

Walking Through the Revolution: A Spatial Reading of Literary Echoes

This paper presents an embryo of a literary guide on the Carnation Revolution to be explored for educational historical excursions other than leisure and tourism. We propose a historical trail through the centre of Lisbon, city of the Carnation Revolution, called *Walk through the Revolution*. The trail aims to reinforce collective memory about the major events that occurred in the early moments leading to the coup. The trail is made up by nine places of remembrance, for which literary excerpts are suggested and which are supported by a digital research procedure. A set of seven fixed and observer-independent categories are used to analyse the literary contents of 23 literary works published up to 2013. These literary works refer to events that happened between the eve of April 25 and May 1, 1974. At the same time, literary descriptions are explored using a spatial approach in order to define the literary geography of the most iconic military actions and popular demonstrations that occurred in Lisbon and the surroundings. The literary geography and the cartography of the historical events are then compared. Data analysis and visualization benefit from the use of standardised and quantitative methods, including basic statistics and geographic information systems.

Keywords:

Literary geography, digital humanities, contemporary history, Carnation revolution

1 Introduction

1.1 Events, people and places

The most powerful and haunting visions of historical events sometimes come to the general public through creative productions, committed to highlighting or representing them. Literature is one of these main vehicles, as are cinema or historical re-enactments. An extensive list of literary works on political crises, conflicts, wars and revolutions from all over the world can be found in which occurrences in the fictional plot are presented in actual geographical places, and sometimes depicting real events.

Literary representations in this context are a repository of memories and rich material for understanding historical events and people's attitudes towards these events. Their potential for research and education results, not only from alternative descriptions of facts from which sensitive reminders are a part, but also from a testimony of ideas, values and attitudes. Recent research identified these as a major vehicle in reconstructing the memory of historical events, even better than memorial buildings, the current form of preserving historical memory until the Second World War (Hepworth 2013, p. 12).

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None of the views of literary fictional texts is scientifically historic because the author cannot willfully evade the fictional review of the narrated facts (Ceia 1998, pp. 69-70), sometimes risking to distort peoples' perspectives of those events. Nevertheless, they also have advantages over other documentary texts by giving meaning to the elements of the narrative. Miguel Real (2012) described contemporary Portuguese novels as a part of the "entire social" that always reflects the harmonious or inharmonious general sense of the history of society and culture in which it operates. Hubert Zapf (*apud* Muller 2011, p. 78-79) emphasises the role of fiction in shaping and improving the concrete systemic relations in which the subject is, and needs to be, embedded, holding a cultural rather than an individual potential. Therefore, not surprisingly, many authors have raised the potential of the novel to the study of history (e.g. Seixo, 2004; Fuster García, 2011) or combined novels with other material sources for researching natural and cultural changes (e.g. Foster, 2002; Queiroz, 2005). Since the late 1990s, through an interdisciplinary movement, researchers have sought to explore "subjective geographies through the spatial representation of qualitative, or fuzzy, data" (Cooper, Gregory, 2011, p. 89). More recently, Alves and Queiroz (2013) developed a digital methodology that studies literary places and the evolution of literary space in the context of the contemporary urban history of Lisbon.

Cultural memory is built up by memories of "events which are relevant to the self-understanding and present interests of the group" (Goodbody, 2011, p. 57-58) such as the collective experiences subsumed in prose fiction, drama and poetry. These experiences are "connected with the thoughts that come to us from the social milieu" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 53) and "crystallize meaning around events, people and places, blend factual and textual recall with imagination" (Goodbody, 2011, p. 59). These elements are the objects of those who study the experience of place from fictional texts. Those for whom "[f]ictive reality may transcend or contain more truth than the physical everyday reality" (Pocock, 1981, p. 11).

1.2 Spatial reading and the construct of memory

The collective memories of historical events have, to a great extent, been studied through literature. A quick review of this highlights research on the French Revolution (Ferguson, 1994), the Holocaust (King, 2000), the Spanish Civil War (Ferrán, 2007) and the Portuguese colonial wars (Moutinho, 2008), among others. Despite their undoubted relevance, a spatial reading that relates literary places to territory is absent. The same applies to the existent literary studies that evoke the Carnation Revolution as a subject of analysis, as they mainly explore the evolution of Portuguese literature in the following years or decades as the result of a different political environment (e.g. Lourenço, 1984; Sapega, 1991; Kaufman, Klobucka, 1997; Roani, 2004).

In the last years, space and place have had a new position in literary studies. Franco Moretti (1998) published a broad study of the places mentioned in the European Novel 1800-1900. Years later, he advocated a quantitative approach to literature, extracting data from texts to graphs, maps and trees, as a basis for interpretation. His choice was determined by the demand for objectivity: “quantitative work is truly cooperation: not only in the pragmatic sense that it takes forever to gather the data, but because such data are ideally independent from any individual researcher, and can thus be shared by others, and combines in more than one way” (Moretti, 2005, p. 5). Besides this, geocriticism (Westphal, 2007) and literary geography introduced literary atlas products that “set up a new literary history of Europe” (*The Literary Atlas of Europe* - <http://www.literaturatlas.eu/en/>) or “connect literature to the territory, fostering the mutual appreciation of literary works and places, and contributing to leisure and tourism” (*LITESCAPE.PT - Atlas of literary landscapes of mainland Portugal* - <http://paisagensliterarias.ielt.org/>). In these products, Geographic Information Systems (GIS) and web technologies push research to new methods, offering dissemination and educational tools. The study of spatial dimensions embedded in texts, profits from the development of visualisation tools and therefore gains insight into why an attribute happened.

Literature on historical events reconnects individuals with spatial references. Associating facts with places, writers foster “processes for making places meaningful in a social medium” (Crang, 1998, p. 44) or transform space into a “complex social formation” (Ayers, 2010, p. 1). Readers gain an interlinked experience of time and place that allows them to describe historical places, despite never having visited these.

Knowing ‘where’ is also a crucial element for memory retention of stories and facts. Semantic memory, which is part of long-term capability, is the memory of meanings, understandings and other concept-based knowledge. It depends on the processing and encoding of sensory input that has a particular connotation or that can be applied to a particular context, or that is tied to physical objects, space and places (Halbwachs apud Hepworth 2013, p. 89). Therefore, literary depictions of historical places have a high educational and cultural interest.

Together with monuments, museums, commemorations, symbols and documentaries, literary works are themselves with a potential impact in the formation and consolidation of modern collective identities (Colmeiro 2011, p. 21).

The idea that the development of individual intelligence requires a social (and cultural) embedding is the base of the concept of ‘social situatedness’ (Lindblom & Ziemke, 2002). Recalling Vygotsky’s cognitive development theory in this field (Vygotsky, 1978), literary readings might be considered a ‘mediated act involving a psychological tool’ that is the intermediate link between stimulus and response operating in the internalisation of social speech and/or historical memories.

For all these reasons, this paper advocates that history becomes more appealing to students and the public in general through non-historiographic channels and traditional passive teaching methods. While a representation of the past, literature promotes reflection and critique about common narratives of historical events. Its references to historical places and landscape descriptions are a kind of enjoyable manual that brings into the present the experience of a time that has passed. To guide readers through time and space. It is time to combine the already popular practice of following literary trails which connect people to places, described by great writers, providing an in situ discovery of historical events, while walking through their actual stage. There is no question that ‘educational trips’, ‘field observation visits’ or ‘study tours’ – also leisure visitation and tourist excursions – increase knowledge of a particular subject and, more important, increase the desire for knowledge (Krepel & DuVall, 1981).

1.3 Carnation Revolution’s literary echoes

Eduardo Lourenço stated that revolutions are major consumers of active imagination. It happens, he wrote, especially when it comes to a dreamed revolution emerging like a miracle, as the Carnation Revolution (1984, p. 7). Reflecting on a different time and geography, Priscilla P. Fergusson also justified the prevalence of this topic in the literature: “[r]evolution proposed such a seductive model for literary interpretation because it constructed social change simultaneously as a function of time and of space, the very elements that form the foundation of any narrative. Revolution is the perfect chronotope that fixes the interaction of historical time and space in a work of literature” (1994, p. 4-5).

From the beginning of the twentieth century Lisbon was the stage for major political and social revolutionary events, among others, the regicide in 1908, the republican revolution in 1910, the revolt against Pimenta de Castro of 1915, the *revirinho* uprising against the dictatorship in 1931, and the Carnation Revolution in 1974 (Farinha, 1998; Rosas, 2010). The latter was the one event that made the “revolutionary Lisbon” emerge in the historiography (Rosas, 2010), although the expression had been used much earlier in a memoirist text (Costa, 1935). The Carnation Revolution became a literary topic in contemporary fiction. It was published by

several known Portuguese writers, who lived the moment, but also by promising young writers who were born under democracy. Narratives are filled with allusions and episodes relating to the most significant transformation of the political regime in recent times. They reverberate, not surprisingly, in the imaginary of the city where the major events took place. The same occurred in the nineteenth century with Paris and the literary echoes of the French Revolution, alive in the great works of Flaubert, Hugo, Vallès and Zola, with subsequent consequences for urban development of the city. In this regard, Priscilla P. Ferguson wrote: “[f]rom the background of cultural performance, Paris moved to centre stage, and it did so through urban narratives that focused importantly, if not exclusively, on revolution as the deciding factor in the changes marking Paris on virtually every street.” (1994, p. 4)

1.4 Aims and objectives

Following an interpretation of Pierre Nora’s thoughts which assumes collective memory as an affective memory (Le Goff, 1992, p. 95), this paper aims to analyse an extended literary *corpus* in which events related to the Carnation Revolution are depicted. By comparing the fictional and the actual geography, we discuss how historical facts are preserved in this repository of collective memory.

From a content analysis of the literary works and by georeferencing the places mentioned in texts, this paper presents an objective process to explore a large volume of data that is fully replicable and comparable. It focuses on literary representations of the actual occurrences, such as military movements, occupations, clashes between opposites, public appearances and popular demonstrations, taking place in Lisbon and the surroundings between the eve of April 25 to May 1 of 1974. We refer to this period as the “week of prodigies”, according to writers Lídia Jorge and Filomena Marona Beja¹. The period began with the military coup carried out by MFA (Movement of Armed Forces) that received the overwhelming support of the people, leading to a mostly bloodless and peaceful revolution that overthrew the dictatorship that had ruled Portugal for 48 years. This culminated with the celebration of Labour Day, already with Portugal as a free country, with a great popular demonstration.

This paper values the Portuguese literary texts and, from these, it provides the future with an extra tool for reinforcing the Carnation Revolution’s collective memory: an embryo of a literary guide on the Carnation Revolution that supports a historical trail through the main events that occurred in the centre of Lisbon on April 25. It identifies a few places of memory through which activities of remembrance can be set forth, answering to the following research questions:

- What and how are the occurrences, institutions, messages, public figures, media, icons and emotionality represented in the literary *corpus*?
- How do literary locations match with the actual geography of the historical events?

There have been previous attempts to build a spatial reading of Lisbon’s urban memory (e.g. Freire & Lousada, 2013). However, no other outcome ever explored the evocative capacity of the literary text and its historical attractiveness.

2. Material and methods

The literary *corpus* is a sample of 23 fictional writings in the Portuguese language published up to the end of 2013 (Appendix 1) and chosen among other things for their mention of the occurrences of the “week of prodigies”, a continuous dissemination and a relevant literary impact on society. Propagandistic works published during the years after the major revolutionary events which failed to rise above mere factual representation have been excluded. To the eight volumes from the collection of fictional narratives commissioned to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Carnation Revolution by the Caminho editors (1999), we added another 15 literary works in which the “week of prodigies” is part of the narrative, or mentioned by characters as a relevant earlier period of their lives. Some of the most known contemporary Portuguese writers are represented. Among these: José Saramago, António Lobo Antunes, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, Mário de Carvalho, Teolinda Gersão or Lídia Jorge.

In order to highlight the geography and the meaning of the “week of prodigies” in their literary representations, a methodological practice was used combining reasoning and interpretation with a quantitative application of the subjects studied.

We set up a matrix of seven fixed and observer-independent categories to conduct a conventional content analysis of the whole literary texts (Table 1). From each work, a set of excerpts with the required “Occurrences” plus six other categories (“Institutions”, “Messages”, “Public figures”, “Media”, “Icons”, “Emotionality”) were identified. This covers the entire representation of the Carnation Revolution within the literary works (but not their entire texts).

Literary descriptions are spatially referenced to one or more locations wherever place-names are mentioned in the set of excerpts. The number of times a certain location explicitly appears is ignored because of its closer link to stylist options rather than the relevance of places in the narrative. A literary map is produced with this information and then compared with a map of the Revolution compiled by the project *Lisboa em (R)evolução* (<http://atlas.fcsh.unl.pt/omeka/geolocation/map/browse>). This last map presents a detailed geography of the events improving previous work (e.g. Mascarenhas & Reis, 1998, pp. 154-161).

Strengthening the appealing character of literature for understanding and memorisation of history, we designed a historical trail supported by literary descriptions. This trail takes ‘remembering’ to mean putting pieces back together (as *re-membering*). A sequence of text fragments are associated with an itinerary of “places of memory” (*lieux de mémoire*) to describe, explain, reflect

and question the more relevant historical events that took place in the “revolutionary Lisbon”.

Table 1 – Classification of categories for content analysis

Category	References to the...	Code
Occurrences	real or fictional events taking place between the eve of April 25 to the May 1, 1974, such as military movements, occupations, clashes between opposites, public appearances and popular demonstrations.	OCC
Institutions	bodies and organisations linked to the ousted regime or to the revolutionary events mentioned by either their real or fictional names.	INS
Messages	slogans, posters, signs, mural paintings, press releases, speeches and other texts, including transcripts of verse, containing greetings, clarifications and claims.	MSG
Public figures	known persons associated with the ousted regime or the revolutionary events, mentioned by their real or fictional name, and also type-figures, such as the anti-fascist militant or political police informant.	FIG
Media	role of newspapers, radio or television, as information centres and broadcasters’ of the news of events.	MED
Icons	elements which later became the icons of the Carnation Revolution, such as the song, <i>Grândola, Vila Morena</i> and the red carnations.	ICO
Emotionality	spontaneous feelings of fear and anxiety (the most in the early stages), and enthusiasm, happiness and euphoria.	EMO

3. Results

3.1 Content by categories

By auditing the literary discourse against the content analysis categories (Table 2), only eight works of a possible 23 have the seven different categories [1, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 23].

There are evocations or descriptions of the more relevant true occurrences recorded during the “week of prodigies”:

- April, 24: the radio broadcast of the song *E Depois do Adeus*, the first trigger signal for the coup [12 and 23];

- April, 25: the radio broadcast of the song *Grândola, Vila Morena*, the second signal confirming the ongoing process [12 and 23]; the movement of military vehicles coming in to the capital city [17]; occupation of the main media, such as radio and television studios [1, 9, 10, and 12]; mobilisation and contacts between military forces supporting the regime and the revolutionaries [1, 4 and 7]; troops on the roads and the streets of Lisbon, particularly in the strategic locations of governmental power, such as Terreiro do Paço square, Carmo square and in front of the headquarters of the

secret police PIDE/DGS, in António Maria Cardoso street, among others [all]; the people in the streets, watching and participating in the events [all except 1, 6, 12, 14, 15, 17 and 20]

- April, 26: people in the streets, watching and participating in the events, including the concentration near the headquarters of the PIDE/DGS, clashes and the secret police’s surrender [1, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13 and 21]; people concentrating on the prison of Caxias, where political prisoners were released [2, 4, 9, 10, 11, 14 and 21]; television presentation of the Military Board (Junta de Salvação Nacional) [4 and 10];

- April, 28 and 30: the return of political exiles (such as Mário Soares, leader of the Socialist Party, and Álvaro Cunhal, leader of the Communist Party) [4, 9, 10 and 22];

- April, 29: the publication of the Military Board’s decision decreeing Labour Day as a national holiday [10];

- May, 1: Labour Day celebration, with demonstrations and meetings [3, 9, 10 and 11];

Content analysis reveals a maximum of times for MSG (n=21). There are frequent references to slogans that call for freedom, democracy and unity, and acclaim the military revolutionaries. The more expressive popular shouts are the following:

- «li-ber-da-de li-ber-da-de li-ber-da-d e», words separated by drawn-out syllables to indicate enjoyment of the moment [7];

- «LIBERDADE. VITÓRIA!», words in uppercase for expressing joy at the victory [9];

- «O povo unido jamais será vencido» [10] or «O Povo! Unido! Jamais-será-vencido!» [11], expressing the collective sense of unity and trust in the popular will; «o povo está com o MFA» [1] or «Viva a aliança povo-MFA» [10], proclaiming the people’s support to the military revolutionaries;

- «Eme-Efe-A! Eme-Efe-A!» [11], spelled the acronym of the military movement (MFA) which the writer affirmed to be the acronym of the revolution itself; «Vitória! Democracia! Liberdade! Povo Unido!» [11], together in celebrating the wishes of a free democratic regime;

- «VIVA AS FORÇAS ARMADAS», «INDEPENDÊNCIA DAS COLÓNIAS E REGRESSO DOS SOLDADOS», «FINALMENTE PORTUGAL, AMOR, JUSTIÇA, LIBERDADE, NÃO À GUERRA COLONIAL, PAZ, TRABALHO, PÃO», «RECONHECIMENTO IMEDIATO DA REP. GUINÉ-BISSAU» [10], various slogans spelled in uppercase, allegedly displayed on Labour Day demonstrations, demanding freedom, peace, labour and food, the end of the colonial war and the independence of the colonies.

Among these 21 works, 14 mention the MFA statements broadcast on radio in the early hours of April 25. The Military recommended the inhabitants of Lisbon to stay at home. They explained the objectives of the troop movements and expressed the will that there be no bloodshed, assuming an action of liberation. The first announcement was transmitted at 4:26, but the fifth and sixth announcements were more reflected in literature texts. These were issued at 7:30 and 8:45, and were the

first ones to clearly establish the political goal of the movement. They therefore resound more in the radio listeners' memories. The works of Almeida Faria [3], Álvaro Guerra [4], Lobo Antunes [7], Carlos Brito [8], Filomena M. Beja [9] and José Saramago [14] even transcribe part of these announcements that always began by an identification of the new holders of power - «Aqui posto de comando do Movimento das Forças Armadas» - and ended up with a nationalist salute - «Viva Portugal».

The media's role is highlighted, mentioned 18 times out of a possible 23, not just by the radio emissions which provided the signals for the military coup and spread the first news, but also by the newspapers and television. José Cardoso Pires [11] wrote that people concentrated in front of the GNR (National Republican Guard) headquarters (Quartel do Carmo) followed the events elsewhere by listening to the radio. In the works of Almeida Faria [3] and Álvaro Guerra [4] characters went to the office of *República* (a prestigious newspaper against the dictatorship) to find out news about the coup.

Songs and carnations are the symbols of the "week of prodigies". Several works mention the gift of red carnations to the soldiers on April 25 and the flowers placed in gun barrels [2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16 and 23], the symbolic image of a revolution almost without shots, violence and bloodshed. Among the songs heard during these days, *Grândola, Vila Morena* is still the hymn to liberty and popular will. This song by José Afonso (Zeca Afonso, the most recognised protest singer of the period of the dictatorship) is mentioned in six works [4, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 23]. Álvaro Guerra [4] and José Saramago [12] even transcribe the first four verses: "Grândola vila morena/ terra da fraternidade/ o povo é quem mais ordena/ dentro de ti ó cidade" On the other hand, J. Cardoso Pires [11] mentions people concentrating in Carmo square: "[u]m mar de gente a entoar Grândola Vila Morena, um imenso coro a declarar solenemente a terra da fraternidade diante dum quartel de malditos onde se tinha refugiado o Governo".²

Since the early hours of the April 25, many people ignored the MFA's pleas to stay at home and came to the places where the events were happening. Literary works included in the *corpus* mainly express the popular support for the military coup. Fear would have ended [3, 4 and 16]; hope and joy would be the dominant feelings [4, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 22 and 23]. But Almeida Faria [3], António Lobo Antunes [7], José Saramago [12], Mário de Carvalho [18] and Rui Zink [21] call upon characters that react against the revolution or distrust it, representing different political views and interpreting the great social tensions generated at that time. Also depicting the times that followed, Urbano T. Rodrigues [23] wrote: "[o]s mortos-vivos de ontem escutando a rádio em ansiedade, nas suas casas, vão tornar-se pessoas diferentes. Alguns até se hão-de mascarar de democratas."³

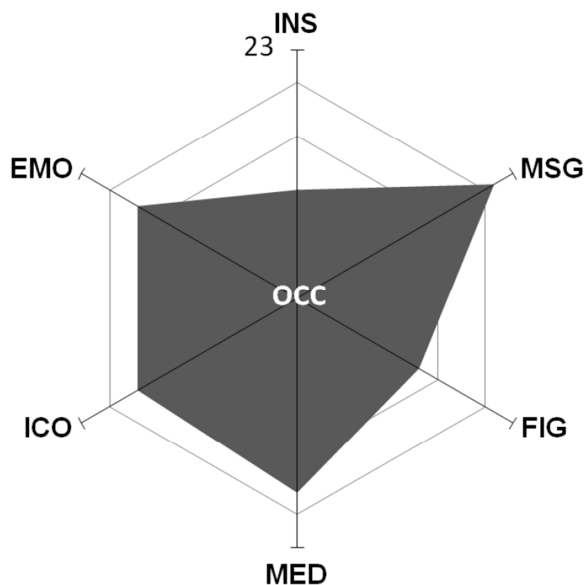
Table 2 – Occurrence of the seven categories per literary work

Literary works	OCC	INS	MSG	FIG	MED	ICO	EMO
[1]							
[2]							
[3]							
[4]							
[5]							
[6]							
[7]							
[8]							
[9]							
[10]							
[11]							
[12]							
[13]							
[14]							
[15]							
[16]							
[17]							
[18]							
[19]							
[20]							
[21]							
[22]							
[23]							

Figure 1 shows the data structure according to the content analysis procedure. The frequency of the seven categories is quite similar except for INS (n=10) and FIG (n=13). Amongst descriptions of the events and facts, literary representations of the Carnation Revolution emphasise above all the symbolic and dramatic dimension contained in the icons and messages, and the emotions experienced by the people. The military men of the revolution (e.g. Salgueiro Maia, Otelo, Spínola), the deposed leaders Marcelo Caetano and Américo Tomás and the institutions involved (identified by their name or acronym, like «MFA», «Junta de Salvação Nacional», or «PIDE/DGS») were mentioned less than other aspects in the analysed narratives. The literary portrait emphasises the collective over the individual, the anonymous over the personified and the emotional over the rational, as these excerpts testify: "[n]ão sei descrever o dia de hoje: as tropas, os carros de combate, a felicidade, as palavras de alegria, o nervosismo, o puro júbilo" [14]⁴; "(...) neste momento há um poder que cai e outro se levanta, e a vida inteira não chega para conter este instante, há uma música subindo, uma voz, uma canção, uma embriaguez de festa partilhada, de repente nada mais é igual ao que foi sempre, há tanques de guerra subindo as ruas, mas a guerra acabou e as pessoas abraçam os soldados levando flores na mão" [22].



Figure 1 – Relationship between the occurrences (OCC) and the other categories of content in the literary corpus



There is a monotonic increasing relationship between the number of categories and the number of literary locations mentioned in each work (Appendix 1). Spearman rank-order coefficient reveals a strong correlation between these variables (r_s 0.8631; p -value $< .01$). Works with richer content for the target period are also those with a greater number of locations for the events described. More than 20 locations are found in the works of Álvaro Guerra [4] and Filomena M. Beja [9]. José Cardoso Pires [10] and Urbano T. Rodrigues [23] however have each of the seven categories. All tell the experiences of their characters among the people of Lisbon, going from place to place, following the main events and participating in popular demonstrations. Only five works of a possible 23 do not mention any locations: in [6, 15, 18 and 19], the characters are outside Lisbon; in [20], a remembrance of the events of April 25 1974 occurs in a totally destroyed Lisbon, short on geographic references.

3.2 Mapping the Revolution with GIS

3.2.1 The literary geography vs. the historical geography

There is a substantial difference between the total number of locations mentioned in the literary corpus ($n=71$) and the total number of historical places georeferenced ($n=43$). This difference can be partially explained by the focus on military and political operations applied to collect the geography of the Carnation Revolution in the project *Lisboa em (R)evolução*. The only exceptions are the popular demonstrations which occurred near the headquarters of the PIDE/DGS, the release of prisoners in Caxias and the reception of Mário Soares and Álvaro Cunhal. Instead, the writers seem to have given more relevance to the individual and

collective experiences of the people of Lisbon when depicting the military operations.

This has an impact in accounting for matching Carnation Revolution's sites and literary geography, as shown in figure 2. Of all the literary locations 61% ($n=43$) do not match any historical sites. Nevertheless, 65% of these sites ($n=28$) match the literary locations. These results clearly suggest that the literary representations are influenced by the actual geography. But they also indicate the creative exercise of authors who diversify the literary space of revolution adding a number of locations because of their close link with the fictional experiences of the characters. These include pathways with less relevance to the movement of troops and to smaller popular demonstrations.

Historical events are dispersed, noticeably in the city and its surroundings, corresponding to military objectives which, although relevant to the MFA, often went unnoticed by most of the people. Thus, these aspects have tended to remain outside of the collective memory or have been forgotten. In literary representations, there are also under represented drives of regime supporters, such as the occupation of some streets in the city-centre by forces of GNR and the 7th Cavalry Regiment, the meeting of some ministers in Monsanto after fleeing Terreiro do Paço, or the encounter between MFA and Américo Tomás, the overthrown president at his home in Restelo, to take him into exile. The stories seem to disregard the losers, confirming the well-known cliché that "history is written by the victors".

We shall notice a representative example of the relationship between the historical events and their literary depiction. The events prior to the radio broadcast of the song *Grândola, Vila Morena* (April 25 at 00:20, Radio Renascença, Rua Ivens), that acted as the second signal for the beginning of the military operations, are not spatially referenced. The fact that these were mere tactical objectives (including the Practical School of Military Communications or the Practical School of Military Administration) shrouded in secrecy and discretion, removed them from a direct impact on the public space and on the citizen attendance and participation, and from other features that are more often portrayed in the literature.

Figure 2 shows a concentration of locations within the city-centre (highlighted). This is the core of the "revolutionary Lisbon", where we found 42% ($n=30$) of the literary locations and 35% ($n=15$) of the Carnation Revolution sites. Furthermore, 73% of Carnation Revolution sites in this area ($n=11$) match literary locations, which is far different from the 41% ($n=17$) outside this area. This shows the geography of the Carnation Revolution captured in the literature over the last 40 years, was mainly in the core-area, where it was the most depicted in line with the real events.

Figure 2 – Carnation Revolution's sites vs. its literary geography

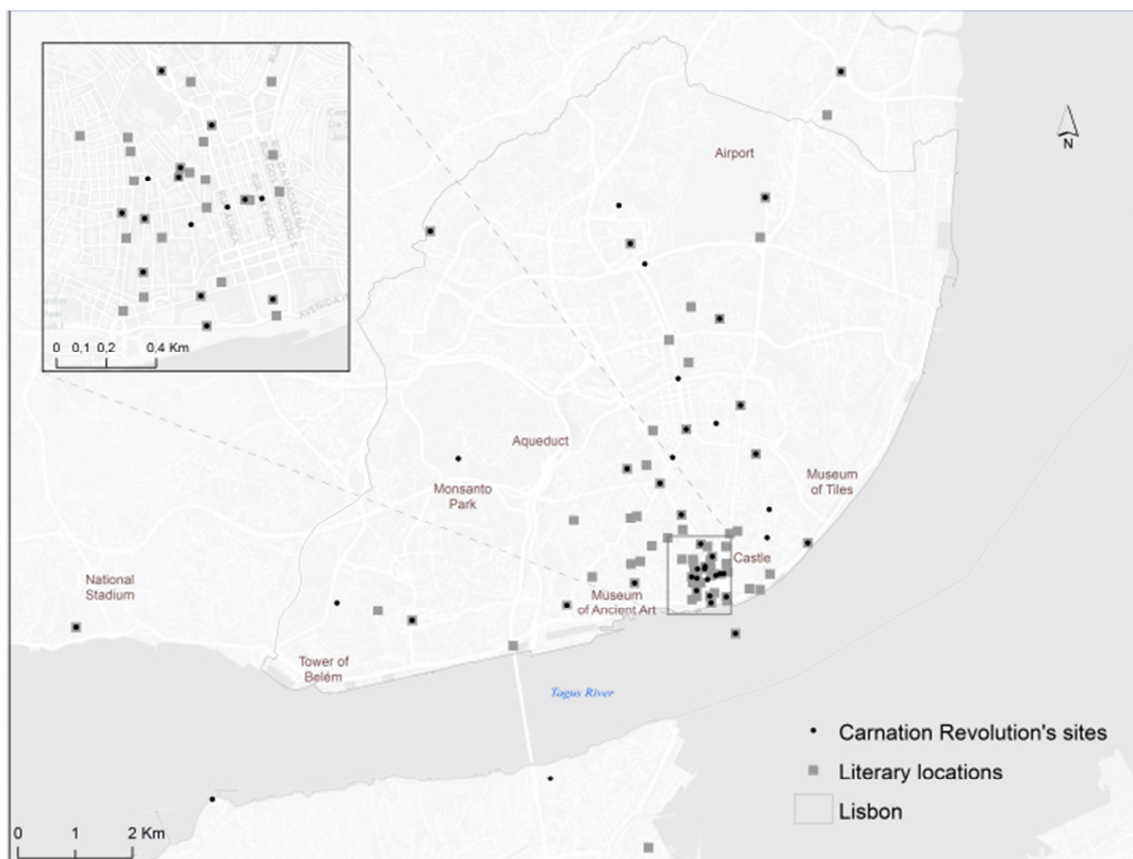


Figure 3 – Literary locations' frequency per classes. The top ten are marked from A to J ($f \geq 5$)

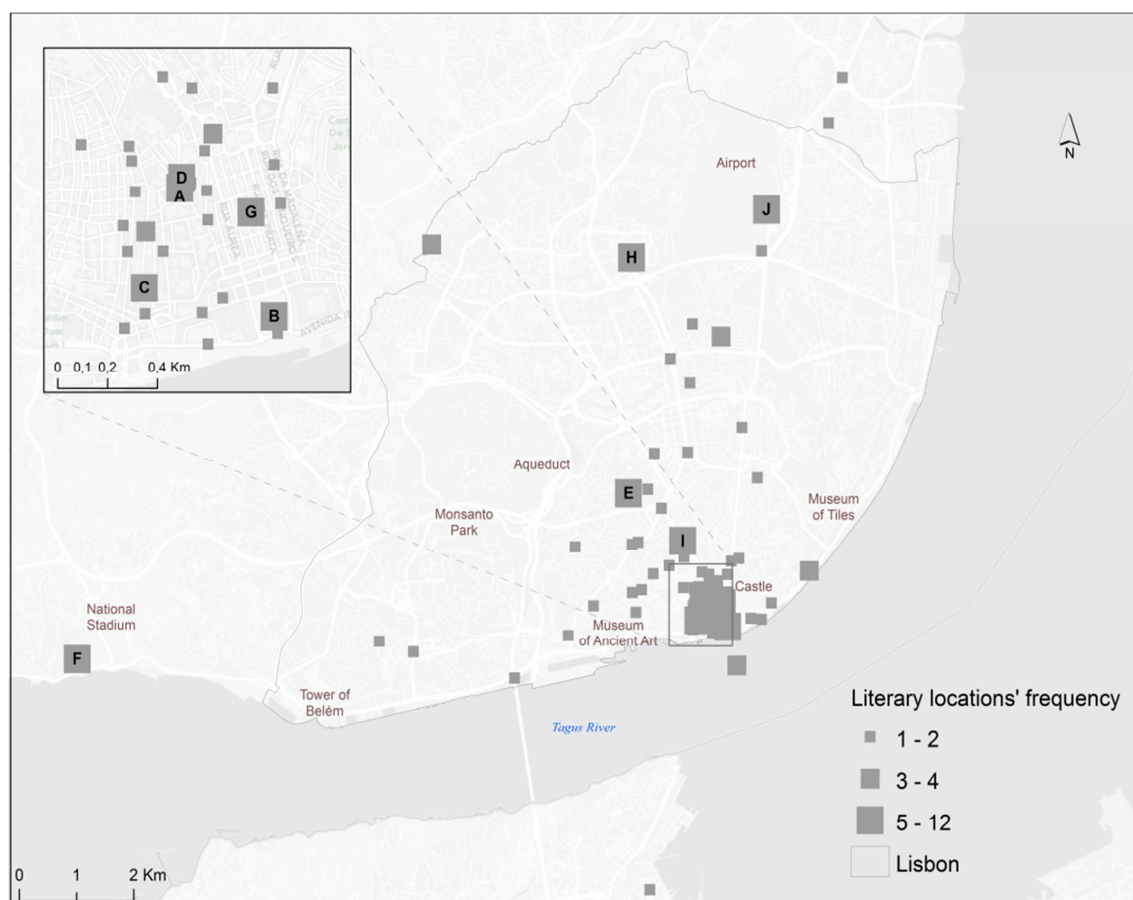


Table 3 - The top ten of literary locations (f ≥ 5)

Ref.	Literary locations	Frequency
A	Largo do Carmo	12
B	Terreiro do Paço	10
C	Rua António Maria Cardoso	8
D	Quartel do Carmo	8
E	Rádio Clube Português	8
F	Prisão de Caxias	7
G	Baixa	5
H	RTP - Estúdios Lumiar	5
I	Avenida da Liberdade	5
J	Aeroporto da Portela	5

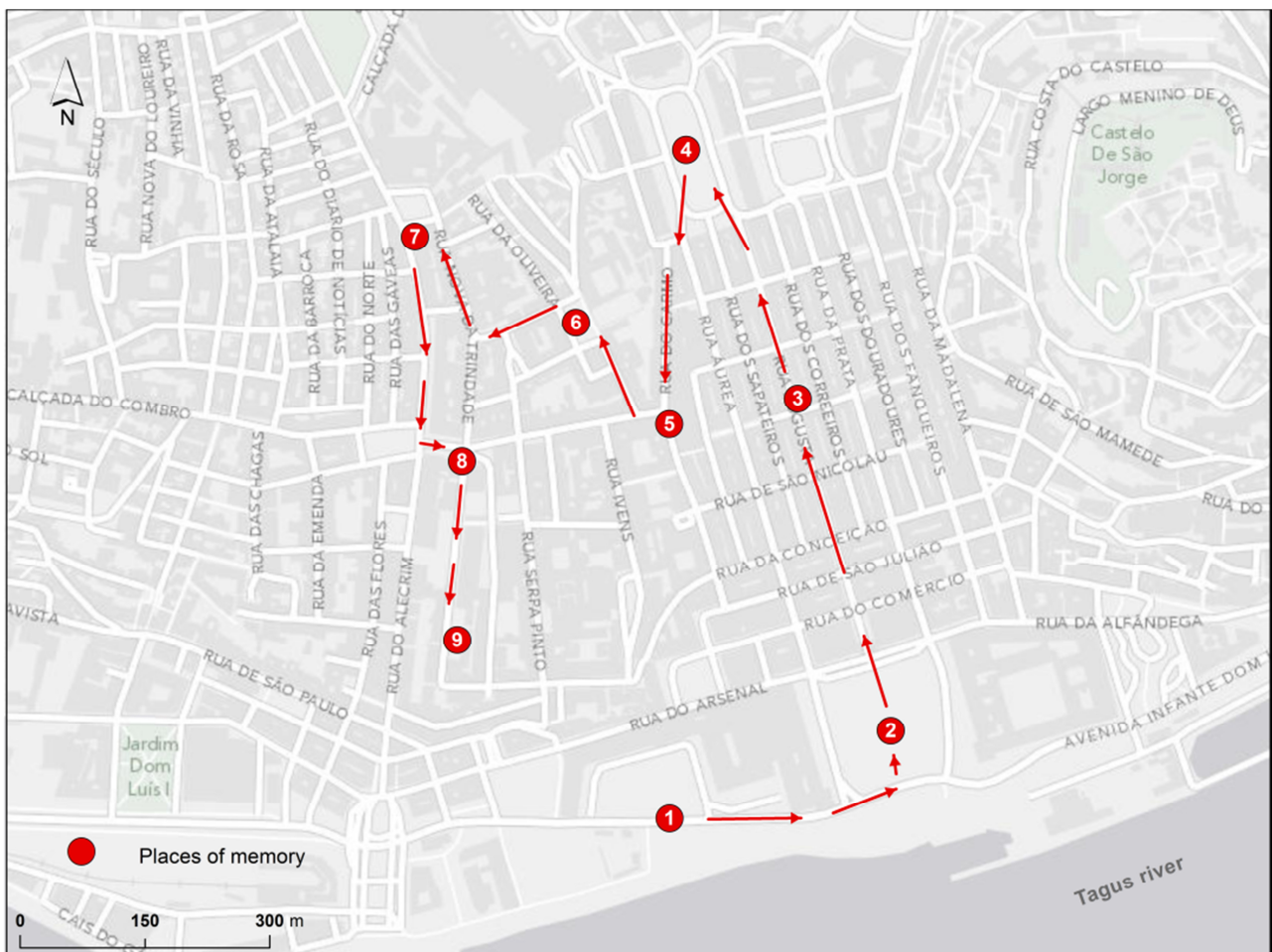
3.2.2 Places of memory

Figure 3 shows the frequency of each literary location in the 23 works analysed. Locations in the city centre are mentioned more often. Among the top ten literary locations (f ≥ 5, see Table 3), half of these are in the core of the “revolutionary Lisbon”.

The core corresponds to the main political, economic and social space of Lisbon. Here occurred the most dramatic moments of the military rebellion and the spontaneous popular demonstrations, which transformed the military coup into a revolution (Ferreira 1994; Reis 1996; Rosas 2010).

Largo do Carmo (f=12) is the most prominent location in the literature. This emphasis could be even higher if we combined its frequency with references to Quartel do Carmo, the headquarters of GNR (f=8). Together, both locations are mentioned in 65% of the works (n=15). This is followed by Terreiro do Paço (f=10) and Rua António Maria Cardoso. The crucial acts for the regime takeover happened in these four locations. Still in this core-area, Baixa corresponds to a set of large and bustling streets and downtown squares where people demonstrated their support for the MFA. Outside of this, the other five locations have strong strategic and iconic meanings. Two of these are related to information control and dissemination: RCP – Rádio Clube Português, the radio station which broadcast the MFA’s announcements, and RTP – Rádio Televisão Portuguesa, the Television studios (at that time located in Lumiar neighbourhood). Avenida da Liberdade (meaning Liberty Avenue) is Lisbon’s main boulevard and a place of popular demonstrations of rejoicing. Prisão de Caxias was the prison where political prisoners were held by the deposed dictatorship and they were liberated on April 26. Finally, the Airport (Aeroporto) that was occupied by the military revolutionaries was also a place for the arrival of political refugees and leaders of the opposition on April 30.

Figure 4 – Walk through the Revolution: a historical trail in the centre of Lisbon



Literary representations strongly associate the Carnation Revolution with the centre of Lisbon. These are spatially defined by the key sites of this historical plot in a significant number of works.

Despite this, depictions are not always similarly located across the literary *corpus*. Different scenarios are related to the experiences of characters over the "week of prodigies". 59% of the literary locations (n=42) are mentioned in only one work; 18% are mentioned in only two works.

The Carnation Revolution earns a particular extended space in four of the literary works (more than 20 locations in each). Three of these [4, 9 and 10] not only describe the early events of the "week of prodigies" but the sequence of the major events, which includes: the liberation of the political prisoners, the arrival of the political refugees and the huge demonstration of May 1 outside the core-area of the "revolutionary Lisbon"; [23] describes in detail a journey of a character in inner conflict: his romantic relationship ends painfully on the day the longed freedom begins.

4. Memories from a week of prodigies

The early moments of the Carnation Revolution are described as a very positive historical event in the Portuguese fiction. This is not oblivious to the fact that it finally introduced democracy and, among other changes, ended the colonial war, the secret policy and censorship. The latter being the hardest constraint on intellectuals who were victims for the 48 year-long dictatorship.

Literary works reflect the collective memory, retain it and, potentially, magnify it to an audience who has not lived those events. By an exertion of literary skills to communicate facts and feelings, the novels, the stories and the play, previously analysed, present vivid descriptions of the occurrences referenced to places (focused on the centre of Lisbon, as we see above), and gave them a strong meaning. Through these readings, the events and their locations can be aggregated into a web of memories representing our understanding of this historical event.

Seeking to contribute to a "scientific history on the basis of collective memory" (Le Goff 1992, p. 95), we

suggest a remembering procedure that follows current academic arguments about the emergence of collective memories: "we think and talk about changes in the world around us, we weave together discrete episodes to create a narrative. Events along the timeline of this narrative are connected by associations" (Lee *et al* 2010, p. 1).

Places of memory are the staging points of the historical trail we call *Walk through the Revolution* (fig. 4). These were chosen according to the relative and relevant content of the literary excerpts selected from the alternatives found in the *corpus* and their geographical coincidence with facts recorded by other historical sources (Appendix 2). The sequence was established in order to build a spatial narrative that respects the chronology, helping people to feel the environment and associate episodes among themselves and with their locations (Table 4). The complete trail has 2.5 km long and its duration is dependent on the time dwelt at each point, and on the readings conducted onsite.

With the same literary material, it would be possible to add more places of remembrance to the historical trail, or to create alternative appropriate narratives. Obviously, this paper does not exhaust all options for exploring the literary *corpus* on the "week of prodigies". Rather, the intention is to encourage the appreciation of literature as a historical support and repository for a specific range of values, beliefs and traditions which unites individuals through an idea of a shared past. This procedure has become increasingly relevant in contemporary rushed societies, characterised by oblivion and superficiality, on the treatment of the achievements of recent history. Lisbon, its inhabitants and its visitors, will benefit from celebrating these past memorable days toward understanding the present and, hopefully, reinforcing the political and social consciousness. As Le Goff (1992, p. 99) stated, "[m]emory, on which history draws and which it nourishes in return, seeks to save the past in order to serve the present and the future. Let us act in such a way the collective memory may serve the liberation and not the enslavement of human beings."



Table 4 – *Walk through the Revolution: a spatial narrative with nine places of memory*

Historical trail	
1	<p>Arsenal/Ribeira das Naus/ Rio Tejo Commissioned to overthrow the regime, troops enter the city of Lisbon [17, 70]. The early moments were dominated by a great military tension with an unanticipated outcome. [7, 83 and 206]; [9, 96]; [16, 40]. People questioned the political orientation of the coup. [4, 25]; [7, 232]; [8, 49 – 51]; [10, 70]. The events are recorded by the cameras of common people and professional photographers. [9, 95]; [20, 162].</p>
2	<p>Terreiro do Paço Lack of freedom, poverty and the colonial war were motivations to ending dictatorship. [2, 20]; [21,109]. The pro and anti-government military found themselves in front of the ministries without any clashes. Also, the frigate stationed in the Tagus river refused to fire on the troops parked in the square. [10, 81]; [11, 338].</p>
3	<p>Baixa/Rua Augusta People in the streets report the events to family and friends by phone. Many others stay at home: schools and factories remain closed. [5, 184]; [8, 54]; [9, 94]; [14, 311]; [17, 76]. The announcements of MFA are more and more enlightening about the aims of the revolution [8, 51]; [11, 338]. Outside the capital, the country follows the events reported listening to the MFA, protest songs and military marches broadcast by radio. [1, 29]; [3, 146]; [6, 49]; [13, 350- 352]; [19, 92 and 97].</p>
4	<p>Rossio On this square, a florist distributed to soldiers a consignment of red carnations, a delivery she no longer expected to undertake; others followed her, seconding the euphoria of the population and celebrating the revolt. [9, 97]; [10, 87]. Even those men from the military that are reticent or afraid in the early moments, decided to join the MFA. Only a few stay supportive of the regime. [7, 212 and 216]. Groups discussed the events, and the names of those responsible for the military coup began to emerge. [23, 25].</p>
5	<p>Rua do Carmo/Rua Nova do Almada Rumours about what was going on spread in the whirl of events. [4, 23]; [10, 81]. Military forces together with people in the streets showed their trust in the win. [3,116]; [7,233]; [9, 97]; [18,106]; [23, 23].</p>
6	<p>Quartel da GNR/Largo do Carmo Largo do Carmo is the most emblematic location of the events that occurred on April 25. Hundreds of people concentrated in this square saw the main events. For hours, people gave speeches, sang and shouted slogans. [2, 22]; [3, 99]; [4, 24 - 26]; [7, 193,198, 200 and 203]; [10, 91]; [11, 344-348]; [23, 22].</p>
7	<p>Misericórdia/República Insights about the coup arrived early in newspapers. [12, 46, 73 and 120]. People eager for more information drove up to their offices and bought the new issues. [4, 23]; [23,19].</p>
8	<p>Chiado Happiness and unity spread through the city. Over the day, more and more people left home and came to the city centre saluting the MFA and the end of the dictatorship. [9, 106]; [11, 341-342]; [14, 311]; [15, 133]; [16, 48]; [22,124]; [23, 21].</p>
9	<p>PIDE-DGS/Rua António Maria Cardoso People and the military rebels surround the headquarters of the secret police. It was the one of the most tense moments of the coup and one in which there was bloodshed. [2, 62]; [9, 99]; [10, 108-114]; [11, 349]; [13, 354].</p>

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Endnotes

¹ Lídia Jorge call April 25 the "day of prodigies" and use this as the title for her first novel, *The Day of Prodigies*, 1979; Filomena Marona Beja subsequently extended the designation to the period until the 1st of May (*Bute daí, Zé!*, 2012, p. 99).

² "A sea of people forming a huge choir that solemnly declares the land of brotherhood in front of a quarters of the damned where Government had taken refuge".

³ “The living dead of yesterday are eagerly listening to the radio at home but they will become different people. Some even should wear a mask of Democrats.”

⁴ “I cannot describe this day: the troops, the tanks, the happiness, the words of joy, the nervousness, the pure elation”.

⁵ “[a]t the moment there is a power that falls and another that rises, and a lifetime is not enough to contain this moment; there is a soaring music, a voice, a song, a drunkenness of shared party; suddenly nothing is the same as it has always been; there are tanks up the streets, but the war is over and people embrace the soldiers with flowers in hand.”

Appendix 1 - Literary *corpus*: fictional writings mentioning the Carnation Revolution

	References (year of 1 st edition)	Genre	Categories	Locations
[1]	Alexandre Pinheiro Torres, 1999, <i>Amor, só amor, tudo amor</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	novel	7	4
[2]	Alice Vieira, 1999, <i>Vinte cinco a sete vozes</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	5	4
[3]	Almeida Faria, 2014, <i>Lusitânia</i> , Lisboa: Assírio e Alvim (1980)	novel	6	6
[4]	Álvaro Guerra, 1998, <i>Café 25 de Abril</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1986)	novel	7	23
[5]	António Lobo Antunes, 1994, <i>A morte de Carlos Gardel</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1994)	novel	5	3
[6]	António Lobo Antunes, 2000, <i>As Naus</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1988)	novel	4	0
[7]	António Lobo Antunes, 2000, <i>Fado Alexandrino</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (1983)	novel	7	14
[8]	Carlos Brito, 1999, <i>Vale a pena ter esperança</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	7	3
[9]	Filomena Marona Beja, 2010, <i>Bute daí, Zé!</i> , Lisboa: Sextante (2010)	novel	7	29
[10]	Germano Almeida, 1999, <i>Dona Pura e os Camaradas de Abril</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	novel	7	25
[11]	José Cardoso Pires, 1999, <i>Alexandra Alpha</i> , Lisboa: Publicações Dom Quixote (1987)	novel	7	8
[12]	José Saramago, 2006, <i>A Noite</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1979)	play	5	4
[13]	José Saramago, 2002, <i>Levantado do Chão</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1980)	novel	5	1
[14]	José Saramago, 1986, <i>Manual de Pintura e Caligrafia</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1977)	novel	4	1
[15]	Lídia Jorge, 1985, <i>O Dia dos Prodígios</i> , Mem-Martins: Edições Europa-América (1980)	novel	4	0
[16]	Maria Isabel Barreno, 1999, <i>As vésperas esquecidas</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	6	8
[17]	Mário de Carvalho, 1999, <i>Apuros de um pessimista em fuga</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	2	1
[18]	Mário de Carvalho, 2003, <i>Era bom que trocássemos umas ideias sobre o assunto</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1995)	novel	2	0
[19]	Mia Couto, 1999, <i>Vinte e zinco</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	4	0
[20]	Patrícia Reis, 2011, <i>Por este Mundo acima</i> , Lisboa: Dom Quixote (2011)	novel	3	0
[22]	Rui Zink, 1995, <i>Hotel Lusitano</i> , Mem-Martins: Edições Europa-América (1986)	novel	3	1
[21]	Teolinda Gersão, 1982, <i>Paisagem com mulher e mar ao fundo</i> , Lisboa: O Jornal (1982)	novel	5	4
[23]	Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, 1999, <i>O último dia e o primeiro</i> , Lisboa: Caminho (1999)	story	7	27

Appendix 2 - April 25-26, major historical events on the centre of Lisbon (adapted from “Lisboa em (R)evolução” website)

1	<p>Arsenal/Ribeira das Naus/ Rio Tejo</p> <p>Early morning, military forces assigned to the regime approach the rebels (MFA) parked nearby; in the Tagus river, a Navy frigate received orders to fire on the MFA forces who besieged the ministries but it refused to comply; at 10:00, another military force arrived to fight the MFA troops but the soldiers refused to shoot; meanwhile, people know what is happening because of the announcements transmitted by radio.</p>
2	<p>Terreiro do Paço</p> <p>The rebels control the ministries located in this square and police forces (PSP) start to obey Salgueiro Maia, one of the heroes of the revolution; the ministers ran away and the rebels controlled the situation: then, the Salgueiro Maia column moved out of Terreiro do Paço to Carmo Square where the President of the Ministers Counsel (Marcelo Caetano) and other political leaders were hiding.</p>
3	<p>Baixa/Rua Augusta</p> <p>Against the pleas of the MFA regularly broadcast by radio, people came to the street and surrounded the armed forces in large demonstrations of joy; military vehicles cross the streets. Several forces of the regime stationed in Baixa's streets, gave up as the news of the rebels movements start to spread and more people walked through the city centre.</p>
4	<p>Rossio</p> <p>At 12:00, the euphoric population surrounded the pro-government forces that tried to stop the Salgueiro Maia column making them inoperable, fraternising with the soldiers who afterwards joined the MFA; throughout the morning, other military groups abandoned the pro-government commands.</p>
5	<p>Rua do Carmo/Rua Nova do Almada</p> <p>At 12:15, surrounded by a crowd of civilians, the Salgueiro Maia column climbed the Rua do Carmo.</p>
6	<p>Quartel da GNR/Largo do Carmo</p> <p>The Salgueiro Maia column arrived at Carmo Square at 12:30 and began a five hour siege of the GNR headquarters and negotiations for the surrender of the government. Meanwhile more and more people gathered in and around the square. During the negotiations, two bursts of machine gun were fired against the façade. Finally, Marcelo Caetano surrendered to General Spínola and he was sent to exile.</p>
7	<p>Misericórdia/República</p> <p>After several decades, newspapers published their first issues without censorship. All the main news and communications facilities were in the hands of, or controlled by the MFA.</p>
8	<p>Chiado</p> <p>The number of people circulating and bunching in the streets and squares around Chiado was such that pro-government forces loyal to the regime, who had tried to siege the Carmo Square, ended up quitting as they could not manoeuvre their vehicles while some of the soldiers began to mingle with the population.</p>
9	<p>PIDE-DGS/Rua António Maria Cardoso</p> <p>The siege of the headquarters of the political police began on the morning of April 25 but with little success. In the evening, after the MFA proclamation on television, people gathered in larger numbers around the headquarters; guns from inside the building were used against the crowd leaving 4 killed and 45 wounded. More military forces arrived but the trapped police agents only surrendered on the morning of the next day.</p>