

DOCTORAL THESIS

A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories

Performing Narratives, Testimonies and Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution

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**A Live/Living Museum of Small, Forgotten
and Unwanted Memories**

**Performing Narratives, Testimonies and Archives
of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution**

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**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the
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Abstract

This practice-as-research thesis investigates and contributes to the transmission of official, non-official and personal memories of the Portuguese Dictatorship (1926-1974), Revolution (25th April 1974) and Revolutionary Process (1974-1975) – three key historical moments, memories of which are still subject to contestation. My research addresses these disputes, part of the overall “memory struggles” (Jelin, 2003) concerning the public politics of memory in Portugal, together with the lack of inscription of those memories in the public space. Moreover, in what I argue to be the absence of an official process of transitional justice and the lack of reparation for victims of state repression during the dictatorship, – I interrogate not only state policies over the last 40 years, but also the personal responsibility of the individuals in the preservation and transmission of memory. *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*, presents a series of seven performance-lectures on aspects of the three historical moments, as *événements* “...shaped from conflicting imaginations at once past and present” (de Certeau, 1988 xv).

My employment of different performance devices within the performance-lecture mode intersects the “archive” and the “repertoire” (Taylor, 2001) in the transmission of memory, demonstrating that, rather than disappearing, performance can remain (Schneider, 2011) in various ways, as when written materials originally pertaining to the “archive” are performed and thus become “repertoire”, and through the effect of the performance on spectators and their memories of the events portrayed. Using autobiography and oral testimonies, I accessed the meaning of the events for these individuals, myself and my family, creating a set of personal

histories with which I challenge some of the dominant master narratives, disseminated through privileged channels, such as the media and political discourses. As such, the performance *A Living Museum* became a space to disseminate an alternative history, altering the perception of these events in the public space. It also became a space of live interaction between past events and their present representation, through post-performance debates staged every night, whereby spectators and some of the interviewees could voice their opinions, as well as their own personal memories. The performance thus encouraged emancipated spectatorship (Rancière, 2009), offering an active practice of reconciliation for individuals with traumatic features of their past, namely state repression and the Colonial War during the dictatorship; the return from the Portuguese ex-colonies during the revolutionary process; and the lost utopias of an “impossible” revolution (the revolutionary process of 1974-75), today perceived through negative narratives of excess and exoticism.

Performance promises engagement with what is otherwise hidden, oblique or secret.

This is a political enterprise.

D. Soyini Madison

Archive as much as you like: something will always be left out.

Pierre Nora

The revolution will be live.

Gil Scott Heron

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Upon starting my research at the Drama, Theatre and Performance Studies of Roehampton University, I was lost amongst the many dictatorial and post-dictatorial regimes in the world that I would like to investigate. It was due to my supervisors’ – Dr. Susanne Greenhalgh, Dr. Josh Abrams and Dr. Emily Orley – kind, painstaking, thorough, and patient guidance that I was able, first of all, to define the key theme of my research and to fully focus upon what I believe to be a key subject for the understanding of contemporary Portuguese society. Throughout the last five years, Dr. Greenhalgh, Dr. Abrams and Dr. Orley supported every step of this long way, offering insightful remarks, notes, corrections, comments, and being always available to discuss my doubts and setbacks, and well as my achievements and

discoveries. They certainly emulate the true pedagogic and demanding spirit of High Education, and this thesis would not have been possible without the clarity of their supervision.

This PhD research was conducted for the greater part during the painful years of the so-called Troika financial assistance to Portugal and amidst economic policies that have literally pushed 300.000 people (mostly youth) away from Portugal to look for better life conditions elsewhere. In this sense, this thesis is also my personal statement against hopelessness and the dark discourses of inevitability and lack of alternatives to austerity. I have to deeply thank the Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia [Foundation for Science and Technology] (FCT; reference SFRH/BD/79644/2011) in Portugal, for funding part of this research and enabling me to pursue my PhD in the best academic environment possible. I thank also the Escola Superior de Artes e Design (ESAD.CR) for giving me a study leave for the most part of this research, in order to conduct my studies. And, finally, I would also like to thank the Santander Mobility Fund, awarded by Roehampton University, which supported my participation in conferences worldwide – a key aspect of my research process.

This research investigates memories of ordinary people during the Portuguese dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process. I am, first of all, indebted to all those who offered their testimony for this project, many of whom have chosen to remain anonymous. My acknowledgement extends to the spectators of *A Living Museum*, to whom I have been able to tell these stories, and with whom I have had the most stimulating, moving and eye-opening discussions since November 2014, when *A Living Museum* premièred in Lisbon. I hope this thesis does justice to the

many stories, accounts, interrogations, tears, discussions – and objects and private archives – that my interviewees and the spectators of *A Living Museum* have generously shared with me. They have truly taught me the “small, forgotten and unwanted” history(ies) of Portugal, helping me define also who I am. I wish to especially thank Teresa, Jorge, Carlos, José Ribeiro and the Araújo family. I wish to thank also Phil Mailer and Peter Robinson for their rich testimony.

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My SGI friends in Portugal, as well as all over Europe, have taught me the value of friendship and encouragement and the absolute trust in a person's ability to break through obstacles and actualize his or her potential as a human being. I am indebted to all of those who encouraged me to proceed, even when I thought it would be impossible to reach the end of my research. In this process, the friendship and guidance of Etsuko Motoki, Tae Takahashi, Lisa Cowan, Mieke Iwami, Suzanne Pritchard, Rui Lopes Graça, Mário Barba, Sofia Soromenho, Miguel Carapinha, Ana Calha, Stephan Jurgens, Janaina Plessman, Ana Flipa Fernandes, Duarte Costa, Tito Mendes, José Galinha, Gonçalo Ruivo, Pablo Juarez, Danielle Santi, and Daiki Nakamoto, were especially crucial. Thank you also to my dear friends Maria Gil and Miguel Bonneville.

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Teatro do Vestido, the company I have founded and that I have been directing for the past 16 years enabled me to create and produce *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories* and to tour it extensively in Portugal, as well as to Spain, France and England. The support, creative complicity, friendship and dedication of this group of people are truly beyond words, and it is my privilege to work with such outstanding individuals. I would therefore like to thank Rosinda Costa, Cláudia Teixeira, João Cachulo, Carlos Ramos, Igor de Brito, and Ainhoa Vidal for making this possible. I am also thankful for the complicity of Inês Rosado, Gustavo Vicente and Pedro Caeiro in being the “revolutionaries” during the dinner interval. Thank you also to Estêvão Antunes and Simon Frankel and all the other actors that regularly work with the company.

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My family was crucial in all of this. It all started with questions I had for my parents, Teresa Craveiro and Fernando Nunes da Silva, because of the stories I have heard them tell, and because of the books on the shelves, the boxes to be donated to the 25 April Documentation Centre (that were never donated), the Chinese memorabilia, the political songs and their significance explained to me by my mother, and the political campaigns I remember them (and us!) participating all our lives. This research pays tribute to family transmission and, therefore, is a tribute to my family. My brothers Tiago, Pedro and Francisco are to be thanked for all their support. I know I have been absent from their lives and my nieces' and nephew (Carolina, Madalena, Frederica and Vicente) for the greater part of the past four years, and hope to make it up to them by being more present and, who knows, sharing with my nieces and nephew these "small, forgotten and unwanted memories" I have investigated, like their grandparents and great-grandparents have done with us. Who knows if they can even continue this family living museum in the future?

To João I want to thank deeply. The things for which I thank him are too many to be numbered here, but we both know them. Thank you. I thank also Afonso's assistance in many small and important tasks.

During the time of this research I have lost two pillars of my family life: my grandmother, Florinda, and my grandfather, Zé. There is too much to be said about them, and so many of my interrogations started also with the accounts they shared with me. They first told me about poverty during the New State dictatorship, and I have the vivid image of my grandfather outraged when he saw figures of the former regime on television, and addressing them as "bandits!" His outrage, I believe, expressed his protest at the lack of transitional justice, and that those people "were

still out there”, visible in the public space, was a sign of impunity. I also fondly remember how my grandparents voted in every election, which was a painstaking conquest of the 25 April 1974. For years, I kept voting in their neighbourhood, and my memories of those elections are celebratory – it was like a family ritual; and, at the end of the day, as always in Portugal, we got together at my grandparents’ dinner table for a good supper. I never forgot the significance of exercising my right to vote ever since.

I know Florinda and Zé would have been very happy for the completion of this PhD. Despite deceased, as I continue to tell their stories and mention their names, they are kept alive. Performance *remains* also in that it helps those who have departed to remain – in our memories and in our lives.

I wish to dedicate this PhD to the memory of my grandparents, and to my mentor in life, Daisaku Ikeda. Each their own way, have taught me – and still are – the “art of living.”

All the flaws and omissions that may be found in my research are in no way to be blamed to the ones I acknowledge here, but they will be my sole responsibility.

Ethics Statement

The research for this project was submitted for ethics consideration under the reference DTP 13/015 in the Department of Drama, Theatre and Performance and was approved under the procedure of the University of Roehampton's Ethic Committee on 17 September 2013. All citations of testimonies and accounts comply with this ethics approval and the anonymity of the informants has been protected where required, and according to what has been discussed with each one of the interviewees.

A sample Consent Form is included in the Appendices I (in this volume).

The images in this thesis have been reproduced with permission.

In the Appendices II (in a separate volume) a copy of the 5 June 2016 performance is made available in DVD. The performance was video recorded by João Tuna and is reproduced here with permission.

All translations of Portuguese works and titles are by me, except where stated.

List of Abbreviations¹

CDS-PP – *pt.* Centro Democrático Social-Partido Popular – Popular Democratic Centre/ Popular Party.

LCI – *pt.* Liga Comunista Internacionalista – International Communist League. Trotskyist group.

LUAR – *pt.* Liga de Unidade e Acção Revolucionária – League of Unity and Revolutionary Action. Political movement that opposed the regime through armed struggle and spectacular endeavours, like bank robberies and ship detours.

MFA – *pt.*, Movimento das Forças Armadas – Armed Forces Movement.

MRPP – *pt.* Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado – Movement for the Reorganisation of the Party of the Proletariat. Maoist group.

OCMLP [O Grito do Povo] – *pt.* Organização Comunista Marxista-Leninista Portuguesa/ O Grito do Povo – Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization / The Cry of the People.

PCP – *pt.* Partido Comunista Português – Portuguese Communist Party

PIDE – *pt.*, Polícia Internacional de Defesa do Estado – International Police of Defense of the State.

PREC – *pt.*, Processo Revolucionário em Curso – Ongoing Revolutionary Process.

PSD – *pt.* Partido Social Democrata – Social Democrat Party.

SAAL – *pt.* Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local – Local Ambulatory Service.

UDP – *pt.* União Democrática Popular - Popular Democratic Unity. Marxist-Leninist group.

¹ Some parts of this translation are based upon Phil Mailer's extensive glossary (1977: 27-30).

I. Introduction

These events happened in the past, but their effects continue in the present.

Marianne Hirsch (2012:5)

My practice-as-research thesis analyses the research and creative process, public performances and audience reception of *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*, which is built in the interplay between the memory and history of important recent events in Portugal. *A Living Museum* is a solo performance of four-and-a-half hours, comprising seven performance-lectures and one prologue, followed by a post-performance discussion. Through this dramaturgical structure I am able to critically approach different aspects of the last 90 years of Portuguese history, culminating in the recent commemorations of the 25th April 1974 Revolution, in 2014. The list of parts and respective titles is as follows,

Prologue

- 1) Small Acts of Resistance
- 2) Invisible Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship
- 3) Broken Portuguese – Communications and the 25th of April Coup
- 4) Fragments of a Revolutionary Process
- 5) Taken by Surprise – the story of a family
- 6) When Did the Revolution End?
- 7) Memory/ Postmemory

Epilogue: post-performance discussion

The titles of each part already indicate the kinds of materials addressed in the performance: words like “small”, “invisible”, and “fragments” point to a history (or a series of histories) that is less interested in what is clearly visible, and more alert to looking beyond the surface of the grand historical narratives to discover the private, the individual, the anonymous, and the unknown. The title “When did the revolution end?” is provocative, asking the question no one dares to ask, in a time when the word *revolution* awakens unwelcomed spectres of radicalism and utopia. Not long after I started asking this in the performance, the RTP – the Portuguese state television – launched a website about the far left, the title being “Why didn’t we make the revolution?”² Maybe one question raises other questions. Maybe all it takes is for one person to start asking.

Since its première in November 2014, *A Living Museum* has shaken audiences in their lost memories and in their lost utopias, and has promoted an ongoing debate about the Portuguese dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process.³ This has, on a private level, enabled several individuals to acknowledge their memories as important, legitimising their part in the resistance to the dictatorship and the participation in the revolutionary process of 1974-75, and, on a deeper level, allowing them to reconcile themselves with their memories and the history of the country.⁴

² (RTP) Available at: <http://media.rtp.pt/extremaesquerda/> (Last accessed: 20/06 /2016).

³ See, for example, the analysis of audience reception of the performance on pages 184-189, under the heading “Engaging the Audience”, where these questions are critically described. See also discussion on the evidence of the prolific production of written reviews and articles on the performance on page 121 (see footnote 113 for a list of those articles). This can be read further in Pina Coelho (2016).

⁴ I discuss this at length in Chapter IV, “What theatre is this?”, page 191. On this current chapter I discuss the theory underpinning my analysis on transitional justice and reconciliation (see pages 37-51).

Postmemory and reconstruction

The past 90 years of Portuguese history has been marked by the longest dictatorship in Europe (48 years, from 1926 to 1974). It was followed by a unique revolutionary coup conducted by military officers (on 25 April 1974), and then a so-called revolutionary process of 19 months (named the Ongoing Revolutionary Process, in Portuguese PREC). The latter brought people to the streets, to the barracks, to occupied estates, factories and buildings, so as to enact new models of participant democracy (1974-1975).⁵ Having been born in November 1974, I have not experienced any of the events directly, but have nonetheless been affected by them in various ways: in family transmission, in education, in political discourses and in deeply engraved habits in Portuguese society; for, as Tina Wasserman argues, “What is subjective memory for one generation is not necessarily just public history for the next [and] may, in fact, affect the next generation in deep and personal ways” (2007:160). This has led me to begin my inquiry by asking:

What kind of memory can a person who has not experienced an historical event directly transmit, and can it indeed be called memory? Are second and third generations capable of accessing the memories and the accounts in a particular way

⁵ In Portuguese PREC, Processo Revolucionário em Curso. Dulce Freire and Sónia Vespeira de Almeida write about the origins of the naming of this transitional period: “From 1975 the acronym PREC became widely disseminated. The genesis of the acronym – Ongoing Revolutionary Process – seems to be linked to the need of naming in a succinct way the multiple and rapid changes that followed the coup of 25 April 1974. The acronym appeared first in the press, used by the military and political protagonists. And it generalised to the population who where *conducting the Revolution* in the streets, in schools and universities, in several institutions, barracks, enterprises, in the fields” (2002: 11). For a discussion about the events and the significance of the PREC, see Chapter II: 76.

that enables them to question the process of transmission and contribute to the creation of new memories and new historiography? What can the performance of those memories, followed by a debate (which proved to be animated, engaged and highly participated) with the audience, add to the current “politics of memory” and “struggles for memory” in Portugal?

Postmemory is a term Marianne Hirsch uses to describe a kind of memory held by a generation which is subsequent to certain historical events and that has, consequently, not experienced them directly.⁶ By this concept, Hirsch attempts to explain how “memory *can* be transferred to those who were not actually there to live the event” (2012: 3). Postmemory describes the occurrence of affective and emotional responses to the memory of those events non-experienced directly. Hirsch herself describes her reaction to Alain Resnais’s *Night and Fog*⁷ as “a shock” for which she was “totally unprepared” (2012: 7). It made her later dread watching Claude Lanzmann’s *Shoah* (1985), which depicts interviews with different categories of Holocaust witnesses: survivors, bystanders, accomplices and perpetrators of persecutions to Jewish people during the Second World War. Hirsch has no memory of those events, having grown up in Bucharest after her (Jewish) parents fled from Czernowitz, yet she had a visceral reaction to Alain Resnais’ film, which made her “spend decades assiduously avoiding films about the Holocaust” (2012:7).⁸ Before

⁶ Marianne Hirsch writes, “‘Postmemory’ describes the relationship that the ‘generation after’ bears to the personal, collective, and cultural trauma of those who came before – to ‘experiences’ they remember only by means of stories, images, and behaviors among which they grew up. But these experiences were transmitted to them so deeply and affectively as to *seem* to constitute memories in their own right” (2012: 5). The term was developed by Hirsch in her 1992 essay. She developed it further in (2008) and (2012).

⁷ Resnais’ documentary was shot in 1955. It opens with images of the abandoned concentration camp of Auschwitz, and proceeds to detail the rise of Nazi ideology, culminating with footage of gas chambers and piles of bodies.

⁸ See also Dominick LaCapra analysis of Lanzmann’s *Shoah* (1988: 73-95).

she could coin the concept of *postmemory*, however, Hirsch had to start thinking of herself as “a child of survivors” (2012: 7).

Postmemory is inherited via family transmission and can be activated through sounds, images, literature and material objects, for example, “mediated not by recall but by imaginative investment, projection and creation” (2012: 5). Although Hirsch herself limits the concept to “traumatic recall” (2012: 6) – in direct relation to Holocaust memories – I nonetheless propose in my practice-as-research investigation to apply the term *postmemory* to three events in Portuguese history which I have not experienced directly and that have different traumatic investments to my generation and myself. Furthermore, they are landmark events or periods whose effects, I argue, still persist in the present, and which are still a prolific site of struggles for the legitimisation of memories and narratives, which my research addresses.

Two of them can be considered to fall into the category of “transformative historical moments” (Hirsch, 2012: 6) – the Revolution of 25 April 1974 and the Revolutionary Process of 1974-75 – to which the term *postmemory* was not designed to be applied. Yet, as my investigation argues, the readings of a given historical event are dependant upon a set of constructed narratives and discourses, which mould its perception by the generations who experienced it directly, as well as by the “generations after”. In that sense, even apparently happy events can acquire a traumatic texture when reinterpreted by polarised interpretations, which give rise to oblivion, erasure and omissions.

In my practice-as-research thesis I use my own postmemory of the Portuguese dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process to address the public politics of memory in Portugal. I also question how, why, by whom and for whom

these events are being transmitted, proposing an alternative form of memory transmission through the performance *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*. This premiered in Lisbon in November 2014 and has been touring since then.⁹ In this sense, the performance not only interrogates memory transmission and how it has been and still is being accomplished or not, but it also becomes part of the process of transmission itself. Parts of the performance – constituting seven performance-lectures – have also been presented at conferences worldwide.¹⁰ Furthermore, my performance produces “new memories” and instigates audience members to revive theirs – either direct participants, or postmemory generations like myself – confirming Tina Wasserman’s argument that, “Although these intergenerational post-memories are affected by, but separated from, the original event, they do however represent new forms of remembrance”, and, “second generation memories are authentic” (2007: 161). As I state in the performance, “These memories belong to us, even if we were not there to experience them first-hand” (from the third performance-lecture, “When Did the Revolution End?). This represents an effort to break through the hegemony of certain persistent (and polarised) representations of the dictatorship and revolution – either as positive or negative, depending on the ideological framework of the one who enunciates them; countering them with yet other visions, versions, and the detached (and very often

⁹ The performance has been present in Lisbon, at Negócio/ZDB (13-16 November 2014, and 24, 25, 26, 31 July and 1 and 2 August 2015); FITEI, in Porto (Festival Internacional de Teatro de Expressão Ibérica); International Theatre Festival of Almada, in 11 June, and 10, 11 and 12 July 2015, respectively; Festival Escenas do Câmbio, Santiago de Compostela, 3 February 2016; Festival Chantiers de L’Europe, Théâtre de la Ville, Paris, 20 and 21 May 2016; Chelsea Theatre, London, 5 June 2016.

¹⁰ “Communication”, Roehampton University, London, June 2012; “Mnemonics Conference”, Arhus University, September 2012; “Performing Documents”, Bristol, April 2013; “Cultural Memory Conference”, Skopje, September 2013; “Portugal – 40 years of Democracy”, University of Letters, Porto, March 2014; “Radical Archives”, Asian/Pacific/American Institute at New York University, April 2014; “The Carnation Revolution Between African Anticolonialism and European Rebellion” School of Arts, Birkbeck, University of London, May 2014; “Hemispheric Encuentro”, Hemispheric Institute of Performance and Politics, Montréal, June 2014; “Power and Democracy”, International Oral History Association, Barcelona, July 2014; “Arts for April”, University of Lisbon, September 2014.

ironic) gaze of the generations which have not experienced the events, but have nonetheless learned them by heart through hearing them being recounted by others who witnessed them in person.

My postmemory is a direct result of the family transmission I have received via accounts, photographs and written documents, books, political stickers and posters, as well as the silences and the omissions within those accounts, which I have set out to investigate. In a sense, this postmemory is also made up of my own critique, and my interrogations of what I have been told. In the performance, I clearly articulate my “postmemorial drive”, when I state:

It all started when I asked myself, “How could a dictatorship have lasted that long [48 years]?” It was the same as asking, “Where do I come from?” And, “What remains within me from those times [which I have not experienced directly]?” (From the first performance-lecture, “Small Acts of Resistance”)

This echoes Brenda Werth’s question concerning how second and third generations deal with a traumatic past they have inherited. Writing about post-dictatorship Argentina, she notes that “In response to the trauma of dictatorship, theatre is able to articulate the limits of language and develop complementary strategies for transmitting individual and collective narratives of the past” (2010: 173), and she asks:

What are the implications and expectations of inheriting a complex, traumatic past on both an individual and a collective level, and what are

the creative approaches available to the younger generation in reconstructing the past and imagining present and future identities linked to, but not dominated by, the past? (2010: 173)

The “reconstruction” to which Werth alludes to here is the crux of my research, which uses a “creative approach” towards a traumatic past, filled with interrogations. This creative approach is part of a wider “performative turn” (Bleeker, 2012; Fischer-Lichte, 2014), and “practice turn” (Kershaw, 2009a; Borgdorff, 2011), which I will address at length in Chapter III. And it falls into the category of documentary theatre, which, as Carol Martin explains, includes the need to

1) Reopen trials in order to critique justice, 2) Create additional historical accounts, 3) Reconstruct an event, and 4) Intermingle autobiography with history (Martin, 2006: 12-13).

In *A Living Museum*, as in documentary theatre as a whole, the establishment of one given truth upon the subjects I investigate is not the aim, for, as Alison Forsyth and Chris Megson argue,

The one trenchant requirement that the documentary form should necessarily be equivalent to an unimpeachable and objective witness to public events has been challenged in order to situate historical truth as an embattled site of contestation. Indeed, documentary performance today is often as much concerned with emphasising its own discursive limitations, with

interrogating the reification of material evidence in performance, as it is with the real-life story or event it is exploring (2011: 3).

In my research I propose a mosaic of interpretations and versions that attest to its complexity, using the four items enunciated above by Martin (2006), at different points of the performance. Due to the limits of the establishment of what “truth” is in relation to a given event, Martin also stated that, “No doubt the phrase ‘documentary theatre’ fails us. It is inadequate. Yet at present it is the best phrase available” (2006: 13).

In a recent essay (2013), Martin proposes the term “theatre of the real” to describe the kind of performance that displays “an obsession with framing and reframing what has really happened” (2013: 5), and which can include, “documentary theatre, verbatim theatre, reality-based theatre, theatre-of-fact, theatre of witness, tribunal theatre, non-fiction theatre, restored village performances, war and battle re-enactments and autobiographical theatre” (2013: 5). These modes, some of which I will detail in Chapter II, all have in common a reconstructive drive towards reality and historical facts, so as to establish new versions and visions to a certain event, because of “the incompleteness of any given perception of reality” (Forsyth and Megson, 2011: xiii). In the performance *A Living Museum*, several of these modes are present at different points of the play, which presents itself as a “reconstruction effort” towards an unexplained recent past.

This need to “reconstruct” stems, indeed, from acknowledged absences: the silences and oblivions concerning certain aspects of the historical events, as well as the lack of information, the contradictory versions in circulation, and the dominant

narratives disseminated by the media, political discourses and schoolbooks. Interrogating these narratives and discourses – some of which are directly addressed and questioned in the performance– my research investigates a collection of 50 testimonies of unknown participants, who have their own version of the events. These in-depth interviews have allowed me to access a personal dimension in the recent history of Portugal. The inclusion of some of them in the performance resonated deeply with spectators, stimulating a testimonial attitude in the after-performance debates, where audience members were invited to share their impressions on the performance and the themes addressed. Indeed, I was approached by several spectators who wanted to “tell me their story”.¹¹ Other stories were openly voiced in the debates, generating emotionally charged moments – with mutual identification and/or contestation – and which an audience member has identified as “similar to those clandestine meetings we used to hold in a basement [during the dictatorship].”¹² Through re-enacting a lost practice of discussion and debate (closely related to the political resistance during the dictatorship, and also to the grassroots movements during the revolutionary process), and through the display of non-hegemonic memories and versions of a contested past, my performance has contributed in a clear way to the reconciliation of private individuals with their memories and their experiences, which they have often found invisible or absent from the public space.

¹¹ Either in the conference presentations I have made in Portugal, as in personal emails and phone calls I have received after the performance of *A Living Museum*, I was approached by several individuals with whom I was not previously acquainted, but who wanted to share their accounts with me. One such account made it into the performance: the story of Jorge R., who took me on a guided tour of his “revolutionary memoirs” in the town of Almada and Cacilhas, which are a substantial part of the fourth performance-lecture, “Fragments of a Revolutionary Process.”

¹² From a post-performance debate held on 15 November 2014, at Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

Non-Inscription and the Struggles for Memory in Portugal

Teresa R., a woman who I interviewed on the memories and experiences of the revolutionary process, stated in another post-performance debate, "...and these memories are *inscribed* in me; they won't disappear..."¹³ By stating this so vehemently, Teresa was conveying her certainty that these memories would be retained as long as she lived; that they would survive the attempts to erase them, to transform them, to adapt them to a time when utopias seem displaced and often dangerous. Teresa was reacting emotionally to another spectator who shared how uncomfortable he was by my naming the occupations of the revolutionary period; he thought these occupations did not portray that period in a favourable way. Teresa replied to the man by saying, "As one of the protagonists of the episode of the occupations, I must say Joana depicted it precisely. It was like a party indeed, a celebration..."; and then she added about the memories being *inscribed* in her. In several other testimonies, the issue of the disappearance of the memories and of their preservation (and inscription) was also openly discussed, as when Jorge R. said, "It was also so short-lived and these memories are disappearing..." He later added, "I am only telling you this so I can get into your stories, so you can tell my story".¹⁴ And, as I mentioned earlier, when the performance premièred, I was able to sense how audience members were contaminated by the testimonial drive, and approached me very often to let me know me that they, too, had a story to tell. On one occasion, for example, a theatre director with whom I was not really acquainted, approached

¹³ From the post-performance debate held on 15 November 2014, at Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

¹⁴ Jorge R. (2014) Interviewed by Craveiro, J., 8 June, Cacilhas and Cova da Piedade.

me right at the end of the performance to tell me when, for him, the revolution had ended.¹⁵ And, following the performance in the city of Porto, in June 2015, I received a phone call from another theatre director who had watched the performance and wanted to share with me how “his” revolution had been.¹⁶

Inscription – and its lack – are, in fact, crucial aspects that my research interrogates, following José Gil’s assumption that Portugal is a country where “non-inscription” prevails (2004). According to Gil, this major feature of Portuguese society, “non-inscription”, refers to the recent past – of the dictatorship – as well as to the present, and caused an “inaugural trauma” (2004: 135), generated by “Salazarism”. This Portuguese expression describes doctrines, rituals and habits engendered or inspired by António Oliveira Salazar, the Head of the State until 1970,¹⁷ such as portraying the Portuguese as having “gentle ways” and accepting everything with forbearance and passivity. Gil argues that “Salazarism” did not allow space for inscription and individual existence was subsumed in “an evil, which was diffuse and omnipresent” (2004: 17). This non-inscription, far from being in the past, extends the former regime,

Because inscription means actions, affirmation, decision, with which the individual conquers autonomy and a sense of meaning for his existence. *Salazarism* taught us the irresponsibility – reducing us to children, grown up children, infantilized adults (Gil, 2004:17).

¹⁵ This exchange took place on 1 August 2015.

¹⁶ This exchange took place on 12 June 2015.

¹⁷ António Oliveira Salazar first served as Minister of Finance following the establishment of the Military Dictatorship in May 28, 1926. In 1933 he became Head of State (Council), following the establishment of the New State (*pt.* Estado Novo) Dictatorship. For a detailed account of this historical time, see Chapter II: 65-75.

This inability to react, to oppose oppression and injustice, is probably one of the reasons for the long duration of the dictatorship – 48 years. Historian Fernando Rosas thoroughly analyses the reasons for the length of the dictatorship, concluding it was also due to an effective combination of “preventive and punitive violence – in the contention, demobilisation and repression of the vast majority of the paid workers, and of the most active social and political resistance” (2012: 210). The political police of the regime, PIDE, played a key role.¹⁸ This political police force was responsible for the implementation of repression, vigilance, imprisonment and torture during the regime. Furthermore, non-inscription materialises as absence – for example, of references in the public space to the dictatorship and its repressive traits and actions. This absence is most visible in the lack of memorialisation of symbolic spaces such as the former headquarters of the PIDE in each city. In Porto, for example, it has been turned into a military museum, with no reference to its previous function. In April 2014, in the newspaper *Público* newspaper it was reported that, “The army has opposed the creation of a musicological unit concerning the PIDE in the Military Museum of Porto”, considering it “inappropriate, or ill-timed”, which illicit reactions from the Communist Party, the Green Party and the URAP [Unity and Portuguese Anti-Fascist Resistance]”.¹⁹ In Lisbon, the former headquarters of the PIDE was turned into a luxury condominium in 2005. The building is identified by a single plaque placed by a group of citizens in 1981, stating that four people had been

¹⁸ International and State Defense Police, the security agency of the regime; a political police in charge of political control of the state, defense and borders, created in 1945. Its forerunner was PVDE (Surveillance and State Defense Police), created in 1933, with the inauguration of the New State Dictatorship of António Oliveira Salazar. PIDE was in operation until 1969, after which it was renamed DGS (General Directorial of Security), but its functions and modes of operation remained the same: vigilance, intimidation, repression and torture. For a comprehensive history of the PIDE see Irene Pimentel (2011).

¹⁹ Álvaro Vieira (2014), available at: <https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/exercito-oposse-ao-nucleo-museologico-sobre-a-pide-no-museu-militar-do-porto-1633555> (Last accessed: 16/06/2016).

killed by the PIDE on that spot, on the 25 April 1974.²⁰ But there is no mention of the building having been the headquarters, probably due to the fact that this is not an official government plaque. In this case, private individuals took the role of “memory entrepreneurs” (Jelin, 2003), bypassing the state, which never took full responsibility for identifying this important memory site.²¹ My performance details the difficulties of keeping the plaque in good condition and visible throughout the years from 1981 until now. It can be said that the performance in its effort to collect materials and display them, as well as interrogating the complexity and contradictions of the politics of memory, represents an effort to challenge non-inscription.

Moreover, through the testimonies I have collected, I was able to identify three main features in Portugal concerning what Elizabeth Jelin has described as the “struggles for memory”, or “the labors of memory”(2001),²² which is the process of attempting to erase, or bring forth, certain memories so as to fixate a dominant version of what has happened. In the Portuguese case I identified firstly, the lack of inscription of memories and of the history of the dictatorship and the resistance in the public space; secondly, the absence of transitional justice, as can be observed in other post-dictatorial regimes;²³ and, thirdly, the narratives, appropriations and

²⁰ There is actually a second plaque placed close to the building, but not close to the entrance, where the previous function of it as the PIDE headquarters is mentioned. This other plaque was inaugurated in 2010, as an initiative of the NAM (Não Apaguem a Memória/ Do not Erase Memory). I find this other plaque, however, much more discreet, and the fact that it is not attached to the building can raise other questions concerning the inscription of the building’s history. I have raised some of these questions in the follow up performance to *A Living Museum* called *When the living museum becomes an actual physical museum*, which premièred in December 2016 in Teatro Municipal São Luiz, located next to the former headquarters of the PIDE. An account of the inauguration of this other plaque can be found in Pato (2011).

²¹ Jelin discusses the role of “memory entrepreneurs” in 2003 (33-36 and in 139), where she writes that, “it refers to entrepreneurial actions of a ‘social’ and collective nature. The important point is that the entrepreneur becomes personally involved in his or her project; in addition, she or he generates commitment from others, fostering participation and organizing efforts of a collective character” (2003: 139).

²² The original title of Jelin’s work reads, *Los Trabajos de La Memoria* (2002), and in chapter 1, “Memory in the Contemporary World”, Jelin refers to these “labors of memory” (5); in other sections of the book, she refers to the “struggles of memory”, which have been incorporated in the title of the English translation (2003).

²³ For example, in Argentina and Chile several military and other perpetrators attached to the former dictatorial regimes, or accomplices to it, were brought to justice; Brazil created the National Truth Commission in 2012 “with the aim of investigating the grave Human Rights violations that occurred between 18 September 1946 and

revisions of the memories of the revolution and revolutionary process, and the use of the so-called “excesses” of the revolution (Trindade, 2004) as an example of what Portugal must never return to. In this context, the revolution is a *fracturing* memory that left some standing on one side of the wall – the past, the revolution, the utopias – and the rest moving on towards an ideal of modernity, liberalism and the European Union. The revolution also engendered a fracture towards a dictatorial past, the memory of which has gradually been softened over the past 40 years, dividing Portuguese society into those who believe the revolution to be the “primordial day, whole and cleansed” (Breyner Andresen, 1991 [1977])²⁴ and those who are nostalgic for the dictatorial regime and the apparent order it represented. This is, for example, clear in Tiago Matos Silva’s research (2000), which I quote in the first performance lecture “Small Acts of Resistance”, and in the sixth performance-lecture, “When did the revolution end?”. Silva has conducted research on the intergenerational representations of the dictatorship and revolution by interviewing different members of families from the far right to the far left, concluding that, for the most part, these representations and narratives are passed on and internalized from one generation to the next within a family. He writes about his own positioning towards the 25 April revolution, in a confessional tone, in the introduction to his research,

5 October 1988”, <http://www.cnv.gov.br/institucional-acesso-informacao/a-cnv.html> (Last accessed: 14/02/16). More on transitional justice and accountability can be accessed here <https://www.ictj.org/> (Last accessed 14/02/16).

²⁴ The emblematic poem from Sophia de Mello Andersen describes the 25 April day as, “This is the dawn I had awaited/ the primordial day, whole and cleansed/ where we emerge from the night and the silence/ and we freely inhabit the substance of time” (1991 [1977], my translation). The poem became a symbol of the revolution and is often quoted in relation to it. In 2014, Sophia de Mello Breyner Andersen had her mortal remnants transferred to the National Pantheon, the highest honour demonstrated by the Portuguese State. I quote an extract of Breyner Andersen’s poem in the third performance-lecture “Broken Portuguese”.

The 25 April 1974 was always for me a subject of curiosity and mystery. Born in 1976 I hadn't even been an unconscious witness, but the truth is that I could easily feel this *trauma* that 28 years past, still divides a whole country (2002:11, my emphasis).

The use of the word *trauma* by Matos Silva is significant, given that the 25 April 1974 coup is mostly taken to be a liberating coup – the establishment of a free, democratic state. Yet, as my research also demonstrates, there are no consensual memories or narratives concerning either the 25 April, or the revolutionary process that followed, and certainly also not the previous dictatorial regime. It all depends upon the ideological framework within which the representations of each of the periods are engendered and transmitted (as Silva argued in the research quoted above). As an example, Maurice Brinton writes in the introduction to Phil Mailer's personal account of the Portuguese Revolution (1977),

Why did the revolutionary process not develop any further in Portugal? [...] Massive pressures had certainly built up within Salazarist Portugal. But the aims of those opposed to the old society were disparate. For varying reasons different groups wanted an end to the colonial wars, to the futility and the frustrations of a long period of compulsory military service, to the censorship, and to the ubiquity of the hated PIDE. The consensus, however, hardly went any further (Brinton *in* Mailer, 1977:10)

When Werth refers to a “complex, traumatic past” (2010: 173), she relates specifically to the military dictatorship in Argentina and its crimes. In the Portuguese case, the different layers, political agents and historical events – each invested with various ideological (re)interpretations – prevent us from establishing one sole trauma or one sole type of reconciliation or, even, one sole type of memory struggles. To illustrate, historian Manuel Loff (2015) in a recent thorough article on the politics of memory in Portugal, describes how MP Maria José Nogueira Pinto, of the Popular Party (CDS-PP; right wing), protested in 1996 against a law proposing that the time spent in clandestinity or exile in the former dictatorial period, as a result of political persecution, should count as labour time and used to determine the retirement age and pension of a former political activist. She said that this law was “revenge” and added, “22 years later, history has been already written by people on *your* side, and by people on *our* side; it has been written, let us not dwell on it” (cited in Loff, 2015: 120, my emphasis). These struggles and disputes have generated deep frustrations and traumas, which limit the understanding of the dictatorship and revolution, polarised by conflicting accounts of those opposed to the dictatorship and those opposed to the revolution. Furthermore, as my research outlines, within the apparent two-sided understanding of these events – by the left-wing, on the one hand, and the right-wing on the other – different nuances and ideological interpretations create very different approaches to these memories. In fact, the point of view of the left, which I interrogate and analyse in my research, should be addressed in the plural – the *lefts* – as there is not just one consensual history or one memory of the left and of the resistance to the regime. Indeed, the Portuguese Communist Party affirmed itself as the most important and significant

force of resistance to the regime from 1933 onwards, until roughly 1965, when several other leftist groups began to emerge in Portugal, mainly as a result of the Sino-Soviet Split (1960-1989), which gave rise to Maoism and Marxism-Leninism. The approach of the latter movements towards the Portuguese Colonial War (1961-1974) and to the resistance to the regime differed considerably from the Portuguese Communist Party's.²⁵ These forces would constitute important and mobilising resistance movements in the latter period of the regime and during the revolutionary process of 1974-1975, although their contribution has often been overlooked by the mainstream historiographic approach to these periods.

My research has unearthed the need for engendering processes of reconciliation – not only of the individuals with the historical events, but also with their own memories, which they feel are not compatible with dominant versions in circulation. Unable to express their frustrations at those consensually accepted versions, individuals often recur to oblivion and traumatic silence. On the other hand, reconciliation has been used as a false excuse to generate consensus in the absence of transitional justice, as historian Manuel Loff explained so well (2015), quoting, as an example, former President of the Republic Mário Soares,

Today, Portuguese society has completely forgotten the dictatorial past. It learned to live in democracy and enjoys living in democracy [...]. It has reconciled itself. It is tolerant and lives in peace. No one knows any more who was who at the time of the dictatorship. And I am glad of it. I am

²⁵ Maoist groups were strictly anti-Colonial War, encouraging desertion to those summoned to military service and to serve in the war. The Communist Party, on the other hand, professed the method of attempting to subvert the system from inside, having a non-desertion policy. Maoist groups also stood for more violent methods if need be, in order to force the end of the dictatorship, contrary to the Communist strategy of educating the working forces towards a revolutionary transition. See, for example, Martins Rodrigues (2008).

proud that I contributed for it to be that way (Mário Soares, from an interview in April 14 1998, cited in Loff, 2015:105).

A Living Museum interrogates this idea of rhetoric reconciliation based upon oblivion and erasure, proposing instead a new approach to reconciliation based upon the communal act of remembering through performance – as opposed to silencing the memories. Through the display and performance of archives and testimonies, the performance stimulates, first of all, memory, which is accompanied by discussion and dialogue, where audience members play the key role of both witnesses and participants.

Politics of Memory and Reconciliation

Post-dictatorial transitions desirably entail a process of transitional justice and various degrees of reconciliation: of individuals with the state, of individuals amongst themselves, of victims and former perpetrators (when possible), and, most importantly for my research, of individuals with their own memories. This process is closely linked to what has been called the “politics of memory”, which Alexandra Barahona de Brito, Carmen González-Henriques and Paloma Aguilar (2001) argue consists of two things:

Narrowly conceived, it consists of policies of truth and justice in transition (*official or public memory*); more widely conceived, it is about how a society

interprets and appropriates its past, in an ongoing attempt to mould its future (*social memory*) (2001:37).

Post-dictatorial regimes –, such as Argentina, Chile, and Spain – have been truly unique in the way the legacies of repression and violence have been dealt with, for example under the format of “amnesties, trials or purges, [...] the establishment of truth commissions, by financial compensation, and with symbolic gestures such as the building of monuments, or the proclamation of commemorative days of ‘remembering’” (Barahona de Brito et al, 2001:1). It is not entirely certain, however, that these processes of transitional justice can, indeed, promote reconciliation at a deeper level. They can undoubtedly promote, to a certain extent, “compensation, restitution and reparation” (2001: 1), but “The impossibility of ensuring a perfect process of transitional truth and justice means that the past continues to live in the present to a greater or lesser extent” (2001: 37). My research addresses this ongoing past that “lives in the present” of the memories of direct agents and participants in the resistance to the Portuguese dictatorship, as well as engaged participants in the revolutionary process, and which these individuals do not feel reconciled with. In that sense, although I question and address official and public memory throughout the performance of *A Living Museum*, my main focus is upon social and personal memory and the way that society and individuals have appropriated their past and are actively “living it in the present” (even when forcing themselves to forget it, or to re-interpret it). I use Elizabeth Jelin’s concept of “memory struggles” (2003) to enact non-hegemonic memories in the performance of *A Living Museum*, presenting several alternative visions to the grand narratives and the historical accounts of the

military and political protagonists who seem to make much of the historiographic discourse of these time-periods. Memories are, indeed, sites of contestation, or “a struggle in the terrain of truth” (Hodgkin and Radstone, 2003:1). Jelin’s “memory struggles” express the process whereby different groups seek to make their version of history the dominant one. She writes,

In any given moment and place, it is impossible to find *one* memory, or a single interpretation of the past shared throughout society [...]. The space of memory is thus an arena of political struggle that is frequently conceived in terms of struggle “against oblivion”: *remember so as not to repeat*. These slogans, however, can be tricky. Slogans such as “memory against oblivion” or “against silence” hide an opposition between distinct and rival memories (each one with its own forgetfulness). In truth what is at stake here is an opposition of “memory against memory (2003: xviii).²⁶

This two-fold process of contestation and dominance – contesting the past or the memories being conveyed, and establishing a dominant version of them, that is then contested by other groups and subjected to a further process of reinterpretation, in a continuous process – has, for Hodgkin and Radstone (2003), two simultaneous aims. On the one hand, to establish a truth about what *really* happened, that is, disputing “the course of events” – a question to which the active witnesses and participants “can respond”; and, on the other hand, to “pose questions about the present, and what the past means in the present” (2003: 1). This is something which pertains also to the

²⁶ See also footnote 22, page 32, for more on Jelin’s “memory struggles.”

postmemory generations. It raises the question of “who or what is entitled to speak for that past in the present” (2003:1), which is also a crucial aspect of my research. Not only am I giving a voice to people who could not find a space in the public arena to express their versions of history, but also I myself am producing a discourse about a past I have not experienced directly. In this sense, my project questions and challenges also issues of legitimacy over the production of historical discourse, which I will discuss in greater detail in Chapter II.

The Portuguese transition to democracy was a complex process which entailed a dimension of what has been referred to by António Costa Pinto as “revolutionary transitional justice” (2001: 65). Costa Pinto has pioneered the reflection upon transitional justice during the revolutionary period of 1974-1975, consistently affirming his thesis of the “excesses” of this kind of transitional justice, perpetrated by the left-wing militants and activists.²⁷ Apart from Costa Pinto’s efforts, however the different dimensions and scopes of transitional justice and the politics of memory in post-dictatorial Portugal have only recently been tackled by Portuguese scholars. In 2013 as part of the research project “Political Justice in the Transition for Democracy in Portugal”, historians Irene Pimentel and Maria Inácia Rezola edited a volume entitled *Democracy, Dictatorship – Memory and Political Justice*, where they focus upon transitional justice in Portugal, and also Brazil (Pimentel and Rezola, 2013). In her article, Irene Pimentel reinforces the thesis of the transitional justice of the revolutionary period and claims that, although “limited” and “belated” there was nonetheless a “process of retributive justice” through some trials and convictions of former PIDE agents. As she also acknowledges, however,

²⁷ See Costa Pinto (2001) and (2013).

“there is still the belief in Portugal that no one answered for their part in the dictatorship, particularly the elements of the PIDE/DGS”, which she considers “not totally true” (2013:128-129).

On the other hand, opposing the negative image of the transitional revolutionary justice, João Madeira writes an interesting article about the Humberto Delgado Civic Courts (1977-1978). These courts were named after the candidate to the presidency of the Republic in 1958, an emblematic moment of resistance to the dictatorial regime. In fact, Humberto Delgado engaged in his candidacy vast segments of the population and of the opponents to the regime, arising the hope for a deeper political change towards democracy. He ended up losing the election to the state sponsored candidate, Américo Thomaz, despite what seemed a much greater popular support towards Delgado. He was later found dead, buried in Spain, in an action led by the political police, which responsibility was never truly acknowledged in court.²⁸ The naming of these popular courts after Delgado is therefore very significant. Describing the actions of these courts – an initiative of the civil society that aimed was to bring former agents of repression to justice – Madeira notes how the courts had the participation of several segments of the left and succeeded in breaking through the traditional political sectarianism of that period. He concludes, “throughout one year [it] mobilised thousands of people, an exemplary dialogue process between different factions around one sole aim summarised in its founding motto, ‘Bring the PIDE to Trial, Condemn Fascism’” (Madeira, 2013a: 172).

²⁸ Humberto Delgado’s assassination was taken to court in 1981, but the moral and actual authors of the crime were not convicted. Instead, one sole member of the PIDE brigade that attacked Humberto Delgado was considered guilty. There are several press articles written on the subject, and Delgado’s family has been especially diligent in denouncing the case. See for example his grandson’s work (Delgado Rosa, 2008). See also São José Almeida (2015), available at: <https://www.publico.pt/2015/02/15/politica/noticia/delgado-e-incomodo-ainda-hoje-para-muitas-pessoas-1686052> (accessed 20/03/2016).

In another significant article that raises issues concerning the politics of memory, former political prisoner, historian and sociologist Fernando Pereira Marques²⁹ clearly articulates what he perceives as a “negation and undermining of what was repressive and violent” (Marques, 2013: 146) in the dictatorial regime. He argues that the lack of transitional justice in Portugal and the lack of reparation for former state repression are due to a process of oblivion and erasure. He also gives an account of the tentative laws of reparative justice towards former political prisoners concerning their time spent either in prison, which culminated with his own initiatives to extend the scope of the law in 1995 to encompass those who had lived in exile, or clandestinely, which was his case, a discussion I mentioned above on page 31.

In 2015, Manuel Loff, Filipe Piedade and Luciana Soutelo edited yet another important volume in the studies of politics of memory. This text broadened the scope of the discussion, and included articles from Luisa Passerini and Enzo Traverso on European memory.³⁰ In a seminal opening essay, Manuel Loff traces the path of the politics of memory in the last 40 years in Portugal concerning the memory of the dictatorship and the revolution, where he states, “No specific investigation has been conducted about the official public politics of memory in Portugal, namely the politics of reparation” (2015: 27). Loff’s article is particularly insightful in the relationship it establishes between the lack of inscription of memories of the dictatorship in the public space and the deficient management of its legacies of violence and repression, and the detraction of the revolution and the revolutionary

²⁹ Fernando Pereira Marques was member of the political group LUAR (League of Unity and Revolutionary Action), an oppositionist movement which defended the armed struggle against the dictatorial regime, having conducted a spectacular robbery to the Bank of Portugal in Figueira da Foz, in May 1967.

³⁰ Enzo Traverso, “Memórias Europeias” [European Memories] (2014: 405-426) and Luisa Passerini, “A Ética da Memória Europeia: o que tem que ser feito” [The Ethic of European Memory: What needs to be done] (2014: 453-463).

process. This points to the reiterated thesis of the “two dictatorships”, which certain segments of the Right have reinforced throughout the years: the former dictatorship (1926-1974), being one, and the revolutionary process of 1974-1975 – dominated by left-wing parties and movements, as well as by popular power – being the other. We find a similar theory in Barahona et al (to which António Costa Pinto contributes an article on transitional justice in Portugal), when they refer to– “the double legacy of right-wing authoritarianism under the Salazar New State and the threat of left-wing authoritarianism during the revolutionary first two years of the transition...” (2001: 19).

One dimension of reconciliation that my research addresses specifically concerns the dictatorship and the legacies of the repression, which many of my interviewees do not feel reconciled with or repaid for. Indeed, not only in the oral history accounts I collected, but also in the post-performance debates, people have expressed that they do not feel repaired for the violence they have been subjected to, and that they believe there is a general impunity towards those crimes. This is different, for example, from the case of contemporary political regimes in some of the countries of the Southern Cone which also experienced dictatorships, and where Elizabeth Jelin notes the “strong and visible presence of the human rights movement as a political actor and as an “administrator of memory” (2003: 33). In Portugal, on the contrary, the presence and the impact of the human rights movements have not been clear or visible in the last 40 years, either through sites of memory or commemorative events.³¹ This has materialized in the absence of inscription of these

³¹ Although there are exceptions like the civic movements NAM (Não Apaguem a Memória/ Do Not Erase Memory <http://maismemoria.org/mm/>), URAP (União dos Resistentes Antifascistas Portugueses/ Unity of the Portuguese Antifascist Resisters, <http://www.urap.pt/>), UMAR, (União de Mulheres Alternativa e Resposta/ Unity of Women, Alternative and Response, <http://www.umarfeminismos.org>), AEP61-74 (Associação dos

memories in the public space, amongst other things, and also in the lack of more prolific commemorative initiatives or debates. Loff has argued that, “the construction of Portuguese democracy through the revolutionary way [...] did not provide a substantial social consensus over the memory of the dictatorship” (2015: 24), adding that “the Portuguese case is already relatively exceptional regarding the absence of an official politics of implantation of plaques of the memory of oppression” (2015: 32). In an article on the Spanish transition to democracy, Paloma Aguilar argues that the transitions that took place in the 1970s were not “as favourable to truth telling and justice” as the ones that would take place in the 1980s and 1990s (2001: 94). This might also be useful to understand the legacies of repression and the lack of transitional justice in the Portuguese case.

Another dimension of reconciliation and the struggles for memory addressed by my research concerns the revolutionary period. Unexpectedly initiated by the 25 April military coup – which quickly turned into a popular movement – what was called the “revolutionary process”, or the “revolution” was actually a period of 19 months, abruptly terminated by a moderate military coup on 25 November 1975,³² which paved the way to “democratic normalisation.” What this abrupt end truly signified, however, was the defeat of one political system of direct democracy and popular power, and the supremacy of representative democracy. How this complex and ideological struggle has been distilled in simplistic terms throughout the past 40 years into a depiction of the Cold War imagery of the battle between a prospective communist dictatorship and a democratic, moderate, western regime is one of the

Exilados Políticos Portugueses/ Association of the Portuguese Political Exiles <http://aep61-74.org/index.php/a-aep/>); and the association of the “April Captains”, Associação 25 de Abril/ 25 April Association <http://www.25abril.org/a25abril/> (All websites: Last accessed: 29/06/2016).

³² More about this landmark event, which signals for many of my interviewees the “end of the revolution” can be read in Chapter II: 77-79.

reasons for the deep frustration of a generation of activists, who has not been able to break through those constructions to affirm the depth and complexity of their memories and versions of that period. Furthermore, this issue is complicated by the ideological cleavages within the Left itself, which prevent a consensual basis for the memories of the revolution to inscribe themselves in the public space. When interviewed, people from the Trotskyite LCI (Liga Comunista Internacionalista/ International Communist League) have very different versions and visions from those of, for example, the Marxist-Leninist UDP (União Democrática Popular/Popular Democratic Unity), or the Maoist MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado/ Movement for the Reorganisation of the Party of the Proletariat). And they all differ from the PCP (Partido Comunista Português/ Portuguese Communist Party). Assuming the equal legitimacy of all these different memories and experiences, while simultaneously attempting to break through polarised interpretations, my research takes the memories of the far-left as complex and sensitive, and not reduced to exoticised (cf. Godinho, 2015), ridiculed accounts which are the ones who made it into the main narratives in circulation, whereas the former are dismissed as non-important. Reacting to my depiction of the revolutionary process, almost as if she was justifying the kind of political engagement promoted by these political groups (and which I re-enact), a woman in the post-performance debate in Santiago de Compostela, in January 2016 said,

It is hard to envision how things were. The process was the most important.

We would spend hours talking about the order of subjects to be addressed in the assemblies. It is very hard to understand this now, but the process itself,

the discussions on how to do it, were even more important than doing it – everything was crucial, every discussion.³³

This is also echoed in Teresa R.’s testimony where she stated, “Everything was political; I would stay in that neighborhood [the shanty houses where she was working] from morning until evening, because there were so many meetings, all the time, meetings and meetings and meetings...”³⁴ In the performance it was not uncommon for the audience to react in an amusing manner to the references to the engaged activism of those times, and many who laughed had been actual participants in those processes. Indeed, seen in the light of the second decade of the 21st century, such political militancy and selfless dedication to the utopia of a new society, seems like a distant dream, comic at points, ridiculous even, when not tragic – especially in light of the increasing neo-liberalism and the primacy of capitalism which now dominates much of the political agenda and the media. Analysed today, these memories may well seem like an exotic archaeology of incomprehensible or preposterous ideals. Only recently, for example, former Deputy Prime Minister Paulo Portas addressed the youth of his party, the Popular Party (CDS-PP), urging them to “Leave utopia for the revolutionary and take care of reality, of the lives of your generation”, and emphatically accusing utopia of being “responsible for the worst totalitarianisms of the twentieth century” which were “Nazism and Communism”.³⁵

In addressing the revisiting of the political memories by former left-wing activists, Alessandro Portelli has borrowed a literary term, *uchronia* – which

³³ From the post-performance debate held on 3 February 3 2016, in Museu Gáias, Santiago de Compostela, Festival Escenas do Cambio.

³⁴ Teresa R. (2014). Interviewed by Craveiro, J. 26 April, Lisbon.

³⁵ Remarks of Paulo Portas on 13 December 2015, (Público/Lusa) available at: http://rr.sapo.pt/noticia/41855/portas_para_a_esquerda_deixem_a_utopia_aos_revolucionarios_e_ocupem_se_da_realidade (Last accessed: 29/07/2016).

describes alternative, parallel worlds, universes and themes that don't really exist – to describe the process whereby, in oral history accounts, individuals preferably refer to an alternative reality of what might have happened as opposed to what actually took place, emphasizing,

not how history went, but how it could, or should have gone, focusing on possibility rather than actuality. [...] They contrast the existing world against a desirable world, and claim that only by accident their hopes and dreams were derailed (Portelli, 1991: 100).

In these tales, which Portelli found in his study of post-communism and utopias in Italy, the narrators invariably fictionalised parts of what had happened in order to highlight the possibility for victory and for the creation of a new world order. Portelli argues that, “these stories show the role of uchronia as one possible narrative expression of the refusal of the existing order of society. The uchronic form allows the narrator to transcend reality as a given” (1991: 108). In the accounts of those formerly engaged in the resistance to the Portuguese dictatorial regime and the revolutionary process, however, this uchrony does not manifest itself in the same way. Some discourses of nostalgia occur, and a sense of “imagined community” (Anderson, 1983) – for example, use of the third-person plural, where it is not always clear who “we” refers to, and which has led some historians to assume “the people” as a whole entity in the Portuguese revolution (see, for example, Varela, 2014), a position I do not share. Given the multiplicity of ideological views (manifested in a myriad of political movements), and also the previous non-politicalisation of the

majority of the population, the revolutionary process was experienced very differently by each individual and not without contradiction.

Rather, a deep-seated discouragement is the tone of some of the interviews I have collected, where events are not fictionalised but rather deconstructed in the light of the ideological path the person has travelled and her current position. Historian Irene Pimentel, for example, described how she questioned the meaning of the word “revolution” even, in light of what she later heard had happened in the People’s Republic of China, of which she was an admirer and supporter at the time of the 25 of April revolution.³⁶ In her interview she stated,

But you are talking to someone who isn’t the same anymore as I was back then. I have questioned it all. I didn’t understand anything. I wanted the revolution, but revolution for me was what was happening in China, and today I wouldn’t want that. I know what happened to China and, even worse, situations like Cambodia – we weren’t for Cambodia, but we were for the Cultural Revolution. So when today I see those movies that depict people arrested, tortured, totalitarian regimes, it is very hard to accept I have defended that. It has taken me a long time and I even went into depression because of it. It isn’t an easy process; it’s traumatic, and solitary. Because when you leave a movement, you move to the other side of the barricade.³⁷

³⁶ Pimentel was part of the Marxist-Leninist organization OCMLP-O Grito do Povo.

³⁷ Irene Pimentel (2012). Interviewed by Craveiro, J., 20 October, Lisbon.

Frustration is another landmark in some testimonies. In a very different tone from Pimentel's, Ar., exiled to France in the late 60's due to being part of the LUAR³⁸, told me with tears in his eyes,

I don't know how we lost the battle, I don't know... I was watching a concert on television the other day, of Zeca Afonso³⁹ and other singers, and there were politicians there, like Vasco Gonçalves⁴⁰... Watching them all there I kept wondering, how did we lose that battle, the revolution...?⁴¹

Nostalgia can also be apparent in some discourses of former activists, like Teresa R., who refuses to accept that the revolution ended,

It was like a party indeed, a celebration, no one can imagine what it was like for those people who had been living in a shanty house for over 50 years, most of them with no toilets even, to go out into the streets and literally take over the public space – the town hall, for example. I still live on with those 3,000 families within me ... we occupied [houses], and sometimes the places were not vacant, and we would move to another one, all of this laughing, as in a celebration ... You ask when the revolution ended, I am not sure it ever ended.⁴²

³⁸ League of Unity and Revolutionary Action. See page 42, note 29; and the List of Abbreviations on page 18.

³⁹ Zeca Afonso: Singer and composer of Portuguese folk and protest songs, whose work was censored throughout the dictatorship. He wrote and sang the famous “Grândola Vila Morena”, a code signal for the 25 April coup, which remains one of the revolution's symbols. He died in 1987.

⁴⁰ Vasco Gonçalves was the second Portuguese prime minister after the 25 April coup, having served in that role until September 1975, in the second, third, fourth and fifth governments. He was considered part of the leftist wing of the Armed Forces, often being described as closely related to the Communist Party.

⁴¹ Ar., (2016) Interviewed by Craveiro J. 23 January. Paris.

⁴² Teresa R. From the post-performance debate held on November 15, 2014.

Teresa's memory is prolific in the many accounts of the revolution she shares with me, all coloured by the enthusiasm of utopias experimented in the daily lives of her and her fellow comrades. Teresa's memories of the revolution are all bright and sunny, until the point when her presidential candidate, Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, is completely defeated in the 1980 election.⁴³ Even if she acknowledges that as a "major setback", she still does not concede to the end of the revolution.

Besides uchronic memories of the left, my research also addresses another dimension of reconciliation in what concerns the complex and problematic memories associated to the decolonization process. Indeed, the need for reconciliation also extends to the former inhabitants of the Portuguese ex-colonies in Africa – Angola, Mozambique, Guinea, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde – many of whom consider the 25 April as a traumatic event, which lead them to losing all their possessions and, in many cases, their homeland,

It was very sad, very sad. Because we were expecting that the same [a revolution, or a coup d'état] would happen *there* [in Africa]. And if we, the white people, had done the same there, in Africa, we would never have reached the point that we did...⁴⁴

⁴³ Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho was the operational commander of the 25 April coup. He played a key role during the revolutionary process, during which he radicalized his political positioning. He was a presidential candidate twice: in 1976, when he was defeated by Ramalho Eanes (Otelo obtained 16% of the vote); and again in 1980, when he obtained only 1,6%. The GDUPS or Dynamic Groups of Popular Unity, were created to support Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho's first run for presidency in 1976. These groups mobilized a considerable segment of Portuguese society and were symbol of an engaged political activism. By his second attempt at election, in 1980, however, these committees were no longer actively operating.

⁴⁴ L. (2013). Interviewed by Craveiro J. 23 October, Mangualde; expressing her grief at the 25 April Coup and the way it unfolded for the former colonies.

The discourse of my interviewees is often marked by nostalgia and idealization of the colonialist past. This inevitably raises complex memories, often problematic, where the constructs of the “very unique” Portuguese colonialism, perceived and transmitted during the regime in ideas such as “multiculturalism”, “multiracialism” and “luso-tropicalism” (see Torgal, 2009) still conditions many of discourses and accounts I have collected. In this research my option was to go beyond these internalised constructs – which also condition in a negative way how these individuals and their memories are perceived outside of their social group – to focus on the identitarian, political and ideological nuances of each life story. This led me to address in the performance the account of one sole family, comprised of eight members – which I have named family A. Their story retains an auto-reflexive approach towards this complex subject, covering themes such as racism and social inequalities between the white and black population in tandem with the identity of certain members of the family being closely connected to Africa, and their wish for the independence of those territories from the Portuguese colonial rule.

Emancipated Spectatorship

My research proposes an active practice of reconciliation through performance and discussion, taking the audience along in the process of investigation (cf. Bleeker, 2012:186), and allowing them to voice their opinions about what they have seen, and to share their own accounts and experiences of the dictatorship and revolution. Instead of presenting one sole truth or version, my performance opens up the space for several possibilities, conveying different experiences within the vast spectrum of

the left and the resistance movements, and voicing my own questions and perplexities upon events that I cannot fully apprehend, myself being part of the so-called generation of postmemory. In this sense, I am engaging with what Jacques Rancière named the “emancipated spectator” (2009), a condition whereby hierarchies of knowledge and information are challenged by an overall equality pertaining to those who perform/make art and those who watch it. We are all spectators of some sort, argues Rancière, stating,

Being a spectator is not some passive condition that we should transform into activity. It is our normal situation. We all learn and teach, act and know, as spectators who all the time link what we see to what we have seen and said, done and dreamed. There is no more a privileged form than there is a privileged starting point. Everywhere there are starting points, intersections and junctions that enable us to learn something new if we refuse, firstly, radical distance, secondly, the distribution of roles, and, thirdly, the boundaries between territories. We do not have to transform spectators into actors, and ignoramuses into scholars. We have to recognise the knowledge at work in the ignoramus and the activity peculiar to the spectator. Every spectator is already an actor in her story; every actor, every man of action, is the spectator of the same story (2009:17).

Taking Rancière’s concept, I expect the audience not to passively sit through the performance and enjoy it, but to actively contribute to solving the various riddles that historical reconstruction entails. “How could a dictatorship last that long? What

really happened?” – I ask several times throughout the performance. “Where are the former perpetrators? Why did it happen that way? Why did the revolution end?” – These questions, directed at the audience, provoke first of all an awareness of the complexity of the events for which there is no single answer that is representative of a single version of the events. Furthermore, as a private individual, as well as a researcher and performer, I am engaging with my own lack of information and doubts, challenging my passive spectatorship towards these events by actively researching them, performing them, interrogating them and interrogating direct participants in them. I do this either through my interviewing process, or during the performance itself in my direct addresses to the audience. Instead of pre-supposing my knowledge and positioning myself on a superior plane due to the information I have had access to, I state rather what I *do not* know; I challenge the general assumption of a historiography exclusively made by historians together with the assumption that one must have experienced an event in order to produce a discourse on it. In his *Politics of Aesthetics*, Rancière (2011) questions the “distribution of the sensible”, or “the system of divisions and boundaries that define, among other things, what is visible and audible within a particular aesthetico-political regime” (Gabriel Rockhill in the introduction to Rancière, 2011:1). He is critical of the inequality of the “distribution” which posits some in a superior stance to others, either because they *know* more, or have more information, or because some are either performers in, or spectators at that performance. And he concludes, “I constructed, little by little, an egalitarian or anarchist theoretical position that does not presuppose this vertical relationship top to bottom” (2011: 50). Although I am using the performance-lecture

format⁴⁵ – a format traditionally associated with scholarship and hierarchies of knowledge – to construct a “museum”, my approach to history is nonetheless one of problematising and questioning, and which I will detail in Chapter II. Audiences are key in this questioning process, as I establish a dialogue from the beginning, seeking to integrate live, in the moment of the performance, the different reactions from the spectators to the several aspects of the almost 90 years of Portuguese history I am considering.

Rancière’s theory is important also in that he successfully breaks through the traditional dichotomy of the Brechtian politically engaged and emotionally detached spectator versus the Artaudian emotionally implicated spectator (2009: 4-5). The reactions to the performance of *A Living Museum* have expressed a mixture of both, as in critic Rui Pina Coelho’s remarks in his article about the performance,

Regarding Craveiro’s *The Living Museum*, what I could understand of the performance was overwhelmed by what I felt during it. Yet, I think that it is only through the fusion of “the felt” and “the understood” that this performance reaches its point. Its political dimension is beyond propagandistic strategies or more explicit communicational strategies. Notwithstanding its cerebral dramaturgical structure, its strength comes from the sphere of the intangible and the inarticulable, much more than from the perceptible. It deals with memories, often conflicting, of a very intense period of recent Portuguese history, where many wounds were open and many remain unhealed (2015).⁴⁶

⁴⁵ For a full description and analysis of this performance mode see Chapter III: 156-162.

⁴⁶ Rui Pina Coelho, “The Living Museum of my Generation’s Failure – On the Living Museum of Small,

Rancière is critical of the idea that theatre is by itself different from other mass spectacles just by being experienced live, arguing that it is the *idea* of it being different which conditions it (2009: 16). However, I believe it is indeed different. The exchange between audience and performer is somewhat different in nature from “a mass of individuals watching the same television show at the same hour” (Rancière, 2009: 16). Erika Fischer-Lichte has argued that this particular exchange is due to the “transformative power of performance” (2008), naming the encounter between actors and spectators as “autopoietic feed-back loops” (2008; 2014), where “the participants are co-creators who, to different degrees and in different ways, affect the shape of a performance” (2014: 20). The powerful encounter of my performance with people who have experienced the events I discuss, or who have received them via some kind of transmission, familial or other, or that, even if neither experiencing nor receiving them have nonetheless a strong response to them, generates an emotionally charged environment, upon which a kind reconciliation process occurs. The word has been used by spectators themselves, “You have helped me reconcile with these memories”, said one woman;⁴⁷ “It is a performance that redeems us”, wrote Aurora Rodrigues, a former political prisoner whom I quote in the performance, in a social network.⁴⁸ The presence of Aurora Rodrigues in the

Forgotten and Unwanted Memories”, in *Critical Stages/ Scènes Critiques*, The IACT webjournal/Revue web de l’AICT – June/Juin 2015: Issue No 12; available at: <http://www.critical-stages.org/12/the-living-museum-of-my-generations-failure-on-the-living-museum-of-small-forgotten-and-unwanted-memories-by-joana-craveiro-teatro-do-vestido/> (Lat accessed 14/06/16).

⁴⁷ From the post-performance debate held on 30 July 2015, at Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon

⁴⁸ This was taken from the comment posted by Aurora Rodrigues in her personal Facebook page, to the performance of *A Living Museum* in Santiago de Compostela, in February 2016. Aurora Rodrigues, arrested by the PIDE in 1972 and submitted to the sleep deprivation torture for 16 consecutive days, published her testimony in 2011, to which I dedicate a section of the second performance-lecture, “Invisible Archives of the Portuguese Revolution”. Rodrigues attended the performance in November 14 2014, and her remarks in the post-performance debate provoked several emotions in the room, as described in Chapter III: 185-186. I have also addressed this in (Craveiro, 2016a).

performance venue and its effect upon the other audience members (given that I had just told her story in the second performance-lecture “Invisible Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship”), was indeed another clear demonstration of the potential of performance to engender unique live encounters that go beyond the written script. The effect of such encounters may be incredibly powerful, like it was for the audience of that 15 November 2014 evening, when their heads turned to Aurora Rodrigues the moment she uttered her name. By being there, Aurora confirmed the veracity of the facts I had enunciated – not just concerning her, but concerning everything I had just addressed (cf. Craveiro, 2016a). And, proving a fact to be true is, in a way, a form of accomplishing justice – even if just on a private level.

Returning to the idea of transitional justice and politics of reparation, Barahona et al. acknowledge its limits, stating that, “Truth commissions and trials can offer only a partial picture of the repressive universe, and the responsibility for it. This will mean a continued need to produce accounts of the past” (2001: 36). My performance does not present official restorative politics, nor does it even promote *one* idea of truth and, in that sense, does not aspire to substitute for a truth commission. Yet it produces successive accounts of the past – not only in what I perform, but what the audiences themselves share in the post-performance debates. These became open discussion forums, prone to different visions, confessions, complaints, traumas and even polemics, concerning the opinion about specific problematic events – one the most polemic of which being the decolonisation process following the 25 April 1974 coup. As an open forum, my performance alters the perception of those periods to the audience who is seeing it, and creates new

historiography while problematising the historiography being made and problematising the historian's role itself.

It is this dimension of “live history”, where audiences are engaged in a process of reflection and problematisation – with the chance to express their visions and even propose alternative versions to what has been displayed on stage – that turns archival material into live performance and propels an exchange that surpasses conventional historiography and the conventional transitional justice processes. This brings, as Pina Coelho has argued, the “felt” and the “understood” (2015) together; and intersects what Diana Taylor has named the “archive” and the “repertoire” (2003).

Bridging the Archive and the Repertoire

In my research, I have used performance as a main methodological tool and means of investigation, while simultaneously seeking to create alternative modes of knowledge and memory transmission. The performative mode has also allowed me to challenge the primacy of archival evidence and written materials, which are the principal hallmark of epistemology in western tradition. Taylor (2003) has expressed this as a dichotomy between the “archive of supposedly enduring materials (i.e., texts, documents, buildings, bones) and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge (i.e., spoken language, dance, sports, ritual)” (2003. 19).

Both the concepts of “archive” and “repertoire” are key to my research, and I attempt to intersect them through *performing the archive*. Taylor herself finds it difficult to completely separate both concepts and their operating processes, for “they

usually work in tandem and they work alongside other systems of transmission – the digital and the visual to name two. Innumerable practices in the most literate societies require both an archival and embodied dimension” (2003: 21). She is also critical of the historiographic production that has sought to separate the archive from the repertoire, as shown in the polarisation of memory and history, which my research again attempts to intersect. Simultaneously, to assume that the “repertoire” would be a non-mediated body of material would also be a mistake, as both memory and history are not external to systems of power, as Hodgkin and Radstone highlight, “history and memory are not abstract forces: they are located in specific contexts, instances, and narratives, and decisions have always to be taken about what story is to be told” (2003: 5). In *A Living Museum* I have used oral testimonies and archival objects, combined with my own autobiography, intersecting the archive and the repertoire in my performance of the persona “Archivist” (the narrator/curator of *A Living Museum*), who is indeed an engaged collector of memories and a “reconstructor” of the history of a country, as well as of her own political and affective position within that history. As Pablo Hidalgo, curator of the Escenas do Câmbio festival in Santiago de Compostela, commented on the post-performance debate, “In this performance, the archive is *inscribed* in you; you *embody* the archive”.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the performance displays important features of documentary theatre, which, as Carol Martin has argued, “takes the archive and turns it into repertory, following a sequence from behavior to archived records of behavior to the restoration of behavior as public performance” (Martin, 2012: 18). Marianne Hirsch also highlights this intersection of the archive and the repertoire:

⁴⁹ From the post-performance debate on 3 February 2016, Museu Gáias, Cidade de Cultura, Santiago de Compostela (my emphasis).

Numerous testimony projects and oral history archives, the important role of photography and performance, the ever-growing culture of memorials, and the new interactive museology reflect the need for aesthetic and institutional structures that broaden and enlarge the traditional historical archive with a “repertoire” of embodied knowledge that had previously been neglected by many traditional historians (2012: 2).

Each performance of *A Living Museum* (14 in total, to date) became a unique commemorative event, which, as the theatre critic Jorge Louraço Figueira has pointed out, went beyond the mere theatre performance to become a “cultural event” (2014).⁵⁰ In a place of contested versions of history, such as the current Portuguese society, the performance opened the possibility for “weak memories” to become “strong ones ” (Godinho, 2015; Traverso, 2012) and find a stage to be voiced, thereby conferring agency and power on them and their owners - and “re-making history with previously excluded subjectivities” (Pollock, 2005: 2). At the same time, the *museum* and its *archive* – as a repository of voices and objects – are alive and in process, in that those exchanges in the debates add up to a repository that is still in the making and that will probably continue. Oral history and archival work are always incomplete by nature in that it is impossible to collect every memory, every version of a given event, or every artefact available. This means that with each new

⁵⁰ Figueira writes, “The live presentation of the material is a new personal experience for everyone attending, the performer included. (...) The ballast that each one brings to the venue is laid on the table, and that gift turns this performance into a cultural event, like another audience member stated, more than just a mere moment of theatre” (Figueira, 2014), available at: <http://www.publico.pt/culturaipilon/noticia/riachos-ribeiros-e-outros-afluentes-da-revolucao-1676386> (Last accessed: 25/11/ 2015)

run of *A Living Museum*, I am able to add new data and, sometimes, testimonies or fragments of accounts.

*

This thesis is divided into two main chapters. In Chapter II, after expounding the historical context of the almost 90 years of Portuguese history I am addressing in my thesis, I theorise the kind of “embodied historiography” I am conducting in my research, intersecting memory and history. Chapter III focuses upon the performance and how this *embodied historiography* was performed, namely through the performance-lecture mode and the different scopes I have developed within the performance. I then address audience reception and participation, including how the post-performance debates became an integral part of the performance and the different levels of reconciliation and reparation these debates engendered. In the conclusion I reflect upon the space that *A Living Museum* has opened for several possibilities of reconciliation through the transmission of non-hegemonic memories, and through reenacting fragments of a past that has been perceived as negative throughout the last 42 years and which led the individuals to internalise those constructions, thereby obliterating their own memories. I have found that *A Living Museum* has allowed for some to recuperate and rehabilitate their experiences, challenging one-sided historicity and, consequently, creating a healthier social and political space where the dissonant voices are heard and taken into account.

Throughout Chapter II, I have at times created side texts, where images and accounts exemplify my arguments, referring to some of the archival materials I have gathered throughout my investigation, some of which are featured in the

performance. This process resonates with that of the performance, where the expounding of historical theories, as well as oral testimonies, is accompanied by the display of images, written text and objects, which are filmed and projected in real time onto a screen centre stage:



A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon, November 2014. Photograph by João Tuna, reproduced with permission.

The investigation process as well as the joint performance and the voicing of several testimonies in the aftermath discussions, created a mosaic of experiences, rendering visible the underlying interrogations and themes of my research: the interplay between the public politics of memory concerning these periods, and the personal experience of those same time periods by unknown citizens who have established their own personal narratives of the events from their point of view. It also raised questions concerning the lack of inscription of problematic memories and a traumatic repressive past in public space, namely concerning the dictatorship, as well as questioning the erasure of marks of the revolutionary process again in the public space, accompanied by the dissemination of negative images of that process and a softening of the memories of the dictatorship. Furthermore, it identified the lack of

reparation for victims of state repression as a major problematic feature of the process of “democratic normalisation” that followed the end of the revolutionary process; this was accompanied by discourses of reconciliation that were, in fact, masking the lack of a process of transitional justice, such as other post-dictatorial regimes have developed. Challenging the idea of silence and forgetting as restorative (cf. Assmann and Short, 2012), the performance argues that dialogue and enunciation can indeed propel personal processes of reconciliation of the individuals with their own memories and, in a broader sense, with the history of the country.

II. How and Why I Use History

When they [the historians] join other men and women and come together in public to remember the past – their past – they construct a narrative which is not just ‘history’ and not just ‘memory’, but a story which partakes both. Historical remembrance is what they do and how they contribute to a memory boom which extends well beyond the historical profession.

Jay Winter (2011:427)

90 Years

This section aims to define the key aspects of the three periods, or events, of the dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process, which are relevant to my overall concern with historical memory. Aspects of how the dictatorship is perceived today and the disputes concerning its representation in historiographic discourse, as well as the significance of the revolution and the narratives around the revolutionary process are key issues which are reflected in the dramaturgy of *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*; as are the construction of the identitarian narratives concerning the Portuguese people, which have persisted since the dictatorship, as well as its relationship to Portuguese colonialism. In analysing these historical periods and events, I address their relationship to

Brief Chronology:

1908: Assassination of the king and his heir.

1910: First Republic established.

1926: Military Coup – gave rise to the Military Dictatorship.

1933: New State Dictatorship

1961: Beginning of the Portuguese Colonial War in Angola.

1970: Death of António Oliveira Salazar and rise to power of Marcello Caetano.

1974: Revolutionary coup from young military on the 25 April which topples the dictatorship.

1975: Counter-coup of moderate military forces, together with the socialist party and right wing parties, on 25 November.

the present times, not only through commemorative rituals and narratives expressed in the media and in political discourses - (especially in light of the 2014 commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the 25 April revolution) – but also through 50 personal testimonies that I have collected and which express how those individuals experienced and participated in the events, and how they remember them today. Additionally, I investigate how much the constructs concerning these time periods still shape the people’s beliefs, and still nourish an ongoing fabrication of narratives concerning the dictatorship as well as the revolution. My research is concerned with three main periods, which, as Michel de Certeau argues, can be described as *événements*, as facts “shaped from conflicting imaginations, at once past and present” (1988: xv). Historical research was therefore crucial to chronologically consider a series of events occurring between 1926 and 1975 in Portugal and its then African territories, the memory of which still conditions the perception of present events, as well the construction of the country’s identity. In addressing these themes in the performance, however, I was not aiming for a neutral historiographic narrative, but rather for an active (re)interpretation of facts and events in light of these 50 people’s testimonies and my own postmemory accounts. After all, as Alessandro Portelli argues, “memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active process of creation of meanings” (1991: 52). The historiography I am performing in my research, therefore, situated within what Jay Winter terms “historical remembrance” (2001: 427), is personal, autobiographical, encompassing silences and doubts, as well as facts and interpretation of those facts.

It seemed important, therefore, to begin this chapter by outlining some of the historical facts (and their interpretations) pertaining to the three time periods my

research addresses. I will then expound how I am using these facts and the type of historiography my research creates, as well as how I have incorporated the oral testimonies and *their* particular versions of those facts in the performance.

a) The establishment and unfolding of the dictatorship

Following the assassination of King Carlos I and his heir to the throne, Prince D. Luís Filipe de Bragança, in 1908, Portugal underwent a Republican coup in 1910 that established republican parliamentarism. The 16 years of turbulent governments (23 in total) have given rise to many conflicting historical accounts and memories that I will not explore here⁵¹, but which are generally used as an explanation (and sometimes as an excuse) for the 1926 military coup, which established firstly a military dictatorship (1926-1928) and, in 1928, what was called the “National Dictatorship” (1928-1933), following the election of General Óscar Carmona for the Presidency of the Republic. These regimes suspended the republican constitution of 1911 and paved the way for the approval of a new constitution in 1933, which established the “New State” Dictatorship (in Portuguese, *Estado Novo*).⁵² With the New State Dictatorship, António de Oliveira Salazar, an economist and professor who had previously been in charge of finance, became the Head of State, succeeding in “turning the several Rights into one sole Right and that way allowing it the durable control of the state” (Rosas, 1998: 142). It is also important to consider that

⁵¹ For a comprehensive historical analysis of the Portuguese Republic and its constructions see Fernando Rosas and Maria Fernanda Rollo (eds.) (2009) *História da Primeira República Portuguesa [History of the First Portuguese Republic]*, where they question the production of a prolific narrative concerning the Republic that depicts it in very similar terms to that of the propaganda discourse of the New State Dictatorship. For Rosas and Rollo, therefore, reproducing this kind of discourse is a form of legitimizing the advent of the dictatorship as “a way of liberating the country of ‘chaos’ and ‘terror’ [caused by the Republic]”, which they consider a trend of “revisionist historiography” (2009:10).

⁵² For a full description on the way this transition was effected, please see José Mattoso [and Fernando Rosas] (eds.) (1998) *History of Portugal – The New State*, chapter 2 “Knowing how to Last – From the Military Dictatorship to the New State”, pp. 141-215. For a thorough analysis of the “New State Dictatorship” see Torgal (2009). See also Rosas (2013).

the period between 1926 and 1933, leading up to the full establishment of the New State dictatorship, was “one of the most agitated and politically complex” moments of Portuguese history of the 20th Century, Rosas also notes (1998: 141), referring to what became known as the *revirvalho* – a series of conflicts and political resistance actions by groups like the Anarcho-syndicalists, conducted to overthrow the dictatorial regime. Rosas argues that, during this period, Portugal was on the verge of a civil war (1998). This can be considered a prelude to the general movement of opposition to the New State Dictatorship that would span the years until 1974, spearheaded by the Portuguese Communist Party, and joined by other movements throughout the years, especially the far-left groups during the latter part of the regime.

The definition of the New State Dictatorship, the interpretation of its principles, and its place amongst contemporary dictatorial regimes in Europe are still not consensual areas. In particular, the use of the expression “Fascism” to characterise the dictatorship, although generally accepted until roughly 1980, is today contested, and various alternative expressions propounded, some of which present an apologetic reading of the dictatorial period that obliterates state violence to some degree, especially when comparing it to the Nazi regime in Germany, for example. This is the case of historian Rui Ramos’ approach in his bestselling *History of Portugal* (2009), which has given rise to an extensive polemic in the media with historian Manuel Loff, earning him additional criticism from historians like Fernando Rosas, Irene Pimentel, Ricardo Noronha, José Neves, Dalila Cabrita Mateus.⁵³ Rui Ramos was praised, however, by other historians and scholars such as

⁵³ For an overview upon the discussion see São José Correia’s article on newspaper *Público*, 31-05-2010, “The History of Rui Ramos Excuses the New State?”, available at: <http://www.publico.pt/temas/jornal/a-historia-de->

António Barreto, Maria Filomena Mónica and Helena Matos.⁵⁴ In his interpretation of the dictatorship he underlines the violence and upheaval of the former republic to highlight what seems to him as the moderation and contention of Salazar's regime (cf. Ramos, 2010: 627-665). Indeed, a description of the regime as "traditionalistic" or "authoritarian", effacing some of its persistent repressive traits, is not exclusive to Rui Ramos. Numerous foreign historians do not use the term fascist to designate the regime either, as Phillipe Schmitter's term "authoritarian *régime d'exception*" (1979) or Kenneth Maxwell's "authoritarian catholic regime" (1995: 31) exemplify.

António Costa Pinto dedicates some of his research to this systematisation of the perception of the regime in foreign historiography (for example, 1992), concluding likewise that the term "fascism" is rarely applied to it. D. L. Raby is an exception to this, as is apparent from the title of her 1988 research, *Fascism and Resistance in Portugal*. In it, Raby dedicates a section of the introduction to the discussion of the use of the term fascism to define the Portuguese New State Dictatorship, concluding that, "The Portuguese regime undoubtedly exhibited several fundamental characteristics of fascism", its "origins, functions and structures were similar to those of other fascist regimes" (1988: 3-4). She is referring here to the Italian and German situations used by many scholars as a comparative and normative

[rui-ramos-desculpabiliza-o--estado-novo-19425296](http://unipoppers.blogspot.pt/2012/11/uma-historia-normalizada.html) (Last accessed: 21/04/16); See also Ricardo Noronha's article, "A Normalized History?", available at: <http://unipoppers.blogspot.pt/2012/11/uma-historia-normalizada.html>, (Last accessed: 21/04/16); Dalila Cabrita Mateus, "Rui Ramos on the Colonial War and the 25th of April", available at: <http://www.publico.pt/opiniaojornal/rui-ramos-sobre-a-guerra-colonial-e-o-25-de-abril-25301455> (Last accessed: 21/04/16); José Neves, "Politics of History", available at: <http://unipoppers.blogspot.pt/2012/09/politicas-da-historia.html>, (Last accessed: 21/04/16); Fernando Rosas, "Normalized Lesson of the New State?", available at: <http://entreasbrumasdamemoria.blogspot.pt/2012/09/cartilha-normalizada-do-estado-novo.html>, (Last accessed: 21/04/16).

⁵⁴ See, for example, Maria Filomena Mónica (2012), "Loff and His Lies" in *Público* newspaper, Portugal. For an overview, see Diogo Ramada Curto (2012), "For a Debate of Ideas in a Context of Absence of Critic," in *Público* newspaper, (Last accessed 21/04/2016).

reference, which in turn promotes a “benevolent analysis” of Salazar’s regime. She states,

Such a benevolent analysis of Salazarism is not without foundation in comparative perspective; but it ignores the subtle and all-pervasive character of repression under the New State [...]. The suppression of political parties and free trade unions, the systematic use of censorship and of the political police, the development of typically fascist institutions such as the official party, the paramilitary Portuguese Legion and Youth Movement (Mocidade Portuguesa) – all of this created a thoroughly repressive atmosphere and a comprehensive system of control over the population (1988: 3).

This is one of the crucial topics my research addresses as part of the general production of discourses and narratives concerning the dictatorship, and it is not exclusive to Portugal. In Germany, the *Historikerstreit* - the controversy amongst historians (1986-1987) – polarised different interpretations of Germany’s Nazi past, leading Jürgen Habermas to acknowledge “apologetic tendencies within historiography” (Holub, 1991: 111). Enzo Traverso discusses this at length, referring also to the Italian case (Traverso, 2005: 129-164), where authors like De Felice make an “apologetic re-reading of fascism based upon the rehabilitation of Mussolini” (Traverso, 2005:159).⁵⁵

⁵⁵ More on revisionism and historical interpretation can be read, for example, in Hughes-Warrington (2013).

Because of the historical process that Portugal underwent, with a transition to democracy via a revolution, and the strong political engagement of all parties involved – with the future historians of the regime and the revolution having been more or less active agents in them – concepts such as fascism and revisionism assume a deep political meaning that is hard to overcome. This is one of the problems associated with the use of the word fascism, but the issue is actually more complex, as Luís Reis Torgal explains so well (2009). He shows that the construct of an idea of “originality”, that makes the regime differ from other contemporary regimes, is actually born within that regime’s ideology, as Salazar himself states,

One Day it will be recognised that Portugal is governed by an original system, suitable to her history and geography, which are very different from all others; and we wish it might be understood that we have not eschewed the mistakes and vices of a false liberalism and a false democracy in order to fall into others which might be even worse, but rather to reorganise and strengthen the country in the principles of authority, of order, of the national traditions, reconciling these with those eternal truths which are, happily, the heritage of mankind and the crown of Christian civilisation (Salazar, n.d: 59).

Salazar went to great lengths to justify in his speeches how different he was from Mussolini, for example, without refraining from expressing his admiration for *Il Duce*, to whom he refers as a “political genius” (Cf. Torgal, 2009: 57). Torgal identifies a trend inside and outside the country, during the dictatorship, where the

Portuguese regime appeared to be sustained by the law, as an “ethical” regime, which “differed for the better from other regimes.” (2009: 64). This perception persisted beyond the end of the dictatorship itself, revealing that, in a deeper sense, this discussion of the terminology with which to classify the regime unveils the profound cleavages in the understanding of the regime and the transmission of its memory – namely of its repressive traits. This is an aspect of Portugal’s past that is difficult for the Portuguese to acknowledge and accept, which obviously conditions its representation in the collective memory of Portuguese society even today. This is one of the possible justifications for António Oliveira Salazar having been elected the “Greatest Portuguese Ever”, in a television contest in 2007,⁵⁶ a situation difficult to imagine in other post-dictatorial countries, when applied to figures like Adolf Hitler, Benito Mussolini or Francisco Franco, for example. But this expresses again the conflicting nature of the perception of the Portuguese dictatorship in Portuguese society.

Oliveira Salazar first used the expression “New State”/Estado Novo in a speech in 1932 (Torgal, 2009). The ideology behind it professes a “revolution”,⁵⁷ which will bring about a “regeneration” of the nation. This was accompanied by the reinforcement of traditionalistic values, grounded in Salazar’s trilogy of “God, Homeland, Family” and his mottos of “All for the nation, nothing against the nation” and “There can be absolute authority; there can never be absolute liberty,”⁵⁸ amongst others. He confessed to wanting to “normalise the Nation” and to wanting “to make

⁵⁶ <http://www.publico.pt/media/noticia/salazar-eleito-o-maior-portugues-de-sempre-em-programa-da-rtp-1289390> (Last accessed: 3/03/2016); see also Loff (2015: 113-114).

⁵⁷ Salazar states, for example, “Unlike other movements in Europe which have preceded or succeeded ours, our doctrine is that of Revolution” (Salazar, n.d: 33).

⁵⁸ For quotes by Salazar on various topics, see the edition by the Secretariat of National Propaganda (SPN, a branch of the regime) of a book of quotations by Salazar named *Salazar Says...* (n.d) For an in-depth analysis of the ideology of the regime, see Luis Reis Torgal (2009) and Fernando Rosas (2012).

Portugal live habitually” (cited in Lucena, 1979: 58). Indeed, as D.L. Raby comments, Salazar and the regime “devoted considerable energy to political demobilisation, propagating an ideology of submission and depoliticisation” (1988: 4), where engaging in political activity was considered subversive. Salazar himself confessed how much he detested politics despite having to be a politician, stating, for example, “Politics are necessary in the government of a nation, but to engage in politics is not to govern” (Salazar, nd: 35). Despite this seemingly non-mobilisational regime, several institutions were created to support the New State ideology, like *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Portuguese Youth) and *Movimento Nacional Feminino* (National Feminine Movement), which were similar to corresponding institutions in contemporary fascist regimes in Europe at the time.⁵⁹

The inevitable state repression over political resistance and dissidents as well as censorship of the media and the arts accompanied the exercise of an authoritarian power, sustained by political police – at first under the acronym PVDE, later PIDE-DGS (International Police of State Defense),⁶⁰ upon which the state relied to control opposition and “subversive” actions. This police practised physical and psychological torture on the political prisoners, with special insistence on sleep deprivation torture.⁶¹ On mainland Portugal, as opposed to the colonial territories, the police action was intended first of all to demobilise and destroy the opposition, resorting to torture as a means of destroying the political personality and subjectivity of the prisoners, through forcing them to give information about their movements and fellow comrades (an action commonly referred to as “talking” and expressed in

⁵⁹ For example, the *Avanguardia Giovanile Fascista* and *Gioventù Universitaria Fascista*, in Italy (see Ledeen, 1969); and *Hitlerjugend* in Germany (see Koch, 2000).

⁶⁰ See Pimentel (2011). For personal accounts on the history of the repression see, for example, José Dias Coelho (2006), Manuel, Carapinha and Neves (1974), Vasco (1977).

⁶¹ For a personal account of the sleep deprivation torture see Aurora Rodrigues testimony (2011), Francisco Martins Rodrigues testimonial account (2008), and the compilation by Ana Aranha and Carlos Ademar (2014).

the sentence “talking to the PIDE” – which meant “to denounce”). In an insightful article on the effects of torture, and conduct and silence (or not) under torture, Miguel Cardina (2013) states,

torture is not merely a means of extracting information. It seeks, above all, to silence its victims and the groups to which they belong. [...] Among its other objectives, torture produced silence as well as speech: in addition to providing evidence that could be used in court and facilitating the persecution of comrades, “talking” to the PIDE/DGS also led to the erasure of political subjectivity (2013: 9).

So, even though some currents of historiography may highlight the numbers of casualties of other contemporary regimes and conclude that the Portuguese dictatorship was soft in comparison, the regime was nonetheless violent and repressive. Furthermore, the consequences of its pervasive methods extended beyond its downfall, as Cardina also suggests when he states that “although the political and social situation changed after April 25, 1974, painful experiences of torture did not fade away significantly following the change of regime” (2013: 3). As Maxwell summarises, “avoiding public excesses or ingeniously hiding them from foreign gazes, Salazar created a climate of moderate terror, which was implacable, vigilant and devastatingly efficacious” (1995: 31). In the African colonies, however, the situation was different: the action of the political police there was particularly violent, directed against militants and supporters of the liberation movements and fierce against black people, as historian Dalila Mateus has shown (2011; 2013).

Furthermore, concentration camps were established to imprison opponents in Angola, Mozambique and Cape Verde.⁶²

During the regime, opposition organised clandestinely, with the Communist Party spearheading the resistance movement, following its reorganization in the 1940s. This happened after a period of successive imprisonments and dismantling of the party, which had been founded in 1921.⁶³ In the 1960s the Sino-Soviet schism motivated the rise of other far-left political movements of Maoist inspiration throughout the world. In Portugal, similarly, these movements had expressive militancy in the later period of the dictatorship, mainly amongst university students, who were one of the main targets of political repression during that time.⁶⁴ The New State Dictatorship would last beyond the death of Oliveira Salazar (in 1970), until 1974 - and was led in the last six years by his former minister Marcello Caetano.⁶⁵ The landmark event of the latter period of the dictatorship was the Portuguese Colonial War (1961-1974). This conflict, named by the regime as the *Overseas War* and by the opposition as the *Colonial War*, began in February 1961 and set the Portuguese military against the liberation movements of its colonial territories – namely, Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese Guinea⁶⁶ - that struggled for

⁶² The camps of Tarrafal, in Cape Verde; Machava, in Mozambique; and São Nicolau, in Angola.

⁶³ For a full account of the history of the Communist Party see Madeira (2013). See also Raby (1988) and Pimentel (2014).

⁶⁴ For an in-depth description of the political resistance movements in Portugal until 1974 see Raby (1988). For a specific history of Maoism in Portugal from 1964 onwards see Cardina (2011).

⁶⁵ For a full analysis and description of the period, please consult Fernando Rosas and Brandão de Brito (eds.) (1996) and José Mattoso and Fernando Rosas (ed.) (1998).

⁶⁶ In Angola the liberation movements were the MPLA (Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola/ Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), UNITA (União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola/ National Union for the Total Independence of Angola) and FNLA (Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola/ National Liberation Front of Angola); in Mozambique, FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique/ The Mozambique Liberation Front) was the main movement; and in Guinea and Cape Verde, the PAIGC (Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde/ African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde) was the liberation movement. The Portuguese army fought against these movements and, in the case of Angola, the three movements also fought amongst them; a situation that gave rise to the subsequent civil war between the MPLA and UNITA, from the proclamation of Angola's independence on 11 November 1975 – this would last until 2002. In Mozambique, a new military and political faction, originally based in Rhodesia –

independence and auto-determination. There are many accounts of how, upon hearing about the 25 April coup, mothers would celebrate the fact that their male children would not be fighting that war anymore. Historian Manuel Loff in the testimony he offered to my project recalled how his 14 year-old brother got drunk on Martini on the night of 25 April 1974, “celebrating the fact that he would not be fighting in the Colonial War”.⁶⁷ Ending a war that had destroyed the Portuguese economy, as well killing off or disabling several generations of Portuguese men, became the main motivation – together with class demands⁶⁸ – of a group of captains of the Portuguese Armed Forces (Movimento das Forças Armadas, MFA, in Portuguese), who initiated the preparation of a coup to overturn the regime. The coup was preceded by the publication of General Antonio de Spínola’s *Portugal e o Futuro [Portugal and the Future]* (1974), a book that soon became forbidden and which questioned the pertinence of maintaining a war when the solution was clearly not military, but political. Concerning this he wrote, “One cannot accept to lead the solution of the overseas problem to a military outcome, regardless of the heroism of the Armed Forces” (1974: 236). Spínola, a man of the regime – who would nonetheless later play an important role in the revolutionary government⁶⁹ – argued for a federalist

RENAMO (Resistência Nacional Moçambicana/ Mozambican National Resistance) – was created in 1977, and a civil war between that movement and FRELIMO took place until the peace treaties of 1992.

⁶⁷ Manuel Loff, (2012) Interviewed by Craveiro, J.14 November, Porto.

⁶⁸ There was a crisis in the hierarchy of the army and the captains were struggling for more rights and working conditions, and against “the interference from the government over the military careers” (Maia, 1994: 81).

⁶⁹ Spínola was a general who had directed operations in the Guinea front of the Colonial War. His book advocated for a transition to “auto-determination with right to independence”, a transition not to full independence of the colonies, but to a federalist model. Still, for the regime, this was a subversive idea. Spínola became the Head of the *Junta de Salvação Nacional* – National Salvation Council, just after the 25th of April coup. His appointment for this position was surrounded in some controversy within the movement of the MFA, since he had not directly organized the coup, or participated in any of its operations. However, the movement was headed by captains, and it was considered that higher ranking officials were needed. Marcello Caetano, for example, refused to surrender to a captain (Salgueiro Maia), and insisted to pass on the leadership of the country to General Spínola, for the “power not to fall on the streets” (Maia, 1997:96). Spínola was not a consensual figure to the left, and he proved incapable of joining in the revolutionary period that followed the 25 April coup. He resigned in September 1974, following a failed attempt to render the country more “moderate.” He would later be the protagonist of another failed attempt to seize power in March 1975, which initiated a period of further radicalisation of the revolutionary process.

solution for the colonial territories, a serene and durational transition to auto-determination. This was actually not the full independence that the liberation movements were demanding, but was enough for the regime to censor the book. Over the years preceding this, Portugal had grown increasingly isolated amongst the international community. In July 1970, Pope Paul VI had received in the Vatican, in a private meeting, the representatives of the African liberation movements, Agostinho Neto (MPLA), Amílcar Cabral (PAIGC) and Marcelino dos Santos (FRELIMO). The pressure from the United Nations for Portugal to decolonise continued steadily from the 1960s 15/14 resolution, which urged the decolonisation of the African territories.⁷⁰

b) The 25th of April Coup

According to Captain Salgueiro Maia – one of the protagonists of the 25 April coup – the movement whose aim was to fight for better career conditions, as well as to demand an end to the Colonial War, quickly acquired a political agenda, as the program of Movement of the Armed Forces, drafted just before the coup, clearly proves (Maia, 1997:99). The program demanded the establishment of basic freedom of speech and political association, as well as the end of censorship.⁷¹

Following a failed attempt – by General António de Spínola’s supporters – on 16 March 16 1974 – the captains successfully conducted a coup on the 25 April 1974. Nowadays known as the “Carnation Revolution” or “April Revolution”,

⁷⁰ This resolution issued on 17 December 1960 was named Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and urged all nations to put a stop unconditionally to colonial rule, stating, amongst other things that “All peoples have the right to self determination”, available at: <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml> (Last accessed 12/09/2015).

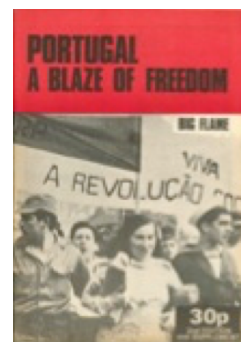
⁷¹ The Program of the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) was the political document that defined the goals of the insurrectionist movement and its political guidelines. It was drafted by a group of officers within the movement lead by Captain Ernesto Melo Antunes.

Kenneth Maxwell notes that it “took Europe and the US by complete surprise” (2009: 9).⁷² People were urged to stay at home via radio communiqués, intended to keep order while the officers seized power. “However”, writes Maxwell, “within hours the streets filled with multitudes of Portuguese celebrating the military action, appealing to pro-government forces not to resist the coup, and festooning with red carnations the often-bewildered soldiers who had taken part in the coup” (2009: 9).

c) The Revolutionary Process

This spontaneous popular demonstration is the beginning of the popular movement that would go on to be named as the Ongoing Revolutionary Process (in Portuguese PREC, *Processo Revolucionário em Curso*, a name first given by the press of the time to the series of actions of popular power and the fast changes that characterised the period). Starting with this first insurrection – flooding the streets despite being told to stay at home – this popular movement spread to several segments of society, mainly in urban centres, where, with the aid of the armed forces,⁷³ different actions of popular power were enacted, in an attempt to build a direct democracy. In this societal model, the power was directly in the hands of the people, and not mediated through political actors, which entailed several social, political, economic and cultural acts –

A pamphlet published in 1975 by Big Flame, a British Revolutionary Socialist Feminist organisation with a working class orientation, founded in 1970. Portugal (and Chile) provided this movement with “great political lessons”.
<https://bigflameuk.wordpress.com/2009/06/>



⁷² See also Maria Inácia Rezola (2007) for a full description and analysis of the 25 April Revolution.

⁷³ This coalition between civil society and the Movement of the Armed Forces was named at the time a “pact” or “alliance” – the alliance People/MFA. For a passionate portrait of this coalition see Robinson (1999).

some of which were (and are still) considered quite radical. D. L. Raby writes about the PREC:

For 19 months this small and impoverished nation on the western fringe of the continent was to experience a genuine revolutionary process such as has not been seen in Western Europe for generations. Lisbon was transformed from a peaceful backwater into the vortex of a nationwide whirlwind of demonstrations, factory occupations, land invasions, takeovers of empty buildings by slum-dwellers, and projects of popular power and socialism (2006: 213).

This radicalisation of all parties and political forces and civil society – which Maxwell, in a different tone from Raby describes as “a chaotic, aggressive, largely uncoordinated popular movement” which “took the initiative into its own hands, forcing the pace of change” (2009: 147) – gave rise to an increasing instability that unfolded over the “hot summer” of 1975⁷⁴ and beyond. Historian and former activist Armando Cerqueira (2015), for example, describes the daily confrontation between two opposite fields – the right wings and the moderates, together with the socialist party, on one side; the communist party, the far-left parties, the unions and the radical military on the other: “A country profoundly divided in the armed forces, on the political front, in civil society, in social consciousness”, which represented “two different models of democracy, society, economy” (2015: 499). Then, on 25 November 1975 another military coup took place, this time to put a stop to the

⁷⁴ A time from July to September 1975 – unleashed by a series of events like the shutting of the newspaper “República - where there was a general radicalization of both left and right wing movements in Portugal, with recurrence to armed struggle. For more information on this complex period see Maria Inácia Rezola (2002).

“excesses” of the revolutionary process. Moderate officers within the armed forces, together with right-wing groups and the Socialist party took hold of military positions associated with the far left, arresting several officers and organising barricades; people went to the streets, some to defend the revolution, some to claim its end. Fear of a coup similar to the one in Chile on 11 September 1973 arose, and the chant “Portugal Will Not Be the Chile of Europe” became popular.⁷⁵ Phil Mailer gives his personal account,

Like everyone else I was in the streets. In cafes and squares people argued animatedly, in groups. ‘Is this a PCP coup?’ someone asked. ‘This is the revolution, I think’, another replied. ‘What about Russia, then?’ came in a third (1977: 335).

The conflicting narratives of this coup prevent us even today from fully grasping its origins and how it unfolded. Some agents claim that it was a counter-coup against a supposed putsch from the Communist Party who wanted to establish a regime of Soviet inspiration in Portugal.⁷⁶ This seems to be the closest to an official narrative, although it is a version surrounded by contestation. Especially from the Communist Party, which denies to this day the preparation of such a coup.

The 25 November 1975, therefore, is generally considered as the endpoint of the Ongoing Revolutionary Process, and is commemorated today by certain

⁷⁵ See, for example, the documentary film *Scenes from the Class Struggle in Portugal*, from Kramer and Spinelli (1976).

⁷⁶ Maxwell, for example, corroborates this thesis (cf. 2011: 147). For a more in-detail analysis see Manuela Cruzeiro in “25 de Novembro – Quantos Golpes Afinal?” [“25 November – How many coups after all?”] <http://www1.ci.uc.pt/cd25a/wikka.php?wakka=th10>, (Last accessed: 15/11/2015). For a thesis about the role of the communist party in the revolution, including the 25 November coup, see Varela (2012). See also the personal account of Salgueiro Maia (1997).

segments of civil and military Portuguese society as a landmark event towards democracy.⁷⁷ Other segments, however, consider it the end of the revolution, as D.L. Raby argues, stating that 25 November “restored state authority and put an end to the revolutionary process, ensuring that Portugal would remain a member of NATO and become a conventional liberal parliamentary regime, joining the European Union a few years later” (2006: 213).

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These historical events form the theatre of contestation and conflicting versions which my research investigates and performs. I am interested in how these narratives have been and still are reflected and internalised by the general population, who then replicate them in their own constructions of the past. As Manuel Loff (2015) has pointed out, the absence of consensus prevents memories of that time from inscribing themselves in the public space in a strong way, motivating the ridicule of the revolutionary process and its negative imagery, nurtured by segments of the right. The several Left movements and parties, through the manipulation of the historical events and accounts and through fragmentation, with parts of the Left reclaiming ownership over certain memories and dismissing other segments of the Left as unimportant or irrelevant,

A Picture of a mural in Lisbon, still existing today: “Down with the Constituent Assembly, Long live the Popular Assemblies!” This expresses the conflict between direct democracy and representative democracy. (Photograph by the author)



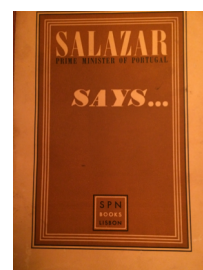
⁷⁷ The commemoration of the 25th of November is constantly surrounded by contestation, as expressed in the attempt by the Social Democrats (PSD) and the Popular Party (CDS-PP) in November 2015, to turn this commemoration into an official act in Parliament, a proposal which had no support from the left parties. An account of the episode can be found here: (Público/Lusa) <https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/psd-e-cds-entregam-proposta-para-parlamento-evocar-25-de-novembro-de-1975-1714751>, (last accessed: 21/03/2016).

also contribute to the invisibility or the silencing of the revolutionary process. Maxwell corroborates this, stating, “The great disadvantage of the historical amnesia on Left and Right is to obscure some of the dynamic vital to understanding the role of popular participation in the emergence of Portuguese democracy” (2009, 147). And in an article about the idea of “excesses” of the revolution, historian Luís Trindade reflects,

The 25 April comes forth in our modernity as a strange thing, maybe the sole moment where institutions and social structure were questioned by a transformative unrest, that the discourses had always assured was not part of the nature of the Portuguese people. If the social structure has reconfigured itself after the shock, it is no longer possible to guarantee as a natural thing that the Portuguese are civically undermined. The PREC, which has left the social structure more or less untouched, has stained the Portuguese political narrative (2004).

The “political narrative” Trindade is pointing to here is the constructed image of “gentle manners”, passivity and acceptance, which the revolutionary period undoubtedly questioned. This image was promoted by the dictatorial regime, which encouraged an attitude of passive acceptance of vicissitude and of the dictatorship itself. Salazar himself coined the expression *gentle manners* in a 1937 commemorative speech for having survived a murder attempt, where he states,

A book of quotations by Oliveira Salazar, organized by different themes, issued by the National Propaganda Secretariat (SPN), n.d. (presumably 1939).



You know our regime that is still called today a Dictatorship - and that is now burdened with the nickname of Fascism - is *gentle, as our ways are*, modest as the life itself of the Nation, a friend to work and of the people (cited in Torgal, 2007: 59, my emphasis).

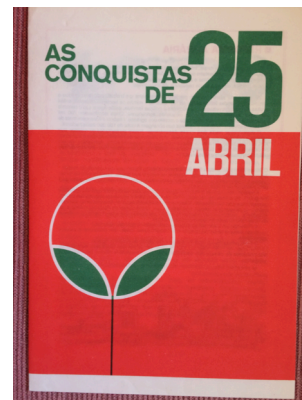
Throughout the years this became incorporated as part of the construct of Portuguese identity: nice people of gentle manners, welcoming, neutral, even passive. This certainly accompanies José Gil's description of the Portuguese people as "infantilised adults" (2003: 17) which was aided by the systematic concealing of state violence during the regime and afterwards, already in the post-dictatorial time, where traumas became silences and silences became omissions, with the complicity of the successive governments who did not develop an active practice of transitional justice. In the performance *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories* through testimonies, quotations and images, I deconstruct the political narrative of a traditionalistic and gentle regime and its apologetic discourses, as well as its most indelible traits still persisting in Portuguese society of today – fear being one of them, as the spectators recurrently mention – while simultaneously questioning and arguing against the persisting negative narratives concerning the revolutionary period in Portugal.

Present Context

Because memories "must also be looked at historically" (Jelin, 2003: xv) and are closely connected to the time when they are being produced, two other crucial

aspects of the present political context in Portugal have influenced my investigation and its outcome. Firstly, I started my research in 2012, which coincided with the recognition of the deep economic crisis in Portugal, prompting the government to request financial assistance from the so-called Troika: the committee led by the European Union, together with the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund. What followed was a period of deep austerity measures, sustained by a political discourse of inevitability and lack of sovereignty, awakening spectres of loss of freedom and authoritarianism. In this context, public demonstrations against austerity, as well as landmark commemorative demonstrations – for example the 25th of April anniversary, or the 1st of May (Labour Day) – became sites of remembrance of the political struggles that toppled the dictatorship and inaugurated the democratic era in Portugal in 1974, and political songs of old became anthems for expressing dissatisfaction with the present situation.⁷⁸ However, it must be acknowledged that the protests never acquired the same intensity as in Greece or Spain, for example, which experienced similar economic conditions. Again, it could be argued that the narrative

A pamphlet issued by the Communist Party in 1976, for the Legislative Elections of April 25, 1976. It is entitled: “The Conquests of the 25 April”. It reads: “The Portuguese People does not forget fascism. The Portuguese people do not forget the important conquests obtained by the 25 April. Freedom. Salaries. Social conquests. The end of wars. Nationalizations. Agrarian Reform. A constitution, which guarantees the conquests achieved and points towards socialism.”



⁷⁸ For the uses of the song “Grândola Vila Morena” (symbol of the Revolution) and other performances of contestation during the rule of the former government in Portugal, see Cláudia Madeira’s “‘What I want is a revolution!’: the performativity of a slogan”, available at: <https://cadernosaa.revues.org/930>, (Last accessed: 28/06/2016).

of “gentle manners” and passivity internalized by the Portuguese people, manifested in a lack of reaction towards what was, nonetheless, perceived as unjust and a “betrayal to the April conquests”, as could be heard in daily comments on the news (see the side column on page 80).

Secondly, 2014 signalled the 40th anniversary of the 25 April revolution. Commemorative anniversaries are always a site for the display of the struggles for memory and raise questions regarding the politics of memory (Winter, 2008; Loff, 2015). What is being commemorated and by whom? What counter-commemorations take place simultaneously? The great commemorative dates are moments of rupture as well as of celebration. It is within these moments that society’s fissures surface, reflecting the forms upon which a given historical moment is perceived, confirming Jay Winter’s assumption that “sites of memory and the public commemorations surrounding them have the potential for dominated groups to contest their subordinate status in public” (2008: 64). Commemorative committees, likewise, have their very clearly defined agendas, where every word and symbol is measured. For example, in 2004, the commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the revolution was signalled by the much contested slogan: “Abril é Evolução”/ “April is Evolution” – where the “R” of the word *Revolution* was simply erased to leave the word *Evolution*. This was accompanied with discourses of alleged reconciliation, where it was expected that the absence of the “R” would lead those who traditionally did not attend the celebrations to finally participate.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ See the remarks of the organizer of the commemorations in 2004, António Costa Pinto, <http://www.ipri.pt/investigadores/artigo.php?idi=1&ida=95>, (Last accessed: 21/03/ 2016). See also remarks from Ricardo Noronha (2014) and José Neves (2010) concerning how the different political agents experience this commemoration. José Neves argues, “...one gladly dispenses the poetry according to which April was made ‘for all the Portuguese.’ It was not; it was made by many Portuguese and by many non-Portuguese against some Portuguese” (Neves, 2010), available at: <http://viasfacto.blogspot.pt/2010/04/nao-foi-um-passeio-no-parque.html>, (Last accessed: 21/03/2016)).

The occasion of the 40th anniversary in 2014 proved, likewise, to be a time for the prolific production of accounts, commemorations, events, commemorative rituals, and also a site for further contestation of the government and its policies of austerity. For example, historian Ricardo Noronha refused to take part in the organising of a commemorative event sponsored by the government, writing an insightful article entitled, “Why do I refuse to Participate in the 25th of April Commemoration Promoted by the Government”, where he states,

Without failing to respect the options each makes in his or her work as a historian, it seems a very bad idea to collaborate with a government that so deliberately disrespects and acts against everything that the Portuguese revolution of 1974-75 represented: from the Constitution to labour rights, from political freedom to freedom of the press, from public school to national health service, from the right to strike to the right to demonstrate (Noronha, 2014).⁸⁰

The commemoration on the 25 April followed the traditional format: there were official ceremonies in Parliament in the morning, and in the afternoon a rally along Avenida da Liberdade, attended by organised political and civil society groups. The year 2014 however, produced an exacerbation of the symbolism of each of these commemorative rituals, as well as of the people who organised them and of those allowed to attend and to intervene. This was especially evident in the case of the so-called “April Captains,” the generic name for the Captains who prepared and

⁸⁰ Available at: <http://www.passapalavra.info/2014/04/94453> (Last accessed: 23/11/2015).

conducted the 25 April 1974 coup, nowadays organised as part of an association.⁸¹ There seemed to have been a lack of official consensus as to the place ascribed to the Captains in these commemorations, which materialised in the absence of a formal invitation for them to deliver a speech at the commemorative official ceremony at parliament, in the morning. This provoked a wave of commotion and protest from several segments of society – the “Captains” were, after all, the ones who “made” the 25 April. This echoes Winter’s description of the “multi-vocal character of remembrance”, where “there is always a choir of voices in commemorations; some are louder than others, but they never sound alone” (2008: 64). The conflict around the refusal for the captains to deliver a speech at Parliament also stimulated impassioned discourses on the ownership of the revolution and its memory. This was clearly linked to the fact that the commemorative events were being organised by a right-wing government, traditionally prone to ideological associations with the former dictatorship (especially its segment further on the Right, the CDS-PP [Popular Party]). It was, indeed, a difficult commemoration for a government that was not a “memory entrepreneur” (Jelin, 2003). Furthermore, the then president of the Republic himself, Aníbal Cavaco Silva, was also not a consensual figure in terms of politics of memory. During his mandate as Prime Minister (1985-1995), he had been responsible for polemic decisions concerning those politics, the most polemic and contested of which had been the awarding of two former PIDE agents for

⁸¹ The 25th of April Association. More information about this association available at: <http://www.25abril.org/a25abril/> (Last accessed: 9/03/2016).

“services rendered to the nation”, in 1991, while refusing the same award to one of the main “heroes” of the revolution, captain Salgueiro Maia.⁸²

In the end, an alternative commemorative event was staged simultaneously to the official 40th anniversary commemorations that took place in Parliament. On the morning of 25 April 2014, the Captains organised a rally in front of Carmo Barracks, where Captain Salgueiro Maia had seized power from Marcello Caetano, in the afternoon of 25 April 1974. From there, the rally proceeded to the former Headquarters of the PIDE, today a luxury condominium (as described on pages 27-28), where a wreath of flowers was laid, in tribute to four people killed on the 25 April 1974, when PIDE agents fired into the crowd

The poster of the commemorative event All Rivers Run Into Carmo Square, 25 April 2014



that had assembled at the headquarters’ doors. The Captains’ actions signalled not only the revolutionary coup, but also the repressive action of the PIDE and the absence of politics of memory, by acknowledging the former headquarters as a site of memory. It is also interesting to note that some of the inhabitants of the condominium peeked through the windows, in what seemed like a fearful manner, and, at one point, turned on the automatic watering system on their main terrace, which lead the demonstrators to shout, “Down with the reaction!”⁸³ It was as if we were witnessing a re-enactment of the episode with the PIDE agents on the 25 April 1974, where the agents felt cornered and initiated the shooting into the

⁸² For a through analysis of Cavaco Silva’s actions concerning the (absence of) politics of memory see Loff (2015). Salgueiro Mais was just now posthumously commended by the current President of the Republic, Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, on 30 June 2016.

⁸³ A slogan traditionally shouted in the period of 1974-1975. The “reaction” described those who were working or acting against the revolution.

demonstrators. In the performance, I use video footage that I shot of the moment the watering system was turned on and the reaction of the demonstrators, quoting some of the comments I could record.

Adding yet another layer to the lack of consensus surrounding this celebration, an audience member on the 15 November 2014 post-performance debate pointed out my omission of the celebration that had taken place on the eve of the 40th anniversary – on 24 April, in the evening – also in Carmo Square, but organised instead by civil society and named “All Rivers run into Carmo Square”. This name was a direct reference to a similar expression calling for a demonstration in Square Taksim, in Istanbul, on 1 May 2014, “All Rivers run into the Taksim Square.”⁸⁴ On the Facebook page of the Portuguese celebration, the event was announced the following way,

On the evening of 24 of April, rivers spring out of several spots of the city. These are rivers of people who want to be on the streets on that day – instead of staying alone at home – people who, with pots and pans, voices and wishes, run to Carmo Square. It is not accidental that we want to return to this place. Not just because it is now 40 years that this square filled with people that disobeyed the order from the Movement of the Armed Forces to stay at home, but also because we want to live and reclaim the public space.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ For a description of 1 May 2014 event at Taksim Square see Siza (2014), available at: <http://www.publico.pt/destaque/jornal/dia-do-trabalhador-no-mundo-28226412>, [Last accessed: 3/03/2016].

⁸⁵ <https://pt-pt.facebook.com/events/432399456863106/> (Last accessed: 3/03/2016)

This was indeed a celebration intended to echo the popular adherence to the 25 April coup, when the people were told to stay at home but invaded the streets, nonetheless. On their way to Carmo Square, some of the groups passed by the Ministry of Economy and shouted to the Minister's window, "Greece, Ireland, Portugal and Spain, – the struggle is the same!"; another group recovered a slogan of the PREC, "The Railways belong to the People" ("A CP é do Povo!").⁸⁶ The spectator who pointed out my omission was correct: this was an important celebration, which took place away from the official theatre of contestation and which was representative of an alternative, non-dominant history and memory that my investigation analyses. The initiative expressed also a postmemory preoccupation with reclaiming the origins and history of the popular movement unleashed by the 25 April coup, while in parallel making new, contemporary, demands, such as the free occupation of the public space.⁸⁷

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The two contextual aspects of the economic crisis and the 40th anniversary of the Revolution organised by the very same government who was reinforcing the politics of the Troika memorandum – and therefore not interested in recalling revolutionary acts – have strongly influenced my research and also the performance of *A Living Museum*. It became clear that spectators invested the performance with the symbolic aura of a site of resistance in a time of conflicting commemoration and polemic political decisions. Indeed, spectators came to the performance in search of a space to voice their discontent, but also a space to revive their memories. Songs

⁸⁶ The rest of the original slogan read, "...it does not belong to Moscow" – a part not used in 2014.

⁸⁷ See Pena (2014) for a description of the event, available at: <https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/no-carmo-quarenta-anos-depois-1633550> (Last accessed: 3/03/2016).

played in the performance acquired the quality of impromptu anthems of resistance, where the audience joined in the singing, producing moments of intense emotion, which developed further in the post-performance debates; the debates, in turn, also re-enacted a practice of engaged discussion typical to the PREC period, as explained before (see for example the account I quote on page 46). This is similar to what Karen Jurs-Munby, Jarome Carrol and Steve Giles (2013) describe regarding Théâtre du Soleil's *1789*, where "the contact between performers and audiences became a force that imposed fictional roles on the spectators" (2013: 80), engaging "the audience by making them draw upon the stocks of their own individual and collective memory to go beyond the domains of pure fiction toward an experience that has a public, and therefore political character" (2013: 86).⁸⁸ This interaction of the personal memory of the spectators and the collective memory of the historical events I am investigating, in the context of the historical and political circumstances of the production of *A Living Museum*, has been a key aspect of my research. It is just as Jurs-Munby et al. point out when they state that "any political theatre that deals with a collective past has to take into account the memory of the spectators involved in the creation of the theatrical event" (2013: 77). *A Living Museum* has succeeded in reviving the memories of the spectators, while simultaneously presenting several historical hypotheses, questioning polarised approaches to history and memory (and postmemories) and stimulating historical debate amongst the spectators. It has, furthermore, broken through the general assumption that one must be a historian to produce history, and conveyed to the spectators the idea that they,

⁸⁸ *1789* is a performance by Théâtre du Soleil, collaboratively created in 1970 and directed by Arienne Mnouchkine. The performance premiered in Piccolo Teatro de Milano and was later presented at La Cartoucherie (headquarters to Théâtre du Soleil, in the outskirts of Paris). The title of the performance is a direct description of its content – the French Revolution; and, according to Bernard Dort, it "teaches us, concretely, how to talk about the past in the present" (Dort, 1973: 9).

too, were protagonists and creators of those historical moments. In so doing, the performance also stimulated a reflection about the political present of the country while opposing the apparent passive forbearance of the people towards the actions of the government, to the active and engaged times of the revolutionary period in Portugal, where asking “Why?”, “For whom?” and “For what?”, and heatedly disputing the political choices of the government, were current practices. For example, while discussing the PREC period in the fourth performance-lecture, “Fragments of a Revolutionary Process”, I quote Teresa R.’s testimony when she stated, regarding the housing project SAAL in which she participated,

No one can imagine the joy it was; how it was for those people who had been living in a shanty house for over 50 years, most of them with no toilets even, to go out into the streets and literally take over the public space – the town hall, for example. They demanded to talk to the mayor then and there – and they did talk to him!⁸⁹

Teresa’s account renders visible the mobilization of the PREC period, as opposed to today’s demobilization. Estranged from political affairs and from the way political power is waged, citizens today would hardly dare to “demand to talk to the mayor”, as expressed in Teresa’s example. Yet in various accounts I have collected⁹⁰ this seems to have been an active practice of the PREC – to directly address political

⁸⁹ Teresa R. stated this at the post-performance debate on 15 November 2014, and I have incorporated it into the performance since then. The SAAL (Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local lit. Local Ambulatory Support Service) was a project implemented in the third and fourth governments post 25 April coup (1974-1976) whose aim was to find a solution to the dire housing problem that existed in Portugal, where thousands of people lived in shanty houses.

⁹⁰ For example, I have collected several testimonies in Bairro do Leal, in the city of Porto, concerning the SAAL process there, and the dwellers were unanimous in their memories of addressing the city mayor directly, and taking over the City Hall at points, demanding to be heard.

power and political agents whenever there was something to ask, to question or to demand.

Embodied Historiography

The kind of historiography my research develops is part of what Jay Winter describes as “historical remembrance”, which intersects history and memory and “extends well beyond the historical profession” (2011: 247). As Michel-Rolph Trouillot claims, “we are all amateur historians with various degrees of awareness about our production” (1995: 20). I have developed a form of embodied historiography, through the use of performed testimonies as key elements for the understanding of the subjective relationship of individuals towards the Portuguese dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process. Alongside these, I have incorporated narratives in the media and schoolbooks, and also personal archives that I have collected throughout my research. This embodiment materialises in the performance of documents as well as of testimonies, surpassing the mere interpretation of facts and data and the demonstration of findings. Indeed, the performance of *A Living Museum* contributes to new knowledge, in that it establishes a singular mode of making history and of disseminating research results. In it, by using performance as a means of conducting historiography, I am actualising Freddie Rokem’s concept of the “hyper historian” whereby “the actors serve as a connecting link between the historical past and the ‘fictional’ performed here and now of the theatrical event” (2000: 13). This allows for historiographic research that is not just a neutral historical narrative, but rather

problematizes the events from the point of view of history, politics, ideologies and memory transmission.

The persona Archivist, which I developed as the conductor and narrator of the “museum”, establishes Rokem’s “connecting link” between past and present. She (I), the Archivist, conducts the audience through her findings as well as, crucially, through her own doubts and her personal relationship towards the events she is addressing. Throughout the performance I am always present both as a researcher and a private individual who has experienced the transmission of the events in several ways, therefore, displaying her postmemory of the events. In that way, the historian, or rather, the archivist, calls forth her own experiences and accounts, and becomes a *participant* in the research alongside being the researcher. As critic Tiago Bartolomeu Costa writes,

For those who have not experienced the pre and post-revolutionary period, *A Living Museum* does more than years of books, academic thesis, films and documentaries, newspaper articles and commemorative exhibitions, because it exposes, without imposing, a set of precepts, elements and facts, guided by someone who, wanting to know, sides herself with those who don’t know either (Bartolomeu Costa, 2015).⁹¹

Bartolomeu Costa’s remarks highlight the singularity of the historiography of *A Living Museum* which, rather than presenting closed off and definitive interpretations of historical facts, exposes a kaleidoscope of visions and sides, and of doubts and

⁹¹ Bartolomeu Costa (2015), available at: <http://blogues.publico.pt/teatropublico/2015/08/03/915/>, (Last accessed: 23/03/2016).

interrogations, which, visibly, as Bartlomeu Costa argues, bring the audience closer to the performance and the performer. Indeed, the performer's interrogations are the audience's and vice-versa, and this becomes clear in the reactions to the performance – during it and in the post-performance debate. This performed history also resonates with the 1931 address of the President of the American Historical Association, Carl Becker, to his fellow historians. He traced the history from when “tradition was orally transmitted”, when “bards and story-tellers frankly embroider or improvise the facts to heighten the importance of the story” to the time of the advent of written records, when “history gradually differentiated from fiction.” Arguing for a “living history”, he goes on to say that “the history that lies inert in unread books does not work in the world” and concludes, “the history that influences the course of history, is living history, that pattern of remembered events, whether true or false, that enlarges and enriches the collective specious present” (2011: 125). This notion of a “living history”, which developed into the creation of a “living museum”, has been key to the purpose of my work. The “living” aspect not only comes forth in my singular approach of testimonies and oral accounts, but also in the way of conveying them, through a performance that has obvious connections to storytelling, and, consequently, to devices that are closely linked to origins of drama itself, as, for example, in the case of the rhapsodes, of which Plato gives an account in *Ion* (2000). We can say that, adding to a living history, my research also proposes a *living transmission* of that history (and memory). These aspects make the historiography I am developing in this research, an embodied one. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) has used the term “embodied historiography” to describe *habitus*, something our body knows. In my approach to what may be termed an embodied historiography, the body of the

researcher becomes the repository of the voices and the memories of the interviewees and the authors quoted. This is similar to what Diana Taylor describes regarding Emilio Carbalido's play, *Yo, también hablo de la rosa* [*I, Too, Speak of the Rose*] (Mexico, originally published in 1965), where the narrator is called the Intermediary and her body "functions as the site of convergence binding the individual with the collective, the private with the social, the diachronic and the synchronic, memory with knowledge" (Taylor, 2003: 80), that is the "archive" and the "repertoire" (Taylor, 2003). Likewise, in my research, my body (in its entirety of movement, mind, expression, voice) is used as the primary means to transmit memories, historical discourses and private archives, echoing modes of transmission of the "non-inscribed kind" as described by Paul Connerton (2004). Together, these voices, authors, historians – as well as the private archives, objects, images and sounds – become part of the researcher herself, and she becomes the living archive of the accounts, the books and the events, giving meaning to what she has been told, bringing it to life. The performance ensures that the archive remains; the performance is simultaneously archive and repertoire, it is "both the *act* of remaining and a means of re-appearance and 'reparticipation'" (Schneider, 2011: 101).

History schoolbooks edited in 1970 and 1973, glorifying the "Portuguese Heroes of Today" (Gaspar, 1970; and Martins and Gonçalves, 1973). Both schoolbooks present an idealised vision of Portugal as a multi-racial nation, composed of several territories in peaceful cooperation and unified under "the same Flag, the same Anthem and the same Head of State" (Martins and Gonçalves, 1973:74).



Narratives, Testimonies and Archives

I use three main source materials to reflect upon the historical events and how these have been, and still are being, perceived by individuals in contemporary Portuguese society. The three layers of narratives, testimonies and archives reflect the intersection of memory and history – the record of the past in the official and dominant media, on the one side, and its perception and dissemination in private and individual circles on the other.

The term “narrative”, alongside “fiction” and “representation”, has been used by postmodern historiography to question assumptions of truth and one-sided historicity (see Jenkins, 1997). Hayden White, for example, questions,

What are we to do with two or more narrative accounts of what, *grosso modo*, appear to be the same set or sequence of historical events, when the stories told about them are manifestly different, contradictory, or even mutually exclusive? (2010: 284)

The idea of establishing one main account over others and turning it into official history, or an official main version, is one of the principal aspects of the complex relationship between power and the production of history, which has been approached by a myriad of

The examples are too numerous to be quoted here, but I find former Deputy Prime Minister Paulo Portas' speech on 30 October 2015, especially significant, demonstrating that the spectres of the revolution were definitely unleashed,

This looks like a PREC two. The first time, in 1975, they said that the revolutionary legitimacy was more important than that detail, which was the vote of the Portuguese. (Coelho, 2015) <http://observador.pt/2015/10/31/as-vezes-parece-um-prec-dois-acusa-paulo-portas/>, (Last accessed: 15/11/2015)

One of the most interesting aspects of Portas' discourse is that it assumes today to be the second PREC and uses the expression, “the first time, in 1975”, as if 40 years had not passed. In traumatic memories, in fact, the traumatic moment does not pass, it is constantly revived in the present, and the traumatised are unable to overcome the trauma. This seems to be the case here. There is a segment of Portuguese society and political actors who are still trapped in that traumatic moment, and incidentally, these are the very people who have dominated the production of narratives and discourses in the public space for the last 40 years.

different authors, for example, Foucault (1980), Trouillot, (1995); Jenkins (2003).

During dictatorial regimes the production of history is normally overtly controlled and the contents of the past altered, shifted and silenced in order to disseminate a version of history that best serves the ideological purposes of those in power. During the Portuguese dictatorship, for example, the narrative of the glorious past of discoveries was exaggerated, accompanied by the promotion of the idea of racial integration (which sustained much of Portuguese colonialism) and of a dignified and worthy war – the Colonial War – (although the word “war” is not literally mentioned), where the “Portuguese soldiers are giving a lesson to the world of how much we can do when we have reason on our side” (Gaspar, 1970: 93).

In democratic regimes this relationship and manipulation is not so overt, yet it cannot be assumed that it does not exist, or that democracy presupposes the free circulation of different versions of a same event in an equal level of dissemination. For, as Trouillot suggests “the production of historical narratives involves the uneven contribution of competing groups who have unequal access to the means for such production” (1995: xix). And he concludes, “At best, history is a story about power, about those who won” (1995: 5).

Although the possibilities for publication are higher in democratic regimes and there is apparent freedom in that respect, government still control education and what is disseminated in schoolbooks, for example. The media is also greatly responsible for the promotion of specific versions of the past. This confirms Paula Godinho’s argument that “for several reasons, there are groups which are in a better position to impose their version and build a social memory, which then becomes history, taught and learned, disseminated by the media, made current and normalised” (2015: 149).

Historian Luciana Soutelo has argued for the revisionism surrounding the 25 April in a set of national newspapers during 1985-1995 (2013; 2015). She has thoroughly demonstrated that during those years a negative image of the revolution was disseminated in those papers. This coincided with the government of Aníbal Cavaco Silva who, as Loff demonstrated, implemented a concrete politics of memory intended to disparage the revolution and highlight its “excesses”, and revive the idea of stability associated with the former dictatorial regime (Loff, 2015: especially 67-106).

Taking history to be a “series of discourses about the world” (Jenkins, 2003 [1991]: 6), my research uses historiography of the three time periods as a narrative that can be deconstructed, interrogated, and have its contradictions exposed. Furthermore, I have also developed a personal archive of media references to the dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process, consistently collecting newspaper clippings, as well as listing television programs where any of the time periods were mentioned, by whom and how.

For example, the time surrounding the election for prime-minister in October 2015 and the weeks that followed – where the Socialist Party initiated a round of conversations with fellow Left parties – proved a prolific period for the production of a series of discourses and narratives on the Left and its history and the so-called “historical traumas.” This clearly showed that, far from being resolved, the recent historical past and its cleavages still condition several aspects of contemporary politics in Portugal, and the way people perceive the political spectrum. My research, and specifically the performance of *A Living Museum*, by addressing excluded memories of the far-left, as well as questioning aspects of the politics of memory in

Portugal, seeks to contribute to the process of historical understanding and reconciliation. My research was not aimed at establishing one version of the events, but rather at investigating how individuals relate to those events today, what they can still remember and what they have obliterated – while simultaneously interrogating how they related to it “back then.” As I have mentioned earlier (pages 44-46) what was perceived at the time and what they feel now sometimes coincides – the same engagement and belief – while other times it does not, as in Irene Pimentel’s statement, “But you are talking to someone who is not the same anymore. I have questioned it all.”⁹² Using Pimentel’s testimony as a departing point, I have integrated in my research not only the historiographic production concerning these periods, but also the discourses of the historians themselves. Through interviewing four key historians in Portugal – Rui Bebiano, Fernando Rosas, Irene Pimentel and Manuel Loff – I have incorporated part of their reflections in my investigation, for, as Jay Winter states, “Historians have memories too and their choice of subject is rarely accidental” (Winter 2011: 427). When interviewing these historians, they alternate between their personal memories and the professional interpretation of them in light of their historiographic researches, which have lead them to construct a discourse concerning these historical events. Objectivity or, rather, how the historian’s professional voice conditions the memories of what was experienced, is an element in both the testimonies of historians Rui Bebiano and Manuel Loff, that I interviewed in 2014 and 2012, respectively. Rui Bebiano, the director of the 25 April Documentation Centre, and a historian who researched cultural resistance during the

⁹² Pimentel (2012), personal interview. See page 48.

latter period of the dictatorship, stresses his inability to separate his reflection on the events from his experience of them, stating at the beginning of the interview,

What I am about to say is the result of a personal experience. But already at the time I had a critical vision – not the same as today – but, still, I had a critical approach – I was not a common soldier.⁹³

What he meant was that he was aware of the political situation of the country and of the political meaning of the Colonial War, which he was against. In that sense he was not “a common soldier.” Furthermore, in his testimony, he persistently stresses that he is an “intellectual who is thinking while experiencing the events”, as if he “was watching himself from outside.”⁹⁴

Historian Manuel Loff likewise, alternates his testimony between the personal account and his discourse and findings as a historian, confessing, “my memory is permanently contaminated by the historic and historiographic elaboration.”⁹⁵ Even though he was only nine years old at the time of the 25 April Revolution, he claims to remember many details; while giving his account, he adds historiographic information to complement his experience, noting “this is the historian talking...” while, about other events, he would highlight it was “first-hand memory, not something I have remembered *a posteriori*.”⁹⁶ Furthermore, Loff’s discourse on his generation (he was born in 1965), resonates with some of the

⁹³ Bebiano (2014) Interviewed by Craveiro, J., 21 January, Coimbra.

⁹⁴ Bebiano (2014).

⁹⁵ Manuel Loff (2012) Interviewed by Craveiro, J., 14 November, Porto.

⁹⁶ Manuel Loff (2012).

reactions from the spectators in the post-performance debates, concerning how the strong politisation of the post-dictatorial period was perceived and still is. Loff states,

My generation was inevitably politicised. My generation later decided to pretend to have depoliticised itself, but it obviously always stayed politicised. Of course the vast majority did not accompany me in my political stances. Probably, my generation was the last for which, by definition, politics was one of the most important aspects of life. Today politicians and politics seem like a hated thing. In 1974 it was not. Everyone had a political opinion. I remember this clearly.⁹⁷

This performance of memory in the historians' accounts and testimonies was crucial to my own performance of the Archivist persona. Acknowledging the doubts of the historians and their effort to overcome their own subjectivity at points of their testimony, I identify my own efforts at reconstruction as a second-generation witness to these events. Furthermore, I demonstrate that not even first-generation witnesses really know what happened nor do they feel entitled to investigate it, as in the case of Irene Pimentel's self-reflexive confession about the revolution and how different she feels now; how she does not feel she has the necessary objectivity to approach it (as an historian).

In fact, it is impossible to dissociate the analysis of historiographic discourses of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution from the process of understanding who is producing the discourses, and why, and how. Firstly, many of these

⁹⁷ Manuel Loff (2012).

discourses are responsible for widely disseminated narratives and constructs (while also being conditioned by these in a multidirectional process), fusing with the process of memory transmission itself. Secondly, the historiographic discourses are the stage for some of the most relevant disputes over legitimacy of the revolution, definition and characterisation of the New State Dictatorship, and the general understanding of state repression and political violence during the latter. Thirdly, much of the historiographic analysis and discourse produced in the aftermath of the Revolution and up to mid-1990s was authored by scholars who had been agents, actors and witnesses of much of these processes. And finally, because we cannot ignore the prolific production of written testimonies and amateur history texts published from 1974 onwards,⁹⁸ - for, as Trouillot argues, “Universities and university press are not the only loci of production of the historical narrative” (1995: 20) – as well as the extensive filmography with a strongly documental character, produced mainly in the heat of the revolutionary process.⁹⁹

Alongside these narratives, my research analyses and performs other testimonies that I collected in Portugal between 2012 and 2014 (and some testimonies that were collected in 2015 and incorporated in the later versions of the performance): I interviewed people who had experiences of activism and political resistance during the New State Dictatorship, people who actively participated in the revolutionary process (PREC), members of my family, and some foreigners who came to Portugal expressly to witness the revolution first hand. I also conducted extensive interviews with people who returned from the Portuguese ex-colonies after 1974. In total, I

⁹⁸ See notes 60 and 61, p.71; see also Paula (1975); Manuel et al. (1974).

⁹⁹ See, for example, *Torre Bela*, by Thomas Harlan (1977); *As Armas e o Povo* [The Weapons and the People], by Glauber Rocha (1975); or the films by collective Cinequanon, like *Acção, Intervenção* [Action, Intervention] (1976).

conducted 50 interviews, and sometimes interviewed the same individual or family more than once. I aimed for a “thick dialogue” (Portelli, 2001: 30) rather than a one-way questionnaire, conducting long life-story interviews of up to three hours. The conversation centred on understanding the emergence of political awareness and political activism, as well as description of acts of resistance before the Revolution, and people's participation in the revolutionary process. A crucial question was “When did the revolution end?” in order to establish a personal chronology of an emotionally charged moment. I have concluded that each of my interviewees had their own landmark for the end of the revolution, despite the generalised assumption that the revolution terminated with the 25 November 1975 coup, which was intended in achieving a “democratic normalisation.” Beyond the given, normalised history, each individual identified a specific moment in his or her experience of those times when the end of the revolutionary period became a reality. The question I posed often became an interrogation into a traumatic memory, especially in those more actively engaged.

Testimonies became an important source of historiographic research, following the testimonial trend in the aftermath of the Second World War – and particularly the history and memories of the Holocaust survivors. Later, oral sources and testimonies would become the main material of the emerging discipline of Oral History, which as Paul Thompson argues in his seminal *Voice of the Past: Oral History* (2000), brings “recognition to substantial groups of people who had been ignored” (2008: 29) and “allows heroes not just from the leaders, but also from the unknown majority of the people” (2008: 31). With the focus on the individual and his subjective relationship toward the historical events, oral history has sought to empower individuals, making

their voices *heard* and their version of history known, and making history more democratic (Thompson, 2008: 29). As such, oral history has been traditionally associated with less privileged, sometimes illiterate, classes who find it difficult to access the power circles where historical accounts, narratives and discourses are produced,

Witnesses can now also be called from the under-classes, the unprivileged, and the defeated. It provides a more realistic and fair reconstruction of the past, a challenge to the established account. In so doing, oral history has radical implications for the social message of history as a whole (Thompson, 2008: 28).

Some historians, however, have found here a motive for critique, for example Hobsbawm, who dismisses oral history as “a history from below” (1997: 206). The path of oral history’s affirmation in the field of history has indeed been arduous, “challenging orthodoxies about historical sources, methods and aims” (Alistair Thompson and Perks, 2008: x), challenging issues concerning the lack of objectivity, and participating in the wider debate of history versus memory. Collecting testimonies, in long, in-depth interviews, has allowed me to access the *meaning* (Portelli, 1991) of the event, rather than just the *description*, which can be otherwise accessed through various history manuals, monographs and dictionaries.

In Portugal, likewise, oral historians have found it difficult to break through the hegemony of archival research and the traditional forced distancing between the researcher and the theme or event researched. However, the works of Miguel Cardina

on the Maoist movement in Portugal between 1965 and 1974 (Cardina, 2011) and Luísa Tiago Oliveira on an important episode of the revolutionary process – the Student’s Civic Service, between 1974 and 1977 (Oliveira, 2004) – stand out as important landmarks in a still emergent field. Simultaneously, in anthropological research, oral sources have long been incorporated as a main methodology in field work; indeed, the investigations of Paula Godinho, (2001), Tiago Matos Silva (2000) and Sónia Vespeira de Almeida (2009), to name but a few, have actively approached and analysed memories of the dictatorship and the revolution, which have provided an important contribution to the field of oral history, despite not being history in a strict sense. My research, similarly, makes important contributions to this movement in Portuguese historiography to incorporate oral sources into research or, even more, to use oral sources as main sources of research, rather than the record of the events that can be accessed in official archives and written documents, which, as Thompson argues are,

kept or destroyed by people with the same priorities. The more personal, local, and unofficial a document, the less likely it was to survive. The very power structure worked as a great recording machine shaping the past in its own image (2008: 27).

The nature of the archival material I am addressing in my research is unique, in that it is indeed “personal, local, and unofficial” (Thompson, 2008: 27). Throughout my investigation, I have consistently

A set of books, pamphlets, stickers and objects, all part of *A Living Museum* archive/collection.
(Photograph by the author.)



compiled monographs, pamphlets, stickers, images and other memorabilia concerning the dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process. Moreover, I have been given access to several private archives by my interviewees, thereby discovering and being able to display and perform, “written documents and photographs which would not have otherwise been traced” (Thompson, 2008: 28). My family history was also a crucial part of this process, not only providing me with valuable testimonies, but also important personal archives, which range from formerly forbidden books, to political pamphlets, photographs, posters and Chinese memorabilia. In the sixth performance-lecture “When did the Revolution End?” I give the account of trying to locate a box filled with political documents that my father wanted to donate to the 25 April Documentation Centre, which he never did. The box is now part of the performance, as well as the details of its recovery and attests to the challenges of preservation of personal archives and its political implications. The action of displaying all these documents – which would otherwise remain hidden or stored in some inaccessible place in people’s houses – is a conscious act of rendering the invisible visible, in terms of informal documentation on the several aspects of the recent political history of Portugal.

In Portugal the official archives of such material – accessible to the general public – are the 25 April Documentation Centre and the archive “Casa Comum” of the Mário Soares Foundation, where a vast selection of political pamphlets and images can be found.¹⁰⁰ The 25 April Documentation Centre has a specific manner of treating these archives, storing them by donor (in that way, I discovered my father

¹⁰⁰ 25 April Documentation Centre, in Coimbra, has a vast collection of official and unofficial archives, many of which were private donations to the Centre. Rui Bebiano is the director of the Centre founded in 1984. More here: <http://www.cd25a.uc.pt/index.php?r=site/page&view=itempage&p=100>, (Last accessed: 21/03/2016). The Mário Soares foundation, established in 1991, has developed an extensive archive – some of which also from private sources. They state, “Archives are essential to memory.” More can be read here <http://casacomum.org/cc/> (Last accessed: 21/03/2016).

had actually not made the donation he had intended to). Apart from these, historian José Pacheco Pereira has a private archive of a vast body of material concerning the Left resistance to the dictatorship and post-25 April political activities and events. He has classified these documents into several collections which he has archived and displays on-line.¹⁰¹ Official archives from the PIDE featuring files about each person under surveillance, arrested and interrogated, can be found at the National Archive of Torre do Tombo. Despite it existing other archives and sources, the materials I have collected and that I display in *A Living Museum* are the type of materials that can be found in the archives mentioned above. What makes my collection unique is the fact that I – like José Pacheco Pereira – am a private individual, to whom engaged activists have trusted not only their memories, but also their mementos, photographs, records – that is, marks of the past they have experienced, objects that bear an affective connection towards that past. What makes me different from José Pacheco Pereira is the form I use to display my archives: through performance, producing, furthermore, a discourse about the material I am displaying and conveying (performing) the discourses I have collected about that same material. For example, when Jorge R. showed me his picture of the 25 April 1974,¹⁰² or Teresa R. her photograph of a demonstration for better housing conditions in the PREC period,¹⁰³ they did so while telling me their story of both those moments, as both an illustration and proof that they had been there. When I tell their story in the performance while showing their pictures, I re-enact the moment of the interview and I attest to the

¹⁰¹ Under the name Ephemera, historian José Pacheco Pereira has been consistently collecting materials pertaining to the political history of Portugal, posting many of them online, here <http://ephemerajpp.com/> (Last accessed: 21/03/2016). Other blogues and web archives of Pacheco Pereira include <https://estudossobrecomunismo2.wordpress.com/>; <https://estudossobrecomunismo.wordpress.com/> (Last accessed: 21/03/ 2016).

¹⁰² Jorge R. (2014) Interviewed by Joana C., 6 June, Cacilhas.

¹⁰³ Teresa R. (2014) Interviewed by Joana C., 26 April, Lisbon.

veracity of their account by displaying real objects belonging to real people. It is just the same as when my interviewees watch the performance and introduce themselves in the post-performance debate – they prove that what I have said were real stories, experienced by real people.

From the Interview to the Performance

Every interview was unique in length and content. Some were held in public places, others in the informants' houses; one was a guided tour of the narrator's places of memory, and one was a group interview with a family of five. This long interviewing process allowed me to highlight the “individual's role in the history of society and in public events” (Portelli, 2001: 26). This role – recognised by the researcher (myself) – is not often acknowledged by the interviewees, who fight throughout the interviewing process often with the deeply engraved conviction that their story is not really relevant, expressed in sentences like “I don't know if my story is of any interest”, or “I am not sure what I can tell you.” In the interview with my mother, for example, she constantly redirects my focus to friends of hers whose story she finds “much more significant.”¹⁰⁴ Veda Skultans describes a similar process in the collecting of Latvian testimonies she undertook on the eve of the “unfreezing of the Soviet Union from 1989” (Skultans, 1998: x), “Many people with eventful lives have little to say about them.

A box with memorabilia at the 25 April Documentation Centre (photograph by the author)



¹⁰⁴ Teresa Craveiro (2014) Interviewed by Joana C., 17 October, Lisbon

There is no perfect match between lives lived and lives remembered” (Skultans, 1998: xii). But because “oral history expresses the awareness of the historicity of personal experience” (Portelli, 2001: 26), a process of legitimisation gradually occurs within the interview. In my research, the interviewee progressively acquired more ease and assurance in their own experiences – a reassurance with which the visible engagement of the interviewer concurred; in fact, part of my role as an interviewer was often to give reassurance of the importance of the account I was listening to. This process of legitimisation was furthered by the performance of the testimonies, when the interviewee attended the performance of *A Living Museum* and experienced how his or her testimony turned into theatre could powerfully move the rest of the audience or empower them to share their own impressions and memories at the end of the performance. As Portelli has noted, this process is a “challenge to increase their [the interviewee’s] awareness, to structure what they already know, which begins at the moment of the interview and continues as they are confronted with our conclusions” (1997: 68). Portelli also describes this also as a process of restitution, which is crucial in that communities and individuals acknowledge their own perceptions of history and events as structural towards the overall community. This ascribes those perceptions and experiences, that is, those (anonymous) agents, a “central place” (Thompson, 2008: 26).

The interview is, in itself, a performance act. This was clear in the series of interviews I conducted. One person narrating – storytelling her or his memories – and one person attentively listening, is a basic theatrical act, resonating the rhapsodes and the bards I have mentioned earlier (see page 85). In her guide to oral history, Lynn Abrams dedicates one chapter to performance, stating that interviews have

“performance qualities”; she adds that, “an oral history narrative is...a way of speaking separated from ordinary speech, a speech act performed for an audience in a particular context” (2010: 130). Della Pollock likewise states that, “oral history is a performance in itself” (2005: 3), and expounds a series of case studies where oral history has been used to produce performances.¹⁰⁵

Each interview conducted for *A Living Museum* was unique in the words uttered, the pauses, the emotion and the indifference at points, the silences, the laughs. Not only was the content important, but so was how that content was conveyed. Very often, the time it took to give a clear answer to a question was very telling, like the time I asked my father if he had been saddened by the end of the revolution, and he never answered that question, choosing to talk about how, for him, the revolution had ended long before the point I was suggesting. He never told me if he had been saddened by it, or not. There was a silence, a long one, just after the question was raised – and that was as significant as if he had answered straight away with a clear affirmative or negative stance. Furthermore, the process of transcription, of turning the voices into text and that text subsequently into performance text, also produced a script that moved far beyond the mere narration of what “I have heard”, taking “a life of its own”(Skultans, 1998: xi) and becoming something which is not just the oral history account nor its exact transcription, but rather my own interpretation of my encounter with the witness and the event witnessed. This is then combined with the accounts I myself have received via familial transmission and which have moulded much of my understanding and belief about these events up until this point. It is just as Bartolomeu Costa describes when referring to the accounts he

¹⁰⁵ See Pollock, 2005 for a myriad of cases, for example Rivka Syd Eiser’s performance *And so there are pieces...*, based upon the oral history of “Chi Tôi”, a Vietnamese woman Eiser interviewed and researched extensively (Eiser, 2005:101-128).

heard from his father, “year after year, once again, yet again”, concerning his participation in the 25 April coup: “the account was always conveyed to me as if it had been an adventure... the greatest of all adventures” (Bartolomeu Costa, 2012). When he was a casting assistant to the emblematic film *April Captains*, by Maria de Medeiros (1999), he also performed as an extra, and describes how he could never forget for a moment his father’s accounts while performing in Medeiros’ movie,

As if it was possible to recreate the story, I sang the national anthem as my father told me he had heard people singing (...). And I sang, on top of a *chaimite* [a kind of armoured car], the song *Grândola Vila Morena*, as he had told me that they had sang along the roads to Lisbon (Bartolomeu Costa, 2012).¹⁰⁶

In my research I was also aware that “oral history is a dialogic discourse” (Portelli, 2001: 23) and, as such, my own presence also influenced the story told – my reactions to the stories, namely, conditioned it at points, as I explained before. This interference extended to the presentation of the results of my research in the performance of *A Living Museum*. Portelli states that the expression *oral history* has the ambivalence of being not only about what the historian *hears*, but also *how* he or she will *express* what they have heard, either in writing or orally (cf. 2001: 23). Having attended several oral history conferences, I witnessed how oral historians always perform some of the testimonies they have collected, attempting to recapture what they have heard as closely as possible to the original performance of the interviewee. This implies

¹⁰⁶ Tiago Bartolomeu Costa, <http://www.publico.pt/portugal/jornal/na-primeira-pessoa-o-meu-pai-estava-na-coluna-de-salgueiro-maia-24432027> (Last accessed: 20/03/2016).

imitating accent and pauses, for example, as well as emotion. In a masterclass in CES (Centro de Estudos Sociais/ Centre for Social Studies) in Coimbra, in July 2014, I watched how Alessandro Portelli, unable to access the audio archive of an interview, recited himself the poem he was going to play, because, as he stated, he “knew by heart how it had been uttered”¹⁰⁷ by his interviewee. He recited it solemnly, as if he were in a performance.¹⁰⁸ This has been common to other oral history presentations I have attended in several conferences worldwide. Turning testimonies into performance material – which is one key aspect of my thesis – is, however, a different technique in the display of results from oral history research, than just the odd performance of parts of a testimony at an academic conference.

Oral history performance has developed in various ways as Della Pollock shows (2005), one of the strongest and most enduring techniques being verbatim theatre, where testimony is used in a way as close to the recorded speech and voice as possible, aiming for the exact reproduction of the voices and intonations of the interviewees. Companies like Recorded Delivery, in the UK, and performance artists like Anna Deavere Smith in the United States, have consistently developed their performance work from testimonies, performed as verbatim theatre. The Tricycle Theatre, in the UK, under the directorship of Nicolas Kent between 1984 and 2012, has also produced important verbatim theatre, namely under the format of “tribunal plays”, created from the records of public inquiries. As Deavere Smith states, regarding the methodology for her groundbreaking work *Fires in the Mirror* (1992), she tries “to say exactly what they [the interviewees] said, more than word for word,

¹⁰⁷ From my personal notes on Alessandro Portelli’s masterclass, 16 July 2014, CES, Coimbra.

¹⁰⁸ The poem is mentioned in (2001), where Portelli describes the tone with which the poem was recited to him: “The hieratic tone, the carefully timed pauses, the solemn rhythm, conveyed to the story the quality of epic poetry” (2001: 38).

utterance for utterance....”.¹⁰⁹ Alecky Blythe comments on Deavere Smith’s methodologies,

Anna would record interviews with people and then learn them word-for-word, appropriating the speaker’s cadence and patterns of speech in fine detail. She learnt the interviews by listening to them, phrase by phrase, through earphones, and then repeating each phrase exactly as it had been said, immediately after she had heard it (in Hammond and Steward, 2012: section 827).

From the point of view of the writer, however, different approaches can be made to verbatim theatre as Robin Soans details,

For any playwright, there is a moment when what I would call the ‘vision’ of the play is revealed. The tone is established, the themes and the story coalesce and, most importantly, the shape of the drama becomes clear. At this moment it is the prerogative of the playwright, verbatim or otherwise, to choose the parts of the material which embody that vision most clearly. [...]
For the verbatim writer this process occurs in the editing, somewhere among the scraps of collected material strewn across the desk, as a unifying premise draws the various strands and stories together (in Hammond and Steward, 2012: sections 295/ 309).

¹⁰⁹ Anna Deavere Smith states (2012): “I take something that they [the interviewed] said, and then I attempt to say exactly what they said, more than word for word, utterance for utterance, because I have come to see that it is in the way that utterances themselves are manipulated that identity comes forward” “How do you Get Into Character?” Big Think. Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NkjADgWRq3Y>, 23 Apr 2012. (Last accessed: 12/02/2016).

The editing process of my testimonial material, as well as the reflection upon the interview itself and the context of production of the memories I have collected, have been crucial elements in the writing of my performance text. In it, I produce a discourse on memory and history alongside the display of testimonial material. Furthermore, my approach to that material was not so much the exact reproduction of the voices – the “utterances” – but rather to recapture the emotion of the individual and the context of the interview: where we had met, how they had prepared, what had been omitted, what had been highlighted. In that sense I was not strictly aiming for a verbatim performance throughout *A Living Museum*, although at points I did perform in this way when I felt the exact reproduction of the interviewee’s voice and tone was important. This was the case, for example, in the testimony regarding the Colonial War, by Carlos N., a former commandant in the war fought in Guinea between 1961 and 1974 (in the first performance-lecture, “Small Acts of Resistance”). I also aimed for an almost verbatim performance in the testimonies of Jorge R. and Teresa R. regarding the revolutionary process and their political struggles (in the fourth performance-lecture, “Fragments of a Revolutionary Process”). I certainly wanted to avoid caricature, the bias and the judgments on the person’s behavior, and that is why my performance focused primarily on the content and meaning of the events described by the person I was interviewing, and the context of production of these memories. I was as accurate as possible in conveying the exact words they had said, quoting from the texts I had transcribed and that I read when necessary from my *tablet* or from a notebook during the performance. The performance-lecture mode enhances this kind of academic approach, as I will detail in Chapter III.

The process of incorporating these testimonies in the performance is also equivalent to what Abrams describes as inserting “the public memory into public consciousness, thus creating new historical memory” (2010: 139), and what Jay Winter describes as “historical remembrance” (2011: 427). Together, the interviewing process – with its characteristic of being itself a performative act and a dialogic interaction – and its subsequent performance in *A Living Museum* gives voice to new versions of the same history, challenging the one-sided and two-sided historicity with which one is confronted in everyday narratives in the media and political discourses and expressing my own personal approach to these complex issues. Furthermore, through performing these memories, I “expand the primary interview encounter to include other listeners” (Pollock, 2005: 3), bringing the audience into the reconstruction I am performing, rendering them active participants in it, in a double way: as engaged spectators during the performance; and as engaged participants in the after-performance debates (and in some parts of the performance, as explained before). The nature of performance itself calls for this audience participation, for, as Robin Soans describes, “ninety percent of the time your attention is directed towards the audience. The audience becomes a key, if silent character in the performance” (in Hammond and Steward, 2012: section 141). In fact, the deep communication I was able to establish with the audiences of *A Living Museum* is difficult to describe in its entirety: a mixture of profound attention, participation through comments and singing along with songs I play in the performance, emotion expressed in sighs and discreet sobs. Again, Robin Soans provides a similar description to his first verbatim play where,

I realised I had become involved in something rather extraordinary. Not only were these people following my every syllable, but they were emotionally bound up with me as well. In all my years of acting, I had hardly ever had such keen attention paid to me (in Hammond and Steward, 2012: section 155).

This is crucial. The live encounter of the performer with its audience and the significance of such a live encounter has been thoroughly analysed and discussed (Auslander (2008); Phelan (1996); Fischer-Lichte (2008), for example). In *A Living Museum* this live encounter is what determines much of the outcome of this research, for it is in that exchange, communication, discussion, that the performance fulfils its promise of memory transmission and historical interrogation. It is just as Derek Paget describes, when stating that “live performance as an event involves more than is the case with, for example, film and television”, adding,

Theatre’s ancient connection with religion, its occasionally profound moment of *encounter* once again adds charge (or can add a charge) to performance. This I am again claiming as a moment of Bearing Witness for audiences. Like a religious congregation, they will in many cases, have gone out seeking – what? Validation? Ratification? Consolation? (2011, 236)

Also, by directly asking for the spectator’s testimonies, impressions, accounts at the end of the performance, the living museum/archive I am creating is enriched and

progressively completed, rendering the audience active participants of a recent past which concerns them directly.

*

Following the fall of the dictatorial regime political parties have legitimised their paths and decisions taken with narratives that have brought them to the current year of 2016. Citizens, to a far or lesser degree, internalised these narratives, sometimes sublimating traumatic, nostalgic and utopian memories in the process. The enthusiastic reaction of spectators to *A Living Museum* proves its effect of awakening deep-seated memories and remembrances that have been overshadowed by the discourses of democratic normalisation following the end of the revolutionary period on 25 November 1975, and the subsequent detraction of the revolutionary process and even, at the times, of the 25 April 1974 coup itself. As Trindade has noted, “the parties have progressively deleted their participation in the PREC” (2004: 29). This process of change from the revolutionary process into its denial was very rapid, as Maxwell has argued in a 1980 report,

Despite the formidable transformations set in motion by April 25, 1974, however, much in Portugal did not change. The social composition of the new political class differs very little from that of the old regime. [...] Workers whose purchasing power temporarily increased after 1974, might have marched in demonstrations and chanted slogans of socialist revolution, but they spent their money on the clothes, appliances, and artifacts of West

European consumer societies, whose standard of living they aspired to. The white-collar workers, in particular, who had been among the most vociferous “leftists” in 1975, moved quickly to the right as economic conditions worsened. In behaviour and psychology, it is not yet clear how much really changed in Portugal beyond the traumatic recognition, as revolutionary optimism evaporated, of the resilient power and divisiveness of class, regional, and personal antagonisms and jealousy (1980: 44).

The end of the utopia of the PREC brought with it, in effect, disenchantment, disbelief in politics, demobilisation, as opposed to the active period of popular mobilisation that the PREC had represented. This was further aggravated by the fall of the Berlin Wall and the end of the communist regimes in Europe. In the interviews I conducted, many of the interviewees became very emotional when referring to the end of the revolution and to what has happened afterwards. Furthermore, the performance also addresses other previously excluded memories, like from some of those who were “returnee” from the former colonies. This created a space of legitimisation for those memories and their protagonists in the public space. Often in the post-performance debate, someone would confess to be a “returnee” from the ex-colonies and thank me for including those memories in the performance.

The process of reconciliation that the performance promotes is clearly visible in the sharing of memories during the post-performance debates, or the private accounts I receive after the performance, either personally, via email or telephone; but it also extends to the need to *perform* some action in the public space, following the address that audience members often make to one another of “what can we still

do?”¹¹⁰ as if the performance had spurred them into action. Answering the call I make at the end of the performance, where I state that “I have an appointment with my generation and others to continue this reconstruction”, an audience member said: “I would like to do it. How can we do it... continue the reconstruction? I would like to participate...”¹¹¹ In this case, the performance raises the possibility for action – to engender processes of reparation and justice –in the absence of an official politics of memory. Through responding to my challenge and, indeed, through attending the performance, audience members participate themselves in the kind of embodied historiography that I am performing. The performance thus creates a space where history is under reconstruction through the use of real memories, and the contribution of every single individual to this mosaic in progress is acknowledged. Emancipated spectatorship in the case of *A Living Museum* stimulates and is closely connected to being an emancipated protagonist, an emancipated participant, and an emancipated amateur historian.

¹¹⁰ This question was raised in several of the post-performance debates between 2014 and 2016.

¹¹¹ From the post-performance debate on 12 July 2015, Almada.

II. How and Why I use Performance

The theory that gets in my head and sticks – the good parts or the parts relevant to what I must become and do in my life – performs. That this theory performs me is an existential fact. [...] This performance-theory coupling is not an easy assignment. Performance thrills me, theory does not. I would surely lose myself without performance, but I cannot live well without theory.

D. Soyini Madison (1999:109)

In this chapter I will analyse the performance *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*, highlighting the ways through which my practice-as-research challenges several binaries: the archive and the repertoire, the embodied and the textual, the artistic and the academic, theory and practice, performance as that which disappears and as that which remains. This intersection of practice and theory is partly expressed in Soyini Madison's epigraph above: a "theory that gets in my head and sticks", that is, a "theory that performs" (1999: 109). As I will argue in this chapter, the kind of museology that I propose in *A Living Museum* is, likewise, "a performing museology" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2002). Both my historiographical, museological and performance practice constitute a "performative turn" (Bleeker, 2012; Fischer-Lichte, 2014), in that performance is used as a means of investigation and creation of knowledge. In this sense, my work seeks to establish a form of embodied theory and embodied research, which contributes to questioning important assumptions both in Portuguese history and in the panorama of contemporary Portuguese performance production. My performance develops a double process of reflecting on how the transmission of Portuguese memory is effected, whilst

simultaneously contributing in a concrete way to that transmission. While questioning the lack of inscription in the public space, the performance becomes inscribed in that same space and counters those silences and oblivions. This inscription, I argue, remains beyond the live performance itself. On the one hand, in the memories of the spectators and the close relationship they develop towards the show, for example, demonstrated by the performance being awarded the Audience Choice Award of the Almada International Theatre Festival in July 2015. Upon attending the award ceremony on 18 July 2016, I was approached by spectators who went expressly to participate in the poll, because they “wanted the performance to win”; and by others who, although they had not watched the performance, they nonetheless voted for it, “because they wanted to see it the next year” [the winning performance is invited again the following year] and “because they had heard it was very good”.¹¹² Also, interestingly, many spectators watch the performance more than once, normally in groups, where, I have been told, the discussions continue well after the performance has ended. On the other hand, the performance also inscribes itself in the prolific production of articles and critical reviews and written reflections on the performance, one of which suggested that the performance should become part of,

[an official, state-sponsored] programme that safeguards works of theatre and dance that, by its importance and historical potential of reflecting upon contemporarily (and what brought us to it), or its capacity of fixating an

¹¹² I am quoting here from memory what several spectators have told me on 18 July 2015, Almada.

epoch, could help us challenge the ephemeral condition that is inherent to the performative arts (Bartolomeu Costa, 2015).¹¹³

By specifically focusing upon memories of a non-hegemonic type, and questioning the kind of grand narratives and consensual accounts as are being disseminated in the media, political discourses, schoolbooks and historiographic production, the performance has contributed to the knowledge of the three time periods discussed at length in Chapter II and their perception in a renewed way. This was also achieved through the inclusion in the performance of accounts of anonymous individuals and their unique experiences and memories, not with the goal of turning these memories into representatives of the whole, general history, but rather as examples of the “small” and “forgotten” memories the title of my research alludes to. This has led me to establishing a privileged relationship with the audiences of *A Living Museum*, who were able to voice their opinions, impressions and critiques live, just after the performance, and motivating many of them to offer their testimony, which turned my project into a living archive of accounts and impressions, running in parallel to the performance itself. Through the post-performance debates, also, my object of study extended to the observation and analysis of audience reception. The enthusiasm the performance provoked in the spectators is part of my analysis. I believe this enthusiasm is partly linked to the political context of the production of the piece, as

¹¹³ See Tiago Bartolomeu Costa, <http://blogues.publico.pt/teatropublico/2015/08/03/915/>. See also the following reviews: Jorge L. Figueira (2014) <https://www.publico.pt/2014/11/16/culturaipsilon/noticia/riachos-ribeiros-e-outros-afluentes-da-revolucao-1676386>; Vanessa Sotelo (2015) <https://rgt critica.wordpress.com/2015/07/16/um-museu-vivo-de-memorias-pequenas-e-esquecidas/>; Marina da Silva (2015) <http://blog.mondediplo.net/2015-07-16-Au-Portugal-une-memoire-a-vif-de-la-revolution-de>; Rui Pina Coelho (2015) <http://www.critical-stages.org/12/the-living-museum-of-my-generations-failure-on-the-living-museum-of-small-forgotten-and-unwanted-memories-by-joana-craveiro-teatro-do-vestido/> (Last accessed 10/04/2015). See also Inês Nadais (2014) <https://www.publico.pt/2014/11/13/culturaipsilon/noticia/o-passado-colectivo-jamais-sera-vencido-1676010> (Last accessed 20/11/2015). And, finally, Pina Coelho (2016).

described in Chapter II, which turned it into a space of resistance within a political regime that, although not dictatorial, nonetheless awakened spectres of authoritarianism and fear, because of the economic crisis and the strict conditions demanded by the so-called Troika (European Union, European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund) in order to provide financial aid to the country, which lead to harsh austerity measures enforced over the citizens. Cláudia Madeira has argued that starting from the years 2011/12 a “new cycle of interactive and performative art” began, which used the 25 April as a “script”. She considers this to be a “revolutionary script” (2015, section 4), denouncing and criticising the political state of the country. Madeira quotes *A Living Museum* as being part of this process of contestation and resistance, specifically mentioning the post-performance debates where,

other personal stories told by the spectators were revealed, highlighting themes like ‘persecutions, prisons and torture’, ‘fear’, ‘silencing of the collective memory’, and discussing, for example, ‘the plaque at the door of the former headquarters of the PIDE, removed several times. (2015, section 39)

And she adds that,

one sentence is said in the performance which portrays well the dialectic between inscription and erasure of these activities in the public space, where all

the acts of public intervention that I have been addressing in this article are inscribed. (2015, section 39)

Madeira is referring here to a quotation by Michel-Rolph Trouillot that I use in the transition from performance-lecture 2 to performance-lecture 3, where he states, “History is the fruit of power [...]. The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots” (1995: xix). Indeed, we could argue that inscription in the public space challenges ephemerality and promotes change. As I argue in this chapter, *A Living Museum*, by its nature and the concepts upon which its construction stands, already challenges the “ephemeral condition”, mentioned by Bartolomeu Costa above, by *remaining* rather than *disappearing* (Schneider, 2011). This aspect of the performance *remaining*, I argue, is expressed in two main forms: by the visibility it gives to memories previously overlooked, causing those memories to re-appear in the public space and legitimising them; and igniting processes in individuals of reconciliation with their own experiences in relation to the history of the country, precisely through watching those memories re-appear through and in the performance.

A Living Museum not only questions many assumptions concerning recent Portuguese history, but is also establishes a form of historiography through performance, where I not only perform testimonies and archives, but I problematise the historiographic approach towards those voices and materials. The performance also juxtaposes the layer of my own autobiography and that of my family, and voices questions that echo doubts and interrogations of my own generation and the following one, who have not experienced these events directly– what Hirsch has

named the “generation of postmemory” (Hirsch, 1993; 2008; 2012). Following Della Pollock’s interrogation, “*How does the performance of the past in the present shape and make not only history, but historical subjectivity?*” (Pollock, 2009: 146; [emphasis in the original]), I argue that my performance of the recent Portuguese past seeks to enable audience members access to a historical subjectivity which closely echoes that which they themselves have directly experienced. And *watching* these versions performed, in a manner which interrogates them and displays them alongside other versions – not promoting one sole truth – and also the possibility of debating them live with the performer on the spot, has allowed them, at least partly, to reconcile with their past and their memories. Furthermore, the performance has also allowed a process of legitimisation of those memories, breaking through the hegemonic primacy of the political and military versions of history, and inscribing private memories in the public sphere, through theatre. This was possible, however, not through complex theoretical explanations, nor through a format that emphasised my knowledge over that of the spectators, but rather through the artistic process of the performance. As Henk Borgdorff argues, this is different from “social or political science, critical theory or cultural analysis” because of the “central place which arts practice occupies in both the research process and the research outcome” (2011: 57). He concludes,

This makes research in the arts distinct from that of other academic disciplines engaging with the same issues. In assessing the research, it is important to keep in mind that the specific contribution it makes to

knowledge, understanding, insight and experience lies in the ways these issues are articulated, expressed and communicated through art (2011: 57).

Performance is used in my research with the double function of being a means of research and a means of disseminating research results in an embodied form. This allows for a particular relationship – of empathy, identification, sometimes also rejection and traumatic recall – with the spectators. Moreover, the performance has initiated a debate concerning the relationship between theatre and memory in Portugal, and has affirmed itself as an important and original contribution to the problematisation of recent Portuguese history and its performance. Instigated by the performance, the Portuguese Association of Theatre Critics launched a special issue of its magazine, *Sinais de Cena*, edited by Rui Pina Coelho, on the subject of Theatre and Memory, where four articles on *A Living Museum* were featured - Marta Lança (2016), Gustavo Vicente (2016), Daniele Avila Small (2016) and Joana Craveiro (2016).¹¹⁴

Contemporary Portuguese Performance on Memory and History

My investigation of memories of the Portuguese Dictatorship and Revolution and the resulting performance is one of the first explorations of political memory in Portuguese theatre. Indeed, the issue of memory in the contemporary performance arts in Portugal has not been addressed in urgent and prolific ways, unlike in other post-dictatorial settings, such as Argentina and Chile, where almost since the

¹¹⁴ Pina Coelho (2016) *Sinais de Cena* “Teatro e Memória” [Theatre and Memory]. Série II, N°1. June 2016.

transition to democracy, theatre began immediately to question and address the dictatorial past.¹¹⁵ Although political theatre in Portugal developed strongly in the aftermath of the 25 April revolution, both in professional and amateur groups, that intense process gave way to a time, from the 1980s onwards, when political themes and reflection progressively disappeared from the stages, and theatre and performing arts stopped addressing the memories of the dictatorial past (or the revolution) altogether. In fact, this absence accompanies the struggles for memory I have detailed in the Chapters I and II, and is very much a reflection of the absence of official politics of memory and of the progressive revisionisms concerning the dictatorship and the revolution that Loff thoroughly addresses in his article (2015), accompanied by the practice of restorative silence intended on promoting supposed reconciliation (as mentioned in page 37, in quoting former Prime Minister and President of the Republic, Mário Soares). More generally, this absence also reflects how the extent of Portuguese society's indifference and disinterest towards these themes has prevented them from being performed and interrogated through artistic works. This is not exclusive to the performing arts. In a personal interview, film director Sérgio Tréfaut gave me an account of how he tried to organise an exhibition in the early 1990s featuring documentary material concerning the revolution, namely photographs from foreign journalists and reporters who had covered the revolution and whose documentation was deposited in archives outside of Portugal, which he now proposed to compile. He was advised by a left-wing politician not to proceed with the exhibition, as it was “not a favourable moment”.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ See Werth (2010); López (2015); Ros (2012).

¹¹⁶ Sérgio Tréfaut (2012) Interviewed by Craveiro, J., 22 November, Lisbon. Tréfaut directed a documentary featuring this material he had compiled in the early 1990's: *Another Country* (1999). I give this account in part six of *A Living Museum*, entitled, “When did the revolution end?”

Commenting on what he perceives as the key role that the performance *A Living Museum* plays in addressing memory and history on stage, Tiago Bartolomeu Costa notes the absence of other works on Portuguese political memory,

There are few examples in contemporary Portuguese theatre, and even fewer in the generation who has not experienced it – although also not from the generation which experienced it – on how to deal with memory and the past. That is, there are few examples on how to deal with memory and how to think of theatre as an evocative space of that memory. Better still, a space where the invocation rescued memory from the archive turning it into, or projecting it into the present, moulding it, reflecting upon it, helping it construct itself in a less solitary, instantaneous and hopeless way (Bartolomeu Costa, 2015).

The “few examples” that Bartolomeu Costa refers to, and that I will address here, are part of what I perceive as a shift that has gradually been felt in Portuguese performing arts – from roughly the year 2000 onwards – as well as in cinema, and also in academia, where many postmemory artists and scholars are now directly addressing more or less problematic subjects of Portugal’s recent history.¹¹⁷ In the performance arts several performances have recently stood out as part of a kind of memory revival, sometimes as historical re-enactment, as in the case of a set of testimonies of formerly imprisoned and tortured women during the dictatorship,¹¹⁸ or

¹¹⁷ Cláudia Madeira also addresses this, extending it to visual arts (2015).

¹¹⁸ Joana Brandão (2013), *Coragem Hoje, Abraços Amanhã*.

the trial of the former historical leader of the Communist Party, Álvaro Cunhal.¹¹⁹ In a country that deals in a deficient way with its legacies of oppression, its colonial past and colonial war and also its conflicting memories of the revolution, these plays and artists reflect upon parts of the problematic issues my own performance addresses. The 40th anniversary of the revolution was an important date in the production of some of these works, while others were developed prior to that commemoration, also in relation to the “revolutionary scripts” (Madeira, 2015) created in protest and resistance to the government of Pedro Passos Coelho/ Paulo Portas (2011-2015).

Concerning the colonial past and its imagery, Luis Castro, himself born in Mozambique, composed the trilogy *Moça+Amor* (Elo, Ral, Mur, 1999), where he addressed his own memories of the Portuguese Diaspora. The Colonial War was directly addressed in the theatre play *Às Vezes Neva em April/ It Sometimes Snows in April* (1997), by João Santos Lopes, directed by João Lourenço for Teatro Aberto, in Lisbon. More recently, memories of the Colonial War were the departing point for Fernando Giesta’s *O que é que o teu pai não te contou da Guerra?/ What Did Your Father Not Tell You About the War?* (2014), directed by Rogério de Carvalho for the company Amarelo Silvestre. On the subject of political prisoners, Marta Freitas has written on the experience of her uncle, the antifascist resistant Carlos Costa, who was imprisoned in Peniche Prison, together with the historical leader of the Communist Party, Álvaro Cunhal, with whom he participated in an emblematic escape in January 1960. Her monologue *Diz-lhes que Não Falarei Nem que me Matem/ Tell Them I will not talk even if they kill me* (2012), which she herself directed, premièred in

¹¹⁹ Rodrigo Francisco and Joaquim Benite (2013) *Um Dia os Réus Serão Vocês*.

April 2012 in the National Theatre of São João, in Porto. In 2013, Joana Brandão composed a monologue, *Coragem Hoje, Abraços Amanhã/ Today Courage, Tomorrow Embraces*, which she also interpreted, from testimonies and letters of women who were former political prisoners during the dictatorship. Also in 2013, the Almada Theatre Company, known for its political engagement and activism, created the performance *Um Dia os Réus Serão Vocês/ One Day You Will be the Defendants*, which gives an account of the defence of Álvaro Cunhal in his trial in May 1950. It is interesting to note that the play was directed by the historical founder of the company Joaquim Benite (deceased that same year) and an active participant in the revolutionary process, and his assistant Rodrigo Francisco (the current artistic director), born after the 25 April 1974 revolution, in a collaboration between memory and postmemory. On the subject of censorship during the New State Dictatorship, Tiago Rodrigues has written and directed the awarded play *Três Dedos Abaixo do Joelho/ Three Fingers Below the Knee* (2012), where he worked from reports of theatre censorship during the dictatorship, which he investigated at the National Archive of Torre do Tombo. Finally, in this list, I would also mention Ana Borralho and João Galante's play (2013), with the ensemble Companhia Maior (Senior Company, comprised of senior actors and dancers), where they have used to some extent the performers' memories on the New State Dictatorship and overtly criticised the former Portuguese government of Pedro Passos Coelho/ Paulo Portas, suggesting a connection between it and the dictatorship expressed in the title of the performance *Estalo Novo/ New Snap*. This title is a play on words that is difficult to translate literally in English, where *Estalo* (snap/punch) and *Estado* (state), are two words that are phonetically very similar in Portuguese.

Addressing different parts of the dictatorial past (but not necessarily dealing with the revolution), these performances can be said to present a partial view of specific events. On the other hand, *A Living Museum* covers a vast number of subjects and events, and that is what is clearly distinctive in comparison to these other works. Also, I am not aiming for a historical re-enactment of the events, in a strict sense, as some of these performances do. The result, in the case of my performance, is an overall portrait of several epochs, marked by significant and fracturing events, through multiple political voices within the left. It is just as Bartolomeu Costa notes, in comparing *A Living Museum* with the above-mentioned performances,¹²⁰

The big difference of *A Living Museum* resides precisely in what its structure progressively reveals to the spectator of what the country has learnt with itself, in the bitterness first, then in the revelry of the days. The clandestine meetings, the unjustified imprisonments, the migration, the colonial war, the night of 24-25 April, the days that followed, the SAAL¹²¹ operations, the workers commissions, the returnee and those who had never been here before and for whom there is no name – all the country exposed to the microscope of affective memory, divided as it was – and still most certainly is – between the understanding of what happened and the awareness of what was left to do (Bartolomeu Costa, 2015).

¹²⁰ With the exception of Borralho and Galante's performance, and also of João Santos Lopes' play, which I have added here in my analysis.

¹²¹ See page 90, footnote 89 for a description of the SAAL project (Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local lit. Local Ambulatory Support Service).

Furthermore, the plays mentioned also do not address nor interrogate directly the historiographic production concerning these historical events, nor issues of transitional justice and the absence of reparation to victims of state repression. Moreover, none of them makes a concrete reflection upon how these events are remembered today – they *evoke* the events, rather than *problematise* them and their transmission. *A Living Museum* however, starts with the reconstructive and autobiographical quest of “knowing what remains in me of those times”, so that I can “know who I am”, as I state in the beginning of the performance. And it is within this autobiographical frame that it sets out to investigate the origins and unfolding of the dictatorial regime, to the revolutionary coup of 25 April 1974 and the subsequent revolutionary process, up to the recent commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the revolution, in 2014. The autobiographical frame – which is key to *A Living Museum* – is not established by any of the performances mentioned, with the exception of Borralho and Galantes’ *Estalo Novo*, where there are accounts of the performers’ memories during the New State Dictatorship. My research, however, grounded in the postmemory approach, is unparalleled in the artistic production in Portugal. Also in terms of the duration of the performance and depth of research, it has a more accurate parallel in works like Laurie Anderson’s epic monologue *United States* (1980), “a seven-hour ‘performance portrait of the country’ which combined stories, song, slide projections, film [...]” (Carlson, 2006: 128; see also Paterson, 2015). The reviews of *A Living Museum* invariably mention the duration of the performance, but normally to highlight how it did not seem a long performance at all, also noting that the duration was important to accomplish the project of addressing 90 years of history. For example, Marta Lança writes, “The performances are four

hours long; they go by in an instant” (2016); and Jorge Louraço Figueira notes that the performance “could be gladly taken all night long” (2014). Gustavo Vicente, in turn, writes about how the four-and-a-half hours is a sample of the actual duration of the performance: the play, according to him, has no ending.

I was ready for the effort of a performance marathon (the program announced four hours and 30 minutes), but seldom has a show seemed so short. Not because I was taken by a temporary enchantment (although this might have been possible, and there are indeed shows that are good as long as they last), but because it really made me recognise an urgency that, although an integral part of me, goes beyond my existence and points out to numberless possible futures. *A Living Museum* is a performance without an end; it leaves open a path that only we (spectators) can continue (Vicente, 2016: 219).

Moreover, *A Living Museum* is part of a PhD thesis – I know of no other performance that is part of a PhD thesis in Portugal¹²² – and, in that context, contributes both to the concrete production of academic knowledge through the arts, and to producing an artistic object which has been acknowledged as important and original. In his article, Vicente also stresses the importance of the PhD research undertaken by means of this performance, stating,

¹²² Performer André Amálio has recently started his PhD Practice-as-Research at Roehampton University, whereby he proposes to create, likewise, a performance (this is still in progress). In the visual arts, film-director José Filipe Costa has pursued his Practice-as-Research PhD at the Royal College of Arts, where he directed the documentary *Red Line*, a reflection upon the making of the 1976 documentary *Torre Bela*, by Thomas Harlan, on the occupation of the estate Torre Bela, in central Portugal by rural workers, setting an emblematic commune. The film, following completion of his PhD conclusion, was released in 2011 by Terratrema Films.

The final outcome of that [PhD] research is this *Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*, but that would be of no interest to this article if not for the epistemological resonance that contaminates the performance – where knowledge and the way we apprehend it are questioned, and a new way of communication with the audience is created. I am referring to the [...] set of performance-lectures [...], a format investigated and adopted by Joana Craveiro as methodology for the transmission of narratives and historical discourses, and which finds in the reception to the performance (I am speaking from my intuition and experience as a spectator) the proof of its efficacy (2016: 221).

Vicente's review introduces here the importance of the performance-lecture mode, which is the basis for the construction of my performance. Again, in terms of this performance format, which enables me to experiment different kinds of intersections between the artistic and the academic voice, my research has no parallel in the current Portuguese artistic production; especially in the unique appropriation it makes of the format and how it is explored throughout the four-and-half hours performance, as I will detail later on this chapter. Tiago Bartolomeu Costa writes that the balance of the *Living Museum* “derives from a surprising management *between the materials and the narratives it calls forth, empowers or sustains*, the narrative is always usefully used [...]” (2015, my emphasis). He acknowledges that, because the performance is part and outcome of a research, the management of the materials was optimised, despite its long duration. Rui Pina Coelho, in turn, has stated that, “This performance [...] is an extraordinary example of contemporary documentary theatre.

In addition, it affected powerfully the way I deal with a theatre performance,” adding, “I cannot stress enough the importance of this performance.” (Pina Coelho, 2015). As Borgdorff argues, “Artistic research in the emphatic sense [...] unites the artistic and the academic in an enterprise that impacts on both domains.” (2011: 44). This is confirmed yet again by Pina Coelho’s remarks when he recognises that “The performance clearly aims to be as rational and historically accurate as possible (Craveiro has clearly undertaken a great amount of research in creating this lecture-performance)” very clearly argues that what he “could *understand* of the performance was overwhelmed by what [he] *felt* during it.” Arguing for an “inarticulable dimension”, which joins the “felt and the understood” – he names it a “fusion” – in the performance’s reception, Pina Coelho’s remarks confirm the dimension upon which the kind of performance-as-research I have developed unfolds, where the embodied and the textual, the archive and the repertoire intersect. The effect upon spectators, which, as Pina Coelho argues, is “neither rational nor objective”, succeeds in breaking through the distance between performer and audience, between critics and performer. Pina Coelho mentions this when he writes,

As a critic, I have no objective distance whatsoever from this performance. I have no option other than being Baudelairean about it. I have no choice but to be partial, political and passionate about the work. As a critic, I feel a passionate urge to defend it, to discuss it, to analyse it as part of my generation’s resistance to historical oblivion (2015).

The issue of generational identification (resonance) with the performance is something several of the reviews address. Some spectators, also, mentioned this identification at the end of the performance. Pina Coelho (2015), as well as Gustavo Vicente (2016), Tiago Bartolomeu Costa (2015), Jorge Louraço Figueira (2014) mention the quest of the generation “after” for historical reconstruction and for questioning the present political circumstances of the country. Through their insights and the audiences responses I could perceive – besides the intergenerational resonance, which I have detailed in several sections of this dissertation – a generational identification. Those who were born in 1974 or shortly before or after, share a kind of obsessional drive towards the revolution and its possibilities, as when Matos Silva writes, “the 25 of April had always been for me an object of curiosity and mystery” (2000: 11). Vicente goes even further, writing,

Having been both born [Craveiro and myself] close to the 25 April 1974, we have inherited the heavy legacy of an older generation [...]. In that historical context, it was always in relation to and in confrontation with that legacy (at times condescending) that we have challenged to define ourselves as citizens [...]. Orphans of a revolution where we were never participants, but of which we were always close to, our generation [...] seems, at last, to be joining the thread of a past that we definitely want to belong to [...] (2016: 222).

Mapping *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*

In this section I will discuss the spatiality of *A Living Museum* and its different sets, as well as giving a brief account of each of the seven performance-lectures, and the prologue and epilogue of the performance. This will be accompanied by the contextualisation of the archives, testimonies and autobiographical accounts from which I have drawn, as well as by any relevant background information. In this way I am aiming for a descriptive in-depth analysis of the performance.

A Living Museum is organised as a set of seven performance-lectures, spanning four and a half hours, with a 45-minute break halfway through. My chosen mode performance-lecture consists in delivering a lecture performatively; that is, it entails expounding a subject through means of performance, recurring, for example, to bodily re-enactment, video projection of documentation, or playing of audio recordings, with the performer assuming a persona which is normally close to herself (or an extension of herself). The performance-lecture is, therefore, often autobiographical. Going beyond the journalist piece or reportage, the performance-lecture is what Maaike Bleeker terms “an alternative mode of producing knowledge” and “of theorizing images” (Bleeker, 2012: 188). Re-enactment of knowledge is clearly made visible in the set I have designed for this performance: two main desks centre stage, where a video camera directly plugged to the video projector is installed. The two first performance-lectures take place almost exclusively at these central desks, being interrupted by some accounts where I come closer to the audience, using other spaces, which I have called “micro-sets”. In them, parts of the main narrative are performed, as in the case of the Colonial War micro-set,

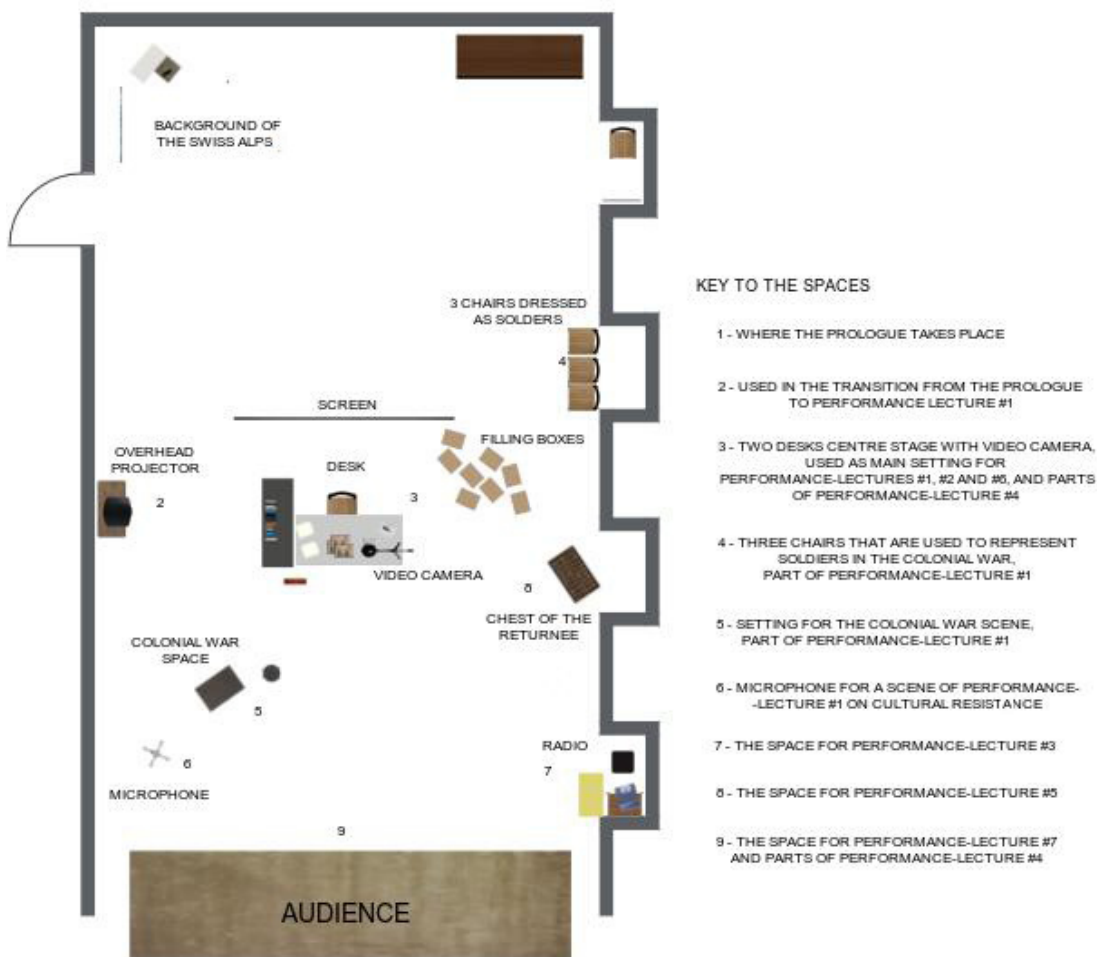
comprised of a turntable, a small chair and a wooden box with miniature soldiers. Some of the micro-sets allow for a different quality in the performance of the testimonies – as in the Colonial War scene, where I convey in a realistic manner the exact words of Carlos N., the former commander of a battalion in the war in Guinea, in 1967. In the case of this “Colonial War Parenthesis”, as I have named it, although aiming for a realistic re-enactment of some of the episodes described by Carlos N. – as I the description of the attack by the forces of General Nino Vieira, shortly after Carlos had arrived in Guinea – I have nonetheless retained non-realistic elements, like the chairs I use to represent the different soldiers in Carlos’ accounts.

In other micro-sets, like the radio corner, where the third performance-lecture “Broken Portuguese” takes place, I use a performance device that contrasts with the formal classroom setting of the main desk and chair. This also produces a different tone in my performance: the red lights create an ambience of intimacy, as my voice becomes lower and softer, while I tell accounts of the 25 April coup almost strictly from the point of view of radio communications during that night.

Cardboard boxes, lamps and old furniture complete the set, which resembles an old study/attic and, at points, a living room. These are spaces where traditionally stories are kept (attics) or told (living room), representing also the fusion between personal and communal life, and a bridging of the academic and the personal/autobiographical. This is additionally expressed in the books piled in cardboard boxes which resemble those used by archivists and librarians, and from which I extract many of the documents that I film and display in the video projection, placed here in a set retaining elements of a private house – like a drawer, old chairs, lamps and a carpet. The set, therefore, presents constantly elements of different

spheres: the private and personal, on the one hand; and the institutional and the official, on the other, as a representation of the juxtaposition of information and interpretations my research proposes.

A sketch of the performance space below is based on the venue *Negócio/ZDB* in Lisbon, where the full version of *A Living Museum* was premièred in November 2014,



Key to the Performance-lectures:

0- Prologue

#1 – Small Acts of Resistance

#2 – Invisible Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship

#3 – Broken Portuguese

#4 – Fragments of a Revolutionary Process

#5 – Taken by Surprise

#6 – When did the Revolution End?

#7 – Memory/Postmemory

Epilogue – The post-performance debate

The main set – similar to a classroom – re-enacts what Jon McKenzie in his concept of “lecture machine” (2001) has termed the *lectern* symbolising the relationship between knowledge and power. This classroom set – with traditional symbols of research and knowledge such as a desktop, a lamp and a microphone – succeeds, according to McKenzie, in “separating the one presumed to know and thus empowered to speak the truth from those presumed not to know and thus empowered to seek the truth” (2001: 21). In fact, the lecture mode is characteristic of the educational ethos; it is a “popular and powerful pedagogical performance” (2001: 21). The performance-lecture in the context of my work creates the illusion of history lessons being taught; an illusion, however, countered in my performance by the constant doubts and interrogations that I voice, which stem from the basic assumption that no one really knows exactly what happened. This, combined with concrete interrogations concerning the official politics of memory in Portugal and the absence of inscription of memories of the dictatorship and the revolution in the public space, as well as highlighting history as essentially a subjective matter, prone to manipulation, erasures and revisions, deconstructs the concept of a “lesson” itself, problematising more than offering clear-cut conclusions and assumptions. Robin Nelson argues that “research inquiry” would be a more adequate term in a practice-

led-research rather than “research questions”, for “...PaR [practice-as-research] typically affords substantial insights rather than coming to such definitive conclusions as to constitute ‘answers’” (2013: 30). Negotiating between versions and revisions, my research does not set out to establish one sole truth or one main version and, therefore, it lays bare the contradictions of official and private history rather than solving them. Spectators find their own role in the events I portray and correct what they feel needs be corrected from *their* point of view, in the post-performance debates, openly expressing their agreement or disagreement or adding new information to what I have expounded. In that sense, the performance democratises knowledge and shares it in very similar ways to the debates implemented during the revolutionary process in Portugal, where popular assemblies provided an open forum for expressing different views and opinions and heatedly discussing every subject.¹²³ Many of the testimonies I have collected confirm these kinds of engaged discussions, which are also depicted in films such as *Torrebelá* (Harlan, 1976), *Scenes from the Class Struggles in Portugal* (Kramer and Spinelli, 1976) and “*As Armas e o Povo* [The Weapons and the People] (Glauber Rocha et al., 1975).

In terms of the performance-lecture form, my research has developed and experimented with different modes of delivering a performance-lecture, sustained by a strong performance persona that I have named the Archivist. This persona, while giving me the necessary academic frame with which to display the accurate historical research I have conducted, also allows for my personal and emotional relationship with the historical facts to emerge. The performance-lectures I create here, therefore, go beyond just the objective display of knowledge, introducing emotional nuances,

¹²³ For accounts of the popular movements, including popular assemblies and neighbourhood commissions see Downs (1989), Hammond (1988), Ramos Pinto (2013), for example.

parenthesis, comments, interrogations, which create different performative layers in the performance, and, in fact, create different kinds of performance-lectures. Namely, in “Broken Portuguese” a radio program is re-enacted in order to display accounts of the day of the revolution; and, in “Taken by Surprise”, I tell the story of a family of “returnees” from the former Portuguese colonies while sitting on a travel chest like the ones used by those who had to flee from those territories, and mapping out my performance with the images from a photo album of those days which the family has kindly lent me. In “Fragments of a Revolutionary Process” I start by standing up and addressing the spectators directly using a megaphone, which re-enacts a traditional image and action of participative street demonstrations. This is an obvious citation of the PREC period and its engagement, which I then depict through two testimonies, from Jorge R. and Teresa R. In the latter I re-enact the moment of the interview, attempting to convey the situation of our encounter and how each of them told me their story. Finally, in “Memory/Postmemory”, I move closer to the audience in order to create a greater intimacy, as I reflect upon the current relationship of Portuguese society and government towards the memories of the dictatorship and the revolution. These examples of different formats reflect my experiments within the performance-lecture mode, in order to find the more adequate format to convey each of the parts, themes and testimonies. It seemed important, for example, rather than to present a theoretical approach to the PREC, to re-enact some of the enthusiasm that the testimonies convey. This is also my attempt to legitimise different narratives from those disseminated in the public space concerning this period, and the direct quotation of the passion and enthusiasm of the participants was an important element to be conveyed.

Each of the seven parts of the performance is independent and addresses a specific subject in the recent history of Portugal. The dramaturgy of *A Living Museum* is organised chronologically to cover subjects from the Dictatorship (1926-1974) to the recent commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the 25 April revolution (2014). The duration of four-and-a-half hours was a pondered choice, in that the performance is built upon the accumulation of information, unfolding as a mosaic or a puzzle. The exhaustive research, the display of accurate information, the direct quotation from acknowledged authors in parallel with the testimonies and the objects (mementos, letters, artefacts, photographs), follows the reconstructive drive addressed in Chapter I and is sustained by the length of the performance, giving it a sense of a voyage in time and in space. The performance has been conceived as an event, as an experiential artistic object, and the inclusion of a meal halfway through the play is part of that concept. This interval allows for spectators to refresh themselves and prepare for the second-half of the show, as well as creating a space for discussion between audience members themselves in-between the two halves of the performance. For example, in the performance at Chelsea Theatre, on 5 June 2016, historian Pedro Ramos Pinto, who was moderating the post-performance debate, referred back to comments he had exchanged with other spectators during the interval.

The chronological organisation of the performance creates an apparent linear approach, which is nonetheless countered by the fragmented dramaturgy I employ. In fact, the performance is divided into chapters, layered with parentheses, complemented with images, documents, side stories and interrogations, confirming Derek Paget's assertion that, unlike naturalistic theatre, "documentary theatre is a

theatre of interruption” (2011: 229). Throughout the performance, several notebooks containing the dramaturgical structure are displayed (filmed in real time and projected), which add to the symbolism of a lesson, highlighting that, as Bleeker argues, “The artist becomes the new historian, whose notebook preserves mysteries and unresolved patterns that his tools of reason cannot yet decipher” (Bleeker, 2012: 123). The notebooks are indeed a crucial element of the dramaturgy of *A Living Museum*. In them, the titles and subtitles of the performance are displayed, as well as photographs and texts; there are also blank pages symbolising the gaps and the many unanswered questions. The notebooks simultaneously contextualise, connect themes, and symbolise a history manual. However, unlike professional and finished history manuals, these notebooks are handmade and handwritten; some parts are even handwritten live in performance, as a history in the making. Once again, the notion of a more conventional scholarly production (as opposed to a scholarly production in a *performative mode*) is overturned and interrogated by this history – handwritten live in front of witnesses to this process, many of whom have also been participants in the historical moments and events the performance reconstructs. That is why their presence is crucial in witnessing my attempts to produce this performed historiography, in that they can correct them, add to them, question them, and complete them. In *A Living Museum* it is not only I who am engaged in the reconstruction of a national past, but the audience also participates in this effort, demonstrating “the potential of performance for such an investigation” (Bleeker, 2012: 186).

*

From the prologue, which takes place in the back of the venue (or in the foyer, depending upon the architecture of the space), to the epilogue, which is the post-performance debate, the seven parts of this performance unfold as follows:

0 Prologue:

The prologue sets an autobiographical voice (Suleiman, 1996) as well as an intimate one, following what Annette Kuhn described as revisionist autobiography (2000; 2002). Starting with a photograph of me taken in 1980, where a background of the Swiss Alps was used – as was the tradition of the time in this type of school photography – I then quote several autobiographical references to position the story of my family and me in the political spectrum of the left (a left comprised of different lefts and not without contradictions), using irony and humour, to underline my postmemory gaze towards the dictatorship and the revolution, and describing some of my memories of the post-revolutionary period. Upon its conclusion, audience members are escorted to their seats to the sound of the anthem of the “Portuguese Youth”,¹²⁴ followed by one of Oliveira Salazar’s speeches in response to a demonstration of the Armed Forces supporting the Colonial War and the Portuguese colonial policies, on 27 August 1963, at the Parliament (Salazar, 1963).¹²⁵ While the speech is playing, I display Alexandre O’Neill’s poem “Fear Will Have Everything” (1960) on an overhead projector, a poem describing the fear that the regime instigated. After the intimacy of the prologue, this moment situates historically the performance-lecture that is about to commence.

¹²⁴ The anthem can be listened to here, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3sXr37z-snI> (last accessed 25/11/2015). See Chapter II for more on this youth organisation.

¹²⁵ The full recording of the speech can be found here, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-6xN62tyi-Q> (Last accessed: 3/04/2016).

1) “Small Acts of Resistance”:

This first performance-lecture serves as an introduction to the ideological framework of the New State Dictatorship, focusing specifically on censorship of the media and the arts, illustrating the accounts I have collected that describe the dictatorship as a time of darkness, poverty, illiteracy and conservative values. By depicting this general state of fear and oppression, I aimed to investigate not acts of overt resistance to the regime, such as the ones engendered by organised political groups, but rather what James Scott has named “hidden acts of resistance” that “prudently avoided any irrevocable acts of public defiance” (1990: 17), and for which Scott considers a “hidden transcript” is established.¹²⁶ Of course all forms of resistance and political struggle were repressed, so, in a sense, we cannot really talk about “open resistance” in terms of open demonstrations, rebellion, strikes, etc. But, even if forbidden, strikes and demonstrations were nonetheless organised by clandestine parties and movements. And it is these organised forms of political resistance, even if clandestine, that I consider “open”, and which have been largely investigated, notably by Raby (1988) and more recently Pimentel (2014). In the performance I make this distinction between a form of open resistance and invisible forms of daily resistance, following Scott’s concepts of a “hidden transcript” (1990; 1985). In their daily lives, many anonymous citizens were not supporters of the regime, resisting it in invisible and small ways, such as the purchase and reading of forbidden books, which can fall in the category of hidden forms of resistance. This performance-lecture also focuses on other levels of cultural resistance, such as the

¹²⁶ Scott defines these “hidden scripts”: “Every subordinate group creates out of his ordeal, a ‘hidden transcript’ that represents a critique of power spoken behind the back of the dominant” (1990: xii).

cultural cooperatives and associations, which flourished mainly in the last period of the regime, under Marcello Caetano's lead, following Salazar's death (Samara, 2014; Bebiano, 2003).

As part of my investigation for this section, I interviewed the bookseller José Ribeiro, owner of a former resistance bookshop in Lisbon – Ulmeiro – and whose testimony is one of the key elements of this performance-lecture. It is through Ribeiro's testimony that I make the connection to the Colonial War, through the fact that he was the editor, in 1976, of the emblematic *Massacres in the Colonial War*, by José Amaro, which compiled official documents concerning operations held in Mozambique during the Portuguese Colonial War (1961-1974). In this book the violence of the Portuguese troops against villagers in the area of Mozambique named Tete is denounced. The fact that Ribeiro was sued for the publication of this book in the aftermath of the revolution – in 1976 – led me to question the relationship of the Portuguese state towards the memory of the Colonial War, and the silence that still surrounds this 13-year conflict. In what I called a parenthesis in the performance (one of the documentary “interruptions” theorised by Derek Paget), I introduce the Colonial War through a set of letters (named “aerogrammes”) from a soldier who fought in Mozambique, as well as through the testimony of a former commandant in the Guinea front of the Colonial War, Carlos N., who states, “war is something essentially bad,” arguing that there need not be a massacre in order to label a war as “evil”.¹²⁷

2) “Invisible Archives of the Portuguese Dictatorship”:

¹²⁷ Carlos N., (2014) Interviewed by Craveiro, J., 10 October 2014.

Following the idea of repression as an invisible, insidious force (Madeira, Pimentel and Farinha, 2007), this second performance-lecture focuses on state repression, namely, by the Political Police (PIDE). By using the expression ‘Invisible Archives’, I refer to the methods of erasing this violence from public awareness during and after the dictatorship, an example of which is the absence of memorial inscription in the former headquarters of the Political Police in Lisbon (see page 30), which this performance-lecture addresses directly in its latter part, together with a reflection upon the lack of transitional justice.

This second performance-lecture draws on written and published testimonies of former political prisoners and the torture they underwent, focusing upon three key figures: Francisco Martins Rodrigues, Aurora Rodrigues and António Ribeiro Santos. The first was a former dissident of the Communist Party, who founded the first Pro-Chinese (Maoist) group in Portugal and was arrested for the last time in 1968 and brutally tortured (see Cardina, 2013 and 2011). He was unable to withstand the torture he was subjected to and gave away information to the police. Through his story I address the subject of the prisoners who denounced others to the political police, under torture, which is still a complex and problematic theme, (Chapter II: 66-67).¹²⁸ Aurora Rodrigues was a former militant of the Maoist party MRPP¹²⁹, who was arrested in 1972 and withstood 16 days of sleep deprivation torture. Aurora was not a high-profile politician, just a militant of that particular party. She still cannot

¹²⁸ See also the five long articles about giving away information to the police, published in a blog on memory, by Diana Andringa (2009), journalist and former political prisoner, https://caminhosdamemoria.files.wordpress.com/2009/01/falar_dandringa1.pdf (Last accessed: 3/04/2016).

¹²⁹ MRPP (Movimento Reorganizativo do Partido do Proletariado. Lit. Reorganizing Movement of the Party of the Proletariat): Originally created in September 1970, a party of Maoist inspiration, set against the ideological line pursued by Portuguese Communist Party, which the MRPP believed was a revisionist party that needed “reorganizing.”

understand why she was subjected to such brutal methods, as, according to her, she did not have privileged information to offer to the political police. The publication of her testimony in 2011 was an important act of rendering visible an invisible memory, and challenging the pre-eminence of the memories of political and military protagonists. Significantly, Aurora Rodrigues has entitled her book: *Common People: A Story at the PIDE* [*Gente Comum: Uma História na PIDE*], (Rodrigues, 2011). There are undoubtedly many others whose story is similar to Rodrigues' but whose voices have not yet found the necessary amplification to make it to the public sphere. The third and also important memory this performance-lecture addresses is that of the death of the student António Ribeiro Santos, also an MRPP militant (and friend of Aurora Rodrigues). A PIDE agent killed him when he was leaving a meeting at a university in Lisbon, and he became a symbol of the struggle against repression. His funeral, held on 14 October 1972, was attended by over 3,000 people as a sign of protest and open defiance of the regime. The police quelled the demonstration and took the coffin up to the cemetery, closing the gates so that no one could enter. Despite being an MRPP activist, Ribeiro Santos became a symbol to other political and resistance movements as well. His funeral was attended by resistance activists from across the political spectrums amongst whom was my father and Teresa R., who told me her account of that day. My mother attended a demonstration two days after Ribeiro Santos's funeral, and that account becomes the departure point for my address in the performance of the political activities of my mother, before and after the revolution, and also of my own political upbringing through the many Chinese books (Maoist) that I used to read as a child.

3) “Broken Portuguese”:

This performance-lecture was written as a radio program, focusing on memories of the crucial role that communications – mainly via radio– played in the unfolding of the 25 April 1974 revolutionary coup. The coup was carefully planned and led by captains of the armed forces. The military were informed of the operation’s progress via radio signals in the form of specific songs which remain symbols of the revolutionary coup. José Afonso’s “Grândola Vila Morena”, for example, is still often sung symbolically today with emotion and as a sign of protest¹³⁰. This performance also acknowledges the recent efforts by reporters Adelino Gomes and Alfredo Cunha to find some of the military from the so-called ‘defeated’ side, namely the soldiers who were taking orders from a brigadier supporter of the regime, who almost succeeded in putting a stop to the rebellious coup. In their book *Os Rapazes dos Tanques [The Boys from the Tanks]* (2014), Gomes and Cunha successfully trace the young soldier who refused to fire against captain Salgueiro Maia, the operational captain in the field who was conducting the takeover of several strategic targets. Disobeying the orders of his brigadier, this man did not shoot, but he wasn’t pro-coup either. He simply, according to his own testimony, was unable to shoot an unarmed man walking in his direction.¹³¹ For 39 years, this man’s identity remained unknown, together with the motivation behind his actions. This performance-lecture mentions this recent ‘discovery,’ proving that even the official (or, more visible) history is prone to additions and augmentations. In this case,

¹³⁰ During the former PSD/CDS-PP government (2011-2015) several incidents occurred, where speeches by Passos Coelho and other members of his government were interrupted by demonstrators singing this song. For example, (TSF Radio) <http://www.tsf.pt/portugal/politica/interior/passos-coelho-interrompido-pela-grandola-vila-morena-3054978.html> (Last accessed: 29/06/2016).

¹³¹ See Adelino Gomes’ article, available at: <https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/ou-da-fogo-ou-meto-lhe-um-tiro-na-cabeca-1629510> (Last accessed: 16/04/2016).

Gomes and Cunha acted as “memory entrepreneurs” (Jelin, 2003), searching for a missing link of an account, a man who had remained an undiscovered yet important protagonist of that day.

4) “Fragments of a Revolutionary Process”:

The 25 April military coup turned into an “attempted revolution” where “ordinary people challenged the social order forcefully” (Hammond, 1988: 3). Named the Ongoing Revolutionary Process (PREC), this popular movement, which surprised even the military who carried out the coup d’état, has been subjected to various ideological interpretations. It is generally considered that the PREC ended with the first democratic elections in April 1976, following the approval of the National Constitution. Other chronological interpretations place the end of the PREC in the 25 November 1975 moderate counter-coup, to which I refer in detail in the sixth performance-lecture. But, despite the historiographic interpretation, each person has his or her landmark event or episode, which signals the sensation that an extraordinary time has ended.

In my research I came across many testimonies which point to the fact that the PREC might have been truly a time of effective change in people’s lives through the direct and concrete actions of ordinary citizens people who organised themselves – some according to political affiliations, others despite them. Jorge R. and Teresa R.’s testimonies, each part of a different political movement, open this performance-lecture. A common thread of excitement, hope and utopia runs throughout these testimonies, and the revolutionary period is commonly described by them as a “celebration”, a “party”, or a joyful and happy time. Performed after the dinner break

– which is tactically placed to mark the passing from dictatorial regime to the revolutionary period – this performance-lecture analyses these memories, attempting to convey the excitement of the revolutionary process. The audience is invited to participate in a popular assembly and vote, followed by the performance of selected testimonies, culminating with Phil Mailer’s vivid description of his attempt to paint a mural in Portuguese despite not knowing how to spell the word “revolution”.¹³² I then exit to change costumes, while the emblematic song “A Cantiga é uma Arma” [“The Song is a Weapon”] by GAC¹³³ is playing.

5) “Taken by Surprise – the Story of a Family”:

I return from backstage to interrupt the song abruptly with the sentence “In the middle of the celebration, *this* happened”, while displaying in my desk (and filming and screening) several photographs of the exodus of thousands of Portuguese from the now former colonies, following the Decolonisation Process initiated shortly after the 25 April 1974. This interruption makes a transition to the next performance-lecture, and in it I also give a brief account of the historical background of Portuguese colonialism, the wars for independence in the African colonies, and the progressive independence of other African countries during the 1960s, a process

¹³² Mailer writes: “I meet M, depressed as hell by her colleagues. We burst into discussion and talk of our feelings since we last met. We mention groups, actions, people we’d often spoke to. We go to an old tasca which had been a Marxist-leninist student haunt. It’s past midnight, but no one is where they should be. We hope they’re out doing things, preparing banners, working with groups. We feel helpless. It seems ridiculous for two foreigners to try anything on their own. We get slightly drunk. Our depression becomes impatience and anger and we go out and write on the walls ourselves. We decide on the standard slogan ‘Down with the colonial war’ but finally add some graffiti, made up on the spur of the moment. We do it for ourselves, because of our own helplessness, because of our desire to be a part of the great movement already under way. And we feel good. People pass and give us the clenched fist salute. But we are also afraid. I am writing a large slogan. Halfway through I panic and shout at M ‘How do you spell revolution in Portuguese?’ M laughs loudly, her joy very real” (Mailer, 1977: 59).

¹³³ GAC – *Grupo de Acção Cultural – Vozes na Luta / Cultural Action Group – Voices in the Struggle*, comprised several musicians – like José Mário Branco – linked by revolutionary engagement, through political songs and cultural actions. The group launched its first single in 1975 and continued editing music as a group until 1978.

neither accompanied nor supported by the Portuguese regime. Acknowledging the complexity surrounding the theme of the nearly 500,000 Portuguese who had to return from the former colonies, being branded “returnee” – a derogatory term that did not, however, express the full complexity of their status (some of them today still consider themselves *refugees* or *exiled*) – I state the importance of addressing the theme in the performance, and I propose to do it from the point of view of a family. By choosing Family A.’s testimony I deliberately narrow the focus of the performance, in an attempt to humanise the story of these people. The returnees have often been treated as a homogenous group: “reactionary”, “conservative”, “pro-regime” and “racist”. Not wanting to avoid the more problematic issues arising from the theme, the choice of Family A. was precisely due to the fact that they portray the political complexity of the theme – some of them displaying anti-communist and racist discourses, while others confessing to having been supporters of the independence of the colonies and pro-MPLA, an Angolan political movement with historically strong ties to the Soviet Union and the Portuguese Communist Party. Nostalgic narratives of a lost land and community (Andersen, 2006; Boym, 2001) also characterise some of the accounts within the family, where in other accounts the traumatic memories of the transition and the difficult civil war, which worsened in Angola as a direct result of the independence process, are more vivid than the idealised recalls. The performance details aspects of their lives in Angola before and after independence, the difficult return to Portugal in 1975, and the difficult integration into the “metropolis”, as mainland Portugal was named by the inhabitants of the former colonies. On the whole, the story of Family A. depicts the decolonisation as an extremely complex topic, subject to different positions within

families themselves, where the “returnee” cannot be treated as a homogeneous group that shares identical values.

6) “When did the Revolution End?”

This section presents and questions several theories and beliefs regarding the end of the revolutionary process of 1974-75. The radicalisation of all parties, political forces and civil society during this period, gave rise to an increasing instability that led to the 25 November 1975 coup. In the years following this coup to the present day, there has been a progressive revision of the meaning of the events that took place during the revolutionary process and of the 25 April revolution itself. The performance-lecture raises a question mark as to what really happened back then, leading into the next performance-lecture, which deals directly with our relationship to these events today. It is also in this performance-lecture that I explore many of my postmemory accounts, giving my personal version of I felt the revolution ended, “my own process of sensing the end of the revolution”, as I state in the performance.

7) “Memory/Postmemory”:

This last performance-lecture questions how the Portuguese revolution is commemorated today and what features are obliterated from that commemoration. The public space has had certain memories erased, like the political murals that used to cover Lisbon’s walls. Following the recent official and unofficial commemorations of the 40th anniversary of the 25 April revolution (in April 2014),

this performance displays some of the contradictions that are still apparent in the relation of the Portuguese towards these events, and leaves an invitation to the audience: for a joint effort at the reconstruction of recent Portuguese history, in order for everyone to be more aware of how they came to be where they are now, confirming Borgdorff's claim that "Art's epistemic character resides in its ability to offer the very reflection on who we are, on where we stand, that is obscured from the sight by the discursive and conceptual procedures of scientific rationality" (2011: 50).

Epilogue: the post-performance debate:

This moment of discussion is the epilogue to the performance, creating an important moment of exchange between spectators and the performer, mediated by an invited scholar, artist or journalist.¹³⁴ The debate has been an especially emotive space for the voicing of personal accounts and remembrances, and the presence of some of the interviewees, or of people mentioned in the performance, has rendered it a moment of "live history", where the versions and narratives presented in the performance are legitimised and even completed by further accounts – this was the case with Aurora Rodrigues, Carlos N., Teresa R., Joaquim Furtado and Adelino Gomes.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ Irene Pimentel, Miguel Cardina and Ângela Ferreira (historians); Rui Pina Coelho and Jorge Loureiro Figueira (theatre critics); Cláudia Galhós (dance critics); Fernanda Maio (contemporary art theorist); Paula Godinho (anthropologist); Maria Gil (director and performer); José Alberto Ferreira (theatre scholar); Pablo Fidalgo Lareo (director of *Escenas de Câmbio*); Pedro Ramos Pinto (historian).

¹³⁵ I have referred extensively to the exchanges with Rodrigues, Carlos N. and Teresa R. in this dissertation and also in Craveiro (2016a). Adelino Gomes and Joaquim Furtado, two very important Portuguese journalists, and closely linked to the 25 April Coup – their voices are part of the performance-lecture "Broken Portuguese" – attended the première of the performance on 13 November 2014, sharing personal accounts in the after-performance debate (I have analysed this in Craveiro 2016a).

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The performance works as a journey, interrupted only by an interval for a light meal and refreshments, two-and-a-half hours into the show, which interrupts the performance at the exact chronological moment of the 25 April 1974 coup, signalling that moment as a historical rupture. The first part of the performance takes place “before” the revolution, and the second part “after”.

Transitions between the performance-lectures are accomplished through sound features (extracts from speeches by Oliveira Salazar, in the first half of the performance, and political songs in the second half), projected quotes and costume changes, as well as my circulation between the different micro-sets. The lighting design also underlines these transitions, through the use of fades, and I use one recurring sentence to mark the transition between each part: “This investigation continues, in order to render the invisible visible.” This sentence – echoing Trouillot’s assertion, quoted before, that “History is the fruit of power [...]. The ultimate mark of power may be its invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots” (1995: xix) – captures the idea of the struggles for memory, and of the effort required not only to shed light upon conflicting events, but also to break through silences that have installed themselves on the fringes of the historical narratives of the Portuguese dictatorship and revolution, leaving many of us existing at the mercy of accounts that are obviously omitting parts of the whole – complex, rich, in-depth – picture. If, as Trouillot also claims, “any historical narrative is a particular bundle of silences, the result of a unique process, and the operation

required to deconstruct these silences will vary accordingly” (1995: 27), I have found performance to be an efficacious and unique means in that deconstruction.

The Performative turn and the Performance-Lecture Mode

A Living Museum uses performance as a concrete means of research, following what has been described as the “performative turn” (Bleeker, 2012; Fischer-Lichte, 2014), which, as Bleeker argues, “invites a reconsideration of the relationships and differences between artistic and academic methods of doing research” (Bleeker, 2012: 188). Expanding on the “performative turn in the arts”, Fischer-Lichte traces its origins to the 1960s, when “a radical performatization of the arts” occurred, “in which artists began to bring forth their ‘works’ as ‘events’ and thus as performances” (Fischer-Lichte, 2014: 147). Stressing the characteristic of performance as an event to be experienced live, where presence is essential, and blurring the frontiers between art and life (Kaprow, 2003), the “performative turn” also inscribed a new relationship between artists and spectators, where interaction assumed new shapes and the concept of *participation* became inseparable from the performatic experience (see Carlson, 2006; Fischer-Lichte 2014; Bishop, 2006).

In academic research, the “performative turn”, inscribed in the wider “practice turn” (Kershaw, 2009a; Borgdorff, 2011), has propelled a reconsideration of the relationship between practice and research, between embodied and textual knowledge, “placing creativity at the heart of research” (Kershaw, 2009a: 105). In this PhD thesis, accordingly, I have developed a process-oriented research, through consistently producing performances from the fieldwork I was conducting and the

materials I was generating through that research. This process was actualised by participating in academic conferences throughout my research period (2012-15),¹³⁶ which propelled me to synthesise my research questions and findings into a set of performance-lectures that became the main practice body of my research, and whose compilation is the four-and-a-half hour performance *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories*. The mode of performance-lecture is sometimes referred to as lecture-performances (Bleeker, 2012; Milder, 2011). I choose to use “performance-lecture” in order to highlight the performative aspect of the conference/lecture. Regarding this, Bélen Cerezo (2016) also opted for the same wording, arguing that

within the scant bibliography in English on this notion we find the terms ‘performance-lecture’, ‘lecture-performance’, and also ‘performative lecture’ and the distinction between them is unclear. This diverse terminology also indicates that what constitutes this form is still open. Indeed, it could be argued that the notion of the performance-lecture hasn’t been ‘pigeonholed’, and this openness, in the sense of lack of definition, might be one of the most important features (2016: 2).

The performance-lecture emerged as the key format that I used in presenting my research results in the conferences mentioned above. In them, I used real objects and devices which became part of *A Living Museum*’s mise-en-scène: real time video and the display of original documents, as well as playing old records from a turntable,

¹³⁶ See page 24, footnote 10, for a list of the conferences in which I participated. These were mainly conferences on cultural studies, memory studies, history, oral history and performance studies throughout the years 2012 to 2015.

using a precise dress code – black and semi-formal – and a performance persona that resembled an archivist or documentarist. The format and devices that became the artistic crux of *A Living Museum* were, thus, developed at the core of the academy. Fellow panelists in these conferences generally presented academic papers using devices common to this kind of academic presentation (PowerPoint, for example, or simply reading from a printed text). Our themes were very often similar – the struggles for memory or oral history methodologies and my work did not seem out of place. The discussions following my presentations, however, would often focus more on its format than its content, which was disappointing for me, but visibly engaging for the participants – mostly historians – interested as they were in finding new ways of presenting the results of their own research. Through these experiences I realised the academic and the artistic are often still two separate worlds, even if practice-as-research has now become an important methodology of investigation. I understood how the performance-lecture mode, specifically, could mediate between the two apparently separate worlds of academic and artistic research – especially because many of these conferences were strictly academic. The key was the *performance* of knowledge. Breaking through the binary of the academic research versus the embodied research, performance-lecture takes knowledge and *performs it*, and, through using signs traditionally associated with academia, deconstructs the idea of teaching and learning, by placing an artist as the conductor of the “lesson.” The performance-lecture mode is a concrete means by which the performer places himself or herself in a position of power (being a position of displaying knowledge, following Mackenzie, 2001) in the distribution of the sensible (Rancière, 2011). In itself, performance-lecture questions this distribution, recognising, as Marvin

Carlson argues, that “the performance of scholarly research and writing is by no means the innocent and transparent process it may seem” (2006: 207). He is referring here to the growing awareness amongst cultural critics such as James Clifford, Clifford Greertz and Dwight Conquergood concerning “what used to be regarded as academic objectivity and neutrality” (Carlson, 2006: 207). Conquergood, indeed, argues for the performance being a means of displaying research results stating that “‘Performance as a Form of Scholarly Representation’ challenges the domination of textualism” (1991: 190).

Likewise, the questioning of art itself, its context and performance, is at the core of the historical development of the performance-lecture mode, developed from the 1960s onwards as part of the performance art movement. Performance-lectures started out as artistic discourses about art itself performed by artists – like Joseph Beuys, who enacted a lecture on art to a dead hare in *How to Explain Pictures to a Dead Hare* (1969) – where he covered his head with honey and leaves, and whispered in the dead hare’s ear explanations and theories about his own works of art, which were incidentally exhibited in an adjacent room; or Robert Morris, who lip-synched the voice of art historian Erwin Panofsky in *21.3* (1964), considered by some authors the inaugural performance-lecture (cf. Cerezo, 2016). Together with artists like Dan Graham, Andrea Frazer, Chris Burden, Yvonne Rainer and Robert Smithson (cf. Milder (2011), Ladnar (2103), Goldberg (1988)), they had in common the fact that they placed the discourse about art at the centre of the artistic action – deriving in the the performance-lecture mode –, which “blurred the lines separating art from the discourse about art” (Midler, 2011: 13). Throughout the history of performance, many variations on this genre have developed, with a recrudescence

from the 1990s onwards (Bleeker, 2012). Javier Le Roy's 1999 performance *Product of Circumstance* is considered an important landmark in the genre; in it, Le Roy expounds at length about his former work in micro-biology and how he became a performance artist. A simple pulpit from which he tells his story, a video projection of documents concerning his previous scientific research, and a narration interrupted by fragments of movement, are the key elements of this performance-lecture. Jérôme Bel, on the other hand, developed a set of very different performance-lectures whose departing point is the personal history of repertoire dancers, where each of them tells in detail many stories of their training and their experiences, intersecting the narration with demonstrations of parts of choreographies that illustrate the story being told.¹³⁷ In Bell's performance-lectures there is no video projection, just the body of the performer as a living archive.

Lebanese artists Walid Raad and Rabih Mroué, also appropriate the concept of performance-lecture in particular ways, focusing their work on reconstructing Lebanese national history. In works like *Three Posters* (2000), *Looking for a Missing Employee* (2003), or *The Pixilated Revolution* (2012), Rabih Mroué follows a reconstructive drive similar to the one I display in *A Living Museum*, confessing to “have been collecting worthless material for almost 10 years now” (cited in Farr [ed.] 2012: 174). Writing about Mroué's performances, Samer Al-Saber describes the difficulties of depicting them either as “performance art, theatre, plays or lectures”, which illustrates the interdisciplinarity of Mroué's work and which is similar to *A Living Museum*. Al-Saber also highlights Mroué's narrative role, stating “he

¹³⁷ Jérôme Bel's ongoing series on the biography, techniques and repertoire of dancers includes *Véronique Doisneau* (2004), *Pichet Klunchun and myself* (2005) and *Cédric Andrieux* (2009).

amplifies the role of the traditional Arab hakawati [story teller] by lecturing without relying on spectacle”, adding that Mroué,

privileges the personal over the established political history of the civil war. The performance becomes a distilled micro-history, like an unfolding living archive of unanswered questions. This documentary-style investigation normally presupposes that everything reported by the author actually happened in real life; however, Mroué tends to leave his audience wondering whether his reality and theirs are identical (2012).¹³⁸

We find the same interplay between truth and fiction in the work of Walid Raad and the *Atlas Group Project*, where Raad recreates history through creating a series of personas, blurring fact and fiction.¹³⁹ For both artists, the reconstruction of a national past/history is the quest, the systematisation of information in the absence of history and historians, and of documents and proofs.

Despite Portugal’s very different situation and historical background, the relationship with its recent political past (and its omissions) is nonetheless also problematic and *A Living Museum* performs similarly to the works of both artists. Inscription is one of the quests of *A Living Museum* – challenging what I perceive as deliberate attempts to erase it or let it slowly fall into oblivion. In doing it, I seek to

¹³⁸ Al Saber (2012), available at: http://www.ontheboards.org/sites/default/files/rabih_prospectus.pdf (Last accessed: 17/04/ 2016)

¹³⁹ Walid Raad, <http://www.theatlasgroup.org/> (Last accessed: 17/04/2016). For more on the interplay of fact and fiction, performance and non-performance in Raad’s work, see the discussion here (Princeton University) <https://enactedthought.wordpress.com/2016/02/10/walid-raad-performance-lecture/> (accessed 10/01/2017); see also Wilson-Goldie, available at: <http://aperture.org/blog/lecture-performance/> (accessed 10/01/2017). See, for example, Raad’s lecture on May 8 2015 at the Museum of Modern Art in Warsaw, available at: <http://artmuseum.pl/en/doc/video-spotkanie-z-walidem-raadem> (accessed 10/01/2017).

“blur the lines” separating history from the discourse of history, and memory from the discourse of memory, placing at the centre of the performance a constant awareness that I, as the historians I quote and the people I have interviewed, “negotiate between truth and supposition, fact and fiction”, producing “a version of history” (Gale and Featherstone, 2011: 24).

Performance that *Remains*: Thoughts on the Museum and the Archive

In *A Living Museum* I invite a reconsideration of the concepts of museum and archive in relation to performance and its apparent immateriality and ephemerality, as opposed to the materiality of the objects to be kept and preserved in a museum and an archive. The title of the performance - *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories* –, expresses several interrogations, the first of which concerns the nature of a *Living Museum* in this context. There are, indeed, “living museums”; the expression was created to describe museums in which there is a live re-enactment of a specific past, as in the Colonel Williamsburg, “the largest living history museum in the world” (Casey, 2005: 86); but this is not the kind of performance that my *Living Museum* enacts. There is no exact reproduction of the past, not even the exact reproduction, “utterance for utterance” (Deavere Smith, 2012) of the words of the interviewees. Another question arises from my title: how to catalogue and preserve (immaterial) memories? If there are no audio recordings displayed live and the exact reproduction of the words is not the aim, but rather the reproduction of the affective relationship of those people interviewed towards the historical events I am analysing, then who makes sure that immateriality and subjectivity is preserved and *how* (if we

take preservation to be a goal of a museum)? And, finally, why preserve that which is *small* and *unwanted* (if we take a museum to be an institution that preserves that which is important and desired)? Artist Christian Boltanski argues that, actually, the kind of memory that is *preservable* – the one that stays, when everything else has disappeared – is what he calls “small memory”. He states that after a person is dead, our memory of her or him slowly disappears to the point when, looking at old pictures, one does not know whom the persons portrayed are.¹⁴⁰ This seems like a contradiction with the materiality of the document, which should supposedly ensure the transmission of memory. And yet, argues Boltanski, amidst the thousands of pictures he has purchased in old flea markets; the picture – the material object – is not enough to retain that memory, the memory of a name, even.¹⁴¹ In the previous chapters I have argued at length for the importance and pertinence of the memories my performance displays. I would like now to argue for this interplay of the museum and of the archive with the “repertoire of embodied knowledge” (Taylor, 2003) that my research addresses, and also to argue for the materiality of performance in this *living museum* as opposed to its “disappearing” (Schneider, 2011).

The concepts of museum and archive, although related, *perform* different functions in the management of knowledge in western societies, of which they are an important product – the archive as a place to store and organise knowledge; the museum as a place to display that knowledge, to display, in fact, the archive. Tony

¹⁴⁰ In an interview with Gloria Moure, Artistic Director of the CGAC (Centro Galego de Arte Contemporánea) at the time, , “What has interested me, and what I have tried to talk about is what I call *small memory*. This is what differentiates us one from another. The *great memory* can be found in history books, but the hoard of small bits of knowledge that each of us has accumulated makes up who we are. I know I am engaged in a struggle. Someone has said ‘nowadays we die twice: first at the time of our death, and again when nobody recognises us in a photograph anymore’” (Boltanski, 1996: 107).

¹⁴¹ Following his remarks in the interview to Gloria Moure, Christian Boltanski expands about these subjects in the documentary *Contacts – Les Plus Grandes Photographes* (2004).

Bennett quotes Hooper-Greenhill's idea that there are different notions of power and empowerment in the performances of museum and archive,

a division between the producers and consumers of knowledge - a division which assumed an architectural form in the relations between the hidden spaces of the museum, where knowledge was produced and organised in camera, and its public spaces, where knowledge was offered for passive consumption (Bennett, 1995: 89).

Before discussing this notion of "passive consumption", I believe it is important to consider the etymology of the words museum and archive, as they can bring light upon their function and *performance*. In discussing museums and collections, Rinehart recalls that the museum comes from the word *mouseion*, where the Greek muses dwelled (2014: 89). Archive, deriving again from the Greek, refers to the *archon*, the *head of state*. Diana Taylor states that the etymologic origin of the word refers to "a public building" and "a place where records are kept" (2003: 19). Derrida also highlights this connection to place, the domiciliation of knowledge (1998). Here, there is the idea of the archive as a *house that stores knowledge*. Deriving from the Greek concept of *arkhe*, meaning commencement and commandment, Derrida highlights the connection between the archive and government, power and law (Gane and Beer, 2008). The emphasis upon *place* is also retained in the International Council of Museums (ICOM) definition for museum as,

a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches,

communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment.¹⁴²

This definition illustrates several important aspects of what the museum is expected to be, or how it is expected to perform: firstly, *permanence* – that which stays; secondly, *in service of society* – that which performs a function that aids society in several ways; thirdly, *heritage of memory* – that which is acquired, managed and preserved; and, finally, *purpose* – “education, study and enjoyment”. This definition leaves out important questions as to who makes the choice of what to feature in the museum and based upon which criteria, that is, the agenda of power and its enforcement behind the museum institution, if we take the museums to be, as Tony Bennett argues, following a Foucaultian stance, “instruments of discipline” (Bennett, 1995: 93). Other authors consider that the museum is an important instrument in the democratisation of societies, even if, as Schneider argues, it “ultimately served Eurocentric, geopolitical, racialized agendas” (2011: 212). These problematisations of the museum are not ignored by my research. Yet, as in the breaking of binaries engendered by performance-as-research and by the *performance of research* that my thesis effects, the concepts of archive and museum, as applied to this performance, signify a reconsideration of both in the light of Diana Taylor’s reflections upon the archive and the repertoire (2003), and Rebecca Schneider’s interrogations on ephemerality and disappearance in performance, following her important *Performing Remains* (2011).

Susan Bennett suggests that “museums traffic mostly in material designated as representing the past, while theatrical performance takes place resolutely in the

¹⁴² Available at (ICOM) <http://icom.museum/the-vision/museum-definition/> (Last accessed: 24/09/2013)

present, ephemeral, resistant to collection” (2012: 5). This underlines again the binary of the archive versus the repertoire, here expressed also in the polarisation of the past and its material evidences, as opposed to the present and its ephemeral remnants. This question of the ephemeral of performance – that which disappears – and of that which remains is at the core of Rebecca Schneider’s argument in *Performing Remains*, where she questions,

If we consider performance as ‘of’ disappearance, if we think of the ephemeral as that which ‘vanishes’, and if we think of performance as the antithesis of preservation, do we limit ourselves to an understanding of performance predetermined by a cultural habituation to the patriarchal, west-identified (arguably white-cultural) logic of the archive? (2011: 97)

Schneider’s interrogation addresses the approach to archive and repertoire which accords both a static role, excluding performance from the “archivable” and the perennial and instead – by stressing its liveness and non-reproducible intrinsic characteristic – denying it the possibility to *remain*. Schneider exemplifies this tendency by quoting several scholars associated with New York University (NYU) where she herself studied in the 1990s. This is exactly the kind of logic of the archive that my performance questions and challenges in my claim that I am *transmitting* memory. Taking transmission to be, or generate, embodiment, permanence, dissemination, my performance, indeed, “remains differently”, as Schneider argues (2011: 97),

When we approach performances not as that which disappears (as the archive expects), but as both the acts of remaining and a means of re-appearance and reparticipation... we are almost immediately forced to admit that remains do not have to be isolated to the dormant, to the object, to bone versus flesh (2011: 101).

Taylor's *The Archive and the Repertoire* highlights the capacity of performance to transmit knowledge, while, at the same time, addresses the repertoire as ephemeral (2003: 19). She does, however, advance from the basic polarisation of that which remains versus that which disappears,

The question of disappearance in relation to the archive and the repertoire differs in kind as well as degree. The live performance can never be captured or transmitted through the archive. A video of a performance is not a performance, though it often comes to replace the performance as a *thing* in itself (the video is part of the archive; what it represents is part of the repertoire). Embodied memory, because it is live, exceeds the archive's ability to capture it. But it does not mean that performance – as ritualized, formalised or reiterative behavior – disappears (2003: 20).

Jose Esteban Munoz, in turn, corroborates Schneider's idea that "ephemera do not disappear but are distinctly material" (1996: 10), arguing for the use of performance and its remains by minoritarian groups. Likewise, at the core of Paul Connerton's arguments in *How Societies Remember* (2004), is what he considers a set of bodily practices – known as performances – that can transmit knowledge and memory. What is the logic of this archive? To what kind of archive is Schneider referring?

And what archive am I engendering in my research? The “patriarchal, west-identified (arguably white-cultural) logic of the archive” (Schneider, 2011: 97) argues that the archive retains the document, and that societies with history are societies based upon writing, as opposed to “peoples without writing”, following Le Goff remarks (cf. Schneider, 2011: 55; and also Taylor, 2003: 21, 36-52). Yet, as Schneider argues, Taylor reiterates the split between archive and repertoire. Furthermore,

she works to situate the repertoire *as another kind of archive*, rather than emphasizing the twin effort of situating the archive as *another kind of performance*. To do this, she works to retain the distinguished notion that posits repertoires as embodied acts of “presence” on the one hand, and posits archives as houses for documents and objects that, in their very presence, record absence on the other hand. In this way, Taylor does not situate archive as *also* part of an embodied repertoire – a set of live practices of access, given to take place in a house (the literal archive) built for live encounter with privileged remains, remains that, ironically, *script* the encountering body as disappearing even as the return of the body is assumed by the very logic of preservation that assumes disappearance. That is, the split between the archive and the repertoire, a split that Taylor to some extent reiterates, is the archive’s own division (2011: 108).

I argue for a reconsideration of the archive as performable – as repertoire – and not the opposite (as does Taylor, according to Schneider). In my performance the repertoire derives directly from an archive of mixed materials, from oral history to

gestures and accounts – and also textual and visual materials. The performance seeks to awaken the dormant memories of the spectators. I situate the museological practice of my *living museum* in an experiential museum practice, where visiting public participates in the creation of meaning, rather than “the museum as shrine or sanctuary, encouraging passive and quiet spectators” (Susan Bennett, 2008: 16). From the outset, spectators are invited to enter the performance space and sit on the floor, or stand in front of the Swiss Alps background, extremely close to the performer (me), while I address the audience directly. At this point I show the materials (three books, one photograph and a collection of political stickers) without recurring to video projection (yet), and I establish an intimacy that is key in unfolding the rest of the performance. Then, the audience is invited to walk through the set to reach their seats, while the anthem of the Portuguese Youth [Mocidade Portuguesa] is playing, to which some of them, normally belonging to an older generation, sing. During the rest of the performance, audience members will be repeatedly invited to sing along, to read books aloud, to receive pamphlets, urged to sit together with their political peers, asked if they know what this assembly is about, and they will be offered red carnations – the symbol of the revolution. During the break, spectators are taken to another venue where the meal is held, to the sound of slogans they are asked to engage in, by a performer reenacting the day of the 25 April coup, which repeatedly state “What are you sitting for? You have been sitting for 48 years! It’s time to take the streets, everyone has already assembled in Carmo Barracks...!” This experiential museology culminates in the post-performance debate, where spectators are invited to share their own memories/experiences/impressions at the end of the performance – as *part of* the

performance. I am creating here a museology that performs, (a “performing museology”) rather than a museology that simply informs (an “informing museology”) (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2002). Schneider also points to the fact that “Architectures of access (the physical aspect of books, bookcases, glass display cases, or even the request desk at an archive) place us in particular experiential relations to knowledge”, adding that, “Those architectures also impact the knowledge imparted” (2011: 104) that is the *performance that remains*. The venue, the physical, albeit ephemeral, space of this apparently ephemeral museum, influences the reception and the interpretation of knowledge, and also the knowledge itself. The museology enacted requires presence and participation, the communal experience of memory transmission. The precise location of this *museum* is, indeed, not entirely a physical space, although it does occur – it is performed – in the physical space of a venue. More than being the venue where the performance is staged, this *museum* takes place experientially, in the exchange between performer and audience. It also takes also place in the encounter of my postmemory and the constructed dramaturgy I display of my research, with the memory of the spectators in the present moment; what Della Pollock considers “an especially charged, contingent, reflexive space of encountering the complex web of our respective histories” (Pollock, 2005: 1). It is simultaneously a live and a living exchange; *live* because it takes place in the here and the now of the performatic experience. But, breaking through the assumptions of ephemerality and disappearance that have been granted to the “live” aspect of performance (see, for example, Phelan, 1996), it is nonetheless *living*, because it goes on living, it remains, in several aspects: on the one hand, in the fact that *it is under construction*, an open work in progress, to which new materials can be added

every evening with the post-performance debates and the exchanges with the audience during the performance. On the other hand, because I have embodied the documents and the testimonies, becoming the living archive of the materials I am displaying. As Pablo Fidalgo Lareo, Director of the Festival Escenas do Câmbio, said, “the archive is inscribed in you.”¹⁴³ And finally, because the performance *remains* in the spectators, remains as future and not as past, as Derrida argues, when he states that archives “seem at first, admittedly, to point to the past, to refer to the signs of consigned memory, to recall faithfulness to tradition”, but, on second glance, house “transgenerational memory” that by virtue of contract *across* time, “calls into question the coming of the future” (1996: 33-34). The “biggest secret” of the archive, then, is its capacity for future re-enactment – by myself as by others, performers and storytellers, for example – and in that sense, the archive is a “house of and for performative repetition, not stasis” (Schneider, 2011: 108). The archive as a passive (or static) depository of documents is accordingly challenged in my performance by this idea of an archive and a museum that speaks to the future rather than to the past, through the *now* and the *here* of the performance, inscribed as it *remains* in the bodies of performer and spectators. Transmission, inscription and reconciliation of the spectators with their own memories and the historical past of the country are the key ways in which this performance *remains*.

¹⁴³ Artistic Director of Escenas do Câmbio, Santiago de Compostela; episode quoted on page 58.

The “Archivist” Persona: forensic drive and revisionist autobiography

In *A Living Museum* the public and the private are echoed in the Archivist persona, who conducts the performance, and which I have developed from my direct contact with professional archivists and librarians, together with my own autobiography. She bears my name, my family history and familiarity with my archives. She is the alter ego of the performer (me), presenting herself as impeccably dressed, in dark colours (reproducing the dress code I had used for several conferences), for the guided tour through her archives and performed testimonies, where I interplay the academic and the personal voice. In the first half of the performance, the dress used is similar to a schoolteacher’s, representing the austerity of the dictatorial regime. A traditional Portuguese scarf, black, completes the costume design, capturing a symbol of the *portucality* that the regime promoted and constructed. The red blazer is a dissonant note – because of the colour, connoted with communism, something dreaded by the regime. In the second performance-lecture, “Invisible Archives”, the blazer gives way to a long black jacket, reinforcing the sadness and darkness associated with political repression. When, in this performance-lecture, I make what I call a “historical leap” towards the post-revolution period, I take off the black jacket and substitute a red scarf for the black one, symbolising the rise to power of the revolutionary forces. After the dinner interval, audience members return to find that I am now addressing the revolutionary process of 1974-75. Instead of the formal and austere dress, I am now wearing a flowery skirt lent to me by Teresa R., which she wore to her wedding in 1976. This is the costume for “Fragments of a Revolutionary Process”, the first performance-lecture of the second half of *A Living Museum*. I then

change to a 1970s black skirt and blouse, and high heel brown boots. This is still a formal outfit – given the colour and the fact that the skirt is straight – but it is also more modern than the costume of the first half and less austere. The traditional scarves disappear, as many of those identitarian symbols, connoted with the nationalism promoted by the regime, were questioned during the revolutionary period.

I have chosen to name this persona the “Archivist” and not a curator or documentarist, or even historian, because I believe the main mission that she displays in the performance is a will to collect and preserve, or Pierre Nora’s “will to remember” which he states has to be initially present in order to perceive his *lieux de mémoire* (1996). The Archivist displays Derrida’s “archive fear” (1998). She collects obsessively – items borrowed and donated by her interviewees, as well as archival artifacts that she purchases and archives belonging to her family. Family history is, indeed, another key aspect of the construction of *A Living Museum* and my alter ego, the Archivist. Starting with episodes recalled by my family I establish an affective link with the historical events I address, which I have not experienced directly. For example, how my grandfather used to listen to the forbidden broadcast of Radio Moscow in the 1950s, or the emblematic funeral of the student Ribeiro Santos, murdered by the Political Police in 1972 are some of the episodes I refer to. I also mention evocative objects like the formerly forbidden books at my parents’ home, or a box full of pamphlets, stickers, books and newspapers that my father wanted to donate to the 25 April archive, or the various Chinese mementos which attest to my mother’s Maoist engagement. My postmemory is constructed very much based upon these episodes and objects, which I have heard of, or read, or watched, as long as I

can remember. Moreover, given the fact that in the history classes I attended in high school, the themes of the Portuguese dictatorship and the revolution were never approached (which is a situation that many people of my generation report they share), most of my knowledge (and postmemory) of those times and events came primarily through family transmission.

The Archivist persona can be said to be in the lineage of autobiographical performances and personas that Marvin Carlson describes at length (Carlson, 2006), as does Eddie Paterson, in his reflection upon contemporary American monologue (2015). I have previously quoted Laurie Anderson's groundbreaking *United States* and Anna Deavere Smith performances on oral history (see pages 129, and 109-110, respectively). Spalding Gray, "who has spun his dreams, memories and reflections into a fascinating series of oral histories, delivered simply sitting at a table with notes and a glass of water" (Carlson, 2006: 127) is also an important cross-reference in the autobiographical monologue genre. Furthermore, writing about the "autobiographical voice", Susan Rubin Suleiman elaborates on the "link between the autobiographical and the critical" which she claims is the "way a piece of life story is related to the critical or theoretical argument" (1994: 28). In *A Living Museum*, likewise, the autobiographical enunciates a critical stance, expressed in the frequent reflections and interrogations concerning the way in which the historical and political reconstruction of Portugal's recent past is unfolding in both the public and familial sphere. The public and collective are echoed in the private and personal and vice versa. Moreover, my focus was not upon a "pure" autobiographical voice and account, as I believe autobiography to be a construction as much as historical accounts are. In that respect, I am more interested in what Annette Kuhn has termed

“revisionist autobiography” (2000; 2002), where editing as well as fiction overtly alter the memory of the events. In this performance, despite the many voices evoked, one solo voice conducts the narratives and interrogations, as the host, curator and guider of a performed museum, in four-and-a-half hours of continual text, which confirms Patricia Milder’s assumption that “in lecture-performance, public speaking is an aesthetic component” (2011: 26).

Discussing the role of the archivist as mediator between the apparent coldness and staticity of the archive and its organisation and display, which render it accessible, Jon Ippolito argues that “many archives of recent history offer something more than the stainless-steel shelves and solander boxes: a human archivist” (2014: 82). Even scraps of paper, cardboard boxes filled with documents and pictures recount life stories, Ippolito argues, and he addresses archivists as “extraordinary human beings” (2014: 83). Oral history performance theories also highlight the place of the narrator (the person who has heard the story), as one of “res-ponsability” requiring the “strength of that person’s agency as someone who acts on hearing if only by telling again” (Pollock, 2005: 5). Again, this is not a passive status, or a quiet one-sided transmission of knowledge, rather, it represents a struggle to open, to transmit, to convey, to perform. A will to inscribe, to break through the cycle of non-inscription of the recent Portuguese history animates the Archivist of *A Living Museum*. There is something forensic about this persona - the will to reconstruct a national past, which she claims is linked to her own identity:

It all started when I asked myself how could a dictatorship last that long? It was like asking who am I, where do I come from – and what remains

within me of those times? [performance-lecture 1 “Small Acts of Resistance”].

In fact, memory and identity are inextricably linked, and that is why the Archivist is asking herself *who she is*. My research and performance are concrete attempts to break through what Hobsbawm has described as a sensation of inhabiting a “permanent present”, with no sense of historical antecedents and, ultimately, no sense of belonging – “lacking any organic relation to the public past of the time [we] live in” (1995: 3). It also reflects my aim to break through polarised approaches to the revolution and the revolutionary process, and its monopolisation by political parties, which, as historian Ramos Pinto argues, “served to remove the people as an actor and agent, and of conflict from the discussion and memorialisation of the revolution”, stating that for these political parties, “these accounts serve as legitimating strategies” (2013: 3).

Addressing the question of identity and memory, Diana Taylor (2003) refers to the quests of H.I.J.O.S.¹⁴⁴ in Argentina, for whom knowing about their parents and why and how they were killed and disappeared is vital to knowing who they are. This is even more extreme in the case of those who have been abducted and delivered to foster families following their mother’s disappearance, and whose true identity was never revealed until the efforts of the Abuelas de la Plaza de Mayo lead them to their original family.¹⁴⁵ Writing about autobiographic reconstruction, Roger J. Porter

¹⁴⁴ H.I.J.O.S. HIJOS: Organization created in 1995 in Argentina - Hijos por la Identidad y la Justicia contra el Olvido y el Silencio – aggregating children of the “disappeared” from the persecutions during the Argentinean military dictatorship of 1976-1983.

¹⁴⁵ Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo: Created in 1977, this organization reunites grandmothers of the lost children of the “disappeared” by the military dictatorship of 1976-1983. The Abuelas’ quest is to find their lost grandchildren, many of whom were illicitly appropriated by the perpetrators after torturing and killing their parents. The Abuelas aimed thereby to restore these children’s (today adults) true identity.

describes what seems like a forensic drive, similar also to that of *A Living Museum*. He argues that,

For a variety of reasons certain autobiographers commit themselves to investigating the past not through a willed act of recall but an investigation of various forms of evidence - iconic physical objects, letters, photographs, indeed documentation of all kinds, including public records, newspapers, and a range of archival materials. These writers, tracking their past via external sources, regard themselves as detectives, public or private investigators researching their past by amassing evidence (2004, 101-102).

Gale and Featherstone, similarly, recognise in these practices of collecting and archiving, which involve “location”, “sorting”, “cataloguing” and “indexing” something “not dissimilar to those of a detective” (2005: 20). Historian Natalie Zemon Davies writes on the same subject: “I worked as a detective, assessing my sources and the rules for their composition, putting together clues from many places” (Davies, 1988: 575). The Archivist of the *Living Museum*, likewise, carefully puts together a series of narratives by adding information gathered from several sources, as if in a puzzle. In her work on autobiography and memory, Annette Kuhn identifies photographs as “material for interpretation – evidence in that sense: to be solved, like a riddle; read and decoded, like clues left behind at the scene of a crime” (2002: 13), which again reinforces the idea of forensic investigation, of a detective-like reconstruction. In a sense, the Archivist is Rokem’s “hyper-historian” (2000), the

“connecting link” that the performer can offer between past and present, between the past and its constructions, display and analysis in the present.

This analysis – and, indeed, my overall research – poses inevitable questions of political positioning and engagement that are important to address at this point.

On Taking Sides and Political Engagement

The political positioning of my own family is inextricably linked to the memories I address in the performance and has conditioned the understanding I have of them, which *A Living Museum* expresses, to some extent. As the work of Tiago Matos Silva (2000), for example, has demonstrated, memories of the Portuguese dictatorship and revolution transmitted within the family bear an invariably ideological mark. This conditions the perception of these historical events, either by identification or by rejection – there are indeed cases where the individual has followed a different ideological approach from his family’s. How postmemory generations “remember” these events they have not experienced directly is one of the key aspects addressed by *A Living Museum*, which clearly demonstrates that it is not necessary to have experienced an event directly in order to be able to produce a discourse about it. Most historians, moreover, investigate subjects that have happened long before they were born, for what sometimes scares more positivist historians is exactly the fact that, in oral history, one deals with that which is alive and present – with participants and their memories. As Enzo Traverso notes, “memory is like an open shipyard in continuous operation” (2012: 23), which highlights the fluid and flexible characteristic of memory. Additionally, what is

approached may motivate some opinion, breaking through the necessary objectivity, which is the hallmark of positivist historiography. As historian Irene Pimentel has stated in a personal interview, which I have quoted previously, “I don’t feel prepared to study the revolutionary process for I feel I don't have the necessary objectivity”.¹⁴⁶ Objectivity and indeed, neutrality, have not been aims of my research, for I have accepted from the outset the complexity of the themes I addressed, its polarisation and political manipulations (some of which I have detailed at length in Chapter II) concerning the (changing) historiographic perception and construct of the memories of the Portuguese dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary process. I share Edward Said’s reprehension of the

habits of mind in the intellectual that induce avoidance, that characteristic turning away from a difficult and principled position which you know to be the right one, but which you decide not to take. You do not want to appear too political; you are afraid of seeming controversial; you need the approval of a boss or an authority figure; you want to keep a reputation for being balanced, objective, moderate (1996: 100).

This question of my partiality and lack of objectivity was raised by an audience member in the performance of 2 August 2015,

How do you feel about stating so bluntly your political positioning? Did you deliberately focus on just one political spectrum?¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁶ Irene Pimentel, (2012) personal interview.

¹⁴⁷ From the post-performance debate, 2 August 2015, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

The question displays more complexity than a first reading may hint at. First of all, the political positioning; it addresses *how I feel* about presenting a political point of view. This was a deliberated option – I focused upon left-wing activists and supporters, who were against the regime during the dictatorship and active during the revolutionary process. The dictatorship is approached critically, its repressive character is highlighted, the attempts to soften its memory, the lack of inscription of that repression and violence in the public space and the lack of transitional justice are denounced, commented upon and illustrated with examples. In that sense, *I feel good*, my option was clear and I do not pretend to profess an objectivity, which the memories themselves do not display. Challenging false objectivity, which masks deliberately constructed narratives is, indeed, one of the key goals of the project. As many historians have noted, to construct false consensus is to obliterate the complexity of events that cannot be masked out through a “false rhetoric of reconciliation” (Loff, 2015) – especially in the absence of true transitional justice. By articulating the question centred in my *one political positioning*, furthermore, that audience member voiced another common narrative, which disregards the multiple political sides within these complex events and takes the left-wing movements and parties to be a sole and homogeneous body. In fact, as I argued before, the Portuguese lefts of the latter period of the dictatorship and the revolutionary period, constitute a multi-layered spectrum of ideologies and political positions, personified in the numerous movements, some of which my performance addresses, leaving out many others due to time constraints and the fact I was unable

to map the full scope of such a complex scenario.¹⁴⁸ In fact, taking the entire left to be just “one” political spectrum is to escape the issue of the multiple political sides within these events, which is very different from the two-sided historicity, which generally characterises its discourse and narratives. The performance was able, at points, to successfully break through that binary¹⁴⁹ and establish a field of multiple possibilities, expressed in the following exchange between audience members and myself in another debate:

Audience member 1: Did you ever think about conveying the history of the ‘other side’?

Audience Member 2, (*emphatically*): What do you mean by ‘other side’?

She has just shown that there were more than two sides!¹⁵⁰

In this situation, although the first audience member perceived just two sides to the memories I was conveying, another audience member could grasp my attempt to break through that dichotomised construction of history. This two-sided historicity traditionally places the left wing on the side of the victors and the right wing on that of the defeated, normally with no further nuances. The performance challenged the

¹⁴⁸ For an overview of the complexity of, for example, the Maoist movements, see Miguel Cardina’s diagram of the myriad groups, parties and movements (2011). In a recent interview to Catarina Martins, the coordinator of the Bloco de Esquerda [Left Bloc, made of several far left parties and movements] in Portugal, is asked about the political movements to which her parents belonged after the 25 April 1974. She jokingly answers, “I don’t know, there were so many!” The journalist, Margarida Alvim then adds that this was “an allusion to the PREC’s turbulence” (Alvim, 2016).

¹⁴⁹ Elizabeth Jelin writes: “Moments of political opening involve a complex political scenario. They do not necessarily or primarily entail a binary opposition between an official history or a dominant memory articulated by the state on one hand, and a counter-narrative expressed by society on the other. Quite to the contrary, multiple social and political actors come to the scene, and they craft narratives of the past that confront each other, and in doing so, they also convey their projects and political expectations for the future” (Jelin 29-30).

¹⁵⁰ Exchange during the 16 November 2014 post-performance debate, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

idea of history of the victors. It displayed different victors at the different stages of these complex processes. For example, the military won in the 25 April coup – but did they really win? The people, who were told to stay at home, invaded the streets and then, for 19 months, the left-wing radicals seemed to win – but did they really win? And what about the former supporters of the regime? Did they really lose? Were they brought to justice and convicted for their former actions? Many fled out of the country; others endured six-month sentences and others still are said to have easily evaded the state prison. Then, in the end of the revolutionary process – the 25 November 1975 coup – the moderates won and the radicals were beaten. But were they really beaten? Testimonies show accounts of engaged activism up to the beginning of the 1980s and one of the people I interviewed stated in one of the debates, “Why do you say ‘the end of the revolution’? I think the question should be not when did the revolution end, but if indeed it ended at all. I would say it did not.”¹⁵¹ (Cf. Craveiro, 2015).

So, answering the question raised by that the first audience member, I do state my political positioning in the performance for I find it inevitable not to do so, given that, as Portelli argues, “oral history can never be told without taking sides, since sides exist inside the ‘telling’” (2008: 41). Elizabeth Jelin confirms, likewise, that, “the researcher cannot avoid being involved, incorporating his or her subjectivity, experience, beliefs, and emotions, and incorporating as well his or her political and civic commitments” (Jelin, 2003: xv). Having been born exactly seven months after the 25 April 1974 revolution, to a Portuguese family with some anti-fascist antecedents and political militancy, this would have indeed been unavoidable.

¹⁵¹ Exchange during the 15 November 2014 post-performance debate.

So, the Archivist (me) incorporates (my) inevitably subjective voice, politically positioned, throughout which (I) voice and embody the discourses and narratives of my research. As a *hyper-historian*, I find it unavoidable that my political positioning is present in the performance of history I am displaying in *A Living Museum* (cf. Rokem, 2000: 24). The events themselves that I am investigating ask for a constant interpretation and ideological reading, as the statement of Irene Pimentel shows, when I asked her about the revolutionary coup in Portugal,

First of all, I don't think I would call it a revolution. I would probably name it a revolutionary crisis with several options. Because we didn't know many things back then that we know today – although today we still don't have the full picture because not everyone has talked.¹⁵²

As such, moving beyond positivist approaches to *truth*, my own positioning is liminal, always in-between versions, or in-between historical and personal disputed narratives. I wanted to question the hegemony of certain narratives, as well as the displacement of others, unearthing certain versions of the past and displaying them all side by side like a fragmented puzzle, a kaleidoscope – like a *Wunderskabinnet* of the old, or like the desktop of the archivist upon which all evidence is displayed and investigation begins. I believe this is also a specific trait of the approach that the postmemory generation can offer to the post-reading and understanding of political and historical events – what historian Maria Inácia Rezola has described as “a more critical, renewed and curious gaze” (Rezola, 2003: 20). This is the gaze of the

¹⁵² Irene Pimentel (2012), personal interview.

forensic turn of the Archivist, who has “an obsessional drive to puzzle over minutiae: to make tangential connections; to remember obscure and seemingly unimportant facts and bring them to the fore and into focus; to problem solve and to question the hierarchies of history, as it has been handed down to them” (Gale and Featherstone, 2011: 23). In the performance, I actively engage the audience in this conflicting and complex process, rendering them also active agents in the writing of history.

Engaging the Audience

As the example of the exchanges above illustrate, the audience is both witness and participant to the reconstructive process that *A Living Museum* operates. In his theory of an “open museum”, Richard Rinehart asks, “can we imagine a museum whose authority is used to facilitate and engage a community rather than treat its members as passive cultural consumers?” (2014: 106). This crucial role of the audience – and its level of participation – is something the performance directly interrogates and which resonates with the concepts of “living museum”, a “performing museology” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2002) and “emancipated spectatorship” (Rancière, 2009). Being an interactive and live experience, performance traditionally takes the audience as an engaged interlocutor, although the degrees and format of such an engagement may vary. In *A Living Museum*, engagement is stimulated at several levels, as detailed before, one being the direct participation of the audience when invited to sing along with political and symbolic songs, which are played during the performance – as well as in the reading aloud of political books, previously banned during the dictatorship. Audience members are also invited to take part in the re-

enactment of a demonstration on their way to the meal, during the interval. Another level of participation is the spontaneous comments during the performance to which I respond – as in the 25 November coup reference, which often causes a restlessness in the audience, which I have often directly addressed in the performance.

The post-performance debate is where audience participation is more accomplished, as viewers are able to directly address the performer and contest or confirm the versions and visions that have just been presented and performed. Indeed, these spaces of discussion created opportunities for intimate sharing – although audiences could comprise up to 100 members. According to the generation they belonged to, people would either share their own memories of active participation or engaged witnessing, or would confess to something they felt or did, or would even thank me for being able to “reconcile themselves with these memories” or “for letting go of the shame associated with some of these memories”. The most recurring emotions associated with these debates were indeed shame, guilt and hope – relating to a confessional tone, to the sharing of experiences and to issues of reconciliation. As I argued before (see Chapter II) memories of the revolutionary process have been obliterated by a general discourse of “excess”, “naivety” and “turbulence”. In this process of transition to “democratic normalisation” and the production of narratives that legitimised it, activists and former clandestine political militants found their struggles and hopes for a deep societal and political change unrealised. Incapable of reconciling their personal memory and lost hopes, with that of the media and other narratives in circulation, they resorted to silence and to a forced oblivion – or to frustrated nostalgia - which *A Living Museum* succeeds in breaking through at points, “recreating”, as Rokem states, “something which has

been irretrievably lost and attempting, at least on the imaginative level and in many cases also on the intellectual and emotional levels, to restore that loss” (2003: 12). This is equivalent to what Portelli describes as an “ethics of restitution and amplification” towards those whose testimony was collected, where he claims that what is “given back” is also “the opportunity for the people with whom we talk to organise their knowledge more articulately” as well as the opportunity for their voices to be heard outside the group where they were produced, to “break their sense of isolation and powerlessness by allowing their discourses to reach other people and communities” (Portelli, 1997: 69). This was also an intergenerational process, as younger generations would state they had “learned a lot”, or complained that in their families these memories were not shared. This reflects the pedagogic aspect of *A Living Museum*, which Milder describes as an ability of the performance-lecture genre to “deconstruct, instruct, enlighten and yet somehow not take away” (2010: 20).

Furthermore, such a mode of discussing issues overtly, of sharing ideas and opinions, re-enacts a practice common to the PREC, where popular assemblies and discussions about everything, voting pro and con, were the hallmarks of the revolutionary process.¹⁵³ As such, this mode of research allows me the experience of something I am otherwise *post to*, that is, that I have not experienced directly – and, furthermore, also allows the audience that experience – that can either be a revival of a past experience (for the ones who actually lived during the PREC period) or a first-

¹⁵³ Phil Mailer describes this at length, for example: “Perhaps the most beautiful thing is a sense of confidence, growing daily. [...] People are discussing the situation in France, England, Argentina and Brazil as if they’d been professors of politics all their lives. My neighbour has changed beyond recognition, as she wonders ecstatically if the workers can win.” (1976: 85).

time experience of something that powerfully resonates with a dynamic of a transitional period toward freedom and democracy.

These post-performance debates also contributed to *A Living Museum* being a “living archive”, a work in progress, in that new testimonies were added everyday beyond the actual performance, in that space of open sharing and re-telling – prolonging the performance beyond the performance itself, as if the debate were a repository also, an open memory bank waiting to be filled with yet more accounts. Moreover, some of the people whose story was highlighted in the performance participated in the debates, which created significant moments of further exchange and confirmation – as well as contestation. Perhaps the most complex was the attendance of Aurora Rodrigues of the 15 November 2014 performance at the Negócio/ZDB, which I have described on page 54. In the debate, she was the first to speak and stated: “I am Aurora Rodrigues. I was tortured by the PIDE. I would like to thank you for telling the story of Ribeiro Santos” [her friend, murdered by the political police]. The moment she intervened, the audience was completely taken aback and turned their heads towards her, as if to confirm she was *real* – she was sitting in the last row of the audience. Aurora’s presence in the room confirmed the story I had just performed and legitimised my research – again, adding to the idea of a living museum” or “living archive”. Additionally, she shared further information regarding her arrest and torture in 1972, as well as concerning another arrest in 1975, already in the revolutionary period. At that time, Aurora and another 400 militants of her party, the MRPP, were arrested by the military – the reasons for these arrests are still not clear and the episode is rarely mentioned by historians or in history textbooks. An audience member laughed in disbelief: “You were arrested by the

MFA (Movement of the Armed Forces)?!” Sceptically, she continued to laugh throughout Aurora’s account, which made other audience members uncomfortable. In the next performance, just one day after, I included Aurora’s account in the text, given that it was an important part of her testimony that highlighted the contradictions of the revolutionary process itself – where not all Left movements were victors throughout the process at all times.¹⁵⁴

As expressed in the episode with Aurora Rodrigues, the debates engaged the performer, the audience and the interviewees themselves in the processes of memory and knowledge transmission, opening up the debate to live contestation and sharing. How far these episodes have changed communities or engendered some sort of consequential debate that goes on beyond the performance itself is still to be assessed. Portelli has also stated that a true change in the community must come about or else there is no true “restitution”.¹⁵⁵ In a similar vein, a woman stated in the debate, in Porto, “Well, we have to do something more. Memory, by itself, is not enough”, and she added “but it is not my generation who will do it.”¹⁵⁶ Incidentally, she had been in charge of the pioneer housing project in the region of Porto (SAAL),¹⁵⁷ one of the many revolutionary projects of the PREC, which effectively succeeded in solving some of the problems pertaining to the dire housing conditions in the country. She was leaving the changes and revolutions to the new generations now, as her generation was already “too old”. Another audience member, much

¹⁵⁴ I analyse this episode also in Craveiro (2016a).

¹⁵⁵ Portelli writes, “While accepting criticism, we must take responsibility for the fact that restitution is meaningless unless it changes the previous image of the community. Restitution is not a neutral act, but always an intervention, an interference in a community’s cultural history” (1997: 69).

¹⁵⁶ From the post-performance debate on 11 June 2015, FITEI, Porto.

¹⁵⁷ See footnote 89, page 90.

younger, reacted negatively: “What do you mean you are too old? We can’t give up now! We all have to do our share!”¹⁵⁸

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How can communities take a step further from being merely emotionally moved by the performance into taking action? Can that action erase the intergenerational legacies of the “lost utopias”, and create new possibilities for political and civic action? Can this performance reconcile spectators, on different levels, with their memories and those of the country? These are questions that the debate at the end of *A Living Museum* implicitly raises. By being invited to participate in the debate rather than just go home as soon as the performance ends, the audiences of *A Living Museum* have been able to confront themselves with their own spectres, memories, sense of failure and doubts. This performance does not just dwell in what the past was, but takes its significance into the present, challenging audiences to engage in the effort of both reconstructing and re-enacting the past beyond the stereotypes and the constructed narratives, so that they are able to actively engage with their present and transform it. The stories of *A Living Museum* are empowered and empowering. Empowered in that they actually took place – and empowering in that while listening to them, and knowing that they were real, people are able to imagine alternative modes of political action, civic participation and communal construction for the present. As Kuhn argues,

¹⁵⁸ From the post-performance debate on 11 June 2015, FITEI, Porto.

These stories may... heal the wounds of the past. They may also transform the ways individual and communities live in and relate to the present and the future. For the practitioner of memory work, then, it is not merely a question of *what* we choose to keep in our ‘memory boxes’... but of what we do with them: *how* we use these relics to make memories, and how we then make use of those stories they generate to give deeper meaning to, and if necessary, to change our lives now. (2000: 186-187)

Echoing Fischer-Lichte’s “transformative power of the performance” (2008), and Rancière’s “emancipated spectatorship” (2009), *A Living Museum* has ignited emotional and animated reactions, which were expressed first of all in the high attendance of the post-performance debates (most of the audience stayed for the debate), despite the long duration of the performance. This exchange has extended to personal phone calls and emails I have received as a result of the performance, where the common tone was a will to share – “I would like to tell you my story” – to further the exchange initiated in the performance, actualising the final call I handwrite in one of my notebooks, as a conclusion to the performance: “This Living Museum continues...” An audience member said, in response to that: “I am ready to do that. Tell me where the meeting point is”.¹⁵⁹

This, I believe, is, following Schneider’s claims (2011), performance *remaining* beyond the ephemeral and inscribing itself in the public space and in the bodies and minds of the spectators.

¹⁵⁹ Exchange in the post performance debate on 12 July 2015, Almada.

IV. Conclusion

“What theatre is this?”

Theatre is an exemplary community form. [...] It is an assembly in which ordinary people become aware of their situation and discuss their interests.

Jacques Rancière (2009: 6)

“**What theatre is this?**” – The question was raised by an audience member who came to the debate following the last run of *A Living Museum* at the Almada Theatre Festival, on 12 July 2015. He had attended the performance two days previously, but had been unable to stay for the after-performance discussion. He, therefore, decided to turn up to the last debate to raise this one question, which puzzled him: “What theatre is this?”

I remember the man was very moved and added something like, “It talks about people’s lives; *my* life.” I was taken aback and was unable to answer him straight away so I passed it on to Jorge Louraço Figueira, who was moderating the debate. I remember thinking that Figueira’s answer was too technical and that we were not really responding to the man’s emotion. By placing ourselves in a scholarly position, we were in fact destroying the whole basis of his question, which was the fact that *this theatre* was close to his life – to the point that it could indeed be about *his* life. The man’s emotion was real and difficult to address just there. Another audience member added that it was a kind of “documentary theatre.” The man was still looking at me, not having received the clear answer he wished for, so I added something about the Archivist being me and that I had tried to focus upon the lives of

ordinary people, instead of the master narratives of the historical events I was addressing. But still, I felt he was waiting for another answer I could not provide. Even now, upon reflecting on the episode, my answer is not straightforward. What kind of theatre is *A Living Museum*? In the last three chapters, arguing for the performative turn, a museology that performs (cf. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2002) and an embodied historiography, I have demonstrated how clear-cut definitions and boundaries do not address the different modes within this performance, which intersects the “archive” and the “repertoire” (Taylor, 2003), practice and theory, and history and memory. I believe that, rather than answering the spectator’s question, the most significant aspect of *this theatre* is the fact that this man had come expressly to raise the question; it is the fact that the performance encourages this questioning mind, this participation and this restlessness (the man had returned two days after watching the performance just for this). I was reminded of yet another audience member in the first run of the performance in November 2014, who wrote in a social network that he had gone home afterwards and could not sleep; “I was too excited”, he wrote.¹⁶⁰

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In my PhD thesis I have reflected upon the inscription, and its lack, of memories of the Portuguese dictatorship and revolution in the public space. As a member of the postmemory generation born after 25 April 1974, I have established a process for interrogating and at the same time contributing to the process of memory transmission of those periods. The performance *A Living Museum of Small*,

¹⁶⁰ From a comment of a spectator in a social network, after the 16 November 2014 performance, in Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

Forgotten and Unwanted Memories stimulated audience participation, while at the same time challenging univocal accounts and questioning erasures, omissions and the production of a few hegemonic memories which obliterate many others. The *many other memories*, I have argued, were part of the complex political processes that unfolded for the greater part of the Portuguese 20th century, and whose acknowledgement is important in order to better understand the present and address the future. I am referring to memories of state repression during the dictatorship, as well as memories of the revolution itself and its myriad manifestations of popular power, civic and political movements; I am also referring to memories of those who returned from the former colonies on the eve of the complex decolonisation process. And, furthermore, the memories and postmemories of the generations since, who have received these accounts via family transmission, first of all, and who have over the years dealt with the contradictions and omissions in those accounts and with what happened afterwards. They have watched the struggles over historiographical production, the polarised accounts, and sensed the revolution ending year after year – from the erased murals to the revolutionary books removed from the shelves in their parents’ house. To the point where a spectator confessed her “shame” of the revolution¹⁶¹ (or the revolutionary process, I wondered?).

My research has sought to establish a type of embodied historiography, which bridges the concepts of “archive” and “repertoire” (Taylor, 2003), performing archival items as well as testimonies and interrogating historiographic discourses and their dissemination in several media. In the process, I have analysed deliberate omissions and the absence of an official state politics of memory over the last 40 years, and how this has created a culture of amnesia, which José Gil has termed a

¹⁶¹ From the post-performance discussion on 30 July 2015, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

practice of “non-inscription” (2004). Additionally, I have argued that this deep-seated practice has created profound traumatic scars in segments of the population who were direct victims of state repression during the dictatorship – and I have addressed how they feel neither acknowledged nor repaired for having suffered that repression. This is an important point. Although historian Irene Pimentel has argued recently (2013; 2016) that there was indeed a dimension of transitional justice in Portugal, in relation to the former PIDE agents (albeit the escape of the “main chiefs”), through trials (most of which resulted in light penalties and amnesties, as Pimentel also notes), the truth is that the general sense of impunity towards the crimes of the dictatorship prevails. Is it because these trials did not have the visibility of other transitional processes in other countries and did not give rise to, or result from, the establishment of Truth Commissions? Or perhaps it is because, as Paloma Aguilar has argued,

The transitions of the 1970s did not take place in an international context as favourable to truth telling and justice as those of the 1980s and 1990s in particular, by which time international law and human rights discourse and practice had become more firmly entrenched in both the national and international spheres (2001: 94).

For those who were not direct victims, but who nonetheless experienced repression in their daily lives and were aware of the Colonial War (and against it), or those who discovered they had been investigated by the PIDE (namely when the files were opened after 1991), these erasures and this constructed amnesia were also a form of

violence. As an audience member confessed in a debate, “I felt guilty for not being imprisoned, when my friends went to jail; I felt guilty for Ribeiro Santos’ assassination. I have never overcome that guilt”.¹⁶²

On the subject of the obliteration of memories, having investigated how the memory of the dictatorship has been softened throughout the past 40 years – expressed in apologetic historiographic discourses (see Ramos, 2003, for example) – I have also thoroughly investigated how the revolutionary process that followed the 25 April coup was subject to a narrative of “excess”, “radicalisation” and even “exoticisation” (Godinho, 2015). This narrative sustained much of the discourse of the necessary “democratic normalisation” that was forced upon Portuguese society in order to conduct it towards full integration in the values of the “western world”, the epitome of which was adherence to the European Economic Community (EEC; forerunner of the European Community, EU) in 1986. Had Portugal remained in the practices, values and “turbulence” of the revolutionary process, the narrative claims, it would have stayed on the other side of the wall. That is, a communist regime would have been instituted – something which, as the narrative also claims, the 25 November 1975 counter-coup prevented. How this narrative was internalised by foreign countries is also important, as the cover of *Time Magazine* on 11 August 1975 demonstrates: in it, Prime Minister Vasco Gonçalves, the President of the Republic, Costa Gomes, and the commander of the Operative Command of the Continent ¹⁶³ Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, stand united against a red background and

¹⁶² From the post-performance debate on 12 July 2015, Almada.

¹⁶³ COPCON, Comando Operacional do Continente [*Operative Command of the Continent*], created after the 25 April Coup, and considered to be close to the radical left-wing movements. More on Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho on page 50, footnote 43.

encircled in the symbol of the communist sickle, under the headline “Lisbon’s Troika: Red Threat in Portugal” (Time, 1975).

In between these narratives and discourses of excess and radicalism, a whole segment of the population has seen their personal memories of a unique process, likewise, obliterated and subsumed into a normalised memory of the day of the 25 April revolution, with no trace of the events of the subsequent 19 months (or just retaining the negative traces). As Francisco Martins Rodrigues writes in a volume of oral accounts of the revolutionary process, published 20 years later, “Even for those who experienced those days, it is sometimes surprising to rediscover them now, given the obstinate work of suppression of the collective memory [of the revolutionary process]” (1994: 7). I am reminded once again of that audience member who thanked me for “letting go of the shame [for the revolution/revolutionary process] through watching the performance of *A Living Museum*”.¹⁶⁴ Others felt the performance had given them (and their memories) the necessary space to express themselves, to become audible, to have also a place in a history that has stubbornly and persistently omitted their version of events. Overcoming feelings that Alessandro Portelli has described as “uchronic” –which corresponds to an imaginary “what if”¹⁶⁵ the [revolution had won] – these people challenged me for stating that the revolution had ended at all, asking me directly – “Why do you say the revolution has ended? I think it has not. It is still happening”.¹⁶⁶ In this sense, *A Living Museum* has enabled a process of reconciliation which also is not univocal, but is rather expressed differently depending upon each person’s history and their relationship

¹⁶⁴ From the post-performance discussion on 30 July 2015, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

¹⁶⁵ In the article “Uchronic Dreams: Working Class Memory and Possible Dreams”, Portelli explains how the literary term can be used to describe certain oral history narratives, “stories [which] often emphasise not how history went but how it could or should have gone, focusing on possibility rather than on actuality” (1988: 46).

¹⁶⁶ From the post-performance debate on 15 November 2014.

towards the events performed. For the formerly politically engaged, who saw their utopias lost or defeated, the performance allowed them to revive the events and reconcile themselves with the end of their utopias and with their former struggles, overcoming disillusion at points, and shame at others. For those like the returned people from the ex-colonies in Africa (in Portuguese, the *retornados/ returnee*, although many of them complain about this name, preferring “exiles” or “refugees”), the performance allowed them a role in a process where they are very often seen as “side effects” (or “collateral”, as an audience member stated)¹⁶⁷ of something which was bigger and necessary – and which was the revolutionary process and the decolonisation process. For those who had indeed seen them as “side effects” at the time, the performance worked as a catalyst for a deeper reflection, where they made public confessions of having been unable to empathise with these people’s suffering in 1974-76, because they were portrayed and perceived as the “colonists” – they had belonged to “the other side”, which had been defeated by the revolutionary coup. But, far from being a homogenous group of “colonists”, who were “reactionary” and “pro-regime”, my performance has shown, through the story of family A., the profound contradictions even inside one family that render the process much more complex than the simplistic reading of the “colonisers” versus the “revolutionaries. This was not always apparent to everyone, however, as the reaction of one audience member who simply detested that part of the performance demonstrated; she rebuked me for having “portrayed that horrible part about the family of the returned people”, which she dismissed as “a waste of time”. The rest of the audience that night, however, reacted by telling that audience member that “we must look our history

¹⁶⁷ From the post performance debate on 13 November 2014, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

straight in the eyes and not conceal anything” and another woman added, “Joana did well to talk about this”.¹⁶⁸

Given the exchanges, the opinions voiced in the engaged and emotional post-performance debates, I argue that this performance was able to establish a form of reconciliation of individuals with their own memories and with those of the country, even if on a private level, and without the repercussion that an official process of transitional justice might bring about. This falls into what Brenda Werth considers to be “forms of complementary justice” that theatre can bring about in its effort to “propose alternative messages to national discourses of reconciliation” (Werth, 2012: 207). As I have demonstrated, the kind of official reconciliation promoted by the state is generally one that either subsumes complex and conflicting memories into normalized and consensual ones (as in the case the 25 of April 1974 coup), or mistakes oblivion and forgetting for reconciliation, in an attempt at what has been called “restorative silence” (see, for example, Assmann and Short, 2012). This is exemplified by former President Mário Soares remarks I have quoted before (pages 36-37). Being an open forum of performance, re-enactment and discussion, theatre is a place where spectators are naturally reunited to “imagine global communities, to rethink shifting definitions of solidarity – in both a national and international framework – and to reflect on the relationship between politics of memory and place” (Werth, 2012: 207). This is a key aspect of my research. Indeed, *A Living Museum* became such a forum, and through the performance of memories and histories of ordinary citizens, and also through re-enacting the duration of revolutionary activities and struggles, it became also a forum for the re-appearance

¹⁶⁸ From the post performance debate on 15 November 2014, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

of those lost or erased memories in the public space. Such re-appearance inscribes those memories and recuperates them, rehabilitating them at times. This, for some of my interviewees and audience members, has equalled justice being made (on a very private and almost intimate level). To borrow Annette Kuhn's concept, something has been "healed" (Cf. 2000: 186-187). The reconciliation I am engendering here, therefore, does not entail public apology or acknowledgement, such as a state sponsored reconciliation and transitional justice process desirably would. Rather, as I have expounded in the introduction chapter, it is a process of reconciliation engendered through the communal act of remembering through performance. This communal act I am proposing through my performance, I have argued, is participatory, engaged and emancipatory – and therefore, also, restorative.

*

The examples of the different exchanges that the performance of *A Living Museum* has stimulated show that my research has not tried to establish one sole dominant version of the events, but rather to highlight the potential for multiple versions of one same historical event. I argue against the hierarchical valorisation of one version over the others. While the political and military protagonists were busy organising the nation in the period following the 25 April 1974, securing connections with the USA or Western European countries, or with the Eastern bloc, ordinary people were experiencing daily political action and movements for the first time, "as if they'd been professors of politics all their lives" (Mailer, 1976: 80); a time "when everything seemed possible and each one felt the direction of the country was also in

their hands” (Martins Rodrigues, 1994: 7). This process was complex and conflicting at points and is far from being resolved. My research has also highlighted the fact that memory is, above all, a process, the “open shipyard in continuous operation” mentioned by Traverso (2012: 23). Therefore, I have continuously shared my own process and journey throughout the performance, voicing my doubts and questions, and recounting episodes of how I myself was reconstructing the story of my own family that had been thus far unknown to me. An emblematic example is the account of how I accidentally came across a book by John Hammond on the Portuguese revolution (1988), where he acknowledges my parents’ aid in his research. I had no idea of this and asking them about this episode has helped me reconstruct not only a piece of the history of the revolutionary process, but also a piece of the history of my own family in that process.

The responses to the performance also suggest an engagement that goes beyond the regular attendance of a performance, akin to what Rancière has described as the “emancipated spectator” (2009). He writes,

Emancipation begins when we challenge the opposition between viewing and acting; when we understand that the self-evident facts that structure the relations between saying, seeing and doing themselves belong to the structure of domination and subjection. It begins when we understand that viewing is also an action that confirms or transforms this distribution of positions. The spectator also acts, like the pupil or scholar. She observes, selects, compares, interprets. [...] She participates in the performance by refashioning it in her own way....” (2009, 13)

This also re-enacts practices of participation which were a hallmark of the revolutionary period, materialising then in the grassroots movements that extended to various regions and social fields, expressed, for example, in popular assemblies, neighbourhood commissions, debates, cultural interventions and events (Ramos Pinto (2013); Vespeira de Almeida (2009); Downs (1989); Downs et al. (1977); Hammond (1988)).

In *A Living Museum*, not only are hegemonic versions of history challenged on stage, but that challenge extends also to the audiences' own memories during the performance (expressed in their voiced commentaries or the singing of songs), and in the after-performance debates. As director, writer and performer, I do not present myself as an authority in the field of history or memory studies but as someone engaged in a reconstruction process. During this process I invite the audience to accompany me as I share my hypothesis through the mode performance-lecture, where I invite a reconsideration of the intersections between the academic and the artistic. My experiments with this performative mode enable me to approach different forms of presenting a performance-lecture, in different spaces of the venue. In the last performance-lecture "Memory/Postmemory", which I stage close to the audience, up front, I invite them to join me in furthering the reconstruction of Portugal's recent past: "I have an appointment with my generation and others to continue this", I say. Indeed, the last sentence that I handwrite, live, in the notebook reads, "This Living Museum Continues..." The fact that I have not experienced directly the events I discuss does not prevent me from reclaiming ownership over these memories, which, I argue, are inextricably linked to "who I am".

Reconstructing Portugal's recent past is, therefore, equivalent to reconstructing my own identity.

I believe the performance has also stimulated the same curiosity in postmemory generations who attended it, sharing their frustration at the secrets, the omissions and the obliterations that continue not only to prevent them from fully understanding "what really happened" (I demonstrated how difficult to establish that proposition is), but also to attain more information to explain how we arrived where we are just now, breaking through the sense of "permanent present" that Hobsbawm has described as afflicting present generations (1994: 3). Indeed, I could observe a generational identification with the performance, expressed, for example, in the title of Rui Pina Coelho's review, "The Living Museum of My Generation's Failure". He writes,

Craveiro was born in 1974. I was born in 1975. Politically and ideologically, although there are, inevitably, some small differences in our approaches, I think we are on the same side of the "barricade." Furthermore, we both maintain an intricate emotional tie with the cultural memory of the Carnation Revolution. So, departing from an intrinsically personal and familiar point of view, Craveiro has in fact created a "Museum of Lost Memories" for our whole generation, a generation that has seen the collapse of most of the dreams and utopias of the revolutionary years and that has been helpless in the face of the dangerous rise of savage, neo-liberal capitalism, or that has simply left the country. In any case, we are a generation that lives with an acute sense of failure.

What Pina Coelho is arguing here, is that our generation prolongs the sense of failure and lost utopias of the generation who made the revolutionary process. In a sense, we have inherited their “trauma.” And I believe we have internalised their sense of failure. As I have argued also in this dissertation, this generational identification was present in the greater part of the reviews on the performance, and I believe it is an important subject for further reflection.

In one of the debates an audience member asked me what I thought he and the rest of the audience should do now the performance was over, as most people “tend to forget what they saw and just move on with their lives”.¹⁶⁹ I replied that the performance had already fulfilled its aim while it was being presented: in the staging of my research, of the testimonies, of my doubts and in the after-performance debates. I added that I was not a politician and could not therefore act as one, but there was certainly a part each of us could play. Incidentally, the audience member who had addressed me holds a political position in the City Hall (of Lisbon) – yet, he expressed his frustration at “not knowing what he could do”. I believe this is yet another level of “emancipation” that my research proposes. Ordinary people have long relied upon politicians to effect decisions about their lives. José Gil refers to this by saying that “political discourse became dominant to Portuguese life. At a certain moment it poured out to civil society, identifying every power with political power” (2004: 18). It must also be added that the dictatorship sought to deprive individuals of their political awareness, turning politics into something that was unnecessary, subversive and dangerous, and rendering them dependent upon the one figure of the nation, Salazar. The regime created essentially depoliticised individuals,

¹⁶⁹ From the post performance debate on 1 August 2015, Negócio/ZDB, Lisbon.

“infantilised”, as Gil also argues (2004: 17). In *A Living Museum* however, people are confronted with new ways of addressing problematic issues and the struggles for memory, which render them protagonists and active agents. In that sense, also, the reparation that I believe operates to some extent in *A Living Museum* is not the kind of reparation deriving from transitional justice such as can only be effected by official state politics. The performance works as reparation by portraying non-hegemonic memories and denouncing the absence of official reparation and politics of memory. It also works as reparation even in the silences of those who could not bring themselves to share anything in the debates, but who would approach me in private or call me later – to thank me for the performance and, often, to tell me their account of how the revolution ended, how they had experienced state repression, or to share their memories of the Colonial War.

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In November 2015, in the midst of an unprecedented round of conversations with the Portuguese left-wing parties – the Communist Party (PCP), the Bloco de Esquerda (Left Bloc) and the Green Party (PEV) – socialist leader, António Costa – now the Prime Minister – stated, “The PREC is over”. It is now over 40 years since 1975 and Costa stated the PREC is finally “over”. He means that through these conversations with the other left-wing parties – which, arguably, forged the way for him to become Prime Minister – a 40-year resentment, a “historic trauma” (as many have noted)¹⁷⁰, was overcome. I am not sure Costa is addressing the full spectrum of the PREC; I

¹⁷⁰ See also historical socialist militant Manuel Alegre remarks: “Negotiating with the Left is not a new PREC; it is the end of the PREC” 13-10-2015. <http://www.tvi24.iol.pt/videos/negociar-a-esquerda-do-ps-nao-e-um-novo-prec-e-o-fim-do-prec/561d3a760cf26d4ecaff43be/18> (Last accessed: 29/07/2016).

believe he is solely focusing upon the deep and seemingly insurmountable differences that have set the Socialist and Communist parties apart for 40 years. Similarly, when the then Deputy Prime Minister Paulo Portas made his statements about now being a “PREC 2”, he was focusing solely upon what he perceived as the radicalisation of the PREC, which attacked many privileges of the social classes that dominated the former regime.¹⁷¹ Both views are, therefore, partial. Nonetheless, these and other recent statements have reconfirmed my deep conviction that researching the revolutionary process (its contradictions and complexities as well as its richness) is, actually, not just about the past, but also about how we are still experiencing these events in the present and being conditioned by them.

Also as I write my final remarks, the now President of the Republic awards Captain Salgueiro Maia for his actions on the 25 April coup. The former President of the Republic, Anibal Cavaco Silva, when he was Prime Minister in 1991, had refused to award Salgueiro Maia, but had awarded instead two former PIDE agents, one of them the infamous torturer at whose hands Aurora Rodrigues, suffered (cf. Rodrigues, 2011). In his remarks, President Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa stated,

It may take time. There may be people who do not pay their tributes in the right time, because they may feel that there are other things that are more important, although they are really not. But we can always repair that. That historical reparation, the historical recognition is now made.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Paulo Portas 15/11/2015, see page 95.

¹⁷² <http://www.jn.pt/nacional/interior/marcelo-condecora-salgueiro-maia-5258818.html> (Last accessed 30/07/2016).

In the performance I tell the story of Cavaco Silva and his lack of recognition of Salgueiro Maia, in the last performance-lecture “Memory/Postmemory”. That is one place where I address more critically and directly the absence of a state politics of memory, concluding, “In this country, Portugal, memory is worth whatever”. The performance accompanies what is happening now, and how these struggles unfold in the everyday media, political discourses and in the private lives of those who keep wanting to share their memories with me. Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa’s gesture is sure to enter this “living museum” shortly, accompanied by a reflection on how the politics of memory change over time and with each political protagonist. Of course Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa, due to his family history – connected to the former dictatorial regime, through his father who was, amongst other things, General Governor of Mozambique from 1968 to 1970¹⁷³ – is not an innocent character of this complex history, and his actions must also be read in that light. Still, is this not yet another dimension of reconciliation?

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In a 1978 record called “The Mother”, the soundtrack to Teatro da Comuna’s production of Bertolt Brecht’s play, José Mário Branco, a far-left political activist and political songwriter, wrote in a song,

The children of tomorrow

¹⁷³ On the connections of Marcelo Rebelo de Sousa with the former regime see Loff (2016a), available at <https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/o-herdeiro-1720393> (Last accessed 29/07/2016). And about his father see Sónia Sapage (2016), available at <https://www.publico.pt/politica/noticia/o-melhor-lugar-da-vida-de-baltazar-rebelo-de-sousa-1730726> (Last accessed 29/07/2016).

Will wake up in a new world
With the morning star
Illuminating the welfare of the people
And in the schoolbooks they will hear
How many struggles
Have been waged
For life to change

The children will know of the love of the revolutionaries
Who have fought tirelessly to change this fate;
And the vigilant memories
Will know how to tell
Of all the lives that were offered
Without dejection.

(Branco, 1978)

We are probably still far from this “new world” that songwriter José Mário Branco sang about in 1978, and our schoolbooks (still) do not record the struggles undertaken by “those who fought tirelessly to change this fate”. I know the schoolbooks I studied in high school did not. I do not even remember ever studying about the 25 of April, and it became a kind of joke to my generation – I recall several people saying that they never got through to the 20th century in history classes during high school, let alone the 25 of April. I also remember how we used to be outraged by that. It felt wrong, somehow. After all, we wanted to *know*.

Coming back to my departing questions (in Chapter I) of the *kind of memory* that postmemory generations can generate and transmit, and what *kind of memory* can be transmitted through *A Living Museum*: it is probably the *kind of memory* that derives from *this kind of theatre* that I was unable to explain to that audience member in Almada. For the past 205 pages I felt I was in a dialogue with him, in search for a belated answer to the question he so kindly came back to pose. Indeed, the emancipated spectators of *Living Museum* were able to talk back, talk to and talk with the “Archivist” (me), and together, shed light onto their doubts, their deep-seated resentments, at time; the guilt, shaming secrets and hoped-for utopias, at others – creating alternative histories and opening a space of possibility – and hope.

Overcoming the sense of failure and loss that Pina Coelho alludes to in his review (2015) – and which, as I have argued, is not an exclusive of the generations who participated in the revolution, but actually extended to the generations “after”, sometimes felt as postmemory nostalgia – *A Living Museum of Small, Forgotten and Unwanted Memories* exercises a “vigilant memory” of its own, breaking through silences and omissions and causing these memories to re-appear and *remain*. Yet, this time, as *renewed* memories, in an archive turned towards the future rather than the past. That is why, both in the performance as in here, I finish with the sentence:

This Living Museum continues.....

APPENDICES I

PARTICIPANTS CONSENT FORMS (PT) AND (ENG)

These forms have been approved under the procedure of the University of Roehampton's Ethic Committee on 17 September 2013 (DTP 13/015).

As such, they retain the original title of my research at the time.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM (ENG)

Title of Research Project: Embodied and archival ways of transmission of political memory in Portugal in three moments of Portuguese history: dictatorship, revolution and revolutionary period (called PREC, or Revolutionary Process Under Way).

Brief Description of Research Project: This practice-based research seeks to describe, analyze, and produce a set of performances from the ways in which individual and collective memory of the political periods of the Dictatorship (1926-1974), Revolution (25th of April, 1974) and Revolutionary Process (PREC or the so-called Ongoing Revolutionary Process, from April 1974 to November 75) has been transmitted in Portugal until today. How this memory survived, and what memory survived of this period, and how this memory has been handled by different generations, is the object of this study. The work will seek to analyze transmission through embodied practices and through archival practices, and will present the results of this investigation through a set of performances and also a written dissertation.

As such, I propose to collect testimonies of those directly involved in the historical period and events mentioned, or with any form of relationship to the events, as well as to investigate into testimonies kept in archives, records of oral history and other forms of archival storage. I will also gather and investigate any artistic work being made about this period and that may contribute to this memory transmission.

The testimonies will be gathered through interviews that will not exceed two hours long. These may occur more than once, through previous arrangements. The interviews will be recorded, upon consent from the interviewee. When requested, a previous script with the questions may be provided.

These testimonies will be potentially used as material for the written thesis, as well as creative material for the devising of performances and performance-lectures as part of my practice-based research. These performances will be presented inside and outside academic context, in various venues, as part of my investigation process.

Where requested, the anonymity of the participants and their identity protection will be ensured through the use of fictional names or initials that prevent the true identity of the informant from being displayed. Where not requested, the anonymity may not be maintained.

The aim of my research is not to disparage any of the memories and actions being collected, but rather to investigate and reflect widely about ways of memory transmission in Portugal with a particular focus on embodied practices.

This form requests permission for the informants to be filmed, photographed or audio-recorded when necessary. Such consent may be withdrawn at any time.

Any information and documentation of the informants will be kept securely at my personal computer, which is password protected, at home, and will not be further disseminated in any context outside my research, which is both theoretical and practical.

All copyrighted material used as part of the written or practice research will be acknowledged and the authorship rights protected.

There will be no payment involved in the collection of these testimonies.

Investigator Contact Details:

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Consent Statement (1):

I agree to offer my testimony to this research project, as described above.

I understand that my testimony or part of it may be used as creative material to the performances and performance-lectures that Joana Craveiro will create, and will also constitute study material upon which she will reflect in her written thesis.

Upon my request, my anonymity will be maintained through the use of initials or fictional names when referring directly to my testimony or part of it.

If I don't request my anonymity to be maintained, my name may be mentioned.

Upon my consent, this interview may be filmed, photographed or audio-recorded. Consent for this may be withdrawn at any time.

I will not be paid for offering this testimony.

Name (interviewed)

Signature

Date

Consent Statement (2): for artists who accept parts of their artistic material do be used in the context of this research:

I agree to allow Joana Craveiro to use parts of my creative works as object of analysis of her research, as well as potential creative material to be mentioned in her practice work. She will acknowledge and mention at all times my artistic rights and ownership where appropriate.

Consent for this may be withdrawn at any time.

I will not be paid for allowing this.

Name (interviewed/ artist)

Signature

Date

Please note: if you have a concern about any aspect of your participation or any other queries please raise this with the investigator. However, if you would like to contact an independent party please contact the Chair of the Department's Research Students Co-ordinating Group (or if the researcher is a student you can also contact the Director of Studies/ Head of Department.)

Chair of the Department's Research Head of Department / Director of

Students Co-ordinating Group

Studies Contact Details:

Contact Details:

Name: Dr Sarah Gorman

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Comité de Ética

FORMULÁRIO DE CONSENTIMENTO DE PARTICIPAÇÃO (PT)

Título do Projecto de Pesquisa: Modos de transmissão – imateriais e arquivísticos – da memória política em três momentos da história portuguesa: ditadura, revolução e processo revolucionário (denominado PREC ou Processo Revolucionário em Curso)

Breve Descrição do Projecto de Pesquisa: Esta pesquisa com base na prática procura descrever, analisar e produzir um conjunto de performances e espectáculos teatrais a partir de algumas das formas nas quais a memória individual e colectiva dos períodos políticos da Ditadura (1926-1974), Revolução (de 25 de Abril de 1974) e Processo Revolucionário (PREC, ou Processo Revolucionário em Curso – de 25 de Abril de 1974 a Novembro de 1975) têm sido transmitidos em Portugal até aos dias de hoje. O objecto deste estudo são as formas como esta memória tem sobrevivido, e qual a memória que tem sobrevivido deste período, bem como as formas como esta memória tem sido tratada e disseminada por diferentes gerações. A pesquisa procurará analisar a transmissão através de práticas imateriais e através de práticas arquivísticas ou materiais, e os resultados desta investigação serão apresentados através de um conjunto de performances e de uma dissertação escrita.

Como tal, proponho-me recolher testemunhos daqueles que estiveram directamente envolvidos no período histórico e eventos referidos, ou que possuam uma qualquer forma de relação com os mesmos eventos, ou que produzam objectos artísticos sobre os mesmos. Paralelamente, pretendo recolher e investigar testemunhos presentes em arquivos, registos de história oral e outras formas de documentação.

Os testemunhos serão reunidos através de entrevistas que não excederão os 120 minutos. Estas poderão, contudo, ocorrer em mais do que um dia, mediante previa combinação. Estas entrevistas serão gravadas, mediante consentimento do entrevistado. Quando requerido, pode ser fornecido ao entrevistado um guião prévio da entrevista.

Estes testemunhos serão potencialmente utilizados como material para a dissertação escrita, bem como material para a criação de performances e palestra performativas, como parte da minha pesquisa prática (practice-as-research ou PAR). Estas performances serão apresentadas dentro e fora de contexto académico, em diversos locais de apresentação, como parte do meu processo de investigação.

Quando requerido, o anonimato dos participantes e a protecção da sua identidade serão garantidos através do uso de nomes fictícios ou de iniciais, para impedir a divulgação da verdadeira identidade do informador. Quando este aspecto não é explicitamente referido nem acordado, anonimato dos informadores poderá não ser mantido.

O objectivo da minha pesquisa não é o de denegrir quaisquer memórias ou acções que estão a ser recolhidas e investigadas, mas sim pesquisar e reflectir amplamente sobre formas de transmissão da memória em Portugal no que se refere aos períodos históricos mencionados, com um foco particular sobre formas imateriais de efectuar essa transmissão.

Este formulário solicita permissão para que os entrevistados sejam filmados, fotografados ou registados em áudio, quando necessário. Tal consentimento pode ser retirado a qualquer momento por decisão dos entrevistados.

Qualquer informação e documentação sobre os entrevistados irá ser arquivada de forma segura no meu computador pessoal, que é protegido por uma password, e não será disseminado fora do contexto da minha pesquisa, que é teórica e prática.

Todos os direitos autorais sobre possíveis obras artísticas mencionadas e/ou analisadas no contexto desta pesquisa serão respeitados e mencionados em todas as alturas.

Não haverá qualquer remuneração envolvida na recolha destes testemunhos.

Contactos do Investigador:

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Declaração de Consentimento (1):

Concordo em oferecer o meu testemunho a este projecto de pesquisa, nos termos descritos mais acima. Estou ciente de que o meu testemunho ou partes dele podem ser utilizados como material criativo para a construção de performances e de palestras performativas por parte de Joana Craveiro, e que constituem ainda material de estudo e reflexão sobre o qual ela escreverá a sua dissertação escrita.

Por solicitação minha, o meu anonimato será mantido através da utilização de iniciais ou de nomes fictícios, quando existir uma referência directa ao meu testemunho ou a parte dele.

Estou ainda consciente de que se eu não solicitar que o meu anonimato seja mantido, o meu nome poderá ser mencionado.

Por meu consentimento, a entrevista poderá ser filmada, fotografada ou registada em áudio. Este consentimento pode ser por mim retirado a qualquer momento.

Eu não serei remunerado por fornecer este testemunho.

Nome (entrevistado)

Assinatura

Data

Declaração de Consentimento (2): para os artistas que aceitam ceder partes do seu material criativo para análise no âmbito desta pesquisa

Concordo em permitir a Joana Craveiro a utilização de partes do material criativo da minha obra como objecto de análise no âmbito da sua pesquisa, bem como podendo mencioná-lo no seu trabalho performativo, mediante o reconhecimento e menção dos meus direitos de autor.

Este consentimento pode ser por mim retirado a qualquer momento.

Eu não serei remunerado por possibilitar a Joana Craveiro a utilização deste material.

Nome (entrevistado/artista)

Assinatura

Data

Nota: se tiver alguma preocupação com qualquer aspecto da sua participação ou quaisquer outras questões a levantar, por favor coloque-as ao investigador. Contudo, se desejar contactar uma pessoa independente, por favor faça-o junto da Responsável do Grupo de Coordenação dos Estudantes de Pesquisa do Departamento (ou, se o investigador for um aluno, poderá também contactar o Director de Estudos/ Director do Departamento).

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