

UNIVERSIDADE DE LISBOA

FACULDADE DE LETRAS



Writing From The Margins: The *Crónicas* Of Ilse Losa

Rosa Churcher Clarke

Orientador(es): Prof.^a Doutora Doris Wieser
Prof.^a Doutora Cláudia Pazos Alonso
Prof. Doutor Gerd Hammer

Tese especialmente elaborada para obtenção do grau de Doutor no ramo de Estudos de Literatura e Cultura, na especialidade de Estudos Comparatistas



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Abstract

This thesis examines the collated and uncollated *crônicas* of Jewish-German-born author of Portuguese literature, Ilse Losa (1913-2006). Spanning a period of five decades, from 1948 to the early 1990s, the *crônicas* reflect not only Losa's personal trajectory of increasing integration in Portuguese society, but also the Portuguese socio-political context as this underwent radical transformation throughout the latter half of the twentieth century. Just as Losa herself, who, as a foreign-born, female writer, represents a multiply marginal figure in Portuguese society and culture, the *crônica*, as a genre which sits between different, apparently distinct discursive fields (such as those of literature and history, or literature and journalism) has tended to be undervalued within Portuguese literary studies. As such, this particular aspect of this particular author's *oeuvre* represents an area of Portuguese literature which, so far, has been doubly neglected by scholars. The thesis gives thorough attention to the three published volumes containing Losian *crônicas* – *Ida e Volta: À Procura de Babbitt* (1960), *Estas Searas* (1984) and *À Flor do Tempo* (1997) – as well as embarking on an exploration of archives containing texts which Losa regularly published in periodicals and newspapers but which have not been reproduced in anthologised collections. The impression of Losa's *cronista* identity which emerges is of someone thoroughly, consistently and boldly engaged with issues of social justice, frequently and skilfully navigating Estado Novo censorship in order to express her controversially progressive views. Combining quantitative and qualitative data from the Losa family archive plus four case studies (*Vértice*, *Seara Nova*, *Diário de Lisboa* and *Público*), beyond developing a fuller picture of the Losian *crônica* across the five decades of its production, the thesis also incorporates a discussion and practical illustration of the need for a transparent approach to archival work.

Key Words

Ilse Losa; Crônica; Multiple marginality; Estado Novo; Women's writing

Resumo

Esta tese examina as crônicas coligadas e não-coligadas da autora portuguesa de origens judia-alemãs, Ilse Losa (1913-2006). Abrangendo um período de cinco décadas, de 1948 até aos primeiros anos da década de 1990, as crônicas refletem não só a trajetória pessoal de integração de Losa, mas também o contexto sociopolítico português enquanto este sofreu as transformações profundas da segunda metade do século vinte. Tal como Losa, que, como autora (mulher) de origens estrangeiras, representa para a sociedade e cultura portuguesas uma identidade marginal a vários níveis, a crônica, como género que se localiza entre diferentes e aparentemente contrastantes campos discursivos (como os da literatura, da história e do jornalismo) tende a ser subvalorizada nos estudos literários portugueses. Como resultado, este aspecto específico da obra da autora representa uma área da literatura portuguesa que, até ao momento, tem sido duplamente negligenciado pela academia. A tese dedica minuciosa atenção aos três volumes de crônicas losianas – *Ida e Volta: À Procura de Babbitt* (1960), *Estas Searas* (1984) e *À Flor do Tempo* (1997); também explora arquivos que contêm textos que Losa publicava regularmente em revistas e jornais mas que ainda não se encontram em coleções editadas. O resultante retrato de “Ilse Losa, cronista” que se revela é o de alguém que estava profunda, consistente e atrevidamente comprometida com questões de justiça social, frequentemente contornando com destreza a censura do Estado Novo para conseguir expressar as suas opiniões progressistas e portanto polémicas. Ao combinar dados quantitativos e qualitativos do arquivo da família Losa com os de quatro estudos de caso (*Vértice*, *Seara Nova*, *Diário de Lisboa* e *Público*), a tese, além de desenvolver uma impressão mais nítida da crônica losiana ao longo das cinco décadas da sua produção, incorpora uma discussão e ilustração prática da importância de uma abordagem transparente ao trabalho de arquivo.

Palavras-chave

Ilse Losa; Crônica; Marginalidade múltipla; Estado Novo; Escrita de mulheres

Resumo longo

Esta tese examina as crônicas coligidas e não-coligidas da autora portuguesa de origens judia-alemãs, Ilse Losa (1913-2006). Abrangendo um período de cinco décadas, de 1948 até aos primeiros anos da década de 1990, as crônicas refletem não só a trajetória pessoal de integração de Losa, mas também o contexto sociopolítico português enquanto este sofreu as transformações profundas da segunda metade do século vinte. Tal como Losa, que, como autora (mulher) de origens estrangeiras, representa para a sociedade e cultura portuguesas uma identidade marginal a vários níveis, a crônica, como género que se localiza entre diferentes e aparentemente contrastantes campos discursivos (como os da literatura, da história e do jornalismo) tende a ser subvalorizada nos estudos literários portugueses. Como resultado, este aspecto específico da obra da autora representa uma área da literatura portuguesa que, até ao momento, tem sido duplamente negligenciado pela academia. A tese dedica minuciosa atenção aos três volumes de crônicas losianas – *Ida e Volta: À Procura de Babbitt* (1960), *Estas Searas* (1984) e *À Flor do Tempo* (1997) – e também explora arquivos que contêm textos losianos publicados regularmente em revistas e jornais mas que ainda não se encontram em coleções editadas. O resultante retrato de “Ilse Losa, cronista” que se revela é o de alguém que estava profunda, consistente e atrevidamente comprometida com questões de justiça social, frequentemente contornando com destreza a censura do Estado Novo para conseguir expressar as suas opiniões progressistas e portanto polémicas. Ao combinar dados quantitativos e qualitativos do arquivo da família Losa com os de quatro estudos de caso (*Vértice*, *Seara Nova*, *Diário de Lisboa* e *Público*), a tese, além de desenvolver uma impressão mais nítida da crônica losiana ao longo das cinco décadas da sua produção, incorpora uma discussão e ilustração prática da importância de uma abordagem transparente ao trabalho de arquivo.

A tese estrutura-se em três partes: a primeira parte apresenta uma série de enquadramentos através dos quais sugiro que as crônicas de Ilse Losa possam ser lidas, a segunda é uma análise das três coleções de crônicas losianas em livro – um complemento e precursor, portanto, à exploração, na terceira e última parte, de vários arquivos que contêm crônicas da autora. Esta última parte da tese assim revela um corpus não visto desde a publicação original dos textos nas páginas efémeras de revistas e jornais.

No sentido de estabelecer e interrogar a ideia da posição de Ilse Losa na sociedade e literatura portuguesa como sendo uma de múltiplas marginalidades, a Parte 1 explora uma série de aspectos da identidade e experiência da autora que a colocam em posições consistentemente periféricas, ou pelo menos frequentemente complicadas e semiesquecidas em relação a vários “centros”. Esta exploração começa, no Capítulo 1.1, centrada não na identidade de Losa mas na da crónica como género, considerando como certas das *suas* particularidades – sobretudo a sua dualidade e flexibilidade – a relegam a uma posição igualmente marginal dentro dos estudos literários, ao mesmo tempo que estas características interagem com aspetos da identidade de Losa como uma migrante transnacional. A seguir, o Capítulo 1.2 explora os conceitos separados mas interligados da literatura de exílio e a “exofonia” – dois campos dos estudos literários (um já estabelecido, o outro ainda emergente) que conectam com um dos aspectos mais salientes da identidade de Losa em Portugal: o do seu estado de escritora portuguesa não-nativa. Em relação a ambos os conceitos mencionados, a questão de como Losa corresponde, ou não, aos modelos estabelecidos se levanta e contribui para o nosso entendimento da sua marginalidade múltipla. No Capítulo 1.3, através de uma avaliação do papel sociopolítico de Losa como mulher engajada e relativamente emancipada dentro do contexto do Portugal patriarcal do Estado Novo, sublinha-se, mais uma vez, a sua posição ambígua como alguém que estava ao mesmo tempo profundamente envolvida em activismo e também parcialmente invisível nesse campo, pelo menos nas histórias dos movimentos oposicionistas e feministas que existem até agora. O último capítulo desta parte da tese (1.4) oferece uma contra-perspectiva às apresentações, nos três capítulos anteriores, das várias maneiras que Ilse Losa poderia ser considerada uma figura marginal. Aqui, em contrapartida, exploramos as provas substanciais da posição inversamente central da autora, perto do “coração” da elite intelectual portuguesa. Para isto tomo em mãos a mais importante contribuição aos estudos losianos dos últimos anos – *Ilse Losa, estreitando laços: correspondência com os pares lusófonos (1948-1999)* de Karina Marques (2018) – explorando e dialogando com este valioso recurso que ainda não foi analisado em profundidade.

Em Parte 2, a minha análise dos volumes de crónicas losianas avance por ordem cronológica, de *Ida e Volta: à Procura de Babbitt* (1960) a *Estas Searas* (1984), e, por último, a *À Flor do Tempo* (1997). Dedico atenção a estas coleções que, embora tenham sido objeto de alguma discussão por estudiosos ao longo dos anos, nunca foram examinados com uma consideração rigorosa da sua natureza particular como crónicas. Deste modo, esta parte da tese serve de

apresentação daquilo que, da produção cronística losiana, já existe em livro editado, antes de proceder, na Parte 3, a explorações arquivísticas das crónicas não-coligidas de Losa.

A terceira e última parte representa um processo de investigação arquivístico que foi fruto do acesso – que me foi generosamente concedido no início deste projeto de pesquisa – à pasta “Crónica” do arquivo guardado pela família Losa. Começa por uma breve consideração de uma abordagem teórica ao trabalho de arquivo que pede um tratamento mais honesto e aberto de material arquivístico – isto é, tratamento pelo qual os rastros de tal trabalho ficam à vista. A seguir, ao longo dos capítulos restantes, apresento as várias fases e os vários desenvolvimentos do meu próprio processo de investigação dentro dos arquivos consultados, trazendo à tona as volta e reviravoltas imprevisíveis que caracterizam tais empreitadas académicas. Assim, no Capítulo 3.1, narro o processo pelo qual os dados que emergiram do arquivo familiar – e que dizem respeito à distribuição temporal e por publicações das crónicas no arquivo – evoluíram com a inclusão paulatina dos vários casos de estudo que escolhi (*Vértice*, *Seara Nova*, *Diário de Lisboa* e *Público*). Depois, nos Capítulos 3.2 e 3.3, passo a uma análise detalhada dos textos losianos presentes nesses quatro arquivos específicos, tratando, primeiro, das duas revistas – *Vértice* e *Seara Nova* – que servem de exemplo das publicações às quais Losa contribuía textos ainda durante o Estado Novo (décadas de 40, 50 e 60); a seguir apresento, os textos que são exemplo das colaborações que Losa mantinha com jornais diários já num contexto democrático (*Diário de Lisboa* em 1979 e *Público* em 1990/1).

No Capítulo 3.4, a minha análise da pasta “Crónica” dentro do arquivo da família Losa segue o mesmo modelo àquele usado nos capítulos prévios, combinando uma consideração mais ampla dos diferentes tipos de crónica existentes nesse corpus com uma análise mais profunda dos textos em si. Dado o volume de material em questão, optei por limitar esta exploração mais detalhada a um tema recorrente das crónicas losianas (e de toda a sua obra, de facto), assim escolhendo sete textos – das cinco décadas da sua produção cronística – em que os direitos e as experiências das mulheres são o foco. No Capítulo 3.5, que serve de uma espécie de “coda” a toda esta terceira e última parte da tese, forneço uma breve exploração das contribuições de Ilse Losa a uma revista adicional (*As Quatro Estações*) que aparece listada numa fonte secundária descoberta numa fase já avançada da minha pesquisa (*Ilse Losa, 1913-2006*). Além de acrescentar mais provas dos claros mas discretos posicionamentos feministas de Losa que

se foram revelando ao longo da tese, a descoberta tardia desta fonte, juntamente com a minha inclusão de uma das suas referências, serve de uma derradeira contribuição à consideração, elaborada ao longo de Parte 3, da natureza imperfeita, imprevisível e pessoal do trabalho de arquivo – um trabalho que está, aliás, em constante evolução e expansão e, portanto, nunca acabada nem definitiva.

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Abbreviations

Losa works

I&V – *Ida e Volta: À Procura de Babbitt*

ES – *Estas Searas*

AFDT – *À Flor do Tempo*

Organisations

AFPP – Associação Feminina Portuguesa pela Paz

CNMP – Conselho Nacional de Mulheres Portuguesas

AJHLP – Associação de Jornalistas e Homens de Letras do Porto

CNSPP – Conselho Nacional de Socorro aos Presos Políticos

Press publications

SN – *Seara Nova*

DL – *Diário de Lisboa*

DN – *Diário de Notícias*

JN – *Jornal de Notícias*

CP – *Comércio do Porto*

DP – *Diário Popular*

ONF – *Os Nossos Filhos*

JL – *Jornal de Letras*

DI – *Diário Ilustrado*

PJ – *Primeiro de Janeiro*

QE – *As Quatro Estações*

GL – *Gazeta Literária*

JE – *Jornal da Educação*

LL – *Letras & Letras*

INTRODUCTION

‘O que lá vai, lá vai’, ouve-se frequentemente dizer. E, não raras vezes, acrescenta-se: ‘Eu não olho para trás, mas sempre para a frente’, o que pretende soar a heroísmo mas, bem analisado, não tem consistência. Não há dia e nem sequer hora em que não olhemos para trás. Basta termos memória. Por tudo e por nada associamos palavras, sítios, objectos, comidas, leituras, caras, acontecimentos, com alguma coisa ouvida, vista, comida, lida, vivida. E mesmo os heróis de desígnios relevantes e que afirmam olhar sempre para a frente por, desse modo, desejarem corrigir os males do nosso mundo, evocam, de certeza, tal como toda a gente, os eventos bons e maus que lhes ficaram para trás.

(Losa, *A Flor do Tempo*, 1997, p. 23)¹

This thesis takes as its focus the *crónicas* of Ilse Liebllich Losa who was born into a Jewish family in Buer-Melle (Lower Saxony), Germany, in 1913, and in 1934 fled Nazi persecution to Porto, where a brother and uncle were already taking refuge. Through her brother Ernst’s contact with students at the Fine Arts School of Porto, soon after her arrival Ilse met recent architecture graduate, Arménio Losa, whom she married in 1935 thus gaining Portuguese nationality and the right to remain in Portugal. In 1938 and 1943 the couple’s daughters – Alexandra and Margarida – were born; from these, grand- and great-grandchildren would eventually follow. Beyond this family life, Ilse Losa built up a rich network of friends and colleagues as well as an acclaimed career in Portuguese literature, writing in a language she had only begun learning upon her arrival in Portugal, aged 20. She died in Porto in 2006.

Renowned for her children’s books, Ilse Losa’s name has become a familiar one in Portuguese households, not least because a number of her publications have appeared on national reading programmes across the course of decades. Of these, her first novel, *O Mundo em Que Vivi*,

¹ Throughout the thesis Portuguese-language quotations have been left in the original; quotations from all other languages have been translated into English.

originally published in 1949, and which represents a semi-autobiographical account of the rise of the Nazis in 1920s and 30s Germany, is the best-known and most revered. Indeed, beyond her more explicitly child-oriented texts, the prose narratives which partially fictionalise Losa's own lived experience of persecution and flight from Nazi Germany, as well as her process of adaptation to a new reality in a foreign language and culture, represent the other area of her literary production upon which the author's reputation principally rests. Beyond *O Mundo em Que Vivi*, these include the novels *Rio Sem Ponte* (1951), *Sob Céus Estranhos* (1962) and multiple collections of short stories, many of whose texts re-appeared in the 1991 collection *Caminhos Sem Destino*. Beyond this, Losa also produced a collection of poetry, children's plays, a pedagogy book, many literary translations between German and Portuguese, and, last but not least, five decades' worth of the short, newspaper-based literary texts – *crônicas* – which will form the focus of this thesis.

Losa's *crônicas*, published in the different periodicals and newspapers with which the author had regular or semi-regular collaborations between the late 1940s and the early 1990s, represent an area of her literary production which has been so far overlooked by the relatively small community of Losian scholars. Theses and monographs such as those by Ana Isabel Marques (2001; 2014), Paulo Jorge Teixeira Cavaco (2012), Karina Marques (2014; 2018) and Ana Cristina Vasconcelos de Macedo (2018a) – through which Losa's name has been at least partially preserved in Portuguese, and to some extent Brazilian academia too – have instead focused their attention on other key aspects of Losa's writing, including, most prominently, her children's writing, her translations between German and Portuguese, and her novels and short stories. In recent years, there would seem to have been a relative surge of interest in Ilse Losa, with a number of articles having appeared in Portugal and Brazil (Mendes, M., 2018; Silva, 2018; Kirschbaum & Nascimento, 2019), including the tellingly titled article 'Ilse Losa: Uma escritora a ser (re)descoberta' (Macedo, 2018b). Despite this relatively new (and modest) attention, Karina Marques' claim that the author's *crônicas* still await proper consideration – particularly those which remain uncollated and thus not re-published in book form since their original press publications – continues to be accurate (Marques K., 2014, p. 546).

Having published her first piece – 'Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra' – in the Portuguese press in 1948, following a trip to visit her mother who had been living in London since her own

flight from Nazi Germany in the 1930s, Ilse Losa went on to appear in a wide range of press publications – a mixture of periodicals and newspapers – through to the early 1990s. These included a series of regular and other more sporadic collaborations which saw the author become a familiar presence in some of the most respected and culturally significant titles of the second half of the twentieth century in Portugal, as well as in a range of smaller-scale, more specialist publications.² In her *crónicas*, we thus find a record of Losa’s development as a writer, from the year before her literary debut with *O Mundo em Que Vivi* (1949) and the illustrated children’s book *Faísca Conta a Sua História* (1949), through to the final years of her active production, when she had accumulated a series of literary prizes for her children’s writing and at a point when she saw her principal novelistic work translated into German, thereby gaining some international recognition.³

As well as this Losa-centric perspective, through the *crónicas* we are also presented with a broader vision: that of Portuguese history during a period of profound political and social transformation. From the start to the end of the five decades throughout which Losa published her *crónicas*, Portugal went from being a country in the middle years of a 48-year-long, isolationist and ultra-conservative dictatorship,⁴ to being an increasingly modernised, democratic country within the European Economic Community, having, in the meantime, passed through: turbulent decades of oppositionist revolt and consequent repression by the Salazar regime, the colonial war(s) for independence (fought in Angola from 1961-1974, in Guinea-Bissau from 1963-1974, and in Mozambique from 1964-1974), the 1974 revolution and the transition to democracy and decolonisation that followed, as well as, in 1986, entry into the EU (then the EEC) and the huge economic and social overhaul that this prompted. As texts appearing in the daily press, engaging with events occurring in the news items surrounding them, the *crónicas* offer a sustained view of this long and hugely significant period of

² Whilst there is a distinction to be made between her earlier texts published in the press, which might be more accurately labelled “articles”, and the later ones more clearly defined as “*crónicas*” (a distinction which will be discussed in Chapter 1.1), as part of her corpus of initially press-published texts, both types will be considered here and broadly referred to as “*crónicas*” throughout.

³ See Karina Marques’ Biobibliographical Chronology for a thorough list of Losa’s publications, prizes and other key events to have marked her life and career (Marques K., 2018, pp. 381-388).

⁴ While António de Oliveira Salazar’s “Estado Novo” was only officially established with the 1933 Constitution, the preceding “Dictadura Militar”, from which Salazar rose to power, lasted from 1926-1933 and thus essentially marks the beginning of twentieth-century Europe’s longest authoritarian regime.

Portuguese history, as well as of the wider global context. Indeed, as the writings of a rare foreign-born citizen in Portugal, the *crônicas* of Ilse Losa – someone who occupied a position at the same time within, and also partially outside of, the Portuguese cultural sphere – arguably represent a unique perspective on events and dynamics in this country whose peripheral geographical position in relation to Europe, when Losa started writing, at least, was matched by significant cultural distance and disconnect.

Structure

The thesis is structured in three parts, the first presenting a series of “frames” through which I suggest Ilse Losa’s *crônicas* might be usefully read, the second an analysis of Losa’s three *crônica* collections published in book form – a complement and something of a precursor, therefore, to the third and final part’s exploration of multiple archives containing uncollated Losian *crônicas*. The lattermost part thus brings to light a body of work not seen since the texts’ original publications in the ephemeral pages of periodicals and newspapers.

As part of establishing and interrogating the question of Ilse Losa’s multiply marginal status within Portuguese literature and society – bringing to mind how her *crônicas* would have been read, both at the time of their original publication in the press and since – Part 1 explores a series of aspects of her identity and experience which see her occupy consistently peripheral, or at least frequently complicated, semi-overlooked positions in relation to various “centres”. This exploration begins, in Chapter 1.1, not in fact focused on Losa’s identity but rather on that of the *crônica* genre and how certain of *its* particularities – most prominently its duality and flexibility – see it relegated to a similarly marginal position in the study of literature, as well as interacting with aspects of Ilse Losa’s own identity as a transnational migrant. Following this, Chapter 1.2 discusses the separate but connected notions of exile literature and exophony as two fields of literary studies – one established, the other still in the process of emerging – which connect to one of the most salient aspects of Losa’s identity in Portugal: that of her status as a foreign-born, non-native-speaker writer. In relation to each, the matter of how Losa does or doesn’t correspond to the models provided comes to the fore and further feeds our understanding of her multiple marginality. In Chapter 1.3, an assessment of Ilse Losa’s socio-political role as an engaged and relatively emancipated woman in patriarchal Estado Novo

Portugal once again highlights her ambiguous role as someone both thoroughly involved in progressive, anti-regime activity and also somewhat shielded from view – at least in the histories of the Portuguese women’s and oppositionist movements as these have been recorded so far. The final chapter of this part (1.4) offers a counter perspective to the previous three chapters’ presentations of the various ways in which Ilse Losa might be considered a marginal figure, instead providing substantial evidence of the author’s conversely central position, close to heart of the Portuguese intellectual elite. For this, I take the most significant contribution to Losian studies of recent years, Karina Marques’ 2018 *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços: Correspondência Com os Pares Lusófonos (1948-1999)*, engaging with this still under-discussed and greatly valuable resource.

In Part 2, my analysis of Ilse Losa’s published *crónica* collections proceeds chronologically, from *Ida e Volta: à Procura de Babbitt* (1960) (henceforth simply *Ida e Volta*), to *Estas Searas* (1984), and finally *À Flor do Tempo* (1997). Paying due attention to these collections which, though they have been the object of some discussion by scholars over the years, have never been examined with thorough consideration of their particular nature as *crónicas*, this part also serves to present what of Losa’s *crónica* production already exists in published book form, before proceeding to the archival explorations of the uncollated *crónicas* in Part 3.

Firstly, then, in Chapter 2.1, we are presented with a collection of travel *crónicas* recording Ilse Losa’s three-month trip to the United States in 1958 where she took a particular interest in race relations at a point when, in both the US and in Portugal, there was growing tension around state-sponsored racism. In fact, this collection is something of an anomaly given that its texts were not published in the press before their publication in book form and are also ostensibly focused not on the Portuguese socio-cultural panorama but rather on that of the United States. Nevertheless, their ability to reflect back, by way of an implicit comparison, on some of the most contentious issues affecting the national context in which the texts would be read, underlines their relevance to a discussion of Ilse Losa’s subtly interventive approach in her *crónica*-writing at a key point in Portuguese history. *Estas Searas* – the focus of Chapter 2.2 – is also somewhat anomalous as a collection not exclusively dedicated to the *crónica* but rather consisting of “contos e crónicas”, with no explicit division between the two. Given that many of its texts have already received some more significant attention by scholars studying Losa’s

short narrative fiction, and given, also, the uncertainty around the status of the texts, I dedicate less attention to this collection than to those of Chapters 2.1 and 2.3. Indeed, my discussion of *Estas Searas* functions principally as a continuation of that begun in relation to *Ida e Volta*, regarding Losa's commitment to exploring and questioning established power dynamics, here with a particular focus on class and gender. The last chapter in this part (2.3) takes as its subject *À Flor do Tempo* – Losa's only book dedicated exclusively to the texts which she regularly published in the Portuguese press. Despite having won the 1998 Associação Portuguesa de Escritores (APE) Grande Prémio da Crónica, this collection has so far received no in-depth discussion and, given certain editorial choices, there is some mystery surrounding the book's construction. As such, I begin my analysis with a consideration of the anthologisation process and the roles of editors in this, before going on to discuss details of the collection itself, including the significance of its shape as well as certain stylistic features within individual *crónicas*, thus highlighting aspects of Losa's "cronistic" style as this became increasingly consolidated, familiar to her readers and, indeed, officially applauded.

The thesis' third and final part represents a process of archival exploration born of the access I was generously granted to the "Crónica" files within the Losa family archive at the start of this research project.⁵ Beginning with a brief discussion of a theoretical approach to archives which calls for a more honest, open handling of material by which the "seams" of such work are left visible, throughout the remaining chapters the various phases and developments of my own process of discovery are laid open, bringing to the fore the unpredictable twists and turns that characterise such academic endeavours. Thus, in Chapter 3.1, I narrate the macro-level process by which my findings from the family archive evolved as various publication-specific case studies were included, the initial data I gathered concerning the temporal distribution and locations of Losa's texts shifting with each new source. In Chapter 3.2, I proceed to a close-up analysis of the first pair of these case studies – those of two iconic periodicals with which Losa collaborated in the late 1940s, 1950s and 1960: *Vértice* and *Seara Nova*. In Chapter 3.3, I do the same for two daily newspapers where Losa published regularly in 1979 and 1991-1992, respectively: *Diário de Lisboa* and *Público*. Across the course of these two chapters we

⁵ As a private family archive, held by Ilse Losa's surviving daughter, Alexandra Losa, the material contained within the files is relatively informally and loosely organised. The impact of this on my project will be discussed in due course, namely in Part 3, where I develop a methodological discussion of the archival research process.

therefore witness the development of Ilse Losa's *crónica* writing, moving from her earliest periodical publications in the Estado Novo context, to more regular newspaper collaborations once she is already an established author, in a post-revolution Portugal undergoing great and rapid socio-economic transformation.

In Chapter 3.4, my analysis of the contents of the Losa family *crónica* archive follows the same model as that used in the previous chapters, combining a broader consideration of the different types of text contained in the archive with a more in-depth analysis of the texts themselves. Given the large volume of material in the family files, however, the impracticability of an individual discussion of each text saw me select one of the numerous recurring themes in Losa's *crónica* writing (and indeed her wider *oeuvre*), taking seven texts focused on women's rights and experiences from across the five decades of her press publishing, and analysing these in some more depth. In Chapter 3.5, I provide, as a coda of sorts to this third and final part of the thesis, a brief exploration of Losa's contributions to one additional periodical (*As Quatro Estações*) listed in a secondary source discovered late in the archival research process (*Ilse Losa, 1913-2006*). As well as adding further evidence to the developing discussion of Ilse Losa's discreet but definite feminist credentials, this eleventh-hour source's discovery, together with my inclusion of one of its references here, serves as a final, concrete contribution to my consideration of the imperfect, unpredictable, personally-inflected and ever-expanding nature of archive work developed throughout Part 3.

Overall aims and insights

Across the course of the thesis' three main parts attention is drawn to a prize-winning yet overlooked aspect of Ilse Losa's production as a writer who has herself been similarly celebrated but also somewhat neglected by certain key sectors of cultural production, not least academia. Bringing to light texts which, after their initial publication in periodicals or newspapers, have fallen into oblivion, and shedding *new* light on the *crónicas* which have already been preserved in collated collections, the thesis thus aims to revitalise this aspect of Ilse Losa's writing.

While, on the one hand, many fascinating finds will emerge from the family archive's still relatively inaccessible files, including, for example, the *cronista's* precocious and daring promotion of the North American feminist classic *The Feminine Mystique* in Portugal in 1966, or evidence of her relatively bold, pro-choice stance on the abortion debate as early as 1979, on the other hand, a series of equally compelling discoveries come about via primary and secondary sources which in fact already exist in the public domain but perhaps require some more attention in order for the full extent of their interest to be realised. Such is the case, for example, with many details contained in Karina Marques' book of Losa's correspondence (discussed in Chapter 1.4), or with Losa's subversion of the Estado Novo's racist ideology in her exploration of US race relations in *Ida e Volta* in 1960 (discussed in Chapter 2.1); it is also the case with the (re-)discovery – via a little known Biblioteca Nacional in-house publication – of a pseudonym to whom no Losian texts have ever been associated (discussed in Chapter 3.5). The idea that *À Flor do Tempo* (1997) might be read as a refracted history of Ilse Losa's gradual insertion in Portuguese society and literature, is a further example of how close attention to her collated *crónicas* brings forth new and valuable perspectives on the author's personal and professional trajectory (discussed in Chapter 2.3).

Revisiting and exploring Ilse Losa's *crónica* corpus in greater depth, we are reminded of the unique perspective she held as a rare foreign-born citizen in Portuguese literary culture, as well as noticing her masterful use of her ambiguous, multiply marginal position to express opinions and bring to the attention of her readers often controversial and subversive issues. Indeed, I suggest that across the course of this thesis, we are reminded of just how progressive, outspoken and skilful this relatively low-profile author was. Using the *crónica* platform which she strove to establish and maintain, Losa found a place from which to consistently express her particular take on Portuguese society and culture as these underwent the seismic shifts which characterised the latter half of the twentieth century in Portugal.

PART 1

Framing multiple margins

As part of redressing the imbalance which has seen Ilse Losa's *crônicas* so far overlooked by both the wider public and the relatively small community of Losian scholars, I propose that before delving into the texts themselves, a number of different elements of Ilse Losa's socio-cultural positioning, as well as of the *crônica*'s literary "identity", be addressed as part of understanding both through what frames these texts by Losa were read at the time of their original publication in periodicals and newspapers, and also how their legacy might have been shaped since. As I have argued previously (Churcher Clarke, 2016), various aspects of Ilse Losa's identity – as a woman, as a foreigner in Portugal (specifically as a Jewish refugee and later exile), and as an author principally known as a children's writer – have seemingly contributed to her multiple marginalisation and neglect as a significant cultural contributor. That said, I propose that if on the one hand Losa might be characterised as being multiply marginal and overlooked, she can also, on the other hand, be found to have operated very close to the heart of the culturally dominant oppositionist intellectual elite, and, indeed, to have found ways to make herself consistently heard – not least through the *crônica* itself – thus in fact revealing a much more ambiguous position somewhere between the margins and the centre of a fervent literary and cultural community.

In the chapters which follow, I will examine three of the frames through which I suggest Losa's *crônicas* might be read: firstly as texts whose generic identity is itself defined by duality and a certain ill-definition, secondly as the product of a foreign-born author exiled in Portugal, writing in a language which she began learning as an adult, and finally in terms of Ilse Losa's position as a socio-politically engaged and progressive woman in Portugal during the Estado Novo regime. Having examined these elements principally as arguments for an understanding of Ilse Losa's *crônicas* as multiply marginal texts, I will then provide a counter perspective in the form of a discussion of Karina Marques' *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços: Correspondência Com os Pares Lusófonos (1948-1999)* (2018) – one of the most significant contributions to Losian studies of recent years and an exposition of Ilse Losa's conversely central, albeit discreet, position within Portuguese intellectual culture. As such, across the course of this part of the thesis we will explore the different ways in which Losa is found to occupy apparently

contradictory positions between various margins and centres, a mode of mobility which I suggest is in fact a fundamental aspect of her writing and identity and therefore key to a full appreciation of her *crónicas*.

1.1 The *crónica* as genre

The chronicle, a print precursor to the blog, is a daily or weekly literary genre that straddles fiction and nonfiction and is common to Spanish-, Portuguese-, and Catalan-language newspapers. It avoids the rigid rules of ‘objective’ and researched journalistic standards that have applied to Western reportage since the North American press established those standards in the nineteenth century, at the same time as it takes advantage of its formal flexibility to comment, at times obliquely, on contemporary social issues. (Gentic, 2013, p. 2)

With this description, North American scholar Tania Gentic provides a rare English-language characterisation of the *crónica* genre, broadly locating it culturally and linguistically and pointing out some of its defining features in relation to journalistic models more familiar to readers not versed in the Iberian languages and associated cultures that she mentions. Already, from this very brief sketch then, we gain a sense of the duality and flexibility inherent to the *crónica* form on account of its interstitial position between a series of established discourses. To delve further into a discussion of how these aspects contribute to the genre’s relegation to the literary margins,¹ however, I will here turn to some of the most prominent scholars to have worked on the modern *crónica* in the geographical domains where it has some currency as a form: Latin America and to a lesser degree, Portugal (the following quotes come from Brazil, Argentina and Portugal, respectively).

¹ It is worth bearing in mind the culturally-specific connotations of “literatura marginal” in the different contexts of Brazil and Portugal. As Arnaldo Saraiva points out: “Aplicado à literatura, o adjetivo ‘marginal’ tanto pode ter o sentido topográfico que é corrente em Portugal (à, na margem de – entenda-se: outra, outras literaturas), como pode ter o sentido jurídico, social, moral ou psicológico que é corrente no Brasil (à margem da lei vigente). Assim, a designação ‘literatura marginal’, ‘literaturas marginais’ cobre mais ou menos todo o espaço semântico de outras designações tais como ‘paraliteratura’, ‘subliteratura’, [...] ‘contraliteratura’, ‘antiliteratura’ [...]. O que define tais expressões ou designações é a oposição explícita ou implícita à literatura dominante, oficial, consagrada, académica e mesmo clássica” (Saraiva, 1980, p. 5). Having paved the way for his titular phrase, Saraiva goes on: “Mas com o uso do sintagma ‘literatura marginal izada’ [sic] pode visar-se apenas um certo tipo de textos em que há menos estruturação, menos elaboração estética, menos conceptualização, ou menos ambição cultural do que, por exemplo, na ‘literatura de vanguarda’ ou na ‘antiliteratura’; e pode visar-se preferentemente não só um tipo de textos mas também o modo da sua produção, da sua distribuição ou circulação, e do seu consumo. / Salta à vista, portanto, que o conceito de ‘literatura marginal izada’ é muito vasto, como salta à vista a sua relatividade ou provisoriidade. Com efeito, a ‘literatura marginal’ poderá deixar de o ser a partir do momento em que entra no guto ou no gosto geral, nos circuitos normais, nos domínios oficiais” (*ibid.*, pp. 5-6). The *crónica* is one of the genres of “marginal ised literature” that Saraiva includes in his study, along with, amongst others, graffiti, epigraph and song.

Ambigüidade, brevidade, subjetividade, diálogo, estilo entre oral e literário, temas do cotidiano, ausência de transcendente, – eis os requisitos essenciais da crônica, a que falta adicionar tão-somente um outro, anteriormente mencionado: a efemeridade. (Moisés, 1985, p. 257)

The *crónica* comes from journalism, from literature and from philology, to insert itself in the market as a sort of archaeology of the present which dedicates itself to everyday occurrences and whose central purpose is not to inform but rather to entertain. (Rotker, 1992, p. 106, my translation)

uma forma de escrita característica do espaço público moderno: ligeira, criativa, vivendo do brilho efêmero da ‘actualidade’, como as páginas dos jornais onde nasceu; destinada a ser volátil, tal como tantos produtos culturais ou artísticos da nossa sociedade de bens descartáveis. (Santana, 2003, p. 9)

Considered together these definitions highlight a number of recurring characteristics of the form which is, in reduced and relatively simple terms: a short text, originally published in a newspaper setting, possibly later republished in book format, and which presents, in a literary tone and style, an “everyday” event of greater or lesser magnitude. What stands out from the characteristics repeatedly identified in the quotes above are: a certain immediacy and ephemerality, a broad, quotidian subject-matter, and, more than perhaps any other feature, a hybrid, hard-to-define character – the *crónica* seemingly existing suspended between a number of apparently opposed poles, and consequently relegated to the margins of the literary panorama.

In the synthesising words of Portuguese scholar Ana Filipa Prata, whose doctoral thesis from 2010 (published as a book in Colombia in 2017) provides a comparative study of *crónica* writers from different linguistic and cultural spheres, and to whom I will refer repeatedly given how her work engages with much of the relatively sparse theoretical discussion to have been produced, predominantly in the 1980s and 1990s, in Latin America:

The *crónica* genre [...] continues to pose many problems in terms of its definition, constantly oscillating between various sorts of discourse: between history and literature, between journalism and literature, and between the essay, poetry or the short-story. As a result, any attempt to define the *crónica* according to the traditional formal criteria attributed to literary genres brings us back to the same conclusion: the *crónica* is a hybrid genre which cannot be identified with a generic paradigm, frequently occupying a marginal position in the literary system. (Prata, 2017, pp. 213-4, my translation)

It is my suggestion that such a description of “hybrid” identity and marginality is indeed analogous to that which Ilse Losa herself – as a German-born writer of Portuguese literature – is characterized as having had in Portuguese culture. What’s more, I propose that this comparable positioning – between the *crónica* within the literary system, and this particular *cronista* within the Portuguese society she addresses in her texts – might contribute to an understanding of the distinctive nature of Losa’s press publications, as if the *crónica*, with its multifaceted, hard-to-define character, provided an author such as Losa – with her similarly complex, layered identity – with a particularly apt vehicle for her self-expression, as well as a somewhat sheltered platform from which to do this.

Before developing this idea further, however, as part of exploring the notion of a certain duality inherent in the *crónica* genre in some more depth, the dichotomies that I’ll briefly address, as the two most prominent borders straddled by the *crónica*, are: firstly, that of literature and history, and, secondly, that of literature and journalism, though the two comparisons in fact connect and overlap to some extent, as I will explain further ahead. This will be followed by a brief discussion of Tania Gentic’s presentation of the idea of a “palimpsestic subjectivity” fostered by the *crónica* – a concept I will use to further expand on the idea of the *crónica*’s particular aptness for a migrant writer such as Ilse Losa.

The *crónica* – between literature and history

When thinking about the *crónica* as an “historical text”, there are two senses in which this can be understood – firstly, the *crónica* in its ancient and medieval (as opposed to modern) forms, and secondly, the *crónica* as an historiographic tool – a text whose purpose is to record facts and therefore write history. Given that it was in fact in its pre-modern form – in the context of

the sixteenth-century Portuguese and Spanish sea exploration and colonisation of Latin America, for example² – that the *crónica*'s express aim was to record significant events for posterity, these two senses of an "historical" *crónica* in fact coincide. Indeed, whilst the modern version of the *crónica* seems not to translate entirely to any equivalent in contemporary Anglophone cultures ("parece não ter similar noutras literaturas", writes Massaud Moisés [1985, p. 246]), its medieval counterpart aligns more fully with forms from various other linguistic and cultural spheres of the same period, including the *chronique* in French and the chronicle in English.³

Underlining the discursive grey-zone in which this historical and historiographic legacy leaves the modern *crónica*, Prata reflects:

it is difficult to know whether to place the study of [the *crónica*] in a literature or History [sic] programme [...] in terms of literature, the *crónica* is interesting insofar as it permits an analysis of, on the one hand, the narrative techniques and literary strategies employed to capture the reader's attention, and, on the other, those techniques which best allow historical events to be brought together with the time as it was lived. Because the *crónica* is, above all, – and to explain this, its etymology suffices – the writing of time (*chronos*). (Prata, 2009, pp. 1-2, my translation).

Here, Prata does what many theorists working on the *crónica* do, making reference to this key etymological basis to emphasise the *crónica*'s temporally engaged roots.⁴ In Arnaldo Saraiva's words for example: "crónica quer dizer isso mesmo: tempo, referência ao tempo, no tempo"

² Susan Rotker refers to the "Cronistas de Índias" as an example of how "the term *crónica* was used as far back as the very start of Hispanoamerican literature" (1992, p. 23, my translation). Tania Gentile similarly remarks: "The form has its origins in the colonial chronicles and travel literature that predated, but became especially common following, the conquest of the New World" (2013, p. 4).

³ "[Chronicle:] A written record of events presented in order of time, and updated regularly over a prolonged period. The chroniclers of the Middle Ages, from the compilers of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (9th to 12th century) onwards, tended to mix legend and rumour with fact in their accounts. Significant chronicles in the later Middle Ages include those of Matthew Paris (St Albans, late 13th century) and the accounts of the wars against the English written by the French chronicler Jean Froissart (late 14th century). Raphael Holinshed and his collaborators published in 1577 the Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland which (in an expurgated edition of 1587) were adapted by Shakespeare and other dramatists in their chronicle plays" (Baldick, 2015).

⁴ Cf. Moisés, p. 245; Lima, p. 168; Carrión, p. 20.

(1980, p. 111). Going on to highlight Brazilian *cronista* Carlos de Drummond Andrade's mastery of the genre, Saraiva homes in on this temporal significance, linking it to the texts' consequent historical interest whilst at the same time emphasising their broader value as multi-faceted literary objects:

a unidade que justifica a denominação de crónica: a sua referência ao tempo, a sua 'inscrição' no tempo, individual ou colectivo, do ano ou das estações, histórico ou psicológico, eterno ou efêmero, mas sempre actual ou actualizado, quer dizer: visualizado no presente [...] Por aqui deve imaginar o interesse histórico das crónicas drummondianas, que, pelo que têm de sintético e de alusivo, poderão valer para o historiador futuro muito mais do que as notícias dos jornais que frequentemente as inspiram. Mas o interesse dessas crónicas vai muito além da História. Para não falar no interesse social, ou psicológico, ou político [...] haveria que salientar o interesse linguístico e o interesse literário. (Saraiva, 1980, pp. 112-113)

Indeed, what Saraiva's words highlight here, is the somewhat artificial and reductive nature of divisions between history *or* literature, such as is broadly typical of the academic structures (implicitly referred to by Prata) seeking a neat categorisation by which more ambiguous forms such as the *crónica* are ultimately squeezed. Instead, Saraiva points out how in a good *cronista*, a *crónica*'s historical and literary value (amongst other aspects) can happily co-exist, the text thus belonging legitimately to each of the associated discursive fields simultaneously.

Returning to the question of the form's origins, however, as Prata herself points out, many scholars have been careful to highlight the quite separate identities of the medieval and modern versions of the genre, with a perceived move away from the *crónica*'s original, historical purpose, towards a more literary focus seemingly at the heart of this divergence. Américo Oliveira Santos, for example, in his postface to Ilse Losa's 1997 collection of *crônicas*, states the following:

Entre o significado que a alta Idade Média atribuiu à crónica e aquele para que o século XIX recuperou a palavra os nexos são tão vagos que a generalidade dos autores se recusa a admitir aí qualquer parentesco. E, embora se trate em qualquer caso de formas

de registrar o tempo, a verdade é que a *crónica* moderna se bandeou com armas e bagagens do campo da historiografia para as margens da literatura.

Esta nova localização periférica justifica-se pela medida da sua submissão à referencialidade, mas as incursões que progressivamente foi arriscando pelos *bosques da ficção* garantiram-lhe pelo menos um estatuto paraliterário. (Santos A. O., 1997, p. 133)

Noting the question of the language used by Santos here (specifically his migratory metaphor), and its relevance to a discussion of the *crónica* as a form particularly well suited to a writer such as Ilse Losa, whose literary identity is so concerned with her own exilic condition, with this reflection on the form's "paraliterary" status, we can shift our attention from the historical/literary question towards the other key dichotomy mentioned previously: the *crónica*'s location between literature and journalism. Indeed, as already briefly suggested, this second set of supposedly opposed discursive fields is in fact closely related to the first, with the historiographic and journalistic features of the form seemingly overlapping in terms of their fact-based, documentary objectives, as opposed to literature's more aesthetic focus.

It is worth noting at this point of transition that implicitly aligned (and perhaps even overlapping) with each of these binaries is, indeed, the additional fact/fiction dichotomy, which scholars working on the *crónica* form invariably mention with greater or lesser emphasis. As Prata puts it, for example:

The *crónica* is thus independent of the newspaper where it first developed. And it is precisely because of this new insertion within the literary world that a series of doubts concerning its generic classification appear. One is no longer talking about simple journalistic chronicles. As we have seen, they are often described as hybrid, or paraliterary texts, which oscillate between the writing of reality or fiction, between the short story genre and the *fait-divers* [news report]. (Prata, 2009, p. 6, my translation)

This inherent tension, between a certain documentary approach, on the one hand, and a contrastingly imagination-based, fabricated mode on the other, is something which of course further blurs the *crónica*'s identity as a genre.⁵

The *crónica* – between literature and journalism

In introducing a discussion of the *crónica*'s relationship to journalism we might begin by briefly highlighting its proximity to the *folhetim* – Portugal's version of the French *feuilleton*, popular in the nineteenth century in both cultures and indeed elsewhere, as the "serial" in Britain, for example (Soares, 2011, p. 132). As Isabel Soares describes it: "Originally 'feuilleton' referred to the bottom part of a newspaper page, where subjects not directly related to the main content of the periodical were published. These included theater and literary critiques, philosophical articles, and short stories" (*ibid.*). But if the *crónica*'s initially synonymous relationship to the *folhetim* is frequently referred to in accounts of its trajectory as a genre, along with mention of adherence to the form by central figures in nineteenth-century literature, such as Eça de Queirós and Ramalho Ortigão, this is generally followed by details of the two forms' increasing independence throughout the course of the nineteenth century.⁶

Like the *feuilleton*, however, the modern *crónica*'s habitual appearance in a newspaper setting means that, unsurprisingly, the genre's relationship to journalism – the dominant discourse for that medium – is frequently highlighted, bringing with it the central matter of different print media and their associated genres' pretensions to permanence:

the term *crónica* is vague and can refer to a number of different kinds of journalistic text, the quality and objectives of which can vary significantly [...] But the *crónica* can also include texts which stand out for their literary value, for their cultural and documentary interest, and that's why often these survive the ephemerality of a sheet of paper. (Prata, 2017, p. 215, my translation)

⁵ For more on this particular aspect of the *crónica*'s generic identity see: Seixo, p. 77; Rotker, pp. 87-8; 110-111; Carmo, p. 11.

⁶ Cf. Moisés, p. 245; Candido, p. 15; Rita, pp. 30-31; Lopes, 2010, p. 4.

As Prata goes on to say: “another important factor relevant to a study of the *crônica* is its displacement from the journalistic universe to the literary universe. An essential aspect of this shift is the *crônica*’s publication in book form, often in anthologies” (*ibid.*, p. 217, my translation). The significance of this transition from newspaper to book form – its impact on the supposedly ephemeral text – is something others have also emphasized, with Brazilian veteran critic Massaud Moisés offering the following appealing analogy:

De certo modo, a própria instituição do livro, não sendo sua morada permanente, mas a eventual, semelha um ataúde, florido e pomposo, mas ataúde.

Admitamos, contudo, que o envoltório do livro funcione como unguento preservador da total decomposição, e lá teremos, ao fim de tudo, a mumificação, que significa uma enganosa e falsa vitória sobre o poder implacável das horas. (Moisés, 1985, p. 257)

For his part, Antonio Candido – another key figure in Brazilian literary studies – refers to the change in orientation implied by this change in medium, going on to point out the transformative effect which this, in turn, has on the literary panorama in which the *crônica* inserts itself. The following quotation, though long, is justified by its interest, its lyricism and the curious parallel it provides, between the *crônica* form and Ilse Losa herself (who, we might remember, arrived in Portugal as a transient refugee) in its suggestion of the potential impact made by a seemingly temporary inhabitant of a given literary or cultural sphere:

[a crônica] não tem pretensões a durar, uma vez que é filha do jornal e da era da máquina, onde tudo acaba tão depressa. Ela não foi feita originalmente para o livro, mas para essa publicação efêmera que se compra num dia e no dia seguinte é usada para embrulhar um par de sapatos ou forrar o chão da cozinha. Por se abrigar neste veículo transitório, *o seu intuito não é o dos escritores que pensam em ‘ficar’* [...] Por isso mesmo consegue quase sem querer transformar a literatura em algo íntimo com relação à vida de cada um, e quando passa do jornal ao livro, nós verificamos meio espantados que a sua durabilidade pode ser maior do que ela própria pensava. Como no preceito evangélico, o que quer salvar-se acaba por perder-se; e o que não teme perder-se acaba por se salvar. (Candido, 1992, pp. 14-15, my emphasis)

It seems that with its passage from the explicitly ephemeral, disposable daily newspaper, to the more solid, selective and supposedly sacred book form, the *crónica*'s interaction with, and "intentions" with regard to time and temporality are thrown into relief. If in the first location it aims at instant gratification and non-permanence, in the second it seems the *crónica* manages to insert themes and events onto a more timeless plane, elevating their standing in the process.

Highlighting the inherently hierarchical nature of a discussion of literature and journalism as opposed domains, and also tying the literature/journalism discussion together with that of literature/history, Prata reflects:

In the case of the *crónica*, and above all when it is published in an anthology, History becomes a literary patrimony and not just a mere journalistic note. It takes on two complementary functions: that of subversive and politically engaged document and that of historical document. (Prata, 2009, p. 5, my translation)

Emphasising the importance of the anthology as a particular kind of literary context (a point that will be expanded upon in my discussion of *À Flor do Tempo* in Chapter 2.3), the following serves as a succinct summary of what might be the broad and general effect of the retrospective selection and re-publication of, for example, the significant body of *crônicas* in the Losa family archive:

The anthology seeks to bring to a certain audience's present a selection of texts from the past, with a pedagogical action in mind. The anthology works as a representative for the literature (genre or author) of a certain period and can also transfer this from one publication context to another [...] As with translation, the anthology can also be considered a source of renewal and change in the literary system, calling out the implicit eclipse of certain authors or texts, but also, and above all, as a will to introduce new elements into the literary canon. (Prata, 2009, p. 5, my translation)

From periodicals to newspapers: the emergence of a Losian *crónica* tradition

At this point, as we move towards a discussion of the Losian *crónica* in particular, it is worth mentioning the shift that occurs in Ilse Losa's press publications – a shift that will be

represented by my choice of case studies in Part 3 – from her early collaborations with periodicals (principally in the 1940s, ‘50s and early ‘60s) to her later writing in daily newspapers (principally from the 1960s onwards). This is, indeed, a shift that reflects a broader trend in the Portuguese press and media, as the periodical’s nineteenth and early twentieth century heyday began to wane – a process that would intensify with the mass availability of colour television and video: “As revistas [...] viram a relevância relativa de que desfrutaram ao longo de decénios sucessivos ficar diminuída com a preponderância muito acentuada dos meios audiovisuais, no ultimo quartel do século XX” (Andrade L., 2009, p. 22). Before this, however, as many scholars have noted, the periodical press was in fact a key site for Portuguese (as well as wider Western) literary and intellectual culture, representing, as José Augusto Seabra remarks:

um dos meios privilegiados de intervenção e mobilização ideológica, literária ou estética, catalisando correntes, tendências consensuais ou polémicas em confronto, num contexto de estabilidade ou de crise, e contribuindo por vezes decisivamente para as grandes viragens do poder, da hegemonia ou do gosto dominantes em certos países e mesmo em largas áreas civilizacionais. (Seabra, 2003, pp. 19-20)

What’s more, from a specifically literary point of view, historian Rui Ramos highlights the significance of the periodical press for early twentieth-century authors in Portugal, noting of the period immediately preceding Ilse Losa’s first publications (in 1948) that:

o mundo dos livros era apenas um anexo do mundo da imprensa, que era quem dava os pés ao império dos escritores [...] muitos dos livros publicados nesta época são simples colecções de textos com que os autores, ocasional ou regularmente, contribuíram para jornais e outras publicações periódicas. (*Apud* Andrade, L., 2009, p. 20)

From these reflections we thus gain a sense of how the literary and cultural magazines in which Losa published her early texts (some of the most relevant titles of their time) were in fact contexts which saw her speaking from a thoroughly central, prominent and established

platform. As such, the marginal, paraliterary position and status with which we have been characterising the *crónica* form so far is here juxtaposed.

That said, it is worth pointing out that the genre of text most widely associated with the periodical, is not the *crónica* but rather the article, as Luís Andrade emphasises: “O artigo constituiu o género jornalístico mais saliente nas revistas [...] as revistas foram obra, em primeiro lugar, de articulistas, designação comum e apropriada para todos aqueles que discorreram, de forma mais ou menos habitual, nas suas páginas” (*ibid.*, pp. 23-24). In Andrade’s dissection of the article form, however, many of the characteristics identified in fact provide an at least partial echo of a number of the features associated with the *crónica*, most prominently in terms of its relationship to time and temporality (“a pertinência própria do artigo situa-se na aresta pela qual o presente une o pensado e o inaudito, a retrospectiva e a prospectiva. O artigo surge, deste modo, como a consciência do momento” [*ibid.*, pp. 45-46]), its flexibility (“A plasticidade do artigo condiz, aliás, com a natureza facetada das revistas. Mesmo os periódicos que apresentaram maior rigidez programática não deixaram de ser, número após número, publicações caracterizadas pela adição de vozes, abordagens, interesses, estilos e registos variegados” [*ibid.*, p. 24]), and its relationship to other genres such as the essay (“Para um lote muito significativo de pensadores, artigo e ensaio tornaram-se então as duas vertentes de um mesmo esforço de esclarecimento simultaneamente crítico, problematizante e cívico” [*ibid.*, p. 47]).

José Augusto Seabra, for his part, though referring to the periodical rather than the individual articles within it, emphasises the medium’s delicate balance on the edge of ephemerality – another of the key dynamics frequently mentioned in relation to the *crónica*:

não se deve confundir a recepção imediata com a recepção mediata das revistas, nem a recepção visada com a recepção efectiva das mesmas. Se no caso do jornal, elas tendem a aproximar-se, senão a coincidir, o tempo da revista, que por aí pode almejar a medir-se com o livro, quando não em casos a superá-lo, transcende o efêmero, ainda que por ele passe ou perpassse. (Seabra, 2003, p. 23)

Still using the frame of the periodical as a whole, as opposed to the individual article, Seabra connects the notions described by Andrade as “plasticity” and a “multi-faceted nature”, with the question of temporality, providing the following insight:

Revistas há, importa lembrá-lo, que pelo seu eclectismo, maior ou menor, se dirigem potencialmente a públicos diversos, com preocupações próprias, e que portanto se situam em diferentes temporalidades, as quais se cruzam no texto mesmo, a diferentes níveis. Essa intertemporalidade é inerente à ‘intertextualidade’ das revistas de que fala Clara Rocha, ao propor a sua leitura como um ‘palimpsesto de gerações sucessivas’.

(*Ibid.*, pp. 23-24)

I will shortly return to the particular relevance of this palimpsest analogy in discussing Tania Gentie’s contribution to the field. Here, however, I wish to simply underline the fact that although there exists what I began by calling a “shift” in Losa’s press publications around the mid-1960s – from periodicals to newspapers – from these analyses of each medium and the genres they contain, it becomes clear that any change in the texts of a given author working across the two media is likely to be a very subtle one. Indeed, in Losa’s case, I propose that this “shift” is in fact more of a “drift”, representing so slight and gradual a change in her writing that we might treat all Losian press publications of this broad, amorphous type as versions of a *crônica* style progressively developed across the course of the 50 years of her career, from 1948 through to the mid-1990s. As such, the corpus I analyse in Parts 2 and 3 of this thesis takes the *crônica* in its broadest sense, including the texts (“articles”) originally printed in periodicals. With this “drift” between media, we also arguably witness an interesting, parallel and equally subtle movement, from a space of some prestige (within prominent periodicals), to a space which is thoroughly visible but also generally defined in terms of its complex, marginal relationship to the dominant cultural, literary sphere: the *crônica* proper.⁷

⁷ Even once referring to the newspaper *crônica*, a certain (apparently paradoxical) prominence and prestige can still be associated with the form if we bear in mind the fact that it has been – throughout its history and in the many different contexts in which it has taken hold – consistently adopted by some of each culture’s most established and revered literary authors. As Luiz Carlos Santos Simón says of the Brazilian context, for example: “A lista de escritores que obtiveram reconhecimento crítico através de seus romances ou poemas e que também contribuíram com crônicas, mais cedo ou mais tarde publicadas e reeditadas em livros, é enorme [...] composta integralmente por nomes dos mais valorizados no cânone literário brasileiro” (Simón, 2004, p. 59). The indexes

“Palimpsestic subjectivity”

Tania Gentic’s 2013 *The Everyday Atlantic* is a rare book-length English-language discussion of the *crónica* genre which, considering my own objective of contributing to this as-yet very limited field, requires some brief mention here. In particular, I wish to draw attention to the novel theory Gentic develops around the notion of a “palimpsestic subjectivity” associated with the *crónica*, basing herself in the transatlantic space around whose edges the genre has historically developed⁸:

In this book, I argue that this mixing of past and present, local and transatlantic, that is common to the twentieth-century chronicle, allows us to conceive the everyday Atlantic subject as palimpsestic, enmeshed in multiple and often ephemeral ways of knowing at the same time. This reference to the palimpsest means that subjectivity in the Atlantic world is never fixed by a specific geocultural imaginary, as the construct of the Hispanic Atlantic, for instance, suggests, but rather is constantly made and unmade by the momentary contacts an individual has with a variety of local and nonlocal knowledges daily. Importantly, these ways of knowing are not just historicized or even lettered [...] the forms of knowledge through which readers daily engage with texts like the chronicle may also be ethical, affective, and corporeal. (Gentic, 2013, p. 3)

While Gentic’s focus is on the dynamics of a specific geo-cultural space and phenomenon not directly relevant to Ilse Losa as a *cronista* arguably turned rather more towards her native Northern Europe than westwards across the Atlantic, the palimpsestic subjectivity concept expounded around the *crónica* form finds some echo in the transnational perspective which Losa, as a rare migrant subject, represents in Portugal, consistently prompting in her readers (as will be explored in Parts 2 and 3) those same “momentary contacts [...] with a variety of

of anthologies such as *Crônicas jornalísticas – século XX* (Venâncio, 2004) or *A Visagem do Cronista* (Carmo, 2020) serve to illustrate the fact that the situation in Portugal is similar.

⁸ While Gentic frequently refers to “both sides” of the Atlantic, and also talks in terms of “Spanish-, Portuguese-, and Catalan-language newspapers” (2013, p. 2), Portugal’s *crónica* tradition is conspicuously absent from her discussion, even where she is careful to explain the logic of her corpus: “I have specifically chosen an author of each Catalan, Brazilian, Colombian, and Mexican nationality – and left out those of Castilian Spanish background...” (*Ibid.*, p. 12). This is surely a reflection of the very limited attention that the Portuguese *crónica* has had as a properly recognised genre, with international scholarship focused on this even sparser.

local and nonlocal knowledges”. It is also thus an interesting theory to explore in terms of thinking about how the *crónica* provides a migrant subject such as Losa with a particularly apt “vehicle” for the transnational perspective she regularly, and often explicitly, expresses and nurtures in her texts.

Evoking the *crónica*’s historical development, Gentric emphasises the connection between the genre’s multi-layered, simultaneously inwards- and outwards-facing orientation and the temporarily transformative (and transportive?) effect she sees this as having on a reader’s sense of self and place:

From a cultural perspective, the interplay among local, national, and global concerns has consistently accompanied the *crónica*’s form, content, and readership [...] On both sides of the Atlantic, meanwhile, especially from the *modernista* period on, the newspaper chronicle also reflected a desired cosmopolitanism on the part of its readers and writers, whose depictions of local spaces and traditions explicitly and implicitly commented on imported ideals of progress and modernization. Such discourses usually referenced North America and Northern Europe as points of comparison, at the same time as they brought local issues to light for foreign audiences. [...] Understanding the intertwined geographical imaginaries implicit to the genre’s production, reception, and circulation is important not only because it represents an understudied aspect of cultural exchange in the Atlantic world, but also because it has consequences for how we understand identity within that space. Specifically, the works’ multiplicity implies what I call a “palimpsestic subjectivity” for its readers, who are written on and by multiple forms of knowledge at the same time, which together produce overlapping and, in certain moments, conflicting concepts of selfhood and community that change daily. (Gentric, 2013, pp. 4-5)

From the language Gentric uses here – of “intertwined geographical imaginaries” – it is as if the “DNA” of the *crónica* genre contains within it a certain multiplicity of geographies and cultural perspectives – a situation which, one might imagine, would make it a particularly attractive or comfortable form for a writer wishing to give expression to an equally multifaceted cultural experience. Via the “palimpsestic subjectivity” that the *crónica*, with its

inherent heterogeneity, transfers onto its readers, it seems that a *cronista* carrying multiple cultural influences is thus able to invite readers onto a broad and inclusive plain.

Linking this notion of the palimpsest to another central concept of her own coinage – “meanwhile reading” (“the chronicle addresses its readers as local subjects who, although they may be at times part of an imagined national community or state apparatus, are always, *meanwhile*, bringing other multiple, transatlantic, and personal kinds of knowledge to bear on the newspaper when they read”) – Gentic repeatedly underlines the political implications of such a perspective⁹:

The daily representation of these overlapping cultural and epistemological concerns continuously deterritorializes, rather than affirms, national, colonized, and globalized political constructs of community, even if that deterritorialization is only momentary. The everyday Atlantic thus means understanding knowledge as beyond nation or beyond (post)coloniality because it is grounded in a “meanwhile reading” that is at once temporal and geographical, material and epistemological. This, in turn, implies momentary subjective simultaneity that shows that identity, knowledge, and subjectivity are always multiple — transatlantic and local; personal and community-based; thought, affective, and corporeal — and in flux. (Gentic, 2013, p. 6)

While the colonial history of the transatlantic space obviously gives this political aspect a particular, culturally-specific weight and significance, that is not to say that the “deterritorializing”, subversive potential described here is not equally applicable to other contexts in which a fixed, too narrowly-defined concept of identity is similarly restrictive and stifling. Indeed, in support of this point, I might here recall the application of Rosi Braidotti’s

⁹ In explaining the logic of her corpus, Gentic stresses how the individual *cronistas* she discusses in-depth (Mexican Carlos Monsiváis, Catalan Eugeni d’Ors, Colombian Germán Arciniegas and Brazilian Clarice Lispector) – all involved with local politics but each from within very different political panoramas – used the *crónica* as a conduit for more subtle, indirect forms of political engagement: “they also all use their positions to represent subjectivity as ‘beyond’ national politics in one way or another. They do so by shifting what could have been a direct political commentary on local issues to transatlantic conceptions of subjectivity rooted in corporeality, ideology, ethics, and affect” (Gentic, 2013, p. 11). This indirect challenge of dominant political discourses is something which Losa does consistently and effectively throughout her *crónicas*, as will be discussed in Parts 2 and 3.

theory of “nomadic subjectivity” that I provided in my 2016 Master’s thesis on Ilse Losa’s place in the Portuguese literary establishment, for the resonance that seems to emerge between the two theories, as well a sense of their shared applicability to Ilse Losa and her *crónica*-writing (much of which, as we know, occurred during the highly conservative, nationalist Estado Novo dictatorship). As I wrote in that earlier context:

... Braidotti takes aim at the rigid, exclusionary, dualistic structures traditionally used to define individual identities and suggests these be uprooted and replaced with an approach to subjectivity based on flexibility, fluidity and mutability.

In making her case for the nomadic subject, however, Braidotti gives two important clarifications of points which otherwise might be misconstrued. The first is that such nomadism does not imply any absolute negation of belonging and community but rather of the absolutism and exclusivity of any such connection; [...] The second is her emphasis upon the fact that the nomadism she promotes need not be literal – one need not be deterritorialised in physical, geographical terms. Rather, it is a mental breaking out from, and cultivation of a new and active disregard for, boundaries. (Churcher Clarke, 2016, p. 41)

Where previously I used Braidotti’s theory of an alternative subjectivity to discuss Ilse Losa’s place within the Portuguese literary structure, here, I suggest that we find in Gentric’s proposal a theory which highlights how the *crónica*, specifically, cultivates another alternative and subversive subjectivity in its readers – one which, like Braidotti’s, invites and celebrates multiplicity and a certain ambiguity. As such, we might consider that the nomadic subjectivity I have already associated with Losa’s perspective and writing, finds in the *crónica*, with the palimpsestic subjectivity Gentric attributes to it, a perfect match and genre-specific extension. Thus while Gentric discusses the *crónica* in terms of the transatlantic space – that is, in terms of a geography defined by migration and cultural multiplicity (as well as a colonial past), I propose that some of the same observations can be made in relation to Ilse Losa as a migrant and culturally plural individual, shifting the frame of the theory from a collective to an individual scale, as befits this thesis’ focus.

Conclusions

Taking the *crónica*'s position within the Portuguese literary system as the first of the frames through which to consider this so-far overlooked part of Ilse Losa's *oeuvre*, there are a number of aspects of the genre's character which contribute to a sense of its "other", neither-here-nor-there, and consequently, marginal classification. First and foremost, the frequent description of the *crónica* as a hybrid form, hovering between a series of supposedly "pure" and established discourses, most prominently – given the form's origins and the different media in which it generally appears – history, literature and journalism. It seems that because of its simultaneous and only partial inscription within each of these fields, the *crónica* defies straightforward categorisation and has therefore tended to be relegated to a position on the edge of each, within multiple "blind spots", thus resulting in its under-discussion as a serious and significant form in Portuguese literary culture.

That said, the newspaper *crónica*'s proximity and indeed kinship to other forms such as the *folhetim* and the article within the periodicals from the mid-nineteenth century onwards – two genres which are widely recognised as having played significant roles in the print culture of their day – highlights how this apparently "marginal" character is not as simple as it might seem, with regular publication in the periodical and newspaper presses having provided many prominent twentieth-century authors with a space in which to make their literary names. What's more, from the sorts of analyses provided by scholars working in the field, and as will be explored in relation to Ilse Losa's *crónicas* here – traced across time, from their periodical-based beginnings through to newspapers and, finally, bound volumes – it seems that by examining these texts in each of the print contexts in which they first appear, the *crónica* in fact reveals itself capable of speaking to the various different discourses within which it is said not to fit entirely. As such, the *crónicas* extend themselves in multiple directions at once (as well as sequentially, as they move from the press context to a book format), ultimately preserving their relevance beyond one or other context.

Bearing in mind Ilse Losa's own cultural identity of multiple belonging (and also exclusion), I suggest that these aspects of the *crónica*'s literary identity – its multiplicity and flexibility (as well as its extra-categorical nature) – provide an interesting parallel between author and text, as well as perhaps offering a novel perspective on what makes the genre a particularly suitable

and successful one for a transnational author such as Losa. From a brief consideration of the theory developed by Tania Gentic around the idea of the *crónica*'s "palimpsestic subjectivity", we see how the genre's own transnational origins and its consequent cultural complexity, as well as how this affects the way it is read, offer further fuel to this argument.

For a final note on how the *crónica* form's literary identity and status might be viewed in relation to Ilse Losa's *oeuvre* specifically, I suggest that the *crónica*'s relative marginality (as well as the aspects which contribute to this, including its brevity, regularity and fragmentary nature) provided the emerging author with a partially sheltered, overlooked space in which to develop a literary voice in Portuguese. Although this began in the highly intellectual and visible context of a number of prominent periodicals, such a setting allowed Losa both a gradual emergence and also the protective cover of a collective project signed by many respected names. As we will see across the course of Part 3, from these promising beginnings, Ilse Losa went on to write in scores of different press publications, contributing texts of many different sorts, thus making herself heard in a broad range of contexts and on a broad range of subjects throughout households up and down the country. Indeed, it seems that via the *crónica* Losa was able to gradually carve a discreet place for herself at the heart of Portuguese society, taking advantage of a seemingly banal but ultimately relatively secure, established space to develop her voice.

1.2 Ilse Losa as exiled, foreign writer

The second frame through which I propose Ilse Losa's *crônicas* be read, is that of her status as someone who arrived in Portugal as a refugee, later going on to become an author of Portuguese-language literature, much of which reflects (on) this experience of displacement. In this chapter I will therefore explore the separate but interconnected notions of exile literature and, more briefly, exophony, considering how Ilse Losa does and doesn't fit into each of these categories, and thus how she might be seen to occupy yet another peripheral position in relation to two areas of literature which are themselves concerned with marginal figures, and in the case of the latter represents a theoretical notion still in the process of emerging.

Exile literature & *Exilliteratur*

Over the last seventy years or so, exile literature has gained increasing scholarly attention as successive waves of forced migration have carved out an ever-greater space in the cultures of both departure and destination countries, and as academic research has developed to reflect this. Given this study's consideration of Losa's particular perspective as a multiply marginal figure in Portugal, and considering the legacy of previous studies in which Losa is presented as a cultural hinge between German and Portuguese literary cultures,¹ the case for such a framing would seem clear. That said, as will be discussed here, there are also a number of details of Losa's specific situation (both in terms of her exile and her authorship) which, bearing in mind the way the field has generally been defined and delineated, would appear to undermine her inclusion in this analytic category, or at least suggest a more peripheral position in relation to it. As such, a consideration of the field and its limits, on the one hand, and the specificities of Losa's case, on the other – as well as how these do or don't match up – is required here.

Let us firstly, therefore, examine the field of exile literature, which in its broadest sense might refer to any literature produced by a writer in exile, and in certain more specific usages tends

¹ Ana Isabel Marques' doctoral thesis takes as its focus Losa's "mediação cultural" as a translator (Marques A. I., 2014); Teresa Balté also describes Losa as occupying a "posição charneira" between Germany and Portugal (Balté, 1988, p. 14).

to refer to the writing of exiles driven from German-language countries by Hitler between 1933 and 1945.² In relation to both, there exists a vast literature, with discussions of the notion of exile and how such an experience is handled literarily providing the broad focus for many works, while others offer a more context-specific discussion focused on particular migratory waves, including – but not limited to – the German-language context already mentioned.³ I will proceed by examining, first of all, and more superficially, the wider field of exile literature, before moving on to consider the narrower concept of *Exilliteratur* in some more depth given the more specific relevance of this particular frame to Ilse Losa's situation as an exile of Nazi Germany. It should be said, however, that a perfect separation of the two terms is not always possible nor necessarily desirable.

Exile literature – an outline

Whilst throughout the latter half of the twentieth century there have been consistent attempts to map the field of exile literature and to provide a full survey of those who might be considered its key representatives, comments such as the following by Martin Tucker highlight the complexity of such a task on account of the area's vastness: "It soon became apparent that a comprehensive study would prove, literally, too voluminous for viability in the academic and critical world" (Tucker, 1991, p. viii). Nevertheless, and considering my more modest, merely illustrative objective here, from an exploration of work on the subject, a number of recurring themes, issues and foci can be extracted, helping to sketch an outline of the field, or perhaps rather to highlight its inherently blurred, hard-to-define boundaries.

² The term *Exilliteratur* in German (which translates as "exile literature" in English), despite its apparent neutrality and generality, is seemingly used to refer specifically to that sizeable and greatly significant group of writers who fled the rise of Nazism during the 1930s and early 1940s, and which includes figures such as Bertolt Brecht, Lion Feuchtwanger, Thomas, Erika, Heinrich and Klaus Mann, Anna Seghers, Franz Werfel and Stefan Zweig, to list just some of the most illustrious names. As German scholar Wilhelm Karl Pfeiler puts it, and by way of partial explanation as to why this particular wave of migration should have come to dominate modern conceptions of exile literature: "never before in history had the elite of the cultural life of a nation departed on such a scale" (Pfeiler, 1957, p. 4).

³ Other geo-political spheres such as those of twentieth-century Latin American totalitarian regimes, for example, also serve as the focus for a whole other sub-set of studies not studied here. Examples of works developing this strand of exile literature studies include: *After Exile: Writing the Latin American Diaspora* (Kaminsky, 1999) and *The Dialectics of Exile: Nation, Time, Language and Space in Hispanic Literatures* (McClennan, 2004).

The most immediately striking consistency in the scholarship focused on exile literature is the almost universal consideration of the terminology involved in describing and analysing the authors of exile literature and the broader migratory groups to which they belong: “Emigrés, exiles, expatriates, refugees, nomads, cosmopolitans – the meanings of those words vary, as do their connotations. [...] Over and above their fine distinctions, however, these words all designate a state of being ‘not home’ (or of being ‘everywhere at home’, the flipside of the same coin)” (Suleiman, 1998, p. 1). Together with this attempt to distinguish and categorise, there is indeed a frequent recognition of the insufficiency of the term “exile” to convey the full breadth and complexity of the plethora of experiences of displacement for which it is generally used.

But a wish, on the part of scholars, to somehow “locate” something essential in the notion of exile literature, is seemingly illustrated by their consistent references to the etymological roots of those same labels:

exile (L. *exilium*, earlier *exsilium*; *exul*, earlier *exsul*, a banished man) was long thought to be linked to *solum*, soil, but is now (by Andrews 1987 [1879]) related to the root *sal*, Sanskrit *sar* (to go), L. *saline/saltare*; and L. *exsilio* meant ‘spring forth.’ But then later, in Old French, *exilier* or *essilier* meant ‘to ravage’, ‘to devastate’, a shift in meaning still traceable in *exterminate*, literally ‘to drive beyond boundaries’. (Brooke-Rose, 1996, p. 9)

Closely connected to this linguistic approach, the discussion which most often follows, or perhaps rather develops *from* precisely such a reflection, is that of the forced or voluntary nature of migration, and the centrality of this detail to any consideration of a writer’s perspective and experience in a foreign land. As Nico Israel remarks: “Just as there is [...] an inherent tension in the very words ‘exile’ and ‘diaspora’, the question of force and choice is a recurrent one in recent theorizations of writing displacement” (Israel, 2000, p. 13).⁴

⁴ I have chosen to discuss Ilse Losa in terms of exile though she could equally legitimately be discussed in terms of diaspora. Indeed, for a study more focused on her Jewish identity, the latter might in fact be preferable given

But while such essential differences are underlined by some, others (or else those same scholars, approaching from a different angle) are careful to emphasise the idea of a given status' non-permanence – its being subject to change in accordance with personal and societal developments, such as Cláudio Guillén puts it here:

In our historical societies a man anchored in his native town may remain always the same or almost the same – a provincial in historical time. An exile, whose status is 'a dynamic one,' cannot. We all know of refugees who have become, in the course of time, emigrants. Conversely, Marx emigrated to Paris, which was the center of socialist thought, and later was expelled from Paris and Brussels. Pablo Picasso emigrated to the capital of the arts, which happened to be Paris too, and died, like Marx, an exile. (Guillén, 1976, p. 276)

So while attempts to frame discussions of exiled writers within taxonomical categories of displacement are almost guaranteed in theoretical texts of this type, reflections such as this one highlight the idea that such determinations are in fact relatively fluid, an exile's status as either refugee, migrant or emigré – each with its own supposedly inherent distinctions – subject to change with time and shifting circumstances. As such, one might conclude that these categories are not of such fundamental importance as the frequency of this effort to label and distinguish would suggest. That said, consideration of the issues brought to light via such a categorical

the term's more particular association with the displaced Jewish community: "'Diaspora', a term that has lately surfaced with increasing frequency in critical theory, has traditionally possessed a specifically religious and spiritual significance [...] Generally applied to the experience of the Jews – the mutation of diaspora to 'the Diaspora' is a fairly recent one – this description has seemed apposite to the experiences of other minority groups at different points in their histories as well" (Israel, 2000, pp. 2-3). Beyond this matter of diaspora's relationship to religion, in expanding on his subtitle ('Writing between exile and diaspora') Israel also highlights how the two notions in question bring with them specific contextual details whose resonances represent subtle but important distinctions – differences which contribute to my choice of exile over diaspora in discussing Losa here: "In terms of contemporary literary and cultural studies, at least, 'exile', perhaps most closely associated with literary modernism, tends to imply both a coherent subject or author and a more circumscribed, limited conception of place and home. Maintaining a stronger link to minority group solidarity and associated with the intersection of postcoloniality and theories of poststructuralism and postmodernism, 'diaspora', by contrast, aims to account for a hybridity or performativity that troubles such notions as cultural dominance, location, and identity" (*ibid.*, p. 3). Given Losa's relative isolation as a displaced Jew in Portugal, and given also how her emergence onto the Portuguese literary stage in the 1940s would make a discussion framed by terms such as postcoloniality, poststructuralism and postmodernism appear anachronistic, I have chosen to use a term with which Losa herself might have been more likely, in her time and circumstances, to identify.

approach – not least the question of chosen or forced migration, and the wide range of experiences in between these two polarities – is surely important in thinking about how a displaced person is seen and received in a given host community, as well as in thinking about their own relationship to the both the land in which they find themselves “hosted”, and the homeland left behind.

Ilse Losa’s case exemplifies the complexities involved in such an assessment: she arrived in Portugal as a refugee following threats by the Gestapo and fearing for her life, but following marriage to Arménio Losa she became a Portuguese citizen, thereby shedding (officially, at least) the label with which she had arrived. Having begun to build a life in Portugal in 1934, what was once a forced situation technically became a matter of choice following the end of the war in 1945, with Losa no longer prevented from returning to Germany by political circumstances but rather held in Portugal by affective, familial ones. Should she, therefore, be termed a refugee, exile, emigré or emigrant, and what impact, if any, might this have on the way she is read? Additionally, how does the fact that Losa migrated from a culturally dominant and relatively progressive context (Weimar Germany) to a culturally isolated, relatively underdeveloped and, indeed, an increasingly authoritarian one (1930s Portugal) also affect how she would have been seen by those around her, and, indeed, how she would have understood her own displacement?

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the question of language is another key element for many exile literature scholars, and provides a further point around which Ilse Losa’s position in relation to the field can be discussed, thus also prefacing the discussion of exophony to follow later in this chapter. In *Languages of Exile: Migration and Multilingualism in the Twentieth Century* (2013), Axel Englund and Anders Olsson emphasise the broad spectrum of linguistic experiences and approaches embodied by exiled writers:

some writers continue to work in their mother tongue, which is nevertheless altered or influenced by the alien context; others take the leap into another language, in part or completely, and thus bring the experiences of their own language across into a foreign one; others yet mix multiple languages in their work and thus create a literature that

resists translation by sprawling across linguistic borders. (Englund & Olsson, 2013, p.

1)

Both the centrality of language to the exiled writer's experience and something of the variety of approaches and foci mentioned here are echoed amongst the writings of other scholars in the field. Thus whilst some take as their subjects those who retreated into their mother-tongue as a result of their separation from a motherland (see, for example, Brodsky, 1990, p. 108), others explore the experiences of those such as Henry James, T.S. Eliot and W.H. Auden (see Levin, 1966, p. 76), who emigrated between countries of the same language and were therefore not faced with a linguistic choice of this sort; others still concentrate their attention on those who, for their literary expression, made a transition to the language of their host-country (see Steiner, 1976, p. 7), such as is the case for Ilse Losa.

In relation to the last of these categories, Martin Tucker's claim regarding the significance of literary-linguistic transition as a marker of the limits of exile is an interesting one to consider when thinking about drawing the boundaries of exile literature as a field, and by extension Ilse Losa's place in relation to this:

When a writer begins to write in the adopted language of his new country, he may well be stating that he has reached the end of his exile, that he is now associating himself with a new identity, a *word* no longer foreign to him. In this sense, a writer transcends exile once he adopts the home of a new language. (Tucker, 1991, p. xxiii)

According to this view, would not all writers who express themselves in the language of their adoptive homeland, as opposed to that of their country of origin, cease to be exile writers on account of their supposed transcendence of the state of exile? As such, are exophonic (that is, non-native-speaker) writers of exile literature not also rendered a contradiction in terms? And is Ilse Losa (together with many other, very much more famous writers for whom migration forms a central part of their identity) not therefore paradoxically excluded from the field of exile literature on account of her adaptation to her host culture, this process itself the product of her exilic condition? Once again, the notion of a multiplicity of perspectives (being both an outsider *and* linguistically integrated) seemingly compromises belonging, even within a field

defined by migration and thus a certain inherent multi-facetedness. Such considerations, along with a number of related issues and apparent delimiters will guide the following section of this chapter, as I turn to consider, specifically, *Exilliteratur* and the ways in which Ilse Losa, an exile of Hitler's Germany who became an author of Portuguese literature – here considered specifically as a writer of *crónicas* – does or doesn't fit into this seemingly more focused and narrowly defined category.

Exploring Exilliteratur

What becomes immediately clear upon consulting works on the slightly narrower *Exilliteratur* sub-category, is its similarly complex, unsettled nature, with the scholars who take it as their focus frequently referring to the quest to locate the elements which genuinely unite the works associated with the term and thereby justify its use. Wilhelm Pfeiler, for example, poses the questions “Speaking of a German Literature in Exile, one may ask: How is this literature to be defined? What is meant by it?”, following this with a tentative response:

The answer could be simply this: German literature in general is the body of writing in the German language [...] Literature in Exile is a part of the German Literature and is, above all, a *formale Kategorie*. It is the literature created by authors who were forced or chose to leave their native land and who continued their work in German no matter where they might find themselves. (Pfeiler, 1957, p. 5)

With this response, the absolute centrality of German language to *Exilliteratur* – for Pfeiler, at least – is made abundantly clear.⁵ Indeed, it is a position echoed, to a greater or lesser extent, by the majority of the authors consulted here, somewhat confirming Losa's exclusion from this more specific field.⁶ But just a few lines after this seemingly simple definition, Pfeiler in fact acknowledges the complexity of the matter, at the same time as he relativizes it: “The character

⁵ Pfeiler emphasises the point repeatedly: “For what, besides the German language, had the writers of the emigration in common?” (1957, p. 15); “They were *German* writers; they were the ‘prisoners of their own language’; their thinking had been formed and shaped by it” (*ibid.*, p. 22).

⁶ Cf. Stern, p. 174; Palmier, p. 386.

of exile literature, as that of any literature, is complex and has given rise to lively theoretical discussions” (Pfeiler, 1957, p. 5).⁷

Just as the terminological debate surrounding the term “exile” was shown to characterise discussions of wider exile literature, another prominent terminological issue arises within the *Exilliteratur* sub-division, here no longer focused on the question of how the individuals should be referred to, but rather the field itself: should it be exile literature, literature of emigration or Anti-fascist Literature? Pfeiler, for example, following a discussion of “The eloquent and often violent objections to the term *Emigrantenliteratur*” (1957, p. 16), concludes thus: “But the designation Literature of Emigrants will not do [...] to speak of the Literature in Exile, however, seems justified” (*ibid.*, p. 19). With this, he underlines the occurrence of a terminological shift, by which the apparently tarnished designation *Emigrantenliteratur* was replaced by *Exilliteratur*, at the same time, however, acknowledging their inherent association.⁸

Beyond, or perhaps rather directly underpinning the issue of the language used to describe these authors exiled by the Nazi regime, the question of what in fact really unites them is a key point frequently raised by scholars. Guy Stern provides perhaps the most succinct summary of the debate in the elegantly condensed title for his 1971 article ‘Exile Literature: Sub-Division or Misnomer?’. Expanding on this within the text, he presents a broad sketch of the issues at play:

⁷ For other acknowledgements of the difficulties involved in defining and navigating the field, see, for example: Palmier, p. 361 & p. 383; Stern, p. 167.

⁸ A frequently referenced detail of the quest to define the field is that of Goebbels’ role in targeting and consequently galvanising exiled writers in his 1933 speech, in which “the German propaganda machine unleashed a total and unrelenting attack on the ‘*Emigrantenliteraten*’, ‘*Emigrantenpublizisten*’”, not least in its infamous burning of the works of many exiled writers (Stern, 1971, p. 168). Emphasising the literary outpouring of sorrow and disgust that this act of persecution prompted in works which “bridged the ideological and aesthetic differences of their authors” (*ibid.*, p. 169), and thus underlining a certain unifying effect of the aggression, Stern also highlights the changing associations of the term supposedly sullied by Goebbels: “The basis for the disparagement in yesterday’s Germany has turned, of course, into today’s reason for approbation” (*ibid.*). This historical detail, with its opposing – positive and negative – associations, further emphasises the idea of a certain ambivalence embedded in the associated terms *Emigranten-* and *Exilliteratur*.

On the one hand it is being argued that their exile experience, their persecutions and privations, the separation from their public and often from the sources of their language, had united the exiled writers into an imaginary, loose but recognizable community. The other side holds that the vast difference between them made their assembly into one category an arbitrary grouping of individual and heterogeneous writers. (Stern, 1971, p. 167)

These positions are indeed echoed throughout the literature consulted here, with the many examples of opinions challenging the legitimacy of the category set against a series of attempts to find some deeper, more meaningful alignment. So while, on the “misnomer” side, Wilhelm Pfeiler provides a survey of critical positions by figures associated with the field (Pfeiler, 1957, pp. 6-8), Jean-Pierre Palmier voices the relatively extreme position of exiled author Hermann Kesten, who “saw the rubric ‘exile literature’ or ‘emigrant literature’ as a dangerous absurdity: it gave the illusion of a community between people and works that had never existed” (Palmier, 2006, p. 386). Offering his own opinion on the matter, Palmier remarks that “[i]t is impossible to speak of ‘exile literature’ as if it were a literary ‘genre’ in the same sense as imaginative literature or autobiography” (*ibid.*, p. 385), thus introducing one of the key lines of enquiry – one based around style, form and genre – in the quest to find some unifying factor amongst *Exilliteratur* works. In his subsequent reference to the fact that this label was often rejected by the most politically-engaged exiled writers such as Bertolt Brecht – suggesting, therefore, an absence of any ideological unity in the so-called movement⁹ – Palmier introduces another line of enquiry: that of the works’ political orientation (*ibid.*, p. 387).

In relation to the first of these two lines of enquiry – the stylistic/formal strand – Stern cites exiled authors Lion Ferdinand and Hermann Kesten in their insistence that: “style and form immanent to the artistic creation had to provide the evaluating criteria [...] a new definitional category, could be made only when a ‘new style’ would make an appearance” (Stern, 1971, p.

⁹ Palmier’s admission that “it remains the case that [the exiled writers’] output is historically defined in relation to another literature, that of the Reich [...] the ‘literature of Hitler’s slaves’” (Palmier, 2006, p. 387), does, however, imply that, at the very least, the category exists in contrast to, and as a negation of, that which the exiles’ persecutors represented.

16). Indeed, stating his own position on the importance not only of thematic commonalities but also stylistic ones in the definition of a literary movement, Stern asserts:

evidence, however, must reach beyond the customary enumeration of thematic parallels in the poems, dramas, and fiction of the various authors [...] The finding of just such [formal] traits, in works contentually far removed from the immediate problems and experiences of their authors, is, indeed, the chief aim of this article. (*Ibid.*, pp. 169-170)

Included within the tentative stylistic assessment provided by Stern, is reference to a series of formal choices which represent indirect approaches to exile – what he calls the “traces” of exile (*ibid.*, p. 173). These include frequent recourse to autobiographical fiction, in which the autobiography generally begins at the point of exile, with there also typically appearing a particular emphasis upon an idyllic youth along with an often jumping chronology – an author’s “return to his childhood [...] a means of catharsis and self-preservation”. Bearing in mind Ilse Losa’s best known work, *O Mundo em Que Vivi* – an autobiographical novel charting her cherished childhood memories of life in a Weimar-era German village, the narration ending with her decision to flee Germany – we find an example of how the author (in her novelistic prose at least) seemingly fits this formal criteria of Stern’s.

More than perhaps style, form or content, though, the second line of enquiry mentioned above – that of an author’s political intentions for their writing – seems to be one of the principal considerations for those working on *Exilliteratur*. In face of the persecution suffered by large sections of German and occupied territories’ societies during the rise and reign of the Nazis, it seems that, for many, a writer’s engagement with such injustice and aggression – their literary resistance to this – has been an important factor in their categorisation as an *Exilliteratur* author. Reflecting on the atmosphere into which this body of writing was born in the 1930s, Pfeiler comments:

politically minded people levelled the charge against it that its preoccupation with historic topics of past ages and of various climes ignored the burning issues of the day, and that it thus turned into a kind of escape from reality [...] the imperious demand

was made that literature in general, and especially this one of the exile, should not deal with aesthetic or psychological questions of a private nature, but stress political and social values above all. (Pfeiler, 1957, p. 12)

Alfred Döblin, whilst defending the author's right to write without prescription nevertheless echoed the call for a certain social engagement: "to encourage free German writers to aim at a closer attachment to society and to have them develop a spirit of communality, *Gemeinschaft*" (*apud* Pfeiler, 1957, p. 13).

An example of the attention to, and systemisation of this aspect of the works in question is German academic Jost Hermand's three-tier analytic structure, by which *Exilliteratur* is organised according to its level of political engagement with the rise of Nazism – from "resigned and sceptical" to "humanist", and, finally, "actively antifascist" (Palmier, 2006, p. 387). "The first group would include those authors who were sceptical as to the possibility of combining literature and politics in the Weimar era" (*ibid.*), summarises Palmier, while the second category comprises "writers who were progressive but not very political, considering that their task was 'to defend humanism and culture'. Some became more political in the course of exile (Thomas Mann), others [...] continued to declare themselves apolitical" (*ibid.*). The third category, meanwhile, refers to "genuine political exiles, who saw exile as a struggle and literature as a weapon [...] The members of this group were often severely critical of those who throughout their exile were concerned only with the quality of literary works and completely neglected the struggle against Hitler" (*ibid.*, pp. 387-8). Emphasising the usefulness of Hermand's theory (and indeed the validity of a politically-focused assessment) Palmier ends his presentation of it thus: "Of all the classifications generally offered of exile literature, this one seems to us the most rigorous, in so far as it acknowledges the existence of a certain historical unity, but also its ideological diversity" (*ibid.*, p. 388).

That said, Palmier goes on to consider the apparent continuity between non- and anti-fascist literature (passive and active resistance therefore), highlighting the opinion, offered by some – including exiled authors Hermann Kesten and Heinrich and Klaus Mann – that all emigrés might in fact be considered oppositional: "The mere fact that the exiles had all left the Reich because of the Nazi regime, however, meant that the Hitler government saw them all as

opponents, and thus ‘antifascist’” (Palmier, 2006, p. 390). Once again, the question of inclusion by negation (if one was not actively in support of the Nazi regime, one was perceived as being actively against it) raises itself here, as does the matter of *Exilliteratur*’s consistently ambiguous, contradictory definition by its scholars, the various attempts to delineate the field frequently clashing and ultimately resulting in a blurry, tenuous outline.

Some final, further factors worth mentioning for their repeated appearance throughout the works on *Exilliteratur* consulted here, as well as for their specific relevance to Ilse Losa’s case include: the temporal bounds of the field, the general presumption of a writer’s having been a writer before becoming an exile, and also an implicit, specifically *literary* focus.

In relation to the first, the period most consistently associated with *Exilliteratur*, perhaps not surprisingly, considering the Nazis’ central role in the exile of the writers in question, begins with the rise of the National Socialists in 1933, and ends with their defeat by the Allied forces in 1945. “[W]orks written outside Germany between 1933 and 1945 cannot all be brought under one and the same rubric”, writes Pfeiler, for example (1957, p. 391), frequently reasserting the same timeframe, his implicit claim supported by the titles of a series of German-language references.¹⁰ That said, the subtitles of a number of other works suggest a slightly different period of analysis,¹¹ while Guy Stern makes the explicit point of emphasising the need

¹⁰ A number of books referred to by others working in the field emphasise the same period; these include, for example: *Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945* (Durzak, 1973), *Die deutsche Exilliteratur 1933-1945* (Stephan, 1979), and *Exil und Literatur: Deutsche Schriftsteller im Ausland. 1933-1945* (Wegner, 1967), all cited by Rosemarie T. Morewedge in *Exile in Literature* (Morewedge, 1988).

¹¹ One example is *Unter fremden Himmeln: Ein Abriß der deutschen Literatur im Exil 1933-1947* [Under Strange Skies: An Outline of German Literature in Exile] (Weiskopf, 1948). Other periods include 1933-1941, on the shorter side, and 1933-1950 on the longer. See: Morewedge in Lagos-Pope (1988, p. 116). It is worth noting the direct echo of Weiskopf’s main title – *Unter fremden Himmeln* [Under Strange Skies] – in the title of Losa’s 1962 novel about precisely her experience of displacement: *Sob Céus Estranhos* [Under Strange Skies]. Given her close attention to German-language literary and cultural production, and particularly that of her fellow emigrés – as attested to by the substantial body of *crónicas* dedicated to such works and figures (See Chapters 2.3, 3.2-3.4 of this thesis) – it is hard to imagine that Losa would have not been aware of the existence of Weiskopf’s book, perhaps taking inspiration from it for the title of her own fictional work some 15 years later. The title of the 1991 translation of her novel into German, produced by Ilse Losa herself, is, indeed, exactly the same as Weiskopf’s title from 1948.

for a wider frame, referring to *Exilliteratur* authority Walter Berendsohn's earlier argument for this¹²:

The evidence [for the influence of foreign writers on exiled writers] becomes even more conclusive, if one includes the younger German exiles who began writing after 1945. Berendsohn argues convincingly that their inclusion in a discussion of exile literature is entirely proper [...] If we follow Berendsohn's suggestion and extend the exile period beyond 1945, the literary influence of the countries of asylum becomes dramatically apparent. (Stern, 1971, p. 176)

As mentioned previously, Ilse Losa having only begun to publish in 1948 means that the more common, more restrictive timeframe of 1933-1945, would effectively see her excluded from the *Exilliteratur* category.

The second of these additional considerations concerns the frequently expressed presumption that the authors studied as exile writers were writers before they were exiles. This in fact also occurs in the wider exile literature field, but is particularly pronounced in relation to those (predominantly German-language) authors who fled the Nazis, on account of the high proportion of writers and intellectuals amongst this specific group, as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. Evidence of this presumption can be found in Pfeiler's rhetorical question: "what else could reasonably be expected from the writers other than the continuation of the work begun at home?" (Pfeiler, 1957, p. 7). It can also be found in Palmier's citation of Hermann Kesten's opinion that: "Rather than there being a 'literature of exiles' or a 'literature of emigration', there were only German authors forced into exile" (Palmier, 2006, p. 385). Both

¹² "Since its founding in 1970, the Walter A. Berendsohn Research Center for German Exile Literature at the Institute for German Studies has been the only university institution in Germany specializing in the investigation and impartation of literature that, due to the circumstances in which it emerged, testifies to and reflects the large-scale exile of writers, artists and intellectuals from Nazi Germany from 1933. Alongside the tasks of preserving, systematically inspecting and, in part, collecting sources of literary and theatre history from that time, the aim of the research center is to create international networks for and to facilitate exile research in the fields of literary and cultural studies. It strives to act as a forum for the renegotiation of academic discussions of the exile period of 1933-1945 against the backdrop of comprehensive exile studies that incorporate both literary texts of other epochs, languages and cultures as well as more general literary-aesthetic and cultural-theoretical reflections upon exile". (Walter A. Berendsohn Research Centre For German Exile Literature, n.d.)

comments emphasise the idea that the authors of *Exilliteratur* were considered to be first of all authors, and only secondarily exiles, failing to take into account the experiences of those who only became authors after or during – indeed, in some cases, *as a result of* – their experiences of persecution and exile. Ilse Losa is clearly an example of the latter, and is therefore once again subject to exclusion by more traditional definitions of the field and phenomenon.

Lastly, the question of what forms of writing might be included under the *Exilliteratur* banner, is something to which Jean-Pierre Palmier gives some attention, firstly by highlighting the prominence of magazines (or periodicals) and newspapers in Weimar culture, and the continuation of this tradition by those displaced by the Nazis to foreign lands: “There was no country in which the antifascist exiles did not try and found at least one magazine, with the aim of getting their works known, establishing links with one another, and spreading information on Germany” (*ibid.*, p. 374).¹³ Furthermore, the following footnoted reflection on the active ambiguity of *Exilliteratur* is pertinent to the question of the field’s limits and definition, and resonates particularly with the discussion of the *crónica* as a genre which itself defies easy categorisation as “Literature”, as discussed in the previous chapter:

This notion of *Exilliteratur* is actively ambiguous. What exactly does it denote? If restricted to *belles-lettres*, i.e. literature in the traditional sense, then it ignores appeals, speeches, lectures, political articles – all so important in exile – and includes only novels, poetry, reportage and plays written in exile. Russian and German prefer more precise terms to designate this *Publizistik*. But if *Exilliteratur* means simply everything written by German émigrés in the years 1933 to 1945, it would also have to embrace scientific and technical writing by exiles, from physics to psychoanalysis. As for trying to restrict the concept by tying it to writings that reflect the experience of exile, this again comes up against countless problems that still flare up today in connection with reintegrating these works into German literature as a whole. (*Ibid.*, p. 383, FN101)

¹³ Though the expression is perhaps exaggerated (I am unaware of any such publication in Portugal, for example, isolated as it was by the Estado Novo regime, including via censorship), this assertion, supported by examples from England, Mexico, the United States, Switzerland, Argentina and Chile, serves to highlight the continued importance of the magazine/periodical as a medium for exiles educated in Weimar Germany.

Interestingly enough, for Palmier, “reportage” (elsewhere termed “mere newspaper articles” [2006, p. 361]) would appear to be included within a more restrictive definition of *Exilliteratur* (even if he also distinguishes within this, between “*Publizistik*” and more traditional literary forms), the implication being, therefore, that in fact a text such as the *crónica*, with its ambiguous literary-journalistic identity, could similarly claim a place within the field. It should be noted, however, that such attention to less conventional forms of literature is not generally echoed by other scholars of the field, most of whom refer to works coming from the more canonical areas of poetry, theatre and novelistic prose, implicitly suggesting that only these more established forms constitute *Exilliteratur* proper. The overall effect of this citation by Palmier, however, is to emphasise the ultimately complex, hard-to-define field, thus supporting and reasserting the arguments highlighted throughout my discussion here.

Ilse Losa – where does she fit in?

Bearing in mind this brief outline of the sub-genre based on its delineations by authors and academics in the field, perhaps the most obvious barrier to Ilse Losa’s inclusion in the *Exilliteratur* category is the fact that the overwhelming majority of her writing was not originally produced in German, but rather in Portuguese – the language of her host community and newfound home. It would be decades after her literary debut in Portugal that Losa’s best-known, award-winning books would be published in her mother-tongue – first of all *O Mundo em Que Vivi* in 1990, and soon after, in 1991, *Sob Céus Estranhos*. Indeed, the fact that Losa only began her literary career some time after her exile from Germany, arguably in response to this most traumatic, watershed event, contrasts with the general profile of *Exilliteratur* writers, who, as we have seen, on the one hand, were generally already established authors before their exile, and on the other, wrote at least one of their most iconic texts during the war years, in resistance to what was happening in Germany and the rest of Europe at the hands of the Nazis.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ramiro Teixeira recalls Losa’s narration of the events which led to her writing *O Mundo em Que Vivi*, with a psychoanalytically-minded doctor whom she consulted on account of her deep depression having encouraged her to write down her childhood memories and later to develop these into a book: “Assim nasceu a *escritora* Ilse Losa [...] pela dupla ou tripla necessidade de purgar não só a dolorosa recordação da sua infância, mas também da sua adolescência sob a ameaça do nazismo, a par da outra experiência, não menos dolorosa que lhe coube, que foi a de ter de viver *sob céus estranhos*” (Teixeira R., 2013, p. 11). See Losa’s own reference to this key moment in her letter to Mário Dionísio, as cited in Chapter 1.4 of this thesis.

Finally, and specifically in relation to this thesis' focus on Losa's *crónica* production, bearing in mind the characterisation of the *crónica* as a genre straddling literature and journalism, one might question to what extent these texts can be considered "Literature" and thus included within a discussion of *Exilliteratur*, with Jean-Pierre Palmier's discussion, cited above, providing a rare and explicit argument to the contrary.

Further support for Losa's inclusion within the category, however, can be found in the point that the great majority of her writing, though not always explicitly political and activist (a fact surely influenced by her writing in a situation of repressive censorship for a sizeable part of her career), can certainly be read as a response and resistance to Hitler's persecution of cultural, religious and political minorities, its consistent concern with various forms of tyranny, xenophobia and social injustice thus seeing it form part of the "humanistic front" which Pfeiler describes (Pfeiler, 1957, p. 22). What's more, as has been noted by Losian scholars and commentators, the author's writing repeatedly takes as its focus aspects of her exile from Germany – be that her departure, later return, adaptation to a strange and foreign land, or memories of her childhood in a Germany not yet dominated by Nazi persecution – placing her exilic experience and condition very much at the heart of her literature. As such, Losa seemingly commits her writing to an effort to keep alive and make heard the memory of a dark period of European history, together with its human impact on her as an individual. Indeed, to do this as a rare foreign-born citizen in Estado Novo Portugal – generally kept distant and relatively "sheltered" from events in the rest of Europe and the wider world – arguably puts Losa in a prominent position as spokesperson for the victims of Nazi persecution in this particular cultural arena.

Exophony

Bearing in mind the importance of language to both the discussions of wider exile literature and *Exilliteratur*, and, indeed, considering Ilse Losa's almost unique status as a writer of Portuguese-language literature for whom Portuguese was not a mother-tongue, it seems necessary to make some mention of the notion of exophony here. Given that my focus in analysing the *crónicas* is not of a principally linguistic nature, however, I will here limit my attention to: a brief outline of the concept, consideration of how Ilse Losa seemingly does or doesn't correspond to this, and a suggestion of how it contributes to an understanding of Losa's semi-marginal position within Portuguese literature. Highlighting some of the directions in

which further exploration of exophony in relation to Losa could develop, I will leave a more in-depth discussion for a future publication.

“This article argues for the adoption of the term ‘exophony’ (and its derivative adjective ‘exophonic’) as a useful and appropriate description of the phenomenon of writing by non-native speakers of a language, in this case of German” (Wright, 2008, p. 26). Whilst not responsible for coining the term, British academic Chantal Wright, since her 2008 article ‘Writing in the Grey Zone: Exophonic Literature in Contemporary Germany’, has helped to establish exophony as a concept – in English-language scholarship, particularly – by locating and defining it in relation to other concepts and contexts. Indeed, what she did in that paper was to promote exophony as an “emerging term” (*ibid.*, p. 39), which had, up until then, “been used to describe the phenomenon of African literatures written in European languages” (*ibid.*). Thus linking exophony to colonial and post-colonial contexts and discourses, Wright explores and compares the adequacy of a number of other notions and labels from literary and cultural studies, including “axial”, “post-national”, “hyphenated writers” and “non-native-speaker writers”. Her argument is that unlike these, the term exophony “avoids the imposition of a thematic straitjacket and emphasizes the innovative stylistic features that can be observed” (*ibid.*, p. 27) in the works of “a writer working in a language other than his or her mother tongue” (*ibid.*).

Like many others working with the concept, in this paper Wright refers to the work of Japanese-born exophonic writer and poet of German and German-Japanese bilingual texts, Yoko Tawada, and in particular her 2003 book of essays *Ekusophonii bogo no soto e deru tabi* (Tawada, 2003).¹⁵ Written after Tawada herself came across the notion at a conference in 2002,¹⁶ the publication would appear to have become something of a cornerstone for scholars

¹⁵ Given that no published English translation of the book exists, a number of different interpretations of the book’s sub-title have emerged, resulting in a certain confusion of references (further complicated by varying publication dates). Within the same collection, for example, Doug Slaymaker cites it as “traveling outside the mother tongue”, from 2002 (Slaymaker, 2007, p. 4), while Keijiro Suga refers to it as “Traveling Outward from One’s Mother Tongue”, from 2003 (Suga, 2007, p. 26). The same year is mentioned by Chantal Wright, who in turn omits the sub-title entirely (Wright, 2008, p. 39).

¹⁶ Tawada’s first contact with the term is said to have come at the “Afrika-Europa. Transporte des Literarischen” (Africa-Europe. Transporting Literatures) conference hosted in Senegal and co-organized by the Zentrum für Literatur- und Kulturforschung (ZfL) in Berlin and the Goethe Institut InterNationes, where the term “exophonic”

working on exophony.¹⁷ Indeed, the impression with which one is left from repeated encounters with Tawada's name is that it is this exophonic writer, reflecting on the very process of writing exophonically, who best expresses what is special about the concept in question. The following quotations are examples of these reflections:

In fact, I am not so much interested in the study of many languages itself. Rather than any particular language, it is the gap between two languages that seems important. I don't intend to become a writer of both language A and language B. I would rather find the poetic ravine separating two languages, and descend into its depth. (*Apud* Matsumoto, 2016, p. 18)

If one settles down cozily [sic] in unquestioning belief in the naturalness of one's native language, no true interaction with that language can develop. Without breaking away from such belief, there would be no contemporary literature. I think, therefore, for literature, being outside one's native language is not some special situation. It is simply the moderate extreme of the usual situation. (*Ibid.*)

When I write and read aloud sentences in German by searching [sic] the correct rhythm, my sentences come out differently from the usual, natural sounding German. People say my sentences in German are very clear and easy to hear, but still they are 'not ordinary' and deviant in some ways. No wonder, because they are the results of the sound that I as an individual body have absorbed and accumulated by living through this multilingual world. It is of no use if I tried to delete my accents or remove my habits in utterance [sic]. (*Apud* Perloff, 2010, p. 738)

Tawada's is an increasingly nuanced and lyrical consideration of what distinguishes exophony from, for example, multi- or translanguaging – terms which apply to a writer such as Ilse Losa

featured as “the collective label used for the various non-native-speaker writers from different countries” (Wright, 2008, p. 39). This conference gave rise to a further ZfL colloquium three years later – *Exo-phonie. Anderssprachigkeit (in) der Literatur* (Exophony: Other-languedness in/of Literature) – the proceedings of which were gathered in a German-language publication of the same title (Arndt, Stockhammer, & Naguschewski, 2007), which has in turn become a key reference for exophonic studies.

¹⁷ Cf. Matsumoto, p. 18; Perloff, pp. 737-738; Slaymaker, pp. 4-5; Suga, pp. 27-8; 30.

in her movement between languages, but which, according to this more detailed discussion (and in line with Wright's argument cited previously), lack a certain specificity with regards to the author's approach to, and incorporation of, such a transition. With these characterisations, Tawada takes us to the heart of what Wright terms a "politics of style in non-native-speaker writing" (Wright, 2008, p. 26), emphasising exploration of that "poetic ravine separating two languages", and implying, in the second quote, the beneficial critical perspective that this interstitial position brings with it.¹⁸ In the final quote, a certain inevitability and involuntariness (contrasting with the intentionality of style, therefore) is alluded to – Tawada's description of absorption and accumulation of multiple influences in fact resonating with the notion of palimpsestic subjectivity discussed in the previous chapter.

Whilst, as someone who does not speak German, I do not attempt to assess the extent to which *Losa* does or doesn't explore the "poetic ravine" between her mother tongue and Portuguese,¹⁹ the critical perspective which results from her transition between languages and the worldviews to which these give expression is something I do very much suggest is an important aspect of *Losa's* style, and one which sets her apart from her native-speaker colleagues, thus finding its relevance here. Finally, Tawada's characterisation of her own "unnatural" German finds echo in a series of descriptions of Ilse *Losa's* Portuguese by a number of prominent literary figures, underlining the two exophonic writers' comparable situations in their adopted literary languages.

Mário Dionísio, for example, said of *Losa's* linguistic transition: "dá a toda a sua obra um sabor muito particular que talvez horrorize os chamados puristas da língua, que não sou, mas agrada aos verdadeiros amantes dessa outra língua, que é a literatura" (Dionísio M., 1988, p. 14). António Torrado similarly referred to how "a estrutura linguística adquiriu uma modulação

¹⁸ The positive effects of migration (including linguistic migration) on creativity, and specifically the question of the particular perspective that this brings, is a recurrent theme amongst scholars working on exile literature (Cf. Levin, 1966, p. 73; Tucker, 1991, p. xxiv; Brodsky, 1990, p. 108; Rushdie, 1992, p. 19). It is interesting how, as well as a metaphor of augmented vision or perception resulting from displacement, another metaphor consistently used by scholars is that of fertility/transplantation/cross-pollination in/by a writer and/or the context to which they migrate (Cf. Rushdie, 1992, p. 15; 20; Guillén, 1976, p. 272; 277; Bartoloni, 2008, p. 37; Levin, 1966, p. 78; Tucker, 1991, pp. 8-9; Stern, 1971, p. 169).

¹⁹ The cultural, as opposed to linguistic focus of this study further justifies my decision not to investigate this aspect of *Losa's* writing here.

frásica irreproduzível por outra pena” (Torrado, 1988, p. 15). Finally, Georg Rudolf Lind, from his comparable position as a German-born lusophile, commented the following:

A expressão literária de Ilse Losa na língua portuguesa tem uma faceta original que um leitor não português notará com mais facilidade do que a maioria dos portugueses [...] Para os estudos da língua portuguesa ela pode facilitar o acesso às obras literárias [...] escrever bem e escrever claramente não deveriam excluir-se necessariamente. (Lind, 1988, p. 13)

Returning, however, to the question of the broader impact that a linguistic transition might have on a writer’s voice in an adopted language, and prefacing a discussion of how the specifics of Ilse Losa’s migration to some extent marginalise her even in relation to the field of exophony, I cite a further reflection by Tawada:

When a writer whose mother tongue is a minor language begins to create in a major language such as English, a certain change occurs in the target language. The change is not limited solely to the linguistic level. A particular take on history, or a new sensorium to grasp the magical, come into literary language. One who belongs to a small linguistic community is less likely to run the risk of looking at history from the victorious side. (*Apud* Suga, 2007, p. 30)

It is this particular “take on history [...] a new sensorium” – the introduction of an alternative perspective – which I see Losa as presenting in her exophonic transition from German into Portuguese. Once again, the idea of an enmeshing of multiple, contrasting and perhaps even clashing historical perspectives, as contained in the palimpsestic subjectivity concept developed by Tania Gentic, comes to mind here.

As regards the major/minor dynamic mentioned by Tawada, however, we notice how Losa once again breaks the mould, having come from the dominant cultural and literary context of the Weimar Republic, to the repressed margins of Europe that Portugal represented during the Estado Novo dictatorship, and thus against the exophonic “grain”, as it were. As Losian scholar Ana Isabel Marques remarked in 2014:

Apesar dos pontos de contacto com as experiências de outros autores bilingues, gostaria de salientar que, enquanto estas ocorrem, regra geral, em contextos anglófonos ou francófonos (o que, atendendo ao prestígio dos referidos sistemas literários, não deixa de constituir um factor aliciante), no caso de Ilse Losa trata-se de um investimento linguístico num contexto cultural periférico e que vivia, à altura, um ambiente de censura intelectual e artística. (p. 88)

Such a movement – which we might call a “major-minor” shift, from a dominant to a peripheral cultural-linguistic context – though implicitly the inverse of the more common “minor-major” shift described by Tawada, is seemingly not discussed or even acknowledged by those working on exophony, however. As such, we encounter an aspect of Losa’s migration which sees her side-lined in relation to yet another theoretical domain whilst also highlighting her potential to open up a new direction of exploration within exophonic studies, as an example of someone whose trajectory does not align with the prevailing model and thus presents a new set of dynamics to be considered.²⁰

Returning, however, to the specific question of how this concept can contribute to an assessment of Ilse Losa’s position within Portuguese literature, I suggest that if, on the one hand, Losa’s foreignness saw her set apart from her native-speaker colleagues, on the other hand, the non-cultivation of an exophonic culture and scholarship in Portugal is to some extent responsible for the relative marginalisation to which the author has been subjected over the years. By this I mean that as an almost unique exophonic writer in Portugal (half of whose career developed during the isolationist Estado Novo regime), Ilse Losa seems not to have found a literary-linguistic community into which she could easily insert herself, and no

²⁰ Amongst these is the matter of how Losa’s particular experience as a Jew in Nazi Germany interacts with the question of her supposed belonging to a dominant cultural-linguistic community, this particularity of her identity undermining the presumed “risk” of her “looking at history from the victorious side”, as Tawada puts it. Likewise, Losa’s position as a woman, moving from a relatively liberal context to a highly patriarchal, paternalistic one, is surely a limiting factor in terms of seeing her as part of a “victorious” or dominant community (here defined by gender as opposed to nationality or mother-tongue).

discursive field ready to receive and discuss her *oeuvre* in all its complexity, thus seeing certain important aspects of her work overlooked or undervalued.²¹

Conclusions

Having explored the labels and associated fields of exile literature, *Exilliteratur* and exophony, throughout this chapter we have come across repeated examples of how Ilse Losa, as a writer displaced from Nazi Germany to Portugal, and who adopted Portuguese as the language for her literary expression, occupies a consistently close but also ambiguous position in relation to multiple areas of literature which are themselves somewhat marginal and/or concerned with marginal figures. What's more, in the case of exile literature and the more specific *Exilliteratur*, we find that the categories themselves are frequently characterised by a certain lack of clarity, thus adding to the difficulty of locating Losa fully within them. As regards exophony, still in the process of emerging as a term with some currency within academia and broader literary culture, and almost entirely absent from Portuguese scholarship in particular, we find a notion which offers a new angle on Losa's writing but which, as it has been discussed so far, doesn't extend to the particular dynamics resulting from her specific trajectory. Losa thus offers a new angle on exophony too.

²¹ While the political circumstances have changed in the seven decades since Losa's literary career began (most obviously with Portugal's shift from dictatorship to democracy, via the 1974 revolution), I propose that lacking discursive conditions – around exophony, specifically – continue to pose an obstacle to Losa's full and proper reception in Portugal.

1.3 Ilse Losa as woman

In the following chapter, I will present how it is that Losa occupied a semi-marginal position not only as a woman in Portugal's highly patriarchal Estado Novo society, but also as an active figure within both the Portuguese women's movement and the broader oppositionist movement, albeit generally from discreet, off-centre positions within these more specific spheres too.

Women's rights in 1930s Portugal – a turning point

When she arrived in Porto in March 1934, 20-year-old Ilse Losa – then Lieblich – had already experienced some relative independence, having spent a year in England as an *au pair* in 1930, as well as a brief period working in Berlin immediately after. Just the year before her arrival in Portugal, however, the 1933 Constitution which consolidated the Estado Novo's deeply conservative ideological and legal framework was ratified, thus seeing the role of women in Portuguese society, and their access to the public sphere, severely curtailed.

As is frequently cited by those studying the roles available to women during the Salazar dictatorship or in twentieth-century Portugal more widely, the 1933 Constitution's fifth article determines “a igualdade de todos os cidadãos, ressaltando ‘quanto à mulher, as diferenças resultantes da sua natureza e do bem da família’” (Gorjão, 2002, p. 148). With this, the absolute superficiality of an apparent, incongruent liberalism in the Estado Novo's gender policy is underlined – a policy which also, ironically, saw a leap forward for women's suffrage in Portugal in 1934.¹ Despite this not insignificant emancipatory detail, however, in general terms it is widely accepted that:

¹ “As of 1934, women aged 21 and over who were either single and earned their own income or married women and had received [sic] a high-school level education or paid property taxes became eligible to vote and stand for election in the National Assembly and the Corporative Chamber” (Esteves & Johnson, 2014, p. 244). It should be noted that this concession to women was made following neighbouring Spain's delivery of female suffrage in late 1931 (written into law in 1932). The debate around “women's conservative tendencies” (Johnson & Castro, 2014, p. 218) and the potentially negative impact of this for the Republican movement (seemingly proven in Spain's 1933 election results [*ibid.*]) were surely registered by Salazar's government and presumably weighed in on the decision to grant the vote to a restricted section of Portuguese women.

With the establishment of the Ditadura Militar (Military Dictatorship) that gave way to the Estado Novo (New State), both openly antifeminist regimes, women's rights in Portugal took a step backwards. The regimes advocated women's returning to the home and married women's subordination to their husbands, and celebrated the roles of wife and mother. (Esteves & Johnson, 2014, p. 243)

Indeed, as is alluded to here, this policy overhaul in fact represents an about-turn from the 1910-1926 Republican period whose latter years have been described as the “anos de ouro” of Portuguese first-wave feminism (Tavares, 2008, p. 86). As Deborah Madden summarises:

The inauguration of the First Republic brought about a range of reforms that afforded Portuguese women personal, legal, and professional freedoms. Offering a window of opportunity between the nineteenth century and the dictatorship that imposed social and legal restrictions on women, the sixteen-year Republic saw the lives of Portuguese women change significantly.

The Republican government was supported by Portuguese feminists, an affiliation that can be explained by the establishment's defence of the rights and freedoms of women. The Constituição Portuguesa de 1911 of the First Republic facilitated a wave of feminist reforms. (Madden, 2014, p. 199)

When Ilse Losa arrived in Portugal, accustomed to the relative liberty afforded to women in early twentieth-century Germany and England,² she thus found herself entering a society whose laws – official and unofficial – regarding women were undergoing a radical shift, with a feminist movement which had previously enjoyed some engagement with the Republican cause and government suddenly delegitimised, marginalised and indeed demonised by a highly conservative regime. As Vanda Gorjão puts it of the Portuguese women's movement at this juncture:

² Women in Britain had been granted full suffrage in 1928, following more limited access introduced in 1918, the same year that women in Germany were also permitted to vote. Indeed, in the (perhaps exaggerated) words of North American scholar Kelly Wallach: “Weimar Germany (1919–33) was an era of equal rights for women and minorities” (Wallach, 2017, cover citation).

estamos perante duas ordens discursivas antagónicas: uma, legitimada e investida de concretos objetivos políticos, interdependentes do alicerçamento e manutenção de uma dada ordem política, social e económica; a outra, caracterizada pela ‘marginalidade’ face à ideologia oficial, promovendo uma oposição que, se não foi radical, em virtude dos condicionamentos legais que incidam sobre o movimento associativo, nem por isso deixou de adquirir um amplo significado cultural e político. (Gorjão, 1994, p. 8)

The “movimento associativo” Gorjão refers to here was indeed a centrally important aspect of the survival and strategic transformation of the women’s movement during the Estado Novo, and is also an example of how Ilse Losa explicitly engaged with the socio-political situation around her. Associations such as the Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas (CNMP) and the Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz (AFPP) provided an almost unique space in the public sphere in which women were able to come together and work towards a series of common aims and objectives, gaining a certain cultural and political significance whilst also maintaining a legitimising, relatively unthreatening collective appearance by way of their seemingly moderate, indirect approach³:

Para lá da apologia da formação cultural das mulheres, o Conselho e a Associação partilhavam ainda a aceção do político num sentido amplo, que incluía preocupações de carácter humanista, a consciência crítica dos problemas e a participação cívica das mulheres – outro caminho, em suma, para chegar à mobilização política. ‘Pretendia-se despertar a consciência das pessoas, [mas] não era despertar dando logo assim, sem mais, a política, não podia ser. Era fundamentalmente através da cultura’. (Gorjão, 2002, p. 159)

It is worth noting here that discussions of the women’s movement in Portugal during this period inevitably merge with discussions of the wider opposition movement, with scholars noting how the former in fact came to be overshadowed by the latter. So while Ana Paula Ferreira, Silvia

³ The pacifist and feminist movements had enjoyed a close relationship since turn of the century when prominent Portuguese feminist Alice Pestana, in 1899, founded the Liga Portuguesa da Paz, in which a number of other key figures from within the women’s movement also participated up until its closure with the outbreak of the First World War in 1918. For more on this union of the feminist and pacifist causes in Portugal, see: Esteves, ‘O pacifismo feminino, feminista e antifascista em Portugal’, 2014.

Bermúdez, and Asunción Bernárdez Rodal, referring to the Estado Novo's final years, remark that "feminist concerns were integrated into or overpowered by anti-Fascist struggles in which the opposition to the war and the colonialism it tried to sustain gained an enormous emotional urgency" (Ferreira, Bermúdez, & Rodal, 2014, p. 304), Manuela Tavares puts it thus: "Será que a luta das mulheres contra a ditadura do Estado Novo fez eclipsar o feminismo e provocou um corte de memória histórico entre as primeiras feministas do século XX e os movimentos de mulheres após o 25 de Abril?" (Tavares, 2008, p. 5). With this in mind, any discussion of Ilse Losa's engagement with feminism and the Portuguese women's movement inevitably and, indeed, necessarily collides with a discussion of her broader civic and socio-political engagement – an area of her life and career which is indeed thoroughly relevant to a discussion of her use of the *crónica* genre.

Conselho Nacional de Mulheres Portuguesas & Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz

Frequently referenced by scholars working on this period and aspect of Portuguese history, the CNMP and AFPP are, in the case of the former, the only women's organisation to have survived the transition from the Republic, through the Military Dictatorship and on into the Estado Novo, and, in the case of the latter, a perhaps surprising example of a certain leniency on the part of the Estado Novo, which permitted the women's group to form in 1936, "num período de repressão redobrada, que correspondeu à maior fascização do regime" (Gorjão, 2002, p. 154). Indeed, Vanda Gorjão remarks:

continua a causar alguma perplexidade o facto de o governo salazarista ter permitido a criação da AFPP [...] A perplexidade é acrescida tendo em conta o desejo de expansão associativa claramente afirmado nos estatutos da AFPP [...] Ora, o projecto de ampliar a Associação revelava-se profundamente antagónico com o processo de decomposição e desertificação do espaço público que o Estado Novo quis levar a cabo através da promulgação de uma extensa legislação restritiva do associativismo, em particular do associativismo cultural. (*Ibid.*)

It was in the AFPP – legitimised by its outwardly innocuous pacifist objective – that Ilse Losa, less than a decade after her arrival as a refugee from Hitler's Germany, actively participated in trying to shape Portuguese society, serving as one of the founding members of the association's Porto branch which opened in 1942, as part of the very expansion project mentioned above.

Within the first six months of the Northern delegation's existence it was said to have quadrupled its membership from 30 to 120 members, with Vanda Gorjão claiming that such vigorous engagement was indeed part of what led to the wider association's forced closure at the hands of the regime in 1952: "Passados nove anos, os acontecimentos que conduziram à proibição da AFPP viriam confirmar as repercussões do activismo das militantes dessa cidade" (*ibid.*, p. 155).

Indeed, while the AFPP, with its central commitment to pacifism, is generally characterised as having been less explicitly political than the CNMP with its feminist, Republican roots (the AFPP was described by one of its former members affectionately but perhaps somewhat belittlingly as "mais uma associação de mães" [*apud* Gorjão, 2002, p. 162]), in their parallel discussion of the two, scholars emphasise a certain cross-over, both in terms of the broad, humanist ideals they shared but also, and primarily, via the friendships and collaborations which connected the women in each. As Gorjão remarks: "o elo mais firme entre estas organizações procedia dos percursos individuais das muitas mulheres que, simultaneamente ou em fases distintas, estiveram ligadas às duas" (2002, p. 158). Further consolidating a sense of the organisations' tied fates is the fact that they were shut down within five years of one another (the CNMP in 1947, the AFPP in 1952), as the Estado Novo cracked down on what it had once seemingly deemed harmless women's groups but which had, in the period following the end of the Second World War, gained increasing visibility through a series of strategic policies, and thus came to be considered a threat to the regime as it battled surges of opposition resistance.

Consistently mentioned by scholars, the 1947 "Exposição de Livros Escritos por Mulheres" – organised by the CNMP, and more specifically by its then relatively new director, Maria Lamas – was one key precursor to this crackdown:

There was a display of three thousand books written by authors from all over the world, with texts from twenty-nine countries, as the event highlighted women's achievements in the fields of literature and science through forums and film screenings. Following the success of the event and the growing influence of the CNMP among women, illustrated by the gradual increase of subscriptions from all over the country and the

influence of the council's civil programs, the organization was banned by the Estado Novo on 28 June 1947. (Esteves & Johnson, 2014, p. 248)

The event, together with the Estado Novo's reaction to it, on the one hand set a precedent in terms of how previously tolerated culturally-focused activities such as those habitually practised by both the CNMP and the AFPP came to be considered intolerably suspect, ultimately resulting in their suppression and, consequently, a transformation and catalysis of women's involvement in oppositionist resistance.⁴ On the other hand, it is also an illustration of the way in which the cultural sphere, and more specifically literature, at certain key moments, provided an almost unique space for women's active participation in society – a space which was increasingly occupied and taken advantage of, as attested to by the surge of ever more varied activity and indeed of membership in the run-up to the CNMP's 1947 event (in which the AFPP also participated), and in the years following this, up until the AFPP's own dissolution in 1952.⁵

Active in both these associations and also in the relatively small circle of female writers engaging literarily with the question of women's rights and representation, Maria Lamas and Irene Lisboa were two key figures within the predominantly male mid-century Portuguese cultural sphere. It is my suggestion that they might also each be taken as role models of sorts, or at least as significantly influential figures for Ilse Losa in the period of the late 1940s and early 1950s, when she was first embarking on literary and socio-political activities in Portugal. As such, I will dedicate some brief attention to them here.

⁴ “Mas o fim do Conselho e da Associação não significaria o fim do envolvimento oposicionista dessas mulheres. Pelo contrário, para muitas aumentou a mobilização e a participação políticas numa vertente mais diretamente de afrontamento ao regime” (Gorjão, 2002, p. 175).

⁵ “Episódio flagrante de contestação oblíqua terá sido o curso de puericultura organizado, em 1950, pela delegação do Porto da AFPP, que contemplou um módulo introdutório sobre sexualidade, com o objetivo de colmatar a ignorância generalizada das mulheres acerca do assunto [...] ‘o curso foi muito, muito frequentado. Foi aquele que mais interesse despertou’”, notes Vanda Gorjão, citing an interview with former member, Maria Branco Lemos (Gorjão, 2002, p. 160).

In terms of their civic activism, while Maria Lamas ended up being the last and surely the most instrumental director of the CNMP from 1945-47, Irene Lisboa was “Primeira vogal” of the AFPP’s Lisbon branch in 1944-45 (Gorjão, 2002, p. 159) – the same position Ilse Losa occupied in the Porto delegation in 1947-8 (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 57). Both Lamas and Lisboa are also named as key women within the Movimento de Unidade Democrática (MUD) which formed in 1945 and was “a primeira expressão legal de oposição ao regime, com o propósito de concorrer às eleições para a Assembleia Nacional marcadas para Novembro” (Gorjão, 2002, p. 188).⁷ Of Irene Lisboa’s role here, it is worth noting that: “Fez parte da Comissão dos Escritores, Jornalistas e Artistas do MUD, sendo a única mulher num grupo de 17 homens”, an

⁶ Maria Lamas (1893-1983): “Jornalista e escritora. Colaboradora do *Diário de Lisboa*, dirigiu as páginas infantis de vários jornais [...] e *Modas e Bordados*, suplemento feminino de *O Século*. Até à sua morte foi diretora da revista *Mulheres*. Participou em diversas acções que tinham por objetivo promover o papel da mulher na sociedade – congressos, conferências, movimentos nacionais e internacionais. Democrata e combatente pela liberdade, esteve por vários períodos exilada em Paris, durante os quais deu um grande apoio a emigrantes e a exilados políticos. / Pertenceu ao Movimento Nacional Democrático das Mulheres e, em 1954, foi eleita para o Conselho Mundial da Paz. Estreou-se literariamente em 1923, com o livro de poemas *Humildes*, tendo escrito livros para crianças, além de contos, romances e ensaios sobre os problemas da mulher” (Lisboa E., 1994a, p. 452).

Irene Lisboa (1892-1958): “Irene Lisboa, nome com que a partir de 1942 passou a assinar os seus livros, frequentou a Escola Normal e foi durante muitos anos professora primária. Fez estudos de pedagogia na Suíça, França e Bélgica e, sob o pseudónimo Manuel Soares, publicou vários textos pedagógicos, iniciando em 1926 a sua obra literária com *13 Contarelos*, seguidos de dois livros de poemas (*Um dia e Outro Dia...*, de 1936, e *Outono Havias de Vir*, de 1937, ambos com o pseudónimo de João Falcão, que ainda usaria nos volumes de prosa *Solidão*, de 1939, e *Começa Uma Vida*, de 1940). / Têm sido assinaladas pela crítica as influências de Virginia Woolf e de Katherine Mansfield [...] / Escritora de vocação confessional, transpõe em muitas das suas personagens femininas a sua solidão profunda, o seu lento viver dilacerado, a sua amorosa atenção aos seres e às coisas de um quotidiano ‘insignificante’. Nos seus contos e crónicas [...] perpassam figuras do dia-a-dia, ora dolorosas ora insones, operários, empregados, vendedeiras, mulheres-a-dias, as serviçais de então, os parentes pobres; e nas cenas de um amargo pitoresco em que esse pequeno mundo se agita vibra um sentimento de solidariedade social que encontra o seu melhor paralelo em certos poemas de José Gomes Ferreira” (Lisboa E., 1994a, p. 442).

⁷ Ilse Losa had a much less prominent role in the MUD although she is named, in the list Gorjão cites here, as one of the signatories supporting its formation. Other renowned feminists in the MUD include Manuela Porto and Virgínia Moura: “Manuela Porto [...] declamou os poemas do Novo cancioneiro em saraus culturais vigiados pela PIDE, colaborou nas revistas *Vértice*, *Seara Nova*, *Mundo literário* e *Eva* e no jornal *Diário de Lisboa*, foi crítica de teatro, publicou livros de contos e uma novela, militou em movimentos políticos como o Movimento de Unidade Democrática, lutou pelos direitos e pela emancipação das mulheres, traduziu Anne Brontë, Katherine Mansfield, Virginia Woolf, Tchecov, foi atriz, recusou o teatro como era feito na sua altura e experimentou construir um outro teatro [...] Suicidou-se com 42 anos” (Dionísio D., 2010, p. 123); “Virgínia Moura foi uma mulher muito interveniente na luta contra o regime. Pertenceu à Associação Feminina para a Paz desde a sua fundação, pertenceu ao MUD, ao Movimento Nacional Democrático (MND), participou na campanha eleitoral de Humberto Delgado, foi presa dezasseis vezes pela PIDE/DGS. Tinha catorze anos quando participou, pela primeira vez, num acto político: o funeral de um estudante e organizou uma greve no liceu onde estudava. Foi membro do Movimento Democrático das Mulheres (MDM) que a distinguiu em 1984 com uma medalha de honra, numa homenagem realizada na cidade do Porto, cidade onde nasceu. Foi a primeira engenheira civil portuguesa” (Tavares, 2008, p. 90, FN122).

indication, therefore, of her relatively prominent cultural position as an oppositionist woman writer of some standing (*ibid.*, p. 189).

Indeed, in terms of their roles as writers, in her study of ‘A “Literatura Feminina” nos Anos Quarenta’, Ana Paula Ferreira underlines the idea of Lisboa and Lamas’ shared and complementary significance for the Portuguese literary sphere and its links to wider socio-political issues concerning the roles available to women in Portuguese society:

Salienta-se que Maria Lamas e Irene Lisboa, duas escritoras muito diferentes, inclusive quanto à questão da diferença feminina, manifestam opiniões que corroboram as de Gaspar Simões perante o problema social e político (e não apenas literário) chamado ‘literatura feminina’ [...] Maria Lamas não rejeita a dita literatura, mas denuncia como a falta de cultura e o próprio meio atrasado e repressivo limitam as suas possibilidades [...] Como que em resposta a Maria Lamas [...] no seu conto ‘Um dito’, incluído em *Esta Cidade!* (1942), Irene Lisboa insurgir-se-á precisamente contra o ‘espírito das actuais moralistas, amadoras das letras, [que] impõe à juventude [...] um estilo celular, apesar de adocicado, indigerível e absolutamente estúpido’ (Ferreira A. P., 2002, pp. 32-33).

As Ana Paula Ferreira notes, both women were part of a new generation of female writers who began to publish narrative prose in the late 1930s, and are charged with having helped to introduce a new literary style at odds with the so-called “literatura feminina” mentioned above⁸:

estas autoras tematizam as novas liberdades, aspirações e, sobretudo, limitações de mulheres coarctadas tanto por mitos tradicionais do género como por divisões socioeconómicas. O modo directo como abordam situações que desafiam preconceitos

⁸ It should be noted that the very notion of “literatura feminina”, with its ambiguous “female”/“feminine” duality, has been the subject of some debate, as Ferreira’s insertion within inverted commas suggests. Another key work to have similarly used but also questioned such a label is ‘Sobre a “Escrita Feminina”’, by Maria Irene Ramalho de Sousa Santos and Ana Luísa Amaral (1997), which begins thus: “As aspas do nosso título exprimem uma perplexidade genuína [...] falar de uma ‘escrita feminina’ [...] poderá não ser a perspectiva mais productiva” (Santos & Amaral, 1997, p. 1).

morais e sociais, bem como as injustiças legais de que as mulheres são alvo, é outro dos elementos que as distingue das escritoras da geração anterior [...] a atenção aos estados de alma e aos dramas íntimos dos personagens, bem como uma vontade de estilo palpáveis, caracterizam as ficcionistas que publicam os seus primeiros romances ou colecções de contos nos anos quarenta. Trata-se de autoras em que a escrita, não sendo necessariamente um meio exclusivo de ganha-pão, se apoia no exemplo das mães literárias e/ou se solidariza com outras mulheres escritoras suas contemporâneas. (*Ibid.*, pp. 22-23)

Thus, in conjunction with their more explicit political work in the organisations discussed previously, Lamas and Lisboa seemingly represented a more subtle, indirect activism in the space and treatment they afforded to women in their writing. Indeed, it is from this particular, literary engagement that I think Losa took most inspiration – identifying with, and “standing in solidarity with” (as Ferreira puts it), those women who wrote and wrought their civic concerns onto the page. What’s more, the image of a multigenerational network of women alluded to by Ferreira here is one which I think is worth holding in mind when considering Ilse Losa’s literary and civic activity,⁹ echoed as it is in Vanda Gorjão’s reference to a “malha de nomes [...] que se foi adensando” in her account of studying the women’s oppositionist movement (Gorjão, 2002, p. 21). The notion and importance of a network structure will be returned to in Chapter 1.4.

Also highlighted by Ferreira, and also relevant to Ilse Losa’s positioning in the Portuguese literary sphere, is the way that each, Lamas and Lisboa, used genre to their advantage, harnessing the form which best served their socio-political as well as their literary interests. As Ferreira notes of the short story, for example, in which Lisboa is broadly located:

Devido à duplicidade que o caracteriza enquanto género ‘curto’, de intuito experimental e exemplar, o conto auferia às mulheres escritoras o espaço ideal para a

⁹ We might notice that Lisboa and Lamas were born 20 years before Losa and made their literary debuts around a decade before Losa, who, according to Ferreira’s division, on account of having published her first narrative prose in the 1940s, belongs to the subsequent generation of Portuguese women writers (alongside Judith Navarro, Manuela Porto, Agustina Bessa-Luís and Natália Correia, amongst others [Ferreira, 2002, p. 23]).

exposição de uma variedade de casos que dramatizam a opressão de que são vítimas – e de certo modo cúmplices – as mulheres portuguesas dos anos quarenta. (Ferreira A. P., 2002, p. 39)¹⁰

But it is in relation to Maria Lamas’ seminal literary project, *As Mulheres do Meu País* (1950), and, specifically, her brief mention of its generic structure’s logic that this strategic use of genre would seem to really stand out. Following the abrupt closure of the CNMP in June 1947 (together with her sacking as the director of the *Modas e Bordados* supplement of *O Século* newspaper), Lamas embarked on a two-year ethnographic study of Portuguese women’s lived experiences across the whole country, remarking of the volume which resulted: “O livro foi escrito em fascículos e, por isso, não pôde ser proibido” (*apud* Gorjão, 2002, p. 167). It seems that having come up against the Estado Novo’s intolerance of certain female-focused and female-authored cultural activity in her role as the director of the CNMP, Lamas enacted a shift in her authorial work, incorporating a certain fragmentation in her writing in order to evade similar persecution in this other, thoroughly connected sphere. That *As Mulheres do Meu País* should remain a reference in the history of the women’s movement in Portugal is indicative of its impact and thus the success of Lamas’ publication strategy here.

While the literary style and connection Ilse Losa shares with Irene Lisboa is perhaps easier to trace given their shared practice of various overlapping short narrative genres, and given, also, Ilse Losa’s more explicit acknowledgement of her professional admiration of Lisboa (to be discussed in Chapter 2.3), I propose that Maria Lamas’ significance for Ilse Losa’s literary trajectory and indeed her broader civic engagement should not be ignored or downplayed. As will be explored in the final chapter of this thesis, Losa collaborated on another, far less well-known publication in instalments, also born of Lamas’ experience of repression at the hands of the Estado Novo in 1947, the four-part “livro da mulher”, *As Quatro Estações*, published throughout 1949,¹¹ and therefore in parallel with *As Mulheres do Meu País* which was

¹⁰ It should be noted that while these comments refer to the short story, they are similarly applicable to the *crónica*, a genre with which Lisboa is also thoroughly associated.

¹¹ This publication has been so far overlooked by most studies of Lamas’ life and work. A key exception is Maria Luzia Fouto Prates’ doctoral thesis: ‘Maria Lamas (1893-1983) – uma participante na história da mentalidade feminina’ (Prates, 2010).

originally published in instalments between 1948 and 1950, before appearing as a single volume in 1950. As such, Lamas' influence might be traced back to this early stage of Losa's literary career, when the former was becoming increasingly engaged in more explicitly political activity and the latter was paving her route into the Portuguese cultural sphere via collaboration in a series of periodicals.¹²

Between the margins and the centre of the opposition movement

While many of her colleagues and friends from within the women's associations (as well as many other male friends and colleagues) became increasingly engaged and active in more explicitly political organisations such as the Movimento de Unidade Democrática (MUD), it is perhaps surprising to note Ilse Losa's non-prominence here, though a number of factors should be borne in mind with regard to this. There is, on the one hand, the question of the timing of the formation of the MUD (in 1945) and the political crackdown which ensued, seeing many of its participants and many of Ilse Losa's friends arrested (including, for the first time, in 1947, Maria Lamas). This occurred during a period when the Losas' daughters – born in 1938 and 1943 – were small children, and Losa's mental health was fragile¹³ – details which perhaps go some way to explaining her relative absence from the movement. On the other hand, there is also Losa's own traumatic experience of her interrogation by the Gestapo¹⁴ – the event which prompted her flight from Germany in 1934, and something which one might imagine made her wary of further brushes with an authoritarian regime's secret police, particularly as a foreign-born citizen in Portugal.

In fact, while the Losas are characterised as having had an “atitude discreta” in their political activity (Marques A. I., 2014, p. 97, FN23), and do not feature as prominent members of the

¹² As illustrated in Karina Marques' book of correspondence (and discussed in Chapter 1.4), across a number of years Maria Lamas and Ilse Losa sustained a warm relationship of mutual affection, professional admiration and a certain ideological complicity, including while Lamas was exiled in Paris.

¹³ Losa's reference to her post-natal depression's profound and long-lasting effects will be discussed in Chapter 1.4.

¹⁴ The details of this life-changing episode were preserved in fictional form by Losa in the closing chapter of *O Mundo em Que Vivi*: “‘Ora diga, judia Frankfurter, sabe que os judeus são uma raça inferior que tem que ser exterminada? Que são a nossa desgraça? Pior que a piolhada? Mas não pode compreender, claro. Numa palavra: o meu dever é prendê-la. Mas o que sabem os judeus do dever?’ / Espero. Espero. Minutos de tormenta. Minutos sem fim. Espero, hirta, calada. Mas atrás da minha testa o sangue bate com força” (Losa, 1987, p. 194).

MUD where so many of their friends and allies did, the couple was nevertheless monitored by the Estado Novo police, as noted by Ana Isabel Marques, who points to a ratcheting up of their political activity towards the end of the 1950s:

Ainda que Ilse e Arménio Losa tenham estado desde o início dos anos 40 [...] sob vigilância da PVDE/PIDE, é possível distinguir diferentes fases de militância política do casal. Assim, a um período de recato e relativo comedimento que se estende até finais dos anos 50 segue-se uma etapa de clara intervenção política e social. (*Ibid.*, p. 97)

Indeed, beyond appearing as a signatory supporting the MUD's formation in 1945, Ilse Losa, along with her husband, Arménio, put her name to many other democratic campaigns and protests throughout the turbulent period of the 1950s and early '60s, as detailed by Ana Isabel Marques in her study of the couple's political trajectory (*ibid.*, pp. 96-109). These include voter registration commissions for the 1958 presidential elections, Humberto Delgado's candidacy for those same elections, Porto opposition candidates' commissions for the 1961 National Assembly elections, the 1962 student protests, as well as each, Ilse and Arménio, testifying in the trials of a number of oppositionist figures, amongst them Óscar Lopes – friend and mentor to Ilse – and António Lobão Vital – Arménio's fellow architect and co-founder of the Organização dos Arquitectos Modernos (ODAM).

The Losas' participation in the Associação dos Jornalistas e Homens de Letras do Porto (AJHLP), where those same prominent anti-regime figures were also centrally involved further emphasises our sense of the close, politically-active network of which Ilse and her husband formed an integral part. As Marques remarks:

Estes eventos, relatados de forma circunstanciada por agentes da PIDE destacados para o efeito, reúnem elementos da sociedade portuense conotados com a oposição ao regime, como Óscar Lopes, Virgínia Moura, Lobão Vital, Artur e Pedro Bártolo, Armando Bacelar, Jacinto Ramos, Rogério Paulo, Ilse e Arménio Losa, entre outros. O facto de muitas vezes estes encontros literários e culturais resvalarem para o domínio

do debate político vai estar na base da suspensão, em 1962, das atividades desta colectividade e levará à substituição dos seus órgãos dirigentes. (*Ibid.*, p. 105)

What's more, as Marques highlights, Ilse Losa, “presença assídua e discreta nos colóquios da associação”, was in fact the focus of one such AJHLP event, in November 1960 – a session which the PIDE agents reporting on it described as “uma das sessões ‘mais politizadas’ no historial da Associação” (*ibid.*, p. 106).¹⁵ The PIDE report which Marques cites underlines precisely the idea that such supposedly innocuous cultural activities in fact also offered a context for oppositionist socio-political debate to take place:

Chega a parecer incrível que um colóquio literário, que de literário só tem o nome, se transforme num pretexto para a livre reunião de existencialistas, comunistas, democratas, numa palavra, da fina flor do revirinho extremista do Porto. (*Apud* Marques A. I., 2014, p. 106, FN45)

Not entirely unlike the Maria Lamas exhibition of women writers in 1947, and the subsequent closure of the CNMP, it would be just two years after this AJHLP event (and based on arguments very much like those made in the quotation above) that the association's activities would be suspended by the regime, and its governing body replaced (*ibid.*, p. 105). Once again, the border between the cultural and the political, and therefore also between the seemingly innocuous and the subversive became ever more blurred, with Losa's position between the two rendering her an ambiguous figure before the Estado Novo regime.

Active participation in the Comissão Nacional de Socorro aos Presos Políticos (CNSPP), formed in 1969, provides a further example of the singular position Ilse Losa repeatedly adopted for herself in matters of Portuguese politics – one in which her socio-political engagement was generally focused on semi-marginal issues, never seemingly jumping into the

¹⁵ While Marques originally understood this event to have been the launch of *Ida e Volta* (1960), based on comments by Ilse Losa regarding the original title of *Sob Céus Estranhos* (discussed in Chapter 1.4), as well as the existence – in *Sob Céus Estranhos* (1962) – of a scene discussed at the AJHLP event, I suggest it was in fact a presentation of an early version of this later novel, rather than the launch of *Ida e Volta*. This hypothesis will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 1.4.

matters which most obviously challenged the Estado Novo regime directly, and thereby maintaining a relatively low profile amongst the opposition. Just as in 1942 Losa took an active role in the pacifist AFPP, here, she again focuses her efforts on a humanitarian project close to her heart,¹⁶ whose explicit objective is not to dismantle the dictatorship itself, but rather to tackle one of its specific abuses. Vanda Gorjão describes the CNSPP's activity thus: "Dizendo-se de carácter apertadário, a CNSPP elaborava relatórios permanentes e circulares públicas acerca de detenções, julgamentos e condições prisionais a que os detidos estavam sujeitos" (Gorjão, 2002, p. 219).

Despite a nominal non-partisan nature, the CNSPP's true inconvenience for the Estado Novo regime is hinted at in Gorjão's characterisation of the highly charged political context in which the organisation came into being:

Na sociedade portuguesa, o clima de insatisfação política tinha-se agudizado, com a grave crise estudantil de 1969, as manifestações de agitação social entre os trabalhadores, o surgimento de novas forças políticas de extrema-esquerda [...] e a crescente pressão no sentido de pôr fim à guerra colonial. (*Ibid.*, p. 218)

Indeed, Marques' point that "A questão dos presos políticos era, à altura, premente em Portugal – causadora de um tremendo mal-estar interno e uma das razões da imagem negativa do país no exterior" (Marques A. I., 2014, p. 99, FN28), undermines the idea that Losa's chosen field of action was somehow a safe option, far removed from the heat of the battle against the regime. Rather, this organisation's activity only very superficially avoided direct confrontation with the state authority by barely disguising its fundamental foundation on democratic, antifascist and therefore highly subversive ideals. Also worth mentioning is that Losa was one of only 14 women of the CNSPP's 64 founding members (amongst them many friends and associates of the Losas, including Maria Keil do Amaral, Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, Fernando Lopes Graça and Óscar Lopes) (Gorjão, 2002, p. 219) – a fact that further emphasises her

¹⁶ It is worth remembering that in 1939-40 Losa had campaigned to get her own brother freed from a political jail when he was imprisoned for a year and a half for having overstayed his visa. In terms of her earlier pacifist work with the AFPP, it is not hard to see the link to Losa's own experience of war and the deep impression this left on her.

relative visibility and exposure, or at least a willingness to stand out as one of few women in a predominantly male context. It is also an echo of Irene Lisboa's position in the MUD's committee of authors, journalists and artists, as referred to previously.

From these various examples, we begin to see how Ilse Losa, while perhaps not occupying a prominent position in more explicitly political organisations such as the MUD (in which many of her close friends and allies were centrally involved), found multiple ways of contributing to the steady erosion of the Estado Novo regime and its conservative, misogynist ideology. She did this through acts of solidarity with more exposed dissenters, through her selective participation in humanitarian-focused movements with broader socio-political motivations, and through more ambiguous cultural activities, not least her own writing and the interest and discussion this generated. It is my suggestion, indeed, that her *crônicas* will in fact show themselves to be an important, subtle and consistent contribution to this subversion – a constant reinforcement of the activities and ideologies being developed through formal associations and political movements – and thus also serve as an example of a habitual, marginal civic participation on Losa's part.

Finally, turning briefly to consider Ilse Losa's personal (as opposed to professional and public) engagement with questions of politics, and in particular gender politics, we find further evidence of a certain day-to-day "activism" practised not only by Ilse but also Arménio Losa. Indeed, if in their public politics the Losas were characterised as discreet and measured in their approach, from an interview with the Losas' grand-daughter, Ana Losa, one gains a sense of a relatively radical subversion of established, conservative gender dynamics within the Losas' home and relationship.

The Losa family home – a space for difference

In discussing the great feat that her grandmother's insertion into the Portuguese literary scene represented – "Mulher, ainda por cima" – Ana Losa emphasises the significance of Arménio Losa's support in creating the conditions for this:

também acho que o meu avô nisso também... também nunca posso deixar de pensar que ele teve um papel importante [...] Para mim foi sempre o protótipo do homem não

machista, o homem feminista [...] respeitava imenso. Se fosse preciso, fechava o escritório para vir mais cedo para casa... porque era preciso fazer alguma coisa em casa. E a minha avó estava a escrever. Ela não fazia nada em casa. Nada. Realmente. E ele é que lavava sempre a louça, e... tomava um bocado conta da casa [...] E isso também ajudou. Se tivesse sido um casamento com um homem à espera que ela fosse outra coisa... se calhar tinha sido diferente.

From this brief sketch of the Losas' defiance of a traditional model of marriage – with Arménio, a successful and prominent architect, taking an active role within the domestic sphere while Ilse shunned this to focus on her writing – we become aware of the particularly progressive context within which Ilse Losa operated as a wife and mother, as well as the importance this had for her professionalisation as a writer.¹⁷ Without understating the great significance of Arménio Losa's characterisation as an "homem feminista" – a rare description for a Portuguese man of the time – one might also ask whether Ilse Losa's status as a foreign woman somehow contributed to this relative freedom from the binary and repressive model preached by the Estado Novo, a model by which mother and nation were essentially equated: "O regime procurava marcar, em toda a sua propaganda, uma forte ligação entre a Família e o Estado [...] Salazar dirigia-se à 'mulher – mãe', à 'mulher – pátria' e comparava o zelo do governo doméstico aos cuidados do governo do país" (Tavares, 2008, p. 104).

If Ilse Losa, as a foreign woman – a woman who is therefore supposedly umbilically attached to another homeland, according to the Estado Novo's own essentialist logic – could be less easily identified with the Portuguese "pátria" as a result of her foreignness, might she also therefore have been somewhat relieved of the particularly restrictive and restricted role of "mãe" to which "mulher" was shackled by Salazar's narrative? That is to say, as a woman in Portugal, might Ilse Losa have somehow benefitted from her foreign status and its interaction with the reductive, binary identity model promoted by the Estado Novo, finding some more relative freedom to subvert the model of family gender dynamics promoted by the state, and

¹⁷ Like the great majority of middle-class Portuguese households of the mid-twentieth century, and according to the multiple *crónicas* in which Ilse Losa refers to maids employed by the family (as will be discussed in Part 2), it is relatively safe to assume that the Losas' unconventional division of labour was significantly supported by external help.

ultimately, therefore, the space to develop an identity independent of her status as mother and wife? Whatever the reason, what becomes clear from this account by Ana Rosa, is that the gender dynamics in the Rosa household were significantly more progressive than the great majority of Portuguese households of the time.

Conclusions

While Ilse Rosa is not generally thought of as a central figure in the limited but nonetheless significant twentieth-century women's movement in Portugal, her name does in fact repeatedly appear – alongside those of Maria Lamas, Irene Lisboa, Manuela Porto and Virgínia Moura, for example – throughout key studies of this period and cultural phenomenon. As such, Rosa's place in the history of women's political engagement and struggle for rights and representation in Portuguese society is at least partially acknowledged, although I would contend that this is almost always within footnotes or lists of women, without Rosa ever receiving any more focused attention in her own right.¹⁸ Just like Maria Lamas and Irene Lisboa – two figures whom I suggest she takes as role models of sorts – Rosa seemingly distanced herself from the label “feminist”.¹⁹ But from the role she adopted – within formal organisations, and also in her writing, as well as within the private sphere of her family – it is clear that Ilse Rosa in fact thoroughly and consistently engaged with gender politics and indeed politics more widely. Through her frequent choice of causes perceived as secondary focus issues – pacifism and political prisoners, for example – it seems that she carved an unobtrusive place for herself – one which was perhaps conveniently ambiguous for someone seeking to remain out of the regime's sight, but one which has yet to be properly revisited and uncovered in all its depth. Indeed, it is on account of this relatively understated political position that I suggest Rosa was

¹⁸ See, for example: Tavares, p. 165; Gorjão, 2002, p. 20; 159; 188; Serralheiro, p. 30; 205; Esteves & Castro, p. 112.

¹⁹ According to Fátima Mariano, “Maria Lamas never considered herself a feminist [...] [she] was what might be called a ‘practical feminist’”. Mariano supports her point with reference to Lamas' own assertion that: “De um modo geral, estou fora do problema do feminismo, porque não o compreendo nem o sinto como a maioria das mulheres. Não me interessa, por exemplo, a luta pela conquista dos direitos políticos, pois só a ‘política humana’ merece a minha atenção de mulher” (*apud* Mariano, 2014, p. 258). In Irene Lisboa's case, despite her various civic roles on different committees and within associations such as the AFPP and MUD, as well as her consistent literary activity drawing attention to women's stifled existence in Estado Novo Portugal, the author seemingly never associated herself with feminism *per se*. Ivone Leal, drawing attention to precisely this hazy self-definition on Lisboa's part, remarks (perhaps reductively, but nonetheless relevantly): “Talvez resida aqui a explicação para o facto de Irene Lisboa não aparecer entre as mulheres suas contemporâneas cujos escritos são de cariz feminista. Dobrando a cerviz e tragando as dificuldades da vida, a nossa escritora não reivindica nada para si nem para os outros” (Leal I., 1992, p. 60).

able to consistently speak out and push her own socio-political agenda, not least through the *crónicas* which she regularly contributed to a range of Portuguese publications.

1.4 Counter perspective: Ilse Losa at the heart of an intellectual network

As a final contribution to this series of frames through which to read Ilse Losa's *crónica* corpus, I here provide an examination of Karina Marques' 2018 book: *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços: Correspondência Com os Pares Lusófonos (1948-1999)*.¹ With this, I aim to engage with the most significant contribution to Losian studies of recent years – a book and body of archive material yet to be discussed in depth – whilst also tying this into my own consideration of Ilse Losa's somewhat ambiguous position in Portuguese literary culture, providing a counter perspective on the multiply marginal identities I have presented so far.

Opening Karina Marques' 398-page book charting five decades of letters, postcards and telegrams sent between Ilse Losa and 74 of her "pares lusófonos", what immediately becomes clear is that while Losa was, on the one hand, multiply marginal and repeatedly *marginalised* on account of a number of different aspects of her identity, experience and approach, she was also very much present and active at the heart of twentieth-century Portuguese (and in particular *Portuense*) intellectual and artistic culture. The letters reveal consistently warm and engaged, actively maintained relationships with many of the most celebrated figures of Losa's era. From time to time, they also reveal Ilse Losa's ability to defend herself and her work as a writer within a predominantly male, semi-repressed and wholly underfunded field. For the most part, however, they are relationships characterised by mutual personal affection and professional respect, as well as, more often than not, an indication of political alignment and solidarity. Taken as a whole, the collection of correspondence also highlights how the individuals and groups with whom such friendships were developed, came from the most varied of areas of cultural production (including, amongst others, mathematics, economics, music, theatre and cinema) as is attested to by the book's index, together with the biographical notes helpfully included by Karina Marques throughout.

¹ Throughout this chapter, unless clearly indicated otherwise, all page references are to K. Marques, 2018. From hereon in I will use the shortened title *Ilse Losa: Estreitando Laços* when mentioning the book.

As one might expect of such a long period of correspondence with such an eclectic set of individuals, the nature of the letters Losa exchanged was similarly broad and varied. The letters' subjects range from enquiries as to the health of the correspondents and their families, along with accounts of holidays and local gossip, on the one hand, to negotiations of translation or publication deals, and in-depth discussions of literary technique, on the other. Indeed, much of the correspondence records the (generally very favourable) reactions of various "greats" of twentieth-century Portuguese literary and wider artistic or intellectual culture, to the books that Losa consistently sent to her friends and colleagues upon their publication. Beyond the vivid image of Losa's prominent social position and literary reputation amongst her peers then, the letters also highlight a significant, concrete exchange enacted via the epistolary process – Ilse Losa helping to maintain a channel of communication and distribution (of books, magazines, news, and sentiments) flowing between her home in Porto, and, above all, Lisbon, where many of her correspondents were based.

The letters thus offer an insight into a range of aspects of Ilse Losa's personal and professional life, as well as some brief glimpses into those of her correspondents. In the pages that follow, I will briefly point out some of those principal insights before moving on to examine what the letters reveal of Losa's *crónica* production, specifically. Given the *crónica* form's complex character and ill-definition – particularly as regards its not always easy distinction from the short story² – reference to the rest of the correspondence which is not explicitly or exclusively concerned with Losa's *crônicas* is justified by what it offers our understanding of the wider panorama surrounding Ilse Losa's literary production and cultural insertion, as well as connecting in some unexpected and illuminating ways to the *crônicas* themselves.

² In her introduction to the collection, Karina Marques dedicates particular attention to Ilse Losa's short-stories as an overlooked area of her *oeuvre*, stating her hope that the book of correspondence will raise the profile of these relatively forgotten texts: "Esquecidos, mal conhecidos ou ignorados tanto pelo grande público quanto pelo especialistas de literatura são os contos e novelas da autora [...] Este volume de correspondência constitui-se, assim, como um precioso compêndio que reúne análises de grandes intelectuais sobre essas 'histórias quase esquecidas', retomando o título do primeiro livro de contos de Ilse e a sua preocupação em preservar do esquecimento o que de importante existiu" (pp. 16-17). For my own purposes here, I would argue that the collection holds the potential to similarly feed interest in Losa's *crônicas*, another area of her cultural production which is generally overlooked.

Insights into Ilse Losa's personal and professional spheres

Praise, encouragement and coaxing

The letters' praise and feedback on Losa's writing, when brought together thus, serve to sketch an image of her literary character, whose principal traits, according to the repeated descriptions, from across the decades and many different commentators, include: "excepcional poder de comunicação" (Fernando Namora, 1953 [p. 96]), "simplicidade no acentuar e sugerir" (Jorge de Sena, 1957 [p. 147]); "delicadeza da observação psicológica [...] permanente conteúdo humanístico" (Luís de Rebelo Sousa, 1965 [p. 212]); "magnífico sentido de humor" (Mário Cláudio, 1986 [p. 250]); "o segredo do quotidiano prático" (Matilde Rosa Araújo, 1989 [p. 324]). Other adjectives frequently used to describe Losa's work are "belo", "moderno" and "útil", by which the simultaneously aesthetic, innovative and socially useful appeal of her writing is highlighted. Indeed, Karina Marques, in her introduction to the collection, picks up on a comment by Fernando Namora from 1950, in which the last of these traits is emphasised, Marques presenting this as the lasting image of Losa's literary reputation:

ele traça o perfil pelo qual a futura Ilse seria reconhecida: a escritora dos afetos contra a violência da história, da individualização dos personagens contra a amálgama da indiferença humana, da simplicidade comunicativa em oposição ao totalitarismo verbal, aquela cujo poder de evocação transcende fronteiras e reergue mundos perdidos. (p. 14)

Beyond the effusive compliments on Ilse Losa's writing (perhaps remarkable for the eminence of those expressing their admiration), the collection attests to the literary coaching and general encouragement that the foreign-born author received from a number of key figures from the Portuguese intellectual elite of the time, not least (but not only) Mário Dionísio, with whom Losa exchanged the greatest number of letters. This coaching took the form of warm praise and expressions of approval ("A Ilse é uma escritora!", wrote Maria Lamas in 1950 [p. 241], echoed

by Mário Dionísio in 1951: “Você é, sem dúvida, uma escritora” [p. 253]³) but also some very direct and harsh criticism, principally focused on Losa’s imperfect knowledge of Portuguese: “[O] inevitável conhecimento pouco profundo da língua [...] prejudica-a bastante [...]” (*ibid.*). This sentiment would be repeatedly expressed by Dionísio over the course of the years that followed. Indeed, the contrasting comments: “Com a sinceridade de um verdadeiro amigo, quero dizer-lhe que [...] o seu livro não precisa de ser emendado aqui e além, mas de ser totalmente re-pensado” (1953, p. 276), and “Continuo a dizer-lhe, como sempre: não pare. Prossiga o seu trabalho sempre” (1956, p. 286), illustrate the dynamic of the master-disciple relationship that developed between Ilse Losa and Mário Dionísio, in particular.⁴

Meanwhile, the words of others appear more focused on coaxing Losa’s confidence emotionally, with a request by Jorge de Sena for Losa not to lose heart also implicitly including her within, and carrying her along with, the literary community at whose pinnacle he stood: “não desanime, porque temos responsabilidades culturais, nesta terra de aventureiros incompetentes e medíocres, de que não podemos nem devemos abdicar. É trabalhando e exigindo que podemos cotar-nos” (1957, p. 150). Irene Lisboa similarly met Losa’s self-doubt with an appeal for her to continue to write, encouraging her to forge on with the subjects most familiar to her: “q. continue produzindo, sem receio de repisar o que tão vivamente conheceu. Olhe que os outros não o conheceram... Dos refugiados ficou entre nós o penteado à refugiada e outras bagatelas, como sabe” (1955, p. 122).⁵ Indeed, her later plea to Losa – “Não se dê à neurastenia” (1957, p.125) – also emphasises the level of intimacy between the two women (Losa’s fragile psychological state seemingly exposed to Lisboa, as also happens in reverse), as well as the supportive role that such friendship had in bringing on Losa’s career.

³ It is worth remembering that Losa’s press publishing had begun in 1948 and her first books were published in 1949.

⁴ For an in-depth discussion of the influence of Mário Dionísio on Ilse Losa’s writing (in particular via their letter-writing), see Karina Marques: ‘A construção do “ethos” autoral losiano através do diálogo epistolar entre Ilse Losa e Mário Dionísio’ (Marques K., 2016).

⁵ Lisboa herself provided a memorable portrait of just one such refugee in her *crónica* ‘O Lavra’, included in *Esta Cidade!* (1942).

Others, such as Fernando Namora, refer to more practical attempts to help, promoting Ilse Losa's written work within Portugal and beyond, and helping her to reach a wider audience by recommending her, in 1957, to Manuel Tânger, programme director of RTP, where "a Ilse Losa escreveria aí no Porto o programa, que depois seria aqui 'adaptado'" (p. 100).

The impact of such support and backing – of both a practical and a more intimate, emotional sort – is highlighted by Losa herself in one particularly long and reflexive letter to Mário Dionísio from 1951, in which she recounts her entry into the world of literary composition. In constructing this narrative, Losa points to two key figures involved in her early development, recognising the fundamental role each played in encouraging her to continue and perfect her writing. Firstly, there was the doctor whom Losa consulted in 1948, around the time of her first press publications:

...comecei a fazer apontamentos da minha infância que não mostrava a ninguém.

Mas certas depressões nervosas obrigaram-me a consultar o Dr. Corino A., e este fez uma série de perguntas sobre a infância. Levei-lhe então os tais apontamentos. Ele achou aquilo muito interessante o que me animou a continuar. (p. 263)

Just a few lines later, Losa acknowledges the other, initially similarly circumstantial relationship – with Óscar Lopes – which came to play a fundamental part in her literary development:

Abri uma escola infantil [...] o filho do Óscar era aluno meu, e um dia resolvi perguntar ao Óscar se estava disposto a dar-me lições de português. Isto foi em 1948. Daí em diante, e durante dois anos, trabalhávamos uma vez por semana. Eu escrevia ou umas páginas do que, mais tarde, seria *O mundo em que vivi*, um conto ou um artigo. O Óscar encorajou-me imenso e lucrei, sem dúvida, com o seu convívio. (*Ibid.*)

From this account, then, as well as in many more of the letters within the collection, Ilse Losa's pragmatic taking advantage of personal connections to develop professionally – and also the letters' frequent role as vehicle for this – is revealed as a key feature of her early career. Indeed,

Karina Marques, in her introduction to the collection, and in dialogue with its title, describes Losa's manoeuvring as:

um movimento centrífugo [...] saindo do seu núcleo íntimo e expandindo-se em laços intelectuais e humanos. No caso da sua produção epistolar, Ilse aproveitou-se desse canal para humildemente aperfeiçoar o domínio linguístico do português e as técnicas narrativas, seguindo as correções e conselhos de grandes escritores. (p. 11)⁶

An attitude of self-defence

While it is true that humility characterises much of Losa's interaction with the literary masters and mistresses with whom she corresponds, it should be noted that the foreign-born author also showed a consistently keen alertness to potential mistreatments or neglect, as well as a willingness to defend herself. Repeatedly, we encounter an assertive attitude not necessarily to be expected of someone in a supposedly inferior or at least a relatively precarious social and professional position (not least as a woman in a predominantly male sphere). José Gomes Ferreira's response to a letter by Losa, is one example, from 1956, in which this accusatory, confrontational attitude can be perceived:

Minha cara e boa amiga

muito obrigada pela sua carta tão viva, tão calorosa e, no fim de contas, tão amiga, pois é assim, com a sinceridade aberta, que se deve falar claramente aos amigos e camaradas. [...]

Antes de mais nada permita-me que responda à sua seguinte afirmação acusatória: 'Eu já não percebo nada de vocês! Por um lado devemos colaborar nos jornais, sejam eles

⁶ Just as I have suggested that Irene Lisboa and Maria Lamas might be considered role-models for Losa, Mário Dionísio and Óscar Lopes are two further, male figures who represent particularly important influences on Losa's literary career. Unlike Lisboa (1892) and Lamas (1893), who belonged to an older generation, however, Dionísio (1916) and Lopes (1917) were both slightly younger than Losa, meaning that the mentor-mentee dynamic is somewhat different, their authority coming from their gender, rather than their seniority.

quais forem, por outro lado vocês fogem logo quando aparece um nome desagradável na lista duma Comissão' ... (p. 176)⁷

In reference to a similarly fiery confrontation with another literary ally and friend, in 1964 Ilse Losa wrote the following to Alves Redol: “Se escrevi de mau humor é por que [sic] havia alguma razão: logo que comecei a tradução [...] pedi esclarecimentos. [...] Mas você não respondeu” (p. 40).

Indeed, it is in relation to her work as a translator that a number of Losa's most defensive letters arise, perhaps on account of this being the precious territory – between German and Portuguese – in which she felt most at home. The letter she wrote and published in *Vértice*, in response to a critical review by theatre critic and Germanist Mário Vilaça in 1962, is a prime example. Here, she begins by acknowledging the unprecedented nature of her replying to a review, emphasising the situation's exceptionality, and justifying the act by calling into question the legitimacy of the piece itself: “se crítica se pode chamar a frase despreciativa [sic] que, no seu artigo sobre Max Frisch [...], dedicou à tradução feita por mim e pela Dra. Manuela Delgado” (p. 315). Most of the rest of the long letter is then taken up with detailed explanations and justifications of each of the elements of the translation questioned by Vilaça, providing close literary and linguistic analysis to defend the solutions developed by the two women against the alternatives suggested by him. From the repeated instances in which Losa is found to defend herself and her professional pride, it is clear that in no way did her position as a relatively marginal author, with a series of socio-political odds stacked against her, stop her from challenging instances of perceived injustice.

Mutual favours of mediation

Returning to the broader question of how Ilse Losa made effective use of her connections, the exchange between Ilse Losa and Joaquim Paço d'Arcos, in relation to the publication of Losa's

⁷ The letters in question refer to a controversy surrounding a homage to the author Afonso Duarte which was sabotaged by Gomes Ferreira and others on account of a perceived hypocrisy in the invitation for Estado Novo regime officials to participate. The episode is recounted in some detail in this letter explaining the action to Losa (pp. 176-7).

1958 novella, *Retta, Ou os Ciúmes da Morte*, illustrates how this was also done to challenge the censor. The back and forth between Losa, Paço d’Arcos and José Gomes Ferreira (on behalf of Iniciativas Editoriais, who published the stand-alone text) reveals how the Estado Novo’s censor prohibited the publication of a review of the work in the *Comércio do Porto* newspaper, as well as how Losa took full advantage of her friendly relationship with Paço d’Arcos and his role as “chefe dos serviços de imprensa do Ministério de Negócios Estrangeiros” (p. 135) to challenge this. In a letter from Paço d’Arcos in January 1959, the author and state official informs Losa:

Pus-me ontem mesmo em contacto com o Director dos Serviços de Censura para obter a informação acerca da crítica ao seu livro [...]

[...] Nada obsta, portanto, à publicação no jornal da crítica do Dr. Óscar Lopes ao seu livrinho. É um assunto a esclarecer com a Redacção do Jornal [...]. Para o efeito pode V. Exa. fazer uso das informações que aqui lhe presto. (p. 140)

It should be emphasised, however, that Ilse Losa’s taking advantage of the connections she maintained through her assiduous letter-writing, was not by any means a one-way affair. It is abundantly clear from the correspondence that these were very much mutual favours being requested, negotiated and exchanged, with Ilse Losa consistently acting as a literary ambassador and mediator for the Portuguese writers wanting to further their careers in Germany. From requests for the translation of a letter or text into German, to requests for recommendations of German-language texts for publication in Portuguese, as well as help finding the rights-holders for this or that German text, requests for addresses and contact details of German publishers or translators, and even requests, from figures as eminent as Almeida Faria and João José Cochofel, for tutorials on German literature, Losa, with her proximity and familiarity with the German literary context, was consistently leant on by her Portuguese colleagues. Jorge de Sena’s preamble in a letter from 1957 is illustrative: “Passo a vida, directa e indirectamente, a incomodá-la, fiado da sua estima. Eu precisava que me fizesse o favor...” (p. 148).

And it was not only between Germany and Portugal that Losa acted as a go-between. Throughout the correspondence she is consistently shown to have been used – and equally

offered herself – to pass messages between acquaintances in, above all, Lisbon, and certain key Porto figures with whom she was most readily associated – principally Óscar Lopes and her good friend the poet, Eugénio de Andrade. “Se lhe calhar, agradeço que diga isto ao Óscar Lopes” requested Fernando Namora in 1965 (p. 110), for example, while José Rodrigues Miguéis pleaded “Por isso lhe rogo, querida Ilse, que lhe faça chegar o cartão” (1975, p. 191), in reference to Eugénio de Andrade. Each is just one example of many such requests. If at times there is a sense of Losa’s being treated somewhat patronisingly, as if she were Lopes’ secretary (“E isto para não incomodarmos mais, sobre o assunto, o Dr. Óscar Lopes” [p. 138] wrote Paço d’Arcos in 1958), at others, Losa’s mediation is seemingly sought for the privileged, almost familial relations she is considered as having with Óscar Lopes. José Cardoso Pires, for example, signs off his letter: “Cumprimentos cordiais para si, Óscar Lopes e Arq. Losa” (1958, p. 167), while Manuel da Fonseca similarly sends “Abraços ao Arménio, cumprimentos ao Óscar Lopes” (1958, p. 222). Additional figures reached via Ilse Losa include Agustina Bessa-Luís, (“A sua ‘coterrânea’ Bessa-Luís está restabelecida? [...] Estará ausente no estrangeiro? Poderia saber isto? Desculpe a maçada” [pp. 339-340], asked *Colóquio/Letras*’s Luís Amaro in 1973), and Mário Cláudio, whom Losa introduced to Fernando Assis Pacheco for consideration for a *crónica* collaboration with *O Jornal* in 1980.

On account of her proximity to both Óscar Lopes and Mário Dionísio, it seems that Losa even came to play a relatively central (if typically invisible) role in the so-called “form-content” debate lived out between the two men over the course of five years, from 1952 to 1957.⁸ In a series of letters from this period, Losa’s activity as messenger and even peace-keeper between the two literary greats is traceable. “[E]stive aqui com o Óscar Lopes que me pediu para lhe

⁸ Explaining the background and context of this debate, in a series of footnotes, Karina Marques remarks: “A conferência [‘O Drama de Vincente Van Gogh’] foi realizada por Mário Dionísio, em Lisboa, na Sociedade Nacional das Belas Artes, na noite de 17/3/1951, e, mais tarde, no anfiteatro de Algebrá da Faculdade de Ciências, na tarde de 12/5. O evento propiciou uma discussão acerca do documentário *Van Gogh* de Alain Resnais (1947) e contou com a participação de Robert Hessens, pintor. Este texto foi alvo de comentários, no âmbito da polémica ‘forma-conteúdo’ dos neorrealistas, o que levou Mário Dionísio a interromper a colaboração não apenas com a revista *Vértice*, mas com todos os periódicos portugueses” (p. 271, FN124); “Contrariamente a outros membros do grupo neorrealista, Ilse Losa e Mário Dionísio acreditavam que o intelectual não deveria submeter a sua expressão artística a serviço de nenhum movimento sociopolítico ou ideológico, sendo a arte tanto mais eficaz quanto maior for o seu poder de despertar no público, pela qualidade mesmo da sua linguagem, um certo espírito de indignação e um impulso transformador. Eis o que Mário Dionísio chama de ‘responsabilidade perante o público’. Tal ponto de divergência veio à tona, mais explicitamente, na acirrada polémica, conhecida como ‘forma-conteúdo’” (p. 275, FN125); “o autor [Mário Dionísio] se opõe a Luso do Carmo, pseudónimo de Óscar Lopes [...] tal polémica, iniciada em 1952 [...] perdura até 1957” (p. 287, FN126).

escrever”, wrote Losa in May 1953 (p. 272), prompting a disgruntled reply from Dionísio, who asks for Losa to pass on his request for a direct approach by Lopes (p. 273). To this, Losa replies: “Se o O.L. não lhe escreveu diretamente sobre o assunto do *Comércio*, assim aconteceu, simplesmente, porque eu ofereci-me a fazê-lo” (p. 274). Going on, she reveals the extent of her active involvement in the developing fall-out (“eu, para que não houvesse tanta intriga, fui à casa do O.L.” [*ibid.*]), striving to keep the peace and clear up any misunderstandings, as her diplomatic conclusion underlines: “posso afirmar com toda a segurança que o O.L. teve a melhor das intenções quando o convidou para colaborar no *Comércio*. Mas espero que ele próprio lhe escreva sobre isto” (*ibid.*). Returning to the matter in 1957, Losa, apparently at Dionísio’s request this time, informs him: “só consegui falar com o Óscar L. pelo telefone. Ele não ficou muito satisfeito, já se vê, mas concorda então que se publique a carta. Ficou combinado que, numa noite destas, falaremos mais detalhadamente sobre o assunto” (p. 287).⁹ The sense of a long and intimate friendship with both figures is implicit in her casual mention of their evening gatherings.

More than currying favour, or making any remarkable use of her contacts to piggy-back her way up the literary ladder then, Losa, by entering into an exchange of deeds and messages, would instead seem to have successfully inserted herself into the fabric of the Portuguese intellectual network, adapting to the general workings of the literary scene in which she entered more or less blindly and naively, as she herself described to Mário Dionísio, in 1951:

Cheguei aqui com quase 21 anos de idade [...] Nada tenho de comum convosco que sois intelectuais preparados (isto sem ofensa mas antes com inveja) [...] comecei a dar lições de alemão aos portugueses e com 22 anos casei. Não pensei em escrever – ou se o pensei nunca me atrevi a dizer a ninguém [...]. Pensava – isto é verdade e não brincadeira – que escritores eram pessoas de categoria especial e que eu não passava de pessoa vulgar. (p. 262)

⁹ In relation to Mário Dionísio, Losa’s role as Porto representative also included regularly sending him the literary pages of *O Comércio do Porto*: “Muito obrigado também pelo envio habitual das páginas literárias”, wrote Dionísio in 1954 (p. 280). With this, the channel of communication of ideas and sentiments, which the letters themselves represent, was thus fortified.

Further emphasis on Losa's outsider status comes via the frequent mention of her location in Porto, perceived as an exclusionary, isolating element in her literary experience and identity. As such, we find a clear image of how yet another circumstance contributed to Losa's marginalisation, and further explanation as to why the author had to battle to insert herself within the literary and intellectual circle, her correspondence acting as a lifeline of sorts to the heart of Portuguese cultural production in Lisbon. Throughout the exchange of letters, Losa and her interlocutors repeatedly refer – directly and indirectly – to the northern city's intellectual isolation.

Minding the Porto-Lisbon gap

Maria Lamas, in 1950, for example, in response to an implicit lament to this effect by Losa, remarks: “também eu penso que deveria haver entre os escritores um convívio que lhes permitisse trocar ideias [...] e obter esclarecimentos que os ajudassem a cumprir o melhor possível a sua difícil missão – independentemente da maneira pessoal de cada um se realizar literariamente” (p. 242). And in a letter to Mário Dionísio from December 1952, Losa expresses her frustration at what she considers a dearth of active writers around her with whom to do precisely that: “falo no Porto só com escritores que conversam muito e brilhantemente, mas não escrevem. E sinto que tudo aquilo nada vale” (p. 264). Restating her ongoing dissatisfaction and the implied threat that this presented to her writing, as well as a certain resignation to her fate, Losa, the following year, remarks: “Embora se viva aqui num isolamento intelectual total, continuo a escrever. Talvez não valha a pena, mas a gente não pode estar quieta” (p. 270).

Almost a decade later, in a letter to Fernando Namora, Losa returns to the condition which continues to afflict her, offering some further insight into her relationships with those with whom she shares her literary interest and profession in the North:

... nunca me canso de trocar impressões sobre a técnica literária. Pena é eu ter aqui pouca gente (quase nenhuma) com quem possa falar nisso. O Óscar Lopes nunca tem tempo e, de resto, só se interessa pela obra já acabada. Com Bessa Luís tive de cortar

relações e assim perdi a única pessoa que se interessava vivamente pelo assunto. (1962, p. 106)

Underlining the importance – not only emotionally but also in terms of one’s professional production – of being surrounded by like-minded others, and suggesting something of a community-spirited work ethic, as well as implicitly highlighting the letters’ connective significance, Losa reflects to Manuela Delgado in 1963: “todos nós melhoramos os nossos trabalhos não só na medida em que trabalhamos, mas também na medida em que somos estimulados” (p. 227).

Commenting on the continuation of this isolation well into the 1970s, and re-emphasising the importance of an open channel of cultural communication between Lisbon and Porto, Losa remarks to Mário Dionísio in 1977: “ainda bem que a este Norte marginalizado – apesar das reuniões ministras no Porto ou em Braga – chegam os jornais de Lisboa” (p. 300). It is a point restated by Fernando Piteira Santos in 1979, with his request for Losa’s local perspective on Porto for the Lisbon daily he headed: “Sabe-se pouco, em Lisboa, da vida no Porto sob todos os aspectos” (p. 63). Finally, Losa’s words in a letter to fellow foreign-born (Lisbon-based) intellectual Jorge Listopad, from 1983, are perhaps the most explicit and exasperated expression of this (resentful) dislocation from the capital:

Confesso que estou cansada de Lisboa. Está tudo tão centralizado, tão circunspecto e... tão provinciano. Na Alemanha a maioria dos escritores vive hoje em dia em aldeias ou pequenas cidades para fugir aos centros, e são eles que preenchem as melhores páginas dos bons jornais. Mas os lisboetas tem [sic] as suas ideias muito especiais.

Enfim, são abafos [sic] que vários portuenses têm. E não só os que escrevem. (p. 158)

With this reflection, Ilse Losa reinforces the sense of a certain North/South distance and rivalry perhaps, or at least of Portuguese literary culture’s domination by, and concentration in, its capital city, and the alienating effect this has on writers and artists living and working outside of this relatively small and exclusive sphere. Indeed, her closing comments in this letter, on her preference for collaborating with the Northern *Jornal de Notícias* over capital-based newspapers such as *Diário de Notícias*, emphasise her loyalty and orientation towards home-

grown Porto culture, as well as highlighting her pragmatism in resorting to various Lisbon publications in accordance with their better pay: “os artigos são miseravelmente pagos [...] Se assim não fosse preferia limitar-me a colaborar nela” (*ibid.*)

Bearing in mind the decades-long consistency of her complaints regarding Porto’s exclusion from the literary and broader intellectual activity and camaraderie of Lisbon, the significance of Losa’s assiduous letter-writing becomes ever clearer. It seems that in response to her sense of isolation, this frequent and multi-directional correspondence served as something of a counterweight, shortening the distance between North and South, Porto and Lisbon, the outside and inside of the cultural centre. As briefly mentioned already, the regular sending of books and newspapers also helped to establish the flow of direct and indirect communication, with Losa and her correspondents helping the news and cultural products from one and other side of the seemingly great divide to travel across. Indeed, by the same token, we might also see Losa’s *crónica*-writing for multiple publications around the country as an extension of this same communicative, connective gesture.

Acknowledging affect

Beyond these more practical, pragmatic aspects of the letters, the level of intimacy between Ilse Losa and various key literary figures represented in the correspondence is worth mentioning briefly here. As well as warm and effusive language often used by many if not most of Losa’s interlocutors, the drawings, poems and dedications included in with their letters, and the offers for Ilse Losa to come and stay at this or that Lisbon residence, plus the fact that many of these same figures also openly revealed fragilities in their personal and professional lives, testifies to the thoroughly embedded position that Losa carved out for herself amongst them. Bernardo Santareno talks of his “incomodidade quase total [...] chuva dentro do meu ser” as well as the positive effect on him of Losa’s “humanidade” (1960, p. 55), just as Fernando Namora thanks Losa for the restorative effect that reading *Ida e Volta* had on his months-long depression (1960, p. 103). But Ruben A.’s letters are surely the most emphatic expression of Losa’s emotionally engaging role. Writing in 1967 he exclaims:

calcula bem a emoção que as suas palavras resultaram nos meus frágeis arcabouços?!

A sua pessoa vazou-me dos cabelos aos pés e foi uma tremenda recompensa para quem se debruçou, em pele viva, naquele mundo.

Fiquei de tal forma impressionado com a sua invocação que durante dois dias não fiz mais nada e eu que estou na festa!! (p. 353)

Going on to describe the difficult process of writing his autobiography, Ruben A. thanks Losa for the emotional support offered to him, once again underlining the humanity for which she was seemingly known amongst her peers: “bem haja pela coragem que me deu e pela sua capacidade de compreensão incrível” (*ibid.*).

Reinforcing our sense of such affective relationships, the emphatically warm epithets, greetings and sign-offs with which many began and ended their letters similarly merit some consideration. “Minha querida Amiga”, “Amiga Ilse”, “Cara Camarada”, “Minha querida”, “Prezada camarada”, are some of the many enthusiastic openings to the letters, while their endings were equally heartfelt. “Um abraço apertado, do seu velho camarada”, “amigo e admirador”, “afetuosamente”, “amistoso abraço”, “Seu admirador e camarada grato”, “amiga certa e admiradora”, “o velho amigo”, “Com a amizade e a camaradagem de sempre”, “Lembranças amigas deste seu velho admirador e amigo sincero”, are some of the expressions of affection that Losa regularly received from (and sent to) some of the most important cultural figures of her time. More than just expressions of friendship, it is interesting to note the politically-inflected tone of many of the forms of address, in which the typically communist epithet “camarada” is repeatedly used, along with references to “camaradagem”, reinforcing the content of the letters which so often indicated, directly or indirectly, the oppositionist positions and activities shared by the correspondents.

Indeed, complementing the impression of Ilse Losa’s political involvement developed in Chapter 1.3, from the letters collated by Marques one gets a sense of Losa’s proactive support of, and collaboration with, those targeted by the Estado Novo regime for their subversive political and cultural activity. Beyond the comradely greetings mentioned above, and repeated references to exasperation at the political situation in which the correspondents lived and

struggled, there are a series of acts of solidarity mentioned which help to illustrate Losa's level of political engagement.

Tracing personal politics

These acts include the sending of books to political prisoners such as Ruy Luís Gomes in 1950, with a hand-written letter sent from the psychiatric wing of the Santa Cruz do Bispo prison in Matosinhos at the end of that decade attesting to the Losas' continued support, Gomes thanking them for “a presença constante e activa da vossa amizade e da vossa solidariedade” (p. 356). Another letter from an Estado Novo prison – this time Aljube jail in Lisbon – is that in which Fernando Pinto Loureiro requested of Ilse Losa, in 1950, that she testify as a character witness in his upcoming political trial, to emphasise, specifically, the non-partisan, ideologically neutral orientation of *Vértice* (in which Losa collaborated at the time). Similarly, Luís de Sttau Monteiro, in a letter presumed to be from 1962, acknowledges Ilse Losa's courage in signing a letter requesting his release, thanking and praising her for “um gesto raro neste país em que tudo se sacrifica à santa prudência” (p. 213). Finally, and suggesting a more decidedly radical leaning in Losa, in a letter to Mário Dionísio from 1982, she expresses her satisfaction at Dionísio's support of PRP prisoners, as well as acknowledging her own support for them¹⁰: “Há uns meses atrás visitei a Isabel e o Antunes na prisão e fiquei impressionada com a dignidade deles. Estive para escrever uma *crónica*, mas só me deu para o sentimentalismo, coisa que não é bonita” (p. 310). The prisoners referred to are Isabel do Carmo and Carlos Antunes, two of the leaders of the PRP, with Losa's first-name reference to them implying a certain intimacy with the accused pair. Her comment regarding the undesirable sentimentality that a potential *crónica* about the visit might bring is interesting in highlighting her concern to maintain a serious, measured approach to the subject, at the same time as she acknowledges the emotional impact it provokes in her.

¹⁰ As Karina Marques explains in a footnote: “O PRP (Partido Revolucionário do Proletariado) foi um partido político português nascido na clandestinidade em 1973 e dissolvido em 1976. Durante o marcelismo, foi conhecido pela actividade das BR (Brigadas Revolucionárias), grupo armado a quem esteve ligado ideológica e organicamente. Durante o última período do Estado Novo, desenvolveu actividade de sabotagem contra projetos militares portugueses, a fim de favorecer a luta dos movimentos independentistas das ex-colónias portuguesas. Entre 1975-1979, organizou ações de ‘recuperação de fundos’, como assaltos a bancos e repartições de fazenda pública e colocação de engenhos explosivos” (p. 310, FN127).

Also supporting the view of Ilse Losa developed in Chapter 1.3, the letters exchanged with Maria Lamas – with their parallel sentimental and professional content – show Losa in fact much more closely aligned with the feminist icon and cause than has generally been acknowledged.¹¹ From Lamas’ expressions of affection and intimacy – including invitations to stay with her and proposals to collaborate on various projects – the level of proximity between the two women, above all in 1950, stands out: “Desejo muito trocar impressões consigo, logo que possamos estar juntas”; “Oxalá eu tenha, em breve, a satisfação de conversar consigo. Creia que a aprecio e estimo sinceramente”; “uma casa inteiramente à sua disposição”; “Gosto de saber que vem a Lisboa. Costumo estar em casa todas as tardes e desejo muito conversar consigo”; “certa de que pode contar sempre com a minha sincera estima e com o meu grande apreço” (pp. 241-244). Lamas’ sending of “um fraternal abraço” – a striking and unmistakably deliberate sign-off for women in 1950s Portugal – would also suggest a certain deeper political alignment between the two. Whilst the correspondence from Lamas stops in 1959, the longevity of the friendship is acknowledged by Losa in a letter to Eugénia (“Jenny”) Cunhal in 1978: “Agora sei que a Jenny continua em Lisboa e trabalha juntamente com amigas minhas. Dê um abraço à Maria Lamas e à Tereza Horta [sic], ambas muito indicadas para estarem à frente duma revista” (p. 239).¹²

¹¹ Likewise, Losa’s relationship with Irene Lisboa, whose particular significance I similarly highlighted in Chapter 1.3, is, through the correspondence, revealed to be deeper and more mutually maintained and valued than one might imagine from the *crónicas* Losa dedicated to Lisboa in *À Flor do Tempo* (see Chapter 2.3).

¹² “Maria Eugénia Cunhal (Lisboa, 17/1/1927-10/12/2015), professora de inglês, tradutora, jornalista e escritora portuguesa. Deu sempre apoio ao irmão, Álvaro Cunhal, na clandestinidade e na prisão. Chegou a ser presa pela PIDE aos 18 anos e foi várias vezes detida para interrogatórios. Publicou entre 1947 e 1951, na revista *Vértice*, vários poemas com o pseudónimo de ‘Maria André’ e fez a primeira tradução portuguesa [de vários] contos de Tchecov” (p. 237, FN112)

The magazine Losa refers to here is *Mulheres*, the feminist periodical started by Maria Lamas and Maria Teresa Horta in 1977 and which would run on until 1989: “[N]a sua Apresentação escrevia-se ‘Nós, “mulheres”... Quem somos? O que queremos?’ e afirmava-se que, ‘Antes do mais, somos mulheres a tentar entabular um diálogo aberto, fraterno, vivo e lúcido, com todas as mulheres portuguesas. De quem queríamos vir a ser: O pensamento, A voz, A escrita, O quotidiano, A força. Através das nossas páginas tentaremos dar: As suas reivindicações, As suas queixas, A sua presença clara, As suas esperanças, A sua realidade, A sua firmeza, As suas dúvidas...’ [...] No essencial, a revista *Mulheres* apresentou, ao longo da sua existência, e com certa constância, rubricas relativas a aspectos jurídicos, de âmbito geral e laboral, sobre a violência doméstica, o casamento, reuniões e encontros nacionais e internacionais de âmbito feminino e laboral, lazer, desporto, saúde, sexualidade, crianças, alimentação, cartas de leitoras, modas, curiosidades, efemeridades, custo de vida, sugestões de leitura, televisivas, cinematográficas, e programações radiofónicas e teatrais.” (Esteves & Castro, 2013, pp. 745-6).

As is in fact illustrated by this final quotation, but also by many others of the excerpts included here, perhaps the key and overall image that reveals itself throughout the correspondence is that of a network. Via the passing on of messages and greetings, the proposal or negotiation of collaborations, and the repeated references to cross-overs of friendships, familial and professional partnerships, what emerges is a sense of a multi-layered structure connecting a series of individuals and groups who together made up the literary and intellectual core of mid-twentieth century Portuguese culture, of which Ilse Losa clearly formed an integral part. Bearing in mind the exclusion to which Losa had been systematically subjected throughout her early life, and to whose lasting effect she refers in a number of letters and interviews, it is not hard to imagine why securing and maintaining the conditions for this inclusion would have been a task of such vital importance to the author, nor is it hard to see how letter-writing should have offered itself as the ideal tool with which to do so. Indeed, it is precisely around this idea of “vitality” that Karina Marques opens her introduction to the collection, emphasising the profound significance that such connections – the “laços” of the book’s title – had for the German-born Jewish refugee:

Vital. Eis o termo exato e literal para definir a relação de Ilse Losa com o género epistolar. Uma carta sobre Hitler enviada a uma amiga alemã ‘pacifista’ permitiu-lhe um contacto mais íntimo com a morte personificada por um agente da Gestapo. No entanto, é também através do intenso diálogo epistolar na sua terra de exílio que Ilse Losa se reconstrói numa nova vida e se constrói como escritora portuguesa. Lugar duramente e duplamente conquistado, na qualidade de mulher e estrangeira. (p. 9)

Key revelations of a general interest to Losian studies

Before moving on to discuss the letters’ particular relevance to the Losian *crónicas*, I wish to briefly point out some key details, revealed across the course of the correspondence, and which help to shine a light on Ilse Losa’s life and work more generally. As such we gain a sense of what Karina Marques’ book adds to the relatively niche area of Losian studies beyond what it offers my own study specifically.

Firstly, there is the fact that, in relation to Ilse Losa's two best-known novels, *O Mundo em Que Vivi* (1949) and *Sob Céus Estranhos* (1962), which would only be published in Germany in 1990/1991, a German-language version of each in fact existed as early as 1951 and 1963, respectively. Indeed, in the case of *Sob Céus Estranhos*, there is reason to believe that Losa may have in fact started the book in German, only at a later stage moving into Portuguese. In December 1952, Losa wrote to Mário Dionísio that: "Agora escrevo em alemão e já fiz 6 capítulos. A história passa-se no Porto, no meio dos burgueses cá da terra e de refugiados" (p. 270). Given the plot-description, and the fact that Losa did not publish any other novel-length book in the interim, there is every reason to believe that this refers to the simultaneously celebrated and censored portrait of Porto offered in *Sob Céus Estranhos*.¹³

Also contained within the correspondence is reference to proposed foreign publication deals for both novels. These came as early as 1952 for a potential North American publication of *O Mundo em Que Vivi* (of which there is still no English translation), and as early as 1963 for a West German publication of *Sob Céus Estranhos*. In relation to the first, the cultural attaché to the American embassy in Lisbon expressed his enthusiasm for the novel, informing Losa of his recommendation of its translation to the Pan-American Union in 1952 (p. 75). In relation to the second book, Losa wrote to Manuela Delgado in December 1963: "Na Alemanha Ocidental aceitaram a versão alemã de *Sob Céus Estranhos*, na parte oriental ainda não conseguiram resolver-se ao mesmo, por a minha história ser demasiado 'pessoal'" (p. 230). As indicated above, neither book was published in translation until the 1990s.

A further note about *Sob Céus Estranhos*' early existence, revealed by Ilse Losa in her correspondence with Mário Dionísio, is that its original title was "O Rosto Humano", but that this was rejected by her publisher, Portugália, requiring Losa to think up an alternative: "Elaborei vários títulos e, por fim, escolheu-se *Sob Céus Estranhos*" (1963, p. 293). This detail interacts with two hypotheses discussed already. Firstly, there is the question – briefly mentioned in Chapter 1.2 – of whether Losa chose this title for the echo it provides of the 1948 German book by Franz Carl Weiskopf, whose title corresponds to exactly that phrase in

¹³ For more on this, see Ramiro Teixeira's discussion of the various phases of *Sob Céus Estranhos*' critical reception (Teixeira R., 2013, p. 178).

German (“Unter fremden Himmeln” [Under Strange Skies]). Losa’s casual description of the title’s eventual selection in the quotation above, however, suggests no conscious attempt to link her book to Weiskopf’s, seemingly disproving this hypothesis. Secondly, the suggestion made by Ana Isabel Marques in her 2014 monograph, that *Ida e Volta* (1960) had the provisional title “Rostos Humanos” (Marques A. I., 2014, p. 106, FN43) is effectively corrected on account of the unlikelihood of Losa having given (and then rejected) almost identical titles to two quite different books, published within two years of one another.¹⁴

Other details of general interest to Losian scholars include: the extent and ongoing nature of the author’s depression (“Depois de nascer a minha primeira filha fiquei muito doente. Durante dois anos era uma pessoa inutilizada [...] Melhorei, mas nunca mais fiquei saudável” [1952, pp. 262-3]); some brief glimpses of her relationship with Arménio Losa whose occasional hand-written additions to Losa’s letters give a sense of the couple’s shared literary interest and complicity; a general impression of the community-spirited workings of small publishers and literary networks with which Losa collaborated – particularly early on – such as the Centro Bibliográfico, publisher of Losa’s 1951 poetry collection *Grades Brancas* and of *Retta, Ou os Ciúmes da Morte* (1958): “Recordo-lhe, porém, que é de rigor receber um exemplar vulgar cada ‘sócio’ do Centro, exemplar dedicado ou não, consoante as relações que houver, e isto independentemente dos exemplares especiais que também desde o início desta asténica empresa alguns deles fazem” (1952, p. 51). The multi-faceted nature of Ilse Losa’s production – right from the very beginning of her literary career – is one final detail to be noted from the long letter recounting her literary debut to Mário Dionísio. Referring to the moment she was encouraged to write by her doctor, Losa reflects: “Agora tudo se ia juntando: de repente vi-me em grandes trabalhos. Escrever artigos, contos, prosas rítmicas, um romance (ainda não sabia que ia ser um romance claro)” (1951, p. 263).

¹⁴ Marques, in her 2019 English-language article on *Ida e Volta*, in fact already corrected this detail although without explicit reference to her original suggestion that the title *Rostos Humanos* referred to what then became *Ida e Volta*, rather than *Sob Céus Estranhos* (Marques A. I., 2019, p. 67).

The letter-*crónica* relationship

Turning, now, to consider what this collection of correspondence adds to a study of Ilse Losa's *crônicas* specifically, we might begin by noting how, paradoxically, references to the texts published by Losa in the various newspapers and periodicals to which she regularly and semi-regularly contributed, are consistently varied (or perhaps rather invariably inconsistent) thus adding to the sense of the *crônica*'s ill-definition as a genre. Indeed, relatively rarely does Losa or those with whom she corresponds, refer to a "crônica" – her newspaper or periodical texts more often than not being described as "artigos" or "artiguinhos",¹⁵ with other descriptions including "contos", "notas (artigos)", and even "historietas". In certain instances, in place of a generic description, the text's title is simply used: "o seu 'Sobrevivente'", says Luís Amaro of *Colóquio/Letras* (1983, p. 341), for example. Similarly, Urbano Tavares Rodrigues, in inviting Ilse Losa to contribute to the *Diário de Notícias de Lourenço Marques*' special Christmas edition via "colaboração literária ou jornalística" (1962, p. 364), underlines the generic indeterminacy, or duality rather, in which Losa worked as a *cronista*.

Particularly useful within the collection, is the inclusion of correspondence with a number of publications to which Ilse Losa is known to have regularly contributed. These include, most prominently: *Diário de Lisboa*; *O Jornal*; *Colóquio/Letras* and *Vértice*; while more passing reference is also made to collaborations with *O Comércio do Porto*; *Jornal de Notícias*; *Primeiro de Janeiro* and *Revista Eva*. Through these letters, which chart various phases of Losa's collaboration with the different titles mentioned, we are able to gain a sense of the nature of the relationship between *cronista* and publication, the issues which tended to characterise such relationships, and the process involved in becoming (and remaining) a regular *cronista* for a given publication.

Charting a "cronistic" trajectory

We see, for example, how upon submitting her first three texts to *Vértice* in 1948, Losa was greeted with one acceptance for a text entitled 'Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra' (which

¹⁵ As discussed in Chapter 1.1, such terminology is consistent with the prevalence, in the first half of the twentieth century, of the periodical, and, by extension, its dominant form – the article.

would become Losa's very first publication in the Portuguese press), and two rejections for 'Artigos sobre educação infantil' and 'Poema', which, in the words of Joaquim Namorado, on behalf of *Vértice*: "não condizem com a natureza da revista" (p. 134). As such, we get a sense of the way Losa was required to tailor her texts to a given publication's focus and style, or perhaps rather, to get to know the field and cater accordingly, matching her content to the specific readership that each publication (or its editors at a given time) courted. Indeed, later letters, in which Losa is asked for a specific kind of text, suggest that she was successful in defining herself as a writer of certain sub-genres: "Não tem em projecto uma das suas notas (artigos) sobre literatura alemã?" (p. 340), asked Luís Amaro on behalf of *Colóquio/Letras*, in 1973, for example. Fernando Piteira Santos, for *Diário de Lisboa*, in 1979, similarly indicates two of the fields of expertise for which Losa had become known and the appeal that each held for the publication he represented: "Há um certo interesse por temas de emigração. É natural. Mas não se esqueça do Porto. Sabe-se pouco, em Lisboa, da vida no Porto sob todos os aspectos" (p. 63).

What also stands out from this particular sub-section of the letters, is the ongoing negotiation and fall-outs which characterised the relationships between Ilse Losa and the publications in which she appeared, the epistolary back and forth thus highlighting a certain volatility in these. As such, we see how the letters themselves form an integral part of the *cronista*'s procurement and protection of her work, as she opens up a space from which to speak and then strives to establish or maintain that space in conditions she considers fair and proper. Frequently, Losa raises the same questions – of payment, poor organisation and communication, as well as that of how valued her texts are – with the editors of one or other publication. As discussed in relation to Ilse Losa's bold confrontation of certain critics and colleagues, it is interesting – surprising, perhaps, given the *cronista*'s relatively discreet profile – to note the repeated circumstances by which she decided to, first of all, challenge editors directly, and then ultimately terminate a collaboration with a given publication on account of a sense of injustice.

In a letter to Mário Dionísio, from 1955, for example, Losa reports of *O Comércio do Porto*: "Tive aborrecimentos com os directores que se julgam os nossos donos e deuses" (p. 280). Following an expression of understanding and empathy from Dionísio ("As inevitáveis encrencas, certamente, surgem entre escritores e 'organizadores'" [p. 281]), Losa goes on to

clarify: “cheguei a publicar um artigo e um poema no *Jornal de Notícias* o que provocou a indignação dos diretores” (p. 282), reporting how as a result of this, *O Comércio do Porto* refused to print a review of her recently published *Nós e a Criança*, undermining her relationship with the Porto daily and spelling a temporary end to her collaboration with it.

In relation to *Vértice*, while there are some earlier indications of Losa’s dissatisfaction with the magazine’s management (communicated directly in the early 1950s), her major fall-out with the publication came in 1963 and is principally reported through her letters to others – namely: Mário Dionísio, José Gomes Ferreira and Manuela Delgado. In these letters, Losa expresses her outrage and hurt at *Vértice*’s publication of the article by Mário Vilaça criticising Losa and Delgado’s joint translation of Max Frisch’s *Andorra*. “Foi uma sujeira de tal ordem (para os amigos da *Vértice*) que os bons intelectuais da nossa praça se revoltaram” (p. 227), writes Losa, with a hint of pride, in a letter to her co-translator, Manuela Delgado, going on to highlight the support they had received from various colleagues in the aftermath: “resultou em alguns escritores deixarem de colaborar na *Vértice*” (p. 229). Indeed, in Losa’s case, so great and irreparable was the damage, that, according to her, it radically altered the way she approached her translation work from thereon in: “Desde que a *Vértice* me considerou como me considerou tomei uma resolução: só traduzo para a Alemanha onde me pagam 60, 70 escudos pela página” (p. 230).¹⁶

In the case of *Diário de Lisboa*, with which Losa broke off her collaboration in late 1979, we witness how, in the lead-up to her ultimate withdrawal from the publication, the *cronista* repeatedly challenged her editors directly. In December 1978, Losa wrote the following, for example:

¹⁶ We might note the relatively extreme reaction by Losa and the haughtiness apparent in her tone here – a knee-jerk reaction, perhaps, to a provocation of the insecurity and a certain sensitivity which the author elsewhere acknowledges suffering. In fact, Losa did continue to translate from German into Portuguese, and for a number of publishers and publications, including Portuguese ones, although it should be said that of her Portuguese translations after 1963, the great majority were for the German Goethe-Institut magazine *Humboldt*. For a list of Ilse Losa’s translations into Portuguese, see, for example: Marques K., 2018, p. 390.

apesar de eu ser muito pouco germânica, a ‘mediterrânea lentidão de D.L.’ é-me difícil de compreender [...]. Há muitos anos que colaboro em jornais e revistas e embora surgissem por vezes certos problemas, nunca os houve do tipo apresentado na sua carta e nem sequer no tempo da repressão fascista. Não mandarei outros artigos antes de receber a sua resposta. Não necessito duma piramidal caridade. Cá me arranjarei (p. 59).

Almost a year to the day later, Lusa finally cut her ties with the Lisbon daily, explaining in consecutive letters the impact on her of the editors’ management of her contributions:

quero hoje comunicar-lhe que resolvi deixar de colaborar no *Diário de Lisboa*. Cheguei à conclusão de que as minhas crónicas não interessam aos que dirigem o jornal. (p. 64)

Torna-se-me difícil libertar-me do sentimento de ser discriminada [sic], o que, provavelmente, é consequência da discriminação de que, durante longos tempos, fui vítima.

Como soube que vocês pagam melhor a outros colaboradores do D. L., conclui que, de duas uma: ou não davam valor à minhas crónicas ou queriam ver-se livres de mim, uma vez que não alinhava com todos os pontos de vista do v/jornal, o que, talvez, estivesse expresso nos meus artigos. (p. 65)

As well as, most prominently, a bold, direct approach by Lusa, what these excerpts also underline, perhaps paradoxically, is a certain insecurity (acknowledged by the *cronista* as the result of her experience of discrimination), and a need for reassurance from those who publish her as to their appreciation of her work. Indeed, the same combination of a certain insecurity or self-deprecation, together with direct confrontation of those in a position of power, is found in relation to *O Jornal*, just two years later, in early 1982:

Durante 1981 apercebi-me duma certa indiferença da parte da redação de *O Jornal* para comigo. Não censuro que prefiram, antes de tudo, os grandes nomes, uma vez que estes favorecem a venda. Contudo é impossível aceitar que artigos de outros colaboradores se deixem cair em saco roto ou que sejam ‘arrumados’ em dossiers errados [...]

[...] ficar-lhe-ia deveras grata se me informasse, com franqueza, se, realmente, desejam que eu continue a colaborar nos diferentes periódicos que publicam. (p. 331)

Beyond these more dramatic moments of rupture, there are many details of Losa's collaborations which appear throughout the correspondence. These range from indications of the request, sending, acceptance, rejection or publication of a given text in a given place, to references to the reaction that such a text might have prompted in her reader-correspondents.¹⁷ In the case of the latter, such details thus help to "measure", as it were, something of the impact of Losa's *crónica*-writing, as well as the relationship between this and her letter-writing.

Measuring a crónica's impact

There is, for example, the letter from Henrique Alves Costa, in May 1980, apparently written in immediate response to the text that would later appear in both *Estas Searas* and *A Flor do Tempo*, as 'Uma simples reportagem e nada mais' and 'Ai, Kafka!' respectively. In his letter, the film critic and founder of Porto's greatly popular Cineclube expresses both his empathy and his great entertainment by the surreal identity double-bind humorously recounted by Losa in this text. Indeed, an indication of the effectiveness of Losa's narration comes in Costa's adoption of the same, highly ironic tone in his letter to her, going on to tell of his own, similarly exasperating experience with Portuguese bureaucracy years earlier. "Pense nisto, Ilse", he says, underlining, in his intimate address and complicit tone, the sense of a warm friendship, apparently strengthened by this mutual identification: "Talvez dando um chapéu (que já não se usa, mas ainda tenha lá por casa)... talvez o troquem pelo novo bilhete de identidade que tanta falta lhe faz para ser contribuinte e receber as massas que eventualmente lhe devem" (p. 117).¹⁸

¹⁷ As documented in Part 3 of this thesis, the information contained within the letters regarding specific *crónicas*, or specific collaborations, helped guide the initial phases of my research tracing Ilse Losa's *crónica* publications. Before accessing certain other key sources, the letters confirmed, for example, that various *crónicas* mentioned within them had in fact been published, and, in some cases, where.

¹⁸ The tone of the text by Losa to which Costa responds here can be gathered from my discussion of 'Ai, Kafka!' in Chapter 2.3 (pp. 164-165).

A further example which underlines the close, interlaced relationship between letters and *crónicas* for the intellectuals in question, as well as the personal-professional overlap which characterised many of the relationships discussed here, is the letter sent to Ilse Losa by José Gomes Ferreira in August 1970. It is a reply to a letter from Losa, with Gomes Ferreira effusively thanking her for her reaction to his own recent newspaper contribution. “Quais as reacções dos nossos escritos?”, Gomes Ferreira writes, “São bons? São maus? Apaixonam? Gelam? Sabe-se lá! Por isso calculam a alegria com que recebi a vossa carta tão camarada e amiga! Santo Deus! Há alguém que me lê! Não é inútil escrever para os jornais!” (p. 186). Emphasising a sense of the isolation and insecurity involved in *crónica*-writing, Ferreira thus reveals how Losa’s own expression of such anxiety is not in fact something particular to her, as an outsider, perhaps, but rather part of the territory of Portuguese *crónica*-writing more generally. Where the embedded nature of the letter- and *crónica*-writing really makes itself felt, however, is in the fact that, based on this brief exchange, Losa went on to produce her own *crónica* – ‘A propósito de uma carta’ – in which she reflects on the difficulties of writing for a distant and generally silent public, and the great value of feedback and interaction with one’s readers. Tracing the thoroughly interwoven process of that particular *crónica*’s production, we therefore see how: a *crónica* (by Gomes Ferreira) prompted a letter (by Losa), which prompted a letter in reply (by Gomes Ferreira), which in turn prompted a *crónica* (by Losa). The sense of a collaborative, dialogic process involved in Losa’s *crónica* production thus becomes thoroughly patent here.

But perhaps the most powerful indication of the potential impact of Ilse Losa’s *crónicas* comes in a letter Losa wrote to Mário Dionísio, in March 1980, in an attempt to persuade him of the very real presence of antisemitism in Portugal, and even amongst the left-wing community of which they both formed a part:

Junto uma carta que alguém – anónimo – enviou para a sinagoga do Porto (onde, já se vê, não há rabino) depois duma entrevista sobre ‘Holocausto’ que dei no J. de N. Os senhores na Sinagoga, na altura, não me informaram disso mas agora que publiquei o artigo ‘Registo quase Nulo’ acharam por bem avisar-me do perigo que podem correr por minha culpa. (p. 304)

The anonymous letter itself, which also appears in full in Marques' book, beyond its long, vengeful diatribe against the Portuguese Jewish community in general (for their perceived alignment with Communist and Masonic groups), also takes particular aim at an unnamed Losa. Amongst confessions to having stoned the synagogue, and repeated threats to unleash a Pogrom on Portuguese Jews, the letter points specifically to recent Jewish-focused cultural activity and Losa's prominent part in this:

A série televisiva 'Holocausto' também foi, e é, um dos rastilhos mas o principal foi uma entrevista concedida por uma pessoa judaica ao *Jornal de Notícias*, sobre o Holocausto, e na qual a referida pessoa atacava o regime de Salazar. Gabou-se a tal pessoa de ter sido presa pela Pide e tentava fazer entender o Estado Novo como anti-semita [...]. Queremos alertar a Comunidade Judaica de que não somos anti-semitas e por isso não admitimos que a vossa Comunidade se vire contra nós sem nada lhes termos feito. Se alguém se enraivece assim contra nós; sem motivação aparente, é porque tem algo a temer ou então é simples histeria e histeria é o que certas 'senhoras' (?), que frequentam essa Sinagoga, têm a mais. (p. 305)

Whilst 'Registo quase nulo' is not specifically mentioned by the anonymous aggressors, Ilse Losa's note to Mário Dionísio that the Porto synagogue was prompted to inform her of the threat only following the *crónica's* publication, is an indication of its importance here. What would appear – above all to a modern-day reader – a benign and decidedly sober report (far from "hysterical"), detailing the notable absence from Portuguese culture, and particularly literature, of Jewish refugees' passage through Portugal during the Second World War, seems to have in fact been considered a fanning of the flames raging inside the angry and vengeful Salazar loyalists in the post-revolution context, and thus a risk for the Jewish community. Beyond providing an example of the extreme reactions that Losa's writing – with its focus on recovering historical memory of a key aspect of Portugal's past – was capable of producing, this episode highlights the question of historicity in the reading of *crónicas* more generally. While it is perhaps hard for readers in the twenty-first century, long after the end of the Estado Novo and establishment of democracy in Portugal, to imagine that Losa's participation in cultural production commemorating the Holocaust could be deemed daring or controversial, what this exchange and episode highlights is that in 1980s Portugal (and Porto, specifically), a

fledgling democracy as well as still only nascent Holocaust-memorialisation meant that in fact a text of this sort by Losa was a relatively bold action in the literary and wider cultural sphere.

Ilse Losa's self-characterisation as a cronista

The final letter I would like to draw attention to here, for the additional insight it offers in relation to Ilse Losa's *crónica*-writing, is that which she sent Jorge Listopad in 1983. In the letter, a follow-up on a phone-call between the two, and a precursor to a trip to Lisbon to meet with Mário Mesquita, director of *Diário de Notícias*, Losa reflects on her approach to *crónica*-writing, providing a rare account of how she views her own style and what she aims to do with her regular newspaper contributions. Implying a certain tension or difference of opinion between her and Mesquita (pre-empting another fall-out, perhaps), Losa sets out her position and intentions to Listopad, reflecting on and defending her own personal style:

Se ele achar que sou em demasia cronista, não haverá voltas a dar. [...] Depois se verá se posso continuar. Não sou especialmente opiniosa. Gosto de contar, relatar, meter uma pitada de ironia ou de tragédia e, sempre que possível, deixar ficar um ponto de interrogação para que o leitor possa cismar. Mas pensando bem as coisas a maior parte dos artigos nos jornais diários não são lidos. O que vi na página 'Opinião' parece-me bastante chatinho. Preferia mais frescura. (p. 158)

As we explore, throughout the chapters which follow, the *crônicas* that Losa published across the course of her five-decade career, these features will be encountered time and again: a taste for story-telling, a sense of humour laced with irony (as well as a frequent gravitation towards tragedy), and a certain restraint in the expression of a firm and fixed position on many of the issues brought to her readers' attention – an insistence that they think for themselves. Indeed, it is arguably precisely this avoidance of dogma and the introduction of a more pedagogically-oriented, thought-provoking approach that represents Losa's wish to bring a certain "freshness" to the pages of the newspapers in which she appears, the foreign-born *cronista* thus seeking to introduce something new and different into the *crónica* tradition in which she gradually inserts herself. From this particular letter then, we are privy to something of Losa's guiding vision for her *crónica*-writing, something which can in turn be compared to the texts which she in fact produces for publication, as will be examined throughout Parts 2 and 3.

Conclusions

From the letters collected in *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços* we are provided with a vibrant portrait of Ilse Losa's position in Portuguese intellectual culture – an image which functions as an illuminating counter perspective on the author's multiply marginal status explored in the preceding chapters. Without invalidating an assessment which acknowledges the various ways in which Ilse Losa occupied a semi-marginal, off-centre, and partially overlooked position in relation to various established fields (be they literary, social or political), via her enduring, assiduous and greatly varied correspondence with some of the most prominent figures of mid-twentieth century Portuguese literary and artistic culture, we are presented with an image of Ilse Losa as someone who was *also* thoroughly tied into this greatly significant network, taking advantage of, and feeding back into, its evolving structure across a great many years. As has been explored across the course of this chapter, the letters offer a privileged insight into many aspects of Losa's personal and professional relationships, providing a significant contribution to Losian studies in general, and complementing, in particular, this study of her *crónica*-writing via the details regarding particular collaborations, as well as how aspects of Losa's personality and lived experience affected her negotiation of these working relationships. Ultimately, I suggest that Karina Marques' book – here afforded significant attention on account of its important and as-yet uncelebrated contribution – serves to expand and enliven the still relatively limited field of Losian studies, helping to open up a forum in which I propose the author's *crónicas* might also be inserted for more proper consideration.

PART 2

Crónica Collections

Having established a series of frames through which I suggest Ilse Losa's *crónicas* might be read, in this second part of the thesis, I will present and analyse her three collected *crónica* collections to have been published in book form: *Ida e Volta: à Procura de Babbitt* (1960), *Estas Searas* (1984), and *À Flor do Tempo* (1997). Though each has received some limited attention from Losian scholars already, this will be the first in-depth consideration of the texts as part of Ilse Losa's *crónica oeuvre*, specifically. My intention for this section is thus to mark out more fully the ground onto which the uncollated archive material uncovered in the course of my research will be added in Part 3.

It should be noted that in the case of each of these published collections, there are certain details which in fact complicate their categorisation and consideration as *crónicas*. In relation to the first, *Ida e Volta*, we have a collection of "travel *crónicas*", whose texts never in fact appeared in the press prior to their publication in book form, and whose original presentation was not associated with the term "crónica".¹ This determination only came with the book's second edition in 1993 and therefore seemingly results from a retrospective, editorial decision rather than reflecting something of the texts' initial design. With *Estas Searas*, the collection's limited relevance here owes to the fact that it consists of a mixture of short stories and *crónicas*, with no distinction being made between the two closely related types of text, thus making for a somewhat vague and provisional categorisation. As regards the last of the three collections – the only one which is unquestionably and entirely a *crónica* collection – the uncertainty which characterises *À Flor do Tempo* concerns the editorial process by which it was put together given the absence of a prologue or editor's note, as well as, more importantly, details of the original press publications of each of its 51 texts.

¹ The original Portugália Editora edition simply presented the book as part of its "Livro de bolso: viagens" imprint (1960). It is only with Afrontamento's 1993 edition that the texts come to be categorised as "crónicas de viagens" (1993).

That said, all three collections represent important illustrations of how Losa used her position in a series of “off-centre” areas of Portuguese literature (each connected, at some point or in some way, to the *crónica* form) to express her consistent and multi-faceted commitment to issues of social justice. With examples of publications (and individual texts within them) from before and after the watershed moment of the 1974 revolution, across the course of this middle section of the thesis, we will see how Losa navigated and negotiated the political circumstances as these shifted, finding ways to call attention to questions of racism, sexism and class-based inequality throughout her *crónica*-writing. With a mixture of close readings as well as collection-wide analyses, an image of Ilse Losa’s developing *cronista* identity will become increasingly defined throughout the course of Part 2.

2.1 *Ida e Volta: à Procura de Babbitt*

Ida e Volta: à Procura de Babbitt, first published by Portugália in 1960, is an account of the three-month trip Ilse Losa took around the United States in 1958. The book's 50 *crônicas* (which essentially function as chapters) chart her trajectory from Washington down to Fayetteville in South Carolina, up to Cleveland, Ohio, before moving westwards to Los Angeles, San Marino and San Francisco, and finally back East, across the width of the immense country and continent by train, to New York, where her journey ends, though there is also much intra-state and local travel within and around each of those locations. While the official reason for this trip was for Losa to visit her brother in California,¹ curiously enough, there is in fact no mention of Ernst Lieblisch throughout the book, though many other “real life” individuals are named and encountered along the way.² Rather than a personal story of family reunion, however, Losa, despite a prominent first-person narrator presented as herself, in fact appears to make this literary project a more anthropologically-oriented one.³ Her focus throughout is on experiencing and providing for her readers a cross-section of American society, exploring this from all angles and adjusting the pre-conceived ideas of *the American way of life* (as she repeatedly refers to it) which Europeans with no direct experience of the country and culture receive through cinematic and literary representations.

The book is, for a number of reasons, a remarkable and ground-breaking endeavour by Losa, who explores, with great determination, a whole range of socially and politically delicate aspects of American society and culture, including race relations, gender roles, class structures, immigration and integration, pedagogical approaches and attitudes to liberty and democracy, to name just some of the most prominent themes. It is not, however, an exploration of these

¹ In *As traduções de Ilse Losa no período do Estado Novo: mediação cultural e projecção identitária*, Ana Isabel Marques refers to Losa's US visa request having been made with this express objective: “Tem interesse documental (por se saber ter permitido a realização da viagem que mais tarde teria inspirado a obra *Ida e Volta. À Procura de Babbitt*) o pedido de averbamento para os Estados Unidos da América datado de Fevereiro de 1958, onde se esclarece que o motivo da viagem é a visita a Ernst Lieblisch, irmão de Ilse Losa a residir em Los Angeles” (Marques A. I., 2014, p. 100, FN33).

² These include Portuguese historian Armando Cortesão (I&V, p. 99), African-American film-maker Carlton Moss (I&V, p. 177) and Jewish-Austrian Hollywood actress Salka Viertel (I&V, p. 215), amongst others.

³ In this anthropological approach by Losa we find an echo of Maria Lamas' highly influential ethnographic project *As Mulheres do Meu País* from 1950, as previously mentioned in Chapter 1.3.

elements within the North American context alone – rather, via this look outwards and away, towards a distant reality, it is of course also a reflection on those same issues in the setting in which Losa herself lives, and in which her Portuguese-language text would be read and received: Estado Novo Portugal of the late 1950s and early 1960s.

Indeed, the historical contexts in which the journey was undertaken and the book was published are most significant here. In terms of the American context of 1958, two key socio-political phenomena should be mentioned, namely the Cold War and the civil rights movement. Throughout the book, references – both explicit and implicit – are made to each, with, for example, multiple mentions of the then-recent Russian launch of the Sputnik satellite, accounts of conversations debating communism and capitalism, and repeated discussions of pacifism and the threat to North America from foreign powers. In relation to the civil rights movement, various key events are mentioned in Losa's *crônicas* here, including racial segregation and persecution, the Rosa Parks' 1955 bus protest in Montgomery, Alabama, and the confrontation and subsequent government intervention at Little Rock, Arkansas, in September 1958. Whilst it has been suggested that the end of the 1950s was a moment of stagnation for the US civil rights movement,⁴ a sense of the continued controversy and tension around race relations, governmental racial policy, and the deep resentment generated by this, is palpable throughout Losa's text.

During the same period in Portugal, a tumultuous socio-political panorama also provided a most relevant and sensitive backdrop to both Losa's trip in 1958 and the book's publication in 1960. There were, on the one hand, the 1958 presidential elections and Humberto Delgado's de-stabilising candidacy, described by Fernando Rosas as "o terramoto delgadista de 1958" (Rosas, 1998, p. XIV), and, on the other, there were the coming colonial wars, which would break out in Angola in 1961, later spreading across the other Portuguese-African colonies.

⁴ "Neither the Civil Rights Act of 1957 nor the Civil Rights Act of 1960 provided federal authorities or the Justice Department with sufficient power to enforce school integration or to prosecute cases of voter discrimination and racist violence on a widespread basis. Confronted with strong southern resistance and reluctant federal authorities, the civil rights movement appeared to be stalled. [...] In February 1960 a student-led sit-in movement against segregated lunch counters revived the stagnating civil rights movement". (Wendt, n.d.).

Rosas, in reference to the 1958 elections, underlines the significance of this period for the Salazar dictatorship thus:

Realmente, 1958 foi um desses raros momentos em que a voz do povo português se fez ouvir acima do discurso formal do poder e em que a vida política nacional se distinguiu não tanto pela contagem de votos, e sim pelo sentimento popular, expresso nas ruas, nos protestos e nas greves que tomaram conta do país um pouco por toda a parte, impugnando a forma como o candidato da situação fora eleito. (*Ibid.*)

Going on to emphasise the connection between this 1958 political situation in Portugal and the 1961 outbreak of the long colonial wars of the 1960s and 70s (“Era o princípio do fim, de um longo fim que a eclosão da guerra colonial em 1961, num primeiro momento, adiaria, para depois vir a precipitar” [*ibid.*, p. XXXI]), Rosas’ comments further highlight how the whole period of *Ida e Volta*’s genesis was indeed a time of great socio-political turbulence.⁵ As such, we come to realise just how deeply controversial and courageous was Ilse Losa’s focus on race relations, amongst a number of other delicate, taboo subjects at that time.

Indeed, while at the broadest level Losa’s journey can be accurately described as that which I outlined in geographical terms above, and though that in itself is remarkable for a woman coming from the deeply patriarchal and paternalistic society of 1950s Estado Novo Portugal,⁶ on another level there is an even more interesting and exploratory journey being traced here. For Ana Isabel Marques, this is an “odisseia interior” (2001, p. 189), “a psychological tour

⁵ It is worth noting that 1960 – the year *Ida e Volta*’s publication – was declared by the U.N. the “Year of Africa”, with 17 African countries having gained independence during those 12 months; by contrast, only after 1974 would Portugal’s former colonies in Africa free themselves from the Estado Novo regime’s imperial grip. Goa, however, was liberated from Portuguese rule as soon as 1961.

⁶ Ana Isabel Marques, in her 2019 paper ‘*Ida e Volta: à Procura de Babbitt*, by Ilse Losa – A Travel to America Looking for Babbitt and for Selfhood’ (an updated, English-language version of her chapter on this book from her 2001 monograph), highlights the requirement for women in 1950s Portugal to have their husband’s permission to travel (Marques A. I., 2019, p. 66). That said, an example of another woman travelling and writing up her experience in a similar way to Losa, is that of Natália Correia who had likewise made a journey around the United States in 1949, recording this in *Descobri Que Era Europeia – Impressões duma viagem à América*, published in 1951 by Portugália, the same publisher of *Ida e Volta* less than a decade later. The 2010 article ‘De Sedentários e Nómadas: A Representação do outro na Moderna Literatura de Viagens Portuguesa’ (Fagundes, 2010) compares the two texts and the opposed modes of travel referred to in his title.

within the author's inner self [...] a much deeper and exciting journey of self-discovery, beyond the geographical journey" (2019, p. 68), Marques thus focusing on the transforming effect of the journey on Losa's own sense of self, with particular attention to the idea of a developing European identity. It is also, however, in my opinion, Ilse Losa's journey to the heart of North American racial politics, and more specifically to the heart of the Black community – a search for ever-closer contact with the marginalised figures whose treatment by white America becomes one of the central foci of Ilse Losa's travel *crônicas* here.

A journey to the heart of the Black community

Almost from the very start of Losa's travels, as she looks out of a car window in Washington, commenting on the apparent state of African American housing and the assumptions one can or can't make from this, it is possible to trace the author's curiosity, enthusiasm and solidarity with the marginalised Black community, something that grows ever more apparent and pronounced as her journey and the resultant book develops.

A primeira impressão de um estrangeiro pode ser esta: afinal os negros vivem confortavelmente, em boas casas, e têm automóvel [...] portanto, deve haver exagero no que lemos e ouvimos na Europa sobre o problema racial na América. Mas o problema racial é mais profundo, a sua tragédia e gravidade não ficam a boiar à superfície. Só quem também o sentiu sabe quanto podem iludir as aparências. E, de resto, não basta o facto de os negros viverem concentrados em bairros onde não mora um único branco? (I&V, pp. 19-20)⁷

⁷ Throughout *Ida e Volta*, Losa consistently uses the term "negro" as opposed to the more common and pejorative "preto", showing a sensitivity to the implications of seemingly superficial linguistic choices. For an indication of the political significance of this, José Luís Pires Laranjeira's doctoral thesis – *A Negritude Africana de Língua Portuguesa* (1995) – though principally focused on authors of former Portuguese colonies rather than the African Americans Losa discusses, can be referred to here. Speaking of 1950s and 1960s Portugal, Pires Laranjeira remarks: "Para os poderes instituídos [...] a palavra 'africana' e, ainda mais, a palavra 'negra' eram conotadas como subversivas, dado que contrariavam o esquema da portugalidade. [...] [O] qualificativo de 'preto' é claramente desvalorizador do homem africano e corresponde ao uso colonial dos dominadores (adoptado também pelos colonizados alienados ou simplesmente assimilados), ao passo que 'negro' corresponde a um movimento de valorização, embora de uso mais restrito, intelectual e político" (Laranjeira, 1995, p. 197).

A notable exception to this use of the term "negro" as opposed to "preto" by Losa is when she tells of the aggressive, racist comment made by a host's neighbour, Mrs Flower, in relation to her cleaner: "'The black girl não vem. E é o dia dela. São assim, não se pode contar com gente **preta**. E eu com a casa por limpar. Raça do diabo!'" (I&V, p. 39, my emphasis in bold).

Right from this initial reference to the living standards of the Black community, and the idea of this that Losa brings with her from Europe, the travel *cronista* (as we take her to be here) makes a point of underlining the risks of taking an initial, pre-conditioned impression at face value. With the mention of possible undercurrents which may contradict the superficial peace and prosperity of the image she sees from a distance, Losa in fact prompts her readers to embark on this same critical reading, perhaps not only of the foreign society she presents in these texts but also of their own society in Portugal. Indeed, reading the *crônicas* through the prism of recent historical explorations of the period in question, Losa's comment can be seen to echo words by Aquilino Ribeiro in the *Diário de Notícias* in June 1958 (precisely during the period in which Losa travelled the States, therefore), and used subsequently by Fernando Rosas as an epigraph for his account of the Portuguese political crisis developing at the end of the 1950s: “*Debaixo da superfície lisa corriam águas vivas*” (1998, p. IX). Here, we begin to get a sense of how Ilse Losa, by talking about North America purposefully and specifically – locating her observations and linking them to given contexts – is in fact also talking in much wider, universal terms as well as commenting subtly and indirectly on the Portuguese socio-political landscape in particular, and its undercurrents of discontent, both in Portugal and in the overseas colonies.

Consolidating her suggestion of a more complex reality than first impressions might imply, Losa ends this second text in the collection with a question which throughout her time in the United States she will reformulate and re-examine repeatedly: “Aparentemente não há discriminação. Os negros sorriem para os brancos e os brancos para os negros. Mas haverá entre estes brancos um único que se lembre de convidar um colega negro para a sua casa?” (I&V, p. 20). It is only at the end of her US tour and the whole *crônica* collection, when Losa, having been welcomed into the homes of a dozen or so white Americans, is invited into the home of the famous Black musician, Hall Johnson, that this wish is somehow fulfilled. With this culmination (to be returned to further ahead), the collection's delicate construction becomes more apparent, as Losa's steady pursuit of an objective stated right at the outset is curiously inverted at the end: it is not the imagined Black colleague referred to in that early *crônica* who is warmly invited into a white person's home, but rather the opposite – white Ilse

Losa generously invited into the home of Black Hall Johnson, much to her own surprise (I&V, p.229).⁸

For now, however, let us return to the development of Ilse Losa's interest in and exploration of Black America in this book. Having emphasised the informal racial segregation she discovers in Washington, where, paradoxically, she also encounters and emphasises the egalitarian declarations of the founders of North American democracy inscribed on monuments,⁹ Losa sets out to discover more about the way Black people live in the United States of the late 1950s. This mission takes the form of visits (some merely attempted, others achieved) to a number of predominantly Black contexts as well as seeking out conversation and contact with Black people living and working in proximity to Ilse Losa's many different white hosts, each of whom Losa also grills on race relations and their opinion on the matter. This sees Losa, right away, in Washington – the first major stop on her tour – taking off to explore the city's Black neighbourhoods and institutions: “Andei pelos bairros negros [...] Resolvi ir até à Howard University, a grande universidade de negros fundada pelo simpático militar Oliver Otis Howard que já em meados do século XIX, lutava pelo bem-estar dos negros” (I&V, p. 21). Despite this initial motivation and proactivity, however, in a *crónica* whose title suggests frustration – ‘Uma visita falhada e outra cheia de animação’ – Losa recalls how, shy and uncertain of herself, on this first foray into an unfamiliar context, she failed to make the contact she so wished to have with the Black community: “Mas tanto eles como eu ficámos calados” (*ibid.*).

In her account of a dinner-party debate described within the same *crónica*, Losa again remains silent (“Eu não me meti: achava preferível escutar”, [I&V, p. 25]), simply recording the vehement opinions of her host and fellow guests – a cosmopolitan group of women comprising

⁸ Ana Isabel Marques, commenting on the shape of *Ida e Volta*'s central journey (and, specifically, its impact on Losa's sense of identity), suggests that it might be described as spiral-shaped, rather than circular: “Daí que a circularidade da viagem (sugerida, alias, pelo título da obra) deva ser entendida no sentido físico da palavra, uma vez que a outra (a odisseia interior) escapa ao fechamento do círculo, aproximando-se da progressão de um movimento espiralado” (2001, p. 189). Though focused on a slightly different aspect of the book, the notion of a spiral as opposed to a circle is appropriate when thinking about how Losa's initial objective is returned to but subtly altered.

⁹ “...que todos os homens foram criados iguais. Que foram dotados pelo Criador com certos direitos inalienáveis, entre os quais o direito à vida, à liberdade e a aspirar à felicidade...” (I&V, p. 29).

Losa, a fellow German emigré, a Puerto Rican and a Chilean woman, plus their North American host, Mary Anne, herself the daughter of European immigrants.¹⁰ The women's opposed perspectives and discourses serve as a showcase or preview of the kinds of positions Losa would encounter repeatedly throughout her trip:

Que os americanos não tinham consideração nem tacto para com os colonizados [...] Que Porto Rico era mais pobre agora do que no tempo dos espanhóis, e que os analfabetos não tinham diminuído [...] Que a América queria, pouco a pouco, apoderar-se do mundo, diziam as duas, que dava asilo aos ditadores, que era racista, materialista... E, em determinada altura, a Mary Anne pôs-lhes a pergunta: 'Se põem tantos defeitos a esta terra, porque é que se deixam ficar por cá? Ninguém as obriga!' (I&V, p. 24)¹¹

Though silent in the actual conversation, where we find an example of Losa's converse outspokenness is in the comments she makes in her narration, directly to her readers. Not only does Losa dare to mention dictators, racism and colonised people together with their poverty and illiteracy at the hands of their colonisers (all subjects to which Salazar's Estado Novo was particularly sensitive at that time, due to international political shifts¹²), she even poses the following question, implicitly mocking Estado Novo concepts of hierarchy and national

¹⁰ That Mary Anne is a divorced lawyer, that the Chilean woman drives like a Lisbon taxi driver, and that the women all drink copious amounts of whiskey throughout the animated dinner whose conversation ranges from literature to politics, means that this episode provides, relatively early on in the book, a fresh image of womanhood to contrast with the Estado Novo's deeply conservative female ideal. Losa's fascination with the Chilean woman – "bela como uma estátua da Liberdade" (I&V, p. 25) – would also appear to challenge traditional ideas of national identity, with an immigrant here representing, and somewhat subverting, a renowned symbol of North American patriotism.

¹¹ Regarding Puerto Rico's status in relation to the US, Margaret Power and Andor Skotnes remark: "The 1952 designation of Puerto Rico as a commonwealth, and the subsequent removal of Puerto Rico from the United Nation's list of non-self-governing territories in 1953, were [...] of great significance and had an impact on a broader scale, both domestically and internationally. As the United States positioned itself as the leader of the 'Free World' and the friend of anti-European colonial movements following World War II, it was imperative that it not appear to be a colonial power. To mask its ongoing colonialist control of Puerto Rico, the US government worked with Luis Muñoz Marín and the Popular Democratic Party to transform the island in appearance from a direct US colony to a Free Associated State, which is in reality a constitutional anomaly and anything but free" (Power & Skotnes, 2017, p. 3).

¹² "desde a aprovação da Carta das Nações Unidas e da publicação da Declaração Universal dos Direitos do Homem, em 1945 e 1948, as tradicionais políticas coloniais começam a estar debaixo de uma crítica consistente e continuada" (Rosas, 1992, p. 381).

belonging: “Mas, bem-pensadas as coisas, a porto-riquenha não vinha propriamente ‘de fora’, nem era emigrante. Pois não é Porto Rico um Estado americano? E não é o colonizado um compatriota?” (I&V, pp. 24-5).¹³

In other situations, Losa can similarly be found to proffer opinions on racism, some of which seem particularly bold on account of their touching on questions of, for example, an apparent squeamishness on the part of white Americans in relation to Black people’s hair and bodies:

E, todavia, nesta cidade, farol da Constituição, defensora da igualdade de direitos, grassa ainda a segregação racial [...] as crianças negras não podem frequentar as escolas das crianças brancas. Grande parte dos restaurantes e hotéis não aceita negros. Um cabeleireiro branco não penteia negros e negras, o que, perante mim, foi justificado com o argumento de que os brancos não sabem lidar com a carapinha dos negros... (I&V, p. 29)

The indication “perante mim, foi justificado”, points to the idea of Losa’s increasing confidence in asking about and challenging certain attitudes, as she similarly does elsewhere with one of her hosts, Mr Hupp (‘Em casa dum *manager*’): “Falámos muito do problema racial; primeiro dos negros. [...] Disse haver, da parte do branco, uma aversão física ao negro. Perguntei-lhe se tal aversão não seria devido a preconceitos e a uma educação errada” (I&V, p. 32).

Other ways in which Losa gives voice to a series of different points of view and perspectives (particularly those advocating racial tolerance and integration) include reference to flyers,

¹³ This is, on the one hand, a relatively direct challenge of Salazar’s almost concurrent claim from 1957 that: “Nós cremos que há raças, decadentes ou atrasadas, como se queira, em relação às quais perfilhámos o dever de chamá-las à civilização” (Rosas, 1992, p. 387). On the other hand, the tone Losa adopts here is seemingly a tongue-in-cheek echo of the more frequently spouted Estado Novo discourse on its colonial project – one which in fact presented itself as egalitarian and non-discriminatory, as this excerpt from a speech by Salazar in 1933 illustrates: “É na verdade com o mesmo critério de Nação, agregado social diferenciado, independente, soberano, estatuidando, como entende, a divisão e organização do seu território, sem distinções de situação geográfica, que nós consideramos, administramos, dirigimos as colónias portuguesas. Tal qual como o Minho ou a Beira é, sob a autoridade única do Estado, Angola ou Moçambique ou a Índia” (*O Ultramar*, n.d., p. 16).

monument inscriptions, overheard conversations, and frequently, in relation to a number of topics, recourse to a range of established and contrasting positions, thus presenting differing opinions for her readers to consider and negotiate for themselves: “Há quem diga [...] Outros dizem [...] Não faltam os que afirmam [...] Por outro lado ouvi dizer [...] Enfim, as opiniões e as sentenças são muitas e variadas” (I&V, pp. 81-2).

As Ilse Losa moves forward in her interrogation of the American way of life and particularly its racial dynamics, she also, significantly, moves further South, to Fayetteville (North Carolina) where she notes that “Aqui a segregação é completa” (I&V, p. 63), before going on to reference the enforced separation of Black and white people on, for example, public buses – an indirect reference to the famous Rosa Parks protest of 1955.¹⁴ It is interesting to note that it is here, approximately one fifth of the way through the book that Losa feels the need to clarify her position and purpose in this endeavour:

... pronto, lá estou eu a cismar no problema racial. É provável que isto possa parecer uma obsessão, e que muita gente, ao fazer a primeira viagem pela América, encontre outros motivos de interesse ou de preocupação. Mas a verdade é que cada indivíduo só consegue partir de si próprio, da sua origem e situação, daquilo que viveu e sofreu e mesmo do que julga ser para os outros. Querer fugir a esta verdade seria fugir do seu eu e, conseqüentemente, cair numa mentira. (I&V, p. 65)

With this comment we have an example of one of multiple instances in which Losa makes a direct link between the racial intolerance she experienced as a Jew in Third Reich Germany, and similar such discrimination and persecution she finds in relation to the Black communities of the United States, as well as an explanation or justification of her “obsession” with racism in this book.

¹⁴ “PARKS, Rosa. (b. 4 February 1913; d. 24 October 2005), civil rights activist who is considered the mother of the civil rights movement because of her role as a major catalyst in the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955. [...] On 1 December 1955 when Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on a crowded city bus to a white man, public outrage within the black community prompted an organized protest. A citywide bus boycott began on 5 December. During the boycott, blacks in Montgomery walked or carpooled, refusing to ride the city buses, a significant act considering that blacks accounted for nearly 75 percent of the bus company’s patronage” (Burnett, 2009).

Elsewhere, Losa expresses this parallel in a number of other, comparably direct ways – in the conversation with Mr Hupp, mentioned previously, for example, (“Ele, judeu [...] sabe por experiência que o anti-semitismo tem as mesmas raízes”, [I&V, p. 32]), or upon re-encountering a childhood friend, orphaned by the Holocaust and now living in exile in the United States (“O racismo, sempre o racismo. Nem os que sofreram com ele se libertaram dessa praga”, [I&V, p. 49]). Surely the starkest comparison, though, comes in Losa’s presentation of a conversation with the fiercely patriotic Mary Anne about the state of US society, Losa commenting of racial segregation on public transport:

Lá estávamos, de novo, no problema que me parece ser um dos mais agudos dos Estados Unidos [...] Ser negro é o mesmo que usar a braçadeira amarela dos judeus, na Alemanha de Hitler. Ninguém ali se sentava ao lado de uma pessoa com a braçadeira amarela. (I&V, p. 56)¹⁵

Indirectly, she also draws parallels, in her implicitly linked visits (in consecutive *crônicas*: ‘A sinagoga e Jeffrey’, and ‘Na *First Baptist Church*’) to the Fayetteville synagogue and First Baptist church, for example. In the latter, upon re-assessing the courage she initially claims to have displayed by entering a Black context where none of her white hosts dare to go (not even those who advocate racial equality), Losa, in typically self-critical style, returns to reflect on, and de-stabilise, her own position:

Teria eu a coragem de assistir ao serviço na First Baptist Church se vivesse no meio dos burguesinhos de Fayetteville? Eis a questão. E não me atrevo a dar uma resposta afirmativa. Não aprendi eu na Alemanha como os receios transformam e amesquinham as pessoas? Não vi eu tanto gabarola transformar-se em cobarde? (I&V, p. 73)

¹⁵ Although comparable for obvious reasons, such a simplistic statement of absolute equivalence between two quite different historical contexts would seem something of a heavy-handed anomaly in Losa’s otherwise cautious and nuanced approach.

Further parallels are drawn when Losa compares the way in which in both settings she prompts curiosity and is questioned as to where she is from; and also when, in the Baptist church, her own position as “a única branca” (repeated three times in the space of the short *crónica*) connects to a childhood memory of a curious Christian who entered the village synagogue where a young Losa prayed amongst the Jewish community (I&V, pp. 74-5). Her final recognition of the *difference* between the two situations, on account of the Christian man’s shared white skin as opposed to her visually stark contrast to the Black congregation around her, is an instance of Ilse Losa’s broadly careful approach to the comparisons she makes. This more nuanced understanding is later re-affirmed in her acknowledgement of the hierarchical scale of racial discrimination referred to in a *crónica* about the Los Angeles Armenian community (‘*Schischkebab*’):

A discriminação fixa uma espécie de escala, com os descendentes de anglo-saxões no cume, seguindo-se os dos povos escandinavos, dos alemães, dos outros europeus. Só então é que se seguem os arménios, os judeus, os mexicanos, os japoneses, os chineses, os porto-riquenhos e, finalmente, os negros. (I&V, p.131)

In the scene with which Losa closes the whole collection, whereby she confirms her resilience before the dominant disapproval of, and disdain for, interracial exchange (“Sim, aguentei. Mas sei como é difícil enfrentar uma sociedade hostil, envenenada de preconceitos”, [I&V, p. 232]), Losa once again re-states this parallel between anti-semitism and anti-Black racism. That she should choose for the “action” of her *crónica* collection to end with this reflection is telling of the comparison’s relevance to her experience. It is also interesting to question whether the hostile society to which she refers here could and should be exclusively thought of as referring to Nazi Germany, where she so obviously suffered racial persecution, or whether there is room to justifiably make an association with the Estado Novo Portugal in which Losa also struggled to fit in and find a place as a Jewish refugee in a very racially homogenous mid-century Porto.

Returning to the idea of the ever-increasing proximity to the Black community that Losa seeks and emphasises throughout her narration of the trip, a number of different stylistic techniques and foci can be identified as tools by which she creates as defined an image as possible of those she wishes to approach, together with their experience of US society. There is, on the one hand,

the anthropological assessment of, for example, the Black congregation's dress and interaction – a mode of assessment and presentation which Losa also employs in relation to a number of other non-racially focused North American cultural features, such as burial rituals, dining styles and senses of humour. On the other hand, there is the more personally-inflected exploration of the relationship between a (white) employer and their (Black) domestic employee – a power structure to which, even beyond the question of race, Ilse Losa repeatedly returns, in relation to a number of different contexts.¹⁶ Consulting friends and strangers encountered along the way, collecting opinions and perspectives to which her own evolving position is attached at various points, Losa is careful to highlight the complexity of racial dynamics in North American society. Via conversation with Bert, her white, anti-racist intellectual host in San Marino, for example, who himself works as a mouthpiece for the words of Black friends, Losa presents a perspective hitherto not accessed: “‘Desejam eles, e com razão, ser tratados como entes humanos que são por acaso negros [...] e não como pessoas que, coitadinhas, são negras’”, [I&V, p.122]). Though filtered through a white man, here we at least have an opinion ostensibly coming from the Black community itself.

Some eight *crônicas* later, in ‘Três mulheres’, Losa provides a triptych of portraits of women whose descriptions are increasingly defined and developed, finally arriving at Wathia, a Black singer who enchants Losa and to whom the largest portion of the *cronista*'s literary attention is awarded in this text: “‘Eu, interessada, pedi-lhe para me falar de si e ela acedeu amavelmente” (I&V, p.147). The position on race garnered here, however, would appear to upend Losa's expectations of direct engagement with one of the marginalised subjects she so wishes to fairly portray: “‘Tentei abordar o problema racial, mas Wathia apenas disse: ‘Não sou a pessoa mais indicada para falar sobre esse problema, que não tem lugar na minha consciência, simplesmente por eu me recusar a aceitá-lo’. ‘Mas...’. ‘Sou negra, você é branca. *So what?*’.” (I&V, p.148). With this nonchalant dissolution of difference, Losa is seemingly left speechless, ending the

¹⁶ “‘Empregados domésticos’, explicou-me, ‘é luxo de milionários, mas então são cinco ou seis criados e criadas’. Perguntei qual era a percentagem das famílias americanas que se podiam dar a tão descomunal luxo. ‘Nem um por cento’ disse. ‘Gente como nós dá-se por satisfeita com uma mulher de limpeza uma vez por semana’. Aliás as mulheres de limpeza ganham aqui um dólar por hora, e na Califórnia um dólar e meio.” (I&V, p. 23); “Em determinada altura vi Mrs Ruben de joelhos a fazer limpeza atrás do fogão. Admirei-me. Pois se trabalhava tanto durante toda a semana e pagava tão caro à Evelyn, porque é que não lhe mandava fazer a ela serviço tão penoso?” (I&V, p. 93); “Expliquei-lhe então que na terra de onde vinha ninguém teria achado nada de especial àquilo. Campanha para chamar a criada muita gente a tinha” (I&V, p. 113).

crônica without comment and thus encouraging her readers to experience the exchange for themselves.

I suggest this is indeed a key moment in Losa's voyage through American race relations, as from hereon in her direct contact with Black culture and wider racial diversity increases and intensifies. In subsequent *crônicas*, Losa visits a multi-racial primary school ("Havia crianças negras, japonesas, chinesas mexicanas, havaianas, etc. Fascinou-me ver aquela mistura de raças a conviver em boa harmonia" [I&V, p. 154]); meets and more or less interviews the Black Los Angeles TV and film producer, Carlton Moss, whom she asks to confirm or correct certain European ideas about American filmic and literary figures and phenomena relating to race (I&V, p. 178); arrives in New York and is wowed by the racial diversity: "A paisagem humana de Nova Iorque é a paisagem humana do mundo inteiro. E julgo ser este o fator mais fascinante da cidade" (I&V, p. 210). Finally, she meets the cultural star Hall Johnson – "o primeiro que, com os seus arranjos musicais, ergueu os 'espirituais' negros à categoria que hoje têm" (I&V, p. 147).¹⁷

Within this final *crônica*, whose title, 'Hall Johnson', confirms the man's importance as the finishing point and climax of this three-month trip around the United States,¹⁸ the idea of an inner, micro journey, travelled within a broader macro one of the book's overall structure is further bolstered as Losa is welcomed, via an invitation from Hall Johnson, into the heart of Black America: Harlem. Reminding her readers of the neighbourhood's history and menacing

¹⁷ "JOHNSON, Hall. (12 Mar. 1888–30 Apr. 1970), composer, arranger, and choral conductor, was born Francis Hall Johnson in Athens, Georgia, the son of William Decker Johnson, an African Methodist Episcopal (AME) minister, and Alice (maiden name unknown). Music was an important part of Hall Johnson's childhood. He heard his grandmother and other former slaves as they sang the old spirituals in his father's Methodist church. This grounding in the original performance of Negro spirituals was to represent a significant influence on his later life [...] Johnson achieved worldwide fame for his arrangements of spirituals and for his original spirituals. During his career he composed and arranged over forty choral selections and twenty solo spirituals – all with authentic African American dialect and accurate rhythmic patterns. [...] In 1951 the Hall Johnson Choir was selected by the U.S. State Department to represent the nation at the International Festival of Fine Arts in Berlin. He was honored again in March 1970 by Mayor John Lindsay, who presented him with New York's most prestigious citation, the George Frederic Handel Award. Just over a month later Johnson died of smoke inhalation from a fire in his New York apartment" (Early, 2013).

¹⁸ In the words of Ana Isabel Marques, it is in the: "dupla de personagens – Wathia e Hall Johnson – que encontramos uma concepção utópica das minorias étnicas, na medida em que as figuras encarnam, acima de tudo, a digna afirmação da diferença" (2001, p. 184).

present-day characterisation,¹⁹ Losa prepares the ground for what would appear to become a journey of near-epic proportions. As Ana Isabel Marques puts it: “este episódio contribui, até certo ponto, para a heroização da protagonista, que, à revelia das advertências em relação aos perigos desta empreitada, decide explorar esta zona nova-iorquina, interdita à generalidade da população branca” (2001, p. 183). Comically emphasising the confusing layout of the New York metro system (“é para mim um enigma [...] A gente tem de adivinhar, e pronto”, [I&V, p. 227]), Losa presents Johnson as an almost divine figure capable of leading her intuitively (“orienta-se, por assim dizer, de olhos fechados”, [I&V, p. 228]) until they reach the heart of the labyrinthine structure (“Por fim, só sobram negros no comboio”, [I&V, p. 228]), where the feared Minotaur would presumably be found, but where, in fact, a very different reality is discovered: “Não vejo nada de inquietante em Harlem. Provavelmente os ‘assassinos de brancos’ estão sossegadamente a jantar...” (I&V, p. 231). As Losa reaches this narrative climax, her typical ironic wit to some extent punctures her own dramatization of the adventure.

Indeed, even within this micro journey to Harlem, the increasingly extended invitation from Hall Johnson (first of all to have dinner, then to go to a concert at the Harlem Baptist church, and finally to listen to music in his home) sees Losa gaining an ever more intimate contact with the Black community she sought from the start. Bearing in mind the *cronista*’s frequently repeated and interestingly-worded wish to “penetrate” US society in her travelogue,²⁰ it would seem that entrance into a Black American’s home in Harlem, listening to music and conversing, and, finally, being observed by white onlookers with estrangement (precisely because of her late-night association with two Black men), the author here sees her mission accomplished, with a tone of satisfaction palpable in the affirmation already mentioned above: “Sim, aguentei” (I&V, p. 232).

¹⁹ “‘Nunca vás sozinha a Harlem!, recomendavam-me em toda a parte. / Eu sabia coisas de Harlem pelos livros e pelo que me contavam” (I&V, p.227); “Harlem já não é o gigantesco cabaret para divertimento dos brancos. Os negros perderam a vontade de ser os palhaços da ‘raça superior’. Poucos brancos têm coragem de passar, de noite, pelas ruas do Harlem dos negros” (*ibid.*).

²⁰ “Afinal não passo de uma desconhecida, sem honras oficiais, que faz um esforço para penetrar num continente enorme, diverso, complexo” (I&V, p. 21); “Tentei penetrar no espírito daquele menino japonês” (I&V, p. 184); “Tenho pena de não ter podido penetrar nele mais profundamente”, she says again of the North American continent, at the end of the book (I&V, p. 232).

On the question of (and quest for) courage, returned to throughout the narrative of *Ida e Volta*, and here brought to fruition, we might at this point turn our attention to Losa's display of courage, not in terms of her actions and adventure in America, but rather in terms of the way this is relayed to her Portuguese readers, in the repressed Estado Novo socio-political context outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Throughout the narrative, Losa boldly touches on a wide range of topics which would have been sensitive or even taboo under Salazar's strict moral code and the censorship which formed a central part of policing the nation and its culture accordingly. It is interesting to note how Losa's daring to do this, and the successful publication of the book, despite its multiple challenges of the censor, came at a point in the Estado Novo's history which has in fact been described as one of increasing severity:

O caracter abstracto, ilimitado, imprevisível e arbitrário da Censura criava uma situação tanto mais difícil aos escritores e jornalistas quanto é certo que, com o correr dos anos, sobretudo a partir de 1958, em que a candidatura do general Humberto Delgado à Presidência da República abalou, pela primeira vez, profundamente, o regime de Salazar, a Censura passou a ser muito mais rigorosa. (Azevedo, 1997, p. 43)

Touching on taboos

Perhaps the first and most obvious subject to mention, and to which Losa returns frequently in the narrative, is the question of liberty as a key pillar of North American culture and ideology. This ranges from mention of the general accessibility of state buildings (“aqui, na América, se entra livremente em qualquer estabelecimento oficial”, [I&V, p. 22]), and inscriptions on public monuments, to reference to the freedom-focused anthems sung in primary schools, as well as repeated reminders, from a number of the individuals encountered by Losa, of the centrality of personal liberty to US culture and self-image: “Porque, apesar de tudo, o americano conserva um forte amor à democracia, à liberdade pessoal, e a maioria é tolerante” (I&V, p. 33); ““Mas nunca se esqueça’, acentuou em voz grave, ‘ainda somos um povo livre, graças a Deus’.” (I&V, p. 158).

Indeed, as a number of these quotations indicate, the alternative against which liberty stands is also present in Losa's texts, be that in the reference to “repressões e opressões contínuas” from

which electoral apathy amongst the African American community resulted (I&V, p. 63), or to the imposition of a “livro único” in school teaching (I&V, p. 157), be it in the perhaps bolder mention of censorship which comes towards the end of the collection, crucially in relation to American, as opposed to Portuguese, cultural conditioning: “cortam-lhe o que, aos vigilantes da moral, parece mais escabroso” (I&V, p. 198).²¹ There are however, at certain points, more explicit mentions of non-democratic and anti-liberal systems too – an indication of Losa’s testing of the limits of her own censor back in Portugal. “A nossa liberdade pessoal depende desses métodos. Uma economia dirigida levar-nos-ia à ditadura” (I&V, p. 32), says one of Losa’s hosts and interlocutors, the *cronista* thus brazenly naming the unfashionably authoritarian regime in which she herself lives and publishes, albeit through the words of another – a distanced individual who crucially makes no direct reference to Portugal as a country living under dictatorship. Going one step further, however, Losa, in describing the style of an evangelical pastor, in fact uses her own authorial voice to make a more scathing attack on dictatorial rule and, indirectly, on Salazar himself: “Não, este Billy Graham lembra os ditadores, cujo intuito é dominar. Nada há nele de subtil nem de veemente” (I&V, p. 164).

Building on this image of a repressive and stifling political system, a number of the comments made by Losa throughout the texts of *Ida e Volta* would seem to touch on the sensitive issue of Portugal’s world image as a small and under-developed country – a direct counter, therefore, to the Estado Novo regime’s 1934 propagandist slogan “Portugal não é um país pequeno” (Marroni, 2013, p. 71). Beyond Losa’s awe at the extreme modernity of American society (which, it should be said, is not always entirely positively portrayed²²), there are multiple instances in which the *cronista* emphasises the contrasting backwardness of the Portuguese context from which she comes. Having stressed the ubiquitous variety and stimulation she finds in the United States, for example, Losa provides a pointed description of Portugal’s geographical and broader cultural distance from this as: “[essa] terrinha na ponta da Europa,

²¹ In Azevedo’s reproduction of the 1932 Estado Novo censorial directive, we see how such direct mention of the very censor’s organ and process was in fact prohibited for Portuguese writers. Amongst the 23 different subjects mentioned as banned topics, at number 17 is: “alusões aos serviços de Censura” (Azevedo, 1997, p. 38).

²² Having made reference to Ilse Losa’s communist-leaning politics, Ana Isabel Marques remarks: “A denúncia da forma insidiosa como o materialismo invade os mais diversos sectores da vida americana é, aliás, um dos motivos fulcrais da obra” (2001, p. 177).

quase a tocar na África, onde todas as coisas chegam atrasadas e a pacatez sufoca o tumulto das almas” (I&V, p. 65).

Elsewhere, she emphasises a lack of support for the arts in Portugal (I&V, p. 43), as well as its extreme child poverty compared to America’s less obvious deprivation: “não tem o aspecto desgraçado dos nossos [...] tudo é relativo” (I&V, p. 153). The comment, “acerca da pequenez do mundo” (I&V, p. 100), made by an official at the Huntingdon Library, upon discovering that Lusa in fact knows the other Portuguese citizen to have recently visited the attraction, might, indeed, be taken as reference to *Portugal*’s, and not the *world*’s reduced size, and thus a further provocative nudge at the official Estado Novo slogan claiming the very opposite. Likewise, Lusa’s reference to the American author Thomas Wolfe’s sense of claustrophobia following a trip around the United States, brings with it anticipation of her own return home, and the potentially detrimental impact of this monumental trip on her view of Portugal: “E então a sua terra torna-se acanhada. / É o que me vai acontecer, decerto” (I&V, p. 199).

Finally, towards the end of the narrative, the distance between Portugal and the United States’ striking modernity and emancipation is taken to an extreme, as the *cronista* likens her pious Portuguese cultural context to the moon (a far-off, barren wasteland, therefore). Lusa, staying with 23-year-old Jean and her two female teacher friends in San Francisco, hears footsteps and voices as she lies in bed at night

‘Is that you Jean?’ [...]

‘Somos nós’.

Quem eram ‘nós’? As duas professoras? Depois ouvi cochichar no quarto da Jean. [...]

Na manhã seguinte, ao entrar na sala de jantar, vi, com espanto, um homem e uma rapariga [...]

‘É a Milly e o marido. Casaram ontem’.

‘Oh, I see’ disse eu e senti-me verdadeiramente estúpida e como chegada da Lua”.
(I&V, p. 190)

The implication, woven into an idiomatic expression, is that Portugal, relative lightyears behind the United States in terms of sexual liberty, is a whole world away from this modern setting and reality, and that this distance is somehow an embarrassment to Losa as a representative of that far off, prim and backward context.

If there, extra-marital sex is the particular taboo discreetly and comically taken on by Losa (she returns to the subject in a comment about the “liberdade sexual da juventude”, following a conversation with Jean [I&V, p. 197]), within the same chapter various other subjects considered highly sensitive and typically censored in Estado Novo Portugal are tackled head on. She mentions, for example, how, when crossing the Golden Gate bridge, Jean casually dropped into conversation that ““Desta ponte precipitam-se, todos os anos, uma meia dúzia de suicidas”” (I&V, p. 188) – thus delivering a word and concept generally omitted from Portuguese print.²³ From the same bridge (it is interesting to note that it is precisely in bohemian San Francisco that all three of the taboos I mention here appear, as if to confirm the city’s emphatically liberal character), the readers’ attention is drawn to the “ponto escuro na noite belamente iluminada: a penitenciária de Alcatraz para prisioneiros incorrigíveis” (I&V, p. 189) – a wave-washed prison which would surely resonate with those for whom Portugal’s political prisons such as that at Peniche, were familiar.²⁴ As such, in relatively short succession, we are confronted with three taboo topics – extra-martial sex, suicide and the kind of notorious prison which is generally screened from the Portuguese public’s conscious by the censor. In this

²³ As Cândido de Azevedo sharply points out, suicide was in fact one subject which the censor consistently banned in its various directives across the decades of its existence: “o leitor não sabia que em Portugal o adultério é proibido... no teatro? Como é proibido o suicídio, proibido aliás, no noticiário dos jornais. Em Portugal ninguém se lança duma ponte abaixo, ou para debaixo dum comboio. Não senhor: cai. Há acidentes, e não há suicídios. Mas o adultério, esse não se pode transformar em acidente, no teatro: só pode ser pura e simplesmente proibido” (1997, p. 17).

It is interesting to note that in 1958, the year of Losa’s trip to the USA, she published another text in which suicide also features (indeed, much more prominently) – *Retta, Ou os Ciúmes da Morte* (1958) – in which the protagonist commits a bloody suicide described in relative gory detail. Again, it is surprising that the moralising censor overlooked this.

²⁴ On the 3rd January 1960 – the very year of *Ida e Volta*’s publication – a group of anti-regime political prisoners including Álvaro Cunhal and nine others famously escaped from Peniche prison, with the help of a GNR guard (Cardina, 2015, pp. 110, FN8). Cândido de Azevedo’s reproduction of the censor’s 1965 directive highlights how by then, just five years after the publication of Losa’s travelogue, mention of political prisons such as Peniche had been expressly forbidden: “Não se afigura conveniente que tenham publicidade as diligências e as actividades de quaisquer Polícias em assuntos de ordem política e social, designadamente os da Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado, como sejam: prisões políticas, referência a asilo político em Embaixadas e Legações estrangeiras, vigilância às mesmas e outros assuntos semelhantes” (Azevedo, 1997, p. 46).

flagrant and multi-directional defiance of Estado Novo moralising, Losa reveals her will and daring to go where others in Portuguese culture won't or can't, consistently challenging the limits and restrictions imposed upon her as a Portuguese writer.

Additional areas touched upon by Losa and worthy of mention for their controversy and provocation of the censor, include the Catholic church, via its unflattering comparison to the bright and colourful Baptist church service witnessed in Fayetteville: “Havia algo de festa pagã naquilo, esse cunho de alegria de servir a Deus, mais sincera do que essa solenidade que pretende impressionar pela escuridão e pelo mórbido” (I&V, p. 74). More striking than this, however, is Losa's casual confession to not believing in miracles (““Acredita em milgares?” Respondi-lhe que não acreditava lá muito” [I&V, p. 95]) – a decidedly bold thing to do in the 1950s, following the recent publication, and subsequent prohibition, of Tomás da Fonseca's deeply controversial *Fátima – Cartas ao Cardeal Cerejeira* (1955), in which the veracity of the famous Fátima miracle of 1917 was questioned. Elsewhere, Losa refers to the possibility of having spirituality without organised religion, as well as that of doubting God entirely – an attitude she attributes to her friend Jean: “ela falou-me das suas dúvidas religiosas [...] Perguntei se não lhe seria possível encontrar na sua própria fé em Deus esse refúgio, sem precisar de correr de religião em religião. Respondeu-me que o seu mal residia em ela duvidar de Deus” (I&V, p. 197).

Moving from religion to politics, it is worth noting that whilst Communism is never explicitly promoted by Losa in *Ida e Volta*, her frequent mentions of the Cold War and its conflicting ideological poles, together with a consistent expression of cynicism in relation to the rampant Capitalism practised and preached in the United States, serve as an indication of her political persuasion in opposition to this. Indeed, one of Losa's more politically-accented comments comes in her description of the American man as being “no conceito da maioria das mulheres, um *money-maker*, [...] uma espécie de escravo do dólar” (I&V, p. 115), echoing, albeit relatively discreetly, the Marxist concept of wage slavery. Bearing in mind the PIDE's surveillance and suspicion of Ilse Losa's Communist ideology, it is not surprising that she should be cautious in expressing her Marxist-leaning views in this way. As Ana Isabel Marques reports:

Constam entre os documentos anexados aos processos da PIDE relativos a Ilse Losa cartas, datadas dos anos 50, provenientes de editoras da República Democrática Alemã, onde se pode ler a referência ‘procedente da cortina de ferro’ (Cf. Proc. 1289/49 SR – NT 2644, p.29-30). Já nos anos 60 (24.03.1966), é apreendida uma brochura remetida a Ilse Losa que tem como título *Programa do Partido Comunista Português – aprovado no VI Congresso* (cf. E/GT Proc. 3590 – NT 1493, p.9). Trata-se, pois, de um conjunto de elementos que concorrem para confirmar a orientação ideológica da autora. (Marques A. I., 2014, pp. 99-100)

‘Encontro com Babbitt’, the text in which the book’s somewhat obscure, wordy title is finally addressed (roughly halfway through the collection – its central location confirming the importance of the moment and message), further bolsters our sense of Losa’s artful, indirect expression of a whole worldview at odds with the prevailing political system. Here, following an encounter with a man who complains about his glamorous, privileged but lonely existence, Losa reflects: “O *Babbitt* de Sinclair Lewis não é o produto de um sentimento de desprezo, mas, sim, do senso crítico; é ironia e também amor. Quem não pressentiu isso não entendeu a história, nem encontra o ‘Babbitt’ que eu, tenho a certeza, encontrei” (I&V, p. 141).²⁵ With this reference to “senso crítico” and the possibility of a text’s hidden or secondary meaning, we seemingly find a clue as to the hidden depths and intentions of Losa’s own text – a hint at the kind of resourcefulness required both to write and read the book – that is, with care and a critical eye, sensitive to its subtleties.

Indeed, while Ilse Losa may not provide explicit calls for political change, there are, throughout the collection, a number of hints at the possibility of, and need for, civic action and engagement. This takes the form of conversations about gender (“estamos numa dessas épocas de grande transição, sempre sujeitas a desequilíbrios”, [I&V, p. 55]), voting habits (“ficaram apáticos”, [I&V, p. 63]), and pacifist activism: “apela para que todos se interessem por estas questões e

²⁵ “Babbitt: a novel by Sinclair Lewis, published in 1922. The novel created a major controversy with its uncompromising assault on American virtue. The stereotypical, moral, small-town American businessman George Babbitt epitomizes the ethos of the Mid-western city Zenith [...] The novel depicts an individual trapped in a stifling environment, who struggles for something better, but ultimately fails, and sinks back into compromising conformity. The final suggestion is that the humanist values of love and friendship are the only answers to Babbitt’s problems” (Sutherland, 1996).

para que exijam uma atividade mais prudente” (I&V, p. 109). Twice in the book, Losa’s general if muted galvanisation is operated via the reproduction of sections of pamphlets she comes across during her time in the States – *O negro votante no sul* (I&V, p. 63), and *Letter to my congressman*, the latter handed out at the end of an event organised by the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy:

Rapazes e raparigas distribuíram panfletos onde se liam os propósitos daquela organização. Aqui um curto apanhado: [...] ‘promover uma sã política nuclear [...] conseguir o apoio do público para uma política corajosamente concebida e realizada que possa evitar à humanidade a guerra nuclear através de uma paz justa’. (I&V, pp. 107-8)

Like her earlier reproduction of the homage to democracy on the Jefferson monument, here we see how Losa, in narrating her experiences in the United States, also finds indirect channels through which to give voice to her own political beliefs. In this case, these are concerns which overlap with those of the AFPP, in which Losa had been centrally involved, and which, as discussed in Chapter 1.3 of this thesis, was associated with other political movements deemed more of a direct challenge and threat to the Estado Novo regime. As such, this particular episode detailing Americans’ unashamed involvement in civic activism might be interpreted as a call to pacifist arms by Losa – a call for her fellow citizens to become involved in grassroots politics more generally, and to consider the nuclear issue in particular.

Returning, here, to the question of racism and Losa’s daring confrontation of this in the book, it is worth mentioning the occasions on which Losa directly mentions colonialism, specifically. Indeed, whilst direct references are sparser than, say, those to liberty or political oppression, we might remember the particularly sensitive nature of the subject at this point in Portuguese history, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter and underlined by Azevedo’s remark that:

A temática colonial, em qualquer um dos seus aspectos, mereceu sempre [...] e a exemplo de tudo o que pudesse ser susceptível de ser entendido como antimilitarista, uma grande atenção da parte da Censura, que se tornou ainda mais sensível a esta matéria a partir do início da década de 60. (Azevedo, 1997, p. 172)

It is therefore of great significance, and even some surprise, that Losa dares to sail so close to the wind even with the few mentions of colonialism (and, indeed, pacifism) that she does include in the 1960 publication.

As already mentioned, early on in the collection, comments regarding Puerto Rico's status as compared to other North American states lead Ilse Losa to question the logic by which colonised people are considered inferior to the citizens of colonising powers. As the book progresses, this implicit criticism of a hierarchical and racialised system of oppression and exploitation becomes more pronounced, Losa emphasising European colonialism's parallel with North American racial segregation and discrimination, and, indeed, its status as a problem – an issue to be resolved, therefore:

O problema do negro das colónias europeias é diferente do problema do negro americano. Para o europeu, o negro representa um acréscimo às colónias, um ser que lhe é útil sem lhe fazer sombra [...] Mas onde está a superioridade ou inferioridade de determinada raça? Embora sejamos um tanto diferentes em particularidades físicas, em história ou em civilização, isso não subentende ser 'melhor' ou 'pior'. 'Diferente' não é uma qualificação. (I&V, pp. 66-7)

Once again, Losa's egalitarian perspective clashes silently with the official worldview promoted by the Estado Novo, by which colonised subjects were seen as uncivilised and inferior beings in need of moral instruction, as these words from a speech by Salazar in 1953 illustrate: "O ideal que inspirou os descobrimentos portugueses e depois a obra que se lhe seguiu foi o de espalhar a fé e comunicar aos povos os princípios da civilização" (*O Ultramar*, n.d., p. 17).

Finally, it is in the last *crónica*, 'Hall Johnson', that we come across the *cronista*'s boldest and most direct challenge of an imperial ideology: "Depois falámos sobre o problema dos negros e eu disse que o problema dos negros na América era grave, mas, em todo o caso, talvez menos grave do que o dos negros nas colónias africanas. Aqui sempre se registavam progressos

constantes” (I&V, p. 231). Returning to the idea of the problem posed by colonialism, Losa, in her reference to “progress”, adds in a suggestion of a possible solution, or at the very least a direction in which to move, and the possibility of change, therefore.²⁶ Implicit in this statement is the contrasting stagnation of the Portuguese racial and colonial situation, something which even just by subtle suggestion, is an invitation to consideration and intervention by Losa’s readers back in Portugal. That Losa should choose to include this in the final paragraphs of her text, and that she should acknowledge it as her own opinion (“eu disse”) emphasises the significance of this barely disguised challenge to the Estado Novo ideology and censorship.

For a final discussion of Ilse Losa’s approach to delicate socio-political matters and the challenge to the censor that this posed, we can here turn our attention to the question of gender – after race, perhaps the most prominent and consistent “issue” focused on by Losa in the book (and a key concern throughout her wider life and work). On the one hand there is the general, ongoing interest in, and attention to, women and their place in American society, with Losa frequently observing, exploring and interrogating different ways of being a woman (see for example: ‘Três mulheres’, ‘Em esferas diferentes’, ‘Em casa de Dixie’ and ‘Solidão!’). On the other hand, there are, at points, decidedly stark discussions of women’s rights and emancipation, or conversely their repression, which is what I will focus on here for the additional example of Ilse Losa’s defiant and challenging attitude to the censor that these episodes provide.

Before moving into these gender-focused analyses, however, I wish to briefly point out that while the dominant female model presented in these *crônicas* is by far that of the white, bourgeois woman who is frequently Losa’s host or guide, in the section of ‘Três mulheres’ dedicated to Black singer Wathia and already briefly discussed, Losa does show some awareness of, and interest in, how race and gender intersect to the detriment of Black women who suffer multiple forms of oppression and discrimination (a discussion shut down by Wathia herself, in fact). Bearing in mind how the notion of intersectionality was, in the 1950s and

²⁶ As already briefly mentioned, during 1960 (declared by the U.N. the “Year of Africa”), 17 African countries had gained independence from their colonial oppressors, thus signalling a significant shift in global power structures.

1960s, only in the process of emerging in North American feminist discourses,²⁷ with this subtle interest – one which we will see reappear throughout the *cronista*’s production not only in relation to gender and race but also gender and class – we become increasingly aware of the multi-focal, vanguardist nature of Ilse Losa’s conception of social (in)justice.

Exploring gender politics

While still in Washington – and therefore early on in her trip – discussing rising urban crime rates and youth delinquency, together with its supposed connection to working parents’ absence from the lives of their teenage children, Losa reflects rhetorically: “Suruiu então, como é óbvio, a pergunta: A solução do problema seria a mulher ficar no lar, ser simplesmente dona de casa e mãe?” (I&V, p. 55). Whilst it is perhaps surprising for such a suggestion to come from Losa (generally aligned with a discourse of female emancipation), and indeed a certain tone of irony or sarcasm can be detected in her words here, what this proposal in fact does is to pave the way for a more emphatically feminist perspective, presented through the voice of Losa’s interlocutor, Mary Anne:

‘O retrocesso nunca pode ser uma solução. O mundo caminha e não só o homem caminha com ele mas também a mulher. Se a mulher tem, como já está mais do que provado, a mesma inteligência que o homem, não é justo condená-la a uma vida que, em muitos casos, a não satisfaz’. (*Ibid.*)

Once again, by attributing a progressive opinion to someone else – someone from a more liberal socio-political situation – Losa finds alternative ways to make a stark point directly at odds

²⁷ “Often, scholars geographically locate intersectionality’s genesis in the United States, emerging largely from African American women’s (and other U.S. women of color) experiences in the social movements of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s (see, e.g., Nash 2008; Weldon 2008). This narrative acknowledges intersectional knowledge projects’ ties with U.S. black feminist politics in the 1960s and 1970s, followed by its travels into academic settings in the 1980s and 1990s [...] Collectively, a series of social actors began to theorize the core ideas and epistemologies that eventually became associated with the intersectional approach, arguing that socially constructed categories of difference and inequality interact – simultaneously – with other systems of power (Collins 1993). Such a theoretical framework recognizes how social actors or groups might concurrently experience oppression and privilege, and it considers how race, class, gender, and sexuality function in the structural bases of domination and subordination and therefore how these systems of power get institutionalized in society” (Collins & Chepp, 2013).

with the Estado Novo's misogynistic ideology by which women's status as second-class citizens was enshrined in law.

Some fifty pages later – roughly halfway through the book – Losa takes this implicit challenge one step further, directly implicating Portugal and its repressive patriarchal social policy:

... a grande parte dos europeus estranha (eu ainda hoje estranho) a ausência em Portugal da mulher em manifestações culturais, em banquetes, nos cafés ou em qualquer espécie de convívio público, do mesmo modo estranha aqui uma certa ausência do homem. (I&V, p. 114)

As elsewhere and in relation to a number of different topics, Losa, having previously used other people as mouthpieces to express certain challenging opinions, here seems to gain confidence and moves to assume a position presented as her own (“eu ainda hoje estranho”), pointing a finger at the Estado Novo's exclusion of women from public space. By ending the comment on a comparison to the North American context's supposedly equivalent (inverted) situation, she also arguably manages to divert attention away from this provocative statement, back to American, as opposed to Portuguese society, her point nevertheless having been made.

Towards the end of the collection, the inclusion of the opinion of Bert – one of Losa's Los Angeles hosts, and significantly a man – in relation to the status and role of women in American society, provides an important bolster to Losa's point here. It is also a further example of the increasingly bold naming and shaming of repressive, conservative politics and the regimes to which these belong, as discussed previously:

‘Decerto há muita mulher Americana solitária, apesar de todas as suas actividades associativas. O mesmo acontece na Europa, pelo menos nos países onde ela goza de certa liberdade, como aqui. Nos outros, onde ainda não conquistou direitos, onde vive praticamente às ordens do marido que, por sua vez, faz uma vida à parte em que ela não tem lugar, a mulher não pode deixar de se sentir mais solitária ainda. Mulher cuja maior tragédia, a meu ver, é ela própria se supor inferior ao homem. A nossa mulher não é vítima de um atraso, mas sim de um desequilíbrio’. (I&V, p. 174)

Having rubbished the idea of innate male superiority, along with the implicitly backward societies in which this is still promoted, Bert goes on to talk about the divergence between the rights already won by American women and the prevailing cultural reality – that is, about the difference between the theory and practice of emancipation, and the delay in the real cultural adaptation to this. Emphasising an idea of progressive, forward-moving societal change, Losa, via Bert, effectively equates female emancipation with advanced culture, identifying and calling for an essential effort by men in order for this to come about: “‘Ora, uma mulher emancipada como a nossa pertence logicamente a uma época de cultura mais avançada e o homem tem que compreender melhor esses seus anseios’” (I&V, p. 175). Once again, we find Losa challenging her readers to step up and seek to change the repressive, discriminatory system within which they live and think.

Conclusions

By the end of *Ida e Volta*, we have therefore encountered, quite remarkably for a Portuguese text from the immediately post-Humberto Delgado and pre-colonial war context, a number of searing criticisms of Portuguese society and the political repression under which it lives, with Ilse Losa taking on, above all but not only, racial discrimination as a particularly troubling issue. Displaying courage and determination to defy the narrow lines to which she and her peers were generally restricted in Estado Novo Portugal, Losa gets up close and personal with a number of taboo subjects, as well as with the marginalised Black community itself – debunking, through her account of the generosity and warmth offered to her by her Black guides and new-found friends – the demonising myths and prejudices propagated by racist discourses and institutional structures.

One might indeed question how Ilse Losa managed to express the many controversial and subversive ideas that she did in this text, as well as elsewhere in her *oeuvre*. One suggestion is that on account of Losa’s difference – her non-native identity in Portugal and Portuguese literature – she was to some extent overlooked by the censor. This idea is supported by, for example, Cândido de Azevedo’s discussion of:

as críticas de alguns escritores portugueses, segundo as quais os censores usariam de maior tolerância na apreciação das obras assinadas por autores estrangeiros, como defendeu José Cardoso Pires em artigo publicado no *Diário de Lisboa*, embora fosse também evidente que, em função da conjuntura política, a Censura revelasse frequentemente uma maior abertura face aos livros de autores estrangeiros. (Azevedo, 1997, p. 201)

Providing a slightly different perspective, however, Ana Isabel Marques highlights the question of the additional limits to which Losa was subjected, via the informal, cultural regulation of what a foreign citizen can or can't say of a host culture:

Constitui de facto uma questão interessante a das expectativas relativamente à atitude dos estrangeiros no seio de comunidades que lhes são estranhas. Se, por um lado, esse estatuto de exterioridade lhes dá uma margem de tolerância muito maior do que a dos habitantes locais, subordinados aos juízos do grupo, por outro lado, espera-se destes uma atitude bem mais cautelosa e até uma apreciação benevolente de uma cultura e de uma sociedade à qual não pertencem inteiramente. (Marques A. I., 2014, p. 109, FN47)²⁸

Such factors thus further highlight, in real and practical terms, the complex position that Losa held in Portuguese culture, further reinforcing our surprise at *Ida e Volta*'s successful publication and seemingly underlining the *cronista*'s skill in her careful presentation of her critiques.

²⁸ In the *crónica* 'O Porto e os estranhos', included in *À Flor do Tempo*, Losa herself highlights the implicitly different social rules by which native-born and foreign-born citizens can or can't criticise certain aspects of a given culture.

2.2 *Estas Searas*

Estas Searas, published by Livros Horizonte in 1984, presents itself as a collection of “contos e crónicas” which, in practice, comprises 20 texts of varied length, style and subject-matter, with no explicit distinction between the two literary genres indicated. The texts range from a single A5 page, simply presenting a script-style dialogue (‘É proibido sonhar’), to a 27-page narrative previously published as the title story of a short story collection (‘Encontro no Outono. Ou: O que a Paula me Contou’) (Losa, 1964). Between these two extremes there is a majority of texts between two and six pages long.

The collection is structured in three sections: ‘De tempos sombrios’, containing five lyrical, seemingly memorialistic stories of Holocaust survival (and non-survival); ‘Três mulheres. Retratos póstumos’, consisting of sketched literary portraits of three working-class women, each of varying levels of verisimilitude; and ‘Micromundo. Macromundo’, with 12 texts presenting a mixture of styles, from the seemingly personal, confessionally-inflected (‘Mercur’; ‘Pela mesma porta’; ‘Medo’), to short story style narratives (‘Os botões de punho’; ‘O sofá de pelúcia’), as well as others presenting themselves as social commentaries of the sort more readily associated with the *crónica* form (‘Uma simples reportagem e nada mais’; ‘Ele há dias [E este foi um deles]’).

As so often in Losa’s writing, a unifying element throughout the collection is perhaps most obviously the protagonism of marginalised groups and individuals, the author using her texts to celebrate a series of people and acts generally side-lined and overlooked on account of their low social status. As such, taking centre stage we find, across the course of the collection: victims of the holocaust (direct and indirect), impoverished domestic workers, immigrants, children, an outsider family and even a community of stray dogs, as well as a series of small acts whose significance are magnified to the point where their human importance can be felt by the reader. These range from a stranger’s kindness to an unwell and despairing young woman on the Berlin metro during the early days of the Third Reich, to the deep anguish experienced by a child upon realising a beloved adult’s capacity for dishonesty and betrayal. Also consistent throughout the collection is an implicit criticism of the inherent inequalities

and injustices of dominant social structures, together with the systematic exclusion and human impact that these bring with them.

Despite the richness of the material, I will not afford the same attention to *Estas Searas* as I did to *Ida e Volta*, for two main reasons. Firstly, many of the texts have in fact already been the subject of some academic analysis on account of their having been re-published (as *contos*) in *Caminhos Sem Destino* (1991) the collection which Américo Oliveira Santos, in his preface to the book, claims Losa considered to be her definitive body of short fiction (*apud* Losa, 1991a, p. 10).¹ Of *Estas Searas*' 20 texts, eight do not appear in *Caminhos Sem Destino*, however. Of those eight, one had already been published in *Encontro no Outono* in 1964, and three others went on to appear in *A Flor do Tempo* in 1997 ('Uma simples reportagem e nada mais', renamed 'Ai, Kafka!'; 'Pela mesma porta'; 'Ele há dias [E este foi um deles]', which became simply 'Ele há dias'). Four, therefore, failed to be included in other collections: 'Breve encontro'; 'A sorte grande'; 'Os adultos'; 'Privilegiados'. It is interesting to think about how this subsequent selection and classification into new single-genre publications interacts with the original intention with which each was written. Do the details just mentioned imply, for example, that of the 20 "contos e crónicas" in *Estas Searas*, only three – those which were later included in the 1997 *crónica* collection – are in fact *crónicas*? Or to those three might we add some or all of the four which were not included in either the 1991 short story book or the 1997 *crónica* book? Finally, how fixed are these labels and to what extent do they affect our reading of each text?²

Indeed, directly connected to such questions, the second reason for not focusing so extensively on *Estas Searas* concerns the questionable relevance of the collection (or rather, of a number of its individual texts) to a study explicitly focused on Losa's *crónica* output. Whilst the book

¹ Given that Karina Marques took for the corpus of her 2014 doctoral thesis Losa's lesser studied prose fiction (Marques, K., 2014, p. 20), this collection received some thorough attention here.

² In the course of my consultation of the various archives and documents used in the preparation of Part 3 of this thesis, I came across the original newspaper and periodical publications of five of *Estas Searas*' 20 texts: 'Mercur' – *SN*, December 1967 (originally published with the subtitle 'Um conto de Natal'); 'A sorte grande' – *DL*, 26/03/1979; 'Os Adultos' (originally published as 'Hipocrisia ou má consciência? (A propósito do "Ano Internacional da criança")') – *DL*, 19/04/1979; 'Ele há dias' – *DL*, 02/06/1979; 'Idalina' (originally published as 'Retrato póstumo') – *JL*, 15-28/09/1981.

contains *crônicas*, it also contains short stories, and the fact of their non-distinction within this collection means that any discussion of the texts is inevitably vague in generic terms. That said, a certain level of categorisation is possible for some texts such as ‘Encontro no Outono. Ou: O que a Paula me contou’, which is clearly closer to the short story or novella given its length, narrative style (aligned with a more lyrical tone characterising the whole of the book’s first sub-section), and the fact of it previously having been published as a short story. Conversely, certain other texts suggest their closer proximity to the *crônica*, with its newspaper setting and typical interaction with the local, national and/or global circumstances of its day.

The first line of ‘Idalina’ (the first of the second section’s three posthumous portraits) for example, emphasises its publication in the press: “O que diria ela se soubesse que o seu nome veio no jornal?” (ES, p. 51). And in ‘Ele há dias (E este foi um deles)’, although there is no direct mention of the text’s location in the newspaper, reference to various news items of a given day again serve to conjure up a sense of that journalistic context. ‘Privilegiados’, on the other hand, emphasises its own embeddedness in the local setting of the author-narrator’s neighbourhood:

O meu bairro é relativamente sossegado [...] O autocarro da zona circula de dez em dez minutos nas horas mortas [...] o trânsito não é exagerado dado à feliz circunstância de o quarteirão não ser cortado por qualquer artéria fundamental, mas apenas cortado por duas vias periféricas. (ES, p. 89)

Notwithstanding this generic looseness, as one of an only small number of published *Losa crônica* collections (being so at least in part), I propose that *Estas Searas* in fact requires some brief discussion here, and, indeed, serves as an illustration of the point, made in Chapter 1.1, regarding the *crônica* genre’s close contact with the short story, and in more general terms its complex formal definition. It is also an opportunity to extend the exploration of Ilse Losa’s engagement with gender inequality developed in Chapters 1.3 and to some extent 2.1, as well as the link between this and class inequality, with Losa’s tentative and relatively precocious preoccupation with intersectionality again making itself evident in the process.

Estas Searas: these (feminine) fields

Briefly setting to one side the collection's central section – 'Três mulheres. Retratos póstumos' – and its clear relevance to a discussion of gender, we might first note how in the other two sections of *Estas Searas*, Losa's attention to women's experience also makes itself felt.

In the case of the first section, there is, for example, the exclusively female cast of 'Encontro no Outono. Ou: O que a Paula me contou', emphasised by one of the attendees of the school reunion at the heart of the narrative: "'estamos entre amigos'. 'Amigas', corrigiu a senhora volumosa" (ES, p. 31). The story provides an insight into the varied ways in which the rise of Nazism and the horror of the Second World War shaped the lives of a group of women from the same small German town, once united by their belonging to the same school class and now dispersed by the war's events. As a text which we know to have been originally published in 1964 – during the Estado Novo dictatorship, therefore – it also offers a further example of Losa's will to defy the prim and pious image of women preached by that regime, as she points out alternative ways of being a woman: "Pertença às mulheres desgraçadas sem filhos [...] As grandes amantes da História nunca tiveram filhos", claims one of the women, for example (ES, p. 32). That this episode should occur abroad, rather than in Portugal, is not insignificant, and serves as a reminder of Losa's trajectory from a context in which women enjoyed some relative liberty, to one in which they were significantly less emancipated.

In the final section of *Estas Searas*, 'Boas Entradas' and 'A sorte grande' provide two further instances of insight into predominantly female spheres. The former takes place in a hair salon, where the story's men are presented as either awkward and out of place ("pareciam sombras petrificadas", [ES, p. 93]), or, in the case of the hairdresser himself, "um neutro ao serviço da beleza feminina, com quem não se faz cerimónia", (ES, p. 92); the latter of the two texts – a brief dialogue between two old and estranged female friends – gives voice to disbelief at the reductive equation of a woman's life-story to her husband's socio-economic status, adding to this an implicit criticism of capitalist aspirations to wealth. "Que é feito dela?" the narrator asks about an old friend in common (ES, p. 77):

‘Nem imaginas! Tirou a sorte grande. Casou com um desses homens que sobem tão depressa na vida como os macacos sobem as árvores [...] dirige um Banco, é sócio duma empresa fabulosa [...] é proprietário duma série de prédios... Enfim, um homem fora de série, dos que não se perdem’.

‘E a Ema? Que é feito dela?’ insisti.

‘Já te disse, tirou a sorte grande. Está casada com um potentado desses! Que mais queres tu que te diga?’.

Sim, que mais queria eu que ela me dissesse? (*Ibid.*)

The final, rhetorical question, together with the choice of title for the text underline the caustic irony Losa writes into this short scene depicting a conservative view of women and their right or capacity to sustain an independent existence.

But as I have already suggested, it is in the book’s central section that Ilse Losa’s interest in, and commitment to, exploring and portraying female experience is most pronounced. As such, I will dedicate the rest of my brief analysis to its trio of texts: ‘Idalina’, ‘Adelaide’ and ‘Palmirinha’.

‘Três mulheres. Retratos póstumos’

With this section, Losa presents us with a homage to three women (echoing the triptych of American women provided in miniature in *Ida e Volta*, within the single *crónica* ‘Três mulheres’), and, specifically, to three working-class women: a financially-precarious widow kept by her lover until he leaves her with nothing, and two domestic workers – one a “mulher-a-dias” (daily cleaner), the other a seamstress regularly serving the same family. In relation to the latter two, we thus encounter examples of the kinds of working-class women employed in a significant proportion of Portuguese households well into the latter half of the twentieth century, but rarely represented literarily as more than a stock character or stereotype.³

³ While the terms *criada* and *mulher-a-dias*, are not entirely synonymous (*criada* is a more antiquated term and implies a live-in maid while a *mulher-a-dias* does not) the following reflection by Inês Brasão is largely applicable

Such an interest in domestic workers and their place in society, as well as their place within the homes they serve, is indeed an example of some further continuity between *Ida e Volta* and *Estas Searas*, as Losa sustains and develops the fascination she revealed in the 1960 publication, providing, in 1984, close-up portraits of the Portuguese women whose equivalents in America the *cronista* had only been able to access from a relative distance, but whom she studied avidly nonetheless. Just as in *Ida e Volta*, here, once again, Losa gives voice and visibility to those generally not afforded public attention and consideration as thinking and feeling individuals – now on account of gender and class where in that earlier publication the focus was, above all, on victims of racial oppression. Indeed, the unification of the three separate “portraits”, would seem to represent an act of solidarity – each individual image gaining strength and significance by its association with the others – their female subjects brought together by Losa at the heart of the collection, into a kind of literary sisterhood.

It is worth noting the parallel drawn by Karina Marques, between this triptych and Irene Lisboa’s trio of texts ‘Adelina, etc. – I’, ‘Adelina, etc. – II’, and ‘Adelina, etc. – III’ from the *crónica* collection *Esta Cidade!* (1942), in which Lisboa – an acknowledged literary heroine of Losa’s – similarly focuses, in three inter-linked texts, on a working-class woman experiencing much the same sort of hardship which Losa’s trio of women similarly suffer. While Marques points out the parallels between Lisboa’s Adelina and Losa’s Idalina, specifically (“the character of ‘Idalina’ reminds us of that of ‘Adelina’” [Marques K., 2014, p. 327, my translation]), I suggest that the parallel might in fact be broadened out: Lisboa’s tripartite portrait of a *single* figure (Adelina) in fact finding its refracted reflection in the three separate portraits of three *different* women (Idalina, Adelaide and Palmirinha) that Losa provides.⁴ But more than any specific detail of each of the texts, what seemingly connects the two triptychs is the spirit in which they were created, as described by Marques here:

to both: “O que sabemos para além de um conjunto de rasgos de criação literária que ficcionaram a vida das criadas de servir no contexto do século XX português? O que sabemos para além da psicologia destas personagens, dos desenlaces trágicos e da persistência em proceder a caracterizações com base na sua sexualidade?”. As part of introducing her sociological study of female domestic servants in Estado Novo Portugal, Brasão cites some of the best-known characterisations of *criadas* by Portuguese authors before going on to ask what other kind of more empirical assessment could be made of this social phenomenon (Brasão, 2012, p. 8).

⁴ As well as the names of Losa’s protagonists finding partial echo in Lisboa’s Adelina (Idalina and Adelaide more than Palmirinha, admittedly), the individual roles that each of the three women in Losa’s trio play are tasks that

In the two authors we witness [...] a shared wish to transmit to the reader the force unleashed by these female figures, against all manner of oppressive system, including the literary establishment – a *milieu* essentially dominated by men, and which undervalues working-class topics, particularly female ones, enclosing women within the world of convents or fairy-tales, or else idealising them as love interests. (Marques K., 2014, p. 329, my translation)

In the three texts, Lusa portrays the various hardships suffered by Idalina, Adelaide and Palmirinha, emphasising the stoical endurance of difficult conditions by the central female characters, in contrast to the men in their lives, who are broadly condemned and ridiculed. That said, the women are not immune to some mockery themselves, as certain of their idiosyncrasies, old-fashioned attitudes or else their brusque manners, are also affectionately and humorously highlighted for the entertainment of the reader, and, Lusa claims, for a truer portrait of the women in question. Finally (and crucially), Lusa's critical eye is turned back on the very class from which she herself comes, as she exposes the bourgeois position of privilege and its implicit, self-serving contribution to the systematic shaming and exploitation of these women – a most significant and pointed perspective given the probable shared socio-economic comfort of most of Lusa's readership.

Perhaps the first detail to be mentioned in relation to Lusa's celebration of the domestic servants she portrays here (together with a criticism of their marginalisation), is the initial anonymity she attributes to Idalina, the first of the triptych's three women. Despite the text's title being the woman's name, within the narrative itself Lusa teasingly delays the naming of the protagonist.⁵ As cited in my introduction to this chapter, Idalina's portrait begins with a question regarding how she would react to discovering that her name had appeared in the

Lisboa's Adelina in fact carries out across the course of the tripartite narrative: cleaning the author-narrator's house (Lisboa I., 1995, p. 20), hosting others in her modest home (*ibid.*, p. 43), and tending to the clothes of her guests or neighbours (*ibid.*, p. 123).

⁵ In the case of Adelaide, a similar sense of anonymity is evoked through repeated and prominent references to "alguém" and "ela" in the opening lines: "Num desses encontros casuais com alguém que conhecemos de há muito, mas de quem mal nos recordamos, fui informada de que ela morrerá. 'Quando?' O 'alguém' não o sabia ao certo [...] O que o levou a informar-me foi o simples facto de termos sido, em tempos, hóspedes na mesma pensão, precisamente na pensão dela, da Adelaide." (ES, p. 56)

newspaper. Until the beginning of the third paragraph, however, that name – the focus of the opening sentences (“Nome de baptismo, nome de família [...] ‘O meu nome? Pode lá ser. Estão a entrar comigo. Onde é que vem? Mostrem lá. Leiam para eu ouvir.”, [ES, p. 51]) – is only present by its conspicuous *absence*. When it does eventually appear – “A Idalina começava lá pelas 9 horas da manhã e ia-se embora pelas 9 ou 9 e meia da noite” (*ibid.*) – it is in direct relation to her long working day, as if her identity were defined by this. Indeed, the narrator’s comment – “‘Diabo de termo ‘mulher-a-dias’. ‘Mulher-à-hora’ era mais razoável” (*ibid.*) – both reasserts the idea of an identity dictated by one’s working hours and draws attention to the exploitative reality endured by women in this position, confirming the socially-critical standpoint from which this portrait is made. Idalina’s imagined surprise at the idea of her appearance in a newspaper is a further emphasis of her general anonymity, with this rare prominence, in conjunction with her temporary namelessness, highlighting her actual invisibility and marginalisation.

Whilst Palmirinha is spared this initial, somewhat farcical shrouding of the protagonist’s identity, it is worth mentioning how even in her case, the apparently routine introduction of a character’s name is here an opportunity for Losa to highlight something of the power dynamic between employer and employee: “A senhora Palmirinha, às quartas-feiras, consertava-nos a roupa da casa. Neste dia, Liberdade, a empregada, esmerava-se com as refeições para que a nossa fama de casa farta e também a dela de boa cozinheira se divulgassem eficazmente pelas redondezas” (ES, p. 60). Some paragraphs later, the narrator adds: “A sua presença semanal tornara-se-nos de tal maneira um hábito que chamávamos à quarta-feira ‘o dia da senhora Palmirinha’” (*ibid.*). Beyond the blatant irony of a domestic servant called Liberdade, we see how a family’s renaming Wednesdays “Palmirinha’s day” – as if in homage to her, or an act of empowerment⁶ – in fact exposes the naivety, or perhaps rather condescension, of the employers in relation to their employee. In the process, Losa highlights the level of indulgence and pride enjoyed by these particular characters with their “fama de casa farta”, contrasting this with the much less luxurious conditions of Palmirinha’s home and its “rataria imunda” (*ibid.*).

⁶ As in the previous Idalina/*mulher-a-dias* discussion, here, the identity of the domestic worker again comes to be equated and even confused with her role, providing a subtle comment on class relations and social domination.

Returning to 'Idalina', however, we see how, via the delayed introduction, Losa inserts into her presentation of the woman's identity and life-story the historical context of 1930s Portugal, comparing this to the post-revolution situation which followed, and the change in conditions that the monumental political overhaul prompted: "Quando, a seguir ao 25 de abril, se começaram a pagar os serviços domésticos à hora, não generosa mas de qualquer forma mais dignamente, ela então já de idade avançada suspirou: 'Ai! Agora queria eu ser nova!'" (ES, pp. 51-52). Beyond including details of domestic servants' working conditions in each context (making for a more sociological reflection here), we see how Losa also acknowledges the personal aspirations of her working-class protagonist. As such, she sets the tone for much of the rest of the text, and indeed the wider trio of texts, in which the reader's attention is consistently brought to the details of each of the women's lives – both as these are lived externally, and, to some extent, internally.

In Idalina's case, this comes as Losa effectively takes her readers by the hand, encouraging them to take notice of what she shows them: "Quanto a criatura feliz, não creio que o tenha sido. Vejamos" (ES, p. 52). Indeed, whilst the image is by no means a rosy one – a fact underlined by the protagonist's ungainly death ("teve de morrer como um gato vadio, no meio da rua" [ES, p. 55]) – it seems that Losa makes it her mission to provide a tribute to the women, ensuring that at least in death they would be shown some of the solidarity and respect denied to them in life. Of Idalina's funeral, for example, the narrator recalls how, thanks to some recently acquired "'netos' da última hora", the down-trodden woman received a fair and decent burial: "cuidaram de lhe fazer um funeral bonito, digno duma mulher como ela. E foi bonito foi" (*ibid.*). As mentioned previously, the idea of Idalina's portrait appearing in the newspaper is also part of this same dignifying project.

At the same time, as indicated in my introduction to this triptych, these are not flawless portraits. Rather, they are full of gentle mockery and revelations of certain views and character traits which seemingly diverge from those of their narrators and the middle-class perspective these represent. As a predominantly female group watch over Idalina's coffin, for example, the narrative voice reflects:

Enfim, Idalina tinha a sua personalidade, os seus gostos e os seus defeitos. Fazer dela o retrato sentimental duma morta que, em vida, fora sempre boazinha e virtuosa, seria transformá-la abusivamente nesse ‘slogan’ publicitário de que basta ser-se pobre para se ser bonzinho. (ES, p. 54)

This markedly sharp comment (aimed not at Idalina, but at the hypocritical piety preached by the former Estado Novo regime, and arguably absorbed by Portuguese society) is followed by a series of unflattering details about her, including a certain “agressividade latente” (*ibid.*), her acceptance of fault in the rich but not the poor, her linguistic coarseness, and her characteristic sweaty odour. What’s more, the reader is also confronted with Idalina’s own maintenance of the class hierarchy of which she might be considered a victim – a detail tragi-comically narrated in relation to the old woman’s conservative attitude to dress:

Não punha, por exemplo vestidos, mas unicamente saia e blusa como, no seu entender, era ‘próprio para gente da minha condição’. Este conceito ficara-lhe arraigado dos tempos em que ‘mulheres’ e ‘senhoras’ mantinham uma espécie de acordo tácito: vestido, casaco comprido, chapéu [...] para as ‘senhoras’; saia e blusa, lenço, casaco curto ou xaile [...] para as ‘mulheres’. Idalina preservava ortodoxamente aqueles velhos dogmas de ‘classe’. Sem exagero pode afirmar-se que teria preferido calçar sapatões de homem a requintados sapatinhos de senhora. (ES, p. 53)

As she invites her predominantly middle-class readers to laugh at the idea of a woman preferring to dress as a man than to wear clothes considered proper for a woman with higher social status, Lusa is also making a more serious point regarding internalised classism and pointing out the distance of perspectives separating Idalina from those who read (and, presumably, recognise) her. Thus while they laugh, her readers are also prompted to feel some discomfort as they are reminded of their own part in this hierarchical structure. Indeed, here we in fact encounter one of the points at which the intersectional relationship between class and gender-based oppression is brought to the surface most clearly by Lusa, as she encourages her readers to consider not only the force of female and male societal norms, but also the chasm separating the working- and middle-classes, thus highlighting the doubly constrained existences lived by figures such as Idalina, Adelaide and Palmirinha, as working-class women serving the Portuguese middle classes.

In Adelaide's case, black humour and affectionate mockery continue to form the dominant mode used by Losa, as this more caricatured figure is presented as a widow consistently using a false age, and with a benefactor to maintain her: "se tirava uma porção de anos à sua idade, a mesma porção acrescentava provavelmente à categoria do falecido marido" (ES, p. 56). Indeed, while the affection behind Adelaide's portrait is emphasised, with the narrator recalling her employee's generosity to her when ill, – "Eu nunca deixara de lhe reservar um lugarzinho no recanto da minha memória, e isso, possivelmente, por mero egocentrismo" – there is also acknowledgement of the self-interested and circumstantial nature of this bond: "é costume enternecermo-nos com as boas acções que os outros praticam em nosso favor" (*ibid.*). Indeed, if it is via derision that Losa packs much of her punch in these portraits, it is not so much against the named subjects but rather against their employers, husbands, sons and lovers – all those (including, of course, the narrators from whose perspective Losa writes) who contribute to the collective subjugation of these individual women and working class women more widely.

In 'Adelaide', we have, for example, the deeply unflattering image of the protagonist's lover and benefactor, Rui, the ultra macho man whose preferred conversation topics are acerbically described as being "de 'mulheraças' de 'traços' e de 'bom pasto'" (ES, p. 57) – "Nele tudo tendia para o robusto, o rude, o ruidoso, o pão-pão-queijo-queijo, para aquilo que, no seu dizer, era 'próprio dum homem que se preza ser homem'" (*ibid.*). Throughout the text this unappealing image of a brutish man is reinforced and ridiculed in the extreme as he is shown to attack another man (also implicitly mocked) for ceremoniously kissing Adelaide's hand: "Rui, com o guardanapo metido no colarinho, vermelho como um pimento, com gordura líquida a escorrer-lhe dos cantos da boca, levantou-se num pulo..." (ES, p. 58).

In Adelaide's pride in her lover's jealous reaction ("Tinha homem em casa! Sim, senhora. Uma bela prova de amor" [ES, p. 59]) we find another example of Losa's commitment to representing both the women's more laudable traits as well as those which perhaps inspire less admiration. Indeed, as in relation to Idalina's fierce adherence to class-based dress-codes, by highlighting Adelaide's own internalised sexism and gender stereotyping, Losa seemingly restates the point regarding downtrodden women's own indoctrination and consequent support of the structures which subjugate them in various ways. As the story ends underlining

Adelaide's naivety and ultimate abandonment, her victimhood is the lasting image with which readers are left, the narrative's circular return to the details of the protagonist's death emphasising her doomed and desolate fate: "A notícia da sua morte num hospital, num asilo ou em qualquer parte que o valha, sem cheta, fez-me recordar o beija-mão que desencadeou a cólera do homem a quem ela tanto amava" (*ibid.*).

In 'Palmirinha' – the third of the three portraits – the male figures closest to the protagonist are once again presented in less than flattering terms:

Sustentava um homem dado ao vício de cartas; um filho que, aspirando à vida dos grandes negócios, passava o tempo à espreita de furos que não achava [...] ela referia-se com palavras mais carinhosas ao cão e aos gatos do que aos seus homens. (ES, p. 60)

But the party most damningly portrayed in this text is in fact the seemingly benevolent and sympathetic but ultimately patronising employers, from whose perspective the story is told: "Tudo isso era-nos agradável e até fácil: sermos úteis à senhora Palmirinha, boa servidora da casa, e cooperar com ela em brindar os dois malandros" (ES, p. 61). Centred on the embarrassment felt by the employers upon receiving a gift from Palmirinha which does not adhere to their taste and which they farcically avoid putting on display whilst also trying not to offend the seamstress, the story brings to the fore the matter of snobbery.

Following a long description emphasising the supposed horror of the ornament offered to them, the narrator concludes: "em resumo, tudo o que a nós causa esse estranho mal-estar nunca experimentado pelas pessoas que ignoram a fascinação de uma verdadeira obra de arte" (*ibid.*). With this "nós", set against "[as] pessoas", Losa provides a subtle nod to the us/them structure on which the whole of the narrative rests, this "we" also serving to acknowledge a certain shared perspective between narrator and reader, as these look over the heads of those uncultured "people", as it were. Consequently, any implicit criticism of the text's middle-class employers is inevitably reflected back on the reader too. Indeed, having mentioned the "respect" the narrator claims to have for Palmirinha ("Devo dizer que a senhora Palmirinha se nos impunha o nosso respeito", [ES, p. 60]), praised her work ("cumpria com zelo e extrema

pontualidade a tarefa rotineira na nossa casa [...] executava todo o género de trabalho”, [*ibid.*]), as well as mentioning the family’s renaming of Wednesdays in her honour, this off-hand comment on aesthetic sensibility marks the beginning of the supposedly friendly bond’s betrayal, or perhaps rather its unmasking as an ultimately superficial and self-serving one.

As the story develops, the couple’s unappealing combination of pride and cowardice are set against Palmirinha’s “nobreza apaziguadora” (ES, p. 62), as she generously overlooks their childishness and indeed plays along with the farce – an “absurdo jogo de delicadeza” (*ibid.*) – begun by her employers as they try to find ways to display the object without others seeing it. The closing note that the following year Palmirinha gave the couple navel oranges might, indeed, be taken as a subtle reference to the navel-gazing of which her employers, as representatives of a whole social strata, might be accused. Having begun the story with a suggestion of proximity and affection or at least some respect towards Palmirinha, during the course of the short narrative we see this very idea mocked for its superficiality and hypocrisy, Losa thereby making a more nuanced and direct criticism of the middle class to which she herself belongs. Anyone who could identify with or even aspire to be the couple who have a cleaner (“Liberdade”), a weekly seamstress and “fama de casa farta”, would surely wince at the image held up before them by Losa here.

As a final note on this particular text, and also on the relation between the short story/*crónica* distinction more widely, I wish to make brief reference to a detail which emerged in the interview I conducted with Ana Losa in 2018. In answering a question about which of her grandmother’s *crónicas* she most liked, Ana Losa recalled ‘Palmirinha’, summarising the narrative thus: “há uma empregada que dá uma coisa muito pirosa à minha avó, e ela põe num quarto, um quarto de visitas e põe para lá aquilo até que um dia, um de nós, pequeninos, não é? Partimos aquilo e ela pronto, resolveu o assunto”. With this, Ana Losa seemingly confirms the “identity” of this text as a *crónica* (as opposed to a *conto* – despite later appearing in *Caminhos Sem Destino*), basing its origins and essential details in fact rather than fiction, and identifying the narrator-employer with Ilse Losa herself. As such, the critical subtext accompanying the narrative’s portrait of class dynamics is shown to be thoroughly self-referential, with Ilse Losa displaying a willingness to implicate herself in her exposure of middle-class snobbery and the class-based alienation of which this is symptomatic. Though

Losa is in great part known for her autobiographical fiction, and thus such blurring of the line between fact and fiction is by no means out of character, what this revelation by Ana Losa does, in relation to this collection, specifically, is to further confirm the ambiguous nature of the texts' generic definition. As such, the line between the Losian *conto* and *crónica* remains ever-tenuous and perhaps, indeed, somewhat irrelevant as the two genres are brought together and merged.

Conclusions

By the end of this middle section of *Estas Searas*, Losa's deep commitment to exposing social injustice and inequality – based as much on gender as on class here, as elsewhere on race – is plain to see. Through the consistent revelation of the human impact and lived reality that these deeply-embedded power dynamics have on those caught at the intersections of multiple fields of exploitation, Losa encourages her readers not only to see but also to *feel* the force of their own privilege, often by prompting them to laugh at versions of themselves – those very people who have domestic servants working for them and perhaps even consider themselves liberal, enlightened employers, for example. What the triptych does, as a unit of texts focused on three working-class women, is, indeed, to create a space for those generally relegated to the margins of society and here brought to the very centre of the publication. As mentioned previously, throughout the rest of the collection, we see this socio-political engagement play out in relation to a number of other groups and individuals, Losa's empathy and concern showing itself to be multi-faceted and unfailing. Despite the political situation in 1980s Portugal having undergone colossal change since the 1960 publication of *Ida e Volta*, it is clear from Losa's continued focus on various forms of social inequality and repression in this 1984 collection, that her own dissatisfaction and commitment to challenging the status quo was nevertheless left intact.

2.3 *À Flor do Tempo*

À Flor do Tempo, published by Edições Afrontamento in 1997, brings together 51 *crônicas* written by Ilse Losa between the late 1940s and the 1990s, and represents the only book in the author's *oeuvre* dedicated to her regular collaboration with a range of titles from the Portuguese press throughout this five-decade long period. Despite winning the prestigious Associação Portuguesa de Escritores (APE) Grande Prémio da Crónica the following year, the book has so far been subject to no in-depth discussion and analysis.¹

It is interesting to note that even the president of the APE, José Manuel Mendes, a long-time friend and admirer of Losa's (and president of the APE since 1992), in a text dedicated to her memory some years after her death, failed to mention the book and its accolade in his discussion of her life and work.² This is despite the fact that, at the time of the APE's delivery of the prize to Losa in June 1999, Mendes, on behalf of the jury, praised and highlighted precisely the value of her *crónica*-writing. In a *Diário do Alentejo* article reporting on the award ceremony – a rare newspaper piece acknowledging the win³ – we are thus made aware of a number of details of that choice. It is revealed, for example, that Losa's publication was chosen from between 25 entries – a five-fold increase since Maria Judite de Carvalho won the prize in its first edition six years earlier. On the other hand, we are also privy to some brief qualitative discussion of *À Flor do Tempo*, as this excerpt from the article illustrates:

¹ The prize, which was initially biennial, and then became annual after a hiatus in the years 2013-2014, has been awarded by the APE, together with a series of municipal sponsors, to: Maria Judite de Carvalho (1991/2), Manuel Poppe (1993/4), Álvaro Guerra (1995/6), Ilse Losa (1997/8), Mário Cláudio (1999/2000), Armando Baptista-Bastos (2001/2), João Barrento (2003/4 & 2005/6), José Cutileiro (2007/8), Ricardo Araújo Pereira (2009/10), José Rentes de Carvalho (2011/12), José Tolentino Mendonça (2015), Rui Cardoso Martins (2016), Mário Cláudio (2017), Pedro Mexia (2018), Mário de Carvalho (2019) and Lídia Jorge (2020). It is notable that Ilse Losa was only the second, and until this year, the *last* woman to win the prize after Maria Judite de Carvalho's success in its first edition. In the 23 years since Losa's win, only one other female *cronista* has been awarded the prestigious accolade, further underlining the male-dominance of the field and, presumably, something of the remarkable quality of Losa's *crónica*-writing therefore.

² The text 'Ilse Losa, evocação' was presented as a speech before being published in Mendes' book, *Os Implicados* (Mendes J. M., 2014).

³ The Câmara Municipal de Beja, as one of the awarding bodies of Losa's prize, holds in its archives two newspaper articles reporting on the win: one is the local *Diário de Alentejo* article by Carla Ferreira which I mention here; the other is a very brief note in the *Diário de Notícias* (*Diário de Notícias*, 1999). Reviews of *À Flor do Tempo* which predate the announcement of Losa's prize include Fernando J. B. Martinho's 'Desejo de permanência' (Martinho, 1998), and Ramiro Teixeira's 'Crônicas de dor e de angústias' (Teixeira R., 1998).

Seguindo critérios estritamente literários, o júri votou, por maioria, o livro que ‘mais perfeitamente’ se coaduna com o conceito de crónica contemporânea pelos elementos de ‘testemunho’ e de ‘apreciação crítica de costumes’, contidos no conjunto de textos [...] trata-se ‘apesar de tudo e sempre, do seu olhar assumidamente português, lúcido, interferente, reivindicativo, humanista e, por isso, profundamente inserido na nossa história’ (Ferreira C., 1999).

From these brief comments we thus gain an insight as to what it was that those charged with judging the quality of *crónica*-writing at the time of the book’s publication saw as desirable in contemporary *crónica*-writing generally, and what they valued in Losa’s *crónicas* in particular. The elements of their comments that stand out are: a testimonial nature, a thoroughly engaged, protesting and humanist spirit, and an inherent “Portugueseness” to the texts. Implicit within this assessment is the existence of a certain duality combining an external perspective – Losa seemingly looking “in” on Portuguese customs with some sort of critical distance – and a simultaneous alignment with, and assumption of, a Portuguese positionality.

As a collection compiled not by the author herself, but rather by a combination of her granddaughter, Ana Losa, and friend and editor, Marcela Torres, *À Flor do Tempo* prompts some consideration of the relationship between authorship and editorial work, and the creativity involved in both.⁴ It leads us, indeed, to think about the broader issue of anthologisation and what happens to a text such as a *crónica* when removed from its original newspaper context to be included amongst a series of other texts of the same or a similar type, within the pages of a book, thus bringing back to mind some of the questions surrounding ephemerality and preservation raised in our discussion of the *crónica* in Chapter 1.1.

⁴ In my interview with Ana Losa in 2018, she recalled how her grandmother had asked her to make a selection of *crónicas* for publication in a collection, as well as how this was then reworked at *Afrontamento*: “Eles não fizeram exatamente a escolha que eu fiz [...] Tenho uma ideia que depois, eles lá na *Afrontamento* mudaram, um bocado ao critério deles, provavelmente tiveram em conta a minha seleção [...] não me sinto responsável por esse trabalho. [...] Nem sei bem o que se passou. Também não era uma coisa que eu estivesse ali a pedir para fazer. Foi mais a minha avó que insistiu [...] Mas eu muitas vezes nem me sentia completamente... competente para isso. Porque eu sabia perfeitamente que eu não podia ter um critério editorial naquela altura [...]”.

Whilst *À Flor do Tempo* does not correspond exactly to the commonly-held idea of an anthology (generally associated with the selected work of multiple authors⁵) a number of the theoretical issues surrounding this literary object can also be usefully considered here. Gary Saul Morson's discussion of 'The Anthology as Literature', for example, highlights various "fascinating questions about quotations, anthologies, and literature itself. Can such works be said to have a structure or an ending? What is the relation of part to whole? In what order should each be read? In numerous ways, composite works challenge our usual assumptions of what literature is" (Morson, 2011, p. 224). In thinking about *À Flor do Tempo* – a book made up of texts by Ilse Losa, a preliminary selection of which was made by Ana Losa, and which was then reworked and arranged by Marcela Torres – each of these questions might be usefully held in mind.

Indeed, challenging the idea that an editor's role is merely technical and therefore devoid of creative licence, Christopher M. Kuipers in 'The Anthology as a Literary Creation', suggests that in considering such questions: "a closer connection begins to emerge between what a creative writer does and what an anthologist does. Artistic creation, for humans at least, never begins *ex nihilo*. Rather, literary creativity, like all kinds of art, is a process that has several distinct phases" (Kuipers, 2008, p. 123). Having identified those phases – selection, arrangement and presentation – Kuipers focuses on the second, which is here what most interests me when thinking about the way that *À Flor do Tempo* was put together, in part on account of the relative mystery surrounding this stage of the process.⁶ "While texts are still being selected, the problem of arrangement is already in the anthologist's mind. The most obvious and common kinds of anthology arrangements are alphabetical and chronological" (*ibid.*, p. 125), Kuipers writes, going on to note, however, that "[t]here are other ways to arrange

⁵ Beyond convention there seems to be little to suggest that an anthology's contents must represent the works of multiple authors: "[A]nthology originally was a Greek word meaning a 'literary bouquet', and referred for many centuries only to a very limited kind of textual collection, namely gatherings of short lyric poems [...] This original meaning of poetic collection began to change slowly in the early decades of the twentieth century, alongside the beginnings of the 'Great Books' movement, and then took a decisive turn after World War II. From that time to the present day, several thousands of works have been published bearing the title of anthology [...] This seems to reflect the twentieth century's growing need for a basic-level term to categorize an increasingly important kind of published work – the textual collection" (Kuipers, 2008, p. 122).

⁶ Owing to the fact that neither Ilse Losa nor Marcela Torres is alive to clarify aspects of the process and logic by which the collection was put together, and given that Ana Losa's involvement was limited to an initial phase, there would appear to exist very little information on this key stage of *À Flor do Tempo*'s construction.

selections that also introduce significant levels of creativity as editors set off both parallels and variations among the chosen texts” (*ibid.*, p. 126).

Whilst there exists very little by way of discussion of the *crónica* collection, specifically, as a literary object, and thus of the stylistic choices that impact on its reading, a short article from 2010 by Ruth Navas, ‘Estudo para uma antologia crítica de crónicas jornalísticas de autores portugueses do séc. XX’, which comments on the anthology *Crónicas Jornalísticas do século XX* compiled by Fernando Venâncio (2004), is one rare and limited contribution.⁷ Highlighting both the typical organisational logic of the collection in question, and the key role of a preface in detailing this, Navas remarks:

No prefácio, o compilador apresenta os critérios que presidiram à elaboração do livro. A organização obedeceu à ordem cronológica da data de publicação do texto retirado do jornal, revista ou volume da obra do autor e a selecção evidencia uma preocupação pela diversidade geográfica, temática e ideológica. (Navas, 2010, pp. 58-59)

Indeed, many other *cronistas*’ collected works similarly begin with an explanation of their construction, as illustrated by this recent example of Brazilian *cronista* Luis Fernando Veríssimo’s *Veríssimo antológico: Meio século de crónicas, ou coisa parecida*, edited and prefaced by Daniela Duarte: “é importante esclarecer os critérios adotados na seleção dos textos desta coletânea [...] O recorte foi cronológico, mas a leitura pode ser randômica, ao gosto do freguês” (*apud* Veríssimo, 2020, ‘Nota sobre a edição’).

Returning to *À Flor do Tempo*, the significance and impact of there being no such introductory, explanatory text by Marcela Torres, as the collection’s editor, is seemingly magnified.⁸ Likewise, that the *crónicas* are accompanied by no indication of their original publication

⁷ As both the title of Navas article and Venâncio’s book itself suggest, the book is a multi-author collection and therefore more akin to typical anthologies than to the kind of single-author collection that *À Flor do Tempo* represents.

⁸ While there is a prologue by Porto University academic Américo Oliveira Santos, this does not comment on the process by which the collection was put together; indeed, there is nothing to suggest that Santos was involved in the book’s production beyond his reflection on the texts within it.

context – a curious detail for a genre so thoroughly embedded in time and temporality, and for this collection even more so, given how its title indicates its particular relationship to time – becomes an especially prominent absence.⁹ As a result, the book’s structure and logic – why one text follows another and how its position in the collection was determined, for example – offers itself for some exploration. Beginning with the technical detail of the *crônicas*’ (somewhat ambiguous) temporal locations, I will then move on to consider some of the other editorial aspects of the book’s construction, introducing some close textual analysis of specific *crônicas* in the process. Throughout the chapter, the creative role of Marcela Torres in her particular arrangement of the texts will form one of the driving lines of my discussion.

Dating the *crônicas*

Despite the book’s lacking paratextual information, it has been possible to temporally locate a significant number of its *crônicas*, either by their dated appearance in the archives and resources consulted in the course of this research, or from details in the texts of the *crônicas* themselves. Of *À Flor do Tempo*’s 51 *crônicas*, 22 (that is, a little under half) appeared in either the Losa family archive, in one of the four publication-specific archives I consulted in the course of this research, or, indeed, in the list of Losa’s press publications included in the book *Ilse Losa, 1913-2006* (Rêgo, 2016), the details of their original provenances thus established in the process.¹⁰

Using the information contained within each text, a further five *crônicas* can be provisionally dated to a relatively narrow window. In ‘Amsterdão’, a *crônica* describing Losa’s visit to the Anne Frank House in the Dutch capital, the *cronista* informs her readers of the plans for the house’s development into a museum by the Anne Frank Foundation. Knowing that this organisation was established in 1957, and that the house-museum opened to the public in 1960 following the restoration referred to as still only a plan in Losa’s *crônica*, we can therefore

⁹ It is worth noting that the collection’s title is not taken from any individual *crônica* within it, thus seemingly representing another element born of the editor and publisher’s own inspiration and, indeed, interpretation of the Losa texts gathered together here.

¹⁰ See Appendix A, whose table shows the temporal details available for each *crônica* in *À Flor do Tempo*. Beyond the archives and the book I mention in the main text here, a letter included in *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços* (Marques K., 2018, p. 117) revealed the publication details of a further *À Flor do Tempo* text – ‘Ai, Kafka!’, as previously mentioned in Chapter 1.4.

cautiously date the text as probably having been published within that three-year window between 1957 and 1960 (Anne Frank House, n.d.). ‘Gretchen Wohlwill: Retrato’ similarly provides an indication of its original temporal location, with Losa describing fellow Jewish-German refugee Gretchen Wohlwill (who died in 1962) in the present tense while also mentioning Wohlwill’s return from Lisbon to Hamburg, which occurred in 1952 (Oliveira, 2018). With this information we can therefore assume the *crónica* was published between 1952 and 1962.

In the cases of ‘O Porto e os estranhos’ and “‘Um pouco de azul...’”, we simply know that both texts must have been written in the 1990s (anytime up to *À Flor do Tempo*’s 1997 publication). In the former, Losa refers to a *crónica* by Arnaldo Saraiva from 06.01.1992, thus confirming her text’s original publication after that; in the latter, the “correio azul” system at the heart of the text helps to determine that it must have been written after 1991, which is when the system was introduced in Portugal.

The fifth *crónica* which I suggest can be relatively precisely dated on account of in-text information does however, highlight the potential fallibility of this provisional, approximate method. In ‘A quinta e os livros’, Losa refers to having first read Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen’s *A Floresta* “há quase quatro décadas” (AFDT, p. 127), which, given the book’s first publication in 1968, would date Losa’s *crónica* to sometime in the first decade of the twenty-first century. Bearing in mind that *À Flor do Tempo* was published in 1997, this timing would in fact be impossible, thus highlighting the potential for inaccuracies in this method of dating, however provisional.

A further ten *crónicas* from *À Flor do Tempo* indicate a yet broader, vaguer – often open-ended timeframe. This is the case with, for example, ‘Ao Eugénio’, which refers to lines from a poem included in *Ostinato Rigore*, the 1964 collection by Eugénio de Andrade, thus marking the *crónica* as written after that date. Similarly, with ‘Pela mesma porta’, we know only that it must have been originally published before 1984 on account of its appearance in *Estas Searas*

in that year.¹¹ With many of the other texts in this category a date can only be very cautiously and provisionally based on suppositions relating to the context described by Losa.¹² The open and casual reference to the gynaecologist's office as the setting of 'Solidariedade', for example, suggests the text was published after the 1974 revolution, when subjects such as female sexuality and family planning, which had previously been silenced by the Estado Novo regime, were finally allowed to be discussed more openly in the media.¹³

Finally, for 14 of the 51 *crônicas* in the collection (just over a quarter, therefore), there is no significant indication of their temporality (see Appendix A). This is either owing to a more lyrical style marking a number of the *crônicas*, in which the text is focused on an internal landscape less susceptible to external temporal markers, or else owing to that fact that certain monuments and other cultural objects mentioned might be considered somewhat "timeless" – or at least not particular to any period in which Losa was writing. Finally, there are also a number of texts in which Losa bases herself entirely in memory, with no explicit link to the present and the temporal frame from which she writes, therefore.

With this information concerning the "datability" of the *crônicas* in *À Flor do Tempo* we thus begin to get a sense of how representative of Losa's *crônica*-writing career the collection is, as the following numbers serve to illustrate¹⁴:

¹¹ Also published previously in *Estas Searas* were 'Ai, Kafka!' (under the title 'Uma simples reportagem e nada mais') and 'Ele há dias! (E este foi um deles)'.

¹² 'Sobre os contos de Anne Frank' (post-1961 – when *Anne Frank: Contos* was published); 'Um herói dos nossos dias' (post-1964 – when the Gastarbeiter agreement was made between the German and Portuguese governments); 'A estudante de psicologia' (1975-1992 – the period of *O Jornal*'s operation); 'Lembrando Camilo e outros' (1980s onwards – when personal computers became relatively commonplace in Portugal); 'Ai, a árvore de Natal!' (post-1966 – when a century had passed since the 1865 newspaper publication of 'A festa do Natal' in *Crônicas Portuenses* [Ortigão, 1944, p. 287]).

In the cases of 'Não tão fácil como parece' and 'O cara alegre', each contains significant references which help to date the text: in the case of the former, mention of a *crônica* by João Gaspar Simões in *Primeiro de Janeiro*, and in the case of the latter, mention of the shutting down of Café Primus in Porto. Not having been able to find the Simões text, nor discover when the Café Primus shut down, I have not, however, managed to determine the year after which each text would necessarily have been produced.

¹³ For more on this see: Freire, 2020.

¹⁴ As indicated above, these numbers are provisional and incomplete, reflecting a mixture of confirmed publication dates from archive material together with calculations – of various levels of specificity – based on in-

1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
0	2	5	3	4	11

Despite being provisional and incomplete, these figures indicate that the collection presents not only *crônicas* from the phase immediately preceding its compilation (though the 1990s would appear disproportionately represented here), but rather something of almost the full range of Ilse Losa's *crônica*-writing career. The distribution of the dates of each *crônica* (best illustrated by the table in Appendix A) also reveal that the organisational logic of *À Flor do Tempo* is not a strictly chronological one, with texts from different periods appearing interspersed throughout. Indeed, while a chronological order is perhaps the most obvious and traditional structure for a *crônica* collection, the temporal and contextual transitions characteristic of Ilse Losa's writing (with its frequent shifts between 1930s Germany and present-day Porto, for example), as well as the missing paratextual information needed for a chronological organisation, means that a thematic approach would seem an equally logical or "legitimate" alternative here.¹⁵

Thematic blocks

A detailed analysis of the *crônicas* would suggest that the collection is representative of Losa's wider literary production not only in terms of its temporal range but also from a thematic perspective, with many of the subjects present in *À Flor do Tempo* also consistently featuring in the broader body of the author's collated and uncollated *crônicas*, as well as across the other

text information, wherever this was available. Their purpose is only to provide a very basic indication of something of the temporal distribution of the *crônicas* in the collection.

¹⁵ It is not clear why this contextual information was not included in *À Flor do Tempo* – whether as a result of editorial oversight or whether by choice, perhaps owing to the time-consuming nature of the task of tracing the initial publication details of texts which may have been archived without full records of their original newspaper publication. Comments by Ana Losa, regarding her grandmother's disorganisation, seemingly point to the latter: "o arquivo da minha avó tem uma parte que enquanto o meu avô era vivo, super ordenada, e depois a parte caótica após a morte... após o meu avô, porque realmente a minha avó era completamente caótica. Pelo que o germânico era o meu avô... o meu avô português... Era completamente germânico... Ela não. Era uma desorganização total. Pronto, mas ia guardando. Ela guardava; estavam assim numas gavetas, e a gente depois tentava... depois ela fazia muito isso com os netos, que era: pagava-nos para nós arrumarmos... os arquivos, então a gente ia para lá, e todos nós, trabalhámos nisto, pontualmente. Portanto já apanhámos algum hábito".

genres in which she wrote. Indeed, a number of key thematic “blocks” can be identified within the collection, the editors seemingly offering something of a tour through some of the subjects most dear to Ilse Losa, and building a skeletal structure, so to speak, for the collection as a whole.

The collection thus begins with Losa’s attention to the refugee community in Porto in the 1930s, and particularly her own process of arrival and cultural acclimatisation, with the first seven *crónicas* in the collection detailing aspects of this context.¹⁶ This is followed by a series of admiring portraits of, and tributes to, other women exiled by the same Nazi persecution from which Losa herself fled, namely: Anna Seghers, Anne Frank and Gretchen Wohlwill¹⁷ (*crónicas* 8-11).

Continuing the thread concerning female solidarity and broader social justice, next there comes a block of texts (12-16) dedicated to impoverished or working-class women (*mulheres-a-dias* making a prominent appearance here, as in *Ida e Volta* and *Estas Searas*), as well as a pair of texts (19-20) portraying beggar children. Elsewhere in the collection there are also, on the one hand, portraits of working class and immigrant men (texts 27 and 34 respectively), and, on the other, a further text (18) rooted in a very prominently female arena (the gynaecologist’s waiting room) and particularly in the ethics of female solidarity, as indicated by its title –

¹⁶ As part of illustrating the sequencing of the texts, in the paragraphs that follow, I will primarily refer to the *crónicas* by number. See Appendix A for a full numbered index of the collection’s texts.

¹⁷ “[P]seudonym of Netty Reiling Radványi (1900-1983). Novelist Seghers was born to a Jewish family in Mainz. She joined the German Communist Party in 1928. When the Nazis came to power, she was the most influential anti-fascist female author in Germany. The Nazis burned her breakthrough novel *The Uprising of the Fishermen of Santa Barbara*, published in 1928, in which Seghers proclaimed that the oppressed must unite against social injustice. After a brief arrest by the Nazis, she fled to France with her husband and children” (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., *Anna Seghers*).

“Anne Frank [1929-1945] was a German girl and Jewish victim of the Holocaust who is famous for keeping a diary of her experiences. Anne and her family went into hiding for two years to avoid Nazi persecution. Her documentation of this time is now published in *The Diary of a Young Girl*” (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, n.d., *Anne Frank*).

“Wohlwill, Gretchen. (1878-1962) German painter of Jewish origin Gretchen Wohlwill, a founding member of the Hamburg Secession, was part of the wave of refugees arriving in Portugal during World War II, where she stayed until 1952” (Oliveira, 2018).

‘Solidariedade’ – no longer examined across class lines but rather within a decidedly bourgeois circle.¹⁸

Following on from this block predominantly concerned with women and children we find a series of texts (22-25) dedicated to formative, generally somehow traumatic, although ostensibly banal childhood experiences – narratives often involving some form of betrayal, together with a sense of foreboding or a developing consciousness as regards the future awaiting the child-protagonist presented as Losa’s former self. While quite different in tone, this small block is immediately preceded by the notably intimate micro-transformation which occurs in ‘Intermezzo’ (text 21) – the text thus also arguably belonging to the same mini-series. ‘Intermezzo’ will be discussed in more detail towards the end of this chapter on account of its particular significance.

At this stage in the collection – almost halfway through – it seems the thematic concentration I have described so far dissipates, with subsequent “blocks” coming only towards the final part of the book. In *crônicas* 39-40, for example, following a series of more disparate, apparently disconnected texts, we see the *crônica* form’s association with everyday, quotidian activities and contexts brought into focus in two consecutive narratives focused on the post system and news items, respectively. Just as earlier in the collection there was a cluster of homages to exiled Northern European female writers and artists, in *crônicas* 45-47 we have a more or less steady run of texts presenting a series of portraits of professional and personal admiration, now of Portuguese literary figures, namely: Irene Lisboa, Eugénio de Andrade, Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen and Ruben A. This is immediately followed by (and in the case of the final two figures, interspersed with) contrastingly irreverent or somehow provocative revisitations of canonical male writers generally considered bastions of Portuguese literary culture: Eça de Queirós, Camilo Castelo Branco and Ramalho Ortigão (47, 48, 50). Finally, in a perhaps

¹⁸ Whilst Ilse Losa frequently brings to attention ethical questions in which she displays an attitude of empathy for those generally scorned and mistreated by society, as has already been briefly mentioned she is also consistently cautious to avoid showing herself in a totally golden light, acknowledging her own part in the maintenance of a problematic *status quo*. Perhaps this is nowhere better illustrated than in ‘Solidariedade’, where the final line serves to perfectly underline the gap between Losa’s thoughts of solidarity and her actions lacking that same virtue preached throughout the text: “Não intervim. Se o tivesse feito, decerto me incluíriam no rol das desavergonhadas, das incríveis, das que perderam o juízo...” (AFDT, p. 54).

surprising shift, the last two *crônicas* (50-51) take as their unmistakable focus and protagonist the Christmas tree, the significance of which I will shortly return to.

Though not seemingly organised into thematic blocks, but rather scattered throughout the collection, other subjects and approaches which appear and reappear throughout *À Flor do Tempo* (and Losa's wider *oeuvre*) include: the invasion of the present by memories of the past – with two or more time-scapes, together with their accompanying *landscapes*, merging (in *crônicas* 17, 26, 28); an anthropological-style assessment of a particular cultural phenomenon, be it German or Portuguese, or indeed global (27, 32, 34); a critical exploration of certain aspects of modern living and the impact of this on both the natural world and historic cultural traditions (37, 43, 47); a number of anachronic imaginings by which modern technology and innovation are juxtaposed with historical figures from the past, for example (47, 50); celebrations of various aspects of Porto (26, 35, 49), as well as an increasing loss of inhibition in making criticisms of the city (and by extension of wider Portuguese culture) as the collection progresses (3, 4, 5, 15, 20, 36, 38, 39) – Losa's exasperation at institutional systems on both a local and a national (and implicitly, a global) level serving as an example of this parallel vision of scales.

Shaping the collection

Beyond the broader thematic strands and their organization across the course of the collection, there are a number of instances of smaller scale connections from one text to another, which also contribute to a sense of shape – a thread seemingly running throughout – to connect one text to another, despite their often distant original publications. As such, we find two consecutive *crônicas* ('O diabo do chapéu' and 'Chapéus e chapéus') linked by their shared central object – the hat – despite each dealing with quite distinct situations: the first is a personal episode from within Losa's home, the second a more distanced assessment of a neighbourhood phenomenon. Likewise, two texts connected by their focus on Anne Frank are placed one after the other, as are the pair of *crônicas* dedicated to Irene Lisboa. Finally, as mentioned above, the Christmas tree provides a thread of continuity between the penultimate and final *crônicas* in the collection, here the editors seemingly having reproduced the original sequence of texts published, in their original contexts, one after the other. As such, 'E depois... E depois...' begins thus: "Volto mais uma vez à 'personagem' da minha crónica anterior: a árvore de Natal" (AFDT, p. 131). Whether 'Ai, a árvore de Natal!' was in fact the *crônica* which originally

preceded the final text, or whether it was rather another *crónica* dedicated to this “character” apparently so dear to Losa, is somewhat irrelevant here – by placing the two texts together, the editors effectively suture them together, editing out any actual temporal and contextual distance.

The repeated use of refrains within individual *crônicas* in the collection also arguably contributes to an overall sense of cohesion by introducing a certain lyricism and orality running through a number of the texts and through the wider body of texts as a whole. In ‘Solidariedade’, for example, various different women chime in to criticise another’s choice to leave her husband, Losa using repetition to emphasise the harsh, gossipy atmosphere in which the solidarity of the *crónica*’s title is highlighted by precisely its conspicuous absence. “‘Com cinquenta anos feitos, marido, filhos casados e netos, é verdade, netos [...] esteve-se marimbando para ele, para os filhos e nem já falo dos netos [...] com os filhos arrumados, com um encanto de netos’” (AFDT, p. 53), says one of the women, whose comments are met with agreement by the general company and later echoed by another of the women: “‘Mas com os filhos casados, e com netos ...’” (AFDT, p. 54). In ‘Infância’, the refrain comes from the voice of the single, nameless child whose desperate shout to his cows – “‘Oouu! Oouu! Esperem! Esperem! Esperem!’” – appears three times (in very slightly altered form) throughout this seventeen-line *crónica* (the shortest in the collection). Its final sentence, indeed, implies the call’s eerie continuation: “Choro e gritos foram-se perdendo na distância, mas a calma tornou-se-nos agora sinistra” (AFDT, p. 69).

In ‘Dantes... ai! Dantes’ the refrain is the text’s titular phrase, which is exaggeratedly repeated throughout the *crónica* in relation to a whole wealth of different historical contexts and figures nostalgically longed for by a series of people encountered by Losa, and whose nostalgia she shows up as consistently rose-tinted and misguided: “‘Dantes, o Kaiser ocupava-se do povo’ [...] ‘dantes, havia respeito e ordem, disso se encarregava o Führer’ [...] ‘Dantes, no tempo de Salazar, havia respeito e ordem; dantes os malvados eram punidos; dantes toda a gente comia bacalhau; dantes...’” (AFDT, pp. 77-78).

Finally, in ‘Ele há dias!... (E este foi um deles)’, we witness Losa’s use of this literary tool to reproduce the haunting effect of a chilling news story which left a deep impression on her. “Por

vezes acontecem coisas que não nos saem da cabeça [...] soube que [...] morreram carbonizadas duas crianças no sótão de uma velha casa apodrecida”, Losa states by way of introduction to the text (AFDT, p. 107). Then, throughout the paragraphs which follow, amidst news of many other events to have taken place that day, the imperfect repetition “os dois corpos carbonizados” (*ibid.*), “e os corpos das crianças que morreram carbonizadas” (*ibid.*), “e os corpos carbonizados” (AFDT, p. 108), haunts the text, reproducing the psychological effect referred to in its opening.¹⁹

Whilst it may seem that these micro repetitions within individual *crônicas* offer little by way of unification or continuity across the course of the collection, I am keen to suggest the opposite – that they do in fact contribute, not only in their introduction and reinforcing of a sense of orality and lyricism throughout, but also in their feeding into a broader refrain underlying the collection as a whole and which concerns memory and its defiance of any attempt – be it on a personal or a societal scale – to suppress and silence its idiosyncratic workings. As such, the last two examples mentioned above both provide calls (reinforced via their refrains) to challenge dominant historical narratives which threaten the integrity of not only those who suffered under the tyrannical regimes nostalgically longed for in ‘Dantes... ai! Dantes’, but also the kind of absolutely contemporary social injustice and inequality depicted in ‘Ele há dias... (e este foi um deles)’.

Further contributing to a sense of continuity in the collection and a certain integration of texts coming from a range of sources – an acknowledgement of the heterogeneity of their origins and inspirations, therefore – is the way in which Losa frequently refers to other *crônicas* or newspaper texts forming the basis of the narrative she then goes on to present. In the cases of ‘O Porto e os estranhos’, ‘Não tão fácil como parece’ and ‘Sim e não’, for example, Ilse Losa begins by introducing her texts as responses to *crônicas* by João Gaspar Simões, Arnaldo Saraiva and Carlos Tê, respectively (and in varied tones of agreement or disagreement).²⁰

¹⁹ With its central reference to charred corpses there is seemingly an indirect allusion to the Holocaust and its traumatic etching in Losa’s mind here. Such insertion of subtle echoes of this trauma will be discussed in greater depth in relation to the *cronista*’s particular literary handling of trees in the collection’s final two texts.

²⁰ João Gaspar Simões (1903-1987): “Novelista, crítico, ensaísta e historiador da literatura, fundou em 1927, com José Régio e Branquinho da Fonseca, a revista literária *Presença*. Assinou durante decénios uma rubrica semanal de crítica literária, primeiro no *Diário de Lisboa*, como os logo célebres ‘Os livros da semana’, de 1936 a 1949,

Elsewhere, in ‘Ambos do Porto’, she refers to an interview with film-maker Manoel de Oliveira in a magazine supplement of the *Público* newspaper, which similarly serves as a sort of springboard for her own narrative and reflection. In the collection’s penultimate text, ‘Ai, a árvore de Natal!’, Losa’s opening reference is again to a *crónica*, but this time to an historical one, from Ramalho Ortigão’s nineteenth-century series, *Crónicas Portuenses*, on which she presents a contemporary and highly critical reflection. In the final text, as already detailed above, Losa’s mention of another *crónica* is here in fact self-referential, as she acknowledges her own, previous publication on the Christmas tree.

With all these examples, we thus see how Ilse Losa consistently used the *crónica* form’s flexible, dialogical nature to weave into her narratives the words, texts and subtexts of others, enriching and integrating her own *crónica*-writing, and inserting herself in the *cronista* community as we have elsewhere seen her successfully do in a more general sense (see Chapter 1.4). Whilst not referring to another *crónica*, but undoubtedly and insistently to the newspaper context in which this form habitually appears, ‘Ele há dias... (E este foi um deles)’ is a particularly interesting example worth exploring further. Here, as already briefly mentioned, Losa inserts the troubling news of two children killed in a house-fire amongst other news items from the same day – pieces which cover a broad range of topics, including: a visit by England’s Princess Anne to Portugal (mentioning what she wore, her visit to port caves, and other such details); celebrations of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the German constitution, together with news of the election of a new president in the country; the trial of those responsible for blowing up a statue of a dictator (from where and when, it is not clear); protests

em seguida no *Mundo Literário*, no *Diário Popular*, no *Sol*, e, por fim, de 1954 até à sua morte, no *Diário de Notícias*. No jornal *A Bola*, publicou, em inícios dos anos 50, a série de crónicas *Cartas a Um Jovem Desportista Que Se Interessa pela Cultura*, em volume em 2000” (Venâncio, 2004, p. 125).

Arnaldo Saraiva (b. 1939): “Poeta, ensaísta, crítico, actor de cinema, professor universitário [...] Fundou as revistas *Persona* em 1977, *Terceira Margem* em 1998 e *Cadernos de Serrúbia* em 2000 [...] [f]undou ainda os jornais *Árvore* e *O Boavista*. Fez crítica literária no *Expresso* e crónica no *Diário de Notícias*. Colaborou em periódicos como *O Tempo e o Modo*, *A Capital*, *JL* e nos suplementos literários do *Diário de Lisboa* e do *Diário Popular*. Reeditou crónicas em *Um nome para o Seu Filho e para a Sua Filha*, 1986, *Bacoco É Bacoco, Seus Bacocos*, 1995, e *O Sotaque do Porto*, 1996” (Venâncio, 2004, p. 276).

Carlos Tê (Carlos Alberto Gomes Monteiro, b. 1955): “Autor de letras e compositor. É um dos mas criativos e prolíficos autores de letras no domínio do *pop-rock*. O seu contributo foi fundamental para a definição do movimento chamado *rock* português e para a produção de canções em língua portuguesa de grande popularidade. [...] Fora do âmbito musical, escreveu para o caderno *Local* do diário *Público* (1991-1994) e para o semanário *Expresso*. Colaborou nas revistas de poesia *Avatar*, *Quebra-Noz* e *Pé-de-Cabra* (Porto, 1978-1981), tendo igualmente publicado um romance (*O vôo do melro*)” (Castelo-Branco, 2010, pp. 1247-8).

against nuclear arms; the exchange of Chinese and Vietnamese prisoners of war; mention of the Brazilian soap-opera watched by most of the Portuguese population on that same day as all this was reported in the news.

Ilse Losa thus not only transforms into words the physical context in which a *crônica* habitually appears – something of a collage whereby the day’s news is brought together in all its great variety, accidental alignment and contrasting juxtaposition. Rather, she also illustrates, in her insistent return to the image which haunts her, what it is that she herself, in her capacity as a *cronista*, seemingly strives to do: consistently giving attention to and insisting on the parallel consideration of “secondary”, supposedly minor events and identities, as opposed to – but also in dialogue with – these higher-profile news items and the relatively privileged figures to whom they refer: “Sim, tantas coisas principais aconteceram nesse dia, e mesmo assim não me saíram da cabeça outras, secundárias” (AFDT, p. 108). Indeed, time and again Losa uses the *crônica* form to shine a light on this “other” side of history, implicitly setting *histories* amongst and against History, an institution arguably served and supported by the newspaper format here used by Losa for a different purpose: to call attention and pay homage to two anonymous victims of poverty rather than the usual big names of politics and celebrity.²¹

Reflecting on the *crônica* form

Other narratives in which Losa would similarly seem to reflect on something of the *crônica*’s particular character and purpose, or at least her relationship to, and intentions for the form, come towards the end of the collection and include the two texts dedicated to fellow *cronista*, literary heroine and personal friend, Irene Lisboa. In ‘Irene Lisboa’ and ‘Relendo *Solidão*’, Losa pays homage to Lisboa’s personal and professional qualities, and in the process also

²¹ In the *crônicas* ‘Chapéus e chapéus’ and ‘New York’ this act of throwing light on otherwise overlooked, anonymous figures occupying marginal positions in society, is more or less literal. “O nome de Violeta alguém lho pôs depois de uma noite em que os faróis de um carro, acesos no máximo, puseram impiedosamente em evidência toda aquela figura de mulher envelhecida, acabrunhada e mesmo ridícula nas suas roupas fora de moda [...] Focada no cone de luz, encolheu-se como se encolhem as violetas com a brasa do sol” (AFDT, p. 41); “de repente se ergueu, de um banco não longe do nosso, um vulto em que não tínhamos reparado. Movimentou-se. Em direção a nós, de passo lento, arrastando os pés [...] Só quando entrou no cone de luz de um lampião nos apercebemos de que era uma mulher” (AFDT, p. 49). In both examples, Losa thus brings beggar women out from the shadows, shining a literal light on their sorry situations as well as on the hypocrisy and cruelty of a society which scorns them.

points to features of her writing which I suggest Losa takes as inspiration in her own *crónica*-writing. In the first of the two homages, for example, Losa remarks of Lisboa:

É intérprete da vida. Conhece a vida pela experiência, uma experiência por vezes bem amarga. É dela que extrai a sua ampla visão, e nos fala de um modo simples e natural, como se a própria vida nos falasse [...] A meu ver, Irene Lisboa é hoje o maior estilista da língua portuguesa. (AFDT, p. 117)

And lest this be taken as a general statement, Losa goes on to specify: “As suas crónicas e contos são teimosamente pessoais, nenhuma sugestão, nenhuns conselhos da crítica literária conseguiram desviá-la do caminho traçado” (AFDT, p. 118). Indeed, the citation of Lisboa’s claim that “Muita gente acha: ‘Aquilo também sei fazer, aquilo não é literatura’” (*ibid.*) also arguably serves to confirm the focus of Losa’s attention as being on the *crónica*, specifically, given the form’s famously ambiguous relationship to Literature, as discussed in Chapter 1.1. “Pois que tentem escrever como Irene Lisboa” (*ibid.*), Losa retorts on her friend’s behalf, voicing a challenge which might in fact be read as an instruction to herself, or rather a revelation of something of her inspiration and objective as a *cronista*: to write like Irene Lisboa. Indeed, the concluding remarks of ‘Relendo *Solidão*’ further consolidate the idea that here, Losa’s attention is focused on Lisboa’s qualities as a *crónica*-writer in particular, as well as highlighting what, in those *crónicas*, Losa so admires: “Era na solidão que captava todos esses pequenos nada quase imperceptíveis, aparentemente vulgares e, todavia, essenciais, erguendo-se assim, incansável e imperturbável, a cronista-mor da cidade e das serras” (AFDT, p. 120).

With these repeated comments highlighting the ability of a great *cronista* to capture something of the minutiae of life, and at the same time to offer something of a wider perspective – “a sua ampla visão”, as remarked previously – we seem to be offered a glimpse of what it is that Losa takes as her model for *crónica*-writing: a style simultaneously fiercely personal and yet also turned outwards, towards the details of life generally overlooked or undervalued by the grand narratives of History. It is worth recalling, here, the comments by the judges who chose Losa as the winner of the 1998 APE *Crónica* prize (cited at the beginning of this chapter), their assessment emphasising a duality similarly present in Losa’s *crónica*-writing, and suggesting, therefore, that Losa successfully mastered the delicate balance she so admired in Lisboa.

Further to the Irene Lisboa duo of texts, ‘A quinta e os livros’ and ‘E depois... E depois...’ provide additional insights into Ilse Losa’s concept of, and intentions for, her *crónica*-writing. In the former, we find an interesting resonance of the fact/fiction ambiguity generally associated with the *crónica* form, as well as a reflection on time and the power of texts from either side of that binary to transport a reader into the past: “Ficção de um lado, realidade do outro, mas o mesmo encanto, de um passado que não volta” (AFDT, p. 128). While Losa’s words here refer not in fact to any *crónica* but rather to two separate texts – one fiction (Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen’s *A Floresta*), the other “fact” (Ruben A.’s autobiography, *O Mundo à Minha Procura*), it is interesting to think about how bringing them together in their shared relationship to time echoes something of what Losa herself is doing in the *crónica* – frequently seeking different routes by which to return, together with her readers, to a past otherwise inaccessible.

Finally, ‘E depois... E depois...’, the collection’s closing text, provides a curious, subtle suggestion from Losa as to how to approach her *crónicas*, with the author indicating a certain need to read between the lines of these apparently simple texts depicting everyday situations – to go in search of greater depth and even a timeless panorama just below the surface.²² In this *crónica* – significant as the closing narrative – Losa begins by discussing a woman’s disposal of a Christmas tree following the season’s festivities, with this witnessed neighbourhood scene triggering in her the memory of a Hans Christian Andersen story, whose retelling by Losa contains dark undertones resonant of her own trauma of persecution and flight to a foreign land, the Christmas tree thus becoming a symbol of the author’s own displacement.

It is worth noting, at this point, how in the previous *crónica* (‘Ai! A árvore de Natal’), there is already a parallel subtly drawn between the Christmas tree “protagonist” and Losa’s own experience of uprooting and re-rooting in a new setting and culture. Here, the hybridity inherent to the natural-tree-turned-decorative-object (and cultural import) is presented in such a way as

²² As discussed in Chapter 2.1 a similar proposal was indeed made in one of *Ida e Volta*’s opening *crónicas*, with Losa alerting her readers to the need to read (texts and situations) with a critical eye, not simply taking something at its face value. In the case of *A Flor do Tempo*, the editors’ choice of title for the collection very much alludes to this sense of liminality, as if in recognition of this aspect of Losa’s *crónica*-writing.

to echo something of Losa's complex, multi-faceted identity – uprooted from Germany and re-rooted in Portugal just like the Nordic pine she describes. Indeed, the xenophobic discourses and issues of integration raised in the text resonate throughout its various layers, reminding us of Losa's outsider status as well as her ultimate, successful integration in Portuguese culture: “Passado mais de um século, pouca gente se lembra que a árvore de Natal ‘veio lá de fora’ e foi conquistando, aos poucos, o seu terreno firme” (AFDT, p. 129).²³

Returning to ‘E depois... E depois’ and the question of Losa's suggestion of how to approach her *crônicas*, brief mention of some of the text's key passages serves to preface my point. Firstly, we notice how, in describing the tree she witnessed being routinely disposed of in Porto as “deitado na vala comum” (AFDT, p. 131), Losa seemingly evokes the iconic images of bodies piled up in concentration camps following their liberation, linking this to her memory of Andersen's similarly personified tree and the carefree life of which it was violently robbed: “Vivia e crescia, contente da vida, junto dos seus companheiros da floresta. Mas um dia o frio aço de um machado penetrou-o, sem piedade, no frágil tronco e fê-lo cair por terra” (*ibid.*). In stark contrast with that image of brutality, our focus, in the second half of the same paragraph, is brought to the domesticating treatment undergone by Andersen's “pinheirote” as it passes from the state of natural, rooted figure of the great outdoors to embellished artefact of decoration, charged with culture and tradition:

Pouco tempo depois encontrou-se numa bonita sala, onde mãos carinhosas o embelezaram [...] Crianças e adultos dançavam à sua volta cantando lindas canções. Ele então sentiu-se feliz, orgulhoso no seu papel de evidência, da sua promoção a um invulgar e desejado pinheiro de Natal. (*Ibid.*)

But already in the paragraph which follows this happy image of integration, Losa's retelling of the Andersen story takes another turn: “Mas a sua felicidade foi de pouca dura. Chegou o dia em que as mesmas mãos que o tinham embelezado o desnudaram. Ninguém na sala lhe prestou mais atenção. Foi atirado ao lixo. E ali, desiludido, melancólico, meditou no seu destino”

²³ See: Churcher Clarke, 2016, p. 54 for a more in-depth discussion of Losa's use of the Christmas tree as a symbol of uprootedness.

(*ibid.*). With this reference to the rubbish tip on which the tree ends up, we are returned to the *crónica*'s realist, everyday, observational beginning, at the same time as Losa's anthropomorphisation of the tree sees the emotional intensity allowed to live on beyond her retelling of Andersen's story.

Following this intertwining of narratives and realities, in the closing lines Losa then provides what I believe is the key comment here, and indeed a key of sorts to the whole collection:

É evidente que um autor do calibre de Hans Christian Andersen não se podia limitar a transmitir-nos os clamores de um pobre pinheiro, mas que também, ou talvez essencialmente, nos quis fazer lembrar a fugacidade dos acontecimentos, o efémero dos momentos belos, das utopias e da própria vida.

Mas tais considerações só nos vêm à mente depois da festa ter acabado. (AFDT, p. 132)

Emphasising the idea that, at the hands of a skilled author, simply presented and seemingly two-dimensional subjects in fact hide greater depths – a single pine tree thus hiding behind it weighty philosophical issues concerning life, time and utopias, for example – Losa thus points to the possibility of the scenes she presents in each *crónica* in fact transmitting much more than they say explicitly, and representing, therefore, some much bigger, more profound and meaningful picture than first meets the eye. Indeed, the final line's indication that such realisations only coming to mind "depois da festa ter acabado" encourages some retrospective reflection by her readers, Losa (amplified by her editors) highlighting the idea that perhaps only after reading a text – or a collection of texts, as is the case here – will one's vision and understanding reach maturity, and a work's full meaning reveal itself.

With this discussion of the final *crónica* in *À Flor do Tempo*, it is perhaps worth commenting on another aspect of the overall shape of the collection (and thus, indirectly, on the creative role of the editors, once more): how across the course of the 51 *crónicas*, we move from a text entitled 'Os primeiros passos', in which Losa's arrival in Portugal as a refugee in 1934 is

remembered, to ‘E depois... E depois...’, with its reflection on the benefits of a retrospective consideration, the titles of each text further emphasising their positions within the collection. Beyond these opening and closing markers, a further contribution to a sense of an at least broad, vague chronological progression across the course of the collection, is Losa’s increasing disinhibition in her criticism of Portuguese institutions and cultural mores. With one of the first texts in the collection – ‘O Porto e os estranhos’ (*crónica* 3) – dedicated to the matter of precisely her *inability*, as an “outsider”, to make any criticism of her host city, and by extension of Portuguese culture more widely, as we move through *À Flor do Tempo*’s *crónicas*, we see how this inhibition is lost, Losa coming to make thoroughly informed and familiar critical assessments and analyses of the culture which came to be at least partly hers.

So while in ‘Natal com “todos”’ (*crónica* 4), the author begins by justifying her initial dislike of bacalhau (an implication of her still self-conscious, tentative criticism), and in ‘Não tão fácil como parece’ (*crónica* 5), she concludes her assessment of Portuguese forms of address with the almost apologetic “Espero, portanto, não ser tomada por ‘intrusa atrevida”’ (AFDT, p. 19), as the collection goes on we notice her increasingly open critiques of various aspects of life around her. In ‘A prenda de Natal’ (*crónica* 15), for example, Losa describes in unflattering terms the ghetto-like Porto “ilhas” inhabited by the domestic servants serving the city’s middle classes; in ‘Um entre muitos’ (*crónica* 20), she points out the rife child poverty in Porto during the 1930s; and by ‘Uns e outros’, ‘Ai Kafka!’ and “‘Um pouco de azul...”’ (*crónicas* 36, 38 and 39, respectively), the *cronista* would seem not in the least bit self-conscious as she highlights a series of apparently chronic problems plaguing Portuguese, and specifically Portuguese, culture. Indeed, having begun *À Flor do Tempo* by stating as her objective to read Eça de Queiros’ *A Cidade e As Serras* (“a leitura daquele romance tornou-se-me uma meta a atingir, uma porta de entrada na literatura portuguesa” [AFDT, p. 9]), by the end of the collection Losa presents some sharp, uninhibited criticism of that same literary great in ‘Uma frase infeliz do Eça’, which finishes with the plainly disapproving statements: “Eça não tinha em boa conta a sua gente. E isso foi pena” (AFDT, p. 126). With this then, it seems Ilse Losa’s successful entry, into Portuguese language, literature and culture is confirmed, not least by her willingness to criticise its canonical representatives.

It is worth noting that this “progression” comes about via the internal logic of the collection rather than the chronological order in which the texts were actually originally published (as illustrated by the table in Appendix A). As such, the narrative of increasing disinhibition which I describe here is retrospectively imposed on texts which appeared in the press in a different order from that which the editors provide here, an additional, over-arching narrative thus emerging in the process. Indeed, I would suggest that the choice to make the Christmas tree the focus of the final two texts in the collection serves to reinforce this idea of successful integration, the closing *crónicas* effectively depicting the culmination of a rooting process progressively undergone by Losa (and narrated by her editors) throughout the previous 49 *crónicas*.

Portals

Also punctuating the collection and warranting some attention as one of the most characteristic features of Ilse Losa’s *crónica*-writing in general, is her use of “portals” of many different types – objects and experiences by which a temporal and geographical shift is enacted, thus granting Losa, and by extension her readers, access to distant contexts and the memories that inhabit them, simultaneously weaving these into the fabric of her present circumstances. These portals take the form of, amongst other things: books (‘A quinta e os livros’); poetry and its particular relationship to nature (‘Numa manhã de fevereiro’; ‘Ao Eugénio’); music (‘Intermezzo musical numa cidadezinha alemã’); statues, architecture or a particular view (‘O que lá vai, lá vai’; ‘Na praça de Liberdade’; ‘Pela mesma porta’); a specific sensorial experience (‘Intermezzo’; ‘O cara alegre’); an emotional reaction (‘Abalos’). In accordance with the significance that I consider these transitions to have in characterising Ilse Losa’s *crónica*-writing style, here I will examine some of the most powerful examples, exploring how this consistent blurring of boundaries contributes to the developing narrative around Losa’s rootedness in Portuguese culture and society, as well as a broader demonstration of the malleability of time when wrought by personal memory.

Beginning with an architectural portal, in ‘Na Praça da Liberdade’, Losa describes how, as she waits for the number 3 tram to Campo Alegre, in Porto, sometime in the 1960s:

o meu olhar desviou-se para a Avenida dos Aliados, com os seus edifícios de pretensa monumentalidade, rematando na Câmara Municipal [...] Foi precisamente ela, a Câmara, que de súbito me fez evocar uma rua da minha infância, cujo remate era também a Câmara Municipal [...] A rua chamava-se Rua das Azenhas [...] Era a minha rua. Instalou-se em mim e, de vez em quando, bate-me à porta da memória. (AFDT, p. 71)

As she overlays the images of two locations which are decades and thousands of kilometres apart, linked, at that moment, by the image of their town halls, Ilse Losa grants her Porto-based readers access to the German village of her childhood, of which most will have no first-hand familiarity but whose latent connection is activated and opened up for all by a consciousness imbued with its memory. Indeed, Losa's reference to the street as "Rua das Azenhas" is of course a domestication of what would have been the original German name, and thus an example of how she subtly weaves elements of those distant German and Portuguese realities together.

As the *crónica* goes on, Losa opens out the map yet further, as she inserts a third geography and mental landscape – that of Paris as experienced by Estado Novo exiles. Or rather, it is the Porto which these exiles *remember* that Losa evokes, providing an alternative, distanced perspective on a cityscape which is in fact entirely familiar and proximate to her local readers:

Duas dezenas de anos depois encontrei-me em Paris com dois amigos exilados do Portugal de Salazar [...] 'Quem me dera poder descer, só uma vez, a Rua de Sá da Bandeira, no meu vagar, olhando montras, entrar no café da Brasileira, abraçar os amigos. Ai! que saudades!'. (AFDT, p. 72)

What we have here then is: a Paris-based memory of Porto, written (by Losa) and read (by her readers) in Porto, alongside a Porto-based memory of a small German village – an almost kaleidoscopic exploration of memories and feelings detached from fixed geographies and perspectives.

Indeed, in the closing comments of this *crónica*, Losa underlines precisely the idea that, though these landscapes and political, historical settings are separated in time and space, the emotionally active, memory-filled humans that occupy them are capable of closing the gap, bringing the various disparate points together: “Pois é”, she says, “*Saudade, Heimweh, Homesickness, Toská...* Soam diferentes, mas o conteúdo é o mesmo. E não há déspota, nem que seja *Duce, Führer*, ou *Pai-dos-povos*, que tenha alguma coisa a ver com isso” (*ibid.*).²⁴

By narrating her own navigation of multiple mental landscapes, Losa invites her readers to roam with her, to watch and learn as she reaches across the boundaries that separate her, in this case (as in many instances), from her former self. In comparing her own experience of this landscape-based nostalgia, to that of Portuguese exiles in Paris, Losa also engages with a model of exile more readily accessible to her Portuguese readers than that of her own flight from the Nazis as a German Jew, inviting them to experience other positions and perspectives on their ever-familiar, ever-present city.

If in that *crónica* Losa crosses landscapes and time-periods via the image and visual memory of the town hall building, in others it is via less solid, physical portals that she travels. In ‘Numa manhã de fevereiro’, for example, it is via two lines by the German poet, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe:

Os versos, as canções e os provérbios que nos foram legados na infância são, para além da paisagem, os laços mais fortes que nos vinculam à nossa terra de origem. Eles vêm ter connosco a cada passo, a propósito disto ou aquilo, como vindos à superfície do mais íntimo fundo do nosso ser. Foi o que me aconteceu há pouco, numa soalheira manhã de Fevereiro, em que, de súbito, emergiu em mim o verso de Goethe ‘Não páras

²⁴ Here, Ilse Losa echoes others – including the German-born, Porto-based philologist Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcelos and anthropologist António Sérgio – in questioning the supposed “untranslatability” of *saudade*, a notion thoroughly explored in João Leal’s ‘The making of Saudade: National identity and ethnic psychology in Portugal’ (2000). Losa thus challenges the nationalist rhetoric promoted by the Estado Novo regime which, as detailed by Leal in his history of the concept, adopted *saudade* as an inherently Portuguese concept to support its essentialist ideology. It is worth noting, however, that this *crónica* dates from 1990 and does not, therefore, represent a direct challenge of the Estado Novo but rather of aspects of its ideology and imaginary which outlived (and in the case of *saudade* also in fact predated) it.

de correr mundo? Vê como a beleza está tão perto’, do poema Recordação’. (AFDT, p. 75)²⁵

Losa goes on to describe the Northern German countryside about which these lines would have been written by the eighteenth-century poet, with this idyllic scene summoning up the memory of Losa’s uncle and his deep attachment to his home’s natural setting (in early twentieth-century Germany), as well as his cruel uprooting from that scene when he was deported to a Nazi concentration camp. “De tudo isso me lembrei nessa manhã de Fevereiro ao caminhar pelas relvas do meu bairro” (*ibid.*), she says (of her neighbourhood in Porto).

Seeing the trees burst into bloom in her present, Portuguese surroundings, Losa thus remembers German verse committed to memory as a child, the words and images of the poem transporting her to the German landscape of both the era in which they were written (by Goethe) and also that in which they were heard (by her, as a child), before, finally, she is returned to her immediate, Portuguese environment by the noise of the life around her, which is itself now coloured by the memory it interrupted: “Na rua os automóveis e as ruidosas motas ‘não paravam de correr mundo’” (AFDT, p. 76). With this intertextual insertion of Goethe’s words amongst Losa’s own Portuguese narration, the various distant realities – modern-day Porto and both eighteenth-century and 1920s and ‘30s Germany – are interwoven, bound together by the author’s own dual perspective and the words she chooses to express this.

As Américo Oliveira Santos says in his the postface to *À Flor do Tempo*, “É [...] à Literatura que Ilse constantemente regressa nestas crónicas” (AFDT, p. 136) – with a quick scan of the index revealing titles such as: ‘Lembrando Anna Seghers’, ‘Ai Kafka!’, ‘Irene Lisboa’, ‘Ao Eugénio’, ‘Lembrando Camilo e outros’, ‘Uma frase infeliz do Eça’. Indeed, as this list indicates, Ilse Losa spreads her attention relatively evenly between German-language and Portuguese figures (as well as between men and women, classic and contemporary writers). However, rather than simply evoking the landscapes and social, linguistic panoramas we might

²⁵ Paul Carus, in *Goethe, with special consideration of his philosophy*, provides an English translation of the widely-known, four-line German poem from 1827 (‘Erinnerung’): “Wouldst thou ever onward roam? | Lo, the good lies very near. | Learn happiness to seize at home, | For happiness is always here.” (Carus, 1915, p. 335)

expect, as the “natural”, national settings for these figures, Ilse Losa systematically deterritorialises them, surrounding them with elements from different, foreign lands – mixing and merging identities and contexts as she goes.

In ‘Ai Kafka!’, for example, Losa maps her passage through the inefficient and unyielding bureaucratic process of renewing her Portuguese identity card as a foreign-born citizen who came to Portugal as a refugee:

Fui aos Serviços de Identificação [...] o funcionário propôs-me ir à Conservatória do Registo Civil onde casara [...] Lá fui [...] À tarde dirigi-me às Informações. Mas os turnos eram outros. Voltei, portanto, a contar o meu caso, e o funcionário achou que devia dirigir-me ao guiché do Registo Criminal. O funcionário do Registo Criminal tentou canalizar-me para o guiché onde eram atendidos os estrangeiros e os retornados. Expliquei-lhe que eu não era nem uma coisa nem outra e que tinha a nacionalidade portuguesa. Mesmo assim achou que eu devia ir lá. Já se vê que não fui. (AFDT, pp. 100-103)

In this humorous but exasperating account, Losa brings an element of her German-language literary heritage – Kafka – into a situation entirely focused on her new Portuguese citizenship, restating in the process the very real, practical complexity of her identity at the same time as she demonstrates the rich and varied cultural baggage she carries with her.

In terms of the Portuguese authors of the *crónica* titles I mention, these are, together with their words, similarly re-situated by Losa, amongst foreign landscapes and linguistic fields, this time looking and moving over the imaginary Luso-German border from the other side, in the opposite direction.

In ‘Ao Eugénio’, which in fact begins almost identically to ‘Numa manhã de fevereiro’, with its emphasis upon the emotional power of verse learnt in infancy, Losa recalls buying a book of poetry by a then still relatively unknown Eugénio de Andrade, before reproducing his ‘Canção Infantil’: “Era um amieiro | depois uma azenha | E junto um ribeiro. | Tudo tão aberto!

| Que devia fazer? | Meti tudo no bolso | Para os não perder” (AFDT, p. 121). She reflects that while Andrade may have gone on to develop as a poet, “da sua ‘Canção Infantil’, que abriga o meu amieiro, o meu ribeiro e a minha azenha, eu nunca me quis separar” (AFDT, p. 122). Losa thus takes the words of the Portuguese poet (and her great friend), and applies them to the German landscape of her childhood – *her* alder, *her* stream, *her* watermill – inverting the process she performed with Goethe’s words: where there she transposed German verse to a Portuguese context, here it is Portuguese verse that Ilse Losa maps onto a German landscape.

Beyond what I have called this “deterritorialization” of literary figures, it is interesting to note that in both ‘Ai Kafka!’ and ‘Ao Eugénio’ Ilse Losa also enacts, before the eyes of her readers, a re-birth of sorts, highlighting her constantly renewed and restructured identity. Bearing in mind Losa’s commitment to greater gender equality and her frequent engagement with issues concerning female experience, it seems fitting that she should repeatedly draw on imagery of birth (and rebirth) – something generally edited out of view by patriarchal society. Returning to the question of the editors’ creative role and their construction of an overarching narrative in *À Flor do Tempo*, I suggest that this embedding of a birthing process in the *crónica* collection serves to illustrate and reinforce the idea of Losa’s own repeated and ongoing emergence into Portuguese culture, her constant *becoming* of a Portuguese (but also, and always, simultaneously, a displaced Jewish-German) subject.

Rebirth in *À Flor do Tempo*

In ‘Ai Kafka!’ the metaphor is more obvious as, following a farcical series of bureaucratic interactions, and having finally found the requisite two witnesses to (falsely) attest the details of her birth in Germany in 1913, Losa asserts: “Desta feita renasci. Tornei-me portuguesa pelo casamento” (AFDT, p. 100). This re-birth is at once Ilse’s original, German birth, re-created via its confirmation and celebration in Portugal decades after the actual event, and her Portuguese “birth” (by marriage), as permitted by the falsified testimonies. The two births then, separated in time and space, are merged here, neither apparently any “truer” than the other, each to some extent a farce, and yet each of great practical as well as symbolic importance to Losa.

In ‘Ao Eugénio’, the re-birth is of a more lyrical sort. Describing the cultural disorientation experienced upon being uprooted from one’s natural home (and preparing the ground on which the “birth” will take place), Losa writes:

Uma vez chegados a outros mundos, procuramos avidamente coisas familiares parecidas com as que deixámos para trás: uma árvore, um cão, uma música. Mas, pouco a pouco, tentamos aproximar-nos de novo, do até então estranho, para que nos dê apoio na aclimação. (AFDT, p. 120)

Going on to identify the route by which she moved towards her strange new reality in 1940s Portugal, Losa names Eugénio de Andrade’s verse as her guide and support in this: “Certo dia, comprei um livro de poesias com o título Pureza. [...] Fiquei logo presa, na primeira página, à “Canção Infantil” (*ibid.*). The specificity of the moment (“certo dia”) and the immediacy of Losa’s instinctive attachment (“Fiquei logo presa”), together with the poem’s own reference to infancy in its title (“Canção Infantil”), Losa’s description of Andrade’s development (“cresceu, cresceu”, she says), the “birth” of birds at his fingertips (to paraphrase Losa’s own citation of the poet), and, finally, the closing sentence – “São assim as portas que se nos abrem para podermos entrar e conviver numa casa desconhecida” (*ibid.*) – in all this, Losa plays out her own birth into that “unfamiliar home”. One birth, one home, of many, it seems.²⁶

And there is in fact a third re-birth enacted by Losa in the course of the collection – one which precedes and *exceeds*, in intensity, the two examples I have discussed here, and which, as such, stands out as perhaps the most intimate text in the collection overall.

In ‘Intermezzo’, we encounter a portal in the form of bathwater, as a young Losa, *au-pairing* miserably in London in the late 1920s, plucks up the courage to ask her employer if she can take a hot bath of the kind she regularly gives the children she looks after but which is generally forbidden to her. With this request granted (“Well, alright. Exceptionally”, we read in English

²⁶ My masters dissertation provides a more thorough discussion of how Ilse Losa’s “nomadic subjectivity”, perhaps paradoxically, allowed her to carve a place and find a home for herself in Portuguese literature; see, for example, the section “Neither/nor but not none” (Churcher Clarke, 2016, pp. 50-52).

in the midst of the Portuguese prose) Losa, following a whole ritualistic preparation of her longed-for bath, is transported via the physical sensation of the warm water which envelops her, back to the beloved river of her childhood in rural northern Germany, referring, in the process, to lines by Fernando Pessoa's heteronym, Alberto Caeiro. With her account of this event, Losa's *crónica* thus crosses linguistic, cultural, geographical and temporal boundaries just as the young protagonist herself boldly dared to cross the class line which otherwise excluded her from such luxury and pleasure as a domestic employee in a bourgeois household:

Entrei na água quente. Fiquei uns momentos em pé, como se receasse o deleite que me esperava. Depois, ao mergulhar no calor do líquido, recebi com volúpia o melhor acolhimento, a melhor carícia, o melhor lugar. Não havia mais nada que pudesse desejar.

Não fiz uso do sabonete. Porque havia de embaciar a água, tão límpida e transparente? Porque havia de me furtar ao prazer pleno? Não viera para me lavar, mas sim para gozar em cheio, para sonhar com o rio da minha aldeia, mais belo do que o do Poeta.

A água foi arrefecendo. Deixei-me estar mais um bocado, como se esperasse um milagre. Depois, tiritando de frio, procurei refúgio no lençol.

Renascera. Agora era ter de novo coragem. (AFDT, pp. 59-60)

With this symbolic rebirth, the seemingly banal event of taking a bath is elevated to a quasi-spiritual, quasi-erotic and at the same time quasi-foetal experience by which the young Losa, alone and far from home, is transported back and away in time and space, and then ultimately returned to her unhappy situation emboldened by her transgression.

Revisiting the question of the overall shape and structure of *À Flor do Tempo*, the fact that this text is entitled 'Intermezzo', points to its somewhat parenthetical status and perhaps suggests that the text be considered apart. Indeed, this suggestion is supported by the *crónica*'s exclusively personal, highly intimate nature, not in fact reflecting on, departing from, or connecting to, any event or experience within Portuguese or wider global society, but rather based entirely in a powerful memory from the author's own past, with no link to her present situation or a past shared with her readers. Whilst unlikely to have been a conscious decision on the part of the editors, the fact that the *crónica* is the twenty-first in the collection is also

interesting given the biographical detail of Ilse Losa's having arrived in Portugal just before her twenty-first birthday, the micro-transformation which takes place within the text thus echoing something of the broader transformation which began with Losa's arrival in Portugal – a transformation whose process is traced through her increasing disinhibition and emergence as an established voice throughout the course of *À Flor do Tempo*.

Conclusions

With its 51 *crônicas*, selected from across almost the full range of Ilse Losa's *cronista* career, and featuring many of her favoured subjects, frequently returned to throughout this period, *À Flor do Tempo* serves as something of a showcase of Losa's *crônica*-writing. As a publication put together not by Ilse Losa herself but rather by her grand-daughter Ana Losa and friend Marcela Torres, we have a rich and unusually personal illustration of the potential for creativity that an editor of such a collection has. Indeed, without by any means wishing to diminish Losa's role as the author of the *crônicas* contained in the collection – texts whose individual analysis already reveal multiple layers of depth and meaning, and whose combined impact earned Losa the APE Grande Prémio da Crónica, indeed – it is worth drawing attention to the additional value brought to each *crônica* by its careful, considered selection and arrangement by Ana Losa and, more than perhaps anyone else, Marcela Torres, as the editor at Afrontamento who oversaw the collection's composition. Indeed, I would suggest that via the over-arching narratives subtly woven into the book's structure – narratives which complement and amplify those within the texts themselves – *À Flor do Tempo* represents an act of love, friendship and professional homage on the part of Torres, the collection delicately depicting the process by which Losa effectively became an increasingly integrated and vocal member of Portuguese society, and within that, of the Portuguese *cronista* community, specifically. As such, this publication – important as the first and only collection of Losa's *oeuvre* consisting entirely and exclusively of her periodical and newspaper texts – serves to illustrate how in being collated in a book, the supposedly ephemeral *crônica* can be given a new lease of life, each piece's inherent value expanded, extended and transformed by its position amongst others of the same supposedly banal, quotidian – but ultimately complex and enduring – sort.

PART 3

Uncollated *Crônicas*

This final part of the thesis will be developed around three key archival explorations: a study of Ilse Losa's contributions to two oppositionist periodicals during the Estado Novo regime (Chapter 3.2), a study of her contributions to two daily newspapers in the post-revolution period (Chapter 3.3), and a study of the contents of the files labelled "Crônica" within the Losa family archive (Chapter 3.4). A short coda (Chapter 3.5) will present one final, "bonus" source, as it were. Before delving into these different individual archives, however, I wish to preface my discussion with a brief consideration of arguments made for a more open and honest presentation of archival research of this sort, and also with a stage-by-stage account of the development of my own archival process, thus putting this theoretical consideration into immediate and illustrative practice (Chapter 3.1).¹

¹ Whilst there exists a vast theoretical area around the concept of the archive, I have limited my attention, in this more practical section of the thesis, to a very specific point around the archival research process and how this has shaped my own work here.

3.1 The archival process

The archive owes its existence to the archivist's passion. An archive can be anyplace, but for the archive to be, there should be too much of it, too many papers to sift through. And there must also be pieces missing, something left to find. The best finds in the archives are the result of association and accident: chance in the archives favors the prepared mind. (Kaplan, 1990, p. 103)

It is thus that Alice Yaeger Kaplan begins 'Working in the Archives'— a 1990 paper which makes a compelling case for the personal, passionate, somewhat arbitrary nature of archival work around literary figures, such as she herself did in relation to French author Louis-Ferdinand Céline, and such as I am here undertaking in relation to Ilse Losa.

Pointing out what she conceives as a mismatch between the etymology of "archive", with its associations to public office, and the conversely personal nature of much archival work and study, Kaplan sets up her argument for a reformulation of our general conception of this – a reformulation by which archival work is understood, approached and presented in all its complex, imperfect and thoroughly absorbing (as well as *absorbent*) nature. It is, indeed, a point which many others have echoed and reiterated, with Antoinette Burton's *Archive Stories* from 2005 providing another key contribution:

Archive Stories is motivated [...] by our conviction that history is not merely a project of fact-retrieval [...] but also a set of complex processes of selection, interpretation, and even creative invention – processes set in motion by, among other things, one's personal encounter with the archive, the history of the archive itself, and the pressure of the contemporary moment on one's reading of what is to be found there. (Burton, 2005, pp. 7-8)

As its title implies, Burton's book, like Kaplan's article, dedicates itself to promoting a shift by which "archive stories" – "the backstage of archives – how they are constructed, policed, experienced, and manipulated" – are brought to the fore, gaining prominence alongside the

archival corpus' actual contents. In another publication, *The Boundaries of the Literary Archive: Reclamation and Representation*, from 2013, Lisa Stead puts it thus:

By foregrounding the archive itself, we aim to interrogate 'work' in tandem with findings [...] directly addressing what is involved intellectually and practically in the processes of archival investigation and professional practices, reorganizing archives as working and teaching spaces. (p. 3)

Emphasising this notion of a two-pronged, "tandem" approach, Stead cites anthropologist Ann Laura Stoler and her 2002 promotion of a shift from "archive-as-source to archive-as-subject" (Stead, 2013, p. 1), or rather, to a position from which both perspectives can be experienced in parallel. It is a point around duality that Antoinette Burton also makes in very similar terms when she claims that "all archival sources are at once primary and secondary sources: neither raw nor fully cooked, to borrow an ethnographic metaphor, but richly textured as both narrative and meta-narrative, as both archive and history-in-the-making" (Burton, 2005, p. 12).

Returning to Alice Yaeger Kaplan, we find the same narrative/meta-narrative idea presented in yet another formulation, with recourse to yet another metaphor, but here with particular attention to the writing-up of archival work, such as is my task in the section that follows:

... conventional academic discourse requires that when you write up the results of your archival work, you tell a story about what you found, but not about how you found it. The less the seams of your findings show, the better your discoveries lend themselves to use by others. The passion of the archives must finally be used to eradicate all personal stories in the interests of the dry archival report, fit for a public [...] I will attempt to move through the archival process and recover some of the stories that get deleted in the final scholarly form. (Kaplan, 1990, pp. 103-4)

Honouring Kaplan, Burton and Stead's problematisations of traditional archive work's pretensions to cold objectivity, and bearing in mind what can be learnt not only from the contents of Ilse Losa's *crónica* archive, but also from the process of its exploration, I will, in the rest of this part of the thesis, preserve the story of my archival research as opposed to only

its pristine findings. I will thus present my findings from the various archives I have consulted – the “what”, as it were – whilst also tracing the stages, obstacles and chance discoveries behind them – the “how” – thus revealing the “seams” of the findings and embracing the “association and accident” (Kaplan, 1990, p. 103) inherent to this kind of research.

The “how” – stage 1: Approaching the archive

As part of her simultaneous celebration of archival research and also criticisms regarding certain established dynamics and approaches, Kaplan asks the question “And to whom are the manuscripts of our canonical authors available? In many cases they are policed by the author’s heirs and a few select scholars” (*ibid.*, p. 108). While Ilse Losa perhaps doesn’t fit entirely within the category “canonical author”, the follow-up comment by Kaplan that “The archive is obviously not a stranger to the process of canonization, for it is often in order to legitimate a given author’s work that scholars seek out the archives in the first place” (*ibid.*), serves to frame my own work as an attempt to gain Losa greater visibility and recognition, with wider access to, and analysis of, her writing an obvious step towards this.

Having been granted access to the Losa family archive, and specifically to the “Crónica” files, in early 2017, later that year I arranged for Ilse Losa’s publisher, Edições Afrontamento, to digitise the texts within those files (a combination of manuscripts, typescripts and newspaper cuttings) thus ensuring their safe-keeping and also more ready access for researchers such as myself. What followed was a process of reading, labelling and grouping of the texts so as to be able to organise the relatively amorphous body of work in my hands, and further orient my research into Ilse Losa’s uncollated *crónica* corpus. As part of this process, which involved a provisional assessment of the texts and their relevance to my study, the 257 documents within the “Crónica” file were whittled down to 160 following the exclusion of repetitions, press cuttings *about* rather than *by* Ilse Losa, and, finally, a number of texts which appear in Ilse Losa’s published short story *oeuvre* or in the *crónica* collections previously discussed. There was also a folder labelled “Contos populares” containing a mixture of published and typescript stories which are adaptations of folk tales from a wide range of countries. Their inclusion in the “Crónica” file presumably owes to their original newspaper publication (intended or achieved), but considering their more obvious generic separation from the *crónica* form, I chose to exclude these texts from my selection.

The basic information for those 160 texts – their title, format, length and publication details (where provided), as well as a brief summary of their content, together with an indication of each text’s temporal, geo-cultural and thematic orientation – were then recorded in an Excel spreadsheet which would become my central database, where the various developments and discoveries regarding individual texts would be kept and updated throughout the rest of the research. From this, a first step towards mapping Losa’s *crónica* production temporally and spatially was to broadly organise the documents by date and publication wherever this information was available. As part of illustrating the way in which my research developed, I will here present this data and the way that it shifted with each phase of the research, thus moving towards an ever fuller picture of Ilse Losa’s participation in the Portuguese press.

Organising the archive by publication

In organising the family archive of uncollated Losa *crônicas*, 16 different publications were initially recorded.¹

Publication	Nº texts	Date/date range
<i>O Primeiro de Janeiro</i>	1	1957
<i>O Diário Ilustrado</i>	1	1957
<i>O Boletim de Estudantes</i>	1	1966
<i>A Capital</i>	1	1972
<i>Átomo: ciência e técnica para todos</i>	2	1952; 1952
<i>Seara Nova</i>	2	1962; 1967

¹ A *crónica* from an additional publication – *A Gazeta Literária* – in fact also appears in the archive, but given that the single *crónica* to which it refers (‘A meu ver, Irene Lisboa é, hoje, o melhor estilista da Língua Portuguesa’) was excluded from my selection as a text which appears in *A Flor do Tempo* (under the simplified title ‘Irene Lisboa’), it is not listed here.

<i>O Comércio do Porto</i>	2	1964; 1965
<i>O Diário Popular</i>	2	1966; 1967
<i>O Jornal de Letras</i>	2	1981
<i>Vértice</i>	3	1949-1951
<i>O Jornal de Educação</i>	3	1980
<i>Público</i>	3	1992*
<i>Diário de Lisboa</i>	8	1963; 1966; 1979
<i>O Jornal</i>	9	1980-1982
<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	16	1982-1986
<i>Jornal de Notícias</i>	25	1978-1987

*date unknown for 2 texts

Organising the archive by date/decade

In organising the material by date, there were 93 *crónicas* (58%) whose date was indicated, either in print, or as an annotation by Losa, or, in a few cases, via mention of a cultural event in the text itself, which served as a temporal indicator of some sort; this compares to 67 *crónicas* (42%) with no indication of the date of their publication or production.²

Of the texts dated, distribution across the decades of Losa's *crónica* production was as follows:

1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
1	10	10	17	52	3

² Not all texts with an indication of the publication have an indication of the date; likewise, not all texts with a date have a publication mentioned.

While these numbers indicate a clear spike in Ilse Losa's *crônica* production in the 1980s (predominantly in the *Jornal de Notícias*, according to the "By Publication" information provided above), this information did not seem to account for the regular collaboration she was known to have had with *Público* between 1990 and 1992, for example.³ Her very first published *crônica* – 'Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra' (from 1948) – included by Karina Marques in *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços* (p. 12), was also not in the Losa family *crônica* archive, perhaps due to its use in the book of correspondence and the relocation that may have occurred in this process. Likewise, while four of the 51 texts included in *À Flor do Tempo* appeared in the family archive, the great majority of them did not, highlighting the archive's only partial nature.⁴

Furthermore, the question of what these dates in fact represent – successful publication or the mere intention to publish – showed itself to be questionable, as highlighted by the following proportions of texts appearing in the archive as print cuttings (and therefore confirmed publications – indicated here in bold):

1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
1/1	6/10	6/10	12/17	34/52	3/3

In annotations made by Losa on some of the typescripts, she in fact highlights the non-publication of certain texts, as in the case of 'Obediência ou consciência?', on which she writes: "não publicaram".

³ "Colaboradora de muitos jornais e revistas, Ilse Losa foi também cronista do *Público*, onde manteve uma coluna mensal, desde o lançamento do jornal, em 1990, até finais de 1992" (*Público*, 2006).

⁴ See the column headed "Losa family archive information" in the table in Appendix A.

Maudes - Jornal
 em 31. 5. 82
 ou
 Obediência x consciência?
 Não publicado

In the case of other texts, however, such as 'Um festival dentro dum festival', she indicates the fact of their successful publication:

Ew. no dia 9. 3. 84 "J.N."
 Publicado

Um Festival dentro dum Festival

One question raised by these annotations, therefore, is what proportion of those texts for which there is only the information "Sent to X on day Y", was in fact published, without Losa returning to note down this detail. In the great majority of instances in which the sending of the text to a given publication on a given day is manually recorded on the typescript, there is no follow-up indication of its either successful or unsuccessful publication.

Ew. ao J.N. em 22. 2. 85
 A história do tempo roubado.

Only by cross-referencing the data contained in the family archive with that in the individual newspaper and periodical archives could such doubts be clarified. As will be illustrated in the pages which follow, such cross-referencing, beyond clarifying certain details, also highlighted a number of ongoing uncertainties or, indeed, inaccuracies in the family archive, as well as in the individual publication archives consulted.

The “how” – stage 2: Expanding the archive – 4 case studies

As two initial test-cases of how a publication-by-publication search of the individual archives of the titles recorded might complement the family archive findings, I consulted the indexed lists of contributors for *Vértice* and *Seara Nova*, two monthly periodicals to which Losa, according to my initial investigation, contributed, in the first decades of her career, two *crónicas* apiece. In the case of *Vértice*, a search for Losa’s contributions was possible thanks to a volume produced in 1987 – *Vértice, Índice de autores 1942-1986*, compiled by Carlos Santarém Andrade and published by *Vértice* itself (Andrade C. S., 1987). In the case of *Seara Nova*, the list comes from a more recent source – an online digital archive launched in 2017 by CHAM (Centro de História d’Aquém e d’Além-Mar), an FCT-funded project carried out at the Universidade Nova de Lisboa’s FCSH and the Universidade dos Açores (CHAM, 2016). Listing their contributors by name, the sources provide a record of Ilse Losa’s contributions to each, complete with edition number, date, title and page range for each text. In the case of *Seara Nova*, Losa’s entry is also very significantly cross-indexed with that of Ana Marcus, a pseudonym under which Losa published two texts in the periodical; a search for this pseudonym in the *Vértice* index also brought forth a further text, though the same association with Losa’s name is not made here.⁵ A final feature of the *Seara Nova* digital resource worth noting here, is the fact that the texts themselves are also available online, in high quality digitalisations, thus allowing quick and easy access to these historic documents.

Only after selecting *Vértice* and *Seara Nova* as case studies on account of their relatively iconic status as oppositionist publications did I become aware of the serendipity of my choice: such indexed lists, by which an individual contributor’s texts can be searched for systematically, are in fact a rarity; the great majority of the publications to which Losa contributed have no such record available for consultation. Indeed, I found no further examples in this research. When it came to adding two further case studies – those of *Diário de Lisboa* and *Público*, chosen for

⁵ As noted in my Master’s dissertation, Losa discussed her use of pseudonyms in an interview with António de Almeida Mattos included in the 1988 *Letras & Letras* dossier celebrating 40 years of Losa’s literary activity (Churcher Clarke, 2016, p. 18). Nevertheless, this aspect of Losa’s writing has not been widely discussed by Losian scholars (though it is mentioned in passing by, for example, Ana Cristina Vasconcelos de Macedo [2018a, p. 57]). While Ana Maria Pessoa also refers to Ana Marcus as a pseudonym used by Losa in the pedagogy periodical *Os Nossos Filhos*, given that Pessoa’s focus is not on Losa specifically, she does not explore this in-depth (Pessoa, 2016, p. 106)

their complementary status as daily newspapers (as opposed to monthly periodicals) with which Losa collaborated at later stages of her career (in the 1970s and 1990s, respectively) – the absence of such indexed sources would prove a hindrance to my gathering together of Losa’s contributions. For each of these newspapers, I thus had to depend on quite different guides; in the case of *Diário de Lisboa*, this was a reference to Losa’s year of contributions to the newspaper in 1979, included in Karina Marques’ *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços* (2018, p. 58), and in the case of *Público*, it was a list of Losa *crónicas* obtained from the *Público*’s Documentation Department.

Indeed, another key difference to emerge at this stage was that while *Diário de Lisboa*, like *Seara Nova*, has been digitised and made freely accessible on the internet (although not indexed and therefore searchable by author),⁶ *Público*, as a newspaper still in daily production, and therefore with commercial interests, has its access more conditioned. Upon attempting to trace Losa’s contributions to this newspaper, I thus encountered what Antoinette Burton refers to as “the bureaucratic nature of archival encounters and [...] the ways in which the administrative apparatus of archives can limit the stories that are told” (2005, p. 11).⁷ While copies of Portuguese newspapers are held in the Biblioteca Nacional, there is no database by which to search for a given contributor’s texts within these. As such, without prior knowledge of the exact date of Losa’s contributions (or, for example, the crucial detail that her contributions were published in *Público*’s Porto edition, specifically), the task of seeking out all of her *crónicas* becomes unfeasible in practice.

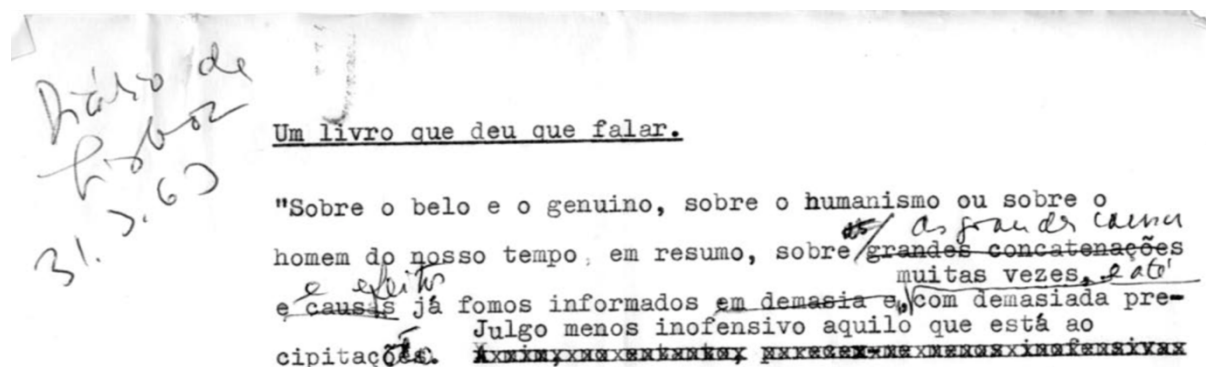
⁶ The *Diário de Lisboa* digital reproductions are hosted by “Casa Comum”, the Mário Soares Foundation’s online platform. The introductory text for the online archive reads: “*O Diário de Lisboa*, que se publicou entre 1921 e 1990, foi, sem dúvida, um dos jornais de referência do Século XX português. A Fundação Mário Soares recebeu da Família Ruella Ramos a colecção desse jornal, tendo decidido proceder à sua digitalização integral, de modo a poder colocá-la à consulta pública em suporte electrónico. Disponibilizamos a partir de agora estas páginas, criadas de modo a facilitar a exploração deste relevante acervo documental – pode navegar de uma forma muito simples, escolher um ano, um mês, um dia e uma edição e, finalmente, consultar o jornal desejado na íntegra”. (Casa Comum, n.d.)

⁷ In concrete terms, I had to rely on the willingness and receptivity of the *Público* Documentation Department staff to provide me with a list of Losa’s contributions. Whilst I was generously granted this initially, when I questioned its accuracy after cross-referencing this list with my own records and noticing a series of absences, the hitherto collaborative reception I had received vanished. Of the 13 titles returned by the Documentation Department search for Ilse Losa *crónicas* in *Público*, none corresponded to the three *crónicas* contained within the Losa family archive – all three confirmed publications due to their appearance as photocopies of the printed newssheet. Whether the omission is the result of human error in the search criteria or a technical glitch in the database is unclear (and highlights the problem of indirect access to such resources), but it underlines, yet again, the fallible archival process, as well as the benefits of a multi-directional, cross-referenced approach.

Inaccuracies in Losa's own archive were also revealed as I followed up on the author's annotations on the typescripts and cuttings in the family archive, seeking these out in the *Diário de Lisboa* and *Público* archives. 'Ainda "Os Diarios Portugueses"', whose annotation cites 11/07/1979, was in fact published on 09/07/1979, for example. In the case of 'O século da criança', indicated as being from *Diário de Lisboa* on 06/04/1979 – an annotation on a cutting which attests to its publication (see below) – the *crónica* is mysteriously absent from that date's newspaper and indeed the days around it.



'Um livro que deu que falar', whose indicated publication in the *Diário de Lisboa* on either 31/03/1963 or 31/05/1963 (see ambiguous hand-writing below) is similarly missing, though in this case the fact of this annotation appearing on a typescript as opposed to a cutting, returns us the question of whether such annotations refer to the date on which Losa sent the *crónica* to the newspaper, or the date on which it was supposedly published.



Whilst such examples highlight inaccuracies or ambiguities in Losa’s annotations, it should be noted that certain date references from the family archive – ‘A historia dum homem’ or ‘Sim ou não’, for example – do in fact correspond to the publication dates of those same Losa *crónicas* in the *Diário de Lisboa* archive (see below). In relation to both of these *crónicas* though, this information comes via the “Recorte” clippings service whose archiving process, given its specialist, commercial nature, would have, presumably, been more thorough and exacting than Losa’s own informal classification process.



(Losa family archive cutting)

(*Diário de Lisboa* archive)

With these methodological imperfections and uncertainties acknowledged, and leaving in-depth, qualitative discussions of each of the four case studies for the next chapters, I will here simply record how exploration of these individual archives changed the “map” drawn using the initial date and publication information in the family archive, bringing forth a whole new swathe of texts as well as additional details for a number of the texts already encountered.

Tracing the impact of the 4 case studies

My exploration of the *Vértice*, *Seara Nova*, *Diário de Lisboa* and *Público* archives revealed that 21 of the texts in the family archive (13%) could be located within one or other of these case study titles. Beyond these, an additional 64 texts were uncovered, all of which are confirmed publications on account of their having been found in archives of published

material.⁸ With the discovery of the details of these 85 texts, the by-date distribution of the Losa uncollated *crônicas* is transformed thus:

1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
1 → 9	10 → 34	10 → 14	17 → 39	52 → 52	3 → 16

Of these, the following are confirmed publications:

1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
9/9	31/34	10/14	36/39	34/52	16/16

Thus, of the 224 Losa uncollated *crônicas* so far encountered (160 in the family archive + 64 new texts in the individual publication archives), 164 (73%) can be dated, while 60 cannot. And of those 164 datable texts, 136 (83%) are confirmed publications.

In terms of the distribution of Losa's texts across the different publications to which she is known to have contributed, the data, following searches within the four individual archives, shifted to look like this⁹:

⁸ As documented in-depth in the following chapters, these 85 case study texts correspond to: 35 *Vértice* texts, 7 *Seara Nova* texts, 27 *Diário de Lisboa* texts and 16 *Público* texts. I did not include a further 2 family archive texts seemingly from *Diário de Lisboa*, as these were not found in my search of the relevant archive.

⁹ The fact that there is a perfect correspondence between the number of texts and the number of confirmed publications for the titles in bold owes to the fact that these were my case studies; were I to repeat the same process for the remaining titles, I imagine that any discrepancies between the second and third columns of this table (as for *O Jornal*, *Diário de Notícias* or *Jornal de Notícias*, for example) would similarly disappear.

Publication	Nº texts	Confirmed publications	Date/date range
<i>O Primeiro de Janeiro</i>	1	1	1957
<i>O Diário Ilustrado</i>	1	1	1957
<i>O Boletim de Estudantes</i>	1	0	1966
<i>A Capital</i>	1	1	1972
<i>Átomo: ciência e técnica para todos</i>	2	2	1952; 1952
<i>O Comércio do Porto</i>	2	1	1964; 1965
<i>O Jornal de Letras</i>	2	2	1981
<i>O Diário Popular</i>	3	2	1966; 1967
<i>O Jornal de Educação</i>	3	3	1980
<i>Seara Nova</i>	7	7	1948; 1962-67
<i>O Jornal</i>	12	9	1980-1982
<i>Público</i>	16	16	1990-1992*
<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	16	11	1982-1986
<i>Jornal de Notícias</i>	25	14	1978-1987
<i>Diário de Lisboa</i>	27	27	1978-1979
<i>Vértice</i>	35	35	1948-1955

*date unknown for 2 texts

The “how” – stage 3: Discovery of an additional source

Only at the final stage of my research did I come across the Biblioteca Nacional catalogue publication, *Ilse Losa, 1913-2006*, co-ordinated by Manuela Rêgo and principally consisting

of a primary and secondary bibliography for Ilse Losa.¹⁰ With 30 of the book's 130 pages dedicated to Ilse Losa's press publications, Rêgo's book offers a list of 194 texts – a list which until this point I had been unaware of (Rêgo, 2016, pp. 60-90). For the second time in my research (the same had occurred with *Vértice: Índice de autores 1942-1986*, mentioned above), it was only because I searched for another book on the open shelves of the library's main reading room that I happened upon this source which turns out to be a very valuable contribution to my exploration of Ilse Losa's press publications. Indeed, Alice Yaeger Kaplan's claim that "the best finds in the archives are the result of association and accident" (1990, p. 103) seems well illustrated here.

Of those 194 texts in Rêgo's list, 95 – just under half (49%) – correspond to texts I had already encountered, either in the Losa family archive or in the four individual publication archives; 21 texts included in Rêgo's list (11%) correspond to Losa texts later published in short story or *crónica* collections, such as *Histórias Quase Esquecidas* (1950), *Estas Searas* (1984) and *Á Flor do Tempo* (1997), or indeed published as part of longer narratives such as *O Mundo em Que Vivi* (1949) or *Nós e a Criança* (1954).¹¹ As such, 78 of the texts in this list (40%) represent new additions to the uncollated *crónica* corpus – a very significant addition to the 224 uncollated *crônicas* already identified here, increasing the volume of this material by over a third (35%) to 302 texts.

Beyond this valuable addition of new texts, the list compiled by Manuela Rêgo also helps in both confirming the successful publication of a large number of texts in the family archive and

¹⁰ Whilst the book is available in the Biblioteca Nacional, both physically and in digital format, it would seem not to be widely available outside of this institution. Indeed, the book is in fact absent from the Biblioteca Nacional's own platform – the Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa – whose function is described on its website as "uma bibliografia corrente que reflete a produção editorial nacional e que vai sendo diariamente atualizada na Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, a partir das publicações depositadas ao abrigo da lei de Depósito Legal" (Bibliografia Nacional Portuguesa, n.d.). This perhaps goes some way to explaining how I only came to discover the resource relatively late in my research, having found no reference to the work elsewhere.

¹¹ As documented in Chapter 2.3 of this thesis, Rêgo's list thus also helped to confirm the original provenance of nine of *Á Flor do Tempo*'s texts, bringing the total number of texts whose original date and publication information is known from 13 to 22 – just under half of the collection's 51 texts. In the case of *Estas Searas*, it increases the number of texts whose original provenance is known from four to five.

Though in my own analysis of the contents of the family archive I excluded the texts which later came to be republished in other Losa collections, given that I wish to present Rêgo's findings in full, I have left the data corresponding to those 21 subsequently republished texts in my date and publication tallies.

temporally locating many of those whose original publication details were not indicated or easily deducible. The result of this is to once again alter the temporal distribution of Ilse Losa's press publications, which shifts thus:

1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
9 → 22	34 → 66	14 → 45	39 → 41	52 → 93	16 → 16

In terms of the distribution of Losa's texts across the various publications to which she was known to have contributed, the figures become the following:

Publication	Nº texts	Confirmed publications	Date/date range
<i>O Diário Ilustrado</i>	1	1	1957
<i>O Boletim de Estudantes</i>	1	0	1966
<i>A Capital</i>	1	1	1972
<i>Arquitectura</i>	1	1	1952
<i>Letras e Letras</i>	1	1	1988
<i>Gazeta Literária</i>	1	1	1957
<i>O Primeiro de Janeiro</i>	2	2	1957
<i>Eva</i>	2	2	1951; 1952
<i>O Comércio do Porto</i>	3	2	1964; 1965; 1971
<i>O Jornal de Educação</i>	3	3	1980
<i>As Quatro Estações</i>	3	3	1948
<i>O Jornal de Letras</i>	4	4	1981-1982
<i>Seara Nova</i>	7	7	1948; 1962-67

<i>O Jornal</i>	11	9	1980-1982
<i>Público</i>	16	16	1990-1992*
<i>Átomo: ciência e técnica para todos</i>	18	18	1950-1953
<i>Os Nossos Filhos</i>	20	20	1948-1954
<i>Diário de Lisboa</i>	27	27	1978-1979
<i>O Diário Popular</i>	35	34	1966-1967
<i>Vértice</i>	35	35	1948-1955
<i>Diário de Notícias</i>	41	36	1982-1986
<i>Jornal de Notícias</i>	43	32	1979-1989

*date unknown for 2 texts

With this then, for the 302 texts encountered (283 of which can be dated), the 1980s are still shown to have been the most productive period in Ilse Losa's *crónica*-writing career, with texts confirmed as coming from this decade representing a third (33%) of her *crónica* output, and the majority of those texts having appeared in either the Lisbon daily *Diário de Notícias* or its Porto rival, *Jornal de Notícias*. While these details confirm the general pattern from the first stage of the research, in which that decade and those publications were also dominant, the prominence of the late 1940s and 1950s which we find at this final stage (31% of the dated *crónicas* coming from 1948-1959) contrasts with the initial findings from the family archive, where just 11 texts from the same period (12% of the dated *crónicas* at that stage) were recorded across four publications. Now, however, we see that by the end of the 1950s Losa in fact already collaborated regularly and relatively intensively with a number of titles, producing 88 texts for ten different publications.

Indeed, Rêgo's list confirms the regular nature of collaborations between Ilse Losa and various publications either only partially represented in the family archive or entirely absent. In the case of the former, Losa's collaboration with *Diário Popular*, which is represented by just three texts in the family archive, is, in Rêgo's list, shown to have consisted of 34 contributions, from May 1966 to October 1967, meaning an average of just under two *crónicas* per month. Just as

in this newspaper, where Losa's contributions belong to the 'Suplemento Quinta-feira à tarde', in other publications Losa occupies a regular slot, be it in the 'Opinião' column of *Diário de Notícias*, or the 'Casa de pais, escola de filhos' column in *Átomo: ciência e técnica para todos*. In terms of previously absent collaborations, six new titles appear in Rêgo's list: *As Quatro Estações*, *Os Nossos Filhos*, *Eva*, *Arquitectura*, *Gazeta Literária*, *Letras & Letras*.

While Rêgo's list brings to light a large number of previously unknown sources and texts, it should be noted that there are also significant gaps in her record of Losa's press publications. Of the *Vértice* texts, Rêgo's list contains just 27 of the 35 texts uncovered in my own research; the seven *Seara Nova* texts I discussed compare to just three listed by Rêgo. In relation to the second pair of case studies, the omissions are more striking, with, again, just three texts presented by Rêgo for Losa's *Diário de Lisboa* collaboration, which consisted of at least 27 texts; even more surprising is that Losa's final regular collaboration with *Público* newspaper, to which she is known to have contributed at least 16 texts (and from which many of *A Flor do Tempo's* *crônicas* came), is entirely absent from Rêgo's record. Without a meta-narrative of the sort promoted by Kaplan and others – that is, a report in which we are told the story of *how* and not only *what* findings came to be – the method and therefore the reason for such absences, as well as for the presence of many other valuable texts, remains unknown.

We might, for example, imagine that, as a Biblioteca Nacional employee, Rêgo had access to a database of press publications searchable by contributor name – a tool not, as far as I know, accessible to external researchers. This, in turn, returns us to the issue raised by Kaplan (and cited at the beginning of this chapter) regarding the gate-keepers of archival material, and a consideration of how the various pockets of information guarded by, for example, families or institutions, might be made more readily accessible to all and thus more easily brought together to provide a more exhaustive record. The experience of discovering this source by Rêgo, and comparing it to the information I gathered from other archives and sources – each organised according to a given individual or institution's logic and purposes – also serves to firmly underline the benefits of, or even the necessity for, a multi-directional, cross-referenced approach.

In the closing chapter of Part 3 I will dedicate some brief attention to Losa's collaboration in one of the additional sources unearthed by Rêgo – *As Quatro Estações* – thus providing a final case study as a coda to the previous, initially planned studies. Having selected this publication for the particularly interesting nature of the project authored by Ilse Losa's friend and colleague in the AFPP, Maria Lamas, in the course of my exploration of this source, the presence of certain gaps in Rêgo's account of the source in fact also led to an interesting discovery, as shall be discussed in Chapter 3.5.

3.2 Case Studies 1 & 2: *Vértice* & *Seara Nova*¹

Vértice

Between January 1948 and June 1955 Ilse Losa published 36 texts in *Vértice*,² the periodical described as “um dos principais espaços de resistência cultural ao Estado Novo, onde se desenvolveram trajectos, por vezes diversos e conflictuosos, que exprimiram sobretudo mundivivências de inspiração marxista e de um geral ímpeto renovador no campo cultural” (Sousa, n.d., *Vértice*). With two initial editions published in 1942, the periodical was essentially reborn in 1945:

Com o final da II Guerra Mundial, a *Vértice* assumiu um projecto de renovação cultural que pretendia contribuir para a identificação, estudo e transformação dos problemas concretos do país e do seu povo. Daí que, mais do que revista de arte e cultura, a *Vértice* pretendeu afirmar-se como revista de ‘cultura útil’, na qual a teoria se deveria aliar à prática e o estudo à acção. (*Ibid.*)

Indeed, this practical, pragmatic approach is what, at least in part, earned the periodical its reputation as “a porta-voz do neo-realismo”, as French academic and Neo-Realism specialist Viviane Ramond puts it in the conclusion of her study, *A Revista Vértice e o Neo-realismo português* (2008, p. 417).

In his preface to Ramond’s book, Eduardo Lourenço, who, as a friend of *Vértice* founder, Raúl Gomes, followed the publication’s progress from its start, emphasises its importance and, indeed, its close connection to the Neo-Realist movement: “nenhuma teve como [a *Vértice*], num momento e numa década que seriam decisivos para o triunfo no mundo e entre nós de uma ideologia de ressonância universal, ocasião de encarnar ou repercutir, embora sob forma

¹ From hereon in, in the main body of the text, I will abbreviate *Seara Nova* to “SN”.

² She published a further text – an open letter to theatre critic, Mário Vilaça – in the January/February 1963 edition of *Vértice*, which I have already discussed briefly in Chapter 1.4 and which both Ana Isabel Marques (2014) and Ana Cristina Vasconcelos de Macedo (2018a, pp. 64-6) discuss in some more depth. Given that it is a somewhat anomalous text – a response to criticism, rather than one of her regular texts from one of the sub-genres she frequently used – I will not include this in my analysis.

oblíqua ou codificada, a ideologia dessa ideologia” (*apud* Ramond, 2008, p. 18). Bearing in mind the cultural dominance enjoyed by the Neo-Realist movement in Portugal from the 1930s onwards (“Movimento cultural e político de oposição, o neo-realismo português ocupa um lugar de destaque no palco literário desde os finais dos anos 30” [Ramond, 2008, p. 21]), *Vértice*’s reputation as *the* representative for Marxist-inspired thinking and creativity is not an insignificant detail when considering the relative prominence that Ilse Losa came to enjoy as one of the periodical’s regular contributors. This despite being, at least initially, very much at the beginning of her own writing career.

Seara Nova

Often discussed in parallel with *Vértice* for its comparable character and cultural significance as one of the central pillars in the Neo-Realist project, is *SN*, the “revista de doutrina e crítica” (Sousa, n.d., *Seara Nova*) where Losa published six texts between December 1962 and December 1967, having already published one, 13 years earlier, in 1948. Described in no uncertain terms as “uma referência central na história da cultura portuguesa do século XX” (*ibid.*), and “um dos mais importantes títulos da imprensa periódica portuguesa do século XX” (Rocha, n.d.), *SN* – launched two decades before *Vértice*, in 1921 – is charged with having opened up a “nova perspectiva na reflexão sobre a sociedade e a política portuguesas” (Ramond, 2008, p. 22). Born during the First Republic, the periodical survived the whole of the long Estado Novo regime and on into Portuguese democracy, with its first series only coming to close in 1984. Considering its “tendência republicana, o seu propósito de intervenção e o seu espírito internacionalista” (Rocha, n.d.), as well as the fact that “[t]odas as suas simpatias vão, pois, para os que lutam [...] pelo triunfo do socialismo” (*ibid.*), the periodical’s perhaps unlikely longevity is one of its characteristics which is most frequently pointed out by historians and cultural analysts evaluating its significance. As Viviane Ramond puts it: “Deve sublinhar-se o papel precursor de *Seara Nova*, quer no plano político – no seu combate contra todas as forças de nacionalismo [...] quer no plano literário e particularmente no seu apoio à arte engagée” (Ramond, 2008, p. 23). Indeed, just like *Vértice*, *SN* was a key vehicle for the prominent Neo-Realist movement’s mission to effect socio-political change through art and literature.

With a trajectory characterised by a series of fractures and fallings-out, as well as frequent efforts to unite collaborators and steer the periodical back to its original values, it is interesting

to note that in the period immediately preceding Losa's more regular association with *SN*, there was a renewed attempt to recapture something of the periodical's original spirit: "Em 1959, ano em que se iniciou uma renovação da *Seara Nova*, a sua direcção propõe-se 'regressar à inteireza da campanha seareira', nomeadamente à função pedagógica e de orientação da elite portuguesa" (Sousa, n.d., *Seara Nova*). Indeed, the print runs for the periodical – 3708 copies in 1959 versus 15,000 in 1968 (*ibid.*) – serve to illustrate how Losa got on board at a point when *SN* was very much in vogue and serving as a key platform for oppositionist cultural production.

At first glance³

Analysis of Losa's 36 texts published in *Vértice* between 1948 and 1955 (with the most consistent activity occurring in the years 1950, 1951 and 1952), and the seven texts published in *SN* across the period 1948 to 1967 (all but one text were published between 1962 and 1967), reveals a number of interesting details concerning Ilse Losa's early *crónica* publication, although immediately the question of just what kinds of texts these really are comes to the fore and requires some attention. Before moving to consider that, however, it is worth noting that of the 36 *Vértice* texts, and seven *SN* texts, four are signed with pseudonyms. The first three are Losa's debut texts ('Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra', from January 1948, 'Grades brancas', from April/May 1948, both in *Vértice*, and 'Dachau' in *SN*, in October 1948) while the final pseudonym-signed text appears in *Vértice*, four and a half years later ('O Prémio Ricardo Malheiros 1952: *A Primeira Viagem* de Maria da Graça Azambuja', from May 1953).⁴ For the first three texts it may not seem surprising that Losa, as an emerging author and a figure on the PIDE's radar, would resort to a *nom de plume* – something which she later acknowledged as a regular practice in her early writing. In the case of the 1953 text signed as Ana Marcus,

³ See Appendix B for a list of Ilse Losa's contributions to each periodical, in chronological order, with their titles, edition numbers and page numbers, obtained, in part, thanks to Carlos Santarém Andrade's *Vértice: Índice de autores 1942-1986* (1987) and the "Revistas de Ideias e Cultura" online digital archive (CHAM, 2016). As done for the Losa family archive texts in Appendix D, in these tables I also include a letter-number reference for each text (V9 or SN3, for example) to simplify my in-text references to this material.

⁴ 'Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra' is the only one of these four pseudonym-signed texts that is not signed as Ana Marcus, Losa's name instead simply appearing as the initials "J.L.". It is not clear whether the "J" instead of an "I" is the result of a typographical error or a deliberate alteration; as far as I know Losa did not use these initials again.

however, the reason for Losa's shrouding of her identity is less immediately obvious and will be returned to further ahead.

From a look at the first texts Losa published in *Vértice*, we immediately become aware of a detail that will characterise the author's contributions to both this periodical and *SN*, as well as her contributions to the press more generally: these texts, many of which came to be categorised as *crónicas* in later publications, in fact represent an immensely wide range of sub-genres on an equally broad range of subjects. Thus, in the first four *Vértice* texts we move through: an anthropological-style report comparing various aspects of life in Portugal and post-war England, complete with a table of figures to illustrate details of English rationing (V1); a deeply personal poem of adolescent love and loss (V2), the refrain of which – “Ainda te lembras...?” – points at the idealisation of childhood and superimposition of the past on the present that would become such a recognisably Losian feature; a pedagogical text (V3) criticising a perceived lack of attention to the needs of the child in Portuguese society, and suggesting a number of foreign models and experts to whom Portuguese parents and educators should refer; a semi-fictional narrative text (V4) which is in fact a compilation of excerpts from Losa's debut novel, *O Mundo em Que Vivi* (then in press), and which depicts the author's childhood memories of pre-war Germany as it suffered the great economic crash of the 1920s, together with how this connects to various episodes from Losa's own personal history. From these initial *crónicas* we begin to get a sense of the distinctly heterogenous nature of Ilse Losa's collaboration within one periodical – something that is continued and indeed expanded throughout the years, and across the various other collaborations which followed this first foray into regular contributions to a single publication.

To illustrate the point, and indeed, to cover the full range of her activity with each of the periodicals included in these case studies, it is worth noting that Losa's 36 contributions to *Vértice* can be divided into three broad categories and a number of more specific sub-categories within them. The categories and sub-categories are as follows: 11 essay-style texts (two anthropological-style reports and nine pedagogical articles, of which two were originally lectures), 13 texts of cultural mediation (four translations, four literature reviews, two film reviews, three profiles of German cultural figures), and 12 original Losian literary texts (five poems, four short stories and three sets of excerpts from novels). In the case of the seven *SN*

texts, we find: five texts of cultural mediation (one translation, two literature reviews, two profiles of German literary figures), and two original Losian literary texts (one poem and one short story).

While this perhaps gives the impression of a disperse, disconnected set of texts, Losa in fact frequently incorporates overlaps between the various sub-genres she works in, thereby creating a sense of a consistent, albeit multi-tonal, voice – reaching her readers and repeatedly making her point via a series of different approaches and from a range of different angles, therefore. Details of a school in London, recorded in ‘Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra’ (V1), for example, reappear in the later pedagogical text ‘A criança e a sua actividade’ (V6), Losa thus using the same concrete example in texts of two different types. Likewise, the call first made in ‘A linguagem na literatura infantil’ (V3), and frequently returned to throughout her pedagogical writing, for adults to start to pay attention to children’s needs and abilities – “seria preciso que lidasse com elas para as ouvir e escutar” (*ibid.*) – is something which we see Losa herself put into practice in ‘Inflação’ (V4), as she presents – in a semi-fictional, narrative text – a child’s perspective and understanding of the traditionally adult matter of economics. Even in her choice of texts to translate, we see how Losa’s consistent message is reinforced, now through the words of others. In ‘Segundo capítulo de “Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre”’ (V8), for example, Losa brings to life – via a well-selected chapter from a Goethe novel, in which the joys of a child’s discovery of theatre are described – her point regarding an infant’s need for, and right to, creative expression and play, which is a thesis she defends from a theoretical perspective in ‘A criança e a sua actividade’ (V6).

Losa’s biographical note of introduction to the German artist Käthe Kollwitz again serves to underline her point about the benefits of nurturing a child’s creative side: “Já em criança mostra tendência para o desenho e o pai, desde cedo, guarda os pedaços de papel que ela rabisca. Quando mais tarde o talento se confirma, o pai oferece à filha todas as possibilidades para a sua educação artística” (V14). Implicit in Losa’s praise of Kollwitz’ work and success is the part played by this parental encouragement – an example, therefore, of how the pedagogical approach she promotes elsewhere can be seen to pay off in real and practical terms. Similarly, her presentation of the children’s choir at the centre of ‘Uma visita às “Pequenas Cantoras de Portugal”’, and her emphasis of its unrivalled success (“o único coro português que recebeu

convite” [V20]), serve to illustrate how creative flair in children, when nurtured, can achieve remarkable things. Given that Losa’s previous contribution to *Vértice* was the pedagogical text ‘A poesia, a música e a criança’ (V19), focused on proper, considered approaches to these, it is not hard to see the sense of continuity and consistency in her writing. Finally, in her text ‘Na loja de antiguidades’ (V21), later published in the short story collection *Caminhos Sem Destino*, but here seemingly presented as a personal account, Losa illustrates narratively the point made elsewhere in pedagogical texts such as ‘Os direitos da criança’ (V12) and ‘Problemas infantis: A teimosia’ (V33), regarding the long-term impact of childhood experiences and associations, as well as trauma’s lasting effects.

Thus while we might note that Losa’s contributions to these first case study publications seem to not quite fit the description of the *crónica* developed in Chapter 1.1, analysis of these more specialist texts from a range of sub-genres to which the *crónica* is connected will both reveal less defined, absolutely distinct categorisations than my taxonomical description perhaps suggests, and also allow us to trace the development of Losa’s regular presence in the Portuguese press, a process which would culminate in her becoming an award-winning *crónica*-writer (APE Grande Prémio da Crónica 1998) and thus a recognised member of the *cronista* community. It is based on this idea of charting Losa’s gradual emergence into a somewhat amorphous, ill-defined field that I justify dedicating such attention to these not-quite-*crónicas* here.

Pedagogical texts

Over her years of collaboration with *Vértice*, the texts which Ilse Losa most frequently contributed to the periodical were pedagogical articles, a number of which were significantly longer than the other texts she tended to publish here, and two of which were clearly originally written as lectures.⁵ Many of these texts would in fact go on to form the skeleton for chapters of Losa’s 1954 pedagogical book, *Nós e a criança*, as indicated by the close proximity of a

⁵ “Minhas senhoras, meus senhores”, begins Losa in ‘A criança e a sua actividade’ (V6), going on to underline the idea of an oral presentation by stating “vou falar...”. Likewise, in the two-part, serial publication of the text ‘O papel do cinema na vida da criança’ (V27), Losa refers to her words as a “palestra”.

number of the titles of the articles and the book's chapters.⁶ Curiously enough, in the five years of her principal *SN* collaboration (1962-1967), Losa contributed no such texts to this publication.

Across her nine pedagogical pieces in *Vértice* then, Losa's focus sweeps through a number of key cultural areas and their importance to a child's development. Moving from children and literature, to children and film, children and art, music, poetry, the essential core of her approach, and, indeed, the explicit message that most frequently reappears throughout these texts, is the call for proper attention to be paid to child development.⁷ Her insistence on this point is expressed in a number of different tones and modes, from the more sober and didactic – “Não esqueçamos: ‘A criança é o elemento mais importante da vida do homem – é o construtor do homem’” (V27) – to the more exclamatory and dramatic: “Temos que pensar a sério nos direitos da criança!” (V12).

Indeed, Losa consistently oscillates between the two modes of expression. On the one hand, she frequently showcases her own measured, pedagogical style by posing questions to her readers, prompting them to think about the issues at play: “É o cinema, tal como se nos apresenta, uma necessidade para as crianças? É um divertimento são? Lucram elas com tal espectáculo? Qual a vantagem para o seu desenvolvimento mental?” (V9). On the other, it is also not uncommon to come across more emphatic, impassioned outbursts (“Que lamistável erro!” she says of one example of poor parenting [V27]), or language and discursive techniques which underline the grave importance that she considers the matter in hand to have. Thus, she refers to the taking of a child to a horror film as a “crime” (V12), and to poor-quality, badly conceived films for children as “droga [...] envenenamos-lhes desde logo” (V27). Showing

⁶ See: Losa, 1954, pp. 235-236.

⁷ It is in her passionate commitment and her child-focused approach to pedagogy that some of the most obvious similarities between Losa and her literary idol, friend and colleague, Irene Lisboa, become particularly apparent. Lisboa had published widely (in both her own name, and under the pseudonym Manuel Soares) on pedagogy, using her platform in many of the same publications as Losa to disseminate the theories of progressive pedagogues with whose work she had had contact as part of her scholarship-funded training in Geneva, where she studied together with Jean Piaget and Édouard Claparède, at the Institut Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The titles of a number of her pedagogical texts and lectures serve to highlight the cross-over with Losa's writing in this respect: *Froebel e Montessori* (1937), *A psicologia do desenho infantil* (1942), *Modernas tendências da Educação* (1942). For more on this see: *Concepções pedagógicas na obra de Irene Lisboa (1892-1958)* (Teixeira L. C., 2006).

some self-awareness, and, indeed, anticipating the reaction that such an exaggerated style may have on some readers, Losa apologises for her insistence on the point, but also defends her approach by emphasising the grievance she feels upon encountering such repeated neglect and misjudgement by parents.

Another notable feature of Ilse Losa's pedagogical writings is her reference to a whole wealth of respected international figures renowned for their impact on developing progressive approaches to pedagogy, amongst them British educational psychologist and psychoanalyst Susan Isaacs, American clinical psychologist and paediatrician Arnold Gesell, and more than any other, Italian physician and pioneer in the reform of twentieth-century children's education, Maria Montessori. Indeed, the call for parents to take an interest and educate themselves pedagogically is perhaps the other single most prominent and insistent message of Losa's texts here, often accompanied by a sharp dig at Portuguese society's perceived backwardness and apathy in this respect.⁸

In April 1949 she remarks, for example: “Em vários países há conferências sobre o assunto, literatura que elucida os escritores. No entanto cá no País ainda não se reconheceu a importância do problema. E as crianças sofrem com as consequências desta falta de interesse e desta ignorância” (V5). Just a couple of months later, in July of the same year, it seems Losa shifts the onus even further onto the parents themselves (bourgeois parents, specifically), noting that: “Já há livros e revistas no País, dedicados à criança mas ainda se verifica que só

⁸ As discussed in Part 2, Losa's tendency to make stark criticisms of Portuguese society, and particularly its anachronic approach to many issues, is notable. In these texts, published in periodicals liable to review by the censor prior to publication, Losa's will to draw attention to Portuguese society's ills is expressed seemingly without hesitation or taboo: “Temos que falar na gente pobre e esfomeada [...] não devemos dar uma ideia falsa do seu país aos nossos filhos, não lhes devemos mentir”, she writes in one text (V5); “nos países mais civilizados”, she writes in another (V27), implicitly and unflatteringly measuring Portugal up against other countries; “as mães destas meninas, conscientes, não tratam as filhas como bonecas, mas sim como futuras mulheres, cuja educação necessita de uma grande compreensão e um nítido sentido de responsabilidade” (V1), she writes, again in implicit comparative mode; “A vida da mulher inglesa é diferente da da portuguesa [...] Não existe a opinião naqueles homens de que o trabalho de casa por alguma lei divina foi destinado só à mulher. Encontrei casais entre os quais reinava uma verdadeira camaradagem de igualdade e um esplêndido [sic] entendimento” (*ibid.*). As with all of the quotations I cite here, the following, stark example, comes from within another pedagogical text, Losa seemingly using the supposedly innocuous form of a child-focused article to make bold statements regarding and affecting not only children but all of society: “É nessa fase que começam a registar-se suicídios, crimes e deformações morais” (V27), she writes, naming a series of taboos generally prohibited by the censor and once again demonstrating her outspokenness.

um número muito limitado entre aqueles que sabem ler e têm possibilidades económicas se interessam por eles” (V6). A year later, in July 1950, Losa’s criticism becomes yet sharper as she pointedly asserts:

Muita gente ainda não se convenceu da importância deste problema ou não queira, talvez, convencer-se, porque tudo isto mexe com a sua comodidade. Não custa nada a ninguém aproveitar-se do invento da telefonia, do automóvel, de um bom medicamento... Mas parece custar imenso aproveitar-se dos estudos e conclusões relativas aos problemas infantis [...] negar-se às observações da pedagogia moderna é negar-se ao progresso (V12).

With this focus on progress, and, indeed, the implicit presentation of pedagogy as a legitimate science, we see how Losa’s pedagogical writings are in fact very much an expression of *Vértice*’s ethos – concerned, above all, with very practically and actively shaping the future of Portuguese society. As Viviane Ramond puts it in the conclusion of her section on ‘A Psicologia, A Psicanálise e a Pedagogia’ (which, by its very existence in her study of the periodical, attests to the significant attention lent to these still relatively new areas of scientific knowledge by *Vértice* in 1940s and ‘50s Portugal): “a mensagem é sempre a mesma [...] Mesmo que as ideias avançadas, as propostas feitas, não passem de votos piedosos no contexto político da época, procuram fazer com que os leitores tomem consciência de que o progresso conduzirá inelutavelmente à mudança” (Ramond, 2008, p. 170). Clearly considered one of the periodical’s mouthpieces on pedagogy (Ramond frequently cites her – the only woman – throughout the section), Losa’s repeated insistence for her readers to seek out the works and thinkers she mentions would seem to fit entirely with this attempt to forge practical societal change through education, both of children and of the adults who raise them.

Also worthy of mention here are the repeated references to, and displays of familiarity with, the field of psychology and, specifically, psychoanalysis, that pepper these texts by Losa. Though she is typically (and perhaps excessively) modest in her acknowledgement of her lay person’s understanding of the field (“Na verdade, os meus conhecimentos não me permitem chegar a uma conclusão concreta sobre estes factos”, [V6]), Losa’s frequent observations of children’s behaviour – their expression through drawing or play, for example – would suggest

she was in fact thoroughly aware of, and attuned to, the ideas of Freud, whom she cites a number of times. Indeed, Losa's repeated return to the idea that the events of a child's infancy will mark them psychologically in an irreversible way – that is, her allusion to the notion of trauma – would seem to confirm this interest:

Não é fácil – se alguma vez é possível – esquecer a mais pequena dor sofrida na infância ou na adolescência, enquanto que muito facilmente se esquece o que sofreu na véspera. Porque a infância e a adolescência passam lentamente; todas as coisas são mais vividas [sic] e gravam-se profundamente em nós. (V27)

The same essential message reverberates throughout the remainder of the nine pedagogical texts I refer to here. Bearing in mind the sizeable body of thoroughly trauma-infused literary texts that Losa's wider *oeuvre* would come to contain, it is interesting to note that the theoretical foundations of this interest were initially developed in these early, pedagogically-focused contributions to *Vértice*.

Reviews

Ilse Losa's familiarity with, and enthusiasm for, Freudian thinking is, indeed, further confirmed in one of the six reviews (four literary, two filmic) that she produced for *Vértice* throughout her collaboration with the periodical. In the first of two scathing film reviews of Hollywood productions (Fritz Lang's *Secret Beyond the Door* [1947], and Billy Wilder's *A Foreign Affair* [1948]), Losa asserts: "Tudo é engano; parece-me que a própria fita não passa de um engano. Baseia-se nas teorias de Freud, tema explorado até ao máximo pelo cinema dos últimos anos. Explorado e muitas vezes desfigurado. Esta vez mais: chega a ser abuso à obra séria e científica de Freud!" (V7). Indeed, throughout her reviews, Losa's critical bent is once again palpable, principally in situations where she considers some injustice to have been done to a certain individual, group, or idea. In the second film review, therefore, just as in the first she took issue with a sense of "engano", Losa attacks the dishonesty inherent in *A Foreign Affair*'s construction. "[E]ste filme não atinge o nível mínimo de uma boa comédia, porque nada nele foi tratado com honestidade; e chega a ser um abuso de um dos problemas mais sérios e mais difíceis da nossa época" (V13), she says, referring to the role played by the United States in

post-Second World War Berlin. In her description of the plot, Losa also homes in on the poor characterisation of its lead female character – a “solteirona ridícula [...] caricatura infeliz”, according to Losa. “[C]urioso: pouco tempo depois não necessita mais desses horríveis óculos”, she goes on to write in a typically acerbic and ironising tone with which to lambast Wilder’s stereotyped portrayal.

While attacking the shortcomings of these films with vigour and authority (she is also careful to include some technical assessment, thereby confirming the legitimacy of her role as a critic of film as well as literature), Losa does also employ the didactic voice already familiar from her pedagogical texts, offering examples of films and books she considers to be successful in various ways in which these reviewed works fail. In the case of Wilder’s *A Foreign Affair*, it is interesting to note that the example of a successful comedy with authentic characterisation that Losa praises is a French film – *Antoine and Antoinette* – and as such an implicit challenge to, and indictment of, Hollywood’s cultural domination.

But it is in her literary reviews that this didactic (and seemingly more gentle) approach by Ilse Losa is best exemplified, perhaps on account of literature being “her” domain, or perhaps because the writers she reviews are Portuguese, and therefore her words – echoing around a smaller chamber – expected to have some real impact. The authors reviewed here are all also, significantly, female, Losa’s attention thus privileging her fellow women-writers. Indeed, in her review of Ester de Lemos’ *Rapariga*, from 1949 (when Lemos was just 20), Losa acknowledges it is the young author’s novice status which holds a fair part of her interest here. While she is decidedly critical of *Rapariga* and the prim, conservative approach with which it was written (“O ‘parece mal’ não tem nada que ver com a arte. É uma arma que destrói a arte” [V11]), Losa is also generous and encouraging: “Devemos culpar a autora pelos seus erros? Decerto não [...] Aponto-[lhos] porque reconheço, através da sua obra, uma pessoa de qualidades que, se quiser, poderá vir a ser uma escritora de real valor” (*ibid.*).

Rather than simply slamming the work, Losa suggests ways in which she thinks the emerging author could improve (specifically highlighting the narrow perspective adopted by Lemos) and points out the wide range of predominantly international writers whom she thinks Lemos could benefit from reading (Romain Rolland, Sally Salminen, Helen Carlisle, Pearl Buck, Sinclair

Lewis, Judite Navarro⁹). In true pedagogical style, Losa explains her rationale as she goes, and in doing so, also reveals something of her own ethical stance and authorial ethos: “O romance paira assim como num espaço sem época. Mas o que passa [sic] connosco, os homens, está ligado a uma época, boa ou má, mas sempre a uma época” [*ibid.*]. Beyond this perspective on the importance of historicity – one we encounter repeatedly throughout Losa’s work – the final claim that too many female writers in Portugal produce silly, simplified stories for “meninas ocas e meninos bonitos”, serves as a warning to Lemos and a reminder of Losa’s commitment to serious, emancipated female expression.

In another mixed review, of Maria Archer’s *Bato às portas da vida*, in May 1952, it is again easy to sense Losa’s socially and politically engaged position. “É um livro corajoso”, she says, emphasising Archer’s portrayal of the female protagonist’s suffering in her stifling, patriarchal, bourgeois setting, in which “Tudo pelas aparências...” would again seem to be the prevailing maxim. Indeed, here, Losa’s alignment with *Vértice*’s Neo-Realist ideology stands out, as she criticises Archer’s approach and, specifically, the two-dimensional characterisation of the protagonist’s mother – an approach by which Archer seemingly fails to make a fuller, societal critique. “[E]sperávamos dela uma acusação menos dirigida contra um indivíduo”, writes Losa, going on: “Não teria essa mãe também sofrido as influências do ambiente falso e insincero? Não será, em certa medida, uma vítima também?” (V25).

Of the six *Vértice* texts of this sort, only one could be described as a glowing review – that of Losa’s friend and AFPP colleague, Maria Lamas’ *As Mulheres do Meu País*, from October 1950. It is worth recalling the detail, discussed in Chapter 1.3, that this book by Lamas was written as a response to the CNMP’s forced closure by the Estado Novo regime in 1947, thus representing a somewhat subversive, controversial work, and Losa’s unbridled promotion of the work a brazen expression of solidarity, therefore. It is also worth noting that in 1950, when Losa wrote this review, she had also been collaborating with Lamas on her four-part periodical

⁹ As the only Portuguese writer included by Losa here, it is interesting to note of Navarro (1910-1987) that: “é-lhe atribuído o mérito de *datar* o início de um surto de romance feminino pioneiro nas nossas Letras. É uma ficção que se move em torno do desejo de emancipação económica e sentimental, sem descurar a vertente social, conquanto esta última seja apenas um afluente das verdadeiras prioridades temáticas naquela expressas” (Lisboa E., 1994b, p. 432).

As Quatro Estações, as will be discussed in Chapter 3.5. Indeed, while the focus of the piece is absolutely on Lamas' book and its importance for Portuguese society ("O nosso desejo é que muitas mulheres e muitos homens possam ler, analisar e compreender *As Mulheres do Meu País*" [V15]), once again, through her review we are shown something of Ilse Losa's own ethos and ideals as both writer and citizen. Highlighting the female solidarity at the heart of Lamas' book, Losa praises its ethical value: "Foi a escritora séria, a mulher que se sente irmã de todas as mulheres, que lhes estendeu a mão e se instalou nas suas casas [...] O problema da mulher portuguesa pela primeira vez, foi assim registado numa obra profunda, documentada e esclarecedora" (*ibid.*).

Further to this, Losa's commitment to honesty as a core value is again made evident in her discussion of Lamas' book's documentary format – a discussion which itself highlights something of Losa's own approach to fiction and non-fiction forms. "[R]ealidade, a verdade, tanto podem ser transmitidas pelo documentário como pela ficção", writes Losa, going on to criticise the generally held notion that "um documentário é 'aquilo mesmo'", and finally asserting that:

As Mulheres do Meu País não é uma grande obra pela sua forma de documentário, mas por ser um documentário completo e honesto. É também uma grande obra por nos fazer sentir de página a página a sinceridade da autora e a sua compreensão dos problemas. Dedicou-se a uma tarefa dura que conseguiu cumprir. (*Ibid.*)

Through these comments and their ruminations on truth, sincerity and how one can best serve this in one's writing, Losa in fact seems to express something intrinsic to her own work, which, in its oscillation and multiple occupation of various forms of fiction and non-fiction, appears to constantly seek out multiple, alternative channels through which to best represent the truth in all its various layers.¹⁰

¹⁰ In relation to this question of truth and its transmission through documentary or fiction, it is interesting to note Losa's comments on German writer Hans Erich Nossack's writing (SN3), and to think about their relevance to her own ambiguous occupation of multiple genres which do not entirely match up to the traditional fact/fiction dichotomy: "Quanto mais se conversa com Nossack, mais se é tentado a identificá-lo com as principais personagens [...] Quem nunca leu nada deste autor, talvez deduza, agora, que os seus livros são puramente

The last of her *Vértice* reviews, Ilse Losa's discussion of Maria da Graça Azambuja's award-winning *A Primeira Viagem*, from May 1953, merits some brief attention for both the example it provides of the reviewer's all-encompassing critical eye, and, indeed, the interesting matter of its having been signed with a pseudonym. Firstly then, we find that Losa begins her review not by critiquing the book itself but rather by taking aim at the literary system's hypocrisy in its failure to promote a book which had won the significant Prémio Ricardo Malheiros. That this was only the second time the prize, in its 20 years of existence, had been won by a woman is surely relevant to this neglect and, indeed, Losa's outrage. Moving on to praise the book, Losa draws attention to its ideological stance, and, specifically, as a book set in "terras africanas", its implicitly critical view of Portuguese colonialism: "Foca, em especial e com desdem, o espírito de classe, mesquinho e preconceituoso, das pequenas colónias brancas. É este o tema mais inédito e admirável" (V32). Following this, Losa does then also express some reservation and criticism of Azambuja, most prominently (and boldly, for the era), in relation to the author's failure to fully represent its Black characters – a typical detail of colonial-era literature, indeed: "Os negros perpassam pelo livro como sombras sem importância, para servir de fundo exótico" (*ibid.*).¹¹ Losa's final evaluation, however, that the book's pessimism might be somehow socially useful, is a further example of how she seemingly manages to project something of her own message and ideological intentions onto those she discusses in these texts: "o seu pessimismo consegue uma finalidade construtiva: faz-nos reflectir, provoca indignação contra certos factos relatados, pois Maria da Graça Azambuja soube, sem dúvida nenhuma e muito bem, transmitir-se nos a sua indignação" (*ibid.*). Not only is it Azambuja's indignation that the readers of this review perceive, but rather also, and perhaps even predominantly, Ilse Losa's, as she highlights a number of individual and institutional injustices.

That Losa chose to sign this review with the pseudonym Ana Marcus, following many years of use of her own name (in the *Vértice* and *SN* archives only two other texts are signed as Ana

autobiográficos, o que não é o caso, de modo algum. Baseando-se, sem dúvida, em experiências vividas, o autor transmite-as, no entanto, da maneira menos convencional, servindo-se delas para uma pesquisa, uma inquirição do seu 'eu', em busca de resposta aos seus 'porquês'" (*ibid.*).

¹¹ Whilst Portuguese colonialism is not a particularly prominent subject of Losa's, we might remember her tireless attention and sensitivity to racism and the experience of the African Americans she encountered on her trip around the United States just five years later, in 1958, as portrayed in *Ida e Volta*, and discussed in Chapter 2.1.

Marcus, both from 1948) may seem surprising. Whilst it might, indeed, reflect an awareness of the politically sensitive nature of a barely disguised anti-colonial text which preaches indignation, according to Viviane Ramond, the use of pseudonyms in the reviews section of the periodical, in particular, was in fact routine, and born of the wish to give the impression that the reviews published there were not in fact the work of the same few contributors – names which also appeared throughout the rest of the periodical in a number of other roles: “São de facto os responsáveis pela revista e os seus amigos, politicamente próximos, que elaboram a rubrica de crítica dos livros na *Vértice* [...] Mas não conviria sobretudo diversificar as assinaturas para levar o leitor a julgar que os redactores da *Vértice* eram numerosos?” (Ramond, 2008, p. 363).

Finally, the two reviews Losa contributed to *SN* provide some contrast in their presentation of two male-authored works from German literature: Peter Weiss’ *Ponto de Fuga* (SN2) and the final volume of Thomas Mann’s collected correspondence, edited by his daughter Erika Mann (SN6). Of the two, however, only the latter is presented formally as a literary review, in the section of the periodical dedicated to “Livros”. Indeed, despite Losa’s attention to the number and variety of people with whom Mann corresponded, as well as to his epistolary style – illustrating this with translated excerpts from the letters themselves – ‘Última colheita’ would in fact appear more aligned with the many texts presenting profiles of (predominantly) German cultural figures that Losa frequently offered her Portuguese readers. With the posthumous publication of Mann’s correspondence (ten years after his death), Losa seemingly uses the opportunity to reflect on the great German author’s life, work and character, drawing examples and conclusions from the letters and sketching out some of the most defining features of Mann’s trajectory, indicating the points on which her own fascination with the literary great hung:

Um dos graves problemas de Thomas Mann era voltar à pátria que abandonara como protesto [...] ‘*Não devia talvez impressionar-me tanto, mas não posso deixar de encerrar o reencontro depois destes dezasseis anos de afastamento, como uma aventura fantasmagórica e uma verdadeira provação*’ (SN6, italics in original).

The echo of this sentiment that Losa's own lyrical texts provide – namely in 'Cidade Fantasma' (V23) and 'Visita ao passado' (V24) – will be brought to attention further ahead.

Profiles & Translations

In the course of her collaborations with *Vértice* and *SN*, Ilse Losa presented her Portuguese readers with a number of profiles of German-language figures from literary and artistic spheres, thus apparently trying to bridge a cultural gap and transmit a particular version of German-language culture to those around her in Portugal. The figures she presents are: artist Käthe Kollwitz, author Hans Fallada, actor and playwright Max Reinhardt, author Hans Erich Nossack, and the "Gruppe 47" literary group. It is worth noting that these are predominantly figures whose work and identity has been marked by trauma, and specifically the trauma associated with war, in many cases the Second World War, by which Ilse Losa was herself deeply marked. Indeed, the creative work of all those presented is to some extent shown to be used as a channel for that trauma just as Losa herself has acknowledged doing with her own writing.¹² Somewhat anomalous, as a text not focused on a foreign import of the same sort, Losa's presentation of the "Pequenas Cantoras de Portugal" children's choir is also arguably a profile similarly aimed at raising her readers' awareness of a particular cultural phenomenon, this time from within their own geographical sphere.

In parallel, and in a similar vein, Losa presented her readers with a number of translations of classic and contemporary German authors, accompanying each with a bionote or contextual explanation, which, to some extent, contributes to the sense of close proximity between these texts and the profiles I mention above. In the seven and a half years of her *Vértice* collaboration, and the five of her principal *SN* collaboration, Losa published translations of: a chapter of a novel by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (V8), together with a text profiling the German literary great – 'Primeiro encontro com Goethe' – by Goethe's friend and colleague Johann Peter

¹² See direct references to this in Chapters 1.2 (p. 43, FN14) and 1.4 (p. 73), as well as the many, more indirect allusions to such a practice throughout the rest of this thesis.

Eckermann; a short story by Bertolt Brecht (V34);¹³ a short story by Thomas Mann profiling Friedrich Schiller (V35); and an excerpt from Heinrich Böll's autobiography (SN5). That the profiles often contain translated (and sometimes extensive) excerpts of texts by the figures presented, confuses the distinction between these and Losa's translations even further. In her profile of Hans Fallada, for example, whose simple title – 'Hans Fallada' – is indicative of its frame and focus (just as 'Uma pintora: Kaethe [sic] Kollwitz' suggests a portrait of the painter), Losa writes that "Um trecho da sua última obra dá-nos ideia da capacidade narrativa deste escritor" (V16), following this with a series of excerpts; likewise Kollwitz's profile includes translated excerpts of her diaries and letters. On the other hand, in introducing her translations of various German literary greats, Losa sketches out the principal details of the author in question's life and career, the text thus coming to function just like a profile too.

Further connecting the two types of text is the sense of admiration that both the profiles and the translations convey, as Losa introduces her readers to a series of individuals whom she clearly regards highly on account of their personal and professional qualities. Her role is therefore not only that of "cultural mediator" as she has quite rightly become known, thanks to the work of Ana Isabel Marques (2014), (in Losa's introduction to her translation of Mann's 'Hora difícil', for example, she fills a potential gap in her Portuguese readers' contextual knowledge: "Para bem se compreender este conto, é indispensável explicar que quando os pensamentos de Schiller se concentram no 'outro' [...] Thomas Mann refere-se a Goethe" [V36]); she is also clearly a cultural *curator* of sorts – carefully selecting and presenting the examples of Germanic culture that she considers exemplary in some way. It seems that through the figures she selects, and through her particular presentation of them, Losa strives to highlight models and values that she herself holds dear, to some extent using these established, admired and culturally-distant figures as mouthpieces through which to express something of her own opinions and beliefs.

¹³ It might be noted that Brecht, as a renowned Communist from the Eastern Bloc, was a *persona non grata* in Estado Novo Portugal, the censor habitually prohibiting productions of his works, as noted by Marcia Regina Rodrigues in 'A situação do teatro português na década de 1960' (2010, p. 28).

Most prominent amongst these values, is an ethical approach to artistic production which Ilse Losa identifies in many of her subjects. Of Käthe Kollwitz, for example, she remarks “as circunstâncias difíceis da vida do povo nunca mais deixam de ser o ‘leitmotiv’ da sua arte” (V14), later citing Kollwitz’s diary with its ruminations on art and society, Losa thus confirming her assessment with the artist’s own words: “‘Na minha opinião deve haver um entendimento entre o artista e o povo [...] O que vale a arte sem raízes vivas?’” (*ibid.*). In her reference to Kollwitz’s focus on women, children and the elderly as victims of war, we are also made aware that Losa’s chosen subject champions many of the same marginal figures that she herself does in much of her work.

Of the “Gruppe 47”, the focus of ‘Admiração e azedume’ (SN4), Losa asks the question “O que é exatamente este ‘Grupo 47’?” before going on to explain something of its history and reputation, including the key detail of its two fundamental requisites of potential members: “ser profissional de alto nível e nunca ter mostrado quaisquer tendências de tipo nacional-socialista” (*ibid.*). Indeed, it is seemingly on this crucial combination of artistic and ethical (anti-fascist) effort that Losa’s adoring portrait of Mann also to some extent hangs:

A importância do extraordinário escritor é ainda acrescida pela firmeza das atitudes durante todos esses anos em que a Alemanha esteve dominada pelo regimen [sic] nazi. O seu comportamento moral manteve-se sempre à altura da sua obra. Thomas Mann homem nunca traiu Thomas Mann artista” (SN6).

Balancing the two identities of artist and citizen, Losa, from this consistent emphasis in her presentations of various cultural figures, makes it clear that it is only when the two roles are thoroughly combined that an artist can really be considered exemplary.

Her commitment to pacifism is another matter which one finds echoed in the words and descriptions of a number of Losa’s portrait subjects. Of Käthe Kollwitz, Losa remarks “Käthe Kollwitz junta agora, ao seu protesto contra a miséria, o protesto contra as guerras” (V14), highlighting the artist’s significance as a promoter of peace, and emphasising, throughout the text, Kollwitz’s representation of, and resultant association with, the horrors of war. Likewise, in ‘Hans Erich Nossack no Porto’, Losa draws our attention to Nossack’s significance for the

pacifist movement, recalling the impact had on her by his book about the bombing of Hamburg during the Second World War. This includes an excerpt from the book in which the importance of a memorialisation process is highlighted, as Nossack expresses his urgency in making his testimony of the war in 1945:

Sinto-me incumbido de prestar contas. Que ninguém pergunte de onde me vem o atrevimento de falar em incumbência: não saberia responder. Tenho a sensação de que se me vai fechar a boca para sempre se não der execução a esta tarefa antes de outra qualquer. Impõe-se-nos fazê-lo já [...] como nunca será possível entender um tal acontecimento e arrumá-lo na memória como uma realidade, receio que tudo se possa, pouco a pouco, apagar como um sonho ruim. (SN3)

That Losa then refers to Nossack's recommendation to her of a recent book on Hiroshima also helps to link the matter to the anti-nuclear movement active at the time of her writing in 1963, confirming pacifism's ongoing and pressing relevance for her.

The everyday, or quotidian, is a further subject to which Losa draws attention via reference to others' championing of this particular, relatively lacklustre concept. Of Kollwitz, for example, Losa selects a diary entry in which the artist expresses her wish to create "algo de verdadeiramente novo [...] uma simplicidade maior [...] Quotidianamente simples" (V14). Similarly, in introducing Hans Fallada and describing his debut book, with which he made his name, Losa remarks:

Até essa altura pouco interesse se tinha dado, na literatura alemã, à vida dos homens simples cuja simples existência é inteiramente dependente dos altos e baixos da vida económica, desses homens que um dia têm emprego e portanto pão e no outro não tem emprego, mas fome [...] Trata-se dum livro tirado da vida e em que pulsa a vida, em que não há 'estilo' nem 'palavras nobres'. (SN3)

Whilst I do not suggest that Losa's praise of, and attention to, such a work is in any sense forced by her role as a contributor to *Vértice* – a mouthpiece for the Neo-Realist movement – with this context in mind, her choice of subject, and indeed her celebration of its honest vision

of a working-class existence, makes perfect sense and would, indeed, appear bolstered by the periodical's ideological orientation.

The question of the attention paid to those generally overlooked by mainstream culture is by now a familiar element of Ilse Losa's writing (and to some extent of her own trajectory as an author whose work has not yet received due recognition). In 'Uma visita às "Pequenas Cantoras de Portugal"', we find a unique example of Losa presenting her Portuguese readers with a cultural product – an orphan choir invited to an international competition – from their very own sphere. That it should be comparable to the otherwise exclusively foreign profiles and portraits is perhaps an indication of how alien this focus on a group of child artists would have been to most of her readers, or, in other words, how the child here is equivalent to the foreign "Other" of the majority of Losa's profiles. In the text, Losa is, indeed, calling on her readers to give the choir due attention, legitimising the endeavour as a serious musical project with reference to endorsements by respected (albeit politically controversial) musical figures such as Fernando Lopes Graça and João de Freitas Branco, as well as to João José Cochofel's 1949 article lamenting the youth choir's non-recognition by Portuguese society while proclaiming it to be "das melhores coisas que existem em Portugal!" (V20).

In 'Palavras de Max Reinhardt', we again find a piece championing the child, Losa here using the occasion of a commemorative event in honour of the Austrian playwright Max Reinhardt to republish parts of a speech by him, in which the joys of theatre are celebrated, as are the joys of childhood and a child's almost unique relationship to fantasy and hence, acting. "É na criança que mais puramente se reflete a essência do actor [...] Perfeitamente conscientes, as crianças têm sempre presente que tudo é apenas brincadeira, mas brincadeira que se realiza com seriedade sagrada e que necessita de espectadores que colaboram, mudos, dedicados e devotados" (V31). Through her selection and abridging of the words of Reinhardt – a respected figure of German-language theatre – Losa once again presents her readers with an example of the child being elevated to the status of legitimate cultural participant – the point she made time and again in her pedagogical texts here put into action in a text of a different sort. Similarly, as mentioned previously, Losa's choice to bring to her readers' attention the chapter of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, focused on the birth and growth of a child's love of theatre

(together with its conservative parents' attempts to stifle that same enthusiasm), would appear an attempt to bring to life the theory she expressed elsewhere (V8).

In contrast to these young protagonists, but still with a focus on society's marginal groups, Losa, by selecting Brecht's 'A velha inconveniente' for translation, also shines a light on the older generation, and, specifically, on an old widow whose unconventional behaviour following the death of her husband provides a challenge to conservative, patriarchal stereotypes. Following an introduction of Brecht in which, yet again, a socially committed approach to literature is emphasised ("Brecht ataca uma civilização, faz a análise do seu tempo e toma o partido do indivíduo subjugado" [V34]), we are presented with a comic text which is essentially a celebration of the upending of expectations and gender roles – a joyous image of self-liberation. As we are told of the old woman's trips to the cinema, restaurants and the races following her husband's death, as well as of her socialising with a whole host of misfits and outcasts of various sorts (including a crippled young girl with whom it is insinuated the old woman developed some kind of romantic or even sexual relationship¹⁴), we are also made aware of the implicit societal criticism that the widow is subjected to, her apparent self-indulgence failing to correspond to the expected image of pious, mournful devotion.

Written from the perspective of the widow's grandchild (Losa, via Brecht, again privileging the viewpoint of a child), there would indeed appear to be a generational shift, as the woman's disapproving and disbelieving sons are shown up for their conservative, patriarchal mindsets while the young narrator adopts a measured, reflexive and perhaps even admiring tone:

Bem vistas as coisas, minha [sic] avó viveu duas vidas, uma seguida à outra. A primeira foi de filha, de mulher e de mãe, e a segunda a de sra B., uma mulher sem família, sem obrigações, com meios modestos, mas que lhe bastavam. A primeira vida durou, mais ou menos, seis decénios. A segunda não passou de dois anos. (V34)

¹⁴ "Esta 'aleijada' representaria, de ora em diante, um grande papel na vida da minha avó. Parecia estar doida por ela [...] Murmurava-se que as duas jogavam as cartas, na cozinha dela, e que acompanhavam o jogo com um copito de vinho tinto. Comprou um chapéu com rosas para a 'aleijada' [...] O que se segue foi o meu pai quem mo contou. / O dono do hotel segredara-lhe com um piscar de olhos: 'A sra. B. anda a divertir-se agora, segundo ouço dizer'." (V34).

Taking advantage of the creation of this unconventional figure by Brecht, Losa presents her Portuguese readers – in their deeply conservative Estado Novo cultural context – with what would have surely been a shocking portrait of an old widow (a figure generally ignored and forgotten by society as someone whose life has already been lived, and their societal role played), which here serves as a celebration of self-emancipation and a provocative defiance of the status quo and patriarchal society. The last line of the story, indeed, leaves no room for doubt as to the approval that the narrator gives the woman's choices: “Sofreu longos anos de escravidão e gozou curtos anos de liberdade e consumiu o pão da vida até à última migalha” (*ibid.*). Yet again, through her selection of certain texts by those she considers to be worthy and admirable figures, Losa is able to present her readers with a message which is close to her own heart but crucially distanced by her outsourcing to another author, character or spokesperson.

Literary texts

Moving to consider Losa's own, original literary texts in *Vértice* and *SN*, we are presented with a mix of deeply personal poems, excerpts from novels still in production, and a number of short stories, or at least texts which would later be included in short story collections. Of the poems, two – ‘Grades brancas’ and ‘Dachau’ – were published under the pseudonym Ana Marcus in 1948, and both were, in 1951, reproduced under Losa's own name, in *Grades Brancas*, the author's only published poetry collection.¹⁵ Four further poems were published under Losa's

¹⁵ For a short discussion of *Grades Brancas* see, for example, ‘Ilse Losa poeta. O caso de “Grades Brancas”’ (Gomes J. A., 2018). One detail not recorded by Gomes here, however (nor by Ana Cristina Vasconcelos de Macedo in her brief but considered discussion of the work [2018a, pp. 39-40]) is that upon being republished under Losa's own name in the 1951 collection, ‘Dachau’ – a poem depicting the anguish of a speaker who imagines her brother's grim fate in prison – was renamed ‘Pensava em meu irmão’. This elimination of the only (but nonetheless thoroughly suggestive) reference to the Nazi concentration camp gains a particular relevance if we bear in mind that neither of Losa's brothers was ever interned in a Nazi camp, while her older brother, Ernst, was in fact imprisoned for 15 months (1938/1939) in the Estado Novo's Aljube and Caxias political prisons in Lisbon, for overstaying his visa. Losa's active role in trying to secure her brother's release is depicted in ‘António Luís Gomes’, an undated crónica contained in the Losa family archive (FA25). With this detail, we seemingly find both a partial explanation as to why Losa might have chosen to use a pseudonym for this text originally, and also an example of her artful disguise of her true motives before the Estado Novo's censor, thus managing to comment on a highly politically-sensitive topic – political prisons – in a prominent cultural space.

own name, in *Vértice*, between the years of 1950 and 1953, with the first of these – ‘À minha filha’ – also coming to be included in *Grades Brancas* (under the title ‘À Alexandra’).

Leaving aside those texts which reappeared in *Grades Brancas*, I would here like to draw attention to the deeply personal nature of the remaining poems that Losa published in these periodicals. ‘As mãos da minha menina’, ‘Capricho’ and ‘Um minuto de silêncio... (Ou, A queima das fitas)’ represent, respectively: an expression of a mother’s love and fascination with her young daughters’ innocence, together with the healing effect of this on the mother’s trauma; an escapist daydream in which the poetic I imagines freeing herself of the trappings of her own life to indulge in those of someone else’s; a remarkable eulogy and outpouring of grief for pedagogue Maria Montessori. The last of these is perhaps the most interesting for its very personal expression of grief for a figure with whom, as far as it is known, Losa had no direct connection beyond the deep admiration seen in her pedagogical texts. Expressing her pain at the springtime signs of life together with jubilant young students’ annual May celebrations, Losa laments the general population’s apparent ignorance of Montessori’s death, fixing this temporally via reference to natural and cultural events, and contrasting this unfeeling with her own personal grief: “Tudo me magoava... | Talvez quisesse ver na relva | milhares de pegadas infantis | ou as crianças | chorando a morte de Maria Montessori. | Talvez quisesse que os jovens | tirassem as cartolas: | Um minuto de silêncio! | Morreu Maria Montessori” (V30). Leaving no doubt as to the focus of the poem, Losa here also confirms the depth and power of her admiration for Montessori – the fact of her representing a professional heroine for Losa in no way preventing a very personal emotional reaction to her death. With this poem, we thus have another example of how Losa’s personal and professional identities and expression were very closely tied to one another.

In terms of the original literary prose texts published in *Vértice* and *SN*, the three sets of excerpts – ‘Inflação’, ‘Aprendizagem’ and ‘City lights’ [sic], all published in *Vértice* – represent previews of sections of the books that Losa was in the process of publishing, therefore essentially serving as promotional material for her developing novelistic work. Beyond the question of the choice of each excerpt (whether selected to resonate with other texts published previously or alongside it, for example) these texts offer little by way of insight into Losa’s

press publications, although in their being counted amongst the other sub-genres of text, they do contribute to a sense of her varied production in these periodicals.

In the case of the short stories, all five that were published in these periodicals later came to be republished in at least one Ilse Losa short story collection,¹⁶ their *Vértice* or *SN* appearance thus representing their original presentation to the public. I will here focus on a pair of texts, published one after the other,¹⁷ for the interesting example they provide of the generic fluidity inherent to much of Losa's writing, simultaneously highlighting the importance of certain paratextual elements in determining a text's categorisation and thus feeding into the broader discussion of the *crónica* genre and Ilse Losa's relationship to this.

'Cidade fantasma' (presented with the subtitle "reportagem") and 'Visita ao passado' (followed by the epithet "conto de Ilse Losa") are both accounts of Losa's trip to Germany in 1951 – the first time she had returned to her country of origin since fleeing persecution in 1934. Each text provides a depiction of destruction and an uncanny mixture of familiarity and alienation as Losa revisits formerly familiar places, partially or totally disfigured, by the war, in one case, and by the passage of time since her departure, in the other. In 'Cidade fantasma' Losa returns to a city where she spent part of her youth (presumably Melle, where she lived with her parents and brothers from about the age of six¹⁸); in 'Visita ao passado', she revisits her grandparents' former house (whose detailed description is familiar from *O Mundo em Que Vivi*), where Losa spent her first years of life.

Recalling her and her husband's arrival in the city of the first of the two texts, Losa emphasises the shocking devastation they encountered:

¹⁶ These five stories appear in *Caminhos Sem Destino* (1991), most with a new title and revised text: 'Na loja de antiguidades' becomes 'A Chavena'; 'Cidade fantasma' becomes 'Aqui havia uma casa, Ou Anno Domini'; 'Visita ao passado' becomes 'Eterno retorno'; 'Uma aposta' becomes 'A aposta'; and 'Mercur' remains 'Mercur' (losing only the descriptive phrase which appears in the *SN* title: 'Um conto de Natal: Mercur').

¹⁷ 'Cidade fantasma' was published in *Vértice* No. 99/101, in November 1951/January 1952, and 'Visita ao passado' was Losa's next contribution to the periodical in No. 103, in March 1952.

¹⁸ "Oriunda de uma família de judeus, Ilse Lieblich é criada na pequena vila com os avós paternos. Só mais tarde, com seis anos de idade, vai viver com os pais, à altura a residir em Melle", (Marques A. I., 2014, p. 81).

Ficámos parados no portão. O que vimos não podia ser realidade. Não se distinguiam ruas – uma vasta área, vagamente amarela, à nossa frente. Esqueletos que se erguiam contra o céu, arbustos verdes e flores roxas que vicejavam por entre as pedras queimadas. [...] Desesperadamente os meus olhos procuraram alguma coisa familiar. (V23)

This combination of memory-based expectation and a completely disfigured reality will go on to dominate the narration as *Losa* tries to show her Portuguese husband around her childhood hometown but finds herself unable to recognise and navigate a landscape devoid of its former landmarks, eventually having to resort to a tour – an illustration of her absolute alienation from a previously familiar setting.

In ‘Visita ao passado’, the estrangement continues, but this time on a smaller, purely personal scale, as it is the way her beloved former childhood home has been changed by a new inhabitant that prompts a sense of uncanniness in *Losa*, as opposed to the utter destruction of a whole city:

Vi que não havia plantas junto da porta e senti um cheiro diferente, um cheiro banal a comida gordurosa, em nada semelhante ao que eu conhecia e que vinha dessas plantas de folhas muito fininhas e escuras. Também não havia a passadeira às listas nem o armário pesado e brilhante. Uma mesa e um espelho, a meu ver completamente deslocados, formavam a mobília do corredor. (V24)

Just as in ‘Cidade fantasma’, however, past and present would appear to struggle constantly, *Losa*’s narration moving between memory and perceived reality, as elements of the present – the new inhabitant’s reference to *Losa*’s grandparents having been the first people in the village with a gramophone, or a new painting on the wall, for example – transport her back in time, the typical *Losian* use of a series of “portals” between time-scapes and landscapes appearing here for the first time.

In fact, the use of portals in this way was seemingly inaugurated in the author's very first short story contribution to *Vértice*, published a few months earlier, in August 1951. In 'Na loja de antiguidades', Losa is transported to her former life in Germany upon encountering, in an antiques shop in Portugal, a teacup of the sort habitually used during her childhood. The unsettling, haunting effect that this unexpected and temporally dislocated encounter has upon Losa is also comparable to the two stories I discuss here. As such, I would suggest that this trio of texts in fact marks the beginning of what would become a trademark shorthand for trauma (as well as a trademark manipulation of time and space) in Losa's work, as certain objects and sensations are shown to dominate her sensory perceptions, the author's uprooting from Germany and re-rooting in Portugal reversed and re-lived repeatedly.¹⁹

Indeed, in both 'Cidade fantasma' and 'Visita ao passado', Ilse Losa dialogues with figures who seem to bridge the gap between the two time periods and the physical spaces associated with each. In the first, it is an old waiter in a restaurant where the Losas stop following their tour, who, as someone who lived through the war in the city, serves as an informal guide to the period and process of total transformation not directly witnessed by Losa. Through this waiter, Losa discovers not only that many former friends and acquaintances have died or disappeared, but also that, following a seemingly fruitless search for the familiar, she is in fact opposite the spot where her childhood home had previously been: "Um fosso enorme – a casa onde vivíamos. E estava eu na minha rua sem o saber – meu Deus!" (V23). Almost immediately after this, the narrative moves into a strange and surreal, somewhat eerie final section dominated by a purplish light, song projected by a loud-speaker and a series of thoughts whose logical sequence it suddenly becomes difficult to follow. The final line – "Sempre tive medo de fantasmas" (*ibid.*) – confirms the idea that the effect of this experience of returning to her transfigured city has produced in Losa a sense of haunting alienation.

In 'Visita ao passado', a similar ghostliness is evoked, this time through Losa's vision of her dead grandmother, who appears while Losa remembers the painting which used to hang in her

¹⁹ The fact that the frequent shifts between past and present should have been included not only in a text presented as fiction, but also in its supposedly more factual counterpart, prompts the idea that this is not merely a rhetorical tool of fiction-writing for Losa, but in fact a representation of a very real psychological experience of temporal and spatial estrangement and the uncanny sense of duplicity that this produces.

grandparents' living room: “‘Foste pelo mundo fora mas sempre voltaste. Não te esqueceste então da tua avó...’ ‘Não, nunca! Até escrevi uma história em que falo de ti, avó’.” (V24). Remembering her childhood interest in books as the root of her recent literary debut – something which her grandmother here rubbishes as mere indulgence – Losa is then abruptly returned to the present by precisely her grandmother's dismissal of such fantasy: “‘Não escrevas histórias, ouviste? São inventadas. A vida não é inventada. Aprende a saber da vida...’ VIDA!” (*ibid.*). Upon completing her visit with a trip to the garden where she happily played as a child, Losa, closing the narrative, reflects desolately:

E que vim eu então aqui fazer? [...] Arrancaram a vinha brava... E de súbito, tive vontade de refugiar-me na minha recordação, viva e real, onde havia uma casa coberta de vinha brava, uma casa com uma sala de visitas cheia de luz branca e de mobília azul [...] Mas reencontraria eu, alguma vez, a minha recordação, sabendo agora que o sofá tinha estofo aos quadrados, que ‘A Ceia’ pendia da parede, que murchara a minha rosa, e o ribeiro não era mais do que um fio de água? Agora que eu sabia o meu salgueiro morto?. (*Ibid.*)

This sentiment of a frustrated search for a route back to her past will of course become one of the most recognisable features of Losa's literary style, as reference to any of the collections of her short stories illustrates.²⁰

What is particularly interesting about this pair of texts in this specific context, though, is the way they are presented – principally via paratextual details – as contrasting, opposed sub-genres, despite a series of inherent similarities in the texts themselves. ‘Cidade fantasma’, with its epithet “reportagem”, and its closing note – “*Alemanha, 1951*” – is presented as fact, and this despite its strange, dreamlike final section. The introduction to ‘Visita ao passado’, on the

²⁰ In the two stories' conclusions we also find an almost perfect echo between Ilse Losa's experience of return to Germany 17 years after she fled, and Thomas Mann's reference to his own return to Germany after a similarly long period, cited by Losa in her *SN* review-cum-profile of Mann: “‘*Não devia talvez impressionar-me tanto, mas não posso deixar de encarar o reencontro depois destes dezasseis anos de afastamento, como uma aventura fantasmagórica e uma verdadeira provação*’.” (SN6). We might note that this citation of Mann comes in a piece from 1967 (about a book only published in 1965) while the expression of that same sentiment by Losa in the two texts I have been discussing here, comes much earlier, in 1952.

other hand, as “conto de Ilse Losa”, leads us to believe its content is based in fiction – an idea further encouraged by the apparently supernatural interaction between Losa and her dead grandmother.

Beyond the narrative similarities briefly highlighted in the descriptions above, however, a number of details undermine this diametric opposition, instead suggesting a much more porous division between “fact” and “fiction” in Losa’s writing here. Firstly, there is the lyrical epigraph²¹ which Losa includes not in the text presented as fiction but, perhaps surprisingly, in that which is presented as a “report” – a decidedly clinical generic description. Secondly, there is the somewhat superficial matter of the title ‘Cidade fantasma’ implying some kind of supernatural element such as we in fact find present in both texts to some extent. It is interesting that in the version of this text included in *Caminhos Sem Destino*, both the final surreal scene was removed and the title changed to ‘Aqui havia uma casa, ou “Anno Domini”’. Thus, at the point when the text is officially presented as a short story as opposed to a fact-based “report”, these elements which perhaps suggest a less realist dimension are paradoxically removed.

Also suggesting some more inherent continuity between the two texts presented as opposites, is the fact that in ‘Cidade fantasma’ there is seemingly a reference to the visit paid by Losa to her grandparents’ home in ‘Visita ao passado’: “Não houve quem exclamasse: ‘Olha, olha, quem aí vem! Parece impossível! Mas és tu? Que bela surpresa! [sic]’ como acontecera dias antes na pequena vila. Tanta gente. E eu sem conhecer ninguém” (V23).²² With this cross-textual reference, found in texts which appear in consecutive Losa contributions to *Vértice*, one gets a sense of their essential connectedness and indeed similarity – a detail which suggests that the labels attributed to each represent a merely superficial difference. As such, we might

²¹ I am yet to discover whether the Alfred Becker to whom the poem ‘Die Nacht danach’ [The following night] is attributed by Losa here, is Alfred Becker, First and Second World War German engineer and artillery officer. It would be an improbable, unexpected figure for Losa to cite. Furthermore, thus far I have found no indication that this Alfred Becker was known as a poet, or indeed that he is associated with a poem of that title. Given that Losa also uses another Becker quotation as an epigraph in *O Mundo em Que Vivi*, it is perhaps surprising that no Losian scholar has written about who the mystery poet is.

²² Although it is a mere supposition that this refers to the episode related in ‘Visita ao passado’, biographical details regarding Losa’s early life suggest that the “pequena vila” referred to here must be that of her grandparents’ former home. The reaction of the woman who opens the door to that house in ‘Visita ao passado’ would also seem to support the idea of a small, close-knit community which would have recognised Losa: “Ah, já sei! Já me têm falado neles. Os velhos L...s, não é? Eu não sou daqui, senão devia conhecê-la” (V24).

ask ourselves why Losa, or the editors at *Vértice*, would have felt the need or desire to impose these arguably misleading epithets on the texts. Having considered a similar question in relation to Ilse Losa's use of a pseudonym for a review published many years after she started using her own name, we might suppose that it is simply to give the appearance of greater variety. In any case, the result, in relation to Losa's *oeuvre*, and to these two texts within this, is to underline the author's simultaneous belonging to multiple, apparently opposed generic spheres, her texts straddling the border between fact and fiction as well as a whole range of sub-genres within each of these, their hybridity reminding us of the characterisation of the *crónica* form developed in Chapter 1.1.

3.3 Case Studies 3 & 4: *Diário de Lisboa* & *Público*¹

As Karina Marques notes in a footnote within her 2018 book on Ilse Losa's correspondence:

Ilse Losa escrevia para a p. 3 do *Diário de Lisboa*, falando sobretudo de assuntos culturais e sociopolíticos da actualidade portuguesa e alemã. 1979 foi o ano de mais intensa publicação de artigos da escritora. O jornal foi extinto, mas os seus arquivos foram digitalizados e estão disponíveis para consulta através da internet da Fundação Mário Soares. (Marques K., 2018, p. 58, FN36)

In consulting this source, specifically in relation to the year-long period highlighted by Marques (for the consistent perspective on a particularly interesting period of Portuguese history that it offers), I came across 27 Ilse Losa *crónicas* in *DL*.² Four of these correspond to texts since re-published in *À Flor do Tempo*, and 12 feature in the family archive. As such, 11 – a little under half – of the *DL* texts represent new additions to the Ilse Losa uncollated *crónica* corpus. As already briefly noted, a further two texts in the Losa family archive are annotated as having been sent to or published in *DL*,³ but given that these date from the earlier, pre-revolution period, and given that I did not find these texts in the *DL* online archive, I will not include them in my analysis here.

In the case of the texts from the *Público* archive – obtained via a search carried out by staff in the newspaper's Documentation Department – 13 texts were found.⁴ Just over half (seven) of these already feature in *À Flor do Tempo* or *Estas Searas*, and one appears in the family archive, meaning that five of the 13 *Público* findings represent new additions to the Losa uncollated *crónica* corpus. That said, a further three *Público* texts exist in the Losa family archive, and, as newspaper clippings, these represent confirmed publications, unlike the extra *DL* texts

¹ From hereon in, in the main body of the text, I will abbreviate *Diário de Lisboa* to “DL” in the main text.

² See Appendix C.

³ The texts, ‘Um livro que deu que falar’ and ‘Os que vivem sem viver’ are dated from 1963 and 1966 respectively.

⁴ See Appendix C.

mentioned above. Of these additional *Público* texts, only one – ‘O teatro da nossa memória’ – is dated, from 05.10.1992, a year and a half, therefore, after the last of the texts (from 15.04.1991) returned by the *Público* archive search. Whilst I have chosen not to include the additional *DL*-annotated texts from the family archive in my analysis of Losa’s contributions to that newspaper, in the case of these additional *Público* texts, I do include them on account of their confirmed nature as *Público*-published Losa *crónicas*, as well as their relative temporal proximity to the texts published in the year of Losa’s seemingly more regular collaboration with the daily newspaper from April 1990 to April 1991.

In relation to both the *DL* and *Público* texts gathered here, given that I have already provided a comprehensive analysis of *À Flor do Tempo* and *Estas Searas* in Part 2, I will not dedicate further attention to those 11 texts which later came to be republished in one or other collection.

The 1979 context

“A revolução de 1974/76 alterou radicalmente a vida política, o que teve implicações sociais, culturais e económicas de grande dimensão”, writes sociologist and social historian António Barreto (2015, p. 116), referring to the PREC – the Processo Revolucionário em Curso – the two-year period immediately following the military coup by left-wing revolutionary forces which brought Portugal’s 48-year-old Estado Novo dictatorship to a swift end on 25th April 1974. “Para efeitos de sistematização, poder-se-ão distinguir várias fases naquele que foi um processo muito complexo” (*ibid.*), continues Barreto, going on to carve up this particularly dense period of Portuguese history into distinct blocks:

o golpe de Estado militar de 25 de Abril de 1974; uma revolução política e social entre 1974 e 1975; uma contrarrevolução democrática entre finais de 1975 e 1976 (ano em que se aprovou uma Constituição democrática, se realizaram eleições legislativas, presidenciais e municipais e foi formado o primeiro governo democrático); um período de ‘normalização’ democrática, entre 1976 e 1982, até à revisão da Constituição [1982] (donde foram retirados vários princípios propriamente revolucionários e de tutela militar sobre os órgãos de soberania) e à aprovação das novas leis das forças armadas. (*Ibid.*)

1979 thus falls in the middle of what Barreto (amongst others) calls a period of democratic “normalization”, following years of tumultuous power struggles between the left and the right, with the threat of a return to authoritarian rule never far from the surface. Indeed, this is a dynamic emphasised by historians Marina Costa Lobo, António Costa Pinto and Pedro C. Magalhães, who, whilst also acknowledging this path towards increasing stability, nevertheless point to a continued sense of disturbance well into the following decade:

the Portuguese transition to democracy was fraught with institutional instability and uncertainty about the type of regime to be created. Between 1974 and 1976, the transition to a liberal democracy seemed endangered [...] Portugal being a pioneer of simultaneous democratisation and decolonisation, in which the lack of political pluralism in political institutions and in civil society was remedied at the same moment, the first two years of the transition gave rise to a complex legacy. Portuguese democracy was shaped by a ‘double legacy’: the authoritarianism of the right under the New State and the authoritarian threat of the extreme left of 1974–75 (Pinto 2006; 2010) [...] the legacies of the ‘transition by rupture’ endured well into the 1980s. (Lobo, Pinto, & Magalhães, 2016, pp. 163-4)

Focusing on the context directly surrounding Losa’s regular *DL* collaboration, we see how this climate of unstable governance continued to dominate the Portuguese political panorama, and, indeed, to impact on the cultural sphere – the sphere in which Losa operated as an author and *cronista*, and which is here discussed by historian João Pedro George:

A constante mudança dos responsáveis políticos durante a segunda metade da década de 1970 – entre 1978 e 1979, sucederam-se quatro governos – parece ter dificultado a prossecução de uma política cultural [...] No essencial, a segunda metade da década de 1970 ficou marcada por sucessivos desencontros entre os discursos dos governantes e os discursos dos ‘agentes culturais’, que se consideravam marginalizados pelo poder. Ao entusiasmo e à esperança dos meses imediatamente posteriores ao 25 de Abril seguiu-se a ‘desilusão’, o ‘desencanto’, a ‘frustração’ e as ‘desistências’ (muitos intelectuais e artistas começam a sair dos partidos). (George, 2016, pp. 177-8)

In July 1979 – halfway through the year that Losa wrote for the *DL* on an approximately twice- or thrice-monthly basis – one such governmental substitution occurred, with António Ramalho Eanes – Portugal’s first democratically elected President – significantly replacing the right-wing IV Constitutional Government with the left-wing V Constitutional Government, which would last until December of that year. Particularly pertinent, bearing in mind Ilse Losa’s consistent engagement with the matter of gender equality, was the fact that as part of this shift, Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo was made Prime Minister – the first and only woman to hold the position in Portuguese history. This was of course just two months after Margaret Thatcher came to hold the same position in the British government, though here with very different politics from her Portuguese counterpart. Nevertheless, the fact of two women coming to hold key positions of power within months of each other means that this represented a significant moment for the gender discussion in Europe.

Other details of the period relevant to Ilse Losa’s habitual areas of interest, as well as to the broader global political panorama, include the question of “transitional justice”,⁵ which historians Irene Flunser Pimentel and Maria Inácia Rezola examine in *Democracia, Ditadura, Memória e Justiça Política*. Here, they highlight the importance of the May 1977 creation of the Portuguese “Tribunal Cívico Humberto Delgado” where former members of the PIDE were tried, inserting this amongst various other key international developments in this arena:

pode-se dizer que o caso português e o grego foram inovadores, ao pretenderem levar a tribunal responsáveis pela tortura e pelos regimes ditatoriais. Em 1976, a Comissão das Nações Unidas para os Direitos Humanos desenvolveu diversos procedimentos especiais e, na América, surgiu, em 1978, a American Convention of Human Rights, que criou o Tribunal Interamericano de Direitos Humanos. (Pimentel & Rezola, 2013, p. 10)

⁵ “A justiça transicional ou de transição pode ser definida como ‘a concepção de justiça associada a períodos de mudança política, caracterizada por respostas legais para confrontar os crimes da repressão de anteriores regimes’” (Pimentel & Rezola, 2013, p. 9).

The interest of this process for Losa, as someone with a deeply ingrained and frequently restated commitment to justice and truth (and also as someone with personal knowledge of the impact of the PIDE's excesses of power) would surely have been significant.

The fact that 1979 was the UNESCO International Year of the Child, would similarly have been of interest to Losa, given her repeated calls for greater attention to the needs and rights of the child, as discussed in the previous chapter. Indeed, some brief mention must be made of the wider, international context which, though perhaps overshadowed to a certain extent by domestic developments, certainly shaped the vision provided by Losa's *DL crónicas*, not least on account of the new and expanding contact that Portugal, after half a century of isolationism, was now beginning to have with the rest of the world. The country's application to join the European Economic Community, accepted in 1977 though only becoming effective in 1986, is one key example of this new outwards-facing perspective.

In *Strange Rebels: 1979 and the birth of the 21st Century*, American journalist Christian Caryl emphasises the global significance of the year I take as my focus here:

The forces unleashed in 1979 marked the beginning of the end of the great socialist utopias that had dominated so much of the twentieth century [...] the Iranian Revolution, the start of the Afghan jihad, Thatcher's election victory, the pope's first Polish pilgrimage, and the launch of China's economic reforms – deflected the course of history in a radically new direction. It was in 1979 that the twin forces of markets and religion, discounted for so long, came back with a vengeance [...] The protagonists of 1979 were, in their own ways, participants in a great backlash against revolutionary overreach. (Caryl, 2013, pp. 16-17)

Thus, if the political situation in Portugal in the aftermath of the Carnation Revolution was characterised by turbulence and uncertainty, what this succinct and inevitably reductive summary by Caryl illustrates, is that this was to some extent an echo of what was going on, in different ways and with quite different dynamics, on a global scale, where the panorama was one of power struggles, inversions and readjustments, with the Cold War's

capitalism/communism dichotomy always just below the surface of these seemingly disparate events.

Diário de Lisboa in 1979

“[O]s média estiveram no centro de alguns dos mais duros confrontos do processo de democratização português e, por isso, afiguram-se como uma peça fundamental para o compreender”, state Pimentel and Rezola (2013, p. 15) in their study of the period, finding echo in a number of other related publications, such as *O essencial sobre a imprensa portuguesa (1974-2010)* by journalist and academic João Figueira: “O jornalismo era, neste contexto, uma parte activa e empenhada do combate político – mais ainda após as nacionalizações de Março 1975 – e, nesse sentido, foi uma arma empunhada pelos mais diversos quadrantes” (Figueira, 2012, p. 8).⁶

Indeed, *DL*, begun in 1921 as an independent, republican daily newspaper, was, in 1975, and along with the great majority of the Portuguese press, essentially brought under state control: “Como a maior parte da imprensa, ao serem nacionalizados os bancos e as companhias de seguros, em 15 de Março de 1975, o *Diário de Lisboa* viu-se dominado pelo Estado” (Lemos, 2006, p. 258). The following year, in 1976, (and in the aftermath of the famous “cleansing” of *Diário de Notícias*’ apparently politically-compromised elements⁷) upon gaining a new assistant-director in Fernando Piteira Santos, the paper declared itself:

um jornal apartidário que toma partido e partido de certos valores – os da Liberdade, da Democracia, do Socialismo e da Cultura, contra os antivalores que nos foram impostos durante a desolada tristeza de 48 anos de opressão política e social, de obscurantismo cultural, de censura à informação oral e escrita. (*Ibid.*, p. 259)

⁶ For more on this see: ‘Imprensa, saneamentos e transição democrática: o caso do Diário de Notícias’ (Gomes P. M., 2013); ‘A imprensa na revolução de abril: refundar o quotidiano, estimular a crença e renovar o visualismo político’ (Gomes M., 2014).

⁷ For an in-depth discussion of this episode in particular see: Gomes P. M., 2013.

Whilst these events occurred some years before Ilse Losa's more regular collaboration with the newspaper, it is useful to have this background information in mind when thinking about her *crônicas* and the way they are positioned politically – inevitably influenced by the climate surrounding newspapers more generally, and the *DL* in particular. Indeed, it occurs to me that this need for journalists and others working within the press to rapidly adapt to a tense and frequently shifting political panorama is perhaps at least partly responsible for a certain nebulousness in Losa's texts here – a vagueness in terms of their generic categorisation. Unlike the *Vértice* and *SN* texts analysed in the previous chapter, the texts we find in the *DL* archive are harder to identify as belonging to a particular, well-defined sub-genre (pedagogical, anthropological, lyrical etc.), rather seeming to straddle multiple categories and fit entirely within none.

An alternative, or rather *additional* explanation for this same phenomenon, however, is that, as compared to her *Vértice* and *SN* texts, by 1979, Losa's press publications had gravitated towards what we think of as the *crônica* proper, containing an inherent generic vagueness or multiplicity such as was discussed in Chapter 1.1. Frequently based in quotidian events, such as a series of conversations ('Conversas amenas'), a street scene ('Predição precipitada') or a visit to a friend ('Não basta haver rosas...'), these *DL* Losa *crônicas* tend to develop – as seen in *A Flor do Tempo* – into broader philosophical discussions of issues buried within the seemingly two-dimensional scene initially presented. Whilst many themes revealed thus (such as poverty, solidarity, xenophobia), are in fact ones which have already been explored in Losa's previous, more "specialised" texts in *Vértice* and *SN*, the key difference here is surely the fact that finally, and for the first time in her adult life, Losa is living and writing in a democratic society, in which she is permitted to express thoughts and arguments fully, without the restrictions of censorship, thus seemingly spilling over the bounds of what were previously relatively controlled, limited publications – each text now at once openly personal and political. As Marco Gomes comments of the post-revolution press in this respect (in the aptly titled 'Falar de tudo: a urgência da palavra' section of his chapter):

Os jornais, revistas e os múltiplos meios de comunicação impressos transformaram-se em vias de acesso ao espaço público, estreitando ou mesmo anulando as divisões entre

o político e o social, entre o individual e o colectivo, ampliando a participação directa dos cidadãos. (Gomes M., 2014, p. 187)⁸

In the discussion which follows, I will explore how Losa seems to have navigated her way through this still newly democratic, uncensored newspaper setting, both engaging politically but also, in true Losian style, refusing to be forced into a fixed, partisan position, displaying loyalty only to the ethical values which she in fact espoused throughout her life and career.

The *Diário de Lisboa crónicas*

As two of Losa's first *crónicas* in the *DL* in this period, 'A ordem do grande homem' and "Eles" are particularly significant in their unequivocal affirmation of Losa's thorough engagement with the politics of her time as she confronts readers with stark warnings about the fragility of democracy in a post-authoritarian society. In the first of the two texts, published at the end of 1978, the context in question is not, however, post-revolution Portugal, but rather post-war Germany, as Losa recalls examples of figures seduced by, and, in one case, nostalgic for the order and discipline of the Nazi regime. Through a mixture of implicit mockery and a pointed exposure of the ugly, inhumane side of such apparent orderliness, Losa works to shatter the dangerously pristine image held by the old woman in question, equating the surface-level order she longs for with a deeper moral *disorder*:

O seu sonho dum novo super-homem que, tal como o super-rato de Disney, a preservaria, sob a capa da força e da robustez hercúlea, da agitação incomodativa dum mundo em crise, é a característica do comodismo e do egoísmo dos pusilânimes, para quem o poder absoluto significa segurança e tranquilidade.

Mas a História tem-nos provado de sobra que não há super-homens e que nenhum dos que presumidamente pretenderam sê-lo conseguiram manter a sua 'ordem', essa fachada de disciplina, de burocracia e de divertimento organizado, sem por detrás dela se couraçarem com um exército de esbirros, sem praticarem a violência, o crime, a

⁸ Gomes in fact goes on to highlight the *crónica* form's development in precisely this post-revolutionary period, as part of what he calls "[e]ste *meter em contacto*" which also (and separately, according to his presentation of the material) included a new-found space for the quotidian in the pages of national newspapers (Gomes M., 2014, p. 187).

injustiça, a corrupção, numa palavra, sem criarem, o mais vil dos terrorismos, a total desordem moral. (DL1)

Whilst her language here – of “burocracia [...] divertimento organizado [...] um exército de esbirros” on the one hand, and, a “mundo em crise” on the other – might easily be associated to pre- and post-revolution Portugal, respectively, Losa never in fact makes any explicit link to the situation immediately surrounding her, rather maintaining the discussion seemingly focused on pre- and post-war Germany, to which it does of course also, and entirely legitimately, apply.

In “Eles”, however, – published just a month later – we find a very much more direct confrontation of Portugal’s delicate situation, initially focused on the specific issue of female subjugation. Indeed, the first half of “Eles” perhaps represents one of the most explicit and sustained expressions of Losa’s essentially feminist outlook, elsewhere often tempered or indirectly stated. “Do que ‘eles’ não gostavam era que elas saíssem à rua sem irem acompanhadas por um membro familiar [...] que se interessassem pelas coisas intelectuais ou pela política [...] O que ‘eles’ apreciavam era que elas estivessem na cozinha com um avental gracioso” (DL3). Thus starts Losa’s third regular contribution to *DL*, on 3rd January 1979, taking as her unmistakable target the patriarchal, misogynistic dynamics which had dominated Portuguese society during the Estado Novo dictatorship, and against which Losa had protested for many decades already, albeit somewhat more discreetly, on account of the ever-present censor. But lest we should imagine that Losa is here concerned with analysing only Portugal’s *past*, following a long list of all the behaviours previously considered improper for a woman comes an acknowledgement of a certain level of progress in terms of gender equality, nevertheless accompanied by the assertion that there is still room for significant improvement in this respect: “Assim eram os maridos. / As coisas mudaram um bom pedaço neste capítulo, embora não suficientemente, já se sabe” (*ibid.*).

However, it is not just conservative gender roles that Losa takes aim at here; halfway through the *crónica* she swings her critical eye around to another group of culpable men, as well as to the men and women who fail to hold them to account, and fail, therefore, to properly exercise their democratic right and responsibility:

Mas havia outro ‘eles’, e quanto à maneira como estes eram encarados e apreciados pela população, por homens e mulheres, praticamente nada mudou [...] os outros ‘eles’, os governantes do país, são figuras um tanto abstractas que se movem em altas esferas como os deuses no Olímpo [...] distanciando-se [...] do cidadão comum, cheio de pequenos defeitos e vícios...

Mas o que o cidadão comum esquece é que ‘eles’, na democracia em que há algum tempo por cá vivemos, já não devem ser encarados como os dos tempos da ditadura que punham e dispunham, mas sim como os nossos representantes. (*Ibid.*)

Indeed, what is interesting in this *crónica*, beyond its two-pronged attack on retrograde attitudes to authority, is the relatively practical lesson it seems to offer in the functioning of democracy – Losa’s familiar pedagogical penchant shining through her words here. Recalling her previous warnings in relation to a longed-for “superman”, we see how Losa’s message about the fragility of a fledgling democracy is one she feels needs re-stating, now in this explicitly Portugal-focused text:

Quem julgar fatal e inevitável terem os governantes dum país o privilégio de pôr e dispor; quem preferir resmungar à maneira das esposas frustradas, em vez de erguer a voz [...] quem achar que o melhor é não intervir e ‘deixar governar’, mal ou bem, talvez não tenha a consciência de que está a desejar a ditadura, o ‘homem forte’ que pensa e resolve por toda uma população, reprimindo-a, degradando-a e qualificando-a de imatura. (*Ibid.*)

From these two initial texts, therefore, we see that while Ilse Losa does not, by any means, shy away from a political discourse, she does take a markedly non-partisan approach, constructing a two-stage confrontation of the highly-charged topic of authoritarianism and democracy here, and making her argument about more than just the Portuguese (or, indeed, German) situation, but rather more of a philosophical, ethical one, in which key notions are explored from a number of angles and in relation to multiple contexts.

As if to confirm her continued commitment to, or perhaps, rather, comfort in, such an approach, towards the end of Losa's year of regular *DL* contributions, the *crónica* 'Sim ou não?' once again offers a discussion ostensibly about the German socio-political context but which also provides some reflections that resonate with Portugal's situation in 1979. Here, Losa presents the then-burning issue of whether or not the ban on the sale of Hitler's *Mein Kampf* should have been overturned in Germany, providing opinions from either side of the debate:

O primeiro [Hans Schueler] alega que a mentalidade dum povo, depois duma vivência de trinta anos de democracia, não é comparável a essa mentalidade anterior, de vítimas dum totalitarismo brutal com uma censura impiedosa e humilhante [...] Por sua vez Raddatz contesta tais argumentos [...] Diz: 'As cicatrizes ainda são demasiado frescas, o bacilo ainda demasiado activo, o perigo do contágio demasiado agudo'. (DL25)

Bearing in mind the very recent state of Portugal's own democracy in 1979, these comments by Raddatz about the still-fresh scars of totalitarianism in Germany some thirty years on from its own transition, would surely strike a sensitive chord for Losa's Portuguese readers. What's more, the question of the psychological state of a population (as opposed to the more bacterial, physical condition also evoked), and the allusion to collective trauma which Losa cites here, raises a point that she herself expresses in her own words in another of her *DL crónicas* focused on the Holocaust's legacy in German society: 'Informação séria para uma juventude que quer saber'.

Here, Losa refers to what she describes as an "o que lá vai, lá vai" attitude dominant in Germany in the years after the war's end and by which the country's recent past was repressed (seemingly also alerting her Portuguese readers to the risks of such a policy),⁹ going on to offer the following psychoanalytically-inflected reflection:

⁹ 'O que lá vai, lá vai' is the title of another (undated) Losa *crónica*, included in *À Flor do Tempo*, and in which Losa again dismisses the naïve idea that the past can be buried, instead illustrating how it is in fact very much alive and actively works on the present.

Mas do mesmo modo que se não pode [sic] separar um ser humano do seu passado, igualmente sucede com um povo e o seu passado; e assim como as culpas do passado de um ser humano podem provocar-lhe, periodicamente, torturas íntimas, também as recordações das culpas de um povo o podem torturar. E é sabido que a melhor maneira de conhecer os traumatismos recalcados e, portanto, de os poder combater, é a exteriorização emocional, por outras palavras, a revelação da verdade.¹⁰

With this, the interest in child psychology and familiarity with Freudian theory that I highlighted in Losa's earlier *Vértice* and *SN* writings would appear confirmed and expanded as she moves from an understanding of individual psychology and trauma to one of collective, societal proportions, nevertheless always maintaining a non-technical, relatable tone and approach.

This is, indeed, just one of a number of elements identified as traits of Losa's previous periodical contributions which similarly characterise this *DL* archive. Others include, for example, an occasional sociological mode in which Losa seemingly presents a "report" on a given trip (as in her very first *Vértice* text, 'Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra') – seen here in 'Feira mostra' with its report on the 1979 Frankfurt Book Fair, or the pair of texts 'Os menos amados' and 'Ângulos de visão', in which Losa examines relations between Germans and foreign 'Gastarbeiter' (guest workers).¹¹ In both 'Feira mostra' and 'Os menos amados', as in previous texts of this more sociological or anthropological sort, Losa bases her discussion in facts and figures, as if to mark this particular mode.

The literary reviews that formed one of Losa's most frequent modes in the 1950s and 60s are again present here, but now less prominent – they are fewer and no longer exclusively and formally presented as reviews, but more reflections based on the release or discovery of a given

¹⁰ This emphasis on the importance of truth to a society's recovery from authoritarian rule finds some echo in Pimentel & Rezola (2013), as cited previously.

¹¹ We might here note the indirect echo of the influx in Portugal, following the revolution in 1975, of citizens from the recently independent former Portuguese colonies. Losa thus, once again, by commenting on a social reality which is distant for her readers, manages to subtly bring to attention a number of issues which are equally present and problematic in Portuguese society, such as the xenophobia expressed in relation to immigration.

book or books, embedded within a broader discussion. These are joined by commentaries on television culture such as in ‘Milagre amargo’, which compares Portuguese broadcasting policies in relation to two American programmes on the Holocaust and the legacy of slavery, or in ‘Alguma coisa tem, de certeza’, where Losa compares attitudes to Brazilian soap operas in Portugal, defending their right to cultural consideration.¹² These television-focused texts seemingly replace the cinema reviews that Losa had previously published with some regularity.

Ilse Losa’s tendency to highlight works and authors whose words give expression to something of her own perspective would also seem to continue, with her two-part promotion of the recently published memoirs of Curt Meyer-Clason – the former head of what was then the Instituto Alemão (now the Goethe Institut) in Lisbon – providing a particularly pronounced example of this. ‘*Diários Portugueses*’ and ‘*Ainda Os Diários Portugueses*’ return us to the question of Losa’s engagement on the post-revolution situation in Portugal, with Meyer-Clason’s relative distance from Portuguese politics (on account of his foreign and transitory status in Portugal), seemingly allowing Losa to approach the matter of the revolution’s success or failure more frontally than she does elsewhere in her own name.

“A situação política portuguesa antes e depois do 25 de Abril [...] é apreciada do ponto de vista dum observador ‘de fora’” (DL19), Losa says of Meyer-Clason’s memoir, going on to reflect: “por um lado, tem a vantagem da distância afectiva e mental, mas por outro o defeito do espectador do camarote que segue, divertido, o desenrolar do espectáculo”. Though she doesn’t compare her own position in Portuguese society explicitly, Losa, by emphasising Meyer-Clason’s rare perspective, to some extent aligns herself with it via the inevitable comparison of their identities as (German) foreigners living in Portugal with an exceptional level of familiarity with Portuguese language and culture.¹³ Thus, in extensively citing and referring to

¹² Hugely popular Brazilian soaps such as *Gabriela* and *Escrava Isaura* had, since their arrival on Portuguese screens in 1977 and 1978, respectively, presented audiences with images of Brazilian women which, as strong, albeit highly sexualised female leads, challenged the conservative, submissive model of womanhood dominant in Portugal. As narratives which touch on questions of race and slavery, they also inserted these culturally sensitive topics within Portuguese homes on a daily basis.

¹³ “É vulgaríssimo os residentes em terra que não é a sua permanecerem de fora por não se adaptarem a novos costumes, por não conseguirem aprender a língua do país, por estarem totalmente desinteressados dos problemas do povo em cujo meio se instalaram [...] Quanto a Curt Meyer-Clason [...] pertence às poucas excepções à regra” (DL18). Just by stating this, in Portuguese, and from her position as a regular *cronista* in a national newspaper,

Meyer-Clason's account, Losa continues her somewhat allusive, elliptical expression of a potentially controversial opinion on events around her:

Num 'discurso' imaginário que lhe é dirigido por um português imaginário, lê-se: '... Conserve o cravo no coração, se isso lhe dá gosto. O senhor é europeu; consigo a semente do cravo talvez germine e cravos voltem a florescer. Aqui conosco, ele murchou, a semente caiu em terreno inculto, como vem escrito na bíblia, e terreno inculto não dá fruto'. (DL19)

Whilst I don't suggest this necessarily corresponds exactly to Losa's own feelings on the Portuguese revolution, there is something to be said for the space she makes for such an opinion – the imagined words of a figure pictured by someone occupying a place in Portuguese society not exactly aligned with, nor entirely distanced from, her own. "Julgo que, para um estudo duma época agitada que Portugal tem vivido 'Os Diários Portugueses' do Meyer-Clason serão sempre de grande utilidade" (DL19), says Losa by way of conclusion of her two-part promotion of the book, thereby implicitly validating the snippets of it which she provides for her readers.

Elsewhere, it is through a scattering of thinly veiled criticisms that we gain a sense of Ilse Losa's own mixed feelings about the country's trajectory since the revolution. In 'Predição precipitada', for example, Losa refers to having, after the 25th April 1974, tidied away a *crónica* about street poverty in 1950s Porto into a file called 'Crónicas anacrónicas', before going on to recall a recent episode which proved this prediction to have been hasty. Of her optimism regarding the revolution's transformatory potential, Losa remarks wearily: "Coisas que se fazem quando se está cheia de ilusões e se pretende transformar o mundo de acordo com o que se gostava que ele fosse. / Ingenuidades enfim..." (DL9). In another *crónica*, focused on the arrival of colour television in Portugal, Losa addresses the country's increasing incorporation into a capitalist market and consumerist culture, expressing some disapproval ("Para não perder o comboio desta frenética competição, adquirem-se coisas supérfluas e de exagerado luxo"

commenting on Portuguese society week after week, Losa also implicitly stakes out her own position as well beyond the different categories of foreigner she describes here, almost suggesting that she is in fact no longer even of a comparable status, so well-adapted and embedded is she.

[DL16]) whilst also pointing out the examples that Portugal might in fact usefully seek to follow: “Já que temos de competir com os ‘Jones’ porque não lhes cobiçar, em primeiro lugar, a quantidade de hospitais, de médicos na província, de escolas, de teatros... que eles têm?” (*ibid.*). But if here Losa’s left-wing ideals are seemingly promoted, elsewhere she is critical of excessively zealous politicisation of every aspect of Portuguese culture: “afirmar que [...] ‘tem mau gosto’ ou ‘falta de consciência política’, parece-me atitude presunçosa”, she says of certain attitudes to light entertainment, for example (DL14).

Where we really find continuity in Losa’s press publications, however, and, indeed, a more consistent, open and emphatic political message, is in her tireless focus on, and appeal for, a more ethical world. This is of course a very broad focus, within which a number of different, more specific practices and values can be identified. Most prominent, and indeed familiar as Losian themes from previous analyses, are, on the one hand, solidarity, and on the other pacifism. As I have already briefly suggested, it is through these repeated calls for a more generous, humanitarian approach to the world and each other that I believe Losa’s political outlook and engagement is in fact most consistently stated and practised in these texts, rather than in the more explicitly political examples already examined above.

“O que é solidariedade e o que é caridade?”, asks Losa, philosophically and pedagogically in ‘A força das palavras’, from early February 1979. In response to what she considers to have been a generalised misunderstanding or misuse of the word “solidarity” throughout the previous December’s festive period, Losa dedicates this *crónica* to critically examining the two related concepts, before arriving at the following conclusion:

Solidariedade nunca humilha; antes pelo contrário: estimula reciprocidade, fortifica e une, enquanto a caridade realça a desigualdade, a injustiça, inferiorizando o contemplado e emprestando prestígio social ao benfeitor. É fácil ser-se caridoso, mas é difícil aceitar-se esmola. (DL5)

A practical illustration of precisely her point here is provided just over a month later, in ‘Predição precipitosa’, as Losa examines different reactions to, and by, a beggar outside a Porto café. “Um velho pedinte ‘revoltou-se’ contra uma senhora que o tratara com essa superioridade

graciosa, que é feita dum breve gesto negativo de cabeça e dum ‘vá com Deus’ dito dum modo piedoso, quase devoto” (DL9), Losa recalls of an episode she witnessed in the 1950s. This is then contrasted with her own experience – in the same café, two decades later – of buying a cake for a begging child who is otherwise scorned by staff and customers. Having the cake snatched from her by the boy, Losa reflects: “Felizmente não me agradeceu. Felizmente não transferiu a sua dívida para Deus para que ma pagasse. Felizmente foi malcriado e livrou-me da má consciência de ter praticado ‘uma boa acção’...” (*ibid.*). In both texts, Losa’s attention to the humiliating power dynamic inherent to charity is marked and, indeed, remarkable, as is her only very thinly veiled jibe at the Catholic church as a familiar proponent of that same value which here she questions, or rather exposes, as something not as wholly pure and “good” as Christian culture preaches, but rather more morally complex.

Elsewhere – indeed, for the most part – Losa’s promotion of solidarity is less explicit, instead appearing via a series of episodes in which she calls out inequality, practising rather than preaching solidarity by repeatedly placing herself on the side of the marginalised. These are the immigrants at the centre of ‘Os menos amados’ and ‘Ângulos de visão’, for example (“os seres humanos são tão iguais nos seus sofrimentos e nas suas aspirações como um ovo é igual a outro ovo [...] Pena esquecermo-nos frequentemente desta simples verdade” [DL23]); they are also the elderly in ‘Não basta haver rosas...’ (“Nas nossas sociedades industrializadas os velhos sem fôlego, os que já não são prestáveis para a produção [...] quase que têm vergonha de continuar a existir” [DL21]); and they are the unemployed in ‘Conversas amenas’ (“virei-me para o homem e fiz-lhe um sinal concordante de cabeça. / ‘O desemprego ainda não lhe bateu à porta’, dissera. Muitas opiniões têm as pessoas a quem o desemprego ainda não lhes bateu à porta” [DL7]).

Finally, it is also in her repeated dismissal of an us/them mentality that Losa’s unwavering solidarity can frequently be felt. This occurs in *crónicas* such as ‘Milagre amargo’ where Losa claims that the Holocaust could have happened in any country – “qualquer povo, em circunstâncias propícias, pode ser fanatizado até ao delírio da obstinação e da obediência cega. Se assim não pensássemos, seríamos também racistas. O fanatismo não é ‘privilégio’ deste ou daquele povo” (DL8). It also appears in the last of the 1979 *DL Losa crónicas* – ‘Balanço’ – which is a weighing up of the effectiveness of the UNESCO International Year of the Child,

Losa drawing attention to failures at both a local and global level: “não se compreende que haja quem, em relação ao que se passa ‘lá fora’ encolhe os ombros. O ‘lá fora’ e o ‘cá dentro’ formam um todo e isto especialmente num ano intitulado de ‘internacional’” (DL27). With such assertions Losa seemingly works to break down perceived barriers between national groups, encouraging a more inclusive, egalitarian and ultimately empathetic relationship with the Other.

In this final *DL crónica*, published on 26th November 1979, Losa’s pacifist message is also prominently addressed. Indeed, in such a combination of focus – on children and peace – the final *crónica* effectively closes the bracket opened seven months earlier, in ‘Hipocrisia ou má consciência’ (subtitled ‘A propósito do “Ano Internacional da Criança”’ and later included in *Estas Searas* as ‘Os adultos’), where Losa similarly brings together these two subjects close to her heart, using a repetitive structure – of the sort often used in children’s stories – to hammer home her point:

Os adultos conversam, a criança escuta: ‘Guerras? Pois guerras sempre as tem havido e sempre as haverá. As guerras são necessárias para o progresso da humanidade’ [...]

Os adultos, por isso, põem a fantasia a trabalhar para produzirem armas de guerra [...]

Os adultos matam-se uns aos outros com as armas que produziram [...]

Os adultos, nas escolas, falam às crianças das guerras feitas ao longo dos tempos [...] enaltecem os heróis guerreiros [...] erguem estátuas aos heróis das guerras [...] cantam e ensinam às crianças hinos nacionais [...]

E depois disso tudo isso os adultos organizam campanhas para que se proibam os brinquedos bélicos, destinados ao entretenimento das crianças. (DL11)

Even before arriving at the final clamouring cry for change in ‘Balanço’, in ‘Feira mostra’, her penultimate *DL crónica*, these two favoured topics of Losa’s – young people and pacifism – are again brought together. Here, having expressed her disappointment in the Frankfurt Book Fair’s money-focused approach (“o ‘business’ ocupava o trono do rei [...] Enfim, a guerra do livro” [DL26]), Losa ends by highlighting its “aspectos insólitos e agradáveis”, and in particular the activism practised by adolescents at the Book Fair, implicitly comparing these to

their morally-inferior adult counterparts: “jovens ofereciam livros e folhetos de protesto contra os armamentos das grandes potências, contra o abandono a que estão votadas as crianças em países subdesenvolvidos e em luta [...] Tudo isso sem a pretensão de fazer grande ‘business’” (*ibid.*).

In wake of this praiseworthy practical example, in ‘Balanço’, which was published two weeks later, Losa moves into a more denunciatory mode. Rounding off a naming and shaming of governments’ and societies’ collective failure to make the International Year of the Child a meaningful, as opposed to a merely symbolic act, Losa cites the then-Secretary General of the United Nations, Kurt Waldheim, using the statistical shock of his words to give a final boost to her argument:

‘Actualmente gasta-se mais de um bilião de dólares diariamente (!) na corrida aos armamentos. Este número só por si basta para ilustrar a distorção do sentido de prioridades num mundo em que dois terços da população vivem ainda na miséria e na fome’ [...]

Só imaginar, um bilião de dólares por dia! Tanta obra indispensável que se podia ter realizado!

Utopia? Falta de senso comum? Será?...

Experimentem, pela Quadra de Natal, duas vezes ao dia e com todos os matadores televisíveis informar a população sobre essa cifra notável em prol de armas e verão [...] (DL27)

That Losa’s regular collaboration with *DL* should end on this accusatory, questioning and, indeed, challenging note, is surely an indication of how she sees her role as a *cronista* in this (Cold War-era) context – using her platform to prompt a pacifist reaction in her readers, just as in the opening *crônicas* we witnessed her confront questions surrounding democratic (in)stability, reminding her readers of the need for active participation in the maintenance of such a system. Indeed, in response to the question of Losa’s political engagement in these *DL crônicas* – raised at the beginning of this chapter – it is also worth recalling her words to the newspaper’s then-assistant-director Fernando Piteira Santos, in a letter from June 1979 (half-way through the collaboration discussed here, therefore). Following references to specific

episodes in Portuguese and German politics of the time (in response to issues raised in a previous letter by Santos), Losa swiftly turns her attention to nuclear warfare as if to end the previous, somewhat tense discussion by moving onto a broader, global and humanitarian panorama, as opposed to a Portuguese, party-political one: “Enfim, na opinião dum grande cientista alemão corremos sério perigo de sermos aniquilados pelas armas cada vez mais eficazes. É o que me preocupa neste momento mais do que os partidarismos” (*apud* Marques K., 2018, p. 61). With this, we find a pithy summary of Losa’s attitude throughout her year of *DL* contributions – consistently refusing to be embroiled in petty, partisan point-scoring, the *cronista* instead holding firm to her own, personal politics, which she brings, repeatedly and via a range of approaches, to the attention of her readers, prompting and, indeed, challenging them to engage.

1990-1991 – Público

Portugal era na segunda metade dos anos 80 do século passado um naco europeu de estabilidade política assente na maioria absoluta de Cavaco Silva, onde, fruto da adesão à CEE, desaguavam diariamente milhões em fundos comunitários, posteriormente transformados em alcatrão, projectos municipais e cursos de formação. (Figueira, 2012, p. 51)

With this statement by historian João Figueira, the contrast with the socio-political climate surrounding Losa’s *DL* collaboration in 1979 is stark. Indeed, the level of social, political and economic change undergone in Portugal during the last decades of the twentieth century is something that fellow historian António Costa Pinto emphasises in his introduction to *Em busca da democracia*: “os anos de 1960 a 2000 corresponderam ao período de mais rápido crescimento da economia portuguesa em toda a sua história” (2015, p. 21); “as mudanças na sociedade portuguesa foram dramáticas. Em menos de quarenta anos, embora fosse o mesmo país, passou a viver-se numa sociedade muito diferente” (*ibid.*, p. 22). In the same book, sociologist António Barreto, in his chapter on ‘Population and Society’, provides a closer look at some of the principal nation-wide socio-economic developments to have taken place during this period, including the establishment of a national health service, the expansion of a social security system, an inversion of net migration, and what he calls the “integração nacional, administrativa, territorial e social” which to some extent redressed the situation by which “uma

grande parte do país vivia a ritmos diferentes da capital e das principais áreas urbanas” (Barreto, 2015, p. 122).

It was against this backdrop – towards the end of a period of massive change affecting all aspects of Portuguese society – that on 5th March 1990, Portugal’s newest daily newspaper, *Público*, came into existence, and that Losa’s regular collaboration with it began shortly after. In his study of the Portuguese press between 1974 and 2010, João Figueira emphasises the significance of *Público*’s emergence:

Servido por um naipe de profissionais experientes e competentes, a que se juntou a frescura de alguma juventude ‘irrequieta’, letrada e sedenta de mostrar as qualidades que estiveram na base da sua escolha para a redação do jornal [...] o *Público* depressa se impôs no então desinteressante panorama da imprensa diária nacional. (Figueira, 2012, p. 64)

Figueira goes on to highlight the innovative approach to press publishing that this new title offered its readers, with a diverse, multi-focal outlook allowing culture to occupy a place of particular prominence:

As suas manchetes, que podiam incidir em áreas tão diversas como a Política ou o Desporto procuravam mostrar e assumir que, em jornalismo, a relevância temática é múltipla, embora, naturalmente, o jornal, como órgão de referência que era e ainda é, desse, por norma, o espaço privilegiado da sua capa a assuntos políticos ou económicos. Mas com ele, a Cultura passou, também, a ter um lugar de destaque, chegando, inclusivamente e com grande regularidade, a ser assunto de primeira página. (Figueira, 2012, pp. 64-5)

It is also worth noting that *Público*, from the very outset, published parallel editions of the paper in Lisbon and Porto, with Losa’s *crónicas* appearing in the Porto version, a detail that will be relevant to the thematic analysis of Losa’s *Público crónicas* which follows.

Ilse Losa in 1990

On a personal level, Ilse Losa had suffered an enormous loss in the years immediately preceding her *Público* collaboration. In 1988, Arménio Losa, her husband and companion of 53 years, died aged 79, leaving her bereft.¹⁴ By contrast, professionally speaking, the same period represented a high-point for Losa, as she received significant national and international recognition. Having won the Grande Prémio Gulbenkian for her body of children's writing in 1984, in 1988, she was awarded a "medal of merit" by the city of Porto, and she was also the subject of a special edition of the literary magazine *Letras & Letras*, which celebrated – with contributions from Óscar Lopes, Georg Rudolf Lind and Mário Dionísio, amongst others – Losa's 40 years of literary activity. In 1990, her seminal autobiographical novel, *O Mundo em Que Vivi* was published in a German translation (*Die Welt in der ich lebte*) for the first time; this would be followed by *Sob Céus Estranhos* (*Unter fremden Himmeln*) in 1991. Indeed, it was in that same year that, in Portugal, Losa's final collection of short stories and novellas, *Caminhos Sem Destino* (1991), was published, and, in Germany, she was awarded a national distinction in recognition of her activity in the field of letters.¹⁵

With these "retrospective" elements at play, as well as Losa's relatively advanced age of 77 when she began collaborating with *Público* in April 1990 (a newspaper whose contrasting youth and freshness Figueira so emphasises), it is perhaps not surprising that many of her *Público* texts are very much based in memory – thick with the past and its extensions into the present.¹⁶ Indeed, I would suggest that the opening lines of Losa's final confirmed *Público* publication – 'O teatro da nossa memória', from 05.10.1992 – in fact serves as something of a refrain for the whole body of these 16 *Público* texts: "Quando deparamos com alguém que há

¹⁴ In the Losa family archive, after 1985 and for the rest of that decade which is by far Losa's most productive period according to my data (see Chapter 3.1), there are but two confirmed *crónica* publications: 'Contar ou Ocultar?' from 02.11.1986 and 'Um livro e um filme', annotated as being from 22.09.1987. With the addition of the Manuela Rêgo list, this is only expanded to five. This suggests that during the last years of Arménio Losa's life and following his death, Ilse Losa reduced her *crónica* activity, presumably on account of caring for, and then subsequently mourning, her husband.

¹⁵ For a list of Ilse Losa's accolades see Marques K., 2018, pp. 386-8.

¹⁶ According to the interview with Losa's daughter, Alexandra, which Karina Marques included in her 2015 doctoral thesis, by the early 1990s Ilse Losa was beginning to suffer from Alzheimer's (see Marques K., 2014, Annexe I, p. IV). This is something which Losa's grand-daughter, Ana Losa, also alluded to in the interview that I conducted with her in the course of this research and is a detail which surely connects to the insistent remembering which permeates Ilse Losa's *Público* texts.

um ror de anos não víamos, a conversa quase sempre desagua no ‘Lembras-te?’” (P16). In its echo of the actual refrain “Ainda te lembras...?”, from the poem ‘Grades brancas’ (V2) – one of Losa’s very first texts in *Vértice*, in 1951 – this retrospective insistence also brings Losa’s press publications full circle, back to one of the insistent questions with which they began.

A conversa quase sempre desagua no ‘lembras-te?’

The first three dated *Público* texts – ‘O cine-teatro’ (P3), ‘Na Praça de Liberdade’ (P4) and ‘Nos supers’ (P5) – open within memories of the past, Losa using these recollections as springboards by which to arrive at a reflection on the present.¹⁷ Putting aside the first two texts already discussed in my analysis of *À Flor do Tempo*, in the case of ‘Nos supers’, the text begins: “Quando, em meados dos anos 50, estive pela primeira vez nos Estados Unidos da América, surpreenderam-me os supermercados” (P5), going on to compare the novelty and exoticism of her experience abroad four decades earlier,¹⁸ with the now-familiar super-, mini- and hyper-markets of present-day Porto. As part of this transition between past and present, Losa reflects on the very different experiences offered by supermarket shopping and that of traditional, local grocery shops, “onde se pesavam as compras em balanças de dois pratos, e se faziam as contas com lapis sobre tiras de papel, e onde se palrava com os donos” (*ibid.*), she recalls with apparent nostalgia. “Mas a verdade é que quem tiver os olhos e os ouvidos bem abertos, consegue também observar nos ‘supers’ uma data de coisas que lhe dão uma nítida ideia do quotidiano por vezes bem difícil da população” (*ibid.*), Losa writes halfway through the text, moving further into the present and onto the familiar ground of social justice with which we have come to associate her *crónica*-writing.

¹⁷ The two additional, undated *Público crónicas* from the family archive – ‘A chegada’ (P1) and ‘Espinheiros quebra-cabeças’ (P2) – are almost entirely based in Losa’s first days in Porto. The former, as its title implies, describes Losa’s arrival from the port of Leixões to a rented room in central Porto, focusing on the contrasting receptions she had: warm but unintelligible within the *pensão*, and cold and aggressive out in the street – each alienating in their own way. The latter *crónica* is very closely related to *À Flor do Tempo*’s ‘Não tão fácil como parece’, with its exploration of the hierarchical system of forms of address in Portuguese, with a recently-arrived Losa struggling to navigate this. In each, it is only in the final paragraph that we are brought into the present.

¹⁸ ‘Nos supers’ would seem to be an update of a text from *Ida e Volta*, whose original publication Losa references here, and which is similarly focused on the wonder of American supermarkets.

In ‘Falou-se do S. João’ (P6), published a week later, on 24.06.1990, the relationship between the past and present is inverted, Losa beginning with reference to a recent event which prompted her to remember an episode from her early days in Porto. Telling of her recent visit to a school in Frankfurt where she encountered a community of Portuguese immigrant families, and, in particular, a number of children whose parents are from “Porto, Matosinhos, Braga” (P6), Losa decides to talk to them about the São João festivities, acting, paradoxically (as an originally-German, now-Portuguese citizen addressing Portuguese-descended German citizens), as a cultural ambassador for Porto and explaining its popular ritual. Upon being asked by one child whether she partakes in the celebrations, Losa is transported back to her first experience of São João, comparing this negative memory (“as pessoas, apertadas umas contra outras, empurravam-se, e as que tinham mais força esmagavam as mais fraquinhas” [*ibid.*]) with her present-day enjoyment of the annual ritual.

This structure and use of the past – entered from a present-day experience, which summons up a memory, and from which, in turn, Losa returns to the present with a refreshed perspective – is similarly used in ‘Televisão’, in which Losa, walking down a street in modern-day Porto, is reminded of a previous episode on that same street in the mid-1940s. She begins: “Na cidade em que habitamos longos anos, são muitos os pontos de referência a incidentes ou encontros que tivemos” (P14), going on to recall the incident of seeing a small child react with extreme distress at a firework’s explosion, only to find out that the girl suffered from post-traumatic stress as a result of her experience of the bombing of Rotterdam during the Second World War. “Esta recordação levantou em mim várias perguntas. Como reage a maioria das nossas crianças ao assistir ao espectáculo diário da guerra no Golfo fornecido pela televisão?” (*ibid.*), writes Losa, shifting into the familiar pedagogically-inflected tone we know from her many *Vértice* texts of this sort, comparing past and present war-reportage, and finally concluding in another familiar – pacifist – mode: “Esperemos que as nossas crianças não venham a tomar contacto com semelhante realidade. Por isso será de bom senso guardarmos para nós os nossos receios e conjecturas em relação a Portugal” (*ibid.*).

But it is in ‘A “Latina”’, published on 13.08.1990, in protest at news that the celebrated “Latina” bookshop in central Porto was threatened with closure, that Losa’s use of the *crónica* to manipulate time as a mode of civic activism, is best illustrated. Here, Losa begins by recalling the 1960 launch of a Jaime Cortesão book at “A Latina”, the promotion of which was

prohibited by the censor, but which the bookshop owner, Mário Perdigão, honourably worked to save in any case, creating a massive display to announce it and thus earning himself the revered poet's gratitude "pela firmeza e persistência" (P8), and for the great success of the launch. Moving into the present, Losa traces this memory to a recent conversation with Perdigão, prompted by her hearing about the bookshop's possible imminent closure, ending the text on the following nudge to her readers: "Será possível que um excepcional passado cultural e histórico, e onde se registaram os mais flagrantes casos de repressão ditatorial, vá desaparecer da cidade? Concordo com José Gomes Bandeira quando escreve no 'Jornal de Notícias', de 27/6/90, que o Porto 'ficará mais pobre'" (*ibid.*). In her emphasis of the cultural and historic significance of the "Latina" bookshop, as well as the glorifying attention she pays to an act of resistance by its owner, Losa, incredulous at the idea that all this might "disappear", seems to embark upon constructing a textual memorial of sorts, rescuing from the march of time and capitalism, a place and ethical posture she considers worthy of immortalisation.

Indeed, it is in a similar mode that Losa writes two further texts in this particular archive: 'Antes e depois' (P15) and 'O teatro da nossa memória' (P16). In the first, she begins by recalling a *crónica* by Ramalho Ortigão in which he criticises late nineteenth-century Portugal's dearth of serious art galleries, collections and sensibility. To this, Losa holds up the example of Porto's rich arts scene one century on ("Ortigão ficaria pasmado se soubesse que nesta altura existem só no Porto à volta de vinte galerias de arte" [P15]) before going back to trace the country's development in the interim, recalling a still sparse artistic panorama in the 1930s and then the key moment of the Galeria António Carneiro's opening within the Livraria Portugália, in Porto, in the late 1940s:

[E]mbora não chegasse a ter, por complicações comerciais, longa vida, foi um marco na História da Cidade graças ao entusiasmo do Dr. Teixeira da Rocha. Tanto a própria livraria como a galeria se tornaram um ponto de encontro não só de escritores, poetas e pintores [...] mas também de um público interessado em questões de arte. (P15)

And from hereon in, the *crónica* conjures up a sense of the cultural hub that this short-lived gallery represented for Losa and the left-wing intellectuals and artists which formed her immediate circle (the names of many of those she mentions, such as Gretchen Wohlwill, Júlio

Resende and Júlio Pomar, are familiar as Losa's correspondents or else as subjects of her *crónicas*). Indeed, in her reference to “nós, os apreciadores do quadro”, presented in contrast to the “três senhoras da alta [sociedade], elegantes desde os chapéus requintados aos sapatos de tacão fino e alto”, who sneeringly assess a Júlio Pomar painting of ‘Mulheres do Porto’ (“mulheres populares de roupa rústica sem moda”), Losa confirms her complicity with the subversive likes of Pomar,¹⁹ cementing her place at the heart of this historic cultural scene: “rompemos em gargalhadas, que, suponho, as senhoras ainda devem ter ouvido ao atravessarem a livraria até à porta de saída” (*ibid.*).

Just as here we have a homage to a long-since disappeared cultural venue which held a particular importance for Losa and her oppositionist, artistic-intellectual Porto comrades, in ‘O teatro da nossa memória’ (P16), we again find the *cronista* reconstructing another “marco na História da Cidade” (P15) – the Teatro Experimental do Porto, previously the Teatro António Pedro.²⁰ This recollection, Losa tells us, is prompted by bumping into actress Dalila Rocha, who, as one of the founding and central members of the innovative group with which Losa herself also came to collaborate,²¹ is well-placed to narrate its history – one which Losa, in turn, works into a written testament.

¹⁹ “Pomar, Júlio (*b* Lisbon, 1926) Portuguese painter, printmaker and poet [...] Pomar’s early works evince a populist sentiment and a handling of form reminiscent of the Mexican muralists. He achieved early recognition as an active polemicist of Neo-Realism. [...] In 1946 the PIDE (secret police) interrupted work on his fresco for the Cinema Batalha in Oporto as subversive, and Pomar was imprisoned for four months. He completed the mural after his release, but it was soon destroyed by the PIDE. His commitment to an art of social consciousness and the painting of proletarian life continued throughout the 1940s and 1950s” (Rosengarten, n.d.).

²⁰ Portuguese contemporary theatre specialist Rui Pina Coelho, in accounting for the mid-twentieth century “experimental movement” in Portuguese theatre, remarks of the TEP (by contrast with other comparable groups): “Todas estas iniciativas e coletivos teatrais vão soçobrar perante a impermeabilidade do tecido teatral profissional face às propostas de cariz mais experimental. Todas, à exceção de uma: o Teatro Experimental do Porto (TEP), fundado em 1953, no enquadramento de um Círculo de Cultura Teatral (CCT). Amador nos primeiros anos de existência, profissionaliza-se em 1957, mantendo-se em atividade até aos dias de hoje, assumindo-se como o coletivo que carregará a mecha do experimentalismo no teatro português durante a década de 1950. De 1953 a 1961, terá como diretor artístico António Pedro, que fará do TEP o espaço privilegiado para a encenação moderna, em Portugal, e para um repertório consentâneo com o seu tempo teatral” (Coelho, 2017, p. 14).

²¹ In letters to Luís Sttau Monteiro in 1962, and Manuela Delgado in 1963, Losa mentions her role as “parte da Comissão cultural do TEP ou melhor, do Círculo de cultura teatral” and “2. secretário de direção”, respectively (Marques K., 2018, p. 214; 229).

Beginning with reference to the “triste estagnação cultural” (P16) within and of which the project was born in 1950, recalling the bureaucratic obstacles it faced and its original members, Losa’s portrait of the TEP highlights the key moments by which it progressed towards the eventual cultural significance it would come to have. These include Eugénio de Andrade’s suggestion to approach António Pedro for some direction, the company’s first productions, its growing ambitions, the financial support it secured, and, finally, its discovery of a physical space all of its own: “‘Foi o próprio António Pedro que, certo dia, descobriu na Travessa da Rua de Passos Manuel a lavandaria onde se alugava uma parte que, com a necessária fantasia, poderia ser transformada em sala de teatro’ [...] e, em 1955, o sonho tornou-se realidade” (*ibid.*). Indeed, as if within that semi-oneiric space, we are then taken on a minutely-detailed tour of Dalila Rocha’s personal memory of the theatre:

‘Lembro-me tão bem do teatrinho’ – disse Dalila. ‘Ao entrar no edifício, subia-se primeiro uma rampa, depois abria-se a porta à direita, descia-se uma escada e estava-se no vestíbulo, com o pequeno bar onde nos reuníamos para tomar o nosso café [...] Dali entrava-se, por uma porta larga, na sala de espectáculos. (*Ibid.*)

And with a short sharp shake to rouse her readers from this dreamy scenario – calling them back to the present from the past in which she had immersed them – Losa brings the narrative and her historical reconstruction to a definitive close:

Em 1980, o Teatro António Pedro foi encerrado com a peça ‘O Retábulo do Amor Profano’, encenada por Mário Alberto. Nada mais existe que faça evocar o belo teatro do qual todos os que nele entraram, para representar ou para assistir às representações, se lembram com saudades.

‘Eu até ajudei a pôr tijolos’, conta Dalila, sorrindo, mas não sem mágoa. (*Ibid.*)

One might argue that in Losa’s *crónica*, she too is in fact “laying bricks” in the construction of a written memory of yet another landmark of Porto and broader Portuguese cultural history, just as she also did for the Livraria Latina and the Galeria António Carneiro, challenging the idea which she herself states here, that of these spaces and their former creativity “Nada mais existe que [os] faça evocar” (*ibid.*).

Indeed, what becomes increasingly obvious as one reads these *crónicas*, or even just the excerpts included in my analysis here, is that as well as the marked temporal locations of these texts, their geographical rooting in a specifically Porto landscape is also very pronounced. Beyond the iconic, historic cultural landmarks of Livraria Latina, Galeria António Carneiro and the TEP, there is, for example, Losa's presentation of the annual Porto São João festivities, her celebration of Manoel de Oliveira and Álvaro Siza Vieira in 'Ambos do Porto' (later included in *A Flor do Tempo* and therefore not discussed here), her exploration of the Porto-specific phenomenon of "ilhas" in 'A prenda de Natal' (likewise republished in 1997), as well as, on a personal level, the account of her very first impressions of Porto (and by extension Portugal) in 'A chegada', in which her arrival from the port of Leixões is recorded for posterity. Looking at these texts, as well as the other *Público crónicas* not expressly dedicated to a specifically Porto tradition, it is remarkable to see how Losa effectively wrote them onto a map of the city she had progressively made home.

"A minha rua era a rua da Torrinha, a sossegada transversal da longa e velhíssima Rua do Cedofeita" writes Losa in 'A chegada' (P1); "A pensão da Dona Julieta situava-se no segundo andar da Rua Magalhães Lemos...", begins 'Cine-Teatro', whose title refers to the Teatro Rivoli – the *crónica*'s focus (P3); "O meu olhar desviou-se para a Avenida dos Aliados, com os seus edifícios de pretensa monumentalidade, rematando na Câmara Municipal", we read in 'Na Praça de Liberdade' (P4); Fontainhas and Rua de Passos Manuel serve as key locations in 'Falou-se no S.João' (P6); the "Livraria Portugália, na rua 31 de janeiro", is marked on the map in both 'Ter o rei na barriga' (P7) and 'Antes e depois' (P15); in 'A "Latina"', it is the "conhecida livraria na Rua de Santa Catarina" which Losa homes in on (P8); in 'Uns e outros' locations in the Baixa and Foz do Douro illustrate different sides of the city (P9); "Ao descer a Avenida dos Aliados e chegando à esquina da Rua da Fábrica" Losa writes, setting the scene for the central episode in 'Televisão' (P14); and in 'O teatro da nossa memória': "na Travessa da Rua de Passos Manuel a lavandaria onde se alugava uma parte..." (P16).

Indeed, just as I have suggested that the "Lembras-te?" of this final *crónica* might serve as a slogan of sorts for the whole collection of Losa's *Público crónicas*, in 'Taxistas' – published in *Público* on 05.11.1990 – Losa provides another tagline which seems to reflect this other

central pillar of her writing here: “Não sou bairrista [...] mas ...” (P11). In a text comparing Lisbon and Porto experiences with taxi-drivers (in which the Northern drivers very much come out on top), Losa thus puts her finger on another key aspect of these *crônicas*, highlighting and defending her own preference for a more local setting for her writing here. It seems that at this point in her career and life, following a series of seismic shifts that occurred on a personal, professional and also a broader societal level, Losa is drawn to that which more immediately surrounds her geographically, while temporally reaching back and away to more distant times, pulling this into the present and onto the map she effectively provides from one text to the next.

Following this temporal, archive by archive approach, by which I have examined, in-depth, Ilse Losa’s contributions to four different publications at four different points of her career, thus tracing her emergence and development as a *cronista*, I will here shift to a more thematic, sub-generic approach, as befits the single, somewhat amorphous Losa family *crônica* archive which was, indeed, the starting point of my whole research project. Within this, however, and as part of tying these two approaches – temporal and thematic – together, I will also provide some sense of temporal progression by looking at Losa’s engagement on one particular topic across the five decades of her *crônica*-writing.

3.4 Losa family archive analysis

With the 21 *Vértice*, *SN*, *DL* and *Público* texts present in the family archive set aside, the Losa family archive of *crónicas* comprises 139 texts.¹ Of these, 58 (42%) appear in the archive in published form, with the remaining 81 texts present either as typescripts or, occasionally, manuscripts. Whilst knowing that this collection is only a partial representation of Ilse Losa's *crónica* output (as exploration of other archives and sources has highlighted), a feasible and valuable task is for the Losa *crónicas* available within the family archive to be opened up and examined, thus inviting wider consideration of this aspect of the author's career by the academic and broader literary community. In the following section I will therefore draw some broad lines around and through the contents of this previously unseen material – texts which, where published, would only generally have been available in the public domain for a few days, such is the ephemeral nature of the newspaper medium for which they were originally destined. Given that an in-depth examination of all of the 139 texts is not possible here, I will also take the opportunity to highlight some of the texts I find to be most illustrative, surprising or illuminating in relation to Ilse Losa's personal and professional identity.

Assessing the archive – a broad, sub-generic overview

Many of the thematic and stylistic tendencies already identified both in Ilse Losa's previous *crónica* collections (explored in Part 2) and in the individual case study archives (explored in Chapters 3.2 and 3.3), are similarly represented in the family archive. Here, as there, while I have sorted the texts into loose groupings associated to one or other recurring sub-generic label, it is important to point out and emphasise the fluidity and, indeed, the subjectivity of these categorisations. Thus, many texts could legitimately belong under another or multiple other broad labels, but for ease of presentation I have organised them according to what I consider to be the predominant theme or style.²

¹ See Appendix D where each text is listed together with the available publication details as well as a letter-number reference (FA7 or FA139 for example) to simplify my in-text references to this material.

² While I provide numbers of the different sorts of text within each rough category, these are intended to be merely illustrative – a broad sketch of the distribution of Losa's attention. There may, indeed, appear to be some discrepancy between the numbers of a given type of text and the number of names in the lists I provide. This is because, on the one hand, many of texts focus on multiple individuals or works, and, on the other, Losa often dedicates more than one text to a given person or work over the course of her *crónica*-writing career.

25 of the 139 texts (18%) can be described as pedagogical texts which reflect on child development and its place in Portuguese as well as wider, global culture. Perhaps not surprisingly, given Losa's long-term commitment to quality, formative children's literature, specifically, a significant proportion of these pedagogically-oriented texts are dedicated to the kinds of books and story-telling available to children of various ages, though many other aspects of a child's education and upbringing – including psychology, toys, theatre, cinema, fantasy, and parental, as well as broader societal, notions of childhood (including cross-cultural comparisons) – are also frequently brought to attention by Losa.

37 texts (27%) might be labelled as reviews, or, more broadly, as literary, filmic or other arts-based reflections. These refer to works by, principally, although not exclusively, foreign (and often German-speaking) cultural figures of differing levels of renown:

Person/Organisation	Profession	Nationality
Michael Ende	author	German
Wolfgang Petersen	filmmaker	German
Thomas Draeger	director	German
Bertolt Brecht	poet & playwright	German
Heinrich Böll	author	German
Wolfgang Borchert	playwright	German
Thomas Mann	author	German
Gunter Grass	author	German
Erika Mann	writer and editor	German
Volker Schlöndorff	film-maker	German
Hans Magnus Enzensberger	writer	German
Wendelgard von Staden	writer	German
Kurt Tucholsky	writer	German
Peter Weiss	playwright	German
Peter Bissch	writer	Swiss
Stanislaw Jerzy Lac	author	Polish

Jerzy Andrzejewski	author	Polish
Hans Christian Andersen	writer	Danish
Scholem Alejchem	writer	Yiddish
Zarko Petan	writer	Yugoslav
András Sólyom	director	Hungarian
António Torrado	children's author	Portuguese
Ruben A.	author	Portuguese
Manuel Campos	singer	Portuguese
A Comuna	theatre group	Portuguese
Rodaviva	theatre group	Portuguese
Realejo	theatre group	Portuguese
TEP (Teatro Experimental do Porto)	theatre group	Portuguese
Eduardo Blanco-Amor	playwright	Galician
Roberto Innocenti	author	Italian
Betty Friedan	feminist activist	North American
Woody Allen	film director	North American
Steven Spielberg	filmmaker	North American
Charlie Chaplin	actor and director	British
Mariama Bâ	author	Senegalese
Arata Osada	scientist	Japanese

Losa also reviews puppet shows by unnamed organisations (one a high-end production in Lisbon, the other more rudimentary, in Porto); an anonymous German book of school-children's stories compiled by their teacher; a long list of exiled writers in a *crónica* – 'Escritores no exílio' (FA59) – focused on precisely the phenomenon of its title, and in which some brief attention is paid to the writing of a selection of the authors mentioned. Finally, the account of the development and expansion of a Portuguese female literary and cultural tradition provided in 'O mundo não pára' (FA87) might also be taken as a collective and historical review.

Texts which could be characterised as profiles of cultural figures presented by Losa as people who were at the time unknown or overlooked in the Portuguese sphere number 15 (11%) in the family archive. These include (primarily from the twentieth century):

Name	Profession/reputation	Nationality
Elias Canetti*	author	Bulgarian
Heinrich Böll*	author	German
Anne Frank	(child) author; Holocaust victim	Jewish-German
Bertolt Brecht	poet & playwright	German
Nelly Sachs*	poet; Holocaust survivor	Jewish-German
Elsa Sophia von Kamphoevener	oral story-collector	German
Curt Meyer-Clason	Goethe Institute of Lisbon director	German
Albert Einstein*	physicist	Jewish-German
Stefan Zweig	author	Jewish-Austrian
António Cruz	painter	Portuguese
Maria Judite de Carvalho	author	Portuguese
Irene Lisboa	author	Portuguese

*Nobel Prize winner

Profiles are also presented for eighteenth-century German literary giant, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and nineteenth-century exiled German poet, Heinrich Heine, as well as for the cities of Munich (with various phases of its history traced) and post-war London, which Losa presents following a trip there in 1947, comparing the situation she found to what she had known as an *au pair* in England in the late 1920s.

If those last examples of cities may seem surprising additions to what was up to that point a list of *people* profiled by Losa, ‘António Luis Gomes’ (FA25) is conversely an example of a text which, at first glance, might be classified as a profile of the man of its title, but which I

have not categorised thus on account of the fact that it is more concerned with the person Gomes *helped*, in his role as a state official, than with Gomes himself. That person was Ilse Losa's brother, Ernst Lieblich, who, as already briefly mentioned, during the Second World War, was imprisoned in Caxias and Aljube jails for a year and a half for having overstayed his three-month transit visa, like so many unnamed refugees to whom I suggest the text is also implicitly dedicated, thus diluting, without undermining, the homage paid to Gomes by Losa here. This is just one example of the nuances which have contributed to my categorisation.

Other examples of texts which might be considered profiles but which I am setting apart in a similar manner are 'Lembrando Goethe (que morreu em 1832, faz 150 anos)' (FA71) and 'Mozart, sempre' (FA79). Whilst – as in the previous case – each title suggests a text dedicated to its named individual, both pieces are in fact turned back on Losa herself, tracing her very personal connection to each named figure and the moments at which that connection played a particular role in her trajectory as an individual and author.

Texts which present ethical explorations of a multitude of sorts are the sub-genre of *crónica* which appears in the highest number in Losa's family archive, with 39 texts (28%) lending themselves to such categorisation. Amongst these, the issues which are most frequently offered up by Losa are: poverty, war and pacifism, collective memory of the Holocaust, acts of international solidarity – both individual and collectively organised. Other topics that Losa brings to her readers' attention range from questions of historical truth and justice, to education, migration, racism and xenophobia, environmental destruction, abortion, cultural stereotypes, prejudice and snobbery, human nature and psychology, cultural suppression and authoritarianism, cultural conservatism and centralisation (on both a national and international scale), urban planning, cultural inclusion events, gender inequality, the subjectivity of beauty, and marginal artistic media (including the radio play, amateur theatre, animation festivals and children's film).

Twelve texts (9%) take an everyday event from which a broader line of thought develops. Whilst some of these might be included in the "ethical debate" category just discussed, the prominence of the quotidian in these texts has prompted me to consider them apart. They include, for example, news of the reappearance of a Stradivarius violin stolen in 1936;

newspaper texts – in one case an interview, in another a *crónica* – which prompt a certain reaction in Losa; a trip to the cinema; an encounter with a tourist; reflection on television programmes’ varying levels of success; travels abroad from which anthropological observations of daily life develop; a conversation on a train; news of an environmental appeal and its uptake; a consideration of the translatability of humour.

Literary-style texts of the sort found in a number of short story collections or longer, fictional or semi-fictional narratives by Losa are also represented in the family archive, although in smaller numbers. These include three texts written from a child’s perspective: ‘[O cão Priuz]’ (FA1), focused on the secrets of Losa’s childhood home; ‘Pecado’ (FA95), describing, in minute detail, her grandfather’s ritualistic afternoon snack preparation; and a short, dense, dream-like text without a title (FA107), which focuses on an attempt to pick lilacs (“O meu companheiro (quem era ele?) estende o braço para me colher um ramo mas a árvore cresce, cresce e ele tem de renunciar” [*ibid.*]) before taking an eerie turn by which the characters are instantly aged. Three further literary-style texts are: ‘Apenas um apontamento’ (FA26), in which a springtime park scene between an old man and young child is witnessed and narrated by Losa; ‘Meias de seda’ (FA74), which tells the story of a family living in an unnamed neutral country during the Second World War and their hypocritical charity towards a niece upon her release from a concentration camp in Austria; ‘O meu vestido’ (FA86) which provides an unflattering portrait of misogynistic and snobbish dynamics in a 1930s Porto *pensão*.

Finally, there are two texts in the family archive which stand out for their anomalous natures. One is a nine-line, emotionally-charged typescript titled ‘Hipocrisia’ (FA68) which appears almost like a diary entry:

Há pessoas que se fingem cândidas para desse modo descobrir o que se passa connosco e o que nós sabemos do que se passa com vidas alheias [...] A sua hipocrisia enche-me de raiva e de manha. Nas minhas respostas finjo-me ainda mais ingénua do que elas nas perguntas. (*Ibid.*)

The other is a published text entitled ‘Mini-antologia’ (FA77) which simply comprises a list of quotations from 21 thinkers from a broad geographical, temporal and artistic panorama. They

begin with Mariana Alcoforado and end with Herberto Helder, passing through³: Goethe, Ibsen, Novalis, Wordsworth, Baudelaire, Chesterton, André Gide, Marcel Proust, Albert Camus, Herman Hesse, Thomas Mann, Sigmund Freud, Bertrand Russell, Heinrich Böll, Simone de Beauvoir, Chalil Deschibra, Saul Bellow, Lawrence Durrell and Samuel Beckett. The propriety of this text's inclusion amongst Losian texts might be questioned on account of the fact that not a single word comes from Losa herself, however, as a newspaper text in her name, and indeed, as a collection of thoughts and expressions that she wishes to propagate – around children, love, power, nostalgia, ethical values, comedy (some of her favoured topics) – I suggest that it is fact a revealing and valuable text.

In greater depth – a thematic approach

Whilst these lists help to sketch out a general shape of the archive in terms of its broad sub-generic structure, in order to get a more qualitative understanding of its contents, an in-depth analysis of individual texts is also required. Given the volume and variety of the texts, I have made a selection of *crónicas* around a single theme to present – texts which I find to be particularly interesting and/or representative of Losa's developing *crónica* style and literary identity. Whilst a number of subjects might be considered Ilse Losa's "core" themes – both within in her *crónica*-writing and more broadly – including the Holocaust and the mass displacement it triggered, poverty or pacifism, for example, I have chosen the question of women's rights and roles in society as my focus, for the similarly prominent treatment the matter has across Losa's work, and also for the relatively radical transformation these societal issues underwent during the five decades of Losa's *cronista* activity in Portugal. Indeed, as frequent reflections on female emancipation, I suggest that beyond charting Losa's own development as a *cronista*, these texts also provide a condensed history of the expanding role of women in Portuguese society – all from the particular perspective of a woman coming from the more liberal contexts of, firstly, the Weimar republic, and secondly, the left-wing artistic circles in which the Losas and their closest friends and colleagues were thoroughly embedded in Portugal.

³ In this list I reproduce the (inconsistent) naming format that Losa herself uses in the text, some figures appearing with just their surname, others with both given and surname (FA77).

Though I have limited my focus to this particular theme here, the same kind of exploration could be made of any of the central themes mentioned, with many of the stylistic features identified in the selected texts similarly present in those belonging to other thematic groupings. As such, the selection presented below is to some extent representative of the wider archive, and, indeed, Losa's *crónica*-writing more generally.

Women in focus

The seven texts selected⁴ are a mixture of confirmed publications (five texts) and typescripts which may or may not have come to publication (two texts), covering almost the whole of the temporal range of Losa's *crónica*-writing, with the first text coming from 1950 and the last from the early 1990s. The five other texts come from the 1960s (three texts), 1978 and 1981.⁵ The disproportionate number of texts from the 1960s can be justified by, on the one hand, the fact that the selection criteria for these texts was a subjective one based on my own judgement of the particular interest of each, and, on the other hand, the period's relative under-representation in the individual publication case studies presented in Chapters 3.2 and 3.3.

The publications in which the texts known to have been published appear are: *Os Nossos Filhos*, *Diário Popular*, *Jornal de Notícias* and *O Jornal*. As such, they are primarily newspapers (two dailies, one weekly), with only *Os Nossos Filhos* representing a more specialist periodical of the sort analysed in the first two case studies.⁶ The different kinds of

⁴ 'O meu vestido' (FA86); 'A frustração da mulher americana' (FA10); 'Nelly Sachs' (FA82) 'Duas escritoras portuguesas' (FA50); 'Crianças para queimar? – Não, isso não!' (FA45); 'Uma mulher africana explica-se' (FA135); 'O mundo não pára' (FA87).

⁵ For the two typescripts whose status as published *crónicas* is uncertain, the dates I provide are necessarily mere estimates based on in-text information.

⁶ Ana Maria Pessoa, who wrote her doctoral thesis on *Os Nossos Filhos*, in a shorter article refers to it as "uma proposta sistematizadora de educação das mães e das crianças, num contexto de *oposição* e de *resistência* a esse mesmo regime" (Pessoa, p. 98), going on to assert of its director: "Para além de muitas outras formas de que se revestiu a sua resistência, Maria Lúcia Vassalo Namorado (MLN), prima de Maria Lamas (1893-1983), era filiada nas duas organizações femininas vistas como hostis pelo/ao Estado Novo (Gorjão, 1994): o Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas (CNMP) e a Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz (AFPP). Foi também subscritora das listas do Movimento de Unidade Democrática (MUD) em 1945. Usando o espaço de liberdade relativa acima identificado, também ela quis agrupar as mulheres e '(...) actuou entre elas de forma independente com um programa autónomo e uma direcção feminina própria (...)' (Pimentel, 2000, p. 10)" (*ibid.*, p. 99).

publications to which Losa regularly contributed over the course of her *crónica*-writing career are thus also represented in my selection.

In the texts' approaches to the theme "women", there is also much variation, as I suggest happens in relation to any such "theme" in Losa's *crónica* corpus. Thus we find: one literary-style text of the sort which seemingly hovers on the line between short story and *crónica*; three literary profiles, of which one is individual and focused on a Nobel prize-winning German author, another dual and focused on two nationally recognised Portuguese authors, and the last collective, presenting a whole group of Portuguese women writers; two book reviews, which are also in part socio-anthropological expositions – in one case focused on the place of women in North American society, in the other on polygamy and gender dynamics in an Islamic West African culture; and, finally, an open-letter and intervention on the abortion debate in Portugal.

From this brief overview, the breadth of Losa's attention and interests, even when limited to texts which focus on the question of women's place in society, is illustrated. Within this variety, however, there is also a sense of consistency – a sustained, self-assured and increasingly familiar voice and perspective – which runs throughout the *crónicas*, Losa forever challenging gender-based stereotypes and injustices, be they on an individual or wider, societal level. That this began in the 1950s (or slightly earlier, with Losa's publishing debut in 1948), when women were more or less excluded from the public sphere in Portuguese society (as discussed Chapter 1.3), is worth remembering here. Indeed, via this diachronic approach, we see how the courage and outspokenness shown at this early stage is maintained and expanded, with Losa, by 1981, publicly challenging a prominent priest and journalist on his anti-abortion stance. Whilst arguably less striking for their seemingly less "radical" natures as literary profiles and reviews, the pieces focused on female authors – from Irene Lisboa and Maria Judite de Carvalho in the Portuguese sphere, to Nelly Sachs, Betty Friedan and Mariama Bâ in a more international perspective (spanning three continents, indeed) – Losa's consistent and serious attention to women's writing, whether it is explicitly feminist, non-feminist, or implicitly somewhere in between, is where much of her tireless commitment to opening up and celebrating a space for

women in the public sphere is demonstrated. In the pages that follow, I will explore each of the seven selected texts in more detail.

1. ‘O meu vestido’ [April 1950, *Os Nossos Filhos* – FA86]

‘O meu vestido’ provides a portrait of the class and gender dynamics within the “pensão ‘Paraíso’”, where, if we are to take this more literary *crónica* as an autobiographical account, Losa, as a recent arrival in Portugal in the mid-1930s, would have witnessed these scenes as a guest at the temporary residence. Poverty, snobbery and misogyny are the phenomena brought into focus by Losa here, as she recalls the hypocritical and derogatory treatment meted out by the establishment’s manager, D. Carolina, on a seemingly endless string of young female domestic servants⁷: “Mandava-as vir da aldeia, gostava dela novinhas. Nisso havia uma vantagem. Ficavam-lhe mais em conta e não traziam vícios de outras patroas. Mas evidentemente, mesmo assim não deixavam de ser uma consumição. Estúpidas, malcriadas, porcas, levianas – enfim...”. Interspersing this free indirect speech with highly sarcastic snippets (“Pobre da D. Carolina! Andava todo o dia atarefada a vigiá-las, comandá-las [...] ralhar-lhes, ensinar-lhes”), Losa conjures up a sense of the judgemental, misogynistic atmosphere created by this domineering and abusive woman, and simultaneously mocks her in her authoritarian role. Indeed, upon recalling the modest requests made by some of the young women, Losa is daring in her reference to popular revolt against such tyranny: “Uma até queria fazer compras nas Quintas-feiras. Ora esta! Que dizíamos nós a isto? Chegavam a ser abusos demais, quase uma revolução!”. If we remember that this text was published in 1950, the year after General Norton de Matos’ aborted challenge to the Estado Novo regime, Losa’s words are particularly striking. That she should have focused on such despotic, sexist attitudes in a woman, as opposed to a man, is also striking as an implicit comment on the perversity as well as the pervasiveness of Portugal’s patriarchal ideology.

⁷ With her focus on the doubly exploited existence of working-class women here, Losa thus displays the precocious concern with intersectionality which we have already encountered elsewhere and which we will again encounter (along the lines of gender and race, as opposed to gender and class), in the sixth *crónica* selected here: ‘Uma mulher africana explica-se’.

It is against this backdrop of snobbery and exploitation, however, that Losa presents a contrasting example of female solidarity when, much to D. Carolina's dismay, she suggests giving the latest young maid, Conceição (who is named where the other women were anonymous – a mark of her humanisation at Losa's hand) an old silk dress of hers, to replace the other's worn-out blouse. Prompting a reaction thick with elitist disdain in D. Carolina ("Um vestido de seda. Para uma parolinha daquelas! Disparate!"), Losa recalls how Conceição was subsequently dismissed: "aguentou-se dois meses na pensão 'Paraíso'. Depois disso a D. Carolina não conseguia suportá-la mais [...] esses modos com que desafiava os hóspedes masculinos – uma autêntica peste". Having given the dress to a disbelieving Conceição, Losa adds that one year later she saw the young woman again: "Noite. Rua estreita. Caminhava depressa, não era agradável passar aí àquela hora [...] Da porta de um Bar vi sair uma rapariga, de rosto magro de onde ressaltavam olhos grandes, pretos. A Conceição. No meu vestido". Given the roles and public spaces available to women in 1930s Portugal, the crude accusation of soliciting previously made by D. Carolina (reinforced by her own lascivious language in the first quote provided) is here seemingly confirmed, or rather, Losa suggests that the young woman, driven from her job as a maid, has since ended up in prostitution – a relatively daring allusion for the censored Estado Novo context. The change in narrative style in this final paragraph, with starkly short, staccato sentences, also marks this shift of register – to hushed and hurried tones, as if in recognition of their subversiveness.

2. 'A frustração da mulher americana' [27/10/1966, *Diário Popular* – FA10]

In this text, Losa explores the past and present place of women in North American society, thus providing a follow-up to *Ida e Volta*'s interrogation of the same subject just a few years earlier in 1960. Beginning with a sketch of the stereotyped, idealised version of the North American woman – "sempre bonita e bem arranjada, inteligente e culta" – Losa ends her introduction with a wry remark: "O 'matriarcado americano' é tido como o paraíso da mulher". The tool she chooses for deconstructing such an image from hereon in is, most significantly – and somewhat remarkably for the Estado Novo context in which Losa's piece was published – North American feminist Betty Friedan's seminal book *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), which Losa describes in no uncertain terms as "extraordinário [...] acaba duma vez para sempre com este 'cliché'".

Tracing various different phases in the transformation of women's rights and roles in North American society, including reference to the women's liberation movement, Losa leaves any contrastive comparison to be made with the Portuguese panorama implicit but easily accessible:

Era então bem aceite que tivesse consciência das suas faculdades mentais, vivesse o seu próprio eu, amadurecesse intelectualmente e não se distinguisse, neste particular, do homem. Escolhia e desempenhava a profissão que lhe convinha [...] Não estava interessada em conquistar um 'matriarcado' como ele se apresenta hoje no seu país, mas antes uma posição de dignidade individual que plenamente a satisfizesse.

But it is here that Losa (basing herself on, and, indeed, acting as an amplifier of, Friedan's text) identifies the Second World War as a turning point in the history of female emancipation in the USA: "Surgiu a propaganda da mulher 'feminina', a mulher que não desempenha funções 'próprias para homens', 'masculinizando-se', a mulherzinha do lar, sempre 'sexy' e atraente, que se ocupa apenas com o marido e os filhos". Pointing the finger at multiple cultural institutions responsible for shaping public opinion, including cinema, newspapers, literature and theatre, Losa highlights how those who do not conform to the standard she describes – specifically intellectual women – are, by contrast, ridiculed, their femininity called into question.

Suggesting that in fact many women have been moulded by such cultural influences, Losa turns her critical attention to this new model which Friedan terms the "suburban housewife": "Faz-se dona de casa, ostenta o 'sex-appeal', gasta muito dinheiro no seu arranjo pessoal [...] uma autêntica loucura de feminilidade". And it is this modern, distorted version of the American woman that Losa ruthlessly picks apart for the rest of the *crónica*: "é-nos dada uma imagem duma mulher frustrada, mentalmente atrofiada, por vezes ridiculamente 'infantil', que se gasta no seu dia a dia monótono [...] procurando, desesperadamente auxílio numa literatura sobre

ensinamentos sexuais”. Once again, Losa’s disinhibition in her disapproving portrait of the modern American woman is notable.⁸

Adding a final note of typically caustic irony, Losa emphasises the unmasking effect of Friedan’s 1963 book together with the wide gap between the image and lived reality of American society that this exposes: “O livro de Betty Friedan revela, impiedosamente, a farsa que é a vida da mulher americana, que transformou a América no tão gabado, tão temido e, ao fim e ao cabo, tão falhado ‘matriarcado’”.⁹

3. ‘Nelly Sachs’ [8/12/1966, *Diário Popular* – FA82]¹⁰

In this text Ilse Losa dedicates her attention to another female writer whom she admires – this time from the (exiled) Jewish-German sphere to which the *cronista* herself belonged. Rather than beginning with biographical details, Losa launches her readers into the atmosphere of the texts of Nelly Sachs, emphasising their duality as the product of both the influence of the Hasidic Jewish tradition and the horrors of Nazism. Indeed, Sachs’ suffering and the way this is transposed in her literature provides one of Losa’s main foci throughout the text: “Nelly Sachs é intérprete do sofrimento do seu povo, o povo judaico, e é mais do que isso: intérprete da tragédia humana universal. O seu canto pertence, antes de tudo, aos injustamente difamados,

⁸ It is not just self-serving patriarchy that is taken aim at in this text; rather, the unbridled capitalism that the United States represents – particularly at this point in history – is also scrutinised, with Losa (via Friedan) pointing out the mutually sustaining relationship between these two power structures, and presenting her Marxist-leaning views somewhat transparently: “o comércio aproveita-se descaradamente desta mulher ‘feminizada’ [...] a mulher, no vácuo em que se debate, compra, compra, compra”.

⁹ *Who’s afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (Albee, 1962) – the title of the iconic play made into a highly acclaimed Hollywood film in precisely the year of this *crónica*’s publication (Nichols, 1966) – is brought to mind by Losa’s acerbically mocking words here.

¹⁰ “Nelly Sachs. 1891–1970. Dramatist and poet Nelly Sachs was born into a Jewish family in Berlin in 1891. Her father was a manufacturer, and the family lived a comfortable, middle-class life. Sachs studied dance and literature and began writing when she was an adolescent. During that time, she also began corresponding with the Swedish writer Selma Lagerlöf, a contact who would later help her escape Nazi Germany. Sachs published her early poems in magazines in Germany. She and her mother escaped to Sweden in 1940, where she worked as a translator and became a citizen in 1952. Sachs’s readings of the mystics and the events of the Holocaust influenced her poem cycles and plays [...]. In 1966, Sachs and novelist Shmuel Agnon received the Nobel Prize in Literature. Sachs also received the Droste-Hülshoff Prize, the Prize of the Swedish Poets Association, and the German Publishers Peace Prize” (Poetry Foundation, n.d.).

abandonados, proscritos, ao homem em fuga”. Thinking about some of the typical subjects and protagonists of Losa’s own writing, from this description it is not hard to see why she finds Sachs so compelling.

“[O] seu nome raras vezes se menciona fora da Alemanha e da Austria, apesar de ser a maior poetisa viva da língua alemã”, writes Losa, going on to highlight various obstacles to an easy and generalised appreciation of Sachs’ writing before re-stating her position as a literary great: “uma poesia da qual temos de nos aproximar com humildade de discípulo perante o mestre”. Only at this point, halfway through the text, does Losa embark on a more traditional biographical profile of the German poet, including reference to Sach’s narrow escape from being sent to Auschwitz in 1940, thanks to help from Swedish Nobel Prize for Literature winner, Selma Lagerlöf.

O terrível traumatismo impede-a, durante vários anos, de escrever e, mais tarde, imprime o seu cunho a tudo o que ela produz. Isolada do seu país, onde então é praticamente ignorada, ganha a amizade e a estima de muitos suecos que lhe estão gratos por verter para a língua alemã a melhor parte da moderna lírica sueca.

The echoes of Losa’s own situation amongst the intellectual elite in Portugal, having narrowly escaped being sent to a concentration camp herself in 1934, are easily recognisable. Indeed, as part of providing a brief panorama of Nelly Sachs’ most significant works, Losa returns to the place of trauma in Sachs’ writing: “só assim transposto para um plano transcendente e recorrendo ao velho mito do seu povo martirizado lhe foi possível transmitir ao mundo um acontecimento para o qual, de outro modo, não lhe parecia haver expressão possível”. Without resorting to any kind of theoretical discussion, Losa here presents her readers with the notion of speaking the unspeakable, underlining how creative work can help to process trauma – something she has elsewhere referred to in relation to her own experience of beginning to write and the help she received from an unconventionally psychoanalytically-minded doctor in 1940s Porto.

That in the final paragraph Losa reveals Sachs’ recent recognition via a series of prizes, including that year – 1966 – the Nobel Prize for Literature, inserts this *crónica* amongst a

number of others by Losa in which she similarly uses the occasion of a prize's announcement to bring a given figure to the attention of her Portuguese readers. Bearing in mind the earlier mention of Selma Lagerlöf, we are also thus presented with a lineage of female Nobel winners, with Sachs, previously saved by Lagerlöf, representing the underdog – risen from a situation of total abjection to greatness, and this via the very trauma which resulted from such persecution. I would suggest that intentionally or otherwise, Losa, by pointing to a genealogy of a sort, alongside details of Sach's writing and biography which coincide with her own, provides a very subtle hint at her own potential place within such a structure.

4. 'Duas escritoras portuguesas' [n.d. – post-1966, unpublished – FA50]¹¹

In this text, Losa provides a comparison, or rather, she rejects a comparison made by critics, between the writing of Irene Lisboa and Maria Judite de Carvalho, two key figures from the panorama of mid-twentieth century female Portuguese authors to which Losa also belongs.¹² As elsewhere, Losa takes immediate and direct aim at the literary critical machine,¹³ beginning her piece thus: “A crítica ao referir-se às obras de Judite Carvalho compara-as com frequência, às de Irene Lisboa. Tem mesmo apontado Judite Carvalho como sendo a única ou, pelo menos,

¹¹ The in-text information used to provisionally date this *crónica* consists of the reference to Maria Judite de Carvalho's *Os Armários Vazios*, first published in 1966, and which thus dates the text as posterior to this. Though it does not help to further narrow the window in which the text might have been written, the fact that revered critic João Gaspar Simões, in two separate reviews of works by Carvalho, from March 1964 (Simões, 2004, pp. 241-242) and September 1966 (*ibid.*, pp. 244-245), makes the literary comparison which serves as the base of Losa's text here, is certainly relevant.

¹² Irene Lisboa (1892-1958): “Escritora, professora e pedagoga, foi afastada pela ditadura salazarista das funções de inspectora-orientadora do ensino pré-primário [...] Dedicou-se à escrita literária, tendo por suporte o livro, a conferência e sobretudo a imprensa [...] Na crónica privilegia a representação da cidade e os dramas quotidianos do povo, mais ainda das mulheres, como é patente em *Esta Cidade!* (1942), *O Pouco e o Muito* (1956), *Título Qualquer Serve* (1958) e *Crónicas da Serra* (1960), e inclusive no caderno de artista *Apontamentos* (1943)” (Carmo, 2020, p. 10).

Maria Judite de Carvalho (1921-1998): “Estreia-se em 1949 com um conto na revista *Eva* a que se seguem, em 1953, as ‘Crónicas de Paris’, no mesmo periódico. Em 1955 tornou-se redactora da *Eva* e depois chefe de redacção. Em 1959, publica *Tanta Gente, Mariana* que abre uma carreira assinalável no conto e na novela. O traço comum da sua obra é o de uma consciência em movimento e de uma escrita arguta e dorida, centrada em personagens sóis e frustradas” (*ibid.*, p. 186).

¹³ See the discussion of ‘O Prémio Ricardo Malheiros 1952: “A primeira viagem” de Maria da Graça Azambuja’ (*Vértice*, May 1953), in Chapter 3.2 (p. 201) of this thesis. Losa's response to Mário Vilaça's critical review of her and Manuela Delgado's joint translation of Max Frisch's *Andorra*, as discussed previously in Chapter 1.4 (p. 75), is another particularly illustrative example.

a mais genuína discípula de Irene”. Whilst acknowledging the quality of writing common to both, Losa questions the validity of such a comparison, using the rest of the article to highlight the two authors’ contrasting approaches to writing and, in particular, to representing reality, citing the words of each, as well as her own insights, to back up her claim and set the two apart: “Reconstruo e não invento. Investigo a minha vida passada, sacudo-a com curiosidade, e às circunstâncias que a acompanharam”, escreveu Irene Lisboa [...] Judite Carvalho, por sua vez é ficcionista cem por cento”. Indeed, just over halfway through the *crónica*, whilst acknowledging the points the two authors have in common, Losa suggests that they are in fact diametrically opposed, directly contradicting the critics she mentions: “São por conseguinte escritoras opostas? No essencial julgo que sim, embora tenham em comum a temática da solidão e da frustração da mulher portuguesa, a economia das palavras, a concisão [...]”.¹⁴

Towards the end of this essay-like comparative study, Losa restates her claim, leaving no room for doubt as to her opinion on the matter:

Diferentes – inteiramente diferentes – são estas duas escritoras no género de literatura que lhes é própria [...] Irene Lisboa abstinha [sic] [...] de qualquer interferência imaginária ou transpositiva [...] Judite Carvalho, pelo contrário, tem alguns trechos em que abusa daquilo que se designa por cordelinhos ou Deus ex-machina [...] o que é pena para uma artista dos seus recursos.

With this condescending tone, Losa offers what she considers to be more appropriate comparisons for Carvalho (Katherine Mansfield or Françoise Sagan), thus splitting open the pairing presented at the start of the piece, and raising Lisboa – already the celebrated subject of multiple other Losian *crónicas* – to a position of sovereign solitude: “Irene Lisboa é a meu ver um caso isolado”.

¹⁴ Given that Losa confesses, in a letter to João Gaspar Simões presumed to be from late 1962 or early 1963 (Marques K., 2018, p. 131), to holding the critic and his opinions in utmost esteem, her implicit challenge to his judgement here becomes even more remarkable.

It is my feeling that the addition of a final, almost parenthetical sentence – “Pelo menos, assim do pé para a mão, não me ocorre com quem a possa comparar” – carries a certain coyness, as if a reluctant, semi-suppressed admission that Losa herself would in fact like to fill the position of Lisboa-disciple from which she has just demonstrably ejected Carvalho.¹⁵ Whether or not the case, what is certain is that the text is a serious and somewhat scholarly call of attention to the very essence of the writing of these two prominent women writers – a suggestion that just because they are both women and both writers working within some of the same genres, they shouldn’t necessarily be lumped together as one and the same thing but rather appreciated for their individual, and according to Losa, contrastive styles.

5. ‘Crianças para queimar? – Não, isso não!’ [7/5/1978, *Jornal de Notícias* – FA45]

In this dramatically-titled *crónica*, Ilse Losa begins with a series of jarring citations from three different newspapers (two Portuguese, one German). These are focused on: child prostitution in the USA, malnutrition rates and the consequent impact on cognitive development amongst Brazil’s 22.5 million children, and child-abuse and youth suicide rates in Germany. Following this grim prologue, Losa moves to present an exchange of adages between her and Porto priest, journalist and pro-democracy activist, Rui Osório:

‘Do diálogo nasce a luz’, diz, e muito bem, Rui Osório, mas eu acrescento ‘e da dúvida nasce a sabedoria’. Pois precisamente como ele – e julgo não estar em erro – duvido de que, ‘no reino da verdade, alguém possa ter o privilégio de ser autoridade’, para citar Einstein.¹⁶

¹⁵ It is worth drawing attention to, and holding in mind, the following citation of Lisboa’s *Título Qualquer Serve* (1958) that Losa includes in this text: “Fazia o seu comerzito, lavava a loiça. Lá de vez em quando entretinha-se por trás dos vidros, no tempo frio, a seguir as voltas dum pequerrucho da vizinhança” (FA50). The relevance of this image of the woman at the window will become clear in my discussion of a text – ‘Mulheres à janela’ – which I deduce to be by Losa, included in Chapter 3.5.

¹⁶ It is not clear where Losa’s citations of Osório in this piece come from, but bearing in mind Osório’s regular religious column in *Comércio do Porto* from 1969, and later collaborations with a number of other newspapers including *Voz Portucalense* (which he co-founded), and *Jornal de Notícias*, to which he moved in 1977, it is reasonable to presume that it appeared as an article or *crónica*, with which Losa is here dialoguing. That here she should choose to answer a religious figure with the words of the father of modern physics is interesting and typical of Losa’s subtly provocative sense of humour.

Indeed, as if to secure these philosophical foundations before launching into the *crónica* proper, Losa adds, for good measure: “Razão absoluta ninguém de nós tem, e só a constante interrogação nos pode conduzir a um modo correcto de pensar e proceder”.

Having established the dialogical structure which will underpin the rest of the short text, Losa eventually moves to approach the *crónica*’s central and searing subject: “Quanto ao aborto, deve ter reparado que não me pronuncio de ânimo leve. Sei que trata dum problema sério. Se assim não fosse, como se explicaria uma inquietação tão universal à sua volta?”. In 1978, when Losa published this piece, the matter was, indeed, the source of much agitation around Europe, with Britain’s legalization of abortion in 1967 followed by a series of developments in France, where legalisation was provisionally approved in January 1975 (Herzog, 2011, p. 156). And in the very month of this *crónica*’s publication, Italy also decriminalised abortion, despite vehement opposition from the Vatican (*ibid.*, p. 159). In Portugal, abortion would be decriminalised, in only very limited situations, in 1984, though as sociologist Rosa Monteiro remarked of the Comissão da Condição Feminina which she describes as an “aliado ausente” of the women’s movement (Monteiro, 2012, p. 593): “A partir de 1977-1978, a sua atividade no domínio do planeamento familiar foi extremamente intensa e marcante na sociedade portuguesa” (*ibid.*, p. 594). What’s more, it is worth noting of the precise timing of Losa’s *crónica* that May 1979 marked the beginning of the trial of journalist Maria Antónia Palla for her 1976 state television report on abortion. As Joana Nunes Henriques Camurça remarks:

Entre 1976 e 1979, gerou-se uma onda de solidariedade e o debate salta para a praça pública. A CNAC [Campanha Nacional pelo Aborto e Contracepção] fez circular o abaixo-assinado ‘Nós Abortámos’, tendo recolhido 3000 assinaturas, neste seguimento, a artista Io Apolloni apareceu em televisão a afirmar que tinha feito um aborto. (Camurça, 2015, p. 16, FN35)

Bearing in mind the context, that Losa should be intervening on this highly contentious issue in the Portuguese daily press (as opposed to a specialist feminist publication such as *Mulheres*, where the debate was also alive in this period [Camurça, 2015, p. 58]) is further evidence of

her unflinching engagement on women's issues and her commitment to bringing this to the attention of the widest possible audience.

Embarking upon what seems to be an open letter to Osório,¹⁷ Losa begins by identifying the point on which the two agree: “[a] deficiência da nossa sociedade, desprovida de meios para ‘receber convenientemente as novas gerações’”. From here, however, Losa's focus moves to where their opinions diverge, as she cites Osório's legitimate concern for abortion's psychological impact on a woman, whilst also highlighting his neglect of the question of “o abalo das psíquico das mães que desgastadas, perturbadas, sem meios materiais, sem forças físicas e morais ou até mesmo sem capacidade de amor para criar dignamente as crianças a que não deram [sic] vida”. Illustrating her point, Losa recalls a scene witnessed in a pharmacy, with one such mother who entered in search of some alleviation of her desperate situation. This is followed by a series of insistent questions, beginning and ending thus: “Quem auxilia as mulheres em tais condições? Quem lhes facilita a tarefa árdua e de responsabilidade? [...] terá ainda significado, em casos assim, falarmos da mulher-natureza e da dignidade da mulher?”.

And beyond the mothers, Losa draws attention to the unwanted children themselves, together with the grim fates – of abuse, discrimination, crime, prostitution – that statistically await many. Once again backing herself up with evidence, Losa cites a German psychiatrist whom she claims had recently appealed to parents not to have children if they weren't in a condition to do so, also mentioning his familiarity with youth suicide and psychological suffering. Indeed, with reference to her own experience as a pedagogue, Losa compounds this notion of the great responsibility of parenting before re-stating her central argument concerning a need for a broader, societal approach to such issues:

A mulher perturbada pelo aborto voluntário recupera na maior parte das vezes, o seu equilíbrio; mas a criança traumatizada desde a primeira infância dificilmente o

¹⁷ Regarding Losa's use of the open letter format to confront a figure such as Osório, the comment by Cláudia Pazos Alonso, in relation to nineteenth-century Portuguese author and journalist, Francisca Wood, seems pertinent here: “her spirited engagement through open letters with key men in positions of authority amply demonstrates her intellectual confidence in the public arena, as she places herself on an equal footing with them” (Pazos Alonso, 2020, p. 156).

consegue. Por isso não será legítimo lutarmos, antes de mais nada, por um mundo capaz de ‘receber convenientemente as novas gerações’?

In the final section of the *crónica*, Losa points out the unfortunate associations that Osório’s incendiary words – “Crianças para queimar? Não, isso não!” – prompted in her, as a Holocaust survivor and pacifist, implicitly criticising the sensationalism typically and controversially used by anti-abortionists. Following this, she presents another key question at the heart of the abortion debate: “O direito de nascer ou o direito à infância e à vida digna? Eis a questão. E a interrogação permanece”. Losa thus brings her text full circle, back to the question of certainty and the “constante interrogação” which she preached in her introduction.

After a brief touch of sexual humour with which to mock another typical anti-abortion argument for abstinence (“os homens seriam anjos se não tivessem sexo”) Losa moves to conclude and carefully summarises her position on this delicate matter: “Sou pelo debate sobre o aborto e se, pela minha parte, não me repugna a sua legalização, não é por entusiasmar a prática do aborto em si mas por saber que estatisticamente nos está provado que ela tem diminuído nos países onde a legalizaram”. To this, she adds the parallel benefit of greater tolerance for single mothers. And to close the text, Losa leaves a note of admiration and respect for her “interlocutor”, emphasising his ongoing contribution to shaping Portuguese society’s future for the better, and acknowledging their different perspectives whilst insisting on their ethical equivalence: “talvez admita que as minha razões não são menos humanas do que as suas”. Losa’s skill in navigating a thorny, highly sensitive debate, making her point passionately but without either insulting her opponent, nor undermining her own authority, is thus illustrated.

6. ‘Uma mulher africana explica-se’ [6/3/1981, *O Jornal* – FA135]

In this text, Losa reports on the recent award of a newly created prize – the Noma Award for Publishing in Africa – to the female Senegalese author Mariama Bâ. The prize was presented

to Bâ at that year's Frankfurt Book Fair, for her novel *Une si longue lettre* (1979).¹⁸ Whilst, as we have seen, in certain other texts Losa is somewhat dismissive of critics, here she begins by implicitly praising the literary establishment's actions, highlighting its potential for good in drawing attention to otherwise overlooked or unfamiliar works (a baton which she herself takes up with this text, and, indeed, habitually). Losa emphasises the remarkable feat of Bâ's win on account of her multiply marginal status – coming from a Francophone, as opposed to the dominant Anglophone, post-colonial sphere, and also as a woman in this setting: “o mais surpreendente é o facto de a premiada ser uma mulher, uma mulher africana”. The point is restated just a few lines later: “De notar que a esmagadora maioria dos escritores e poetas africanos ali presentes eram homens”. Within the context of 1980s Portuguese and wider European literature, a celebration of African writing is, of course, itself a turn towards a marginalised cultural area.¹⁹

Following this foregrounding, Losa moves into a summary of the novel's plot, pointing out its thoroughly female core as an exchange of letters between two women with a common past but starkly divergent approaches to the present and their roles as wives: “Abandonadas ambas pelos maridos em favor de mulheres mais novas, uma escolheu a total independência [...] enquanto a outra [...] dependência do homem que a desprezou”. Using citations from Bâ's book, Losa highlights a number of the cultural structures at the centre of its plot, including polygamy, which she explains in broad terms, but also a wider patriarchal and misogynistic climate. Indeed, while bringing into focus cultural traditions which would have been alien to the majority of her readers, Losa is very clear in her wish to draw parallels rather than exoticize, ending the text (following a number of similar approximations) thus:

¹⁸ According to French and Women's studies academic Wangari wa Nyatetu-Waigwa: “Bâ is considered by many critics to be one of the most important figures in Francophone African writing in general, and Francophone African women's writing in particular. Her first novel, *So Long a Letter* (*Une si longue lettre*) (1979), which won the 1980 Noma Award for Publishing in Africa, has been described by Abiola Irele as ‘the most deeply felt presentation of the female condition in African fiction.’ [...] What distinguished Bâ's writing was not so much the originality of its dominant theme but the thoroughness with which she treated the condition of women in Senegal, a treatment that transformed Bâ's writing into a critique not just of the representation of gender in African writing [...] but of society as a whole and, most particularly, postcolonial Senegalese society” (Nyatetu-Waigwa, 2003, p. 62).

¹⁹ In her insistence on Bâ's multiple marginality, Losa once again implicitly touches on the notion of intersectionality, drawing attention to the fact that the obstacles to an African woman writer's success are not only gender-based, but also racial (as well as linguistic).

não é decerto uma obra-prima, mas, ao dar-nos conhecimento da situação difícil das mulheres islâmicas, obriga-nos ao mesmo tempo a ponderar que, no fim de contas, o que nos separa das mulheres do Terceiro Mundo é bastante menos do que aquilo que nos une a elas.

Elsewhere, Losa in fact subtly questions – via her ironising use of quotation marks – the notion of Portugal and other European countries being “civilizados”, “avançados” and “progressistas” in relation to their African counterparts. That she should be challenging such ingrained notions, and privileging the perspective of a Black African woman (as well as highlighting her internationally recognised success), is particularly significant if we consider the historical context in which Losa did this – at a point when Portugal was redefining itself post-colonially, confronting precisely the question of its relationship to its former colonies.

In terms of cultural approaches to womanhood, another remarkable aspect of this text is the way in which Losa manages to strike a balance between, on the one hand, revealing and exploring a thoroughly unfamiliar cultural practice and, on the other hand, bringing female subjugation into focus to be scrutinised but not preached about. As she remarks of Bâ’s book:

Na prosa simples e direta, na ausência de qualquer tipo de pregação ou de ideologia feminista de tintas carregadas, está a credibilidade deste livro. Mariama Bâ [...] não pretende escrever um panfleto [...] mas dá, dum modo dir-se-ia espontâneo pelo sofrimento pessoal, um depoimento impressionante da condição da mulher do seu país.

I would suggest that Losa’s own approach (exemplified throughout this survey of her texts on women) is not so very different from that which she describes and ascribes to Mariama Bâ here – free of a dogmatic discourse, instead focused on holding up a mirror to, and providing a consistent, *insistent* reflection on, the life conditions of women (of different social, cultural, and racial identities) in an ever-changing society around her. The final text which follows here is, indeed, a condensed illustration of precisely that half-century long societal development.

7. ‘O mundo não pára’ [n.d. – 1990s, unpublished – FA87]

In this final text, Ilse Losa provides a retrospective survey of the development of women’s rights and position in Portuguese society, from the time of her arrival in 1934 through to the early 1990s, with particular attention to their expanding place in literary culture. Beginning with reference to a recent series of lectures proffered by prominent women from various different fields (academia, literature, science and politics),²⁰ Losa’s mind is cast back – as seems to happen so frequently in her later *crónicas* – to the conditions she encountered upon arriving from Germany in 1934. Thus, she recalls the many restrictions to which women were subjected, either by law or by informal, social regulation, before moving, in the middle section of the *crónica*, to provide a condensed history of women’s writing in Portugal.

Beginning with reference to Irene Lisboa, Maria Archer and Florbela Espanca, Losa mentions, as examples of the obstacles these women encountered, the use (by some) of male pseudonyms and a generally critical, condemnatory or outright neglectful reception of their works. “Mas pouco a pouco mais nomes femininos foram enriquecendo a literatura portuguesa”, she says before noting the arrival of subsequent generations which included: Rachel Bastos, Judite Navarro, Sophia de Mello Breyner Andresen, Agustina Bessa-Luís, Luísa Dacosta and Fernanda Botelho. As well as an increasing number of female authors, Losa also points out the resultant surge in female characters and the development of figures “que pensam, reflectem, se revoltam, nessa altura raríssimas vezes concebidas na escrita masculina do país”.

Acknowledging a single *crónica*’s insufficient space for a proper exploration of the issue, Losa concludes by pointing out how improbable such progress must have seemed to those in the 1930s and ‘40s Portugal she described initially (and portrayed dramatically in ‘O meu vestido’), providing yet more examples of the heights which Portuguese women have since reached in all areas of life – locally, nationally and globally. As she underlines the remarkable

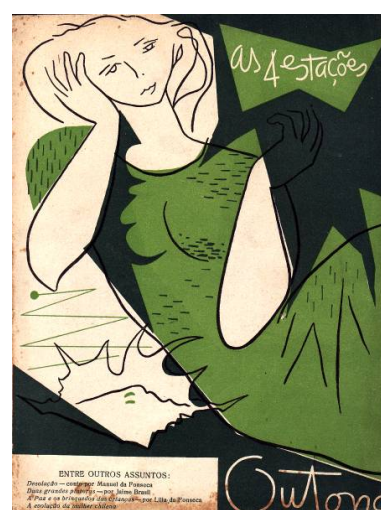
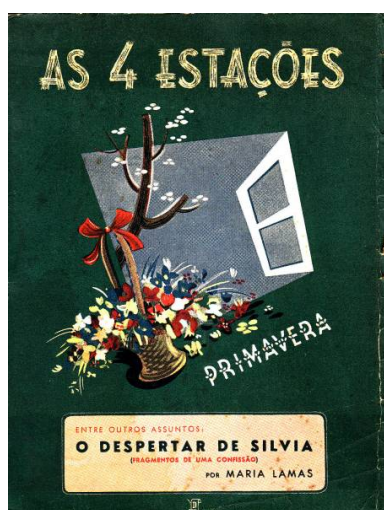
²⁰ ‘O olhar: do fotão à sedução’ was a series of discussions organised by the Serralves foundation in Porto between March and May 1991, and which involved contributions by 28 prominent cultural figures. Losa mentions (albeit inaccurately referring to the series’ title as “Do fotão ao olhar”) having been to a number of the sessions involving female contributors, specifically: Isabel Caldeira Cabral, Rosa Alice Branco, Teresa Lagos, Maria Lurdes de Pintasilgo, Lúcia Jorge, Agustina Bessa-Luís and Natália Correia.

distance covered by her fellow women in the previous decades, Losa states a certain inevitability about the developments (“se alguém tivesse profetizado [...] que dentro de algumas décadas a contribuição cultural das mulheres do país chegaria ao ponto de ...”) whilst also pointing to the crucial role of active engagement in bringing about change, restating her own revolutionary spirit in the process: “Mas há sempre muros que se desmoronam e acabam por cair”. Indeed, the final sentence – “Mas eu não me espanto” – would seem a triumphant confirmation of the subtle predictions and contributions made and laid in Losa’s texts, from the very start of her literary career, as charted throughout the selection presented here.

Though this single *crónica* from the 1990s was inevitably limited in its capacity to present a proper exposition of the great progress made in the area of women’s rights in Portugal since Losa’s arrival in 1934, what the wider selection of seven texts does is to chart in some more detail, with examples from various moments across that 60-year period, the evolving panorama, together with Losa’s tireless and multi-faceted attention to the cause of female emancipation from an entrenched patriarchal power structure. If, as noted in relation to the penultimate text, Losa does not generally present her texts as having an explicitly feminist agenda, instead tending to employ more subtle tools – including irony, shock tactics, scholarliness, appeals to empathy and cross-cultural comparisons to prompt in her readers reflection on notions of (gender-based) justice and equality – paying closer attention to this ethical, ideological aspect of Losa’s writing leaves little room for doubt as to its thoroughly political nature.

3.5 Coda: *As Quatro Estações*

Having explored, in the previous chapter, Ilse Losa's consistent commitment, across the course of her *crônica*-writing career, to women's rights and their place in Portuguese society, I will here provide one final brief additional case study – of one of the publications brought to light by Manuela Rêgo's list of Ilse Losa's press texts: *As Quatro Estações* (1949). Initially chosen for the interesting, gender-focused nature of the project conceived by champion of women's rights, Maria Lamas, this source showed itself to be particularly revealing both in relation to Ilse Losa's collaboration with the periodical, and also in terms of how it highlights the incompleteness of Rêgo's list – a detail which brings my discussion full circle, back to the question of archival work's inevitably imperfect, unpredictable and personally-inflected nature, with which this final part of the thesis began.



Underlining the curious nature of the origins and eventual fate of this four-part publication, Maria Antónia Fiadeiro, biographer of Maria Lamas, remarks:

Ela sai da 'Modas [& Bordados]' e fala muito nesse projeto que é o livro da mulher. Eu venho a constatar que o livro da mulher é uma revista que tem dados autobiográficos, que se chama 'As Quatro Estações', de que só saem três volumes, o

quarto não foi autorizado e onde [sic] ela tem relatos autobiográficos que não eram usuais à época. (*Apud* Diário de Notícias, 2016)

Whilst the deeply personal nature of Lamas' project is highlighted by Fiadeiro here, in the introductory note to the publication's first number, a decidedly collaborative impulse behind it is also emphasised: "Não apresenta apenas um autor: reúne vários autores, num sentido de cooperação, tendo em vista aspectos da literatura, da arte, da ciência e também da vida prática, conforme a sequência natural das épocas do ano" (Lamas, 1949, front matter). Other contributors included, amongst others: Emilia de Sousa Costa, Lília da Fonseca, Manuela Porto, Manuela de Azevedo, Maria Elvira Barroso, Alda Nogueira, Ada Negri, Matilde Rosa Araújo, Lima de Freitas, Carlos de Oliveira, Júlio Pomar, Manuel da Fonseca and Jaime Brasil. From this brief and incomplete list, *As Quatro Estações*' progressive (predominantly female) character becomes increasingly clear as we recognise many of the names from the lists of participants of the opposition organisations (such as the AFPP, the CNMP and the MUD) in which Losa also participated and which were discussed in Chapter 1.3 of this thesis. Whilst Fiadeiro's comment regarding the non-authorisation of the fourth and final – 'Winter' – instalment appears to suggest that it was prohibited by the censor, information provided in a letter by Maria Lamas, included in Maria Luzia Fouto Prates' doctoral thesis from 2010 (one of very few publications to discuss *As Quatro Estações* in some more detail¹) in fact points to economic restrictions: "'O 'Inverno' já não sairá, porque o meu sócio assim o determinou, visto as '4 estações' darem prejuízo a empresa'" (*apud* Prates, 2010, p. 63).

In terms of Ilse Losa's contributions to the three numbers of the publication that did in fact go to press, Manuela Rêgo's list provides details for three texts (one in each edition): 'Nenúfares' – a prose poem which nostalgically recalls a mother's movements; 'Nero' – a short story focused on a bourgeois woman's relationship with her pampered dog; 'O nosso amigo morto' – another prose poem which is an elegiac remembrance of the dead friend of its title.² Within those same editions, however, there in fact exist a further two texts in Losa's own name plus

¹ Though Ana Cristina Vasconcelos de Macedo mentions Losa's collaboration with *As Quatro Estações* in her monograph (2018a, p. 37), this is only via a brief and incomplete enumeration of Losa's contributions.

² Both prose poems would be included in *Grades Brancas* two years later, in 1951.

one in that of her pseudonym, Ana Marcus. These are, respectively: a short story entitled ‘Refugiada’, in which a young refugee sits in front of her silent companion, António, in a Lisbon café in 1938, imagining all she would tell him about her life and experience if it weren’t for the language barrier separating them; ‘Indiferença’, another short story in which the apparent indifference of a girl encountered at a gathering of German refugees is revealed to result from her trauma following four years in Nazi concentration camps;³ a story entitled ‘Tempestade num copo de água’, in which a Swiss-trained educator narrates her experience of opening a nursery whose initial calm is disrupted by the arrival of a spoilt child whose boisterous behaviour is eventually tamed by his peers, the text essentially serving as an illustrative episode of child development.⁴

It is curious how these additional Losian texts – located within the same publications as those listed by Manuela Rêgo – were not detected or recorded together with the first three texts mentioned above. Indeed, earlier in Rêgo’s book, reference to Ilse Losa’s use of pseudonyms is included in the *Letras & Letras* interview that Losa gave to António de Almeida Mattos in 1988 – a detail which suggests that Rêgo was aware of the pseudonyms Losa mentions.

L&L: Por esta época esboçam-se movimentos literários, grupos de intelectuais com desejo de intervenção. Quer dar o seu testemunho?

IL: No fim dos anos 40 eu comecei a colaborar em revistas e jornais. Primeiro na revista *Vértice*, durante seis anos; depois fui convidada a colaborar em *Os Nossos Filhos*, e seguiu-se então a *Seara Nova*, *As Quatro Estações*, revista dirigida por Maria Lamas, onde escrevi com vários pseudónimos.

L&L: Lembra-se de alguns desses pseudónimos?

IL: Ana Marcos, Catarina... Com Ana Marcos colaborei, também, uma vez na *Seara Nova*..., a *Árvore*, a *Gazeta Literária* e assim por diante. (*Apud* Rêgo, 2016, p. 18)

³ Each of these stories would come to be included in *Histórias Quase Esquecidas* (1950) the following year.

⁴ Irene Lisboa, Losa’s friend and literary idol, with whom she shared a life-long interest in pedagogy, had received pedagogical training in Switzerland just like the protagonist of this short text – seemingly, thus, a further illustration of the profound influence that Lisboa had on Losa, particularly at this early stage of her career.

One notes that the spelling of the name recorded by Almeida Mattos – Ana Marcos – is not how Losa in fact consistently wrote it (Ana Marcus); one also notes that Losa refers to having collaborated in *As Quatro Estações* “com vários pseudónimos”. Bearing in mind the inaccurate spelling of Marcus in the transcription of the 1988 interview, I would suggest that the “Katrin” listed as another of the contributors to the first edition of *As Quatro Estações*, might plausibly be identified as the “Catarina” recorded by Almeida Mattos, in both cases the pseudonyms thus subjected to a dose of Portuguese domestication. That the interviewer records only “Catarina”, without a surname, and that “Katrin” similarly appears just so further supports my point.

‘Mulheres à janela’, attributed to Katrin in the ‘Spring’ edition of *As Quatro Estações*, is a text in which a foreign woman recalls her initial surprise and discomfort at noticing her female neighbours’ habit of tracking the movements of those who came and went in the street below their windows. Developing a more extreme aversion to the phenomenon (“Comecei a detestar essas sentinelas à janela” [Katrin, 1949, p. 85]), the foreign narrator later comes to adopt a different attitude as she becomes increasingly accustomed to the culture around her:

Hoje, vejo tudo diferente. Passaram-se muitos anos e eu consegui penetrar nos problemas do País.

Hoje não detesto estas mulheres à janela, mas tenho uma imensa pena delas. Na sua preguiça reconheço uma vida oca, sem interesse [...]

No entanto existe um desejo inconfessado na maior parte destas mulheres: ser como aquelas outras que passam que têm horas do trabalho, ocupações; o desejo de cumprir uma missão na sociedade, de fazer parte de uma atividade. (*Ibid.*, pp. 85-86)

Whilst the text’s authorship by Losa is by no means confirmed by the likeness of the names Katrin and Catarina, the fact that the text begins with the assertion “Foi há quinze anos que vim para este País” (*ibid.*, p. 85), which, in 1949 – the year of the text’s publication – corresponds to the same interval since Losa’s arrival in Porto in 1934, adds further weight to this tentative suggestion. That the text is illustrated by Gretchen Wohlwill, Losa’s close friend

and illustrator of both ‘Refugiada’ and ‘Tempestade num copo de água’ in the same edition, also supports the thesis.



With its echoes of Losian texts which are generally less explicit but similarly concerned with the issue of women’s rights and place in society, this pseudonym-signed story, if in fact written by Losa, would represent one of the most explicitly and proactively feminist texts of Losa’s confirmed publications, and a decidedly bold incitement to female resistance and revolt against patriarchal repression in 1949, as the following citation illustrates:

Mas a mulher não é um bicho de luxo. Tem capacidade mental e manual igual à do homem. Se passa horas preciosas à janela, é comparável a um preso, impedido de desempenhar o seu papel na sociedade, na sua missão de ser útil para a humanidade. Mulheres à janela! Monotonia, aborrecimento [...] Mulheres à janela. Sintoma de atraso, de doença social. E a nós que, passamos por elas, apetecia-nos gritar para as que ainda são novas: ‘Acordai! Não apodreçais nessa vida oca! Ainda estais a tempo de ser mais alguma coisa do que ‘mulheres à janela’! (*Ibid.*, p. 86)

Given the high proportion of texts in *As Quatro Estações* which are not attributed to any identifiable individual, I suggest that beyond the single Ana Marcus-signed text, a number of others might also have been written by Losa, ‘Mulheres à janela’ simply providing the most convincing example. Recalling the discussion of pseudonym-use provided in my analysis of Ilse Losa’s collaboration with *Vértice* and *SN*, we might conclude that for a similar reason she here resorts to a pseudonym whilst elsewhere in the same publication using her own name: to

give an impression of variety where in fact the contributors were relatively few. At the same time, in this specific example, it would seem that Losa, if indeed the true author of the text, takes advantage of this anonymity to express her subversive ideas more freely and forcibly than she does elsewhere.

So while Rêgo's list is undoubtedly immensely useful in providing very specific information on the references it does include, and also in pointing this research towards previously unknown or under-explored and thoroughly valuable sources such as *As Quatro Estações*, from a brief exploration of just one of the publications it lists, the limitations and only partial nature of the list are also underlined, with just three of the six confirmed Losa-authored texts within it listed. As such, we find yet more practical evidence for the need for a transparent and cross-referential approach to this kind of archival work, combining primary and secondary sources whose own idiosyncrasies might also be usefully highlighted by researchers, all in the aim of creating a transparent and ever-fuller picture of, in this case, Ilse Losa's uncollated *crônica* production.

CONCLUSIONS

I began this thesis with a dual aim. On the one hand, I hoped to bring to light the uncollated *crónicas* by Ilse Losa which, following their original publication in the Portuguese press between 1948 and the early 1990s, had lain dormant in various archives, perhaps never having been read again. On the other hand, I intended to shed *new* light on the collections containing Losian *crónicas* which, despite having been preserved in book form, have, for the most-part, been overlooked by Losian scholars and the wider literary community in general. As such, I have endeavoured to raise the profile of this particular aspect of Ilse Losa's literary output, opening it up for further exploration and prompting its inclusion in broader understandings of Ilse Losa's place and role in latter twentieth-century Portuguese cultural history.

While Losa herself has been the driving focus of the thesis, with the *crónicas* – produced across the full five decades of her active literary career – tracing her development as an increasingly established Portuguese author and citizen, the diachronic study of these texts was also designed to provide an additional impression: that of Portuguese society as it underwent a series of seismic shifts and transformations – a portrait produced from Losa's consistent, unique perspective as an integrated foreigner living in, and reflecting on, Portugal, through her regular texts in the press. Indeed, it is worth noting the parallel that exists between Ilse Losa's position, as someone who was both an insider and an outsider in Portuguese society, and Portugal's own re-negotiation of its place in relation to the rest of Europe and the wider world as it emerged from 48 years of isolationist dictatorship. As it began to forge closer relationships with, and indeed, integrate itself within, the European Economic Community, Portugal, during the final quarter of the twentieth century, could arguably be seen as occupying an insider/outsider position analogous to Losa's.

An additional question, in conjunction with these objectives, is that of whether the *crónica*, given its multi-faceted, ill-defined and somewhat marginalised character as a genre between genres (inherently marked by transitions of various sorts, indeed), might in fact be a form which is particularly appropriate – useful, even – to a writer, such as Losa, whose trajectory is similarly marked by migration.

The results of a long and meandering process combining findings from primary and secondary research (in published collections, correspondence, archives and interviews) – with each additional resource informing and expanding the reach of the others – have been similarly manifold, as I will here summarise. I will roughly divide my findings into those coming from the “new” (archival) material, on the one hand, and published material (Losa’s *crónica* collections, her correspondence edited by Karina Marques, and Manuela Rêgo’s list of Losa’s press publications), on the other.

Findings from “new” (archival) material

From within the corpus of over 300 uncollated *crônicas* gathered in the course of this research, the single most exciting and novel (eleventh-hour) discovery has surely been around Losa’s collaboration with the four-part, 1949 periodical, *As Quatro Estações*, and, in particular within this, the text I deduce to be by Losa and signed with a pseudonym hitherto never associated to any specific text: ‘Mulheres à janela’ by “Katrin”. With this relatively radical expression of feminist frustration and intent – a battle cry of sorts for a still shy, heavily repressed women’s liberation movement, appealing to her fellow women to wake up and shake off their patriarchal domination – Losa’s ideological credentials, as well as her outspokenness within a censored context, are undoubtedly established. Also confirmed is Losa’s proximity to the prominently controversial Maria Lamas (a detail further bolstered by the letters exchanged between the two, included in Karina Marques’ book of correspondence) and this at a time when Lamas was working on what would become her single best-known project, *As Mulheres do Meu País* (1950), as a direct response to the Estado Novo regime’s repression of the CNMP following its subversive 1947 exhibition of books by women writers. Indeed, while *As Mulheres do Meu País* has been immortalised in Portuguese oppositionist and feminist history, as well as in Lamas’ biography, *As Quatro Estações*, perhaps on account of its parallel publication and also its collaborative, as opposed to single-author, nature, has fallen into relative oblivion. The significance, for the developing women’s movement in mid-twentieth century Portugal, of this period and the series of interconnected cultural events and publications mentioned here, becomes increasingly clear, as does Losa’s thorough involvement in this.

Still on the question of Losa's engagement with the women's movement, within the Losa family archive, texts such as 'A frustração da mulher americana', 'Crianças para queimar? – Não, isso não!' serve to confirm this relatively radical feminist stance, now in the *cronista's* own name, with the two texts, from 1966 and 1978, respectively, revealing Losa's continued boldness, one in the face of a vigilant censor, the other, following the revolution, in the context of a highly polarised debate on abortion. The additional texts I selected from the family archive for in-depth analysis, whilst less obviously subversive nevertheless confirm Losa's tireless commitment, via a multitude of approaches, to opening up a space for women in the Portuguese public sphere. Via her literary reviews, author profiles of foreign and national women, reflections on the progress of women in Portuguese society, and her own more literary creations, as well as in the two radical texts mentioned above, we see how Losa, on this single theme of "women" (but also across the rest of her *crónica oeuvre*, in relation to any of the subjects which become typically Losian foci), provides a sense of consistency within variety – her voice of dissent and defiance ever-present, insistent and increasingly familiar as the decades wear on. It is based on this aspect of Losa's *crónica*-writing that I here suggest that the author be more fully inserted within the history of the Portuguese women's liberation movement, her name drawn out from the footnotes of studies to be recognised for the steady, subtle but significant influence that it is in fact here shown to represent.

Moving away from this more subject-specific approach, my exploration of the various archives which served as case studies – from two iconic periodicals where Losa appeared repeatedly between the late 1940s and 1960s, to two daily newspapers with which she collaborated in the late 1970s and early 1990s – also provides a sense of a developing *cronista* style in Losa's texts for the press. This diachronic approach, indeed, provides a series of snapshots of Losa's press publications at these various stages of her career, with the sub-generically defined and distinct texts of *Vértice* and *SN* (pedagogical essays, anthropological reflections, literary or film reviews, translations, author profiles, literary texts, etc.) transforming, by the time she is writing for *DL* and then *Público*, into something much less easy to categorise (and much more akin to the *crónica* as it is defined theoretically, therefore) – texts which straddle multiple sub-generic boundaries, often basing themselves in quotidian experiences and encounters which serve as a spring-board to some more profound, enduring philosophical (ethical) point. With this, indeed, I suggest we witness the emergence and establishment of the Losian *crónica* proper, as well as of the figure "Ilse Losa, *cronista*" – an identity which has come to be

somewhat lost and forgotten – overshadowed by her renown as an author of children’s literature and of semi-autobiographical fiction, as well as, to a lesser extent, as a translator.

As part of tracing the emergence of this identity, and linking it to Losa’s broader literary *oeuvre*, we also witness the origins and indeed the consolidation of what would become a thoroughly Losian technique – what I have called a “trademark” of the author’s writing. Present in texts from her early 1950s collaboration with *Vértice* (and more specifically in the trio of narratives ‘Na loja de antiguidades’, ‘Cidade fantasma’ and ‘Visita ao passado’, from between August 1951 and March 1952), Losa’s development of a series of “portals” through which she is able to access a past from which she is separated temporally and often geographically is something that would in fact come to characterise her writing, not only within the *crónica* form but also in her longer narratives. I suggest the feature, indeed, becomes something of a shorthand for trauma in Losa’s work – such as in *À Flor do Tempo*, where the technique reappears repeatedly – as via these “portals” her displacement from Germany and her re-rooting in Portugal in 1934 are relived repeatedly, before the readers eyes. As such, Losa effectively weaves trauma into the most apparently simple, banal texts, repeatedly and subtly exorcising her own suffering as well as delivering an indirect, undogmatic process of sensitisation of her Portuguese readers, for whom there is an often unannounced, almost symbiotic passage of experience and sensibility in relation to the Holocaust, of which most had no first-hand knowledge. That this experimentation with the technique by Losa should have first appeared alongside a number of texts in which she also discusses Freud and the notion of trauma (principally in her pedagogical writings, but also in a film review, for example), further suggests that such ideas were very present in her mind at the time that she first experimented with this stylistic technique, thus supporting my point here.

Findings from published collections and other sources

In terms of the most significant findings to have emerged from my exploration of the published material studied in the course of this research, we might start by recalling the many concrete, specific details revealed in the letters which Karina Marques collated in *Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços* (2018), such as the fact that Losa’s best-known works – *O Mundo em Que Vivi* and *Sob Céus Estranhos* – existed in the author’s mother tongue from as early as 1951 and 1963,

respectively, despite these books only reaching their German audience at the beginning of the 1990s. Another detail contained in the letters in Marques' book which similarly relates to the internationalisation of Losa's *oeuvre* (here looking ahead to potential future English-language versions of her writing), is that Losa's debut novel, *O Mundo em Que Vivi*, was recommended for translation into English by the American ambassador to Portugal as early as 1952, the recommendation seemingly having reached a publisher (the Pan-American Union), though the English translation never materialised. Finally, the fact of Losa having been the target of virulent anti-semitic threats in 1980 is a detail from the letters which reflects back an aspect of the Portuguese socio-political panorama of the post-revolution years, underlining how Losa's continued sense of vulnerability and persecution – which can be felt throughout her writing – was fed by an ongoing or resurgent threat, even after both the fall of the Nazis in Germany and the Estado Novo regime in Portugal. In relation to the *crónica* form, specifically, this episode, given its direct connection to a particular newspaper text by Losa, also illustrates the relatively exposed role of *cronistas* as they publish in this prominent public space.

Beyond these specific, concrete elements, perhaps more significant in terms of our understanding of Ilse Losa's position in Portuguese culture during the second half of the twentieth century are the broader aspects of her personal and professional relationships which come to the fore in the letters collated by Marques. Indeed, in their revelation of close, almost familial relationships with some of the most prominent left-wing cultural figures of the 1950s and 1960s – such as Óscar Lopes, Mário Dionísio, Eugénio de Andrade, José Gomes Ferreira and Maria Lamas – the letters locate Losa at the heart of the oppositionist Portuguese intellectual elite. As such, we are forced to readjust the image of Losa's marginal place in Portuguese culture, which, via the frames established in the thesis' opening chapters, I suggest results from her occupation of a series of ambiguous, peripheral positions in relation to a series of "centres" (literary, social and political, for example). Indeed, while I do not suggest that this readjustment invalidates the evaluation of Losa's multiply marginal status, I do propose that it complicates it further, showing the author at once in repeatedly overlooked and neglected positions whilst *also* existing and operating, in a very much active role, at the heart of a network which represented the vibrant core of Portuguese cultural production. What is particularly interesting to note about these relationships, is the way that Losa frequently asserted and defended herself in the face of perceived injustice or discrimination of any sort, a certain tenacity and determination revealing themselves in her character, as well as, simultaneously, a

degree of insecurity, which the author battled to overcome with the help of the encouragement, mentoring and practical support of those around her. Via such details, the importance of these personal relationships to Losa's professional development becomes clear – significant overlap between these two supposedly opposed spheres of her life and work revealed in the process.

In terms of the most remarkable aspects to have emerged from within Losa's published *crónica* collections, there is, from 1960, *Ida e Volta*'s notably vanguard anti-racist message and approach, as the author seeks, in the midst of the civil rights movement, an ever-closer contact with the Afro-American experience and perspective as she travels the United States, denouncing the various examples of discrimination and prejudice that she witnesses. Bearing in mind the delicate political situation that also existed in 1960s Portugal, where, at the time of the book's publication, anti-colonial and indeed any other such oppositionist sentiment was harshly repressed by the Estado Novo, including via censorship, Losa's direct confrontation of institutional as well as other forms of racism and discrimination was decidedly bold. Whilst it illustrates, on the one hand, her determination and commitment to tackling issues of racial injustice (amongst other injustices), we might also appreciate Losa's skill and care in evading the censor by employing a number of techniques, not least that of expressing the great majority of her criticisms in direct and explicit relation to the North American context, when, in fact, her point might also be applied to (and is, indeed, implicitly made about) a Portuguese (colonial) setting.

Taking *Ida e Volta* in conjunction with Losa's next published collection containing *crónicas* – *Estas Searas*, from 1984 – the author's commitment to gender equality is again worth highlighting, as across these two collections we find examples of an unassuming, seemingly incidental but nonetheless significant intersectional approach. Though principally dealt with separately, Losa's dual focus on race and gender discrimination in *Ida e Volta* sees her tentatively approach the question of how these two forms of discrimination interact for women of colour, with this pairing being replaced, in the central trio of texts in *Estas Searas*, with that of gender and class, as Losa here pays homage to working-class women and their multi-faceted struggle as the downtrodden victims of multiple hierarchies and systems of oppression. That said, it should be noted that the majority of the women portrayed by Losa throughout her *crónica* output are middle-class white women of which she herself is one. Nevertheless, the

fact that these women's contributions to such a punishing social structure is also brought into focus by Losa serves as an example of her consistent readiness to turn her critical eye back on herself, mocking and/or owning up to her own fallible nature (and, indeed, encouraging others to do the same).

While *À Flor do Tempo*, as an award-winning showcase of Losa's *crónica*-writing, presents many of the themes and stylistic techniques which feature in other collections and archives (and is thus a highly valuable resource in terms of painting a picture of Ilse Losa's *cronista* identity), what this collection does uniquely, as a work not put together by Losa herself, is to highlight the potential impact of the editor's role in such a composition – including how a given *crónica*'s significance can be somehow altered or amplified according to its insertion amongst other texts with which it was not originally published. Indeed, from my detailed study of the structure of *À Flor do Tempo*, I propose that this work represents something of a monument to Losa's incremental integration in Portuguese culture, as, across the course of its 51 *crónicas*, we gain, via an additional, overarching narrative external to the individual *crónicas* themselves, a sense of her ever-deeper rooting in the society she repeatedly describes, reflects on and, increasingly, criticises. As such, I believe we can take the collection as something of a multi-handed (self-)portrait of Losa's migrant identity – an image produced by Losa's words but also, crucially, their particular arrangement by her editor and close friend, Marcela Torres, without also forgetting the initial role of Ana Losa, the author's grand-daughter, who was asked by Losa to make a selection of *crónicas* which served as the base from which Torres set out. Thinking back to Losa's initial publications in periodicals very much characterised by a collective spirit driven by their Neo-Realist ideology, and remembering, also, the strong network of personal and professional mutual support illustrated in the author's correspondence, the particular way in which *À Flor do Tempo* took shape would seem to echo a consistent, collaborative aspect of Ilse Losa's career and wider civic activity. The fact that the book was produced when Losa was already suffering from Alzheimer's renders this detail particularly poignant, underlining it, indeed, as an act of love, with Losa's personal and professional nature – including a strong collective spirit – here seemingly preserved for posterity, against the erosion of memory.

The final published work which I believe represents a significant source of new information for Losian studies is, of course, Manuela Régio's in-house production for the Biblioteca Nacional, *Ilse Losa, 1913-2006* (2016), and, in particular, its list of Losa's press publications. As well as a greatly valuable list of these texts and their publication details (many of which were absent from the family archive, thus complementing it significantly), what this resource also offers my work here is an important contribution to the discussion of the archival process which I have chosen to include alongside the findings that resulted from that same process. As a book which has been available since 2016 but which neither appears in the most significant works within Losian studies, nor, indeed, in the Biblioteca Nacional's own record of its works, it raises certain questions about how the whole of Losa's scattered, uncollated *oeuvre* can be confidently brought together in practice. This idea is further underlined and illustrated by the fact that Rego's list, upon some brief, exploratory scrutiny, revealed a series of gaps and absences in terms of the texts which I had myself uncovered in my own archival exploration, and which were missing from this list seemingly presented as a definitive record.

Indeed, beyond the *content* of the *crónicas* unearthed in my explorations of both the uncollated and published material, via an approach which values a transparent discussion of the archival research process itself, the complexities, obstacles, chance encounters, gaps and inaccuracies contained in, or prompted by, each of the archives I studied (and thus we might assume, in almost *any* such archive) became an additional "finding" of my research, as it were. Whilst each additional resource or archive expanded the corpus of uncollated *crónicas*, it also revealed – in each of the sources – faults, flaws and elements which could not be feasibly clarified within the scope of my research. With this, the central importance of a cross-referenced, multi-directional approach to such work – combining and cross-checking a series of primary and secondary resources to access the full potential of each – becomes self-evident. That said, whilst this is surely the only route to an ever fuller picture of an author such as Ilse Losa's work, it seems that this picture will remain inevitably imperfect and incomplete – full and confident access to the whole of an author's uncollated work an elusive fantasy.

Final reflections – Ilse Losa, cronista

Having summarised what I consider to have been the most interesting, illuminating finds from within my archival and wider research process, I will here briefly return to the question of the

crónica form's particular significance for Losa as a migrant, exophonic author occupying an almost unique position in (and offering a quite unique perspective *on*) Portuguese letters and society. Following the thorough immersion in the author's collated and uncollated *crónica* output that this thesis provides, the image that sticks in one's mind is one of a subtly artful and, indeed, ambitious use of an ambiguous position as a foreign-born, foreign-tongued female writer of texts which are, within the Portuguese literary panorama, themselves marginal and thus often side-lined in terms of their cultural significance. I suggest that from this multiply marginal, but also, paradoxically, thoroughly central, public position in the pages of prominent periodicals and newspapers, Losa in fact managed carve a special, somewhat overlooked and under-rated (and thus partially *protected*) place for herself, from which to express herself regularly, on a wide range of subjects, and often presenting relatively radical and controversial opinions. As such, the overall impression with which one is left after reading and considering her *crónica* output in the various contexts in which the texts appeared, is one of a progressive, outspoken but also, crucially, a delicate and skilled writer who used her regular platform in publications of different sorts to project her voice – a voice of defiance which, more than anything, was used in the name of social justice. With this thesis I thus make a case for Losa as a quietly but firmly radical voice in Portuguese letters – a writer who used the *crónica* to regularly and discreetly gain access to the homes, hearts and minds of her fellow Portuguese citizens. As such, the *crónica* perhaps therefore functions as the ultimate “portal” in her *oeuvre*, no longer to the past, as we have seen within specific texts throughout, but rather between the past, present and future – Losa frequently drawing on her transnational, female, multiply marginal experience to inform and commune with those around her, in the process establishing and preserving her place in Portuguese society and culture.

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APPENDICES

- Appendix A – *À Flor do Tempo crónicas*
- Appendix B – *Vértice* archive *crónicas*; *Seara Nova* archive *crónicas*
- Appendix C – *Diário de Lisboa* archive *crónicas*; *Público* archive *crónicas*
- Appendix D – Losa family archive *crónicas*
- Appendix E – *Ilse Losa, 1913-2006* (Rêgo, 2016) press publications

Appendix A:

À Flor do Tempo crônicas

AFDT crônica	Losa family archive information	Individual newspaper archive	<i>Ilse Losa, 1913-2006</i> press publications	Additional source: <i>Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços</i>	Presumed date (range) from in-text information
1. Os primeiros passos					
2. O cine-teatro	30.04.1990 - <i>Público</i>	30.04.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
3. O Porto e os estranhos					post-1991
4. Natal com “todos”					
5. Não tão fácil como parece					pre-1979
6. Sim e não		03.12.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
7. O que lá vai, lá vai					
8. Lembrando Anna Seghers			28.06.1983 - DN		
9. Amsterdão					1957-1960
10. Sobre os contos de Anne Frank					post-1961
11. Gretchen Wohlwill – Retrato					1952-1962
12. O diabo do chapéu			02.02.1967 - DP		
13. Chapéus e chapéus			02.03.1967 - DP*		
14. Concorrência desleal			22.06.1967 - DP		

AFDT <i>crónica</i>	Losa family archive information	Individual newspaper archive	<i>Ilse Losa, 1913-2006</i> press publications	Additional source: <i>Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços</i>	Presumed date (range) from in-text information
15. A prenda de Natal		31.12.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
16. New York					
17. Pela mesma porta					pre-1984
18. Solidariedade					post-1974
19. O cara alegre					
20. Um entre muitos					
21. Intermezzo					
22. A força de uma história					
23. Foi só isto					
24. Ameaça					
25. Infância					
26. Na Praça da Liberdade		28.05.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
27. Vidas					
28. Numa manhã de fevereiro					
29. Dantes... aí! Dantes		10.05.1979 - DL			
30. Ter o rei na barriga		09.07.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
31. Abalos	“Nov. 1992”				
32. Intermezzo musical numa cidadezinha alemã	19.3.1958 - PJ				
33. Os guedelhudos			29.06.1966 - DP		

AFDT <i>crónica</i>	Losa family archive information	Individual newspaper archive	<i>Ilse Losa, 1913-2006</i> press publications	Additional source: <i>Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços</i>	Presumed date (range) from in-text information
34. Um herói dos nossos dias					post-1964
35. Ambos do Porto		08.10.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
36. Uns e outros		03.09.1990 - <i>Público</i>			
37. Cada vez maior					
38. Ai, Kafka!				1980	
39. “Um pouco de azul...”					post-1990
40. Ele há dias! (E este foi um deles)		02.06.1979 - DL			
41. A idade média persiste			08.01.1985 - DN		
42. A estudante de psicologia					1975-1992
43. Já não é assim		03.01.1979 - DL			
44. Irene Lisboa	“Julho1957” - GL		06.1957 - GL		
45. Relendo <i>Solidão</i>			05.05.1966 - DP		
46. Ao Eugénio					post-1964
47. Lembrando Camilo e outros					post-1980
48. Uma frase infeliz do Eça			22.12.1981 - JN		
49. A quinta e os livros					1990s
50. Ai, a árvore de Natal!					post-1965

AFDT <i>crônica</i>	Losa family archive information	Individual newspaper archive	<i>Ilse Losa, 1913-2006</i> press publications	Additional source: <i>Ilse Losa, Estreitando Laços</i>	Presumed date (range) from in-text information
51. E depois... E depois...					

* originally published under the slightly different title: ‘Mais uma vez um chapéu’

Appendix B:**Vértice archive crónicas**

Reference	Date	Title	Edition Number; pp.
V1	Jan-48	Impressões de uma visita à Inglaterra*	53; 81-86
V2	Apr/May-48	Grades brancas**	56/7; 304-5
V3	Dec-48	A linguagem na literatura infantil	64; 367-371
V4	Mar-49	Inflação	67; 133-136
V5	Apr-49	O assunto na literatura infantil	68; 221-223
V6	Jul-49	A criança e a sua actividade	71; 16-28
V7	Aug-49	Um filme de Fritz Lang	72; 109-110
V8	Nov-49	Segundo capítulo de “Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre”; “Primeiro encontro com Goethe”, de Erkermann	75; 252-256
V9	Feb-50	O cinema e as crianças	78; 76-80
V10	Mar-50	À minha filha	79; 134
V11	Apr-50	“Rapariga”, de Ester de Lemos	80; 255-256
V12	Jul-50	Os direitos da criança	83; 33-36
V13	Aug-50	“A sua melhor missão”, realização de Billy Wilder	84; 116-117
V14	Oct-50	Uma pintora: Kaethe Kollwitz	86; 221-225
V15	Oct-50	“As Mulheres do Meu País”, de Maria Lamas	86; 258-259
V16	Nov-50	Hans Fallada	87; 303-306

V17	Feb-51	A arte infantil e as escolas infantis	90; 34-37
V18	Apr-51	Aprendizagem	92; 138-142
V19	May-51	A poesia, a música e a criança	93; 218-223
V20	Jul-51	Uma visita às “Pequenas Cantoras de Portugal”	95; 373-374
V21	Aug-51	Na loja de antiguidades	96; 397-398
V22	Oct-51	As mãos da minha menina	98; 512
V23	Nov 51/Jan-52	Cidade fantasma (reportagem)	99/101; 608-612
V24	Mar-52	Visita ao passado (conto)	103; 77-80
V25	May-52	“Bato às Portas da Vida”, de Maria Archer	105; 254-255
V26	Jun-52	City lyghts	106; 275-278
V27	Sept/Oct-1952	O papel do cinema na vida da criança	109/110; 468-476/533-541
V28	Nov-52	Capricho	111; 587
V29	Apr-53	Uma aposta	116; 193-194
V30	May-53	Um minuto de silêncio... (Ou, A queima das fitas)	117; 269
V31	May-53	Palavras de Max Reindhardt	117; 673
V32	May-53	O Prémio Ricardo Malheiros 1952: “A Primeira Viagem” de Maria da Graça Azambuja**	117; 314-315
V33	Jan-54	Problemas infantis: A teimosia	124; 38-41
V34	Aug/Sept-54	“A Velha Inconveniente”, conto de Bertolt Brecht	131/132; 460-465

V35	Jun-55	Thomas Mann; “Hora difícil” por Thomas Mann	141; 332-340
V36	Jan/Feb-63	Uma carta a Mário Vilaça	232/233; 85-86

Seara Nova archive crónicas

Reference	Date	Title	Edition number; pp.
SN1	Oct-48	Dachau**	1093; 165
SN2	Dec-62	“Ponto de Fuga”, um novo romance alemão	1406; 277, 291
SN3	Apr-63	Hans Erich Nossack no Porto	1410; 92-93
SN4	Jul-63	Admiração e azedume	1413; 173
SN5	Jul-66	Sobre mim mesmo (Heinrich Böll)	1449; 220-221
SN6	Jan-67	Última colheita	1455; 23
SN7	Dec-67	Um conto de Natal: Mercur	1466; 394-396

*Text signed “J.L.”

** Texts signed “Ana Marcus”

Appendix C:

Diário de Lisboa archive crónicas

Reference	Date	Title
DL1	06/12/1978	A ordem do grande homem
DL2	03/01/1979	Já não é assim
DL3	20/01/1979	“Eles”
DL4	27/01/1979	Os mundos no mundo
DL5	02/02/1979	A força das palavras
DL6	09/02/1979	Nostalgia americana
DL7	22/02/1979	Conversas amenas
DL8	05/03/1979	Milagre amargo
DL9	12/03/1979	Predição precipitosa
DL10	26/03/1979	A sorte grande
DL11	19/04/1979	Hipocrisia ou má consciência? (A propósito do “Ano Internacional da Criança”)
DL12	30/04/1979	Informação séria para uma juventude que quer saber
DL13	10/05/1979	Antes... ai! Antes
DL14	21/05/1979	Alguma coisa tem, de certeza
DL15	02/06/1979	Ele há dias!...
DL16	05/06/1979	Competir com os “Jones”
DL17	16/06/1979	Jeans
DL18	03/07/1979	“Diários Portugueses”
DL19	09/07/1979	Ainda “Os Diários Portugueses”
DL20	21/07/1979	Precisa-se

DL21	27/07/1979	Não basta haver rosas...
DL22	06/08/1979	A história de um homem
DL23	15/09/1979	Os menos amados
DL24	27/09/1979	Ângulos de visão
DL25	17/10/1979	Sim ou não?
DL26	07/11/1979	Feira mostra
DL27	26/11/1979	Balanço

Público archive crónicas

Reference	Date	Title
P1*	??/??/199?	A chegada
P2*	??/??/199?	Espinhosos quebra-cabeças
P3	30/04/1990	O cine-teatro
P4	28/05/1990	Na Praça da Liberdade
P5	18/06/1990	Nos supers
P6	24/06/1990	Falou-se do S. João
P7	09/07/1990	Ter o rei na barriga
P8	13/08/1990	A “Latina”
P9	03/09/1990	Uns e outros
P10	08/10/1990	Ambos do Porto
P11	05/11/1990	Taxistas
P12	03/12/1990	Sim e não
P13	31/12/1990	A prenda de Natal
P14	25/02/1991	Televisão

P15	15/04/1991	Antes e depois
P16*	05/10/1992	O teatro da nossa memória

* Not returned by *Público* Documentation Department archive search

Appendix D:

Losa family archive *crónicas*

N.B. *Crónica* titles in bold indicate a confirmed publication.

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA1	[O cão Priuz]		
FA2	“E.T.” ficará suplantado?	31/01/1984	DN
FA3	“Gotas de água no oceano”?	14/09/1982	JN
FA4	“O inquérito”	02/10/1965	CP
FA5	“Prioridade absoluta”		
FA6	“Stradivarius” recuperado		
FA7	“Trabalhadores-hóspedes”		
FA8	A chegada dos robots	08/02/1985	DN
FA9	A cidade homenageia o seu pintor	04/01/1983	DN
FA10	A frustração da mulher americana	27/10/1966	DP
FA11	A fúria da desmontagem		
FA12	A história do tempo roubado	29/10/1985	DN
FA13	A mais bela Primavera	11/05/1967	DP
FA14	À procura do amor	09/11/1985	DN
FA15	A propósito de uma carta		
FA16	A propósito do projecto dum filme	31/05/1983	DN
FA17	A propósito dum grande escritor	09/10/1979	JN
FA18	A propósito dum prémio	23/05/1984	DN
FA19	A terra mais linda do mundo...		

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA20	A vitória da imaginação	07/08/1979	JN
FA21	Alguma informação sobre Elias Canetti	23/02/1982	JN
FA22	Algumas palavras sobre Heinrich Böll		
FA23	Alguns conceitos de Einstein		
FA24	Anne Frank		
FA25	António Luís Gomes		
FA26	Apenas um apontamento	??/08/1953	
FA27	Arte infantil – ao serviço da literatura?		
FA28	Às armas		
FA29	Asas		
FA30	Blow-up	10/08/1967	DP
FA31	Brandt e os alemães		
FA32	Brecht e Brecht		
FA33	Brecht e Chaplin		
FA34	Casa de pais, escola de filhos: A propósito do livro duma adolescente	30/03/1953	Átomo
FA35	Casa de pais, escola de filhos: Pequenos incidentes na vida das crianças	30/04/1952	Átomo
FA36	Como vejo o “E.T.”	15/01/1983	DN
FA37	Conflitos de sempre	14/03/1989	JN
FA38	Contar o quê?	28/04/1983	DN
FA39	Contar ou ocultar?	02/11/1986	DN
FA40	Contos de fadas, sim ou não? (A propósito de dois livros de Alice Vieira)	3-9/04/1981	O jornal

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA41	Contraponto	11/9/1979	JN
FA42	Controvérsia à volta dum romance	13/10/1964	CP
FA43	Coragem no Teatro da “Comuna”	10/02/1981	JN
FA44	Corrida à inteligência	23/09/1984	DN
FA45	Crianças para queimar? – Não, isso não!	07/05/1978	JN
FA46	Crónica imprevista		
FA47	Culpas e responsabilidades	25/12/1985	DN
FA48	Delícias do turismo		
FA49	Dois espectáculos		
FA50	Duas escritoras portuguesas		
FA51	E depois?	18/08/1981	JN
FA52	É difícil, bem sei	27/03/1979	JN
FA53	Einstein e Freud: Troca de ideias	16/03/1980	O jornal
FA54	Ele há de tudo		
FA55	Em busca de caminhos novos	16/06/1981	JN
FA56	Encontro com uma professora primária	10/11/1966	DP
FA57	Enfrentar situações difíceis	??/05/1980	O Jornal da Educação
FA58	Escritores na brecha	03/08/1982	JN
FA59	Escritores no exílio		
FA60	Estranha data de comemoração		
FA61	Expressão e libertação		
FA62	Finalmente a sério	23/06/1982	JN
FA63	Goethe num romance de Thomas Mann	18/02/1953	

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA64	Gostos nunca se discutem?		
FA65	Gracejando obriga a pensar	23/12/1980	JN
FA66	Guerra e sonho	20/04/1984	DN
FA67	Heine		
FA68	Hipocrisia		
FA69	Ir à escola: um prazer	24/08/1967	DP
FA70	Já agora...	08/01/1985	DN
FA71	Lembrando Goethe (que morreu em 1832, faz 150 anos)	15/09/1982	JN
FA72	Livros que abrem caminhos novos	06/12/1972	A Capital
FA73	Maneiras de ler	07/04/1981	JN
FA74	Meias de Seda		
FA75	Menos apreciado, porquê?	06/07/1984	DN
FA76	Metin	12/03/1982	O jornal
FA77	Mini-antologia		
FA78	Mister custoso	07/05/1984	DN
FA79	Mozart, sempre		
FA80	Música, aviões e pássaros	31/08/1967	DP
FA81	Na hora da telenovela	09/10/1981	O jornal
FA82	Nelly Sachs	08/12/1966	DP
FA83	Num outro Gdansk. Um filme e um livro	24/04/1981	O jornal
FA84	O “parque” e a colina		
FA85	O desmantelamento dum “teimoso”?	29/01/1982	O jornal
FA86	O meu vestido	??/04/1950	ONF

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA87	O mundo não pára		
FA88	O reverso da medalha	29/12/1966	DP
FA89	O século da criança	06/04/1979	DL
FA90	O teatro e a criança (a propósito de uma peça de Manuel Pina)/Algumas considerações a propósito de “O Homem do Saco”	??/07/1980	Jornal de Educação
FA91	O último ano de Thomas Mann	16/03/1957	
FA92	Obediência ou consciência?	31/05/1982	O jornal
FA93	Oiçam:		
FA94	Os que temos...	26/04/1985	DN
FA95	Pecado		
FA96	Pequenos milagres, grandes milagres	??/04/1980	Jornal de Educação
FA97	Porquê tanto desprezo?	19/12/1978	JN
FA98	Portugal vivido por um cosmopolita	28/08/1979	JN
FA99	Quo vadis?		
FA100	Receio de humor?	06/07/1967	DP
FA101	Recordando Munique		
FA102	Registo quase nulo	26/02/1980	JN
FA103	Regresso a Londres		
FA104	Regresso do conto de fadas?	10/04/1984	JN
FA105	Relendo “A sereiazinha”	23/10/1984	JN
FA106	Rodado na Turquia	03/04/1984	DN
FA107	[No title] (Éramos dois a caminhar)		

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA108	Saber pensar, saber dizer	18/06/1980	O jornal
FA109	Será justo?	15/09/1966	DP
FA110	Sinceramente...	28/05/1980	JN
FA111	Sob o signo de Eusébio	06/10/1966	DP
FA112	Sobre os que vivem sem viver	??/03/1966	DL
FA113	Tentativas que merecem aplausos	12/07/1983	JN
FA114	Testemunhas de acusação	22/12/1966	DP
FA115	Trinta e dois cadernos de “diários”: Um outro Thomas Mann?	06/07/1981	JL
FA116	Um domingo digno de menção		
FA117	Um dote como outro qualquer		
FA118	Um encontro memorável	16/02/1982- 01/03/1982	JL
FA119	Um festival dentro dum festival	09/03/1984	DN
FA120	Um filme e um livro – “Tewje”		
FA121	Um livro e um filme	22/09/1987	JN
FA122	Um livro importante	29/05/1979	JN
FA123	Um livro que deu que falar	31/3?/5?/1963	DL
FA124	Um mestre da palavra	01/06/1967	DP
FA125	Um país sem literatura infantil	13/03/1957	PJ
FA126	Um poeta alemão e um cantor português	19/11/1985	JN
FA127	Um prémio da paz	19/12/1979	JN
FA128	Um teatro ao ar livre para crianças	28/03/1957	DI
FA129	Uma ‘semana’ diferente de portugueses na RFA	02/02/1982	DN

Reference	<i>Crónica</i> title	Date	Publication
FA130	Uma alemã conta velhas histórias da Turquia		
FA131	Uma iniciativa que merece aplausos		
FA132	Uma jovem no Terceiro Reich	26/11/1985	DN
FA133	Uma literatura indispensável	06/11/1978	JN
FA134	Uma luta justa?	17/07/1979	JN
FA135	Uma mulher africana explica-se	06/03/1981	O jornal
FA136	Uma peça de Peter Weiss	18/04/1966	Boletim de Estudantes
FA137	Um revolucionário que fala de amor e de Deus	21/11/1980	O jornal
FA138	Wallraff e o “Bild”	11/02/1980	O jornal
FA139	Xenofobia		

Appendix E:**Manuela Rêgo list of Ilse Losa's press publications**

Reference	Crónica title	Date	Publication
MR1	Nero	1949	QE: [outono]
MR2	Nenufáres [sic]	1949	QE: [primavera]
MR3	O nosso querido amigo morto	1949	QE: [verão]
MR4	O nosso filho faz anos	Apr-48	ONF
MR5	O vestido de passeio	Jun-48	ONF
MR6	Devemos ou não levar as nossas crianças a toda a parte onde vamos?	Nov-48	ONF
MR7	A linguagem na literatura infantil	Dec-48	Vértice
MR8	Inflacção: conto	Mar-49	Vértice
MR9	Parques infantis	Apr-49	ONF
MR10	O assunto na literatura infantil	Apr-49	Vértice
MR11	O Kaiser	Jun-49	ONF
MR12	O nosso filho não quer comer	Jul-49	ONF
MR13	A criança e a sua actividade	Jul-49	Vértice
MR14	Um filme de Fritz Lang: [O segredo da porta fechada]	Aug-49	Vértice
MR15	A ponte: um conto	Sep-49	ONF
MR16	Saibamos ajudar as crianças a vencer os seus conflitos sentimentais	Sep-49	ONF
MR17	O colar vermelho	Nov-49	ONF
MR18	A literatura para os adolescentes	Dec-49	ONF
MR19	O cinema e as crianças	Feb-50	Vértice

MR20	Esperança	Mar-50	ONF
MR21	A minha filha: [poema]	Mar-50	Vértice
MR22	O meu vestido	Apr-50	ONF
MR23	<i>Rapariga</i> , de Ester de Lemos: [recensão]	Apr-50	Vértice
MR24	Os direitos da criança	Jul-50	Vértice
MR25	Canção da futura mãe	Aug-50	ONF
MR26	‘A sua melhor missão’, realização de Billy Wilder	Aug-50	Vértice
MR27	<i>As mulheres do meu país</i> de Maria Lamas	Oct-50	Vértice
MR28	Uma pintora: Kaete [Kaethe] Kollwitz / nota biográfica e trad. de Ilse Losa	Oct-50	Vértice
MR29	As crianças e nós	30/10/50	Átomo
MR30	Iniciativas frustradas	30/11/50	Átomo
MR31	Irmãos	Jan-51	ONF
MR32	Castigos e recompensas	30/01/51	Átomo
MR33	Para melhorar a infância dos nossos filhos	Feb-51	ONF
MR34	A arte infantil e escolas infantis	Feb-51	Vértice
MR35	Um problema a resolver	28/02/51	Átomo
MR36	A rosa e a bola / adapt. de um conto suiço por Ilse Losa	Mar-51	ONF
MR37	Como falar com as crianças	Apr-51	ONF
MR38	Aprendizagem	Apr-51	Vértice
MR39	A poesia, a música e a criança	May-51	Vértice
MR40	‘A criança é um ser de ternura...’	30/06/51	Átomo
MR41	Uma visita às Pequenas Cantoras de Portugal	Jul-51	Vértice

MR42	Fazer crítica	30/07/51	Átomo
MR43	A minha melhor história: um inédito	Aug-51	Eva
MR44	Na loja de antiguidades	Aug-51	Vértice
MR45	Escrever bem	30/08/51	Átomo
MR46	Madrastas, padrastos e enteados	30/09/51	Átomo
MR47	As mãos da minha menina	Oct-51	Vértice
MR48	Albergues da juventude	30-Nov	Átomo
MR49	Tenho medo!	30/01/52	Átomo
MR50	Ela: um conto	Feb-52	Eva
MR51	Visita ao passado: conto	Mar-52	Vértice
MR52	Pequenos incidentes na vida das crianças	30/04/52	Átomo
MR53	Maria Archer, <i>Bato às portas da vida</i> : [recensão]	May-52	Vértice
MR54	A propósito da morte de Maria Montessori	30/05/52	Átomo
MR55	City lights	Jun-52	Vértice
MR56	Algumas palavras a propósito dos métodos de ensino	30/07/52	Átomo
MR57	O sono	30/10/52	Átomo
MR58	Capricho [poema]	Nov-52	Vértice
MR59	Se os meninos soubessem exprimir as suas queixas	30/12/52	Átomo
MR60	Uma aposta	Apr-53	Vértice
MR61	Um minuto de silêncio (ou: A queima das fitas): [poema]	May-53	Vértice
MR62	A propósito dum artigo sobre o cinema e os menores	30/10/53	Átomo

MR63	Problemas infantis: A teimosia	Jan-54	Vértice
MR64	O mundo em que vivi	Jul-54	ONF
MR65	Nós e a criança	Sep-54	ONF
MR66	Um país sem literatura infantil	13/03/57	PJ
MR67	Anna [sic] Frank e a juventude	15/05/57	PJ
MR68	Irene Lisboa apreciada por Ilse Losa	Jun-57	GL
MR69	‘Ponto de fuga’, um novo romance alemão [de Peter Weiss]	Dec-62	SN
MR70	Hans Erich Nossack no Porto	Mar-63	SN
MR71	Admiração e azedume	Jun-63	SN
MR72	Relendo ‘Solidão’	05/05/66	DP
MR73	Livros que nunca caducam	19/05/66	DP
MR74	Prémios contraproducentes?	07/07/66	DP
MR75	Língua materna e língua adoptiva	16/07/66	DP
MR76	Será justo?	15/09/66	DP
MR77	Os guedelhudos	29/09/66	DP
MR78	Sob o signo de Eusébio	06/10/66	DP
MR79	A frustração da mulher americana	27/10/66	DP
MR80	Encontro com uma professorar primária	10/11/66	DP
MR81	Nelly Sachs	08/12/66	DP
MR82	Testemunhas de acusação	22/12/66	DP
MR83	O reverso da medalha	29/12/66	DP
MR84	Como resolver?	05/01/67	DP
MR85	Uma experiência feliz	26/01/67	DP
MR86	O diabo do chapéu	02/02/67	DP

MR87	Mais uma vez um chapéu	02/03/67	DP
MR88	O beijo de mão	23/03/67	DP
MR89	O compatriota	20/04/67	DP
MR90	Lugar-não-turístico	27/04/67	DP
MR91	Espectáculo com grandes possibilidades	04/05/67	DP
MR92	A mais bela primavera	11/05/67	DP
MR93	Não será assim?	18/05/67	DP
MR94	O ribeiro	25/05/67	DP
MR95	Um mestre da palavra: [Stanislaw Jerzy Lec]	01/06/67	DP
MR96	Aonde é que isso nos leva?	15/06/67	DP
MR97	Concorrência desleal	22/06/67	DP
MR98	Receio do humor?	06/07/67	DP
MR99	‘Telhado do mundo’	06/07/67	DP
MR100	<i>Blow up</i> no <i>blow up</i>	10/08/67	DP
MR101	Ir à escola: um prazer	24/08/67	DP
MR102	Música, aviões e pássaros	31/08/67	DP
MR103	Paradoxo	14/09/67	DP
MR104	Morley Road	21/09/67	DP
MR105	Velho e sempre novo	12/10/67	DP
MR106	O trambolho	13/07/71	CP
MR107	É difícil - bem sei	27/03/79	JN
MR108	Um livro importante	29/05/79	JN
MR109	Ainda ‘os Diários portugueses’ [de Meyer Clason]	09/07/79	DL
MR110	Não bastava haver rosas...	27/07/79	DL

MR111	Portugal vivido por um cosmopolita	28/08/79	JN
MR112	Contraponto	11/09/79	JN
MR113	A propósito de um grande escritor [Andersen]	09/10/79	JN
MR114	Sim ou não?	17/10/79	DL
MR115	Um prémio de Paz	19/12/79	JN
MR116	Registo quase nulo	26/02/80	JN
MR117	Pequenos milagres, grandes milagres	Apr-80	JE
MR118	Enfrentar situações difíceis	May-80	JE
MR119	Algumas considerações a propósito de ‘O Homem do Saco’	Jul-80	JE
MR120	Kitsch	21/10/80	JN
MR121	Gracejando obriga a pensar	23/12/80	JN
MR122	Coragem no Teatro da Comuna	10/02/81	JN
MR123	Maneiras de ler	07/04/81	JN
MR124	‘Os privilegiados que sabem sonhar...’	14/04/81	JN
MR125	Em busca de caminhos novos	16/06/81	JN
MR126	Janelas abertas	28/07/81	JN
MR127	E depois?	18/08/81	JN
MR128	‘Coisas que elas dizem’	20/10/81	JN
MR129	Uma frase infeliz do Eça	22/12/81	JN
MR130	Algumas informações sobre Elias Canetti	23/02/82	JN
MR131	Finalmente a sério	23/06/82	JN
MR132	Escritores na brecha	03/08/82	JN
MR133	Gotas de água no Oceano?	14/09/82	JN
MR134	Uns e outros	21/12/82	DN

MR135	A cidade homenageia o seu pintor	04/01/83	DN
MR136	Como vejo o 'E.T.'	15/01/83	DN
MR137	Um teatro em Berlim	18/01/83	JN
MR138	Elos de encontros	01/02/83	DN
MR139	O dia em que mudou o mundo	01/03/83	DN
MR140	Um universo maravilhoso	15/03/83	JN
MR141	Histórias aos quadradinhos	29/03/83	DN
MR142	Um estado no Estado	12/04/83	DN
MR143	Contar o quê?	28/04/83	DN
MR144	A propósito dum filme	31/05/83	DN
MR145	Aconteceu em Salzburgo	31/05/83	JN
MR146	Lembrando Anna Seghers	28/06/83	DN
MR147	RTP vende ilusões?	12/07/83	DN
MR148	Tentativa que merecem aplausos	12/07/83	JN
MR149	Será justo?	26/07/83	DN
MR150	Titulo qualquer serve	09/08/83	DN
MR151	Estatuto de Estrangeiro (glosando Listopad)	27/09/83	DN
MR152	Tomem lá!	05/10/83	DN
MR153	Uma vitória sem precedentes	08/11/83	DN
MR154	América, América	22/11/83	DN
MR155	Gunter [sic] Grass na brecha	06/12/83	DN
MR156	Washington Square	20/12/83	DN
MR157	Um contador de histórias: [Folke Tegetthoff]	21/02/84	JN
MR158	Um filme fora de concurso	03/04/84	JN

MR159	O regresso do conto de fadas?	10/04/84	JN
MR160	Guerra e sonho	20/04/84	DN
MR161	Amizade em questão	15/05/84	JN
MR162	A propósito de um prémio	23/05/84	DN
MR163	Costas largas?	05/06/84	DN
MR164	Menos apreciado, porquê?	06/07/84	DN
MR165	Aventuras divertidas	28/08/84	JN
MR166	Corrida à inteligência	23/09/84	DN
MR167	Televisão no banco dos réus	12/10/84	DN
MR168	Relendo ‘A Sereiazinha’	23/10/84	JN
MR169	A Idade Média persiste	08/01/85	DN
MR170	Já agora...	08/01/85	DN
MR171	Essa gente ‘diferente’	20/01/85	DN
MR172	A chegada dos ‘robots’	08/02/85	DN
MR173	Os que temos...	26/04/85	DN
MR174	Reencontros	10/09/85	JN
MR175	E quem somos nós?	05/10/85	DN
MR176	Futebol está em questão	15/10/85	JN
MR177	A história do tempo roubado	29/10/85	DN
MR178	À procura do amor	09/11/85	DN
MR179	Um poeta alemão e um cantor português	19/11/85	JN
MR180	Uma jovem no terceiro Reich	26/11/85	DN
MR181	Culpas e responsabilidades	25/12/85	DN
MR182	O estranho mundo dos turistas	20/05/86	JN

MR183	Contar ou ocultar	02/11/86	DN
MR184	Um livro e um filme	22/09/87	JN
MR185	O rei Rique	01/05/88	LL
MR186	Goethe morreu há 156 anos: Conflitos de sempre	14/03/89	JN
MR187	Retrato póstumo	15- 28/09/51	JL
MR188	Um encontro memorável	16/02 - 01/03/82	JL
MR189	Trinta e dois cadernos de ‘Diários’: um outro Thomas Mann?	23/06 - 06/07/81	JL
MR190	Camaradagem entre crianças	30/04/51	Átomo
MR191	A casa e a criança	Aug/Sept- 1952	Arquitectura
MR192	Perguntas e respostas	May/Sep/ Nov-1950	ONF
MR193	Cidade fantasma: (reportagem)	Nov-51- Jan-52	Vértice
MR194	O papel do cinema na vida da criança	Sept/Oct- 1952	Vértice