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Florian Wöller • Ueli Zahnd (eds.)

Dominican Culture, Dominican Theology

The Order of Preachers and Its Spheres of Action (1215 – ca. 1600)

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Lay Death and Burial in Dominican Habits

Kirsten Schut

From the early Middle Ages into the modern era, lay Christians have sometimes opted to die and/or be buried wearing the clothing of religious orders. The Dominicans were neither the inventors nor the most ardent promotors of this custom, and their involvement in it has received little scholarly attention. Yet during the order's first four centuries (and indeed beyond) laypeople frequently sought and were provided with Dominican habits for burial purposes. This article pieces together information from a wide range of sources to show that among the medieval Dominicans, the custom of lay death and burial in religious habits was widespread, controversial, and subject to innovations. I offer it as a preliminary snapshot of my findings from a larger ongoing research project about this practice.

1. History

The custom of lay death and burial in religious habits developed out of the practice of entering a monastery on one's deathbed, which dates back to at least the ninth century.[1] An early example is described in the opening of the *Life of Liutbirga of Wendhausen*: Hessi (d. 804), a Saxon lord who was made a count by Charlemagne, "reached an advanced age and having bequeathed what he owned to his daughters, he hastened to the monastery of Fulda so that he might, on his final day, be serving the Lord as a soldier. He died there, happily, in the habit of a monk."[2] Deathbed entrance to the monastic life, known as *professio ad succurrendum*, was common enough among the noble and knightly classes of eleventh- and twelfth-century Europe that some monasteries developed abbreviated

[1] Gougaud, Louis: "Deathbed Clothing with the Religious Habit", trans. C.G. Bateman, in *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages*, London 1927, pp. 131–145; Brückner, Wolfgang: "Sterben im Mönchsgewand: Zum Funktionswandel einer Totenkleidsitte", in ed. Hans Friedrich Foltin: *Kontakte und Grenzen: Probleme der Volks-, Kultur- und Sozialforschung: Festschrift für Gerhard Heilfurth zum 60. Geburtstag*, Göttingen 1969, pp. 259–277; Lynch, Joseph H.: *Simoniacal Entry into Religious Life from 1000 to 1260: A Social, Economic, and Legal Study*, Columbus, OH 1976, pp. 27–36; Miramon, Charles de: "Embrasser l'état monastique à l'âge adulte (1050–1200): Étude sur la conversion tardive", in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 54 (1999), pp. 825–849; Schut, Kirsten: "Death and a Clothing Swap: An Unusual Case of Death and Burial in the Religious Habit from Fourteenth-Century Naples", in *Viator* 50 (2019) [2020], pp. 185–230.

[2] *Vita Liutbirgae* 1, trans. Frederick S. Paston, in *Anchoress and Abbess in Ninth-Century Saxony: The Lives of Liutbirga of Wendhausen and Hathumoda of Gandersheim*, Washington, DC 2009, pp. 83–117: 83. I thank Graham Johnson for alerting me to this source.

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rituals of profession to accommodate the needs of the dying.[3] Charters detailing the substantial gifts that usually accompanied such professions were drawn up in advance, sometimes even including provisions that the monks would travel to the dying person's house if needed in order to clothe them with the habit and then bring the corpse back to the monastery for burial. Popular demand was such that reforming orders like the Cistercians, who initially banned deathbed receptions in their houses, quickly came to participate in the practice as well.[4]

The Dominicans and other mendicant orders that emerged around the beginning of the thirteenth century therefore adopted a custom that was already centuries old. With their emphasis on urban pastoral care, the mendicants played a major role in popularizing the practice of lay death and burial in religious habits, much as they did with church burials.[5] Already by the fourteenth century, the custom's social range had expanded to include not just monarchs, knights, and nobles, but also members of the growing mercantile and artisan classes. For example, the widows of a rope-maker and a butcher, as well as a nobleman, were among the women in fourteenth-century Avignon whose testaments included requests to be buried in Dominican habits.[6]

Many of these people were simply using habits as burial garments, rather than entering the convent for their final days. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, it became increasingly common for laypeople to arrange to be clothed in the habit at the very moment of death, or shortly thereafter. Dominican authorities initially resisted this trend, with the 1268 provincial chapter of Provence cautioning that habits should not be given to dead people.[7] By the first half of the fourteenth century, however, the prevailing mood softened. The Roman provincial chapter acts insisted that the habit should be given in death only to the especially pious and devoted, lest it fall into disrepute. Meanwhile in Aragon, the chapter acts repeatedly instructed priests to say masses for people who had taken the Dominican habit in death (*in obitu/in morte*), indicating a growing official acceptance of the phenomenon.[8]

3 Figueras, Cesáreo M.: "Acerca del rito de la profesión monástica medieval *ad succurrendum*", in *Liturgica* 2 (1958), pp. 359–400.

4 Lynch 1976, pp. 27–36. See *ibid.*, p. 34 for an example of a charter from 1186 that includes an agreement that the Cistercian monks of Gimont would fetch the dying man (Bernard of Logorsan) if he was unable to travel to the monastery himself.

5 On mendicants and church burials, see Bruzelius, Caroline: *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars and the Medieval City*, New Haven 2014.

6 Rollo-Koster, Joëlle: "*Item Lego… Item Volo…* Is There Really an 'I' in Medieval Provençales' Wills?", in eds. Joëlle Rollo-Koster/Kathryn L. Reyerson: *"For the Salvation of my Soul": Women and Wills in Medieval and Early Modern France*, St. Andrews 2012, pp. 3–24: 23, citing the testaments of Catherine Baucaire (10 April 1348), MS Avignon, Archives départementales de Vaucluse [ADV], Fusterie B4; Jeanne Giraud (13 April 1361), ADV, H Dominicains 7, ff. 99r–100r; and M[…], widow of the nobleman Bertrand Berengarii of Avignon (c. 1387), ADV, H Dominicains 7, ff. 78r–79r. Catherine is also identified as a practicing rope-maker.

7 *Acta capitulorum provincialium ordinis fratrum praedicatorum: Première province de Provence, Province romaine, Province d'Espagne (1239–1302)*, ed. Célestin Douais, Toulouse 1894, p. 133: "defunctis habitus ordinis non tradatur."

8 Käppeli, Thomas/Dondaine, Antoine eds.: *Acta capitulorum provincialium provinciae Romanae*, Rome 1941, pp. 180 (1311) and 184 (1312); Robles Sierra, Adolfo: "Actas de los

Habits were clearly available for purchase by the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1351, the southern Italian knight Rainaldo of Frosolone composed a testament wherein he left one *uncia* to buy the Dominican habit in which he wanted to be buried in the church of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples.[9] It appears that Rainaldo was not set on becoming a Dominican friar, both from his reference to purchasing the habit and from the contingency plans he laid out in the next lines: if he died in Frosolone rather than Naples, he wanted to be buried there in the church of Santa Maria; if he died elsewhere, he wished to be buried in the main collegiate church of that region. Several other mid-fourteenth century Neapolitan testators left between one and two *uncie* (equivalent to roughly 5–13 florins) for the Dominican habits in which they wanted to be buried, suggesting that custom or the friars had established a going rate.[10] The request of a testator in Cortona to be carried to the grave wearing a "whole and perfect" Dominican habit valued at 10 florins in 1410 suggests that this standard price range extended beyond Naples.[11]

By the latter half of the fourteenth century even an abbreviated religious profession was no longer an essential prerequisite for burial in a Dominican habit. By 1369, a Sienese testator could request to be buried in the complete Dominican habit in what he describes as the customary manner for laypeople's bodies to be buried with the friars' habit in that city.[12] In 1401, the pepperer Guirandus Barduchii in Montpellier asked for his corpse to be carried to the Dominican church and buried in the Dominican habit in the same way that a Dominican friar would be buried, emphasizing that this should take place after his soul had

capitulos provinciales de la provincia dominicana de Aragon, correspondientes a los años 1302, 1303, 1304 y 1307", in *Escritos del vedat* 20 (1990), pp. 237–285: 249 (1302); *id.*: "Actas de los capitulos provinciales de la provincia de Aragon de la orden de predicadores, correspondientes a los años 1345, 1347, 1350 y 1351", in *Escritos del vedat* 23 (1993), pp. 257–321: 275 (1345), 289 (1347), and 302 (1350).

9 *Regesta chartarum: Regesto delle pergamene dell'archivio Caetani*, ed. Gelasio Caetani, vol. 2, Perugia 1927, p. 153: "[...] elegit sibi sepulturam et sepelliri voluit corpus suum, si ipsum mori contingat de presente infirmitate in civitate Neapolis, intus ecclesiam Sancti Dominici ordinis predicatorum, et ipso casu sepelliri voluit cum habitu fratrum predicatorum et reliquit pro ipso habitu emendo unciam unam [...]" The *uncia* was the local money of account, equivalent to about 5 Florentine florins in the mid-fourteenth century; see Spufford, Peter: *Handbook of Medieval Exchange*, London 1986, p. 63.

10 Schut 2020, p. 197.

11 Testament of Guinaldus olim Cechi Landi de Cortona (6 June 1410), partially transcribed in Panella, Emilio: "Convento San Domenico di Cortona (1298–1499): Spoglio archivistico dei primi secoli" (2009), at www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/convento/cortona4 (accessed on 31 July 2024): "In primis quidem sui corporis sepulturam elegit apud ecclesiam Sancti Dominici de Cortona, quod deferri voluit ad dictam ecclesiam indutum cum habitu fratrum dicti ordinis sancti Dominici integro et perfecto valoris et costi x floren. auri."

12 Szabó-Bechstein, Brigitte: "Die Sieneser Urkunden der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin (12.–18. Jh.): Die Fonds S. Leonardo al Lago, S. Salvatore di Lecceto, S. del Carmine und Piccolomini", in *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 55/56 (1976), pp. 159–199: 180: "Voluit corpus suum sepelliri apud locum fratrum predicatorum de Sen. cum toto habitu dictorum fratrum prout consuetudo est in civ. Sen. corpora secullariorum cum habitu fratrum sepelliri."

left his body.[13] By the sixteenth century some people were even purchasing their burial habits in advance. In her testament of 1538, Donna Lucrezia, daughter of the Paduan jurist Stefano de Min and wife of the Venetian jurist Angelo Alessandri, explained that the Dominican habit in which she wished to be clothed at the time of death could be found in a chest along with her indulgence letters, candles, and other death-related necessities.[14]

Using habits as burial clothing, independent of any religious profession, opened up opportunities for creativity. For instance, it enabled people to be buried in one kind of religious habit in a church belonging to another order. In 1371, for instance, a long-time Franciscan tertiary named Margareta Manfredi was buried in the Dominican church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence wearing a Franciscan habit.[15] Another option was layering a Dominican habit under or over other types of religious garments. A fourteenth-century bishop of Oviedo requested to be buried in the cathedral with a Dominican habit under his bishop's robes, leaving twenty florins as alms for the convent that would provide it.[16] A physician in sixteenth-century Madrid wanted to wear a Dominican habit on top of his confraternity tunic.[17] A juror's wife in Toledo expressed a desire to be buried in both Dominican and Franciscan habits in her testament of 1561, and a jurist in Teruel made the same request in 1616.[18] A captain's wife in seventeenth-century Compostella sought to be buried in no fewer than four habits: Franciscan, Dominican, Augustinian, and Mercedarian![19] Late medieval

[13] MS Montpellier, Archives départementales de l'Hérault, 2 E 95/390, f. 110v: "Eligens sepulturam corporis meo sepeliendo faciendam dum anima ab eodem separata fuerit in simiterio fratrum predicatorum conuentus Montpelii in tumulo meo, quod est in capella beati Iacobi eorum ecclesie, et volo et ordino quod corpus meum sepeliatur et portetur ad ecclesiasticam sepulturam cum habitu fratrum predicatorum eo modo quo sepelitur unus frater predicator."

[14] King, Catherine: *Renaissance Women Patrons: Wives and Widows in Italy, c. 1300–1550*, Manchester 1998, pp. 162 and 181, n. 62: "Lo abito del quale volgio essere vestita al tempo de la morte me sie de sancto domenico el quale ho posto in una mia caseleta biancha con tute le altre cose da estremi poste intorno, in nela quale etiam sono alguni miei concesione apostolica ibi poteremi far absolvere pleniariamente [...] e le candele."

[15] MS Florence, Archivio di Stato, Manoscritti 625 [Sepoltuario fiorentino ovvero Descrizione delle chiese, cappelle, e sepolture, loro armi et inscrizioni, della città di Firenze e suoi contorni fatta da Stefano Rosselli, MDCLVII, copied by Lorenzo Maria Mariani c. 1699–1720], f. 781. I thank Anne Leader for this reference.

[16] Fernández Conde, Francisco Javier: *Gutierre de Toledo, Obispo de Oviedo (1377–1389): Reforma eclesiástica en la Asturias bajomedieval*, Oviedo 1978, p. 299: "Volumus autem sepeliri in habitu fratrum predicatorum sub nostro habitu pontificali, et quod dentur conventui dictorum fratrum, qui nos induerit dictum habitum, viginti florenni in helemosinam pro comunitati."

[17] Eire, Carlos: *From Madrid to Purgatory: The Art and Craft of Dying in Sixteenth-Century Spain*, Cambridge 1995, p. 108, referring to the 1567 testament of Luis Diaz.

[18] Martínez Gil, Fernando: *Muerte y sociedad en la España de los Austrias*, Cuenca 2000, p. 561; García Hinojosa, Pablo: *Simbolismo, religiosidad y ritual barroco: La muerte en Teruel en el siglo XVII*, PhD dissertation, Universidad de Zaragoza, 2010, p. 197, citing the testament of Juan Calmes; another testator named Pedro José Villarroya Gil de Palomar made the same request in 1673.

[19] González Lopo, Domingo: "La mortaja religiosa en Santiago entre los siglos XVI y XIX",

testators often wanted different kinds of friars to participate in their funeral processions, and they often distributed their bequests across a range of different religious orders and institutions. Being buried in multiple habits could be another means of diversifying one's spiritual investments—or in cruder terms, hedging one's bets.

And there were other, more personal innovations, like the carefully orchestrated exchange of habits outlined in the 1385 testament of the Neapolitan noblewoman Perrona Gattola, which I have discussed at length elsewhere.[20] Perrona instructed that on the day of her death she was to be clothed in a new Dominican habit, which would subsequently be removed from her corpse and given to a Dominican friar named Honofrius, who was her confessor, and one of her designated executors. He in turn was to donate his habit to clothe her corpse for burial. Habits were objects with rich symbolic potential that could be incorporated into death rituals in surprising and innovative ways.

Deathbed entrance to the monastic life did not disappear in the later Middle Ages, including among the Dominicans. For instance, the necrology of the female Dominican convent of Corpus Domini in Venice recorded that in 1403 the aged Maruzza Bonzi, a Franciscan tertiary who was related to several Dominican nuns, "fell ill and was almost at the point of death, and out of respect for her daughter [Sister Franceschina da Noale] she was brought inside here and dressed in our holy habit**,** and she lived twenty-two days with great devotion."[21] But alongside this traditional practice, a more commercialized option treating habits as burial clothing was clearly available.

2. Incidence

Although the evidence I have cited so far comes mainly from Italy and the south of France, this was not only a Mediterranean custom. References to lay death and burial in Dominican habits can also be found in late medieval testaments, necrologies, chronicles, and other sources from northern and central Europe. For instance, the obituary of the Dominicans of Provins includes two notes in a fourteenth-century hand about female donors who were buried in the order's habit.[22]

in *Compostellanum: Revista de la Archidiocesis de Santiago de Compostela* 34 (1989), pp. 271–295: 280, citing the testament of Antonia Pérez de Puga y Novoa (1652).

20 Schut 2020.

21 Riccoboni, Bartolomea: *Life and Death in a Venetian Convent: The Chronicle and Necrology of Corpus Domini, 1395–1436*, ed. and trans. Daniel Bornstein, Chicago 2000, pp. 68–69. Bornstein notes that it appears from her testament that she lived in the convent for three months rather than 22 days before death.

22 Molinier, Auguste, ed.: *Obituaires de la Province de Sens*, vol. 1: *Diocèses de Sens et de Paris*, Paris 1902, pp. 85–86: Stephana de Lenneio (18 June) and Stephaneta dicta la Calle (4 August). Molinier's transcription of the latter entry on p. 86 was incomplete; it should read "Anniversarium Stephanete dicte la Calle, sepulta in habitu ordinis, que maxima contulit beneficia conventui et in vita et in morte."

Scholars have noted examples in Ireland,[23] the Low Countries,[24] and Transylvania.[25] Male Dominicans' habits were the most sought-after, not just by men, but also sometimes by women, who also sometimes requested the habits of Dominican nuns.[26] As the Dominican Third Order grew, its habits were occasionally sought as well.[27]

But while Dominican habits were widely available, they were not the most popular choice. Quantitative studies that have been attempted where testaments survive in sufficient numbers show the Dominicans trailing the Franciscans by a significant margin when it came to requests for habit burials. For instance, Marie-Claude Marandet's study of 2050 testaments from the region of Toulouse dated between 1300 and 1450 found that approximately 2% of lay testators (roughly equal proportions of men and women, and most in the fifteenth century) asked to be buried in a religious habit. Franciscan habits were requested most frequently, especially by rich testators from the city of Toulouse itself. The next most popular habit was that of the Carmelites, followed by the Benedictines, and then the Dominicans and Augustinians in equal numbers. Occasional requests were also made for the habits of the canons of St. Sernin and the military Order of St. John.[28]

Similar patterns can be observed in Iberia. The 1227 testaments from late fifteenth- to early seventeenth-century Seville and Madrid studied by Marina Pinto included 288 requests for burial in Franciscan habits. Dominican habits were the next most popular, with a mere 14 requests, slightly more than the Carmelites' 12.[29] A similar picture emerges from Carlos Eire's narrower sample

23 Fry, Susan Leigh: *Burial in Medieval Ireland, 900–1500: A Review of the Written Sources*, Dublin 1999, p. 161.

24 Bakker, F. J.: *Bedelorden en begijnen in de stad Groningen tot 1594*, Assen 1988, p. 89.

25 Fabritius, Karl: "Zwei Funde in der ehemaligen Dominikanerkirche zu Schäßburg", in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, Neue Folge 5 (1861), pp. 1–40: 14 and 17–18.

26 See n. 36 below for an example of a woman seeking burial in a nun's habit. Schut, Kirsten: "Postmortem Cross-Dressing and Other Gendered Aspects of Lay Death and Burial in Religious Habits, c. 1350–1650", in eds. Enrique Fernandez/Darlene Abreu-Ferreira: *Death and Gender in the Early Modern Period* (Death in History, Culture, and Society 2), Leiden/Boston 2024, pp. 11–32 discusses the phenomenon of women seeking burial in friars' habits at length.

27 e.g. Bähr, Ingeborg: "Die Altarretabel des Giovanni di Paolo aus S. Domenico in Siena: Überlegungen zu den Auftraggebern", in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 31 (1987), pp. 357–366: 360 (Testament of Margarita Branchini, dated 31 May 1423): "Corpus vero suum sepelliri voluit, iussit atque mandavit apud locum fratrum predicatorum de Senis, cum habitu penitentie dicti ordinis et more mantellatarum ordinis prelibati et in sepulcro suorum antenatorum."

28 Marandet, Marie-Claude: "La mort en Toulousain d'après les testaments des XIVe et XVe siècles", in ed. Jean-Luc Laffont: *Visages de la mort dans l'histoire du Midi toulousain*, Aspet 1999, pp. 30–31.

29 Pinto, Marina: *Reflecting on the Grave and the Bones Within: A Locus for Individual Will, Action and Identity*, PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1998, pp. 22–23 and 121. The Hieronymites, Minims, Mercedarians, Trinitarians, and military orders had between 1 and 3 requests each. 11 testators also requested burial in confraternity habits. Pinto's sample included 1038 wills from Madrid dating from 1503–1630 and 188 wills from Seville, dating

of 436 testaments from sixteenth-century Madrid, which included 152 requests for Franciscan habits and 7 for Dominican ones. Dominican habits were never requested in more than 6% of the testaments Eire looked at for any given decade, whereas the percentages of testaments including requests for Franciscan habits ranged from 18% to 59%.[30] Studying 90 testaments from Castille, Adeline Rucquoi found that 30% of fifteenth-century testators wanted to be buried in a religious habit. Half of those requests were for Franciscan habits, followed by the Benedictines (almost 23%), while the Dominicans, Mercederians, and Cistericians tied in third place, at 9% each.[31] In 319 testaments from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Toledo, Fernando Martínez Gil found 192 requests for Franciscan habits, 71 for Carmelite, and 7 each for Dominican and Conceptionist habits.[32]

Franciscan dominance does not appear to have been firmly entrenched prior to the fifteenth century. Monica Mignani's study of 273 testaments from Florence in the first half of the fourteenth century, which represented 203 testators because several made multiple testaments, found that of the 28 testators who chose to be buried in a religious habit, 10 chose the Silvestrines of San Marco, 7 the Dominicans of Santa Maria Novella, and 4 the Franciscans of Santa Croce.[33] Moreover, two of the testators who asked for Franciscan habits were not entirely committed to that choice: one woman later reconsidered and opted for the habit of the *vestitae virginis Marie* associated with the Servites, and a man requested either the Franciscan habit or the habit of the brothers of the hospital of San Gallo. All these testaments came from the notebook of a single notary, however, and the Dominicans' unusual outpacing of the Franciscans here is probably more reflective of the nature of his client networks than broader Florentine practice.[34]

3. Reasons

Franciscan success in this area can be partially explained by the fact that the habit was a particularly compelling part of the Franciscan origin story. Francis was famously the son of a cloth merchant, who rejected his father's wealth and even the clothes he had given him. Instead, he fashioned a coarse, simple gar-

from 1450–1498.

30 Eire 1995, pp. 105–113.

31 Rucquoi, Adeline: "Le corps et la mort en Castille aux XIVe et XVe siècles", in *Razo: Cahiers du Centre d'Études Médiévales de Nice* 2 (1981), pp. 89–98. Rucquoi only expresses her results in percentages, but I think this means she found 10 requests for Franciscan habits, 5 for Benedictine ones, and 2 each for the remaining orders.

32 Martínez Gil 2000, pp. 559–560.

33 Mignani, Monica: "La predisposizione delle esequie nei testamenti di un Notaio Fiorentino della prima metà del Trecento", in *Annali Aretini* 10 (2002), pp. 23–60: 56–59.

34 Unfortunately, neither Cohn, Jr., Samuel K.: *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*, Baltimore 1997, nor Strocchia, Sharon: *Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence*, Baltimore 1992, tracks requests for burial clothing systematically.

ment that was widely perceived to be both a symbol and a literal embodiment of the ideals of poverty, simplicity, and humility.[35] It was often the richest citizens—those with the greatest need to repent and demonstrate their humility—who asked to be buried in Franciscan habits. The Dominicans' sleek black and white did not send such a straightforward message.

This is not to say that Dominican habits could never be part of an ostentatiously humble funeral. One example is the ceremony planned by Ermellina Malatesta di Ghiaggiolo in her testament of 1490. According to her instructions, the noblewoman was to be buried in the church of San Domenico in Cesena, where her husband, Gianfrancesco di Bagno, had also chosen to be buried. At the time of her death, her body was to be clothed in the habit of a Dominican nun and carried humbly to the grave, without any ornaments or pomp. She prevailed upon her heirs and executors to ensure that limited numbers of religious men would be in attendance (merely the cathedral canons, the friars of San Domenico, and her parish priest), and that only the bells of the Dominican church and the cathedral would be rung.[36] This was no pauper's funeral, but compared with the elaborate processions and conspicuous consumption that would otherwise be expected for a woman of her status, it was considerably restrained.[37] Ermellina's choice of habit was unusual, however. Most testators hoping to make a similar impression would have opted for a Franciscan habit.

The Franciscans also received a boost from the circulation of legends touting their habit's salvific powers. Already in the middle of the fourteenth century, a Franciscan friar named Arnoldo Montaner ran afoul of a series of Dominican inquisitors for promoting so-called heretical claims that included "no one who wears the habit of St. Francis can be damned" and "St. Francis will go down to Purgatory once a year and bring out the souls of those who in this life belonged to his order, or the orders founded by him, and lead them to Paradise."[38]

[35] Warr, Cordelia: "Touch, Sight, and the Patched Franciscan Habit", in ed. Xavier Seubert/Oleg Bychkov: *Aesthetic Theology in the Franciscan Tradition: The Senses and the Experience of God in Art*, New York 2020, pp. 209–233; *ead.*: *Dressing for Heaven: Religious Clothing in Italy, 1215–1545*, Manchester 2010, ch. 5; Concha Sahli, Alejandra: *The Meaning of the Habit: Religious Orders, Dress and Identity, 1215–1650*, PhD disserstation, University College London, 2017, esp. ch. 5–6.

[36] Mazzotti, Tania: "Le mogli e la discendenza femminile del ramo di Ghiaggiolo", in ed. Anna Falcioni: *Le donne di casa Malatesti*, Rimini 2006, vol. 1, pp. 167–234: 231: "Item sepulturam suam elegit et esse voluit in ecclesia Sancti Dominici de Cesena ubi magnificus comes Ioannes Franciscus eius coniux eam elegerit in qua voluit iussit et mandavit tempore mortis sue sepeliri. Item voluit et mandavit quod tempore mortis sue corpus eius induatur habitu monalium Sancti Dominici et quod humiliter absque ullo ornamento et pompa ad sepulturam deferatur ad quam earum modo iussit voluit et mandavit ut conveniant domini canonici et capitulum cathedralis ecclesie Cesene et fratres Sancti Dominici una cum presbitero eius parrochiali et nulli alii religiosi nec societas aliqua batuttorum nec pulsentur nisi campane cathedralis ecclesie Cesene et Sancti Dominici gravando conscientias infrascriptorum suorum heredum ac huius testamenti commissariorum si secus factum fuerit."

[37] Strocchia 1992, pp. 41–42.

[38] Nicholaus Eymericus: *Directorium inquisitorum*, Venice 1595, p. 267; Saggi, Ludovico: "L'ambiente della 'Bolla Sabatina': Abito religioso e salvezza eterna in scritti medievali", in *Carmelus* 14 (1967), pp. 63–89: 78–79: "nullus potest damnari qui deferat habitum beati

Arnaldo was not the only Franciscan promoting such claims; according to an anonymous satirical poem that circulated in England a few decades later, the Franciscans preached that anyone who died in one of their habits would be led straight to Paradise.[39] At the end of the Middle Ages these types of legends were increasingly codified as indulgences. For instance, when Pope Sixtus V instituted the Franciscan Confraternity of the Cord in 1585, he granted a plenary indulgence to members who were buried in the Franciscan habit and cord, as well as those who were putting on the cord for the first time.[40] Early modern testators who sought to be buried in Franciscan habits sometimes referred to indulgences explicitly in their wills.[41]

Dominicans from the thirteenth century onward claimed that their habit (or more specifically, the scapular) was a gift from Mary, who appeared in a vision to Reginald of Orleans.[42] The Virgin's presentation of the habit to Reginald, or sometimes Dominic, was a common theme in medieval Dominican art, depicted already on the tomb of St. Dominic in Bologna sculpted c. 1265 by Nicola Pisano. The English Carmelite friar John Hornby claimed in 1374 that Dominican convents often had paintings of the Virgin's gift of the scapular.[43] But this story lacked a general promise of salvation and seems not to have been as compelling as the Franciscan ones. Moreover, the Dominican confraternity of the Rosary, founded in 1470, drew attention away from the Dominicans' habit at the same time as the Franciscan confraternity of the Cord drew attention to part of theirs.[44] The attraction of the Cord of St. Francis was such that some early modern testators who asked to be buried in Dominican habits asked for the Franciscan cord as well.[45]

Francisci"; "beatus Franciscus semel in anno descendit ad purgatorium et extrahit inde animas illorum qui in hac vita fuerunt de Ordine suo, seu ordinibus per eundem institutis, et ducit ad paradisum."

39 Wright, Thomas, ed.: *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History, Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III to that of Richard III*, London 1859, vol. 1, p. 256; Scase, Wendy. "'Heu! quanta desolatio Angliae praestatur': A Wycliffite Libel and the Naming of Heretics, Oxford 1382", in eds. Fiona Somerset/Jill C. Havens/Derrick G. Pitard: *Lollards and Their Influence in Late Medieval England*, Woodbridge 2003, pp. 19–36.

40 Tingle, Elizabeth: *Indulgences after Luther: Pardons in Counter-Reformation France, 1520–1720*, London 2015, p. 146.

41 E.g. González Lopo 1989, p. 274; Voekel, Pamela: *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico*, Durham, NC 2002, p. 33; "Last Will and Testament of María de Huancavelica, Free Black Woman of the *Folupa* Nation, Lima, 1666", trans. José R. Jouve-Martín, in eds. Kathryn Joy McKnight/Leo J. Garofalo: *Afro-Latino Voices: Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550–1812*, Indianapolis 2009, pp. 118–121: 119: "I want and it is my will that, once Our Lord sees fit to take me from this present life, my body be buried in the Convent of Saint Francis in this city or in the place that my executors deem most appropriate, and that my body be shrouded with the habit of Saint Francis to earn the graces and indulgences that it brings."

42 Warr, Cordelia: "Religious Habits and Visual Propaganda: The Vision of the Blessed Reginald of Orleans", in *Journal of Medieval History* 28 (2002), pp. 43–72, republished in Warr 2010, pp. 71–92.

43 Saggi 1967, p. 75, n. 29.

44 Tingle 2015, pp. 89–90.

45 E.g. Ramos, Gabriela: *Death and Conversion in the Andes: Lima and Cuzco, 1532–1670*, Notre

When people did choose to be buried in Dominican habits, it was usually because they had a special connection with the order or some of its members. Having a Dominican confessor, belonging to a Dominican-affiliated confraternity, or having a family tradition of burials in a Dominican church were common and often overlapping factors. For instance, the aforementioned fourteenth-century Neapolitan noblewoman Perrona Gattola had a Dominican confessor named Honofrius, and wanted to be buried wearing his habit in a family chapel in the church of San Domenico Maggiore in Naples.[46] In 1531, the Bolognese notary Eliseo Mamelini was initially laid out at home in the robes of the Dominican-sponsored Confraternity of Santa Croce, of which he was a member. His corpse was subsequently changed into a Dominican habit for the procession to San Domenico, where he was buried in a family tomb.[47] Seeking the intercession of a Dominican saint could also be a motivating factor, as in the case of Violante Pérez of Catalayud's testament of 1492, which included a request to be buried in the church of San Pedro Mártir, wearing the habit of St. Peter Martyr, so that he would act as her intercessor before Christ.[48]

People who were buried in Dominican habits are often described as having an abiding love for the order. Sometimes the love was partly for family members who were associated with the Dominicans: for instance, the mother of a lay brother (*conversus*) at the Dominican convent in Orvieto who died in 1305 gave the convent a financial gift "out of gratitude for her son and on account of the love she had for the order" and subsequently died in the Dominican habit.[49] A funeral sermon for a man named John by the fourteenth-century Dominican theologian John of Naples (Giovanni Regina) explained that the deceased would have liked to have joined the Dominicans in life, but could not licitly do because he was married, and so showed his love for the order by taking their habit in death.[50] In another sermon, John of Naples argues that an unnamed

Dame, IN 2010, p. 149, citing the testament of Doña Ana Quispe Asarpay Coya, a member of the Cuzco elite (19 September 1611).

46 Schut 2020.

47 Terpstra, Nicholas: *Lay Confraternities and Civic Religion in Renaissance Bologna*, Cambridge 1995, pp. 68–69.

48 Falcón Pérez, María Isabel/del Carmen García Herrero, María: "La muerte y los rituales funerarios según los testamentos bajomedievales aragoneses", in eds. Francesco Salvestrini/Gian Maria Varanini/Anna Zangarini: *La morte e i suoi riti in Italia tra Medioevo e prima Età moderna*, Florence 2007, pp. 323–376: 345: "Quiere et manda que la ayan de sepultar et enterrar con el ábito de Senyor Pedro Mártil, por tal que él sea intercesor a Nuestro Senyor Jhesu Christo por ella."

49 Iohannes matthaei Caccia de Urbeveteri: *Cronica fratrum Sancti Dominici de Urbeveteri*, ed. Emilio Panella (2006), https://www.e-theca.net/emiliopanella/cronica2/orvie42.htm (accessed on 31 July 2024), no. 56 (Iohannes de Fiordemaiio): "Post cuius mortem, mater eius ob gratiam filii et propter dilectionem quam habebat ad ordinem, nostro conventui reliquit libras vijc usualis monete; que et obiit in habitu ordinis."

50 Schneyer no. 44 (*De Iohanne mortuo*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 30ra: "presens defunctus devotionem quam habuit ad ordinem ostendit in morte, precipue habitum ordinis assumendo, quod etiam forte in vita fecisset si licuisset sibi, sed non licuit, quia uxoratus fuit." This sermon and two others for people who took the Dominican habit on their deathbeds appear in the *sermones de mortuis* section of a collection of John's sermons that was probably drawn up under his direction during the early 1340s.

woman who took the Dominican habit on her deathbed deserves to be called a sister and mother of the friars in death as well as in life because of her constant devotion to the order and the love she demonstrated through her works.[51] The friars of the Dominican church of Sighișoara in Transylvania recorded that in 1520 Andreas de Ewlysz, a "singular lover" (*singularis amator*) of the order and convent, was buried in the habit as a final act of devotion, "for he did not wish to be separated even when dying from those whom he loved while alive."[52] The phrase "singular devotion" also occurs in a document of 1482, in which the chaplain Petrus de Virgulto made a donation to the Dominicans of Grenoble on the condition that he would be provided with a room in the convent until the end of life and that after death his body would be clothed in a Dominican habit and buried in the chapel of Notre-Dame-de-Pitié.[53]

A more unusual case is that of Master Nicasius (d. 1505), a parish priest who had persecuted the Dominicans in several cities in Transylvania, but repented in the last year of his life. He resigned his post, gave all he had to the friars of Sighișoara, begged their forgiveness, and was buried in their church before the altar of St. Dominic, wearing the Dominican habit.[54] The same year, a merchant from Palermo named Manfredo La Muta, who probably converted from Judaism to Christianity around 1476, not long before the Jews were expelled from Sicily, composed a testament that included a request for burial in a Dominican habit. Nadia Zeldes wonders whether this request was motivated by sincere devotion. Noting that Manfredo's witnesses included four clerics, and that the notaries who drew up converts' wills often had ties to the Inquisition, she asks, "Would anyone so closely watched express his true personal wishes?"[55] Both men's relationships with the Dominican order were significantly more complicated than the lifelong devotion idealized in sources like those quoted above.

I refer to them using the numbers assigned in Schneyer, Johannes Baptist: *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, vol. 3, *Autoren I–J*, Münster 1971, pp. 604–615. See Schut, Kirsten: *A Dominican Master of Theology in Context: John of Naples and Intellectual Life Beyond Paris, c. 1300–1350*, PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2019, with a description of this manuscript at pp. 375–381. A fuller discussion of these sermons can be found below and in Schut 2020, pp. 188–190.

51 Schneyer no. 30 (*De sorore ordinis mortua*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 22ra: "Et Domina N. multum dilexit fratres et amorem ostendit per opera, tam in vita quam in morte. [...] Domina N. fuit stabilissima in devotione ordinis et amore quem continuavit usque ad mortem inclusive, propter quod potest dici quod non solum fuit in vita *soror et mater* fratrum, sed etiam in morte."

52 Fabritius 1861, pp. 17–18: "Quos igitur vivens amauerat moriens ecciam ab eis se abstrahere nolebat."

53 Chevalier, C.-U.-J., ed.: *Nécrologe et cartulaire des dominicains de Grenoble*, Romans 1870, p. 67.

54 Fabritius 1861, p. 14.

55 Zeldes, Nadia: *The Former Jews of This Kingdom: Sicilian Converts After the Expulsion, 1492–1516* (The Medieval Mediterranean 46), Leiden 2003, pp. 280–283.

4. Controversy

Late medieval and early modern critics of the mendicant orders often pointed to the friars' promotion of death and burial in their habits as a sign of greed, hypocrisy, and spiritual degeneration. For example, John Wycliffe (d. 1384) characterized the friars' teaching that no one who dies in their habits will be damned as an idolatrous blasphemy because it implies that every friar achieves salvation and treats habits as relics more powerful than the Eucharist.[56] In a biting satire of contemporary funerary practices, Desiderius Erasmus (d. 1536) depicted representatives of the main mendicant orders as "vultures" squabbling with each other and the parish priest at the bedside of a dying man. The pushiest friars are a Franciscan and a Dominican, who heavily influence the composition of the man's testament to favor their orders' interests, and draw lots to determine which of their orders should lead his funeral procession. The autopsy-mangled corpse is ultimately "clothed somehow or other in a Franciscan cloak" and buried.[57] Another of Erasmus's dialogues mocks those "who would despair of recovery from illness unless clothed in Dominican garb—nay, who wouldn't even be buried unless in Franciscan habit" as superstitious fools.[58] The Swiss reformer Pierre Viret (d. 1571) contended that the habits of Francis and Dominic will do no more good before "the great Judge of the living and dead" than the fig leaves of Adam, adding that "the apostle tells us to put off the old man and clothe ourselves, not in the habit of Francis or Dominic, but our Lord Jesus Christ."[59] Although many critics blamed this custom solely on the Franciscans, when they named a second order, it was almost invariably the Dominicans.

Dominican texts reveal that objections to this practice came not just from anti-mendicant sources, like the Wycliffites or sixteenth-century reformers. There were also critical voices within the mendicant orders themselves. An *exemplum* from Thomas of Cantimpré's mid-thirteenth-century *Bonum universale de apibus* betrays an ambivalent attitude to deathbed conversion. According to the story, a civic official from Magdeburg fell sick, tearfully requested and received the Dominican habit, and died before morning. A nun in a nearby convent dreamed that she saw a great paterfamilias handing out coins to Dominican friars lined up as if receiving payment after a day's work. An unknown friar approached timidly and held out his hand, and the paterfamilias stared at him intently and told him that he would receive his payment later, after purification.[60] Thomas presents the story as proof that deathbed reception is spiritually effective, framing the *exemplum* as a rebuke to doubters and to religious who would "impiously"

[56] Johannes Wyclif: *Tractatus de blasphemia* 14, ed. Michael Henry Dziewicki, London 1893, pp. 209–210. I thank Hannah Wood for alerting me to this reference.

[57] Desiderius Erasmus: "The Funeral", in *Colloquies*, trans. Craig R. Thompson (Collected Works of Erasmus 40), Toronto 1997, p. 775, l. 26–27; for the "vultures" comment, see *ibid.*, p. 767, l. 39.

[58] Desiderius Erasmus: "The Wealthy Beggars", trans. Thompson 1997, p. 481, l. 22–24.

[59] Pierre Viret: *La physique papale*, Geneva 1552, p. 230: "Et pourtant il nous faut suyvre le conseil de l'Apostre, qui nous exhorte de dépouiller le vieil homme, et de vestir, non pas l'habit de François ou de Dominique, mais nostre Seigneur Iesus Christ." Cf. Rom 13:14.

[60] Thomas Cantimpratensis: *Bonum universale de apibus* 2.51.8, Douai 1627, pp. 474–475.

refuse to give the habit to people who repent late in life. The implication that long-term friars would enter Paradise immediately, while deathbed converts would have to pass through Purgatory, seems calculated to mollify friars who balked at the idea that someone who had delayed religious profession until the very last possible moment would reap the same spiritual rewards as someone who had toiled in the religious life for many years.

In the second quarter of the fourteenth century, the Neapolitan Dominican theologian John of Naples mentioned above addressed similar concerns in a trio of funeral sermons for men and women who took the Dominican habit on their deathbeds. All three sermons are based on biblical lemmas that emphasize the fraternal or sororal identity of the deceased: "She is a sister and mother"; "Andrew was a brother"; "John your brother."[61] John of Naples anticipated that the friars in his audience might not know these people whose funerals they were attending. For instance, he introduced the sermon for John by stating that if questioned by friars who did not know the deceased, he would respond with the biblical theme, telling them that this was "John your brother."[62] Similarly, he argued that friars could call the unnamed woman "our sister" because she shared their father and mother, namely St. Dominic and his religious order, as demonstrated by the habit she received in death.[63]

John's tone in these sermons is remarkably defensive. In addition to emphasizing that the deceased was well and truly a member of the Dominican order, he devoted a substantial portion of each sermon to responding to anticipated criticism of the practice of taking the Dominican habit on the deathbed. As the sermon for the unnamed woman puts it, "Someone might say, what good will this do her, since she was not a sister of the order in life?"[64] John retorts that it will do the deceased a great deal of good. For one thing, it will earn them a special part in all the good works performed by the Dominican order as a whole—and, presumably, the associated merits.[65] For another, it will make the friars pray more willingly and fervently on their behalf, since, quoting Prov 18:19,

[61] "Soror et mater est [Matt 12:50]"; "Erat autem Andreas frater [John 1:40]"; "Iohannes frater vester [Rev 1:9]."

[62] Schneyer no. 44 (*De Iohanne mortuo*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 29vb: "Ad presens incumbit sermo de presenti defuncto ad cuius exequias congregati sumus, de quo si interrogarer a fratribus qui non noverunt ipsum, responderem verba proposita, *Iohannes* etc." Cf. Schneyer no. 30 (*De sorore ordinis mortua*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 21va: "Omnes ad presens sumus congregati ad exequias domine N., de qua si peteretur ab aliquo eam non cognoscente que et qualis fuisset, respondere posset quilibet frater ordinis thema propositum, *soror et mater est*."

[63] Schneyer no. 30 (*De sorore ordinis mortua*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 21va: "domina N. potest dici soror nostra, habens scilicet eundem patrem, beatum Dominicum, et eandem matrem, ipsius religionem, sicut ostendit habitus quem in morte recepit."

[64] Schneyer no. 30 (*De sorore ordinis mortua*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 21va–b: "Sed dicet aliquis, quid hoc ei profuit, cum non fuerit soror ordinis in vita?"

[65] Schneyer no. 30 (*De sorore ordinis mortua*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 21vb: "Secundo, hoc ei profuit quia habet specialem partem in omnibus bonis que fiunt per totum ordinem, sicut et alie sorores ordinis."

"A brother who is helped by a brother is like a strong city."[66] Most importantly (judging by the fact that this argument appears in all three sermons and receives the greatest elaboration), the habit scares off the demons that threaten human souls at the time of death, and attracts the support of Dominican saints.[67] John —who elsewhere calls the daily observance of the Dominican rule a "great affliction or tribulation of the flesh"[68]—seems to be addressing an audience of friars who were skeptical or downright hostile to the idea that those who escaped this daily tribulation by professing on the deathbed would receive the same benefits as those who had endured it for a long time.

While anti-mendicant critics tended to complain that friars were targeting people on the basis of their money, critics within the Dominican order tended to be more concerned with the perceived unfairness of eleventh-hour postulants getting the full spiritual benefits. Another fourteenth-century Dominican preacher, John Bromyard, included a passage in his *Summa predicantium* that turned the complaint about friars targeting rich people around, arguing that it is actually the rich who seek out the friars when they repent. Bromyard claims that it is almost a daily experience to see or hear about wealthy people who had never previously loved the friars asking to wear the habits of poor mendicants when they are dying and begging them to pray for their souls. According to him, this shows that the rich are less happy than the poor, since you never see poor people on their deathbeds desperate for rich people's clothing![69]

66 Schneyer no. 44 (*De Iohanne mortuo*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 30ra: "que assumptio valuit sibi ad duo. Primo, ut fratres libentius et ferventius orarent pro ipso et suis suffragiis adiuvarent, secundum illud Prov. 18[:19], *frater qui adiuvatur a fratre quasi civitas firma.*"

67 Schneyer no. 32 (*De Andrea mortuo*) puts it most succinctly: MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 23ra: "Et si dicatur quid ei profuit hoc, dicendum quod multum, cuius declaratio est quia prudens miles cui incumbit pugna intus portat arma et extra insignia; sic et prudens Christianus quando spiritualis pugna contra demones ei incumbit, scilicet in morte—unde dicebat Martinus morti appropinquans demoni 'quid hic astas, cruenta bestia?'—debet habere arma interiora, scilicet virtutes, et signa exteriora, scilicet habitum religionis, unde et beatus Martinus voluit mori in cinere et cilicio." Schneyer no. 44 (*De Iohanne mortuo*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII.AA.11, f. 30ra, adds that demons revere the habit whether they want to or not: "In qua pugna multum valet habere habitum sancte religionis, quem demones velint nolint reverentur." The reference to Dominican saints appears only in Schneyer no. 30 (*De sorore ordinis mortua*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII. AA.11, f. 21vb: "et ad vincendum in tali pugna multum valet devotio ad religionem et eius sanctos, utpote beatum Dominicum, beatum Petrum Martirem, beatum Thomam de Aquino, et alios fratres ordinis qui sunt in vita beata. Sicut et inter homines habens hostes se potentiores adheret alicui magno et potenti domino, ex cuius favore et adiutorio efficitur fortior et potentior, cuius etiam in pugna portat insignia extra et intra bona arma, sic et presens domina habuit intus spiritualia arma, id est virtutum dona, et extra sancte religionis insignia, sicut et beatus Martinus voluit mori in cinere et cilicio."

68 Schneyer no. 137 (*In morte fratris Iohannis episcopi*), MS Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale, VIII. AA.11, f. 115va: "fuit particeps, scilicet fratrem ordinis sui, in tribulatione, scilicet carnis, seu afflictione, hoc est in discipline regularis observatione, que, ut sciunt qui experiuntur cotidie, est magna carnis afflictio seu tribulatio."

69 Johannes de Bromyard: *Summa Praedicantium*, vol. 1, Venice 1586, s.v. *Divitiae*, p. 205rb–va.

5. Conclusion

Although I have focused here on the Dominicans' first four centuries, it is worth noting that the practice of lay death and burial in religious habits—including Dominican ones—did not end with the Middle Ages. Catholic religious orders' missionary activities and involvement in European colonialism spread the custom around the globe. For instance, in a testament composed in 1618, Doña Magdalena Chimazo, the ruler of the Dominican-controlled jurisdiction of Chincha in what is now Peru, expressed a wish to die dressed in the habit of St. Dominic and for her body to be buried in the Dominican convent of Lima or Chincha.[70] Eighteenth- and nineteenth-century examples can be found from the Canary Islands to Brazil, Cuba, and Manila.[71] Dominican institutions were making and selling habits for burial purposes, usually to members of the Dominican Third Order, well into the twentieth century.[72]

Little of what I have presented here is unique to the Dominicans. The late medieval move toward using habits as burial clothing, and the innovations that followed this development, affected all mendicant orders, as did the growth of confraternities and third orders. *Mutatis mutandis*, the common reasons for choosing a Dominican habit that I have outlined above could be applied to other orders. Critics and defenders of the practice can be found in other orders as well. In the late medieval and early modern period, the Dominicans should be considered one of several orders that were in the minority compared with the Franciscans when it came to requests for burial habits. Understanding how these less popular orders hung on while the Franciscans surged to dominance will require further comparative research, which will in turn shed light on the relationships that local convents, confraternities, and individual friars formed with lay communities over the centuries.

[70] Ramos 2010, p. 148.

[71] Aranda Mendíaz, Manuel: *El hombre del siglo XVIII en Gran Canaria: El testamento como fuente de investigación histórico-jurídico*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria 1993, pp. 126–132; Reis, João José: *Death Is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, trans. H. Sabrina Gledhill, Chapel Hill, NC 2003, p. 180; Lopez Sanchez, José: *Tomás Romay y el origin de la ciencia en Cuba*, Havana 1964, pp. 231–232; Chu, Richard: *Chinese and Chinese Mestizos of Manila: Family, Identity, and Culture, 1860s–1930s* (Chinese Overseas 1), Leiden/Boston 2010, p. 192.

[72] Fenlon, Maria: *The Irish Catholic Burial Habit*, BDes disserstation, National College of Art and Design, Dublin 2003. Fenlon included reproductions of the letters she received in response to a request for information placed in four national Irish Catholic magazines in an unpaginated appendix. In a letter dated 12 August 2001, Mary G. Johnson of Tralee, Co. Kerry, recalled that "people of the Tertiary orders of St. Francis and St. Dominic were buried as brothers of those orders" and that when her father died in 1968 "we got the habit (it was not free!) from the Franciscan monastery in Galway [...] A friend of mine remembered going to the local Dominican priory for his father's Dominican habit, the priest wheeling out a rail of Dominican shrouds in short, long and medium sizes. The priest invited this man to maybe try one on... he declined and did in fact, choose the correct size." Sister M. Breda of the Monastery of St Catherine of Siena in Drogheda reported in September 2002 that "on occasion we may be asked to make a habit for Dominican laity who like to be buried in the habit."