

When the mocking of the crows turned to whining.
The Salazar era and the Carnation Revolution in
António Lobo Antunes' novel
O Manual dos Inquisidores (1996, *The Inquisitors'*
Manual)
Part I

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To read António Lobo Antunes' novel *The Inquisitors' Manual* (*O Manual dos Inquisidores*)¹ can become a most complex adventure, with its richness of language and style, and a large narratological paradigm about society before the background of recent historico-political events. This modest study is divided into this introductory first part, followed by a second one, in which I will try to go further into details of the novel itself, its historical background, and its position in the context of Portuguese literature, historical and contemporary.

I The contents and structure of the book

The novel *The Inquisitors' Manual* was published in 1996, twenty-two years after the Portuguese April Revolution or Carnation Revolution of April 25, 1974. It consists of *Reports* and *Commentaries*, the result of interviews, but this becomes intelligible only occasionally and more in the second half of the novel, when some of the narrators turn their voice to the interviewer. There is e.g. Paula's godmother Alice speaking about her marriage: "(eighteen years old, you understand)" (p.224, p.218). There is

César who would get embarrassed if his wife would read the novel: "...you're lucky I'm even talking to you, for if Adelaide should leaf through your book and find my name there along with Paula's lies about me, then my goose is cooked" (p.277, p.267), or the Minister describing his feelings, "...you can write those very words, I'm not ashamed, I was so ashamed for so long that I can no longer get ashamed, go ahead and write ..." (p.399, p.382).

Allusions of the narrators, who are shown in their lives resulting from the events of the Revolution, indicate, the interviews are given to have been made in the 1990ies mid-1990ies, so that the novel at the date of its publication could appear as an actual portrait. The running of time becomes explicit in e.g. Milá's Report. She was forced upon a relation by the Minister when António de Oliveira Salazar was still president of the Council of Ministers, that means before 1968. She remarks: "How long ago did everything I've been telling you happen? Fifteen, twenty years? More? Twenty-five? Thirty? If you say thirty, okay, maybe it's thirty" (p.342, p.329). Marcelo Caetano, Salazar's successor from 1968, is almost never mentioned, what deserves attention, because in the novel the Minister had hoped to be appointed. Disappointed but with plans he retreats to his farm.

The architecture of the book is clear, even mathematically structured. There are five Reports by five narrators, divided into three parts respectively, each part followed by a Commentary. Only the last Report, concluding the novel, by the Minister is without Commentary. This too suggests that he dies. So in terms of chapters the novel contains five chapters, four subdivided into six, one into five parts, adding up to twenty-nine narrations by five reporters and fourteen commentators.

All figures are related to the Minister, most of them are further related, knowing each other or of each other. Some of them meet in the course of time, but do not know about background relations. It is suggested that some of such relations have become obvious to the interviewer while doing his interviews, this becoming the reason to chose some of his commentators. Thus, in some cases only the interviewer can make these relations visible to the reader.

Known to each other from the past are the members of the Minister's family and of his household, his wife Isabel, his son João, and Titina, or Dona Albertina, who has managed the household over decades. As a bitter irony or, and as an example of the 'logic' of the rules of the closed society of those cherished by the Salazar regime, may be seen the fact that João, unknowingly, marries Sofia, niece of the former lover of his mother, Pedro, who had become an additional reason for the alienation between her and her husband (p.149, p.147)².

Of the figures who become known to each other later, more or less by case, may be given Lina, "an occupational therapist at the charity home for women in Alverca" (p.182, p.179) where João's mother Isabel then lives, and it is thus that she learns about João. Through him she must as well know, indirectly, the Minister. In the charity home lives as well Titina, but her relation to João remains hidden to Lina, because João does not recognize Titina. But Lina meets João's sister Paula, born by the cook, who visits her brother in her apartment. Even Milá whom the Minister treats as his 'mistress' meets João and Titina, if for some moments, when brought by the Minister to the farm, but their relation to the minister remains unknown to her.

Few figures remain on the fringe of the circle of figures which reappear in various narrations. Such a figure is e.g. Martins, cousin of the pharmacist's widow, another 'mistress' of the Minister. He is related only to her and the Minister. The only person not related to the Minister is Romeu, who knows Paula but not her relation to the Minister. The doorman Leandro at least sees the Minister entering and leaving Milá's apartment. It would be too much to go into further details of these relationships, but they can not be neglected, because the novel is created through this in a mosaic-like form. The narrations are given here with minimal comments about their narrators in the following footnote which should be used when figures are mentioned only by their name¹³

The scenery of the novel is located mainly in Lisbon, its suburbs and the nearby town of Odivelas, places where all of the narrators at the time of the interviews live. Another important place is the little town of Palmela, south of Lisbon, with the farm, and the nearby city of Setúbal where some scenes are situated. This setting creates a realistic if not documentary atmosphere.

II Style and language and the dissolution of reality

1 Intensification by repetition

The almost monologic Reports and Commentaries do not follow a chronological order or any linearity. The narrators begin with a sequence of detailed memories told, seemingly, without visible logic, but interrupted and deviated or taking unexpected turns. Consequently the syntax too becomes free, grammatical subjects change suddenly. Rarely used full stops and commas render the sentences still more complex and restless.

Sequences are repeated several times, often exactly in the same or nearly the same words, but these repetitions, suddenly, take new turns, pushing, thus, the progress of the narration by fits and starts forward. As a result the narrations undergo a process of dissolution and at the same time of intensification, the latter is underlined in addition by key-phrases, pushed between the lines intermittently to illustrate the atmosphere, as e.g. ““Are you a moron, young man, or are you just pretending?”” (pp.8 etc., “— O menino é parvo ou faz-se?”, pp.15 etc.), the obstinate question of João's former mother-in-law containing all her arrogance and disdain towards him and remembered by him. The novel may become linguistically difficult if one looks at isolated passages, but if one finds to the rhythm of the narrations, and, above the seemingly unlogical syntax, to their fuga-like repetitions, one detects sharply built structures, becoming clear only as a whole and not as single stones of a mosaic, as observed already regarding the entire ‘story’ of the novel (cf. footnote 2).

João, for e.g. begins his second Report with his weekly visit to his father in the clinic, but every few lines the description is interrupted by voices of clinic employees admonishing his father and other old men, among them other former key figures of the Salazar regime, to be good boys.

... my father who at night is dragged to bed by two female staff workers in an agony of shuffling slippers

“Who's the good little boy who goes to bed when it's time for beddy-bye?”

they undo the string on his pajamas, unbutton his fly, place a bedpan under his scrawny legss, all bones and hair

“Time to go wee-wee, Senhor Francisco, time for wee-wee,

come on, there you go, that's a good boy, tonight you're not going to be naughty and wet your nice clean sheets, are you?" (p.40, p.45)

In addition to this João himself begins to mix his narration with memories of his childhood:

my father's head propped on the pillow, the window behind him filled with the peace of the streetlamps on the square, building façades, a slide and a swing on a patch of grass that looks blue in the moonlight, I a little boy in the living room playing with building blocks and my father laying down the newspaper, pulling his watch from his vest and pointing at the door

"Pack up your blocks, put the box in the closet, and off to bed, now" (p.41, p.46)

Looking closely at this passage his mentioning the childhood appears not as a real deviation but as connected to the time of narration through the inversion of roles which will have caused the remembrance, his father now being admonished as João was, and by lexical signals which create connotations and awake memories, too, like "building façades" combine with "building blocks".

An example for repetitions of complete passages may be taken from Paula's second Report in which she tells about her miserable life even if compared to that of Lina in her apartment, to where João has moved by now. Paula does not know that João did not get any money from the farm taken by Sofia's family and thinks he has bought the apartment for Lina instead of sharing with her, Paula, the amount from the sold farm. She begins her report with a catalogue of her modest ambitions.

All I want is what's rightfully mine: a slightly better life than what my godmother was able to give me ... All I want is an apartment in Lisbon, no matter if it's small, no matter in what neighbourhood, and not to have to pinch pennies all month long, not to have to shop at the cheapest supermarket, to be able to go occasionally to a restaurant and eat a lunch I didn't have to cook myself, to go to the movies on Saturday and forget that when I turn the key in my door there's no one waiting for me on the other side, no one for me to take care of, to buy clothes for, to go on holiday with me in July to southern Spain ... we'd ask a foreigner to take our picture ... paste the picture in the photo album ...

then place the album between the stereo and the three volumes of the *The Family Encyclopedia* ... (pp.228-229, p.223, the abbreviations ... have been made by me)

This passage is repeated almost word by word twice (pp. 233, 237-238, pp.227, 231), and by this the hopeless monotony of her life becomes transparent. The desperateness of her ambitions is further underlined by a slight variation when the passage is reduced to the wish of the tour to Spain but added with the imagination to travel with a future husband, "an insurance agent, a pharmaceutical representative, an engineer or the like", who will be photographed with her:

... I'd paste a picture in my photo album of me with a straw hat hugging him in front of an Arab church, and I'd be happy happy happy like I've been never in all my life. (p.241)

The variation creates a climax and adds a pungent melancholy to the crestfallenness. For its melodious rhythm the Portuguese text should be

cited too: "colava uma fotografia no álbum, abraçada a ele de chapéu de palha diante de uma igreja, árabe, e era feliz feliz feliz como nunca fui na vida" (p.234).

Such passages leave a strong impact. Together with the, seemingly interrupting, keyphrases already mentioned, they structure the narrations. In Milá's third Report of her life as an old woman, after returning to her shabby apartment and the shop, appears again and again the phrase "the old women sticking one or two teeth out their tiny windows, Dona Caterina, Dona Mercês, Dona Aninhas" (pp.345-346 etc., p.332 etc.) portraying impressively one more desolateness of unfilled dreams having culminated already in the picture of "old women who dream of having dentures so that they can dream of walking out of the butcher's at Christmastime with a half-pound of steak wrapped in brown paper ...", p.344, p.330).

Attention deserve the key-phrases concerning the Minister. The admonishments by the clinic employees show him in a position of helplessness and humiliation into which he had put over decades other people, and, thus, become as well a kind of narratological revenge. In his own second Report, where he seems to be on the verge of confessing some weaknesses of his own and of being somewhat sincere about his feelings to Isabel and the alienation from her, the main key-phrase is "My God how clear it all is now" (pp.392 etc., p.377 etc.). But it turns out that it is still not clear enough that he really can recognize himself in the mirror from inside which Isabel is "facing" him (p.394, p.378) — perhaps because he himself had destroyed that mirror some day (p.118, pp.117-118, cf. here below, p.73). In his last Report the voices of clinic employees: "Wee-

his chips” (p.44, p.49). (To translate this language must have been a task to create the same atmosphere; the Portuguese exclamation “(— Gaita)” (p.53) is rendered into the English: “(“Fuck”)” (p.48).)

More important than such expressions of misused daily language, which, of course, stand each for its own kind of violence, in the novel are given as well examples for what may be called an entire ‘grammar of violence and offence’ which can and must be read as a documentation of the perversion up to a linguistical level during the Salazar regime. In this context I want to cite only two examples following a same paradigm. When still a child, uncle Pedro one day angrily laments the “stupidity” of one of the servants to his mother, upon which she only replies ““If she weren’t stupid, she wouldn’t be a maid”” (p.100, “— Se ela não fosse estúpida não era criada”, p.100), an episode which becomes one reason for him to believe in the impossibility of democracy. This however is only one example in which is reflected an all-embracing way of thinking, as documented in the parallel sentence cited from a diction from Salazar: ““... if the coloreds knew what they wanted there’d be no problem, they’d be white people”” (p.127, “... se os pretos soubessem o que querem não havia problemas eram brancos”, p.126).

However, the novel attains its special atmosphere as well because it is pervaded by sentences which, if used in an alienating way, still are full of poetical sound. One technique to provoke this is by personalization and/ or animation of landscape and background. The main motif in Titina’s first report is Isabel’s leaving the family which hits the farm like a storm of feelings with the growing divide between Francisco and Isabel. This is paralleled with events in nature. It begins with the lull

wee, Senhor Francisco ..." (pp.405 etc., pp.387 etc.) reappear in an intensified form in the moments before death when he confesses some of his feelings in a time when he was much younger and sent to Angola in 1961: "I wanted to return straight to the ship and sail back to Lisbon, to get away from bullets all night long, spilled guts, devastated neighbourhoods ..." (pp.428-429, p.409). However he followed the order to unleash total and senseless destruction. In a kind of hallucination he sees one time more the violence used against the blacks, now turning against himself: "... I started to burn ...". He has to recognize that, it has become too late to change events of the past and the presence. He, who planned to take over after Salazar, and who continued to think of return to political life in the clinic, cannot but confess: "... I literally started to burn, so that it's too late for me to leave this place" (p.430, p.411).

2 Poetical language next to argot and at moments of utmost despair

As will become obvious through various citations from the novel the language attributed to the figures can become very aggressive and it is full of argot so that I can limit myself here to two examples. When Sofia speaks about people who do not belong to her stratum of society she becomes full of contempt. Invited to a festivity in the Alentejo by a former seamstress of her mother the other guests are for her "a multitude of bumpkins" (p.62, "uma multidão de cafres", p.65). A man who approaches her cousin Filipa, at an event organized by the "Catholic Women's Association" (p.70, p.72) shortly after the Revolution, is reduced to "a huge troglodyte" (p.71, p.73). When the former chief of the PIDE, in the same clinic as the Minister dies, one of the staff remarks bluntly: "'Dona Cecilia, the Major just cashed in

before the storm, when Titina “realized something was up” and at this moment “the wind suddenly died down, the blades of the windmill stopped creaking, the geraniums and the birds-of-paradise stopped whispering in the flower beds” (p.115, p.115). There is a first climax with the Minister, who wants to know the name of Isabel’s lover, destroying some mirrors in her room which now “multiply[] the two or three Senhor Franciscos into ten or twenty of thirty” (p.118, p.117, cf. here above, p.70). When Isabel returns home from a disappointing vacation with her lover there are “the crows laughing their heads off, the frogs laughing their heads off” (p.121, “os corvos perdidosinhos de riso, as rãs perdidosinhas de riso”, p.120). Nervous motion sets in again with Isabel receiving a new hopeful phone by her lover and with her “whispering” into the receiver ““Me too”, set before a background with “the tractor now closer, the windmill turning so fast I couldn’t make out the blades, just the glistening of metal enraged by the wind” (p.122, p.121). Life, Isabel, seem to become calmer one time more, but this is deceitful, because due only to the phone, and the family life goes on dissolving, with João as a child who keeps “whimpering” (p.125, p.123) full of fears of darkness, and gipsies, and snakes, uncared by anybody but Titina, and then

... it began to rain, because I could hear the roof, the windows, the orange trees, and the stone angels calling me with a human voice

“Titina” (p.124, p.123)

In fact she, at that time, was called by the Minister, who wanted to know Isabel’s whereabouts, but in her memories her experiences continue to melt with the life of nature growing into a reality with a thunderstorm gathering, and “the chestnut trees groaning in pain” (p.124, p.123). It must

be underlined that this captivating atmosphere does not exist on its own. Straight from the beginning A. Lobo Antunes uses irony, with Titina calling repeatedly ““Be still, Adamastor”” (p.115, p.115) to a German sheperd, Adamastor, being Luís de Camões' mythological figure of the Cape of Good Hope in his *The Lusiads* (*Os Lusíadas*), which, before renamed euphemistically, was originally called the Cape of Torments (Cabo de Tormentos) because of the “dangers and torments” caused by storms, too¹

An other example of animated nature is given by Alice who remembers “the mango trees broke down in tears because of the November rain” But the diction which could fit into a poem is here agreeably surprising and pleasantly disturbing, because it appears in a catalogue of increasing complaints about her life in Angola:

... crocodiles and mosquitoes were the least of my troubles, much worse was to find myself sailing on the raft boards that were our bed for eight days of moon cascading down my legs as the telegraph interrupted my agony with delirious messages and the mango trees broke down in tears because of the November rain, much worse was the wholesailer in Malanje, a cold little Chinaman whose ruthless eyes resembled crooked slots in alms boxes ... (p.216, pp.210-211)

Put next to the similarly animated telegraph the weeping of the mango trees becomes an expression of the desperate desolateness which is already beyond the capacity of human comprehension and cannot help but to dissolve back into nature.

Among the many similarly working passages in the novel is an expression like “the magpies silent, the crows silent, the eucalyptus trees

silent, the petals of the daffodils stricken with fear" (p.47, p.51), in a scene when João's father is calling in vain for Isabel. When João feels himself unpleasant and out of place in the presence of Sofia's family and friends he still is able to detect "... in the wake of a steamer a crown of flamingos floating like a bridal veil" (p.52, p.56). When they brutally take the child from the cook, because the Minister does want so, her lamenting is described "like the crying of blackbirds when someone steals their young" (p.151, p.149).

3 The melting of realities and the dissolution of reality

A constantly peculiar atmosphere is created in the novel through the technic of making different realities to interweave and finally to melt wholly into each other. An example for this may be taken from the first part of the Minister's Report in which he mainly reflects upon the painful alienation and final separation from Isabel. Among the various memories which appear mixed up to this appears the scene in which he killed "one of the German sheperds", which "stopped eating and whimpered all curled up in a flower bed or lay prostrate in an irrigation channel ...", coldbloodily in order to "save[] money on medicines from the veterinarian" (p.375, p.359), something which must have happened repeatedly. In the next sequence connected to this one, when recalling his wife's wish to leave him he, he observes, by now, "I ... should have done to her what I did to the German shepherds, instead of humiliating myself ..." (p.376, p.360). After Isabel had been left by her lover and was living in poor conditions in a shabby apartment he had visited her, what he now regrets, too, and now it seems to him that she was "staring at me

the way the German shepherds, sick and shedding their fur, stared at me from the irrigation channels, begging me to kill them with my shotgun" (p.377, p.361). He compares her poor appearance at that time further to the "moribund German shepherds", and remembering her saying "'Don't kiss me'" he comments this full of contempt (despite the fact that at that moment he had still wanted her to return): "as if, gentlemen, I'd thought of kissing her, as if I wanted to kiss her, as if I'd care to kiss a scrawny, haggard dog on her last legs ..." (p.378, p.361). With these repetitions, which I have abbreviated here, he gradually not only compares but makes Isabel's figure overlap with that of the German shepherds. He repeats this and pieces of his memories with a certain obsession, from which as well the reader, because of the repetition, can not escape. At the end of this part of his Report Isabel does have 'turned into one of the dogs', this is caused by him one time more repeating an already mentioned wish uttered by Isabel, followed by the picture of a dog without linguistic transition and without any particle of comparison:

"It's no use crying, don't cry, please don't cry, it's useless to cry"

a dog with his mouth hanging open in a flower bed, staring at me but unable to bark ... a dog shedding its fur and covered with cuts and sores ... (p.384, p.367).

Indeed the Minister is confessing here, indirectly and most probably mostly unconscious to himself his weaknesses and his despair to control the situation. The fascination for the reader may consist in the process to become involved into his impossibility to disentangle mental and concrete realities (cf. in this context as well below, VIb). In the concluding passage of the novel his life ends in 'burning' together both of these aspects of

living. But there is still one more possibility in the novel to make reality painful by rendering it strange and 'far'.

In this sense impressive is a passage in the Commentary by Odete, daughter of the former steward of the farm, in which a clock's cuckoo can be read as metaphor for the end of (a) time at a moment when there are not yet new possibilities at the horizon. Suspected as communists as the other staff of the farm the family had been driven away and had to move to the much too small apartment of Odete's mother's cousin. One evening the mechanism of the clock's cuckoo gets disturbed by the "cannons that shook the building's foundations", fired in the festivities during the highdays of revolution. The scene gradually gets absurd with the cuckoo: "announcing the hours without let-up, flinging open the tiny door, taking a bow, peeping, retreating, and shutting the door, flinging ...:" (p.27, p.33), with the brandy drinking husband of the cousin continuously threatening the bird: "Any minute now I'm going to twist its neck off" (pp.27, pp.33), "Motherfucking cuckoo" (p.28, p.34), and one begins to wonder who has gone 'mad'. Still there is the mother of Odete's mother's cousin who does not stop shouting: "Holy Jeezus" (p.27ss, "— Ih Jasus", pp.34ss), surprised by the cuckoo's "frenz[ied]" activity. She does not even stop after the clock is finally destroyed with a blow of the brandy bottle, commented by the "repentant husband": "I warned the bastard to shut up but he wouldn't listen" (p.28, p.34), now fascinated with the 'inner life' of the broken clock.

But the cuckoo remains active and, because by now "forever befuddled by the blow from the brandy bottle", overdoes it, Odete's father (the family has taken the clock to their new home to redeem the others from the

endless ““Holy Jeezus””), “sealed it shut with a dozen nails”. Still it stubbornly continues for a while to “peck in rage ... from inside the wood”. When it is quiet and the clock is opened, the bird is “lying dead on a bed of screws and tiny wheels” (p.30, p.36). Odete’s mother’s misses the bird and her father asks the carpenter for a new one. This refuses to ‘sing’. Asked what happened the carpenter says he has happened to make a female parakeet instead of a male cuckoo, his “jackknife must have slipped”. For him he explains ““... there’s no difference between a parakeet and a cuckoo, they’re equally lousy for eating with cornbread”” (p.31, p.37).

As for me the metaphors may be a sophisticated interpretation of the Revolution, showing the confusion about the events. And there appears the difficulty to return to reality, due as well to the fact that the society had so long been suppressed by non-logic and religious superstitions. The carpenter’s words may be read as his pain to articulate his understanding of the difference between communism and socialism, when not offered a better way to live, at that time, by either of them.

Similar un- or almost surrealistic scenes are in Alice’s description of her husband being eaten up by a crocodile: “I remember with a snicker my husband tripping on a root, my husband flipping in the air and losing one of his sandals, I remember as if it were today his final scream, a second before he vanished down the animal’s esophagus” (p.219, p.213). Colourful imaginative creativity is as well in her descriptions of the Indian, who works for and drinks with her husband and “who, like his Hindu gods, seemed to have eight arms for holding eight bottles at once ...” and of the Chinese wholesaler’s partner who according to her, “to judge by his flab and his contented smile” (p.216, p.211) seems to have

eaten up his own mother for greedy reasons. Such dictions may be taken for an interpretation of the perception of the Salazar rule by the ruled as a kind of confinement to an asylum for, not so much mentally deviated, but mentally abused.

In her article "ANTUNES(Antonio Lobo)" Cristina Robalo Cordeiro Oliveira sees Lobo Antunes as well in the tradition of the "fantastic realism of latin-american literature" ("herança do realismo fantástico da literatura latino-americana")⁵. While I agree I do not know whether she has thought of passages like the just mentioned. As for me I would see Lobo Antunes, too, in the tradition of e.g. the Brazilian author Machado de Assis and his short story *O Alienista*⁶, that is in the wake of portraying deviations in society in terms of realistically painted absurdity, used for social criticism.

4 Citations from the history of literature

As hinted at with the German sheperd Adamastor, texts from the history of literature are cited. Even this may be read as a kind of irony used against the Salazar regime which turned to traditional subjects of history which should stand for the 'glory of Portugal' and remind the people to emulate it, distract it from actual problems and divert it from political activity. Another citation, which can be expected to be known by the average reader, is as well from Camões' *Os Lusíadas*. Alice remembers in her Commentary a not to eventful affair from which she still keeps "a photo of the mariner taken at the fair in Castelo de Vide, his face framed in a cardboard as Vasco da Gama hugging me, a nymph from the ninth canto of *The Lusiads*, though the flirting never made it to the book cover of

Camões's epic, let alone the racy verses inside it"⁷ (p.223, p.217). Here one could think of Salazar's attempts to fashioning himself like a historical hero of Portugal (cf. here, figures 4, 5) and of his puritanical way of life.

A climax in this context is the re-appearance of the caravels from the time of Henry the Navigator in the Commentary by Romeu who on certain days has hallucinatory views of the time of the great voyages: "When I open the curtains in the mornings, I sometimes see the caravels anchored in the sea right outside our apartment" (p.242, p.235). His "mother, who stubbornly insists that in Alcácer there is no sea" takes him to a medical doctor who gives him "some great pills to take at night against caravels" (p.243, p.236). I shall come back to this Commentary in the second part of this study, here I just want to put it at the side of Alice's suggestion: "if Portugal had a smart government, it would sell off the idiot sea and hot weather to the Swiss", because "if there were less sea we could grow potatoes and eat dinner" (p.221, p.215). This can be seen in the context of a remark in José Saramago's novel *Levantado do Chão* in which the main stage of the novel, the latifundium, is said to be "an inland sea": "O latifúndio é um mar interior", what has been stressed already by Teresa Cristina Cerdeira da Silva in her study about José Saramago, *José Saramago entre a história e a ficção: uma saga de portugueses*⁸. In both cases appears the appeal to turn away from the traditional cult of the Portuguese history in overseas and to turn to problems at home. With Romeu, who seems to be mentally handicapped, the *saudade*⁹ of the so called 'great epoch' in Portuguese history is shown literally as a "nightmare[]" turned into obsession as expressed by Romeu: "... the ships, as slow as nightmares, really were setting sail for Brazil and for India"

(p.243, p.236).

In this context João's quixotic construction of a boat must be seen, too. At once this is put in a context of ambiguity and irony. He confesses: "I have nothing but a sack of clothes, a photo album, an ivory crucifix, and this boat in the garage so that I can depart one day, a boat without a motor or sails, as useless as the broken coal-burning boiler ..." (p.19, p.25). The boat is destined for shipwreck before it is ready to sail. Shipwreck reappears as a motif with a certain regularity in the novel. E.g. Lina compares herself and her daughter with "castaways" (in the portuguese text it is "náufragos", literally, shipwrecked): "... we hole up in the kitchen like two castaways among thousand of other castaways with their own fears, their own barred windows, and their own locks" (p.188, p.184). The Minister, when informed about the beginning Revolution, calls for Titina "num desamparo de náufrago" (p.168, literally, "with the despair of a shipwrecked", in translation this becomes "calling for me as if he were drowning" (p.171). Rather than as isolated metaphors, shipwreck may be seen as a central motif pervading the whole novel.

In 1735-1736 the *Tragic History of the Sea* (*História Trágico-Marítima*) was edited by Bernardo Gomes de Brito¹⁰. This is a compilation of, then, already well known and popular relations of shipwrecks from the 16th and 17th centuries. De Brito's collection, together with Luís de Camões' epic and Fernão Mendes Pinto's novel *Peregrinação*¹¹, became one of the most known literary texts of Portuguese literature and this, perhaps, not only of the time of the age of the great sea voyages.

Most of the texts follow a certain pattern of events and thus form an

own genre with certain rules of narratological structure and contents as Giulia Lanciani has shown in her analysis of many of these narrations of shipwrecks. Giulia Lanciani has drawn up a sequence of events and discussed structure and contents. She points as well at an ideological function of these narratives insofar the narratives mirror the problems of equipping the ships sailing out, mainly eastwards but as well in some cases to Brazil, due to financial deficits and administrative disorder in Portugal and in overseas. However, as G. Lanciani has further shown, in the narrations are not mentioned the responsible ministers and officers, but the shipwrecks are shown as due to general fateful human weaknesses, above all greed. Once the shipwreck has occurred the survivors have to endure hardships which are shown as shared by people of 'high and low' classes, and the so called 'high ranked' persons are shown as enduring these hardships heroically. They become model figures, while much of the responsibility for the shipwrecks lay exactly in this very group, here always following G. Lanciani¹².

One may say that A. Lobo Antunes' novel presents one more tragic history of sea. But, while real voyages are mentioned, this is almost not at all meant to be with reference to voyages of ships. Tragic appears in the colonies in overseas, tragic is shown as an essential part of Portuguese history and modern politics which have produced shipwrecks. These are seen directly and metaphorically as those of individuals and of a great part of Portuguese society. In other words, the voyages to overseas and the following colonialism, stubbornly hold up late into the second half of the twentieth century, are seen as the cause and origin of a shipwreck of Portuguese society. What is shown in de

Brito's collection as the concrete hardships of the peregrination through deserts and regions, considered as uncivilized, becomes here the peregrination of many members of Portuguese society through the hardships of social injustice due to failed politics and the egoism of certain members of that society. What is shown in the *Tragic History of the Sea* as the same fate, after the shipwreck, for all members of society, is shown in Lobo Antunes' novel, most ironically, as well as the suffering of all members of society. However, while everybody utters his complaints in a similar manner, these sufferings range from substantial problems of minimal material existence to the pain of not being able to afford the maximum of luxury. E.g. there is Alice's narration of her life in Angola in "a dilapidated building in which it rained as much as on the street" (p.215, p.210), and when moved to Portugal, in a "room filled with a poor person's furniture" to which belong as well "the teacups without handles ... the chipped ceiling light, the crooked burner on the stove" (p.228, p.221). Or there is Paula, who, as seen, can only dream of a "holiday ... in July to southern Spain" (pp.238 etc., pp.227ss). But then there is Sofia, whose main preoccupation, when her family wants to make her divorce from João, is that she might not arrive in time at an "auction for ... teacups" (p.74, p.76).

One may add that while A. Lobo Antunes is opposing the cult of history with the sea at its centre he can at the same time not help but to bring in this same history in the form of metaphors and comparisons. One may mention again José Saramago, who, in his novel *Memorial do Convento*, compares the figure of the pregnant queen moving through the palace with a ship going to India and a fleet for Brazil ("uma nau da

Índia, uma frota do Brasil)"¹³. This, too, has already been shown by Teresa Cristina Cerdeira da Silva who cites the passage just mentioned in length and points as well at another case in the novel where Portuguese navigation comes in.¹⁴

III The fear of communism in the novel

Another haunting motif of the novel is the pathological fear of communism in the ruling class, which appears in the suppressed masses as the fear to become suspect to be a communist and silences them. Paula describes the visit of her Minister-father to her apartment and remembers policemen surveying the surroundings and being about "to handcuff the hidden Communists and send them off ... to rot in the prison at Tarrafal" (p.205, p.200)

When the Minister learns about the events of the Revolution through the telephone on the farm his immediate reaction is to interpret it as a communist coup d'état, asking: "'Our troops went over to the Communists? ...'", or demanding "'Answer me with complete sincerity, Ambassador Nogueira, are the Communists in control or aren't they ...'" (p.179, p.175). His next reaction is to drive any single person from the farm, including Titina, to whom he had left the administration of the household over decades "'I want everyone out of here, Titina'" (Titina in her Report, p.181, p.177), or the steward with his family, whose daughter he had 'used' sexually: "'Scram, you commies, and I mean now'" (the daughter in her Commentary, p.22, p.29). He continues to be blinded by the fear of communist infiltration, expressed in his obsessive repetition: "'The first Communist who tries to enter gets his head blown

off” (pp.13, 14, 19 etc., pp.20, 25 etc.); or slightly varied: ““... will get it right in the guts””, as related by Sofia, regretting that her husband was a weakling and “unfortunately not like my father-in-law” (p.67, p.70).

His reaction is no exception, and in the context of the novel, at least, must not be seen as an over-reaction. Other members of the bourgeois class, or what David Birmingham calls “the dominant moneyed ... *élite*”¹⁵ react still more hysterically. Sofia tells in her commentary how

... one night one of my sisters-in-law woke me up screaming as if she were being strangled to death

“The Russians have overtaken Portugal, Sofia, turn on the radio if you don't believe me” (p.65, p.68).

Sofia's uncle Pedro is speaking only in despising terms about “the Communists, who lost no opportunity to humiliate us” (p.95, p.95), and the “French ... aiding the Bolsheviks” (p.101, p.101). João becomes depicted by his wife, absurdly, as a hidden communist: “João who was after all a Communist, after all a Russian, after all a ruthless Bolshevik” (pp.74, p.76). With the beginning of the revolution Sofia's mother is made to react spontaneously making the maids of her household to “say the rosary for the conversion of the Bolsheviks” (p.66, pp.69ss), one of the many most ironical allusions in the novel to the perverted religion pervading the society of the Salazar era. As the citations make clear this fear of communism created and propagated by the state had taken a form of utmost ridiculousness among what D. Birmingham calls at the just cited place as well the “educated *élite*”, and this, of course, not in the novel (cf. in this context Excursions A and B).

IV a The Salazar era in the novel

A. Lobo Antunes' novel is as well a portrait of the society of the late Salazar regime. As the centre of most of the narrations the Minister becomes the main figure, and next to him one may say António de Oliveira Salazar who is nearly as omnipresent and appears in peculiar form, as will be shown in Part II even in Romeu's Commentary (pp.247ss, pp.240ss). Their oppressing presence becomes obvious e.g. in the narration of the above not mentioned Tomás. At the end of his reluctant commentary, because he does not want to be reminded of his having been sent to Spain to kill General Humberto Delgado (in the second part of this study I shall discuss this historical figure more detailedly), he begs the interviewer "we forget everything forever and ever, you forgetting your book and Salazar and the Minister, and I, who didn't tell you anything ... I forgetting not Serpa, not my wife, and not the late husband ... but Spain, all I care about forgetting is Spain ..." (p.370, p.354). Later he is the Minister's chauffeur and becomes to know Milá, her mother and other figures. The Minister's and Salazar's team-like presence appears e.g. in the people's unisonous voice "'Long live the Minister, long live Salazar'" (pp.206s, pp.201s) at the Minister's visit to Paula's apartment or again at his visit to Mila's apartment, now with Salazar.

The narrations around this 'affair' are important for the description of the era and of Salazar's figure. Regarding the latter, Milá's mother's, Dona Dóres' Commentary is complex. She mentions "Professor Salazar, who had saved Portugal from the Germans ... who prevented the Communists from killing us all ... with an entire country on one's back plus Africa and Macao" (p.317, p.304). Here Salazar appears as he would

have liked to, namely, as the defender of Portugal, or as a “crusador[]” and historical “successor”, as D. Birmingham writes (cf. here, D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op.cit., p.164, and figures 4, 5). However, the so much occupied Salazar forgets, the for her most important thing, that “Milá and the Minister were to get married the following year” which she wants to have confirmed by the Minister and Salazar. This forgetfulness may stand for the general ‘forgetfulness’ and oblivion of the needs of the population under the Salazar regime.

Salazar is depicted repeatedly as degenerated, and this again as well by Dona Dores who remembers: “Salazar ... giving me a sparrowy wrist with veins that twitched” (p.317, p.303) and more sharply when she speaks about “a couple of codgers governing the country between sips of herbal tea and toast with unsalted butter” (p.319, p.305). Leandro remarks in his Commentary to the same report by Milá: “and in walks Professor Salazar with his soft, nunnish footsteps, waving his translucent fingers at the flowers in the lobby to make sure they cheered” (pp.337-338, p.325). Such degeneration characterizes as well other ‘leading’ figures in the novel, as the bishop who lives in the same building as Milá about whom Leandro says, that he “would presumably like to travel up to the seventh floor with hands pressed together in a cloud of incense”. When Titina speaks about the conspirative meetings on the farm after the Minister’s reclusion she remembers “a one-hundred-year-old gentleman who ... would occasionally yawn himself out of his coma to demand in a croaking drawl: “I’m not leaving here without the Treasury, I’m not leaving here without the Treasury” (p.170, p.167).

IV b More scenes from the Salazar regime and its society

Attention deserve as well Milá's second Report and the following Commentary by the doorman Leandro for their descriptions of the Salazar regime. The main motif in Milá's narration is a kind of historical transvestitism. The Minister forces Milá to wear clothes and adornment used by his wife Isabel and to put on her cosmetics, despite the fact that all this has become wrotten by the time and in addition does not fit to Milá's size. Milá explains:

he presented me a belt, a purse, and a pair of moth-eaten crocodile high heels, and I could never keep my balance in those crooked stilts (p.327, p.314)

With this the Minister wants to create for himself the illusion that Milá does not only resemble Isabel, the reason for his relation with her, but that Isabel has indeed returned one time more. The scenes in which Milá appears in such guise, which causes her mother to be "afraid they'd lock me [i.e. Milá] up in an insane asylum" (p.328, p.315) reflect the attempts produced by Salazar himself and his entourage to stop time and the effect, following of such policy and his financial policy, that most parts of Portugal and its society began to retard and appear in rags and tatters.

The doorman begins his Commentary, which over large parts is a lament about the presence of Milá and her mother in the building, because he is forced to serve them despite he is full of contempt for them:

As if it weren't enough to have to put up with whores, pimps, transvetites, drug addicts ... (p.331, p.319)

There still follows a long catalogue of people who are tabu for the doorman, but attention is to be given to the "transvestites", because soon for Leandro

the mother becomes “the older wench using pendants and pins to disguise herself as a younger wench but ready to keel over ...” and the daughter “the younger wench disguised as an operetta soprano, rubbing her buttocks together like castanets on the stage of the Rua Castilho to the great consternation of the transvestites, since she lured away their clients, a pair of wenches who were ruining the reputation of the building” (p.332, p.320). Already with the “consternation of the transvestites” the situation becomes inverted. The English “wench” is in Portuguese “*aventasma*” (*abantesma*), what is here more speaking, because it can mean as well ‘ghost’. And with this, one may understand that the ruling group and persons cherished by it turn out to be the historical transvestites corrupting society. Such an interpretation may be seen further supported by the “transvestites” outside continuing to linger around the scene, as a suggestive motif.

Milá’s and Leandro’s narration shall be used here to show briefly how this standstill of time, in the novel, does not create the atmosphere of *saudade* as intended by Salazar with the cult of *fado*, but instead an atmosphere of depressing sadness.

One day the Minister begins to follow twenty-three year old Milá, he appears in the modest shop run by Milá’s mother with presents and soon rents a luxurious apartment in one of the luxury quarters of Lisbon. These and the following episodes may be read as one more example of the arbitrariness on the side of the ruling, including most personal relations, during the Salazar regime, and of the people, who, while grudgingly, have no other choice than to look silently at what is going on. Milá herself feels the aversion of the other inhabitants of the house in the Rua Castilho, who ignore her and her mother, or who like the

doorman's wife, when they entered the house, would "find a way to sprinkle our legs or make us trip on her brush" (p.324, p.311).

The doorman speaks openly of his aversion, however, one has to remind that the interview takes place decades after the events when the Salazar era has ended. Concerning the Minister he can say in the interview "you can write down bumpkin, don't worry, you can write down bumpkin, I'm not afraid" (p.339, p.326). In the time of the events narrated he is warned and made silent by the building manager who fears the reaction of the government, a reflection of the above mentioned paranoical fear of the menacing ghost of communism:

... the manager pulling at my arm and explaining that if the Minister so much as suspected that I wasn't keen on the wenches, I'd be sent straight to the prison fort at Peniche, where I'd sleep on urine-drenched straw when I wasn't being tortured, the manager whispering into my ear that if the Minister suspected that I wasn't keen on the wenches, the he would also be sent to Peniche, for having hired a Communist spy as doorman ... (pp.333-334, p.320)

The doorman belongs as the veterinary surgeon, who is called at the time of the birth of the female cook's daughter instead of a midwife, to that part of society which is forced to live frustatedly under the political oppression, but he is as well deprived of almost all comforts of life because of the strict economical pressures due to the financial mismanagement.

When the veterinary surgeon, by the way a professor too(p.160, p.159), is called by the Minister at an for him untimely seven o'clock, he finds his wife still sleeping besides him and makes the disturbing

discovery: "... I suddenly realized that I'd been living for thirty five years with a monster (p.153, p.153)" Because of his dark and monotonous daily life this same veterinary surgeon has the habit to look at the arrival of young school girls at a school in his neighbourhood. He explains his voyeuristic habit, that looking at the school girls would give him "the strength to withstand the day's sadness" (p.159, "energias para aguentar a infelicidade do dia", p.158). This sadness pervades the whole novel, it is a sadness which underlies the omnipresent brutal and egoistic cynism and psychological and physical violence as their own by-product.

In the novel, however, it is this very sadness which produces, too, a certain melancholy and regret, about lost possibilities, which again leads to some most poetical passages, despite the overwhelming aggressivity and desperation remaining present in these same passages.

As an important reason for the doorman's aggressivity appears economical envy, enforced on him, when he declares that he and his wife are living "in a crummy cubicle when everyone else in building lives in luxury" (331, p.319). His aggressivity is first turned against the cats which disturb his sleep and which he poisons, and then against his wife, lamenting the poor animals, what her husband interprets most cynically, that she is "just begging for a nice hard smack that would knock out a couple of teeth, thereby increasing family harmony and giving her a good reason to cry" (pp.331-332, p.319). At a certain point he does utter some feeling of envy, if not of himself but of his wife, when he remarks about Milá's mother "all year long in fur-lined slippers and a black blouse with floral patterns and sequins that was the envy of my wife, who adores thrash" (p.338, p.326).

While the veterinary surgeon describes his wife's 'monstruosity' more detailed with her "slumping back down like an octopus going to sleep, plunging her arms into the sheets like tentacles into sand" (p.154, p.154), the doorman senses his wife's face as "twisted like a wet rag, all wrinkles, red splotches, swelling" (p.334, p.322). This is when a prostitute is hiding herself in the lobby of the building and he gets a touch of her arm and feels a "sense of grass of trees" with "firm skin, with no flab" (p.334, p.321). Outwards he counts the prostitutes to the groups of outsiders of society but he confesses "if I were twenty and single, and my diabetes permitting, I'd surely indulge" (p.333, p.321). In this attitude is mirrored a hypocrisy created by the pressure through the regime and further a hypocrisy of the rulers themselves, as becomes visible in the Minister's relationship with women.

Milá relates about the apartment in Rua Castilho, on opening "the window in the morning we saw the statue of the Marquis of Pombal and had trees waving their branches right in our living room, as if they were part of the decor, and my mother thought they were ..." (p.291, p.281). This is in sharp contrast to the surroundings of Praça do Chile where she had lived and where one runs into "the TB victims from the Diagnostic Center so skinny they flew about like the leaves swept up at dawn by the municipal cleaning crew ..." and "retirees in slippers who could barely walk" and "blind people who bumped into them ..." (p.294, pp.283-284). The doorman senses the background of Milá's and her mothers up to now living standards and to him they are unwelcome upcomers who have achieved, undeservedly, living conditions he can only dream about, despite the fact that he at least has been living in Rua Castilho for years.

And still, both, the veterinary surgeon and the doorman show, if a slight, human feeling at the end of their interview, even if it may remain unconscious for themselves where this stems from. After the veterinary surgeon has been forced to assist the cook to give birth literally like an animal, "the cook crucified on the pile of straw" (p.166, p.164), he becomes unable to move and empty. Instead of returning to his daily work he waits in front of the high school until it becomes dark "in the night of Setúbal's night, in the dark heart of the night of Setúbal's night, until in the silence of the square and the buildings and the trees I heard the whining of a crow, the anguished whining of a baby" (p.167). This moment gains so much importance in the novel because that "whining of a crow" ("um soluço de corvo, um soluço angustiado de criança", p.164) is throughout the novel sharply contrasted by the turmoil of crows on the farm. There are "the crows cackling in the beech trees" (p.8, "os corvos a gargalharem nas faias", p.16), and "the crows [increasing] their cackling (p.14, "mais gargalhadas de corvos", p.21). There are "the unruly crows on the farm" (p.12, "[corvos desgrenhados da quinta" (p.18), people are "mocked by the crows" (p.46, "troçado pelos corvos", p.50), and there is "the squawking protest of the crows" (p.384, "os protestos dos corvos", p.367), and, up to the end of novel, in the imagination of the minister, there continue to be "the crows giving the signal "Caw, caw" ... "Caw caw"" (p.422, "os corvos dão sinal — Eh eh ... — Eh, eh", p.404) and, even as the farm has finished to exist "the crows' screeching" (p.431, "[os uivos dos corvos", p.411).

After mother and daughter had to leave the apartment in Rua Castilho the doorman and the manager go to see what has happened. In

the almost empty apartment has remained a photo which can only be of Isabel. It is not said that the doorman recognizes the resemblance with Milá. He only sees a girl with hairstyle and dressed like the girls of the time when he “was young and single”. But he feels, somewhat helplessly, that the girl was: “staring at me bashfully, staring at me mockingly, staring at me from out of the frame with a kind of docile pity” (p.342, “... numa espécie submissa de ternura”, p.328).

V Excursion A

— The Salazar regime in recent studies, especially David Birmingham's *A Concise History of Portugal*

As David Birmingham points out the Salazar-regime, by Salazar himself named Estado Novo, New State, “was contemporary with the regimes of Mussolini in Italy and Primo de Rivera the Elder in Spain and was commonly described by its opponents as a fascist system of government”. But he points further out “Such loose usage of the term ‘fascist’ fails to illuminate the specific nature of Portuguese government in the 1930s and its contrasts of substance and style with both the other dictatorships of the western Mediterranean”¹⁶ There is no question that D. Birmingham makes his points intelligible; however comparisons, and/or putting the Salazar-regime into one context with other fascist regimes make not wonder. The political police, PIDE¹⁷, and the youth organization, Mocidade Portuguesa¹⁸, created in Portugal were different, and they can or must be seen e.g., or especially, in a context with the German SS or SA and the Hitlerjugend respectively.

As well in recent studies the regime continues to be put side by side

with European fascist systems. In 1994 appeared the study by António Costa Pinto with the title *Os Camisas Azuis* (The Blue Shirts), with the subtitle declaring it a study about “fascist movements in Portugal”¹⁹ In 2000 appeared three studies, two in Portugal, one by António Louça with the main title *Hitler and Salazar*²⁰, another by João Medina with the main title *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*²¹, and in America, not as a translation but as a new study, A. Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts*, adding here a slightly different subtitle *Portuguese Fascists and the New State*²². In these studies appear parallels between the Portuguese and other fascisms and important contrastive comparisons. E.g. A. Costa Pinto demonstrates that in Portugal there was a “conflict between fascists and other authoritarian pressure groups” (p.237) out of which finally Salazarism remained and not the fascists and how as well the military gradually became controlled in the early phase of the upcoming Salazar-regime.

The ‘constitutionalisation’ and gradual civilization of the dictatorship was negotiated according to a government initiative involving part of the civilian élite, mostly law professors, led by the then young Finance Minister, António de Oliveira Salazar.” (p.238) ...

By 1939, the Salazar regime was consolidated, replacing the unstable Military Dictatorship. A. Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts*, op. cit., (p.239)

A. Costa Pinto argues further, that:

The New State meant the hegemony of a traditionalist catholic, and anti-democratic right. Social catholicism and the Church hierarchy constituted important instruments limiting the

fascistisation of the Salazar regime. In other words, these elements constituted the axis of a 'functional alternative' to the role that fascism played in other countries in consolidating a new authoritarian order in the 1930s. (A. Costa Pito, *The Blue Shirts*, op. cit., pp.239-240)

He adds that several elements were "imported" from other fascist countries, like "the propaganda apparatus" or "the youth organization", "[b]ut they were swiftly abandoned when the Spanish Civil War ended"²⁴.

As an important difference to other dictators and their dictatorial system D. Birmingham underlines the fact that Salazar always kept hidden, that he lacked charisma in public speeches and that

...his propaganda machine presented him as a wise and monkish father, the saviour of the nation, pictured on posters with a crusader's sword in his hand or written into history books as the patriotic successor to the liberating hero of the nation, John IV of Braganza. (D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit, p.164)

Birmingham demonstrates further how Salazar managed to make his system an apparently 'more civic' totalitarianism. Instead of "Nazi-style mobs" he used more subtle forms of "violent repression". But as other fascist rulers "Salazar founded concentration camps for dissidents and decreed forced labour for the unemployed" (p.164). As well the political police in Portugal is compared by Birmingham to the German system, he writes that it was "similar to, if not trained by, the German Gestapo", and while its number remained comparatively small, Birmingham writes that it

“never rose much above 2,000 fully enrolled stuff though it probably had 10,000 part-time informers planted in every hamlet or institution” (p.167).

According to D. Birmingham Salazar created a state with an élite minority, to which belonged “priests, monarchits and soldiers” were “incorporated” (p.166), however this elite, too, was controlled. Officers for example “could only marry Catholic wives with school qualifications or personal fortunes to ensure their harmonious integration into the dominant moneyed and educated élite” (p.168). This élite, Birmingham writes, settled upon the vast majority of the uneducated masses, where children often could not attend even the official four years of school, because “in practice schools were often remote or unavailable and child labour could not be released from the struggling farms” (p.166).

In order to keep the people quiet and obedient, Birmingham continues, stereotypes were created which were enforced on the people by slogans. Birmingham inserts a contemporary poster which propagates “A Licão de Salazar” (“Salazar’s lesson”) which contains “Deus, Pátria, Família: A Trilogia da Educação Nacional” (“God, Fatherland, Family: The Trilogy of National Education”) (p.167). Another ‘trilogy’ was captured in the propagation of “‘Fátima for religion, *Fado* songs for nostalgia, and Football for the glory of Portugal” (cited from D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit., p.166 as well other citations made here from pp.166-168).

One might interpret this ‘trinity’ of F’s as well as the application of various forms of sedatives in order to stop any alternative ideas or movements and to restrict life of the masses to the fourth F of Family

mentioned as well by D. Birmingham. Of the first three F's special attention was given to religion, which was used, so Birmingham, to create fear among the superstitious population, and a "vision of apocalypse" (D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit., p.165) was propagated. Therefore the regime, in collaboration with the church used especially the so-called miracle of Fátima, which is said to have happened in 1917. The hystery about Fátima grew so great that it became a spiritual and ideological centre for the masses, as Birmingham writes, "pilgrims began to trek to Fátima on foot or even on their knees"²¹. Titina mentions exactly such a scene in the second part of her Report where it results in a highly sarcastic description (p.150, p.148). In the second part of this study I shall concentrate on the aspect of religion in the Salazar era and its most welcome blasphemical treatment in this and other novels by Lobo Antunes. Here I want to mention only the cook who heard Salazar, during his visits to the farm, taking decisions about "the miracle of Fátima" in one and the same breath with political decisions of great importance (p.126, p.126), and Leandro's observation about Salazar and his collaborators "mak[ing] decisions about miracles in Fátima and concentration camps" (p.338, "decidir[] de milagros com pastorinhos e de de campos de concentração", p.325).

VI a Excursion B

Writing about the paranoically created fear of communism during the Salazar regime and and the hysterical reaction of the monetary-bourgeoisie as described in the novel, it becomes necessary to have a look at the historical events and facts. But this shall be done in the second

part, here I want to mention, one time more from D. Birmingham's *A Concise History of Portugal*, only that the communist gained a maximum of "15 per cent of the popular vote before dwindling away" (D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit., p.193).

Of interest may be as well how the events of the April Revolution were seen from outside. This has been done in an article by Claudia Moura which was published in the magazine *Noticias* on occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the Carnation Revolution under the title, which translated into English is: "April 25th in the foreign press. Phantoms of Portugal"⁴⁵. I want to present this article in this excursion with its important points of information.

Claudia Moura shows that the threat of communism was indeed the biggest fear that appeared in representative magazines in western Europe and America, that is in correspondence to the fear of communism as represented in the novel. She cites an article from, the former Portuguese colony, Brazil by Teophilo de Andrade, which bears the astonishing headline "Threat to the Portuguese Empire" ("Ameaça ao império português"). In this text about "little grandpa Portugal" ("avozinho Portugal") seems, following C. Moura's representation, to have appeared a rather misrepresented Salazar era. The last elections are said to have been free even according to the adversaries who would have had difficulties only with propaganda, so that it had been a "major surprise" that the opposition did not have elected one single deputate". It is a historical irony that T. de Andrade, always following here C. Moura, seems to regret the possible loss of Africa leaving Portugal without "historical significance". From another article from Brazil C. Moura cites

David Nasser criticizing the Brazilian inconsequent attitude towards colonialistic systems, with would be too "rigid" towards "evangelizing Portugal", and his regret about the Brazilian forgetting "what the Portuguese creative genius did in all the lands, which it, stallion of continents, deflowered, fornicating nations which today are hostile" (all citations, C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.59), what is for me, full of, unreflected?!, ambiguity. D. Nasser, so C. Moura, criticizes the Brazilian intellectual further for his leftist attitude. Such voices from Brazil may make wonder today, but one must not forget, that Brazil itself was in 1974 ruled by military dictatorship.

In France C. Moura found doubts about the future of Portugal in an article published shortly after the Revolution on May 6, 1974 containing the question: "The France of 1936, the Chile of Allende or the Peru of the captains" (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., pp.59-60). In early 1975 the fear of communism and leftism seemed to increase, as C. Moura documentates with three title pages from *L'Express*. The cover from the February 10th edition shows Álvaro Cunhal, the leader of the Portuguese Communist Party who in 1960 could flee from prison to Moscow from where he returned with the revolution (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.57, cf. here figure 8). A week later appeared Mário Soares, the Socialist leader who had been banned by Salazar to the isle of São Tomé (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.60, cf. here figure 9). After the abortive counter coup d'état by Spínola from March 11, the possibilities of communist rule appeared, here still always following C. Moura, even more threatening. On the March 24th edition one finds a map of western Europe with an

inkstand spilling its red content covering mainly Portugal and Italy (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.60, cf. here figure 10). C. Moura draws the attention at the design of each of these cover-pages. For the publishers, she suggests, the portrait of Álvaro Cunhal with hammer and sickle in the totally red background was speaking and/ or threatening enough. The page of the, at that time popularity gaining, figure of Soares seemed sufficiently commentated with *Soares Contre-Attaque* (Soares. Counter-Attack), and the last cover left no doubt about *L'Offensive Communiste* (The Communist Offensive).

The doubts from the French magazines about the capacity of the Portuguese people and its politicians to manage the situation are striking. There may be truth in the observation, cited by C. Moura, about the difficult situation in Portugal due to "depolitisation" during the long dictatorship and to the many young emigrants (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.59) as expressed by Edouard Ballby. The figure of Spínola, here always following C. Moura, is discredited in *L'Express* from May 6th, because, 'after fighting with the Spanish Franquists, standing on the side of the Germans at the time of the battle of Stalingrad, and after the repression of African nationalists in Guiné under his guide', "he receives with open arms socialists and communists returned from exile" (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.60). Discreditation beomes offence in *L'Express* from February 10th, from which is cited: "The recepy of the portuguese *cocktail*, which risks to transform an already ill country into a moribund one, is the following, one third of Chile, another of Peru and still one other from Cechoslovakia" (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.60).

The people who enjoyed libertation from dictatorship gathering on the streets and feasting spontaneously and happily are compared to "children after the first cup of wine" shouting inebriatedly socialist slogans (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.60).

Voices cited by C. Moura from America are, similarly, sceptical about Portuguese abilities to manage the situation and the international politics. From the *Time* edition from May 6th, 1974 (p.62), the opinion is cited, that there might be not so much change for the Portuguese people, but that there were signs of violence, as with the persecution of PIDE-members, and that the situation might become more dangerous. The failed coup d'état by Spínola is characterized in the *Time* from March 24, 1975, as "of liliputian dimension" (there may hide some disappointment I think). On the other hand, the Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves appears as "ill humoured" and a bag of nerves, and the President Costa Gomes as a leader without much authority. In the edition from August 11th of the same year, *Time* announces *Red Thread in Portugal* (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.62). By now the American magazine expresses fear for the western mediterranean area and for the NATO, and even for the access through the straight of Gibraltar (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.64). Behind such fears, all cited here from C. Moura, one has to remember the importance of the Açores arquipélago for the US as a military base, which had made it possible that Portugal had been admitted to the NATO and UN even as a totalitarian state.

C. Moura's article cites as well most ridiculous and almost unbelievable reactions to the Revolutions, egoisms expressed in the fear

about the welfare of tourists, who could not fly to Lisbon, so in *The Guardian* from April 26th. Susannah Ross from the BBC, who herself said that there were only few people in Great Britain occupied with the Portuguese colonies in Africa, mentioned other journalists who investigated whether the production of Port wine, so beloved in England, would be disturbed by the communists (C. Moura, "April 25th in the foreign press", op. cit., p.58). These are voices which might appear in Lobo Antunes novel next Sofia's with her fear about a missed auction.

In these articles there are of course shabby distortions/ perversions of facts. As for Teophilo de Andrade, as cited by C. Moura, one has to say that there did not exist any real possibility for an alternative election campaign to that of the for decades monopolistic União Nacional party. He is cited as well writing about revenges in the wake of the Revolutions and the liberation of "political prisoners, which amounted only to some tens". It is necessary to compare these observations with other representations. In another article "Enviado a Portugal" which appeared in the magazine *Única*, as well in April of this year, Luiz Carvalho, commentating photos taken by Henri Bureau in 1974, mentions as well "injusties and humiliations", and/ but the soldiers who tried to "calm the tempers and fists"²⁶ Considering the general atmosphere D. Birmingham underlines the common relief and "happiness" which followed the revolutionary liberation, he writes in his *A Concise History of Portugal*: "In the euphoria there was little room for recrimination and persecution though a few secret police-men were exposed and incarcerated and some successful members of the business community found it expedient to follow a handful of

politicians into temporary exile in Brazil" (D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit., p.185). And regarding violence he writes: "Everyone had an opinion and took part in the endless discussions that became the basis of the new democracy. Such was the success of the open forum that differences were harmonised and guns were not used throughout the revolution" (D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit., p.195). As to the number of political prisoners I cannot give exact figures for the time immediately before the revolution. As for the period of the establishment of Salazarism, that is 1932-1945, Maria da Conceição Ribeiro gives a total of 13 648²⁷ with imprisonments reaching from "Less than 15 days ... 3487" to "10 to 15 years ...1514", "15 to 20 years ... 34", one case of "More than 20 years", and "1169" cases of not identified periods²⁸.

In A. Lobo Antunes' novel *Martins*, the chess-partner of the Minister, cites the Minister indirectly as complaining about the "laxness" (p.389, p.373) of the government whose members are "without the courage to give the Communists a few good whacks and lock them up in jail, the prison of Caxias practically empty, the prison of Peniche practically empty, of Tarrafal practically empty, of São Nicolau practically empty, an absolute disgrace, with almost no one starving and almost no one dying, if you can imagine anything so amateurish" (p.389, p.373). One can easily imagine that the decreasing number of imprisonments was due to the intimidation of the people, about which again Birmingham writes in his *A Concise History of Portugal*, and while stating that "Portugal did not kill 'surplus' people in the Soviet or Nazi style in the 1930s, nor did it suffer the carnage of Spain, but disloyalty to the leader and any questioning of the inequitable social order was repressed as subversion or communism", puts

before this observation: "... fear became a well-honed weapon in his [i.e. Salazar's] hands and passers-by on the street in front of police headquarters were allowed to hear the screams of detainees subjected to both bluntly crude and exquisitely refined forms of torture" (D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit. p.168).

This atmosphere of terror by the government is captured impressingly in the description of "The first voyage to Portugal" by the well known Italian Lusitanist Luciana Stegagno Picchio in the late 1950ies. At that time she travelled with three Portuguese who had sought exile in Italy. When they came to the Portuguese frontier, she remembers, they asked her to leave the car: "You have nothing to do with our political problems. It may be that they do not let us pass, that they arrest us". She left the car and had to wait for two hours after which she saw her friends again, and she confesses: "My heart palpitated heavily"²⁹. And, as is documented by the just cited text itself, one must not forget the great number of Portuguese who went into exile in order to evade political suppression and/ or four years of military service in Africa during the time of the colonial war, 1961-1974.

VI b Back to the novel

In the novel an aspect of the tortures by PIDE is given in the commentary by César, who is arrested because he has begun an amorous affair with Paula. In this concentrated portrait the "Major in charge of the secret police", who stands for the historical Major Fernando Eduardo da Silva, for years chief of the PIDE and the Minister himself 'take charge of César in a room with pictures of Salazar and the Admiral, that is Américo

Tomás, Portugal's president from 1958 to 1974 (cf. here as well the "Notes" in the English translation for the figures of the Major and the Admiral, pp.433-435, here, pp.433-434). At a certain point of the 'interview' he begins to faint and is only "wanting to take a shower to wash off the blood and bits of teeth but without the strength to act" (p.284, p.274). After that his wife finds him "as pulp on [the] doorstep" (p.285, p.275) and he has to be fed "for two weeks" (p.287, p.276) on fluid nourishment only. The description of the methods of the PIDE undergo a process of *Verfremdung* in various ways. César is not shown exclusively as the most pitiful victim of the police but as well as a comic figure with almost picaresque features. For example the relation of the questioning, torture and its effects is intertwined with informations of his sexual relationships with Paula, somewhat complicated because done in his taxi, creating difficulties and pains to put clothes off or on, which are described in detail, as his zipper catching some delicate piece of skin, especially when there appear all of a sudden some clients who ask to be driven in the taxi (p.278, pp.268-269). However the appearingly understatement of the description is used to characterize the activity of the PIDE as ridiculously exaggerated and without value. That is, its agents had been busy to follow Cesar and take unnumerable pictures, like e.g. "Paula and me in the chapel yard at the cemetery of Santiago with a woman selling buttercups peering at us from behind her petals" (p.282, p.272,), of his at least politically harmless, meetings with Paula, and that on behalf of the mere whim of the Minister. Irony is brought forward as well directly in the figure of a policeman "who was climbing up the church tower to make sure the storks weren't plotting something" (p.279, in the Portuguese texts it is more pointedly: "trepava à

torre da igreja a confirmar a inocência das cegonhas", p.269, which would be, "he climbed up the church tower to confirm the innocence of the storks").

But there is as well the disturbing element that César is remembering his uncle Zé Francisco who had told him that one could hear the voices from suicides "who talked to us from the depths" of the river (pp. 281 etc., pp.271 etc.). Disturbing, because, as his uncle told him, the suicides begin to call his name: "Don't you hear your name?", and this, again, is paralleled to the Minister calling at him: "Didn't you hear the Minister's question?" (p.281, p.271). Disquieting, because the suicide gradually overlaps with César's figure: "a drowned man calling me from the stones in the riverbed, a man my age and with my height and my face sinking into the sand" (p.285, p.274). And, in a process similar to that described above (cf. here, pp.75-76), finally César becomes the man in the water. After the torture back at home, full of wounds he sees himself: "from the stones of the riverbed, I trying to swim up to the surface" (p.286, p.275).

Outlook to part II

Next to the fear of communism, in the novel there is the theme of the everything pervading religion in Salazar society. The use of religion in its various aspects will be studied, however, special attention will be given to what has become a mythos of Fátima. It will be shown that this Fátima related mythos is, indeed, a phantom, and that without the 'success' of the Salazar regime it, so far as I think, would not have become what it is regarded as today, or perhaps fallen almost into oblivion. The Fátima syndrome will be analyzed together with other

aspects of 'religion described' in the novel.

Another aspect which up to here has almost not been mentioned is the question of the African colonies, which will be discussed in a broader frame of portuguese post/ colonialism.

- *1 In this article I have used the English translation because of the citations: António Lobo Antunes, *The Inquisitors' Manual*, translated from the Portuguese by Richard Zenith, New York, Grove Press, 2003. Used as well was the original portuguese edition: A. L. A., *O Manual dos Inquisidores* (1996), Lisboa, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1999.8. Pages from the English translation are given first, the second page number is from the portuguese edition. All English citations made here from *The Inquisitor's Manual* are from the translation by Richard Zenith. Other English translations from texts in not English languages, are, if not otherwise mentioned, by myself.
- *2 This is an example how reality in the novel becomes intelligible for the reader only piece by piece. Sofia's uncle Pedro appears with his name first in her Commentary as an influential figure of the family clan running an international business from the time of the Salazar regime (pp.72etc., pp.74etc.), and with a decisive influence on Sofia's divorce from João (cf. as well Pedro's Commentary about Sofia's marriage, p.101, p.101). Titina mentions in the second part of her Report João's marriage with Isabel's former lover, but Pedro's name is not given explicitly: "casou com a sobrinha do outro" (p.147), the English translator has rendered this more explicitly: "[he] happened to marry the businessman's niece" (p.149). But only later, through Isabel's Commentary, one understands that Pedro indeed had been her lover. He concludes his own Commentary: "... Sofia was awarded the farm, meaning that the family was awarded the farm, meaning that I was

awarded the farm ..." (pp.111-112, p.110). His cynicism, pervading his whole Commentary becomes even more pungent in his cynical description of his affair with the lover of his father (pp.106ss, pp.105ss). Isabel explains that "his love was after all just like Francisco' except quicker, more selfish, and even less affectionate" (p.417, p.399).

- *3 *First Report*: João, the Minister's son, his relation to his father, his enforced divorce

Commentary: Odette, "the steward's daughter", sexually 'used' by the Minister

Report: João, visiting his father in the clinic, his relation to his mother, who according to himself did not exist for him

Commentary: Sofia, João's wife, representing the monetary elite before and after the Revolution

Report: João, being tricked out from the farm by his wife's family

Commentary , Sofia's uncle Pedro, cf. footnote 2, holds most of the family's shares, main figure when taking the farm from João, represents brutal capitalism before and after the Revolution

Second Report: Titina (Albertina), the housekeeper of the farm, reporting about Isabel's vanishing from the house

Commentary: the cook, sexually used by the Minister, made pregnant, still thinking the Minister preferred her to his wife (p.125, p.125)

Report: Titina, on her life in the charity home in Alverca, about her mother-like relation to João

Commentary: the veterinary surgeon, called for the birth of the cook's child

Report: Titina, about the Minister's ambitions failing with the Revolution, here seen from the life on the farm

Commentary: Lina, separated from Adérito (who does not appear himself in the novel), she works "as an occupational therapist at the charity home for women in Alverca" (p.182, p.179) where as well Dona Isabel, João's mother, and Dona Albertina, seemingly without

knowing from each other, stay. When João visits his mother he does not recognize Titina, but she him (pp.193-194, pp.189-190).

Third Report: Paula, the cooks daughter, her life with her godmother, the Minister's visit. She has a sexual relationship with César, her cousin Adelaide's husband, stopped with violence by the Minister's agents

Commentary: Alice, Paula's godmother, who adopted her after twenty-six years in Africa

Report: Paula, who thinks her brother João has spent all the money from the farm, she later visits the Minister in the clinic to get some of her rights (p.239)

Commentary: Romeu, who "see[s] the caravels" (p.242, p.235), works at the same office as Paula, not becoming a soldier because of his mental handicap

Report: Paula, she gets pregnant with a child which may be from César, but, perhaps, Romeu

Commentary: César, tortured by the Minister's agents because he has a relation with Paula

Fourth Report: Milá, a girl who resembles Dona Isabel and is therefore made the Minister's 'concubine', still thinking with affection of Carlos, her problematic boyfriend

Commentary: Dona Dores, Milá's mother, she likes the relation of her daughter with the minister and still cannot help to see her as a "dead doll" (p.321etc.) in this relation

Report: Milá, in her role as Dona Isabel

Commentary: Leandro, the doorman of the house in Rua Castillo, where Milá and her mother live

Report: Milá, her life about thirty years afterwards (p.342, p.329), back to misery; about a former visit to the farm, meeting, with a glance, João, whom she does not know as the Minister's son, and Titina, to whom she is presented as his wife, as before to Professor Salazar

Commentary: Tomás, “an officer in the army, a lieutenant colonel in the reserve” (p.357), and driver of the Minister in the time the Minister begins to seek Milá at Praça do Chile (p.361), he was sent by the Minister ““...to Spain to nab the general”” (p.362, p.347; this is the historical figure of General Humberto Delgado; cf. here as well the “Notes” in the English translation, pp.433-435, here, p.434)

Fifth Report: Senhor Francisco, the Minister, about Isabel's leaving, what he should have done, still very proud and arrogant

Commentary: Martins, cousin of the pharmacist's widow, another ‘mistress’ of the Minister, who introduces him to the Minister, with whom he plays chess, always ‘made’ loose; aspects of his cousins affair, the ambitions of the Minister, who, at the end, is the looser (p.392, p.375)

Report: the Minister, seeing much more “clear” by now (p.392, p.377), about love, which seems to him impossible, his personal hatred turned against other lovers, failed as well

Commentary: Isabel, when she was young, being used by the Minister and by Pedro her lover

Report: the Minister, trying to imagine he still has power but must understand it is not true, being sent to Angola in 1961 and the senseless violence used there, his probable death

- *4 For the mythos of Adamastor cf.: Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas* (1572), Canto V, 37-60, Porto, Porto Editora, 1987, pp.202-208. In the first part of his chronicle *Ásia* João de Barros says that Bartolomeu Dias, famous for surrounding the Cape, named it “Tormentoso but that the king, João II, gave it “the more illustrious name Cape of Good Hope”, J.d.B., *Ásia, Primeira Década* (1552), Quarta Edição Revista e Prefaciada por António Baião Conforme a Edição Princeps (1932), Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional-Casa da Moeda, 1988, *Livro Terceiro*, p.87. Cf. the article by Paulo Nascimento, “Boa Esperança, Cabo da”, in: Luis de Albuquerque, Direcção, *Dicionário de História dos Descobrimentos Portugueses*, Vols.I-

II, Vol.I, Lisboa, Caminho, 1994, pp.133-134.

- *5 “expressão ... inscrita na herança do realismo fantástico da literatura latino-americana”, Cristina Robalo Cordeiro Oliveira, “ANTUNES (António Lobo)”, in: José Augusto Cardoso Bernardes et al., Direcção, *Biblos. Enciclopédia Verbo das Literaturas de Língua Portuguesa*, Lisboa, São Paulo, 1995, Editorial Verbo, columns 342-343, here, 343.
- *6 Machado de Assis, *O Alienista* (1800), in: Maura Sardinha, Seleção dos Textos, M.d.A., *O Alienista e O Espelho*, Rio de Janeiro, Ediouro, Clássicos de Ouro, 1999.2, pp.7-94.
- *7 For the encounter of the human Portuguese with the nymphs of imagined super-humanity, cf., Luís de Camões, *Os Lusíadas*, op.cit., Canto IX, 69ss., pp.310ss.
- *8 José Saramago, *Levantado do Chão* (1980), Lisboa, Caminho, 1991. 9, p.319; Teresa Cristina Cerdeira da Silva uses this phrase in the title of her fourth chapter and adds the citation of the phrase from the novel: “4. *Levantado do Chão*: no mar do latifúndio [in the sea of the latifundium], uma epopeia campesina’ *O latifúndio é um mar interior*.”, in: T.C. Cerdeira da Silva, *José Saramago entre a história e a ficção: uma saga de portugueses*, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1989, pp.193-263, here, p.193.
- *9 *saudade*, the *Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa Contemporânea da Academia das Ciências de Lisboa*, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa e Editorial Verbo, 2001, explains as a first meaning, ‘remembering something pleasant what is distant in time or space’ and gives as quasi synonyms “melancholy, nostalgia”. *Saudade* does contain something of the latter concepts and is still more complex for its connotations with Portuguese culture and history. The concept has been used by the Salazar regime to turn the people from problems of reality and to the ‘great and heroic Portuguese history’. The concept will be discussed in the second part of this study in a context with fado-songs, as well having

been used in the Salazar era to divert and anaesthetize the people.

- *10 Bernardo Gomes de Brito, *História Trágico-Marítima* (1735-1736), Lisboa, Publicações Europa-América, vols.I-II, 1990. Cf. as well: *The Tragic History of the Sea*, Edited and Translated by Charles Ralph Boxer. Foreword and Additional Translation by Josiah Blackmore, Minneapolis/ London, University of Minnesota Press, 2001, originally: Ch.R. Boxer, *The Tragic History of the Sea*, 1589-1622 copyright 1959 by the Hakluyt Society. *Further Selections from the Tragic History of the Sea*, 1559-1565 copyright 1968 by the Hakluyt Society. Published by arrangement with the Hakluyt Society.
- *11 Fernão Mendes Pinto, *Peregrinação* (1614), Edição cotejada com a 1.ª edição de 1614. Leitura actualizada, introdução e anotações de Neves Águas. Edição comemorativa do 4º centenário da morte de Fernão Mendes Pinto, Lisboa, Publicações Europa-América, vols.I-II, 1983. Cf. as well: *The Travels of Mendes Pinto. Fernão Mendes Pinto*, Edited and Translated by Rebecca D. Catz, Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- *12 Giulia Lanciani, *Os relatos de naufrágios na literatura Portuguesa dos séculos XVI e XVII*, Lisboa, Biblioteca Breve, 1979, cf. as well, G. Lanciani, *Sucessos e Naufrágios das Naus Portuguesas*, Lisboa, Caminho, Estudos de Literatura Portuguesa, 1997, for the model and ideology of the relations cf. there especially pp.51-155.
- *13 José Saramago, *O Memorial do Convento* (1982), Lisboa Caminho, (1990. 20), p.69.
- *14 Teresa Cristina Cerdeira da Silva, “O Memorial do Convento ou a história da repressão da utopia”, in: T. C. Cerdeira da Silva, *José Saramago entre história e ficção: uma saga de portugueses*, op. cit., pp.31-102, here, p.39-40.
- *15 David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP (1993), Second edition 2003, p.168.

- *16 D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op. cit., pp.163-164.
- *17 PIDE, Polícia Internacional de Defesa de Estado, cf. e.g. Maria da Conceição Ribeiro, *A Polícia Política no Estado Novo 1926-1945*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, Histórias de Portugal 17, 1995. The PIDE will be discussed in the second part.
- *18 The Mocidade Portuguesa, Portuguese youth, will be discussed in the second part.
- *19 António Costa Pinto, *Os Camisas Azuis. Ideologia, Elites e Movimentos Fascistas em Portugal · 1914-1945*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1994.
- *20 António Louça, *Hitler e Salazar. comércio em tempos de guerra*, 1940-1944, Lisboa, Terramar, Arquivos do Século XX, 2000.
- *21 João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler e Franco. Estudos sobre Salazar e a Ditadura*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 2000.
- *22 António Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts. Portuguese Fascists and the New State*, New York, Boulder, Social Science Monographs, Distributed by Columbia UP, 2000 (Copyright 1999 by A.C.P.)
- *23 cf. here A. Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts*, op.cit., especially, pp.236-240, "The Nature of Portuguese Fascism"
- *24 For all quotations cf. D. Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, op.cit., especially, Chapter 6, "The dictatorship and the African empire", pp.161ss-184, here, pp.161-170.
- *25 cf. the reportagem with a text by Claudia Moura, "25 April na imprensa estrangeira. Fantasma de Portugal" (April 25 in the foreign press. Phantoms of Portugal), in: *Notícias. Magazine*, #622, 25 Abril 2004, pp.56-64.
- *26 "Portfolio. Enviado a Portugal", Fotografias de Henri Bureau/ Sygma Corbis. Texto de Luiz Carvalho, in: *Única. Expresso* no 1643. 24 Abril 2004, pp.114-122, here, p.119, the text accompanies a photo of a PIDE suspect man surrounded by a furious crowd and soldiers, pp.118-119, see as well pp.116-117.
- *27 Maria da Conceição Ribeiro, *A Polícia Política no Estado Novo 1926-*

1945, op. cit., “Quadro 24”, p.293.

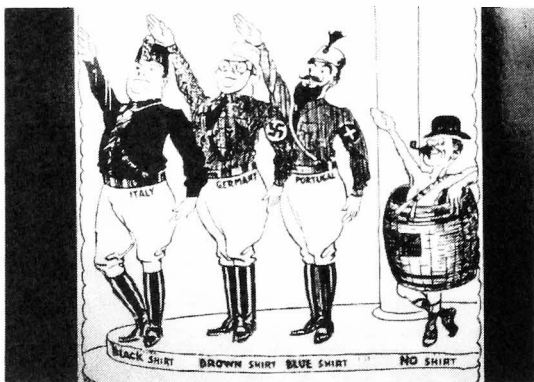
*28 Maria da Conceição Ribeiro, *A Polícia Política no Estado Novo 1926-1945*, op. cit., “Quadro 18”, p.290 with more detailed figures.

*29 Luciana Stegagno Picchio, “A primeira viagem a Portugal” in: *Fotobiografia de L. St. P.*, cited here from “Excertos” of the book in: *Jornal de Letras, Artes e Ideias*, Ano XXI/ N.º 802, De 27 de Junho a 10 de Julho de 2001, p.14.

Figures

For more detailed informations about the sources from which the pictures are taken and for the original captions see the seperately given bibliographical data for the *Figures*, the cited texts appear as well in the footnotes above.

Figure 1



Variations of fascisms and totalitarianism and the non-fascist.

taken from: António Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts. Portuguese Fascists and the New State*, New York, Boulder, Social Science Monographs, Distributed by Columbia UP, 2000 (Copyright 1999 by A.C.P.), there used as Jacket illustration.

Figure 2



The Dictator

taken from: David Birminham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP (1993), Second edition 2003, p.163, there Figure 40.

Figure 3



As Salazar liked to be imagined
taken from: João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler, Franco*.
Estudos sobre Salazar e a Ditadura, Lisboa, Livros
Horizonte, 2000, 3, p.201.

Figure 4

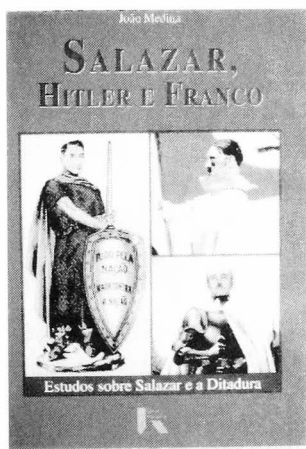


Figure 3 continued, As Salazar was painted
taken from: João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler, Franco*,
op.cit., Jacket illustration.

Figure 5



3-4 continued, the historical hero.

taken from: João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler, Franco*,
op.cit., Jacket illustration and p.57.

Figure 6



As Salazar was seen - the hypocrite.

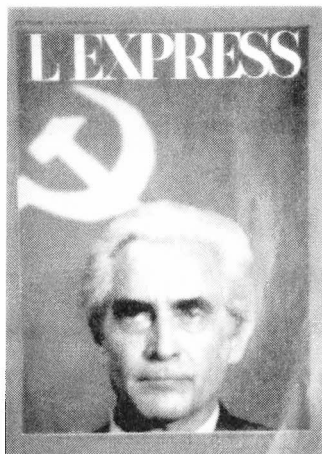
taken from: João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler, Franco*,
op.cit., p.193.

Figure 7



7 continued - the financial administrator.
taken from: João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler, Franco*,
op.cit., p.191.

Figure 8



Figures 8 and 10 are as well documents from the cold war.
taken from: Claudia Moura, "25 April na imprensa estrangeira. Fantasma de Portugal"
in: *Notícias Magazine*, #622, 25 Abril 2004, pp.56-64, all
figures there without caption.

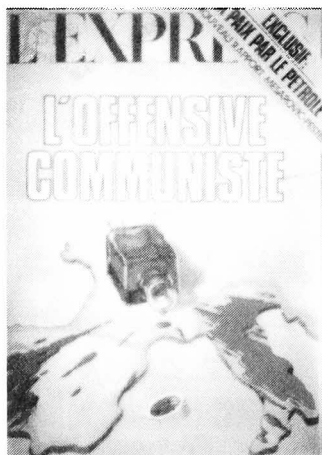
Figure 9



Soares with a carnation, the symbol of the April Revolution

taken from: Claudia Moura, "25 April na imprensa estrangeira. Fantasma de Portugal", op.cit.

Figure 10



8 continued

taken from: Claudia Moura, "25 April na imprensa estrangeira. Fantasma de Portugal", op.cit.

Footnotes to the figures

Figure 1 has been taken from: António Costa Pinto, *The Blue Shirts Portuguese Fascists and the New State*, New York, Boulder, Social Science Monographs, Distributed by Columbia UP, 2000 (Copyright 1999 by A.C.P.), there used as Jacket illustration, cf. here footnote 22. The text is: "BLACK SHIRT BROWN SHIRT BLUE SHIRT NO SHIRT", "Caricature from The Bulletin, Glasgow, 1933", here cited from the back of the jacket.

Figure 2 has been taken from: David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP (1993), Second edition 2003, p.163, there Figure 40. D. Birminham's caption is: "Salazar used the press of the 1920's to foster his aura of financial infallibility, and in alliance with the army and the church he 'reigned' as prime minister from 1932 to 1968."

Figures 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 have been taken from: João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler e Franco. Estudos sobre Salazar e a Ditadura*, Lisboa, Livros Horizonte, 2000, 3, p.201, 4, Jacket illustration, 5, detail of the Jacket illustration, 6, p. 193, 7, p.191.

The captions by João Medina are:

figure 3:

João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, op.cit. p.201, João Medina's caption is: "Outro retrato de Salazar por Dordio Gomes, óleo de 1960. Existente em local incerto (Lisboa?)" ("Another portrait of Salazar by Dordio Gomes, oil-paint from 1960. Unknown place (Lisbon?)").

figure 4:

J. Medina, *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, op.cit., p.57, Jacket Illustration

figure 5:

João Medina, *Salazar, Hitler e Franco*, op.cit.,detail of the Jacket

illustration and p.57, João Medina's caption on p.57 for this detail is: "Postal anónimo (1935) comparando Salazar a Afonso Henriques" ("Anonymous postcard (1935), comparing Salazar to Afonso Henriques").

figure 6:

João Medina, Salazar, Hitler e Franco, op.cit., p.193, João Medina's caption is: "Caricatura de Salazar como um hipócrita de tipo clerical. Desenho de Arnaldo Ressano no *Álbum de Caricaturas* (1935)" ("Caricature of Salazar as a hypocritical clerical. Design by Arnaldo Ressano in the Album of Caricatures (1935)").

figure 7:

João Medina, Salazar, Hitler e Franco, op.cit., p.191, João Medina's caption is: "Rosto de Salazar, Ministro das Finanças, composto com símbolos financeiros. Desenho de Francisco Valença no *Sempre Fixe* de 31-I-1935 (capa que seria censurada)" ("Salazar's face, Ministre of Finances, designed by financial symbols. Design by Francisco Valença in: *Sempre Fixe*, January 31, 1935 (cover which would be censored)").

Figures 8-10 have been taken from the reportagem with a text by Claudia Moura, "25 Abril na imprensa estrangeira. Fantasmagoria de Portugal" (April 25 in the foreign press. Phantoms of Portugal), in: *Notícias. Magazine*, #622, 25 Abril 2004, pp.56-64, all figures there without caption.