



visitation

ARCHIVE: MEMORY AND PROMISE



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INTRODUCTION

The decision to present a history of the ICHL from the point of view of the books in the historical archive was deliberate. Other themes were suggested to me but I insisted that this should be the subject of the inaugural exhibition at the Temporary Exhibition Gallery – the history of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. What better theme could there be?

The historical archive of the Santa Casa is the guardian of the institution's identity and the genuine treasures that it scrupulously preserves are the ones that not only allow us to discover who we are but also to continue to grow and, remaining loyal to the statute adopted 350 years ago, to renew our mission of bringing hope to those from whom life has sometimes taken everything else.

In the year of its five hundred and sixtieth anniversary at a time in Portuguese life when the revision of the social fabric has made the goal that we are ourselves most persistent than ever, the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa is a modern, dynamic and multifaceted institution that plays a part in the daily lives of the Portuguese in general and the inhabitants of Lisbon in particular and which we all believe that we know.

In a media-dominated age, this time is not synonymous with what should be known about its history and heritage or the recognition that the institution is due for the remarkable work that it carries out in so many fields of knowledge and charitable areas. A tribute to this work should be paid.

Hence we have chosen the historical archive as a starting point, a silent witness to a never-ending and unswerving journey which all those who pass through the Santa Casa are called upon to undertake. We can expect to encounter a mission bound by official history: a deliberate attempt has been made to proceed by closely examining the testimonies of anonymous and vulnerable people, giving them a voice and an important role.

Translators' archive: memory and presence will be an interpretation carried out today, a visitation that leads us to understand the archive as a living memory, containing within itself tokens and promises that raise questions.

We believe that this five hundred and sixtieth year journey is just the beginning and that, in the future, we will continue to be able to reinvent this heritage, which makes us very proud and which we invite you to join.

Heitor Santiago e Jones

President of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa

INTRODUCTION

It was with the greatest enthusiasm that we welcomed the challenge set by the Province of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa to stage an exhibition relating to the history of this institution on the occasion of its five hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary.

Marking the opening of the Santa Casa's new Temporary Exhibitions Gallery, *Visuário - Arquivo: Memory and Presence* is the exhibition through which the Misericórdia de Lisboa has set up an encounter between its centuries-old history and contemporary art.

Drawing inspiration in the Santa Casa's historical archive, particularly the series of documents relating to the 'soundings', 'prisoners and captives', health, and social support, the eyes of the photographer Daniel Blaufuks, the filmmaker Pedro Costa, and the composer João Madureira have created new interpretations of some of the key moments in the history of the institution, using their artistic genius and a modern language to present them to the gaze of the visitor.

Far from being a retrospective, or an anthological or historical look at the Misericórdia de Lisboa, this exhibition, which is curated by Paulo Pires de Vale, aims to allow the whole to be glimpsed through its parts. And in this case, to glimpse the whole is to sense the grandeur of a unique institution that has been a pioneering and deeply humanist provider of care since its inception and is now seen in the light of the new interpretation that the artists have been inspired to create by its documentary heritage.

In the certain knowledge that, as Breton would also suggest, 'to create is to establish new relationships between people and existing things', *Visuário - Arquivo: Memory and Presence* is a product of the Misericórdia de Lisboa's rich past and its history of providing support, to which we are adding, in the present time of artistic creation, a future that is united to the ongoing nature of its mission.

Alongside what is considered to be its greater mission - helping the 'other', as described in the Santa Casa's growth cycle since it was founded by Queen Leonor in 1480 - investment in culture is becoming ever more important. With the help of the current fund and as a sign of this new development, the new Temporary Exhibitions Gallery is opening its doors. A dedicated space in which to encourage new reflections (its 'souls' (coração), to quote Breton again); the new gallery represents a place of encounter between the past and the future, encounters that are possible in the unique moments brought about by artistic experimentation, a fertile

present in which to question the individual and (the world(s)) that he inhabits.

Based on the notion that time is circular, *Visuário - Arquivo: Memory and Presence* solidly unites the Santa Casa's tradition and history and the contemporary gaze of those who are marking out paths in the world of avant-garde, embracing culture as an element through which to encourage man to work towards knowledge of himself and the other, his neighbour. It is with particular satisfaction that the Misericórdia de Lisboa is shedding light on its outstanding past and present, which are recreated by Daniel Blaufuks, Pedro Costa and João Madureira in the works presented here for the enjoyment of visitors.

In considering the importance of teamwork throughout this project, it seems for me to thank all those many people whose kind efforts have contributed to the staging of this exhibition, particularly the institutions whose generously loaned works have greatly enriched the display. Gratitude is also due to Lucília Nogueira, our partner in this cultural initiative.

A final word of thanks is due to the team at the Department of Building Management and Heritage, particularly its director Helena Lucas, for the work that it has carried out in enabling this Temporary Exhibitions Gallery to happen.

Isabel MORA (curator, 2019/2020/2021)

Cultural Director of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa

VISITATION AND WANDERING: EXPOSING THE SELF TO THE ARCHIVE

(in two editions)

The *Exposition* is a graphic (living book) with:

1. *Exposition*

An history, with graphic figures, with the graphic of history itself,
drawing together and transforming various objects into documents,
drawing them differently.

2. *Exposition*

1. What remains

This exhibition proposes a relationship with an archive. With the traces that the past leaves in its wake. For this reason, history follows an "epistemological" path. As in medicine, where the disease is reached through the symptoms, the trail makes an indirect form of knowledge possible. But the doctor analyzes something that will exist while the object of history no longer does – what we have access to are the remains. And it is these remains, this trace, that are the subject of this exhibition. Like history, it is the introduction of a gap in the present because trace refers to something that is missing; they refer to an absence. History – And this exhibition, taking this model as an inspiration – is the practice of absence, in the words of Michel de Certeau.

As an early stage I realized that I was not going to create an exhibition with the educational goal of writing the 150-year history of the *Monumenta de Villiers*. I focused on what is most specific and timeless in relation to this institution: the desire to carry out the fourteen Works of Mercy identified in the *Compendium de Misericordias de Villiers* as its system of ideas. I used these ideas as a springboard from which to select documents from the archive that would show how this mission has been fulfilled or carried out over time, allowing me to be exhaustive but to present pertinent examples. Thus, despite not following a historical narrative, this exhibition is rooted in history and in our common historical condition, examining our relationship with the past and the methods used to select, conserve and classify the documents that become evidence of a testimony of an absent other. And according to the teachings of the pioneers of New History, the founders of the journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, "this other has ceased to be only the King or the powerful, this key has

1. *Exposition* (18), organized by Villiers de Villiers, 1998. It is a graphic (living book) with a graphic of history itself, drawing together and transforming various objects into documents, drawing them differently. 2. *Exposition* (18), organized by Villiers de Villiers, 1998. It is a graphic (living book) with a graphic of history itself, drawing together and transforming various objects into documents, drawing them differently.

3. *Exposition* (18), organized by Villiers de Villiers, 1998. It is a graphic (living book) with a graphic of history itself, drawing together and transforming various objects into documents, drawing them differently.

4. *Exposition* (18), organized by Villiers de Villiers, 1998. It is a graphic (living book) with a graphic of history itself, drawing together and transforming various objects into documents, drawing them differently.

tion or the dedication date of a cathedral, the glorifying event or extraordinary political incident, and has come to include those who had liberty laws 'without history' - those whom the Museumists serve. This change, this democratization of the object of history, is essential to the construction of this exhibition.

2. History and Prophecy

Looking back at the past does not mean diverting our gaze at the dead. In the words of José Martíán: 'The purpose of observing the past is not to undertake the madman task of disinterring the dead. It is not a journey into the kingdom of shadows nor can it emerge from a fiery predilection for what time has sterilized. What is dead is dead. In fact, I am interested only in living things which question me and quarrel with me'. And if we understand this properly, we will not be surprised to hear this renowned modernist say: 'I am only interested in the present and in the way in which I move around the space and time in which I live. By this, I mean that the past attracts me only in so far as it allows me to understand and live in the present'. This explains why history is a way of understanding the world and not only the past. It must help to guide us on the horizon that is or will be ours. It is not possibilities - my horizon of the possible - that we seek in historical research. We must recover from history that which gives life, which remains alive. The promises in it which are yet to be fulfilled. The forgotten, neglected or downgraded which could be vital. Revitalizing. As Fr Antonio Vique wrote in the book *Historia de Financas*, 'Many promises will be seen in this History of ours which are new not because they are new but because they are very old.' The past is never perfect. For this reason history like science, is an infinite task.

This exhibition owes a debt to this relationship with the past - to a history that turns not to be a prophecy, it reveals to ourselves and points out what is to come.

3. Memory and Identity

History cannot be made without the traces, marks or remains of an already absent past that we find in the present. Hence the importance of archive collections, catalogues, inventories, lists.

Before there were archives, the Greeks established the figure of the *mnemon* whose social function was to serve as a repository of memory for 'who guards the memory of the past

in relation to decisions taken by the law'. This may have been a person whose memory role was limited to an occasional act. For example, Theophrastus points out that under the law of Theoria, the three neighbours living closest to a property that had been sold received a vote for witnesses of memory and testimony. But it could also be a long-term role. A *mnemon* were used by cities in magistracies who were charged with remembering important religious (from the point of view of the calendar) and legal matters. With the development of writing these 'living memories' were transformed into archivists.¹

A further reference of a mythological nature to the function of the *mnemon* is useful here. In thinking about the importance of the archive: 'in mythology and legend, the *mnemon* is the servant of a hero who endlessly accompanies him in eternal loss of a divine order that, if forgotten, would bring death'. If we think of death in the loss of identity, we see that the role of the *mnemon*, the living memory, he whose role is to remind us of the past or of an unkept promise, is bound up with identity.

In considering this relationship between memory and identity, the example of King Emmanuel, who founded the *Museo Nacional de Lisboa* at the request of his sister D. Leonora, is symptomatic: the importance of archives in relation to identity and the forging of the nation is evident in the reference that King Emmanuel makes in his will to the *Arquivo do Tronho Nacional* Archivist and its work.² Throughout his reign, care was taken to save national documents, as shown by the codices containing the *Leisões Novas* (a new version of the charters) and the appointment of chief custodians such as Rui de Pinho and Duarte de Góes. And King Emmanuel took pains to preserve, order and subsume his documents.³

The archive is therefore a form of identification. To look at an archive is to look at an identity under construction - in this case, that of the *Museo Nacional de Lisboa*. For this reason, the material that I have selected helps to tell a part of this history because identity is a narrative that is always unfinished. Although it is not a historical exhibition, it is replete with the stories, events and lives that have intersected with this institution over the centuries. It has therefore become an exhibition of narratives.

4. Serving the future

This exhibition is not about an archive in the abstract sense or about 'archives' and the importance that they have for New History or contemporary art (and much has been written and exhibited on the subject in recent years that would require

deeper religious. This involves and the exhibition at which
it is based, are to shed light on the work that has been carried
out by the Marcellino de Lillo since its inception: that of
serving the material and spiritual needs of man. For this reason,
before we enter the Temporary Exhibition Gallery in
the Church of São Roque, two screens will exhibit films de-
vised by the director Pedro Costa about the humanity of
the face seen in the baroque context of the church in all its
disposal and decoration, its fragility. They bring man to the
temple of the church, as if adding two side skirts to it, not
in order to worship him but to present him in his individual
complexity. In his unique existence. And it is there, in his singu-
lar and radical individuality, in the irreplaceable character
of each face, that we discover what is common to all of us.
And it makes sense that they are here in the second century,
later because highlighted man's centrality in the Church in
this phase: the glory of God in being man and the life of man
is the vision of God.

These bodies and faces, as Leiria recalled, are the Jew-
ness, the revelation of the Dialogue – and the necessary face
of all works of mercy. Every face that has ever existed, and
no narrative, are in these faces. Face and naked. Deliberate-
less. The face, its promise, is the true Law. Law is something
forbidden than as a promise of bliss. A face can never be con-
sidered as an object-phenomenon. It refuses. It confronts us.
It resists our gaze: it is seen and seen. Leiria has shown us
that we do not look at a face in the way that we look at any-
thing else: it is not another spectacle. And it bears a message:
"You shall not kill!" But we could replace this message with
other messages: "become what you are!", "love you!", "let's see
a way that your actions...". On no do more colors what you do
not want done to you... The face is an intensity. This is what is
presented in it: an appeal. A request for respect.¹⁰

To display the human in the heart of a church is mostly
a redundancy that might not be seen as such. The baroque
movements and the gleam of the gold must not hide what is
central to Christianity: the awareness of a God stripped of him-
self, emptied of the self, who shows himself as a man in order
to serve man. Perhaps that is why the legacy that the left was
the proposal that we should set out to encounter the other. A
form of visitation.

On several occasions, this exhibition will recover this
dimension of the human in its historical reality, its individua-
lity. Not that of the great and the powerful who have written
occupied center stage in the historical narrative but that of
the people who have been forgotten by official history. To
place these images, faces and people at the start of the exhibi-
tion is to express an intention: to give voice and a place to

all those anonymous people who are at the heart and the heart
of the work of this institution. Unknown names and forgotten
faces who occupy a central role here and are placed alongside
King Emmanuel, Luís de Camões and Bragança. As Le-
iria said of New History: "the program made by democratic
heads as to seek more room for the 'little people' in history, to
insert ourselves on the level of daily life."¹¹

For a long time, when historians selected documents, they
selected those that they deemed worthy of being examined
and the histories of great nations, the biographies of great
leaders or heroes, military or diplomatic events. Nowadays,
history is made by paying attention to everything and every-
one: the history of food, the history of sexuality and the
family, the history of childhood, the history of death, the
history of thought, all of those things which had been left on
the margins of the great history, a history of those without
history.

I can do no better than to recall the eloquent words of
Michel de Certeau, who says about historians what I would
like to say about visitors engaged in the task of thinking:
creating an exhibition. "Historians are no longer people who
seek to construct an object. They no longer act for the possi-
bility of a global history (...). They work in the margins. In
that respect, they have become vagabonds. In a society that
has lost generalization, equipped with powerful centralizing
means, they turn towards the movements of great suppressed
areas. They 'yearn off' towards witchcraft, alchemy, heretical
popular literature, the forgotten world of the peasantry. Oc-
casion, which are all silent zones."¹²

2. The Spaces

To place the two silent faces that constitute Pedro Costa's
installation at the start of the exhibition, to enter the exhibi-
tion through a Church that puts man on display is to follow
what Dona Leonor established as the programme of the Ma-
rcellino de Lillo from its inception: working for the dignity
of the human, that of all humanity. For this reason, in the
Gallery, after passing two different editions of the *Compromisso*
in which we see a list of the works of history and the
connecting image of Mary's protective cloak, we find a painting
by Bragança entitled *The Works of Mercy*, a handwritten
list dating from the seventeenth century, and *The Good
Intention*, a Caravaggio-inspired work by an anonymous sev-
enteenth-century artist that has been attributed to Ribeiro.
These pieces provide a visual, religious and historical con-
text for what is cited as the purpose of the institution in its

ing material that can be selected from things that have long been judged unworthy of such an honour.

2. Exhibiting the archive

Learning from historians, I have allowed the term 'document' to acquire an open meaning in this exhibition: works of art, letters, reports, lists, photographs, albums, documentary films and pharmaceutical objects, among other things, become the living matter that, placed in a relationship measured from their cultural context, deriving from it, acquire other meanings. This exhibition aims to highlight the wide-ranging nature of contemporary notions of the document and what is, at least, paper & film, documents, engravings, maps, books, objects, fabrics, models, photographs, reports, lists, digital documents...

The archive is a selection, albeit a broad one. An exhibition about an archive is a selection from a selection. A break and interruption in what, in the archive, is continuity. The exhibition is made from the discontinuous. How to show the multiplicity, recurrence and repetition that are common to archives while also showing their exemplary nature? How to present the archive as a collection of collections and how to highlight the importance of the serial nature of certain groups of items?

Like archivists and historians, who work on series and classify them, many artists in the 1960s and '70s were attracted by seriality. At the same, at least exclusive repetition (although it is never repetition) gathering of a theme or motif. A form of cataloguing, listing or inventoring. I returned to this archive in order to present some of the elements that make up this exhibition. The gap that I find on the archive was shaped not only by the gap that lies within it but also by recognising the debt owed by my eyes to many works by artists, philosophers, historians and contemporary writers.²³

For a researcher or curator, the archive is a proposal to wander. It is a field that is open to wandering. It involves knowing how to get lost. Not having definite ideas at the start. This openness requires the possibility of encountering the unexpected. But the researcher or curator must know how to deal with the apparently insurmountable. And not sink beneath this insurmountable mass of documents, histories and possibilities. The archive is a perpetual labyrinth: a thread is needed that will guide us back to the exit.

The space of the exhibition and its purpose, which is to shed light, involves fighting against the apparent refusal of choice that is the archive. In fact, as we have seen, the archive

involves selecting and choosing which material to archive. The act involved by the exhibition, however, is much greater – and more demanding. The archive presents the insurmountable – a completed accumulation – as a programme; the exhibition must propose a graphical system and a direction.²⁴ In a certain sense, it is an actualisation of what the archive already is: a selection, retention, classification, and making available of material. This also describes an exhibition – but without the weight of the insurmountable, the insurmountable, the over-generation that is the mass of information that we need in an archive. As Georges Didi-Huberman wrote about the relationship between the archive and the atlas, the archive certainly seeks to tackle the question of the insurmountable and the insalutability. But the atlas, through its own system for, more precisely, through its messages, makes the insurmountable and the insalutability visible as such.²⁵ It is a question of visibility: of the most immediate accessibility and perception. It must embrace difference and strangeness without losing the capacity of the multiple: hence its perpetual nature of interpretation; of ever-new readings that the message or message makes possible.

What is shown in an exhibition about an archive is therefore a symptom of something greater. Of what remains absent – as in the relationship established with the past through its traces. The exhibition of an archive has to tackle the omission, the gap, the absence in that meaning. It cannot claim to be exhaustive or allegedly perfect and it cannot claim to tell or show everything. An exhibition involves exposing ourselves to the fragility of this impossibility. For this reason, what is shown is a symptom of something insurmountably greater – a weight under which the exhibition cannot collapse. To stage an exhibition about an archive is to reveal the gaps that make up all archives, even when the quantity of and multiplicity of material involved aim to hide this and the desire is to be complete. An exhibition is a critical device: a space of engagement and analysis. A space of physical experience and thought. Only discontinuity, the break in what is continuous in the archive and desires of the archive can allow this space to be opened up. An exhibition requires, adds. They are what create messages: knowledge through messages, as Didi-Huberman insisted when reflecting on the example of Aby Warburg's *Atlas*.

In the case of this exhibition, we have chosen documents pertaining to areas in which some of the responses made by the Museumists to fulfil its initial objective over time are clearly expressed: in the remarkable findings' taken away from the engraving and stone-work carvings, which relate to the children that the Museumists took in, in the

men showing the opening and gully field at a mining people's shelter in the fifties. In the film about the work carried out with children by the Santa Casa's assistants and teachers in a run-down neighbourhood of Lisbon in the 1970s. In the treatment of the sick, from the Tidos in S. Carlos Hospital that opened in the sixteenth century and is evoked here by a seventeenth-century map bearing the mark of that institution, to the concern clearly expressed in a document – issued immediately after the 1755 earthquake that denounced that hospital – expressing the urgent need to open up a new one and state up an inventory of the beds, mattresses and sheets required, to the donation and surprise register book used by the insurance at a certain time in the nineteenth century; to the mid-nineteenth century album of extraordinary and disturbing photographs of criminal lands originating from the *Asilo das Doenças* Hospital; and in the more recent material on the neuroscience research project to which the Santa Casa awarded the prize for the best research in this field at medical sciences. In this way, we have provided visitors with a comprehensive view of this 550-year history, from the sixteenth-century first hospital to its recent action in support of scientific research. We have also selected material relating to the help given to the poorest, the great many photographs of facilities and queues of people that form part of a 1930 report on plans that make and distribute soup to the poor. We have also displayed documents relating to how well-known areas of activity: the material or legal support given to prisoners and those sentenced to death, documents relating to the rescue of prisoners of war and the men involved in their repatriation, and the holding of exorcisms and funerals. A group of images of passage that shed light on the support given by the various Portuguese Houses of Mercy to the poor who needed to undertake a journey and the way in which these people were welcomed and supported by the Holy Houses in the places through which they passed on the way.

Calling this exhibition *Visions*, with the inside meanings that the word acquires in the context of reuniting the archive and history, is a way of showing attention to another day: the day on which The Lady visited her cousin Elisabeth, which was previously exhibited on 2 July, is the day of the feast of the *Blasvençolas de Lidesa*. But this is also a very powerful and ironic image to bear in mind when reflecting on the role played by this institution: going out to encounter others. A focal group of works, initiated before Daniel Maschke's previously unseen photographs, is presided over by Felix Stanca's painting *Notușcu* (1980), in which the act of encountering is materialized and where the drapery of the dresses and veils, in their folds and double folds, also reveals the random dis-

remnant of this province-filled existence: the wounds of the two passions are already swelling with John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, their unseparated children. The encounter is the sign of an event that remains a secret while it is possible. The encounter awaits in a future time.

This group of works also contains some books and documents relating to the feast of the Vietnamese, including an anaphorism or musical score that was written by Filipe Magalhães and chosen from the musical fund by the composer João Maderreira, who composed a companion piece to it in the form of a Madrigal expressing the deeply political words of joy which, according to the Gospel, Mary uttered during this meeting with her cousin. Also included in the sermon given by Fr António Vieira on the day of the Vietnamese, 2 July 1640, at the Church of the Misericórdia da Vila. In this sermon, Vieira says (Ofr. 106) I wish that the sovereign people who can give little with embraces and good words could hear me from here!

B. Inequality and Premises

We archive, we write, history in words, an edification is organized, always within a 'place of protection'.¹⁴ Traces within a particular present, seen from a particular point of view – already marked by history and its revolutions and continuities or intervals. In the words of Le Goff, 'we now know that the past partially depends on the present. All history is very contemporary in the extent that the past is understood in the present and therefore responds to its interests, which is not only inexcusable but also legitimate. Since history is different, the past is at once lost and present'.¹⁵

And we also know that we cannot guarantee in historical silence, as Nietzsche warned us in 1872 in *Second Untimely Meditation: On the Use and Abuse of History for Life*. An excess of history (can be fatal). Or, as heberweisinger. We must be careful not to turn the meaning of history into a hyperinflated virtue: "The historical sense is to be avoided, the 'historical culture' that affects life, the 'teaching that does not stimulate life, the knowledge that paralyzes activity, the historical facts which are nothing but a timeless and superfluous history.'" To be a child of the present is to be capable of being old-fashioned, contrary to be capable of innovative gestures, which means not being imprisoned by a historicism that does not allow the new to break out.

For this exhibition, we therefore asked several artists to commission their work: the director Helen Costa, who will direct a film based on the archive in addition to the installation in the Church of São Roque; the photographer Daniel Reis;

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198. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1971.

28. Friedrich Schlegel, *The Lucid or the Incomprehensible: An / Untitled poem in the / German Millennium* (unpublished manuscript), translatable materials, v. 1, song 5, first and 21 stanzas, Pp. 141-142.

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Falk, who has created a new series for this exhibition entitled *Cerve*, and the composer João Madureira, who has chosen an old piece from the musical fund of the archive by the seveneenth-century composer Filipe de Magalhães and composed a new *Magnificat*. These musical works will be performed in concert at the end of the exhibition in the Church of São Roque, thereby fulfilling the task that is essential to this exhibition: transmitting the archive into living and breathing music, a creative fund, an engine of creation.

The archive can become an engine of renewal. It can be the stuff of, and a factor in, creation. According to the archive is a way of demystifying the images that we have of the past. Questioning established dogmas and hasty constructions. The archive is not proof of what is already known but an opening to the unknown. The past is open, the past has a future to be fulfilled: the historian is a prophet facing backwards, chained backward in the fragment that I quoted as an epigraph. The same could be said of artists.

8. Cerve

The series *Cerve* (2016), which Daniel Blaufuks created specifically for this exhibition after making several visits to the archive, raises the question of the dossier, choice, selection of some documents among so many millions of others in the archive. Because, above and beyond what these objects-documents represent, there is a cut that the photographer's choice opens up in the archive, the certain intervals, the indices and individualities that had been accumulated. Choosing this rather than that document involves a caesura in the multiplicity and continuity of the archive.

In addition, Daniel Blaufuks' photographs focus on the *foundings* tokens, particularly those that have been cut, those that point to the original Greek notion of symbols: the idea of two separate halves that fit into a unit - and which are a sign of a commitment, for example. One half of something that points to the other half that is missing, and which, in the case of these tokens, also indicate different family lineages, abandonment (whether temporary or other wise) and a desire to return, the inability to raise a child, or a re-encounter.

In Daniel Blaufuks' work, memory, testimony, history, ruins, and even archives²⁵ itself are recurring words or concepts, as is the possibility of accounting for the already above past through the material that remains. Through photographs, for example, which surround us with ghosts, as Walter Benjamin reminded us. Placing particular emphasis on tokens that are photographs is also a way of reflecting on the role and pos-

sibility of the preferred photographic image. The role of photography may be that of guarding memory, the detail, the absent - acting as a witness, in spite of everything (as Didi-Huberman would say) in the case of this series, it is a dual absence: that of the parents who kept the other half of the photograph, playing card, medal, or print, and also that of the children, who no longer exist except through what they left behind in the archive. As the photographer stated in a conversation with Alexandre Jancsó about the photographs chosen from another archive for the work *Job Glas-Eichendor*, "I know that this is very symbolic, but, in metaphorical terms, a second life is being given to those faces. They were faces that were shut up in an archive for years and suddenly they have come to the surface, they are now. And obviously they're just images, they're just - they're not even shadows - pale references to people who lived, but this gaze is also the point that can be given back to them. A photograph is a mirror with a memory."²⁶ And in a text in which he lists some possible offspring of the photograph, Daniel Blaufuks includes these words, which are highly appropriate in the context of this exhibition: *Archive, Library, Document, Ghost, Historian, Museum, Map, Memory, Death, Clay, Resurrection, Testimony*.²⁷

In a certain sense, these tokens are themselves an image of the archive as a whole marked by a lacuna, a gap. The certainty that "something is missing", which we feel physically when faced with a ruin or a fragment. With a lost, clearly absent, whole of which only a minimal part has been preserved. This is what remains as testimony - and, as Giorgio Agamben realized, a testimony contains a lacuna that is in the essential part of it:²⁸ "What these tokens reveal about those lives cannot be other than inadequate and incomplete."

The tokens are an apt metaphor for the archive and for history itself: an archive points not only to what it contains but also to what is missing from it. What remains is absent there. What remains unanswered. Everything that is unsatisfiable in which it points.

20. Fishermen/magníficos

This exhibition does not propose to offer an academic, sociological or historical view. Rather, it proposes an encounter: a situation. Like the Gospel narrative, an act of going out and encountering the other - history itself is a homology. In this situation, in which the archive goes out towards those who come to find it, there is a dual exhibition: an exhibition of the archive and an exhibition of the self in the archive. And as for all encounters, we do not know what will emerge from it. In

25. Daniel Blaufuks,
20 August, p. 8, 92.

26. Interview, p. 150-151.

27. Giorgio Agamben, *On the
State of Exception*, trans. Da-
vid Pausanias, 2012, p. 71.

genuine occurrence, something new appears: a third thing, the fruit of the encounter. Like Mary and Elisabeth's joy over what is growing in their wounds. The same feeling will be experienced here, we hope.

This exhibition aims to construct a reflection on the conditions in which history is made, or given on the historical space of an institution and what the documents teach us about it (teach, show); is the epistemological test of the word document. In selecting this material and thinking about how to present it, the reflections on history of historians and philosophers belonging to the first literary movement were of great importance, as were those of contemporary artists and curators who work with archives and series. Their past and present, historiography and contemporary art, are joined together – which is also revealed in the heterogeneous material that I present and in the way that I present it. This also stems from wanting the exhibition to reflect the work carried out by the *Museo del Barrio* for over five centuries while allowing us to think about what an archive is – and what it presents.

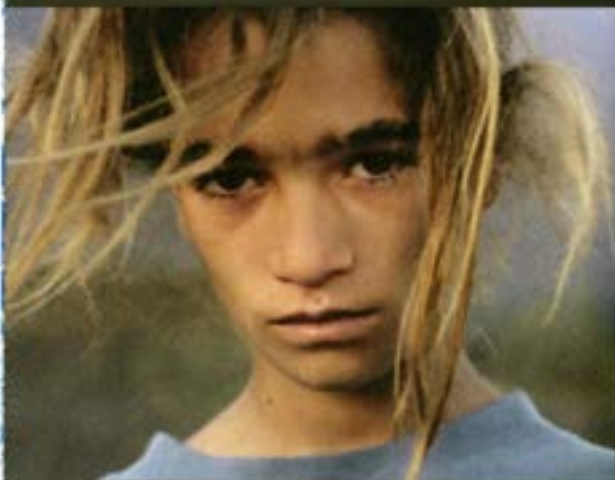
What is shown here is the result of my wanderings around the archive, the things that my eyes chose for archive: as rational reasons, because they interested or interested me, or simply because of their strangeness. I have selected documents that allow us to grasp the living matter that is the archive, the life that it contains, materials in which we can now focus a new, fresh gaze. Documents that escape standardisation and ready-made ideas and that also allow us to gain a more accurate view of history and the activities of the *Museo del Barrio* over time. With this exhibition, I have also tried to turn the archive into a place of contemporary creation. An archive is both memory and promise and we can experience an archive in the same way that Ernesto de Sousa suggested that we should look at tradition: as an achievement.¹²

Pablo Flores de Valé

¹² I would like to thank Teresa Mañé for her careful reading of this text and for her comments and suggestions, which opened a further stage in an archive construction.









Che compresse e i granuli sono efficaci nel trattamento delle infezioni.

[illegible]

Eterno, imenso e todo poder
foi sempre teu, pois tu miste-
ras a criação e o mundo físico de
tuas bênçãos, criando a natureza
e reges de algum jeito e com-
tens a ele, quem quer que co-
cabeles parte da tua misteriosa
força.

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4. Pieter Bruegel, *The Fight Between Carnival and Lent*, 1568 (detail). (From question) Musée National du Louvre, Paris.

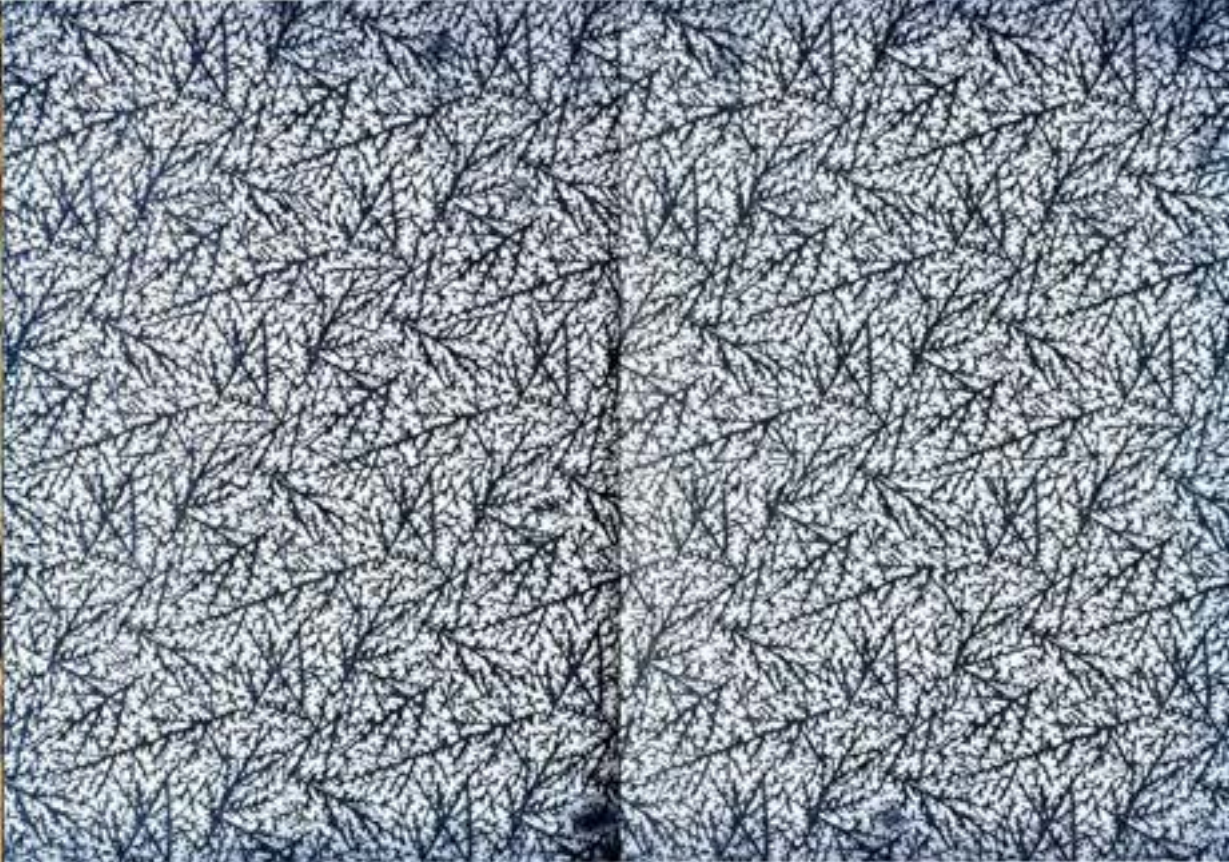
On the following pages:

5. Anonymous, *The Good Samaritans*, 17th century (second question), Springe der Bundes-Licht der Gerechtigkeit, Lübeck.



6. Bowl used by iron-working community, Antioch, 17th century (pewee hall)





Por el halado de las elecciones que se de-
 be tener en toda buena Medicina,
 pareciome poner aqui la siguiente fi-
 gura, en la qual se notan quatro cosas
 los lugares, de quien se suelen hacer las sangrias. Y
 porque la noticia y conocimiento de esto par-
 tenece mas a los buenos y doctos Medi-
 cos, y así mismo a los Barberos,
 a esta causa no ha-
 blamos mas
 en esta materia, porque
 parece ser fuera de
 nuestro instituto
 propo-
 sito.





6. Jug from the Poldiova House Hospital, c. 1790-1795. With the company of the hospital, "SP" - Museum of Medicine, Museum of Pharmacy, London.

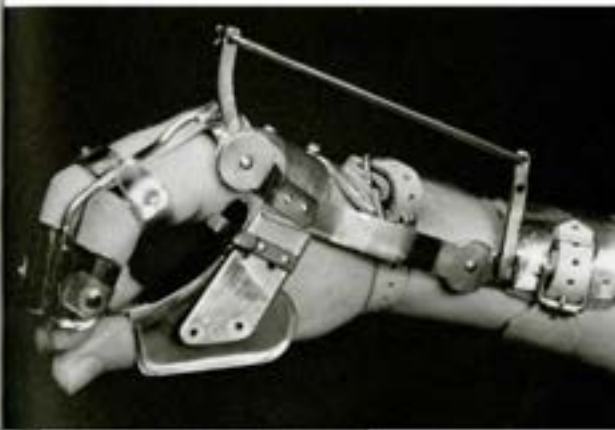


8. Mortar with pestle, Pharmacy Poldiova, c. 1800-1810. Museum of Pharmacy, London.

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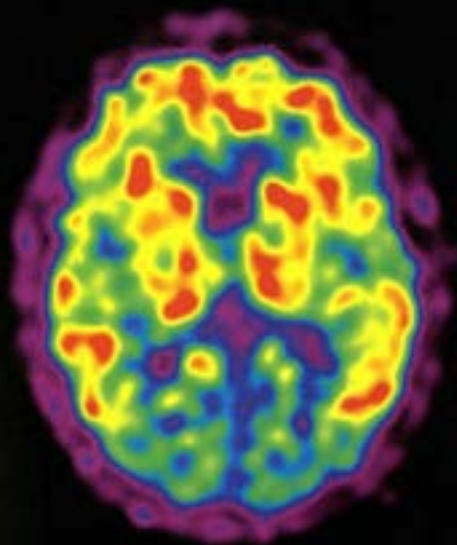
[The page contains approximately 20 lines of handwritten text in cursive script, which is mirrored across the entire surface.]

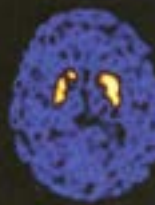
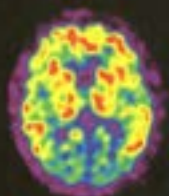
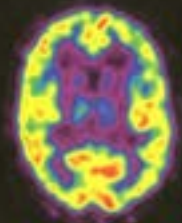
14. Photographs of arthrodesis, c. 1900-1909 (see Section 12).
 Photographs that make up an album containing all the plates produced by the George
 Waverly Sprague Foundation, Chicago (State of Illinois). The photographs are mounted
 with the covering of the first orthopedic microscope in the Orthopedic Hospital of
 Berlin.





34. Brain imaging research conducted by Prof. Janis Kreitzer began 2014
 The first Alzheimer's Disease Research Project was awarded this year. It is a project whose aim is to carry out research into Alzheimer's disease. Alzheimer's disease is a genetic, neurodegenerative pathology which affects specific areas of the human brain and is characterised by changes to neurons. The project will make it possible to determine whether cells and their responses specifically the neurotransmitters, an important producer of energy in cells are dysfunctional in the early stages of the disease. That is, before the neuronal death caused by the amyloid-beta protein. This is a non-invasive research project. Its completed task will be used to evaluate brain imaging in a pre-clinical stage of the pathology, i.e. at an early stage when patients do not yet exhibit symptoms of the disease. This kind of research is possible to detect when changes in the brain take place in a very early stage and to identify neurodegenerative targets.









100. "Lian" (Lian) (Lian)

Playing cards, some of which were cut out, which were printed by the printer for the use of the printer and would serve as identity when it was printed.



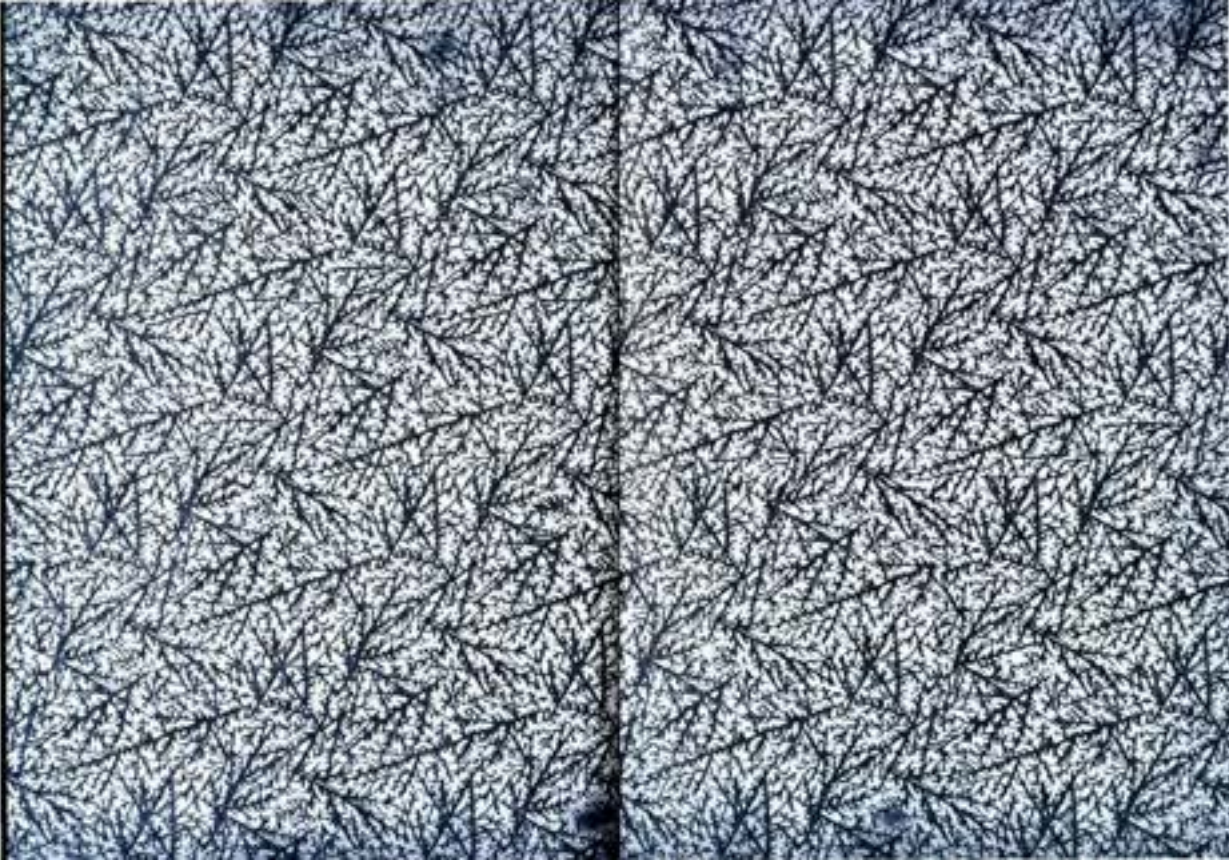




Mr. P. J. McCarthy, the director of the kindergarten, and the children of the kindergarten, in the kindergarten.







10. Photographs of Diego B. Acuña, 1898 and 1900. In these photographs Acuña is part of a group of men who were involved in the study of the history of the island. The group was studying the history of the island and the history of the island. The group was studying the history of the island and the history of the island. The group was studying the history of the island and the history of the island.







PROVEDOR, e Irmãos da Mesa
da Misericórdia da Cidade do Rio
de Janeiro, e Irmãos da Mesa da Mi-
sericórdia, a que esta nomeação de

Guia foi apresentada, que desta Cidade vos segue
o Roteiro de Passageiros da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro
para o Brasil

E por nos contar de sua muita pobreza, e neces-
sidade, se processa com clemência desta Santa Casa:
Pelo que pedimos a Vossa Magestade, que inde o
curioso direito, o favoreção com sua clemência.
Em Mesa 24 de Março de 1784

J. M. de Souza, Secreário

J. M. de Souza, Secreário

João de Almeida
Provedor da Mesa da Misericórdia
da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro
de 1784

João de Almeida

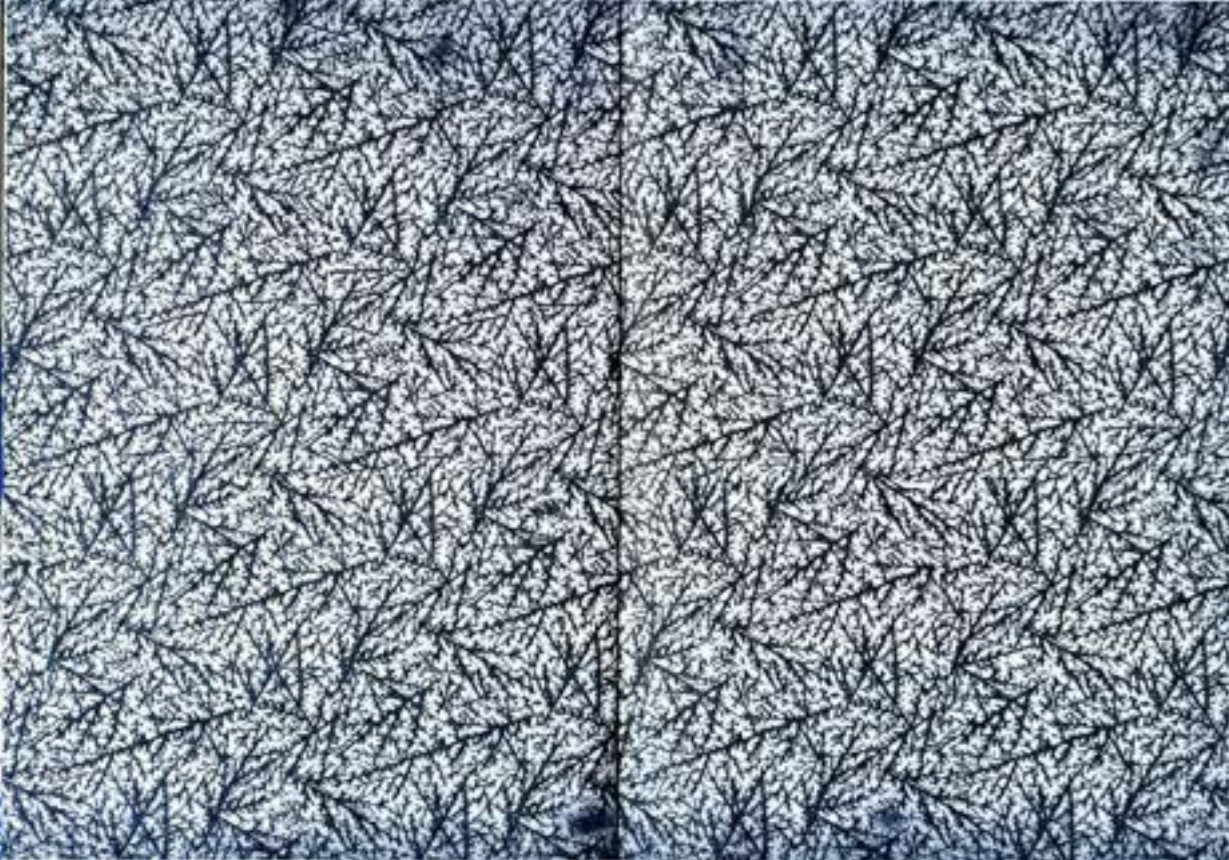
João de Almeida
Provedor da Mesa da Misericórdia
da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro
de 1784

João de Almeida

João de Almeida

Com a Mesa da Real Mesa Capitais

20. Letter of passage written by the Provvedore da Mesa da Misericórdia da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Secreário, to the Provvedore da Mesa da Misericórdia da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, Provedor, and presented to the Santa Casa da Misericórdia da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, a request for the same and assistance to be granted to the passage of the same. The letter is written in Portuguese and includes the text: 'Pelo que pedimos a Vossa Magestade, que inde o curioso direito, o favoreção com sua clemência.' It includes the name of the Provvedore da Mesa da Misericórdia da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, João de Almeida, and the date of the letter, 24 de Março de 1784.



11. Staff of the *Parson* of the *Parsonage* de *Montreuil* de *France*,
Parsonage, 16th-17th century.
The staff is surmounted by a *Parson* on which *Parson* related to *Parson* as
Parson on *Parson* *Parson* and the *Parson* of a *Parson* *Parson* and
original *Parson* for *Parson*, and the *Parson* of *Parson* and the
Parson. It also includes a *Parson* *Parson* *Parson* *Parson*.



Reverend Sir

Presented at the meeting of the
Society

CH. 11. 11. 11.

[illegible]

M^{re} de la Roche
 M^{re} de la Roche
 M^{re} de la Roche
 M^{re} de la Roche

21. Official letter written by Augustin A. de Souza, President of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Foz de Iguaçu, 1940:

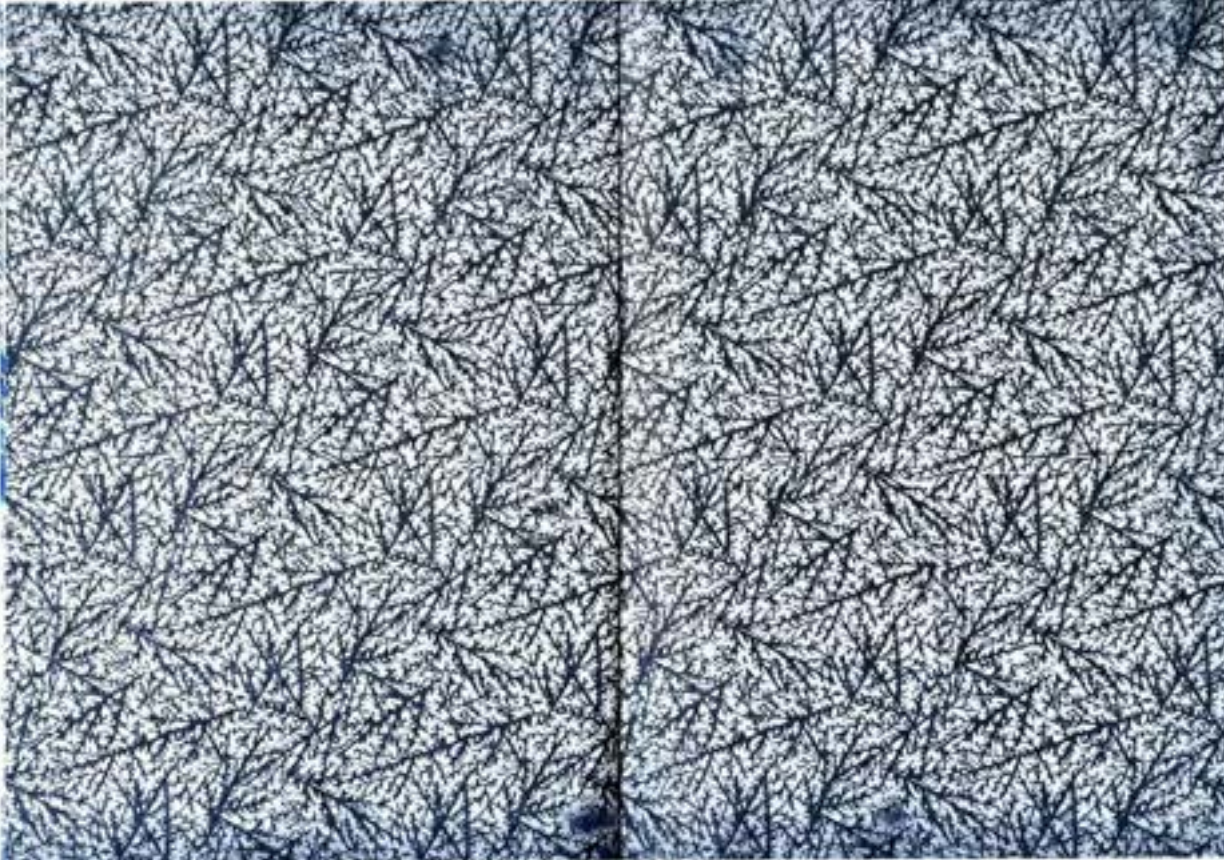
Receiving of the letter of recommendation on behalf of the indigenous prisoners sentenced to 40 days and 1 year of banishment. It asks that legal support be granted to the imprisoned Argentine fugitives, inmates of the Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Foz de Iguaçu, who were being held in Argentine prisons in light of the fact that we were increasingly sure that the inmates had been arrested in the disputed territory (see annex).

Amesbury
Mass. Feb. 22
1799

My dear Sir,
I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 19th inst. in relation to the purchase of a lot of land in the town of Amesbury, Mass. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been purchased and the deed is now in my possession. I have the honor to inform you that the same has been purchased and the deed is now in my possession.

Yours truly,
J. Smith

J. Smith



[illegible]

FESTA JULII

Prima die non impedita Officium Defaulitur.

DIE I

IN DIE OCTAVA

S. JOANNIS BAPTISTAE
DUPLEX.*Omnia sicut in die fol. 395. & in Laudibus fit commem-
oratio SS. Apostolorum, Antiphona Gloriosi Princi-
pes terrae. y. In omnem terram, ut infra fol.*

DIE II.

IN FESTO VISITATIONIS

B. MARIAE V.

DUPLEX.

AD VESPERAS

*Antiphona Exurgens Maria, cum reliquis de Laudib.
fol. 444. Psalmi consulti de B. M. ut in ipso Offic. parvo.
Hymnus Ave maris stella, ut in Offic. B. M. in Sabbato.**y. Be medita tu in ma li e ri bus ni as.
re. Et benedictus fructus utristai i a.*

AD

acido, nos ajudes a leste,
podendo Serão, e até a
dilatada Província, a man-
ra, de mais propicia joia
della Coiza: para que no
deleção da verdade da paz,
no na impetuosidade de volta-
da guerra, se lize a combi-

vida prudencia, flexão de
que nos leste, e a governa-
do sempre, de no mais apu-
ta e de a paternidade de volu-
tegrada intercessão, pela
qual a potestade também, no
diante a graça a glória,
Quem mil, etc.

LAUS DEO.



SERMAM QVE PREGOV

OP. ANTONIO VIEIRA DA COMPANHIA

de leste, na Misericórdia da Bahia de todos os
Santos em dia da Visitação de Nossa
Senhora Orago da Casa.

ASSISTINDO O MARQUEZ DE MONTALVAM

*Vigorez daquella e fado de leste, e foy o primeiro que ruiu
na queda do trono.*



EM COIMBRA:

Comissão de Impressão Real

Na Imprensa de Thomaz Caspary Impresor da Realidade. Anno 1791.

Compromis

[illegible]

Unha vez por semana, pedimos dúas perras, que achicamos os perros le as ca-
das dúas de cada dúas que libral pedo de cada dúas e cada dúas, e se for mo-
do de cada dúas e cada dúas para que se crande de cada dúas, no forma que se po-
de ver cada dúas.

Nei suoi racconti dei pericoli di molti nella tipografia di Legnano, si accenna spesso alla sua Promessa di Mezza, e si può obbligarsi a dir cosa ne pensa. Dice ogni sua mezza, dice come, non può più essere. E di mezza, sempre che i suoi con effluvia perfino su quella italiana dei paesi, di obbligato di mezza, e di Effluvia di mezza, finì affetto dallo con buona loro, non più effluvia suoi.

folia que se proua li confellem, e comungarem pella Quaresma, e pella quaresma fubida do Archobispo, que foi pella festa de nroa senora e a d'agosto, pella festa de todos os Santos, pella festa do Natal, e pella festa do Corpus Xristi.

Previamente a pronom de possessió dos builtos as Domingo ara «Quarta-feira passada», a «Quarta-feira» se tornaria a pensar ad o Domingo, de maneira que não havia nem sala a favor de comer, & nos Domingo-lut d'ali mais lida polia de carne com bñs eficaçia de caldo, & coas mais, que se não se a não ordinaria igualmente a fazerem de doces.

Tudo particularizado dos direitos reais mandando reconhecer-se de que se trata e pagando-se o tal valor das coisas, e coisas, e a tal se faz o pagamento de bens, e a mais que se necessita para se fazer a administração definitiva que eles não podem receber, dando-se-lhes a tal a tal que é a aplicação de bens de reconstrução.

Tudo mudou de profunde as appellaciones dos peixes, que llos formamos para que se llos fosem entendidos e chamados.

Não existem aplicativos de alta que lhe façam chegar pela internet, a despesa de Internet da sua casa ou celular, que fica ligada em qualquer momento que quiser se dar aplicativos, dando uma

1990 particularidade crucial com a embaixada dos degredados pelo Brasil

DeMeyer and de Lathauwer

grande fruteiro que faziam a nossa Sessão em 20 de maio de 1968. A um dia antes a casa de depora, que com eles faz.

12. Não obstante os estudos desenvolvidos tem poucos os estrangeiros fixos em Angola, de curta duração, e tem pouco seguro (por que não possui a de Reino) e menciona que se voltaria a dar um alme-
1000.

Seis dias vive cada sono e três dias para viver, assim se conta: dois dias adormido, e três dias se vive acompanhado de seus deuses, e três dias de solidão.

17 E apresento à sua corte pedindo aos Alcaides as suas manifestações para a proclamação das Esclavas, que pelas 6.ª e 7.ª meias a das 8.ª e 9.ª meias os reinos de El-Rei da terra, da dobrada que se acham em do Reivadeor das diócesis para sustento dos dois reinos.

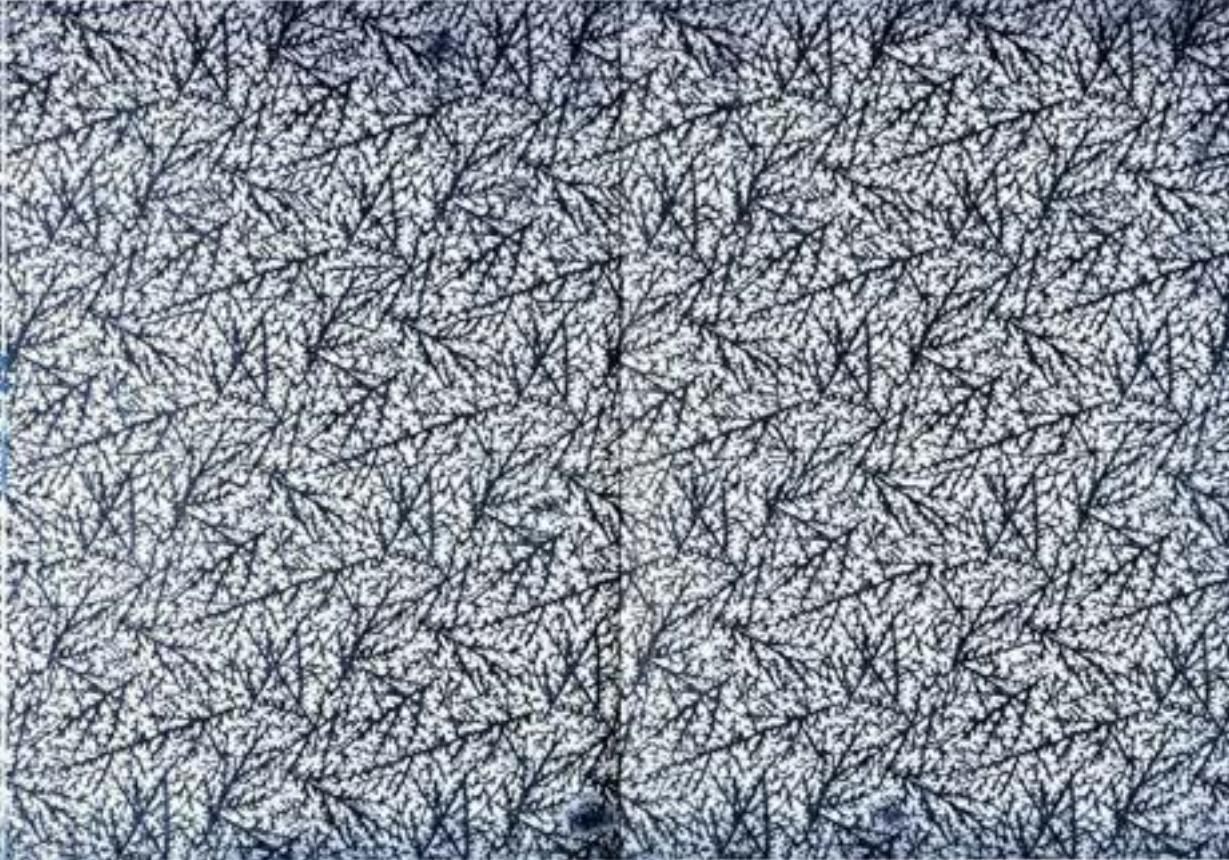
CAPITULO DOZE

Das Fiktive.

[illegible]

O projeto é tão compatível com lugar de uma almejar o trabalho
de uma pessoa com uma, para maior, como há a das informações.



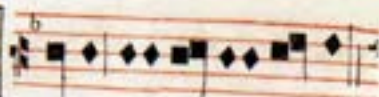


It was with great enthusiasm that I received Paulo Pires de Vilela's invitation to compose a work for the exhibition *Vision - Archive Memory and Presence*. Immediately, I thought about the possibility of including quotations from the Musical Fund of the Historical Archive of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa, which I was able to access thanks to the benevolent goodwill and kindness of Francisco d'Ágostino Manuel. Thus I was able to find the works of Duarte Lobo and Filipe Magalhães in this archive. And I also thought that, besides the works present in the archive, many other works by Filipe de Magalhães that would have been lost in accidents caused by events such as the 1755 Lisbon earthquake could also be cited as they may well have been composed as part of his duties at the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa.

My interest in using the Portuguese repertoire of the second half of the sixteenth century is not a recent one. This desire manifested during the years that I spent studying outside of Portugal, where the greater knowledge that I gained of the musical traditions of central Europe strengthened my appreciation of the enormous quality and originality of sixteenth-century Portuguese musical heritage. However, I aim to approach all cultural heritage, and particularly religious heritage, in a dynamic way. By this I mean that I try not only to approach this heritage in the light of the current day but also to question the nature of our contemporary beliefs and convictions about the legacy of the past.

Finally, the staging of an exhibition on the theme of the *Vision* led me to compose a *Musicalité* that is also given over to the theme of relations between different musical languages. For this reason, *Musicalité* uses local and world materials, although not in a conventional way. I would add that, as far as I am concerned, it makes no sense to ban the use of any particular type of object in musical composition. What I am interested in is the relationship between these objects and not the consideration of each object in itself. I therefore do not hesitate to use trunks, perfect fifths or other objects from other languages, times or cultures. In fact, I do not see my composition as being isolated from a vast cultural repertory that exists and demands an intertextual and dynamic relationship.

João Madureira



R egem cui om ni a vi vunt.



V e ni te a do re mus.

Psal. 94.



V e ni te ex ul temus Do mi no: ju-



bi le mus De o fa lu ta ri nos tros pro cu-



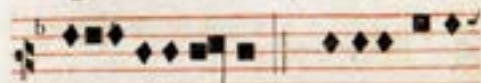
pe mus fa ciem e jus in con fel si o ne,
&



& in psalmis ju bi le mus e i.



R egem cui om ni a vi vunt.



V e ni te a do re mus. Q uo niam Deus



magnus Dñs, & rex magnus super oēs Deos,



quo niam non re pel let Do mi nus plebem suam,
quia

Magnum: musica alina

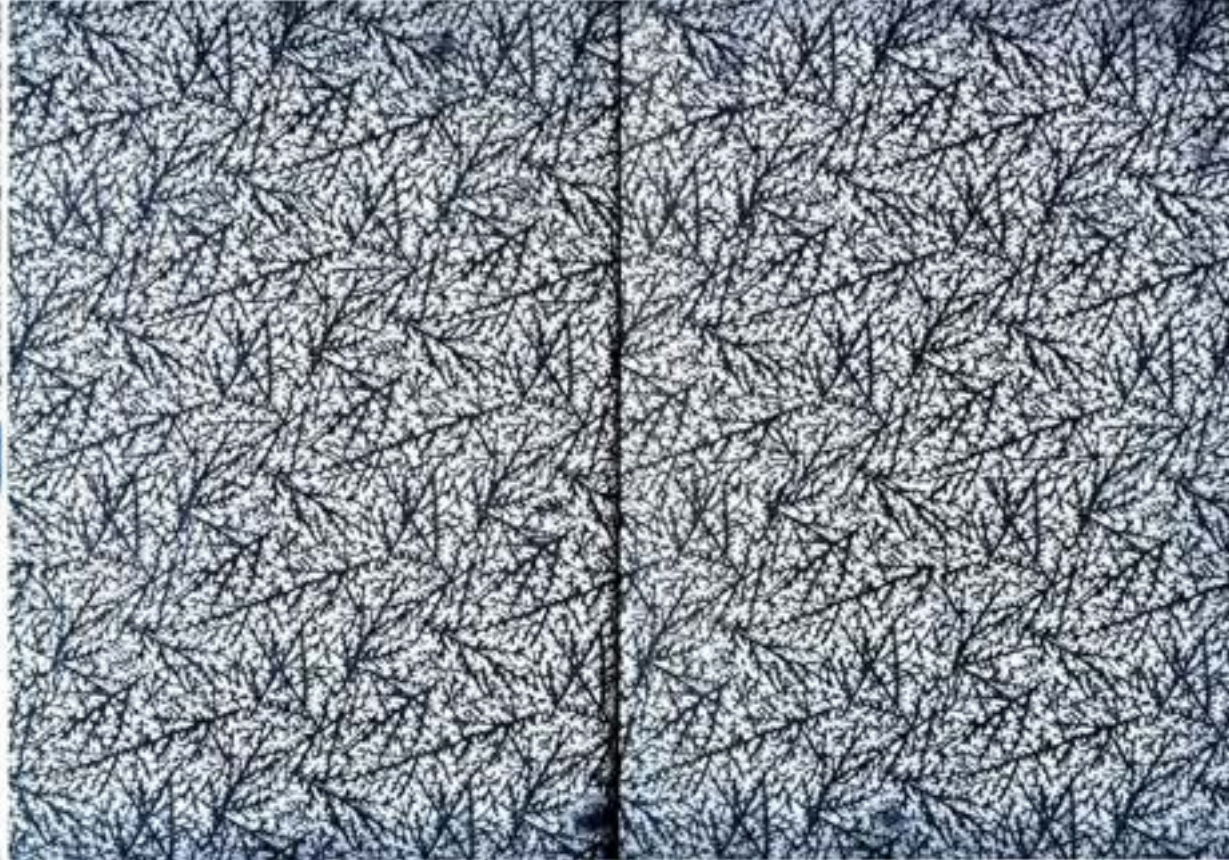
Handwritten notes in the left margin of the first page.

Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *ff* (fortissimo). There are also some illegible handwritten notes and markings.

Handwritten musical notation on five staves, continuing the piece. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *ff* (fortissimo). There are also some illegible handwritten notes and markings.

Magnum: ala dionio o alio

Handwritten musical notation on five staves. The notation includes various note values, rests, and dynamic markings such as *f* (forte) and *ff* (fortissimo). There are also some illegible handwritten notes and markings. Red annotations, including arrows and lines, are present on the staves, possibly indicating specific musical features or corrections.



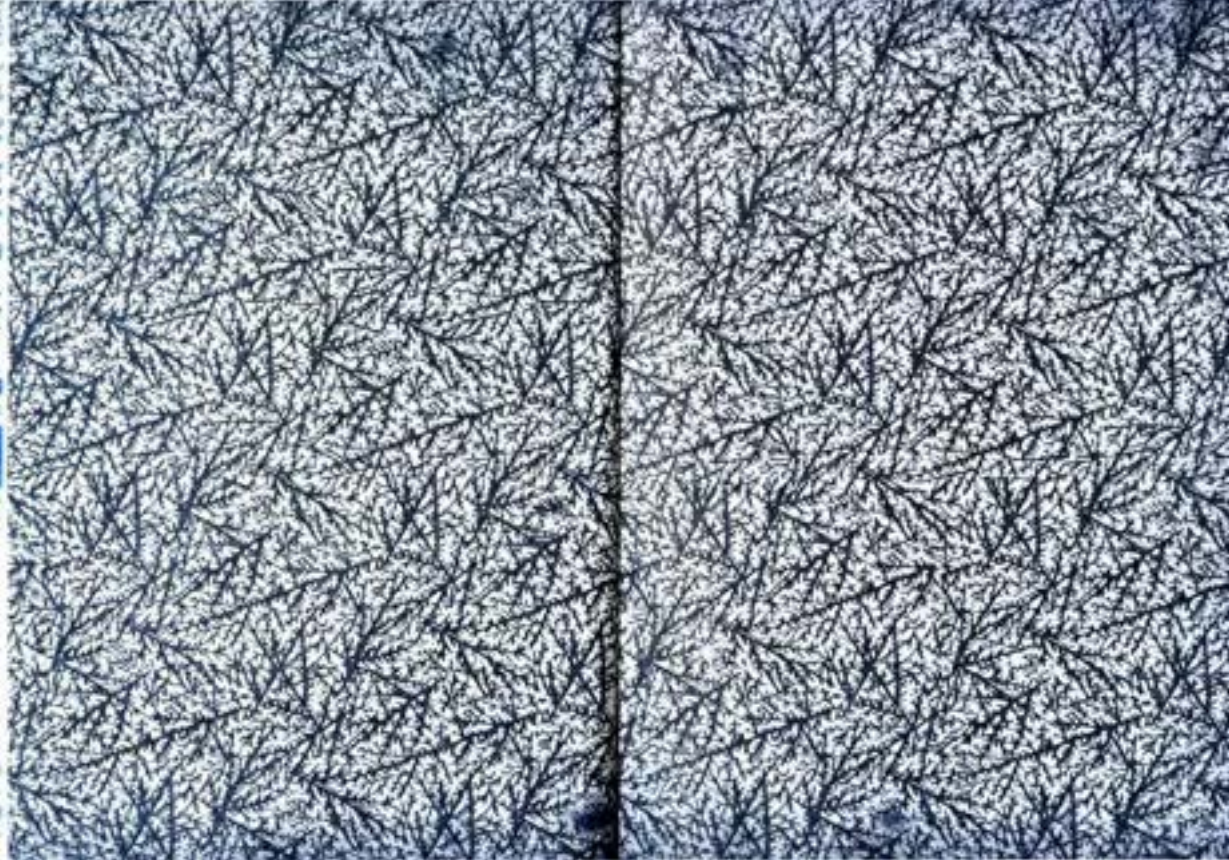












5. The comprehensive goal of works of mercy consists of *common spiritual works and common temporal works*.

The former and primary (spiritual) works focus on religious duties: to instruct the spiritual, to counsel the doubtful, to instruct the sinner to convert the afflicted, to forgive offences willingly, to free wronged persons, to pray for the living and the dead. The temporal works encompassing citizens' material preoccupations, to rescue the captive and care the imprisoned, to risk and save the soul, to justify the sinner, to feed the hungry, to give drink to the thirsty, to shelter pilgrims and the poor, to bury the dead, as a result of the programme of action. As noted above and complex than the established order under medieval canon law, the Misericordias also have several additional duties: to educate the poor and continue to guide the actions of the various Holy Houses of Mercy.

6. This section took place on 2 July, following the permission to reach the Holy Mary's Hall to the Viceroy Juan Pacheco and Chapter 10 (July 15) and Chapter 11 (July 15) of the Compromiso printed in 1515 (reference number: L.A.00176 and reference number: L.A.00175).

7. Subsequently, and due to the fact that decisions were made to encourage its activities, many were named around a table, the Holy Mary's governing body known today as the Office (Julian) or the House (Administrative).

referred by society with the title of *Santa Casa* (Holy House). As mentioned above, the members of the Holy House were present at various stages in the life of the population:

- to take in and educate the children who were given up to the care of the Misericordia when families were unable to provide for the upbringing and education of their sons or daughters¹⁰;

- at times of suffering or difficulty, such as illness;

- encouraging proper, organising religious events, especially processions, which became unique occasions for strengthening faith and for bringing the population together with their Misericordia;

- at times of great misfortune, such as widow or orphanhood;

- providing some peace and spiritual comfort in times of difficulty and anguish, such as during *dispenso*¹¹ or even in circumstances leading to imprisonment;

- during death and burial, conducting tabernacles and liturgical rituals, accompanied by sacred music, which helped stimulate a deeper conversion and encouraged the saying of prayers for the souls of those who had departed.

At both a political level and in the spiritual sphere, there was an interest in replicating this model and thus Misericordias confraternities rapidly sprung up in almost all settlements of note, frequently serving as a charitable branch of the municipality. This intervention was visible, specifically in the royal promotion of new Holy Houses of Mercy, the creation of specific legislation which bestowed privileges, and even in the concession of heretics, which were frequently set out in temporary dispositions.

It was in this context that the Misericordia de Lisboa received new and imposing headquarters¹², a building commissioned by King Emmanuel I and completed in 1534, during the reign of King John III.

The Misericordia de Lisboa played an ever more significant role, to the extent that - in 1564 - the confraternity took over management of the large Todos-sa-lanta Hospital, a charitable facility designed both for treating the sick and for supporting the poor and needy¹³.

The role played over the centuries by confraternities who were inspired by the spirit of the Holy House is made significant *dispenso* should be stressed. Such *dispenso* made it possible to prevent on new challenges involving support for the least fortunate, thus making a major contribution to the establishment and expansion of the Misericordias.



This Holy Mother of Christ and Lady of Mercy, sheltering all her children under her protection cloak (detail of a 15th panel of Hospital de São José, Lisbon).

2. Art and documentation as a mechanism of affirmation and a sign of power

It should be noted that various forms of artistic expression have always been supported, since the early days of the various Misericordias confraternities. Monarchs, prelates and benefactors encouraged the creation of works of art, in order to create a rich legacy and promote the activity of these confraternities.

Various pieces of particular artistic merit have been preserved by successive generations. These objects endowed the Holy House - and thus its members - with growing prestige and perpetuated the memory of the activities that had been implemented.

In poor cases, all that is left of specific artistic activities in documentary pieces are written accounts, as in the case of a book recording all the "brotherhoods" which the brotherhood bestowed between people involved in disagreements. The records of these reconciliations were signed by witnesses to prevent the parties later denying these agreements. Because the memory of the crown always attempts to destroy all the good that has been done so that the Christian faithful cannot see themselves¹⁴.

In the "present" or original "flag" which, according to the ancient Compromisso, was required to have an image of Our Lady of Mercy¹⁵ on both sides¹⁶.

8. Examples are the record letters preserved by the Misericordia de Alentejo and the Misericordia de Vila Rica. All of these meaning letters have a gene containing of four columns each with a number of lines, and circular in form. Despite the equality of the participants, the confraternity's name is mentioned in the first line, the sacramental name of sponsors to strengthen the place occupied by the Patron. In the case of Vila Rica, the Patron's name was marked out by an individual step, separate from the sacramental place.

9. For example, giving to groups of two members a gold chain and another "artistic" or "help" idea for the cloth, which, in addition, to assist them in need in each of the three years, as confraternity cases were referred to, in the case of the Compromisso do Misericordia de Lisboa (Lisbon: Pedro de Coimbra, 1992).

10. The "brotherhood" saves the children left by their parents in the street in order to prevent their upbringing in a suitable institution.

11. From 1564, the Misericordia de Lisboa confraternity took over management of the Todos-sa-lanta Hospital, which, despite involved being in and educating the children and supporting it, which their parents were unable to care for them.

12. These children were referred to as "brotherhoods".

13. The early Compromisso included a Chapter titled "Dispenso" which referred to brotherhoods. Nevertheless, brotherhoods who were in dispute were encouraged and the "brotherhood" was referred to as "brotherhood" in a book (Chapter 100, July 1515) of the Compromisso printed in 1515 (reference number: L.A.00176 and L.A.00175).

13. The Misericórdia building collapsed during the 1765 earthquake. Subsequently it was partially used in the construction of the Igreja do Carmo, which was the new church of the city. The sculpture on the new church door consists of a crucifix with a fine representation of Our Lady of Mercy.

14. This is the description written in the chapter to the imagery of Lisbon, produced by Sebastian Martin Paes in the late nineteenth century. A preliminary of this image is used by the Holy Historical Archive and has not been part of the Misericórdia group in this exhibition. We are grateful to Dr. João Luís de Silva Cordeiro for his valuable contribution in providing a translation of the text contained in the chapter to this exhibition, which is available in Old German.

15. Chapter VII, folio 40v verso, of the *Compendio* printed in 1710 (reference number: L.A. 851.176).

16. These flags naturally disappeared over time, since the *Compendio* stipulated that the priest should accompany the confraternity members during certain ceremonies. They were that very frequently used, even outside and sometimes in adverse weather conditions.

a) the 'handbell' used to summon the confraternity members to participate in specific activities;¹⁷

d) the staffs of the confraternity members, the cloaks or skirts, the torches and lanterns, and the crucifixes that were used in the processions, from the late fifteenth century;¹⁸

e) the 'biers' or 'bieros' referred to in the first *Compendio*,¹⁹ indicating the existence of a coffin for transporting the bodies of those condemned to death and another coffin for other corpses, whose burials were attended by the confraternity;

f) the 'coffers' or 'almshouses' for the withholding of donations that had been collected;

In the case of the Misericórdia de Lisboa, the devastating earthquake of 1755 destroyed the Manueline central building and rendered much of its contents useless.²⁰ However some pieces and documents regarded as important were recovered and preserved, leaving us with a collection containing elements of great significance, such as:

a) the Manueline gate of the old Misericórdia church, which survived the violent quake and was subsequently used as the entrance gate to the church built on the site, which was named the Igreja da Conceição Velha;

b) the other gate of the old Misericórdia church, which was transferred to the Carmo Archaeological Museum in Lisbon in 1873;²¹

c) the staff (or formal ceremonial mace, made of silver, which was used by the Provost of the Misericórdia as a symbol of his power.²² The top of this piece has a knob. Adorned with four accomplished-rogue-shaped stems. Three of them show the following works of mercy, which are both spiritual and corporal:

visiting prisoners, helping them to read the Holy Scriptures and taking them material sustenance by distributing bread to satisfy their hunger. A couple of details are worthy of note: one of the prisoners wears glasses and another peeks through a side window;

burying the dead and praying for their souls. Note that, as well as the coffin containing the body wrapped in a shroud, the image includes a priest celebrating the funeral rites and prayers, as well as the confraternity members who accompany the procession, wearing their cloaks and carrying the staffs, torches and flag of the confraternity;

offering lodging in pilgrims and sheltering the poor, welcoming them and alighting those prostitutes, in order to provide them with physical respite and spiritual comfort.

Some authors refer to the fourth image as a depiction of a wedding ceremony.²³ Though the subject is not a work of mercy, marriage may have been chosen to feature on the



Details of the decorative staff of the Provost of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa. 16th/17th century.

18. See early of Mercy protecting the entire population through the Immaculate Conception. With up to 150 people, it is the most symbol of the confraternity and a difficult characteristic in contrast from the beginning of the sixteenth century. This includes the statue placed in 1516, which features a very fine depiction of the Mother of Christ (reference number: L.A. 851.176). The entire confraternity was also used in an illumination from the 16th *Compendio* (reference code: PT-0200.08.05.061/030705). The inscription that the image of the Virgin of Mercy should be shown in both sides of the portrait is also stated in the text of folio 15v of the *Compendio* de capitulo da Misericórdia produced by Sebastian Fernandes and Thomas de Campos and printed in 1616 (reference number: L.A. 851.176).

19. See folio 7 of the *Compendio* produced by the author Gomes Pereira, in 1710 (reference code: PT-0200.08.05.061/030705). The inscription that the image of the Virgin of Mercy should be shown in both sides of the portrait is also stated in the text of folio 15v of the *Compendio* de capitulo da Misericórdia produced by Sebastian Fernandes and Thomas de Campos and printed in 1616 (reference number: L.A. 851.176).

20. Mentioned in the *Compendio* of the Misericórdia de Lisboa, 2. 7 and 8, and in the printed *Compendio* of 1710 in folio 2 and 15 verso.

21. With regard to the original woodcut, see *Os Paes da Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* by José Gonçalves. Documented, descriptive report and transcription (1914-1915), which has an inscription on the same, recording the year 1555.

22. In the parish church of Santa Barbara de Maracó (16th century), the representation of children there is a clear presence of men depicted in armor and with thick, curly, colored hair, a depiction of the Holy of Mary and her child appear to protect the population. Images of this religious group are represented on page 118 of the exhibition catalogue for 2002 under the title: *Religiosos e militares: as imagens em grande escala*. (Lisbon: Fundação de Arte Contemporânea, 2002).

23. Described, for example, in item 7 of the 1992 Inventory of the Convent of the 15th Century.

24. In the foundation document of 1602, during 1 and 2, there was a discussion of various "colours" or "colours". The following items are discussed:

25. During the earthquake, which took place on 1 November 1755, the foundation building collapsed and was largely destroyed by fire. As a result, a new regime was built, along with the institution's early documentation, which was kept in the large church. However, all memory related to the institution's foundation is impossible to reconstruct. Fundamental aspects relating to the activity of the Maracó de Maracó during the foundation of the institution.

itself since it is the sacrament which justifies the union of man and woman. The message of this sacrament is that each spouse should strive for the wellbeing and happiness of the other, thus promoting the spirit of the works of mercy. In addition, this sacrament symbolizes both Christ's marriage to the Church of the People of God, and the marital alliance of God with humanity.

It is the oil painting on wood which has traditionally been identified as a depiction of the civil wedding of Emmanuel I. Painted in 1741 by Gomes Freixo, this is a work of great artistic merit and particular significance for the Maracó de Lisboa, since one of the figures depicted is the Prince of Asturias da Costa. As a result of these factors, and the various interpretations that have been made of this marriage, many studies have been made of this painting.²⁶



Detail of a painting by Gomes Freixo, 1741, in the Museu da Arte Brasileira, located in Santa Barbara (Maracó), in which is the Prince of Asturias da Costa. (Lisbon: Fundação de Arte Contemporânea, 2002).

it) a number of documents on different subjects which precede the 1755 earthquake,²⁷ particularly relating to:

ii) support for babies who, for various reasons, were placed by families in the foundation where²⁸ followed in its buildings, these children were handed over to the care of an institution concerned with supervising their upbringing and education. In order to keep track of each of these children, many records were produced and kept by the Maracó, and these series of documents were described in the *memória do Conselho da Realidade* (University of the Upbringing of Foundlings) (Lisbon: ICM, 1985).²⁹ A notable feature of this documentation is the collection of "foundling letters" - objects which parents left with the children, for the purpose of identification and to establish a link between the child and his or her family. The great majority of letters consisted of a "letter", a written document which conveyed recommendations, requests and other specific messages, some times the "letter" would include various kinds of objects, more related to the parents, where offering "proofs", such as those based on religious beliefs or superstitions.³⁰ When the parents came to claim their children they generally handed over an identical document or one which completed the letter that had been submitted in correspondence which might, for example, have an irregular cut which matched and fitted together with the other half.

A parallel can be established between time and the "foundling letter". In each case, the past history of those individuals would only be revealed when, in the future, the "view" of a family member took place. The message that had been originally deposited was thus completed and, from that moment, the life of the foundling was supplemented by family memory, offering a link to a different future.

Other documents have been preserved relating to the issue of foundlings, such as information on the obligatory payment of a sum of money to assist with their upbringing. These include:

the 1688 Decree requiring Lisbon city council to pay an annual sum for the foundlings (reference code: PT-SCMLAB-SCMLAB-18-10-1688);

the Pontifical Brief of 1678, which established the payment of a set amount from the bishop's income for the foundlings (reference code: PT-SCMLAB-SCMLAB-18-10-1678);

the Pontifical Brief of 1678 and the 1692 Decree concerning the allowances paid by the Archbishop of Braga to assist with the upbringing of foundlings (reference code: PT-SCMLAB-SCMLAB-18-10-1692 and 1692).

Other decrees were also issued, such as those designed to increase the number of income which could be for the foundlings.

26. This piece is described in pages 431, 432 and 475 of the catalogue of the exhibition entitled *Emmanuel I: a memória do casamento* (Lisbon: Fundação de Arte Contemporânea, 2002). It is a work by Gomes Freixo, 1741, in which the prince is depicted in the center, surrounded by the members of the Maracó de Maracó. It is a work of great artistic merit and particular significance for the Maracó de Lisboa, since one of the figures depicted is the Prince of Asturias da Costa. As a result of these factors, and the various interpretations that have been made of this marriage, many studies have been made of this painting.

27. This series is of great value for the Maracó de Maracó and is an object of the Museu da Arte Brasileira, located in Santa Barbara (Maracó), in which is the Prince of Asturias da Costa. (Lisbon: Fundação de Arte Contemporânea, 2002).

28. See page 124 of the *Memória do Conselho da Realidade* (University of the Upbringing of Foundlings) (Lisbon: ICM, 1985). The large collection of letters that the Maracó received during the upbringing of children, often by the Santa Casa, was, after a number of generations, no longer used and, as a result, many documents were lost. This Maracó only retains the letters of the Maracó de Maracó (Lisbon: ICM, 1985). The letters of the Maracó de Maracó are kept in the Museu da Arte Brasileira, located in Santa Barbara (Maracó), in which is the Prince of Asturias da Costa. (Lisbon: Fundação de Arte Contemporânea, 2002).

24. This painting is described in the introduction of the *Manusc. de Rio Negro: Chronique* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1989). Another reference appears in the preface for the 1981 volume of the work *Planta e colheita de produtos da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1981). Another reference appears in the preface for the 1981 volume of the work *Planta e colheita de produtos da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1981). Another reference appears in the preface for the 1981 volume of the work *Planta e colheita de produtos da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1981).

25. For a more extensive list of the documents used following the exhibition, see for example, pages 27 to 28 of the *Manusc. de Rio Negro: Chronique* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1989). Another reference appears in the preface for the 1981 volume of the work *Planta e colheita de produtos da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1981).

26. Lisbon's founding charter was the *Tudo-o-Remo* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1989). Another reference appears in the preface for the 1981 volume of the work *Planta e colheita de produtos da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1981).

as referred to by the Royal Charter of 1654, 1790 and 1798 or the 1775 Royal Court Decree (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/001, 002, 003, 004, 005, 006, 007, 008, 009, 010, 011, 012, 013, 014, 015, 016, 017, 018, 019, 020, 021, 022, 023, 024, 025, 026, 027, 028, 029, 030, 031, 032, 033, 034, 035, 036, 037, 038, 039, 040, 041, 042, 043, 044, 045, 046, 047, 048, 049, 050, 051, 052, 053, 054, 055, 056, 057, 058, 059, 060, 061, 062, 063, 064, 065, 066, 067, 068, 069, 070, 071, 072, 073, 074, 075, 076, 077, 078, 079, 080, 081, 082, 083, 084, 085, 086, 087, 088, 089, 090, 091, 092, 093, 094, 095, 096, 097, 098, 099, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 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975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000).

27. The Royal Charter of 1542 and 1660 granting privileges to the *marcheiros* of the *Tudo-o-Remo* Hospital and identical letters to the *Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon: Junta Geral do Alentejo, 1989). (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/001 and 002).

28. Decrees allocating this hospital priority with respect to the supply of goods to sustain patients, such as the 1660 Royal Charter on the provision of wheat (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/001), the 1660 documentation relating to the supply of vegetables, income and other products (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/002, 003 and 004), and the 1772 document relating to sugar allocation (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/007).

29. Royal License of 1584, allocating the *Misericórdia* surplus (charity revenue) to be used to care patients (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/006).

30. mid-eighteenth century documentation concerning the payment to the Hospital of some of the income derived from the monopoly on animal tallow, used to transport patients within the city of Lisbon (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/04/05/040).

31-3) spiritual matters, notably:

31. Pontifical Brief of 1561, authorizing the *Tudo-o-Remo* Hospital to administer sacraments (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/001).

32. Pontifical Brief of 1661, granting indulgence to sufferers or those condemned to death who confessed, showed repentance and invoked the image of Christ (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/02/01/014).

33-4) internal regulations and management of the House, including:

33. A handwritten copy of the *Compendio*, produced by the *scilicet* Gomes Pinheiro, in 1802, as parchment, held by the NCMH, Historical Archive (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/03/01).

34. The *Compendio* of the *Misericórdia de Lisboa*, an illuminated parchment manuscript, dated 1510 (reference code: PT/SCMLB/SCML/CR/03/01). This work of art was skillfully and faithfully executed by the artist *André Faria* and includes important illustrations attributed to *António d'Almada*. Though it once belonged to the private library of the Countess of Castelo Melhor, this book was bought at auction in 1878.²⁴ It is now held in the *Misericórdia* Historical Archive.

35. The book of privileges and freedom (reference code: PT/

SCMLB/SCML/CR/03/01). The *Misericórdia* had the right to an exclusive judgement, since a judge from the Supreme Court was assigned to deal with matters related to the *Misericórdia*, and this Exclusive Judgement on the Cases of the *Misericórdia de Lisboa* and the *Tudo-o-Remo* Hospital took precedence over that of the Noble Houses.

3. An exhibition with a central theme

In recent years, cultural activities have increasingly been seen as mechanisms which can foster social integration, strengthening such initiatives has thus become a way of putting works of mercy into practice, in a broader interpretation of guidelines stipulating the need to give good advice,²⁵ teach those who lack knowledge, and even "provide sustenance" in all these in need. Accordingly, culture has gradually become accessible to a greater section of the community. This exhibition is also designed to appeal to different age groups and sectors of the population, in the hope that visitors can benefit from this initiative.

As explained at the beginning of this text, the aim of the exhibition is not to provide a chronological sequence of documents, covering every area of NCMH's activity. The intention is rather to offer a selective visit, allowing the visitor to gradually discover key activities related to the important role carried out by the *Misericórdia* throughout its history. Drawing people in is an essential part of this, involving them in active discovery through an exhibition which incorporates several series of documents from the archive, complemented by other pieces which provide an insight into specific events. In addition, it was essential for the exhibition to have a strong artistic character and to be as absolutely contemporary as time. We thus relied on the knowledge and enthusiasm of Paulo Vires do Vale, who accepted the challenge of creating this exhibition. After analysing the documentary archive, this cultural expert and researcher suggested the exhibition's title: *Vámonos - Através da História e da Presente*. This name sets us on a path to an analysis of the past - memory through a reading of the archive documents and the reconstruction of historical facts related to the study House - but it also includes a reflection on the future - the promise that is gradually revealed to be moment by moment.

As they become immersed in the exhibition, visitors will realize that the title also refers to the liturgical celebration of the Virgin Mary's visit to her cousin Saint Elizabeth,²⁶ since this day was chosen in the fifteenth century as the day for commemorating the creation of the confraternity, and the day to honour the election of the officer who was to govern

36. The intention is to increase the visibility of the *Misericórdia* and its activities in the community. It is a way of putting works of mercy into practice, in a broader interpretation of guidelines stipulating the need to give good advice, teach those who lack knowledge, and even "provide sustenance" in all these in need. Accordingly, culture has gradually become accessible to a greater section of the community. This exhibition is also designed to appeal to different age groups and sectors of the population, in the hope that visitors can benefit from this initiative.

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38. A person linked to the *Misericórdia* and the civil service.

39. In this case, the *Compendio* is used to illustrate the work of the *Misericórdia* and its activities in the community. It is a way of putting works of mercy into practice, in a broader interpretation of guidelines stipulating the need to give good advice, teach those who lack knowledge, and even "provide sustenance" in all these in need. Accordingly, culture has gradually become accessible to a greater section of the community. This exhibition is also designed to appeal to different age groups and sectors of the population, in the hope that visitors can benefit from this initiative.



the *Misericordias*. There is a logic in this choice of feast day for such a symbolic act, since the works of the *Misericordias* reflect the attitude displayed by Mary when, despite being pregnant herself with Jesus, she showed her willingness to go on a journey to help her cousin, who was about to give birth to take the infant. This gesture was to serve as inspiration to the various confraternity members, ensuring their readiness, through constant action - modelled according to the needs of each period - to carry out the works of mercy: visiting, sheltering and going forth and meeting those who were most in need. Thus a programme of transformation and improvement was developed, through the realisation of specific activities.

It is for this reason that the exhibition includes books containing musical texts and fifteenth-century images of the Visitation, as well as a sermon by father Antonio Viera made at the *Misericordia de Belén*, on the day that this liturgical feast was celebrated. To further emphasize this underlying theme, the exhibition also includes a *Compendio* from 1619, open at the chapter which sets out the demanding work that the *Misericordia* system had to carry out in the three areas into which the city was divided.

We invited Isabel del Guzmán, an specialist in the history of the *Misericordias* to talk to us about the Holy Houses of Mercy and the historical development of the processions which have changed over time, as well as the tasks which have remained unchanged. This professor from the Universidad de Murcia provided us with a text which reveals important facts about the activities carried out by different *Misericordias*.

The curator Paula Pérez de Vito suggested that major contemporary artists from various fields should take part in this event, basing themselves on the documentary archive and making use of different forms, those talented interpreters brought expressive forms up to date, endowing each message with new meanings and purposes.

The starting point for Julio López Muñoz Sierra Miguel was the Portuguese sixteenth-century musical imperative "and the rest of the kingdom?" Though this phrase has inspired many artists over the centuries, Julio Muñoz Sierra brings a thoroughly contemporary vision to his musical composition, which will be heard for the first time in public at the close of the exhibition. The *Oficina musical* group, a group of talented music singers led by Pedro Tristán, was chosen to interpret this composition, alongside the musicians Ana Cristina Camacho de Almeida, on the harp, Julio Alonso de Rosascha Perera Contreras, on the flute, and Luis Miguel Olvera Gómez, on the clarinet. A compact disc featuring the recording of the piece is included with the catalogue of this exhibition.

Óscar Rosado recovered documents and gave each ob-

34. The 1536-1537 musical archive gives today two different aspects of the first printed compositions of the *Misericordia de Belén*. The typography and engraving in these texts which were distributed and used by all the houses of Mercy were exceptional quality, with some differences in the design. The two books were produced with care and by the most typographers that it would be fair to describe them as "theater and cinema in the first edition, and being given produced by a typographical tradition about eleven years later and almost great maturity and competence from the edition.

35. The first edition of the music of the *Misericordia de Belén* of 1536, which is considered the first book to be printed in the city. The first edition of the music of the *Misericordia de Belén* of 1536 should also be considered as a work that these houses were intended to be used in Paris, with the costs covered by the distinguished author and publisher, Antonio de Belén. The music of the *Misericordia de Belén* is a reflection of the spirit of the golden age of the Spanish Renaissance.

36. Though the idea of this book has been changed in the historical process, the *Misericordia de Belén* has been able to keep its own identity and its own style.

37. Particularly the music of the *Oficina musical* of the *Misericordia de Belén*, which was composed by the group of the *Oficina musical* of the *Misericordia de Belén*.

38. The text is inspired by the words written by the Virgin Mary during her visit to her cousin, who later Elizabeth presented her to Mary of the Son.

47. Treating the challenge for the architect: finding solutions. Architectural work is here an integral practice (what, where and how) without such effects, supported by the (cultural, historical, human, and art) laboratory.

ject a different meaning through his photographs. The group shows focuses on certain pieces which are elements from "floating volume". This is a very specific reading, balancing strong images, considered by the fact that an analysis of the volume allows us to discover highly resistant messages, which transport us to the realm of the "transcendent"; compelling us to assume a respectful attitude like that we adopt when we "stand on sacred ground".

The filmmaker Pedro Costa offers us an installation with projected human figures who invite the audience to participate in this view, depicting some of the actions which, over time, have been developed and carried out by the Holy Fathers, in which each individual is seen as a unique and irreplaceable being, part of a complex and dynamic society.

As well as showing the beauty of the selected pieces, *Elige Alondras* exhibition design allows the various documents to be highlighted within a gallery that forms part of a complex space which has recently assumed following major renovation. The presentation of each piece has been enhanced with the assistance of the renowned lighting specialist Vitor Nogueira. In addition, the use of multimedia material will undoubtedly maximize visitor understanding of specific elements.

Mention must also be made of the pieces that have been generously loaned by two institutions - the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, the Museu de Arte e da Casa da Fátima and the Church of Santa Cruz do Castelo (Lisbon) -, which have contributed enormously to this exhibition, allowing us to fully exploit the potential of this initiative and appeal to specific sectors of the population.

It was essential for the exhibition to be accompanied by a catalogue which, through originality and innovation, presented information in a captivating way. We presented this challenge to Sílvia Freire, who took charge of the catalogue's graphic design. Our hope was that, with the talent she has shown on other occasions,⁴⁷ she would produce an example of impeccable aesthetic value.

4. The Archive now and in the future.

Archives hold information produced by people or institutions in the course of their activities. Whichever format is used for recording, the purpose of this accumulation of information is to provide proof or clarification of specific actions that have been implemented. Archives can thus be described as repositories for facts from the distant or recent past, which function like a memory that allows specific events to be accessed and reconstructed. To achieve this, it is vital that the archivists select, describe, classify, evaluate and select the

documentary archive in an appropriate way, deriving and establishing suitable conditions for its successful preservation. Only then is it possible to ensure that the information can be recovered in the future, opening up a door into the past.

Another essential function of the archivist is to provide access to and disseminate existing documentation, allowing those who are interested to become acquainted with its content.

However, as new technology significantly alters the way that documents are produced, presenting new challenges for safeguarding and conserving information, the archivist's role has evolved. A dynamic attitude is needed, and the archivist must continuously update his or her knowledge of information management, in order to ensure that the memory of an institution is preserved. Key elements for achieving this are:

- establishing rules which make it possible to standardize the tasks of assessing, selecting and classifying documentation,⁴⁸ not only to allow information to be efficiently retrieved but also to confirm that all documents that are relevant to the institution's memory are preserved.⁴⁹ This also makes it possible to apply a consistent policy of gradually eliminating the elements of declining informational or evidentiary relevance;

- implementing measures to standardize and simplify procedures leading to the gradual dematerialization of files. Technological modernization is a vital way of achieving this and requires, for example, applying the principles of universality and interoperability and defining well-designed strategies that allow memory to be efficiently preserved in digital format.⁵⁰ This is a key aspect, given the ever more rapid obsolescence of technology;

- confirming that the documentary management system complies with the principles of information protection and security, such as *authenticity*, *verifying that a message is unchanged in its entirety and that it originates from the legitimate source*, *verifying that the data has not been subject to unauthorized modification*; and that the information and the methods of processing are precise and secure, confidentiality, guaranteeing that the information is only accessed by authorized persons, *availability*, ensuring that the information and services remain accessible and operational when required by an authorized user.

We realize that the challenge for the archive is a significant one, at a time in which the proliferation of formats and the globalization of information generate an uncontrollable and almost infinitely fast flow of reliable experiences and short-term memories. The future demands that we know how to present proposals designed to achieve appropriate solutions.

48. The information de values has been working to establish a functional documentary classification plan for the whole institution.

49. It is not the only support and manages the various stages and participate to ensure the classification of the information, to allow selection and elimination of the irrelevant information.

50. It is a key to the digital preservation plan (DPP) to be produced with great rigor, to ensure long-term access to the information described in the document.

This visit to SCML's 116 years of activity was designed in the light of this challenge to modernism, aiming to throw a spotlight on five centuries of behind-the-scenes work for good causes, whose fruits are still the works of mercy.

Paying homage to a past we are very proud of, our aim has been to showcase the actions of the NCME, and the exceptional quality and often innovative nature of its activities in defence of humanity. In addition, new forms of expression have been introduced to approach a theme that is frequently associated with a traditional and peaceful region.

Before concluding this text, I must point out that this project has only been possible thanks to the enormous involvement, dedication and professionalism of a large team, to whom I enthusiastically convey my gratitude for their work, thank you for this action. I will leave the last word to the public who come to visit us.

Francisco J. Cerezo-Munoz

Universitat de València
 Departament d'Història i Geografia

de 1833 até batizada. Se o nome fosse Maria q' nasceu
na 1ª de Separ do lado e trouxeram. O nome e já não
se recorda em a Pia' de de. entra p. a' Santa e
a' a quatro em a dita Casa de mil. o to lentes
trouxe a tempo aguentar a. coadi. a' e entrego
na pel com hum escripto. e. entra' mais p
a com a guel de Ara' ago. e. até um todo odo
e vai do branda e fe. hoda. cocher com até q'
humas e outras e. com. de papel como
de St. Maria e Se. com. qual de St. Mar



Photograph of the Santa Casa kitchen, 1938 (see footnote 5). This photograph shows part of the street in all the recent researches into the study, based on interviewing the donors for the photograph, according to the Plan, drawn up by the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa in 1939 (see 30).

THE AGES OF THE MISERICÓRDIA DE LISBOA: THE OLD AND NEW POOR

This text examines 500 years of the history of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa in terms of the forms of deprivation it has tackled over time, and the way in which some of the recipients of its aid have disappeared. It focuses on the categories of the poor existed during the first 500 years of its existence: those targeted at its foundation in 1480, and those who emerged or whose numbers grew between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Since the nineteenth century, and during the twentieth century and the early years of the twenty-first century in particular, many 'new poor' have emerged: the homeless, women and child victims of many types of violence and drug addiction. Others have always existed, but their numbers have only recently risen to a level that constitutes a social problem: older people, migrants, the disabled. With regard to the last 200 years, only a limited amount of information has been available in this way: these circumstances have compelled the Misericórdia de Lisboa to create specifically targeted services, and I have been unable to establish a precise timeline for the withdrawal and creation of new social action services. Providing an in-depth and rigorous account of the development of the Santa Casa's charitable activities is a task for more than one individual; it must be hoped that new collective projects will emerge to examine the changes that have taken place. What follows is thus an overview; I hope the reader will excuse any gaps or imprecision in my knowledge.

Recipients of charity are the result of an ideological construction, fostered by economic and social development, generally expressed through new labels for recent categories of need, or for situations which, though long-standing, are tackled in a new way. Over time, new terms replaced the word 'charity', precisely because the act of helping others was framed within new ideologies: the liberalism, free-market and then republicanism of the nineteenth century were accompanied by beneficence and philanthropy; there was a return to charity, or aid, under Salazar and, more recently, 'solidarity', 'social responsibility' or even 'human development' have taken its place. Though these changes are important, this text is not the place to examine them; in focus is the charitable action of the Misericórdia, particularly the Misericórdia de Lisboa, and an attempt to understand

how they have changed over those past 500 years. I estimate, however, that I have greater knowledge of the majority of the practices that will be examined for the period prior to the end of the eighteenth century since it hasn't been possible, in the brief period available to write this text, to establish exactly when some of the Misericórdia de Lisboa's new services were initiated.

The Misericórdia confraternities would not have existed were it not for the wave of lay associations which evolved throughout western Europe from the thirteenth century. Frequently encouraged and closely monitored by members of religious orders or ecclesiastical authorities, the confraternities were united by a common religiosity. They were part of a movement that predicated the continual upholding of the sixteenth century, which stood for a more consistent experience of faith, closer to the early manifestations of Christianity. This movement, known by the general name of *Devotio Moderna*, was greatly influenced by the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans, who set the stone for a focus on the poorest, by transforming voluntary poverty and charity into one of the main paths to eternal salvation. Many men and women who were unable to follow a cloistered life attempted to imitate Christ in their devotional practices, through a life of penitence, prayer and charitable works.

As a starting point, the very formulation of the works of mercy is worthy of note. They were based on the Holy Scriptures and the Gospel of St Matthew (25: 35-40) in particular, which refers to all the corporal works of mercy, but the burial of the dead, which was introduced later when the ancient Roman tradition of cremation was abandoned in favour of inhumation. Meanwhile, chivalric culture – despite being based on the profane values of war rather than confined to Christian values – established a number of lasting categories of the needy, creating three groups in particular: orphans, *doctores* or doctors and widows. It was a profane definition, based on an ideology of gender, which regarded all those seen as lacking the qualities of physical force and arms (even as strictly masculine qualities) as vulnerable. Nonetheless, it conferred protection on the weakest as a religious duty and very few lords failed to provide for the upbringing of their knechtlings, or to pay for young women to get married.

The founding of the Misericórdia de Lisboa is part of this late medieval devotional context, in which the faithful sought an intensified experience of faith, adhering closely to Franciscan practice. The mendicant tradition was also (though not exclusively) responsible for increased hostility towards religious minorities, particularly Jews. On the other hand, the first Misericórdias were motivated by the armistice Court –

not only the royal court itself but also the houses of nobility of the royal family and the upper echelons of the aristocracy, such as the House of Queen Leonor who was, at no time, the organisation's founder.

A VAST CATEGORY OF THE NEEDY: THE SOULS OF THE DEAD

Though the body gradually gained in importance, it would be fair to say the souls of the dead were deemed to be the chief entity in need of assistance. The emergence of Purgatory, a third place in addition to Heaven and Hell, whose birth in the Middle Ages has been traced by Jacques Le Goff, obliged the living to look for ways of shortening the time of atonement for mortal sins, through commissioning masses for the soul.¹ Accordingly, it became customary for the faithful to leave assets for such masses to be celebrated for their own souls or those of their family members. Since it was believed that these masses had to be said until the day of Final Judgement – the end of time, in other words –, donors left property, or interest, and requested that the masses be celebrated while the world lasted. Further, belief in Purgatory helped create situations which legitimised the practice of applying interest, which the long-standing condemnation of usury made impracticable. In other words, charitable institutions were able to accept bequests or deposits of money which they lent at a low rate of interest, using the interest for charitable purposes and thus exempting it from condemnation. In this way, lending with interest, an essential component of commercial activity, was separated from the idea of usury, a moral sin which businessmen and bankers were compelled to incur. The Portuguese Misericórdias took part in this movement, which was taking place all over Europe, by accepting bequests which, when converted into cash, had to be maintained over time through interest, often at rates below those of pure profit interest.

It was income from the bequested of the dead that paid for the masses for the soul, which in turn provided a living for many members of the clergy. They could be held by any church or chapel, but it is certain that the Misericórdias attracted many donations, amounting to significant sums, particularly from the second half of the sixteenth century, when Rome confirmed the existence of Purgatory. The Misericórdia de Lisboa was responsible for nearly 100,000 masses by the mid-eighteenth century. This was its chief charitable action, at a time when the spirit occupied a much higher place than the body in the hierarchy of values. Over time, this type of spiritual service gradually disappeared, partly because the Enlightenment in-

1. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (University of Chicago Press, 1984).

5. According to legal records, baptisms began at 10 years of age, or 16-18, and that they continued at the age of 20, or later. The ages at which women were first married are not the same throughout western Europe, or even throughout Portugal (for this estimate see note 2, page 104).

their needs. This was one of the most important services, particularly with respect to the many victims of infant mortality killed by the *Misericórdias*. Among the adult poor, in the eighteenth century, the *Misericórdia* de Lisboa carried out between 200 and almost 3000 free burials per year. In addition, another important charitable service, which has also disappeared, was the pen house burial of slaves, though officially the expenses for these were supposed to be covered by their respective masters.

POVERTY AND THE LIFE CYCLE: CHILDREN AND THE OLD

It is important to mention a fundamental difference between the modern period and the present day: during the former period, children were the overwhelming focus of aid. From a demographic point of view, this makes sense: the population pyramid had a wide base which decreased through each age group, in the form of a triangle. In other words, many children were born but the high rate of mortality left its mark, causing the pyramid to taper upwards from the base; few people reached an advanced age. The pyramid today still has the form of a triangle, but it is inverted, with few children and many older people. This theme is examined again later in this text, in relation to the latter group. For the moment, the text focuses on the high number of children born, with no real means of contraception other than delaying the average of the first marriage in order to 'wait' around 10 to 15 years of women's fertile cycle.⁵ Partly because sexuality was never confined within the strict boundaries of marriage and partly because not every family was able to care for all the children who were born, there was a gradual increase in child abandonment between the fifteenth century and the second half of the nineteenth century, as illustrated by the very history of the SCML. Whether because it was relatively easy to abandon a newborn anonymously at churches or other places where people congregated, or at the door of private houses or whether because a device - the 'floating wheel' - was introduced which meant children could be left safely, without revealing the identity of those responsible, the phenomenon grew exponentially.

In Portugal *respetados* (literally 'respected children'; the name that was initially given to such cases) feature in the wills of the nobility from the early sixteenth century, though conspicuously few abandonments are mentioned here. For example, both the duchess of Beja, D. Ana Maria (the mother of King Emmanuel I) and the archbishop of Braga, Dom

Diogo de Sousa, provided for abandoned children in their wills, leaving money to those responsible for the children's upbringing, how though they were in numbers, and identifying those who brought them up.⁶ Even before this, Elizabeth of Aragon, the wife of King Denis, had created a hospital for foundlings in Belem in the thirteenth century. There must already have been an increase in child abandonment during the reign of King Emmanuel I, since he brought in specific legislation on identifying those responsible for their upbringing.⁷ This, however, was nothing compared with what was to come. Over the centuries that followed, there was an overwhelming increase in numbers until, by the nineteenth century, thousands of foundling children entered the *Misericórdia* de Lisboa each year. At this time, they were referred to as both rejected children and 'foundlings', a semantic shift whose sense it hard to grasp. Though child abandonment still exists today in various forms, the scale is by no means comparable. It rarely occurs anonymously, other than in those cases which - by virtue of their exceptional nature - hit the headlines, with those who have abandoned their genetically identified through police investigation.

Historians ascribe the scale of abandonment in the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries to a combination of poverty and illegitimacy. Though some stress the former over the latter, and vice versa, the anonymous nature of the phenomenon makes it hard to be sure on this matter. Let's look at how and when this mass abandonment disappeared and what followed it. Before the end of the eighteenth century, there was no opposition to the abandoning of children; suffice it to say that it was Flávia Mexique, chief superintendent of police under Queen Maria I, who attempted to institutionalise the enormous abandonment of children throughout the kingdom, through the circular decree of May 1781 ordering 'foundling wheels' to be established in every seat of government.⁸ In other words, he regulated a de facto situation, legalising the system of abandonment, and also attempted to ensure that the practice was evenly distributed around the country rather than concentrated in the largest cities. The founding wheel did not disappear until nearly 100 years later, following extensive public debate. At this point, voices emerged accusing the parents of foundlings of irresponsibility: thus anonymity was replaced by requests from mothers and fathers, who were fully identified, for the upbringing of their children to be paid for. The phenomenon came to a fairly abrupt end, supporting another possible explanation for the scale of abandonment, namely that it grew because people saw the wheel as a state-funded service and when the possibility of abandoning children anonymously was withdrawn, the phenomenon

6. *Testamento de D. João de Sousa, 1597*, Arquivo Histórico, Portugal, vol. 25, Lisboa, 1974, p. 20; 1781, December 12, Braga, *Testamento de D. Elzeir de Sousa* cited up *documentos de publicação e estatutos do Hospital de São Marcos, 12 de Dezembro de 1511*, *Diogo de Sousa* *Arquivos de História* 1989, vol. 1, Lisboa, 1989, pp. 20-21.

7. Maria Flávia Mexique, *Relatório sobre o abandono de crianças*, Lisboa, Conselho da Lactação, 1912, pp. 20-21.

8. *Ordenação* (Circular) *de 12 de Maio de 1781*, p. 17.

9. *Ordem Circular de 12 de Maio de 1781*, p. 17. *Ordem Circular de 12 de Maio de 1781*, p. 17. *Ordem Circular de 12 de Maio de 1781*, p. 17.

by almost all *Misericórdias* in the eighteenth century: an average of 130 young women received them each year from the *Misericórdia de Lisboa*. In the economics of the modern period, it was very unusual for a woman to marry without her family negotiating a dowry with the family of the groom. This led to the creation of a new economic unit based on the new couple, and was a key moment for the transfer of property, at least as important as inheritance *per se* in some. It was the dowry that allowed many women to set up their own workshops, financed the businesses of merchants, bolstered the fortunes of provincial nobility, or simply made it possible to form a new financially sustainable household, particularly when it involved acquiring an area of land suitable for founding a new family. In the absence of a family inheritance, or parental protection, many women risked remaining unmarried, and suffering the loss of social status caused by sexual activity outside marriage. As a result, they had to turn to public charity, requesting wedding dowries from institutions. In societies with a high rate of mortality, many more women were orphaned than men.

The female dowry had almost disappeared by the first half of the twentieth century (though it still exists in India, for example) and marriage itself is no longer the only form of conjugal union. The disappearance of the dowry can be explained in part by the increase in women in paid employment across a wide range of occupations, many of them made possible by women's access to higher education, allowing them to earn an income and/or to make an independent contribution to family finances. Even more importantly, modern conjugal unions became based primarily on affection, and economic resources were relegated to secondary importance.

The need to preserve the honour of women who lacked adequate family protection demanded specific facilities: buildings where they could live until they married or – if this did not occur – which would house them for the rest of their life. In the modern age, and during the eighteenth century in particular, most *Misericórdias* had a *conventilho*, or conservatory, an institution where such women lived a life that was very similar to that of convents, wearing habits, adhering to prayer, work and strict isolation and taking communal meals, though there was still an expectation that they would have to get married. In Lisbon, there was the *Conventilho das Doentes* (Conservatory for Young Women), created in the fifteenth and expanded in the following century;⁴ by the eighteenth century its capacity was around 55 to 65 young women.

In the past, there was another specific category of poor people – the 'vulnerable poor', which has also disappeared. This consisted of people who were from the middle or upper

social classes but who lacked the financial capital to live in accordance with their status. The *Misericórdia* provided them with discreet services and charitable funds, designed to preserve their social standing. It was a much-needed service, based on assistance provided at home by the *Misericórdia* mothers, and was carried out on a regular basis, sometimes over many years. As a result it was fairly costly. With the advent of liberalism, under which everyone was regarded as equal before the law, the service tended to disappear, or to survive with different rules, which reflected a wider interpretation of economic assistance, targeted at a greater range of social groups and with a particularly strong presence in the poor districts of large cities. In the case of the *Misericórdia de Lisboa*, the numerous classes of the service declined from 400 to 40 people over the course of the eighteenth century, which is understandable given the per capita cost involved.

From the end of the eighteenth century charitable institutions, when – as we have seen – had already disorganised the practice of lending with interest by justifying the use of the profits in favour for the soul and poor relief – had the same success with so-called lottery games, for very similar reasons. According to Christian theology, all games of chance were sinful since, put an interest implied the sale of time, time was the sole preserve of God. Once again, legitimisation was based on the purposes for which gambling proceeds were used: helping the poor. Lotteries began to spring up around Europe, largely for foundations, whose case was so costly that no institution was able to support them without injections of capital. Queen Maria authorised the first lottery in 1783, and since then the *Junta Casa da Misericórdia* has organised a monopoly, later adding 'taboada' – a football betting game and, more recently the 'tabuleiro' lottery game. This is in fact a state monopoly since, in 1834, the *Misericórdia de Lisboa's* confraternity structure was replaced by an administrative institution named by the regent of the time. Some of these games led to new areas of activity by the NCM, as in the case of *taboada*, created in 1861, which made it possible to build the physical rehabilitation centre of Alameda, which also incorporated a training school for specialist staff in that area.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the early days of the *Misericórdia de Lisboa*, the 'vulnerable' had a special place among charitable practices: the organisation's members had the responsibility of visiting the sick at home or in infirmaries, entering the houses of the poor, particularly the 'vulnerable poor', and gaining access to prisons to reach

the most difficult processes. Many of these practices were encompassed within the corporeal and spiritual work of mercy, which was a language understood by all, since they were learnt alongside other basic notions of the catechism, such as moral sin, the commandments, and the theological and cardinal virtues. Today, the (4) works of mercy no longer relate to the categories of need that existed when the *Mercê do Lido* was created. As we have seen, however, new forms of deprivation have emerged over time while the earlier forms have not been completely eradicated. For example, the end of the nineteenth century (the *Mercê do Lido*) from soup kitchens was created in 1887) saw the emergence of soup kitchens in an attempt to satisfy the hunger of people affected by the economic crisis, and lasted until the end of the Second World War. At the time of writing, the distribution of food in the street has once again become part of the urban landscape of large Portuguese cities, in addition to the institutions who distribute food in a less public way.

Isabel das Encarnações Sá

Department of History and Communication and Society
Research Centre (CECS), University of Minho

Photograph of the *Mercê do Lido* kitchen, 1944 (see Section 2). This photograph is the first of a series of 11 that appear in the album *For the World: Record of Remembering the History of Working and Producing Soup in the Street*, drawn up by the *Mercê do Lido* in 1999 (see 4) – details of the photograph.





[illegible]

4. *Wegpunkt 1: 1. Station*
5. *Wegpunkt 2: 2. Station*
6. *Wegpunkt 3: 3. Station*
7. *Wegpunkt 4: 4. Station*
8. *Wegpunkt 5: 5. Station*
9. *Wegpunkt 6: 6. Station*
10. *Wegpunkt 7: 7. Station*

28. Letter of passage written by Francisco Pedro Negrón, former of the Santa Cruz de Montevideo de Caceres, 1784.

Support the plan and continue to be grateful to Lantieri's dedication, and to the staff and the many other donors, a number of successful business and community, who are benefiting from it and can be highly motivating. The key to success is also agreed by the numerous other teachers I have met and heard the stories of: the better records of the progress through the Holy Names of Mary of Mary, including the Holy Names, International, Via Nova de M. Alameda, Spring

Supervising editor: Kenneth
 Wilson, the late, writing editor of *Science*

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- [illegible]

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- [illegible]

1. Regener de sticlă regenerabilă
2. Regener de sticlă dinamică
3. Al. jaluzele "Schuco" în profilele cadru a geamurilor dinamicilor
4. Regener de frigiditate maximizată în sticlă dinamică
5. Regener de sticlă dinamică

28. Letter of passage written by Brother Manuel de Lencastre (Filius
Societatis de Carallid), Bishop of Beja and President of the Santa Casa de
Misericórdia de Beja, 1794.

Images of sites are submitted to be posted in *Livingston* Areas, a virtual scavenging hunt that is online. The focus of *Livingston* is on objects for the archaeological community located outside the United States, with the goal of being able to locate objects for sale. It includes details of the objects through the help of images of objects of interest. *Livingston* Areas, *Livingston* virtual scavenging hunt and *Livingston*.

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Reproduction in blackberry: 279 and 280 (red) and 281 (black)

25. 1) $\frac{1}{2} \log_2 \frac{1}{2} = -\frac{1}{2}$; 2) $\frac{1}{2} \log_2 \frac{1}{2} = -\frac{1}{2}$; 3) $\frac{1}{2} \log_2 \frac{1}{2} = -\frac{1}{2}$.

10. *Intervista*, 4 de junho de 1993. As entrevistas desta série de 1993, e as seguintes sobre as atividades de pesquisa e estudos de 1994 do IBAP, foram realizadas a partir de uma série de "sessões de apresentação" que tinham a duração de 15 minutos, que também incluíam sessões de 45 minutos para o almoço com o pesquisador. "A primeira sessão de uma longa duração, 2 horas, incluiu as apresentações individuais dos IBAPistas. Após uma primeira sessão informal, que não foi gravada, as apresentações foram realizadas em uma sala de aula." *Estudos IBAP de Fronteira do IBAP*. © 1999, Manual de Estudos IBAP.

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as *Neurospora crassa* (Fungal Kingdom)

Journal of Management Studies 32 (1999) 103–120

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Source: *U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Reports, 1990, 1995, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2020, 2025, 2030, 2035, 2040, 2045, 2050, 2055, 2060, 2065, 2070, 2075, 2080, 2085, 2090, 2095, 2100, 2105, 2110, 2115, 2120, 2125, 2130, 2135, 2140, 2145, 2150, 2155, 2160, 2165, 2170, 2175, 2180, 2185, 2190, 2195, 2200, 2205, 2210, 2215, 2220, 2225, 2230, 2235, 2240, 2245, 2250, 2255, 2260, 2265, 2270, 2275, 2280, 2285, 2290, 2295, 2300, 2305, 2310, 2315, 2320, 2325, 2330, 2335, 2340, 2345, 2350, 2355, 2360, 2365, 2370, 2375, 2380, 2385, 2390, 2395, 2400, 2405, 2410, 2415, 2420, 2425, 2430, 2435, 2440, 2445, 2450, 2455, 2460, 2465, 2470, 2475, 2480, 2485, 2490, 2495, 2500, 2505, 2510, 2515, 2520, 2525, 2530, 2535, 2540, 2545, 2550, 2555, 2560, 2565, 2570, 2575, 2580, 2585, 2590, 2595, 2600, 2605, 2610, 2615, 2620, 2625, 2630, 2635, 2640, 2645, 2650, 2655, 2660, 2665, 2670, 2675, 2680, 2685, 2690, 2695, 2700, 2705, 2710, 2715, 2720, 2725, 2730, 2735, 2740, 2745, 2750, 2755, 2760, 2765, 2770, 2775, 2780, 2785, 2790, 2795, 2800, 2805, 2810, 2815, 2820, 2825, 2830, 2835, 2840, 2845, 2850, 2855, 2860, 2865, 2870, 2875, 2880, 2885, 2890, 2895, 2900, 2905, 2910, 2915, 2920, 2925, 2930, 2935, 2940, 2945, 2950, 2955, 2960, 2965, 2970, 2975, 2980, 2985, 2990, 2995, 3000, 3005, 3010, 3015, 3020, 3025, 3030, 3035, 3040, 3045, 3050, 3055, 3060, 3065, 3070, 3075, 3080, 3085, 3090, 3095, 3100, 3105, 3110, 3115, 3120, 3125, 3130, 3135, 3140, 3145, 3150, 3155, 3160, 3165, 3170, 3175, 3180, 3185, 3190, 3195, 3200, 3205, 3210, 3215, 3220, 3225, 3230, 3235, 3240, 3245, 3250, 3255, 3260, 3265, 3270, 3275, 3280, 3285, 3290, 3295, 3300, 3305, 3310, 3315, 3320, 3325, 3330, 3335, 3340, 3345, 3350, 3355, 3360, 3365, 3370, 3375, 3380, 3385, 3390, 3395, 3400, 3405, 3410, 3415, 3420, 3425, 3430, 3435, 3440, 3445, 3450, 3455, 3460, 3465, 3470, 3475, 3480, 3485, 3490, 3495, 3500, 3505, 3510, 3515, 3520, 3525, 3530, 3535, 3540, 3545, 3550, 3555, 3560, 3565, 3570, 3575, 3580, 3585, 3590, 3595, 3600, 3605, 3610, 3615, 3620, 3625, 3630, 3635, 3640, 3645, 3650, 3655, 3660, 3665, 3670, 3675, 3680, 3685, 3690, 3695, 3700, 3705, 3710, 3715, 3720, 3725, 3730, 3735, 3740, 3745, 3750, 3755, 3760, 3765, 3770, 3775, 3780, 3785, 3790, 3795, 3800, 3805, 3810, 3815, 3820, 3825, 3830, 3835, 3840, 3845, 3850, 3855, 3860, 3865, 3870, 3875, 3880, 3885, 3890, 3895, 3900, 3905, 3910, 3915, 3920, 3925, 3930, 3935, 3940, 3945, 3950, 3955, 3960, 3965, 3970, 3975, 3980, 3985, 3990, 3995, 4000, 4005, 4010, 4015, 4020, 4025, 4030, 4035, 4040, 4045, 4050, 4055, 4060, 4065, 4070, 4075, 4080, 4085, 4090, 4095, 4100, 4105, 4110, 4115, 4120, 4125, 4130, 4135, 4140, 4145, 4150, 4155, 4160, 4165, 4170, 4175, 4180, 4185, 4190, 4195, 4200, 4205, 4210, 4215, 4220, 4225, 4230, 4235, 4240, 4245, 4250, 4255, 4260, 4265, 4270, 4275, 4280, 4285, 4290, 4295, 4300, 4305, 4310, 4315, 4320, 4325, 4330, 4335, 4340, 4345, 4350, 4355, 4360, 4365, 4370, 4375, 4380, 4385, 4390, 4395, 4400, 4405, 4410, 4415, 4420, 4425, 4430, 4435, 4440, 4445, 4450, 4455, 4460, 4465, 4470, 4475, 4480, 4485, 4490, 4495, 4500, 4505, 4510, 4515, 4520, 4525, 4530, 4535, 4540, 4545, 4550, 4555, 4560, 4565, 4570, 4575, 4580, 4585, 4590, 4595, 4600, 4605, 4610, 4615, 4620, 4625, 4630, 4635, 4640, 4645, 4650, 4655, 4660, 4665, 4670, 4675, 4680, 4685, 4690, 4695, 4700, 4705, 4710, 4715, 4720, 4725, 4730, 4735, 4740, 4745, 4750, 4755, 4760, 4765, 4770, 4775, 4780, 4785, 4790, 4795, 4800, 4805, 4810, 4815, 4820, 4825, 4830, 4835, 4840, 4845, 4850, 4855, 4860, 4865, 4870, 4875, 4880, 4885, 4890, 4895, 4900, 4905, 4910, 4915, 4920, 4925, 4930, 4935, 4940, 4945, 4950, 4955, 4960, 4965, 4970, 4975, 4980, 4985, 4990, 4995, 5000, 5005, 5010, 5015, 5020, 5025, 5030, 5035, 5040, 5045, 5050, 5055, 5060, 5065, 5070, 5075, 5080, 5085, 5090, 5095, 5100, 5105, 5110, 5115, 5120, 5125, 5130, 5135, 5140, 5145, 5150, 5155, 5160, 5165, 5170, 5175, 5180, 5185, 5190, 5195, 5200, 5205, 5210, 5215, 5220, 5225, 5230, 5235, 5240, 5245, 5250, 5255, 5260, 5265, 5270, 5275, 5280, 5285, 5290, 5295, 5300, 5305, 5310, 5315, 5320, 5325, 5330, 5335, 5340, 5345, 5350, 5355, 5360, 5365, 5370, 5375, 5380, 5385*

28. J. H. Conway, *On Numbers and Games*, Academic Press, New York, 1971.

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Margarita de Vitis, Eugenio Rodríguez, e-Papers sobre Microcréditos de Paraguay

1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 26

1. *Agrostis tenuis* (perennial)
2. *Agrostis hyemalis* (perennial)
3. *Agrostis alba* (perennial)
4. *Agrostis arvensis* (perennial)
5. *Agrostis capillaris* (perennial)
6. *Agrostis alba* (perennial)

25. *Math. Sci. Res. Forum* 4(2015) 1-10.

The wall is constructed in a local style which is more related to local vernacular architecture, plaster and the finish is polished lime, applied with exposed aggregate for protection, and the technique of pigments and the paint. It also includes a bench space for preparing a wedding, upon an exposed stone, 10' x 10' (Rosenberg, 2000, p. 4).

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Marriage, Divorce, Remarriage in the 1990s*. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1993.

10. Official name is given by Augustin A. de Euse, President of the Académie Française de Médecine de France, 1785.

forward of the letter of nomination on behalf of the indigenous grassroots movements and African and Asian Young men. It asks that legal approval be provided to the indigenous student Nanyang Brothers of the Nation's and the African students. It is a letter to be signed by a committee of the National Union of Students. It is also a request for the organization to provide financial support to the African students in the African continent. It is a request for the organization to provide financial support to the African students in the African continent. It is a request for the organization to provide financial support to the African students in the African continent.

It has been argued, in fact, that the "new" movement has been a movement to be ignored or, better, to be denied.

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- [illegible]

^a Les données sont issues de la base de données des enquêtes de l'Institut national de la statistique (INSEE) sur les conditions de vie et le niveau de vie.

48. *Cratichneumon* *de Meillon* (1938: 1479). *Parasitic groups* – in the present case referred to be restricted out on the basis that the *Microctonus* in this city of Cebu by the same genus and provided King the first (number 11) in the *Parasitica* subfamily also that previously in determining the *Cratichneumon* in the city of Cebu (Luzon) and in the *Cratichneumon* (Luzon) in this genus (1935), used by *Parasitica* *de Meillon* (*Cratichneumon* *de Meillon*, a friend of the *Cratichneumon* of *S. Sigmund*, doctor in *Italy* (Thomson) – 1935, *Indica* in the *Cratichneumon* of *Thomson* (*Cratichneumon* *de Meillon*, *Parasitica* in the *Cratichneumon*, 1935, 11 (1)).

26. Women Who: 1992
 Catholic Church, Liturgy and Social Witness: Women Who: a small group of women (mostly of Anglo-American background) in Chicago, IL. <http://www.womenwho.org/>
 Group description: "Women Who: a small group of women (mostly of Anglo-American background) in Chicago, IL. <http://www.womenwho.org/>
 Website address: <http://www.womenwho.org/>

10. Amphiprion, 20th century
Amphiprion (what was pugnathus) (Frankel) (in: 20th century)
and all the way
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Dr. Antonio Turiel (1935-2007), known principally for his research in the field of the psychology of justice and the development of the notion of justice in children on the day celebrating the Foundation, Group de classe... 2008

26. *Journal of the Neurological Sciences* 23 (1975)
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10. *Sancti Spiritus, conventus in Civitate Sancti (1479-1502)*, Florence, 1. 1986-1987.

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em paz, querido. Descansa em paz. (2005).

16. *Indo-Hoplerythra* *magellanicum* *Stein* (plate)

26. Richard Whately, *Elements of Logic* (1826), 148 + 188 pp.

Table 2. Continued

44

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22

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THE AGES OF THE MISERICORDIA
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Portrait of artist David Laing. Photo: Jacques

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visitation

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Photographs that make up an album consisting of 54 prints produced by the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, United States of America. The photographs are associated with the training of the first ortho-prosthetic technicians at the Orthopaedic Hospital of Sant'Ana.

Only part of this album has been reproduced.



Plain corset - front view



Plain corset - back view



Shiffet corset to The right
back-view



Three point pressure
corset
back-lateral
view





Plain corset with
head Traction attached

Front view



Plein corset with head traction
attached

Side view



Plain corset with head traction
attached
back view



Plain polystee jacket
Front view







Nil wan Kee
Frame

Front view



Alumina Key

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Forefoot abduction splint
inside view



Forefoot abduction splint
outside view













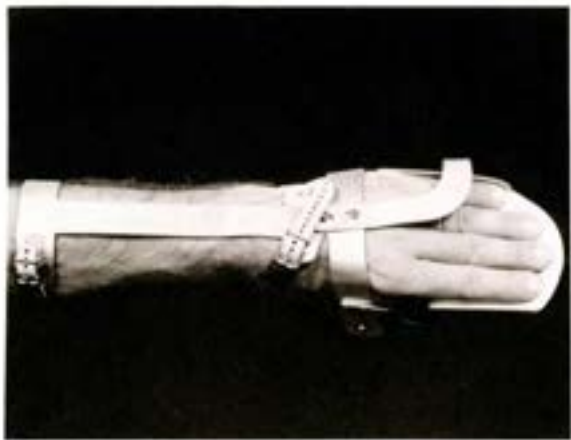




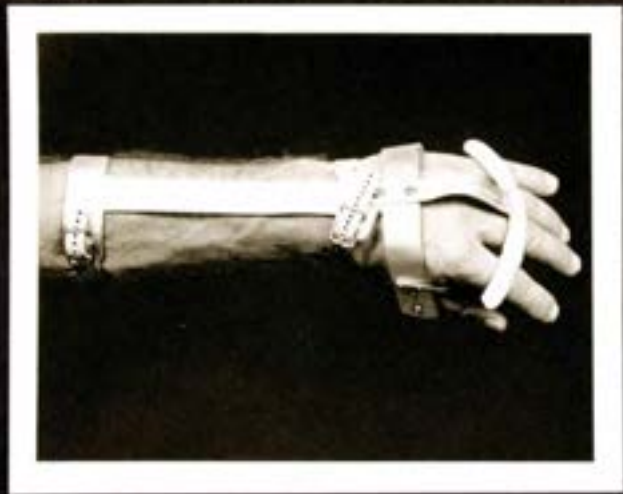




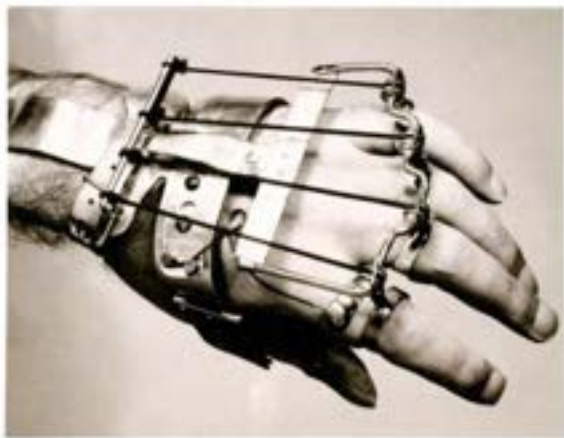








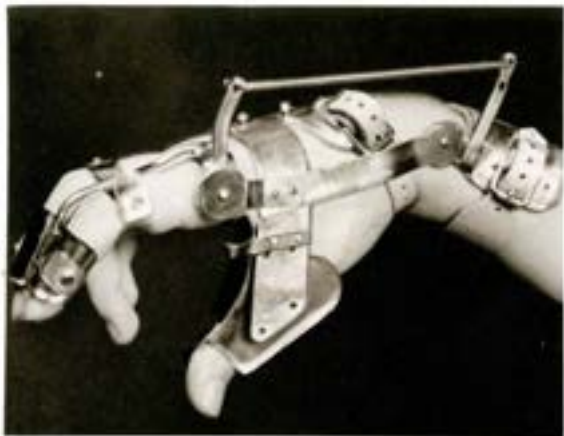


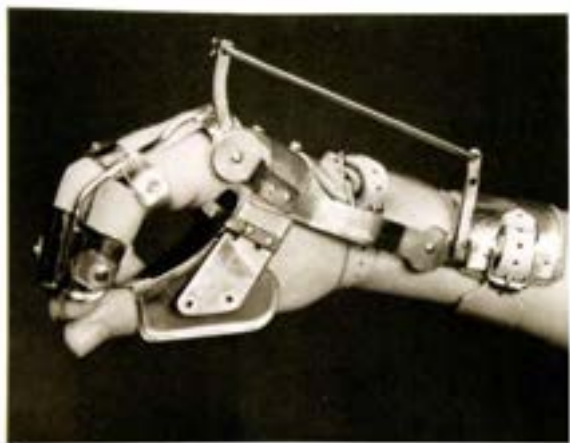






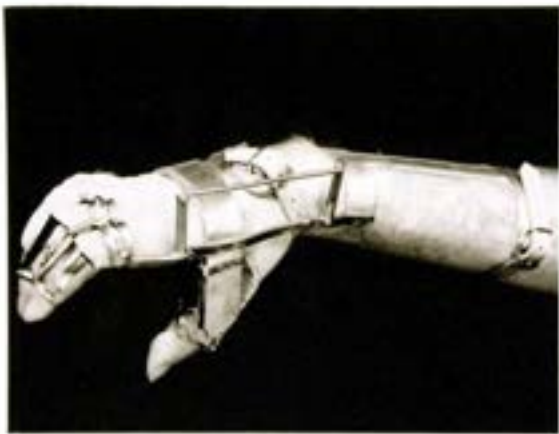










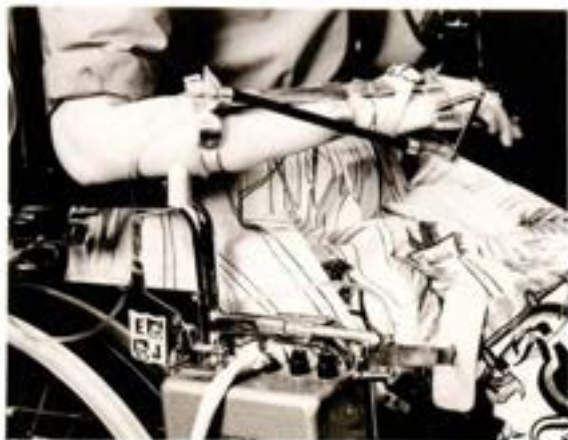


















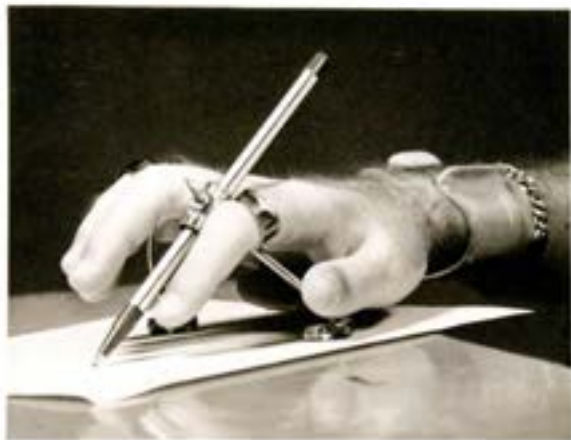








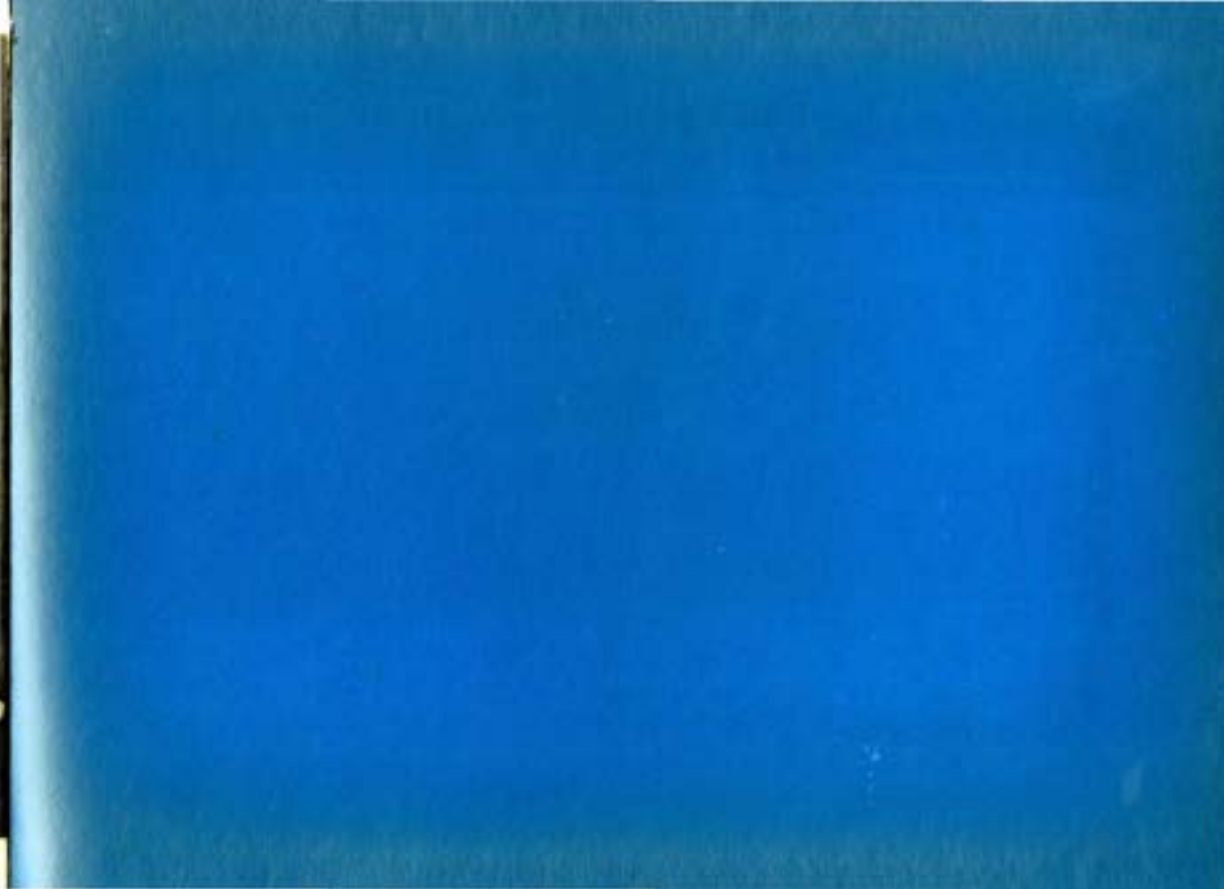












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visitation

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de grandes posses e de nobre
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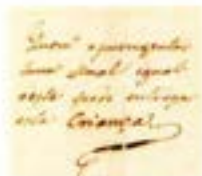
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S. 114. p23^b. N7593



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Esta manha namo no dia 13
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tarde houve chuva de chuva em
partes com um vento de norte e com
um movimento de oscilando com
de garga um vento de languias
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1. Primeira: 1864-1864, de 1864-1864

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Yokoyama, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003

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Tablet no. 80 of 1907

Tablet made up of four fragments and belonging to a papyrus from the same locality.
 Dimensions: 10.5 x 10.5 cm (4 1/8 x 4 1/8 in.)

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Table no. 300 of 1892

Table made up of a glowing card (the first on the left) and a card, irregularly cut, containing a card. P. 300 (table 300) - P. 300 (table 300) - P. 300 (table 300) - P. 300 (table 300)

(Note the various cards of paper containing)

Page 1: Maria Jose / de Baptista / (Note the various cards of paper containing)

(Note the various cards of paper containing)

(Note the various cards of paper containing)



[illegible]

Recus. de 1853 din 29 de August
Recus. de Marea si 2 hris. de vrande
si belugiu suau la Marea si belugiu
de Marea pe care sunt hris. hris.
putandu-se hris. vrande de hris.
Agustului pe care si aia hris. belugiu
suau vrande hris. hris. hris. hris.

Carta Marea
de 1 Regu de
hris. si 2 hris.
belugiu



Vakre and countermarks no. 7 of 1854

Made up of a printed document and a religious poem of local inspiration. Document regarding the founding year of the founding village in the (southern) Mithila region (Bihar).

Reference code: PT 1001.05.004.02. 1001.05.004.02

[Text of the document]

En l'année de 1854 plus 28 de Agreste / Souvent cette Mithila en l'année de Mithila / son fondation a même les
Mithila (souvent) / et souvent pour cette Mithila / souvent de la Mithila de Mithila / souvent pour ce
que son Mithila / et son Mithila pour cette Mithila se présente / souvent les Mithila / de la Mithila de /

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En l'année de 1854 plus 28 de Agreste / Souvent cette Mithila en l'année de Mithila / son fondation a même les
Mithila / souvent de la Mithila de Mithila / souvent pour cette Mithila / souvent de la Mithila de Mithila / souvent pour ce
que son Mithila / et son Mithila pour cette Mithila se présente / souvent les Mithila / de la Mithila de /

[Text of the document]

[Text of the document]

Vakre and countermarks no. 10 of 1854

Made up of a printed document and two handwritten cards with great merit. Document regarding the founding year of the founding village in the present Purnia district of Bihar (southern Bihar) and the founding year of the founding village.

Reference code: PT 1001.05.004.02. 1001.05.004.02

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Signal
De

João Maria f.º nasceu em 5 de Maio de 1833 nesta freguesia e tem a sua
em Lisboa. O pai e mãe não tiveram mais de 10 filhos e todos os
e entre os p.ºs a filha Maria da Conceição e um a filha doze
de Lisboa de onde esta filha trouxe a guisa de dote a casa
da Conceição e entregou-a a filha a tempo de casar a
parentes e outras coisas feitas de papel e em duas escritas
agora a esta em toda a parte e com a mesma letra e
antiqua nos outros com esta f.º vai desenhada a fei-
ta com a folha de papel como humas cartas e
a primeira por fora signal desta Maria e a
segunda

Signal
De

João Maria f.º nasceu em 5 de Maio de 1833 nesta freguesia e tem a sua
em Lisboa e já não morreu de mais de 10 filhos e todos os
e entre os p.ºs a filha Maria da Conceição e um a filha doze
de Lisboa de onde esta filha trouxe a guisa de dote a casa
da Conceição e entregou-a a filha a tempo de casar a
parentes e outras coisas feitas de papel e em duas escritas
agora a esta em toda a parte e com a mesma letra e
antiqua nos outros com esta f.º vai desenhada a fei-
ta com a folha de papel como humas cartas e
a primeira por fora signal desta Maria e a
segunda

Lettera per la quale l'anno
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 di 1886. L'anno 1781.
 L'anno 1781. L'anno 1781.
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 L'anno 1781. L'anno 1781.
 L'anno 1781. L'anno 1781.
 L'anno 1781. L'anno 1781.

1781. 1781. 1781.

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Before you start at work

Figure 10: A plot of $\log_{10}(\text{mean})$ vs. $\log_{10}(\text{variance})$ for the data in Figure 9. The data points are colored by the number of clusters (1 to 10).

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¹ *Agave americana* var. *centrifolia* (L.) Mez.

1. The first two methods are based on the assumption that the system is in a steady state.

Este obituario foi publicado em 1823
na 1ª edição da 1ª edição da 1ª edição
na 1ª edição da 1ª edição da 1ª edição
na 1ª edição da 1ª edição da 1ª edição
na 1ª edição da 1ª edição da 1ª edição

Maria do Carmo da Silva



Pda. J. L. L. de. Mais se morda
 este na primeira hora 2 horas e
 mais e chamar essa Companhia
 e a tudo a tempo e haja meio para
 e temer e se conduzidos e se
Apresentar a outro metade desta
 Era de Eger. 1º e se de 1848



SANTA
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Misericórdia de Lisboa. Por boas causas.



visitation

SECTION 3

ENTRADA DE VENTILADOR DE ARREDORES

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(continued from page 6)

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Appendix II

19.9.9

Woolly. United in Remoulding the System for Making and Distributing Soap in the West - *Amos* 10, 1836 (1844, 185).



FOTO Nº. 1 - Cozinha de Salão - Aspecto exterior



FOTO Nº. 2 - Posto de Distribuição de Vapor

Local onde funcionavam os caldeiros
de resenha para a confecção da sopa.



FOTO Nº. 3 - Posto de Distribuição de Leite

Caldeiras de sopa confeccionada na co-
zinha de Alcântara, prontas para a dis-
tribuição



FOTO Nº. 4 - Posto de Distribuição de Alim

Aguardando a distribuição de sopa



*1949 - Cozinha da Prefeitura Municipal de São Paulo
(Arquivo Histórico Municipal, São Paulo, 1949)*

1000 89, 5 - Cozinha de Alimântara

A confecção da sopa



FOTO Nº. 6 - Cozinha de Alentejo

Um pormenor da despensa.



FOTO Nº. 7 - Cozinha de Alcântara
Associados aguardando a distribui-
ção da sopa.



FOTO 99, 8 - Cozinha de S. Bento

Confecção das sopas.



FOTO Nº. 9 - Cozinha de S. Bento

Fornalim da Despesa



FOTO Nº. 10 -- Cozinha de S. Bento
Associação aguardando a distribuição.



FOTO Nº. 11 - Cozinha de S. Bento

A distribuição da sopa, vendo-se um portador do
refeitório, apontando a indicar o que deverá
ser feito nos outros Centenos de Distribuição...



FOTO Nº. 12 - Cozinha de Campo de Ourique

Alunos aguardando na rua, a distribuição da esq.



FOTO Nº. 13 - Cozinha de Campo de Ourique

Conferência da sopa



FOTO Nº. 14 - Cozinha de Campo de Ourique

Cozinhão da sopa, praticamente ao ar livre.



FOTO 89. 15 - Cozinha de Campo de Ourique

Formosa da Enxerra



FOTO 38. 17 - Cozinha de Beafica

Formador da zona de confecção



FOTO 80, 18 - Cozinha de Benfica

Zona de preparação de géneros



FOTO Nº. 19 - Cozinha da Resfina

Formosa da arrecadação da lenha



FOTO Nº. 20 - Cozinha de Resfira

Um aspecto da distribuição da sopa



FOTO Nº. 21 - Cozinha da Residência

Outro aspecto da distribuição da copa



FOTO Nº. 22 - Cozinha de Campolide

Local da confecção



FOTO Nº. 25 - Cozinha de Caspolide

De primeiro das despensas e da zona de preparação
de glúteno



FOTO Nº. 24 - Cozinha de Campolide

Aguardando a distribuição da sopa



FOTO 20, 25 - Cozinha dos Anjos

Sala de confeção das sopas



*Outro aspecto da cozinha dos Anjos
(Fotografia feita em 1900)*

FOTO Nº. 26 - Cozinha dos Anjos

Outro aspecto da confecção das sopas.



FOTO Nº 27 - Cozinha dos Aíjós

Formador da despesa



Refeitório da Escola de Engenharia de São Carlos

FOTO 30, 35 - Cozinha dos Anjos

Aspecto do refeitório



FOTO 89, 30 - Cozinha do Lombar

A confecção das sapos



FOTO Nº. 31 - Cozinha de lavar

Um pormenor das arrecadações



FOTO Nº. 52 - Cozinha do Lúlar

Aguardando a distribuição



FOTO 89. 33 - Posto de Distribuição de Mervila

Caldeiras contendo sopa confeccionada nos Anjos, prontas para
distribuição



Grupos de distribuição de Marvila, 1979. (Arquivo do I. A. M. de Lisboa)
Grupos de distribuição de Marvila, 1979. (Arquivo do I. A. M. de Lisboa)

FOTO NR. 34 - Posto de Distribuição de Marvila

Aguardando a distribuição da sopa



FOTO Nº. 35 - Posto de Distribuição dos Óleos

Um pormenor das instalações



FOTO 29, 36 - Posto de Distribuição dos Clivais

Aguardando a distribuição da sopa



FOTO 30. 45 - Posto de Distribuição de Carne

Caldieiros com sopa confeccionada na Cozinha dos Anjos, prontos
para a distribuição



Filas de pessoas esperando a distribuição de alimentos
 no período de fome, em 1932, no Rio de Janeiro.
 Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

FOTO NR. 46 - Posto de Distribuição de Carne

Aguardando a carne



Aspecto da confecção das peças de lã

FOTO Nº. 47 - Cozinha das fêbricas

Aspecto da confecção



FOOD GR. 43 - Cozinha das Pôneas

Aguardando a sopa.



FOTO 89, 49 - Cozinha da Chareira

Local de confecção das sopas



FOTO 89, 50 - Cozinha da Chapone

Gabinete da encarregada que também serve de
armazenagem de gêneros e de pão.



FOTO Nº. 51 - Coteira da Charcoira

Arrecadação de gêneros e lenha



FOTO XV, 52 - Cozinha da Charneca

Aguardando a distribuição da sopa



FOTO 84, 53 - Cozinha da Urueira

Lugar de confecção de sopas



FOTO Nº. 54 - Cozinha da Ureira

Aguardando a distribuição



FOTO 84, 55 - Poste de Distribuição da Coesista

Aspecto de distribuição da copa.



Grande distribuição de livros, 1977, Aspecto da distribuição
de livros
(Grande distribuição de livros, 1977)

FOTO 84, 57 - Posto de Distribuição da Revista
Aspecto da Distribuição da revista



Fig. 10. The structure of the bridge.



Fig. 11. The structure of the bridge.





21 Entrance to Theatre

Fig. 1. The interior of the ship.



Fig. 2. The interior of the ship.

High Iron Works, Ltd. - Scotland



High Iron Works, Ltd. - Scotland



Fig. 1. Workshop of a Tlingit.



12. Entrance to the building.

Fig. 1. The apparatus for the experiment.



Fig. 2. The apparatus for the experiment.

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