Monasteries and Convents in Medieval Portugal: Spiritual Life and Establishment Logic

João Luís Inglês Fontes

Instituto de Estudos Medievais – Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa;
Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa – Universidade Católica Portuguesa

e-mail: joaolfontes@hotmail.com

Maria Filomena Andrade

Universidade Aberta; Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa – Universidade Católica Portuguesa
e-mail: lumena324@hotmail.com

Ana Maria S. A. Rodrigues

Centro de História - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa;
Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa – Universidade Católica Portuguesa.
e-mail: amsarodrigues2@gmail.com

Resumen

É objetivo deste texto analisar a presença e as lógicas de implantação das diversas ordens e movimentos religiosos no território português desde as últimas décadas do século XI até às primeiras do século XVI, materializando distintas opções e vivências espirituais. Implantados inicialmente nas áreas rurais do Noroeste, mas acompanhando para Sul o avanço dos exércitos cristãos, Beneditinos e Cluniacenses, mais tarde Cistercienses, Cónegos Regrantes de Santo Agostinho e Ordens Militares, não só apoiaram espiritualmente a monarquia, a nobreza e o povo, como ajudaram a conquistar, povoar e desenvolver economicamente o reino em formação. A partir dos inícios do século XIII, serão os Mendicantes e outras ordens como a dos Eremitas de São Paulo a responderem aos anseios do laicado de um mundo urbano mais rico, mas também mais desigual, que não cessará de gerar experiências de vida religiosa mais radicais. Depois de quase uma centúria de estagnação, as fundações recomeçarão em força nos finais do século XIV, ganhando todo o reino e as ilhas atlânticas que se vão descobrindo, devido ao movimento de reforma que se apoderou das ordens antigas e ao surgimento de novas ordens, como as dos Cónegos de São João Evangelista.

Palabras clave: Ordens religiosas, mosteiros, conventos, reforma religiosa, observância

Abstract

This text analyses the spatial distribution of religious orders and movements in the Portuguese territory from the last decades of the eleventh century to the first decades of the sixteenth century, as well as the different forms of spirituality that resulted from them. First established in rural areas of the northwest and soon following the southward advance of Christian armies, Benedictines and Cluniacs, and later Cistercians, Regular Canons of Saint Augustine and Military Orders, not only spiritually supported monarchy, nobility and common people, but also helped to conquer, populate and develop the burgeoning kingdom. From the beginning of the thirteenth century onwards, Mendicants and other orders such as the Hermits of Saint Paul would respond to the wishes of the laity living in a richer but also more unequal urban world, a laity that kept promoting more radical religious experiences. After almost a century of stagnation, foundations strongly resumed in the late fourteenth century, expanding over the entire kingdom and the Atlantic islands that were being discovered at the time due to both the movement of reform that took over the old orders and the emergence of new ones, such as the Canons of St. John the Evangelist.

Key Words: Religious Orders, Monasteries, Convents, Religious Reform, Observants

Introduction

From the end of the 11th century to the first half of the 16th century, religious orders were unique expressions of experiences and spiritualities that marked Portuguese society at that time. In this text, the aim is to provide an overview of the strategies and chronologies of the implantation of these orders and congregations, simultaneously equating the relations between male and female houses.[1] The early period is of great interest because it witnessed, in the northwest of the Iberian Peninsula, important changes in monastic life. These transformations were the result, on the one hand, of the directives of the Council of Coyanza (1055), which aimed to eliminate some forms of religious life in which the *regula mixta* system prevailed –based on the rules of Saint Isidore, Saint Frutuoso and Saint Leander– allowing the existence of double and family monasteries, and to promote the adoption of the rule of Saint Benedict. Besides this transformations, we must also conssider the support given by Alfonso VI of Leon (1065-1109) to the principles of the Gregorian reform and the Roman liturgy, as well as the new monastic usages proposed by Cluny, followers of the Benedictine Rule, which were adopted, for example, at San Isidoro de las Dueñas (1073), San Zoilo de Carrión (1075) and Sahagún (1078) (Mattoso 2002c). The same will happen in the territory of Portugal, granted by the King of Leon and Castile to his son-in-law Henry of Burgundy, whose family was closely associated with Cluny.[2]

## 1. Institutionalisation and the first foundations (11th-13th centuries)

This context helps to understand the vast movement that led various monasteries on the Iberian Peninsula to adopt the Rule of St Benedict as their exclusive normative text, together with the Roman liturgy. This was usually done with the support of their noble patrons, eager to imitate the Emperor's example and have exemplary communities within their orbit, particularly devoted to liturgy and prayer on behalf of their benefactors. The first signs of the adoption of the new monastic usages go back to 1060, but it becomes a wider movement after 1080. Until the first decades of the 12th century, more than 50 monasteries are reformed or founded as Benedictines, according to the model of Cluny, although with no affiliation to the Order (Mattoso 2002d). In Portugal, only three priories of Cluny are known (Rates, Santa Justa de Coimbra and Vimieiro). The second one soon converted into a parish church and the others disappeared after this period.[3]

---

[1] This work was carried out within the "Monastic Landscapes" research line of the project *Paisajes espirituales. Una aproximación espacial a las transformaciones de la religiosidad femenina medieval en los Reinos Peninsulares en la Edad Media (siglos XII-XVI)* (HAR2014-52198-P), based at the University of Barcelona and which took place from January 2015 to December 2018. The bibliography is necessarily indicative, pointing to the most up-to-date or significant studies, where other bibliographical indications can be gathered. For an overview of studies on medieval Portuguese monasticism, cf. Gomes 2011.

[2] Henry, second son of the Dukes of Burgundy, was a descendant of the Capetine dynasty, nephew of Queen Constance who had married Alfonso VI of León and Castile, and great-nephew of Abbot Hugh of Cluny (Mattoso 1993: 24-26).

[3] On the monasteries of Rates and Vimieiro, see Ordens Religiosas 2016: 59,74. On the monastery of Santa Justa, already converted into a parish church in the mid-12th century, and its relationship with the monastery of S. Pedro de Rates and Cluny, see Campos 2012: I, 66-83. For a more general framework, see the older works of Costa 1948 and Bishko 1965.

The extinction of double communities and many small monasteries led not only to the strengthening of male Benedictine communities but also to the emergence of many female monasteries, equally living according to the Rule of St. Benedict, and which have not yet been the subject of in-depth studies. The available evidence points to the monasteries of Vairão (1126), Rio Tinto (1140), Sandim (1154) and Tuías (before 1173) as the earliest cases of female communities living under the obedience of the Rule of St. Benedict.[4] The consolidation of this feminine monasticism would have its model in Saint Senhorinha, the sister of S. Rosendo (a monastic reformer of the 10th century), whose much later hagiography presents her now as abbess of the Benedictine cenoby of S. João de Vieira.[5] Over the course of the 12th century, some 13 monasteries were to become religious houses for women, with another five in the first decades of the 13th century (Ordens Religiosas 2016: 80-91).
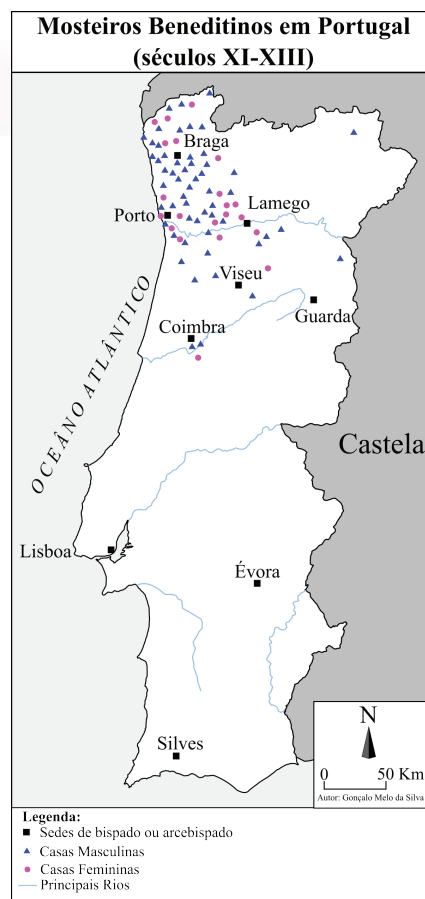
[Map 1 – Benedictine Monasteries in Portugal (11th-13th c.)][6]

Their implantation is concentrated in the north of the kingdom, especially in the dioceses of Braga and Porto, a region that José Mattoso has long called " noble Portugal", dominated by

---

[4] See Mattoso 2002d: 40-43, 49-51, 110-112, 115-130; Martins 2001: 54-58.

[5] On the hagiography and cult of Saint Senhorinha see Gameiro 2000; Sobral, 2012; Cruz, 2018.

[6] This map and all the following ones were made by Gonçalo da Silva Melo, from the Institute for Medieval Studies (IEM - NOVA FCSH), on the basis of the information contained in Ordens Religiosas, 2016. We would like to thank him for his generous and competent collaboration.

the nobility, mainly rural, with an extensive occupation of territory, very clear in its impressive network of churches and monasteries (MATTOSO 2001). This situation can only confirm the support given by this nobility to the implantation of the Benedictine Rule and the new Cluniac customs and, with them, their willingness to benefit from the spiritual gifts provided by the new monastic communities. The alliance between the landed nobility and the monks makes possible the rapid growth of the Order and reveals the role of the nobility in supporting the Church.

Meanwhile, the first king of Portugal, Alfonso Henriques or Alfonso I (1128-1185), settled in Coimbra, a city outside the area dominated by the landowning nobility, and founded a monastery of the Canons Regular of St Augustine dedicated to the Holy Cross there in 1131.[7] He kept his treasure in it and chose it as his burial site, turning it into a notable cultural centre and a haven for important collaborators. With this attitude, he clearly manifested his acceptance of the new currents of religious renewal which had marked the medieval West since the end of the 11th century, associated with the revival of the cities and their economy. The canonical movement gave a new importance to the pastoral activity of clerics, demanded by the flourishing urban world, associating the priestly ministry to a more careful intellectual formation, to the renewal of community life according to the apostolic model, and also to attention to the poorest (VAUCHEZ 1995: 94-99). The monarch's support for the canons regular gave further impetus to the canonical movement, and a total of 44 male houses adopted the same way of life from the mid-12th century and especially in the 13th century, many of which were affiliated to and protected by the monastery of Santa Cruz (MARTINS 2003: 871-884; FERNANDES 2011; ORDENS RELIGIOSAS 2016: 175-213). They were located, once again, mainly in the north and centre of the kingdom.
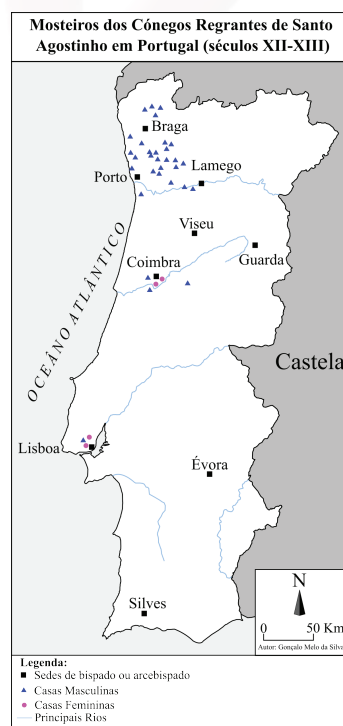

[Map 2 – Monasteries of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine in Portugal (12th-13th c.)]

---

[7] On the monastery of Santa Cruz de Coimbra, see, MARTINS 2003 and GOMES 2007; and about its foundation in the context of the reign of Afonso I, see MATTOSO 2006: 80-89.

In addition to Santa Cruz de Coimbra, Afonso Henriques founded another important house for the Canons Regular soon after the conquest of Lisbon in 1147.[8] The new cenoby was dedicated to Saint Vincent and built outside the city walls, on the cemetery of the German crusaders who perished during the siege. These two monasteries –Santa Cruz de Coimbra and São Vicente de Fora de Lisboa– would attract the presence of female communities of canonesses who, living under the authority of a prioress, were devoted to assisting the poor and the sick in the hospitals installed in the proximity of these communities. We know that other female communities lived alongside monasteries of canons regulars, but we still have too little information to fully understand the chronology, forms and extent of this phenomenon.[9]

There were still other religious who resisted submission to a rule approved by the Church and opted for the eremitic life. The expansion of the hermits is well documented by José Mattoso for the last decades of the 11th century and throughout the 12th century. It follows the Christian conquest of the territories to the south, with a preference for uninhabited spaces outside the urban centres, but close to the main roads and crossroads, which allowed the necessary visibility to their way of life and the practice of charity and hospitality (Mattoso 2002b).

Many of these eremitic establishments will be attracted by new forms of religious life, more rigorous and austere. Unlike the Premonstratensians, who will manage to found only two communities in Portugal during the Middle Ages (Ermida do Paiva and Vandoma),[10] the Cistercians will be the heirs to a significant number of old Benedictine monasteries and eremitic settlements, which begin to adhere to these monastic usages around 1140 (Marques 1998a; Marques 1998b).
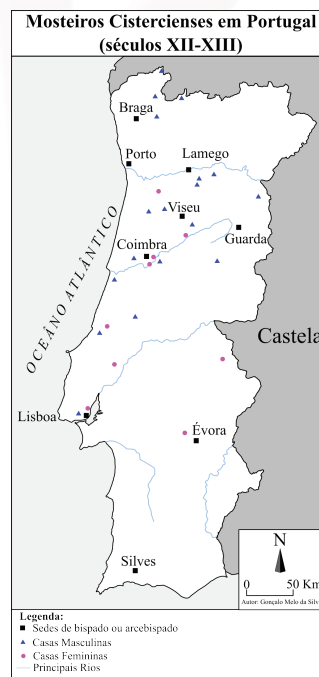
[Map 3 – Cistercian Monasteries in Portugal (12th-13th c.)]

---

[8] The news about its foundation can be read in A Conquista 2001: 177-201.
[9] Martins 2003: 472-481, 782-785; Branquinho 2007; Gomes 2010; Fontes and Andrade, in press (b). See also the references to sorors associated with other canonicals in Um Obituário 2008.
[10] Ordens Religiosas 2016: 230-231 and bibliography there cited.

The Cistercians managed to obtain the support of Afonso Henriques who, after the conquest of Lisbon, offered them a large territory to found a monastery in Alcobaça, in the centre of the kingdom, an isolated but very fertile area, rich in water and in land waiting to be exploited.[11] This monastery will be the driving force behind many new Cistercian houses. Between 1140 and 1221, the Cistercians will reach the number of 16 male houses in the kingdom of Portugal, in a geography that expresses their connection to already existing monasteries or eremitic establishments (ORDENS RELIGIOSAS 2016: 104-119), as well as to Benedictine houses that were under the observance of Cluniac customs.

The Order also managed to found a significant number of female monasteries (7 in total), with a chronology of foundations centred on the 13th century. Some of them are linked to the protection and patronage of the three daughters of Sancho I –the future Blessed Teresa, Mafalda and Sancha– who supported the foundation of three monasteries: Lorvão, Arouca and Santa Maria de Celas. Geographically close, these cenobies exercised a particular recruitment, since their nuns –especially in Lorvão and Arouca– came from the most important noble families of the kingdom (MARQUES 2001; RÊPAS 2003). A significant part of the Cistercian women's cenobies resulted from previous experiences of voluntary seclusion, with more humble communities: Celas in Coimbra, Cós near Alcobaça, S. Bento de Cástris in Évora. The last foundation, in Odivelas, near Lisbon, was, however, promoted by King Dinis (1279-1325), in 1294, as a royal monastery, chosen to be an example of religious life and the burial place of the monarch.[12]

2. The Mendicant renewal (13th-14th centuries)

This important monastery, however, marks the end of the era of medieval foundations for the Cistercians, as well as for other previous orders, such as the Benedictines and the Canons Regular. In fact, the 13th century is, in Portugal, as in most kingdoms and other territories of the western medieval world, the century of the Mendicant Orders.[13]

Both the Franciscans and the Dominicans arrived very early in Portugal. Although the chronology of these early times is too dependent on late written chronicles –from the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries– and there is no other documental proof for it, their presence in Portuguese territory by 1217 and the foundation of their first installations around the same time is certain. The Franciscans founded 19 convents in the 13th century with the support of the royalty, initially in the main urban

---

[11] On its foundation and its significance in the context of King Alfonso I's political and religious choices, see MATTOSO 2006: 93-95. On this monastery and its heritage, see GONÇALVES 1989.

[12] For an up-to-date overview of this set of foundations, see RÊPAS 2005. On the foundation of Odivelas, see also VAIRO 2014. In this case, it is worth remembering how the monastery, initially planned as a royal pantheon by King Dinis and Queen Isabel, ended up housing only the former, given the explicit rejection of this project by the queen and her choice to be buried in the monastery of Santa Clara de Coimbra, which she had remodelled..

[13] On this century and the spiritual renewal that took place in it, see VAUCHEZ 1995: 141-156.

centres of the kingdom, attracted by the possibility of preaching there, treating the sick, but also of trying to convert the Muslims and even dying for their faith.[14]
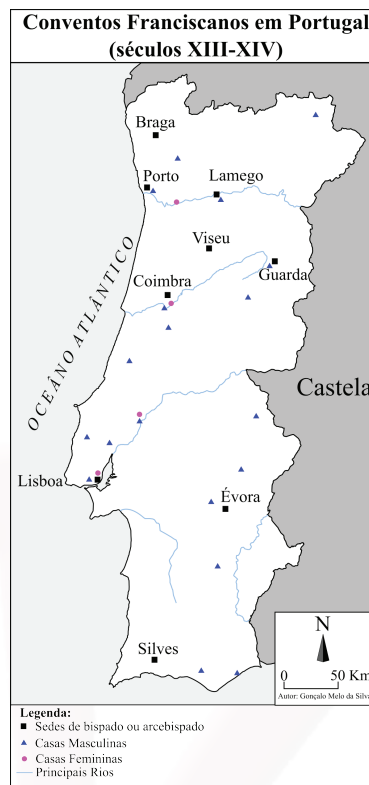
[Map 4 – Franciscan convents in Portugal (13th-14th c.)]

Generally located outside the city walls, in areas that are highly dynamic socially and economically, near hospitals and leprosaria (Viana 2007: 128-140), as well as access roads and links to other urban centres, the friars often had to face the opposition of the urban clergy, their bishops and even the local authorities (Marques 1982). In other cases it was necessary to regulate the times and places of their pastoral activity due to the simultaneous presence of Dominicans (Fontes, Andrade, Santos, 2018).

Following the example of the five Martyrs of Morocco,[15] the Franciscans accompanied the Christian conquest to the south, completed in Portugal by Afonso III (1248-1279) in 1249. In clear expansion until the last decades of the 13th century, they will not have new houses until the last decade of the 14th century, in a time of crisis and difficulties.

The relationship of the Franciscans with the women's communities is also very interesting, because from the origins a close connection between them was established by the urbanist Rule (Andrade 2015).

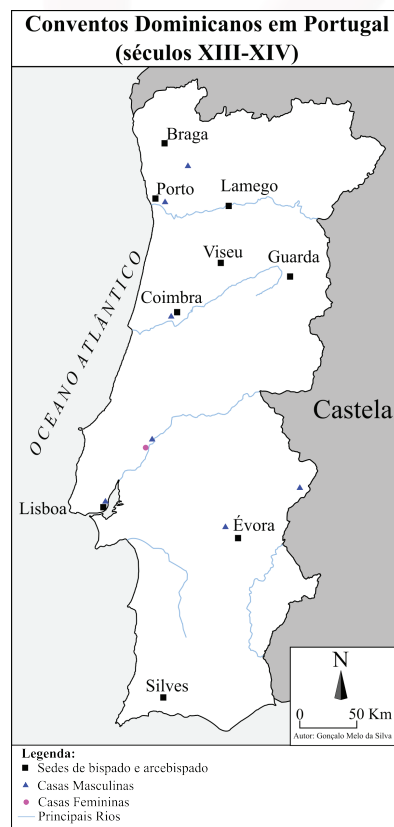[14] For an updated overview, see Andrade 2010. On the first Franciscan implantations, see the lines of analysis suggested by Mattoso 2002a.

[15] The episode of the five Franciscans who passed through Coimbra on their way to North Africa to evangelise the Muslims and who suffered martyrdom there in 1220 is analysed in the context of the nascent Franciscanism by Heullant-Donat 2012, and in its cultural developments by Krus 1984.

Thus, the friars had the obligation to ensure the celebration of the sacraments and the spiritual guidance of the Poor Clares. Nevertheless, the first communities of Poor Clares emerged in places far from the presence of Franciscans –Lamego and Entre os Rios– even if later they were transferred to cities where the friars had convents: Santarém (1258) and Porto (1427), respectively.

The Poor Clares' way of life soon attracted lay women, wishing to lead a more perfect religious life, in important cities such as Coimbra, Lisbon, Guarda, Beja or Portalegre. The protection of the royal family was not lacking: the protection of Afonso III, who was very clear in Santarém, was followed by that of Elizabeth of Aragon – the future Queen Saint Elizabeth of Portugal (ANDRADE 2014) – giving a new impulse to the monastery of Coimbra (1314), and that of the bastard son of King Dinis, Afonso Sanches, who with his wife founded the monastery of Vila do Conde (1318).[16]

The Dominicans also have an intense period of foundations in the 13th century. However, not only their number is inferior to that of the Franciscan convents –only 7 against 19– but they show a clear and strategic choice for the most important cities –Santarém, Coimbra, Porto, Lisbon, Elvas, Guimarães and Évora– where they develop their preaching in connection with study and spiritual guidance.[17]

Conventos Dominicanos em Portugal (séculos XIII-XIV)

Legenda:
■ Sedes de bispado e arcebispado
▲ Casas Masculinas
● Casas Femininas
— Principais Rios

[Map 5 – Dominican convents in Portugal (13th-14th c.)]

---

[16] On all these foundations see ANDRADE 2011.
[17] A current overview can be found in SANTOS 2018.

The case of the female Dominican monasteries is less clear and still awaits a more detailed study. The hesitations of the Order, throughout the whole of the 13th century, in assuming the *cura monialum* of the female communities that sought its guidance and assistance are well known, as is the gradual process of "regularisation" to which it subjected those groups of women who orbited around its convents and who wished to live a life of greater religious perfection.[18] It is probably these hesitations that are at the root of the Dominican nuns abandoning the monastery of Chelas in the 13th century (Fontes, Andrade, in press (a)), and of the difficulties experienced in relation to the walled enclosures that, in Santarém, appeared around the Dominican convent in the second half of that century and whose relationship with the foundation of the female monastery of São Domingos das Donas, consummated in 1290, is still to be clarified (Fontes, Andrade, Santos, 2017). It was not until 1353 that a new Dominican monastery was founded, in connection with the one of Santarém, in Vila Nova de Gaia, near Porto. But, this time, the problems would come from the Chapter and the Bishop of Oporto, and they were only overcome with the pontifical support obtained by their rich patroness (Castro 1993).
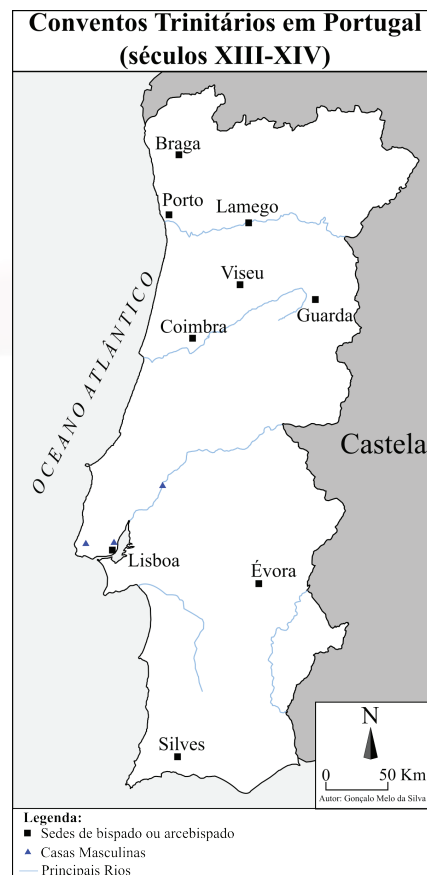
It is important to take into account other religious orders that will later be associated with the Mendicants. The Hermits of St Augustine appeared as an order founded by the Holy See in the 13th century, gathering various families and eremitic communities under the Rule of St Augustine, with a centralised government and their own constitutions (Rano 1974). In Portugal, they absorbed some earlier eremitic settlements located in Lisbon and Penafirme (a locality about 50 kilometres north of Lisbon). In the 13th century, they will have a new convent in Vila Viçosa (1267), and two more in the 14th century, in Torres Vedras (1366) and Santarém (1376). In total, they will have 5 convents, all located in the South, and almost all close to important cities (Fontes, Silva 2010).
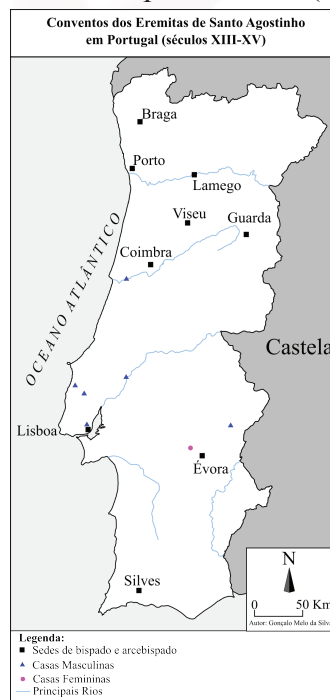
[Map 6 – Convents of the Hermits of St Augustine in Portugal (13th - 15th c.)]

---

[18] See the recent review of this issue by Duval 2015: 24-104.

The Trinitarians also arrived in Portugal during the 13th century. Consecrated to the redemption of Christian captives held by the Muslims, they quickly received the protection of the Portuguese kings. They were established in two cities associated with a very frequent presence of the royal court –Lisbon and Santarém– where they could more easily receive the funds necessary for their activities. In the 14th century, they would extend their presence to Sintra, another urban centre associated with the presence of the royal family (Alberto, 1994).
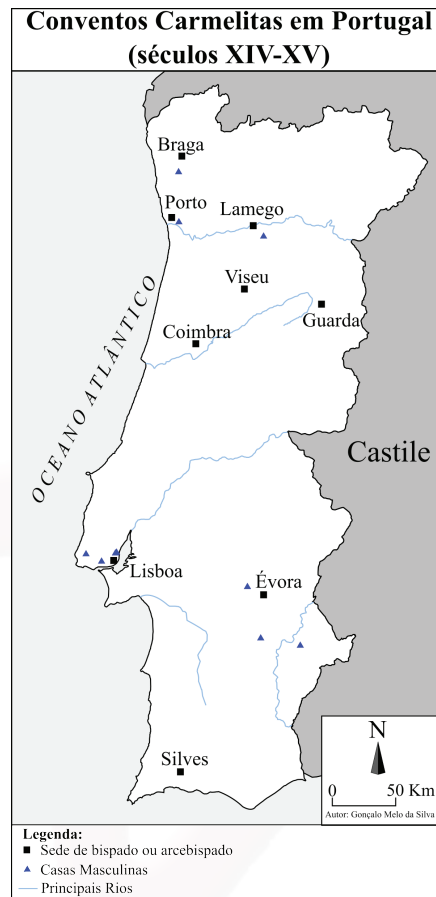

Conventos Trinitários em Portugal (séculos XIII-XIV)

Legenda:
■ Sedes de bispado ou arcebispado
▲ Casas Masculinas
— Principais Rios

[Map 7 – Trinitarian convents in Portugal (13th-14th c.)]

The Mercedarians, an order of Catalan origin, also devoted to the rescue of Christian prisoners held by the Muslims, have only one house, also located in the South of Portugal, in Beja, documented for the 14th century and that will soon disappear (Ordens Religiosas 2016: 449-452).

As for the Carmelites, they only appeared in the 14th century, concentrating their presence in the south of the kingdom. Their first convent was established in Moura and the second in Lisbon. The latter was founded by the Constable –the future saint– Nuno Álvares Pereira, who had relations with the Carmelites of Moura and spent the end of his life in the convent he built on one of the hills of the present-day Portuguese capital.[19]

---

[19] The history of both convents is still to be written. See the available elements and the existing bibliography in Ordens Religiosas 2016: 407-420, to which should be added, for the Convent of Carmo in Lisbon, the study of Pereira 2005. On the figure of the Constable and his relationship with this convent, see the more recent biography (Monteiro 2017: 199-205).

**Conventos Carmelitas em Portugal
(séculos XIV-XV)**

OCEANO ATLÂNTICO

Braga

Porto Lamego

Viseu

Coimbra Guarda

Castile

Lisboa Évora

N

0   50 Km
Autor: Gonçalo Melo da Silva

Silves

Legenda:
■ Sede de bispado ou arcebispado
▲ Casas Masculinas
— Principais Rios

[Map 8 – Carmelite convents in Portugal (14th-15th c.)]

With the aim of conquering and populating the kingdom, military orders also had an important presence in medieval Portugal. Consubstantiating an unusual articulation between monastic life and war, these orders not only evoked the close ties that linked the West to the project of liberating the Holy Places and protecting the pilgrims that flocked there (Temple, Hospital), but also expressed their vocation in a peninsular framework of struggle against Islam (Santiago, the friars of Évora/Avis and Christ).
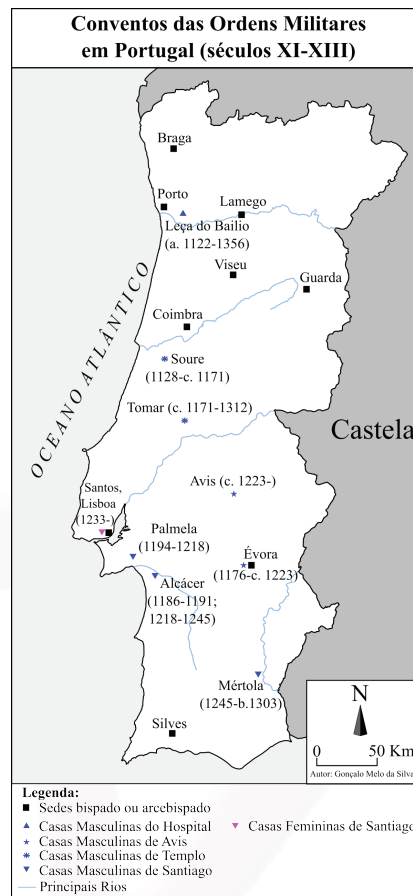
[Map 9 – Convents of the Military Orders in Portugal (11th-13th c.)]

Their presence was encouraged by the Portuguese monarchs, who used them for the conquest and defence of the territory. They organised themselves into *commendas*, which spread throughout the centre and south, thus contributing to the defence, settlement and exploitation of their lands. Their convents were not numerous: generally, each order had only one, which sometimes changed location according to the needs of political or military strategy. In the case of the Order of Santiago, a second monastery was created for the wives of married knights, built in the municipality of Lisbon and dedicated to Saints Veríssimo, Máxima and Júlia (Mata 1999).

Conventos das Ordens Militares em Portugal (séculos XI-XIII)

Braga

Porto
Lamego
Leça do Bailio
(a. 1122-1356)

Viseu
Guarda

Coimbra

Soure
(1128-c. 1171)

Tomar (c. 1171-1312)

Castela

Avis (c. 1223-)

Santos,
Lisboa
1233-
Palmela
(1194-1218)
Évora
(1176-c. 1223)

Aleácer
(1186-1191;
1218-1245)

Mértola
(1245-b.1303)

Silves

N

0   50 Km

Autor: Gonçalo Melo da Silva

OCEANO ATLÂNTICO

Legenda:
- ■ Sedes bispado ou arcebispado
- ▲ Casas Masculinas do Hospital   ▼ Casas Femininas de Santiago
- ★ Casas Masculinas de Avis
- ✳ Casas Masculinas de Templo
- ▼ Casas Masculinas de Santiago
- — Principais Rios

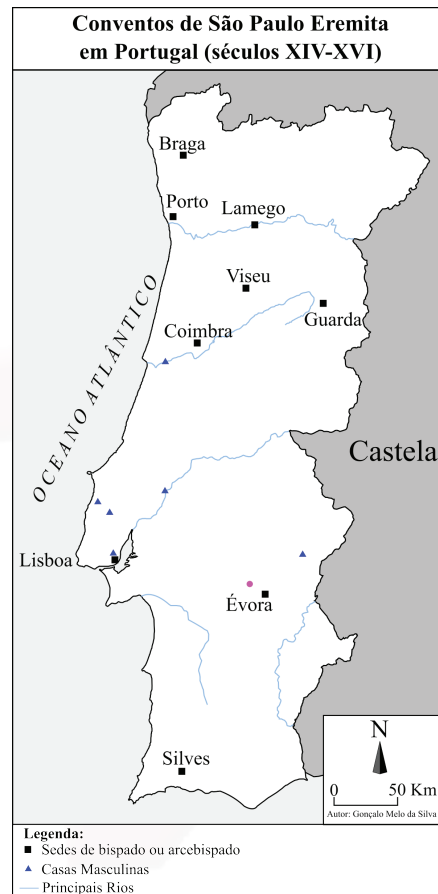**[Map 10 – Convents of the Military Orders in Portugal (14th-16th c.)]**

These Orders represented, however, a great power, especially in the south of the kingdom, if we take into consideration their lands, jurisdictions, rents and incomes, but also the parishes and churches entrusted to them. It is probable that, in this vast territory south of the Tagus, they had some capacity to control the presence of other Orders, because the explosion of convents, especially Franciscan, in the south only dates from the 16th century, precisely when the Military Orders were placed under the administration of the Portuguese Crown.[20]

3. The paths of renewal: from the mendicant observances to the new religious orders (late 14th-early 16th c.)

The last decades of the 14th century mark a new stage in the Portuguese monastic landscape. After successive decades without significant foundations, various religious movements arose or were renewed around the desire to return to a form of life more in keeping with the Gospel. The problems affecting the Church had strengthened the debates on the importance of religious

---

[20] On the military orders, see the excellent synthesis proposed by Luís Filipe Oliveira, who also traces the history of their various conventual houses (OLIVEIRA 2016).

institutions, their forms of mediation, the participation of the laity in religious life, their search for authenticity, the sources of religious authority and legitimacy (Rosa 2000: 492-494). Together with the reform proposals in the last decades of the 14th century within the Franciscan and Dominican Orders, a strong eremitic movement emerged in the same period in southern Portugal.
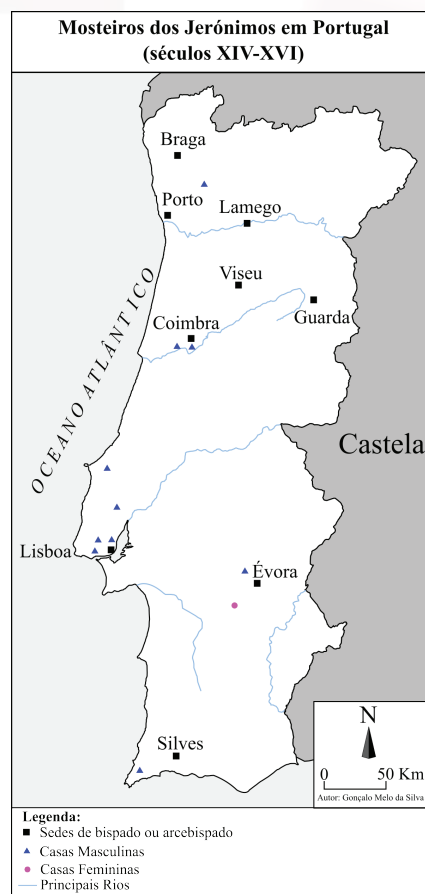

**Conventos de São Paulo Eremita
em Portugal (séculos XIV-XVI)**

Braga

Porto Lamego

Viseu

Coimbra Guarda

OCEANO ATLÂNTICO

Castela

Lisboa

Évora

N

0   50 Km

Autor: Gonçalo Melo da Silva

Silves

Legenda:
■ Sedes de bispado ou arcebispado
▲ Casas Masculinas
— Principais Rios

[Map 11 – Convents of St. Paul the Hermit in Portugal (14th-16th c.)]

Documented since 1366, this movement is marked by a clear option for voluntary poverty, lived by small groups in isolated places, associating penance and manual work with prayer and contemplation. Without vows or a rule approved by the Church and mostly laymen, they called themselves "men of the poor life". The support and protection guaranteed by the monarchs, but also by the municipalities where they were settled, the local population and finally the Holy See, after an investigation to prove the orthodoxy of their way of life (1378), led to the expansion of this eremitic movement. There are more than 20 documented communities up to the end of the 15th century, mostly located in the South and having at its centre the community of Serra de Ossa, not far from the city of Évora. The movement would eventually accept a gradual institutionalisation, either by the profession of the vow of chastity, which distinguished them from the world of the laity (1477), or by its conversion into a Congregation, governed by a Provincial, who governed the community of Serra de Ossa, with the right of visitation over the remaining communities and

with basic norms which aimed to limit and control the mandates of the hermits placed in charge of the hermitages, the alienation of goods and the very conservation of their way of life (1482). Only later, when the 16th century was already advanced, would the Congregation find itself subject to the Rule of St. Augustine and try to draw up its first Constitutions (FONTES 2012).
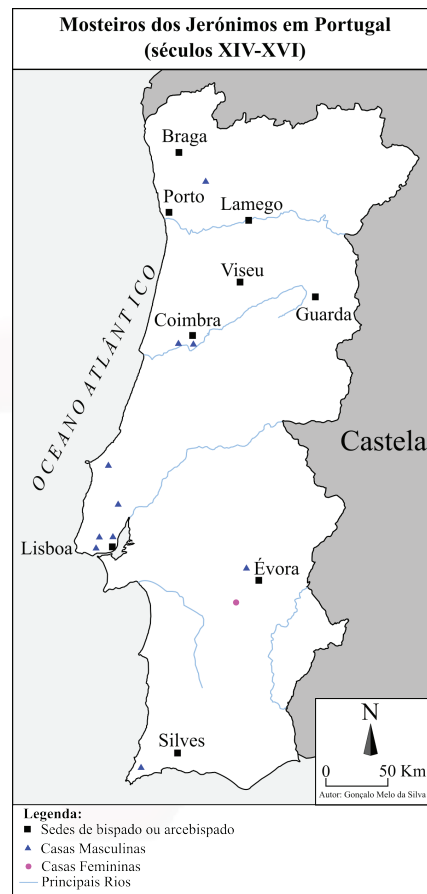
It was from a similar group of hermits, also called "of the poor life", that the first Portuguese monasteries of Jerónimos were born, at Penha Longa, near Sintra, and at Alenquer (1400), linked to Friar Vasco Martins, a figure associated with the origins of the Order, approved by Gregory XI in 1373 (COUSSEMACKER 1994; FONTES 2012: 52-63, 458-460). Protected, once again, by the Crown, but also by the nobility, they tried to implement new foundations in some old hermitages, but without success. Only three of them would survive, supported by powerful patrons: São Marcos in Coimbra, associated with a family of noble courtiers (1451); Nossa Senhora do Espinheiro, in Évora, with the support of the respective bishop (1458), and Nossa Senhora de Belém, near Lisbon (1496), which King Manuel I would use as the new royal pantheon (SANTOS 1980).

Mosteiros dos Jerónimos em Portugal (séculos XIV-XVI)

OCEANO ATLÁNTICO

Braga
Porto
Lamego
Viseu
Coimbra
Guarda
Castela
Lisboa
Évora
Silves

N

0   50 Km
Autor: Gonçalo Melo da Silva

Legenda:
■ Sedes de bispado ou arcebispado
▲ Casas Masculinas
● Casas Femininas
— Principais Rios

[Map 12 – Jerónimos Monasteries in Portugal (14th-16th c.)]

The mendicant observances also benefited from the support of the royal family and an important part of the court nobility (RODRIGUES 2013, RODRIGUES 2019). In the Franciscan case, the movement began in 1390 with a group of foundations in the North, near the border with Galicia, with a

markedly eremitic character, extending rapidly to the South, thanks to the royal initiative of reforming the old Franciscan convents of Alenquer and Leiria (1399-1400). From here the observance spread through new foundations or the reform of other old convents (TEIXEIRA, 2010; CARVALHO, 2016; RODRIGUES, FONTES, ANDRADE, in press). By the end of the 15th century, the Franciscans made 37 new foundations, most of them observant, reinforcing their presence in the kingdom.

Mosteiros dos Jerónimos em Portugal (séculos XIV-XVI)

Legenda:
■ Sedes de bispado ou arcebispado
▲ Casas Masculinas
● Casas Femininas
— Principais Rios

[Map 13 –Franciscan convents in Portugal (14th-15th c.)]

Observance also reached the female branch of the Order, even if not all the monasteries of Poor Clares founded in the 15th century seem to have adopted a reformed way of life. In fact, only two of the six new houses will make this choice: the monastery of Conceição de Beja, founded in 1459 under the patronage of the dukes of Beja, Fernando and Beatriz, and which will eventually, in 1482, come under the direction of the observants (ROSA 1998), and the monastery of Jesus of Setúbal, founded by Justa Rodrigues Pereira, nanny of King Manuel I, in 1495, according to the customs of the Colettine reform (SILVEIRA 2012). The same model was adopted in 1509 by the wealthy monastery of the Madre de Deus of Xabregas, in Lisbon, sponsored by Queen Leonor (SOUSA 2002). Reform meant, for these women's houses, living a spirituality of a more rigorous nature, based on the contemplative charism, on silence and strict enclosure, valuing fraternal union, charity, penance, spiritual reading, meditation and liturgy (RODRIGUES, FONTES, ANDRADE, in press).

The Dominicans started a similar movement with two foundations in Lisbon, one female (Salvador) and one male (São Domingos de Benfica). Both were promoted by the royal family and important members of the court (Costa, 1972; Costa, 1991). The same will be true of the other five new Dominican convents founded in the 15th century under this reformed way of life. The exception is the convent of Santa Maria da Vitória, in Batalha, in the centre of the kingdom, close to the place where the battle of Aljubarrota took place. The commemoration of this event and the need for legitimisation and prestige of the new dynasty inaugurated by King John I (1385-1433) explain the royalty's financial and artistic investment in this convent, which was the pantheon of the royal family during the 15th century (Gomes, 1990).
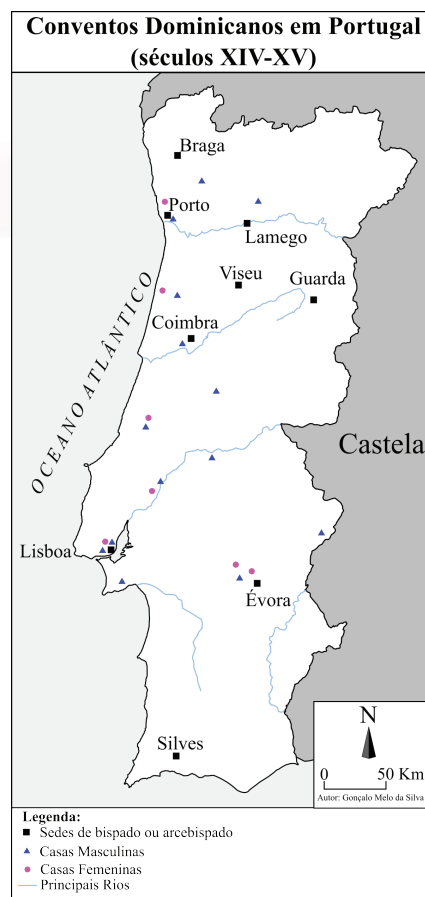
[Map 14 – Dominican convents in Portugal (14th-15th c.)]

The appearance of new monasteries of Dominican nuns is a characteristic of this period, especially after the foundation, in 1461, of the Cenobio de Jesus de Aveiro, close to the male convent of Nossa Senhora da Misericórdia, in the same year in which the feminine model of Dominican observance was definitively sanctioned with the canonisation of Catherine of Siena (Duval 2015: 144-183). Founded by a group of women connected to the court, the monastery of Jesus was chosen by the infanta Joana –the future Princess Saint Joana– daughter of Alfonso V, to lead a life of seclusion, penance and prayer until her death in 1490 (Moiteiro 2011). The community will send several of its nuns, but also its books, to ensure the reform of older monasteries or

even those founded during this period (Moiteiro 2018). It will also serve as a model for many groups of women who, especially in the south of Portugal, and from the first decades of the 15th century, lived in common a religious option very similar to that of the hermits of the Serra de Ossa: poorly, working with their hands, in their own houses in urban centres, submitted to the bishops, but without taking public vows or following any of the Rules approved by the Church. Under pressure from the civil and ecclesiastical authorities, but also from the aspirations of the noble women who had created some of these communities, they eventually accepted an ever closer proximity to certain orders, particularly the Dominicans. From this movement, in the first decades of the 16th century, the Dominican communities of Santa Catarina de Sena and Nossa Senhora do Paraíso, in Évora, were born (Fontes 2015; Fontes 2018).
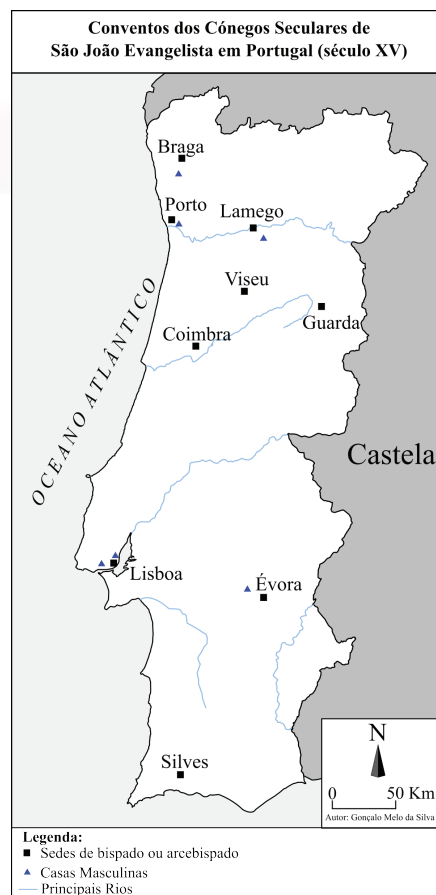
[Map 15 – Convent of the Secular Canons of St John the Evangelist in Portugal (15th c.)]

A last word, in this itinerary, for a new congregation founded in Portugal around 1425: the secular canons of St John the Evangelist, known as *Lóios* (Pina 2011). Originally from Saint George in Alga (Falcão 2018), the congregation was introduced in Portugal by a group of clerics associated with the royal court and committed to the reform of the Church. This congregation would have its first two houses in the north of Portugal as a result of the protection granted to it by the archbishop of Braga and the bishop of Viseu. However, the conflicts that arose with the former, due to the latter's resistance in accepting the exemption from episcopal authority and jurisdiction that the

Pope granted them, led the *Lóios* to seek autonomy by moving to the South. The support of the monarchs and the royal family ensured the congregation important foundations: two in Lisbon (Santo Elói, 1442 and S. Bento de Xabregas, 1455) and one in Évora (S. João Evangelista de Évora, 1485). Only at the end of the 15th century, when their independence was finally assured, did the canons return to the north of the kingdom, accepting a foundation in Porto (Nossa Senhora da Consolação, 1490).

Final Considerations

As we have seen, the presence of Religious Orders in Portugal was of great importance for the social and economic organisation of the kingdom, with religious trends, and also the social and political interests of the elites and ruling groups, reflecting in their development over the centuries.[21]

If in the first centuries of the kingdom's existence (12th and 13th centuries) the Benedictine and Cistercian monks dominated Portuguese society, in the following centuries it was the turn of the mendicants who, at the end of the medieval period, experienced reform movements that gave rise to new Orders with ideas of profound renewal and, simultaneously, a return to the origins.

The path taken by monastic and conventual foundations in the kingdom reveals not only the importance of these institutions in the Portuguese social fabric, but also the role they played in the formation and affirmation of a Christianity at the service of the kingdom and the Crown.

---

[21] Como já foi assinalado por GOMES, 2014: 159.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALBERTO, Edite, 1994. *As instituições de resgate de cativos em Portugal: sua estruturação e evolução no século XV*, 2 vols., Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

ANDRADE, Maria Filomena, 2010. "Franciscanos", *Dicionário Histórico das Ordens, Institutos Religiosos e outras formas de vida consagrada em Portugal*, Eduardo Franco (dir.), Lisboa, Gradiva, p. 158-169.
—2011. *In Oboedientia, Sine Proprio, Et In Castitate, Sub Clausura. A Ordem de Santa Clara em Portugal (séculos XIII e XIV)*, Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
—2014. *Isabel de Aragão. Rainha Santa e Mãe exemplar*, Lisboa, Temas e Debates.
—2015. "Mulheres sob custódia: as comunidades de clarissas como espaços de obediência e autonomia (séculos XIII e XIV)" *Lusitania Sacra,* 2ª série, XXXI: 33-50.

BISHKO, Charles Julian, 1965. "The Cluniac priories of Galicia and Portugal: their acquisition and administration", *Studia Monastica*, 7: 305-356.

BRANQUINHO, Isabel, 2007. "As Sorores de São Vicente de Fora: uma primeira abordagem", *Lisboa Medieval: os rostos da Cidade*, Luís Krus, Luís Filipe Oliveira, João Luís Fontes (coord.), Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, p. 239-258.

CAMPOS, Maria Amélia, 2012. *Santa Justa de Coimbra na Idade Média: o espaço urbano, religioso e sócio-económico*, 2 vols., Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra.

CARVALHO, José Adriano Freitas de, 2016. *Antes de Lutero: a Igreja e as reformas religiosas em Portugal no século XV. Anseios e limites*. Porto: CITCEM, Edições Afrontamento.

CASTRO, Júlia Isabel Coelho Campos Alves de, 1993. *O mosteiro de São Domingos das Donas de Vila Nova de Gaia (1345-1513)*, Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto.

A CONQUISTA DE LISBOA, 2001. *A conquista de Lisboa aos Mouros: Relato de um Cruzado*, Aires Augusto do Nascimento (ed.), Lisboa, Vega.

COSTA, António Domingues de Sousa, 1972. "O célebre conselheiro e chanceler régio Doutor João das Regras, clérigo conjugado e prior da Colegiada de Santa Maria da Oliveira de Gimarães", *Itinerarium*, 18: 232-259.
—1991. "D. João Afonso de Azambuja, cortesão, bispo, arcebispo, cardeal e fundador do convento das dominicanas do Salvador de Lisboa", *III Encontro sobre História Dominicana – Actas*, 2, Porto, Arquivo Histórico Dominicano, p. 1-150.

Costa, Avelino de Jesus da, 1948. *A Ordem de Cluny em Portugal*, Braga.

Coussemacker, Sophie, 1994. *L'Ordre de Saint Jerôme en Espagne (1373-1516)*, tomos I-IV, Paris, Université de Paris X – Nanterre.

Cruz, Marta Louro, 2018. *A Vida de Santa Senhorinha de Basto em português: estudo estemático e linguístico*, Lisboa, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa.

Duval, Sylvie, 2015. *«Comme des Anges sur la Terre». Les moniales dominicaines et les débuts de la reforme observante*, Roma, École Française de Rome.

Os Dominicanos, 2017. *Os Dominicanos em Portugal 1216-2016*, António Camões Gouveia, José Nunes, Paulo Fernando de Oliveira Fontes (eds.), Lisboa, CEHR-UCP.

Falcão, Nuno de Pinho, 2018. *Ecclesia sempre reformanda, A Congregação dos Lóios e a Reforma da Igreja (Itália, Portugal e África: 1404-1580)*, Porto, CITCEM-Edições Afrontamento.

Fernandes, Aires Gomes, 2011. *Os cónegos regrantes de Santo Agostinho no norte de Portugal em finais da Idade Média: dos alvores de Trezentos à Congregação de Santa Cruz de Coimbra*, Coimbra, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra.

Fontes, João Luís Inglês, 2012. *Da «pobre vida» à Congregação da Serra de Ossa: génese e institucionalização de uma experiência eremítica (1366-1510),* Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
—2015. "Em torno de uma experiência religiosa feminina: as mulheres da *pobre vida* de Évora", *Lusitania Sacra*, 2ª série, XXXI: 51-71.
—2018. "Ordenar na observância: traços e memória do processo de institucionalização do mosteiro dominicano do Paraíso de Évora", *Os Dominicanos em Portugal 1216-2016*, António Camões Gouveia, José Nunes, Paulo Fernando de Oliveira Fontes (eds.), Lisboa, CEHR-UCP, p. 47-59.

Fontes, João Luís Inglês, Andrade, Maria Filomena, no prelo (a). *As fundações dominicanas femininas durante a Idade Média: linhas de força, problemáticas e silêncios*.

Fontes, João Luís Inglês, Andrade Maria Filomena, em publicação (b). *Povoar e enquadrar. Um percurso pela geografia das formas de vida religiosa da Lisboa medieval*.

Fontes, João Luís Inglês, Andrade, Maria Filomena, Santos, Maria Leonor Silva, 2017. "Frades, Monjas e Reclusas: os primórdios da presença mendicante em Santarém Medieval" *Clarisas y dominicas. Modelos de implantación, filiación, promoción y devoción en la Península Ibérica, Cerdeña, Nápoles y Sicilia,* Gemma Teresa Colesanti, Blanca Garí, Núria Jornet-Benito (eds.), Florença, Reti Medievali e Firenze University Press, p. 383-405.

Fontes, João Luís Inglês, Silva, Cristiana Lucas, 2010. "Agostinhos", *Dicionário Histórico das Ordens, Institutos Religiosos e outras formas de vida consagrada em Portugal*, Eduardo Franco (dir.), Lisboa, Gradiva, p. 39-49.

Gameiro, Odília Filomena Alves, 2000. *A construção das memórias nobiliárquicas medievais. O passado da linhagem dos senhores de Sousa*, Lisboa, Sociedade Histórica da Independência de Portugal.

Gomes, Saul António, 1990. *O mosteiro de Santa Maria da Vitória no século XV,* Coimbra, Instituto de História da Arte - Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra.
—2007. *In Limine Conscriptionis: documentos, chancelarias e cultura no mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra, séculos XII a XIV*, Viseu, Palimage Editores - CHSC.
—2010. "Castas Donas: Cónegas Regrantes de Santo Agostinho em Portugal no período medieval", *Revista de História da Sociedade e da Cultura*, 10/1: 37-71.
—2011. "Bibliografia de história monástica portuguesa", *Revista Mosaico*, 4/1: 21-54.
—2014. "Quadro Geral do Monaquismo Português em Quatrocentos", *Revista Território & Fronteiras,* 7/2: 144-181

Gonçalves, Iria, 1989. *O património do Mosteiro de Alcobaça nos séculos XIV e XV*, Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Heullant-Donat, Isabelle, 2012. "Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries)", *Franciscan Studies*, 70: 1-25.

Krus, Luís, 1984. "Celeiro e Relíquias: o culto quatrocentista dos Mártires de Marrocos e a Devoção dos Nus", *Studium Generale. Estudos Contemporâneos*, Porto, 6: 21-42.

Marques, José, 1982. "Os franciscanos no Norte de Portugal nos finais da Idade Média", *Boletim do Arquivo Distrital do Porto*, 1: 149-189.

Marques, Maria Alegria Fernandes, 1998a. "A introdução da Ordem de Cister em Portugal", *Estudos sobre a Ordem de Cister em Portugal*, Lisboa, Colibri, p. 29-73.
—1998b. "Os primórdios da Ordem de Cister em Portugal", *A Ordem de Cister: o tempo e o modo. Actas*, S. Pedro do Sul, Câmara Municipal de S. Pedro do Sul, p. 83-94.
—2001. "Les premières nonnes cisterciennes au Portugal : le rôle des femmes de la famille royale", *Cîteaux et les femmes. Architectures et occupation de l'espace dans les monastères féminins. Modalités d'intégration et de contrôle des femmes dans l'Ordre. Les moniales cisterciennes aujourd'hui*, Bernadette Barrière, Marie-Elisabeth Montulet-Henneau (eds.), Grâne, Créaphis éditions, p. 213-226.

MARTINS, Alcina Manuela de Oliveira, 2001. *O mosteiro de São Salvador de Vairão na Idade Média: o percurso de uma comunidade feminina,* Porto.

MARTINS, Armando Alberto, 2003, *O Mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Idade Média*, Lisboa, Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa.

MATA, Joel Silva Ferreira, 1999. *A comunidade feminina da Ordem de Santiago: a comenda de Santos em finais do século XV e no século XVI: um estudo religioso, económico e social*, 2 vols., Porto, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto.

MATTOSO, José, 1993. "1086-1325", *História de Portugal*, José Mattoso (dir.), vol. II – *A Monarquia Feudal (1096-1480)*, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, p. 9-309.
—2001. *Identificação de um país*, *Obras completas*, 2-3, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores.
—2002a. "O enquadramento social e económico das primeiras fundações franciscanas", *Obras Completas*, 8, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, p. 243-254.
—2002b. "Eremitas portugueses no século XII", *Obras completas*, 9, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, p. 62-86.
—2002c. "O monaquismo ibérico e Cluny", *Obras completas*, 9, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores, p. 35-45.
—2002d. *O monaquismo ibérico e Cluny, Obras Completas*, 12, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores.
—2006. *D. Afonso Henriques*, Rio de Mouro, Círculo de Leitores.

MOITEIRO, Gilberto Coralejo, 2011. *As dominicanas de Aveiro (c. 1450-1525): memória e identidade de uma comunidade textual,* Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa.
—2018. "Obediência e clausura: receção e produção femininas de um tópico definidor e persistente", *Os Dominicanos em Portugal 1216-2016*, António Camões Gouveia, José Nunes, Paulo Fernando de Oliveira Fontes (eds.), Lisboa, CEHR-UCP, p. 27-46.

MONTEIRO, João Gouveia, 2017. *Nuno Álvares Pereira – Guerreiro, senhor feudal, santo: os três rostos do Condestável*, Lisboa, Letras & Diálogos.

UM OBITUÁRIO, 2008. *Um Obituário do Mosteiro de S. Vicente de Fora. A Comemoração dos que passaram deste mundo*, ed. Maria José Azevedo Santos, Lisboa, Academia Portuguesa da História.

OLIVEIRA, Luís Filipe, 2016. "Ordens Militares", *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das origens a Trento - Guia Histórico*, Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa (dir.), 3ª ed., Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, p. 453-502.

Ordens Religiosas, 2016. *Ordens Religiosas em Portugal. Das origens a Trento - Guia Histórico*. Bernardo Vasconcelos e Sousa (dir.), 3ª ed., Lisboa, Livros Horizonte.

Pereira, Paulo, 2005. "O Convento e Igreja de Nossa Senhora do Vencimento do Monte do Carmo", *Construindo a Memória. As Colecções do Museu Arqueológico do Carmo,* José Morais Arnaud, Carla Varela Fernandes (coord.), Lisboa, Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses, p. 20-39.

Pina, Maria Isabel Pessoa Castro, 2011. *Os Lóios em Portugal: Origens e primórdios da Congregação dos Cónegos de São João Evangelista*, Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Rano, B, 1974. "Agostiniani", *Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, Gerrino Pellicia e Giancarlo Rocca (dir.), vol. I, Roma, Ed. Paoline, cols. 278-381.

Rêpas, Luís Miguel Malva de Jesus, 2003. *Quando a nobreza traja de branco: a comunidade cisterciense de Arouca durante o abadessado de D. Luca Rodrigues (1286-1299)*, Leiria, Magno edições.
—2005. "Os mosteiros cistercienses femininos em Portugal: a herança medieval. Fundações e fundadores", *Fundadores, fundaciones y espacios de vida conventual: nuevas aportaciones al monacato feminino*, Maria Isabel Viforcos Marinas, Maria Dolores Campos Sánchez-Bordona (coord.), León, Universidad de León, p. 51-78.

Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A., 2013. "Spirituality and Religious Sponsorship in the 15th-century Portuguese Crown: Kings, Queens and Infantes", *Women's Networks of Spiritual Promotion in the Peninsular Kingdoms (13th-16tn Centuries)*, B. Gari (ed.), Roma, Viella: 205-219.
—2019. "The Crown, the Court and Religious Reform in Medieval Portugal: A Gendered Approach", *Queens, Princesses and Mendicants. Close Relations in a European Perspective*, N. Jaspert, I. Just (eds.), Zurich, Lit Verlag, p. 53-63.

Rodrigues, Ana Maria S. A., Fontes, João Luís Inglês, Andrade, Maria Filomena, no prelo, "La(s) Reformas en el Franciscanismo portugués en la Edad Media", *Hispania Sacra*.

Rosa, Maria de Lurdes, 1998, "A fundação do mosteiro da Conceição de Beja pela duquesa D. Beatriz", *O tempo de Vasco da Gama*, Diogo Ramada Curto (dir.), Lisboa, Difel, p. 265-270.
—2000. "A religião no século: vivências e devoções dos leigos", *História religiosa de Portugal*, Carlos Moreira Azevedo (dir.), vol. I, Lisboa, Círculo de Leitores – Centro de Estudos de História Religiosa da Universidade Católica Portuguesa, p. 423-510.

Santos, Cândido A. Dias dos, 1980. *Os Jerónimos em Portugal: das origens aos fins do século XVII*, Porto, JNICT.

Santos, Maria Leonor Ferraz de Oliveira, 2018. "Os primórdios da presença dominicana em Portugal: 1220-1418", *Os Dominicanos em Portugal 1216-2016*, António Camões Gouveia, José Nunes, Paulo Fernando de Oliveira Fontes (eds.), Lisboa, CEHR-UCP, p. 9-26.

Silveira, Ana Cláudia, 2012. "Subsídios para a história do Convento de São Francisco de Setúbal a partir do Arquivo da Família Gama Lobo Salema", *Arquivos de Família, séculos XIII-XX: que presente, que futuro?,* Maria de Lurdes Rosa (org.), Lisboa, Instituto de Estudos Medievais – Centro de História de Além-Mar – Caminhos Romanos, p. 171-183.

Sobral, Cristina, 2012. "Exumação de uma vida: Santa Senhorinha em português medieval", *Romance Philology,* 66/1, Spring 2012: 165-183.

Sousa, Ivo Carneiro de, 2002. *A Rainha D. Leonor (1458-1525). Poder, misericórdia, religiosidade e espiritualidade no Portugal do Renascimento*. Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian / Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia.

Teixeira, Vítor Gomes, 2010. *O Movimento da Observância Franciscana em Portugal (1392-1517). História, Património e Cultura de uma Experiência de Reforma Religiosa*, Porto, Centro de Estudos Franciscanos – Editorial Franciscana.

Vairo, Giulia Rossi, 2014. *D. Dinis del Portogallo e Isabel d'Aragona in vita* e *in morte. Creazione e trasmissione della memoria nel contesto storico e artistico europeo,* Lisboa, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas - Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

Vauchez, André, 1995. *A espiritualidade da Idade Média Ocidental séc. VIII-XIII*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa.

Viana, Mário, 2007. *Espaço e povoamento numa vila portuguesa (Santarém 1147-1350)*, Lisboa, Caleidoscópio – Centro de História da Universidade de Lisboa.