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The Emergence and Spread of the Flagellant Movement in the Eastern Adriatic Communes during the Middle Ages until the Late Renaissance***

A well-known practice of self-scourging common within closed religious communities on the Apennine peninsula from the 11th century, ‘escalates’ into very emotionally charged, often hysterical processions of hundreds of flagellants across Southern and Central Europe in the 1260s. Flagellant confraternities were founded in Eastern Adriatic communes during the 13th and 14th centuries as well, but their practice was well-structured and defined in statutes, respecting the original concept of suffering as *imitatio Christi*. After a short introduction to the history of flagellant practice in the late Middle Ages, this paper analyses the causes for the establishment of confraternities, their economic activities, and their social and gender structure. The last three segments elaborate on the transformation of flagellant confraternities into charitable associations in the 15th and 16th centuries, analyse some visual representations, and review the remains of medieval devotion to Christ’s Passion in contemporary communes.

Keywords: flagellants; Eastern Adriatic; confraternities; religious practices; Middle Ages, 16th century

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Introduction

“The fear of the Lord came upon them so that nobles as well as commoners, old and young, even children of five years, naked to the waste, went unashamed through the streets of the city in procession two by two. Each had a leather whip in his hand and with groans and wailings struck themselves so sharply on the shoulders that they bled, and pouring forth tears (...) They implored, while singing sad songs, the mercy of God and the help of His mother (...) And not so only in the day, but even into the night, with lighted candles, in coldest winter, hundreds and thousands, even tens of thousands went around through the cities and churches and humbly prostrated themselves before the altar, the priests preceding them with crosses and banners.”¹

Paduan Anonimo di S. Justina

This report from an anonymous Paduan chronicler takes us back to the period when one could see hundreds of half-naked people walking around cities and whipping themselves in an act of religious devotion. In order to immerse ourselves deeper into understanding a quite different world from the present one, we should just remind ourselves that we are getting back to a period in which “the monastery, the guild, the church, served as formative elements of the medieval town.”² This kind of urbanism was embodied interest, of a sort. Crises threatened towns and their surroundings in many forms, such as internal and external wars, epidemics of deadly diseases, political and social struggles, hunger, pirates and robbers, collective anxieties...

The response to such crises was strong – again, in the words of Mummford: “In no previous urban culture was there anything like the large scale provision for the sick, the aged, the suffering, the poor that there was in the medieval town.”³ Now that we have swiftly introduced the setting, we can start elaborating the reasons for the foundation of flagellant confraternities, their practices, their economic and gender profiles, and eventually their extinction or transformation. An examination of the virtues and deviations of these institutions is key to understanding their embodied religious emotions.

¹ *Annales Sanctae Iustinae Patavini*, ed. Philippus Jaffè, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores, Bd. 19 (Hannoverae: Impensis Bibliopolii Aulici Hahniani, 1866), 179: *In tantum itaque timor Domini irruit super eos, quod nobiles pariter et ignobiles, senes et iuvenes, infantes etiam quinque annorum, nudi per plateas civitatum opertis tantum pudendis deposita verecundia bini et bini processionaliter incedebant; singuli flagellum in manibus de corigiis continents, et cum gemitu et ploratu se acriter super scapulis usque ad effusionem sanguinis verberantes; et effusis fontibus lacrimarum, ac si corporalibus oculis ipsam Salvatoris cernerent passionem, cantu lacrimabili Domini misericordiam et Dei genitricis auxilium implorabant (...) Non solum itaque in die verum etiam in nocte cum cereis accensis, in hyeme asperissima, centeni et milleni, decem milia quoque per civitates et ecclesias circuibant, et se ante altaria humiliter prosternebant, precedentibus eos sacerdotibus cum crucibus et vexillis.*

² Lewis Mumford, *A City in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961), 315.

³ Mumford, *A City in History*, 317.

A Brief Historical Overview of Self-Flagellation: Individual vs. Massive Collective Movement

When one discusses self-punishing or self-harming within a religious framework, it is reasonable to reflect on the function of pain; this is why we start with the shortest possible introduction to the phenomenon. Pain is defined as an unpleasant sensory and emotional experience that indicates something is wrong with the body (or its relationship with others) and that corrective action is needed.⁴ As an indication of problems, pain is therefore generally perceived as exclusively negative, either debilitating or harmful. However, in recent years, attention has been averted to focus on its positive aspects or consequences that were (to a certain extent) intuitively known to humans but were absent from scholarly discussions.

There are (at least) three different domains in which pain is considered to have positive consequences. First, providing an important contrast for pleasurable experiences, pain facilitates pleasure. Second, pain enables self-regulation through increased cognitive-affective control, enables identity management, and demonstrates virtue. Third, pain arouses empathy in others and increases solidarity, thus creating stronger social connections.⁵ The latter two can be observed in professional sports clubs in which willingness to experience the pain of hard exercises contributes to “team spirit”, in military units where soldiers are often expected to endure pain as part of their training, or in religious or non-religious communities that are trying to cope with the loss of their dearest ones, the terrors of war, or the horrors of lethal epidemics. It is exactly these last ones – groups responding to serious crises using pain – that benefit from two out of the three mentioned positive consequences of experiencing pain: namely, self-regulation and strengthening of social bonds.

Self-punishment has its roots in ancient ritual and religious practices. Religious self-flagellation was widespread in the ancient world (especially among the Romans and in the eastern Mediterranean) before the advent Christianity and Islam, and it was later adopted by these two religions as normative traditions.⁶ In some regions clerics and religious zealots did not just practice self-flagellation, but they also engaged in self-mutilation. Greek historian Herodotus (II,40 and II,61) recorded a custom of Carians living in Egypt who were slashing their foreheads

⁴ Raja, Srinivasa N. et al., “The revised International Association for the Study of Pain definition of pain: concepts, challenges, and compromises”, *Pain. The Journal of the International Association for the Study of Pain*, 161(9) (2020): 1976-1982.

⁵ Brock Bastian et al., “The Positive Consequences of Pain: A Biopsychosocial Approach”, *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 18 (2014), no. 3: 256-279 (here 256).

⁶ John Howe, “Voluntary Ascetic Flagellation: From Local to Learned Traditions”, *The Haskins Society Journal* 24 (2012): 41-61 (here 42).

with knives during the annual feast of Isis.⁷ This kind of self-inflicting pain is mostly related to ritualised ways to fight intrusive thoughts or to cope with some kind of emotional distress, such as grief. It has also been long known to ascetics and mystics, “for unmaking their own profane selves”, especially in combination with isolation and diet, as other two distinct and complementary methods.⁸

Rods and whips were used from the fifth century onwards in monastic Christian communities to punish the monks who seriously offended the rules. The Rules of St. Benedict (ca. 480–550) prescribed such punishment for such violators (*Regula*, cap. II, 28, 30). Scourging is thenceforth frequently mentioned in monastic rules and councils as a preservative of discipline.⁹

There is direct and indirect evidence about self-punishments and “taming the flesh” both in the Bible and later Christian literature. Nonetheless, the practice of self-flagellation in the Christian West was arguably first adopted by the hermits in the monastic communities in Toscana, Marche, and Umbria in the eleventh century. One of the most extreme adherents was St. Dominic Loricatus (995–1060), a hermit from Umbria who, for several days, read psalms and whipped himself, applying one hundred lashes for each psalm read. Laymen who became flagellants perceived their penance as a collective *imitatio Christi* that had eschatological value.¹⁰ This was an important shift in the concept: those who were punishing themselves understood it was they who needed to mortify their body for the sake of their soul.¹¹

Peter Damian (1007–1072),¹² monk, cardinal, and Church reformer, introduced the practice in Camaldolese monasteries.¹³ He presented it as an ancient tradition, not a modern invention, trying to alleviate the concerns of his shocked contemporaries. Defenders of the ancient roots of the practice have identified its antecedents in the Bible, in the spirituality of martyrdom, in Irish and other

⁷ Liviu Mihail Iancu, “Self-mutilation, multiculturalism and hybridity. Herodotos on the Karians in Egypt (Hdt. 2.61.2)”, *Anatolia Antiqua* XXV (2017): 57–67.

⁸ Ariel Glucklich, “Sacred Pain and the Phenomenal Self”, *Harvard Theological Review* 91 (1998), no. 4: 389–412.

⁹ John J. Tierney, “Flagellation”, *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company), 1909.

¹⁰ Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Oxford University Press 1970), 128.

¹¹ John Henderson, “The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260–1400”, *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 147–160 (here 148).

¹² In the 19th century, Peter was named the Doctor of the Church, the title reserved for those who both made contributions to the development of the Church and displayed a high degree of sanctity.

¹³ F. J. Courtney, *Flagellation*, in: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, 2nd edition (The Catholic University of America, Washington D. C., 2003), 754–755; Paolo Toschi, “Flagellanti”, in: *Enciclopedia Cattolica*, vol. V: *EA – GEN* (Firenze: G. C. Sansoni, 1950), 1439–1442.

forms of penitential discipline, and in ecclesiastical legal discipline.¹⁴ Up until the mid-thirteenth century, self-flagellation was reserved to individuals and smaller (monastic or hermit) communities. In the 13th century, the popularisation of the flagellation among the laity owes much to the influence of the mendicant orders (Franciscans and Dominicans).¹⁵ “They provided the theological underpinning for this exercise through the promotion of the doctrine of purgatory, which emphasized atonement for sin in this world over suffering in the next. Voluntary flagellation became, moreover, a way of imitating the suffering of Christ, the popular theme of mendicant sermons.”¹⁶

Flagellant processions became widespread in the mid-13th century, started by a hermit of Perugia in November of 1260 and subsequently spreading to other Italian regions. The impact was impressive: criminals confessed, robbers returned their loot, enemies forgot their conflicts, at least for a while. The misery that incited the movement had been brewing for a while: in 1258 there was famine across the region, and then in 1259 a serious outbreak of plague followed. The war between Guelphs and Ghibellines raged for decades, adding to the overall anxiety and insecurity, while one crucial battle preceded the movement just by several weeks. Emperor Frederick II’s son Manfred had the upper hand; the Tuscan Ghibellines won at Montaperti on September 4, 1260, inflicting on the Florentines one of their worst defeats in their history. More than ten thousand soldiers were killed or went missing, thousands were captured. The flagellant movement started in a Guelph city, and it was mostly practiced among Guelphs.¹⁷ Incidentally, it happened in the year 1260, the very same year that the influential 12th-century-prophet Joachim of Fiore (d. 1202) had prophesied as the time of the Antichrist’s arrival and the beginning of the Third and Last Millennium.¹⁸

In Italian regions, the mass flagellant movement lost its vigour within several months, but in 1261 it appeared in the towns of southern German lands and the Rhine, mostly under Italian leadership. It turned into a disaster when flagellants – mostly the poor, and craftsmen – claimed they could achieve salvation of the soul

¹⁴ Howe, “Voluntary Ascetic Flagellation”, 47-51, supports these with extensive notes.

¹⁵ For more on this connection, see: Giovanna Casagrande, “Penitenti e Disciplinati a Perugia e loro rapporti con gli Ordini Mendicanti”, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome. Moyen-Age, Temps modernes* 89 (1977), no. 2: 711-721.

¹⁶ John Henderson, *Piety and Charity in late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 35; see also: Catherine Vincent, “Discipline du corps et de l’esprit chez les Flagellants au Moyen Âge”, *Revue historique* 302/3 (2000): 593-614. More on emotional vocabulary of the movement, and collective emotion as a social practice, see: Piroška Nagy, Xavier Biron-Ouellet, “A Collective Emotion in Medieval Italy: The Flagellant Movement of 1260”, *Emotion Review* 12 (2020), no. 3: 135-145.

¹⁷ Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 128.

¹⁸ Brett Edward Whalen, “Joachim of Fiore and the Apocalyptic Revival of the Twelfth Century”, in: *The Cambridge companion to apocalyptic literature*, ed. Colin McAllister (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 190-211.

without the aid of the Church. This all led to the excommunication of the penitents by bishops. In Italian regions and southern France, flagellant associations existed in every town, with the blessing (or at least recognition) of both ecclesiastical and secular authorities.¹⁹ On the other hand, in German regions it was an underground movement that had outbreaks in 1296 (due to famine) and 1348–49 (during the Black Death). On the Apennine peninsula, there were also two more prominent waves: one related to the processions of white-clad (so-called *Bianchi*, named for their white apparel) from 1399, and the other associated with penitential activities in response to Black Death.²⁰

“The confraternities of penitents and flagellants were clearly animated by the desire to appropriate the spiritual resources of monasticism (...) The most telling example of this was flagellation – a monastic practice which some lay people in the thirteenth century appropriated in order to win the rewards associated with it.”²¹

Nonetheless, there were several problematic features of the movement that became widespread in the years 1349–1350. Heinrich of Herford, a German Dominican friar who was a witness to these events, summed it up as follows: “(...) they [the flagellants] lacked prudence and were fools, pretending to a kind of piety but wallowing in their stupidity so that, as will be made clear, they tainted everything. (...) With these *flagella* they beat and whipped their naked bodies to the point that the scourged skin swelled up black and blue and blood flowed down to their lower members and even spattered the walls nearby.”²²

The flagellants claimed that through their practice they were not only absolved from all sin, but that they gained the ability to heal the sick, even raise the dead. Wherever the flagellants appeared in German lands, the common people regarded them as men of God.²³ The movement recruited many from marginal groups: vagabonds, outlaws and the like, while the leadership was assumed by various prophets, mostly consisting of dissidents or apostate clerics. In some regions they faced accusations that their aim was to destroy clergy and the Church. Basically, all these side effects did not just lead the movement astray from their original idea but made it very dangerous for both ecclesiastical and secular authorities. This

¹⁹ Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 131; see also: Keith Charles Patterson, *The flagellants of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: their rise and decline* (PhD diss., Oklahoma State University, 1977), 25–26.

²⁰ Hartmut Bockmann, “Flagellants”, in: *The Encyclopedia of Christianity*, vol. 2 (Grand Rapids (etc.): W. B. Eerdmans & Brill 2001), 321.

²¹ André Vauchez, *Les laïcs au moyen âge: Pratiques et expériences religieuses* (Paris: Cerf, 1987), 101. Quoted also in Howe, “Voluntary Ascetic Flagellation”, 41.

²² John Aberth, *The Black Death: A New History of the Great Mortality in Europe, 1347–1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 123.

²³ Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, 135.

danger was not just of an epidemiological nature; it threatened the existing social structure, and the role of the Church. In short, it became a destabilising factor and was therefore prohibited as such. On October 20, 1349, Pope Clement VI issued a bull, the *Inter Sollicitudines*, that ordered suppression of the flagellants.²⁴

These mass movements that went to extremes, lacked structure and ecclesiastical authority, were politicised, infused with social tensions, millenarian expectations, and often collective hysteria, and were thus forbidden, which is quite reasonable. However, the organised and more moderate form, which had not undergone this radical deviation, was still being tolerated, as evidenced in the communes of the Eastern Adriatic.

Flagellant Confraternities in the Cities of the Eastern Adriatic

From the 13th century, the flagellant movement on the Eastern Adriatic was institutionalised through flagellant confraternities, following the example of similar confraternities on the Apennine peninsula (in Perugia, Bologna, Modena, Siena, Florence, and Venice).²⁵ This meant that the participants of the movement, now members of confraternities, remained under control by ecclesiastical but also secular authorities whose representatives confirmed the statutes (*matricula*) of the confraternities.

In Croatian historiography and archival sources, the foundation of the first flagellant (con)fraternities in Dalmatia was mentioned at the beginning of the 13th century. From that period on, numerous (con)fraternities were founded in Zadar, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Krk, Vrbnik, Rab, Korčula, Hvar, Ston, Rijeka, etc.²⁶

The oldest flagellant confraternity (*dei flagellanti*) is the **Zadar** one, supposedly founded in 1214 within the church of St. Silvester (*fraternalia seu scola sancti Silvestri Iadere Frustancium*).²⁷ According to Carlo Federico Bianchi, the confraternity of

²⁴ Aberth, *The Black Death*, 120.

²⁵ For more about flagellant confraternities on the Apennine peninsula, see: John Henderson, "The Flagellant Movement", 147-160; John Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 113-154; Andrew H. Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities and Italian Art, 1260-1610: Ritual and Experience* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018).

²⁶ On flagellant confraternities on the Eastern Adriatic more in: Niko Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", *Glasnik skopskog naučnog društva* VII-VIII (1929-30), no. 3-4: 193-196; Irena Benyovsky, "Bratovštine u srednjovjekovnim dalmatinskim gradovima", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 22 (1998), no. 41: 137-160 (here 139-140); Zoran Ladić, Zrinka Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora u Rabu. Diplomatička i povijesna analiza s kritičkim prijepisom matrikule", *Starine* 64 (2012): 61-112 (here 63-65). For the sources on Dalmatian confraternities generally, see: Lovorka Čoralić, "Izvori i literatura o bratovštinama u Dalmaciji od srednjeg vijeka do pada Mletačke Republike", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 15 (1991), no. 27: 88-96.

²⁷ This year (1214) of the foundation is omnipresent in literature: Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 195; Benyovsky, "Bratovštine", 139; Franjo Šanjek, *Kršćanstvo na hrvatskome prostoru*

Saint Silvester received a 40-day indulgence, due to observing 40 hours' devotion before the Blessed Sacrament,²⁸ from Pope Alexander III in 1177 during his stay in Zadar, where he was solemnly welcomed with lauds sung in the Croatian language.²⁹ In 1412, the confraternity moved from the church of St. Silvester to the church of St. Thomas.³⁰ While it was in its former place, the church had often been mentioned in the sources with the epithet *verberatorum* or *de batutis*.³¹ Nonetheless, the statute dating from the 15th century does not keep records of flagellant practices.³² There are two extant *matriculae* of the confraternity: the first one from 1426 that was kept in the Lantana family library, and the other from 1540 that belonged to the library of the Zadar family Filipi, but is now kept in the Houghton Library at Harvard University.³³ In the late Middle Ages, the Zadar flagellant confraternity transformed into the confraternity of mercy (*confraternita della pietà et della misericordia*) with the main goal of fostering piety and mercy towards the sick, especially those suffering from plague. One of the obligations of the confraternity was to bury the dead in the event of contagion, accompany

(Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost 1996), 263. Nonetheless, Nada Klaić was quite critical of this date, stating that there is no real evidence for such datation. The first solid mention of the confraternity is from the last will of Guido de Marciliana, the citizen of Zadar originating from Venice, from 1294. Nada Klaić, Ivo Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, Prošlost Zadra, knj. 2 (Zadar: Filozofski fakultet, 1976), 481. It is also possible that the confraternity was founded in the early 13th century, but adopted the flagellant practice later, soon after the flagellation grew into a mass movement in the mid-13th century.

²⁸ Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana*, vol. 1. (Zadar: Tipografia di G. Woditzka 1877), 500. See also: Zdenko Dundović and Marijana Mohorić, "Bratovština 40-satnog klanjanja u Zadru i njezina matrikula (16.-17. stoljeća)", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 43 (2019), no. 84: 39-55 (here 41). This would mean that the confraternity already existed at the end of the 12th century, but the question is whether it already practiced flagellation. Probably not, since the Italian flagellant confraternities were founded in the 1260s.

²⁹ "Cum imensis laudibus et canticis altisone resonantibus in eorum slavica lingua", *Le Liber pontificalis. Texte, introduction et commentaire*, vol. II, ed. Louis Duchesne, Paris, 1892 (2nd ed. 1955), 437, Croatian translation in: Ante M. Strgačić, "Papa Aleksandar III. u Zadru", *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru* 1 (1954): 153-187 (here 153); Klaić, Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku*, 112.

³⁰ In the 15th century, there were many gravestones in the church of St. Thomas that belonged to members of the brotherhood. Ivo Petricioli, *Umjetnička baština Zadra* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2005), 91-92.

³¹ Ante M. Strgačić, "Kada je zadarska bratovština flagelanata prešla iz crkve sv. Silvestra u crkvu sv. Tome Apostola", *Vjesnik Staleškog društva katoličkih svećenika NRH* 4 (1957), no. 1-4: 51-74 (here 56); Ivo Petricioli, "Dvije matrikule bratovštine sv. Silvestra u Zadru", *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru. Razdio društvenih znanosti* 16 (1977) no. 7: 145-156 (here 145).

³² Petricioli, "Dvije matrikule", 147.

³³ A detailed analysis of the Lantana library matricula and the inventory list below was first made by Luka Jelić, and later by Ivo Petricioli – Petricioli, *Umjetnička baština Zadra*, 92-102; Petricioli, "Dvije matrikule", 145-156. About matricula from the Houghton library, see more: Bojan Goja, "Matrikula zadarske bratovštine sv. Silvestra u knjižnici Houghton (MS Typ 231) Sveučilišta Harvard", *Godišnjak zaštite spomenika kulture Hrvatske* 37/38 (2013): 211-215. Also, on the inventory of the confraternity and the church of St. Sylvester from the 17th century wrote Zdenko Dundović, "Inventar crkve sv. Silvestra u Zadru koncem 17. stoljeća", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 44 (2020), no. 85: 79-112.

those condemned to the gallows, and to escort the deceased to the cemetery. Four priests were members of the confraternity and had the obligation to sing masses, in turn with epistles and gospels in Croatian. The fraternity set aside part of its assets for the poor and dowries for poor girls. In 1689, the Zadar confraternity was added to the archconfraternity of the Nativity of Our Lord, and also to that of the Virgin Mary of the Assumption, in Rome. The confraternity was suppressed in 1810.³⁴

The very next year, in 1215, the first flagellant confraternity was founded in **Dubrovnik**, attached to the church of All Saints (also called *Domino*); it remained active until 1530. In the sources, the members of this association appear under different terms: *verberati*, *flagellantes*, *disciplinati*, *frustratores*, *fruscatore*s, *frascatores*, *batidovi*, *batuti*, *bazadori*, *Sancti Domini*, *Sancti Domino*.³⁵ The city chronicler Gian-Maria Mattei, an 18th-century Jesuit mentioned it as the confraternity *dei flagellatori osia frustratori* and connected its foundation with the year 1225. Processions of flagellants in Dubrovnik were organised during the feasts of the patron saint of the city, St. Blasius, and for the feasts of St. John and All Saints.³⁶

It is not known when the confraternity of All Saints ceased to exist in the church called Domino. It certainly existed in 1530, and most probably even later. This can be concluded from the observation recorded by Niko Gjivanović in the early 20th century: "On April 24, 1530, the Small Council in Dubrovnik allowed the confraternity of St. John the Baptist on the island of Lopud that the brothers can gather on the day of St. John, dressed in tunics made of white linen with a hood (*cum cappis lineis*) according to the custom of the whipping brothers in Dubrovnik (*secundum consuetudinem et morem fruscatorem Ragusii*) and thus follow the church processions on the feast of St. John as well as in other processions on Lopud, and that is on those days, when processions are made in Dubrovnik, to the glory and honour of God, the Blessed Virgin, St. John and All Saints, and also at funerals according to the custom in Dubrovnik."³⁷

The flagellant confraternity of the Holy Cross (which is referenced with the epithets *batentium* and *flagelantium* in documentary sources), associated with the eponymous church in **Kotor** (*Cattaro*), had its matricula (statute) written in

³⁴ Bianchi, *Zara Christiana*, 493-494. More details about Zadar flagellant confraternity can be found in: Strgačić, "Kada je zadarska bratovština", 51-74; Vladislav Cvitanović, "Bratovštine grada Zadra", *Zbornik geografija, ekonomija, saobraćaj, povijest, kultura: zbornik*, ed. Jakša Ravlić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1964): 457-470.

³⁵ Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 195; Benyovsky, "Bratovštine", 139; Ladić, Novak, "Matrícula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 64.

³⁶ Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 196; Benyovsky, "Bratovštine", 139; Ladić, Novak, "Matrícula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 65.

³⁷ Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 196.

1298.³⁸ According to Josip Gelčić, it is one of the oldest brotherhood statutes on the eastern Adriatic coast.³⁹ The extant late-15th-century transcription is written in Latin and Veneto dialect and is kept in the Kotor Bishop's Archive.⁴⁰ The introduction (invocation) of the *matricula* cites the main reason for the foundation of the confraternity: for the redemption of the sins of the confraternity members and their fathers before God and Christ the Saviour who spilt his blood, was whipped and crucified. Therefore, "in honour of the Holy Cross, for the salvation of souls, with the blessing of the Omnipotent God, Virgin Mary, blessed apostles Peter and Paul, the patron saint St. Tripun, and the blessing of the bishop", the confraternity is founded to scourge their bodies for the forgiveness of their sins (*per fragelare li nostri corpi per remedio di nostri peccati tal faxemo fraternità*).⁴¹

It is obvious that the confraternity also had a charitable role in Kotor society. In 1372, next to the church of the Holy Cross, where it had its seat, the confraternity founded a hospital for the poor (*hospitale pauperum sancte Crucis*) and was obliged to support it.⁴² The church of the Holy Cross in Kotor was also an important pilgrimage centre in the late medieval period. In the 1514 visitation of Bishop Trifun Bizanti, during his visit to the hospital of the Holy Cross, he confirmed the old indulgences, but also gave new ones (40 days of forgiveness for the sins) to all pilgrims (of both genders) who visit the church on the feast of the Holy Cross.⁴³ It is possible that the pilgrims could also spend the night in the hospital. In 1745, the confraternity had around 300 members, and it was one of the most prestigious in the city. It enjoyed a great reputation and had priority at church ceremonies. The church of the Holy Cross was demolished in the middle of the 19th century, but the brotherhood still exists today.⁴⁴

The flagellant confraternity (*congregatio fratrum laicorum verberatorum*)⁴⁵ of All Saints in the city of **Korčula** was founded on October 8, 1301, by the first bishop of Ston and Korčula, Ivan Križić (*Iohannes Crosius, a Cruce*, 1296–1313), a nobleman from Dubrovnik and a Dominican. The first mention of the confraternity in

³⁸ Ivo Stjepčević, *Arhivska istraživanja Boke kotorske* (Perast: Gospa od Škrpjela 2003), 60; Ivo Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru* (Split: Novo doba, 1938), 60; Dragica Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 21 (1997), no. 39: 137-146 (here 137); Valentina Živković, *Legati pro anima: testamenti Kotorana (1326-1337)* (Beograd: Balkanološki institut SANU, 2020), 178.

³⁹ Giuseppe Gelcich, *Memorie storiche sulle Boche di Chattaro* (Zara: G. Woditzka 1880), 90.

⁴⁰ Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", 138-139.

⁴¹ Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", 139.

⁴² Stjepčević, *Arhivska istraživanja Boke kotorske*, 60.

⁴³ Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", 143-144.

⁴⁴ Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, 60.

⁴⁵ Luca Leono, bishop of Ston and Korčula (1454–1462) mentioned it under this name in a document from 1456.

documents is from July 23, 1338, from a notary book in the Korčula archive. In the bishop's curial diploma, one can read that the members (from all social strata) are all filled with "the love of God"; they seek God's kingdom, they do all kinds of good works, they feed the poor with their pious alms, and persevere in good deeds, prayers, and songs, and in the piety of the entire people and the diocese of Korčula, so they publicly whip themselves in the city for more than half a year, every Sunday, and that they meet for the service in the church of All Saints.⁴⁶ The confraternity is active to this day, and the brethren wear their penitential robe – the tunics dating from the 14th century – just like in ancient times.⁴⁷

At the end of the 14th century (1389), in the Franciscan church of St. Nicholas in **Ston**, the eponymous flagellant confraternity was founded.⁴⁸ Its earliest preserved mention in sources is in the last will of Nikša Marojević Ragusino from 1468, in which he left 50 cubits of white cloth for making tunics to *fruskaturome* in Ston; nonetheless, the confraternity must have been at least several decades older.⁴⁹ The oldest matricula of the confraternity dates from 1389 and was written in gothic minuscule by teacher Todor, son of Nicholas, from Ston.⁵⁰ The statute from the 16th century has been preserved, and it is kept in the Parish archive in Ston. This confraternity's book is inserted in a beautiful Renaissance silver cover with a high relief depicting Our Lady with her Son on the throne between St. Blasius and St. Nicholas, and it is the work of goldsmiths originating from Dubrovnik.⁵¹

In the commune of **Hvar**, the confraternity of penitents (flagellants) of the Holy Spirit was active (within the eponymous church) since the 14th century, and is mentioned in private and legal documents of the period.⁵² The statute of the confraternity was created in 1468/69, based on the memory of the old, lost rulebook (*matricula*).⁵³ Although there was no mention of flagellant practice in the statute, most probably its earlier activity was related to it. Apostolic visitor Valier who visited the island in 1579 called this confraternity a flagellant one, naming its members *disciplinati*. The visitor added a few details to his report, mentioning

⁴⁶ Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 65.

⁴⁷ Vinko Foretić, *Otok Korčula u srednjem vijeku do g. 1420* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1940), 340-341.

⁴⁸ "Bratovštine", in: *Hrvatska enciklopedija*, vol. III ed. Mate Ujević (Zagreb: Naklada konzorcija Hrvatske enciklopedije, 1942), 249; Benyovsky, "Bratovštine", 142.

⁴⁹ Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 196.

⁵⁰ Vinicije B. Lupis, *Ston u srednjem vijeku* (Split: MHAS, 2010), 29.

⁵¹ Cvito Fisković, "Likovna baština Stona", *Analiz Zavoda za povijesne znanosti JAZU u Dubrovniku* 22-23 (1985): 79-118 (here 105, 110).

⁵² Joško Kovačić, "Tri pravilnika bratovština u Hvaru iz 15., 16., i 17. stoljeća", *Croatica Christiana periodica* 22 (1998), no. 42: 121-134 (here 121); Zrinka Novak, "Hvarska bratovština sv. Duha u kasnom srednjem i ranom novom vijeku", *Prilozi povijesti otoka Hvara XII* (2014): 118.

⁵³ Kovačić, "Tri pravilnika bratovština u Hvaru", 122, 125. The church was also in need of reconstruction.

that in processions they sang litanies in Croatian (*in idiomate illyrico*) around churches during the feast day of the apostles, every first Sunday of the month, and on other movable feasts. He also mentioned that the brethren did their penitence on the day of Pentecost, probably meaning that they publicly whipped themselves on that day.⁵⁴ Later, in the 17th and 18th centuries, such a practice of self-flagellation in the Hvar confraternity disappeared completely. It is evident from the sources that the confraternity developed a more casual type of piety, in the form of participation in processions that were held in the streets for the solemnities, especially the feast of Corpus Christi and during the Holy Week when brethren of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit as well as those of the confraternity of the Holy Cross, participated in the procession in honour of the Passion of Christ. Also, in the early modern period the members observed the Forty Hours' Devotion and adoration before the Blessed Sacrament, and they also developed a practice of charity towards the poor.⁵⁵

There are some indications that the Knights Templar's complex attached to the church of the Holy Saviour (sv. Spas) in **Šibenik** might have been given to a flagellant confraternity as early as the 13th century.⁵⁶ The first solid proof of its existence is from the middle of the 14th century: in 1346, the confraternity was mentioned in the last will of the viceroy (*ban*) Paul (Pavao) II Šubić of Bribir, count of Trogir and Ostrovica. As testator, Paul Šubić bequeathed 200 pounds (*libras*) to the church, i.e., *ecclesie sancti Salvatoris de Scibenico, ubi sunt fratres frustatores*.⁵⁷ In the late 14th century these flagellants were most probably replaced by a female benedictine com-

⁵⁴ "Inuisit ecclesiam sub inuocatione Spiritus Sancti in qua est societas disciplinatorum. Ecclesia ipsa regitur ab ipsis disciplinatis, qui faciunt celebrari missam omnibus diebus festis et etiam bis in hebdomada. (...) Hi disciplinati consueuerunt diebus festis apostolorum et in prima quaque dominica mensis ac aliis mobilibus procesionaliter uisitare omnes ecclesias decantando litanias et nullo alio orandi utuntur modo praeterquam certis orationibus in idiomate Illyrico, uisis, ut asseruerunt, a reuerendissimo ordinario et ab eo approbatis"; Valier, *Visitatio apostolica dioecesis Pharensis a 1579*, fol. 35r, in: *Acta visitationum apostolicarum dioecesis Pharensis ex annis 1579, 1602/1603 et 1624/1625 = Apostolske vizitacije hvarske biskupije iz godina 1579., 1602./1603. i 1624./1625.*, ed. Andrija Vojko Mardešić and Slavko Kovačić, (Rim: Hrvatski povijesni institut u Rimu, 2005), 164; Davor Domančić, "Valierova vizitacija na otoku Hvaru i Visu", in: *Arhivska građa otoka Hvara I* (Hvar: Historijski arhiv Hvar, 1961), 19; Bernardin Škunca, *Štovanje Isusove muke na otoku hvaru* (Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1981), 44.

⁵⁵ Novak, "Hvarska bratovština sv. Duha", 121-122.

⁵⁶ Danko Zelić, "Templarski castrum u Šibeniku", *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 23 (1999): 33-42 (here 38).

⁵⁷ Šime Ljubić, ed., *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga slavenstva i Mletačke republike*, knj. 2: *Od godine 1336 do 1347* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1870), 419; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Knezovi Bribirski od plemena Šubić do god. 1347* (Zagreb, 1897), 155; Zelić, "Templarski castrum u Šibeniku", 38; Ante Birin, "Crkva i samostan sv. Spasa u Šibeniku: Crnice iz povijesti samostana u 15. stoljeću", in: *Šibenik od prvog spomena. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa 950 godina od prvog spomena Šibenika, Šibenik, 26. do 28. rujna 2016.*, ed. Iva Kurelac (Šibenik; Zagreb: Muzej Grada Šibenika; Zavod za povijesne i društvene znanosti HAZU, 2018), 121-139 (here 123).

munity,⁵⁸ although the famous 16th-century humanist Dinko Zavorović wrote that at the end of the 14th century both communities were parallelly active at the same place.⁵⁹ In the late Middle Ages, next to the church of the Holy Saviour, the Great Hospital under the same name was founded (*Ospital grande di San Salvatore*). Danko Zelić assumes that the beginnings of its activity can be linked to the flagellant confraternity, and Benedictine nuns took over the care of this hospital.⁶⁰

Notary documents confirm that the confraternity of St. Cristopher of **Rab** was founded in the 14th century, although the oldest transcription of the statute dates from the mid-15th century (June 12, 1443).⁶¹ Its first mention in the sources was on February 6, 1369, in the last will of Creste, son of Martin *de Jacomello*.⁶² It was one of the most influential medieval and early modern confraternities on the island of Rab. In the invocation of the matricula, there is an explanation of the reason for the foundation of the confraternity, namely, that the founder and the brethren were convinced that if they kept the discipline, they would lessen the wrath of God: "As in other cases in which human weakness is subject to death, there is nothing more certain than death, nor anything more uncertain than the hour of death. For this reason, everyone who is called by the name of Christ must make a supreme (!) provision to come clean and shining before the judgement of God. And that, for the love of Christ, he must submit to the scourges of the body, according to the prophetic saying: 'Take discipline, lest the Lord be angry, lest you perish from the path of righteousness.'" (fol. 1r).⁶³ The confraternity had an important role in the social, economic, and religious life of the Rab commune until

⁵⁸ Zelić, "Templarski castrum u Šibeniku", 38.

⁵⁹ Croatia (henceforth: HR) – Arhiv Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zagrebu (henceforth: AHAZU) – Dinko Zavorović, *Trattato sopra le cose de Sebenico*, 1597, sign. II.b.42, p. 48. Ante Birin suggests that it is difficult to believe in this claim, because there is no confirmation for it in other sources. He supports his opinion with the fact that by the decree of Pope Clement VI, flagellant brotherhoods were prohibited. Birin, "Crkva i samostan sv. Spasa u Šibeniku", 123. According to our opinion, however, it is not impossible that the activity of this brotherhood extended until the end of the 14th century, because in many eastern Adriatic communes they continued their activity throughout the Middle Ages, and some were active even during the early modern period, although they changed their original flagellant practice to a merciful one.

⁶⁰ Zelić, "Templarski castrum u Šibeniku", 38, 41.

⁶¹ Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 68; HR – Arhiv franjevačkog samostana u Kaporu na Rabu (henceforth: AFSK) – fr. Odorik Badurina, *Velika kampska kronika* (henceforth: Badurina, VKK), Liber I, 729.

⁶² HR-AFSK-Badurina, VKK, Liber I, 613; Alojzije Toić, *Rapske bratovštine i o biskupu Ivanu Luki Garagninu* (Rab: Udruga rapskih samostreličara; Grad Rab, 1995), 11; Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 68.

⁶³ HR – Državni arhiv u Zadru (henceforth: DAZD) – fond 335 – Bratovštine u Dalmaciji, Rab, sign. 76, *Liber fraternitatis sancti Christophori*, Liber I, fol. 1r, sign. 76.

the beginning of the 19th century, when it was abolished, alongside many others, during the French rule of Croatian lands (1806-1813).⁶⁴

As in other communes on the Eastern Adriatic, the oldest lay Christian associations within the Church on the island of Krk were flagellant confraternities. In the town of **Krk**, on the same island (called Veglia in Italian), a confraternity of St. John the Baptist was founded in 1262. Since the members were also called *batudi*, it assumes a flagellant background.⁶⁵ The flagellant confraternity of St. John the Baptist in **Vrbnik** (island of Krk) was founded in 1323. The brethren had their distinctive clothes: white robes (tunics) with a red cross on both the front and the back, and hoods. It should be noted that the Vrbnik confraternity was founded *extra Castrum*, therefore outside the city walls.⁶⁶ This is very interesting considering that the flagellant confraternities in communes all over the eastern Adriatic coast were usually founded and operated in a narrower area of the city, within the walls. The statute of St. John the Baptist was written on September 15, 1325, at the assembly of the confraternity in the grove on the Horn of St. Peter (Gospoje). The original statute was written in Croatian in the Glagolitic script, and Mihovil Bolonić considers that it would be the oldest fraternal statute written in Croatian in the Glagolitic script, and not the one of St. Mary Gorička from 1425.⁶⁷ The founder of the confraternity was Damjan, vicar (*plovan*) of Vrbnik, who gave the confraternity a house in Vrbnik, and a vineyard and land in Kaštel. The confraternity of St. John was the most numerable and the wealthiest confraternity in Vrbnik – and at one point there were 28 of them. The confraternity still exists, and it is called *kapari* (*kapa* = hood).⁶⁸

The earliest mention of the **Grobnik**⁶⁹ flagellant confraternity of St. Mary (called *tapačka* from 'tupati' meaning 'beating')⁷⁰ can be traced from the notary documents of the Rijeka notary Anthony (Antun *de Renno de Mutina*), from Modena

⁶⁴ For more on the fraternity, see: Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 66-89; Toić, *Rapske bratovštine*, 13-14.

⁶⁵ Mihovil Bolonić, "Bratovština sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Vrbniku (1323.-1973.)", *Bogoslovska smotra* 43 (1973), no. 4: 465-482 (here 466); Italia – Archivio di Stato di Venezia– fond 3505 – Cancellaria inferiore, Notai. Isola di Veglia, no. 226.

⁶⁶ Bolonić, "Bratovština sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Vrbniku", 459, 468.

⁶⁷ Bolonić, "Bratovština sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Vrbniku", 468-469. Unfortunately, it was not preserved, as it was lost in the 19th century, and it remained preserved only in Italian, translated from Croatian (*traduzione dall'Illirico*). It is not the original one, but rewritten according to Venetian legislation.

⁶⁸ Bolonić, "Bratovština sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Vrbniku", 468-469. For more information about the confraternities in Krk, and especially the flagellant one in Vrbnik, see: Mihovil Bolonić, *Bratovština sv. Ivana Krstitelja u Vrbniku, kapari (1323–1973) i druge bratovštine na otoku Krku* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1975).

⁶⁹ Grobnik is a castrum 8 km north from Rijeka.

⁷⁰ "Tupati" is a verb meaning beating; "tapačka" is an adjective.

from 1451 as *fraternitas sancte Marie de Grobnico*.⁷¹ The members participated in religious processions dressed in tunics and bearing their confraternity flag in their hands. The majority of its members (both men and women) came from the Grobnik village and its surroundings, making it a significant social and religious factor in the community. The brethren were gathered on their main holiday, the Assumption of Our Lady (15 August), when a lunch was prepared for all members. The caritative role of the confraternity was mostly visible through the activities of its hospital (*špital*), where they took care of the ill, but it was also a shelter for the poor and incapable, offering free food and a place to sleep. During the 16th and 17th centuries, alongside local clergy, the confraternity was also supported by members of the magnate family Zrinski.⁷²

b) Flagellant Practices Recorded in the Statutes of the Confraternities in the Eastern Adriatic

There is no information on the flagellant processions in contemporary chronicles, but the statutes of confraternities testify to the existence of the practice within flagellant Christian lay associations. The examples from the Rab, Kotor, and Korčula statutes explicitly mention whipping on several occasions.

The matricula of the **Rab** confraternity of St. Christopher offers precise guidance on its flagellation practices: "(...) every one of our brethren should come every Sunday before dawn and should assemble in the church of St. Christopher *de Capite frontis*, with the sound of the bells of that church; they should walk dressed unitedly from church to church and should whip themselves." (fol. 1r).⁷³ They should also whip themselves during the funerals of deceased brothers.⁷⁴ They

⁷¹ Mirko Zjačić. "Knjiga riječkoga notara i kancelara Antuna de Renno de Mutina (1436.-1461.), II.", *Vjesnik Histojskog arhiva u Rijeci* 4 (1957): 104.

⁷² Irvin Lukežić, *Knjiga brašćine sv. Marije Tapačke u Grobniku* (Rijeka: Katedra Čakavskoga sabora Grobnišćine, 2002), 26-27. For more generally on the confraternity, see: Lukežić, *Knjiga brašćine sv. Marije*, 22-49.

⁷³ *Ordinamus et proprio afirmamus quod quilibet nostrum fratrum omni die Dominico ante lucem venire et congregari debeat in ecclesia sancti Christophori in capite ciuitatis ad sonum canpane illius ecclesie indutis unitis per ecclesias totius ciuitatis verberando se ire debet.* HR-DAZD-335-Bratovštine u Dalmaciji, *Rab, Liber fraternitatis sancti Christophori*, Liber I, fol. 1r; Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 89-90.

⁷⁴ *Item volumus et ordinamus quod omnes fratres existentes in Arbo teneantur uenire ad ecclesiam sancti Christophori quando aliquis fratrum obierit et ibidem congregari et indutis tunicis se verberando associare fratrem defunctum vsque ad tumultum.* HR-DAZD-335-Bratovštine u Dalmaciji, *Rab, Liber fraternitatis sancti Christophori*, Liber I, fol. 2r; Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 91. According to the established custom in Italian flagellant confraternities, that the deceased brothers were buried in brotherhood tunics with whips in their hands (Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 68, 70-71), we can assume that this practice was also common among the Dalmatian flagellants, although there is just one record of this we could find in contemporary sources. In 1541,

should come in their tunics and whip themselves while accompanying the body to the grave. Even if a brother is unable to come dressed in his tunic, he should come without it, and participate in the funeral rite, whipping himself, under the financial penalty (fol. 2r).⁷⁵ Significantly, in the invocation of the *matricula* one reads that, unlike in Kotor, it was not possible for anyone to join the confraternity unless they committed themselves to whipping (fol. 1v).⁷⁶

The statute of the **Kotor** confraternity of the Holy Cross offers more details about the practices. Article 5 states that the brethren should wear their white tunics with hoods every Sunday and scourge their bodies for “forgiveness of sins” and in memory of Christ’s Passion and Resurrection.⁷⁷ If a brother skipped the scourge for three Sundays in a row, without previous permission, he was to be expelled from the confraternity (Art. 11).⁷⁸ Brethren were also obliged to flog themselves on all solemnities.⁷⁹ Those who wanted to join the confraternity but did not want to scourge were obliged to pay 20 perpers (*yperperi*) (Art. 10).⁸⁰ All brethren older than sixty could have been freed from whipping upon request (Art. 21).⁸¹

As previously noted, in the curial diploma of Bishop Luka Leon from 1456, it is stated that the members of the Korčula flagellant confraternity of All Saints practiced self-flagellation every Sunday, on the streets of the city, that is, for over

in the will of Stephen (Stjepan) Martinčić (*Stephanus Martincich*), who was a member of the Brotherhood *batittorum* of St. Christopher in Rab, the following is stated: *Item pro exoneracione conscentie sue dari scole sancti Christophori batittorum de Arbo unam tunicam rassiae prout fieri solet in dicta scola et si alia tunica accepta fuerit ad ipsum testatorem sepeliendum, etiam alia detur*. HR-DAZD – fond 28 – Bilježnici Raba, Franciscus Fabianich, box 10, vol. III, fol. 24r, 24th April 1541.

⁷⁵ *Et si aliqua et rationali causa non posset venire cum tonica se verberando teneatur, tamen venire absque tonica et associare dictum fratrem defunctum vsque ad sepulturam sub pena vnius grossi pro vnoquoque (...)*. HR-DAZD-335-Bratovštine u Dalmaciji, Rab, *Liber fraternitatis sancti Christophori*, Liber I, fol. 2r.

⁷⁶ *Et quod nemo possit recipi in fratrem dicte fraternitatis nisi se obliget ire se verberando sicut et ceteri fratres faciunt*. HR-DAZD-335-Bratovštine u Dalmaciji, Rab, *Liber fraternitatis sancti Christophori*, Liber I, fol. 1v; Ladić, Novak, “Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora”, 90.

⁷⁷ *Statuimo et ordinamo che nuy in la dicta di dela sancta domenica per remision di nostri peccati et per commoratio dela passion et resurrection del nostro ciascheun de nuy lo so proprio corpo flagellare debia*. Kuštre, “Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa”, 140.

⁷⁸ *In fin alla tertia fiada perseverasse et dal maystro licentia non domandasse in la quarta fiada non debia esser ricevuto per nuy salvo di fora sia schaciada*. Kuštre, “Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa”, 140.

⁷⁹ Kuštre, “Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa”, 140.

⁸⁰ *Unde quello che volsse intrare in la nostra fraternita pagar debia perperi XX alla nostra chasa et sia liber de flagellarse*. Kuštre, “Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa”, 140.

⁸¹ Kuštre, “Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa”, 140. Montenegro – Biskupski arhiv u Kotoru – Rukopisi, Anton Belan, *Transkripcija i prijevod statuta najstarije kotorske bratovštine svetog Križa – bičevalaca*, sine pagina.

half a year, before they would visit the church and participate in the holy mass.⁸² Therefore, as can be seen from the statutes and some other ecclesiastical sources mentioned above, it is obvious that the practice of self-flagellation from the beginning of the establishment of penitential confraternities on the eastern Adriatic coast, especially through the 13th and 14th centuries, was very much present in the regular activities of their members. Indeed, flagellant confraternities were founded in all cities of Dalmatia with the clear intention that the brothers, by mortifying their bodies through self-scourging, and living the model of *imitatio Christi* in everyday practice, would try to alleviate the 'wrath of God' that manifested itself through various negative phenomena in Dalmatian societies (civil conflicts, wars, epidemics, famine, etc.) According to medieval Christian belief, by joining such confraternities, the brothers committed themselves to collective self-flagellation to signal a kind of penance for collectively committed sins.

The Setting: Social, Political, Epidemiological Situation in the Eastern Adriatic

There were several political, social, economic, and biological factors that might have contributed to a considerably gloomy and unstable atmosphere in the period comprising the 13th and 14th centuries, and therefore might at least explain some aspects of flagellant practices in the Eastern Adriatic. Two events that left a terrifying mark on the European continent both came from the Eurasian steppe: the Mongols in the 13th century and the Black Death in the 14th century. The Mongol (Tartar) incursion to Central Europe in 1241/42 brought a lot of destruction and was associated with apocalyptic traditions and the End of times.⁸³ Nonetheless, there is no single evidence that it provoked anything related to the establishment of confraternities or self-flagellation. On the other hand, the opposite is true for the horrors of the plague that was almost halving populations at least once in a generation.

Much of the present-day Croatian littoral was in the 13th and 14th centuries under the rule of the King of Hungary and Croatia. One of the most famous late medieval chronicles, the 14th-century *Chronicon pictum*, refers to the flagellant movement in Hungary just with one, yet significant sentence: "At his [King Béla's] time, in the year of our Lord 1263, the common people roamed everywhere about the

⁸² Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", 139; Živković, *Legati pro anima*, 179.

⁸³ Mirko Sardelić, "The Mongols and Europe in the First Half of the 13th century: Prophecies and Apocalyptic Scenarios", in: *Prophecy, Divination, Apocalypse: 33rd Annual Medieval and Renaissance Forum: Plymouth State University (April 20-21, 2012)*, ed. Aniesha R. Andrews (Plymouth: Plymouth State University 2013), 100-112.

country beating themselves with whips”.⁸⁴ There were no additional explanations as it was supposed that everyone was familiar with the phenomenon. Prelates and clergy, high officials, and soldiers circulated frequently between Hungary and coastal cities. Nonetheless, the practice of self-flagellation and flagellation fraternities most probably came from Italian cities.

Political struggles were present at the regional as well as the local level. Eastern Adriatic cities were stretched between allegiance to the Kingdom of Hungary-Croatia and the ever-increasing influence of the Venetian Republic on coastal parts. Through a series of wars during the 13th and 14th centuries, Venice managed to secure control over several important cities in the Eastern Adriatic, and after 1420, it further strengthened its dominance over the eastern coast. Korčula was under Venetian rule from 1254, and Hvar from 1278, so both islands (and towns) were under the aegis of *La Serenissima* when their confraternities were founded. These wars were quite exhausting on many levels. The conflicts between noble families in the hinterland had implications for coastal cities, while the cities of Split and Trogir went to war with each other in 1243, immediately after the Mongol incursion into Dalmatia.

Famine was a traditional companion that tormented populations after armed conflicts and epidemics of diseases. The fact that in 1272 a leprosarium was established in Dubrovnik tells us that leprosy was then a very serious issue. Nonetheless, the culmination of the biological catastrophe came in 1348, when the Black Death arrived and wreaked havoc on the population of all European cities. Estimates suggest that the mortality rate was around 40%. The average frequency of plague epidemics in Dalmatian cities was around ten during the 15th century, while their duration ranged from a few months to more than two years.⁸⁵

Why were the Flagellant Confraternities Established (in the Adriatic Cities)?

As the following discussion will reveal, the confraternities were important for the medieval Adriatic urban communities in different aspects of everyday life, ranging from their religious to cultural and economic roles in society. Their gender

⁸⁴ János M. Bak, László Veszprémy, eds., *The Illuminated Chronicle. Chronicle of the Deeds of the Hungarians from the Fourteenth-Century Illuminated Codex* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2018), 329.

⁸⁵ Tomislav Raukar, “Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XV. st. i u prvoj polovini XVI. stoljeća”, *Historijski zbornik* 35 (1982): 43-118 (here 63); Gordan Ravančić, “Prilog proučavanju Crne smrti u dalmatinskom gradu (1348.-1353.) – raspon izvorne građe i stanje istraženosti na primjerima Dubrovnika, Splita i Zadra”, *Povijesni prilozi* 23 (2004), no. 26: 7-18; Meri Kunčić, *Od počasti sačuvaj nas. Utjecaj osmanske opasnosti i kužnih epidemija na ikonografiju zavjetnih slika* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2008), 68; Zoran Ladić, “Epidemije kuge i zdravstvena kultura u Šibeniku u kasnom srednjem vijeku”, *Povijesni prilozi* 40 (2021), no. 60: 39-73 (here 45).

and social structure will be analysed as well. The testamentary bequests to penance confraternities speak to the popularity of flagellant confraternities among all social strata.

The main goals of establishing flagellant fraternities were as follows:

- 1) Cultivating piety directed towards Christ's Passion (*imitatio Christi*) through penitential practice and other forms of devotion in order to repent for committed sins and to influence the Divine mercy.

First, it should be pointed out here that the flagellants, in their piety and focus on the Passion of Christ, with which they were supposed to sympathize and empathize through self-flagellation, were inspired by some parts of the Bible. For example, Psalm 2:12 had a special place in the foundation legend of the 1260 flagellant movement,⁸⁶ and it almost became an emblematic verse for the confraternities that formed in its wake. This Psalm might even seem like a versicle composed for the flagellants: 'Embrace discipline, lest at any time the Lord be angry, and you perish from the just way.'⁸⁷ In the preamble of the statute (*matricula*) of the Rab flagellant confraternity dedicated to St. Christopher, it is highlighted that one should macerate the flesh with the whip, thus submitting oneself to the words of the Prophet David in Psalm 2:12.⁸⁸ In this we see the fundamental intention of the founders, who decided that the confraternity would be a flagellant one, and who were convinced that if they observed the discipline, they would lessen the wrath of the Lord. Psalm 2 was not one of the penitential psalms, but it was incorporated into confraternity liturgies and documents all over the Apennine peninsula. The verse was recited during the services of confraternities in Verona, Florence, Pomarance, Assisi, Maddaloni, and Palermo.⁸⁹

- 2) Charitable activity in the context of helping brothers in need.

The main idea of laymen joining flagellant confraternities is very clearly pointed out in the invocation of the Statute of the Kotor confraternity of the Holy Cross, where it is emphasised that the confraternity is established, like other confraternities, with one primary aim: to practice penitence for the sins, and the salvation of their souls, which should be obtained by not only penitential, flagellant practice but also by the charitable work of the members. The charitable activity of the Kotor confraternity can also be seen in the foundation of a hospital (*hospitale pauperum sancte Crucis*) in 1372, established for taking care of poor people.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ For more about the legend, see: Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 60.

⁸⁷ Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 57.

⁸⁸ *Et hoc pro amore Christi flagelis carnis se subiecere debet iuxta illud propheticum: "Apprehendite disciplinam ne forte irascatur Dominus, ne periat de uia iusta".* Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 89.

⁸⁹ Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 59.

⁹⁰ Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, 60; Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", 143.

Another charitable activity can be mentioned in the example of the Kotor flagellant confraternity. Namely, on August 12, 1493, sixty members of the confraternity of the Holy Cross gathered, and decided to help the nine families whose houses were destroyed in the recent fire that ravaged the city, providing relief from the assets of the confraternity.⁹¹ Charitable care for brothers in need through the maintenance of hospitals was also one of the fundamental ways to convey *charisma* for most flagellant confraternities on the Apennine peninsula. For example, *disciplinati* companies founded or ran hospitals in Rome, Perugia, Bologna, Parma, Vicenza, and Venice.⁹²

Apart from their social and economic significance, the confraternities had an important cultural role. These activities included their participation in processions and church performances, the maintenance of churches and altars and construction of bell towers, commissioning paintings and altarpieces, the invitation of preachers, and other acts for the public. The confraternities also offered a setting that was safe and familiar for the enactment of devotion and the performance of extravagant emotion. The most common themes in these performances were penitent flagellation, commemoration of the Crucifixion, and the praise of Mary.

Economic Activities of the Confraternities

The research conducted by historians Irena Benyovsky, Dragica Kuštre, Zoran Ladić, Gordan Ravančić, and Valentina Živković based upon analyses of notarial deeds, primarily last wills, but also statutes of confraternities, suggests that flagellant confraternities had a significant religious, social-charitable, economic, and cultural role within late medieval cities of the Eastern Adriatic. Bequeathing the legacies *pro anima* in order to do repentance and to earn forgiveness of sins before the Last Judgement was accepted and became an almost obligatory element of the medieval last wills. Moreover, based on the research of medieval historians examining the notary records, primarily on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the last wills, it is obvious that from the last two decades of the 13th century, flagellant confraternities in Dalmatia (in Zadar, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Rab, and Korčula) received quite numerous and different types of legacies through testamentary donations. In that way, they became owners of both immovable and movable properties.

According to Zoran Ladić, who analysed the medieval last wills of the **Zadar** commune, in the period between 1285 and 1307, the Zadar confraternity of St. Silvester received five out of the total eight legacies given to all confraternities of Zadar (including those of St. Chrysogonus and St. Mark), which makes it the

⁹¹ Kuštre, "Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa", 142.

⁹² Henderson, *Piety and Charity*, 44.

most popular fraternity among Zadar testators in that period. The Zadar confraternity of St. Silvester only received money through testamentary bequests, and it was donated by the members of the social group *habitatores*, mostly men.⁹³ In the period between 1375 and 1404, the flagellant confraternity of St. Silvester is still the most popular one: this confraternity received 11 out of the total 15 legacies (in money) given to four confraternities of Zadar (*fraternitas presbiterorum*) and its district (St. George and St. Bartholomew). It should be emphasised that members of different social groups bequeathed legacies for the Zadar flagellant confraternity: especially testators from the group of *habitatores* (6), *cives* (4) and *districtuales* (1), which indicates, according to Ladić, that the flagellant movement in Zadar was generally popular among the lower strata of Zadar society.⁹⁴

Ladić also analysed the last wills of **Dubrovnik** from the period 1280 to 1302 regarding the legacies. The analysis showed that Dubrovnik wills mention four confraternities, among which there was one of the flagellants (*fraternitas verberatorum*) that was active in the church of All Saints called Domino. This confraternity received half of all bequests given to confraternities (18 out of 36, i.e., 50%), which means it was the most popular in the period. The bequests (mostly in money) for the confraternity of All Saints were given by members of all social strata, both women and men.⁹⁵

For the mid-14th century (more precisely, the years 1348-49), when the Black Death halved the population of Dubrovnik, the analysis was made by Gordan Ravančić. By analysing the last wills of the period, Ravančić found out that Dubrovnik confraternities received a significantly lower number of bequests in relation to earlier periods (14% of the total number of bequests). Nonetheless, this was very similar to the percentage of bequests to the confraternities in contemporary Italian communes. The flagellant confraternity of All Saints was the fourth most popular according to the number of bequests (13%), just after the confraternities of St. Blaise, and those of shoemakers and goldsmiths. This shows that in the mid-14th century, the confraternity kept a part of its popularity, although not at levels from the end of the 13th century.⁹⁶

⁹³ Zoran Ladić, *Last Will: Passport to Heaven. Urban Last Wills from Late Medieval Dalmatia with Special Attention to the Legacies pro remedio animae and ad pias causas* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012), 188.

⁹⁴ Ladić, *Last will*, 196-197.

⁹⁵ Zoran Ladić, "Oporučni legati pro anima i ad pias causas dubrovačkih stanovnika krajem XIII. stoljeća", in: *Tisuću godina uspostave Dubrovačke (nad)biskupije*. Zbornik radova znanstvenoga skupa u povodu tisuću godina uspostave dubrovačke (nad)biskupije / metropolije (998.-1998.), ed. Želimir Puljić and Nediljko A. Ančić, (Dubrovnik: Biskupski ordinarijat Dubrovnik : Crkva u svijetu Split, 2001), 733-751 (here 745-746); Ladić, *Last will*, 221.

⁹⁶ Gordan Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja: crna smrt u Dubrovniku: 1348.-1349.* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2010), 105.

The reason for the decrease in bequests for confraternities, Ladić explains, is the fact that the Black Death created panic among the population, which abruptly ceased their activity during the period of the pandemic. Since the confraternities could not fulfil their primary tasks, such as the organisation of funeral ceremonies and rites, the interest of the testators was fading and was directed towards other recipients, such as churches, monasteries, members of the clergy, etc.⁹⁷

Ravančić suggests as well that the archival notary corpus of Dubrovnik, unfortunately, does not give evidence of the activity of confraternities during the pandemic, so it is not possible to tell whether the flagellants of Dubrovnik performed public penitence and redemptions for sins in that period. Ravančić concludes that even if there were such activities, Dubrovnik authorities tolerated them as there were no threats to the existing general order.⁹⁸ Regarding the attempts to fight the pandemic on the island of Šipan (near Dubrovnik), the Major Council of Ragusa gave permission to the rector to organise processions and other such activities that might please the Almighty God.⁹⁹

In the first half of the 16th century, the confraternity of All Saints also received testamentary donations. Several testators, who died in Dubrovnik at that time, left sums of money as legacies to this company, some without any obligation, some with the aim that the confraternity would pray for them (*pro anima sua*), some for the purpose of celebrating mass, then for the purchase of oil for the Domino church, some for the purchase of fraternal ceremonial tunics (*per toneghe, per fare le tonache a li detti frustadori, si se vestiet in tunicis*), and some for the purchase of chalices for the church.¹⁰⁰

Valentina Živković researched pious legacies bequeathed to **Kotor** confraternities in the period from 1326 to 1337. According to the number of testamentary legacies, the flagellant confraternity of the Holy Cross received the majority of pious donations (6 legacies), which indicates its popularity among others. This confraternity received legates in money and liturgical objects, and donations were bequeathed to it by patricians and commoners of both gender, and priests.¹⁰¹ It should be noted here that the Kotor flagellant confraternity also received the relic of the Holy Cross in a silver gilded cross and the relics of the Saints Cosmas and Damian, given to it by Medoje Schabalo in 1342 (*per l'anima del ditto Medoe, e di sua uxor et di so fio et di so morti*).¹⁰²

⁹⁷ Ladić, *Last will*, 228.

⁹⁸ Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*, 105.

⁹⁹ Ravančić, *Vrijeme umiranja*, 105-106; *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum*, vol. 2: *Ann. 1347-1352, 1356-1360: additamentum a. 1301-1305, 1318, 1325-1336*, ed. Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčević (Zagreb: JAZU, 1882), 11.

¹⁰⁰ Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 196.

¹⁰¹ Živković, *Legati pro anima*, 181; See also: Ladić, *Last will*, 234.

¹⁰² Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, 24, 85; Živković, *Legati pro anima*, 181.

During the second half of the 15th century, the confraternity of St. Christopher in **Rab** received a significant number of testamentary donations (31 in total; *bona mobilia et immobilia*). In the private-legal notary documents (especially last wills), this confraternity was mentioned as the recipient of legacies in 25 cases, which is 23.6% out of the total number of legacies received by other Rab late medieval confraternities. By the end of the 15th century, the confraternity of St. Christopher in Rab had in its ownership a considerable number of real estates, vineyards, olive groves, pastures, arable lands, houses, etc. The confraternity used it in the active economic disposal of goods, and real estate was integrated into the market economy (lease and cultivation of land, sale of movable property). In addition, through testamentary legacies *pro anima*, the confraternity often received significant financial resources, primarily money, as well as other types of movable property, such as domestic animals, material objects for everyday life, household objects, and so on. Another source of income came from membership fees and fines, and the money was given to the poor as well as to cover the expenses of the confraternity. All this ranks this confraternity among the most economically and socially important late medieval associations of the Rab commune.¹⁰³ According to a quantitative analysis of Rab testaments from the second half of the 16th century, the confraternity of St. Christopher received only eight legacies (out of a total of 75 testamentary legacies intended for all confraternities in the commune of Rab),¹⁰⁴ which indicates that this confraternity lost its popularity in the Rab society compared to the medieval period when it was among the most influential and strongest religious lay associations.

The **Korčula** confraternity of All Saints owned a significant number of lands across the island and a house in the city and was also providing loans to various recipients. In notary records, one can find contracts for both selling arable land and giving it to peasants (*laboratores*). The confraternity was highly esteemed, especially its management. That was obvious from the fact that one of the public auctions for half of the confraternity's house was directed by gastald (*gastaldio*) with the judges (*iudices*) of the confraternity, while it was prescribed that all public auctions were to be directed by the count of the commune, most frequently his deputy, with the judges.¹⁰⁵

From the above, it can be concluded that the flagellant companies on the eastern Adriatic coast represented a significant economic factor in urban societies during the Middle Ages. By testamentary bequests (given in money, movables, and real

¹⁰³ Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 83-86.

¹⁰⁴ Zrinka Novak, "Pobožnost stanovništva rapske komune u drugoj polovici 16. stoljeća" (PhD diss., University of Zagreb, 2018), 199; Zrinka Novak, *Ulaganje u vječni život. Pobožnost stanovništva rapske komune u drugoj polovici XVI. stoljeća u zrcalu oporuka i kodicila* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2024), 281; 293.

¹⁰⁵ Foretić, *Otok Korčula*, 340-341.

estate), which were donated to them primarily by its members, but also by other members of society from all social strata, men and women, it speaks first of all about the popularity of these confraternities, among others, but also about the desire of the testators that the flagellant confraternities remain the leaders in pious practices (funeral rites, prayers, masses) for the salvation of the soul of the testators.

Also, with the collected assets, especially those related to real estate, the flagellant confraternities participated not only in the overall market economy of the commune, but also in charitable actions where they helped those who were in need (the sick, the poor, etc.), through, for example, the maintenance of hospitals, but also in other activities aimed at those on the margins of society.

Flagellant Confraternities According to Social Structure and Gender

Most of the flagellant confraternities were active within urban areas on the eastern Adriatic (except for those in the rural areas of Rijeka and Krk). Therefore, an examination of the social structure of these lay associations yields important insights.

According to the analysis of the flagellant confraternity of St. Christopher in Rab, it is obvious that the membership of this association consisted of all social layers (nobility, commoners, clergy), of both genders, and of citizens, inhabitants, peasants from the district, and even foreigners. It should be emphasised that in the middle of the 15th century, the confraternity had 380 members,¹⁰⁶ which is a significant share of the total population of Rab, then numbering about 4,000 inhabitants.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, the majority of its members were the citizens of Rab commune (249, of which 176 were men and 73 were women). The inhabitants of Rab participated in the membership with 27 people (19 men and 8 women). The number of priests among the members of the confraternity is also noticeable (20), along with 8 nuns. The smallest share in the membership of the confraternity was made up of residents of the district (15, of which 12 men and 3 women).¹⁰⁸ The confraternity had 7% of foreigners (25 out of 380) among its ranks as well. These foreigners spent much time in the commune, mostly in trade business, and were primarily from Italian (Aquila, Bergamo, Brescia, Ravenna, Trento, and Venice) or Eastern Adriatic communes (Karlobag, Krk, Pula, Ston, Trogir, and Zadar).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 76.

¹⁰⁷ Dušan Mlacović, *Gradani plemići: Pad i uspon rapskog plemstva*, Zagreb: Leykam international, 2008, 99.

¹⁰⁸ Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 76-78.

¹⁰⁹ Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 93.

Therefore, this confraternity, from the very day of its foundation, opened its door to all social strata, both men and women.

The members of the Korčula brotherhood of All Saints were also nobles and commoners.¹¹⁰ The fact that representatives of the patricians and commoners were present together under the auspices of the brotherhoods indicates that the brotherhoods in some way represented a factor of fraternal reconciliation among otherwise hard-to-reconcile social groups.

According to gender, it can be concluded that there was a quite large number of women in Dalmatian flagellant confraternities, especially compared with similar flagellant associations on the Apennine peninsula.¹¹¹ In the middle of the 15th century, the total number of brethren in the Rab confraternity of St. Christopher was 261 (69%), while the number of sisters was 119 (31%).¹¹² Nonetheless, some Italian flagellant confraternities prohibited the membership of women, as one can read from the statute of St. Rufinus in Assisi from 1347, or from the decree of the confraternity *del Crocifisso di San Agostino* in Gubbio (1339) that forbids “the acceptance of women into the confraternity, regardless of the cause. This decree is to be respected for eternity.”¹¹³

As it was in other flagellant associations in medieval Dalmatia, in the confraternity of St. Christopher of Rab, women had a pious role only, as they were not allowed to vote or be chosen for administrative functions of the fraternity.¹¹⁴ Also, according to the model of Italian flagellant confraternities, they most often whipped themselves privately, not publicly.¹¹⁵

From the mid-15th century on, women started to take part in the membership of the confraternities and in the activities of the hospitals. A capitulary decree from 1463 defines how the Kotor hospital (f. 1372) should be organised: “There should

¹¹⁰ Foretić, *Otok Korčula*, 340.

¹¹¹ For more about the participation of women in medieval and early modern confraternities, see: Giovanna Casagrande, “Confraternities and lay female religiosity in late medieval and Renaissance Umbria”, in: *The Politics of Ritual Kinship. Confraternities and Social Order in Early Modern Italy*, ed. Nicholas Terpstra, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 48-66; Nicholas Terpstra, “Women in the Brotherhood: Gender, Class, and Politics in Renaissance Bolognese Confraternities”, *Renaissance and reformation / Renaissance et Reforme* 26 (2009), no. 3: 193-212; Nicholas Terpstra, *Cultures of Charity: Women, Politics and the Reform of Poor Relief in Renaissance Bologna* (Cambridge, MA; London: Harvard University Press, 2013); Vilma Pezelj, “Žene u bratovštinama srednjovjekovnih dalmatinskih gradova”, *Zbornik radova Pravnog fakulteta u Splitu* 47 (2010), no. 1: 155-173.

¹¹² Ladić, Novak, “Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora”, 75-76.

¹¹³ Cf. Ladić, Novak, “Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora”, 76.

¹¹⁴ Ladić, Novak, “Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora”, 76.

¹¹⁵ Cf. Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 37, 77; Terpstra, “Women in the Brotherhood”, 195-196. Nonetheless, there were exceptions – for example, during the Good Friday office of the Veronese confraternity of Santa Maria del Duomo women took part in flagellation (Chen, *Flagellant confraternities*, 79).

be six women of good reputation: two patricians, two commoners, and two paupers. When one of these women dies, the confraternity should send a cross and candles. Those women are, in life and death, the members of the fraternity and must take part in communal rite.”¹¹⁶ It took another five years to have women as full members of Kotor’s confraternity of the Holy Cross.

Transformation into Charitable Confraternities and Occasional Flagellant Activities in the 16th Century

By the end of the 15th century, the flagellant practice was almost extinguished; there are no more mentions of it in contemporary sources. In that period, most of those flagellant confraternities were transformed into charitable companies that took care of those in need and helped with other aspects of life and death.¹¹⁷ These transformations took place across the Eastern Adriatic communes, including those confraternities in Zadar, Rab, Korčula, Hvar, Kotor, and Vrbnik.

The confraternity of **Zadar** changed its patron saint in the late 15th century, becoming the confraternity of Mercy (*confraternita della pietà et della misericordia*) with the main purpose of practicing piety and mercy towards the ill, especially those suffering from plague.¹¹⁸ The **Rab** confraternity ceased with its flagellant practice in the 16th century and was reduced to a confraternity that had the usual role of worshipping and organising celebrations in honour of St. Christopher, the patron saint, and participating in other liturgical and extra-liturgical devotions.¹¹⁹ In one of the transcripts of the Statute of the **Korčula** confraternity of All Saints from 1932, which is now kept in the confraternity archives in the city, the title of the confraternity is changed to All Saints and Good Death. In 1733, this confraternity was annexed to the archconfraternity (*archiconfraternitas*) of the Blessed Sacraments and All Saints at the Assembly church of St. Mary and the Martyrs in Rome (La Rotonda).¹²⁰ The **Kotor** confraternity pursued its caritative role from its earliest time, as its members founded a hospital (*hospitale pauperum sancte Crucis*) for the poor of the city as early as 1372.¹²¹ The **Vrbnik** confraternity kept the hospital for the poor, which is mentioned in a document from 1487.¹²²

¹¹⁶ Kuštre, “Statut kotorske bratovštine sv. Križa”, 141-142; Živković, *Legati pro anima*, 179.

¹¹⁷ Christopher F. Black, *Italian Confraternities in the Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge; New York; New Rochelle; Melbourne; Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 15-19.

¹¹⁸ Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana*, 493-494.

¹¹⁹ Novak, *Pobožnost stanovništva*, 131, 197; Novak, *Ulaganje*, 120-121, 293-294.

¹²⁰ The example of the *matricula* from 1932 is kept in the Archive of the confraternity of All Saints in Korčula.

¹²¹ Stjepčević, *Katedrala sv. Tripuna u Kotoru*, 60.

¹²² Bolonić, “Bratovština sv. Ivana”, 472.

There were exemptions, especially during crises when the circumstances provoked flagellant practice and processions. The bleeding of a small crucifix in Captain Bevilaque's house on the eve of the Hvar uprising (1510–1514) prompted public whippings and processions through the streets of the city on February 6th, 1510. The event was described by a contemporary, Judge Paul Paladini, who wrote the following: "This miracle has affected both the locals and the foreigners so much that there was not a single person who did not expect a huge evil to follow. Therefore, they gathered in groups and started with penitential practice secretly and publicly, to the extent that nothing suggested it was the time of the carnival; on the contrary, naked people with covered faces whipped themselves on the squares and surrounding hills (...) Everyone was under the impression that this was a clear sign of huge peril, that this unfortunate island was about to perish. Boys who were seven, eight, and ten years old whipped themselves on this square, and many of them stopped with eyes full of tears, turning their faces and eyes towards heaven, having no shame that they would be seen by noblemen and many others who were there."¹²³

We can safely assume that the protagonists and leaders of such activities, which could gradually take on the form of mass hysteria, were members of the confraternity of the Holy Spirit. They must have had a leading role in several other processions (in which, as it seems, all Hvar confraternities participated) that took place on those days, when the aforementioned small crucifix under a canopy was carried through the city streets and the main square, in the way described by Paladini.

Therefore, this event was led by the confraternity of the Holy Spirit, which must have renewed its former flagellant practice at this moment, leading a flagellant procession that gathered the people of Hvar, all social strata, men and women equally, and even children. Sometime later, in honour of this event, another confraternity (of Mercy) was founded.¹²⁴ On the feast of St. Dorothea, the members were supposed to lead the procession with the cross and take care of the poor – in accordance with the mission of most late medieval and early modern confraternities. Thus, in addition to fostering pious activities, charitable activities became their primary mission.

The miraculous event of the small bleeding crucifix encouraged intensified penitential acts, i.e., more frequent flagellant practice that once was an integral part of the activity of the confraternity. Over time, this practice disappeared only to be

¹²³ Translated into English by the authors. Jakov Stipišić, "Glavni izvori za poznavanje pučkog ustanka", *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 10 (1977), no. 1: 551-592 (here 585); Marija Zaninović Rumora, Joško Bracanović, eds., *Izvori o hvarskom pučkom ustanku* (Hvar: Matica hrvatska Hvar, 2014), doc. 3, 40-41.

¹²⁴ About the Hvar confraternity of Mercy, see more: Zrinka Novak, "Hvarska karitativna bratovština milosrda u ranome novom vijeku", *Historijski zbornik* 64 (2011), no. 2: 377-433.

reactivated in the 16th century and, according to the report of Valier, the Apostolic visitor, was to be stabilised in the 1570s on a single day of the year (on the feast of the Pentecost). In any case, the event with the small bleeding crucifix did affect the continuation of the flagellant practice, but some other frightening events of the second half of the 16th century must have certainly prolonged it. Two of the most devastating ones were certainly the raid of the Ottoman corsair fleet (led by one of the most capable sea captains, Uluç-Ali), when hundreds of inhabitants of the island were taken into slavery and when the famous Arsenale of Hvar was badly damaged; and the plague epidemic that broke out in Hvar in 1576.¹²⁵

Visual Sources – the Korčula Examples

Visual sources also provide valuable information about the appearance of flagellants, their equipment, clothing, and other details about which we cannot find detailed information in other, primarily narrative sources.

There is a pair of reliefs of the confraternity of All Saints located on the seat of the confraternity in Korčula, near the church of the same name. The first one from the first half of the 15th century depicts six brothers (three from either side of the cross) in confraternity tunics, carrying whips, and venerating the Holy Cross (without the *corpus Christi*). Below the cross there is an inscription: DOMVS FRATER(NITATIS) OMNIVM SA(NCT)O(RUM) that indicates it was the place where the brethren gathered. In the second relief, from the 16th century, one can see eight brethren at the foot of the cross (four on either side), dressed in tunics with hoods on their heads. On the rods coming down from the cross, there are two whips. Below the cross is a skull as a symbol of death, which emphasises Christ's sacrifice on the cross and his final victory over death.¹²⁶

In the Church of All Saints in Korčula there is a polyptych of "The Lamentation of Christ" designed by master Blaise George of Trogir (Blaž Jurjev Trogiranin) in 1438-1439 which depicts the brothers of All Saints in adoration.¹²⁷ The central part contains a motif of the *Imago pietatis*, that is, the Suffering Christ (*Ecce homo*) with the Virgin Mary and Saint John the Evangelist holding the body of Christ over his sarcophagus. Beneath the sarcophagus, in a hierarchical perspective (considerably minimised) are depicted fourteen members of the confraterni-

¹²⁵ Grga Novak, *Hvar kroz stoljeća* (Hvar: Narodni odbor općine Hvar, 1960), 107.

¹²⁶ For more about the reliefs, see: Damir Tulić, Nina Kudiš, *Opatska riznica, katedrala i crkve grada Korčule* (Korčula: Župa sv. Marka, 2014), 213.

¹²⁷ More about the polyptych in: Vinko Foretić, "Poliptih Blaža Jurjeva u korčulanskoj crkvi Svih Svetih", *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji* 14 (1962), no. 1: 104-114; Margarita Šimat, ed., *Blaž Jurjev Trogiranin, katalog izložbe, Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Split, listopad – prosinac 1986.: Muzejski prostor Zagreb, siječanj – ožujak 1987.* (Zagreb: Muzejsko-galerijski centar, 1986), 98-99; Tulić-Kudiš, *Opatska riznica*, 224.

ty of All Saints, in adoration, in white tunics (which are still worn in processions today). To the left and right of the central panel, there are St. Lucy, St. Dominic, St. Peter Martyr, and St. Barbara. This emphasised Dominican iconography, i.e., the positioning of Dominican saints in key places on the polyptych, can certainly be connected with historical connections of the confraternity with this mendicant order: the very founder of the confraternity, the first bishop of Korčula, was himself a Dominican.

It is notable that the artist of the polyptych depicted the confraternity members, both male and female, with portrait-like features. Of the brothers, it is possible that the first figure, shown on the right, was the donor of the painting, and the one on the left is probably the gastald of the confraternity because he is holding a red flag in his hand. The brothers are all bearded¹²⁸ and dressed in white tunics with hoods on their heads, and red crosses on their chests. They kneel, torsos upright, with the right knee on the ground and the left leg forward, with hands pressed together;¹²⁹ most hold whips. The two sisters who appear on the right are both garbed in grey dresses, which indicates that women were active members of the confraternity.

Remains of Medieval Devotion to Christ's Passion in Folk Plays

Modelled on the Italian flagellant movement that appeared in the Italian town of Chieri (in Piedmont) in 1399 under the name *Bianchi*, whose members walked in processions and sang monologue and dialogue songs (*laudes*) in honour of Christ's Passion and the mournful Virgin Mary (*Stabat Mater*), the Eastern Adriatic late medieval flagellant companies observed this kind of public devotion,¹³⁰ especially in the liturgical Lenten period. It was in the flagellant confraternities on the Apennine peninsula that the *laudes* were created, slowly moving from Latin spiritual poetry and inaugurating vulgar Italian poetry in the form of dialogue, from which later the church drama will develop. This pattern was most probably the same on the other side of the Adriatic.¹³¹ In addition to processional tours of

¹²⁸ It is also a characteristic feature of the flagellants shown on works of art of Italian provenance. Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 33, 138, 159, 184.

¹²⁹ The kneeling pose with hands pressed together or crossed over the chest (as a symbol of humility) is widely attested on the altarpieces, paintings, and miniatures on the Apennine peninsula. Chen, *Flagellant Confraternities*, 74-75.

¹³⁰ For example, the statute of Rab confraternity of St. Christopher testifies about the practice of singing *laudes*: *Item quilibet fratrum qui scit cantare laudes per ciuitatem et vicos sit exemptus ab offertorio prandii et pastinandi*. HR-DAZD-335-Bratovštine u Dalmaciji, Rab, *Liber fraternitatis sancti Christophori*, Liber I, fol. 2v; Ladić, Novak, "Matrikula bratovštine bičevalaca sv. Kristofora", 92.

¹³¹ Josip Bratulić, "Srednjovjekovne bratovštine i crkvena prikazanja", *Dani hvarskog kazališta Građa i rasprave o hrvatskoj književnosti i kazalištu* 2 (1985): 452-457 (here 454); Gjivanović, "Flagelanti u našem Primorju", 193.

the city, led by a cross-bearer who assumed the role of Christ on his *Via crucis*, it is well known that church displays were organised thematically related to the stages of Christ's Passion, death, descent into hell, and resurrection. Usually, in these performances, the main characters were members of the communal confraternities. According to the preserved inventories of the confraternities' goods, these lay associations really participated in such dramatic forms of staging the Passion of Christ. For example, Vitaliano Brunelli and Ivo Petricioli have noted that in the inventory of the assets of the Zadar confraternity of St. Silvester, two songbooks alongside clothes (tunics) and a mask (*cauo*) were found, which speaks in favour of the fact that the members of this confraternity were engaged in church performances.¹³² The Korčula confraternity possessed a songbook (*pjesmarica*) from the 15th century, written in čakavian dialect, which is today kept in the abbots treasury in the city of Korčula.¹³³

Medieval confraternities initiated and systematised folk celebrations and pieties that consequently generated *laudes*, then dialogical songs, stage plays, and eventually developed church drama. The life of medieval folk theatre was inextricably connected with this institution, independent from both the Church and the state. After the Council of Trent, these dramatic plays were moved out of ecclesiastic spaces and played in public spaces, such as squares and streets.¹³⁴

Dalmatian and Quarnero islands have preserved the remains of medieval devotion to the Passion even to the present day. In the city of Hvar, one can observe the Lenten processions of two confraternities: St. Nicholas – formerly the Holy Spirit – (in white tunics) and The Holy Cross (in brown tunics). These confraternities maintain the procession of the Holy Week (*Po Božjim grebima*). There is an even more impressive procession on the same island, called *Za Križen* (Following the Cross), that connects six island communes (Jelsa, Pitve, Vrisnik, Svirče, Vrbanj, and Vrboska). During the night of Holy Thursday, processions that follow the cross-bearer start at the same time in each of six churches, and then move from one church to another in a circular way, singing in other churches and returning to their own at dawn. The core of the procession is The Lament of Our Lady (*Gospin plač*), an eight-syllable passion lyric from the 15th century that is sung in the form of dialogue by chosen singers (*kantaduri*).¹³⁵ On the island of Korčula, there are also two confraternities leading Lenten processions: All Saints and Our Lady of Consolation. On the island of Krk (in Vrbnik), the members of the fraternity of St. John the Baptist (so-called *kapari*) also perform processions in honour

¹³² Vitaliano Brunelli, "Storia di Zara. Il comune in sul finire del tempi di Mezzo", *Archivio storico per la Dalmazia* XIX (1935): 55-87 (here 73); Petricioli, *Umjetnička baština Zadra*, 92. See also: Bratulić, "Srednjovjekovne bratovštine", 455.

¹³³ Šanjek, *Crkva i kršćanstvo*, sv. I, 375.

¹³⁴ Bratulić, "Srednjovjekovne bratovštine", 456-457.

¹³⁵ Škunca, *Štovanje Isusove muke*, 43-58.

of Christ's Passion during the Lent procession on Holy Friday.¹³⁶ The brethren sing the songs of the Lord's lament (*O presveto Božje telo*) and a song in honour of the mother of God (*O Gospoje sveta Marije*). The performances of this type of devotion also attracted the attention of the worldwide audience, and it was placed under the protection of UNESCO as an intangible cultural heritage.

Conclusion

Flagellant practice, otherwise reserved exclusively to individuals and monastic communities, as a response to a variety of crisis situations, in the mid-13th century grew into a mass movement, first in Umbria and then throughout the Apennine peninsula, Central and South Europe. Spurred by preaching on the pending Judgement Day, it occasionally took the form of mass hysteria accompanied by frenzied processions and bloody self-flagellations. The second wave of the movement was mostly a result of the Black Death epidemic in the mid-14th century and was the most intense in German provinces. Because of its extreme form and horrible deviations from its original idea, which all posed a threat to both political and spiritual authorities, the movement was strictly forbidden.

However, in urban areas of the Eastern Adriatic, the flagellant idea lived in an acceptable, institutionalised form: flagellant confraternities that practiced flagellation in organised processions on defined feast days. These were also a result of – and quite susceptible to – multiple crisis situations related to wars, social struggles, communal conflicts, famine, and epidemics. Starting in the 13th century, such confraternities were founded in all major urban centres of the Eastern Adriatic: Zadar, Šibenik, Dubrovnik, Kotor, Korčula, Ston, Hvar, Rab, Krk, Vrbnik, and Rijeka.

There are no descriptions of the flagellant practices in narrative sources of the time, but there are testimonies about them in the preserved statutes of some Eastern Adriatic flagellant companies – such as Rab, Kotor, and Korčula. Some flagellant confraternities, from the very beginning of their existence, alongside self-flagellation as an expression of piety towards Christ's Passion, developed a distinct charitable practice: the foundation of hospitals, and care for the poor and ill (as in Kotor, Šibenik, Vrbnik, and Rijeka). This practice was even more noticeable during the 16th century onward, when flagellant confraternities lost their original flagellation practice and transformed themselves into pious associations that acted in the spirit of charity, offering concrete help to those in need and those on the margins of society.

Although the flagellant practice almost completely disappeared by the end of the 16th century, there were certain moments in times of crises that triggered its re-

¹³⁶ Bolonić, "Bratovština sv. Ivana", 463, 475-476.

vival, as it happened in the commune of Hvar when the little crucifix shed bloody tears on the eve of the commoners' uprising in 1510. On such occasions, the members of flagellant confraternities retake the leading roles in processions in which they self-scourge themselves, appealing for God's mercy. Except for their care and expression of different forms of liturgical and extra-liturgical pieties (masses, processions, funerary ceremonies for their brethren, and self-flagellation as an aspect of empathising with Christ's suffering), these confraternities also had an important economic and cultural role within late medieval and early modern societies. With funds collected through membership fees, but most of all through testamentary bequests (in the form of money, movable goods, and real estate), the fraternities actively participated in the market economy of the commune. Since they also had a significant charitable role in helping the poor and maintaining hospitals, they can be perceived as social-charitable institutions. Finally, their cultural role is still very visible in the Adriatic cultural heritage: confraternities were very active commissioners of altar paintings, crucifixes, and other artistic liturgical objects, that all made a deep mark across the Adriatic.

We should certainly mention that some of the Adriatic towns have preserved some aspects of medieval passion piety that are led by still active confraternities – like in Krk, Hvar, and Korčula. These activities enrich Croatian non-material cultural heritage, and that has been recognized by UNESCO.

APPENDIX



Fig. 1. Relief on the House of the Confraternity of All Saints, Korčula, unknown author, original from the 15th ct., plaster cast from the 20th ct. Dimensions: h = 0.965 m, w = 0.705 m. Inventory no. G-HZ-719, Glyptothèque of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU)



Fig. 2. Relief on the House of the Confraternity of All Saints, Korčula, unknown author, original from the 16th ct., plaster cast from the 20th ct. Dimensions: h = 0.755 m, w = 0.49 m. Inventory no. G-HZ-720, Glyptothèque of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU)



Fig. 3. Polyptych by Blaž Jurjev Trogirani (master Blaise George), 1438-1439. All Saints Church, Korčula. Courtesy of the author of the photo, Živko Bačić

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Zrinka Novak*

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Pojava i širenje flagelantskoga (bičevalačkog) pokreta u istočnojadranskim komunama tijekom srednjega vijeka do kasne renesanse

Sažetak

Samokažnjavanje kao vjerska praksa pojedinaca ili zajednica ima dugu tradiciju u duhovnom životu mediteranskoga svijeta. Postojalo je i prije pojave kršćanstva, a ono ga je prigrlilo ponajprije iz dva razloga. Rane monastičke zajednice „prepoznale” su u (samo) kažnjavanju sredstvo discipline tijela koje je došlo u napast ili joj je već podleglo. Samokažnjavanje bičem (*flagellum*) pojavljuje se u 11. stoljeću među pojedincima i manjim zajednicama na Apeninskom poluotoku kao proces svojevrsnoga umrtvljivanja tijela radi spasenja duše.

Pojava masovnih i od vlasti nekontroliranih procesija flagelanata koji bi se u stotinama polugoli bičevali na gradskim trgovima i ulicama, nerijetko praćeni histeričnim ispadima mnoštva i pojedinaca, počinje 1260. u Umbriji. Bio je to radikalni odgovor na nekoliko povezanih pogubnih i traumatičnih događaja koji su pogodili to područje. Najprije su 1258. glad, pa sljedeće godine i kuga sijale smrt, a u rujnu 1260. sve je kulminiralo teškim porazom gvelfa, koji su u bitci protiv gibelina izgubili tisuće vojnika i pristaša. Vrlo mučno razdoblje koincidiralo je upravo s godinom 1260., za koju je krajem 12. stoljeća Joachim del Fiore prorokovao da je godina dolaska Antikrista. Flagelantske pokorničke procesije proširile su se diljem, čak i izvan Apeninskoga poluotoka. Naposljetku su se sukobi smirivali, pljačkaši su priznavali nedjela, kajali se i vraćali pokradeno. Kako je odgovor na patnju i anksioznost brzo došao, tako se i unutar nekoliko mjeseci smirio.

Drugi val flagelantskih pokreta dogodio se sredinom 14. stoljeća, ponajprije na jugu njemačkih zemalja i na području uz rijeku Rajnu kao posljedica izbijanja strašne epidemije kuge (*crna smrt*) 1347./48. godine. Zbog njegova ekstremnoga djelovanja pokret su naposljetku zabranile i svjetovne i crkvene vlasti jer je predstavljao svojevrsnu opasnost za svjetovni i crkveni poredak.

U 13. stoljeću flagelantska je praksa, u svojoj umjerenoj, neradikaliziranoj formi, institucionalizirana i na istočnoj obali Jadrana, po uzoru na slične bratovštine u talijanskim gradovima. Osnutak bičevalačkih bratovština treba promatrati i u vidu pojave novih mendikantskih, propovjedničkih redova (dominikanci i franjevci) koji su širili ideje o

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Kristu patniku, o molitvi, pokori i milosrđu, a bičevanje je bilo potaknuto onim činom što ga je sam Krist podnio tijekom svoje muke za spas čovječanstva. Ta je bičevalačka pokora ujedno bila sredstvo da bi se nekako ublažio „bič Božji”, prema tadašnjem poimanju vidljiv u raznim nedaćama (rat, glad, bolest), a i kasnije u velikim kužnim epidemijama koje su zahvatile Europu sredinom 14. stoljeća. Bičevalačka praksa (poštujući originalni koncept patnje u vidu *imitatio Christi*) kao i ostali oblici pobožnosti i kršćansko-bratske djelotvornosti jasno su bili definirani u statutima bratovština.

Ovaj rad posvećen je analizi osnutka i djelovanja bičevalačkih bratovština u istočnojadranskim gradovima: Zadru, Dubrovniku, Stonu, Hvaru, Korčuli, Šibeniku, Rabu, Krku i Kotoru te naseljima Grobniku i Vrbniku. Najprije se iz literature daje pregled poznatih podataka o djelovanju bratovština u pojedinim komunama i gradovima istočnoga Jadrana. Potom se analizira flagelantska praksa zabilježena u bratovštinskim statutima, ali i popularnost tih bratovština vidljiva i u drugim arhivskim vrelima, primjerice u privatno-pravnim notarskim spisima. Nastavlja se s razlozima osnivanja flagelantskih bratovština: u prvom je redu to bilo zbog njegovanja pobožnosti usmjerene prema Kristovoj mucii samokažnjavanjem i ostalim oblicima pobožnosti s ciljem pokajanja za grijeha i zazivanjem Božjega milosrđa. Drugi je razlog bila dobrotvorna djelatnost usmjerena na pomoć potrebitoj braći.

U zasebnim su odlomcima obrađene ekonomske aktivnosti bratovština te njihova društvena i spolna struktura. Prema dosad u historiografiji već načinjenim analizama oporuka vidljivo je da su u Zadru i Dubrovniku flagelantske bratovštine krajem 13. stoljeća dobivale veći broj oporučnih legata, a popularnost im je opala tijekom 14. stoljeća, na što upućuje manji broj darovanih legata u odnosu na prethodno razdoblje. Kotorska flagelantska bratovština u prvoj polovini 14. stoljeća još uvijek je među vodećim bratovštinama s obzirom na broj primljenih legata. Rapska bratovština sv. Kristofora još je u 15. stoljeću obdarivana velikim brojem oporučnih legata, što svjedoči o njezinu iznimnom ekonomskom, društvenom i vjerskom značenju za komunu sve do 16. stoljeća, kad postupno gubi na ekonomskoj i društvenoj važnosti.

Flagelantske bratovštine na istočnojadranskom prostoru većinom su djelovale u urbanim sredinama i okupljale pripadnike svih društvenih slojeva i oba spola. Primjer bratovštine sv. Kristofora u Rabu pokazuje široku društvenu zastupljenost: patricije, pučane, klerike, seljake iz distrikta i strance – njih ukupno 380. Slična struktura vidljiva je i u bratovštini Svih svetih u Korčuli, u kojoj su patriciji i pučani djelovali zajedno, što upućuje na važnu ulogu bratovština u društvenoj pomirbi. U usporedbi s talijanskim flagelantskim bratovštinama, koje su često isključivale žene iz svojega članstva, istočnojadranske su imale znatan udio članica. Ipak, žene su u bičevalačkim bratovštinama poput one u Rabu imale ograničenu, više pobožnu ulogu, nisu imale pravo glasa niti su mogle obnašati upravne funkcije, a bičevanje su, čini se, obavljale privatno. Od sredine 15. stoljeća žene su se sve više uključivale u bratovštine baveći se karitativnom djelatnošću, kao što pokazuje slučaj Kotora, gdje su postale punopravne članice bratovštine Svetoga Križa tek nakon 1468. godine.

Do kraja 15. stoljeća flagelantska je praksa gotovo potpuno iščezla, a mnoge su se bičevalačke bratovštine transformirale u pobožno-karitativne udruge koje su pomagale siromašnima, bolesnima i onima na margini društva. Takve su se promjene dogodile

le u gotovo svim flagelantskim bratovštinama koje su djelovale u urbanim sredinama na istočnoj obali Jadrana. Bratovštine u Kotoru i Vrbniku već su i u ranijem razdoblju vodile brigu o hospitalima za siromašne. Iako je flagelantska praksa krajem srednjega vijeka nestajala, u kriznim vremenima dolazilo je do njezina povremenoga oživljavanja. Primjer toga događaj je iz Hvara 1510. godine, kad je čudotvorno krvarenje maloga raspela izazvalo masovna bičevanja i pokorničke procesije, što detaljno opisuju suvremeni izvori. U tim su procesijama sudjelovali ljudi svih uzrasta i društvenih slojeva. Vodeću ulogu imala je hvarska bratovština Duha Svetoga, koja je tom prilikom obnovila svoju nekadašnju flagelantsku praksu. Poslije je, u spomen na navedeni događaj, osnovana i bratovština Milosrđa. Ta čudotvorna pojava potaknula je oživljavanje flagelantske prakse, koja se kasnije stabilizirala i zadržala u ograničenom obliku, primjerice jednom godišnje na Duhove, kako je 1579. zabilježio apostolski vizitator Valier. Očigledno je da su novi valovi nesreća, poput napada osmanskih gusara na Hvar i Korčulu 1571. i kužne epidemije 1576., dodatno produžili trajanje tih pokorničkih običaja.

Na kraju rada ukratko se analiziraju vizualni izvori vezani uz korčulansku bičevalačku bratovštinu i prežitci srednjovjekovne pobožnosti vezane uz uprizorenje Kristove muke i smrti (pasije) u srednjovjekovnim crkvenim dramama. Treba napomenuti važnost vizualnih izvora u pružanju vrijednih informacija, primjerice o fizičkom izgledu flagelanta, njihovoj opremi, odjeći i drugim detaljima koje nam ne donose uvijek narativni i drugi izvori.

Valja istaknuti da se srednjovjekovna pobožnost prema Kristovoj mucii očitovala i u crkvenim dramskim prikazanjima, na koje je utjecao flagelantski pokret s Apeninskoga poluotoka. Dramska prikazanja Kristove muke, osobito tijekom korizme, koja su se odigravala u prostoru crkve, uključivala su i procesije ulicama u kojima su sudjelovali članovi bratovština, a u kojima su bratimi i sestre pjevali pjesme posvećene Kristovoj mucii i žalosti Majke Božje (*Stabat Mater*), dok bi predvodnik bratovštine nosio križ u spomen na Krista. Takve prakse razvijale su se u crkvene i izvancrkvene dramske izvedbe, a u nekim dalmatinskim i primorskim gradovima, poput Hvara, Korčule i Krka, tradicija je sačuvana do danas. Na Hvaru se održava procesija „Za Križen”, koja povezuje šest otočnih zajednica i uključuje pjevanje pučkih pasionskih pjesama poput *Gospina plača* ili *Puče moj*, a slične se procesije u Velikom tjednu u čast Kristove muke održavaju stoljećima u Korčuli i Krku. Te su tradicijske dramaturške i pobožne prakse prepoznate i zaštićene od UNESCO-a kao hrvatska nematerijalna kulturna baština.

Ključne riječi: flagelanti, istočni Jadran, bratovištine, vjerske prakse, srednji vijek, 16. stoljeće