen either to find proof of the divine in the mystic's body or, on the contrary, to refute the supernatural origin of the phenomena and pathologize mysticism. Championed by the Salpêtrière School, psychiatric discourse on hysteria, simulation and hypnosis turned stigmatics into asylum patients and alleged tricksters.¹⁵ Indeed, 'diagnoses' of this type still endure. However, as Mary Heimann points out, contemporary dichotomies between the natural and the supernatural do not always accord with the views of the mystics' contemporaries.¹⁶

As mentioned above, in recent years scholars have drawn parallels between celebrity culture and religion, between fans and religious devotees. However, it is not clear that the models applied to secular stars fit their religious counterparts well. In this article, I consider stigmatics while taking this perspective into account. Indeed, Marie-Julie Jahenny and Margalida Amengual were two popular religious celebrities of their time. They achieved living saint status through popular devotion and their fame continued after their deaths, reaching the immortal aura that surrounds stars. As I hope to show, becoming a living saint is closely akin to becoming a celebrity; popular enthusiasm is key to obtaining both celebrity and living saint status. While celebrity studies tend to focus on the role of the media,¹⁷ in this article I analyse the personal experiences of the audience and stress the role of oral culture. To address the audience, I focus on those who visited Jahenny and Amengual. As other scholars also do, I frame curious visitors and pilgrims as a type of celebrity fan who contribute to the building of the stigmatic's fame.¹⁸ My choice of these two cases has largely been determined by the rural and secluded locations where they took place, i.e., small villages that a priori were 'media free' and that fostered the formation of a celebrity culture from below. In this vein, Jahenny and Amengual constitute illuminating examples of the way in which people related to modern stigmatized mystics and turned them into religious celebrities; but they are by no means isolated cases in this regard. As we will see, the Church did not always acknowledge Jahenny and Amengual. Hence, their audience played a crucial role in their popular canonization – a term also used for secular celebrities such as Princess Diana or Elvis. As noted by Alphonse Dupront: 'popular religion imposes its cults on the Church.'¹⁹ This notion contrasts with what Oliver Bennett has called strategic canonization, where the Catholic Church is decisive in fast-track canonization of celebrity saints in accordance with its ideology, as in the case of the stigmatized Padre Pio (1887-1968).²⁰

The cases of Jahenny and Amengual show the importance of word-of-mouth communication for the construction of celebrity, questioning the widespread assumption that the media are key in this formation process. Much has been written on the relationship, perhaps the dependency, between the media and celebrity; and more recently, on the media turn in religion. Scholars have shown that the purposes of mass-media and religion sometimes work in hand in hand, and that popular culture is far from having secularized society.²¹ However, in focusing our research on printed culture, mass media and commodities, we are missing the influential role of oral cultures.²² As I demonstrate, sometimes Church censorship prevented the publication of news and books regarding stigmatics; especially during their lifetime. Hence, the oral testimony of visitors became the most important medium for the

spreading of news and, ultimately, for catapulting the stigmatized women into stardom. These testimonies provide further evidence of the ways in which the worship of stigmatics is related both to the cult of saints and to celebrity culture.

In considering the audience, in this article I take into account two types of visitors: the 'lifetime visitors,' who got to know the mystic personally; and the 'posthumous visitors,' who went to the mystic's house or grave after her death. Although both types of audience can be traced for Marie-Julie Jahenny and Margalida Amengual, there is a prominence of one or other type in each case. As I hope will become clear, this is explained by the mystics' life stories. The first section of this article addresses Jahenny's lifetime visitors, showing how they became her most fervent advocates and personal assistants. The second section deals with Amengual's posthumous visitors, examining the post-mortem practices of devotion and promotion. The difficult task of reaching the audience has been achieved thanks to the rich manuscript material – letters from visitors, diaries from the stigmatics' confessors, medical reports, etc. – kept at the diocesan archives in Nantes and Palma de Mallorca.²³

Marie-Julie Jahenny's Lifetime Visitors

Marie-Julie Jahenny (1850–1941) was a peasant woman from La Fraudais, a hamlet of around ten houses, very close to the village of Blain and not far from Nantes in Brittany, France. Her parents were farmers who had five children: four girls and a boy. Jahenny was the oldest. One of her sisters died when she was a child, causing her great pain. From her childhood, she worked with her parents on the farm. Her father, the sole literate member of the family, tried to teach his children to read and write. Jahenny spent only six months in school, around the age of ten, in order to learn the catechism before her First Communion. She was devoted to the Virgin Mary and to the Passion, and she became a Franciscan Tertiary over the years. Since adolescence, her spiritual father had been Pitre-Hervé David (1829-1885), at the time the curate of Blain. He accompanied her during the first decade of her mystic life, which was more full of graces than any other.²⁴ Stigmata notwithstanding, Marie-Julie Jahenny was reported to have the gift of prophecy. Though it is uncertain when she began to prophesy, the first written accounts of her prophecies date from 1874, less than a year after first receiving stigmata. Her case is related to other nineteenth-century Frenchwomen who were Catholic mystics and political prophets; promoters of ultramontanist, millenarianism and royalism to stand up to the 'evil' republican, secularized and revolutionary France. Jahenny repeatedly announced the arrival of a king named Henri V de la Croix, future redeemer of the nation. Her followers identified this king with Henri d'Artois (1820–83), Count of Chambord, the last legitimate male pretender to the throne of France, known as Henri V by his partisans.²⁵ In her daily life, Jahenny spoke in patois. Being practically illiterate, she never wrote down her prophecies. It was those around her who transcribed them in situ, translating from patois to French (Figure 1). Although the transcriptions of the prophecies are not always signed, in the late nineteenth century most were transcribed by Adolphe and Auguste Charbonnier, two white-collar workers from the surroundings of La Fraudais. The Charbonnier brothers were probably the founders of a laymen's association named Amis de la Croix, established in 1873 to promote and support Jahenny. Its members acted as Jahenny's managers, personal assistants and secretaries; attending to her correspondence, handling the overwhelming arrival of visitors and transcribing her prophecies.²⁶ Clergymen from Blain and Nantes doubted the accuracy of the prophetic texts. They thought that Jahenny's



Figure 1. Marie-Julie Jahenny (left) reliving the crucifixion during ecstasy. A woman transcribes the inspired messages, c. 1930. AHDN, 5F2/45.

supporters were trying to disseminate their own political messages through the mystic. Because Jahenny was not the material author of the texts, these could not be presented as evidence during a hypothetical cause of canonization. However, since the diocese of Nantes does not acknowledge her, such a procedure is not likely to take place.

Jahenny received stigmata for the first time on Friday, 21 March 1873, and continued to bear the wounds of Christ until her death in 1941. Shortly before first receiving them, she allegedly witnessed an apparition of the Virgin, who asked her if she was ready to suffer the rest of her life for the conversion of sinners – a common mission among stigmatics. On that first occasion the blood flowed from the sacred wounds in front of her siblings, neighbours and several priests from nearby villages. In his journal, Father David wrote that around 200 people came to La Fraudais to see the stigmatic.²⁷ From that day on, Jahenny's manifestations continued every Friday, bestowing all kinds of visible stigmata on her ecstasies.²⁸ The phenomenon attracted the attention of the curious, many visiting the village, and aroused the suspicions of clergymen in Nantes and Blain. The latter saw Father David as the author behind an alleged fraud. Monsignor Félix Fournier, Bishop of Nantes until 1877, entrusted an investigation to two medical delegates. They certified the existence of the wounds but denied their supernatural origin.²⁹ On the day of the inquiry 10,000 people congregated in La Fraudais. In her journal, a nine-year-old girl from Blain wrote: 'We had never seen as many people and carts passing through the streets. Many people could not enter the house of the "little girl" from La Fraudais, because of the large crowd, mother among them.'³⁰ Due to the absence of pictures, one can only imagine the spectacle caused by such a mass of onlookers filling the hamlet.

How did visitors know about Marie-Julie Jahenny? What were they searching for on their trips to La Fraudais? How did they feel when they were confronted by the spectacle of the

holy wounds and what did they take away with them? How did they spread the message? How did they interact with Jahenny after her death? These and similar questions are easier to answer if we consider Marie-Julie Jahenny as a religious celebrity and a popular living saint of her time. Visitors – some considered themselves pilgrims – from all around France and other European countries arrived asking after '*la Sainte de Blain*.' In fact, many did not even know Jahenny's real name, which according to Kleinberg, constitutes a symptom of celebrity status.³¹ A bus driver recalled that, before the start of the Second World War, he drove many English, Dutch, German and Belgian people on their way to the stigmatic's house.³² By then, improvements in both the means of transport and the roads had made access to La Fraudais easier. In the late nineteenth-century, however, visitors had to face a much more difficult 'pilgrimage' through the muddy paths of the isolated hamlet. In 1891, a young French woman wrote to the priest of Blain requesting his authorization to visit the stigmatic and asking how to get to La Fraudais: 'Will we find carts to rent in Blain? Are they easier to find on Friday? Does anything in particular happen that day?'.³³ The priest of Blain, a Jahenny detractor, received several such letters from laypeople and also from priests. He always answered that he could not authorize or forbid people from visiting the stigmatic; but he tried to discourage them by saying that local clergymen never went to La Fraudais and that Jahenny was advised to avoid receiving visitors in order not to fall prey to the temptation of pride.³⁴ However, Jahenny's family continued to promote the mystic, ignoring the priest's advice and letting people in. One of the mystic's sisters became her secretary, helping her with correspondence. During the twentieth century, while Jahenny was living alone in the family house, a dog warned her of the arrival of visitors.³⁵

Though celebrity studies tend to focus on the role of media in the development of celebrity culture, the media were not responsible for Marie-Julie Jahenny's fame during her lifetime. This is largely explained by the 'silent' censorship of the Church. Journalists willing to cover the event usually contacted clergymen from Nantes and Blain to ask for information. Either out of caution or reticence, the clergymen prevented the news from spreading in either the regional or the general press, leaving promotional works on the stigmatic unpublished and asking some journalists to promise not to write about the events at La Fraudais.³⁶ As noted in the Introduction above, oral culture – i.e., the testimony of visitors – was fundamental to build Jahenny's celebrity status. The oral testimonies played a more prominent role during the first years of the stigmata, when the crowds of visitors were mostly made up of illiterate peasants from Jahenny's rural region. The written accounts from her audience that have been preserved frequently come from aristocrats, white-collar workers and priests. That, however, only constitutes the visible or historically traceable strata of the audience. Such accounts explain how listening to the testimony of enlightened visitors leaving La Fraudais aroused the interest of the authors in the stigmatic.³⁷

When referring to printed sources, visitors usually cite the book *Les stigmatisées* (1873) by Antoine Imbert-Gourbeyre (1818-1912), a Catholic physician, professor at Clermont-Ferrand University, who also examined Jahenny and judged the stigmata to be of supernatural origin: thus contradicting the first medical inquiry.³⁸ Other books that contributed to Jahenny's fame were those by the journalist Adrien Péladan (1815-90), who published several collections of prophecies by royalist countryside visionaries, such as Berquille Bergadieu (1829-1904), who was in spiritual contact with Jahenny.³⁹ Those works represent rare exceptions in which the authors either escaped the censorship of the Church or obtained its approval. As I hope to show below, the death of Marie-Julie Jahenny marked a new stage,

when authors defied censorship and print culture contributed to the stigmatic's posthumous celebrity status.

Imbert-Gourbeyre became one of Jahenny's devotees along with his daughter, who was part of the stigmatic's intimate circle in the 1930s. He remained informed about Jahenny through Madame Grégoire from Blain, a close friend and secretary to the stigmatic. Madame Grégoire and other women managed most of Jahenny's abundant correspondence – she received twenty to thirty letters per week – writing down the replies that Jahenny dictated. Although the letters written to the stigmatic that have been preserved are few, they provide an illuminating example of the reasons why people turned to her. In these letters, men and women from different social backgrounds praise her suffering and beg her to include their relatives and themselves in her prayers; hoping, for instance, to obtain grace or the conversion of a non-believer.⁴⁰ In one letter, a woman even pleads to be recommended to Louise Lateau in her prayers, as she had been told that Jahenny is in spiritual contact with the Belgian mystic.⁴¹

Written accounts by visitors recalling their trip to La Fraudais provide similar examples. A Breton woman visiting with two women friends explains that Jahenny prayed for them. Another woman writes that one day she was late for the 'Friday ecstasy' and Jahenny's mother did not let her in. Very disappointed, the woman asked the mother to be included in the mystic's recommendations during her 'interview with God.'⁴² Thus, many people turned to the stigmatic as to a living saint, asking for blessings or favours, even when the Church did not acknowledge them. In such cases, popular devotion acted as a form of religious power and legitimation. Indeed, since the diocesan authorities were against Jahenny, she achieved living saint status exclusively through popular devotion. Her devotees or fans became her best advocates. Some even wrote to the succession of bishops of Nantes describing Jahenny's ecstasies and pleading with them to acknowledge her holy sufferings.⁴³ As with celebrities, Jahenny's authority and credibility relied on her followers. She was empowered through her public and her memory has been persevered by them.

During visits, while visitors obtained spiritual relief, Jahenny was looked after. Although her family did not charge an admission fee, they did accept donations of food, clothes and a little money. All these gifts seemed worthless before the divine spectacle offered by the mystic. In the 1870s, when the wounds bled more frequently, astonished visitors said that they felt edified by Jahenny's '*chemin de croix*'. They were not horrified; they were grateful. In their accounts, the reddened flesh and the blood from the stigmata are carefully described with pious words, portraying the wounds as signs from God.⁴⁴ If visitors were lucky enough, they left La Fraudais with a relic or a precious souvenir – e.g. a handkerchief imprinted with the stigmata or a devotional card offered by Jahenny.⁴⁵ As Howells shows in the case of celebrity photographs, to fans these objects contain the presence of the celebrity. The emotional bond that fans create with the object involves a form of interaction with the star.⁴⁶ As we will see below, in the case of Jahenny this object-mediated relationship was exaggerated after her death, when all that was left for her devotees to interact with were the stigmatic's possessions.

The death of Marie-Julie Jahenny in 1941 marks a new stage in the social construction of her fame. In the first place, the censorship of the Church did not seem to scare the press anymore. Just after her death, the journalist Jacqueline Bruno, from *Le Courrier de Saint-Nazaire*, wrote: 'the priest of Blain had extracted a promise from me not to speak more of the events at La Fraudais. [...] [T]he death of Marie-Julie and the great impact of her story

in the regional and the Parisian press releases me from that promise today.⁴⁷ Despite the circulation of news stories recalling Jahenny's life, it is only during the 1970s and 1980s that biographies on the stigmatic appeared. The priests Pierre Roberdel and Henri Bourcier, two of her followers, published unauthorized biographies of Jahenny, along with several collections of her ecstasies. In 1978, aged 73, Bourcier installed himself at La Fraudais and started to set up pilgrimages to the stigmatic's thatched cottage, without the permission of the Bishop of Nantes. But Bourcier was late. Since her death, Jahenny's followers had banded together to buy her house and transform it into a site of veneration. This is exemplary of the Roman Catholic cult of saints, and is also related to Rojek's understanding of celebrity culture, where fans build their own reliquaries and may even transform the home of a deceased celebrity into a shrine.⁴⁸

The first attempt to buy Jahenny's property came early. A few months after her death, Madame Verdeau, a lawyer's wife and frequent visitor to La Fraudais, offered 70,000 francs to constitute a society and buy all Jahenny's possessions, with her stated aim being to 'prevent any ulterior mercantilism.' Verdeau said that, if the Church happened to authorize the stigmatic's cult, she wished to organize a 'large-scale loan system' of Jahenny's objects for those who wanted to 'obtain a determined grace.'⁴⁹ For reasons that are unknown, this first attempt to buy Jahenny's belongings did not succeed. Around 1958, the Association des Amis de Marie-Julie et de la Fraudais – today known as the Association Le Sanctuaire de Marie-Julie Jahenny – was founded with a similar aim; this time it was successful. The then-president was the marquis André de La Franquerie (1901–92), Catholic writer, monarchist, close to the French Roman Catholic *intégrisme* and frequent lifetime visitor to Jahenny. In order to collect donations to buy the mystic's house, the marquis encouraged those who had met the stigmatic not to let 'this endearing relic' disappear.⁵⁰ After the acquisition, Jahenny's room and the site of her ecstasies was preserved as it was, while the dining room was transformed into a small chapel, once more without the approval of the diocesan authorities (Figure 2). Visitors can still access the house/shrine/living museum by contacting the Association. Does their experience resemble that of the lifetime visitors? Are posthumous visitors tourists rather than fans or devotees? In the next section, I examine the case of a female stigmatic that bears substantial analogies with Marie-Julie Jahenny's life journey; but in which the number of visitors increased considerably after her death.

Margalida Amengual's Posthumous Visitors

Abandoned the day of her birth, Margalida Amengual (1888–1919) was adopted by a peasant family from Costitx, an isolated village in the middle of Mallorca. Extremely pious, she tried to join a convent but was rejected because of her feeble health. From 1916, Joan Gual Siquier (1882–1939), the Costitx parish priest, became her spiritual father. As in the case of Jahenny, Amengual became a Franciscan Tertiary and was said to spend several hours meditating over the Passion. In her small library, she kept a book on the life of the stigmatized Italian mystic Gemma Galgani (1878–1903), canonized in 1940.⁵¹ Her spiritual father removed the book from the library after the start of the extraordinary phenomena; he probably felt that reading the book could lead Amengual to fake phenomena in order to emulate Galgani's life. In late July 1918, Amengual started to have severe difficulties swallowing and began a period of inedia that lasted six months, until her death on 30 January 1919. Allegedly, she was only nourished by the Eucharist and by ice mixed with sugar and cinnamon. On Friday



Figure 2. The unauthorized chapel set up in Marie-Julie Jahenny's home after her death. AHDN, 5F2/49.

9 August, stigmata became visible in her hands for the first time. From then on, she relived the Passion every Friday. While in ecstasy, Amengual remained silent and did not respond to any stimuli. Her facial expression was of intense pain, but she did not move. Her hands, intertwined on her chest, held a rosary; her eyes were almost closed. When a doctor once opened her eyelids, he saw she was looking up. Stigmata were not always visible; but when the wounds opened, they bled profusely, especially those representing the crown of thorns.⁵² Amengual allegedly experienced other extraordinary phenomena, such as visions and levitation, and had the gift of prophecy – she correctly predicted the day of her death. The Bishop of Mallorca charged Reverend Nicolás Saggese and Canon Antonio Sancho with an investigation. All rejected fraud and judged the phenomena to be veridical. Furthermore, Saggese supported the supernatural and divine origin of the happenings; but he specified that he was ready to 'change his mind' under the 'least indication of the ecclesiastical authorities.'⁵³ Saggese's attitude shows that the authentication of mystical phenomena within the bosom of the Catholic Church was subjected to its hierarchic structures. In the cases of both Amengual and Jahenny, judgements condemning or condoning their mystical experiences changed with the succession of bishops in their dioceses, forcing clergymen such as Saggese to be flexible with their own opinions and be ready to follow the new official mandate.⁵⁴

During the last months of Amengual's life, the news of her ecstasies spread all over Mallorca by word of mouth. As in the case of Jahenny, the testimonies from visitors contributed to the legitimation of the phenomena. According to the doctor Sebastián Amengual – one of the first to examine the stigmatic – the events were witnessed by hundreds of people, including 'physicians, lawyers, priests, enlightened people of different points of view, old men and young people, reluctant to accept the mentioned phenomena.'⁵⁵ Amengual's popularity was such that Saggese forbade her to receive more visitors. From then on, those who



Figure 3. Margalida Amengual in ecstasy, c. 1918. ADM, 13.1.

could not obtain ecclesiastical authorization to witness the 'Friday agonies' at the stigmatic's home, had to content themselves with observing the mystic at church – where she allegedly levitated while she was praying – or during her walks from her house to the parish church. As with Jahenny, visitors were said to feel edified next to Amengual. During the ecstasy, what impressed them the most was her facial expression. In the words of a group of visitors: 'We saw that her facial expression was of anguish. It is not possible to describe it. Was it resigned angst? It cannot be qualified as such. It was a deeply intense anguish; but with an expression of peace and softness [...]. There is no '[Mater] Dolorosa' with such an expression' (Figure 3).⁵⁶

Margalida Amengual preserved this appearance after she died. Her corpse was exhibited for ten days in the church in Costitx without showing any sign of decay. Around 80,000 people from all over Mallorca and other parts of Spain came to see her body. Why did visitors feel the need to go to Costitx after Amengual's death? What did they experience on seeing her *corpus incorruptus*? How did they express their devotion to the deceased mystic? What itinerary did their visits or pilgrimages follow? Did they take any souvenirs or relics away with them? To understand the importance of Amengual's posthumous visitors, we have to bear in mind that when she died, she had a widespread reputation for sanctity. Furthermore, she died after only six months of carrying the stigmata. In this way, Amengual's story emulates that of a celebrity who dies tragically at the peak of their career. The mythmaking saying: 'Live fast, die young and leave a good-looking corpse' applies to her case in a delightful way. Indeed, her 'ecstatic corpse' was a key factor in the arrival of thousands of visitors just after her death. In Sancho and Saggese's words:

Margalida's corpse presented an uncommon look. Her lips conserved the same life expression that she had during the ecstasies, and her gaze seemed to be lost in the enormity. She preserved this extraordinary appearance for five days, which made everyone who saw her exclaim: She looks alive, nobody would say other than that she is having a vision.⁵⁷

A majority of visitors to Amengual's mortuary chapel had not witnessed her in ecstasy, and yet, contemplating her corpse they felt as if had. People arrived at the isolated village by all means of transport – using cars, carriages, bicycles, horses or on foot – causing chaos on the ill prepared road into the village and creating long queues that resembled a procession. It is said that more than 700 vehicles arrived in just one day. Impressed by the ecstatic corpse, many visitors mourned her every night of the ten days that she remained unburied. A journalist covering the event took a picture of the funeral chapel, but the governor of Costitx would not let him distribute it; he published a drawing instead.⁵⁸ The popular enthusiasm for Amengual's corpse seemed unstoppable until a government order insisted she be buried. The day the coffin was brought to the cemetery a crowd of 3,000 people from all social strata marched in procession carrying candles. The young of Costitx competed with renowned personalities from Palma de Mallorca, the capital of the island, to carry the coffin in the pouring rain.⁵⁹

Such a display of the stigmatic's corpse, and the thousands of people who worshiped it, recalls other more extreme cases of this type of exhibition, as in Lenin's mausoleum. Even Vladimir Putin has drawn an analogy between the display of Lenin's body and the exhibition of the uncorrupted bodies of saints. However, as Yurchak has reported, Lenin's corpse – the matter – is constantly altered to preserve its appearance – the form – but in the Catholic tradition, bodies are understood to be uncorrupted if some part of the matter – skin, bones, etc. – does not decompose, regardless of whether they lose their form and become unrecognisable.⁶⁰ Amengual's corpse lost its ecstatic appearance after five days; but, according to the priest, her body remained uncorrupted. She was buried carrying a death certificate written in Latin by a committee of theologians. In it, they described the mystic's charismata, to ensure that her story would not be lost to future generations, and that her body would be easy to identify in case of exhumation.⁶¹

After the funeral, booklets popularizing Amengual's life – usually self-published – started to circulate. They were authored by her fans and written mostly in Majorcan, a dialect of the local Catalan language used by Amengual and her local devotees. Soon, more elaborate literature appeared. Her followers began to praise Amengual's glory through songs and poems that have remained part of the popular culture of Mallorca.⁶² The *Goigs de na Margalida de Costitx* are the most striking example (Figure 4). In the popular tradition of the Catalan-speaking territories, *goigs* are poetic musical compositions sang to the Virgin Mary, Christ or the saints, printed in illustrated leaflets. They are sung collectively during liturgical acts, such as processions or pilgrimages, to give thanks for graces received or to ask for the spiritual and physical benefit of the community. Amengual's *goigs* became the ideal way to praise her graces and disseminate her life story. They confirm her widespread reputation of sanctity at that time and are an example of popular devotion. They were written by a Franciscan Tertiary in 1921, with music by a Capuchin Friar Minor, and published by the Franciscan journal *El Apostolado Franciscano*. Their popularity was such that in less than a year three editions had appeared. In 2011, the *goigs* saw its 5th edition. They have especially been disseminated within Franciscan communities in Mallorca and Catalonia. Some of the stanzas recall the 'Friday agonies' and the overwhelming arrival of visitors after Amengual's death:⁶³

It caused admiration to see repeated
to a certain extent the painful
agony of Our Lord in you. Many
Fridays you have been admired for
this remarkable happening.

The news of your death, spread
everywhere, making a large crowd
come, who feels great grief,
sorrow that is only caused by the
reputation of sanctity.

All the village of Costitx and all of
Mallorca, in this final hour, feel the
desire to see you. And your fame
persists and has even increased.



Figure 4. Goigs de na Margalida de Costitx, 1921. Arxiu Amics dels Goigs de Barcelona.

The *goigs* are another example of the importance of the oral culture in the construction of celebrity. Even though they have seen five editions to date, their function is to be transmitted orally through singing, as in the musical poems of the medieval troubadours which inspired the *goigs*. Many people know Amengual's *goigs* by heart, though not all have read them. The *goigs* are deliberately easy to memorize while singing. Each stanza has the same music and is followed by the same chorus, giving time to think of what comes next. In

Amengual's *goigs*, the chorus is: 'Of Jesus in the Sacrament / you were a fervent lover: / "Be our advocate / next to your Loved One".'⁶⁴ The chorus is a clear indicator of Amengual's mission in the eyes of her followers. Just as in the case of Jahenny, people turned to her to ask for recommendations and imploring her to be their mediator with God.

For the first twenty-five years after Amengual's death, visitors came to Costitx every week. Joan Gual, the parish priest of the village and spiritual father of the deceased stigmatic, kept a list. Unfortunately, most of the pages of the list are missing and only a few papers have been preserved. From what is left, we can conclude that most of the visitors came from Mallorca, but there were also people from other parts of Spain, France and even America. According to Munar, visitors were not driven by curiosity; they were pious devotees of Amengual's cause. The itinerary of the visits took in three sites: Amengual's house, the graveyard where she was buried at that time and the parish church at Costitx. Many took personal souvenirs away with them, such as a handful of soil from the entrance to Amengual's house. Over the decades, manufactured souvenirs, such as postcards depicting the mystic in ecstasy, started to circulate.⁶⁵

It is impossible to demonstrate that posthumous visitors were and are driven only by devotion and not by mere curiosity, especially from the 1950s on. Indeed, during the mid-twentieth century, Spain was hit by a booming phenomenon: tourism. The Balearic Islands were and are one of the country's top destinations. Amengual's house and grave became not only sites of pilgrimage, but also sites of general interest. Today, the sites are promoted as tourist attractions. The Mancomunitat de Mallorca (Mallorca Community of Municipalities) tourist guide advertises 'Margalida Amengual's itinerary.'⁶⁶ Of course, Costitx has not reached the popularity of Lourdes or other sites where pilgrimage, commerce and leisure intermingle; but the local authorities are well aware of the profit to be made from this eclectic trinity.⁶⁷ Being situated in the middle of Mallorca, Costitx is an overlooked village that lacks the main tourist attraction: the sea. Hence, advertising the mystic's story is intended to attract visitors and generate economic activity. In 1969, to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Amengual's death, the diocese of Mallorca put forward a cause of canonization. Her grave was moved from the cemetery to the parish church in Costitx; a rare privilege for a laywoman. She was declared Venerable in 2008 by Pope Benedict XVI. In 1988, the Costitx Town Council granted Amengual the honorific title of 'Distinguished daughter of the village.' They recently commemorated the ninety-fifth (2014) anniversary of her death with a popular celebration and news in the press. A plaque on the façade of Amengual's house announces that 'the Servant of God Margalida Amengual' lived there – the plaque should be updated now that she has been declared Venerable. Next to it, there is a bust of her. There is no doubt that Costitx is forging its history through Amengual. While the diocesan authorities are less and less interested in her cause of canonization, believing that it has reached as far as it can, Costitx pushes on, hoping for their saint.⁶⁸

Conclusions

At the turn of the twentieth-century, visiting a stigmatized woman during the 'Friday agonies' at her house, or taking a trip to her village after her death, had a deep impact on the promotion of the mystic. The cases of Marie-Julie Jahenny and Margalida Amengual are examples of the role of the audience in the construction of (religious) celebrity. Although the nineteenth century is marked by the rise of mass media and the development of new

communication media, such as photography and radio, in this article I have shown that the media were not decisive in the development of the popularity of Jahenny and Amengual, and thus I argue against the commonly assumed celebrity's reliance on the media. In contrast to that assumption, in this article I have paid attention to the personal experience of the members of the audience, highlighting the importance of word-of-mouth communication for the spreading of news and, ultimately, for celebrity culture. For the most part, censorship by the Church explains why the media were not behind the fame of Amengual and Jahenny; especially during their lifetimes. However, we cannot reduce it all just to that. As we have seen, unauthorized biographies and other printed sources regarding the mystics started to circulate after their deaths, contributing to their posthumous fame. We must recall that most of these sources were published by the mystics' audience – their fans – and some were still embedded in the oral tradition, such as the *goigs*. This shows a less pre-manufactured image of fame; a celebrity culture from below that challenges the media hype understanding of this phenomenon.

Popular religion is linked to the cult of saints as much as popular culture is symbolized by the worship of famous individuals. Becoming a saint, especially a living saint, is related to becoming a celebrity because, to begin with, it implies obtaining a widespread reputation – in this case, the so-called *fama sanctitatis*. Cases of popular canonization, such as those of Amengual and Jahenny, are similar to the sacralization of secular celebrities. There are also evident parallels between the behaviour displayed by the visitors to these stigmatics and by the fans of a media celebrity; especially in cases where the celebrity dies fast and young, like Amengual. As we have seen, visitors showed a need to be close to their idols, to experience their feelings, to gain something from them. Obtaining a handkerchief imprinted with the blood from the stigmata was like getting a celebrity autograph. Mourning the corpse of a deceased stigmatic, turning her house into a living museum and shrine, organizing pilgrimages to her grave, are all examples, embodied in the histories of Jahenny and Amengual, that can be traced to the cases of rock stars and Hollywood legends. They thus provide further evidence of the relationship between the cult of saints and celebrity culture.

As I have aimed to highlight in this article, the role of first-hand or eyewitness testimonies is particularly valued in controversial topics such as stigmata. In the cases examined, visitors were decisive in turning the stigmatized women into famous individuals by acknowledging the stigmata and other miraculous phenomena that made them popular. Narratives from visitors who saw the holy wounds or obtained a miraculous grace before and after the death of the mystics still circulate, sometimes crossing national borders and attracting the attention of foreigners. Even today, arguments in favour of the sanctity of Amengual and Jahenny are conveyed by these testimonial narratives. Furthermore, the miracles performed by Amengual, according *only* to 'trusted' testimonies, are considered as proofs for her cause of canonization. Hence, willingly or unwillingly, Jahenny and Amengual depended on their audiences to secure their credibility and build up a reputation of sanctity, i.e. build up their fame.

Notes

1. Simon Morgan, 'Celebrity. Academic "pseudo-event" or a useful concept for historians?', *Cultural and Social History*, 8(1) (2011), pp. 95–114.
2. See, e.g.: Joshua Gamson, *Claims to fame. Celebrity in contemporary America* (Berkeley, etc., 1994); David Marshall, *Celebrity and power: fame in contemporary culture* (Minneapolis, 1997); Chris Rojek, *Celebrity* (London, 2001).

3. A recent attempt to address the public of celebrity culture is: David Marshall and Sean Redmond, eds., *A companion to celebrity* (Chichester, etc., 2016), esp. pp. 79-154.
4. Aviad Kleinberg, 'Are saints celebrities? Some medieval Christian examples', *Cultural and Social History*, 8(3) (2011), pp. 393-397. See also: Leo Braudy, *The frenzy of renown. Fame and its history* (New York, 1997).
5. James F. Hopgood, ed., *The making of saints: contesting sacred ground* (Tuscaloosa, 2005).
6. Giordana Charuty, 'La fabrication des saints (Special Issue)', *Terrain*, 24(Mars) (1995), pp. 5-118; Gëzim Alpion, 'Media and celebrity culture – Subjectivist, structuralist and post-structuralist approaches to Mother Teresa's celebrity status', *Continuum*, 4(December) (2006), pp. 541-557.
7. For more information see: Joachim Boufflet, *Les stigmatisés* (Paris, 1996); Dominique de Courcelles, ed., *Stigmates* (Paris, 2001); Herbert Thurston, *The physical phenomena of mysticism* (London, 1952), pp. 32-129.
8. Gábor Klaniczay, 'Louise Lateau et les stigmatisée du XIXème siècle. Entre directeurs spirituels, dévots, psychologues et médecins', *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà*, 26 (2013), pp. 280-319; Sofie Lachapelle, 'Between miracle and sickness. Louise Lateau and the experience of stigmata and ecstasy', *Configurations*, 12(1) (2004), pp. 77-105.
9. Richard D. E. Burton, *Holy tears, holy blood. Women, Catholicism and the culture of suffering in France, 1849-1970* (Ithaca, 2004); Hilaire Multon, 'Prophétesses et prophéties dans la seconde moitié du pontificat de Pie IX (1859-78). Entre défense du pouvoir temporel et Apocalypse hétérodoxe', *Dimensioni e problema della ricerca storica*, 1 (2003), pp. 131-159.
10. Emmet Larkin, 'The devotional revolution in Ireland, 1850-75', *The American Historical Association*, 77(3) (1972), pp. 625-652; Paula M. Kane, '"She offered herself up": The victim soul and victim spirituality in Catholicism', *Church History*, 71(1) (2002), pp. 80-119; Ann Taves, 'Context and meaning: Roman Catholic devotion to the Blessed Sacrament in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America', *Church History*, 54(4) (1985), pp. 482-495.
11. On modern stigmatic cults, see: Paula Kane, 'Stigmatic cults and pilgrimage. The convergence of private and public faith', in T. Van Osselaer and P. Pasture, eds. *Christian homes. Religion, family and domesticity in the 19th and 20th centuries* (Leuven, 2014), pp. 105-125; Nicole Priesching, *Maria von Mörl (1812-1868): Leben und Bedeutung einer 'stigmatisierten Jungfrau' aus Tirol im Kontext ultramontaner Frömmigkeit* (Brixen, 2004); Tine Van Osselaer, 'Pain, passion and compassion. Writing on stigmatic women in modern Europe', in J.L. Fontes, F. Andrade, T. Pires-Marques, eds., *Género e interioridade na vida religiosa: conceitos, contextos e práticas*, (forthcoming).
12. Philippe Boutry and Joachim Boufflet, *Un signe dans le ciel. Les apparitions de la Vierge* (Paris, 1997).
13. Ralph Gibson, 'Le catholicisme et les femmes en France au XIXe siècle', *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, 79(202) (1993), pp. 63-93; Tine Van Osselaer, 'Stigmatic women in modern Europe. An exploratory note on gender, corporeality and Catholic culture', in M. Mazoyer, ed., *Femmes chrétiennes* (forthcoming).
14. Emma Aubin-Boltanski, 'Prêter corps au Christ et à la Vierge crucifié(e)s. Liban 2011', *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà*, 26 (2013), pp. 367-386; Tamar Herzig, 'Stigmatized Holy women as female Christs', *Archivio Italiano per la storia della pietà*, 26 (2013), pp. 149-174.
15. Hervé Guillemain, *Diriger les consciences, guérir les âmes. Une histoire comparée des pratiques thérapeutiques et religieuses (1830-1939)*, (Paris, 2006), Chapter 5; Jacques Maître, *Une inconnue célèbre. La Madeleine Lebouc de Janet*, (Paris, 1993).
16. Mary Heimann, 'Mysticism in Bootle. Victorian supernaturalism as and historical problem', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64(2) (2013), pp. 335-356.
17. For an overview on this see: Graeme Turner, 'Approaching celebrity studies', *Celebrity Studies*, 1(1) (2010), pp. 11-20.
18. On the parallels between celebrity fandom and religion, see: David Giles, *Illusions of immortality. A psychology of fame and celebrity* (London, 2000), Chapter 8; Hoopgood, ed., *The making of saints*; Michael Jindra, 'Star Trek fandom as a religious phenomenon', *Sociology of Religion*, 55(1) (1994), pp. 27-51; Rojek, *Celebrity*, Chapter 2.
19. Alphonse Dupront, *Du sacré* (Paris, 1987).

20. Oliver Bennett, 'Strategic canonisation: sanctity, popular culture and the Catholic Church', *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 17(4) (2011), pp. 438-455.
21. See especially: Hent de Vries and Samuel Weber, eds., *Religion and media* (Stanford, 2001); Birgit Meyer and Annelies Moors, eds., *Religion, media and the public sphere*, (Bloomington and Indianapolis, 2006); David Morgan, ed., *Key words in religion, media and culture* (New York and London, 2008). For a critical review of some of these works see: Matthew Engelke, 'Religion and the media turn: a review essay', *American Ethnologist*, 37(2) (2010), pp. 371-379.
22. On the role of the audience and oral culture in the promotion of modern stigmatic cults see: Paula Kane, *Sister Thorn and Catholic mysticism in modern America* (Chapel Hill, 2013), Chapter 6.
23. The reader should take into account that Jahenny's and Amengual's papers are barely inventoried or not at all. I have tried to be as precise as possible in referring to these materials. Abbreviations used: AHDN, Archives Historiques du Diocèse de Nantes; ADM, Arxiu Diocesà de Mallorca.
24. Henri Bourcier, *Marie-Julie Jahenny : une vie mystique 1850-1941* (Paris, 1990); Pierre Ragot, *L'Épouse mystique du rédempteur* (Montsûrs, 1984); Pierre Roberdel, *Marie-Julie Jahenny la stigmatisée de Blain, 1850-1941* (Montsûrs: Résiac 1987).
25. Other female visionaries who prophesized the coronation of Henri V and the Catholic renewal of France were: Mélanie Calvat (La Salette), Berguile Bergadieu (Fontet) and Joséphine Lamarine (Darney). See: Jean-Pierre Chantoin (ed.), *Les marges du christianisme. 'Sectes', dissidences, ésotérisme*, (Paris, 2001), pp. XXXV-XLI.
26. More than four boxes with hundreds of manuscript transcriptions of her ecstasies are stored in the AHDN, 5F2/50-95.
27. Father David, journal (1873): AHDN, 5F2/96.
28. Jahenny's imitative stigmata were: the piercing of hands and feet by nails, the marks of flagellation on the wrists, the crown of thorns on the forehead, the wound of carrying the cross on the left shoulder (the most painful of all), and the spear wound on her side. She also had several figurative stigmata: a wedding ring in her finger (symbolizing the Holy Prepuce and her marriage to Jesus), the monograms J.H.S (for Jesus) and M.A. (for Mary) on her chest, and the phrases '*Viens, ma victime!*' and '*Triomphe de l'Eglise*', also on her chest.
29. Medical report (29 March 1873): AHDN, 5F2/27.
30. Quoted in Roberdel, *Marie-Julie Jahenny*, p. 329, italics in the original.
31. Kleinberg, 'Are saints celebrities?', p. 394.
32. Hubert Bouchet, 'Marie-Julie Jahenny depuis plus de soixante ans subissait le martyre de la Passion', *Le Petit Parisien*, 28 February (1941).
33. Mademoiselle from the aristocratic de Vanssay family (6 July 1891): AHDN, 5F2/100, emphasis in the original.
34. Ibid.
35. Roberdel, *Marie-Julie Jahenny*, pp. 248-249.
36. The following case is exemplary of the censorship by the Church. In 1898, the son of a journalist from Finistère wrote to the priest of Blain. His father, Eugène Penel, had written a booklet on the stigmatic in 1878, after a visit to La Fraudais. The manuscript remained unpublished because Penel promised Mgr. Fournier not to publish it without his authorization. In his letter to the priest of Blain, Penel's son noted that it had been decades since they had heard of Marie-Julie Jahenny, and asked if she had died. He assumed that, if Jahenny had passed away, he could finally publish his father's manuscript; though he promised not go against the will of the Church. We do not know the answer to his request; but it is certain that Penel's manuscript remains unpublished and it is kept in the Nantes diocesan archive: AHDN, 5F2/89.
37. Different accounts can be found in the following boxes: AHDN, 5F2/63, 90, 100.
38. Antoine Imbert-Gourbeyre, *Les stigmatisées* (Paris, 1873). See also, by the same author: *La stigmatisation. L'extase divine et les miracles de Lourdes. Réponse aux libres-penseurs* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1894).
39. Adrien Péladan, *Dernier mot des prophéties*, 4th edition (Nîmes, 1880); *Événements miraculeux de Fontet, de Blain et de Marpingen* (Nîmes, 1878).

40. Correspondence between Madame Grégoire and Imbert-Gourbeyre: AHDN, 5F2/98. Letters intended for Marie-Julie Jahenny: AHDN, 5F2/100.
41. Jahenny allegedly predicted the time when Lateau died, and Lateau supposedly announced that Jahenny would replace her and continue her mission. Other famous female mystics, such as Mélanie Calvat, Marguerite-Marie Alacoque and Thérèse de Lisieux, sometimes appeared in Jahenny's prophecies regarding the restoration of Catholicism in France. Bourcier, *Marie-Julie Jahenny*, pp. 297–312; Roberdel, *Marie-Julie Jahenny*, p. 20, 134.
42. Accounts from witnesses of the ecstasies: AHDN, 5F2/63 (year 1880), 66 (years 1883–85).
43. Letters from Jahenny's partisans: AHDN, 5F2/100.
44. See especially the descriptions given in the 1870s by Mademoiselle Desbrulais (AHDN, 5F2/86, 88), by the Baron de la Tour and his wife (AHDN, 5F2/87), and by an anonymous priest (AHDN, 5F2/91).
45. Souvenir from La Fraudais: AHDN, 5F2/91.
46. Richard Howells, 'Heroes, saints and celebrities: the photograph as holy relic', *Celebrity Studies*, 2(2) (2011), pp. 112–130.
47. Jacqueline Bruno, *Quelques souvenirs sur Marie-Julie, la stigmatisée de Blain* (Saint-Nazaire, 1941), p. 16.
48. Rojek, *Celebrity*, p. 59.
49. Documents on lay associations founded after Jahenny's death: AHDN, 5F2/49.
50. Ibid.
51. Rudolph M. Bell and Cristina Mazzoni, *The voices of Gemma Galgani* (Chicago and London, 2003).
52. Juan Bta. Munar, *Margarita de Costitx. Datos biográficos de la Sierva de Dios Margarita Amengual Campaner (a) Cativa, 1888-1919* (Palma de Mallorca, 1969).
53. Report by Nicolás Saggese (signed 30 June 1919): ADM, 13.1.
54. Jahenny was only supported by Bishop Félix Fournier in the 1870s. Amengual obtained the endorsement of Bishop Rigoberto Domenech during her lifetime; but she seems to have lost it nowadays, even though she was declared Venerable in 2008.
55. Sebastián Amengual, 'Consideraciones sobre Margarita Amengual': ADM, 13.1.
56. Report on Amengual by Nicolás Saggese (signed 30 June 1919): ADM, 13.1.
57. Report by Antonio Sancho and Nicolás Saggese (January 1919): ADM, 13.1.
58. Anonymous, 'El suceso de Costitx', *Baleares*, III(77), (1919), pp. 15–18.
59. Munar, *Margarita de Costitx*, p. 145.
60. Alexei Yurchak, 'Form versus matter: miraculous relics and Lenin's scientific body', in Outi Hakola, Sara Heinämaa and Sami Pihlström, eds., *Death and mortality. From individual to communal perspectives* (Helsinki, 2015), pp. 61–81.
61. Copy of the Latin certificate in: ADM, 13.1.
62. Miguel Durán, *Impressions i notes biogràfiques de Na Margalida de Costitx*, (Inca, 1919); Bartomeu Oliver, *Principals fets de sa vida i mort de Na Margalida de Costitx* (Inca, 1919).
63. F. Segura Fortaleza, *Goigs de la sirvienta de Déu, na Margalida de Costitx*, 3rd edition (Palma, 1921).
64. Ibid.
65. Munar, *Margarita de Costitx*, pp. 151–153.
66. The guide is available in Catalan, Spanish, English and German from their website: <http://www.visitplademallorca.net> (consulted: 16 January 2016).
67. On Lourdes, religious tourism and consumption see: Ruth Harris, *Lourdes. Body and spirit in the secular age* (New York, 1999); Suzanne K. Kaufman, *Consuming visions. Mass culture and the Lourdes shrine* (Ithaca and London, 2005).
68. This claim is based on a personal conversation with César Murillo, director of the Diocese of Mallorca archives.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the archivists of the diocesan archives in Nantes and Palma de Mallorca, and especially Claire Gurvil and Véronique Bontemps, for their precious help.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Funding

This work was supported by the European Research Council project: STIGMATICS, 'Between saints and celebrities. The devotion and promotion of stigmatics in Europe, c. 1800-1950.' Project reference: 637908.

Notes on contributor

Andrea Graus holds a PhD in History of Science from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (2015). Her thesis explored psychical research and spiritism in Spain at the turn of the twentieth century. Her actual research interests include the history of mysticism and popular devotion and the history of hypnosis. She is currently a post-doctoral researcher at the Ruusbroec Institute (Universiteit Antwerpen), working in the ERC-funded project: 'Between saints and celebrities. The devotion and promotion of stigmatics in Europe, c. 1800-1950' (PI: Tine Van Osselaer).