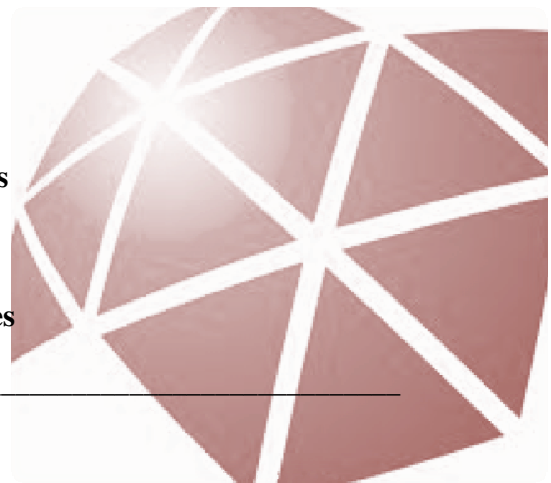


Exile: one history in three dimensions

Exílio: uma história em três dimensões



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Abstract: In the 20th century the rise of fascist regimes results in large numbers of opponents seeking exile trying to flee death by summary execution or confinement in concentration camps. Portugal experiences one of the longest lasting dictatorships, which imposed on its opponents a long exile, which for most lasted their entire lives. These exiles and emigrants sought refuge in several parts of the world, either in the former emigrant centres or in countries where a democratic state favoured their stay. And of the life stories demand a rehabilitation of several ‘historical spaces’, in the case of these exiles these ‘spaces’ have another dimension. To the local dimension, origin and building of the characters and the context of ‘national’ where they are inserted in a moment of maturity, one can add another, a supranational one, that is, the history of the host countries, a basis for the understanding of the relationships established during the exile. Taking the Portuguese case as a starting point, this paper is meant to highlight some important points in the writing of the exiles’ biographies, taking into account the necessity of cross checking the three aforementioned spaces, the rereading of the already produced historiography and the problems of ‘official memory’.

Keywords: biographies; exiles; historiography.

Resumo: No século XX, a ascensão dos regimes fascistas leva ao exílio opositores que procuravam fugir da morte pela execução sumária ou pelo confinamento aos campos de concentração. Portugal conhece um dos mais longos regimes de força, levando seus opositores a um longo degredo que, para uma grande maioria, durou toda a vida. Estes exilados e emigrados políticos buscaram refúgio nas mais diferentes partes do mundo, quer nos antigos núcleos de emigração ou em países onde o Estado democrático favorecia seu acolhimento. E se as histórias de vida exigem a recuperação de diversos “espaços históricos”, no caso dos exilados estes “espaços” possuem uma outra dimensão. À dimensão local, origem e formação dos personagens e ao contexto do “nacional”, em que estão inseridos num momento de maioridade, podemos acrescentar outro, “supranacional”, ou seja, a história dos países de acolhimento, uma base para a compreensão das relações estabelecidas no exílio. Tomando como ponto de partida o caso português, este trabalho pretende ressaltar alguns pontos importantes para a elaboração de biografias de exilados, tendo-se em conta a necessidade de cruzamento dos três espaços citados, a releitura da historiografia já produzida e os problemas da “memória oficial”.

Palavras-chave: biografias; exílios; historiografia; metodologia.

1. The politics of memory and the biographies of the resistance: the weight of established memories

Parecerá una tontería, termina Josefina Carabias, pero fue entonces la primera vez que tuvo la sensación de que don Manuel Azaña no estaba enterrado del todo. De que más tarde o más pronto se hablaría de nuevo de él, que despojado de la idolatría incondicional de algunos y del odio feroz de otros, tendría su lugar en la historia. (CARABIAS, 1980, p. 278).

The above passage is part of the report by the Spanish journalist Josefina Carabias. This is the report of a journey made to the resort visited often by Azaña, near the city of Barcelona in 1954. In the height of Francoism, the journalist is surprised to find a resident who kept a cup supposedly used by Azaña and forgotten in that instance, as a "relic". The story of the event is recreated by a biographer of Manuel Azaña in one of his most recent works. (JULIÁ, 2008, p. 467-468). With an inconclusive ending, this narrative represents a little of the complexity of the biographical work and the problem of "forgetfulness" imposed by dictatorial regimes to their opposition .

Indeed, the problem of "historical memory" in countries that have undergone a long period of dictatorship puts back on the agenda the genre of biography as a recurrent formula for this "recovery" of the "forgotten". In the case of Spain, as the above text underscores, signs of republicanism were "airbrushed" and even the names of antifrancoist were denigrated. The reactions against "el olvido" have been mixed. Biographies of leaders such as Manuel Azaña (JULIÁ, 2008), Juan Negrín (MORADIELLOS, 2008) or Largo Caballero (AROSTEGUI 2013) intend to restore the great void of historiographical analysis of the Republic and the Civil War not committed to the Franco regime. Used as a way to combat the myths created by the Francoist historiography, but without falling into the hagiographic genre employed by the "enemy", these historians rise against the forgetfulness imposed by the "official version of history." This is the case in the work *En el combate por la historia* (VIÑAS, 2012), a candid response to *Diccionario Biográfico de España*, 30 volumes, published by the Real Academia de la Historia, which, far from being purely a work of historical character, works as a perpetuating instrument of Francoist myths about Republicans and their regime.

This question is not restricted to the universe of dictatorial regimes and their "stories". For some European countries, the biographies are used in the post-war to present the idea of a cohesive opposition against the Nazi occupation. Therefore, for example, the image of the French Resistance is consolidated from their characters, always presented through a heroic biographical report. The most typical example is that of Jean Moulin, transfigured into a national hero after the transfer of their supposed "remains" for the National Pantheon in 1964.

The problem with this type of narrative is not the affirmation of the "hero," but its sublimation, in order to present his life story as a linear brand dedicated to "sacrifice for the Country." With regard to combatants of dictatorial regimes, questioning from the hagiographic standpoint should more than ever be the basis for preparing the work done by the historian. (PIKETTY, 1999). This is not to denigrate or demean the focus on the importance of the individual and his stance of opposition against state oppression or an external enemy, but try to understand the moment that made him decide to risk his own physical existence for an ideal. (VAST, 2010). The most recent work on the leaders of the anti-fascist resistance movements point in this direction, and recovering the old rule of Lucien Febvre (1976) present the "resistance" from another analysis angle. Focused on the analysis of the insertion of the individual in his social environment, the relationships established from the place of origin and life prior to his moment of engagement as a "resistance", these new works present a complex universe of considerations that span different spaces and times in the history of a country. (AZEMA, 2006). Or even, starting from the very "construction of the myth," the authors seek to understand how this does or does not meet the needs of a reality that, transcending the life of the "hero", uses the past to the state the present. (FRATISSIER, 2010).

The theme of "making heroes" is an old one, and several historians have worked or pointed out the danger of its presence in the biographical works. (BURKE, 1994; BOURDIEU, 1997; LE GOFF, 1989). However, when the results of the historian are the "forgotten", care should be redoubled. The construction of political exiles' biographies offers the biggest "danger" for the historian. In fact, he has to deal with two dangerous variants, the danger of the historiographical work, which may or may not confirm the biography built around the figure, or fall into jargon about this figure which is not always trusted.

In the case of Portugal, the dangers exist, but the gaps are much larger and the "forgotten", although more numerous, are overcome by the existing "heroes", born of the need to introduce "faces" endowed with meaning by the opposition or political parties. (PAULO, 2013). In the present work, we take as reference, for reflection of the task to be undertaken by the historian in preparing the biographies of some of the Portuguese exiles of the so-called Revirvalho¹. That is how the elements are named that, gone out from the Republic defeated by the military dictatorship of 1926, were the first to take direct action against the new regime. Known or unknown names are part of a list of exiles "erased" from the history during the 48 years of dictatorial regime that marked the period of the revenge of the military regime and of the Salazar in Portugal. (PAULO, 2008). Our references will be three characters well-known by the opposition leadership in the thirties and forties: Jaime de Morais, Jaime Cortesão e

Alberto Moura Pinto,² known by the nickname "Buddhas".³ The recovery of two major estates - Moura Pinto and Morais – allow us to reflect on the problems inherent in the work of biographical reconstruction, using the documents available in his private files as exemplifying elements.⁴

2. The dimensions of a biography: the exiles and their various stories

Now, owners of these conclusions about India, ask yourselves: what does the old Viso-King think? Cortesão and I already digressed and came up with a plan in the clouds; but this is not São João do Campo, or Arganil. And we both agreed that there was a beautiful political coup to give ... if perhaps V. was not in these remote lands "Albuquer Terrible" unfolding "tankards" and leaving a bad reputation of an inflexible and active vigilante. We unanimously voted that V. "had been honored," but ignored the extent to which V intended to coerce others to be the same way too.⁵

Calculate that the state already owes more than 10,000 pesos to me and my four children. The Bank of Spain would go bankrupt if it paid it all.⁶

Already late, the caravan was put in motion; women and children in small groups, accompanied by some men in front and behind the small ox cart, with its disproportionate pyramid, accompanied by another group of men. The path where we were going was not only a very rapid drop, but on the edge of a steep ravine, both covered with thick snow. I went out ahead with my wife, carrying a small suitcase of manuscripts, which I almost never let go of. Suddenly a car was heard behind, with all its cargo in the ravine below. The oxen remained above, and with them the group of the carrier and his companions, gesturing frantically. In the first moments a horrible feeling came over me. At the bottom of the immense ravine, buried in snow, would be my meager possessions, some already saved from so many shipwrecks. (CORTESÃO, 1980, p. 150).

The quote above can serve as a reference to the four basic aspects present in the biographical reconstruction of exiles. First, references to the origins, as in the cited case, places of birth and activities of Moura Pinto and Jaime Cortesão in Portugal, ie Arganil and São João do Campo. Second, the experiences lived before the exile, in the case of the past of Jaime de Morais as governor of Portuguese India and its relationship with tankards, as the Goans were known. (PAULO, 05/2013). Third, life in exile and the pattern of established relations, such as the insertion of the exiled in Brazil and the position to be taken in 1954, when at the invasion of the Portuguese possessions in India, or even the links maintained between Portuguese exiles and Spanish republican government. Finally, the weight of their own memories and the memory built around the exiled, in particular, the importance of autobiographical and oral testimonies.

In the files of political exiles it is common to find references to places of origin, characters or events that marked their careers before the exile. These are marks of a past that should serve the

historian as true contents of a rewritten history. Beyond the symbolism that is intrinsic to it as a place of belonging, the constant mention of the place of origin provides the historian with the possibility of decoding of the strongest elements that marked the course of the biography.⁷ It cannot be seen solely as an evocation of the desire to return, but as a source of information about events and influences that are part of an experience to be reconstructed. It is the first level of analysis for historians in the path of building of a biography. Understanding the interplay of forces that mark the period of formation of the biographee is paving the way for the understanding of their future choices and relationships they build, maintain or abandon over the coming years.

In the cases in question, the reporting of the origins involves two aspects to consider: the rural universe and regional peculiarities, effects that the exiles brought with them to urban centers where they went afterwards. Coming from towns or villages of well-demarcated regions, the Beiras - in the case of Moura Pinto and Cortesão, and Trás-os-Montes - for Morais, belonging to wealthy families, bring from the rural universe knowledge of a harsher reality in social terms, strongly influenced by the local culture, religiosity, and a universe of values that accentuates social inequalities. In addition to these traits, parts incorporated in the psychological profile of each of them, it is important to emphasize the relationships established with the social environment, as they are symbols of their own personal journey. Moura Pinto, even though he was born in Coimbra, started his political career in the Republican period as deputy of the Counsel of Arganil in the town of Côja, where his father's house is located, cited numerous times in its documentation, Quinta dos Vales. Establishing Arganil as his initial "political" base, Moura Pinto will be involved in local issues that marked his later career, through the establishment of politic alliances and enmities. For example, the failure of his intervention in the National Assembly during one of his terms - the realization of the railway passage by Arganil - caused his name to be looked down upon by local historians in detriment to his political trajectory as a parliamentary. (DIAS, 2006). Likewise, local hatreds were responsible for disruptions of old friendships, like the one established with Veiga Simão, that emerged as the "defender of Arganil's cause". Elevated to the national political level, such "breakup" can also be explained by partisan differences that put them on opposite sides in the parliamentary party. Such bonds and breakups mark his political life even in exile, since they are to influence contacts with the region and either open the possibility of support or not, to revolutionary advertising or action. In the case of Moura Pinto, one of their connecting elements, the young doctor Fernando do Vale, serves as spokesperson of the exiled opposition not only in Arganil area, but the area of the town of Coimbra.

The importance of this local context, in relating the local and regional history, is fundamental to the researcher, as it provides another dimension of the universe which incorporates the biographee. The regional monographies are an important tool for the researcher, provided that the relationship between the level of local history and national context is established, which is not done by many local "historians", especially amateurs. (DIAS, 2006).

The second level to consider is more comprehensive and covers the trajectory performed outside the local area. The professional training and educational journey are located outside of the local context, in the cases cited. The impact of the "big city" is a wider reality, in which the story is broader and goes beyond the universe of local life. More than ever, the national overlays the local. This is the case of party options that go beyond the regional choices, or even a more global event such as the First War, which leads the country itself to seek a new repositioning in the international scenery. The voluntary enlistment of Jaime Cortesão, as a medical officer, and the participation of Jaime de Morais, already as a naval officer, in the conflict will mark their lives and subsequent politic choices. Despite the impact of the war in all its direct participants, it will provide for both biographees differentiated experiences, since Cortesão opts for the removing from political environment and Jaime de Morais gains a greater military and administrative savvy. However, it is interesting to find out that in both cases, a whole set of relationships so established shall be continued in the later period, some of them during the whole time of exile. In the case of Jaime de Morais, the bond kept with the Portuguese colonial universe inserts him as a character in another story, parallel to that of the metropolis. His role as governor of "Portuguese India" is highlighted in that territory's history, bringing the analysis of his biography to another level. (PAULO, 2003). These new pictures of connections, extended beyond the national space, but still attached to its dynamics and sphere of action are to be considered as part of the analysis background. For this, again it is important not to overlook the specific local conditions, both regional or colonial in their articulation with national history. And in case of the Indian possessions, it is interesting to see the contacts and relationships maintained with the colonial "neighbor" power, ie, with the English forces in the territory, important within a picture of international relations in which the two countries in question are long inserted.

Long ago, the relationship between the individual and the context, their relationships and life choices are the object of reflection by experts as Chartier, 1998 and Giovanni, 1989. But for the exiled, the deviation is responsible for the contact with and living with realities that are unknown, and their integration in host societies raises more problems for the historian. The decoding of expressions or local references is as complicated as the numbers with which it usually encodes some of the

documents. Knowledge of the history of the host countries cannot be restricted; rather, it is necessary to locate people, identify their political positions and social roles. At times, this type of research involves identifying "minor" names in the political scale, intermediaries between exiles and the summit of power.

In the "Buddhas" stay in Spain, several names are mentioned in letters and documents that are part of the background of republican government, but they are important links from contact with the decision center. It is the case of Enrique Lopez Sevilla,⁸ lawyer, secretary of another great ally of the group, the Interior Minister, Paulino Gómez Saiz,⁹ or simply Paulino. In the letters, there are innumerable references to the first, thanks to interventions by the General Staff, and to the second, for the actions carried out on behalf of the Portuguese exiles. Clearly the long listing present in the documentation of the exiles in question is not "built" by chance, nor is merely related to the care of the exiles specific needs. First of all, these lists reveal a perfect ideological identification and common political positions that unite Portuguese republicans and their Spanish counterparts. However, the majority of the bonds being established with members of the Socialist Party Obrero Español, we have within the root of a common Republican thought the predominance of socialism as a kind of "ideological lighthouse" that leads both groups to the sharing and common interests. (PAULO, 2014).

The biographical survey of the characters mentioned is the starting point for the analysis of the relationships established by exiles in the host country, in this case, Republican Spain, between 1931 and 1939.¹⁰ In this framework, the identification of these names does not only travel through the documentation of the exiles, but necessarily through the Spanish archival collections. For this it is essential to have a deeper knowledge of Spanish historiography and its files. For example, in oral statements given by family members of Jaime de Moraes and Moura Pinto there are mentions of friendly relations with Francisco Largo Caballero which are confirmed in the Spanish archives. This documentation is a criminal case from the year 1934, when the Portuguese exiles are condemned for supplying weapons to the socialists. Arrested when it was delivered on the quay of Oviedo, this armament would be forwarded by the Spaniards socialists to the Asturian miners during the movement performed against the right-wing government, then in power. The Revolt of Asturias, as the event is known, is marked by this episode, featuring the participation of Portuguese exiles, known as the Turquoise case. (RUIZ, 2008). In a lawsuit filed against lusos exiles in the material apprehended at the home of Jaime de Morais, reviewed by the Spanish police, there is a directory listing with a number corresponding to the name of Paco Largo, identified as leader of the PSOE. The full documentation understood, the records of prisoners and the full range of information gathered by the Spanish

authorities not only confirm the help provided, but reinforce the veracity of the bonds established. Similarly, these sources provide data for the analysis of the exiles life in Spain, from the description of addresses and functions performed, on its interaction with the Spanish society as a whole and how the exiles network is articulated in Spain.

This kind of research adds difficulties to the construction of exiles' biographies, but its need becomes greater as the degree of relationship of the exiles with local policy is stronger. In the case of the Portuguese in the Republican Spain, the involvement is total and adds new data with regard to the involvement of foreign fighters elements on the Republic side during the Civil War. Enrolled in the regular army, rather than the International Brigade, participating in the General Staff, they represent significantly more than those already appointed by the Portuguese and Spanish historiography. The crossover between the files of the exiles, the oral testimony of their families and the data from Spanish sources resize the initial picture constructed by the subject historians. (OLIVEIRA,1987; ROSAS, 1998).

Similarly, the correspondence between the exiles provides important data about the internal dynamics of their groups. As took place in the Spanish exile, the documentation produced by exiles in Brazil highlights not only the Brazilian relationship established with the social and political environment, but the organization of exiles and their reactions to such complex issues as the break with the old colonialist tradition, sustained by even the most radical Republican exiles. The debate launched at the end of fifty years and active over the decades regarding the decolonization process, will reveal the internal divisions of the opposition movement and, once again, place upon the investigator the need to examine three distinct spaces, ie, the "metropolis" positioning in relation to the colonial problem, the position of the opposition - very complex, for to deny self-determination could be seen as a support to the government that persecuted - and also the positioning of his own supporters in the host society and the conditions for the continuation of this support or not. In this sense, the colonial problem redimensions the manner by which the exiles deal with these "spaces" and the way the researcher must examine the actions taken by the sectors in the exile. (PAULO, 05/2013).

In this kind of incursion into living spaces of the exiles from their place of origin to the host societies, autobiographies and oral record can provide important information to the investigator. First, you need to measure the importance of two types of reports, since "[...] remembering is not the same as opening a book to page 37 and finding precisely the same print and on the same lines, the same words with the same punctuation. Remember is rebuild more or less". (DAMÁSIO, 2007, p. 139). The neurosurgeon statements have long been debated and confirmed by historians and social scientists

(PAULO, 2011), and, in the case of the exiles, one must take into account the barely "surviving" of files and testimonies, especially when we move away in time and deal with different spaces, and the persistence of a "memory" established either by the regime that led them into exile, or by the "victorious" memories after the return of democracy. In the latter case, the "victory" or the consecration of a given release about an event or a character has deep ties to the political game and the quest for recognition of parties as avatars in the fight for a return to democratic normalcy, as already was hypothesized. (VENTURA, 2001; PAULO, 2010).

For the case of those who eventually do not return to their countries of origin, the greater the number of places of exile and worse conditions experienced, the more difficult it is for the historian to gather documentation of institutions and locate personal files. In the case of institutions, once extinct, the files end up in the hands of the officers, coming to be in the family's possession and have the same end as many personal files: abandonment and disappearance. For example, the "Grémio Republicano Português do Rio de Janeiro", institution that in Brazil gathered the Republicans exiles, extinct in 1942, had its documentation burned by one of the former director's family members, José Augusto Prestes, according to a statement by one of his granddaughters. What should be considered an "institutional memory" turned out to be seen as part of a personal legacy in dispute. With regard to the actual personal files, their location in the host countries is a true "detective" work. The location of family members in large cities, as in the case of Brazil, the lack of bonds of a second generation with the family background (VAUTIER, 2013) and their own dispersion of files pose for the historian, as the most probable hypothesis, the absence of written sources, biographical reports or testimonials.

Thus, in this "age of testimony" (WIEVIORKA, 1998), it is increasingly rare to find oral or documentary sources that retain a "memory" of the years of exile. And, in the event of the existence of "memories" or "oral sources" is necessary to recall the old rules of verification of sources, giving each one the relative weight and the need for adequate investigation. One must distrust the reports and seek to confirm some of the data presented as real, as in the case of narratives about the relationship of Portuguese exiles in Spain with the Spanish republicans. But above all, we must consider that the case presented is one of the possible versions of the event, an angle of a moment that should end a multitude of views. Even though it may not be "ascertained", it represents a "memory" built around the past, leaving the historian to analyze the process that gave rise to such a construction. (PAULO, 2013).

The story of Jaime Cortesão presented above can be considered as one of the cases of different "angles of memory" when compared with the narrative in the same situation that we have been taken by one of the sons of Jaime de Morais, Fernando Morais, who also crossed the Pyrenees after the

victory of the Franco's troops.¹¹ For the first, the loss of documentation and stopping in a shelter full of refugees is described with the colors of the "Withdrawal", of the great Spanish mass escape across the Republic's defeat. For Fernando de Moraes, who had spent three years in the Civil War battlefield, the episode was one among many tragic moments of a war. Used to the cold and hunger, so appropriately dramatically described by Cortesão to the then Lieutenant of Carabinieri, the trip "was not so hard," the worse was due to the bitterness of defeat.

3. Biographies as a starting point: from analysis to myths

Draw the curve of a destination that was simple but tragic; accurately discover several truly important points where it went; show how, under pressure from some circumstances, the initial impetus was to weaken and deflect the primitive trait; so putting a man on a life of singular vibrancy, the problem of the relationship between the individual and society, personal initiative and social need, which is perhaps the central problem of the history [...]. (FEBVRE, 1927, p. 9).

But the main topic is the good news that the Commander gives me of his purpose to also write "Memoirs Of The Commander" Jaime de Moraes. I have this decision as the fulfillment of a political and patriotic duty. The dictatorship sought to hide the valuable (and glorious) actions of Republicans and wants to make a misleading story where only errors and dilapidation fit us. To show to those who come after us, our children and grandchildren to the twentieth generation, the truth and justice and gratitude that befit us, is a sacred duty.¹²

Lucien Febvre's statement assumes a greater dimension when used in exiles biographical studies. The web of relationships, the need for a knowledge of the historiography of several countries, as well as access to many different documentary spoils increase the degree of complexity. Thus, when preparing exiles' biographies, the historian is bound to expand its work on several fronts, as it is no longer restricted to official records of the country of origin, but also extends to, if any, personal estates and archives available in host countries. The greater the involvement of exiles in "local businesses", the greater the magnification of the research. Knowledge of the bonds established by the exile is crucial for the mapping of what to look for and which path to take, where such sources can be found when available to the researcher.¹³

In cases of particular files, the problem of sorting the material and the conditions of the documentation has to be outlined. Archival problems aside and once made a first foray in the documents, it's the job of the historian to select the material and complement the investigation by consulting the local papers and files and verifying the possibility of oral testimony. The knowledge of local history becomes vital for the research to be able to achieve its goals, since without this prior

knowledge, the historian can move slightly on the analysis of the bonds built by exiles in the host country.

With the first steps complete, the exiled need to be "replaced" in the context of the official memory of the country of origin. The historiographic production, the natural consequence of research, can find obstacles here, since the trajectories lived in exile can checkmate the "heroism" of many other characters embodied by an existing "official story". The old internal dissensions of the exiled opposition seem to resume the historiographical discourse, transforming it into a prefabricated ideological political libel. It is the case of Humberto Delgado, former presidential candidate in 1958, exiled after his official defeat in the election. His exile was marked by deep criticism among the opposition, but his murder by the International Police for the Defence of the State at the Spanish border in 1965, outlines a new direction for his role as opposition. The Portuguese contemporary historiography surrounding the opposition built a speech of heroism around Delgado sometimes involving the "lowering" of the role played by many exiles abroad, including Republicans in Brazilian exile. The publication of new works might cause contrary reactions from more conservative historians.

Finally, after raids in different areas and levels of the story, in the real pilgrimage in search of the sources, in issues regarding institutionalized memories, there is still another problem for the historian. Recovery of these "agents" of contemporary history relocates the problem of the proximity of the historian with his "object" of research and the necessary distancing for an analysis of its role in exile and its expression in the history of the opposition movement. Far from reopening the debate about the impartiality of the historian, the problem posed is the power of fascination that contact with the "unprecedented" can have, either files, oral testimonies or even handwritten autobiographies of names forgotten until then.. The secret is to follow the normal rules of any historiographical work, counting always with the compilation of biographies in a well-reasoned way can ultimately contribute to the historiographical debate and make a kind of "symbolic justice" when giving voice to whom the present democratic, sometimes forgot.

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Notes

¹ The name is given to the set of riots and rioters covering the period between 1927 and 1940 where military and republican elements dominate. On the topic, see FARINHA, 1998.

² **Jaime de Morais** (1882-1973) is originally from Trás-os-Montes, in a village called Chacim. Young, part to the Port, where he graduated in Medicine. As a physician, he entered the Navy and heads off to a Military Commission in Angola. In 1910, in Lisbon, participates in the movement that culminated in the establishment of the Republic. Governor of Portuguese India between 1919-1925, introduces reforms in education, allowing the access of "native" to the highest levels of education. One of the organizers of the Revolution of 1927, after its defeat is forced to seek exile in France and Spain, where he acts as an active element with the Spanish Republican government during the Civil War. With the end of the conflict in Spain, he moved to France and then to Portugal, where he was arrested and deported to Brazil. In this country, continues his oppositionist activity until his death. **Jaime Zuzarte Cortesão** (1884-1960), physician, historian and writer, his family is from São João do Campo, a nearby town of Coimbra. As a physician follows as volunteer for the First World War, where he undergoes gassing that permanently affects his health. After deployment of the military dictatorship, the then director of the National Library actively participates in the Revolution of 1927. With the defeat of the movement, goes into exile, where his and Jaime de Morais trajectories are identical. Once in Brazil, continues his oppositionist action. Returns to Portugal in 1957 and died in 1960. **Alberto Moura Pinto** (1883-1960). Born in Coimbra, but with family roots in Arganil, lawyer, Republican, is through this Council that elects himself deputy to the Constituent Assembly in 1911 being re-elected several times. In 1917, as a representative of the Regenerator Party, holds the post of Minister of Justice of the Government of Sidonius Pais, accounting for a review of the anti-clerical laws imposed by governments of the Republic so far. Participates in the Movement of 1928 against the military dictatorship, was arrested and deported to the Azores. Hence, escapes to France and goes to Spain where he starts to share his trajectory with other "Buddhas". In France, when the end of the Spanish Civil War, goes to Brazil, his wife's country. There he remains and continues his activity as oppositionist until 1958, when returns to Portugal. He died at his home in Quinta dos Vales in 1960.

³ Initially known as Group of Madrid, it is composed by Jaime de Morais, Jaime Cortesão, both participants of the first great revolutionary attempt against the military dictatorship carried out in 1927, and Alberto Moura Pinto, former Minister of Justice, involved in another motion with the same purpose in 1928. The nickname "Buddhas" follows the publication of the work *Os Budas - o contrabando de armas*, Lisboa, Imprensa Lucas C. A., in 1935, where the author, Iron Alves, accuses the group members of "revolution professionals" only interested in personal enrichment. The author is presented in the letters and documents of Moura Pinto as a paid agent of the government of Salazar who, taking advantage of internal dissent from Republicans, seeks to destabilize the exiles. On the topic, see PAULO, 2009 and PAULO, 2010.

⁴ The estate of Jaime de Morais was located in Niterói, Brazil, and is now at Fundação Mário Soares. The file of Alberto Moura Pinto is in possession of his granddaughter, in Lisbon.

⁵ Letter of Moura Pinto to Jaime de Morais, 1946, Jaime de Morais Archive, FMS

⁶ Letter of Jaime de Morais to Moura Pinto dated May 15, 1938. Moura Pinto Archive

⁷ The question of exile has been treated by historians, philosophers and social scientists with some systematization. The long list includes works born under the reflection of the very exiled condition, as SAID, 2013 LÉVINAS, 2008, philosophical reflections DOUKHAN, 2012, works of historiographical character as RYGIEL, 2008 and by classic works on the Spanish exile ABELLÁN, 1976 DREYFUS-ARMAND, 2000 or ALTED 2005, in which problems the location of exile in the host society mark the concern of specialists.

⁸ For a biographical trajectory overview see: http://www.fpabloiglesias.es/archivo-y-biblioteca/diccionario-biografico/biografias/11867_lopez-sevilla-enrique. Accessed on: Nov. 10 2012.

⁹ For a biographical trajectory overview see: http://www.fpabloiglesias.es/archivo-y-biblioteca/diccionario-biografico/biografias/8965_gomez-saiz-paulino. Accessed on Nov. 10 2012.

¹⁰ This research had as its starting point the files from Jaime de Morais and Moura Pinto, especially the episode known as Lusitania Plan - a joint action of invasion of Portugal, in full Civil War, seeking the fall of Salazar and the establishment of a favorable Spanish government. Captained by the Buddhas, it would have the support of opponents in Portuguese territory, with the Portuguese soldiers who fought in the Spanish conflict and the armament supplied by the General Staff of the Spain Republican government. The delay in implementing the plan, the rapid advance of Franco's troops and internal dissent did disappoint the plan. (PAULO, 2006; OLIVEIRA, 1987).

¹¹ Fernando Secca Morais, the third son of Jaime de Morais, achieved the Republican Army Lieutenant rank during the Civil War, participating in various military actions, including the organization of the defense of the university city of Madrid. Is also responsible for the grouping of Scintillas, meeting place of the Portuguese combatants involved in the project of Portuguese territory invasion. He and his brother Óscar were arrested in 1940, when the ship carrying them from France to Brazil is withheld in Lisbon. They are released on the condition they embark immediately for the Brazilian territory. The collection of testimonials from Fernando de Morais was made between 2003-2006 and he died in Rio de Janeiro in 2011, at 98 years old.

¹² Handwritten letter dated November 17, 1967 from Sarmiento de Pimentel to Jaime de Moraes. Family archive

¹³ Sources are not always available. The National Archives of Torre do Tombo own, in Lisbon, offers the processes of political police only after "clearance" when the names of spies and officers of the court are literally "covered". This type of problem has caused the production of numerous works, such as COMBE, 2001.

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