





FROM EREMITICAL TO MONASTIC SETTLEMENTS, FROM RURAL TOWARDS  
URBAN AREAS: THE SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF THE PORTUGUESE EREMITICAL  
CONGREGATION OF SÃO PAULO DA SERRA DE OSSA

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**Abstract:** The Portuguese Eremitical Congregation of São Paulo da Serra de Ossa was founded in 1482, combining a large number of eremitical settlements that had been documented since 1366, mainly in the Alentejo region (southern Portugal), under a centralised government. In 1578, an autonomous congregation was set up and became affiliated with the Hungarian Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit. This paper aims to analyse the impact of the transition from eremitical to monastic settlements, in terms of both settlement location and architectural typology.

The 17 case studies presented in this paper have been identified in the geographical region in question. A census of the existing physical structures – sometimes scant remains only – was carried out through literature reviews, archival research and on-site morphological and spatial analyses, allowing for a critical interpretation to be gained of the monastic landscapes.

This article shall serve to discuss the implications of the transition from the eremitical movement to the institutionalisation of the settlements, both in terms of their geography and spatial adaptations made as a result of these changes.

**Keywords:** Southern Portugal, Eremitical and monastic settlements, Eremitical Congregation of Saint Paul of the Serra de Ossa, Architectural typology, Morphological and spatial analysis.



# FROM EREMITICAL TO MONASTIC SETTLEMENTS, FROM RURAL TOWARDS URBAN AREAS: THE SPATIAL EVOLUTION OF THE PORTUGUESE EREMITICAL CONGREGATION OF SÃO PAULO DA SERRA DE OSSA<sup>1</sup>

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## 1. Introduction

Portuguese medievalism has been enriched by important studies on the impact of the eremitical revival in the final centuries of the Middle Ages. Thanks, in large part, to the pioneering work done by José Mattoso<sup>2</sup>, these studies concern twelfth and thirteenth-century eremitism, which accompanied a southerly expansion of the Portuguese kingdom, as well as later movements during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries that marked a return to solitude and voluntary poverty. The Serra de Ossa hermits, also known as “men of poor life”, represent the most eloquent example of the latter. This eremitical movement was first studied based on data provided by modern monastic chronicles in two dictionary entries written by José Mattoso<sup>3</sup>. It has subsequently become of interest to Maria Ângela Beirante, who took her studies beyond the documentation preserved in the royal chancelleries, tracing the settlements back to their first geographical location and

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<sup>1</sup> List of acronyms: ADB = Arquivo Distrital de Beja (Beja District Archive); ADPTG = Arquivo Distrital de Portalegre (Portalegre District Archive); BNP = Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (National Library of Portugal); BPE = Biblioteca Pública de Évora (Public Library of Évora); TT = Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Torre do Tombo National Archive). List of general abbreviations: cx. = box; Cód. = Codex; doc. / docs. = document / documents; col. = column / columns; fl./fls. = folio / folios; lv. = book; mç. = pack; n<sup>o</sup> = number; p. = page / pages; t. = tome; vol. / vols. = volume / volumes.

<sup>2</sup> MATTOSO, José – Eremitas portugueses no século XII. *Lusitania Sacra*. 9 (1972) 1-40.

<sup>3</sup> MATTOSO, José – Eremiti Paolini Portoghesi. In PELLICIA, Guerrino; ROCCA, Giancarlo, dir. – *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*. Vol. 3. Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1976, col. 1195-1199; MATTOSO, José – Mendo Gomes de Seabra. In PELLICIA, Guerrino; ROCCA, Giancarlo, dir. – *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*. Vol. 5. Rome: Edizioni Paoline, 1978, col. 1212-1213.

pointing out some of the main stages of their subsequent evolution<sup>4</sup>. João Luís Fontes then conducted a broader study, significantly broadening the documentary base available using the archival collections of Congregation monasteries that had not been explored previously. Using this examination as a starting point, Fontes was able to trace the history of the eremitical movement in more detail, from the first reference made to it in the documentation (1366) up to the communities adopting a model of centralised government as a Congregation (1482). Data was gathered also about the men who chose this way of life, any information concerning their *modus vivendi* and about each of the hermitages recorded in the historical accounts<sup>5</sup>.

Supported by all the research carried out, other articles that combine history and architecture have approached a spatial analysis of monastic settlements belonging to this Congregation<sup>6</sup>, or the diachronic evolution of specific case studies<sup>7</sup>, using the physical evidence and primary sources available as a point of departure. Recently, by combining methodologies drawn from the fields of history, architecture and computer science, Rolando Volzone carried out an analysis of the late medieval eremitical landscape (1366-1578) and monastic built structures (1578-1834) as part of his PhD thesis<sup>8</sup>, leading all the way up to examining current evidence (1834-nowadays). This research is further developed in this paper, which seeks to understand the spatial and morphological transformations produced by the transition from eremitical to monastic *modus vivendi*, which was consecrated with the integration of the Portuguese eremitical congregation of the Serra de Ossa into the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit in 1578.

## 2. Historical Frameworks

The eremitical movement of “men of poor life” and its earliest settlements was first documented in 1366. The historical research developed on the origins of these

<sup>4</sup> BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela – Eremitérios da pobre vida no Alentejo dos séculos XIV–XV. In *1383-1385 e a crise geral dos séculos XIV-XV. JORNADAS DE HISTÓRIA MEDIEVAL: Actas*. Lisbon: História & Crítica, 1985, p. 257-266; BEIRANTE, Maria Ângela – Eremitismo. In AZEVEDO, Carlos Alberto de Pinho Moreira, coord. – *Dicionário de História Religiosa de Portugal*. Vol. 2. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores, 2000, p. 149-154.

<sup>5</sup> FONTES, João Luís Inglês – *Génese e institucionalização de uma experiência eremitica. Da «pobre vida» à Congregação da Serra de Ossa (1366-1510)*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional – Casa da Moeda, 2021.

<sup>6</sup> VOLZONE, Rolando; FONTES, João Luís Inglês – The Portuguese eremitical Congregation of the Serra de Ossa: spatial analysis of the monastic settlements. *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*. 12:1 (2020) 84-105.

<sup>7</sup> VOLZONE, Rolando; FONTES, João Luís Inglês – Il monastero di Santa Catarina de Montemuro della congregazione eremitica di São Paulo da Serra de Ossa (Évora, Portogallo). Dalla spazialità eremitica al suo lascito monastico: risultati preliminary. In Bertocci, S.; Parrinello, S., coord. – *Architettura eremitica. Sistemi progettuali e paesaggi culturali. Atti del 5° CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE DI STUDI, Certosa del Galluzzo, 2020*. Florence: EDIFIR, 2021, p. 226-231.

<sup>8</sup> VOLZONE, Rolando – *Architecture of the Soul. Legacy of the Eremitical Congregation of São Paulo da Serra de Ossa (Portugal)*. Lisbon: ISCTE, 2020 (PhD thesis in architecture).

eremital communities clearly shows their early expansion in southern Portugal, supported by local populations and authorities, the Portuguese monarchy and quickly the Holy See, particularly after an enquiry conducted in around 1377-1378 that sought to determine their commitment to the Church and the righteousness of their way of life<sup>9</sup>. The papal bull *Cum vobis visitationem prelatorum*, of Pope Gregory XI, dated of 1376, is a precious document encompassing data relating to these Portuguese communities. A visit was ordered to make inquiries as to the life, customs, and orthodoxy of these hermits. Such visit was carried out by Vasco Domingues, cantor of Braga cathedral, and Pedro Dias Tenório, bishop of Coimbra. As such, on the 2nd of February 1378, Vasco Domingues issued a sentence on these hermits, who lived in “mountains and desert places of the Évora diocese and the Alentejo County”<sup>10</sup>. This document attests to the presence of the Serra de Ossa and Vale de Infante communities in the Serra de Ossa Hill chain. The presence of the Vale de Infante community is documented in 1371 and 1374. It also refers to the eremital settlements of Felgueira (the community later moved to Ervedeira and Rio Mourinho), Cabeço de Vide, Arraiolos, São Domingos de Brunheda and Mata de Serpa. It should be noted that the Azambujeira community, near Avis – which was abandoned before 1377 and reoccupied in 1423 – is also worthy of mention.

By analysing the evolution and geographical distribution of eremital communities through documentary sources, it is evident how the Serra de Ossa Hill chain makes up the material epicentre of this experience. In addition, proof has been found that the number of new settlements consistently multiplied between 1385 and 1510. Indeed, hermits promoted the spread of this way of life through new foundations, which were supported by several donations of land to their settlements. Starting in the epicentre, at first they spread to the surrounding areas, including Elvas<sup>11</sup>, in 1380. It is known that a community settled in the Setúbal Peninsula in the same year<sup>12</sup>. Since the end of the fourteenth century and during the first half of the fifteenth, documentary references concerning these communities multiplied. In the Ossa Hill chain: the community of São Gens, in 1374<sup>13</sup>, referred to as Vale do Infante since 1397<sup>14</sup>; the hermitage of Santa Maria de

<sup>9</sup> Known through a copy made in 1389: BPE, *Pergaminhos Avulsos*, pasta 7, nº 24.

<sup>10</sup> «nas montanhas e logares Ermos do bispado de eua e comarca da aalem teio» BPE, *Pergaminhos Avulsos*, pasta 7, nº 24.

<sup>11</sup> ADPTG, *Convento de S. Paulo de Elvas CVSPELV/TB*, nº 28, cx. 10 (*Tombo das capelas e títulos de propriedades 1664-1781*), fls. 17-17v.

<sup>12</sup> This is known thanks to a documented land donation in Palmela: BPE, *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Consolação de Alferrara*, mç. 3, nº 2.

<sup>13</sup> BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo da Serra de Ossa*, lv. 44, nº 20.

<sup>14</sup> TT, *Convento de Santo Antão de Vale da Infante*, mç. 1, nº 8.

Monte Virgem in the same year<sup>15</sup>, and Vale de Abraão in 1390. The first reference to the Água dos Infantes community, close to the Portel hill chain, was made in 1405<sup>16</sup>; and finally, the Montes Claros hermitage was founded around Borba in 1407<sup>17</sup>.

The Serra de Ossa community was also responsible for the reformation of several hermitages. Firstly, the eremitical settlement documented since 1369 in a place called Felgueira<sup>18</sup> moved to Ervedeira in 1410<sup>19</sup>, relocating to its current location of Rio Mourinho in 1425<sup>20</sup>. This community's history is linked to Mendo Seabra<sup>21</sup>, a member of the Portuguese royal court who embraced the eremitical life in around 1407, after obtaining an explicit papal licence to do so, keeping to this *modus vivendi* until his death in 1442<sup>22</sup>. This same character helped found the Mendoliva hermitage in Setúbal, towards the communities of Alferrara, in Palmela, and Cela Nova, in Almada, with the protection granted by kings João I and Duarte, as well as by Prince João, administrator of the Military Order of Santiago<sup>23</sup>. In 1401, the hermits' presence in Algarve was documented through a donation charter near the Tavira Hill chain, in Vale Formoso<sup>24</sup>. The first settlement close to the city of Évora, Santa Margarida do Aivado, was founded in 1406<sup>25</sup>. Three years later, documentary references were made to Ameal do Gorjão hermitage<sup>26</sup>, close to Vila Viçosa, S. Brissos de Xarrama<sup>27</sup>, near Évora and the river of the same name, and the hermitage named Alentejo, in Óbidos<sup>28</sup>. In 1410, the

<sup>15</sup> BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo da Serra de Ossa*, lv. 35, nº 15.

<sup>16</sup> BPE, *Convento de São Paulo de Portel*, lv. 1, nº 48, nº 53, doc. A.

<sup>17</sup> BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo de Borba*, lv. 7, nº 1 [4].

<sup>18</sup> BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo da Serra de Ossa*, lv. 44, nº 20.

<sup>19</sup> TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 2, nº 47.

<sup>20</sup> BPE, *Pergaminhos Avulsos*, pasta 5 (*Pergaminhos do Convento de S. Paulo da Serra de Ossa, sécs. XIV-XV*). According to FONTES – *Génesis e institucionalização*, p. 528, this hermitage's name is identified in a previous supplication charter of 1422, by Prince Duarte to Pope Martin V, in COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, ed. – *Monumenta Portugaliae Vaticana*. Vol. III/2. Braga / Rome: Editorial Franciscana, 1982, docs. 616-618, p. 439-440 (Rome, 21<sup>st</sup> January 1422) and in the corresponding bulls: TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 1, nº 62, 68G, 68I.

<sup>21</sup> For a complete biography of Mendo Seabra, see: FONTES – *Génesis e institucionalização*, p. 103-105, 137-140, 415-421.

<sup>22</sup> TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 1, doc. nº 64; BPE, *Pergaminhos avulsos*, pasta 7, doc. nº 11.

<sup>23</sup> TT, *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Consolação de Alferrara*, mc. 3, doc. nº 17. Other documents prove his involvement in the reformation of the hermitage of Rio Mourinho, in Montemor-o-Novo (TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 2, doc. nº 47), and his participation in the governance of the Serra de Ossa, at least from 1436 (BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo de Borba*, lv. 7, doc. nº 1).

<sup>24</sup> Donation records are the first to be identified: TT, *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda de Tavira*, mc. único, nº 2. About this document's dating, see: FONTES – *Génesis e Institucionalização*, p. 345.

<sup>25</sup> TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 2, nº 100.

<sup>26</sup> BPE, *Convento de Nossa Senhora do Amparo de Vila Viçosa*, lv. 7, doc. C4.

<sup>27</sup> BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 2, nº 40.

<sup>28</sup> TT, *Convento de S. Bento de Xabregas*, mc. 18, nº 1.

presence of hermits was recorded near the monastery of Flor da Rosa<sup>29</sup>. A new hermitage was founded close to Évora, near the Montemuro woods, in 1415<sup>30</sup>. The Valbom hermitage was established in 1416<sup>31</sup>, once again in Vila Viçosa. Amieira<sup>32</sup> and Espadaneira<sup>33</sup> emerged around the Ossa Hill chain. At the end of the 1440s, Junqueira<sup>34</sup> appeared near Sines. References to Amieira near Figueiró<sup>35</sup> and Santa Maria de Sertã<sup>36</sup>, North of the Tagus River, were two very short-lived settlements. All these settlements have been pinpointed on a map of Portugal, with their specific locations obtained by crossing data from historical records, previous studies<sup>37</sup>, analyses of cartographic sources and interviews with local administrations. The persistence of toponymical and microtoponymical information often aided in the individuation of these settlements (Figure 1).

In 1578, the eremitical congregation of the Serra de Ossa was officially integrated into the religious Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit and recognised as an autonomous congregation through the bull *Creditum nobis*<sup>38</sup>. Several eremitical settlements had already disappeared due to their inhabitants relocating and their lands being donated to other religious orders or eremitical groups settling nearby: e.g. Alentejo (near Óbidos), Ameal do Gorjão, and São Pedro de Bencatel (Vila Viçosa), Amieira (Estremoz), Asseiceira (Olivença), São Brissos de Xarrama (Alcáçovas), Vale de Flores (Portalegre), Viana do Alentejo and Zarco (Viana do Alentejo). In the sixteenth century, the congregation dissolved the Mendoliva community – one of the three medieval settlements located in the Setúbal Peninsula – and Espadaneira, near Estremoz<sup>39</sup>.

This institutionalisation also had a profound effect on the remaining settlements. Indeed, along with all the changes made to the hermits' daily life and discipline, the process also led to some peripheral, or rural, communities moving to new locations near, or even inside, towns, typical of the *inurbamento* phenomenon. Besides, they suffered an architectural evolution from hermitages to monasteries.

<sup>29</sup> BPE, *Pergaminhos Avulsos*, pasta 16 (*Pergaminhos Avulsos*, 98), nº 103.

<sup>30</sup> BNP, *Coleção de Pergaminhos*, Série Roxa, PGS 3R.

<sup>31</sup> TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 2, nº 103.

<sup>32</sup> TT, *Convento de Santo Antão de Vale de Infante*, mç. 1, nº 5.

<sup>33</sup> ADPTG, *Convento de S. Paulo de Elvas*, Coleção de Pergaminhos, nº 5.

<sup>34</sup> TT, *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Consolação de Alferrara*, mç. 3, nº 21.

<sup>35</sup> TT, *Leitura Nova*, Estremadura, lv. 5, fls. 174v-175.

<sup>36</sup> TT, *Chancelaria de D. Afonso V*, lv. 10, fl. 73v.

<sup>37</sup> FONTES – *Génese e institucionalização*.

<sup>38</sup> The bull *Creditum nobis* is available at BPE, Cód. CLXIX/1-7.

<sup>39</sup> A complete list is available in FONTES – *Génese e institucionalização*, p. 503-555.



Fig. 1. Geographical distribution of Serra de Ossa eremitical communities in Portugal (1366-1578). Map with the settlements' location (current page); legend with the names, the first and the last individuated documentary references: the settlements dissolved before the 16<sup>th</sup> century are highlighted in grey (next page). ©Rolando Volzone, 2020.



	<b>Hermitage Designation</b>	<b>1st documental reference</b>	<b>Last documental reference</b>
1	Serra de Ossa	1366	1834
2	Felgueira	1369	-
3	Azambujeira	1371	1618
4	Vale da Infante	1374	1642
5	Arraiolos	1378	1396
6	Cabeço de Vide	1378	1385
7	São Domingos de Brunheda	1378	1405
8	Mata de Serpa	1378	1378
9	Alferrara	1380	1813
10	Rio Torto	1380	1834
11	Vale de Flores	1385	1436 - 1467
12	Penha Longa	1390	1400
13	Vale Abraão	1390	1593
14	São Pedro de Bencatel	1395	1441
15	Santa Maria de Monte Virgem	1397	1559?
16	São Jerónimo do Mato	1400	1400
17	Vale Formoso	1401	1834
18	Água das Infantes	1405	1834
19	Santa Margarida do Aivado	1406	1797
20	Montes Claros	1407	1834
21	Alentejo, termo de Óbidos	1409	1434 - 1465
22	Ameal do Gorjão	1409	1425
23	São Brissos de Xarrama	1409	1425
24	Ervedeira	1410	-
25	Flor da Rosa	1410	1410
26	Cela Nova / Barriga	1414	1813
27	Montemuro	1415	1593
28	Olho Marinho	1416	1416
29	Santa Maria de Azambuja	1416	1416
30	Valbom	1416	1834
31	Mendoliva	1420	1531
32	Rio Mourinho	1422	1823
33	Zarco	1425	1436
34	Amieira (Estremoz)	1428	c. 1440
35	Franqueira	1429	1476
36	Espadaneira	1433	End of 1500
37	Santa Catarina de Vale de Mourol	1433	1470
38	Viana do Alentejo	1436	1450
39	Santa Maria do Espinheiro	1446	1446
40	Junqueira	1447	1645
41	Amieira (Figueiró)	1448	1449
42	Santa Maria de Sertã	1454	1454
43	São Julião de Alenquer	1459	1823
44	Alcácer do Sal	1465	1482
45	Pó	1468	1533
46	Asseiceira	1470	1502
47	Alcanhões	1471	1487
48	Santa Maria da Pena	1477	1477
49	Moutelas, Vale de Ramada	1478	1478
50	Vale do Bispo	1479	1479
51	Serpa, Nossa Senhora da Consolação	1494	1592 - 1834
52	São Miguel o Anjo	1496	1526

### 3. From rural towards urban areas

With its centre in the Serra de Ossa monastery<sup>40</sup>, the congregation encompassed over seventeen male communities established south of the geographical barrier constituted by the Tagus River, except for the monastery of São Julião, in Alenquer<sup>41</sup>. Two different types of monastic settlements have been identified. The first and largest group includes twelve settlements in rural areas, 15 kms away from urban centres at most, at walking distances of approximately three hours. The criteria used to select the most favourable sites in which these monasteries would settle were: i) the physiographic characteristics – namely topography and hydrography; ii) the proximity to major roadways; iii) the influence of the religious, municipal, and royal powers, which determined the capacity to access land where communities could settle, through donations. These settlements can still more or less be found in their original locations, and they have retained some of their eremitical traces.

In the historical records analysed, which date back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, data could sometimes be found relating to the distance between the eremitical and monastic settlements. In the case of the hermitage of Montes Claros, which developed in the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Luz de Montes Claros, near Borba, the distance documented between the two settlements is approximately 1.25 kms<sup>42</sup>. A shorter distance is documented between the former hermitage of Aivado (Évora), and the monastery of Santa Margarida do Aivado: evidence of a previous settlement named “Santa Margarida a Velha” is described, located at only a musket shot from the current location, which corresponds to a few hundred metres<sup>43</sup>.

The second group is made up of five monasteries: Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, Nossa Senhora da Ajuda de São Marcos, Nossa Senhora do Socorro, Nossa Senhora do Amparo de Valbom, and Nossa Senhora da Consolação. Their former locations were abandoned, and they relocated so as to be closer to urban centres: Elvas, Tavira, Portel, Vila Viçosa, and Serpa, respectively.

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<sup>40</sup> The monastery of Santíssimo Sacramento de Lisboa would only become the new motherhouse of the congregation in 1647.

<sup>41</sup> In this research on the evolution from eremitical to monastic settlements, colleges instituted after the end of the sixteenth century have not been considered – São Paulo (Évora, 1578), Nossa Senhora da Soledade (Borba, 1703), and São Paulo (Coimbra, 1779) – as well as monasteries founded since the 17<sup>th</sup> century – Santo António (Sousel, 1616) and Santíssimo Sacramento (Lisbon, 1647).

<sup>42</sup> The document “Memórias do Convento de Montes Claros, nº 7” mentions: «A primeira fundação em hũ sitio que dista do em que se acha hũ quarto de Legoa em que hoje existe hũa Ermida de Nossa Senhora das mercês». In: TT, *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Luz de Montes Claros*, mç. único, nº 4B, fl. 1.

<sup>43</sup> In the document “Memórias do Convento de Santa Margarida do Aivado de Évora, nº 9”. In TT, *Convento de Santa Margarida de Évora*, mç. único, nº 1 (b).



Fig. 2. Possible evidences of the eremitical settlement of Serpa which was located around the homonymous urban centre. ©Rolando Volzone, 2020.

In the case of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, five foundations were found: 1418, 1593, 1598, 1658, 1678. The first foundation is identified at about 2.5 kms from Elvas<sup>44</sup>. The monastery of Nossa Senhora da Ajuda de Tavira was at a distance of 2.5 kms from the previous eremitical settlement<sup>45</sup>. The first eremitical settlement of Água das Infantes was located in *outeyro*<sup>46</sup>, in which a kitchen garden named *Provença* was documented in the eighteenth century. Nowadays, the toponym is still maintained for an area about 3 kms from Portel named *herdade da Provença*. Where Vila Viçosa is concerned, three different foundations can be identified: 1384, 1585, and 1597. The same record places its first foundations at about 2.5 kms from the urban centre, in a south-easterly direction<sup>47</sup>. The eremitical settlement was located about 5 kms from Serpa<sup>48</sup>. The previous settlement, which is identifiable through the toponym *Provença*, corresponds to the current *Herdade dos Barretos* (Figure 2).

The distances between the eremitical and monastic settlements, with regard to these communities, range between 2.5 kms – the minimum identified in most of these cases – and about 5 kms – the maximum verified in Serpa (Figure 3).

<sup>44</sup> TT, *Convento de São Paulo de Elvas*, mç. 1, nº 6: «a primeira fundação foi no sitio de Rio Torto meya legoa de distancia desta cidade pera a parte do norte, onde chamão a Provença de Rio Torto».

<sup>45</sup> According to the record “Memorias do Conuento de Taura”, in: TT, *Convento de Nossa Senhora da Ajuda de Tavira*, mç. único, nº 3.

<sup>46</sup> BPE, *Convento de S. Paulo de Portel*, lv. 2, nº 3.

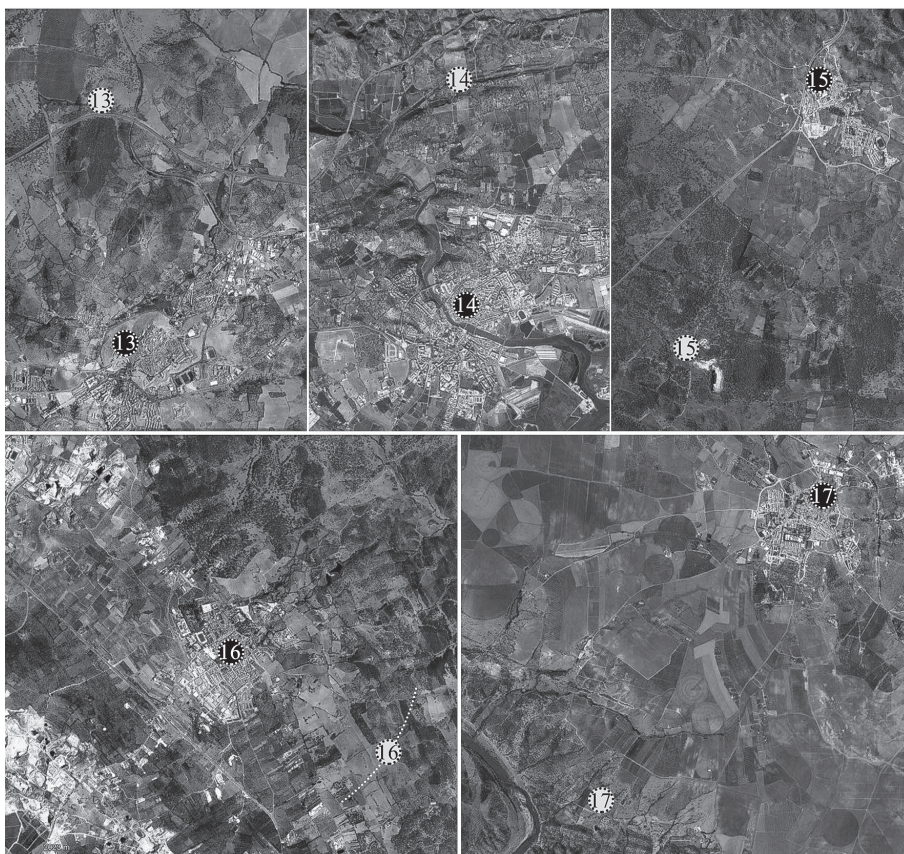
<sup>47</sup> According to the document: BPE, *Convento de Nossa Senhora do Amparo de Vila Viçosa*, lv. 11. «cítio ameno, e aquoso distante meia legoa desta Corte, entre o nasente, e o sul, mais emclinado ao nassente».

<sup>48</sup> According to the royal licence, «está hũa legoa da villa de Serpa»: ADB, *Convento de S. Paulo de Serpa*, lv.1, nº 33.



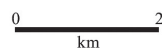
Fig. 3. Locations of the monastic network made up by the congregation of São Paulo da Serra de Ossa in Portugal (current page); locations of five case studies and their movement from rural towards urban areas (next page). ©Rolando Volzone, 2020.

<b>Hermitage</b>	<b>Monastery</b>	
1. Serra de Ossa	São Paulo da Serra de Ossa	
2. Rio Mourinho	Santa Cruz de Rio Mourinho	
3. Azambujeira	Nossa Senhora da Azambujeira de Fonte Arcada	
4. Vale da Infante	Santo Antão de Vale da Infante	
5. Alferrara	Nossa Senhora da Consolação de Alferrara	
6. Vale Abraão	Santo Onofre de Vale Abraão	
7. Aivado	Santa Margarida do Aivado	
8. Montes Claros	Nossa Senhora da Luz de Montes Claros	
9. Cela Nova / Barriga	Nossa Senhora da Rosa de Caparica	
10. Montemuro	Santa Catarina de Montemuro	
11. Junqueira	Nossa Senhora da Junqueira	
12. São Julião de Alenquer	São Julião de Alenquer	Rural
<hr style="border-top: 1px dotted black;"/>		
13. Rio Torto	Nossa Senhora dos Remedios de Elvas	
14. Vale Formoso	Nossa Senhora da Ajuda de São Marcos de Tavira	
15. Agua das Infantes	Nossa Senhora do Socorro de Portel	
16. Valbom	Nossa Senhora do Amparo de Valbom de Vila Viçosa	Urban
17. Serpa	Nossa Senhora da Consolação de Serpa	



**Legend**

- Previous hermitage location
- Monasteries location



These findings confirm the constant dialectic in the choice between urban and rural areas when it came to these communities choosing where they would settle. Oscillations between the hermitage and the city were a peculiarity of Franciscanism – as referred to by Giovanni Grado Merlo<sup>49</sup> – but also of Camaldoleses and Augustinian Canons, among others. In both cases, religious settlements generated new dynamics, not only in terms of spirituality but also in terms of modelling the space. They often created new vectors into which a city could expand.

#### 4. From eremitical to monastic settlements

In late medieval Portuguese documentary sources<sup>50</sup>, for example, the terms *oratório* (oratory), *cela* (cell) and *provença*<sup>51</sup> are also used in addition to *locus eremus* or *eremitério* (hermitage). The latter can be seen frequently in the older toponymy, and, as mentioned previously, it has survived in more recent cartographies, allowing for the location of these settlements to be determined. However, during their institutionalisation, a transition from a hermitage to a monastery typology is known to have happened. This is the case for both buildings and the terminology applied in historical records<sup>52</sup>.

<sup>49</sup> MERLO, Giovanni Grado – *Tra ermo e città. Studi sur Francesco d'Assisi e sul francescanesimo medievale*. Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1991.

<sup>50</sup> The terminology is different when it comes to the medieval period. In fact, in the high middle ages, historical records were written in Latin, acquiring different meanings. Contrarily, later medieval documentation was written in Portuguese. With respect to the terminology used between the ninth and the eleventh centuries in northern Portugal linked to “hermitage” and “monastery”, vide MARQUES, André Evangelista – *Da representação documental à materialidade do espaço: território da diocese de Braga (séculos IX-XI)*. Porto: Edições Afrontamento–CITCEM, 2014, p. 245-250.

<sup>51</sup> The term *provença* is identified, through a toponymical analysis, in Alenquer, Avis, Elvas, Évora, Figueiró dos Vinhos, Portel, Serpa, Sines, and Vila Viçosa. There is a possible link between *provença* and the Latin word *prudētia*, and the archaic form of *providēcia* (providence), explored in MACHADO, José Pedro – *Dicionário Onomástico Etimológico da Língua Portuguesa*. Vol. 3. Lisbon: Confluência, 1984, p. 1217. Two different definitions for the term “provença”: one refers to “province, region, diocese”, with a spatial meaning; the second refers to “providence” are highlighted in the author Viterbo, as seen in Machado. In VITERBO, Joaquim de Santa Rosa de – *Elucidário das palavras, termos e frases que em Portugal antigamente se usaram e que hoje regularmente se ignoram: obra indispensável para entender sem erro os documentos mais raros e preciosos que entre nós se conservam / Publicado em benefício da litteratura portugueza por Fr. Joaquim de Santa Rosa Viterbo*. Vol. 2. Lisboa: A. J. Fernandes Lopes, 1865 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), p. 165, s.v. *provença*. On the same page it is interesting to note the term “proveza”, referring to “poverty”. Indeed, through the analysis of documentary records, a specific record refers the word “pobrença” and “probrença”, closely linked to “pobres” or “probes” (poor men, in English). So, the term is used with the meaning «place of the poor life» in: TT, *Colégio de S. Paulo de Coimbra*, lv. 2, nº 30.

<sup>52</sup> Generally, in the medieval documentation the term “convent” is used to identify the community, while the term “monastery” designates the institution or the religious houses – be it monastic or mendicant. In this research, the term is applied mostly to distinguish communities with eremitical roots, which are later institutionalised on the basis of the monastic model, as well as in the case studies analysed. Indeed, “monastery” is linked to the religious options connoted with seclusion and stability. Contrarily, the term “convent” is applied to designate other kinds of communities, as well as the mendicant and clerical orders.

In 1585, the Order gathered in the Vale de Infante settlement and determined that all communities were to take up a Marian invocation.

These settlements in scarcely populated areas – sacralising the space in the anthropological sense of the term – contributed to the human occupation of the surrounding rural municipalities and the enlargement of their cultivated areas. On the one hand, they used local resources (e.g. water, wood, and stone); on the other, they transformed the surrounding landscape with the support of the municipalities that granted them lands, knowing that they would ensure their cultivation and exploitation. Moreover, through their agroforestry-pastoral system, they developed their own subsistence economy but maintained relations with the outside world: they sometimes needed to go to the city or welcome those seeking their hospitality into the hermitages.

Unfortunately, the historical records relating to the materiality of these settlements are scarce. In the oldest documentation, which covers the medieval period up until the sixteenth century, the few references made to built elements are few and far between.

Although no references made to a conformed space, following either the monastic or conventual model, emerged until the sixteenth century, a gradual organisation in terms of spatiality could be witnessed closer to the institutionalisation of the movement. This organisation is evident through references made to the fencing off of land, oratories, cells, and reception areas. No further elements exist that could provide a more complete image of the hermitage. Documentary sources concerning the monasteries analysed, and their surrounding landscape, are fragmentary<sup>53</sup>.

Indeed, only a few scattered manuscripts about these communities and their monasteries have been identified.

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<sup>53</sup> As the result of a survey promoted by the Royal Academy of History among parish priests all over the country, the document “Memórias Paroquiais” (in English, Parish Memoires), dated 1758, constitutes an important source. It includes data about the main local agricultural products and vegetation – providing a general idea of land use in the second half of the eighteenth century – and information about the existence of monasteries, convents, and churches, among others. Part I “O que se procura saber da terra” includes at point 10 (“Se tem conventos, e de que religiosos, ou religiosas, e quem são os seus padroeiros”) data about convents and their correspondent religious order in each parish analysed. The transcription is available at: <http://www.cidehusdigital.uevora.pt/portugal1758/memorias>. Last consulted in October of 2021.

Another interesting source are foreign travel reports about Portugal, thanks to their thoroughness and richness of detail concerning cultural features and those of the landscape represented, as pointed out by other authors. In MATOS, Ana Cardoso de; CONDE, Antónia Fialho; BERNARDO, Maria Ana – *O contributo dos relatos e guias de viagens para o estudo da Antiguidade Clássica no Sul de Portugal*. In OLIVEIRA, Francisco; OLIVEIRA, Jorge; PATRÍCIO, Manuel, coord. – *Espaços e paisagens: Antiguidade Clássica e heranças contemporâneas*. Vol. III. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2007, p. 289-299. Among these, the German naturalist and botanist Heinrich Link’s report, due to the geographical area analysed – the Ossa Hill chain – is quite useful for this research. In LINK, Heinrich Friedrich – *Bemerkungen auf einer reise durch Frankreich, Spanien, und vorzüglich Portugal*. Kiel: Der Neuen Akademischen Buchhandlung, 1801.

The same scarcity exists of iconographies and technical drawings that could help understand the spatiality of the 17 monasteries. These kinds of sources are extremely rare. The only one encountered to date relates to the Nossa Senhora da Rosa monastery. Ironically, the only graphic document identified concerns the only monastery about which no physical evidence has been found.

Chorographic, military, agricultural, forestry and land use maps, along with online maps, have been useful in individuating the exact spatial coordinates and evidence remaining of monasteries. On the one hand, these maps allow for a physiographic analysis to be sketched out; on the other, they allow for an understanding, even if limited, to be gained of how the landscape has developed over the years, having oftentimes profoundly transformed the spirit of the place. Starting from a historical framework, the legacy has been analysed through archival, photographic and architectural on-site surveys<sup>54</sup>. In some cases, e.g. São Paulo da Serra de Ossa, a major consistency in documentary sources and artistic studies allows for a more detailed description to be carried out of the spatiality. A lack of material evidence has hampered the study of the Nossa Senhora da Junqueira (Sines) and Santo Onofre do Vale de Abraão (Redondo) sites. As such, they have been excluded from the cluster of monasteries analysed. The same shortage was registered for the Nossa Senhora da Rosa da Caparica site (Figure 4).

However, with regards to the latter, a description of the monastic church<sup>55</sup> and technical drawings have been identified<sup>56</sup>. The drawing (Figure 5) is dated from the 14<sup>th</sup> of March 1593. According to previous studies, which further analyse the ten drawings contained in the same folder, it could correspond to an architectural survey, probably drawn up with the aim of renovating the monastery<sup>57</sup>. Indeed, the remaining drawings include another planimetry, the corresponding section and specific details. They seem to relate to the same project, which was probably never built. One of these drawings is signed by Luís de Frias Pereira (1590-1640), a royal architect, which leads to an assumption being made that the other eight were also of his authorship.

<sup>54</sup> With regard to the 17 case studies, it is important to thank all the private and public owners who allowed access to the monasteries, and the various municipal councils, including their employees: Almada, Serpa, Portel, Tavira, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora, Redondo, Setúbal, Elvas, Estremoz, Borba, Vila Viçosa, Portalegre, and Avis. Additionally, it is important to also thank all the executive bodies of each civil parish.

<sup>55</sup> TT, *Ordem de Santiago e Convento de Palmela*, lv. 177. These are dated 1527, and have been transcribed and published in PINTO, Rui da Costa – *As visitas da Ordem de Santiago em Almada no século XVI. Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*. 119 (2001) 171-223.

<sup>56</sup> “Desenho do Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora da Rosa da Ordem de Sam Paulo” in TT, *Mosteiro do Santíssimo Sacramento de Lisboa*, mç. II, nº 6.

<sup>57</sup> MENDES, Rui Manuel Mesquita – Os desenhos do Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora de Caparica (1593/1630) e o Arquitecto Régio Luís de Frias Pereira. *ARTIS: Revista de História de Arte e Ciências do Património*. 5 (2017) 43-52.





Fig. 4. Monasteries' physical evidences: Nossa Senhora da Junqueira, Santo Onofre do Vale de Abraão, and Nossa Senhora da Rosa da Caparica (from the top). ©Rolando Volzone, 2019.

With regard to the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Azambujeira de Fonte Arcada, no religious buildings or evidence of buildings were identified in the location with the toponym Fonte Arcada in an analysis of cartographic references. According to Damásio<sup>58</sup> and Fontes<sup>59</sup>, a fire destroyed part of the monastic buildings and the entire registry in 1566. The monastery was abandoned in 1592, and only two monks stayed to farm the land. As stated by the Parish Memories of Sousel of 1758<sup>60</sup>, the monastery was located in the homestead of Provença, at a

<sup>58</sup> DAMÁSIO, Fr. Manuel de S. Caetano – *Thebaida Portuguesa. Compendio Historico da Congregação dos Monges Pobres de Jesu Christo da Serra de Ossa, Chamada depois de S. Paulo I Eremita, em Portugal*. Vol. 2. Lisboa: Na Officina de Simão Thaddeo Ferreira, 1793, p. 258.

<sup>59</sup> FONTES – *Gênese e institucionalização*, p. 514.

<sup>60</sup> «El rei mandou pello Desembargo do Passo ao provincial que nomeasse patrimonio e nomeou o mesmo patrimonio do convento de Fonte Arcada sito no termo de Aviz e detreminou Sua Magestade não houvesse mais relligiozos no dito convento de Fonte Arcada que hoje se chama a Erdade da Provença e procurando a renda que teria o convento ao mesmo reitor me não disse mas o serto he que com as muitas capellas de missas que tem conjuntamente com as rendas do seu patrimonio pasão muito bem os relligiozos porque

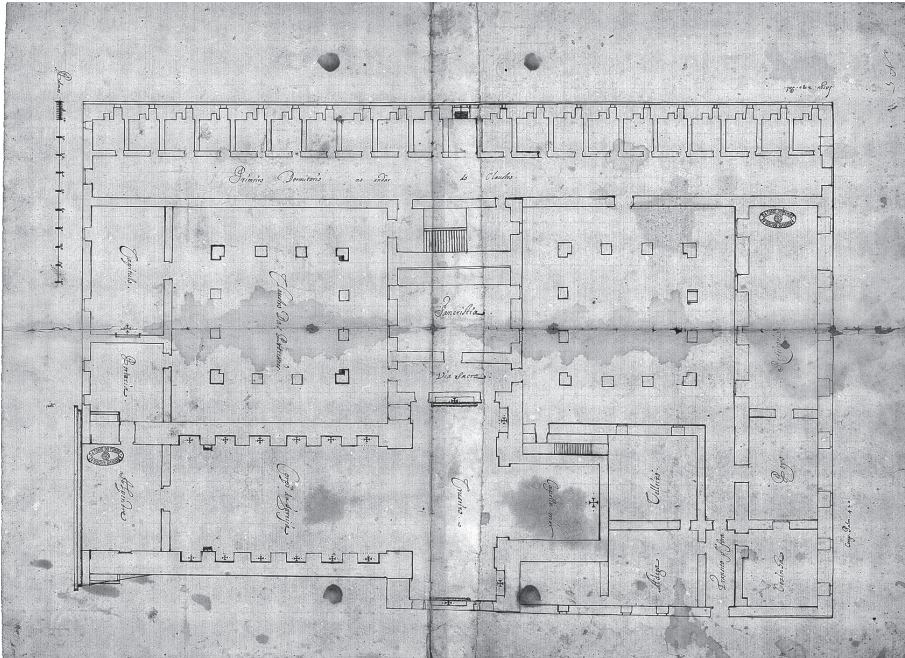


Fig. 5. Possible planimetric survey of the monastery of Nossa Senhora da Rosa da Caparica (1593). In: “Desenho do Mosteiro de Nossa Senhora da Rosa da Ordem de Sam Paulo”, PT-TT-OESP-MSSL-MC11\_m0004.

considerable distance from the Fonte Arcada land. This leads to the supposition that this land was extensive, as per the *latifundium*, which was typical of this area. Only one religious structure has been individuated in Monte da Torre do Ervedal: part of the church and monastic structures (Figure 6). This structure was located in a place seemingly selected for its proximity to important watercourses, the richness of its soil, and its relative distance from the village. Future research should further analyse this structure and any possible relationship it may have had with the eremitical congregation of São Paulo da Serra de Ossa and the ancient monastery of Nossa Senhora da Azambujeira de Fonte Arcada. Due to the uncertainty related to this structure, its architectural features have not been examined<sup>61</sup>.

With regards to the eremitical phase (1366-1578), rare physical evidence of settlements has been found. Among these, only Vale de Flores hermitage still

tem rendas de trigo e muntos olivais». TT, *Memórias Paroquiais, da freguesia de Sousel, comarca de Vila Viçosa*, vol. 35, nº 236, fl. 1680. The transcription, by Maria Patrício dos Santos, is available at: <http://www.cidehusdigital.uevora.pt/portugal1758/memorias/sousel-sousel>. Last consulted in October of 2021.

<sup>61</sup> The topic has been discussed with Ana Ribeiro, Avis municipality archaeologist.



Fig. 6. South façade of an abandoned monastic structure in Monte da Torre do Ervedal (Avis). ©Ana Ribeiro, 2018.

maintains traces of its primitive structure. As stated by Fontes<sup>62</sup>, the hermitage was abolished between 1436 and 1437. At the end of the fifteenth century, after an attempt of the Hieronymites to found a monastery in the same place, it belonged to the convent of São Francisco de Portalegre. According to Luís Keil<sup>63</sup>, the ruins were incorporated into a manor house in the sixteenth century (Figure 7).

In contrast, an analysis of the remaining monasteries belonging to the congregation (1578-1834) can be carried out thanks to the existence, in most cases, of physical evidence, though this has been altered due to the new uses gained. Indeed, their exact location is traceable, and they mostly maintain the original layout developed between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This fact allows for an accurate analysis to be made and understanding to be gained of the strategies adopted when selecting a certain point within a property in which the monastery would be established, starting from an analysis of its contemporary legacy. Among the criteria, it is important to highlight: i) the abundant presence of water; ii) the soil's agricultural capacity; iii) the availability of raw building materials.

<sup>62</sup> FONTES – *Génesis e institucionalização*, p. 550-553.

<sup>63</sup> KEIL, Luís – *Inventário artístico de Portugal*. Vol. I: *Distrito de Portalegre*. Lisboa: Academia Nacional de Belas Artes, 1943, p. 152.



Fig. 7. Evidences of Vale de Flores hermitage (Portalegre). ©Rolando Volzone, 2016.

Starting from an analysis of scarce normative sources – constitutions – based mainly on the oldest documented, which was approved in 1594<sup>64</sup>, spatial elements emerge with respect to both interior and exterior areas of the monastery (Appendix A).

Unlike constitutions from other orders, in which even the spatial dimensions are indicated, very sparse information is provided in the one in question, which mostly concerns the *modus vivendi*.

In confirmation of the previous examination, enclosures cornered off the sacred area. According to the constitutions<sup>65</sup> monks could only perform tasks

<sup>64</sup> According to FONTES – *Génese e institucionalização*, the first constitutions, reformed in 1567 with the influence of the Cardinal-Prince Henrique, have not been found. In 1594 the constitutions were published in: *Liuro da Regra de Sancto Agostinho e das Constituições perpetuas dos religiosos pobres hermitãos da serra Dossa, da ordem de S. Paulo primeiro hermitão. Feitas & confirmadas com autoridade Apostolica*. Lisbon: Manoel de Lyra, 1594. Another version was published in: *Livro da Regra do Bispo & Doutor da Igreja Sancto Agostinho. E das Constituiçoe[n]s da Ordem de São Paulo primeiro Ermitão da cõgregação da Serra d ossa, emendadas, & reformadas pello Provincial & Definidores, & Capitulares juntos no Capitolo celebrado no Convento de Santo Antão sito em val d'Iffante o anno de 1616. & confirmadas Authoritate Apostolica pello Illustrissimo & Reverendissimo senhor Octavio Acorombono Bispo de Fossombruno Collector gèral Apostolico de sua Santidade nestes Reynos de Portugal, & Protector Apostolico da dita Ordem*. Lisbon: Pedro Craesbeeck, 1617.

<sup>65</sup> Along this analysis, it is important to take into consideration that the constitutions led to the normalisation of the congregation's *modus vivendi*, by reinforcing the community and liturgical dimensions, having a

related to labour (*exercícios corporais*), such as farming, inside enclosures. Specific areas were identified for this use: houses, orchards, orange groves, and kitchen gardens<sup>66</sup>. Enclosures also emerged as a consequence of the prohibition of the presence of women in monastic spaces. Women could not enter the monastery, not even its orchards or kitchen gardens. This component, therefore and once again, defined and divided the space. Women were allowed in only for olive picking as another division was erected – using walls, for example – to prevent men and women from inhabiting the same space simultaneously. An analysis of chapter 12 of the constitutions<sup>67</sup> reveals additional components: a church, sacristy, and presbytery. The same is the case for the chapter regarding places of silence<sup>68</sup>: the church, choir, dormitory, refectory, cloister – *crasta* in the document<sup>69</sup> – cells, sacristy, and novices' house. Novices could be admitted only to the Serra de Ossa and Vale de Infante communities<sup>70</sup>. An analysis of the document paints the chapter room as an important space. The presence of the infirmary was identified through several components, which were mainly linked to the well-being of men taken ill: bed, bed sheets, shirts, tablecloths, pink and white sugar, raisins, prunes, and distilled water. Interesting data mentions other types of food: eggs, milk and its derivatives, wine, and bread.

To carry out a critical comparison of the 17 case studies, some typological components have been considered and analysed in greater depth: the enclosure, the monastery with its functional areas – cloister, monastic dependences, dormitory – and the church.

A morphological correspondence is not detected in a comparative analysis of this group of enclosures, mostly due to these structures being adapted to the topography upon which they are built. In addition, their dimensions – in terms of area – and shape depended on other factors, such as the land donated and possessions, which determined the space to be enclosed. Even more influential,

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direct impact on space. Indeed, the growing clericalisation of the communities implied opening up to pastoral activities. These new conditions marked the architecture, for example as it became necessary to let the faithful access from the outside, therefore the narthex – or a porch – and spaces for confessionals were necessary. At the same time, the religious life was conceived as a renunciation journey; therefore, it was dedicated to the vows of obedience and chastity.

<sup>66</sup> *Liuro da Regra*, fl. 10 «Capítulo VI. Dos exercícios corporaes, & a que hora se farão».

<sup>67</sup> *Liuro da Regra*, fls. 14-15 «Cap. XII. Da charidade, & dos hospedes, & pessoas que vê a nossas casas: & que se fechem de noite as portas da clausura».

<sup>68</sup> *Liuro da Regra*, fls. 11-12 «Capítulo Nono. Do Silencio, & dos lugares, & tempos onde se há de guardar».

<sup>69</sup> It is the same as the word “claustró”, Portuguese word for cloister. In BLUTEAU, Rafael – *Vocabulario portuguez e latino, aulico, anatomico, architectonico, bellico, botanico, brasílico, comico, critico, chimico, dogmatico, dialectico, dendrologico, ecclesiastico, etymologico, economico, florifero, forense, fructifero... autorizado com exemplos dos melhores escritores portuguezes, e latinos... / pelo Padre D. Raphael Bluteau*, Vol. 2. Coimbra: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712, p. 601.

<sup>70</sup> *Livro da Regra*, fls. 16-18 «Capítulo XIII. Do recebimento dos Noviços, em que casas, & como os receberão: & os impedimentos». This has been confirmed in other documents.

however, were the materials used in their construction, which were mostly extracted *in loco*, resulting in the geology of the location dictating the materials used. As such, the physical geography of the settlement area can be said to be the basis of several influential aspects.

With regards to the monastic complexes, the entire network presents a similar scheme, comprised of a church – the morphogenerator of the space – and a cloister – with wings the same length as the body of the church, distributor of monastic dependencies. Common areas were positioned on the main floor – kitchen, refectory, and chapter room, among others. These rooms were located on this level so as to be as close as possible to the well, which was generally in the centre of the cloister. Dormitories were located on the first floor. These were spaces of isolation, consisting of single cells inhabited by religious men who lived according to their constitutions.

A typological comparison cannot be made between the case studies analysed; rather, it can be concluded that time and spatial coordinates dictated the materials used in the construction of these communities. Popular architectural features typical in southern Portugal – horizontal structures with whitewashed walls and a sober, austere appearance – impregnate these settlements. With regard to the materials used for their construction, it has been confirmed that local resources were used, having been extracted and worked on-site. Indeed, an identification of the principal components – church, cloister, and monastic dependencies – makes evident the considerable lack of uniformity.

## 5. Final Comments

In the transition from eremitical to monastic settlements, alterations were made to the communities' *modus vivendi* and, consequently, the features of their physical spaces. Starting as settlements in rural areas, at a relative distance from urban centres, some communities gradually moved towards cities or ended up being absorbed in their territorial expansion. This started happening mostly in 1578, when the congregation of the Serra de Ossa was officially integrated into the religious Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit and recognised as an autonomous congregation. Of the communities in question, some peripheral or rural communities moved to new locations, others underwent an architectural evolution from a hermitage to a monastery.

Through a morphological and space-functional analysis, the use of an archetypical model based on other monastic-conventual experiences can be deduced: Hieronymites, Secular Canons of St John the Evangelist, Franciscans in all their branches, all present a similar composition. Clear analogies emerge in the distribution system and architectural choices made. It seems that a theory of Order determined a symbolic spatiality, but not a formal one. The typological

spatiality is therefore not formed through an architectural construction, but through the congregation's values. A typology is not identifiable, unlike for the Carthusian, Franciscan, or Benedictine experiences. The architecture of the monasteries analysed reclaims, with some variations, the model employed by the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscan Order, which was modelled on the Cistercian example.

The empirical results and contributions of this study should be considered in the light of some limitations: i) the scarcity of documentary sources; ii) and the current state of the buildings and landscape analysed. It should be noted that eremitical communities followed no rules or norms until an organised congregation was established, and, even then, their statutes or rules did not contain detailed and prescriptive information in terms of spatial organisation. Moreover, iconographic sources and technical drawings have rarely been found, therefore hampering the diachronic reading of certain buildings. In addition, the conservation and accessibility of some monasteries, which lost their religious purpose, are precarious. The substantial transformations these spaces have undergone over the centuries, and their state of abandonment or decay, often hinder a deeper analysis. Indeed, it is important to take into consideration that some buildings have partially, or totally, disappeared, sometimes leaving only few traces. The same can be said for the landscape, as various transformations have compromised its edapho-climatic conditions, e.g. eucalyptus forestation in the Ossa Hill chain.

Future research should focus on the archaeological study of evidence remaining from medieval settlements, seeking to determine if any still exists.

**Appendix A – Extracts from the constitutions of the eremitical congregation of São Paulo da Serra de Ossa, which include data about the spatial organisation<sup>71</sup>**

<b>Chapter 3</b>
<i>Dos ordenados das três ordês sacras.</i>
«¶ Auendo cellas na casa, dê se aos sacerdotes por suas antiguedades(...)» [fl. 7]
<b>Chapter 6</b>
<i>Dos exercícios corporaes, &amp; a que hora se farão</i>
«Conformando nos com a sobredita Bulla da confirmação de nossa ordem: Mandamos que se guarde o que ella ordena acerca dos exercícios corporaes. Primeiramente, Nênhũs religiosos iram fazer os exercícios corporaes fora das cercas de nossas casas: mas pera euitar a ociosidade inimiga da alma, em qualquer serviço da casa, nos pumares, laranjais, hortas, & outras cousas que estão da cerca pera dentro, farão tudo o que os prelados lhes mandarem, cultiuando as, & grangeando as por suas mãos». [fl. 9v]
<b>Chapter 7</b>
<i>Dos jejũs da Igreja sob pena de peccado mortal, &amp; dos particulares da da ordem, &amp; de outras cousas de comer em certos dias defesos.</i>
«¶ Nos dias de jejum da Igreja, he peccado mortal comer ouos, ou leyte, ou queijo, ou manteiga, ou outras cousas de leyte, tirando nos Bispados onde o Bispo declarar que nam he isto peccado mortal». [fl. 10v]
<b>Chapter 8</b>
<i>Do comer, &amp; da liçam da mesa, &amp; bençam, &amp; graças.</i>
«¶ Todos os nossos religiosos, de qualquer qualidade que sejam, comam no Refectorio, tirando quando algũa ora pera agasalhar algum hospede secular, ou religioso doutra ordem, for necessario comer em outro lugar. ¶ Nas cidades & villas, onde temos casa da ordem, nenhũm religioso comerá, nem dormirá fora della, sem licença particular do Prouincial, ou do seu Reytor, a qual não daram sem causa justa. Quem fizer o contrario, comerá tres dias em terra sem vinho». [fl. 11]

<sup>71</sup> From: *Liuro da Regra de Sancto Agostinho e das Constituições perpetuas dos religiosos pobres hermitãos da serra Dossa, da ordem de S. Paulo primeiro hermitão. Feitas & confirmadas com autoridade Apostolica.* [Lisbon?]: Manoel de Lyra, 1594. Available also online at Biblioteca Nacional Digital: <http://purl.pt/14777> Last consulted in 2021.



**Chapter 9***Do Silencio, & dos lugares, & tempos onde se ha de guardar.*

«A Diuina Escriptura nos auisa, que no muito falar não faltarão peccados, & que a religião onde se não refrea a lingua, he sem proveito, & que em poder da mesma lingua estão postas nossa vida & morte. Portanto conforme a isto, & ao direito Canonico, mandamos a todos nossos religiosos, que em todo o tempo tenham silencio na Igreja, & no choro, excepto quando estão confessando, no dormitorio, na mesa do Refectorio, & na crasta, onde estiuerem enterrados defunctos, & nas cellas, & na sanchristia, até acabadas as missas. Sendo necessario em algum destes lugares falar, seja cõ muito breues palavras, bayxas, & imperfeitas.

¶ Na mesa só o prelado que nella presidir, poderá falar, pera correição de algũas cousas, & pera emendar o que lee a mesa, vendo que erra. [...]

¶ Nos dormitorios do Conuento, & da casa de nouiços, aja toda a noite lampada acesa nelles.

¶ Nenhum poderá entrar com o outro na cella sem licença do prelado». [fl. 12]

**Chapter 10***Dos enfermos, & das enfermarias.*

«¶ Mandamos (& da parte do Senhor obrigamos) aos prelados que prouejam as enfermarias das cousas necessarias pera a cura dos enfermos, conuem a saber, camas, lançoas, camisas, carapuças, toalhas de mesa, & outras meudezas necessarias pera o seruiço dos enfermos. Tambem se prouejam de açucar rosado, & açucar branco, & ameyxias passadas, & algũas agoas estilladas, & as cousas necessarias pera o comer dos enfermos, de modo que nenhũa cousa lhes falte: & auendo de auer falta, antes seja nas cousas necessarias aos sãos, que nas dos enfermos. [...]

¶ Nas casas onde ouuer ao menos oytos pobres, faça o Rector hum enfermeyro, o qual tenha particular cuydado de seruir com muita charidade a cada hũ dos enfermos, & aos velhos da casa, & procurar lhes todo o necessario». [fl. 12v]

## Chapter 12

*Da charidade, & dos hospedes, & pessoas que v̄ a nossas casas: & que se fechem de noite as portas da clausura.*

«¶ Seguindo esta doutrina, amoestamos, & mādamos, a todos os nossos religiosos (principalmente os prelados) que vsem muita charidade antre si hūs irmãos cō outros, & hūas casas cō as outras, todos a vsem com os hospedes que vem a nossas casas, principalmente sacerdotes, & religiosos, & com os pobres, & cō os peregrinos, agasalhando os o melhor que poderem, cada hū conforme a sua calidade. Mas de tal modo se faça este gasalhado caridoso, que não deuassemos nossas casas, nem inquietemos nosso recolhimento, principalmente dos dormitórios, nos quais nenhūs hospedes poderemos agasalar: tirando os nossos religiosos, & os das outras ordēs, quando na casa não ouuer outro lugar decente em que os agasalhē. Pera os outros hospedes aja hospedarias de fora, & hospedeiro pera todos, modesto, caridoso, & bē criado. E nas de dentro poderão agasalar sacerdotes seculares, & fidalgos, isto poucas vezes.

¶ Aos peregrinos, & pobres de Christo, a toda hora que chegarem a nossas portarias, fação lhes esmolas, conforme á possibilidade das casas. [...]

¶ Conformandonos com os Motus proprios que os Papas passarão, em que defendem com penna de excōmunhão ipso facto incurrenda, a todas as molheres, que nam entrem no recolhimento, & officinas dos Mosteiros dos religiosos: & aos prelados que as consentirem, suspendem dos officios. Mandamos a todos os religiosos de nossa ordem, assí prelados, como subditos, em virtude do Spiritu sancto, e da sancta obediencia professa com preceyto formal, que não cōsintão, nem deixem entrar molher algũa em nossos recolhimentos, & officinas de nossas casas, nem em nossos pomares & hortas, nem fontes. Poderão somēte entrar a apanhar azeitona, nas cercas onde ouuer outra diuisam de parede, ou valado, antre os religiosos, & os oliuais em que se ouuer de apanhar: a qual estará fechada, de modo que a esse tempo nam possam la entrar os religiosos.

¶ Nas nossas igrejas poderã entrar molheres a ouuir missa, pregação, & orar, & receber sacramentos da confissam & cōmunhão. Na capella mór sōmente a cōmungar entrem (inda que ahi esté o choro) acabãdo de cōmungar sayão se logo. Na sanchristia nunca poderão entrar.

¶ Seguindo a declaração que o Papa Pio V. deu aos sobreditos Motus proprios: permittimos, fazendo se em nossas casas procissam solēne polla crasta, com os homēs que andão nella, poderão também entrar molheres, & acabando a procissam sair se hão logo todas.

¶ Mandamos sob pena de suspensam do officio por hum anno, ipso facto incurrenda, a todos os Reitores, que tenham os religiosos de noite fechados em clausura, & que as chaves de todas as portas que vam pera fora, estejam na cella do Reitor, de modo que de noite nam possam os Religiosos sair fora da clausura, nem yr aos pomares». [fls. 14v-15v]

**Chapter 13**

*Do recebimento dos Nouiços, em que casas, & como os receberão: & dos impedimentos.*

«Mandamos que não se recebão nouiços em mais casas que na serra D ossa, & na de Val de Iffante, nas quais se criarão, & professarão os que forem aptos». [fl. 15v]

**Chapter 20**

*Do Capitulo Prouincial, quando & como se celebrará.*

«Mandamos que aja hum Capitulo Prouincial no meo dos tres annos, por dia de todos os Sanctos, o qual se celebrará na Serra D ossa, & em Val de Iffante, & no mosteiro de Sãcta Cruz de rio Mourinho, ou no mosteiro de Valbom: & nas ordenações que fizerem em cada hum delles poram o lugar onde se ha de celebrar o seguinte Capitulo gèral, pera saberem os Capitulares a qual das casas hão de yr». [fl. 35]

**Chapter 22**

*Do officio do Prouincial, & de seu companheiro Escriuão da Ordem*

«¶ Ordenamos que na casa da serra D ossa, ou no Collegio, aja hũ escritorio ou caixão forte com chauce segura, no qual estarão guardados todos os papeis que pertencẽ á ordẽ, & as culpas dos religiosos, & os liuros, assi das visitações que fazẽ por as casas, & os das ordenações que se fazẽ em cada hũ dos Capitulos, como outras cousas necessarias ao gèral gouerno de toda nossa ordem: & a chauce terá sempre o Prouincial. [...]

Ordenamos que no officio de Prouincial aja dous sellos, hũ grãde, no qual esteja sculpida a imagẽ de nosso Padre S. Paulo primeiro hermitão, com tunica, manto, & capello, & em hũa mão o Rosario, & na outra hũ cajado, & hũa letra por derredor, que diga, Louuado seja Iesu Christo. Outro pequeno cõ as cinco chagas, & a cruz en cima, & hũa letra por derredor que diga, Ordẽ de S. Paulo primeiro hermitão: do primeiro sello vsará nas cousas de substancia como sam confirmações de Rectores, licenças para ordẽs, cartas de irmandade, licenças, & outras cousas pera fora do Reino. Do segundo sello vsará nas cousas de menos substancia, & commuas. Cada hũa das casas de nossa ordem teraa sello particular, em que esteja esculpida a imagem da inuocaçam da casa, & por derredor hũa letra que diga o nome da casa, pera se conhecer de que casa he, do qual vsará cada hũa nas cousas que hão de fazer fé, como he a patente que a voz companheiro leua a Capitulo, & outras cousas que requerem authoridade». [fls. 38v-39]

**Chapter 27**

*Da eleiçam, & officio do presidente.*

«¶ O officio do presidente he ajudar o Rector no temporal da casa, no adubio & repayro das propriedades, & das officinas della, & olhar pellos religiosos, & dar penitencia aos que em sua presença, & ausencia do Rector cometem defeitos, inda que esteja o Rector no conuento, & olhar os officiaes como fazem seus officios, tirando o mestre de nouiços». [fl. 46v]