

**FRANCINE BENOÎT (1894-1990): GENDER AND POLITICS IN THE SHAPING OF A
PROFESSIONAL MUSIC CAREER AND ITS LEGACY**

By Helena Lopes Braga

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Supervisor: Francisca de Haan

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation contains no materials accepted for any other degrees in any other institution, and no unreferenced ideas or materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of biographical reference.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is a biographical study of the Portuguese composer, conductor, musicologist and pedagogue Francine Benoît (1894–1990). It uncovers the life and networks of this queer leftist woman who was a crucial personality in 20th-century Portuguese cultural life, but who was erased from historiography in the decades following her death, to be recovered in the recent decade.

Based on an analysis of her diaries and letters, her articles in the press, as well as her musical activity, this account brings to light Francine Benoît's understudied role as a key cultural actor of the opposition to the Portuguese fascist dictatorship. I explore her beliefs (as a communist, as a feminist, as a woman who loved women) and connect these to her work (in all its aspects: pedagogy, writing about music, conducting, and composing), to the construction of her public persona, and to her national and transnational networks of women. I provide a gender analysis of these aspects, by discussing the role gender and politics played in her life, social dynamics and posthumous treatment.

This dissertation invites scholars to rethink the history of Portuguese music as well as the history of the intellectual opposition to *Estado Novo*, by arguing for the shift of narrative from (almost) exclusively male actors to the inclusion of women, whose role was fundamental not only in building and shaping the careers of those males, but also, and most importantly, in their own right. Ultimately, I revise the prevailing narratives concerning Portuguese cultural history of the 20th-century by including Francine Benoît and her female friends in these narratives. To do so, I engage in a transdisciplinary debate (e.g. through what Pierre Bourdieu has called a “cycle of consecration”) about the making of canonical narratives in relation to gender dynamics, transnational exchanges, and left-wing resistance practices vis-à-vis the *Estado Novo*'s dominant ideology.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AAM – Academia de Amadores de Música, Academy of Music Amateurs

AFPP – Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz, Portuguese Feminine Association for Peace

BN – Biblioteca Nacional, National Library

CN – Conservatório Nacional, National Conservatory

CNMP – Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas, National Council of Portuguese Women

EN – Emissora Nacional, National Broadcaster

MDM – Movimento Democrático de Mulheres, Women's Democratic Movement

MMP – Museu da Música Portuguesa, Museum of Portuguese Music

MUD – Movimento de Unidade Democrática, Movement of Democratic Unity

PCP – Partido Comunista Português, Portuguese Communist Party

SNM – Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos, National Union of Musicians

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is a biographical study of the French-born Portuguese composer Francine Benoît (1894-1990) that critically places her as a key personality in the Portuguese cultural and leftist elites of her time, and scrutinises her pioneer role as a professional woman musician in 20th-century Portugal. Francine Benoît (1894-1990) worked as a composer, conductor, musicologist, and pedagogue, under the Portuguese fascist regime (1926-1974). Benoît's career was severely impacted as a result of being a woman who wanted to make her mark in a traditionally masculine field, and a queer communist feminist: she faced a lack of professional opportunities, she was denied certain jobs and positions, and there were harsh reactions to her activities in the printed press. This dissertation aims to establish Benoît's importance for Portuguese music history, the history of the artists' opposition to the dictatorship, and feminist activism.

Despite her important role, Francine Benoît until recently was largely omitted from Portuguese historiography. In the last ten years or so, scholars have contributed to her historiographical recovery by studying her music and pedagogical activity (Vieira, 2011, 2012, 2018), her activity as a music critic (Calado, 2010, 2018), and I have discussed the invisibility of her queerness and gender in relation to her historiographical treatment (Braga, 2013, Lopes Braga, 2012). Regardless of these important beginnings, there are many aspects of her life and work that remain unacknowledged and/or understudied. The starting premise of this dissertation is that Benoît's historiographical invisibility and neglect are the result of a series of complex and interacting dynamics consisting of first, the impact of the contemporary patriarchal culture and gender system on how she interacted with and was treated by her peers while she was alive, and secondly, the ways in which historiography reproduces this gendered treatment of Benoît, for which I use the term systemic misogyny. Her cooperation with the Portuguese communist male

composer Fernando Lopes-Graça (1906-1994) was an important example of such dynamics, which I analyse through the dissertation. The relationship between the two peers was uneven, with Benoît performing uncredited professional and emotional labour for Lopes-Graça, promoting him and his work, and collaborating with him on important projects of the Portuguese artistic opposition to the dictatorship. This dissertation aims at scrutinising the wide range of Benoît's activities and her social networks, as well as analysing how she negotiated gender norms and political ideology in order to navigate the artistic and the leftist social circles of her time, to find possible means of public and private support and visibility, and to build a career as an intellectual.

The purpose of this dissertation is thus to provide a comprehensive gender and political analysis of the life, work, and legacy of Francine Benoît, by situating her in the context of the artistic opposition to the Portuguese fascist dictatorship. By examining the circumstances and conditions under which she developed her activities, I intend to demonstrate that Benoît was a pioneer in many aspects of her public activities, and a crucial member of the artistic opposition to the dictatorship, as well as of networks of feminist antifascist women. In line with women's and gender scholarship and feminist musicology, namely the canonical work of scholars such as Joan Scott (1986, 1989), Bonnie Smith (1998), or Susan McClary (1991), this dissertation claims that Benoît's career and its legacy were shaped by gender and politics in ways that were, until now, unscrutinised. I analyse the impact of gender and politics in Benoît's life and work and discuss her agency in navigating these structures and power relations, sometimes using them in her favour. As US historian Jo Burr Margadant argued: "Every social [and historical] location offers a limited number of possibilities from which individuals may combine alternatives in distinctive ways" (2000, p. 9). My approach discusses Benoît's

choices and combination of alternatives, revealing some of the possibilities that were available to women like her in their professional and political contexts.

To do so, this dissertation will address the main research question: How did gender and politics shape, first, the life and professional activities of Francine Benoît, and secondly, her place in the historiography? Additionally, it will also deal with the following research questions: What were the main ideological characteristics of Benoît's intellectual production? How was her artistic and intellectual work connected to her social networks and political activity, within the Portuguese and international context? How did Benoît position herself within the main debates concerning art in Portugal? What activities did Benoît engage in within the artistic opposition and women's movements? How has gender shaped the activities of the artistic opposition to the dictatorship and its historiographical narratives? What transnational links did Benoît have and is it possible that those links also shaped her political conscience and intellectual production?

Mainstream musicology still treats music and life as two separate realms. I start from the hypothesis that Francine Benoît's career was fundamentally shaped by gender, ethnicity and class belonging, as well as by her political ideology. I intend to demonstrate that she became a key figure in Portuguese networks of women artists and intellectuals and in the artistic opposition to the dictatorship, as a (white European) communist feminist intellectual. More specifically, Benoît assumed a central role, as a music teacher, in the shaping of particular networks of women, by broadening their musical, social and political knowledge. Benoît's influence stimulated critical skills and incited action upon several of her friends and former students. In order to validate this hypothesis, this dissertation explores several interrelated aspects of Benoît's life. First, in terms of broader historical analysis, this dissertation will scrutinise Benoît's activities in relation to the contemporary musical practices prevalent during the time, in Portugal, as well as her

engagement in the artistic opposition to the dictatorship. Secondly, in terms of historical gender analysis, this dissertation will examine how Benoît's activities and public perception were gendered, and study her public persona in relation to mainstream gender norms. This includes the inconsistencies in her persona throughout her life that, I contend, were deeply dependent on her political affinities, musical activities, gender expression and queerness. Third, in terms of the transnational scope of Benoît's biography, this project will study the exchanges between Benoît and some of her transnational contacts, exploring how they have influenced her biography and her intellectual and political action.

Musicology and historiography keep centring the Great Male Composers, reproducing patriarchal dynamics. This dissertation additionally aims to establish Francine Benoît's role vis-à-vis Fernando Lopes-Graça, similar to what Kimberly Francis has established for Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky and has called a "cycle of consecration". Benoît's understudied role in Lopes-Graça's public career and consecration has contributed to both her undervaluation and public erasure, and to his unquestioned reputation as one of the greatest Portuguese composers of the 20th-century.

I believe that my analysis of Benoît's social circles, political activities, and her pioneering role in Portuguese musical culture will allow the readers to "see through the life – revealing how the tensions in the life emerge from historical circumstance and speak to the historical process", as US historian Alice Kessler-Harris aptly put it (2009, p. 626). US historian Jo Burr Margadant similarly wrote: "No one invents a self apart from cultural notions available in a particular historical setting" (2000, p. 2). This dissertation aims to contribute to a better understanding of the particular historical circumstances and political context in which Francine Benoît developed her public persona. By taking Francine Benoît as a case study, it shows how artists' careers are always grounded in

various layers of their experiences, gendered, classed and politicized. Overall, Benoît's position in historiography is here critically readjusted by using approaches that offer new insights into the wider range of her activity, rather than just studying her musical oeuvre or her publicly visible intellectual production.

1. 1. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

In what follows, I will outline the historical context that serves as the background for this biographical study, paying particular attention to the period of the Portuguese fascist dictatorship, as those were Benoît's most active decades.

When Benoît's family moved to Portugal in 1906, the country was going through political turmoil, with a monarchic regime under frequent republican revolts.¹ In October 1910, a Republican Revolution installed the first Portuguese republic (1910-1926). The republic was politically unstable, which only became worse with the social and economic crisis that followed the end of WWI (Ramos, 2009, pp. 417-451; Birmingham, 2008, pp. 151-160, Rosas, 1989, pp. 102-109).² In May 1926, a military coup installed a military "dictatorship without a dictator" that did not bring an alternative to republican liberalism, but instead prolonged the political crisis until the early 1930s (Costa Pinto, 2008, p. 25). During that period, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889-1970) became increasingly powerful as the Minister of Finance, a path that eventually led to the institutionalization

¹ For more on the period between the crisis of the monarchy and the end of the first republic see Rosas, 1989, pp. 98-101, or Birmingham, 2008, pp. 131-160.

² During WWI, Portugal sided with the allies. There were no battles in mainland Portugal, but there were in its islands and colonies, and the country suffered a social and financial crisis due to its involvement in the war and to the interdependences of the global trade market (Ramos, 2009, pp. 438). Even though the post war was initially economically prosperous, the inflation quickly rose and the situation only got worse as the years went by and in 1930 the great depression hit Portugal (Ramos, 2009, pp. 441-442; Birmingham, 2008, pp. 161).

of his dictatorship in 1933 (Rosas, 1989, pp. 179-181). The period of authoritarianism in Portugal lasted from 1926 to 1974, making it the longest right-wing dictatorship in 20th-century Europe.

As Portuguese historian Fernando Rosas put it, resisting the dictatorial establishment “was a social and political battle that [people] fought and lost” (Rosas, 1994, p. 209). The *Revirvalho* (turn-around), an insurrection movement that took place between 1926 and 1940, was a particularly violent period, when those struggling against the regime were met with repression, imprisonments, and torture.³ Among the left wing resistance, the *Partido Comunista Português* (Portuguese Communist Party, hereafter called PCP), founded in 1921, remained active and legal until 1926. But with the 1926 coup communism became illegal, and the party organized itself clandestinely in 1929 and remained that way until the 1974 Revolution (Matos, 2015; Cunhal, 1992).

Salazar’s *Estado Novo* (New State) began in 1933, with a new constitution. As summed up by Fernando Rosas, the main characteristics of the regime were: (1) the use of a single party system (*União Nacional*); (2) the corporative organization of the State; (3) the control of the leisure and recreation of the working classes, through a state organ (Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho, National foundation for joy at work, FNAT); (4) organization of militia youth groups (*Mocidade Portuguesa*, Portuguese youth, MP), and a civil militia (*Legião Nacional*, National legion); (5) the control of women’s organizations, through the creation of state groups for women (*Obra das Mães para a Educação Nacional*, work of the mothers for national education, OMEN, or *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, Feminine Portuguese youth, MPF); (6) a cultural reform (*Política do Espírito*, politics of the spirit), that aimed to educate the Portuguese people

³ For more on the *Revirvalho*, see Farinha, 1998.

according to the regime's principles; and (7) the renewed importance of the colonial empire and the "civilizing" colonial project (Rosas, 1994, pp. 282-284; Birmingham, 2008, pp. 164-166). Catholicism and anti-communism were strong ideological features and underpinned the above characteristics, and the Church had an important role in legitimizing the regime and being part of its propaganda machinery (Rosas, 1994, p. 244). These principles were put into practice using authoritarian methods of control, from censorship to persecution, imprisonment and torture (Rosas, 1994, pp. 273-278; Birmingham, 2008, p.161; Costa Pinto, 2008, pp. 32-33).

The state police (PVDE/PIDE/DGS) had one of the most important roles in the dictatorship (Birmingham, 2008, p. 167).⁴ "Served by a large network of allotted informers", the PVDE/PIDE could "arrest [...] without proven guilt and without judicial warrant or supervision", and exert physical and psychological violence against prisoners, who were often denied visits or communication with the outside (Rosas, 1994, pp. 275-276). The President of the Republic, constitutionally the head of state, was depleted of his powers, together with the parliament (Rosas, 1994, pp. 270-271). António de Oliveira Salazar was the *de facto* head of state (Costa Pinto, 2008, pp. 31-32; Birmingham, 2008, p. 161).

The ideology promoted by Salazar's regime was based on three pillars: God, Homeland, and Family (Torgal, 2009, pp. 362). Despite all citizens being equal according to the law, *Estado Novo's* constitution clarified that equality should take into consideration the "woman, [according to] the differences of her nature and the good of

⁴ The state police was created in 1933 as *Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado*, Police for the Surveillance and Defense of the State (PVDE), and was rebranded in 1945 as *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado*, International Police and for the Defense of the State (PIDE). In 1969, it was again rebranded as *Direção Geral de Segurança*, General Direction of Security (DGS). It became extinct with the 1974 Revolution. For more on the history of PIDE, see Pimentel, 2007.

the family” (Article 5th, Portuguese Constitution 1933, quoted in Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 72). Before the dictatorship, women had few rights, and notwithstanding the efforts of republican women’s groups, the First Republic did not improve women’s legal status. The fascist regime’s constitution kept several laws in place to restrict women, such as the many limitations imposed upon married women, who needed their husbands’ authorization for tasks such as signing contracts of any sort, or traveling outside the country. Women were legally excluded from certain professions, such as diplomacy, magistracy, or local administration (Melo, 2017, p. 46). Women who were in what were considered women-appropriate professions, either required the state’s permission to get married or were not allowed to marry at all. Phone operators, nurses, airplane cabin crew, or workers in the ministry of foreign affairs were some of these professions (Pimentel, 2011, p. 60; Melo, 2017, pp. 47-57, 66-67).

Perhaps contradictory, Estado Novo was actually the first Portuguese regime to grant women the right to vote and be elected, but only a designated few were included and the universal right to vote only arrived after the 1974 Revolution.⁵ As Portuguese historian Irene Pimentel writes: “women’s vote was not conquered, but mandated by the dictator, who granted it [...] because he believed that a few selected women of the *estado-novista* elite, would serve the regime in their designated fields: assistance and education” (Pimentel, 2011, p. 39). For the first time ever, in 1935, three conservative women became members of the Portuguese parliament, but Salazar clarified that “it does not mean that

⁵ Women’s right to vote came into existence in a gradual process that took place between 1933 and 1974. In 1933, the vote was granted to only single women, over 21 and independent, or women with family who had completed highschool. In 1934, the vote included women over 21, single, who worked, householders, or married with highschool complete. In 1946, the law included married women who could read and write and owned property. Anne Cova and António Costa Pinto noted that other dictatorships like Mussolini’s or Primo de Rivera’s also granted women homemakers a limited access to vote (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 79).

the State or themselves have now converted to feminism” (Salazar quoted in Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 80).⁶

Although it may seem that *Estado Novo* brought the long-desired political stability and was a long-lasting and consistent regime, that was not the case, and during its forty-one years (1933-1974) there were several changes, evolutions and adaptations (Ramos, 2009, p. 1702). While I do not discuss those in detail, the years of WWII are particularly important for this dissertation, as Benoît’s ideas and activities changed particularly during that period. WWII affected Portugal severely, but the country officially remained neutral - even though it eventually supported the British war effort against Germany in 1943, by opening the Azores military bases to the Atlantic allies (Birmingham, 2008, p. 161-162).

Portugal sold goods, including food and raw material to both the Allies and the Axis powers, the state accumulated wealth and left the country’s population poorer and starving (Louçã, 2005; Birmingham, 2009, p. 161, Costa Pinto, 2009, p. 33). Between 1939 and 1941, the cost of living grew over 20% (Neves, 2001, p. 96), while salaries were reduced and workers’ rights increasingly restricted. The state installed rationing, first of fuel and electricity, and in December 1943, of food, when most of the working class already struggled to feed their families, which led to increasing strikes and protests. The end of WWII was celebrated with popular demonstrations across the country (Rosas, 1994, p. 377). This posed a threat to the regime, whose international relations became more fragile with the general pro-democratic atmosphere in other European nations and in the US (Rosas, 1994, p. 377). As David Birmingham noted, the dictatorship’s continuation “was tolerated by the Allies because of its anti-communist stance, though as

⁶ Those women were: medical doctor who worked as high-school teacher Domitília de Carvalho (1871-1966), lawyer Maria Cândida Parreira (1877-1942), and high-school teacher Maria Guardioli (1895-1987).

a non-democratic country Portugal was initially excluded from the United Nations” (2008, p. 162).⁷ Moreover, the UN was increasingly critical of Portugal’s colonial politics (Costa Pinto, 2008, p. 33).

The regime’s internal politics following the war were increased repression, increased censorship, and increased surveillance (Rosas, 1994, p. 377). All the political groups that were not affiliated with the regime or the Church were closed and forbidden, including women’s organizations, and their leaders were closely monitored, or even arrested, as was the case with author Maria Lamas (1893-1983), with whom Benoît was acquainted, in 1949, 1950 and 1953 (Fiadeiro, 1993, p. 15). In the 1960s, the colonial war between Portugal and its African colonies (1961-1974) contributed to the further weakening of the Estado Novo (Rosas, 1994, p. 540). A significant part of the population was against the war, not only because they believed the colonies should become independent, but also because young men were forced to go into the military against their will – and many migrated to escape this.⁸

In 1968, Salazar’s health deteriorated, and he was replaced by Marcello Caetano (1906-1980). The first two years of Caetano’s governance were met with hope, as he represented an emergent reformist tendency among the men of the regime, modernized and economically liberal (Rosas, 1994, p. 546). There were attempts between the regime and some pro-democratic groups to negotiate less authoritarian politics, and allow political opponents to run for the elections fairly (Rosas, 1994, pp. 550-551). However, there were no significant changes in the authoritarian politics, the electoral campaign was rigged, and crucially the regime did not change its position regarding the colonies, but

⁷ Portugal eventually joined NATO in 1949, and the United Nations in 1955.

⁸ More than a million Portuguese fled the country between 1960 and 1973 (Rosas, 1994, p. 423).

rather prolonged the colonial war (Rosas, 1994, p. 546). The military, largely against the colonial war themselves, and with a growing number of oppositionists and supporters of the communist party among them, successfully staged a coup on April 25, 1974. Led by by self-proclaimed *Movimento das Forças Armadas* (Movement of the Armed Forces, MFA), that coup ended the dictatorship in what became known as the *Revolução dos Cravos*, Carnation Revolution.⁹

There is some debate on whether the Portuguese dictatorship should be considered a fascist regime or not. Portuguese historians such as Fernando Rosas (1994), Manuel Loff (2008), or Luís Reis Torgal (2009) argued that *Estado Novo* was a fascist regime – while acknowledging the specific characteristics of Portuguese fascism. However, Portuguese historians such as Manuel Braga da Cruz (1988) or António Costa Pinto (1992), or French historian Jacques Georgel (1981), or British historian David Birmingham (2008), among others, have a different opinion and consider Salazar’s dictatorship as having been unique and having several characteristics that other fascist regimes did not have.¹⁰ Reis Torgal noted that “often, the arguments used by historians to set *Estado Novo* apart from fascism were produced by Salazar himself or his supporters who [...] wished to appeal to the *originality* of *their system*” (Reis Torgal, 2009, p. 55). The same historian, after reviewing national and international historiography, pointed out

⁹ During that day, some men from the military put red carnations in their barrels, signaling their wish not to use fire. The red carnation became a symbol of the peaceful Revolution. The only shots fired came from State Police members outside its headquarters. The years that followed the 1974 Revolution were troubled. The period between 1974 and 1976 is known as PREC (*período revolucionário em curso*, on-going revolutionary period), when the left wing was more or less united in the struggle for the elimination of classes. But soon there were struggles between all the democratic parties and most noticeable between the two major leftist parties: PCP (communists) and PS (socialists). Most of the democratic parties saw communism as a threat of a new dictatorship, a propaganda maneuver fueled by the cold war, with the direct interference of the USA and other western regimes. The socialists conquered power and the revolutionary dream of PREC slowly died.

¹⁰ A few of those scholars drew inspiration from the analysis of Spanish sociologist Juan José Linz (1926-2013), who argued that Franco’s regime in Spain was authoritarian rather than totalitarian, thus differentiating it from fascism (Linz, 1964).

that the scholars who do not consider *Estado Novo* a fascist regime argued that what set it apart from other fascist regimes were its severe institutionalization, strong Catholicism, and the inexistence of a fascist party (Reis Torgal, 2009, p. 304). Salazar's public persona is another particularity of Portuguese fascism (Birmingham, 2008, pp. 164-165). While in other fascist regimes, an aggressive militarism and its inter-relations with concepts of power and masculinity shaped the image of the dictator, in Portugal, the public persona of the Portuguese dictator was of modesty, celibacy, and containment, a man who was completely devoted to his work, and who sacrificed any personal interests for the homeland (Costa Pinto, 2008, p. 35; Birmingham, 2008, p. 164). It was likewise a gendered form of leadership, but based on a different type of masculinity: that of an intellectual who stands above the population. Salazar was the *Professor Doutor*, his university professor title together with the regime propaganda machinery made him a father-like figure to the homeland (Costa Pinto, 2008, p. 35; Birmingham, 2008, p. 164).

Although I do not offer a significant contribution to this historiographical debate, I call the Portuguese authoritarian regime "fascist" using the leftist intelligentsia as a reference – while also basing myself on my family's history.¹¹ While to the best of my knowledge, Francine Benoît has not publicly contributed to the debate about the nature of the regime, as a member of the Portuguese Communist Party, she likely characterized the regime as fascist. In 1979, Fernando Lopes-Graça composed one of his most paradigmatic works, which was a political statement: a *requiem* dedicated to the victims of fascism in Portugal (*Requiem pelas vítimas do fascismo em Portugal*). Thus, he made

¹¹ My paternal grandfather, António Afonso da Silva Braga (1926-1964) was a political prisoner of the Portuguese fascist regime, accused of "crimes against the security of the State" (Torre to Tombo, PT/TT/PIDE/E/010/126/25074). The real number of political prisoners is unknown, because in addition to the fact that the regime only started registering and compiling files in 1933, only the files with PIDE have survived – and not the files of other police forces. As of 2021, there is evidence of 38,396 imprisonments between 1933 and 1974, among which 2,142 were of women (URAP, 2021, p. 317).

his view on the nature of the regime very clear. Effectively, most of the opposition called *Estado Novo* a fascist regime (Birmingham, 2008, p. 163).

1. 2. BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION

Francine Germaine van Gool Benoît was born on July 30, 1894, in Périgueux, a small commune in the Dordogne department in the southwest of France. She was the daughter of Paul Théodore Clément Benoît (1866-1914), a French engineer from the region of Provence, and Marie Victorine van Gool Benoît (1869-1969), born in Belgium.¹²



Figure 1.1 Victorine van Gool and Paul Benoît in April 1912 (BN- N33).

Due to Paul Benoît's professional obligations, the family lived in France and Spain (Madrid), before settling down in Portugal in 1906. They then lived for two years (1906-1908) in Algés, Lisbon, before moving to Setúbal in 1908, a small city 50km south of Lisbon, where Paul Benoît was hired to work for the cannery company Léon Delpeut & C^a (1897-1912).

¹² Marie Victorine Van Gool was the sixth child of a Flemish family. Although her place of birth is unknown, and her oldest sister was born in Esch-sur-Alzette, now Luxembourg, Benoît stated that her mother was Belgian (e.g. Neves, 1984, p.14).

Since the second half of the 19th-century, Setúbal underwent a huge transformation, from a small rural fishing community to an industrial city, highly dependent on the canning industry (Guimarães, 1994, p. 525; Mónica, 1987, p. 842-843). Between 1890 and 1911, the population of Setúbal increased 142%, through migration of workers from all over Portugal and from foreign countries, especially from Spain and France, to work in fishing and in the canneries (Pulido Valente, 1981, pp. 616-617). In light of the industrial and capitalist transformation that was changing the country, Setúbal now had a niche of French bourgeoisie, which socialized in their *Société Parisiennes* with guests from the local elite (Mónica, 1987, p. 842-843). The Benoîts were part of that niche.



Figure 1.2 Francine Benoît as a young adult, date unknown (MDM's Archive, FB_003).

Francine Benoît was home-schooled by her mother, who taught her music from when she was four years old (Neves, 1984, p. 27). Once in Lisbon, in 1906, when Benoît was 12 years old, she enrolled in the *Academia de Amadores de Música* (Academy of Music Amateurs, AAM), where she studied piano with Eugénio Costa (18?-19?) and

music theory with Tomás Borba (1867-1950).¹³ After moving to Setúbal, Benoît had private music lessons with the conductor of the local military band, José Maria Adelino (18?-19?), while traveling to Lisbon occasionally to take the official music exams at the National Conservatory. In 1914, when Francine Benoît was 19 years old, her father died in an accident. Benoît convinced her mother to move to Lisbon in order to finish her music studies (Benoît quoted in Neves, 1984, pp. 27-28). She enrolled in the National Conservatory, where she graduated in piano with Alexandre Rey Colaço (1854-1928), a prominent Portuguese pianist and composer,¹⁴ and in harmony (first prize) with António Eduardo Costa Ferreira (1875-1966).

In November 1917, advised by her teacher Rey Colaço, Francine Benoît and her mother moved to Paris, where Benoît attended *Schola Cantorum*, the prestigious music school founded by the French composer Vincent D'Indy (1851-1931). At that time during World War I, Paris was at a historical crossroad. As Canadian musicologist Tristan Paré-Morin has written, “almost without exception, writers and artists saw the declaration of war of 1914 as marking the end of an era, and the Armistice of November 11, 1918, as initiating a new one” (2019, p. 53). Benoît successfully completed her first year of studies at *Schola Cantorum*, but three subsequent events made Benoît and her mother return to Lisbon earlier than initially planned. The first was that living and studying in Paris was expensive. Secondly, Benoît and her mother survived the deadliest WWI attack in Paris,

¹³ The composer and priest Tomás Borba was one of the most reputed music pedagogues in Portugal of the first half of the 20th century. He directed the school *Academia de Amadores de Música* and was a collaborator of Benoît's circles after the 1930s.

¹⁴ Alexandre Rey Colaço studied in Madrid, Paris, and Berlin before establishing in Portugal as one of the most reputed music professors at the National Conservatory. He worked as a private tutor for many distinguished families, including the royals: prince D. Luís Filipe de Bragança (1887-1908), and his brother, D. Manuel de Bragança (1889-1932), who served as the last king of Portugal between 1908 and 1910 (Cascudo, 2010b, pp. 307-308).

the bombing of Saint-Gervais, in March 29, 1918.¹⁵ Living in a city under attack was a traumatizing event, as Benoît recalled in 1984:

Once there was a bombardment when my school choir was singing at a church in Paris. Out of 500 people, more than 100 died. It was terrifying. Me and my mother survived, but we saw all of it. I became even more anti-war. (Benoit quoted in Neves, 1984, p. 28)

Thirdly, in the summer of 1918, Benoît received a letter from the pianist Maria Adalgisa Schmidt Lafourcarde Rey Colaço (1893-1970), one of the daughters of her former teacher, with a thrilling invitation: to establish a women's choir in Lisbon.¹⁶ In the end, the choir was mixed-sex, and did not last more than a few months – probably due to the financial difficulties reported in the letters between Benoît and Rey Colaço. To make ends meet, Benoît started working as a private music teacher, she joined the *Sexteto do Olimpia*, a musical group that performed at the movie theatre *Animatógrafo Olimpia*, in Lisbon, she started authoring articles of music critique, and, still in 1919, she was offered a contract as a music teacher in *Escola Oficina n.1 de Lisboa*. Her popularity and social capital gradually grew, and in the early 1920s, she also became a music teacher in a French school for young girls, and she started organizing and delivering public lectures and performing in concerts.

I divide Francine Benoît's life in two main phases, separated by a gradual political radicalization and gender emancipation, as a response to an increasingly institutionalized fascist dictatorship. Until the mid-1930s, Benoît's adopted a moderate public persona,

¹⁵ Eighty-eight people died and sixty-eight were injured after a German shell fell on the church during a Good Friday liturgical concert (Paré-Morin, 2019, p. 69).

¹⁶ The organizers were Maria Rey Colaço and Arminda D'Korth (Maria Rey Colaço to Francine Benoît, 20/08/1918, BN – N33/464). Arminda D'Korth's father, João Gregório D'Korth (1853-1925), was one of the founders of *Academia de Amadores de Música* (Academia de Amadores de Música, n.d.). Both Rey Colaço and D'Korth families were highly influential in the Lisbon cultural elite, which suggests how important such an invitation was, not only financially but also because it was conducive to Benoît's cultural capital.

largely conforming to mainstream gender norms, she had non-exclusive same-sex relationships, and she considered (heterosexual) marriage to make her life socially acceptable. From the mid-1930s, Benoît's public persona changed. She became more and more overtly political, her queerness became more visible, she started composing other genres, moving beyond children's music and songs for voice and piano she had focused on previously, and she had monogamous romantic relationships with women.

In 1974, when the Portuguese Revolution put an end to the dictatorship, Benoît was eighty years old. She was still active, though not nearly as intense as during the period between the 1920s and the 1960s. In 1977, she was elected to the National Council of the *Movimento Democrático das Mulheres* (Women's Democratic Movement, MDM),¹⁷ she wrote her last musical composition in 1984, she published music critique until 1987,¹⁸ and she taught music almost until her death on January 27, 1990.¹⁹

In this dissertation, I use the term communist to characterize Francine Benoît's political affinities. As already mentioned in 1.1, the PCP was illegal between 1926 and 1974. For that reason, Benoît did not speak publicly about her affiliation during that period, and although it is not known when she joined the PCP, the party confirmed to me that she was a member and remained a member until her death.²⁰ She publicly defined herself as Marxist at least on one occasion, in a 1984 interview, and although that was a

¹⁷ MDM is a leftist women's group that was founded in 1968. Despite the fact that the MDM website states that Benoît's election to its National Council took place in 1980 (<https://www.mdm.org.pt/francine-benoit/>), in MDM's archives, Francine Benoît's name first shows up in the pamphlet of its third national meeting, in 1977, as a member elected for the group's National Council for the regional circle of Lisbon. This information is confirmed in an article on the official newspaper of the PCP shortly after her death, authored by MDM (Secretariado Nacional do Movimento Democrático de Mulheres, 1990, p. 13).

¹⁸ The last article authored by Benoît that I found was about the 1987/1988 São Carlos opera season in December 3, 1987 (Benoît, 1987).

¹⁹ According to Madalena Gomes, Benoît's partner, she had a lesson scheduled for the day she was taken to the hospital in December, 1989 (Gomes, 1991, p. 6).

²⁰ *Secretariado do Comité Central do PCP*, email received on September 6, 2021.

late life interview, she stated that she had “always been a Marxist [...] even before having read [Karl Marx’s] *The Capital*” (Benoît quoted in Neves, 1984, p. 23).

1. 3. LITERATURE REVIEW

In post-1974 Portuguese historiography, Benoît and her social circles of women were largely absent while there was a symbolic investment in the narratives of antifascist and pro-democratic struggles led by men, and particularly in individual male personalities. Contemporary historiography has continuously replicated these dynamics, keeping women largely invisible. The exceptions date from the last decade of the 20th century and the 21st century, and include the work of feminist scholars such as Anne Cova (2018, 2017, 2016, 2013, 2010b, 1997), Irene Pimentel (2011, 2000), Vanda Gorjão (2002), João Esteves (2010, 2006, 1998, 1991), Lúcia Serralheiro (2011), Manuela Tavares (2011), Eugénia Vasques (2001), Antónia Balsinha (2005), Célia Rosa Costa (2021), or Vanessa de Almeida (2017). Their efforts contradicted mainstream narratives focused on men, and brought historical protagonism to women’s groups, women’s struggles, clandestine women, and a few individual women. While a large volume of literature has resulted from these efforts, it remains marginal in mainstream historiography – for example in the work of Fernando Rosas (1994), or even more recent books such as the ones by Reis Torgal (2009), or Rui Ramos (2009). Moreover, plenty remains to be studied. Examples include working-class women’s struggles, and women’s unionism, or several individual women notable in their own professional fields, such as Francine Benoît, or her student Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha.

Portuguese musicology has a tendency not to dialogue with other academic fields, probably because it is still a marginal field in Portuguese academia - due to its early age

(1980s) and the existence of only three universities in Portugal that offer a BA in musicology (Lisbon, Évora, and Braga). Thus, the history of 20th-century Portuguese music, with very few exceptions, follows a dominant narrative focused on (a few) male composers and their works, hardly studying them holistically in dialogue with their historical context - a few examples: Manuel Pedro Ferreira (2007), Castro & Nery (1991), Freitas Branco (1959[2005]), in addition to studies dedicated to a single composer. The work of established Portuguese musicologists such as Mário Vieira de Carvalho (2005, 1993), or Manuel Deniz Silva (2005, 2017a), together with the recent research by several other emerging musicologists, are examples of a gradual change in the discipline's paradigms, even if women remain largely left out.

Within this narrative, Fernando Lopes-Graça stands out as one of the most, if not the most studied Portuguese composer of the 20th-century, whose communist militancy is publicly known to have shaped his life and oeuvre. He is frequently described as the only communist and the only antifascist musician in Portugal, in the context of European art music – examples include Vieira de Carvalho (2017, 2012, 2010, 2006), António Sousa (2006), Manuel Deniz Silva (2005), Teresa Cascudo (2017, 2010a), or Fausto Neves (2019).

Benoît was important for the cultural opposition to the dictatorship, not only as a music critic, but, more importantly, as an organizer of cultural events, together with her student Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and with Fernando Lopes-Graça. Both women were fundamental in projects of the communist cultural opposition, such as the informal concert society *Concertos Sonata* (Sonata Concerts), or the magazine *Gazeta Musical* (Musical Gazette). Several Lopes-Graça scholars have published on both topics, but women's collaborations in them remained unacknowledged or overlooked (Deniz Silva, 2018, 2005; Cascudo, 2017, 2010a, 2010c; Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, 2012a, 2012b,

2010, 2006; Sousa, 2018, 2006; Cid, 2010; Neves, 2019). In this dissertation, I challenge those narratives by arguing that Francine Benoît was a significant communist intellectual in the same artistic field, as were many of her friends and collaborators, noticeably Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha.

Francine Benoît has been slowly entering Portuguese historiography, thanks to the recent work of three musicologists: Ana Sofia Vieira (2018, 2012, 2011), Mariana Calado (2018, 2010), and myself (Braga, 2013, Lopes Braga, 2012). Ana Sofia Vieira did a thorough excavation of primary sources, and benefited from interviews with Madalena Gomes (1928-2010), Benoît's partner (Vieira 2012, 2011). However, she treated Benoît's life and work as two separate realms, she did not use gender as a historiographical concept, and her overview of Benoît's social networks was simplistic and again, mostly focused on men, leaving out Benoît's networks of women, and their political and affective implications. Mariana Calado's master's thesis focused on Benoît's activity as a music critic in the years between 1920 and 1950 (Calado, 2018, 2010). Her work has established Benoît as a valuable and prolific music critic, whose opinions were informed and who criticized, and called for changes in, the Portuguese music culture. However, Calado also did not use gender as a historiographical category and did not include Benoît's networks of women. Crucially, neither of these scholars discussed Benoît's queerness, revealing the pattern of compulsory heterosexuality that US feminist scholar Adrienne Rich identified in 1980. In her article, Rich discussed how women are always presumably heterosexual, and how heterosexuality is enforced upon women by our patriarchal society (Rich, 1980). The abovementioned scholars described Benoît as presumably heterosexual, and Ana Sofia Vieira even suggested that Benoît was frustrated for not having married or mothered children (Vieira, 2011, p. 235). In my past research, I made Benoît's queerness visible and argued for its importance in the construction of her social

networks. Likewise, I argued that Benoît's queerness should be included in studies about her (Braga, 2013, 2012).

Despite the recovery of Benoît's importance as a prolific music critic and as a composer whose music (still) remains unknown and unperformed, many aspects of her life remain insufficiently explored and analysed. This dissertation challenges the existing narrative paradigm about Benoît by bringing a critical gender perspective and political analysis to her career and her contribution to Portuguese culture. Moreover, my study brings to light aspects of Benoît's life that are still unknown, such as the fact that in 1928, she was the first woman to conduct an orchestra in Portugal under the dictatorship. I also examine Benoît's activities within her cultural context: from her networks of women and transnational contacts, to her public persona, to her political stand *vis-à-vis* the Portuguese political context, to the music culture of her time. Additionally, I challenge the narrative paradigm about Fernando Lopes-Graça, using Pierre Bourdieu's "cycle of consecration" (1977), by discussing the participation of Benoît and her student Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in Lopes-Graça's career and in projects that are frequently credited to him alone.

1. 4. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This dissertation is located on the intersection of feminist musicology and gender studies. I combine historical and biographical methods from the fields of feminist musicology and women's and gender history. Although my work also speaks to cultural history and music sociology, my main scholarly references come from the two above-mentioned fields. I will start by introducing those fields and then discuss the key concepts for this project.

1.4.1. FEMINIST MUSICOLOGY

The field of feminist musicology emerged in the context of new musicology. New musicology developed in the United States in the late 1980s. Influenced by French post-structuralism and the German school of critical theory, it studies the interacting dynamics between music and society. New musicology is intrinsically interdisciplinary and brings together perspectives and approaches from diverse fields such as sociology, history, literary studies, cultural studies, gender studies, and postcolonial studies. Broadly, new musicology focuses on the mutually shaping dynamics between music and society, embracing the assumption that music is a social product, embedded within ideologies and discourses, and that music reflects and simultaneously contributes to the unbalanced power structures that organize society. US ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman summed up the main achievements and possibilities of new musicology in a 1993 article, “Musicology as a Political Act”, where he argued that new musicology challenged the notion of music and musicology as “pure”: “It is because musicology has insisted on its apolitical status [...] that the field has come face-to-face with its own political acts. [...] Th[e] act of essentializing music, the very attempt to depoliticize it, has become the most hegemonic form of politicizing music” (Bohlman, 1993, p. 419). The collection of essays edited by US musicologists Richard Leppert and Susan McClary, *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance, and Reception* (1987) was also important to establish the field of new musicology as it questioned the dominant assumption about music and society as two separate spheres and included essays about feminism in music, and epistemological critiques of musicology.

Two publications are particularly important for my research, as they focus on the European context during the 20th century. The first is a 2005 collection of essays edited by US musicologist Annie Randall, *Music, Power, and Politics*, which includes chapters

studying the uses of music by the Nazi regime in Germany, concepts such as musical hegemony, colonialism and music, and discussions on the construction of the musical canon. The second, US musicologist Jane Fulcher's *The Composer as Intellectual, Music and Ideology in France 1914-1940*, also published in 2005, looks at the relations between politics and music, namely how those relationships played a role in establishing composers as intellectuals. In this project, I too, look at how composers were considered intellectuals in Portugal and compare that with how Francine Benoît was left out of such narratives, despite being engaged in similar activities as her male counterparts. Moreover, Fulcher's book is also important because modernist Portuguese musical culture was highly influenced by contemporary French musical culture – and many of the Portuguese composers of the time, including Benoît, studied in Paris.

If new musicology arose in the 1980s, in Portugal similar studies came later. The main explanation is that musicology itself only reached the Portuguese Academia in the 1980s, with the creation of a Bachelor's degree in the *Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa*. One must additionally mention the creation of two research centers, CESEM (*Centro de Estudos em Sociologia e Estética Musical*) and INET-MD (*Instituto de Etnomusicologia*) at the same University, in 1995, which expanded musicological knowledge beyond the study of European art music, and even within European art music by using different methodologies and importing theory from other fields. The main contributions to the study of music and/as politics are by Portuguese musicologist Mário Vieira de Carvalho (I would point out five among his books: 1993, 1999, 2005, 2006, and 2009), who has inaugurated the systematic exploration of political aspects of musical practices in Portuguese musicology.²¹

²¹ For an historical perspective on Portuguese sociology of music, see Vieira de Carvalho, 2001.

As for the field of **feminist musicology**, it is possible to trace some research on women in music to the 1970s, at the very least. However, as US musicologist Susan McClary pointed out, these early studies existed in a “separate sphere – tolerated, but largely ignored by the discipline’s mainstream and little known outside musicology” (McClary, 1993, p. 399). The establishment of feminist musicology as an academic discipline is temporally located in the 1990s, and is usually marked with McClary’s book *Feminine Endings* in 1991. McClary claimed that “music is shaped by constructions of gender and sexuality” (1991, p. 9) in many ways, from the construction of musical canons, to musical analysis, to the academic field of musicology itself. McClary argued for the urgent need of feminist criticism in music because “music and other discourses do not simply reflect a social reality that exists immutably on the outside; rather, social reality itself is constituted within such discursive practices” (1991, p. 21). McClary made clear that musicology needed to reassess the way it had been studying music and its intersections with social dynamics. She was not alone, and in the same decade, researchers such as Marcia Citron (1993) and Ruth Solie (1993, 1991), and the collection of essays edited by Susan Cook and Judy Tsou (1994), built a body of scholarly literature that forever changed the discipline of musicology.²²

Portuguese feminist musicology had a relatively late start. I find this rather surprising because in the neighbouring country, Spain, there have been publications in the field since the late 1990s (see the collection of essays edited by Marisa Manchado Torres, 1998; and the 2003 monography by Pilar Ramos López). Despite some solitary studies on women in music (examples include: Pombo, 1993, 1996; Moreau, 2002;

²² An overview of the major developments in the field and the academic backlash involved can be found in the foreword of the 2002 edition of McClary’s *Feminine Endings* (1991 [2002], pp. ix-xx), an article by Teresa Cascudo Garcia-Villaraco (1998, pp. 43-57), a 2007 article by Marcia Citron’s, or Pilar Ramos López’s critical introduction to feminist musicology (2003).

Eleutério, 2003; Serrão, 2006; Lessa, 1999; Azevedo, 2007; Oliveira, 2011; Pestana, 2011; Martins, 2011), Portuguese feminist musicology actually came into its own in 2012, when together with Nuno Fidalgo, João Romão, and Paula Gomes Ribeiro, we created the research group NEGEM (*Núcleo de Estudos em Género e Música*), as part of our research centre, CESEM at the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*. In 2016, the project *Euterpe Unveiled, Women in Portuguese musical creation and interpretation during the 20th and 21st centuries*, from *Universidade de Aveiro*, gathered twenty-six musicologists, including myself, to work specifically on women and music in Portugal. This project, coordinated by Portuguese musicologist Helena Marinho, was groundbreaking because it was the first systematic effort to make Portuguese women musicians visible. The effort translated into a website (<http://euterpe.web.ua.pt/>), but also in participation in several international conferences, the edition of music by Portuguese women composers (Benetti, 2018a, 2018b; Oliveira, 2018; Santos, 2018; Santos, 2018), and a collection of monographies called *Trabalhos de Euterpe* (Marinho *et al.*, 2019).²³

1.4.2. BIOGRAPHY AND MUSICAL BIOGRAPHY

Besides being a feminist musicological project, this is also a biographical study. In her 2010 book *Biography and History*, Australian historian Barbara Caine effectively summed up the history of modern biography. According to the author, the relationship between biography and history dates back at least to classical times (Caine, 2010, p. 5). However, and despite the fact that a direct correlation between biography and/as history was developed in the 17th century, the most remarkable changes in the genre have taken

²³ Francine Benoît's diaries are due to be published as part of this collection of monographies, with an introduction, and transcribed and annotated by me. Other volumes are currently being prepared, one dedicated to Elvira de Freitas and another to Berta Alves de Sousa.

place in the last decades. US historian Jo Burr Margadant noted that in the decades after WWII, biography lost its scholarly appeal, as “historians shifted the plotline of the past away from acts by major figures [...] to external forces identified as shaping influences on the actions and choices of agglomerated individuals” (Margadant, 2000, p. 3). However, together with the abandonment of structuralist approaches and explanations, the 1980s biographical turn in the humanities and social sciences brought a “new preoccupation with individual lives and stories as a way of understanding both contemporary societies and the whole process of social and historical change” (Caine, 2010, p. 1). The developments of biography after that decade have been fundamental to include individuals and groups who had previously been ignored in historical analysis, and this new inclusion happened because they provide new ways of “accessing subjective understanding and experience” (Caine, 2010, p. 1). Those new ways reflect the advances of humanities and social sciences in general, such as the increasing attention that fields like social history, microhistory, women’s history, post-colonial history, and others, have been gathering. As such, the “concern that biography paid too much attention to the role of the individual in history has given way to a newer one concerning the capacity of an individual life to reflect broad historical change” (Caine, 2010, p. 5).

As scholars have previously pointed out (Pekacz 2004, 2006; Wiley, 2019, 2008), musical biography is a field that is often overlooked by musicologists, due to the prejudice that the genre still gathers. Still, the emergence of new musicology gradually and timidly changed the field of musical biography too. There are two important contributions to a new approach to musical biography by Polish-Canadian musicologist Jolanta Pekacz: a 2004 article, “Memory, History and Meaning: Musical Biography and its Discontents”, and a 2006 collection of essays *Musical Biography: Towards New Paradigms*. In her 2004 article, Pekacz criticized musicology’s prejudice against biography and the field’s

simultaneous insistence on replicating the 19th-century model of musical biography, noting that “[o]lder biographies are more often ‘revised’ for ‘accuracy’ of details than scrutinized for their premises and underlying cultural assumptions” (Pekacz, 2004, p. 42).²⁴ The author continued arguing that “musical biography today must [...] reconsider its traditional premises: the concept of biography as a reconstruction of the subject (the realistic fallacy); biography as an accumulative, rather than interpretative, enterprise (the positivistic fallacy); and the conception of the unified self of the subject” (Pekacz, 2004, p. 46).

Building on recent developments in the social sciences and humanities, Pekacz’s 2006 book discussed alternative methodological approaches that provided innovative readings about composers’ biographies by moving beyond the study of their life and oeuvre in a chronologically cumulative manner. The essays in Pekacz’s collection used a broader range of primary sources (such as music criticism, personal archives including diaries and correspondence or even films) to discuss composers’ lives and legacy, and they brought gender, sexuality and more generally the “ego-formation” as determining aspects for the study of the subjects’ careers (Gramit, 2006, pp. 156-178).²⁵ Pekacz’s own chapter draws important conclusions from the biographies of French composer Frédéric Chopin (1810-1849) published shortly after his death, by considering them products of their time, this is, narratives that carry contemporary politics, power dynamics, moral judgements and taboos, and used the specific and limited methodologies of their time. Crucially, Pekacz once again demonstrated that scholars continue to build upon the 19th-

²⁴ As Pekacz pointed out, some of the characteristics of the 19th-century model of musical biography are: the obsession with chronologically reconstructing the subject’s life, the insistence on sticking to hard facts that can be verifiable, the elimination of the biographer’s subjectivity and biography “as an accumulation of primary sources, rather than a conceptual, interpretative work” (Pekacz, 2004, p. 48).

²⁵ These approaches recognize that both the social structures and historical context, and individual subjectivities affect composers and other musical agents’s careers and legacy.

century narrative paradigm that she criticized, even when correcting factual data or adding contemporary theory (2006, pp. 43-68).

However, both Pekacz's article and her collection of essays focus exclusively on the white European context (mostly of the German-speaking Europe), and most contributors to her 2006 book are North American scholars. Moreover, with the exception of James Deaville's chapter, which discusses the unsung endeavour of German musicologist Ida Marie Lipsius (1937-1927) to write and publish a collection of biographies of German women musicians who lived and worked between 1877 and 1902 (Deaville, 2006, pp. 135-158), all the chapters discuss canonical European composers. Among those, only Marian Wilson Kimber's chapter discusses a woman composer, Fanny Mendelssohn (1805-1847) (Kimber, 2006, pp. 111-134).

As British musicologist Christopher Wiley discussed, despite being "of the utmost significance to music history and historiography since their modern origins in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries" (Wiley, 2008, p. 1), "musical biography has long stood outside the musicological arena" (Wiley, 2019, p. 187). Wiley's doctoral dissertation on musical biography includes the most complete overview of the field I have encountered (2008, pp. 1-10). The same author noted that the popular appeal of the genre, together with its origins in literary studies, made musicologists suspicious of its scientific character (Wiley, 2008) – which is no different from the view on biography among historians, as Barbara Caine analysed (2010, p. 19). Simultaneously, Wiley argued that some musical biographies' positivist obsession with "facts" has also rendered it unappealing to many musicologists, who see it as an outdated genre (Wiley, 2019, p. 188). Misconceptions and problems such as those, have kept musicologists away from developments in the field of biography in the past twenty years.

Christopher Wiley's critical historiography of musical biography (2008) consists of an analysis of biographies published in England between 1800 and 1950, but also in relation with more recent scholarship. He believes that musical biography has a duty to question and rethink historiographical categories and mainstream narratives, and he studied how biography has shaped the hegemonic narratives of music history that focus its narratives on a select number of over-celebrated and idealized male canonical composers. By doing so, musicology co-constructs the (white) men as the central and most relevant composers. The main difference then, between musicology and history, in the context of how both have dealt with biography, is that music history tends to build narratives starting from individual composers,²⁶ while history, particularly after the later-19th-century emergence of Marxist history, tends to be more preoccupied with analysing broader political institutions and social structures (Caine, 2010, p. 19). According to Barbara Caine, Marxist historians (initially) resist/ed biography because they were suspicious of the importance of focusing on individuals rather than on macro-structures (2010, p. 17-18), while musicology traditionally relied on a narrow understanding of biography that is limited to an ascetic narrative comprised of dates and facts. While the first can fail to acknowledge that focusing on individuals can reveal a lot about the broader geo-social-political context, the latter can miss the broader dynamics within the geo-social-political context and how they shape the history of each individual.

This dissertation draws inspiration from Christopher Wiley's research, as it argues that Francine Benoît's historiographical omission and undervaluation was a

²⁶ This is evident on how the common divisions of styles/periods in music history often rely on the activity of individual composers. For example, the end of the baroque is traditionally marked with the death of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750); the beginning of the romanticism in music is attributed to Ludwig van Beethoven's biography and composing activity, namely, what became commonly known as the third phase of his life, when he became aware that his deafness was progressive.

consequence of similar dynamics: namely, of how musicology exclusively canonized male composers, and particularly how Fernando Lopes-Graça is known as one of the most important Portuguese 20th-century composers, mostly for his musical oeuvre, but also for his political involvement in the communist opposition to the *Estado Novo*. Crucially, as I will argue, Lopes-Graça was not the only musician active in the communist opposition. Wiley noted that in the process of establishing music history upon individual composers' biographies, many aspects of those composers' lives were left out, such as non-normative sexualities, or other topics usually considered taboo.²⁷ Similarly, Lopes-Graça's sexuality was left out of Portuguese historiography, as were other details of his personality that shaped his social interactions and cultural work, as I will analyse in chapter 5.

In Portugal, there is a relatively large number of musical biographies about women, when compared to men. That body of literature includes the internationally acclaimed cellist Guilhermina Suggia (1885-1950) by Portuguese author Fátima Pombo (1993, 1996), internationally acclaimed singer Luisa Todi (1753-1833) by Portuguese historian Victor Luis Eleutério (2003), and by the former director of the *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos* Mário Moreau (2002), and the composer Constança Capdeville (1937-1992) by Portuguese musicologist Maria João Serrão (2006), the already mentioned PhD dissertation of Ana Sofia Vieira about Francine Benoît (2012), or the recent photo-biography of Fernando Lopes-Graça by Manuel Deniz Silva and António de Sousa (2018). Many of these biographies were not authored by musicologists, which is telling of the prejudice both against biography and against women musicians in the academic

²⁷ For example, in Portuguese musicology, the right-wing youth phase of Portuguese composer Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955) was camouflaged, by not being discussed in scholarly literature until very recently, thanks to the work of Portuguese musicologist Isabel Pina (2016). Conversely, Ruy Coelho (1889-1986) has been considered a nationalist composer affiliated with the fascist regime and unworthy of study for that reason, until Portuguese musicologist Edward Ayres d'Abreu's discussed the composer's youth and the musical modernism of his first works (2014).

field of musicology. However, both the biographies authored by musicologists (Serrão, 2002; Vieira, 2012) and by other authors, follow the 19th-century model of musical biography that divides life and work as separate and chronologically cumulative domains, as Jolanta Pekacz criticized in her 2004 article.

Manuel Deniz Silva and António de Sousa's photo-biography of Fernando Lopes-Graça is the first consistent biography of the composer. This is rather remarkable, as he is probably the most celebrated composer of 20th-century Portuguese music.²⁸ Although the book does not make such a clear separation between life and work like most biographies of Portuguese musicians, it still leaves out many aspects of his personal life. Among those, the composer's homosexuality is still absent, and the book contributes to the idealization of the composer by focusing on his political activities, and by mentioning his acquaintances and friendships with other intellectual men, and the activities developed in such circles (Silva & Sousa, 2018). Francine Benoît is included in the group of acquaintances, but her presence, as well as any other woman's, is almost residual compared to the number of men.

All biographies and biographical monographies and collections about Portuguese composers or musicians consist of attempts to reconstruct the chronology of the subject's life based on factual data, the canonized approach that Pekacz and others have consistently criticized over the last two decades. Gil Miranda's 1992 book about the Portuguese composer Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos (1910-1974) is an exception. Because Miranda knew the composer and his friends, he included some empirical considerations

²⁸ António de Sousa's monography (2006) is a partial biographical narrative that focuses on Lopes-Graça's connection with his birthplace, Tomar. However, his book still follows a structuralist approach for example when omitting the composer's sexuality, or his female friends and comrades, and it lacks a real engagement with his social networks and historical context. Vieira de Carvalho has compiled biographical data, and discussed the composer's oeuvre and political action (2006), but he never ventured into writing a biography *per se*, and repeatedly focused on the composer's intellectual action.

based on his personal experience, about Croner de Vasconcelos' social networks and musical oeuvre. This was significant not only because Miranda acknowledged his personal relationship with his subject, but also because he shared details of the composer's ordinary daily life. However, Miranda still used a chronologically cumulative approach, and purposely or not, he portrayed the composer as straight and "platonically" attracted to a woman – when he had a male partner, the composer Armando José Fernandes (1906-1983).²⁹

1.4.3. GENDER

I draw inspiration from Joan Wallach Scott's definition of gender as a "useful category of historical analysis" (1986). Scott's watershed article, also included in her 1988 collection of essays *Gender and the Politics of History*, historicizes the use of gender in feminist scholarship, and proposes a theoretical formulation of gender as a historiographical concept. Simply put, Scott's definition of gender is based on two distinct but interrelated main aspects: "gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power" (1986, p. 1067). This means that first, gender is a social construct, based on sexual difference, which determines how one is viewed/ perceived by society; secondly, that gender establishes relationships of power – that is, power is articulated through gender. This is important for my research because I argue that

²⁹ The relationship between both composers was known among the musical elite. For example, there are references in the correspondence between Francine Benoît, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Fernando Lopes-Graça. In the correspondence of the composer Pedro do Prado (1908-1990), hosted in *Museu da Música*, there are references to their relationship as well, such as a short piece of music composed by Prado with a personal note to Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos that says the music is meant for him to dance with Armando José Fernandes. I find it unlikely that Gil Miranda did not know about Croner de Vasconcelos' sexuality, but it is, nevertheless, a possibility.

Francine Benoît was treated differently, by her peers and in historiography, primarily because of her gender.

Scott's definition has since been criticized for not moving beyond the sex binary (male/female), or not questioning the stability or the meaning of what a category of analysis is (Boydston, 2008). Postcolonial studies have also frequently called out the colonial aspect of western definitions of gender, such as Scott's, by arguing that not all societies are organized based on gender, or with gender functioning as a primary category of social organization. For example, as US historian Jeanne Boydston pointed out, Nigerian gender scholar Oyèrónké Oyewùmí (2005, 1997) noted how western scholarship discusses gender, as if European and western cultures were universal and timeless. Oyewùmí observed that "if gender is socially constructed, then gender cannot behave in the same way across time and space" (Boydston, 2005, p. 11).

For this project, the most crucial critique is that Scott seemed to discuss power as an abstract concept that some "own" or "have", and because of that, they have an advantage, and exert it over those who do not. At times, Scott's article gives the idea that gender is an inevitability, a prescribed inferiority, where women are made, seen and self-constructed as victims of men, thus erasing individual agency. As such, and as noted by Jeanne Boydston, "claims to freedom are illusory and in fact serve to entrench a totalising regime" (2008, p. 565). Jeanne Boydston called it a "twentieth-century, western conception of the nature of power associated especially with the work of Michel Foucault and the Frankfurt school" (Boydston, 2008, p. 563). Scott indeed cites Foucault as one of her main theoretical influences, but this understanding of power that Boydston called out, and that Scott does occasionally transmit, is not Foucauldian. Michel Foucault's celebrated conceptualizations about the circulation of power (e.g. the panopticon, see Foucault, 1975) presuppose that power is exerted through the most diverse, visible and

hidden social dynamics, crucially including self-discipline. For Foucault, power is not something that can be “owned”, but dynamics that exist and which people and institutions can both re-enforce and resist, often simultaneously.

Although I do not see gender and gender inequality the way Scott’s 1986 article does, but rather believe in individual agency navigating through stratified, gendered, classed and racialized societies, my understanding of gender in this particular research resonates with Scott’s 1986 definition because gender is a crucial category of analysis. In this study, gender is used to discuss a 20th-century white European middle-to-upper-class context, where the conventional understanding of gender was limited to and based on a sex binary, attributed to bodily difference – similar to how Joan W. Scott initially conceptualized it. Like Scott, I personally refuse biological determinism or any cross-cultural concept of womanhood, but instead consider the historical context of my research, where the gender binary women/men was crystallized and instrumentalized by several regimes of power operating simultaneously. In her 2018 introduction to the 30th edition of her 1988 collection of essays, Scott engaged with some of the criticism that her 1986 article had received, and acknowledged that “the meanings of gender are uncertain [and] changeable instruments of political regulation and resistance” (2018, p. xiv) and those “uncertainties and indeterminacies of the categories guarantee that the answer will vary depending on context: historical, political, cultural, temporal” (2018, p. xiv).

Gender is likely the most important category of analysis for this dissertation; however, it is not the only one. My study uses an intersectional approach (Crenshaw, 1991) to explore how Benoît’s multiple identity belongings have shaped her life. US critical race theory scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term intersectionality to solve a structural problem that becomes evident in identity-based activism and academia: “Feminist efforts to politicize experiences of women and antiracist efforts to politicize

experiences of people of color have frequently proceeded as though the issues and experiences they each detail occur on mutually exclusive terrains. [...] When the practices expound identity as woman or person of color as an either/or proposition, they relegate the identity of women of color to a location that resists telling” (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1242). This means that when for example feminist scholars base their analysis on gender, they often miss how race, class, religion, age, geographical origin, language, education, and other characteristics, are equally important in shaping how someone is perceived by those around them, and how that same someone behaves in their social context. Crenshaw argued that several categories of difference always intersect, which means that they simultaneously co-construct individual identity and the social structures we live in. Similarly, I studied how categories such as class, race, age, nationality, sexuality, feminist and communist ideologies, among others, have intersected with Benoît’s gender, shaping her life and her historiographical treatment.

1.4.4. QUEER AND LESBIAN CONTINUUM

Francine Benoît has never used the term ‘lesbian’ or any other to refer to her sexual identity in the sources I consulted. Throughout this dissertation, I use ‘queer’ as an umbrella term to describe Benoît’s non-normative sexuality. I understand the reluctance of some lesbian activism and scholars to accept this as a strategic choice because it can erase or disempower lesbians (such as Terry Castle, 1993, pp. 12-13), but my concern with referring to Francine Benoît as lesbian is both ethical and historical. Ethical because that would be attributing to her a stable identity that was not self-claimed, and historical because to my knowledge, the term was not part of Benoît and her friends’ contemporary reality. Using the term ‘homosexuality’ would pose other problems: not only because it is a concept that came from a medicalized discourse, but also because it may erase female

same-sex affection and same-sex eroticism by not distinguishing it from male homosexuality. Calling Benoît queer also raises ethical and historical problems similar to the ones raised by the use of 'lesbian'. However, unlike 'lesbian', 'queer' implies a certain fluidity and "is capable of challenging the stability of identities subsumed by the label 'lesbian'", as US women's and gender scholar Jack Halberstam put it (1996, p. 259). Censorship and self-censorship could be reasons why as far as I know Francine Benoît and her friends did not use any word to define themselves in terms of sexual identity. However, it is possible that when they met they used words that created a sense of common sexual identity in person, but this goes beyond my dissertation.

Even though I do not use the term lesbian to refer to Benoît's sexuality, I do adopt US feminist author Adrienne Rich's 1980 concepts of lesbian existence and lesbian continuum. Rich developed these two concepts to "include a wide range [...] of women-identified experience" rather than simply the lived or desired experience of genital sex between women (1980, p. 648). According to the author, these concepts are meant to "embrace many more forms of primary intensity between and among women, including the sharing of a rich inner life, the bonding against male tyranny, the giving and receiving of practical and political support" (1980, pp. 648-649). The type of connections that Benoît developed with women throughout her life were of the utmost importance in their creating networks of emotional support, sharing feminist concerns, sharing political and artistic ideas, and even professional and financial support. As my research will show, particularly chapters 5, 6 and 7, these relationships were a textbook example of Rich's definitions, and so was the historiographical treatment that they received. As Rich put it, "women's choice of women as passionate comrades, life partners, co-workers, lovers, tribe, has been crushed, invalidated, forced into hiding and disguise; and [...] resulted in] the virtual or total neglect of lesbian existence" (Rich, 1980, p. 632). In Benoît's case, the

erasure and neglect can be found in Madalena Gomes' writings, her partner, after Benoît's death (Gomes, 1991, 1995; discussed in Braga, 2013, pp. 79-83), but also in the recent historiographical recovery of Francine Benoît (Vieira, 2011, 2012; Calado, 2010; discussed in Braga, 2013, pp. 100-109). Analysing Benoît's relationships with women is important for at least two reasons. First, it allows me to write a more nuanced and comprehensive biography, one that studies the inter-dependency between her and her friends' lives. Secondly, it uncovers and documents their rejection of a compulsory heterosexual existence and their way of living as an act of resistance in and of itself (Rich, 1980, p. 649). My reading of Benoît's letters and diaries has shown me that not all of her relationships with women involved sexual intimacy, but many of them did. However, I agree with Rich that setting these platonic relationships or close friendships apart from the erotic ones would be limiting the erotic itself (Rich, 1980, p. 650).

The discursive strategies used in the correspondence and diaries of Francine Benoît were often subtle, but suggestive. Her lovers and friends used expressions such as "our large affections",³⁰ or "our deadly friendship",³¹ to refer to their women-exclusive relationships, and they called each other names such as "my love",³² or "my sweet girlfriend".³³ Some women in Benoît's circle did not use any such expressions, but they were still part of Benoît's lesbian existence. A good example is Benoît's friendship with the writer Irene Lisboa (1892-1958), a queer woman from the leftist opposition, involved in feminist groups, who also struggled for an artistic career in a male-dominated field, as my research has shown (Braga, 2013, 2012).³⁴ Both Benoît and Lisboa resisted

³⁰ Virgínia Gersão to Francine Benoît, 20/09/1926, BN-N33/793.

³¹ Gabriela Gomes to Francine Benoît, n.d., BN-N33/1119.

³² Gabriela Gomes to Francine Benoît, several letters, BN-N33.

³³ The original expression in French is "ma tendre petite amie", which translates closer to "my dear girlfriend" than to a friend of female sex, Suzanne Laurens to Benoît, 26/11/ny, BN – N33/915.

³⁴ Several of Irene Lisboa's books and texts were printed under the male pseudonym João Falco (1936, 1937, 1939, 1940a, 1940b, 1940c, 1940d, 1942) or under Manuel Soares (1937, 1938, 1940).

compulsory heterosexuality and never married, led independent lives, and shared their daily lives with other women. They mutually supported one another, mostly emotionally but also by helping each other's career. Benoît played an important role in promoting and distributing the literary work of Irene Lisboa during the 1940s and 1950s. She served as the middle woman helping Lisboa sell her books within her networks of women, namely by creating networks of distribution in Algarve, through Maria Vitória Pacheco Quintas (19?-19?), and in the Azores, through Virgília Olímpia do Amaral Peixoto (de Sousa Coutinho) (1900-1981) (Braga, 2013, pp. 68, 74).

1.4.5. CYCLE OF CONSECRATION

In her 2015 book, *Teaching Stravinsky – Nadia Boulanger and the Consecration of a Modernist Icon*, Canadian musicologist Kimberly Francis discussed the role of French composer, conductor and pedagogue Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979) in the public consecration of Russian-born French-American composer Igor Stravinsky (1882-1971). Most musicological narratives had until then described both composers as friends and/or sharing a professional acquaintanceship, and the few Stravinsky scholars who mentioned Boulanger, “locked her into a peripheral function, segregating her in the domestic sphere” (Francis, 2015, p. 8). By contrast, Francis' feminist narrative discussed Boulanger's interactions with Stravinsky, removing him from the isolated figure of the solitary genius (Francis, 2015, p. 11), and convincingly showing that Boulanger played an essential role in the establishment of the celebrated male composer's career. Francis argued that Boulanger “crafted” Stravinsky's public image by performing “gendered discourses with great success” (Francis, 2015, p. 9), starting in 1920s Paris, and into later stages of his career, both in the United States and in Europe, thanks to a fruitful creative dialogue and long-lasting friendship between the two (Francis, 2015, p. 8). Boulanger's actions were

various and included performing emotional labour for Stravinsky and his family, for example, through her relationship with Soulima Stravinsky (1910-1994), one of Stravinsky's sons: she interfered in the relationship between father and son. Her actions also included correcting and editing Stravinsky's music, analysing Stravinsky's music in her classes, or authoring music critique of Stravinsky's music – for example, as early as between 1919-1923 in *Le Monde Musical* (Francis, 2015, p. 7).

As Francis noted, it is difficult to conceptualize Boulanger within the traditional musicological narratives, because “her activity so often fell outside conventional models of the creative process” (Francis, 2015, p. 10). Even though Boulanger did compose in the early stage of her career, and had an intermittent conducting and performing career, she was “primarily a teacher” and the musicological narrative “placed and continues to place her in a marginal position” (Francis, 2015, p. 10). To discuss the overlooked historical value of Nadia Boulanger in Stravinsky's career, Kimberly Francis adopted the bourdieusian concept of the “cycle of consecration” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 6), which allowed her to decentralize the modernist composer from the narratives about him, and to look at the circumstances, people, and institutions around him as directly participating in the establishment of those said narratives. Those circumstances, people and institutions, and the circulation of cultural and social capital through what Bourdieu called *habitus*, that is, patterns of behaviour, or of performative action that is understood and mimicked by others in the same cultural (sub)field, make up the wider picture of how historical tendencies, reputations and roles are built.

French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's cultural theory is not new to the field of musicology, as much of his theoretical production focuses on the cultural field itself, and on class dynamics, and discusses symbolic capital (social and cultural) and its circulation. I myself have used Bourdieu's intellectual production in my Master's thesis (Braga,

2013). However, feminist musicologists had not used Bourdieu's theory consistently as a feminist tool the way Kimberly Francis did. By using Bourdieu, Francis not only decentralized Stravinsky from the narratives about him, but also effectively demonstrated how Nadia Boulanger was key to "consecrating" the composer as a modernist icon (Francis, 2015, p. 11). Francis was able to broaden Boulanger's historical role, moving beyond the cliché that she was mostly relevant because of her pedagogical activity. Most of the work Nadia Boulanger did relied on the cycle of consecration, which refers to the circulation of cultural capital. Bourdieu understands power as something culturally and symbolically created, permanently re-legitimised through *habitus* (1989), a combination of individual agency and social structure. It is called a cycle to indicate movement as it refers to mutually shaping dynamics. While analysing Boulanger's discourses and practices that contributed to Stravinsky's consecration, Francis asked "what was at stake in creating these narratives and what Boulanger stood to gain from framing them as she did" (Francis, 2014, p. 17). The answer is that when Nadia Boulanger promoted Igor Stravinsky, both hers and his cultural capital increased and reinforced each other. As Francis showed, "Boulanger worked throughout her life to acquire and maintain her cultural capital and employ it on Stravinsky's behalf, with great success" (Francis, 2015, p. 13). With this in mind, Kimberly Francis described Nadia Boulanger as a "cultural agent", a term she considers flexible enough to translate Boulanger's agency and thus her "active and powerful role within the field of cultural production" (Francis, 2015, p. 16).

Francis challenged other feminist musicologists to use similar analytical tools to argue for the value of women musicians whose relevance is overlooked because of their behind-the-scenes work. As she noted, "even the work of feminist musicologists has tended to focus on women composers or feminist interpretations of male composers" (Francis, 2015, p. 10), a dynamic that "continues to entrench composers as the absolute

centre of any musicological enquiry, and any discussion of actors who play tangential roles – roles so often filled by women – is more often relegated to the peripheries” (Francis, 2015, p. 10). Francis proposed the adoption of Bourdieu’s cycle of consecration to study the life of women who were not primarily known as composers, or might not have composed at all, but were key actors in the musical field as pedagogues, music critics, or promoters of male composers and their musical oeuvre – when not directly helping them compose or with other organizational tasks and performing emotional labour.³⁵ The purpose is not only to make such women visible, but also to broaden history and historiography, by rethinking the canonical use of historiographical categories, such as the hierarchical distinctions between composers, conductors, musicians, promoters and patrons, just to name but a few.

In this dissertation, I show that Francine Benoît was a crucial cultural agent. The cycle of consecration is a relevant concept for this project because Benoît’s historical importance is not simply her musical oeuvre, or her short career as a pianist or as a conductor, but rather her multi-layered role and her behind-the-scenes work in the 20th-century Portuguese culture, which I reveal and analyse in this dissertation. The cycle of consecration was, for both Boulanger and Benoît, a way of “bargaining with patriarchy” (Kandiyoti, 1988). It consists of strategies that women adopted in a set of concrete patriarchal constraints to negotiate their subjectivity (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 275), and in the case of these two cultural agents, their own public reputation.

Chapters 5 and 6 exemplify in more detail how the cycle of consecration worked in Benoît’s case. In those chapters, I zoom in on the activities that Benoît developed

³⁵ These dynamics resemble Bonnie Smith’s analysis in the introduction chapter of her 2010 book, *The Gender of History* (Smith, 2010, p. 10).

within the communist cultural opposition, and within her networks of women. The social networks that Benoît was a part of, shaped and were shaped by her cultural action, which fits with how Francis has applied and called for the application of the cycle of consecration to argue for the value of the work of women cultural agents (Francis, 2015, p. 174). As Francis stated, by “defining her artistic orientation and polemically identifying the artists she wished to champion – along with those she did not – Boulanger positioned herself in powerful ways” (Francis, 2015, p. 11). The same happened with Francine Benoît; as I will show, she publicly defined her artistic (and political) orientation and identified artists (composers, pianists, singers, conductors, etc.) that she liked and promoted, and others that she did not. Among those that she chose to champion was Fernando Lopes-Graça. In my view, Benoît’s role in his public consecration was crucial, for personal and political reasons and in ways that I discuss in chapter 5. Similarly, in chapter 6, I discuss Benoît’s centrality as a music teacher, the activity through which she built most of her networks of feminist women artists and intellectuals, thus reinforcing her importance as a cultural agent.

1. 5. SOURCES AND METHODOLOGY

This dissertation is predominantly based on textual analysis of primary sources, including the papers and correspondence of Francine Benoît and some of her friends, held in several collections and archives mostly in Portugal,³⁶ newspapers and journals, concert programs,

³⁶ In the Portuguese National Library, in Lisbon, I consulted the following collections: Francine Benoît, Irene Lisboa, Vitorino Nemésio, João José Cochofel, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Maria Lamas, Virgínia Vitorino, João Gaspar Simões, Ema Romero da Câmara Reys. In the *Museu da Música Portuguesa*, I consulted the collection of Fernando Lopes-Graça. In *Casa Comum – Fundação Mário Soares*, I consulted the collection of Manuel Mendes. In the *Torre do Tombo* National Archive, I consulted

and interviews, and also visual analysis of pictures.³⁷ In addition, throughout this dissertation, I do a critical reading of the existing historiography about Francine Benoît, about 20th-century Portuguese music history, as well as of a significant body of literature about the Portuguese composer Fernando Lopes-Graca.

As British literary scholar Hermione Lee has argued: “any biographical narrative is an artificial construct, since it inevitably involves selection and shaping” (Lee, 2009, p. 122). Similarly, although this is the most comprehensive biographical study of Francine Benoît to date, it does not tell the (whole) truth about her. I constructed my analysis starting from the existing sources. After Francine Benoît’s death, her collection to donate that was divided into three. The first and largest part, composed of her personal papers, went to the National Library. The second part, consisting of her books and concert and opera programs/booklets went to the now extinct *Centro de Documentação de Ciências Musicais* at the FCSH – NOVA. The third part, her music documents (musical oeuvre and notebooks), went to the *Academia de Amadores de Música*, where she worked as a teacher. I worked mostly with part 1, Benoît’s personal papers. In the academic year 2011/2012, I worked as a volunteer at the *Centro de Documentação de Ciências Musicais* at the *Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas* of the *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, where I have studied Benoît’s collection (part 2).³⁸ During the course of this research, *Academia de Amadores de Música* donated Benoît’s collection (part 3) to the music

the collection of PIDE/DGS, and of António de Oliveira Salazar. In the FCSH – NOVA University, the collection of Francine Benoît. In the *Conservatório de Música do Porto*, the collection of Berta Alves de Sousa. In *Espaço Memória – Arquivo Municipal do Barreiro*, the collections of Natércia Couto and Maria Neves da Silveira. I also consulted the private collection of Portuguese pianist João Pedro Mendes dos Santos.

³⁷ Note on translation: the majority of the documents cited are originally in Portuguese, and many others in French. All the translations to English are mine, except when mentioned otherwise.

³⁸ This was the specialized library of the department of musical sciences, which was shortly after integrated in the general library of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Universidade Nova de Lisboa.

section of the National Library, where it awaits cataloguing. This is not a major problem for this dissertation because its focus is not on Francine Benoît's musical documents.

Francine Benoît's collection in the National Library is the most personal part of her documents, but it is not complete. Madalena Gomes (1928-2010), Francine Benoît's last partner, selected the documents to donate, after Benoît's death,³⁹ and before doing so, she shared with Fernando Lopes-Graça that Benoît had previously destroyed part of her letters.⁴⁰ According to a piece of information that the singer Maria João Sousa shared with me in July 2020, after Madalena Gomes' death in 2010, her sister and niece were planning to donate her collection to the National Library, to be kept together with Benoît's, as there were many documents of Francine Benoît in it.⁴¹ However, for unknown reasons, that donation never took place and I have not yet been able to locate Madalena Gomes' niece.

Francine Benoît's diaries, part of her personal papers kept in the National Library in Lisbon, were one of the richest sources of information for this dissertation. They consist of over seventy-thousand words written between the years of 1947 and 1956. Diaries and correspondence are examples of what North-American musicologist David Gramit calls "ego documents".⁴² Although musicology has largely accepted that "ego documents" can "reveal generally shared musical ideologies of practices within a society or a fraction of it, or suggest the variety of ways in which individuals negotiated or conceptualized their musical experiences", some traditional scholars still devalue their use due to their "bias" (Gramit, 2006, p. 162). In the book *History – A Very Short Introduction*, British historian

³⁹ Madalena Gomes to Fernando Lopes-Graça, 21/03/1990 – MMP.

⁴⁰ Madalena Gomes to Fernando Lopes-Graça, 02/04/1990 – MMP.

⁴¹ I wish to thank Maria João Sousa for her contribution. According to Gomes' niece (in a draft letter to be sent to the National Library that Maria João Sousa shared with me), Madalena Gomes' collection included more letters, pictures, personal writings and other documents of Francine Benoît.

⁴² David Gramit (2006) imports the concept "ego documents" (coined by the Dutch historian Jacques Presser in the 1950s) to musicology, recognizing that musicologists have been using such documents for a long time when writing biographies, but without an interdisciplinary collaboration.

John Arnold made a very important point about how historians traditionally think of bias in a simplistic manner, by looking for “bias” in order to avoid it. He stated that “without ‘bias’ (were ever such a thing possible), there would be no need for historians” (Arnold, 2000, p. 67). Francine Benoît’s surviving diaries and letters are not ‘unbiased’ but “there is no document which is ‘unbiased’” (Arnold, 2000, p. 67). My role as a historian was to provide possible interpretations of these documents while asking what they can tell us about Benoît, her time, and place.

Related to the question of bias, is what biography is about. As Jo Burr Margadant argued, a biography is not simply a factual narrative about a particular subject, but rather “the subject of biography is [...] a self that is performed to create an impression of coherence or an individual with multiple selves” (2000, p. 7). The self is performed not only in everything one does to negotiate one’s place in history, but also in the aspect of selecting documents to keep. Francine Benoît was self-aware as a historical subject, hence her decision to select, save and donate (some of) her personal papers. With this, she further established herself as a subject worthy of study, and she wilfully carved the possibilities for future narratives about her.

“Behind every biography lies autobiography”, said historian Susan Ware (2010, p. 426). The biographer spends significant time, usually years, dedicated to another person. There is a connection with the subject, perhaps an empathic feeling at times. The way I looked at the sources, the conclusions I drew from them, and how I built this narrative are my personal choices and not a timeless truth or a truth separate from me. I underline the temporality of this narrative because “as historians, we know that the emotional truth in any history (much less in a biography) derives from the present day” (Kessler-Harris, 2009, p. 630). Like any other narrative, this biographical study is partial

and sculpted by my own subjectivities as a 21st-century white European queer leftist feminist scholar.

In the 1930s and early 1940s, if not before, Benoît delivered talks for the national broadcaster *Emissora Nacional*, which also broadcast performances of some of her music, but unfortunately the audio files from those years have not survived (Vieira, 2011, p. 194). The documents of the *Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz* (Portuguese Feminine Association for Peace, AFPP) and the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* (National Council of Portuguese Women, CNMP), two women's groups that Benoît was a member of during the regime, as I will discuss in chapter 5, have partially been destroyed or remain with the descendants of some of the women involved in those groups.⁴³ The members of *Movimento Democrático das Mulheres* (Women's Democratic Movement, MDM) have collected as much of those documents as they could (information shared by Regina Marques on April 4, 2016). I visited the archives of MDM on April 4, 2016 but was not allowed to freely consult the documents for two reasons. Firstly, I was told there was not much about Benoît or her participation – even though she was an elected representative for Lisbon in MDM's National Council in 1977, and despite the fact that MDM organized an homage to Francine Benoît on her 90th birthday, or that they granted her an honorary distinction in 1989 (Neves, 1984a; Secretariado Nacional do Movimento Democrático de Mulheres, 1990). The second reason Regina Marques mentioned was that “they” (the MDM) were not interested in anyone's “private life”, after mentioning “rumours” that Benoît was “homosexual”. In Marques' words: “what matters are her professional work and her actions for the rights of women in Portugal” (Regina

⁴³ This information was shared by Regina Marques on April 4, 2016. Some of them were destroyed by the PIDE, and some others by the former members to avoid evidence of being members of those groups. For her 2011 book, Lúcia Serralheiro consulted several private collections of some of AFPP's former members and their descendants (2011, p. 193).

Marques on April 4, 2016). Such remarks were personal, because my master's dissertation was available since 2014, and Benoît's biography on MDM's website still lists the work of other musicologists who have studied Benoît without referring to her queerness, but not mine, which peruses precisely her relations and social networks (<https://www.mdm.org.pt/francine-benoit/>).⁴⁴

Informed by the theoretical framework outlined here and based on the listed sources, the following chapters will offer my biographical analysis of Francine Benoît's life in a way that shows her life, music and politics as having been interconnected and mutually shaping each other.

1. 6. STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is organized in themes, and divided in eight chapters. In this first chapter, I presented a brief biographical introduction to Francine Benoit, as well as to the Portuguese historical context, I described my theoretical framework and methodology and identified my sources.

The main body of the thesis is divided into two parts, of three chapters each. The first part focuses on Benoît's artistic activity, her professional career, and her public *personae*. The second part discusses Benoît's networks of women, their processes of socializing, feminist and antifascist action, cultural intervention, and their historiographical invisibility.

⁴⁴ The website lists 1980 as the year when Francine Benoît joined MDM, but during my short visit I found the program of 1977 National Council, and Benoît's name was already on the list of its representatives for Lisbon, as stated in a newspaper article in 1990 (Secretariado do Movimento Democrático das Mulheres, 1990, p. 13).

Chapter 2 discusses the Portuguese musical context, providing the reader an overview of 20th-century history of Portuguese music, and of how Benoît fit in that panorama. Chapter 3 examines Francine Benoît's musical activities closer and how they were shaped by gender and politics. I include two pioneering aspects of her activity: (1) she was the first woman working as a professional music critic in Portugal; (2) she was the first woman to have conducted an orchestra in Portugal during the dictatorship. This chapter additionally situates her conducting activity with the other women who conducted orchestras in Portugal until the end of the fascist regime.

Chapter 4 studies the construction of Benoît's public *personae*, where I argue that in the beginning of her career, Benoît presented herself as the ideal of the *femme fragile*, following the gender stereotyping of the bourgeois young woman. However, Benoît's image after the late 1930s was contrasting. In historiography, Benoît has been described according to the stereotype of the *femme nouvelle*, or the new woman, not only omitting the first phase of her public persona, but also overlooking several aspects of her biography, such as her queerness, by using such a stereotype (Vieira, 2011). Crucially, in this chapter, I analyse the nuances in Benoît's biography that led to the construction of both public *personae*. I argue that the change in her image happened hand in hand with her political radicalization, how she lived her queerness, and her intervention in the Portuguese cultural sphere, including her musical oeuvre.

Part two begins with chapter 5, which focuses on the uncredited contributions of Benoît and the pianist Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (1919-2001) to the Portuguese oppositionist musical culture. I start by discussing the historiographical construction of the leftist intelligentsia *vis-à-vis* the absence of women, then I analyse Amado da Cunha's biography and Benoît's influence on her. Lastly, I zoom in on three cultural projects that music historiography credits almost exclusively, if not exclusively, to Fernando Lopes-

Graça (examples include Neves, 2019, pp. 124-125, 143-144; Cascudo, 2017, p. 72, 2010a, p. 45; Cid, 2010, p. 1231, 1996, p. 561), but where both Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha played fundamental roles in its administration and activities.

Chapter 6 analyses Francine Benoît's networks of women within Portugal. These women, mostly artists, most of them feminists, have participated actively in Benoît's daily life and worked together as elements of the Portuguese cultural sphere and leftist intelligentsia. The chapter discusses how they socialized, and what were their exchanges, and I argue that their processes of socializing were feminist tools of action. It also places these women as active members of the feminist opposition to the dictatorship, and discusses their participation in Portuguese women's groups.

Chapter 7 examines Benoît's transnational contacts. Benoît corresponded with hundreds of people from all walks of life,⁴⁵ both Portuguese and from/or living outside of Portugal. Benoît's transnational contacts provided her a better and wider knowledge of what was happening in other countries. This transnational aspect enriched the individuality of Francine Benoît, but it also enriched those women, active in their own countries, who at their end broadened their global knowledge.

In the conclusion, I draw my findings together, and reiterate my main argument, that Francine Benoît was a crucial cultural agent in 20th century Portuguese culture, who after being overlooked and problematically analysed even in recent scholarly literature, finds a new nuanced and comprehensive narrative in this dissertation.

⁴⁵ In Benoît's correspondence in Biblioteca Nacional, there are letters from one hundred and sixty-two persons, and according to Madalena Gomes, Benoît destroyed a large number of letters before her death, while Madalena Gomes herself had kept other personal papers (Madalena Gomes to Fernando Lopes-Graça, 21/03/1990 – MMP; Madalena Gomes to Fernando Lopes-Graça, 02/04/1990 – MMP). This suggests that the number of letters preserved is significantly smaller than the real number of people with whom Francine Benoît exchanged letters throughout her life.

PART I - FRANCINE BENOÎT'S AND HER ACTIVITIES IN 20TH- CENTURY PORTUGUESE MUSICAL LIFE

CHAPTER 2. THE MUSICAL PRACTICES IN EARLY TO MID-20TH-CENTURY LISBON AND FRANCINE BENOÎT'S PLACE IN THEM

INTRODUCTION

There are times when musicology is driven by the fear that someone is “not really talking about ‘the music’” or, even more ludicrously, that an article or book does not use sufficient musical examples to be about “the music”. Musicology students struggle under the prerequisite of finding enough “music” to make their dissertations valid. (Bohlman, 1993, p. 422)

According to some musicologists, because the field is called musicology, i.e., the study of music, it should focus exclusively on music. Thus, there is an engrained tendency to see different perspectives and different approaches to the study of everything that relates to music with some suspicion. As US ethnomusicologist Philip Bohlman (1993) and Canadian musicologist Tamara Levitz (2012), among others, have put it, policing the borders of musicology is a political gesture. In the spring of 2014 my Master's thesis in historical musicology, titled *On Francine Benoît and Some of Her Social Networks: Invisibility, Gender and Sexuality between 1940 and 1960* (Braga, 2013), became available online. On July 16, 2014, an acquaintance of mine published a link to my thesis on his Facebook wall, and an acquaintance of ours, a Teaching Assistant from our department (Musicology, at NOVA, New University of Lisbon), commented: “This is everything but musicology!” He proceeded to argue that my thesis should have been done in another department, because since it was not about music, it was not a thesis in musicology, repeating the pattern identified by Philip Bohlman in the quote cited above.

I would have liked to think that it did not matter, because the jury had praised my research and I had received an excellent grade, but it did. Just like it affected me every time someone asked: “But was she really a lesbian? Is there any proof?”, or “Who cares about a person’s sex life?” or “But where is her gender or sexuality *in* the music?” or “She did not write that much music.” These and other comments came from some of the most reputed musicologists in Portugal, and all of them mattered because this refusal to acknowledge my work resulted in a double sexist aggression: against Benoît and against me. As Tamara Levitz put it, when discussing the lack of self-reflexivity of the field of musicology, “it might be time for musicologists to turn their attention to the material reality of [musicology’s] borders themselves and the violence they perpetuate” (2012, p. 823). These discourses were violent and aimed to impress upon me that I did not belong in the scholarly field of musicology while they, the white (mostly) male Professors, secured their places by defining the limits and expertise of the field of musicology in Portugal.

For many musicologists, Francine Benoît was not noteworthy, otherwise we would already know more about her, the music she composed was (probably) not significant, her sexuality was irrelevant for musicology, and there was not “enough music” in my research to justify its place in musicology. This last argument, of the lack of music, was also the major justification for the Portuguese government (FCT – *Fundação Ciência e Tecnologia*) to deny me a Doctoral Grant in 2016. US musicologists Susan McClary & Richard Leppert are among many who have criticized the musicological obsession for musical autonomy. They summed up that “the disciplines of music theory and musicology are grounded on the assumption of musical autonomy. [...] Both disciplines likewise claim objectivity, the illusion of which is possible only when the questions considered valid are limited to those that can, in fact, be answered without

qualification” (McClary & Leppert, 1989, p. iii). When feminist theory, or post-colonial theory as another paradigmatic example, started “invading” the field of musicology in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the discipline dived into a generalized panic that ideology was corrupting the field. This is similar to what had happened in field of history, as US historian Bonnie Smith wrote (1998). In the mid-1980s, certain historians claimed that women’s and black history “would politicize the field”, not recognizing that historiography is never “a mirror of history”, but is always politicized (Smith, 1998, p. 2). Due to the non-semantic nature of music, it seems easier to think about it as a pure and depoliticized object. However, many have noted that such thinking is a pitfall, and as Philip Bohlman wrote, the “act of essentializing music, the very attempt to depoliticize it, has become the most hegemonic form of politicizing music” (Bohlman, 1993, p. 419).

The first part of this dissertation, starting with this chapter, focuses on Benoît’s musical career, situating my research in the field of musicology. I explore Francine Benoît’s musical activities within the Portuguese cultural context and the role gender played in the reception to her work and in the later historiography about her.⁴⁶ This chapter contextualizes Francine Benoît’s professional activity in early-to-mid-20th-century Portugal. The musical life that I will discuss focuses on practices of European art music in Lisbon. Its scope is limited to the institutions and practices that Benoît was connected to, either by directly participating in them or by discussing them in her writings. That means that I leave out many dimensions of the musical life, such as popular and folklore music practices, and domestic musical practices, as well music practices in other Portuguese cities and regions.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ I will not engage, however, in a hermeneutical analysis of her oeuvre, in a search for markers of gender or sexuality. While that would be a valid research, it is not my topic here.

⁴⁷ Benoît occasionally expressed her lack of interest in popular music. For example, in a 1946 article, she argued that popular music was detrimental for the intellect, explaining, “*Revista* and musical theatre music

There were two main music schools in Lisbon: the *Conservatório Nacional* (National Conservatory, CN), founded in 1836, and the *Academia de Amadores de Música* (Academy of Music Amateurs, AAM), founded in 1884. The first was the state school while AAM “rapidly became a kind of parallel conservatory” (Castro & Nery, 1991, p. 148), and in the mid-20th-century, hosted names affiliated with the opposition to the dictatorship. CN had a stronger reputation because it was a public music school, because of its historical precedence, and because of its capacity to hire the most renowned musicians as its teachers. Francine Benoît was connected to both schools. She studied at the CN from 1914-1917, and in 1931 applied for a teaching position, but was rejected.⁴⁸ Between 1906 and 1908, Benoît studied at AAM, and in 1948, the school hired her as a teacher, where she worked until 1987 (Lains & Cascudo, 2010, p.139). In 1955, with the death of Luis de Freitas Branco, who was serving as the artistic director of the school, Benoît was invited to take his place. The regime did not approve her nomination, but she did serve as the unofficial artistic director of AAM. Benoît’s friends and former students Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Maria Vitória Quintas have also worked at the school, and were authorized to served at its board in 1964, the first as head of the school and the second as its artistic director. However, the school’s historiography for the period between the 1940s and the 1980s only mentions Fernando Lopes-Graça and not Francine Benoît, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha or Maria Vitória Quintas (Cascudo, 2010c, p. 9; <https://www.amadoresdemusica.org.pt/associacao/historial/>).

The musical practices of European art music in Lisbon were not very different from those in other European capitals at the time and included symphonic music, chamber

and song can soon transform into street song [... These forms,] essentially popular, are for the most part reprehensible or, at the very least, less dignified” (Benoît, 1946, p. 16). In the same text, Benoît argued that folk music was the only popular music that was enriching, thus aligned with Fernando Lopes-Graça and other leftist intellectuals’ beliefs. However, later in life, Benoît became more open to other musical genres.

⁴⁸ I will discuss the application to the CN later in this chapter.

music, opera and operetta. The most significant difference was the scale: Portugal was a smaller country. It was also a poorer country, reason why the State rarely invested in culture or education with the exception of *Estado Novo*'s education reforms and the 1940 *Comemorações do Duplo Centenário* (Commemorations of the Double Centenary).⁴⁹

Salazar's authoritarian and corporative regime centralized the cultural institutions through the creation of three organs. In 1933, the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Office for National Propaganda, SPN),⁵⁰ and the national broadcaster *Emissora Nacional* (EN) were established, followed by the *Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho* (FNAT, National foundation for joy at work, the organ to control the leisure of the proletariat) in 1935 (Rosas, 1994, pp. 291-294; Alves, 2010, pp. 1191-1194). The 1936 reform of the education system was also influential in the country's cultural panorama, not only because it introduced choir practice in schools, but also because it created the Portuguese Youth, a nationalist militia type organization, with mandatory membership, that promoted the regime's ideology, namely through its choirs. The result of these reforms and state organs, together with the censorship, was a generalized repressive atmosphere that was detrimental for artistic creation.⁵¹ Scholars have shown (Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, 2012a, 2006, 1993; Silva, 2017a, 2005; Domingos, 2007) that cultural

⁴⁹ By celebrating the anniversaries of the 1140 foundation of Portugal, and the 1640 restoration of Portuguese independency, the regime set up an enthusiastic propaganda project to help build Portugal's international reputation of a peaceful paradise in a continent undergoing WWII. Among the many cultural initiatives across the country, the most ambitious was likely the *Exposição do Mundo Português* (Exhibition of the Portuguese World). Together with other arts, music was an important tool in which the regime invested by commissioning works and sponsoring composers and performers, thus contributing for the already polarized Portuguese musical scene of the time (Silva, 2017a, 2005).

⁵⁰ *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (SPN) was rebranded as *Secretariado Nacional de Informação* (Office for National Information, SNI) in 1945, following WWII. This propaganda tool, with António Ferro (1895-1956) as its director and mentor, aimed to advertise the achievements of the regime and promote its fascist ideology through cultural manifestations. António Ferro (1895-1956) was a writer and journalist who served as the director for both SPN and SNI from 1933 until 1950, and fathered the fascist cultural politics, *Política do Espírito* (Rosas, 1994, pp. 292).

⁵¹ Censorship was established in Portugal with the 1926 military dictatorship, and *Estado Novo* made it official with the 1933 Decree 22 469 (Franco, 1993).

activities that were not in agreement with the politics of the regime did not receive any support, financial or otherwise, and that their authors or promoters were under surveillance. At the same time, this repressive context also led to the emergence of alternative counter-circuits and cultural practices, as Mário Vieira de Carvalho has discussed (2012a, 2012b). As I will demonstrate in this dissertation, Francine Benoît's cultural activity, especially after the 1930s, was part of these counter-circuits in Portugal. Even though the regime tolerated the activities of those counter-circuits, some of them only until after the end of WWII, the people who organized them were under surveillance. In the field of music, Fernando Lopes-Graça, Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha were all under PIDE's surveillance, as I will show in chapters 4 and 5.

Despite these restrictions on artistic activity, the public discourse about music grew considerably during the 1930s, as discussed by Portuguese musicologist Manuel Deniz Silva, through the creation of regular columns of music critique in mainstream newspapers, but also specialized magazines, and through public lectures (2005, p. 16). This new public visibility of so-called art music reflected the artistic and personal dynamics of the field, and the different, often opposed, social circles of the Portuguese cultural panorama (Silva, 2005, p. 16). In Benoît's activity, these social dynamics were often visible, as I will discuss. Working as a professional music critic since the mid-1920s, her views on art and music became clearer in and throughout the 1930s, which in my view ushered in the second phase of her biography. Her public speech became more political, and she started publicly promoting certain composers and performers, and stopped promoting others, either because they were affiliated with the regime, such as Ruy Coelho, or because her personal relationship with them was no longer friendly, such as Luis de Freitas Branco. The Portuguese practices of European art music at that time can be broadly divided into three groups: opera, symphonic and chamber music, and choral

music. Below, I will start by addressing each of the musical practices in Lisbon, and Benoît's relationship with or place in them.

2. 1. OPERA

Opera and operetta had been dominant musical practices in Lisbon during the 19th-century, but their popularity slowly decreased in the transition to and during the 20th-century, similarly to what happened in other European capitals (Cymbron & Brito, 1992, p. 155). In the early to mid-20th century, few Lisbon venues hosted opera, such as the main opera house, *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos* (TNSC), the *Coliseu dos Recreios* (Recreation Coliseum), and the *Teatro da Trindade* (Trinity Theater) – each of them hosted different types of operas and targeted different audiences. TNSC was inaugurated in 1793 as the country's royal opera house. During the first few decades of the 20th century, the TNSC's activity was close to none, and consisted mostly of famous Italian operas on tour through Europe.⁵² TNSC was even closed from 1912 to 1920, and again between 1935 and 1940. Mário Vieira de Carvalho (1993) discussed that Portugal has a history of neglecting new models of opera and their cultural significance, instead reproducing the *Ancien Régime* model based on canonical repertoire and the diva star-system. A dynamic perpetuated by the absence, until this day, of a Portuguese Opera Company.⁵³ According to Manuel Deniz Silva, the arrival of the Republic in 1910:

⁵² This was the case with the majority of the opera and operetta performances in Lisbon at the first decades of the 20th-century. It was in this context that Annina Capelli (?-?) became the second woman to have conducted an orchestra in Portugal. Capelli performed in Coliseu dos Recreios with the travelling operetta company Granieri-Marchetti in 1912 and 1913 (Moreau, 1994, p. 287).

⁵³ Portuguese Musicologist Mário Vieira de Carvalho has published extensively on the problem of opera in Portugal, including the 1993 outstanding monography *Pensar é morrer ou o Teatro de São Carlos na mudança de sistemas sociocomunicativos*, where he did a social history of the TNSC since its creation in 1793 until the 1990s. This book was also published in German in 1999: *Denken ist Sterben: Sozialgeschichte des Opernhauses*. Lissabon, Kassel / Basileia / Londres, etc.: Bärenreiter.

“accelerated the decline of Italian opera [... namely by closing] the opera theaters in the two main cities of the country” (Silva, 2005, p. 39). The author claimed that the shift from vocal music and opera to the arising symphonic culture was a result of the political changes in the country, because opera was considered a symbol of the *Ancien Régime*.

Francine Benoît was critical of how opera was treated in Portugal. As Mariana Calado showed and my research confirmed, Benoît often complained of the rare amount of operas produced, of the preference for Italian repertoire, of the high prices of tickets for opera performances, and of the absence of a Portuguese Opera Company (Calado, 2012, 2018). Mário Vieira de Carvalho has discussed that during the fascist dictatorship, opera was never seen as profitable nor was considered a useful propaganda tool, because the regime believed it was not a genre for the masses (1993, 2005). Opera was considered high culture, an expensive form of entertainment that required cultural and social capital, and which in its turn reproduced those same types of symbolic capital.

The short-lived (1965-1973) *Companhia Portuguesa de Ópera* (Portuguese Opera Company, CPO) is proof of the State’s lack of interest in opera or in its political potential. The CPO was founded in *Teatro da Trindade* in 1965, only thirty-two years after the 1933 new constitution, and twenty years after the end of the WWII. It was founded in the context of *Fundação Nacional para a Alegria no Trabalho* (National Foundation for Joy at Work, FNAT), the state organ dedicated to the leisure and recreation of the working classes, similar to the fascist Italy’s *Opera Nazionale Dopolavoro* and the Nazi Germany’s *Kraft durch Freude* (Domingos, 2006, pp. 50-51).⁵⁴ Even though the regime was not overly preoccupied with controlling opera, one of the main intentions of this opera company was to nationalize the opera productions, as opposed to the canonical

⁵⁴ For the history of this Portuguese Opera Company, see *A Ópera do Trindade*, by the Portuguese Sociologist Nuno Domingos (2006).

operas performed in TNSC. TNSC mostly hosted operas by foreign composers, performed in foreign languages and sang by foreign artists. On the contrary, *Teatro da Trindade* offered operas “made for Portuguese by Portuguese” (Domingos, 2006, p. 90), where formal attire was not required to attend the shows and the prices were more affordable (Domingos, 2006, p.88).

Instead of a cultural, educative or fulfilling experience, as Mário Vieira de Carvalho put it, opera in Portugal was “deprived of any ideological or cultural effect” (1993, p. 225). For the majority of its audience, opera was an event that worked a platform for socializing and exchanging/exhibiting social capital. Nevertheless, the regime’s institutions did support a few Portuguese composers who wrote nationalist operas and staged and promoted them, such as Ruy Coelho (1889-1986), Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980), or Joly Braga Santos (1924-1988).⁵⁵ As previously mentioned, Benoît called out the classism of opera performances several times. For example, in 1948, she criticized the outdated requirement of wearing formal attire to attend opera, which did “not fit many nor [matched] many people’s living conditions, however capable [they were] of being interested in better art” (Benoît, 1948, p. 87).

2. 2. SYMPHONIC MUSIC

Contrary to opera, symphonic activity grew consistently in Portugal in the beginning and first half of the 20th century. According to Portuguese musicologists Paulo Ferreira de Castro and Rui Vieira Nery, the reduction of musical theatre productions in Portugal happened together with the growth of the symphonic culture. They discussed that

⁵⁵ Ruy Coelho’s relationship with the regime is not as straightforward as historiography made it. Portuguese musicologist Edward Ayres d’Abreu is responsible for a paradigm shift regarding Ruy Coelho’s political trajectory (2022, 2014).

“[u]nder the combined influence of French and German examples, the axis of musical creativity in Portugal moved slowly from the operatic field to that of symphony and chamber music” (Castro & Nery, 1991, p. 155).

The early to mid-20th century saw the creation of many symphony orchestras, even if their activity was irregular. In 1913, the *Orquestra Sinfónica de Lisboa* began its activities, conducted by David de Sousa (1880-1918) until 1918, when Vianna da Motta (1868-1948) took his place. The Azorean composer and conductor Francisco de Lacerda (1869-1934) directed the short-lived *Filarmonia de Lisboa* (1923) (Bettencourt da Câmara, 1997, p. 46).⁵⁶ The *Teatro Nacional de São Carlos* hosts since 1933 the *Orquestra Sinfónica Portuguesa*. The *Emissora Nacional* (National Broadcaster, EN) started broadcasting in 1935, when its *Orquestra Sinfónica da Emissora Nacional* was founded. There was also the *Orquestra Filarmonica de Lisboa* (1937), the foundation of the state dance company *Bailados Verde Gaio* (1940-1950), and the reborn *Orquestra Sinfónica de Lisboa* (1954).⁵⁷ There were even a few short-lived women’s orchestras during the dictatorship: the first conducted by Francine Benoît in 1928, the second conducted in 1929 by Júlio Cardona (1879-1950), and the third conducted by Berta Alves de Sousa (1906-1997) between 1939 and 1941, in Porto.

Symphonic music was not targeted by the regime’s censorship due to its non-semantic nature (Silva, 2003, p. 18), which certainly also helped making it more popular during the 20th-century. All the initiatives with the many new orchestras and a new public culture of European art music centralized Lisbon’s musical life, and were a determining

⁵⁶ Francine Benoît’s boyfriend Júlio César Ceia played in this orchestra, and Benoît attended some of its rehearsals (as the letters exchanged with her mother witness).

⁵⁷ *Grupo de Bailados Verde-Gaio* was a dance company founded by the state’s propaganda organ SNI, with Frederico de Freitas as its musical director and the dancer Francis Graça (1902-1980) as the choreographer. Inspired by the Parisian *Ballet Russes* (1909-1929), the company was another propaganda tool whose productions focused on creating a Portuguese identity based on folklore culture.

factor in the decline of the private organization of concerts (Castro & Nery, 1991, p. 165). The few exceptions were the concerts promoted by music patrons Ema Romero da Câmara Reis (1897-1968) from 1923 to 1940, Elisa de Sousa Pedroso (1881-1958) whose salon turned into a society *Círculo de Cultura Musical* (Circle of music culture, CCM), from 1934 to 1958, in addition to a few other salons which remained active, mentioned in chapter 6 of this dissertation. Also important were the concert societies: besides CCM, *Sonata*, co-organized by Francine Benoît in 1942, and *Juventude Musical Portuguesa* (Portuguese musical youth, JMP), created in 1948.⁵⁸

Despite the increased symphonic activity, attending professional concerts remained a luxury that not everybody could afford. In 1927, after a symphonic concert in *São Luiz*, one of Lisbon's main theatres, Benoît pointed out how crowded symphonic concerts usually were, and criticized the inexistence of larger concert venues, better equipped for larger orchestras, that could at the same time host musical events affordable to the masses "at truly popular prices" (Benoît, 1927, p. 5).⁵⁹ Benoît's advocacy of a more democratic access to musical activities was evident in all of her writings and talks about music, from the 1920s onwards, and it remained a constant topic until the end of her life.

⁵⁸ I will discuss Sonata in chapter 4. *Juventude Musical Portuguesa* was founded in 1948, by the music critic Humberto d'Ávila (1922-2006), the composer Joly Braga Santos (1924-1988), the pianist Maria Elvira Barroso (19?-2020), the music critic António Barreiros (1928-2001), the conductor Filipe de Sousa (1927-2006) and the Freitas Branco family: Pedro (1896-1963), the conductor, his brother Luís (1890-1955), composer, and Luís' son, the musicologist João (1922-1989) (JMP website: <http://www.jmp.pt/index.php?lg=1&idmenu=1&idsubmenu=6>).

⁵⁹ The inexistence of larger venues with technical capacity to host symphonic concerts was a topic frequently mentioned by Benoît in her articles.

2. 3. CHORAL MUSIC AND BENOÎT'S CHOIRS

Another important aspect of Portuguese 20th-century music life was the increased choral activity. Several authors have studied the emergence of the European choral movement during the 19th century, as part of the moral, physic, artistic and civic education of individuals (Dalhaus, 1890, 1985; Gumpłowicz, 2001). Has it was studied, that emergence is connected to the impact of the French Revolution, and with how the bourgeoisie appropriated the idea of large masses of people singing together (Barreiros, 1999, p. 50). Choral singing reflected the authenticity of the people as opposed to “high culture” which was considered elitist by default.⁶⁰ The main goal of choral singing was to educate and civilize the (white European) human race. It was in this broader context that choirs became more popular in Portugal during the early to mid-20th-century, turning them into one of the most democratic cultural activities – and the State took advantage of this movement to convey propaganda through choral practices. There were different kinds of choirs, from schools choirs to amateur choirs. They were frequently conducted by a professional musician, often a composer, such as Manuel Ivo Cruz (1901-1985) with *Sociedade Coral Duarte Lobo*, Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980) with *Sociedade Coral de Lisboa*, Mário de Sampaio Ribeiro (1898-1966) with *Polyphonia*, Júlia de Almendra (1904-1992) with *Schola*, *Palestrina* or *Capela Gregoriana*, Fernando Lopes-Graça with *Coro do Grupo Dramático Lisbonense* or Francine Benoît with *Orfeão da Voz do Operário*, or the children's choir of the *Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz* (Portuguese Feminine Association for Peace, AFPP).

⁶⁰ The development of the European choral movement and its effects in Portugal was studied by Portuguese Musicologist Maria José Artiaga Barreiros in her Master's thesis (1999, pp. 40-57).

The political instrumentalization of choral singing took place in two fundamental platforms: in the education system, and through the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (Portuguese Youth, MP). Choral singing became mandatory in all elementary and highschools from 1936 (Deniz Silva, 2001, p. 151). The Minister of Education Carneiro Pacheco (1887-1957) was responsible for the Education reform of the *Estado Novo*, which also included the creation of a (non-mandatory) choir in all universities (Barreiros, 1999, p. 37). The choral repertoire in public schools consisted of a collection of national songs that glorified Portugal's greatness, the dignity of work and the love for the homeland, including regional songs (Lei n.1, 941 cited in Barreiros, 1999, p. 37) – which, as Manuel Deniz Silva pointed out, “were chosen in order to display the variety of folk music from all over the country, reproducing the clichés associated with each region” (2001, p. 16).

As Silva has argued, it is not a coincidence that this obsession with choral singing, was accompanied by a performance of the *Hitlerjugend choir* (Hitler Youth choir) included in a visit from a German delegation of students to Lisbon's most important high school at the time, *Liceu Normal Pedro Nunes*, in June of 1936. According to Silva, “the visit of a Nazi choral delegation [...] corresponds to on the one hand, to the efforts [...] of Nazi Germany to promote its image in foreign countries through music, while on the other hand, it shows the availability of the [Portuguese] regime [...] to form a stronger alliance between both countries” (2001, p. 140). The appreciation for the Nazi's use of youth choirs was reflected in the activity of the *Mocidade Portuguesa*, by making its choirs one of its most important activities.⁶¹

⁶¹ Deniz Silva explained that “the sacralization of the Homeland was achieved, in the MP repertoire, through the production of mythical nationalist and patriotic representations in [poetical] texts often inscrutable for its members” (Deniz Silva, 2001, p. 156). I witnessed how successful this was through my maternal grandmother. When asked about her participation in the *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina*, she told me that there was no politics involved. Her only (very fond) memories were making friends, traveling, partying and singing.

Choral activity represented another example of how Benoît's personal engagement was political. Due to her activities as a pedagogue, choir conductor, and music critic, in 1937, Benoît was invited by the Minister of Education to join a committee for the education reform of the *Conservatório Nacional*.⁶² To better inform her work with the committee, she travelled to Paris and Brussels to do research on the choral singing practices there, and to visit her friend Fernando Lopes-Graça – who had exiled to Paris in May 1937, after being released from prison in April of that same year (Silva, 2005, p. 601).⁶³

Francine Benoît and her mother had wanted to visit Belgium for many years to visit their family, and they took advantage of this opportunity. Her mother travelled first to Brussels, with two female friends, in July 1937. Benoît travelled alone to Paris by train in mid-September, to meet with her friend and comrade Fernando Lopes-Graça. According to Manuel Deniz Silva, Lopes-Graça's stay in Paris was a highly influential period in his biography, because among his activities, he followed the events of the *Front Populaire* since his arrival in the spring of 1937, and collaborated with institutions close to the French Communist Party (2005, p. 602).⁶⁴ As letters between Benoît and Amado da Cunha witness, during her stay, Benoît spent time with Lopes-Graça. Together, they visited the *Exposition Universelle*, the Notre Dame Cathedral and many other touristic landmarks. They also attended many concerts, including a performance of Beethoven's

⁶² According to Benoît's letters, she had a long meeting with the Minister Carneiro Pacheco who asked her to put her plans of editing a pedagogical method on hold and instead prioritize the work on the reform of the *Conservatório* (Benoît to Amado da Cunha, 08/08/1937, cbp-12).

⁶³ Lopes-Graça visited to Paris to deliver a talk in an international conference on music education. Luís da Câmara Reis (1885-1961) had been the one originally invited to participate in the conference (Silva, 2005, p. 601). However, according to Manuel Deniz Silva, Câmara Reis invited Lopes-Graça to take his place as they saw it as the perfect opportunity for Lopes-Graça to flee the country because he risked being imprisoned again upon return (Silva, 2005, p. 601).

⁶⁴ Most noticeable, Lopes-Graça composed a ballet called *La fièvre du temps* for the *Compagnie des ballets internationaux* in late 1937 – which means he was working on it when Benoît was in Paris with him.

1805 opera *Fidelio* (Benoît, 1981, p. 67). Crucially, they also took part in political meetings, such as the first meeting of the *États Généraux de la Jeunesse Européenne* in September 21, 1937, a leftist youth movement arguing for a united Europe, which collapsed with the outbreak of war two years later, and events organized by the *Front Musical Populaire*.⁶⁵ They also met musicians and other intellectuals, members of the French Communist Party and members of the *Front Musicale Populaire*, including the composer Arthur Honegger (1892-1955) on September 27, 1937,⁶⁶ who later joined the French Resistance. Benoît then made a short five-day-visit to Brussels and Antwerp, where she met her mother and visited family, and returned to Paris in October 3, 1937, and then to Lisbon in mid-October.⁶⁷ She brought with her a collection of documents from schools and concert programs.⁶⁸

Upon her return to Lisbon, and after Benoît delivered a detailed report to be discussed with the committee, the government stopped all communication with her, and the committee never came to exist. Benoît wrote to the Minister Carneiro Pacheco several times, as she had invested her time and money by traveling to France and Belgium at her own expenses. She hoped to be compensated financially at the very least, but she never received any answer.⁶⁹

The dismissal of Benoît could have been caused by the opinions she expressed in her report and recommendations, which certainly collided with Carneiro Pacheco's views.

⁶⁵ Benoît's collection in the BN holds the program of that meeting (BN – N33/1706), as well as a pamphlet of the *Front Musicale Populaire* (BN – N33/1753), a society of musicians affiliated with the *Front Populaire*.

⁶⁶ Benoît to Amado da Cunha, 26/09/1937, cpb-14.

⁶⁷ Benoît to Amado da Cunha, 26/09/1937, cpb-14. Benoît was planning to take the train from Paris on October 13th (Benoît to Amado da Cunha, 10/10/1937, cpb-15).

⁶⁸ A few examples, from Benoît collection in the BN: documents from the Paris *Académie de Musique et de Danse* (N33/1746), concert program of the 1937 Festival de Musique in the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées (N33/1759), program of the 1937 concert of the *Orchestre de la Société Philharmonique de Paris* (N33/1760).

⁶⁹ It is unclear if this trip was authorized beforehand. It is possible that Benoît decided to go at her own initiative, counting on the money that she would be paid as a member of the committee.

For the State, the choirs replicated the same hierarchies that they expected from society, an homogenous mass of people following a leader (the conductor). But according to Portuguese musicologist Mariana Calado, Benoît defended that the individuality of each child should always be respected, and that choirs promoted an atmosphere for mutual aid and cooperation (2011, p. 105). This interpretation can be confirmed in Benoît's writings, such as a text published in the magazine of AFPP, where Benoît explained the benefits of choral singing observed in its children choir's and concluded that the "stimulus has developed towards solidarity" (Benoît, 1948, p. 2). However, the government could have been aware that she spent most of her time in Paris with a communist intellectual, and attended communist events.

The first record of Benoît with the Portuguese State Police is from May 7, 1938, after the regime had ceased all communication with her.⁷⁰ The reports about Francine Benoît in the PIDE Archive consist mainly of her personal information and have no further explanation or details about why she was under surveillance.⁷¹ Although there were several reasons for Benoît to be under surveillance, the 1938 report might suggest that PIDE had found references to Benoît's stay in Paris in Lopes-Graça's correspondence.⁷² This experience of having no further contact from the government after her collaboration had been requested, contributed to Benoît's gradual political radicalization and gender emancipation, as I will analyse in chapter 4.

⁷⁰ TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_m0005.

⁷¹ See the annexes for Benoît's files with the State Police. Her name additionally appears in the 1945 investigation on the people who signed the Lisbon lists of MUD (signee number 1452), and in other investigations, described as a person with "communist tendencies" and comrade of Fernando Lopes-Graça in 1946 and 1956 (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, pp. 195, 204).

⁷² Francine Benoît was careful enough not to mention Lopes-Graça or anything political in her correspondence with friends while she was in Paris. Her attention to detail suggests that she was aware that it was jeopardizing to do so.

Going back to the ever-increasing choral activity, it inspired Portuguese composers to write more choral music, and it was also reflected in the growth of public discourses about music. Articles in mainstream newspapers about choral concerts and performances became more frequent, including written by Benoît, starting in 1925.⁷³

From the mid-1940s onwards, in reaction to the post-WWII political context, a few choirs were born as spaces for political resistance. That political aspect was evident both explicitly, in the repertoire performed, but also implicitly, through the act of creating alternative communities by bringing people together, and by performing in particular contexts such as political meetings or events organized by certain political groups. These choirs were mixed (male and female), and even though their members were amateur singers, they generally came from an urban cultural elite.

The most paradigmatic example due to its long life and frequent activity was the *Coro do Grupo Dramático Lisbonense* founded in 1946 and conducted by Fernando Lopes-Graça. It was initially connected to the *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* (Movement of Democratic Unity, MUD), an organized quasi-legal political movement founded in 1945, that argued for a change in Portuguese politics following the end of WWII, and aimed to promote public debate about the lack of democracy in Portuguese politics.⁷⁴ For six years, the choir led a nomad and subversive existence, but it ended up settling down by becoming the choir of the AAM (Camilo, 1990, p. 13), and in 1952 the name changed to *Coro da Academia de Amadores de Música* (Choir of the Academy of Music Amateurs). By then it was already the choir of the opposition *par excellence*. The choir sang Portuguese folk music arranged by Lopes-Graça, and national and

⁷³ Critique of a choral concert published in *Diário de Lisboa* in 27/02/1925 (cited in Calado 2018, p. 80).

⁷⁴ As previously pointed out, Francine Benoît among few other women, including Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, participated in the first meeting for the creation of MUD. Many of her friends, including Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Irene Lisboa, also signed its lists of supporters.

international proletarian and revolutionary songs at parties and informal gatherings in Portugal. However, it was common to have members of the State police in plain clothes surveilling such events because the choir was participating (Camilo, 1990). Francine Benoît was a supporter and collaborator of this choir, who often travelled and participated in its activities and sang alongside with it. According to José Manuel Cunha, a former member of the choir who I interviewed in 2012, Benoît “accompanied the choir no matter where we went” and was very friendly with everyone (Braga, 2014, Annexes 2). He added that it was “a civic attitude for her to accompany [the choir] because often the performances were surveilled by the State Police [... When] we sang the *Heroicas* [..., Benoît] sang in the choir with us!” (Braga, 2014, Annexes 4).⁷⁵ Other forms of support from Benoît consisted of writing critiques of the choir, including an article on the choir’s 25th anniversary in *Gazeta Musical* (Benoît, 1970 cited in Camilo, 1990, pp. 130-131), and writing music for it.

Even though the choir’s repertoire comprised almost exclusively Lopes-Graça’s songs and arrangements, Benoît helped writing those arrangements, as I discuss in chapter 5, she participated the choir’s events,⁷⁶ and the choir sang at least one song by her. José Manuel Cunha testified: “when we sang one of her songs [...] she came to the rehearsals [...] and gave her opinion [...] indications for breathing, phrasing” (Braga, 2014, Annexes 3).⁷⁷ The choir, conducted by Lopes-Graça until 1988, performed in the whole country and abroad, especially after the Portuguese Revolution of 1974, and changed its

⁷⁵ *Canções Heróicas* were composed by Lopes-Graça, and became symbol of the resistance to the dictatorship – see chapter 5.

⁷⁶ Two examples: Benoît’s sonata for violin and piano was performed in an event where the choir sang (*Serão de Arte*, organized by the Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes in May 11, 1950); a concert dedicated to Portuguese Music in Academia de Amadores de Música where Benoît delivered a talk entitled “The Portuguese language and Music” and played songs by Fernando Lopes-Graça and Francisco de Lacerda accompanying on the piano the singer Maria Fernanda Simões (July 28, 1956).

⁷⁷ This song could have been “Brado”; see appendix 2.

name to *Coro Lopes-Graça* after the composer's death in 1994. In addition to her collaboration with this choir, Francine Benoît conducted several choirs herself, including two that were part of this political choral movement and directly connected to her political action.

In 1947, Francine Benoît founded the children's choir of the AFPP, which lasted until 1952, when PIDE shut down the group. Benoît wrote in the AFPP magazine about the choir and its activities to keep the members updated.⁷⁸ The choir, for children of AFPP's members, practiced on Sunday mornings and performed at parties and gatherings of the AFPP and at the end of each year.

Actividades da A. F. P. P.

A Direcção da A. F. P. P. se dedica de responder, durante o seu período de actividade de 40-47, a várias solicitações dos Estatutos por que se rege, bem como a outras, entre outras, as seguintes tarefas:

a) **Agrupação**, junto do Ministério de Educação Nacional, da aquisição dum alvará para a sua actividade e obter licenças.

b) **Uma "Orquestra Infantil"** - instalada na Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes, no dia 30 de Junho do presente ano, no momento em que se se realizou uma Exposição de livros escritos por Mulheres. A esta vez, seleccionamos, para apresentação, os livros que lhe dedicamos, dentro deste trabalho.

c) **Aquisição de material escolar**, destinado à Escola Infantil.

d) **Leitura dum trabalho** apresentado durante uma reunião de alunos do Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas, com uma habitual reunião das 3.^{as} horas.

e) **Orquestra Infantil** - lá actuou a nossa orquestra para a apresentação da A. F. P. P., o nome escolhido Francine Benoît. Por não termos, de momento, um sede da Associação, só que comecemos a actividade de preparação para este objecto, as reuniões realizadas, por exemplo, na sede do Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas (Universidade da Fábrica das Seda, Lda, Angra do Heroísmo), entre as diversas partes II horas.

f) **Visitas aos hospitais** - No intuito de levar aos doentes das pequenas crianças, um pouco de distração, a A. F. P. P. reuniu um grupo de crianças que se entregaram de trabalhos lúdicos e de leituras, sob a direcção da professora, nas longas horas de espera.

g) A A. F. P. P. enviou habitualmente ao Boletim da C. N. M. P. um artigo para que este seja publicado no página que a ela foi dedicada.

h) **Biblioteca da A. F. P. P.** - Este movimento a procede à catalogação dos livros existentes na nossa biblioteca para que estes possam ser lidos e se requisitados por todos os sectores que os desejem consultar. Apresentamos a oportunidade para lerem os manuais que queremos contribuir para a melhoria do nosso trabalho, que necessitamos com o melhor agrado os livros e revistas que se possam enviar-nos.

Desde já, as nossas melhores saudações.

Figure 2.1 Announcement of the creation of the AFPP's choir (line e) (AFPP's Magazine, N. 4, Feb. 1947).

⁷⁸ I will discuss the AFPP in chapter 6.

As the announcement on the above picture (Fig. 2.1) says, because the AFPP did not have its own headquarters, the choir began its activities rehearsing at the headquarters of the CNMP (National Council of Portuguese Women), which consisted of a rented ground floor just two hundred meters away from Benoît's home.⁷⁹ According to Benoît, the (female) property owner became uncomfortable with the intensified surveillance by the regime; the CNMP was shut down by the PIDE four months after; and the choir then moved to Benoît's own home (Costa, 1982, p. 44).⁸⁰ The fact that the rehearsals took place on Sunday mornings, puts in evidence how anti-regime these women were, given that every citizen was expected to be a good Catholic and to go to church at least for Sunday morning mass. It is equally noteworthy that Benoît hosted the rehearsals in her own apartment.⁸¹ Benoît complained about the material conditions of the rented ground floor in AFPP's magazine, but her apartment was certainly less spacious than the CNMP's headquarters.⁸² Moreover, knowing that the regime did not approve AFPP and would possibly shut it down too and keep Benoît's name on the list of dissidents, did not dissuade her from hosting the choir.

⁷⁹ The CNMP only managed to have a headquarters in 1946 due to lack of funds. Its short-lived headquarters was in *Travessa Fábrica das Sedas* n.1 and Francine Benoît lived in *Largo do Rato*, n.4, 2nd floor, from December 1939 until her death in 1990. I will discuss the CNMP further in chapter 6.

⁸⁰ The state surveillance over the CNMP intensified in 1947, leading to its closure in June of the same year. While State surveillance of any opposition organizations increased following the end of WWII, many authors agree that a big part of the reason why the CNMP was shut down in 1947 was the success of the exhibition of books written by women (Correia, 2013, p. 65). The exhibition opened in January 1947 and included events such as public talks and the projection of movies about women in diverse fields. It originated fiery attacks from the press affiliated with the fascist regime that accused the organization of being part of the Communist Party using arguments such as the inability of women "alone" to organize such an event (Correia, 2013, pp. 65-66).

⁸¹ There is no evidence of reactions from the neighbors. They were surely used to Benoît teaching and playing music in her apartment. While it was not the same as having between ten and thirty children singing on Sunday mornings, the political aspect of these meetings was either unnoticed because it was common for her to teach music at home, or because the neighbors knew of her political affiliations.

⁸² The only advantage of using her own apartment was having a piano to help with the rehearsals, whereas in CNMP's headquarters, as noted in the magazine of the AFPP, there was no piano and Benoît conducted the rehearsals using a tuning fork (Benoît, 1948, p. 2).



Figure 2.2 Francine Benoît (center, back) with the Choir of the AFPP, 1947 (MDM Archive).

The other political choir conducted by Francine Benoît was the *Orfeão da Voz do Operário* (Choir of the Voice of the Worker), which began its activities in May 1950. *Voz do Operário* (Voice of the Worker) is a society of workers for the education and charity of the working classes, founded in the last quarter of the 19th century, when the proletarian movement was growing and organizing in Portugal. *Voz do Operário*'s main goals at the time it was founded were to publish a newspaper dedicated to the workers' situation, educate people through the creation of classes for both adults and children, and establish a mutual bank ("História d'A Voz do Operário", n.d.). Francine Benoît collaborated with *Voz do Operário* by delivering public lectures, authoring articles in its newspaper (between 1954 and 1967), and teaching in the society's programs. Additionally, between 1958 and 1960, by her own initiative, Benoît organized music courses for students who wanted specialized music lessons but did not have the financial means to attend official music schools.⁸³

⁸³ The program, which was directed by Benoît herself, was called *Cursos experimentais de música* (Experimental Music Courses). It was organized in cooperation between *Voz do Operário* and *Academia de Amadores de Música*, and its teachers were Benoît, Arminda Correia and Orquídia Quartim. Despite the success of the program, it only lasted until 1960 for financial reasons, according to Benoît (Benoît, 1960, p. 6; 1963c, p. 3).

The first public performance of the *Orfeão da Voz do Operário* was on November 10, 1950, and the choir existed at least until December 1954.⁸⁴ Benoît struggled with not having enough committed singers, and most of its members were men. The members of the society were working-class people, and the choir rehearsals took place in the evening, after supper, sometimes finishing after midnight, as Benoît's diaries testify.⁸⁵ A critique by João José Cochofel in *Gazeta Musical* roughly addressed the inequality between the participation of both sexes, justifying it with the "inevitable circumstances of associative life, where the female element is generally less participative" (Cochofel, 1951, p. 8). To Cochofel, the cause of the lower number of women was their lack of participation in public life. In a society with an unequal division of labor between the sexes as the Portuguese under the dictatorship was, where working-class women had the double burden of working outside the home and taking care of the household, it is not surprising that this choir had mostly male members. In the evenings, their wives were likely at home cleaning up after supper and putting the children to bed. In the picture below (Fig. 2.3), the imbalance between the number of male and female choir members is evident, and the female members seem to be mostly children and teenagers, which further accentuates the unevenness between male and female voices, as the volume of children's voices is lower than that of adults for physiological reasons.

⁸⁴ Cascudo & Lains wrote that the choir lasted from 1951 to 1964 (Cascudo & Lains, 2010, p. 139). However, my research shows that the choir started in 1950, and the last references found in Benoît's diaries, letters and the Society's newspaper are from December 1954.

⁸⁵ For example, on February 27, 1952, Benoît wrote "The rehearsals of *Voz do Operário* are getting better. Today, Ash Wednesday, all men attended [...]. But I finished the rehearsal very late, past midnight."



Figure 2.3 Francine Benoît (center) with Orfeão da Voz do Operário in 1950 (Bonito, 1952, p. 139).

According to Benoît's correspondence and diaries, she often invited her friends to collaborate with the choir. Besides Maria Vitória Quintas and Orquídea Quartim, who collaborated with the society as teachers, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (possibly accompanying on the piano), her husband, Roger D'Avelar, and author José Gomes Ferreira were among its occasional singers. The lack of stability of the number of members was very demotivating for Benoît and seems to be the reason why the choir ended.⁸⁶



Figure 2.4 Program of a Concert with the Orfeão da Voz do Operário, 20/07/1954 (cover).

⁸⁶ In Benoît's diaries and letters there is extensive evidence of her frustration while working with this choir, such as the following: "The repertoire of the [choir of the] *Voz do Operário* is still choked up, with so few persons and my silly stubbornness, I did not give up" (Benoît's diary, 04/07/1954).

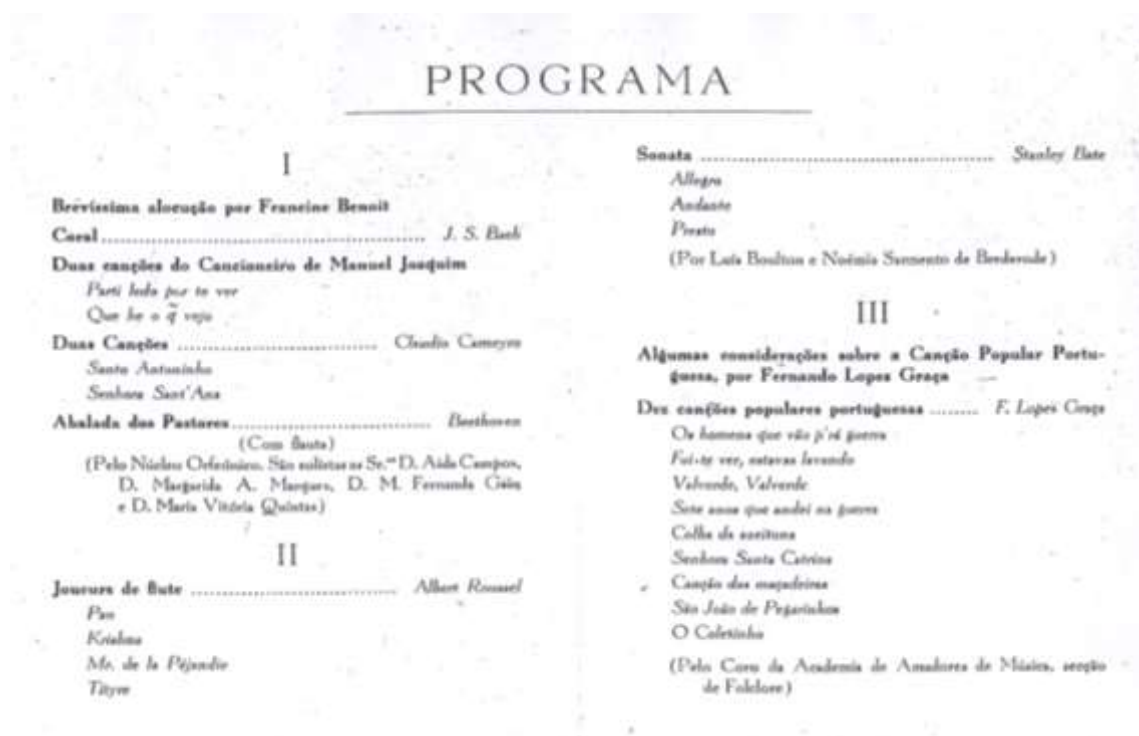


Figure 2.5 Program of a Concert with the Orfeão da Voz do Operário, 20/07/1954 (inside).

Benoît additionally conducted schoolchildren's choirs on many occasions, because she taught choral singing in many schools. Already while teaching at *Escola Oficina n.1*, Benoît wrote music for children's plays such as "A formiga e a cigarra" (Lima, 1926), which were then performed with her conducting. At *Escola Museu João De Deus*, which Benoît joined in 1943, she was a teacher of musical education and of choral singing, so there too, she conducted choirs.

Aside from the musical practices, the Portuguese music culture was also characterized by public debates about art, as I will discuss below.

2. 4. BENOÎT IN THE LEFTIST ARTISTIC DEBATES OF THE MID-20TH-CENTURY

In Portugal, the dichotomy between formalism and anti-formalism in art, which arose in 19th-century German-speaking Europe, led to public debates concerning art in the late 1930s and throughout the 1940s.⁸⁷ In these debates, Portuguese intellectuals discussed whether art was or should be explicitly dependent or independent from the historical moment in which it was produced, and whether art could and should be intentionally political. This polemic was particularly important because several political regimes took advantage of the arts, using them as propaganda. *Estado Novo* too, like other autocratic regimes, used the arts to articulate and promote the regime's ideals (Vieira de Carvalho, 1993, p. 236). As such, this topic was thoroughly discussed within the left-wing intelligentsia, where two tendencies co-existed: those affiliated with socialist realism *versus* those who aimed for an aesthetical ideal and political independent art. Both groups saw art as a fundamental tool for the transformation of society, and both rejected the use of art as propaganda as done by the *Estado Novo*.

The group that argued for an independent art manifested its ideas in the magazine *Presença* (Presence), during the 1930s. On the other side of the debate, communist intellectuals theorized and discussed socialist realism (called *neo-realismo* in Portugal) in the magazine *Seara Nova* (New Harvest), during the 1940s and onwards. Those intellectuals, most of them members of the *Partido Comunista Português* (Portuguese Communist Party, PCP), were committed to creating art that spoke of and to the working-

⁸⁷ I am referring to the binary pure art vs programmatic art, or form vs content. In music this debate was triggered by Hanslick's writings (1854) – he was one of the representatives of aesthetical formalism. In Portugal, the debate happened in public talks, in private gatherings, but also in some publications such as *Gazeta Musical*, *O Diabo*, *Presença* and *Seara Nova*.

classes, in order to contribute to the creation of a coherent cultural patrimony that was faithful to the lived reality of those classes. Intellectuals such as Irene Lisboa, Mário Dionísio (1916-1993), Luís da Câmara Reis (1885-1961), João José Cochofel, António Sérgio (1883-1969), or Adolfo Casais Monteiro (1908-1972), were affiliated with this movement, and authored texts and essays in *Seara Nova*, among other newspapers and magazines, as well as their own literary production. This group rejected art that consisted of an aesthetical ideal that only an intellectual elite could appreciate, which they thought the modernist tendencies represented. However, it might be difficult to grasp the affiliations of some leftist intellectuals, such as Francine Benoît and Fernando Lopes-Graça, who seem to have defended and followed both tendencies simultaneously.

Mário Vieira de Carvalho described Lopes-Graça's position as counter-hegemonic (2006, pp. 31-44), because the composer was against the hegemonic uses of popular culture, as favoured by the regime. To discuss Lopes-Graça's position, Vieira de Carvalho theorized a dialectic between "lived action" and "imagined action". Using this dialectic, Vieira de Carvalho articulated two simultaneous and apparent contradictory attitudes of Lopes-Graça: his work within the scope of European art music, which Vieira de Carvalho called the imagined action, *vis-à-vis* Lopes-Graça's popular revolutionary songs, his arrangements of Portuguese folk music, and his work with the amateur choir that he founded and directed, the lived action. Vieira de Carvalho stressed how "despite his communist militancy [...] Lopes-Graça's position [...] has nothing to do with the aesthetical doctrine of socialist realism or neo-realism" (Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, p. 98), and that he rejected "the idea of an art at the service of politics" (Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, p. 13). Lopes-Graça believed that art could not exist alienated from politics, but it should not be made for easy mass consumption nor have an immediate political message (Vieira de Carvalho, 2012, p. 198). The autonomous art that Lopes-Graça defended

“presupposed, on the contrary, emancipated listeners and spectators, this is: [he aimed for] a political change that promoted social transformation and critical conscience” (Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, p. 49). Even though Vieira de Carvalho underlined this as exclusive of Lopes-Graça, and as one of the most defining aspects of his artistry, Benoît adopted this position as well. An analysis of Benoît’s musical oeuvre and her public texts shows that she, too, saw no contradiction between a communist ideal in art and an independent art music that demanded emancipated listeners. Both composers practiced the two different conceptions of music simultaneously, because they conceptualized them as different plans of action, as Vieira de Carvalho suggested for Fernando Lopes-Graça.

I see Francine Benoît’s compositions of European art music as the search for a modern aesthetic ideal, for which she used poems that speak to sublimation, love, nostalgia, and often with no evident political connotations. In fact, her choice of poets to write music with was sometimes contrary to her political stance, e.g. António Sardinha (1887-1925), although most times Benoît chose symbolist and neo-classical authors for her music, such as António Nobre (1867-1900), Eugénio de Castro (1869-1944), Afonso Duarte (1884-1958) or Augusto Gil (1873-1929). Simultaneously, other works by Benoît, particularly the music for children’s plays, and the very little choral music and choral arrangements that have survived, show her commitment with social change, and judging by that music alone, she could be considered a socialist realist. This compromise with lived-action was additionally evident in her activity as a choir conductor with the choir of the AFPP and the choir of *Voz do Operário*, as well as in her collaboration with Lopes-Graça’s choir. Keeping Vieira de Carvalho’s dichotomy *imagined action vs lived action* in mind, Benoît’s writings and lectures similarly belonged to the latter. Even when she discussed music from an aesthetical point of view, her attitude was never purely aesthetical; it was pedagogical and democratic. Remarkably, Benoît often used music as

a subliminal signifier for society for example, in a 1939 lecture, when she discussed the “the concept of modern music”.



Figure 2.6 Pamphlet of the Cycle "Três Lições de Música", 1939.

“The Concept of Modern Music” was the third lecture from the cycle *Três lições de música* (Three music lessons), one among many cycles of lectures that Benoît delivered in *Universidade Popular Portuguesa* (Portuguese Popular University, UPP), in June 1939.⁸⁸ Collaborating with UPP was a political gesture in and of itself, because the organization, which aimed to disseminate culture among the working classes, was close to the communist opposition. However, Benoît’s collaboration had additional political

⁸⁸ *Universidade Popular Portuguesa* (1919-1944) was an organization for the education of the working classes. Its purpose was to alphabetize and fight the intellectual isolation of the proletariat (Bandeira, 1994). The mathematician Bento de Jesus Caraça (1901-1948) was one its founders and its longest standing director, from 1929 to 1944. They offered classes on the most diverse subjects, organized musical concerts and public screenings of films, and even parties, and they had reputed intellectuals and artists such as Francine Benoît and most of her leftist male friends teaching and/or delivering seminars or public talks (for more on UPP see Bandeira, 1994). Benoît’s 1939 cycle had three sessions: 1, “French Music”; 2, “Beethoven”; 3, “The concept of Modern Music”.

layers. The first was her choice of inviting exclusively women musicians. Each of Benoît's talks from this cycle included a recital to better illustrate the topic discussed, and they were performed exclusively by young women pianists: Maria Vitória Quintas, Berta Vaz, Orquídea Quartim, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and Rosalia Abecassis Vargas.⁸⁹ Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Orquídea Quartim performed in the three sessions of the cycle (June 18, June 21, and June 25). Benoît knew many male musicians, including collaborators of UPP, but she took advantage of her position as guest lecturer to validate and promote other women professionals who were her former students and friends.

The other political aspect of the first lecture of this cycle, "The Concept of Modern Music", was Benoît's compromise with the lived action.⁹⁰ Benoît defended that the deconstruction of the canons of western art music, characteristic of 20th-century music, would bring music closer to nature, exploring all the natural possibilities of sound, namely through the use of a continuous scale (Benoît, 1939, np). She stated that the heptatonic scale used in the European tradition should be rejected because it was artificially created by men and then naturalized through several centuries of musical practices and discourses. To her, the return to the "nature" of sound with a continuous scale, where no sound is more important than any other, was a tool to educate individuals leading to a better, more just, and more egalitarian society (Benoît, 1939, np). Benoît defended the end of an era, stating that tonality, the musical language that had been used since the 17th

⁸⁹ Orquídea Vieira Quartim (1910/11-1980s?) was a pianist who was a student of Francine Benoît in *Escola Oficina nº1*, and later her colleague in *Academia de Amadores de Música*. She was the oldest child of anarcho-syndicalist and feminist activist and intellectual Deolinda Lopes Vieira (1888-1993) and her husband, author and anarchist intellectual António Pinto Quartim (1887-1970) (Marques, 2020). She was the oldest sister of communist and antifascist activist Hélio Vieira Quartim (1916-2003) and actress Glicínia Quartim (1924-2006). She was married to Jaime Santos (19??-1997).

⁹⁰ This is one of the very few manuscripts that can be found in Benoît collection of personal papers in the Portuguese National Library.

century, had “already expressed everything it had to express” (Benoît, 1939, np). In her opinion, music should embrace the new tools available, such as new electric musical instruments, to get rid of the rigid hierarchies created by tonality. To me, these arguments are a parallel to her communist and feminist beliefs: criticizing old structures of power that promoted inequality and calling for their dismantlement, as she did in her lecture, was a revolutionary stance. Benoît’s subliminal parallel between music and society became even more explicit a few paragraphs later:

Our commitment, of all of us who believe in a victory of the 20th century, is to put an end to music as a frivolous privilege of some classes, as a diplomatic weapon, denounce its suspicious commitments, and fight against the crisis and stagnation of the official contemporary music world. And the task of uniting the erudite and the popular in an art that can become an important instrument of enlightenment and social transformation seduces us overwhelmingly. (Benoît, 1939, np)

This lecture was as a manifesto. Benoît described (European art) music traditions as a “frivolous” class privilege, called for a revolution, and hoped for a future when music was a tool for “enlightenment and social transformation”. However, as I have said before, Benoît’s art music did not reflect this need to adopt the new composition, for it was part of the *imagined action*. I propose three (not mutually exclusive) explanations for this:

The first, a significant part of Benoît’s oeuvre was functional. She wrote music for the choirs she directed, mostly to be performed by children. Some of her piano music was adopted as part of the music curriculum. She might have intentionally followed some canons, namely structural, so that her music was performed. Secondly, Benoît constantly had to fight for recognition, credibility, and even for jobs. As a foreigner in Portugal, an unmarried queer woman, and an antifascist, she had to deal with several constraints in her daily live - which could threaten her career. She wanted to be accepted. Writing in a totally new and defiant aesthetics could harm her career permanently – and she could not afford that. Lastly, even though Benoît’s musical language evolved throughout her

seventy years of activity as a composer, she was never interested in serialism, and even less in German electronic music. The following words from Benoît illustrate this:

I was an enthusiast of what was then new (Debussy in 1915-1916), an enthusiasm that I remained faithful to through the Franckist dogma that, so to speak, we were forced to adhere at Schola Cantorum [...] I did not have the occasion to realize what was happening with the new "Viennese School". [...] But I never liked to follow any models, since I did not write mere practice exercises without [the need for financial] survival. For a very long time, I worked against speculation, which I saw as bad, and suspicious of the new systems that seemed to me arbitrary. It was not easy to find a way out because I valued the importance of the structure of the language and of the balance of the forms, and I needed, inside my personality, to find expressions that were mine. (Benoît, 1968, p. 153)

After admitting her lack of knowledge about the Second Viennese School (1903-1925),⁹¹ Benoît made two important statements that confirm my proposal: she was worried about her financial survival, and for her, it was important to have a structured and balanced form and language, within which she could express her own creativity. Her music oeuvre was thus connected to her acceptance as a composer, and she was personally not interested in dismantling canons of form and structure in her music. While Benoît's 1939 talk analysed earlier suggested that she was praising the Second Viennese School, this 1968 interview confirms that she was never interested in adopting their techniques. With this in mind, my belief is that in the 1939 lecture, Benoît used music as a (not so) hidden meaning for society. Her main goal, presenting her lecture for the working classes, was to vouch for radical social change. This is an example of how Benoît's ideology was explicit in her talks, which makes them instruments of her lived action. As this

⁹¹ The Second Viennese School developed composition techniques that revolutionized European art music, such as atonality and serialism. Its musical thought is often called expressionism and its main representatives were the Austrian Jewish composer Arnold Schoenberg (1874-1951) and his students Alban Berg (1885-1935) and Anton Webern (1883-1945).

dissertation argues, this plan of action was also evident in her music critiques, in her activity as a choir conductor and composer, and in her public persona.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have discussed the Portuguese cultural panorama, by focusing on the institutions and practices that Benoît was connected to. My purpose was to show how Benoît's actions belonged to a specific cultural and geo-political momentum.

I have focused mostly on Lisbon because that is where Benoît lived all her adult life, but her contributions extended to Coimbra, namely to the *Instituto de Música de Coimbra*,⁹² and the private gatherings in *Senhor da Serra* – which I analyse in chapter 5. Her contributions also extended to other parts of the country, namely to Algarve, through her correspondence with cultural actors living there such as her former student and friend, the pianist Maria Vitória Quintas, or the doctor, writer and organizer of musical events Francisco Fernandes Lopes (1884-1969).⁹³

This chapter has shown how Benoît could and should be integrated in narratives of the history of music in Portugal, proposing a contextualization of her activities and musical thought. In the next chapter, I will focus on Benoît's professional activities, highlighting a few of its specificities.

⁹² Benoît has performed in *Instituto de Coimbra* as a pianist, accompanying her friend Arminda Correia singing. Correia worked in the school as a singing teacher.

⁹³ I will discuss the relationship between Benoît and Maria Vitória Quintas in chapters 5 and 6.

CHAPTER 3 – A CLOSER LOOK AT FRANCINE BENOÎT’S MUSICAL ACTIVITIES AND HOW THEY WERE GENDERED

INTRODUCTION

The scholarly literature on women and music has shown that women musicians were systematically downgraded in their performance contexts and styles of music (Post, 1994), and that early 20th-century women composers were largely undervalued, and often had to become patrons, impresarios, or teachers in order to have a public career in music (Smith, 1994). My research demonstrates that these dynamics were also present in the career of Francine Benoît. Here, I analyse Benoît’s musical activities and argue that her career was crucially shaped by gender. I start with Benoît’s role as a public lecturer, an innovation in Portugal, because she was an expert and not an aristocrat or a well-connected woman sponsored by a patron. Afterwards, I discuss the gender-conforming jobs she took as a teacher, where I include her failed attempt at getting a job as a teacher in the *Conservatório Nacional* (National Conservatory, CN). Then I analyse Benoît’s role as the first woman working as a professional music critic in Portugal, a position that granted her public visibility and credibility, while it also made other (male) professional musicians publicly doubt her expertise. I also discuss Benoît’s music oeuvre, arguing that her gender, her sexuality, and her ideology have influenced the music she wrote, when and why she wrote it, and to whom she dedicated it. Lastly, I analyse Benoît’s pioneering role as an orchestra conductor in Portugal.

3. 1. BENOÎT AS A PUBLIC LECTURER

For many decades, until after the 1974 Revolution, it was common for music professionals in Portugal to exercise several activities simultaneously. Neither the cultural

market, nor the musical education system allowed for a specialization. Manuel Deniz Silva argued that music careers were thus fluid and open, as professionals often combined composing with performing, conducting and/or with musicological work, both musical critique and historiographical work (2003, p. 19).⁹⁴

Benoît's public lectures and published articles, books and pamphlets were important aspects of her musicological activity, together with her work as a teacher of music history.⁹⁵ These occupations were also part of her pedagogical role, as they were a way of educating audiences.



Figure 3.1 Francine Benoît delivering a public lecture in 1957 (Vieira, 2012, p. 195).

In 1919, Benoît gave her first public lecture: “Gregorian chant and the [musical] forms that originated from it”. Many of her talks and lectures were later published either as standalone publications or as newspaper articles, and this one was too, in 1920, in the

⁹⁴ This was the situation in other European countries as well. Pamela Potter argued that because musicology was not yet institutionalised as a scholarly field, musicologists accumulated several “occupations in journalism and involvement in performance and composition” (1998, p. 33).

⁹⁵ In 1968, Benoît coordinated the edited volume on Music of the Encyclopedia Meridiano/Fischer (Stephan, 1968).

music magazine *Eco Musical*.⁹⁶ One of the most outstanding aspects of Benoît's career as a lecturer was the fact that most of her public talks happened at her own initiative, and remarkably, she demanded that she get credit for them. In 1928, in an article in the newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* (Lisbon's Diary), Portuguese author Armando Ribeiro (1881-1949) inaccurately credited J. B. Guerra Pais (?-?), the director of the *Sociedade Portuguesa Organizadora de Concertos* (Portuguese Society Organizer of Concerts) for a series of talks and recitals by Francine Benoît (Ribeiro, 1928, p. 2). However, in an open letter published in the same newspaper a few days later, Benoît clarified that the project had been exclusively hers, explaining that she only contacted Guerra Pais "after having everything ready [...] to organize [only] the administrative part" (Benoît, 1928a, p. 2). This example underlines Benoît's spirit, as a (single and young) woman who defied gender norms by having a public career in music, and by positioning herself as an intellectual, as early as the 1920s – even if to do so, she engaged in a gender-conforming self-presentation, as I discuss in the next chapter.

Another event worth zooming into was a lecture she presented in 1936, *Dos Acordes na Arte e na Escola* (On Chords in Art and in School) – published as a standalone booklet, pictured below (Fig. 3.2). Benoît delivered it three times: first in January at the *Emissora Nacional* (National Broadcast), then in February, organized by the *Secretariado de Propaganda Nacional* (Secretariat for National Propaganda, SPN), and thirdly in March, at the *Instituto de Música de Coimbra* (Coimbra Music Institute). State institutions thus hosted the lecture twice, as late as 1936, after which the Coimbra leftist intelligentsia invited her to present the same lecture in that city, which shows that their trust and comradery were not affected by Benoît's collaboration with State institutions. Not only

⁹⁶ A catalogue of Benoît's talks and lectures can be found in Vieira (2011, p. 957).

that, but in December of that same year, Fernando Lopes-Graça, who was then imprisoned in Caxias, asked Benoît for her paper, while he was writing a paper to present at an international conference.⁹⁷ Until the 1940s it was not uncommon for leftist artists to collaborate with the *Emissora Nacional*, which was one of the most important media at the time. As I will discuss in chapter 5, it was only after WWII that the musical opposition point-blank refused to collaborate with State organs while at the same time both Francine Benoît and Fernando Lopes-Graça were no longer invited to do so. After WWII, all of Benoît's public lectures were delivered in venues of the opposition, such as *Universidade Popular Portuguesa* or *Voz do Operário*, or as part of AFPP's activities.⁹⁸

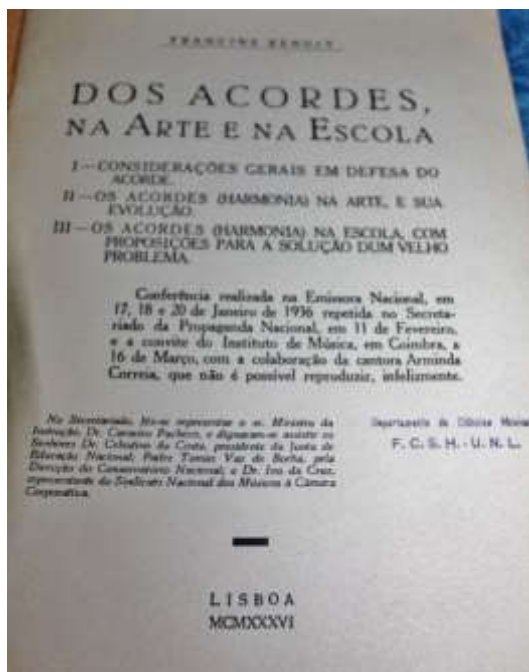


Figure 3.2 Published talk from 1936 (Benoît's Collection, Universidade Nova de Lisboa).

⁹⁷ Fernando Lopes Graça to Francine Benoît, 01/12/1936, BN – N33/226. Lopes-Graça presented his paper shortly after he was released at the *Congrès des auditions musicales pour la jeunesse* in Paris, 1937 (Silva, 2005, pp. 601-602), and published a Portuguese translation in the magazine *Seara Nova* (Lopes-Graça, 1937, pp. 472-474). His request to Francine Benoît reads as follows:

“As you know, there is very little among us about the challenges of musical education. Would you offer me some suggestions about it? I am counting on your lecture on the teaching of harmony, as well as [your] biography of Beethoven for the youth. Do you have anything else that could be of interest?” (Fernando Lopes Graça to Francine Benoît, 01/12/1936, BN-N33/226).

⁹⁸ For example, in UPP: a cycle of three lectures in 1939, a cycle of six lectures in 1940, and a cycle of twelve lectures in 1944. In *Voz do Operário*, Benoît delivered lectures in 1942, 1946, 1953, and 1954. She also delivered lectures in AAM, when she was already working there as a teacher.

3. 2. FRANCINE BENOÎT'S TEACHING CAREER

Teaching is one of Francine Benoît's best recognized activities for two reasons: because she had a great number of students, from all walks of life, and because of the gendered nature of this profession. As discussed by Canadian Musicologist Kimberly Francis, teaching was the most common career available to women musicians, "a vocation disparaged as feminized, itself equitable to inferiority" (2015, p. 10). As both British Musicologist Jeanice Brooks (1996, 1997) and above-mentioned Francis (2015) have discussed, the French composer Nadia Boulanger was another example of this sexist double standard: while she was a cultural actor with a broad activity, including composing and conducting, Boulanger is mostly known as the teacher of leading 20th-century male composers. Similarly to Benoît, Boulanger too saw herself forced to prioritize teaching after WWI, when she became financially responsible for her family, as "a more lucrative, stable means of supporting herself" (Francis, 2015, p. 4). Also similarly to Boulanger, despite having graduated from the conservatory with impressive results (first prize in harmony), Benoît's credentials, including her year at *Schola Cantorum*, were not enough to grant her a comfortable position at a conservatory.⁹⁹

Benoît's teaching career began in 1919, when the writer César Porto (1837-1944) invited her to work in the school he directed, *Escola Oficina nº1* de Lisboa. Founded by freemasons and anarcho-syndicalists, with an innovative pedagogical project for the children of proletariat families of the Graça neighbourhood in Lisbon, this school became a success and was recognized by the First Portuguese Republic (1910-1926) as a model

⁹⁹ Kimberly Francis argued that had Boulanger "been a man, her impressive credentials and intimidating musical talents would have afforded her a comfortable living at the conservatory of her choice" (Francis, 2015, p. 4).

school for the future.¹⁰⁰ The school worked with mixed-sex classes, refused the grading system, and cultivated an environment of freedom. Students learned through hands-on approaches, and had classes that covered all sorts of skills, from gardening to woodwork, arts and sciences of the home, among others (Candeias, 1992, pp. 177-206). Benoît's contract with *Escola Oficina n.1 de Lisboa* between 1919 and 1931 was her first explicitly political occupation. Although Benoît's political radicalization mainly happened in the late 1930s, as I discuss in the following chapter, the school was already a major influence on her:

I found myself, suddenly, integrated in an atmosphere that corresponded to my deepest tendencies [...] about human definitions and their best orientation. My ideas materialized, developed, became stronger. (Benoît, 1968, p. 151)

In the interview quoted here, Benoît's words are telling of how much the school's ideology matched her own principles. According to Portuguese scholar António Candeias, in 1930, a *querelle* between the technical director of the school, José Carlos de Sousa (?-?), and all the five women teachers and a single male teacher led to the dismissal of several of those women teachers, including Benoît. Among other complaints, Sousa was accused of being disrespectful to the women working at the school, particularly his female colleagues. Even though the main conflict was with Eugénia Silva (?-?) who claimed Sousa was rude and physically aggressive with her in front of the staff and children (Candeias, 1992, p. 491),¹⁰¹ Benoît was the third teacher being fired, as retaliation for supporting Silva, and under the argument that she often missed classes.

¹⁰⁰ Portuguese scholar António Candeias (1992) discussed the connection between the founders of the school and their political affiliations, in addition to studying the two ideological groups and their (dis/)agreements and how that played a role in the history of the school.

¹⁰¹ This case was very complex and I will not go into details. Even if misogyny was not the main cause for the initial conflict, it certainly provided the tone to how it unfolded and to its sad end. According to Candeias, there were little pedagogical aspects in the intense *querelle* that was mostly characterised by "slanders, misunderstandings and insinuations" (Candeias, 1992, p. 493).

While missing classes was rather common in the school among male professors, all of whom had other professional occupations (Candeias, 1992, p. 492), it was used as an argument to fire Benoît whose absences were also due to her other professional commitments.

In 1931, another incident had a big impact in Benoît's teaching career: she was refused a job as a teacher in the *Conservatório Nacional*, even though she was the best-qualified candidate in the public application process.¹⁰² The official justification was that she was a Portuguese citizen for less than five years – a requirement that had never been mentioned before (Benoît, 1933, p. 7; Vieira, 2011, p. 183; Calado, 2012, p. 24).¹⁰³ Benoît disputed her case in letters to the Ministry of Education, an open admirer of Germany's National Socialism, Gustavo Cordeiro Ramos (1888-1974) and to the inspector of education, Júlio Dantas (1876-1962).¹⁰⁴ However, the application process was annulled in January 1932, and the position remained unfilled. Benoît stated this job refusal happened due to her leftist beliefs (Benoît, 1984, p. 14). In fact, in that same year (1931), Fernando Lopes-Graça, who was not yet her friend, had applied for a position at the CN as a piano teacher, but he too was not allowed to take the job. However, in his case, there

¹⁰² The candidates were: Francine Benoît, Alberto João Fernandes, José Lúcio Mendes Júnior, Vitória Maria Lopes, Constança Pereira Lopes, Mariana da Conceição Nunes Nogueira, and Maria Luísa Gomes de Oliveira (Process of the applicants for the class of musical theory. AIHE – cj: 2586-2587 cited in Vieira, 2011, p. 180). One of the requirements was an essay on the candidate's pedagogy and methodology for teaching music theory, and its public defence. Benoît was a fierce critic of how people taught music theory in Portuguese music schools, and she expressed her opinion in the essay submitted (Vieira, 2011, p. 180). The application process additionally included composition exercises, *solfeggio*, a rhythmic reading exercise, improvisation, transposition, and a melodic dictation exercise, and teaching one class to first year students, using the official syllabus, followed by a session of questions posed by the jury in reaction to her class (Vieira, 2011, p. 181).

¹⁰³ According to Benoît, this requirement was pinpointed by a man that "did not even belong to the jury" (Benoît, 1933, p. 7) – however she did not identify this person. She had acquired Portuguese citizenship in June 1929.

¹⁰⁴ At least one letter to the Ministry dated 05/04/1933, one to Júlio Dantas, dated 08/04/1933 and finally an open letter to the Ministry of Education, published in *Diário de Lisboa* on October 9 1933, contesting a new public call for the same position (Benoît, 1933, p. 7).

were agents from the PIDE waiting for him to finish the exams for the position to arrest him (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, pp. 142-143).

Both musicologists Ana Sofia Vieira and Mariana Calado repeated Benoît's reading of this episode: she did not get the position because of her leftist affinities. However, my interpretation is that she was denied the job because of two other interdependent factors: her gender and her activity as a music critic. As I have discussed previously, in 1936 Benoît delivered a lecture in two different state organs, EN and SPN, and in 1937, the Minister of Education invited her to collaborate on the reform of choral singing in public schools. It is unlikely that these opportunities would have come her way had the government been aware of her leftist ideology. Additionally, the first time that the PIDE investigated her, according to the existing sources, was in 1938 – following her trip to Paris discussed in the previous chapter.

At the time of this job refusal, Benoît was already known as a music critic who did not refrain from harshly criticizing the most reputed musicians in the country, including the director of the CN, the internationally acclaimed pianist José Vianna da Motta (1968-1948). Júlio Dantas, as the state inspector of education, had reprimanded Benoît a decade earlier, for her critiques of teachers at the CN (Neves, 1984, p. 23). In 1931, Dantas worked as a teacher and inspector of the CN and Vianna da Motta was still the music school director. Likely, neither of them would welcome Benoît as a colleague, not only for being a (foreign and young) woman, and no woman had taken that position before, but also because they had a personal history with her. That position, as a teacher in the CN, would have guaranteed Benoît's financial stability and helped build her public reputation. Instead, she had to keep searching for professional opportunities on the margins of the Lisbon official music circuits.

Benoît was nevertheless able to build a solid reputation as a pedagogue through her activity in other schools, in private lessons, and in the press. In her articles, she advocated for an early music education, as it had several advantages for the physical, cognitive and emotional development of children, and helped them developing tools for socializing and preventing shyness. She underlined the importance of how music should be taught to children, believing that explaining music theory through comparison with day-to-day actions/sounds was more exciting and captivating (Benoît, 1943b, p. 7). Even the gender-conforming aspect of writing about children's music education was political, as Benoît's most numerous productions on the topic were the articles published in the feminist and antifascist magazine *Os Nossos Filhos* (Our Children, 1942-1958). Although *Os Nossos Filhos* was not affiliated with any feminist group, the magazine was directed and organized by the feminist antifascist author and journalist Maria Lúcia Vassalo Namorado (1909-2000), and it articulated principles for women and mothers that were different from those defended by the regime in its official publications, and it (Pessoa, 2006, 2016).¹⁰⁵

Aside from *Escola-Oficina n.1*, in the 1920s Benoît taught music in the French school for young girls owned by Madame Péchenard, an acquaintance of her mother, and in *Bairro Escolar de Cascais*. From the 1930s onward Benoît worked as a teacher in the schools *João de Deus* (1943-196?), *Voz do Operário* (1950-196?), and the private school *Mundo Infantil*.¹⁰⁶ She only worked in one professional music school, *Academia de Amadores de Música* (1948-1987). Benoît's teaching career lasted more than sixty years, as even after she retired from working in schools in the 1980s, she kept giving private

¹⁰⁵ Among Namorado's many ties with feminism and antifascism, she was a member of the CNMP and of AFPP, and signed the lists of MUD. Namorado was also cousin of the feminist and antifascist author Maria Lamas (1893-1983).

¹⁰⁶ The dates when she worked in most of these schools are unknown and the references come from Benoît's diaries and letters.

lessons in her own home, until she was hospitalized in December of 1989, just a few weeks before her passing (Gomes, 1991, p. 7).

3.3. *IF YOU WERE LESS HONEST!* – THE FIRST WOMAN WORKING AS A PROFESSIONAL MUSIC CRITIC

Benoît started publishing articles in 1919.¹⁰⁷ Precisely in that year, her lover Gabriela Gomes expressed her concern with Benoît's harsh criticism of two well-established musicians: the conductor Pedro Blanch (1877-1946) and internationally acclaimed pianist Vianna da Motta, director of the CN.

I am scared, scared, of the mocking and critical tone of your last music article. You will get grudges and enemies that can only do you much harm. If I were you, my love, if I could not say anything positive, I would not say anything bad either. [...] There is already so much malice against you!! [...] One can guess a lot of irony and disdain from your part! I am so scared! So scared!... If [only] you had more patience, if you were less honest! (Gabriela Monjardino Gomes to Benoît, 05/11/1919, BN-N33/1125)

Gabriela Gomes was right to be concerned. As I have previously mentioned, Júlio Dantas, who then worked as an Inspector of Libraries and Archives and President of the Commission for Artistic Education, called for a meeting with Benoît shortly after the publication, in which he reprimanded and intimidated her for her critiques of the school's teachers, including its director Vianna da Motta (Neves, 1984, p. 23).¹⁰⁸ But even if that meeting had its intended effects at the time, from the 1930s onwards, Benoît criticized

¹⁰⁷ Benoît's first articles were published in the magazine of the CN.

¹⁰⁸ According to Benoît, Dantas told her that, as a student, she was not allowed to criticize the teachers of CN (Neves, 1984, p. 23). I couldn't find out exactly when that meeting took place, but my research suggests it was in 1919.

well-established musicians. For example, in the 1940s, Benoît and the composer Luís de Freitas Branco cut ties because he was not happy with her critiques of his music.

Francine Benoît was one among nine women publishing about music in Portugal, against sixty-seven men, between the years of 1902 and 1930 (Paz, 2018, p. 550).¹⁰⁹ The men writing about music came from various class backgrounds, but with the exception of Benoît, the other eight women belonged to the aristocracy or the high bourgeoisie (Paz, 2018, p. 549-550). For those eight women writing about music was a hobby while for Benoît and for the men it was a way to complement their income, as they had to combine several jobs and commitments (Paz, 2018, p. 550).¹¹⁰ Benoît was the only music teacher among those nine women, and one of two composers – the other being the music patron Maria de Melo Furtado Giraldes Bourbon, 2nd Countess of Proença-a-Velha (1864-1944) – who composed a few songs. Benoît stands out as the only wage-earning music critic within this group, as well as the most expert, and the one who wrote the most. Equally remarkable is that Benoît did not belong to the social circles of the other women. Three of them held salons: the Countess of Proença-a-Velha, Ema Romero Fonseca da Câmara Reis, and Elisa de Sousa Pedroso. This makes Benoît's case even more extraordinary, as her reputation was not made possible through aristocratic networks of women, or through her parents' or husband's cultural capital, as was the case with the other women. Instead, she gained credibility as an expert in her own right. For these reasons, I consider Benoît to be the first woman working as a professional music critic in Portugal.

¹⁰⁹ Portuguese historian Ana Luísa Paz included articles about music in newspapers and magazines, music critique, and publications about music (books and pamphlets). The nine women were: Francine Benoît, Maria de Melo Furtado Giraldes Bourbon, 2nd Countess of Proença-a-Velha (1864-1944), Alice Pires Ferreira (?-?), Oliva Guerra (1898-1982), Laura Wake Marques (1879-1957), Helena Gama de Oliveira (?-?), Elisa Baptista de Sousa Pedroso, Maria Ana Gomes Pereira (?-?), and Ema Romero Santos Fonseca da Câmara Reis.

¹¹⁰ American musicologist Pamela Potter argued that doing musical critique as a way to complement income was common among composers, musicians and even writers in Germany too, as musicology was not institutionalised (1998, p. 33).

Diário de Lisboa often included news about the other women's recitals and events, but rarely followed by a musical critique.¹¹¹ This suggests that with the exception of some of the events organized by Elisa de Sousa Pedroso or Ema Câmara Reis, most of those women's recitals and events were not considered professional. The fact that Benoît rarely wrote about these women's events suggests that she too did not consider them professional enough. The few exceptions were made for some events organized by Oliva Guerra, Ema Romero Fonseca da Câmara Reis, and Elisa de Sousa Pedroso, particularly after the institutionalization of the latter's salon with the foundation of *Círculo de Cultura Musical* (Circle of Music Culture, CCM) in 1934.¹¹² However, those critiques were all published in the mainstream newspaper *Diário de Lisboa*, and the frequency of those articles decreased during the 1930s and 1940s. Benoît's decreasing number of articles about women's events held in their salons was due to two factors: her political radicalization and gender emancipation after the late-1930s, and the fact that the practice of holding salons had lost popularity.

¹¹¹ Those references were often part of a section called "Mundanismo" (mundane events), where short and agenda-like texts included the announcements of private parties, charity events, VIPs anniversaries and other mundane occasions. Their language was classed and gendered (by calling women "distinct ladies" and by characterising their "sensitivity") and often underlined the women's social capital (as "wife of" or "daughter of"), such as this example: "Next Wednesday, the 20th, promoted by a committee of ladies from the [high] society [...] A concert where only ladies take part, but who are the most valuable elements and the most notable personalities from the lyric and musical world [...] Four of the most notable singers of our time [...] one is German, other is French, other is Portuguese, and other is English; the great pianist Mrs. Florinda Santos, wife of our consul in Anvers [...]" (*Diário de Lisboa*, 15/02/1935, p. 3).

¹¹² CCM was a concert society founded and presided (1934-1958) by Elisa de Sousa Pedroso. The society was rather successful and opened delegations in several Portuguese cities. After the institutionalization of Sousa Pedroso's events, only professional musicians were hired, and they were paid, with was not the rule in the salon. Benoît attended some of the events organized by the CCM, that took place at Sousa Pedroso's own mansion, in Lisbon. These semi-private recitals often included internationally renowned musicians, such as the Swiss composer Arthur Honegger (1892-1955), who Benoît interviewed for the December 1943 issue of the Luso-French magazine *Afinidades*, directed by Simone de Beauvoir's brother-in-law, Lionel de Roulet (Benoît, 1943 p. 71-74). One of the rare occasions when Benoît mentioned the events by the social networks of these women was a brief critique to a recital by Oliva Guerra's piano students, among which were Maria Vitória Quintas and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha – probably the reason why Benoît attended the recital and critiqued it, as they were both her students too (Benoît, 1935b, p. 4).

Benoît published widely in newspapers and magazines to complement her income – see Appendix 5.1 for a full list. At the same time, her articles were a fundamental tool for establishing her public reputation as a (woman) music expert and as an intellectual, and they were an important contribution to Portuguese cultural life. She started publishing consistently in the early 1920s in *A Batalha* (The Battle, 1924-1925), *Actualidades* (Current Affairs, 1929), *Ilustração* (Illustration, 1927-1929), *Eco Musical* (Music Eco, 1920-1925), *A Informação* (The Information, 1926). From the 1930s onward, she authored articles in dozens of newspapers and magazines, including the leftists *Seara Nova* (New harvest, in the years 1931, 1937, 1948, and 1968) and *Vértice* (Vertex, 1947-1950), and the pro-regime *Fradique* (in 1934),¹¹³. Women's magazines: *Os Nossos Filhos* (Our children, 1942-1950), the magazine of the AFPP (1947-1952), *Jornal-Magazine da Mulher* (Woman's newspaper-magazine, 194?), *Eva* (1948). Mainstream newspapers: *Diário de Lisboa* (Lisbon's Diary, 1924-1968), *Diário de Notícias* (News' Diary, in the 1950s and 1960s), *Capital* (Capital, 1968-1987), *Expresso* (Express (1973-198?), *O Diário* (The diary, 1982-1984).¹¹⁴ Even though some of the publications where she published articles until the late 1930s were pro-regime, such as *Fradique*, the large majority, and the ones where she published the most, were closer to the opposition.¹¹⁵

The length and frequency of Benoît's articles varied greatly, depending on where they were published. In mainstream newspapers, they consisted of a few paragraphs, while in some of the arts magazines or feminist magazines her texts often occupied two

¹¹³ *Fradique* (1934-1936) was a pro-regime weekly newspaper. Besides Benoît's four articles, other leftist intellectuals occasionally authored articles in *Fradique*, such as Adolfo Casais Monteiro, Aquilino Ribeiro, Joaquim Manso, Vitorino Nemésio.

¹¹⁴ Because Francine Benoît occasionally did not sign her articles and occasionally used pennames, many of her articles have not been identified yet. For example, Benoît's articles of the 1970s published in *A Capital* were signed Arcanta Valongo (Vieira, 20, p. 293).

¹¹⁵ Some of them more openly, such as *Batalha*, *Seara Nova*, *Afinidades*, *Gazeta Musical*, or *Jornal-Magazine da Mulher*.

or more pages. Regardless, Benoît's collaboration with the newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* stands out as the longest and most prolific of her career.¹¹⁶ *Diário de Lisboa* was a daily newspaper published in Lisbon between 1921 and 1990, widely recognized as one of the most important newspapers of 20th-century Portugal (Tengarrinha, 2006, p. 209). Its target was Lisbon's cultural elite, and it was known for the excellence of its articles, political independency, attention to cultural themes, and the quality of its collaborators, which included dozens of notorious cultural and political personalities (Tengarrinha, 2006, pp. 210-212).

Benoît's first articles in *Diário de Lisboa* are from 1924, and in 1927, she became its regular music critic, after Luís de Freitas Branco (1890-1955) suggested she took his place because he was too busy to keep the commitment.¹¹⁷ In terms of content, Benoît's music criticism stood out for its pedagogical quality, especially in *Diário de Lisboa*, where her articles were intended to educate audiences on musical matters, without being too technical. But while her democratic intentions successfully allowed for her texts to be read and understood by the newspapers' readers, they also made music experts dismiss her opinions, as I will discuss below.

Interestingly, Benoît never wrote about the lack of women composers in the canon. One could argue that this misogynist aspect was so internalised that she did not even notice. However, this seems hard to believe, as she herself was discriminated due to her sex and because she belonged to women's organizations that discussed and promoted women creators.¹¹⁸ Benoît publicly dealt with gender in her music critique by making it

¹¹⁶ The regularity of her collaboration was not fixed – her contract probably demanded a certain number of articles per year, rather than per week or month. With a few exceptions, she did not publish during the summer months (August to October), and during the rest of the year her articles would go from two to ten per month.

¹¹⁷ Luis de Freitas Branco to Francine Benoît, 16/02/1927, BN-N33/343.

¹¹⁸ I discuss these groups and events in chapter 6.

a non-issue, by omitting it altogether from her discourses both about herself and about other women artists – with very few exceptions.¹¹⁹ Even when writing a critique of a concert by Júlio Cardona's women's orchestra in 1929, Benoît made no comment about it being an all-women orchestra, nor did she mention that she herself had conducted a women's orchestra a year before. A women's orchestra was not a common event in Portugal, or anywhere else, and yet she discussed it just as she would discuss any other orchestra, without a single remark on gender. Her attitude indicates how Benoît wished to be treated. She hoped that people ignored her gender and focused on her work, knowing that this was not the case. In my opinion, her strategy was both to neutralise gender difference and not to incite animosity based on her gender in the cultural field where she was trying to establish herself.

Another aspect of Benoît's music critique was how she commented on young musicians, as Mariana Calado (2018) has analysed. Through carefully providing positive feedback, Benoît was pedagogically ethical. Musicians often cited her critiques to validate themselves in interviews and articles. She knew that if her critiques were too harsh, that would be demotivating and possibly career-threatening for the artist, and, likewise, a favourable critique would mean public recognition and interest in that same artist. Her main strategy was not to focus on the negative aspects, either by omitting them all together, or by saying that there was room for improvement in a certain trait, and to appreciate the most positive aspects of each performance and the performer's technical abilities. Two clear examples of this were her reviews of the singer Natália de Andrade (1910-1999), and of world-famous pianist Maria João Pires (b.1944).

¹¹⁹ One of those occasions was when Benoît commented on Nathércia Couto's (1924-1999) conducting activity, mostly by acknowledging that the concerts were attended by so many people because it was unusual to see a woman conductor – once more, she made no remarks about her own conducting activity.

Natália de Andrade hoped to become an operatic diva, but she became famous as an anecdote. To put it simply, she belonged to the genre of “deluded divas”, of which the most notorious example was the North-American singer Florence Foster Jenkins (1868-1944).¹²⁰ In 1936, Benoît published a critique of Andrade’s first public concert, where she praised Andrade as a “promise”, and Andrade used those words to validate her talent for the following decades – to the point of having Benoît’s words in the back cover of her albums (Benoît, 1936, p. 15).¹²¹

Maria João Pires is an internationally acclaimed Portuguese classical musician. Benoît met her when Pires was five years old, and became her teacher of composition and harmony, and contributed to her public success through her music critique. Throughout her life, Benoît published several articles praising Pires, including in the feminist antifascist magazine *Os Nossos Filhos*, and publicized the awards and recognition received by her former student.

Benoît’s identity as a critic was additionally built on public debates with well-known personalities from the Portuguese cultural scene, which were important to distinguish her as a music critic. A paradigmatic example were the debates with the composer Ruy Coelho, who was known among the musical elite for being extremely violent in criticizing other composers and their music, and in reacting to others’ critiques of his music. One of the first episodes took place between Coelho and Luis de Freitas Branco, as early as 1911 (Silva, 2005, p. 45), and there were many public polemics between Coelho and Lopes-Graça (Silva, 2005, p. 593).

¹²⁰ Andrade’s idiosyncratic success was such that she was part of the 2012 compilation album “The Muse Surmounted – Florence Foster Jenkins and Eleven of Her Rivals”.

¹²¹ The full text: “an authentic lyric calling, even theatrical, to whom great triumphs might be reserved. Besides her vocal abilities, good and wide sonority, despite her young age, Natalia Barbosa de Andrade shows a nice at-ease (it does not matter if real or apparent), shows personal emotion and a rightful wish to communicate it with the audience” (Benoît, 1936, p. 15).

In 1927, it was Benoît's turn. On January 19, 1927, Benoît commented on the lack of unity in Ruy Coelho's recently premiered opera *Inês de Castro*: "the scene of the people's dance with the King is very rich in rhythm and colour, but the Prelude of Act I insists monotonously in a single key, from beginning to end" (Benoît, 1927, p. 2).¹²² Ruy Coelho reacted two days later in the same newspaper, addressing her as his "very lovely former student", remarking on her "Belgian origin", and arguing that the Prelude had five different keys besides the main one (Coelho, 1927, p. 2).¹²³ The patronizing tone of Coelho's reaction was a violent gesture towards Benoît, which aimed to reassert his expertise and diminish hers, as a female foreigner and his former pupil. Benoît answered that she would need to analyse the music sheet to verify if those other keys were in fact modulations or just transition keys, and addressed his xenophobic and patronizing treatment: "I am Belgian and French in equal parts, and I came to Portugal more than twenty years ago. As for the lessons [...] they were so rare [...] that it is a pleasant surprise that they remain in the teacher's memory, moreover because it was such a long time ago!" (Benoît, 1927b, p. 2) Coelho then called Benoît's musical oeuvre limited in quantity and childish in quality, adding that he would only treat her as an equal when "we know her through her work and not her words" (Coelho, 1927, p. 2).¹²⁴ Benoît's next response was even more blunt. She concluded that Coelho only accepted positive critiques and they had to come from Portuguese composers who had written operas and symphonic music, calling it a convenient way to win (Benoît, 1927c, p. 2). In Coelho's next attack, among

¹²² Benoît also mentioned that in another scene there was "a certain abuse of brass [instruments] that becomes nerve-wracking, and there would be much more to point out, but" there was not enough space (Benoît, 1927, p. 2).

¹²³ "Fundamental key: a minor. Other keys: C major, B major, B flat major, F sharp major, and d minor, not counting the three bars of the opening motif" (Coelho, 1927, p. 2).

¹²⁴ Coelho mentioned that Benoît had recently published "Para a juventude cantar e pular", minimizing it by pointing out that it was her first musical work and it was for children. It was an album of seven songs for children's choir and piano, composed in 1926, and it was not Benoît's first composition.

technical considerations, he argued that Benoît had only condemned his oeuvre because he contradicted her, since in the past she had complimented it. He concluded that after putting her opinions about his music together he “could smile and sing *La donna è mobile*” (Coelho, 1927c, p. 2). The choice of this musical reference further accentuates the sexist nature of his responses. “*La donna è mobile*” is the most famous aria of Giuseppe Verdi’s 1851 opera *Rigoletto*, sung by the violent and misogynist Duke of Mantua. The message conveyed by the lyrics is that women are untrustworthy, fickle beings, who change their minds “like a feather in the wind” (“Qual piuma al vento”). Benoît’s answer, which finally put an end to the discussion, continued with the technical considerations but concluded, rightfully so, that her words about *Inês de Castro* did not contradict her past words about other musical works by Coelho, precisely because they were comments about other musical works (Benoît, 1927d, p. 2).

This was only one among many attacks against Benoît. It is remarkable that she never stopped criticizing Coelho, or anyone else for that matter – which further proves that she tried to be unbiased. Likewise, Benoît also did not stop praising his work. In fact, she complimented Coelho’s other 1927 operas, *A Freira de Beja* and *O Cavaleiro das Mãos Irresistíveis*, after the event described above. However, when Benoît was critical of Coelho’s oratorio *Fátima* in 1931 (Benoît, 1931a, p. 2), he violently attacked her again, this time adding an openly misogynist insult to the equation:

As a critic, to feel more comfortable in this lovely country, Francine Benoît, Belgium, took Portuguese citizenship! However, she did not naturalise her name, which in Portuguese is Francisquinha Bento, and even less her soul... As a critic she is of astonishing in consequence... It is for this reason, for the easy impressionability of her sex, that in other

countries, men occupy the important positions of art critique. (Coelho, 1931, np)¹²⁵

In Benoît's response, she firmly stated that "neither my nationality nor my sex are called for in this discussion" (Benoît, 1931b, p. 4). By doing so, she again refused to nourish any gendered perceptions of her. She additionally addressed his xenophobia by saying that if his arguments were to be true, "one would have to be German to understand Beethoven, French to understand Massenet, Italian to understand Palestrina, [or] Spanish to understand Falla" (Benoît, 1931b, p. 4), an idea that hardly anyone would dare to support.

Although Benoît's critiques were never unjustified attacks, but opinions grounded on knowledge, the fact that she entered public arguments such as these, made male authors question her expertise. In 1931, the music critic Rojão Nobre (pseudonym of Sebastião Cardoso) twice ridiculed her in the leftist magazine *Seara Nova*. While Nobre's first critique was targeted at Coelho as a composer, for adopting populist and nationalist compositional techniques to improve his reputation with the regime, the way he included Francine Benoît intended to undermine her expertise. Nobre was seemingly trying to defend Benoît, by writing that "one does not need to mistreat a lady to question an opinion" (Nobre, 1931a, p. 182) but in fact he instrumentalized Benoît to criticize Coelho and soon his arguments revealed a condescending tone. Nobre inaccurately stated that the reason why Benoît was no longer an admirer of Coelho was that she had been an amateur when she expressed approval of his music. However, after her musical knowledge "became more solid" her opinions improved "and Miss Francine Benoît must feel

¹²⁵ Instead of translating Benoît's first name as Francisca, Coelho added the diminutive "inha" to place her as inferior. This was not the first time that Coelho referred to Benoît as such. In the summer of 1929, the composer had also reacted to Benoît's critique of a performance of his 1924 opera *Belkiss* calling her "Francisquinha Bento" and again pointing out the fact that she was not Portuguese. In her public response, Benoît repeated that she lived in Portugal since she was a young child and she now had Portuguese citizenship (Benoît, 1929b, p. 7).

nauseated nowadays when remembering her pro-Coelho hyperboles from her musical teenage-hood” (Nobre, 1931a, p. 183). In her public response, Benoît stated that Nobre’s article had been offensive, and clarified that even though her knowledge had developed over the years, she was already a music expert when she praised Coelho’s music in the past (Benoît, 1931c, p. 286). Rojão Nobre’s following articles further discredited Benoît, using misogynist insults to do so (Nobre, 1931a, 1931b). Among those insults, Nobre repeated that Benoît’s writings were inconsistent, and compared them with “homemade embroidery” and “an illustrated postcard” that show the “thousands of artifices that characterizes the eternally feminine superficiality, when it pretends to overrule men with their inconsistent dialectic, full of flaws” (Nobre, 1931b, p. 348). Nobre’s articles written in a satirical and offensive tone, often patronizing and even “correcting” her choice of words (Nobre, 1931a, p. 360), surpassed the previous offences by Ruy Coelho.

Benoît thus ended up having to defend herself from more attacks, this time by a music critic of one of the most important leftist magazines, which “aimed to bring together the leftist intellectuals that opposed” the regime (Amaro, 1995, p. 915). The relevance of these episodes is not so much Coelho’s violence in itself, despite the unjustifiable sexism, because he frequently attacked anyone who did not praise his music; but rather two other aspects. Firstly, how Benoît stood up for herself, and second, how Rojão Nobre ended up questioning her expertise and she had to defend her reputation from both Coelho and Nobre.

In sum, Benoît stands out as the first woman working as a professional music critic – and for having the longest career as such in the Portuguese press. As a critic, she tried to be impartial in her critiques, often criticised well-established musicians, and refrained from using technical language to make her articles more accessible. As a pedagogue and someone aware of the impact of her words as a music critic, she was

always careful to encourage young musicians and performers by emphasising their qualities instead of focusing on their flaws. Benoît's democratic concerns and honest comments in her role as a music critic earned her attacks from male intellectuals, whose writings questioned and intended to undermine her credibility. However, she managed to defend herself, and she maintained a reputation as a reliable music critic for a mainstream audience until the end of her life, as her articles in dozens of newspapers and magazines prove.

3. 4. FRANCINE BENOÎT'S MUSICAL OEUVRE

As stated in chapter 1, I am interested in arguing for Benoît's historical relevance as a cultural actor, rather than in establishing her as a composer or music critic. For this reason, rather than analysing Benoît's music, this section will introduce Benoît's music catalogue, discuss its whereabouts, and analyse how her life and her music interacted.

The catalogue of Benoît's oeuvre has circa fifty works (some of them collections of songs or of smaller pieces), and includes vocal music, chamber music, solo works, and orchestral music – see Appendix 2. Her most prolific genre is the song for voice and piano with over twenty songs, followed by chamber music. According to the current catalogue, the decades when Benoît was most prolific were the 1920s and 1930s, when most of her music consisted of songs for voice and piano and children's music, while she wrote the largest part of her choir, chamber and orchestral music after the late 1930s.

In the next chapter, I argue that there were two phases in Benoît's biography, with the late 1930s marking the beginning of the second phase, characterised by her political radicalization and what I call her gender emancipation, this is, when she stopped conforming to certain gender norms. In my view, this change also influenced the music she wrote, which is why during the first phase, her music can be considered gender-

conforming (domestic and/or intended for children), while the music composed after the late 1930s includes music for different instruments and larger groups (chamber and orchestral). For example, because Benoît was teaching music at the *Escola Oficina nº1* between 1920 and 1931, her production in the 1920s included music for three children plays for this school: *Os ovos de ouro* (1921), *A gata borralheira* (1923), *A formiga e a cigarra* (1925). Some of Benoît's music even from this first phase was political. The most outstanding example is a dark song composed in Paris under WWI, in the summer of 1918, called "Paysage de Guerre".¹²⁶

While the majority of Benoît's children's, chamber and orchestral music still exists, most of her choral compositions and arrangements are missing, as well as some songs for voice and piano – references can be found in her diaries and letters with friends. Additionally, it is impossible to know how much she contributed to her friends' musical and intellectual oeuvres. While the composer Cláudio Carneyro (1895-1963) has credited Benoît as the author of an arrangement of one of his songs, to my knowledge, no one else has.¹²⁷ It is a fact that she wrote choral arrangements of others' music, and that she has helped Lopes-Graça with his transcriptions and arrangements of folk music.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ The French lyrics, by unknown author translate to: "Twilight descends on the plainland, which has become silent again. Long streaks of blood scar the horizon. Shadows seem to crawl in the dying light. Everything darkens, fades, then disappears. And death hovers." The manuscript can be found in Appendix 7.

¹²⁷ Carneyro's 1951 song *Oração a Santa Bárbara* had a harmonization for three voices by Francine Benoît, to which Carneyro later added a fourth (BPMP-MM-CC-28). Benoît's arrangement was likely written for the *Orfeão da Voz do Operário*.

¹²⁸ I will elaborate on this in chapter 5.



Figure 3.3 Francine Benoît composing in Casa do Pinhal, picture by João José Cochofel, 1965 (Sofia Cochofel Quintela's personal archive).

The surviving music by Benoît is scattered through different institutions, and some private owners, and mostly inaccessible. *Escola Superior de Música de Lisboa* has six of Benoît's compositions in its library: (1) the 1939 piano collection *Nove peças infantis* (PG.9861); (2) the 1966 cantata *O Caçador e a Princesa* (PG.9859); (3) the 1964 *Fantasia-suite* for orchestra (PG.9858); (4) a 1978 song with lyrics by Mário Castrim *Aquele homenzinho* (PG.9863); (5) the 1979 *Poemeto* for viola and chamber group (PG.9800), (6) and the 1981 *Concertino de piano para a mão esquerda* (PG.9862). *Academia de Amadores de Música* recently donated Benoît's music collection to the National Library, but it has not been catalogued yet.¹²⁹ *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* in Lisbon holds the music sheet of *Fantasia-suite*,¹³⁰ as well as of the 1966 cantata *O Caçador e a Princesa* (n. 2484). *Fantasia-suite* won the National Composition Prize awarded by the *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* in 1965, *ex-aequo* with *O Encoberto* by Maria de Lurdes Martins (1926-2009). That year, the French composer and conductor

¹²⁹ I do not know the size of this collection, nor if it includes any of her missing music.

¹³⁰ The music sheet for *Fantasia-suite* can be found in Appendix 7.4. It has four movements and was signed Serena. There is no information on why Benoît signed under a penname, or why this name that translates as "Peaceful". My speculative interpretation is that she used it as an allusion to her composition process ironically, because as witnessed in her diaries and letters, it was the opposite of peaceful.

Nadia Boulanger was a member of the jury (Diário de Lisboa, 08/12/1965, pp. 5-6), which could suggest that there was some gender empathy paid from a woman composer to other women composers, and hence why two women composers were awarded.¹³¹ To my knowledge, this was the only time that Francine Benoît and Nadia Boulanger crossed paths. *O Caçador e a Princesa* was commissioned by *Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian* following the 1965 award. Other institutions, such as the National Library in Lisbon, have manuscripts of Francine Benoît's music, often included in the collection of musicians who have played it – examples include the collections of Ema Romero Câmara Reys, Manuel Ivo Cruz, Varella Cid, among others. Many official music schools in Portugal have copies of the edited music of Francine Benoît, because the piano songs from the collection *Cantares de cá* are still part of the official music program.¹³² A new edition of Benoît's *Três Canções Tristes* and *Cantares de Cá* is being prepared in the context of the project *Euterpe Unveiled*.¹³³

Most of Benoît's choral music, as previously mentioned, is missing. In my research, I have found one original song (Braga, 2013, Annexes 3), and three choral arrangements. One is an arrangement of a song for voice and piano by Fernando Lopes-Graça, *Falam casebres de Pescadores*, performed in 1950 by the choir of *Voz do Operário*.¹³⁴ The other is "Jesus, Maria, José", written in late 1952 for the same choir. As

¹³¹ Besides Boulanger, the jury consisted of Fernando Lopes-Graça, Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos, and the British composer Richard Arnell (1917-2009) (Diário de Lisboa, 08/12/1965, pp. 5-6).

¹³² They are part of the elective music for levels 5 and 6. Completing level 5 is the first degree that one achieves when studying music professionally (equivalent to middle school), while completing level 8 is the second degree (equivalent to high school), after which musicians nowadays usually enrol in a Bachelors program.

¹³³ See chapter 1.

¹³⁴ In Benoît's arrangement, sopranos and altos sing in unison, and tenors and basses each have their own line, with tenors carrying the melody for the most part of the song, which again bears witness to the number of female voices being lower than the number of male voices in the *Orfeão da Voz do Operário*, as I have discussed earlier. The handwritten copy of this arrangement (possibly the original) was found in Benoît's collection at the library *Centro de Documentação em Ciências Musicais*. This archive was since then integrated in the general library of the FCSH/NOVA.

the title suggests, it was a Christmas song, which premiered on January 8, 1953 (Benoît's diary, 08/01/1953). The third is "Murucututu", a Brazilian folk song that she harmonized for three voices, no known date. Since Benoît had an active role as a choir conductor, this number is likely inaccurate.

Some references to missing music can be found in the letters Benoît received from her friends and acquaintances, including her friend Arminda Correia and her lover Suzanne Laurens.¹³⁵ In 1928, Laurens mentioned music that Benoît had composed for two sonnets by the Portuguese lesbian poet Virgínia Victorino (1895-1967).¹³⁶ Together with the song *Partindo-se*, these are examples of the interaction between life and oeuvre. Benoît originally composed *Partindo-se* for voice and string quartet with the title *Canção do século XV* in 1919, using a poem by the renaissance nobleman João Roiz de Castel-Branco (14?-15?), and she dedicated it to Gabriela Gomes (Nemésio), who had introduced the poem to her. In this canonical love poem from Portuguese literature, the author declares their sadness for leaving their female lover, how they would rather die instead of leaving her, and emphasising that theirs' are the saddest eyes ever for having to leave her.¹³⁷ The author's voice is of unidentified gender, like in Victorino's songs, which made

¹³⁵ Because Arminda Correia was a singer and a close friend of Benoît, the later often composed songs specifically for her voice and shared the manuscripts with Correia as she was composing.

¹³⁶ Chapter 5 has a section dedicated to Suzanne Laurens and her relationship with Francine Benoît. This reference to Victorino's sonnet is included there.

¹³⁷ The poem is part of the 1516 *Cancioneiro Geral*, an anthology of court poetry, compiled by the writer Garcia de Resende (1470-1536). It was built based on the poetic subject's personification through his eyes, and is as follows, in its original language:

"Senhora, partem tam tristes
meus olhos por vós, meu bem,
que nunca tam tristes vistes
outros nenhuns por ninguém.

Tam tristes, tam saudosos,
tam doentes da partida,
tam cansados, tam chorosos,
da morte mais desejosos
cem mil vezes que da vida.
Partem tam tristes os tristes,
tam fora d' esperar bem,

Benoît's identification possible, as a woman, dedicating it to her female lover. The message is applicable to Benoît's relationship with Gabriela Gomes in 1919, while they could rarely meet due to their personal circumstances – Benoît was struggling financially in Lisbon, and Gabriela lived with her parents in Coimbra. At that time, every meeting was anxiously planned, and their parting was sad because they knew they would not be able to meet again soon. Gabriela's letters prove this eagerness when they were planning a meeting for February 1920: "What will our life be like when we will be together? Delicious, but deep in our hearts there will always be a dark cloud, the nightmare of our next separation".¹³⁸

Dedicating music not only to lovers, but also to friends, even students, was common practice, and Benoît often did that. Some examples include her song for voice and piano *Queixa* from the collection *Três Canções Tristes*, dedicated to her friend Arminda Correia; the 1944 *Sonatina* for piano, dedicated to Maria Vitória Quintas and Conchita Valverde; and the 1945 song *Pelas Landes à Noite* dedicated to Maria Palmira Tito de Morais. Benoît also composed *Ritorno Sentimental* for two pianos, dedicated to her lover Maria Albina Cochofel after her passing in 1947.¹³⁹

Although I am not including a study of the reception of Benoît's music, it is important to notice that it was generally well received.¹⁴⁰ In her early career, Tomás Borba and the composer Luis de Freitas Branco were among the fiercest supporters of Benoît's

que nunca tam tristes vistes
outros nenhuns por ninguém."

¹³⁸ Gabriela Nemésio to Benoît, 05/11/1919, BN-N33/1125.

¹³⁹ This composition and *Humoresca Militar*, also for two pianos, were premiered in the *Conservatório Nacional* in November 28, 1949, played by Benoît and the pianist Lourenço Varela Cid (1898-1987), who had been her colleague thirty years before, and then worked as a piano teacher in the CN (Benoît's diary, 03/12/1949).

¹⁴⁰ I refer to other episodes of the reception of Benoît's music throughout this dissertation, although this is not one of its main topics. Additionally, Sofia de Sousa Vieira discussed some of the reception of Benoît's music in her doctoral dissertation (2011).

talent as a composer. In an article published in the newspaper *Diário de Lisboa*, Freitas Branco stated that it was reductive to know Benoît exclusively as a music critic and music lecturer because she was a talented composer (Freitas Branco, 1928b, p. 2). Freitas Branco argued that Benoît had established herself as a composer in exceptional company when her “creative talent [...] shined [...] next to António Fragoso’s” while they were both students at the *Conservatório Nacional* (Freitas Branco, 1928b, p. 2).¹⁴¹ Other public supporters of Benoît’s music included the musicologist Santiago Kastner, mostly between the 1930s and the 1940s, and the composer Fernando Lopes-Graça – although his support often felt short, as I analyse in chapter 5. The favourable reception of Benoît’s music further stresses that her absence from the narratives on Portuguese music is largely dependent on her historiographical treatment. As I have discussed, she left a substantial music catalogue, with some music being adopted by official music schools, and some performed in renowned institutions, and being discussed in the press. However, thirty years after her death, and despite her recent historiographical recovery, her music remains unperformed and hard to find.

3. 5. Francine Benoît and the Pioneer Women Conductors in Portugal¹⁴²

Australian musicologist Brydie-Leigh Bartleet noted that “renowned for their mythical status, visual prominence [...], and commanding relationship with the orchestra, [male]

¹⁴¹ António Fragoso (1897-1918) was a Portuguese composer and pianist. Despite his early death, caused by the pneumonic plague, he left a sizeable catalogue of music. Fragoso studied together with Francine Benoît in the *Conservatório Nacional*, and she sent him three letters while she was studying in Paris’ *Schola Cantorum* in 1917-18, sharing her thoughts about Paris, the school, and Vincent d’Indy, as he too was hoping to become a student of his in the same institution (Prates, 2014, p. 16).

¹⁴² The research done for this section was developed into a stand-alone article on the history of women conductors in Portugal, published in the peer-reviewed journal *Música Hodie* (Lopes Braga, 2021).

conductors have visibly embodied a gendered form of leadership” (2003, p. 228). In the collective imagination, conducting is one the most masculine activities within music. Women have been trying to break into the profession since at least the mid-19th century; however, they remain a minority until this day. Although in recent decades there is some increase in the number of women conductors, it is telling that the first time a woman conducted an opera at the *Bayreuth Festspielhaus* was only in 2021, the Ukrainian conductor Oksana Lyniv (1978). Francine Benoît’s conducting career is another aspect of her biography that scholars have overlooked. Benoît conducted orchestras twice, she conducted many choirs, and she was registered in the Union of Portuguese musicians as an orchestra conductor during *Estado Novo*. All this suggests that conducting was important to her, and it was part of her career ambitions.

The historiographical erasure of Benoît’s role as a conductor is partially due to the inexistence of a chronology of the pioneering women conductors in Portugal before my recent article (Lopes Braga, 2021). However, Francine Benoît too was responsible for the omission, by never mentioning her conducting activity in any article or interview. In what follows, I analyse Benoît’s role as a pioneering woman conductor showing that despite the existence of at least ten other women conductors during the *Estado Novo*, only three developed a somewhat regular activity, thanks to their affiliations with the regime: Berta Alves de Sousa, Nathércia Couto, and Elvira de Freitas. The phenomenon of relegating women musicians to contexts and genres considered inferior by men has been extensively analysed in feminist musicology, and, as American musicologist Jennifer Post argued, “the performance contexts and styles of music performed by women [...] manifest women’s social restrictions. Women performing in the public sphere [...] remain restricted in performance context and repertoire and are placed in subordinate positions in relation to men” (Post, 1994, p. 43). Nathércia Couto, Berta Alves de Sousa, and Elvira

de Freitas were perfect examples of this. Even those women's careers were made difficult by the gender politics of their time, which restricted their performance contexts, and styles of music performed, and led them to stop conducting in their forties.

Before Francine Benoît, very few women had conducted orchestras in Portugal, and they were all foreigners: Josephine Amman (1840-1887) in 1879-80, Marguerite Hefti (1890-19?) in 1912, Annina Capelli (?-?) in 1912-13, and Mademoiselle Roux (?-?) in 1914.¹⁴³ While the last three women conducted in Portugal in the context of their European/Iberian tours, the Viennese conductor Josephine Weinlich Amann lived in Lisbon with her husband, the musical impresario Ebo Amann, from 1879 to her death.¹⁴⁴ Upon realizing that Lisbon's only active orchestra was going through a crisis and did not have a conductor, Ebo Amann proposed that they hire his wife to conduct the orchestra. Despite the huge success of the over forty public concerts conducted by Amann between February and September 1879, the musicians remained unconvinced of the conductor's legitimacy and gradually boycotted rehearsals and performances (Artiaga, 2017, pp. 296-297). In September 1879, the orchestra hired a German male conductor, Ludwig von

¹⁴³ Hefti and Roux conducted small women's orchestras in public concerts in Lisbon and Porto. Annina Capelli conducted the travelling Italian operetta company *Granieri-Marchetti* on tour in the Iberian Peninsula, in Lisbon's *Coliseu dos Recreios* (Moreau, 1994, p. 287). From July to September 1912, the company *Granieri-Marchetti* performed the following shows, all conducted by Capelli: *Die Dollarprinzessin*, *Die Lustige Witwe*, *The Geisha*, *The Duchess of Dantzic*, *Ein Walzertraum*, *La Petite Bohème*, *Der Graf von Luzemburg*, *Tatárjárás*, *Les Saltimbanques*, *Die Fledermaus* and *Die Keusche Suzanne* (Moreau, 1994, p. 292). They returned in 1913, with an additional maestro, Rafaele Ristori (?-?). The company performed between February 19 and March 22, and most of the repertoire was the same from the previous year. It is unclear which shows each maestro conducted, but Capelli conducted at least one, *Pufferl* (Moreau, 1994, pp. 293-294). The company performed in Spain and Portugal again in the following years, but always with male conductors.

¹⁴⁴ Josephine Amann made a name conducting her own women's orchestra in Austria, which became an international success and played throughout Europe, in Russia and in the United States. In 1879, Josephine Amann, her husband, and her sister Elisabeth Anna Weinlich (1855-1928) were in Lisbon, on their way to Brazil, when Amann fell ill and by medical recommendation remained there (Artiaga, 2017, p. 295).

Brenner (1833-1902), with whom Amann shared the podium for a couple of concerts, but she then stopped conducting.¹⁴⁵

The first occasion when Francine Benoît conducted an orchestra, in March 1928, was remarkable for three reasons: (1) it was the first time a woman conducted an orchestra under the authoritarian regime; (2) she was already a member of the Lisbon cultural panorama, and not an “outsider”; and (3) the first orchestra conducted by Benoît was a women’s string orchestra.¹⁴⁶ The program included the third movement of Mozart’s *Cassation* in G Major (KV63), an unidentified Tchaikovsky waltz, and an orchestration (by Benoît?) of the piano prelude *La fille aux cheveux de lin* by Debussy (Freitas Branco, 1928c, p. 2).¹⁴⁷ The only article in the press that I could find that remarked on Benoît’s gender, was Luis de Freitas Branco’s observation that this was the first time a woman conducted an orchestra in Portugal after Josephine Amman almost fifty years before (Freitas Branco, 1928, p. 2).¹⁴⁸ In his critique, Freitas Branco noted that the music conducted by Benoît “had equally perfect execution and interpretation”, and that the “new conductor, seems to possess the main qualities that make an orchestra conductor and with which one is born: authority, rhythm and clarity of gesture” (Freitas Branco, 1928c, p. 2). The absence of gendered remarks, apart from noting the pioneering aspect of the occasion,

¹⁴⁵ From 1880 onwards, she worked as a private piano teacher, and from 1884 until her death, she directed *Gazeta Musical*, a music magazine where she also published some of her piano compositions (Vieira, 1900, p. 28).

¹⁴⁶ There had been at least two other women’s orchestras in Portugal but they were conducted by men: a women’s string orchestra conducted by Júlio Cardona in 1903, and the group of amateur women musicians *Grande Tuna Feminina* (1907-1913), conducted by Alfredo Mântua (1880-1944), that did exclusively charity performances (Silva, 2018).

¹⁴⁷ This was the opening of a large musical event in Lisbon’s *São Luiz* that included the following performances: violin and piano by Paulo Manso and Isabel Manso, piano solo by Vianna da Motta, the choir of the Academia de *Amadores de Música*, conducted by another woman, Sara de Sousa (?-?), the Act 4 of Rossini’s 1816 opera *Otello*, and the Portuguese premiere of the 1915-1916 ballet *Amor Brujo* by the Spanish composer Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) (Freitas Branco, 1928b, p. 2).

¹⁴⁸ He might have not been aware of the other women conductors’ visits because he was studying in Paris when they took place, and/or because the intellectual elite did not favour the genres and context of the performances.

was an additional validation for Benoît, who was an aspiring conductor struggling for professional recognition in yet another field without female representation. Roughly a year after Benoît's premiere as a conductor, her good friend Arminda Correia encouraged her to conduct again: "On my return, I expect to find a Francine worthy of herself, I mean: strong, with enough strength to wield a baton".¹⁴⁹ However, it took her another decade to wield a baton again.

While Benoît was the first, other women ventured into professional conducting in Portugal shortly after 1928, as the books of the *Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos* demonstrate (National Union of Musicians, SNM). The SNM (1933-1974) was the result of the adaptation of the previous union of musicians, *Associação de Classe dos Músicos Portugueses* (Association of the Class of Portuguese Musicians, ACMP, 1909-1933), in the context of the fascist state. While ACMP had been a platform to gather professional musicians and argue for their rights, the SNM statutes of 1933 stated that the interests of the "nation" were superior to those of the workers, and specifically mentioned "the rejection of 'class struggle' [...], the abandonment of protest actions [...], and the prohibition of international collaborations" (Silva, 2010, p. 1222). Furthermore, professional musicians' membership became mandatory under *Estado Novo* – part of the strategy to keep musicians under state control. The records of the Union (both before and during the dictatorship) are thus the most comprehensive database to map the professional musicians of that time – even if they do not provide evidence of all their performances. Table 3.1 contains the names of the women conductors contemporaries of Francine Benoît, which I gathered in the SNM's records and other sources, such as newspaper articles and other bibliography.

¹⁴⁹ Arminda Correia to Francine Benoît, 18/08/1929, BN – N33/475.

Table 3.1. Portuguese women conductors during the dictatorship

EARLIEST RECORD ¹⁵⁰	NAME	BORN IN	SOURCES
1928	Francine Benoît (1894-1990)	Périgueux, France	Diário de Lisboa (1928)/ Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos (n.1796)
1930	Cândida Margarida Cyriaco da Costa (?-?)	(Lisboa?)	Diário de Lisboa (1936)
1930	Laura Bandeira (?-?)	(Lisboa?)	Diário de Lisboa (1936)
1930	Maria da Luz Antunes (1905-?)	Lisboa, Pt	Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos (n.230)
1932	Ofélia Freire Correia (1890-19?)	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos (n.1151)
1932	Albertina Rios de Albuquerque (1888-19?)	Lisboa, Pt	Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos (n.1233)
1936	Berta Cândida Alves de Sousa (1906-1997)	Liège, Belgium	Diário de Lisboa (1936)/ Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos (n.1948)
1937	Manuela Cândio Reis (1910-2011)	Alhandra, Pt	Balsinha, 2005; Cândio Reis, 2007.
1941	Maria Elisa Pinto de Almeida, aka Marilisa Almeida (1914-?)	Vila Nova de Gaia, Pt	Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos (n.2124)
1955	Elvira de Freitas (1927-2015)	Lisboa, Pt	Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos/ letter. ¹⁵¹
1957	Nathércia Couto (1924-1999)	Barreiro, Pt	Sindicato Nacional dos Músicos/ Diário de Lisboa (1957)

The absence of information about many of the women in Table 3.1 or about their activities is revealing of the challenges they faced. It is likely that many of them conducted only a few times, if at all, as the membership in SNM does not give evidence of concerts performed, and/or those performances were in private contexts. Regardless,

¹⁵⁰ I included the first known record of activity in Portugal. There are no records of concerts conducted by Maria da Luz Antunes, Ofélia Correia or Marilisa Almeida, so I used the date of their affiliation in the Union of Musicians. Nathércia Couto started conducting in 1950 in Paris, but her premiere in Portugal was only in 1957.

¹⁵¹ Letter from Elvira de Freitas to the director of the newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, 1982, PT/Collection Elvira de Freitas, Biblioteca da Universidade de Aveiro.

there were eleven women recognized as conductors during the Portuguese authoritarian period. A significant sign that women were trying to break-in in the profession.

Benoît conducted for the second time on December 9, 1939, the orchestra of the *Emissora Nacional* in the *Teatro da Trindade*, on the occasions of the premiere of her first composition for orchestra, *Partita*.¹⁵² In 1965, twenty-six years after this performance, Benoît was still registered as an orchestra conductor in the SNM, with only three other women: Berta Alves de Sousa, Elvira de Freitas and Nathércia Couto (Domingos, 2006, p. 136). While in the first few years, musicians could be registered in SNM without having their qualifications checked, after its many *Estado Novo* revisions, orchestra conductors needed to have graduated from the conservatory or, alternatively, to take an exam organised by the SNM.¹⁵³ This explains why the list of women conductors dropped to four, of which only three conducted more often, because they had ties with the regime. However, those ties were not enough to have their status as conductors fully acknowledged, or for them to have a regular and long lasting career, as a quick look at their biographies shows.

¹⁵² The program of the concert also included one of Joseph Haydn's (1732-1809) symphonies, (probably excerpts from) the opera-ballet "Les Fêtes d'Hébé" by Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683-1764), and *Concerte pour petit orchestre* by Albert Roussel (1869-1937). A summary of *Partita*'s musical reception can be found in Vieira (2011, pp. 497-499).

¹⁵³ Exceptions were made to composers, who were allowed to conduct their own works even if they did not have the required qualifications.



Figure 3.4 Berta Alves de Sousa conducting, estimated late 1930s (*Conservatório de Música do Porto*).

Berta Alves de Sousa (1906-1997) was a composer, conductor and music critic, born into a wealthy family from Porto. She studied conducting in 1936, in Berlin, with the Nazi-sympathizer conductor Clemens Krauss (1893-1954),¹⁵⁴ who conducted several times in Portugal, during WWII (Moreau, 1994). Alves de Sousa became a teacher in the Porto Conservatory in 1946. Throughout her short career as a conductor, Alves de Sousa conducted the Porto Symphonic Orchestra, the orchestra of the *Emissora Nacional*, and other *ad hoc* orchestras put together for charity events, including a women's orchestra that she founded and conducted from 1939 to 1941.¹⁵⁵ Alves de Sousa's studies with a Nazi-sympathizer in Berlin in 1936 and her many official appointments both teaching, and performing, are evidence that she was not an oppositionist to the ruling regime.

¹⁵⁴ The connections of Krauss with the Nazi regime have been thoroughly examined – see Kater (1997) or Monod (2005). At a time when most anti-Nazi musicians were resigning from official positions, Krauss was accepting the jobs they had left empty, and even asking Adolf Hitler himself for them (McKee, s.d).

¹⁵⁵ It seems that the orchestra did not have a name, or the newspapers simply did not write it.



Figure 3.5 Nathércia Couto circa mid-1950s (Arquivo Municipal do Barreiro).

Nathércia Couto (1924-1999) was born into a working-class family of amateur musicians in Barreiro, a small city 6 km south of Lisbon, by river.¹⁵⁶ Couto graduated in piano from the *Conservatório Nacional* in 1944, and moved to Paris in 1948 to study conducting at the Paris conservatory with Eugène Bigot (1888-1965). She took at least one of the prestigious *Academia Chigiana*’s summer courses in 1949. She founded her own orchestra in Rome, Italy, in 1951, and another one in Santos, Brazil, where she lived between 1961 and 1964. She was also a composer and a published author of poetry and short pseudo-philosophical texts. Nathércia Couto was frequently credited in the Portuguese press of the 1950s and 1960s as the first and/or only woman conductor in Portugal.¹⁵⁷ However, Couto started conducting in 1950, and first conducted in Portugal in 1957. The pioneer title that she herself used in her conferences and concerts was a strategy for self-publicity and had a political aspect: Couto sought the regime’s support, as her letters to Salazar demonstrate. The conductor wrote to the dictator several times between 1953 and 1967, glorifying the dictator and his patriotic project, and asking for opportunities to conduct in her homeland.¹⁵⁸ Despite being a professionally trained

¹⁵⁶ Couto’s legal first name was ‘Natércia’, but she adopted ‘Nathércia’ as her artistic name.

¹⁵⁷ For example, “‘Toscanini in skirts’ – writer and pianist, Natércia Couto is the first Portuguese woman conductor” was the title of an article published by Tomás Ribas in the monthly magazine *Seleções Femininas* (Ribas, 1957).

¹⁵⁸ There are 18 letters in Salazar’s collection from Nathércia Couto. The collection of letters includes a very positive report from the State Police with information about Couto which concluded with: “Supports the current regime” (ANTT, PT/TT/AOS/E/0083/00010_c0005).

woman conductor and with international experience, and despite her efforts to become successful, she conducted a mere seventeen concerts in Portugal between 1957 and 1970, all widely attended, and most of them free public concerts, with state-sponsored orchestras.¹⁵⁹ Her political affinities granted her an administrative position within the Ministry of Overseas in 1970, which she occupied until she retired in the 1980s.



Figure 3.6 Elvira de Freitas conducting in a rehearsal, supervised by her father, Frederico de Freitas, unknown date (Universidade de Aveiro).

Elvira de Freitas (1927-2015) was the daughter of the well-known composer and conductor Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980).¹⁶⁰ Elvira de Freitas studied with the best Portuguese musicians, and in 1957 studied composition with Nadia Boulanger for a semester, in Paris (Côrte-Real, 2010, p. 522). She was a composer, conductor, teacher and music critic. The Freitas family was closely befriended with the family of António Ferro, the man behind the cultural politics of the *Estado Novo*.¹⁶¹ Elvira de Freitas composed several songs based on poems by her close friend Fernanda de Castro (1900-1994), Ferro's wife (Côrte-Real, 2010, p. 523). With her father being one of the regime's

¹⁵⁹ This data is a result of my (yet) unpublished research on Natércia Couto.

¹⁶⁰ The composer and conductor wrote music for Portuguese films, for the State ballet company *Verde-Gaio*, which he directed, and directed the orchestra of the *Emissora Nacional*. Additionally, he composed hymns for the Portuguese Youth and the *Legião Nacional*. Frederico de Freitas' relationship with the regime was analysed by Portuguese musicologists Maria de São José Côrte-Real (2003) and Manuel Deniz Silva (2005).

¹⁶¹ Ferro directed the State propaganda organ (SPN, rebranded as SNI in 1945) from its creation in 1933 and until 1950.

favourite composers, and occupying official positions in the *Emissora Nacional*, among other state organs, Elvira de Freitas was invited to conduct her own radio show on that same radio broadcaster. *As Nossas Melodias* (Our Melodies) was a monthly show that lasted from 1955 to 1967 for which she had to compose, arrange and conduct Portuguese popular music.¹⁶² It was Elvira de Freitas' only conducting appointment, and most remarkably, the only contract that a woman conductor had in Portugal during the whole 20th century. The end of the show was the end of Elvira de Freitas' conducting career.

While Francine Benoît got only two chances to conduct, Berta Alves de Sousa, Nathércia Couto, and Elvira de Freitas had more chances to do so. Francine Benoît's political radicalization in the late 1930s resulted in her getting no support or invitations from state institutions and from then onward she saw her recognition limited mostly to a circle of people who, like her, operated in an ideological field opposed to the regime's. The letters in Benoît's collection show two important aspects about the 1939 performance, the second time she conducted an orchestra: it was Benoît's idea to conduct the orchestra, and she found out (or had the confirmation) afterwards that people from *Emissora Nacional* did not like her. Benoît presented her proposal to conduct the orchestra of the *Emissora Nacional* herself to Frederico de Freitas, who at that time was that orchestra's artistic director. After discussing it with the radio executives, Freitas told Benoît that her proposal had been "enthusiastically welcomed".¹⁶³ However, shortly after Benoît's performance, Santiago Kastner, who also worked in the *Emissora Nacional*, wrote that he had always defended Benoît "among the 'masters' of the Emissora [Nacional...] who are so friendly when they talk to you, but behind your back..."¹⁶⁴ The

¹⁶² She conducted the popular orchestra of *Emissora Nacional* for the show.

¹⁶³ Frederico de Freitas to Francine Benoît, 1939, BN-N33/778.

¹⁶⁴ Kastner to Benoît, nd/12/1939, BN-N33/877.

fact that Benoît had no trustworthy acquaintances in official institutions and the tone of mockery suggested by Kastner were likely some of the causes for the end of her conducting career, together with the public invisibility of the 1939 concert, which was not part of the regular programming of the season.¹⁶⁵

By contrast, Berta Alves de Sousa, Nathércia Couto, and Elvira de Freitas were on the pro-regime side. Each of them had a different relationship with the regime's elites: either by belonging to families with relevant cultural capital, or by deliberately asking for the regime's support. In my view, this allowed the regime to tokenize them, to project an atmosphere of relative modernity and acceptance of women in the arts, which was particularly evident in Nathércia Couto's public visibility. However, that modernity was only a façade since even these three well-connected women had scarce opportunities, and their conducting careers were short. Mid-century Portuguese society's gender expectations restricted these women's careers, including Benoît's, in three overlapping manners: (1) ageism, (2) the scrutiny to women's appearance, (3) the repertoires and context of performances, and (4) the fact that the majority, if not all, of the orchestras' members were men.

Firstly, to demonstrate the ageism at play; these women's conducting careers took place mostly while they were young, and ceased when they reached middle age. Francine Benoît was forty-five years old when she last conducted in 1939, Berta Alves de Sousa was forty-four, Nathércia Couto was forty-six, and Elvira de Freitas was forty. Ageism is the discrimination based on someone's age, it involves the prejudice that people's worth declines with age. In the case of women, this prejudice overlaps with sexual

¹⁶⁵ It was likely not a coincidence that the concert did not receive much publicity and was not part of the season's programming, but more research is needed to develop this argument.

objectification, and women are considered attractive only when they are young. As American legal scholar Catherine MacKinnon argued, “sexual objectification is the primary process of the subjection of women” (1982, p. 541). In this case, by tolerating young(er) women as conductors, the regime and some cultural elites promoted the exoticism and objectification of women, spiced by their musical talent.¹⁶⁶ It is for this reason that the press of their time stressed the gender of Nathércia Couto and Berta Alves de Sousa and promoted their talent as outstanding – women were not expected to be talented and even less to display that talent by conducting, an activity that implies authoritative leadership. However, as these women reached a certain age, their professional aspirations became inconvenient, because women were considered too old to be publicly objectified.



Figure 3.7 Nathércia Couto in 1950 (Arquivo Municipal do Barreiro).

The second aspect that limited these women conductors was the scrutiny to women’s appearance. Francine Benoît and Nathércia Couto stood out by wearing gender

¹⁶⁶ Elvira de Freitas was an exception here. Her public persona was mostly absent from the newspapers of the time – probably by request or indication of her father, who was often present at her rehearsals and performances, as pictures and witnesses confirm. Nathércia Couto, on the other hand, actively cultivated her public persona, as my research shows.

non-conforming clothes while conducting. In 1939, Benoît conducted in a man's suit, a topic that I analyse in more depth in chapter 4. That remarkable choice certainly added to the non-conformity of her persona. Not only was she an opponent of the regime, she was also defying social norms in her professional activity and in her presentation. The press chose to ignore that feature of her performance, likely as a strategy to avoid creating a precedent for women to wear men's attire. Almost twenty years later, Nathércia Couto invested greatly in her outfits. Even though she never conducted in trousers in Portugal (she did in other countries), her promotional picture showed a somewhat gender-bending attire, featured in the above picture.¹⁶⁷ The outfits Nathércia Couto wore helped promote her exoticism as a woman conductor, as the reviews of her performances in Portuguese (and international) newspapers bear witness.¹⁶⁸ Francine Benoît and Nathércia Couto stood out through the way they dressed, while both Berta Alves de Sousa and Elvira de Freitas wore traditional feminine clothing to conduct.

Thirdly, the repertoire/genre and context of the three women conductors' performances was yet another aspect that limited their careers. Nathércia Couto and Berta Alves de Sousa's concerts were either charity or free concerts, promoted by municipalities

¹⁶⁷ Couto's handwritten notes say that in Portugal "it was ridiculous to conduct wearing pants" (Nathércia Couto's handwritten notes, Nathércia Couto's papers in Espaço Memória, Arquivo Municipal do Barreiro). Even though her comment suggested otherwise, it was rare for women conductors to wear pants also outside of Portugal. Since the late 19th-century, women conductors often wore overly feminine attire precisely to signal their womanhood. This was the case of Josephine Amann, and her women's orchestra, or the early 20th-century American women's orchestras, and it was still the case for example with the early career of the Canadian conductor Ethel Stark (1910-2012) or with the early career of Berta Alves de Sousa, who wore delicate breezy long dresses in light colours at her first concerts as a conductor. Both women changed their appearance later on. In 1927, the Women's Symphony Orchestra of Chicago and its conductor Ethel Leginska (1886-1970) were already wearing dark and discreet attires (Dempf, 2006, p. 862). After the 1930s, women conductors consistently wore discreet attires, often including skirt suits in dark colours, similar to men's but with a skirt instead of pants. By then, the strategy seems to have been shifting the focus of the performances to the music. In this aspect, Dutch conductor Frieda Belinfante (1904-1995) and Francine Benoît were remarkable examples of women wearing full male attire in their conducting careers in the 1930s (United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, <https://www.ushmm.org/>).

¹⁶⁸ A great example can be found in an unsigned critique in the newspaper *O Comércio do Porto*, 26/06/1957, n.p., that lengthily commented on Couto's outfit. Nuno Barreiros also wrote: "The show of a lady in tails conducting an orchestra is, if not pleasant to many, more or less unheard of" (Barreiros, in *Diário Ilustrado*, 10/06/1957, n.p.).

or other official organs. Besides strengthening my argument that they were instrumentalized by the regime, it also shows that they were not placed on an equal footing with male conductors, who performed in regular professional events, or in regular radio appointments. Elvira de Freitas' activity as a conductor, restricted to a radio show, where very few people were able to see her, was defined by the musical genre executed: popular music. According to Manuel Deniz Silva, it was through the state broadcaster that the regime's cultural politics installed a binary classification of music opposing popular music to classical music (Silva, 2005, p. 19). Elvira de Freitas' father publicly remarked that popular music genres were inferior to "serious music" (Marinho, 2018, p. 12) and complained of not having more chances to compose "serious music" (Silva, 2005, p. 376).¹⁶⁹ Frederico de Freitas actively participated in restricting his daughter's musical activity to a category that he himself saw as inferior – as a perfect example of "men's standards that have shaped [women's] musical style" (Post, 1994, p. 45). This is to say that Elvira de Freitas was used in a dynamic cycle of double subjugation: of women and of music. By having a woman conducting popular music, the genre was made subordinate to serious music, while at the same time, women's conducting activity was made subordinate to men's, because they conducted "inferior" music.

Lastly, one cannot overlook the fact that these women conducted orchestras mostly composed of men, often even exclusively – with the exception of Benoît's and Alves de Sousa's women's orchestras. Women remained a minority in the Portuguese orchestras.¹⁷⁰ As an example, in the existing pictures of Couto conducting the *Orquestra*

¹⁶⁹ In Portuguese, the terms used are "música ligeira", which translates to "light music", for popular music and "música séria" for European art music.

¹⁷⁰ This can be confirmed by analysing the records of the Portuguese Union of Musicians, where the disparity between the number of men and women registered as professional musicians is evidence of a very unequal field.

Sinfónica do Conservatório de Música Porto (see Figure 3.1), or the Brazilian *Grande Orquestra Tupi*, there are no other women in sight aside from the conductor. If this was the case in the 1960s, when Benoît conducted in 1939, the orchestra of the *Emissora Nacional* was hardly more balanced.¹⁷¹



Figure 3.8 Nathércia Couto conducting the *Orquestra Sinfónica do Porto* in Matosinhos, 12/09/1958 (Arquivo Municipal do Barreiro).

The dominance of men in professional orchestras has certainly hindered the personal dynamics between conductor and musicians. It is hard to evaluate the impact of such dynamics given the temporal distance and the silence in these women's public remarks. However, once again Nadia Boulanger's case comes to mind. According to her reception in the press and her own words, her conducting career was peaceful and successful with a "fine camaraderie between [...herself] and the musicians" (Boulanger cited in Brooks, 1996, p. 103). Perhaps unsurprisingly, later research has shown that Boulanger frequently faced animosity and struggled for the respect of male musicians during her international tours in the 1930s and 1940s. Jeanice Brooks argued that "Boulanger may have thought discussing it with the press would deepen their [the

¹⁷¹ I could not find any picture or list of the orchestra's members from that year.

musicians'] antagonism or jeopardize future engagements" (Brooks, 1996, p. 103) and so she decided to hide the challenges she faced as a woman conductor. Under a fascist dictatorship, Portugal was only apparently more progressive or accepting than other western countries. The fact that even the women who were tolerated and sponsored by the regime had short conducting careers strongly suggests that sexism and misogyny were their living reality.

These rare opportunities these women received to conduct, the style and context of their performances and the early abandonment of their conducting activity show that they were targets of symbolic violence – possibly even more than symbolic. That violence might have been invisible to the women themselves, or they purposely hid it. Francine Benoît never publicly mentioned the rare occasions when she conducted, which is particularly revealing as she conducted a women's orchestra at a time when there were no women conducting professionally in the country. Berta Alves de Sousa stopped conducting without providing any explanation. Elvira de Freitas stated that she stopped conducting by her own decision because she did not like the exposure.¹⁷² Whether she did not like it or being in a position of power over mostly male musicians under her father's guidance and supervision positioned her as a target of violence, the fact is that it additionally coincided with raising her two young children, which probably added to the pressure on her to leave such activity. Nathércia Couto was the only one who publicly addressed her lack of opportunities, in a 1982 interview. Willingly or unwillingly, she directed her bitterness and anger towards the wrong targets. She did not acknowledge the political implications of her activity as a regime supporter during the *Estado Novo*, and after the 1974 Revolution as a former regime supporter, or the sexism of the professional

¹⁷² Letter from Elvira de Freitas to the editor in chief of the newspaper *Correio da Manhã*, 14/09/1982, PT/Collection of Elvira de Freitas, Biblioteca da Universidade de Aveiro.

field. Instead, she blamed the end of the *Orquestra Filarmónica de Lisboa* and an obsession with foreign conductors for her lack of opportunities in those nearly two decades (M.T., 1982, p. 12). Both her arguments were incorrect. The *Filarmónica* had been integrated in the *Teatro de São Carlos*, and even though several foreign conductors were occasionally hired to conduct Portugal's main orchestras, there were many active Portuguese conductors – all male.

These four women's conducting careers were built on unstable and permanent negotiations between a cultural community resistant to women in positions of power, and a double performativity: of gender and of political affinity. Benoît did not engage in either, and a career as a conductor became virtually impossible. All the reasons I have listed above led to the abandonment of the other three women's conducting careers. After Nathércia Couto in 1970, the next Portuguese woman conductor to build a successful (international) career was Joana Carneiro (1976), in the first decade of the twenty-first century.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that, even though no women conductor was duly recognized during the Portuguese regime, Benoît stood out for being the first woman who conducted, and for being the only antifascist among them. Benoît's limited conducting activity further demonstrates that her achievements were due to a negotiation between a culture unwilling to accept women musicians and intellectuals, especially if they opposed the State's ideology, and reputed male composers and intellectuals validating her expertise by not focusing on, or even mentioning, her gender. However, as I argue throughout this dissertation, this negotiation was tenuous at best.

Besides discussing Benoît's conducting career, this chapter has discussed Francine Benoît's other professional activities. While scholars have analysed the interactions between musical expertise and political affinities for some male composers, most noticeable in Fernando Lopes-Graça's case,¹⁷³ they have not done so for women musicians' careers, and neither has gender been taken in consideration, for any of them. Most remarkably, gender and politics have also been largely left out of Benoît's historiographical recovery, with the exception of my Master's thesis. This chapter has shown that Benoît was a pioneer in several aspects of her activity, which would have placed her in the historiographical canon, had she been a man, but have not. Moreover, it has argued that there were several dynamics simultaneously present in her activity, as a result of her gender and her political affinities, which made her integration in the Portuguese public sphere particularly challenging. My analysis of that integration shows that she did not compromise in building a more gender-conforming or regime-conforming persona, but rather insisted on making a difference in every aspect of her activity.

This chapter further confirms the research done by other feminist musicologists that shows that women musicians were downgraded in the performance contexts and styles of music that they were allowed to (Post, 1994). Scholars have also shown that early 20th-century women composers were rejected and isolated, and often had to accumulate several occupations, in order to have some financial stability and a professional career in music (Smith, 1994). Although Benoît operated in the field of European art music, and did not have to conform to other genres, as for example Elvira de Freitas did, her musical performances took place outside the mainstream circuits and

¹⁷³ See Vieira de Carvalho (2017, 2012a, 2012b, 2006), Manuel Deniz Silva (2005, 2017a), Teresa Cascudo (2010a), António de Sousa (2006), among others, or São José Corte-Real (2003) in the case of Frederico de Freitas.

the regular programs of Portuguese institutions and venues – particularly after the late 1930s. Moreover, because Benoît's music was not widely performed or praised in the press, and because she had several work appointments due to her financial instability, she composed less than she wished, and became known for her activity as a music critic and as a music teacher. Crucially, teaching music was a gender-confirming occupation due to women's perceived tendency to care for and educate. Even working as a music critic was a more acceptable occupation for a woman than composing or conducting, because it was mainly her name that was public and not so much her image. Still, Benoît was a pioneer in music criticism as well for being the first woman in Portugal with a contract as such. My main argument is that Benoît's place in the public sphere was constantly negotiated and shaped by her gender, musical expertise, and political affinities – as a member of the communist opposition. In the next chapter, I will analyse the construction of Benoît's public persona throughout the years, which was also part of this crucial negotiation.

CHAPTER 4. FROM *FEMME FRAGILE* TO *FEMME NOUVELLE* – THE EVOLVING CONSTRUCTION OF FRANCINE BENOÎT’S PUBLIC PERSONA

INTRODUCTION

In a 2013 article on the historiography of biography, Dutch historian Mineke Bosch discussed the biographical subjects’ performance of identity, summing up different theoretical insights and concluding that a historical personality’s identity is orchestrated, and that it is a relational category dependent on one’s social and historical context (Bosch, 2013). Bosch traces the developments of biography to Erving Goffman’s book *The Everyday Presentation of Self*, where the Canadian sociologist argued that identity (in the sense of self-presentation or public persona) is performative, and a collective process because it depends on others’ perceptions, largely determined by one’s historical context (Goffman, 1956). Therefore, Bosch reinforces that historians and/or biographers must account for “the many diverse identities that the biographical subject has adopted in accordance with changing historical circumstances” (Bosch, 2013, p. 19). Considering such insights, I have distinguished two phases in the construction of Benoît’s public persona, based on her contrasting discursive and image strategies. The first, that I call the *femme fragile* and lasted until the mid-1930s, and the second, from the late 1930s onwards, that I call the *femme nouvelle*. These two phases can be found in her participation in Portuguese cultural life through her musical *oeuvre*, her relationship with the fascist regime, her feminist and leftist activities, her sexuality, and her (masculine) presentation.

In the recent historiographical recovery of Benoît, scholars have overlooked gender as a principle of social organization, and have consequently failed to analyse how it has shaped Benoît’s career (Calado, 2010, 2018; Cascudo & Lains, 2010c, pp. 138-139;

Lains, 2012, pp. 82-84; Vieira, 2018, pp. 87-95). Sometimes Benoît is described as a modern woman, according to the stereotype of the *femme nouvelle*, who remained celibate throughout her life (Vieira, 2011, 2012). This hypothesis engages in psychoanalytical interpretations, which Mineke Bosch defended is a tendency that historians must avoid (Bosch, 2013, p. 13).

In this chapter, I will show that Benoît's early public image was in accordance with the stereotype of the *femme fragile*,¹⁷⁴ but changed after her political radicalization of the late 1930s. Recent historiography has largely ignored the first phase of her public persona, that of the *femme fragile*, and instead equated her public persona with that of the *femme nouvelle*, or new women, based on photos of Benoît from later years. Crucially, I argue that there was a change in her public persona, informed by her radicalized participation in the Portuguese cultural sphere, and I argue for a nuanced and comprehensive perspective of the gender politics behind Benoît's public persona. My main argument is that Benoît changed or adapted the way she dressed to match her increasing cultural capital and political affirmation as queer antifascist woman. In my view, that change in her physical appearance was another tool for her to be recognized as an intellectual. I will show that her public image was largely a result of how she chose to perform gender. Benoît's later pictures, as well as her outfits at formal and informal events, suggest that there were certain particularities about her gender performance, which prove witnesses' accounts about her outfits and hairstyle being different from those

¹⁷⁴ My analysis starts from the assumption that these ideals or stereotypes were, as argued by Indian Historian Ruby Maloni, "more of an illusion, to be studied and understood later more as a literary creation and cultural symbol" (Maloni, 2010, p. 881). I will not argue that Benoît or others purposely portrayed her as a stereotype while she was alive, but that the pictures and other descriptions of her ended up creating an image that can be analyzed through these lenses.

of her friends and other contemporaries, namely of Benoît wearing dark and loose clothes.¹⁷⁵

Benoît's hairstyle too, was a tool of her political affirmation. In a 1984 interview, Benoît spoke of her preference for wearing short hair. Firstly, she spoke about her choice of cutting her hair short after her father's death in 1914 (Neves, 1984, p. 27-28). The second occasion that Benoît cut her hair was after she broke up with her boyfriend Júlio César Ceia, whom she dated from 1919 to 1924: "Finally! [...] I immediately grabbed the scissors" (Benoît in Neves, 1984, p. 29). These two accounts prove that for Benoît, wearing her hair short was a revolutionary act against men's dominance, and freedom to make decisions about herself, through her appearance. In what follows, I will analyse the construction of Benoît's public persona during the first and second phase of her life, until the mid-1930s and from the late-1930s onwards.

4.1. A DISTINCT YOUNG LADY

The strategy Benoît used to establish her place within the Portuguese cultural sphere in the early years of her professional career was characterized by a certain adherence to gender expectations, albeit somewhat subversive. This first phase of Benoît's life, which lasted until the mid-to-late 1930s, materialized in different aspects, such as her public image, her musical oeuvre, or her relationships with men. Starting from her image, Benoît

¹⁷⁵ For my Master's thesis I have interviewed the pianist and retired teacher of the CN Elisa Lamas (1924-2021) and the double bassist and retired teacher of the AAM José Manuel Cunha (193?) who was a member of *Coro da Academia de Amadores de Música*, and for my doctoral research I had other informal conversations with people who met Francine Benoît. Everyone mentioned the fact that she always wore dark and loose clothes. Elisa Lamas inclusively said that everyone knew she was a lesbian because of the way she dressed and behaved using adjectives such as "ugly" and "masculine" to characterize Benoît's physical presentation (Braga, 2013).

wore typically feminine clothes, aligned with the *garçonne*/flapper fashion of the time, although in pictures of her in the press she did not use those *garçonne* clothes.

As discussed in the introduction of this chapter, Benoît publicly spoke of her choice to wear her hair short in a late life interview (Benoît cited in Neves, 1984, pp. 27-28). Portuguese historian Gabriela Mota Marques stated that, for early-20th-century women, cutting their hair was a gesture with social and cultural implications (2007, p. 13). Benoît recalled that she had always wanted to keep her hair short, but when she reached sixteen years old, her father decided that as a “lady”, she should grow her hair (Benoît cited in Neves, 1984, pp. 27-28). US historian Whitney Walton commented that in the biographies of historical female personalities, “the absence of paternal authority might have enabled these women to construct independent identities that departed from the common expectations for elite females” (Walton, 2000, p. 106). Although such a statement risks touching the realms of psychology, the death of Benoît’s father enabled her to make more independent choices: choosing her own professional career as a musician, and not caring about what society would think of her by not conforming to gender expectations in her presentation. This manifestation of Benoît’s agency at age nineteen was already a feminist gesture.

Portugal, and particularly the Portuguese elites, lived under the influence of Paris since the end of the 19th century: all that was French was desired, appreciated, replicated, and even mimicked, particularly in regards to fashion and cultural practices (Magalhães, 2014; Marques, 2007; Barreira, 1992). Even though they were not Parisians, the Benoîts profited from their cultural capital of being French native speakers, and of having lived in France. In Europe and North America, the 1920s marked the beginning of a new era of bustling modernity, following the end of WWI. The term *garçonne* was adopted from French author Victor Margueritte’s (1866-1941) novel with the same name, which

discussed a new model of femininity: women who did not conform to the norms, who had professional occupations and were financially independent, who changed their clothing style to a less feminine presentation, who visited cafés and dancing clubs, or used drugs like cocaine and opium (Margueritte, 1922). In short, they adopted what were considered men's habits. The press and especially the cinema rapidly disseminated the model, whose presentation consisted of women with short hair, shorter skirts and lower cleavage, with lighter fabrics and a low waistline (Marques, 2007). In English, those women were called flappers, and in Portugal they were called either *garçonnes* or *cabelos à joãozinho*, an untranslatable reference to men's hairstyle. Portuguese historian Gabriela Mota Marques noted that the *garçonne* style was popular in Portugal throughout the 1920s, although limited to an urban, upper-class, and educated elite (2007). Even though Benoît decided to cut her hair after her father's death in 1914, it wasn't until a decade later that the style became popular among women in Portugal (Marques, 2007, p. 54). An analysis of the correspondence and pictures of Benoît shows that she was among the pioneer and daring women who adopted a modern style in Lisbon since the 1920s, as the following picture (Fig. 4.1) and excerpt demonstrates:



Figure 4.1 Benoît in downtown Lisbon, 1920. (Neves, 1984b, p. 23).

Imagine, my love, that I saw you from afar four years ago in downtown Lisbon [...] You were lovely, in a tailleur, with black and white squares, a little white hat and a white veil. You were looking at a store window

with your lorgnon.¹⁷⁶ You were so different from the Francine that I had met in Setúbal! You were chic, chic, chic. Where both of you walked you left a Parisian je ne sais quoi... (Gabriela Gomes to Francine Benoît, nd. BN-N33/1108)¹⁷⁷

In the above excerpt from a letter, Gabriela Nemésio briefly described how Francine Benoît was dressed one day she had seen her in Lisbon circa 1916. According to this description, and confirmed by the picture above from 1920 (Fig. 4.1), Benoît adopted the Parisian fashion of the *tailleur* early. In addition to the *tailleur* with straight lines, Benoît was wearing short hair, a *lorgnon* and a cloche hat (both in the picture and according to Gomes' description), all of which were typical of the *garçonne* look (Marques, 2007, pp. 63, 108). Gabriela Gomes show how Paris' modernity was something to aspire to through the comment that Benoît was "chic, chic, chic" and that she and her mother had a Parisian feel.

Two other contrasting pictures, one of a more casual setting (Fig. 4.2), and another of a professional setting (Fig. 4.3), further consolidate the argument that Benoît adopted this style. The following photograph is from September 1927, from one of Benoît's visits to *Cernache* (Coimbra).

¹⁷⁶ A *lorgnon*, or *pince-nez*, was a pair of spectacles without earpieces. The word can also be used for a monocle.

¹⁷⁷ This letter must be from 1919 as that was the year Benoît and Gomes Nemésio begun exchanging letters again, after five years apart. For more on the relationship between Francine Benoît and Gabriela Nemésio, see chapter 1, section 1.3, Francine Benoît's queer love life.



Figure 4.2 From left to right: Victorine Benoît, Virgínia Gersão, Gabriela Nemésio and Francine Benoît, 28/09/1927 (BN-N33).

In the above photo (Fig. 4.2), Benoît's mother, Virgínia Gersão (1896-1974), Gabriela Gomes Nemésio, and Benoît were all wearing 1920s attires, and they all wore a *garçonne* haircut. As one can gather, these outfits were not fully casual, but having someone accompanying them to take pictures was not a quotidian occurrence. However, this was still an informal atmosphere: the Benoîts were close with Gabriela Gomes Nemésio's family, the Monjardino Gomes, since their first years in Portugal. Virgínia Gersão studied with Gabriela Nemésio in Coimbra and their families were likewise close. The next picture (Fig. 4.3) is from a professional setting. It was taken in the *Conservatório Nacional's* auditorium.



Figure 4.3 Francine Benoît in the National Conservatory, 1928 (Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian).

In the above picture (Fig. 4.3), taken at one of the sessions of the series of concerts and lectures organized by Benoît in 1928, her outfit was gender conforming, even if progressive. She was wearing a typical 1920s *garçonne* dress, as popularized by the press and film industry, with the same *garçonne* haircut.¹⁷⁸ Despite conservative accusations that the *garçonnes* were depraved or masculinized women, it was nevertheless, a female fashion style, associated with a modern and urban concept of femininity, when women were starting to reclaim the public space and taking on professional occupations until then exclusively occupied by men (Marques, 2007). When this picture was taken, Benoît was struggling to affirm her place within the Portuguese music sphere – she was already a resident music critic for *Diário de Lisboa* since 1927; a music teacher, and a composer who was starting to be recognized. 1928 was also the year when Benoît first conducted in public, as examined in the previous chapter. Before analyzing her depictions in the press, I had expected to find similar pictures accompanied by gendered code words and comments about her appearance, as it was common at that time.¹⁷⁹ Surprisingly, Benoît's pictures did not show a *garçonne*, and I found very few gendering texts accompanying Benoît's presence in the press. Benoît occasionally invested in professional portraits that were used for promotion in the media. The first such picture that I could find in the media is shown below (Fig. 4.4), from December 16, 1925.

¹⁷⁸ Benoît's dress was short (knee length), and showed her arms and some cleavage, had fluid and simple lines, a low waist, all characteristics of the *garçonne* fashion (Marques, 2007, p. 34, 61).

¹⁷⁹ The musicologists Jeanice Brooks (1996) and Annegret Fauser (1998), among others, have analyzed how women composers were described and pictured by their contemporaries in the press during the early to mid-20th century. Brooks has focused on Nadia Boulanger's conducting career in France and in the USA and Fauser has discussed the first years when women composers were allowed to participate in the *Prix de Rome*. Both researchers have shown that it was common to gender women composers from the first half of the 20th-century in the press through the use of code words, by commenting on women's appearance, beauty, modesty, or fragility.

indeed philosophical, of a Hegelian perspective on the concept of the genius (a creative artist) and the work of art. In it, Benoît argued that the artist did not exist in a void, nor was the work of art an unattainable demonstration of geniality. On the contrary, she contended that the work of art spoke of the artist's emotional, ethical, and social environment. She positioned herself against the deification of "the genius", in whose "hands runs blood just like ours" ("Um trecho da conferência", 1925, p. 8). The patronizing tone of the introductory text is evident in the surprise that a young lady can "even" discuss "the most complex problems of human thought" with "clarity and precision" and not overly sentimental like most women ("Um trecho da conferência", 1925, p. 8). Accompanying the text, the picture showed a gender-conforming young woman: her draped and flowy blouse in a light color with a suggestive, but still composed neckline signaled purity, and elegance, with her head modestly tilted and looking from below, and a subtle smile on her face. She did not look like a *garçonne* in this picture. This depiction, text and picture combined, defined Benoît's public presence within the limits of good behavior. Her "vivid intelligence" and "admirable culture" were only proof that she was a well-bred young lady who did not pose a threat to the social order, but instead displayed a special type of femininity, enhanced by her "elegant [...] and [...] strong" intellect ("Um trecho da conferência", 1925, p. 8).

This was similar to how other early-20th-century women music professionals were portrayed in French press at that time. German-American musicologist Annegret Fauser (1998) analyzed the case of the French composers Hélène Fleury (1876-1957), Nadia Boulanger, and Lili Boulanger (1893-1918), and US musicologist Anya Holland-Barry

It is curious to note that abundantly, women in literature are almost always sentimental – but the author of "*O gênio artístico e as suas manifestações*" is an exception and, with an elegant, simple, harmonious, flexible, plastically noble, and structurally strong style touches, with clarity and precision, the most complex problems of human thought." ("Um trecho da conferência", 1925, p. 8)

(2012) did a thorough analysis of Lili Boulanger's public persona. But the subsequent times that Benoît featured in newspapers and magazines were perhaps even more surprising: the pictures were different, and there was rarely any mention or suggestion of gender in the text.

An outstanding example was the cover article of the October 1928 issue of the women's magazine *O Jornal da Mulher* (The Woman's Newspaper), featured below (Fig. 4.5). The author of the article was the composer and priest Tomàs Borba, who had been Benoît's music teacher when she arrived in Portugal in 1906. One of the most remarkable aspects of the article, which occupied the first full page and a third of the second, was that Borba referred to his former student using only her last name "Benoît" twice, which was very uncommon when writing about a woman. Borba complemented Benoît's musical talent and her culture, he noted that she was "adored to the extreme by a large number of female students", and he declared that she would have a glorious future in the "history of Portuguese music" (Borba, 1928, p. 2). The other remarkable aspect was that despite the public recognition and credibility that Borba's text inspired, the picture showed an infantilized Benoît, wearing a light dress, which showed her full arms and even a bit of her leg.



Figure 4.5 Cover (left) and First Page (right) of *O Jornal da Mulher* (Borba, 1928, pp.1-2)¹⁸¹

On January 27, 1930, Francine Benoît had a public concert with her works. This seems to have been the first and only event with music exclusively by Benoît – a rather uncommon event, as the very few times her music was performed in public it was part of a program, together with music by other (male) composers. National and local newspapers advertised the concert – *Diário de Notícias* and *Diário de Lisboa* included the same interview with the composer. In *Diário de Lisboa*'s interview, there was not one single gendered remark, nor were there any questions regarding women's music. Benoît answered questions about her musical career, on what was her opinion about composing songs in Portuguese, and the repertoire for the concert. An interview that did not stand out from interviews with male composers of that time, if it were not for the picture alongside the text (Fig. 4.5).¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ I wish to thank Professor Anna Klobucka for these pictures.

¹⁸² This picture had been used before in *Diário de Lisboa*, announcing one of Benoît's talks (*Diário de Lisboa*, 30/03/1928, p. 2).



Figure 4.6 Announcement of a concert with Benoît's music (*Diário de Lisboa*, 25/01/1930, p. 3 – Fundação Mário Soares).

Despite Benoît's short hair, the above picture (Fig. 4.6) suggested purity, frailty, and vulnerability through the exposure of her seemingly naked shoulders, and it seemed to be there precisely to reassure Benoît's womanhood. Two nearly contemporary similar portrayals, showed below (Fig.4.7), further consolidate this argument.



Figure 4.7 On the left, Benoît as a “person of the moment” (*Ilustração*, 01/02/1928, p. 19). On the right, an excerpt of one of Benoît's talks (*Ilustração*, 01/05/1928, p. 35).

Here too, Benoît's pictures suggested a naked and pure, virginal body. In the magazine page on the left, Benoît featured in the section “Eminent persons of the

moment” with a short text praising her recitals and talks (*Ilustração*, 01/02/1928, p. 19).¹⁸³

In the magazine page on the right, Benoît’s portrait accompanied an excerpt of one of her talks (*Ilustração*, 01/05/1928, p. 35). In this picture, Benoît was looking down and further away from the onlooker, which added shyness and modesty, desired qualities in a ‘proper young lady’.

No similar photo of a male personality in the 1920s would feature in a newspaper. Male public figures were always shown wearing full suits or tuxedos, as in the picture above on the left (Fig. 4.7). Other women, on the other hand, were shown fully and modestly dressed. The semiotic impact of these pictures sharply contrasted with the absence of any code words to gender Benoît’s professionalism in the texts. On the one hand, the written texts promoted her credibility as a professional by denying her any difference from male musicians; on the other hand, the pictures showed a very gendered and perhaps even infantilized Benoît. It is as if such pictures had to be there to make it bearable and credible that a woman composer in fact existed but her professionalism did not corrupt her femininity or her youth, and it did not pose a threat to the establishment.

Benoît was a regular collaborator in both *Diário de Lisboa* and *Ilustração*, which suggests that she was the one choosing the pictures to accompany the articles – as was generally the case with national artists that were to feature in newspapers. As such, Benoît purposely cultivated her performative femininity in a way that avoided clashing with the

¹⁸³ The text reads: “The eminent musicographer and musician, our collaborator, inaugurated with formidable geniality and great success, on the 23rd, her curious recitals, in which she showed, along with her rare lecturer skills, a delightful virtuosity and a very delicate sensitivity. The rest of the concerts from the series will take place shortly. In all of them, we are certain, mademoiselle Francine Benoit will achieve equal and profound success, well deserved not only for the exquisite artistic and intellectual abilities of the distinguished lady, but also for her remarkable initiative, now proved by the organization of these concerts, that the Portuguese musical mentality needed to complement the work of popularization that, from all sides, is observed, crusade to which Francine Benoit has been selflessly devoted” (*Ilustração*, 01/02/1928, p. 19). Although it may seem that there are too many adjectives, this was the literary style of this section of the magazine, and the text about Benoît does not differ much from the three texts referring to men, right next to it.

status quo, as a strategy to inscribe herself in the public arena as a professional musician. For this strategy to work, she made herself look younger than she was, because at 34 or 36 years old (in 1928 and 1930, respectively), she probably would not be considered a “young lady” by the standards of the time. She cultivated an idealized image of the young *femme fragile*, whose talent served as an eccentricity that made her femininity even more special. According to Fauser (1997, 1998) this strategy had been used in the previous decade by the French composer Lili Boulanger whose “embodiment of the *femme fragile* constituted a carefully constructed role, in which she took the unthreatening aspect of the eternal female” (Fauser, 1998, p. 124). But while Lili Boulanger was indeed a young woman, she died when she was 24 years old; Benoît at 36-38 was consistently trying to “succeed in conforming to a popular concept of femininity” (Fauser, 1998, p. 126) that was not intimidating to the musical establishment.

According to the 1920 Portuguese Population Census, the literacy rates were low, with only 28% of literate women, versus 41% of men (Censo da População de Portugal, 1923, p. 12). Although at this time Portugal had a high illiteracy rate of 65%, men were significantly more alphabetized than women. In the mid-1920s Portugal, the dominant consumers of newspapers were the urban male cultural and political elites. Benoît’s behaviour was strategic in order to establish herself in the public sphere, which consisted mostly of educated men.



Figure 4.8 Júlio César Ceia, unknown date (BN – N33).

Another aspect that defined Benoît's persona during this phase was her attempt at conforming to a heterosexual life. Benoît had three relationships with men during the 1920s. The longest was with the violin player Júlio César Ceia (1895-19?), featured above, from 1919 to 1924. The other two were shorter mutual flirtations that might have not translated into romantic relationships *per se*: an on-and-off fling with the poet Eugénio Vieira (1877-1948), and a short affair with the cellist João Passos (1876-1933).¹⁸⁴ These three men belonged to the same artistic elite of Benoît, and they likely met her through professional circumstances. Despite these attempts to have a socially accepted relationship, Benoît did not deny her affection towards the same sex. During this period, Benoît had a relationship with Gabriela Monjardino Gomes, since 1919, and with Suzanne Laurens (1904-2003) roughly from 1926 until 1930.¹⁸⁵ Both Gomes and Laurens ended up marrying men.

Lastly, while this first phase of Benoît's life marked the beginning of her career as a music critic and her professionalization as a music teacher (from a private lessons-only mode before the 1920s to wage earner in schools and other institutions), it also defined her work as a composer. With the exception of the 1917 "Six Small Quartets" for strings, which had been a composition exercise done at the *Conservatório Nacional*, and the 1929 "Evocação do Soberto Templo da Batalha" for string quartet and piano, Benoît's compositions until the mid-1930s were children's music and songs.¹⁸⁶ Thus, she was conforming to gender norms in her musical oeuvre, too, by composing genres considered less serious, in the case of children's music, or the domesticity that the song for voice and

¹⁸⁴ Benoît and Passos have played together on a few occasions during the 1920s.

¹⁸⁵ It is difficult to establish exactly when the relationships started and ended. This is why one cannot say until when Benoît's relationship with Gabriela Gomes Nemésio lasted. Although Gabriela married Vitorino Nemésio in 1926, both women remained very close throughout their lives. In the relationship with Suzanne Laurens, that I analyse in chapter 7, they gradually grew apart mostly thanks to the distance and to Laurens' family's reluctance to accept their closeness and pressure to find her a husband.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix 2 for the catalogue of Benoît's music.

piano offered, the genre that was most cultivated by dilettante women. Benoît only started composing for larger groups after the mid-1930s, and orchestral music even later.

This provides a consistent public portrait of Benoît until the mid-1930s. Despite having a non-conventional profession that granted her public visibility, Benoît was not yet directly involved in any women's groups, neither republican nor feminists. To counter-balance the disruptive aspect of her public profession, she performed and embodied a certain ideal of femininity, (compulsory) heterosexuality and heteronormative desire by the way she dressed and by her cultural action. Like many of her friends, Gabriela Gomes (Nemésio) being just an example, Benoît was at times reconciled with the idea of finding herself a husband who could help her by providing financial and personal stability and allow her to dedicate more time to her musical career.¹⁸⁷ However, as Benoît stated in 1984, she soon concluded that “men are so sexist” and “started a free life” (Benoît cited in Neves, 1984, p. 29). The latter translated into not getting romantically involved with men, but only with women, and embracing her career as an unmarried, professional and independent queer woman.

4.2. I STARTED A FREE LIFE. – THE INDEPENDENT AND QUEER BENOÎT

Many life-changing events took place in Benoît's life during the mid-to-late 1930s. These events were of three types: emotional, through the impact of Maria Albina Cochofel and Irene Lisboa, professional, being denied a position at the *Conservatório Nacional*, and political, with the changes in the Portuguese political panorama after the establishment of

¹⁸⁷ I say “at times” because in her letters with her mother and with close friends, she herself was uncertain if she really wanted to or should get married.

Estado Novo in 1933, Lopes-Graça's political radicalization, and Benoît's 1937 visit to Lopes-Graça in Paris.

Meeting Maria Albina Cochofel was one of the major changes in Benoît's life. It was through Gabriela Nemésio and her Coimbra networks that Francine Benoît and her mother gradually became closer to the Cochofel family in the 1930s.¹⁸⁸ The aristocratic families of Coimbra knew each other, and the Cochofels were close to the Monjardino Gomes, Gabriela's family – the Benoîts frequently visited both. Maria Albina Cochofel soon became a strong influence over Benoît, likely before the beginning of their relationship. Cochofel had divorced her violent husband in 1919 while pregnant, during the Influenza pandemic, and raised her son by herself, with the help of her mother. Cochofel was a model of a strong, highly cultured and accomplished woman living and managing without a man. The writer Irene Lisboa (1892-1958) was another of Benoît's close friends who certainly influenced her as well. Lisboa also loved women, and lived an independent life, she was also a leftist, and she struggled to make ends meet as a writer – especially after the regime forced her to an early retirement in 1940, as her advanced pedagogical ideas were not in tune with the regime's (Fernandes *in* Morão, 1992, p. 54).

Another life-changing event for Benoît was being refused a job as a teacher at the *Conservatório Nacional* in 1931, discussed in the previous chapter, as the following letter sent to Maria Letícia Silva in 1933 testifies:

Day by day, my bitterness for not having an official position grows. [...] I have learned so much in the big gear that this practical life is, with its established powers, with the power of habits and behaviors, in the last six years! And it is curious that instead of making me lose faith in myself [...] this] makes it grow and become more grounded by day. (Benoît to Silva, 11/09/1933 – Casa da Achada, DOS10-5-doc7-003)

¹⁸⁸ The Monjardino Gomes met and became close to the Benoîts in Setúbal, but eventually moved to Coimbra. The exact year when the Benoîts met the Cochofels is unknown, but it was sometime between the mid-1920s and the early 1930s.

In this letter, Benoît mentioned that the refusal of a teaching position at the *Conservatório Nacional* made her more bitter towards life's "established powers", but remarked that it only made her more self-confident. This suggests that Benoît herself was aware of her inner changes. According to Portuguese Historian Fernando Rosas, the period between the military coup of 1926 and the establishment of the Estado Novo in 1933, "was one of the most agitated and politically complex of the [Portuguese] history of the twentieth-century" (1994, p. 151). While it is true that the country was already living under a right-wing dictatorship since 1926, the *Revirvalho* (Turn-around) conflicts were attempts at not having a fascist dictatorship.¹⁸⁹ However, Salazar's ascension to *de facto* Head of State in 1932 and the new Constitution approved by a referendum in March 1933 brought significant changes. Benoît specifically mentioned the six years before 1933 as key to her new awareness of what she called the "practical life". In 1933, she knew many of her friends were under surveillance by the State Police, and they even arrested her friend Lopes-Graça twice in that decade (in 1931 and 1936). The events that followed, such as the invitation to be part of a Committee on choral singing in public schools in 1937, her trip to Paris in that same year, and the first time she was investigated by the State Police in 1938, studied in the previous chapter, can also help understand Benoît's political radicalization and gender emancipation.¹⁹⁰

Benoît's image was one of the aspects of her public persona that changed significantly during the late 1930s. When analysing post-1940s pictures, her image is

¹⁸⁹ As discussed in chapter 1, from 1926 to 1928, Portugal lived under a military dictatorship, followed by the Ditadura Nacional (National Dictatorship) from 1928 to 1933. The Estado Novo constitution came to place in April 1933 and the PVDE was created in August 1933. The period 1926-1940 is commonly known as *Reviralhismo* or *Revirvalho* (roughly translates as turnaround), and was characterized by several revolts and attempts of coups to overthrow the regime. The most violent events took place between 1926 and 1931, when the country nearly entered a civil war.

¹⁹⁰ According to Manuel Deniz Silva, 1936 was a decisive year for Fernando Lopes-Graça's political activism (Silva, 2005, p. 594). As discussed in the previous chapter, Benoît's 1937 visit to Lopes-Graça in Paris included attending events of the *Front Populaire*, and meeting intellectuals connected to it.

extraordinarily different from her earlier pictures. Most of Benoît's published articles had no picture with it, but some of them did come with a picture. Benoît's 1958 yearly review was one such example (Fig. 4.9).



Figure 4.9 Benoît in *Diário de Lisboa* (31/12/1958, p. 21).

The most striking aspect of the picture above is how it transmits the opposite message of the pictures analysed before; namely, assertiveness and confidence. Benoît is standing slightly above the onlooker, her hair remained short at a time when it was no longer fashionable for women to wear it short, and she was now fully covered, wearing a man-tailored suit. Benoît is here an embodiment of the butch, or the “mannish lesbian”, a term that US anthropologist Esther Newton found historically accurate (Newton, 1984, p. 560). As discussed in the previous chapter, this was the outfit Benoît wore to conduct an orchestra in 1939.¹⁹¹

There are three issues at stake with her masculine presentation here. Firstly, Benoît posed like an intellectual, wearing a traditionally masculine attire that helped transmitting competence and authority. Benoît had pictures taken wearing a tuxedo at least since 1935,

¹⁹¹ Mariana Calado met Madalena Gomes in February 9, 2010, just a few days before her death in February 24th, when doing research for her Master's thesis. Calado shared with me that Gomes provided her this information about Figure 4.9, two pages ahead.

as a letter from her cousin Marguerite Deraymaeker testifies.¹⁹² As there is no evidence of Benoît conducting an orchestra in 1935, she could have bought the tuxedo purposely for having professional pictures taken, and/or with the goal of conducting in the future.¹⁹³ Secondly, wearing man-tailored clothing was a potent signifier for gender subversion and female queerness. In the 1930s, Swedish-American actor Greta Garbo (1905-1990), German-American actor Marlene Dietrich (1901-1992), and US actor Katharine Hepburn (1907-2003) were popular for defying traditional femininity, not only in the roles they played, but also for cross-dressing and wearing trousers, on and off the screen (Dhommée, 1999; Human, 2000).¹⁹⁴ The three of them were considered seductresses and “sexually ambiguous”, as some of their movies had a lesbian sub-text, but “frigid” when they refused advances of men or discussed that they preferred being alone rather than in a heterosexual relationship (Dhommée, 1999, pp. 171-172). This suggests that Benoît could have bought a tuxedo for the emulation of popular iconic women, to make her own queerness legible, and to reinforce her credibility and exert power within what was considered a masculine profession. Thirdly, wearing clothes from the opposite sex was forbidden in Portugal since 1922, as per article 25 of the statutes of the *Polícia de Segurança Pública* (Public Safety Police) (Almeida, 2010, p. 78).¹⁹⁵ This makes her choice of outfit, not just subversive but simply illegal.

Remarkably, even on such an extraordinary occasion of having Benoît conducting an orchestra wearing a man’s tailored suit, I could not find any openly gendered

¹⁹² Marguerite Deraymaeker commented on a picture that Benoît had sent of herself in a tuxedo. See chapter 5, where I discuss Benoît’s letters from her family in Belgium.

¹⁹³ Because there are no available pictures or other records of Benoît wearing a suit in her daily life, I assume she wore it only for special occasions.

¹⁹⁴ In the 1920s, the Italian-born actor Luisa Satanella (1894-1974) scandalized Lisbon with her provocative stage persona that included cross-dressing on stage and in publicity photos (Baptista, 2017).

¹⁹⁵ In several states of the US and in countries such as France, women were forbidden to wear trousers in the early-to-mid 20th-century (Bard, 2010). In France, and even though it became socially acceptable for women to wear trousers in the last decades of the 20th-century, the law only changed in 2013.

comments, nor any observations on her choice of outfit.¹⁹⁶ The strategy of not commenting on the exceptional had a convenient effect for the establishment: ignoring the unprecedented occasion was a way to neutralise the challenge to the gender hierarchy. This is, Benoît would be no role model for other women to wear what were deemed inappropriate clothes. Simultaneously, the absence of a tradition of professional women composers, conductors and music critics in Portugal was, from a certain perspective, a form of liberation for Benoît. Since there were no models to follow, Benoît could pave her own path by creating a public persona that matched her personality and ideology. Despite the silencing over her outfit in the critical response to the concert, Benoît's butch presentation reinforced her cultural capital as a ground-breaking persona and helped announce her queerness through her looks.



Figure 4.10 Benoît in the suit worn to conduct in 1939, unknown date (Portuguese Music Research and Information Centre – MIC.PT).

With the exception of the suit worn for conducting, featured above (Fig. 4.10), there is no other record of Benoît wearing man-tailored suits or trousers. However, this

¹⁹⁶ There is no references to what she wore to conduct in 1928, but it is likely that she wore a feminine attire, judging by her public persona of that time, including concerts when she played the piano wearing feminine formal attire.

should not come as a surprise because, as US historian Alix Genter put it, there is a “visual disconnect” between what mid-twentieth century female butchness looked like and our contemporary expectations of it (2016, p. 605). Genter studied how butch legibility in post-WWII New York resulted from a negotiation of gender transgressions and “feminine” looks that allowed for “countless adaptations of gendered identities” (2016, p. 606). While a full masculine style did exist, it was rare and only worn at very particular occasions, because otherwise those women would become too legible as lesbians enabling hostility, violence or even imprisonment or institutionalization.¹⁹⁷ As such, New York butches employed discreet “masculine” markers paired with traditional women’s fashion. That was how Benoît composed her looks too, as noticeable in the following picture (Fig. 4.10), where she was photographed as “one of the guys”, at Cochofels’ country house in Senhor da Serra, Coimbra.

¹⁹⁷ At the time when the USA was living under what historians have come to call “the lavender scare” after David K. Johnson’s watershed 2004 monography, Portugal’s dictatorship also punished gender subversion and same-sex affection. Similarly to what happened in the USA, homosexuality was not explicitly illegal in Portugal, but the law that punished begging (*Lei da Mendicidade*) allowed for an interpretation open enough that included arresting people who engaged in same-sex attraction or other activities considered “deviating” (Almeida, 2010, pp. 67-69). However, only members of the working-classes would have homosexuality spelled out in their processes. For most middle/upper-class and political prisoners, even when same-sex attraction was the cause or one of the causes for persecution or arrest, that information was usually left out of the official accusation (Afonso, 2019, p. 69).



Figure 4.11 From left to right: José Gomes Ferreira, João José Cochofel, Lopes-Graça and Benoît, October 1946 (Vieira, 2011, p. 177).

In this picture, Benoît's outfit, a white shirt with a dark skirt, was closer to those of the men next to her than to that of the woman in the back, who was wearing a floral dress.¹⁹⁸ This picture was taken at Maria Albina Cochofel's *Casa do Pinhal*, an informal location where intellectuals often gathered.¹⁹⁹ There was no need for Benoît to be using such a formal and gender-bending attire, unless this was indeed part of her queer expression.

While there was no law that specifically forbade woman from wearing trousers, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, it was forbidden to wear clothes from the opposite sex. Trousers fit that criterion and women who worked in the public sector, such as nurses and teachers, for example, and in some private companies, were strictly forbidden to wear them, as mentioned by Portuguese sociologist Cristina Duarte (2016, p. 181). In many

¹⁹⁸ The woman in the back could be Maria Albina Cochofel. She was still alive when this picture took place, although already suffering from the cancer that would take her life in November of the following year.

¹⁹⁹ More about this house in chapter 5.

companies, this rule lasted until as late as the mid-1970s (Duarte, 2016, p. 7). For women to wear trousers in mid-twentieth-century Portugal was, thus, socially and legally, a risk.²⁰⁰ These rules explain the non-existence of pictures of Benoît wearing trousers, and may explain why in the pictures with the suit worn for conducting, one cannot see below her waist. Benoît's strategy matches Alix Genter's argument that because "women wearing slacks was simply not appropriate [...], butches] made a clear distinction between skirts and dresses, preferring to wear skirts since they could be paired with a more unisex style of top, such as man-tailored collared shirts" (2016, p. 609). As the above picture exemplifies, Benoît paired plain and man-tailored shirts, often together with a loose and dark man-tailored blazer, with narrow and dark skirts.

Also noteworthy in this same photo is how Lopes-Graça was wearing shorts and sandals, differently from the other two male intellectuals, wearing trousers and shoes.²⁰¹ Wearing shorts was not traditional men's wear at that time. In fact, the transition from shorts to trousers was what marked boys' transition to manhood (Duarte, 2016, p. 108). In addition to wearing shorts, Lopes-Graça posed with his eyes closed and pouting his lips. In my view, this picture is suggestive of his queerness, not only because of his outfit, but also because of his body language. There is almost a gender scale from left to right, from the most to the least "masculine", starting with the casual and confident Gomes-Ferreira, then the timid 27 year-old Cochofel, the male queer Lopes-Graça, the female queer Benoît, to the fleeting woman, on the back – excluded as such from the group of

²⁰⁰ The Police stopped women who wore trousers, as happened with one of Duarte's interviewees in 1946. Duarte's interviewee had recently arrived from Mozambique, a Portuguese colony at that time, and she was wearing trousers, which was relatively normal in that colony. When she exited her vehicle in downtown Lisbon, the Police stopped her, by screaming at her, and ordered her to go back to the car, arguing that women were not allowed to wear trousers in public, except for going to the beach (Duarte, 2016, p. 171).

²⁰¹ This is a rare photo of Lopes-Graça precisely because he was wearing shorts, which attests to the informality of these meetings, but says more about the composer - whose close friends were still wearing trousers, regardless of that same informality.

intellectuals. However, the inclusion of Benoît in this group for the photo did not work as a self-fulfilling prophecy; she was never completely integrated in the group of male intellectuals, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

As previously argued, this modification in Benoît's public persona from the first, more feminine, to the second, queer phase happened together with her affirmation in the Portuguese public sphere as a professional, as a politically engaged feminist (she joined antifascist feminist groups during WWII) and as an unmarried woman. Some parts of this description match that of the *femme nouvelle*. The *femme nouvelle*, or 'new woman', was "a symbol of modernity itself" (Maloni, 2009, p. 881). It corresponded to the western ideal of the emancipated woman, with a professional career and economically independent, who defied gender stereotypes of fragility, dependency and submission (West, 1955; Newton, 1984; Clements, 2004; Maloni, 2009).²⁰² The 'new women' became popular through North-American and European literature and film between the wars (West, 1955, p. 55); they "ma[de] their mark on traditionally male-defined careers" (Rogers, 1997, p. 19) such as law, medicine, engineering, and professional music, and thus questioned the stability the gendered social order. The *femme nouvelles* had visual markers too, "they drank, they smoked, they rejected traditional feminine clothing" (Newton, 1984, p. 564).

Benoît's public persona fits with the description of the *femme nouvelle*. She was financially independent, with a professional career in a traditionally masculine field with public visibility, she wore gender-defying clothes, and she was a heavy smoker.²⁰³ Although most historiography has ignored Benoît's gender altogether (Calado, 2010,

²⁰² For a historical contextualization of the new woman, see Newton (1984) and Maloni (2009).

²⁰³ Francine Benoît picked up smoking from her lover Maria Albina Cochofel, as her diaries testify (Benoît's diary, 21/10/1949, BN – N33). She remained a heavy smoker until the end of her life, and suffered from lung cancer for several years until her death.

2018; Cascudo & Lains in Castelo-Branco, 2010, pp. 138-139; Lains, 2012, pp. 82-84), Portuguese musicologist Ana Sofia Vieira used the stereotype of the *femme nouvelle* to describe Benoît (Vieira, 2011, 2012). According to Vieira, Benoît was a “modern woman, who likes cigarettes and short hair, almost exclusively men’s habits, synonyms of loss of femininity” (Vieira, 2011, pp. 235-236) and sacrificed any personal life in favour of her professional career. Vieira stated that Benoît’s mother made her bear with “the emotional burden of her widowhood, the frustration of an unfulfilled literary career, [...] and] deposited in her only daughter the expectations of a professional and intellectual career” (Vieira, 2011, p. 233). For Vieira, Benoît assumed the role “of a man-character” (Vieira, 2011, p. 235) who “adopted celibacy as a lifestyle [...] a way of living] dressed as modernity for her time” (Vieira, 2011, p. 232). This depiction shared similarities with those of Nadia Boulanger, mostly by the press while she was alive, but replicated in some historiographical narratives. Boulanger, who was relatively successful as a woman musician, was often described as a victim of circumstances and had “both her sexuality and her gender” erased, allegedly “sacrificing her sexuality and renouncing personal ambition to serve the true master: music” (Brooks, 1996, p. 93). The narratives about Boulanger often engaged in “a rhetorical strategy whereby women can exercise power by becoming not-women” (Brooks, 1996, p. 97), similarly to what happened with the narratives about Benoît. She was stripped off of her womanhood, and crucially, of her queerness. Contrary to Boulanger, however, who “denounced left-wing feminism” and “argued that women should only fulfil their professional lives out of necessity and never shirk their duties as mother and wife” (Francis, 2015, p. 68),²⁰⁴ Benoît has never

²⁰⁴ Kimberly Francis contested the widespread idea that Nadia Boulanger was antifeminist, arguing instead that her actions and words reflected “a center-right, Catholic feminist stance” (2015, p.68). According to Brooks, endorsing the dominant gender ideology is what permitted Boulanger to have a non-conformist career (1996, p. 106), which made “her career [...] an example of how an individual and her society can interact to permit the extraordinary without allowing it to become the everyday” (Brooks, 1996, p. 116).

suggested that her career happened because she did not fulfil her role of wife and mother, or because her mother wanted her to do so. On the contrary, Benoît often made it clear that her professional career was her own choice since she was nineteen years old.²⁰⁵ Likewise, there is no record of Benoît rejecting or not identifying with femininity or womanhood. By joining feminist groups, and creating her own female circles of sociability, Benoît embraced the identity concept of woman, and a collective idea of womanhood.²⁰⁶

Describing Benoît as a *femme nouvelle*/‘new woman’ is a simplistic solution to build a linear and cumulative narrative. Under this categorization, one risks seeing Benoît as a stereotype and a victim of circumstances that shaped her life, deprived of any agency to navigate them and make her own choices. Vieira went as far as suggesting that Benoît was frustrated for not having married, thus completely erasing her queerness under the false premise that she was celibate.²⁰⁷ In a 1984 interview, Benoît stated that she was proud that she never married a man, and rejected the idea of celibacy following her decision of not having married: “Our sexuality is just as important as the other faculties to which it is linked. [...] Sexuality is a given of human nature and the professional achievement does not imply giving up the rest” (Neves, 1984a, p. 29). It was not common in the 1980s for a professional, let alone a woman professional, to comment on sexuality. Even taking into account that this interview was published in the feminist magazine *Mulheres*, it is quite astonishing that a ninety year old woman spoke so openly about

²⁰⁵ In the 1984 interview for the magazine *Mulheres*, Benoît said that she convinced her mother to move from Setúbal to Lisbon after her father died, so that she could enroll in the National Conservatory (Neves, 1984a, p. 27).

²⁰⁶ Regardless of how problematic that collective idea of womanhood was, as the feminist groups that Benoît was a member of were exclusively constituted by white middle to upper-class women as I discuss in chapter 6.

²⁰⁷ Vieira argued that Benoît’s frustrated “concerns with forming a marriage and, consequently, motherhood, are worsened by the misfortune of an internalized widowhood” (Vieira, 2011, p. 235).

sexuality, which is one more piece of evidence that it was indeed an important part of her life.²⁰⁸ The narrative of celibacy reveals a systemic problem in historiography, as in society in general: the political institution that compulsory heterosexuality is, as analyzed by US scholar Adrienne Rich (1980, p. 637) over forty years ago, and its effects on the sanitization of the biographies of remarkable historical lesbian women (Castle, 1993, p. 5). Equating a legal status as a single woman with celibacy is factually inaccurate, and it contradicts Francine Benoît's words. By describing Benoît as a stereotype and by analysing her professional career separately from the revolutionary queer person that she was, scholars have rendered invisible an important part of who she was and instead built a mystified and unrealistic version of her.

Benoît kept her butch persona until the end of her life, by using dark colors and loose fits, and frequently including a man-tailored blazer as part of her outfit. Below is another example (Fig. 4.11), where her outfit contrasted with those of the other women, both teachers and students.

²⁰⁸ The 1970s inaugurated a new momentum in the Portuguese women's struggles. From the 1972 book *Novas Cartas Portuguesas* and the international roller-coaster following its prohibition and the legal prosecution of its authors (Maria Isabel Barreno, Maria Teresa Horta and Maria Velho da Costa), to the proliferation of women journalists, the impact (followed by the disillusionment) of the 1974 Revolution in women's lives, the struggle for the right to abortion, the struggle for the universal vote (to all men and women regardless of their level of education), for peace, among many others (Tavares, 2011, pp. 173-306). These struggles prolonged until the mid to late 1980s (Tavares, 2011, pp. 307-382). The first issue of the magazine *Mulheres* came out in 1978. Even though it was born within the MDM (women's democratic movement), it aimed to be ideologically independent, reason why many women non-affiliated with the MDM published in it, and why its slogan was "the magazine of all women" (Tavares: 2011, p. 216). The quality of the magazine was outstanding in the amount of topics it covered, in the remarkable women interviewed (Portuguese and internationally famous such as the French novelist Marguerite Yourcenar), in the national and international news about women (including unions' struggles, rights achieved, or pioneer women) and in the cultural dissemination of women's creative work (Tavares, 2011, pp. 218-219). Among the topics frequently developed in the magazine were divorce, marriage, violence against women, and women's sexuality (Tavares, 2011, p. 219). Francine Benoît's 1984 interview, framed by the magazine's six years of existence, was not inadequate or shocking, but her openness as a nonagenarian woman was, nevertheless, quite remarkable.



Figure 4.12 Students and teachers of the school João de Deus. Francine Benoît is the second from the left, standing, 1952 (Museu João de Deus).

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I have showed how Benoît's public persona and the gender politics behind it changed in the mid-to-late 1930s. I have argued that during the first years of her career, Benoît adopted the *garçonne* style in her personal life but built her public persona in accordance to the stereotype of the *femme fragile*: that of a vulnerable and delicate young woman, whose outstanding artistic abilities had not corrupted her femininity, but, to the contrary, made it more special. During the mid-to-late 1930s, her public persona changed and it coalesced with how she presented herself in daily life, in both formal and informal situations, adopting a butch presentation. This modification in Benoît's image overlapped with the formal establishment of Salazar's dictatorship, with changes in her public contributions, from her professional work to her feminist and antifascist activism, and with her abandonment of heterosexuality and acceptance of what one would now call a queer or lesbian identity. As Benoît's diaries and letters show, after the 1930s, she never invested in a relationship with a man again, and homoeroticism and lesbian love became more evident, particularly noticeable in her diaries – which she started in 1947, as an homage to her lover Maria Albina Cochofel.

I have also discussed how in the recent historiographical recovery of Benoît, she was described according to the ideal of the *femme nouvelle* or new woman: an unmarried and financially independent woman, with a professional career, who renounced her femininity, and abnegated any personal life to become completely devoted to music. I analysed how this image contradicted Benoît's own views, and argued for a more nuanced, critical and comprehensive interpretation that brings together the performative aspect of Benoît's public persona with her work, her social circles, and her historical context.

In general, throughout Benoît's career, there were rarely any markers of gender in the public discourses about her. However, in the first phase of her biography, her promotion pictures contrasted with that absence. After the late 1930s, both her pictures and the discourses about her portrayed her the same way as her male counterparts, this is without any gender marks, giving the (false) idea that she was their equal. I suggested that this worked as a strategy to keep gender hierarchies in place by not turning her into a precedent, or a role model, but presenting her as an exception that should go unnoticed and have no implications for others. Most people and institutions, from her contemporaries and the institutions where she worked or collaborated with, to the historiography, erased Benoît's gender from their public discourses. However, that strategy (re)produces gender inequality. By overlooking a difference that has inevitably influenced Benoît's life, these discourses paradoxically failed to notice how gender has in fact shaped her life, therefore contributing to the replication of said gender difference. In the next chapter, I will discuss how this apparently genderless dynamic moulded Benoît's relations with her male intellectual friends and how it also influenced her erasure from historiography and recent recovery.

PART II – FRANCINE BENOÎT AND HER NETWORKS OF UNSUNG WOMEN ARTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS

CHAPTER 5 – WOMEN MUSICIANS IN THE CULTURAL OPPOSITION: THE INVISIBLE WORK OF FRANCINE BENOÎT AND MARIA DA GRAÇA AMADO DA CUNHA

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, I explore the role of Francine Benoît and her student and comrade Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in the cultural opposition, and argue that together with Fernando Lopes-Graça, they formed the core of the musical opposition to the dictatorship between the 1940s and the 1960s.²⁰⁹ Inspired by Kimberly Francis’ research on Nadia Boulanger’s role as a cultural agent in favour of Igor Stravinsky and his public consecration (Francis, 2015), as developed in chapter 1, I conceptualise Benoît and Amado da Cunha’s relationship with Fernando Lopes-Graça with Pierre Bourdieu’s notion of “cycle of consecration” (1977). In this chapter, I will explore how this constellation, what I too call a “cycle of consecration” worked in the case of Benoît, Amado da Cunha and Lopes-Graça. I will make clear that Benoît and Amado da Cunha too were cultural agents who actively participated in the building of Lopes-Graça’s public consecration in spite of, and simultaneously, to the benefit of their own careers.

²⁰⁹ Although they did not call themselves that, I use the term “comrade” to signal Benoît and Amado da Cunha’s political affinities and their collaborative antifascist action, both within the field of music, and of feminist activism, which I discuss in chapter 6.

Over the last twenty years, feminist scholars have focused on the history of women and women's activism in Portugal.²¹⁰ These studies have recovered women's participation in the opposition to the dictatorship, and have conceptualized those women's struggles as an inseparable part of antifascism, and the women involved as antifascist intellectuals. Among these studies, Vanda Gorjão's 2002 collective biography stands out as one of the most comprehensive monographies about women from the intellectual opposition, including Benoît's student Maria Letícia Silva (1915-2010).²¹¹ Anne Cova (1997, 2011, 2012, 2013), João Esteves (1998, 2005), Lúcia Serralheiro (2011) and Manuela Tavares (2011), to name just a few, have focused on Portuguese 20th-century women's history and women's movements, while Irene Pimentel has written about the regime's gender politics and its women's groups, *Obra das Mães pela Educação Nacional* (Work of the Mothers for the National Education, OMEN) and *Mocidade Portuguesa Feminina* (Portuguese Feminine Youth, MPF) (Pimentel, 2000, 2002, 2011). The work of these scholars has been essential in establishing the field of 20th-century Portuguese women's history, but also in rethinking the opposition to the dictatorship. However, there is no investigation focused on women musicians who took part in those groups and they remain absent from the narratives on male musicians' participation in the opposition.

²¹⁰ The project "Women and Associativism in Portugal, 1914-1974" (PTDC/HAR-HIS/29376/2017) financed by the *Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia* (Foundation for Science and Technology, FCT), and coordinated by Anne Cova, from 2018 until 2022, gathered some of the most renowned Portuguese researchers working on 20th-century women's activism in Portugal.

²¹¹ Many other researchers have published on this topic. Among those, I highlight Eugénia Vasques' study on 20th-century women dramaturgs in Portugal (2001), Vanessa de Almeida's book on women working clandestinely during the dictatorship (2017), and Diana Dionísio's Master's thesis (2008) on the feminist leftist activist and actor Manuela Porto (1908-1950). Manuela Porto was friends and comrade with Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha. They participated in many common events and were members of the same women's groups from the opposition.

In Portuguese musicology, scholars have consistently wrote that Fernando Lopes-Graça was the only musician devoted to the antifascist struggle (Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, 2012, 2010, 2006; Cascudo, 2017, 2010a; António Sousa, 2006; Fausto Neves, 2019). Here, I argue that there was a group of three professional musicians who fought the regime through their artistic activity, in their associative activity, and in their private lives. This group consisted of Fernando Lopes-Graça, Francine Benoît, and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha. This chapter is divided in three parts. In 5.1, I discuss the 1940s cultural opposition to the *Estado Novo*, and I examine the role of the Coimbra elite, and particularly of the gatherings in *Casa do Pinhal*, Cochofels' country house. In 5.2, I scrutinise Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha's biography, highlighting her relationship with Francine Benoît and showing how that relationship was decisive to Amado da Cunha's career as a pianist and as a member of the cultural opposition. Lastly, in 5.3, I provide a gender analysis of the activities of Benoît and Amado da Cunha to show that Lopes-Graça was not the only antifascist professional musician, but that there were others working with him and that, because those others were women, they have been unremittingly left out of historiography. Moreover, Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha actively participated in the construction of Lopes-Graça's public reputation, by performing several types of labour for him, and collaborating with him, while they also profited from those same dynamics. By contributing to Lopes-Graça's public consecration, their own cultural capital also increased.

The invisibilisation of women's contributions is a result of a gendered division of labour, namely in the historiographical processes that constantly reproduce the concept of the male genius. As historian Bonnie Smith sarcastically observed: "Great artists and philosophers are geniuses above all, and men only accidentally" (Smith, 1998, p. 4). Like many other perceived geniuses whose reputations were built and maintained by (white

and mostly male) historiography, Lopes-Graça has been, after the 1974 Revolution, a hegemonic name in the discourses on Portuguese 20th-century culture. For example, in her 2010 book, Spanish musicologist Teresa Cascudo described him in the following terms:

Lopes-Graça was for many years the only professional musician [...] connected both with the PCP [Portuguese Communist Party] and with the intellectuals gathered around it during the Estado Novo. (Cascudo, 2010a, p. 102)

Such narratives reproduce the gender inequality of the music field by omitting women like Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha. As I will show in this chapter, Benoît and Amado da Cunha represent two paradigmatic examples of music professionals committed to antifascism, and members of the communist opposition, who were among the fiercest public supporters of Fernando Lopes-Graça. Paradoxically, their appreciation for Lopes-Graça was one of the main reasons why their contemporaries, and later, scholars, have made their contributions invisible. Lopes-Graça was the first person taking their large volume of emotional, intellectual and administrative labour for granted. Both women abstained from publicly expressing their sadness or revolting, because they prioritized Lopes-Graça's public recognition and safety over their comfort or self-worth. However, in private circles, both women recognized and lamented how they were treated, as this chapter will show.

Portuguese musicologists have analysed the relationship between composers and the regime in a variety of ways. Castro & Nery have argued that there were three attitudes among the composers active during the *Estado Novo*: “to collaborate with conviction, opportunism or resignation [...]; to dare, to whatever degree, in their work or artistic attitude [to express] open defiance to the regime and its aesthetic orientation; or simply to *compose for posterity*” (1991, p. 167). In an article on Portuguese composer and

conductor Frederico de Freitas (1902-1980), Spanish musicologist Teresa Cascudo argued that musicologists should challenge binary readings of the relationship between musicians and the Portuguese regime. Cascudo inclusively stated: “what happened in Portugal cannot be explained only by the existing relation of action and reaction between everything that made possible Salazar’s regime and the stances that opposed it” (Cascudo, 2003, p. 30). I do not agree with Cascudo’s position, and believe that music historians should scrutinise 20th-century Portuguese musicians’ activities to understand their relation with the fascist regime. I follow the work of musicologists such as Mário Vieira de Carvalho (1999, 2006, 2012, 2017), São José Côrte-Real (2003), and Manuel Deniz Silva (2005, 2017a, 2018). They have examined musicians’ activities by distinguishing between those who supported and/or profited from the dictatorship on the one hand, and those who publicly opposed it, on the other. The work of these scholars shows that there were many ways of opposing and fighting fascism, while there were also many ways of supporting it. The point is not to place composers in a simplistic binary of oppositionist vs adherent, as Cascudo suggested, but to analyse their individual lives with the necessary detail to take into consideration their oeuvre and professional appointments, as well as their public personae, family background, and social networks.



Figure 5.1 From left to right: Francine Benoît, Maria Vitória Quintas, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and Fernando Lopes-Graça, 1965 (Castelo-Branco, 2010, p. 865).

The group of professional musicians who opposed the dictatorship included women (and men) who, for various circumstances, did not have as much public visibility as Benoît, Amado da Cunha, or Lopes-Graça. One of them was Maria Vitória Pacheco Quintas Costa (active between 1940 and 1970), known as Maria Vitória Quintas, who worked in formal structures such as the *Academia de Amadores de Música*, or the magazine *Gazeta Musical*, and socialised among the leftist intelligentsia. Maria Vitória Quintas was a pianist who started as Benoît's private student. Quintas was born into an aristocratic family from Faro, in the South of Portugal. Her parents hosted a salon that was attended by the local elite, including the French painter Hélène de Beauvoir (1910-2001), sister of the feminist philosopher Simone de Beauvoir (1908-1986), and Hélène's husband Lionel de Roulet (1910-1990).²¹² Quintas herself met Simone de Beauvoir when the latter visited Portugal in 1945, as Quintas wrote to Francine Benoît.²¹³ Quintas returned to Lisbon in the late 1940s and worked as a teacher (piano and music theory) in the *Academia de Amadores de Música*, where she also served as its artistic director, as well as the director of the musical magazine *Gazeta Musical*. She was married to Manuel Pacheco de Sintra Santos Costa (19?-?), known as "Pacheco". Maria Vitória Quintas composed a few songs,²¹⁴ conducted children's choirs as a music teacher, performed in concerts organized by Francine Benoît, and in a concert of the *Sonata* concert society. Quintas and her husband were frequent guests in the Cochofels' house in Senhor da Serra.

²¹² In 1940, Hélène de Beauvoir visited Lionel de Roulet and his family in Faro and the couple married in 1942. Roulet served as the president of the French Institute in Faro, and the couple socialized with the local antifascist intelligentsia (Mesquita, 1990, pp. 137-138). Published by the French Institute, the French-Portuguese magazine *Afinidades* (1942-1946) was directed by Roulet and several leftist intellectuals published in it, including Francine Benoît, Hélène de Beauvoir, and Simone de Beauvoir (Augusto & Augusto, 2014, pp. 135-136).

²¹³ Maria Vitória Quintas to Francine Benoît, 01/04/ny, BN - N33/1458.

²¹⁴ There are references in the correspondence with Benoît, but the music is lost, as far as I know. I have studied the correspondence between Benoît and Maria Vitória Quintas in my Master's thesis (Braga, 2013, pp. 66-67). The whereabouts of Maria Vitória Quintas and her husband's collection is unknown. While I did research for this dissertation (2015-2021), it was not available in any Portuguese archive or library.

Benoît and Amado da Cunha's social networks met and gathered in several places, starting with the AAM, or in the homes of their friends. However, one house stands out due to its pivotal role in the establishment of the cultural opposition: Maria Albina Cochofel's *Casa do Pinhal* in Senhor da Serra. Amado da Cunha only visited Senhor da Serra for the first time in 1951 and did not participate in the gatherings there, but Benoît and Lopes-Graça spent part of their summers there.²¹⁵

5. 1. CASA DO PINHAL, SENHOR DA SERRA AND THE CULTURAL OPPOSITION OF THE 1940S

In chapter 1, I have discussed the political context that framed Francine Benoît's life in Portugal. As I have recounted, *Estado Novo* was a corporative, anti-communist, anti-liberal, colonial-imperialistic, and Catholic regime (Torgal, 2009; Loff, 2008; Costa Pinto, 2008; Birmingham, 2008; Rosas, 1994). Salazar's dictatorship repressed the general population. Focusing on the control of the proletariat, it limited and closely monitored any type of formal (and informal) gatherings that could lead to political action, paying particular attention to the repression of unionism and youth associations, it also used censorship to control all the media, and socio-cultural activities (Loff, 2008; Rosas, 1994).

Among the groups and individuals fighting the regime, there were groups of intellectuals whose antifascist stance was visible in their intellectual and artistic activities.

²¹⁵ The letters from Amado da Cunha to Benoît reveal that she felt uneasy with how slow and unproductive life in Senhor da Serra was, and how sumptuous the meals were in *Casa do Pinhal*. She particularly criticized how the Cochofels' servants had to work so hard just for them and their guests to sit at the dining table for hours in front of very large amounts of food (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, 05/09/1952, BN - N33/642). There is no evidence of Benoît, or any of the other regulars, feeling bothered by that class distinction.

In a country with high illiteracy rates, these groups consisted of relatively small elites, in which many people knew each other.²¹⁶ Their activities were particularly important during and after WWII, given the impact of this event in Portuguese politics. As discussed in chapter 1, the opposition reorganized following the victory of the Allies. However, after an initial propaganda manoeuvre promising free elections,²¹⁷ and allowing some opposition to assemble the quasi-legal *Movimento de Unidade Democrática* (Movement of Democratic Unity, MUD, 1945, made illegal in 1948), the regime increased its repressive methods (Rosas, 1994). Historians as well as arts and literature scholars have written extensively on the groups of oppositionist intellectuals, but have neglected women's participation in them. For example, as Lúcia Serralheiro noted, women intellectuals have not yet been included in the historiography of *neo-realismo*, the Portuguese expression of socialist realism (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 30).

Coimbra hosts the oldest university in Portugal, founded in 1290. The symbolic capital of the university is responsible for the city's reputation as Portugal's capital of knowledge. The history of the country's intelligentsia is closely connected to Coimbra, where many of Portugal's leading personalities studied – including Salazar who was also a faculty member of the *Universidade de Coimbra*. During the dictatorship, Coimbra was a privileged centre for the Portuguese leftist intelligentsia, and both Cochofel's houses (in the city centre and in the outskirts) were among the venues for its informal meetings.²¹⁸

As Portuguese sociologist José Manuel Mendes put it, *Casa do Pinhal*, the Cochofels' country house in Senhor da Serra, district of Coimbra, was “a house where

²¹⁶ In 1930, Portugal had a 61.8% illiteracy rate. By 1960, the illiteracy rate lowered to 31.1% (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 76). These rates had a significant gender disparity. In 1930, 69.9% of women were illiterate, and in 1960, 36.7% (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 76).

²¹⁷ I am referring to the 1948-49 presidential candidacy of Norton de Matos (1867-1955), who withdrew after facing several restrictions from the regime to a fair campaign and elections (Rosas, 1996, p. 398).

²¹⁸ Other venues included *Café Central*, and José Gaspar Simões' house (Silva, 2005, p. 571).

the destiny of art and of the opposition to the dictatorship met” (Mendes, 2019, p. 15). *Casa do Pinhal* was indeed a privileged site for the establishment of the intellectual opposition in the 1940s, but scholars rarely mention its feminist history. Maria Albina Cochofel was the property owner, who bought it in October 1932 (when her child João José Cochofel was barely a teenager) as a weekend and vacation retreat from the nearby house in the city of Coimbra.

Francine Benoît was a regular guest in Coimbra since the 1920s, because of her close relationship with Gabriela Gomes (Nemésio).²¹⁹ Although there is no knowledge of when Benoît and Maria Albina Cochofel met, Benoît and Lopes-Graça met in Lisbon, in 1931 (Benoît, 1981). In the fall of 1932, when Maria Albina Cochofel bought *Casa do Pinhal*, Lopes-Graça had just moved to Coimbra to teach in the new *Academia de Música de Coimbra* (renamed *Instituto de Música de Coimbra* in 1933), and to resume his bachelor’s degree in historical-philosophical sciences at the University of Coimbra (Sousa, 2006, p. 125-128; Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 143).²²⁰ Maria Albina Cochofel asked for her son’s music lessons with Lopes-Graça to be given at home, initially in their Coimbra house, what is now the Museum *Casa da Escrita*, but gradually they shifted to *Casa do Pinhal* (Sousa, 2019, p. 19). Those first years at the Senhor da Serra property were the beginning of several life-long friendships and comradeships that shaped the leftist intelligentsia during and after WWII: between Francine Benoît and Lopes-Graça, between Lopes-Graça and the Cochofels, between Francine Benoît and the Cochofels, and between all of them and the Coimbra leftist elite.

²¹⁹ See Appendix 4, for a short biography of Gabriela Gomes.

²²⁰ In March 1932, Lopes-Graça was released from Alpiarça, a small village circa 100 km away from Lisbon, where he had been imprisoned since October 1931 (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 140-142).

Despite the presence of several women, men dominated this intelligentsia. Aside from Francine Benoît and Maria Albina Cochofel, Gabriela Gomes (Nemésio), the singer Arminda Correia, and the writer Irene Lisboa were also part of those social circles. Arminda Correia was hired to teach in the *Academia de Música de Coimbra* in 1932 by recommendation of Fernando Lopes-Graça (Sousa, 2006, p. 127), and Irene Lisboa was introduced to the Cochofels by Francine Benoît, as the letters between Benoît and the Cochofels show.²²¹ Several authors have discussed male homosociality, analysing how male bonding, in the shape of friendships and collaborations, works as a potent tool to maintain hegemonic masculinity, to reproduce gender inequality and reinforce patriarchy (Sedgwick, 1985; Bird, 1996). In *Casa do Pinhal*, the limited presence of women was the shy exception to male homosociality, which proved the rule of male hegemony, but a presence that must be acknowledged.

Many artistic projects were born within this male-dominated sphere, such as literary magazines, music, poetry and literature, and women participated in them. For example, Maria Albina Cochofel financed João José Cochofel's projects, including the arts magazines *Cadernos da Juventude* (Youth notebooks, 1937), confiscated and destroyed by the State Police before being publicly available (Sousa, 2019, p. 20), and *Altitude* (1939). Francine Benoît and her friend Irene Lisboa collaborated on the magazines *Altitude* (1939) and *Vértice* (1942).²²²

In the field of music, the most striking example of such artistic projects is the 1946 songbook *Marchas, Danças e Canções* (Marches, Dances and Songs), a collection of revolutionary songs with music by Fernando Lopes-Graça, and poems by the male leftist

²²¹ From the 1940s onwards, Maria Vitória Quintas, Ana Paula Nemésio (daughter of Gabriela Gomes Nemésio), and Maria da Graça Dória Cochofel (Maria Albina Cochofel's daughter-in-law) and her sister Maria Vitória Dória Cortesão also belonged to those elites.

²²² Francine Benoît authored articles of music critique in *Vértice* between 1947 and the 1960s.

intellectuals who gathered in Senhor da Serra.²²³ Even though the State Police confiscated the book after it was published and forbade its music, these songs became symbols of the antifascist resistance and were sung in several informal contexts during *Estado Novo*. Benoît was in Coimbra when João José Cochofel, Fernando Lopes-Graça, José Gomes Ferreira and Carlos de Oliveira worked on it in the summer of 1945. Because the *Casa do Pinhal* was hosting those men, Benoît spent that summer in the house of Gabriela Gomes Nemésio's family, *Vila Céu*, but not without lamenting to her mother, who answered her back:

*You have to go to our Senhor da Serra, Francine.
It is too bad that you cannot stay at least from one day to the other [...] it would do you good, however short the moments may be. [...] it is a question of gaining strength, in helpful company [...]. I include Maria Albina in the company. She must be of healthy influence.* (Marie Victorine Benoît to Francine Benoît, 01/09/1945, BN – N33/322)

Victorine Benoît believed that, even when Francine Benoît was not able to spend “at least” one night there, it would be good for her to meet her comrades, and especially her lover Maria Albina Cochofel. Benoît's reluctance to travel the circa 20 kilometres from Coimbra to the *Casa do Pinhal* and back just to spend a few hours there was not exclusively due to the temporal and financial effort it involved, but also to the emotional impact of feeling left out by the male intellectuals, as she registered several times in her letters and diaries; for example: “It hurt me this evening that those distinguished intellectuals, starting with João Cochofel and Graça, inclusively, leave me so out”.²²⁴

Even though Benoît was not in *Senhor da Serra* in the summer of 1945, she was there in the following summer. MUD was founded in the fall of 1945, and Francine Benoît

²²³ The authors of the poems were Armindo Rodrigues, Arquimedes da Silva Santos, Carlos de Oliveira, Edmundo Bettencourt, João José Cochofel, Joaquim Namorado, José Ferreira Monte, José Gomes Ferreira and Mário Dionísio.

²²⁴ Francine Benoît's diary, 04/07/1954, BN/N33.

signed its lists together with several of her friends, including those who were frequent guests in *Casa do Pinhal*.²²⁵ It was also in the context of MUD, that Lopes-Graça put together his oppositionist choir (*Coro do Grupo Dramático Lisbonense*, later *Coro da Academia de Amadores de Música*), discussed in chapter 2.

In the next section, I will examine Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha's biography and her life-long relationship with Benoît, as well as the tireless labour Amado da Cunha did for Lopes-Graça and the initiatives of the opposition.

5. 2. *I AM EVERYTHING BELOW BOLSHEVIST, BUT NO WONDER, WITH THE INFLUENCES I GET* – MARIA DA GRAÇA AMADO DA CUNHA AND HER RELATIONSHIP WITH FRANCINE BENOÎT



Figure 5.2 Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in 1949. (*Gazeta Musical* n.27, 12/1952, p. 40)

Maria da Graça de Macedo e Faro Amado da Cunha (1919-2001) was born into an aristocratic family. Her mother was Guilhermina de Macedo Pinto Menezes e Faro

²²⁵ The lists of Lisbon's MUD signatures were confiscated by the State Police, which then investigated everyone who signed them, including Francine Benoît (Rosas, 1996, pp. 379-380).

(1887-1979). Her father, Manuel de Barros Amado da Cunha (1890-1976), was an aircraft pilot, who served as Captain for the Portuguese Military Aeronautics, and later became the first commercial pilot in Portugal, working for the first Portuguese Air Company, SAP, created in 1927. Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha's only sibling, Francisco Manuel de Macedo e Faro Amado da Cunha (1921-2014), was an aircraft pilot in the Portuguese Airline Company TAP.²²⁶ Amado da Cunha was married to Roger D'Avelar (1915-2009), who was First Lieutenant in the Portuguese Navy and then also a commercial pilot in SAP (later TAP).²²⁷ The couple had two children, the painter Pedro Avelar (1945), and Biology Professor Teresa Avelar (1957).

Amado da Cunha started studying music through private piano lessons with Oliva Guerra (1898-1982), and music theory lessons with Benoît, when she was ten years old (Silva, 1996).²²⁸ In 1934 she enrolled in the *Conservatório Nacional* (National Conservatory, CN), where she graduated piano. Benoît became one of the most important people in Amado da Cunha's life, as the letters between both women show. The pianist herself declared on several occasions in radio broadcasts (Barreiros, 1994; Silva, 1996; Sousa, 1997) that Benoît had expanded her "horizons in many ways", to people and ideas that she "did not even know existed" (Silva, 1996). Benoît introduced Amado da Cunha to Fernando Lopes-Graça at a concert in *Teatro Eden*, Lisbon, in 1937, changing both Lopes Graça's and Amado da Cunha's careers as they, too, became collaborators and

²²⁶ Francisco Amado da Cunha piloted several inaugural routes, including the inaugural landing of the new lane in Porto Santo's airport in 1960, and piloting the plane that brought the Pope Paul VI from Rome to Fatima, the first time a Pope visited Portugal, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the apparitions of Fatima, in May 1967 (RTP, 1967).

²²⁷ Roger D'Avelar was born in Lisbon, but he had family in the United Kingdom, who the couple often visited.

²²⁸ The first letters between Amado da Cunha and Benoît in both women's collections are from 1932, when Amado da Cunha was 13. In 1933, Benoît authored her first article praising Amado da Cunha's skills as a pianist (Benoît, 1933a, p. 3).

comrades.²²⁹ Because of her contact with Benoît and her networks, Amado da Cunha quickly became associated with revolutionary ideas, both musical and political. Their relationship made her grow apart from some of her circles, namely going against her conservative parents,²³⁰ and her former piano teacher, Oliva Guerra, and most of her family's social circles. In a letter to Francine Benoît of the late 1930s, Amado da Cunha shared Guerra's ideas about her:

In the middle of many other things, [it is] still [about] Bela Bartok!... I am full of the darkest and most repugnant sins of insult to art, insult to gratitude, insult to admiration (and that is the worst) etc., etc. I am everything below bolshevist, but no wonder, with the influences I get [...] And if I still include Bach and Beethoven in my repertoire [...] it is because I am not brave enough to openly break with tradition [...] and it would look bad, etc., etc. [...] what was worthy from the concert was [only] Bach and Beethoven because that was [repertoire] that I have from previous times!!! (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, n.d., estimated 1939, BN – N33/575)

The letter, following a concert by Amado da Cunha, who premiered Béla Bartók's piano sonata in Portugal,²³¹ shows the type of criticism that she received for playing modern music, and for being influenced, according to her unfavourable critics, by leftist musicians such as Francine Benoît and Fernando Lopes-Graça.

At the *Conservatório Nacional*, Amado da Cunha's piano teacher was Vianna da Motta (1868-1948), a renowned pianist specialized in 19th-century repertoire, who taught all his students the same repertoire, similarly to what Amado da Cunha had studied with

²²⁹ Lopes-Graça was about to leave to Paris, from where he returned after WWII begun. It was after his return that they became friends.

²³⁰ There are many occasions when Amado da Cunha mentioned her father's political ideology in the correspondence. For example, in a letter from Amado da Cunha to Manuel Mendes, she called her father monarchic and *sidonista*, this is, supporter of former President of the Republic Sidónio Pais (1872-1918), who was in office from April to his murder in December 1918 (Amado da Cunha to Manuel Mendes, 31/01/1964, FMSMB, 04478.004.008). Pais' right-wing presidency became known for his Catholic and nationalist views (Birmingham, 2008, p. 155).

²³¹ In the summer of 1938, while Fernando Lopes-Graça was in Paris, Francine Benoît asked him for modern music for her student, Amado da Cunha, to play. Among his suggestions was Bartók's sonata, which Amado da Cunha premiered in the summer of 1939 in Lisbon (Fernando Lopes-Graça to Francine Benoît, 12/08/1938, BN – N33/831; Francine Benoît to Fernando Lopes-Graça, 10/08/1939, MMP).

Oliva Guerra. Thanks to Amado da Cunha's relation with Francine Benoît, she studied modern repertoire:

What does my distinguished master think of me [...] ? [...] He might tell me not to lose time with it [Maurice Ravel's 'Valse nobles et sentimentales'], like he said for J. Ibert's 'Histoires'... He who already lamented with Madame Oliva [Guerra] that I was an unruly spirit! What a man, dear lord!

Madame Francine, if I did not know you, I would be my master's delight. I would have asked him to guide me, I would not play anything without his command, I would cross my fingers when hearing about Stravinsky and I would play, besides Chopin's 'Fantasie' for two pianos with him, the music he gave Ilda and Cândida: Alkan and Saint-Saëns... (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, n.d., estimated mid-to-late-1930s, BN-N33/594).

The letter expresses that Amado da Cunha's teacher tried to stop her from playing contemporary music and that, because she did not listen, he considered her a disobedient student. Throughout the years, Benoît remained Amado da Cunha's advisor not only for repertoire recommendations, but also in her career as a student, discussing which courses and exams to take,²³² and in her professional career as a pianist.

Amado da Cunha was also a feminist and antifascist activist who was part of the governing body of the *Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz* (Portuguese Feminine Association for Peace, AFPP) from 1944 to 1948. She was secretary of the board in 1944-45, secretary of the general assembly in 1946-47 and vice-president of the general assembly in 1947-48 (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 108). Within the AFPP, Amado da Cunha brought together her cultural activity with the organization's feminist and pacifist activism. In 1949, she organized a cultural soirée on the centenary of the death of the Polish composer Frederic Chopin, with a talk delivered by Lopes-Graça followed by a

²³² An example can be found in Amado da Cunha to Benoît, 17/08/1936, BN-N33/587, where Amado da Cunha asked Benoît for advice on whether she should take the composition exam at the conservatory or not.

piano recital by Amado da Cunha herself (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 126). In January 1952, she organized a concert in Porto's *Cinema Batalha*, again with Lopes-Graça as a guest lecturer (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 166).²³³ Like Benoît and others from their networks, Amado da Cunha signed the lists of MUD in 1945, and she often accompanied Lopes-Graça in his cultural-political activities as the performer of his music. As a result, two of Amado da Cunha's three records in the state police files listed occasions when she accompanied the composer.²³⁴ Francine Benoît, too, had her name in two files together with Lopes-Graça as his "admirer and ally" (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 195), besides the files discussed in chapter 2.²³⁵

Even though she was a relevant cultural actor, Amado da Cunha's relevance for the Portuguese panorama is understudied and her name hardly figures in the Portuguese historiography, similar to Benoît. On the rare occasions when Amado da Cunha is mentioned, she is reduced to being a pianist and a performer of Lopes-Graça's piano oeuvre.²³⁶ Amado da Cunha was one of the first pianists in Portugal dedicated to modern music, and the pianist who premiered and recorded most of Lopes Graça's piano oeuvre

²³³ Some of the AFPP's members believed that the event in Porto contributed to the closure of the Porto and the Coimbra delegations because the presence of Lopes-Graça alone compromised the group (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 166). Even though Lopes-Graça was under surveillance, there are no records referring to this particular event in the chronology of his files with the State Police collected by Vieira de Carvalho (2006, p. 193-213).

²³⁴ PIDE gathered the following information on Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha:

(1) Her membership subscription of the AFPP in June 24, 1942 (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 194);
 (2) In November 25, 1952, PIDE registered a concert organized by the *Juventude Musical Portuguesa* with Amado da Cunha, Luís de Freitas Branco and Lopes-Graça in celebration of the Student's Day in *Instituto Superior Técnico* in Lisbon (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 200);
 (3) In May 17, 1955, a report about a concert by the choir of the AAM conducted by Lopes-Graça with the collaboration of Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 203).

²³⁵ Benoît's name showed up next to Lopes-Graça's in 1944, as one of the "democratic" or "communist" collaborators of the newspaper *O Globo* (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 195); and in June 2, 1956, where Benoît and Lopes-Graça were named collaborators with "communist tendencies" of the magazine *Gazeta Musical* (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 204).

²³⁶ With the exception of the recent recovery done by Portuguese musicologist Filipa Cruz. Cruz delivered a paper on the correspondence between Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Maria Helena de Freitas regarding Fernando Lopes-Graça in ENIM (Portuguese meeting of research in music) 2018, and authored a biographical article for an exhibition on Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in *Museu da Música Portuguesa* in Cascais in 2019 (Cruz, 2019, pp. 17-20).

prior to 1964.²³⁷ Moreover, she authored articles as a music critic in *Gazeta Musical* (1951, 1952a, 1952b, 1952c), and was a member of the magazine's editorial board, and also published in the leftist magazine *Seara Nova* (1960a, 1960b, 1960c).²³⁸ In addition, she was secretary of the board and then head of the *Academia de Amadores de Música* (Correia & Roquette, 2019, p. 13).²³⁹ But in addition to all this, there was a less acknowledged part of her work: that of key behind-the-scenes organizer of leftist cultural activities.²⁴⁰ More than a collaborator, Amado da Cunha also served as an unpaid personal assistant of Fernando Lopes-Graça.

While Amado da Cunha was a strong advocate and promoter of the composer in her public activity as a performer, in private she was often angry because of how he treated her. One among many examples is from 1952, when Lopes-Graça offered Amado da Cunha's work as pianist for a concert of his works in Porto, without monetary compensation:

It so happens that my distinguished friend, after having offered me free of charge to [Frederico de] Freitas, spoke to him again [...] When Freitas told him that there was not even enough money to pay for my travel and accommodation, he answered that it did not matter and both of us, him and me, would come to an agreement. It was, therefore, Graça himself who accepted, on my behalf, all the conditions that the guy wanted. [...] The funniest of it all [...] as I seemed a bit bothered by all these agreements under my name, by how easy they've used me, the fellow [Lopes-Graça] looked at me amazed and with candid eyes and said: "apparently it was my fault; but, Gracinha, I did all of this based on our friendship"!! Francine, isn't it to die with laughter? It is, it is to die with laughter, so that one does not die crying... Friendship!

²³⁷ Amado da Cunha retired from her activity as a pianist in 1964. From 1964 onwards, Olga Prats (1938) premiered most of Lopes-Graça's piano music.

²³⁸ Some of those articles were published under the gender-neutral pennames M. de Lucena e Faro or A. C. Both are versions of her real name: Maria de Lucena e Faro, and Amado da Cunha.

²³⁹ In the summer of 1964, Amado da Cunha was head of the AAM and Maria Vitória Quintas was the school's artistic director.

²⁴⁰ Portuguese musicologist Filipa Cruz has discussed Amado da Cunha's role as Lopes-Graça's manager in a conference paper (Cruz, 2018).

[...] *As if he knew the meaning of the word...* (Amado da Cunha a Benoît, 09/01/1952, N33/634)

Lopes-Graça regularly treated Amado da Cunha in such a disrespectful manner. Even if Amado da Cunha took his attitude with a grain of salt, resignation and, often, a sense of humour, she did get mad at him a few times over the years. On those occasions, Benoît was one of the mutual friends who would try to mitigate the arguments.²⁴¹ There are dozens of letters from Amado da Cunha to Benoît, and even to João José Cochofel, in which she complained about Lopes-Graça, often referring to him as a “little boy”. These letters indicate that throwing tantrums was a common behaviour for him, and that he expected other people to take care of his responsibilities, while he shied away from them, as in this example:

That little boy continues to turn my hair white: I wrote him about 15 days ago, asking for an urgent answer, since sending his sonata to London depends on it, and until now, no response! I am furious. Besides, the British woman is in a hurry. Maybe he has left Nazaré, like he usually does.[...] I will try Tomar, but he is probably not there and maybe he went, for example, to Cochofels'. Did he? He is an impossible being, and I will ask for my resignation from being his perpetual, zealous and unpaid secretary! (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, 11/09/1943, BN – N33/615)

Benoît endured a similar treatment, as her diaries and letters witness, one example of the fact that systemic sexism was a part of these women's lives. In the case of Amado da Cunha, Lopes-Graça's abuse was made worse by the intersection of sexism and the age gap between her and the older male composer. Fortunately, the similarities in how Lopes-Graça treated Benoît and Amado da Cunha were not the only factor binding them.

²⁴¹ For example in 1956, Amado da Cunha did not appreciate Benoît's attempt to calm the waters between her and Lopes-Graça, and Benoît apologized and stated that she would not do it again (Benoît to Amado da Cunha, 11/08/1956, MMP-cpb-71). Another friend who often tried to reconcile both was João José Cochofel, who called the relationship between Amado da Cunha and Lopes-Graça a “Cold War” (João José Cochofel to Amado Cunha, 09/10/1950, MMP-cpc-04).

Benoît and Amado da Cunha also discussed literature, for example, sharing admiration for their friend and comrade Irene Lisboa's literary work, or, in 1956, discussing at length Simone de Beauvoir's 1954 book *The Mandarins*, which Amado da Cunha had just finished reading and had absolutely loved.²⁴²

Amado da Cunha's correspondence additionally reveals that she was accused of neglecting her children in favour of Lopes-Graça. In the following excerpt, Amado da Cunha tried to explain to Manuel Mendes (1906-1969), one of the leftist male intellectuals who was her friend, why it was wrong that Mendes and other male intellectuals spoke badly of Lopes-Graça in front of her son, who was spending most of his time with his grandparents, Amado da Cunha's parents:

Do you know that one of the topics that he [Peter, Amado da Cunha's son] breathes is the absurd, open, permanent war against Graça? Do you know in what ridiculous scenes they put a 5- and 6-year-old kid, with letters to his mother "to leave that man?" Do you know that Graça, and Graça alone, is blamed as the single one responsible for his mother's absences, for her travels abroad, to Porto, at night, etc? Graça, that evil man why dear mom is not always with her son, like the other moms, Graça who only gives his mother ugly music to play, Graça who has his mother tired of studying, etc, etc, etc? Do you know [...] the effect of this] on a 5-year-old child? [...] Peter went to bed last night telling me that [...] Graça is crazy and foolish [...] "Graça ruins pretty songs that people used to like to sing". And I could go on. (Amado da Cunha to Manuel Mendes, 21/07/1952 – 04478.004.046) ²⁴³

The violence expressed in this letter is very telling of the prejudice of gender expectations, namely of motherhood, in Amado da Cunha's artistic career. This letter and others reveal pressure not only from her parents, but also from the male leftist intellectuals, in the form of "jokes". However, Amado da Cunha saw them for what they were: acts of violence. To this letter, Mendes answered that despite making jokes about

²⁴² (Francine Benoît to Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, MMP-cpb; Amado da Cunha to Francine Benoît, several letters, BN – N33).

²⁴³ In her correspondence, Amado da Cunha called her son Peter, the English version of his name, Pedro. The last sentence refers to Lopes-Graça's harmonizations of Portuguese folklore music.

Lopes-Graça, they (Mendes and his comrades) respected him very much. Using the psychological abuse technique of gaslighting, Mendes proceeded to accuse Amado da Cunha of not having a sense of humour for not understanding that their jokes were based on “sympathy, affection, admiration, camaraderie” towards Amado da Cunha, “despite” what he called her “tics and mood instabilities”.²⁴⁴ This exchange of letters highlights three of my arguments. Firstly, it shows Amado da Cunha’s devotion to Lopes-Graça. Then, it exemplifies the multiple levels of violence she endured due to their relationship. Not only was Lopes-Graça abusive in their relationship, but because she was his supporter, she endured violence from her family and from members of the male leftist intelligentsia. Lastly, it reveals the accusations thrown at her for being an absent mother and supposedly neglecting her son. In a conservative society as 1950s Portugal was, with a conservative family as Amado da Cunha’s, the pressure on how to be a proper mother, expected to always be with her son “like the other moms” was enormous, and only became worse after the arrival of her second child, in the summer of 1957.²⁴⁵

The following excerpt demonstrates how Amado da Cunha saw in Benoît someone she could truly trust:

Each time I know better that in that house [Casa do Pinhal], among all of those who are there [...], only you I can call a friend. [...] Just yesterday I found out through João [José Cochofel] that Graça is working on a second symphony; and yet I have heard from him so often (how silly I was!) with constant requests for tasks from me to his benefit. Of course, this is just my sick curiosity (sick, meaning: feminine) that was offended and anxious for not receiving news. Really: what do I care if Graça writes symphonies? Am I right? I never cared about his stuff; only gossiping moves me. Oh well, I hope he breaks his glasses again, or needs to send music to his friends, so that I have the honour (and pleasure) of a new letter. [...] When will I give up the pretentious illusion of being a pianist and decide to remain a handy-man – for

²⁴⁴ Manuel Mendes to Amado da Cunha, July 1952, FMSMB, 04478.004.045.

²⁴⁵ It is no coincidence that the Sonata Concert Society and the magazine *Gazeta Musical* deteriorated around this time, as I will discuss in the next sections.

which I seem so truly talented? (Amado da Cunha to Francine Benoît, 05/09/1952, BN – N33/642)

Amado da Cunha's sarcastic tone once more reveals that Lopes-Graça used misogynist insults as an excuse to ignore her and generally leave her out of his life, except when he needed favours. Despite this attitude, Amado da Cunha's devotion to Lopes-Graça went to the point of being his caregiver. In 1961, Lopes-Graça went through a rough period struggling with his mental health, and Amado da Cunha hosted him in her own apartment for a few months.²⁴⁶ The impact of the emotional labour of caring for the subversive and police-surveilled composer, then in a more intimate setting, while also caring for her two children, was another factor that likely contributed to her artistic retirement shortly thereafter, in 1964, when she was only 44 years old.²⁴⁷

5. 3. THE INVISIBLE ROLE OF FRANCINE BENOÎT AND MARIA DA GRAÇA AMADO DA CUNHA WITHIN THE CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE LEFTIST ELITES

The exploitation and erasure of women's contributions to men's intellectual production has been extensively analysed in historiography. One of the most noticeable examples is the relationship between the French philosophers Simone de Beauvoir and Jean Paul Sartre, as analysed by French philosopher Michèle Le Doeuff, who has done

²⁴⁶ According to what Amado da Cunha said in a radio interview, Fernando Lopes-Graça's stay at her apartment lasted a few months, both before and after he spent roughly two weeks in a hospital for psychiatric care (Silva, 1996). In the summer of 1961, Lopes-Graça moved to Senhor da Serra, Cochofels' country house (Silva, 1996), until he rented an apartment in Parede, where he lived until his death in 1994 (Silva, 1996; Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 171).

²⁴⁷ Despite her artistic retirement, Amado da Cunha remained in contact with Lopes-Graça and other leftist male intellectuals and artists, as well as the women of her and Francine Benoît's social networks.

research on the gendered hierarchies in philosophical work (1989, 1998).²⁴⁸ As US historian Bonnie Smith summarized, throughout history, male professionals developed their work “enlisting mothers, wives, children, sisters-in-law, cousins, and other female relatives to do the work of researching, filing, editing, and even writing. All credit went to the male author” (Smith, 2000, p. 10). My research shows that this was also the case with Fernando Lopes-Graça, who enlisted his closest female comrades to help in his projects and career, without crediting them for it. For example, in the following excerpt from an article in the Portuguese magazine *Vértice*, Francine Benoît narrated how she, João José Cochofel and Lopes-Graça worked together to translate into musical text the recordings of folk music Lopes-Graça collected throughout Portugal.

When he [Lopes-Graça] got excited collecting the musical folklore, [...] I remember well how we struggled, Graça, Cochofel and me, bending over the ping-pong table, to faithfully put into paper what came out of the magnetic tape Graça had used for recording, in a hidden village in Beiras, Encomendações das Almas or something similar, with precious melismas,²⁴⁹ those that completely fall out not only of compass but also of the detailed measure of tempi.²⁵⁰ (Benoît, 1981, p. 70)

However, the composer never publicly acknowledged this participation, making it one example of Benoît’s uncredited collaboration in Lopes-Graça’s intellectual production. While it could be argued that he did the same with João José Cochofel, who transcribed music on this occasion, as the excerpt shows, and also collaborated in the magazine *Gazeta Musical*, Cochofel was recognized as an equal by his peers, and his name belongs to Portuguese cultural history thanks to his intellectual work. By contrast,

²⁴⁸ More recently, the Journal *Simone de Beauvoir Studies* dedicated a full volume (v. 20, 2003-2004) to the relationship between both philosophers.

²⁴⁹ A *melisma* is a vocal melodic embellishment difficult to faithfully translate to western music notation.

²⁵⁰ *Encomendações das Almas* are songs of the Iberian secular Catholic tradition, sang during lent.

the way historiography has uncritically kept women's collaboration hidden, indicates how invisible these dynamics still are.

The most striking examples of public initiatives from which Benoît's and Amado da Cunha's collaboration was rendered invisible are the informal concert society *Concertos Sonata* (1942-1960), a series of concerts and lectures organized in Lisbon, *Concertos e Palestras Sobre Música* (1943), and the magazine *Gazeta Musical* (1950-1973). These three cultural projects were part of a collective effort to democratize the repertoire of music concerts in Portugal, and to promote social change. At a time when the State had near total control over the cultural production, thus restricting it to propaganda and, in the few musical events of European art music, to canonical composers from the past, these counterhegemonic projects aimed to promote contemporary music and develop critical skills in the audiences (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, 2012, 2017; Deniz Silva, 2005).²⁵¹ This section (5.3) shows another side of the collaboration between Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha that resulted in building a reputation for their comrade Fernando Lopes-Graça. This a dynamic that I analyse under Bourdieu's "cycle of consecration", as Kimberly Francis did in regards to Nadia Boulanger's role in Igor Stravinsky's consecration (2015).

These three projects, and especially Sonata and *Gazeta Musical*, contributed to Lopes-Graça's public consecration as a leftist intellectual and as a composer politically committed. The Sonata society and the magazine *Gazeta Musical*, were an effective alternative way to promote Lopes-Graça's music and intellectual thought. While it is

²⁵¹ I borrow Vieira de Carvalho's use of the concept "counterhegemonic" to refer to the cultural action of this artistic opposition to Estado Novo (2006, pp. 31-60). The musicologist developed his arguments centered on Fernando Lopes-Graça, and the composer's use of art and culture to create emancipated audiences, refusing the state's propagandistic intentions when arguing for the "education" of audiences. While the state wanted to produce cultural homogeneity, and unquestioned obedience and consumption, the musical opposition that this project focuses on, aimed to develop critical skills in the audiences.

understandable that due to the political repression he was excluded from the official circuits and did not have many opportunities to showcase or discuss his work, the fact that these projects became the main displays for his work were, as my research shows, the reason why Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Francine Benoît so diligently helped him. Their justification for tolerating his behaviour and for continuing to serve him was the devotional, almost-sacrificial mission of contributing for a larger good: towards the future memory of the composer and intellectual Fernando Lopes-Graça, as both Amado da Cunha and Francine Benoît often expressed in their letters. The effort Benoît and Amado da Cunha invested in these projects made them neglect their own artistic careers and personal lives. I showed in 5.2 how Amado da Cunha was harshly criticized by her family for not spending enough time with her children because of Fernando Lopes-Graça, but there are also many occasions when she shared with Benoît that she did not even have time to practice the piano, sometimes for months. As for Benoît, many records in her diary and correspondence reveal that lack of time was one of her biggest concerns, starting with the fact that she often wrote her diary at 1, 2, or even 6am, before going to bed, and sometimes mentioning she had been working for *Gazeta Musical* (for example, Francine Benoît's diary, 30/04/1956, BN-N33).

However, the names of Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha remain either unacknowledged or overlooked in scholarly literature (Silva, 2018, 2005; Cascudo, 2017, 2010a, 2010c; Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, 2012a, 2012b, 2010, 2006; Sousa, 2018, 2006; Cid, 2010; Neves, 2019), and their contributions have not been mapped out. In what follows, I will scrutinise a few aspects of women's contributions to these three projects, highlighting Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha's.

5.3.1. *CONCERTOS SONATA*: AN INFORMAL CONCERT SOCIETY (1942-1960)

Sonata was a social-artistic project, an “alternative structure of musical communication”, as Portuguese musicologist Mário Vieira de Carvalho has put it (2017, p. 84). Its aims were to promote 20th-century music by Portuguese composers, and also music by contemporary composers of other nationalities. Portuguese hegemonic musical practices were dominated by nationalist propaganda, based on the stylization of musical clichés, and by music from previous centuries. The polarization of the music field excluded composers who did not follow either of the official lines, or publicly opposed them. The cultural politics of the regime also fomented a divide between “national” and “foreign” music as part of its nationalist campaign, which left out foreign composers regardless of their nationality – with the exception of the canonical repertoire from the previous centuries. Sonata thus improved the Portuguese cultural life by promoting music that otherwise would not have been performed in Portugal during the dictatorship.

Some of the significant volume of scholarly literature dedicated to the *Sonata*, described it as a project founded by Fernando Lopes-Graça alone (Cascudo, 2017, p. 72, Silva, 2005, p. 556) whereas other work includes Amado da Cunha, Benoît, the musicologist Santiago Kastner, and the violinist and conductor Joaquim Silva Pereira (Cid, 2010, p. 1231; Neves, 2019, pp. 124-125), or even João José Cochofel among its founders (Cascudo, 2017, p. 45). While Kastner and Silva Pereira were at some point members of the (informal) board of the society, their contribution mostly consisted of taking part in the concerts, or authoring articles about the society in newspapers. By contrast, Benoît and especially Amado da Cunha had more structural roles.

Benoît was in the project years before its start. She had been discussing the idea of a concert society for modern music with Lopes-Graça since before he exiled in Paris (1937-1939), as a letter sent by Arminda Correia to Benoît from Paris gives evidence for:

Graça is already here [...] He told me you are responsible for the musical organization or something of that modern art show to start soon in Lisbon. Do you plan to premiere music of your own? It is fair if you do, and I will be very sorry if I am not in Lisbon in time to hear you or even to sing. (Arminda Correia to Francine Benoît, 18/05/ny, estimated 1937, BN – N33/472)

According to what Amado da Cunha stated in a 1996 radio interview, Lopes-Graça had decided to create the society after returning to Portugal from Paris following the beginning of WWII (Silva, 1996). In the fall of 1937, Benoît visited Lopes-Graça in Paris, and together they attended cultural and political events and met with musicians involved in the *Front Musicale Populaire*, as discussed in chapter 2. Their plan of founding a society for modern music in Portugal likely gained a new impetus inspired by how those musicians in France were organizing. Considering that Amado da Cunha was Benoît's student and barely knew Lopes-Graça before his return, it is safe to say that Benoît was the one who brought Amado da Cunha to the project.²⁵² However, before discussing the *Sonata*, one must first understand the rearrangements of the social networks in the Portuguese classical music scene that took place during WWII.

Fernando Lopes-Graça's exile in Paris between 1937 and 1939 was an important mark in the composer's life (Silva, 2005, p. 604, Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 147).²⁵³ As Manuel Denis Silva argued, one aspect of that change was Lopes-Graça's political

²⁵² As the letters attest, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Fernando Lopes-Graça had only met once before the composer went to Paris, introduced by Francine Benoît.

²⁵³ For more on Lopes-Graça's 1937-1939 stay in Paris, see Manuel Deniz Silva (2005, pp. 601-605). The most visible aspect of that change was in Lopes-Graça's musical oeuvre, as it corresponded to the beginning of his folklore phase, inspired by Bela Bartók's work, which he became acquainted with while in Paris. Lopes-Graça's musical language underwent another change in the early 1960s to an expressionist aesthetics, following a period of struggling with his mental health (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 78).

radicalization, after denying a job offer in the projected *Gabinete de Estudos Musicais* of the State broadcaster, *Emissora Nacional* (EN) in 1941. Perhaps this episode is better understood as his refusal to sign the mandatory declaration for any worker in the public sector to repudiate communism and other “subversive acts”, which additionally coincided with the appointment of António Ferro as the new director of the EN. As Manuel Deniz Silva stated, “with this decision, Lopes-Graça chose to exclude himself definitely from the official Portuguese music life” (Silva, 2005, p. 605). As I have shown, Benoît also became politically more radical around this time. It was then not only Lopes-Graça who became more radical at the time of WWII, but rather the group of three people that I consider the core of the Portuguese musical opposition (Benoît, Lopes-Graça and Amado da Cunha), due to the structural changes in the regime, and the broader reconfiguration of the opposition.²⁵⁴ From that time onwards, there was a divide within the musical elite. In a text published in the magazine *Seara Nova*, Lopes-Graça argued precisely that there was no acceptable compromise, but only a clear distinction between independent artistic activity and serving the regime (Lopes-Graça, 1944, cited in Silva, 2005, p. 606). The position with the EN that Lopes-Graça had been offered was occupied by the composer Pedro do Prado, who had been a friend until then. From then onwards, Lopes-Graça, Francine Benoît, and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, all considered him a traitor, an enemy who sold himself to the regime.²⁵⁵

Scholars have shown (Deniz Silva, 2005; Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, 2017) that the Sonata concert society was born within this recently radicalized musical elite, as an

²⁵⁴ The Communist Party was reorganized in 1940, Movimento de Unidade Nacional Antifascista (Movement of Antifascist National Unity, MUNAF) was a clandestine movement created in 1943, and MUD was created in 1945, among many other initiatives, including widespread strikes and revolts (Raby, 1984).

²⁵⁵ There is evidence of this change of treatment in the correspondence between Francine Benoît and Lopes-Graça, or between Francine Benoît and Amado da Cunha (E.g. BN-N33/606, N33/610-611).

independent artistic project. While the help of many people was important, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha's participation was crucial; Sonata came to exist largely thanks to her collaboration and administrative work.

Part of this happened because Sonata was an informal society, likely to escape State control, so even though there was an informal board comprised of several people, no one felt directly responsible for certain tasks.²⁵⁶ As Amado da Cunha described in a 1996 radio interview, Lopes-Graça conceptualized the society's activities and wrote the concert programs, while she did everything else: "I was [...] the handyman. I would take care of the typography, [renting] the piano, receiving the piano" (Silva, 1996). My analysis of the sources show that Amado da Cunha contacted and/or organized the musicians, verified if people paid their subscription, verified whether critics had published critique to the concerts, and collected them, among other tasks. On top of it all, Amado da Cunha also performed in the society's concerts, sometimes as programmed pianist, but often when a pianist was needed in the last minute (Silva, 1996). Amado da Cunha occasionally asked others' help for various tasks and coordinated it all, and Francine Benoît was often the first person to whom she turned to contact musicians and negotiate with them, to publish music criticism, speak to other music critics, and inquire about venues, as the letters between both women show.²⁵⁷

The inexperience of Amado da Cunha and Lopes-Graça together with the lack of organization and a domineering attitude from Lopes-Graça, created many conflicts, as

²⁵⁶ Although it was an informal concert society, in 1943, the regime forbade its activities under the official excuse that they had not paid any authorship rights. In reality, the prohibition was because Lopes-Graça was the one responsible for the project, and one year later the activities resumed after Sonata named a (fake) board consisting of Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Francine Benoît, and Santiago Kastner (Cunha, 1994, cited in Silva, 2009, p. 365-366). In reality, Sonata's activities and organization remained the same.

²⁵⁷ For example, in 1952, Amado da Cunha asked Benoît for help finding a venue for Sonata's concerts (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, 05/08/1952, BN-N33/638).

Amado da Cunha admitted in the same radio interview (Silva, 1996). One example from a 1944 letter to Francine Benoît, when Amado da Cunha explained that Lopes-Graça decided to change their previously agreed-upon plans of using *Biblioteca Cosmos* (the publishing project of their friend and comrade Bento de Jesus Caraça) for Sonata's correspondence, and instead used her apartment:²⁵⁸

Another deed by Mr. Lopes Graça [...] Imagine that the young boy made a bunch of newsletters and sent them to the members letting them know that we would be charging [the society's subscription] during the summer and that the mailing address of the Sonata would then be [Amado da Cunha's address]. He did not tell me a word [about this] and went away on vacation. Outcome: the mailman told me, very intrigued, that he had returned several letters that had arrived addressed to "an unknown person named Sonata"!!! I was furious – and still am. [...] We had agreed that that the correspondence would go to [Biblioteca] Cosmos, as it was logical and natural. And in the end he does this! [...] The members will think what they want and if they say the Sonata's board is made of furious mad people they are right! (Amado da Cunha to Francine Benoît, 05/09/1944, N33/617)

Throughout its eighteen years of activity, the society did not gather enough subscriptions to cover for the costs of its activities, but some institutions and individuals offered their venues for free, and sometimes even covered for the musicians' payment and other costs, such as the French Institute in Lisbon, or the music patron Elisa de Sousa Pedroso.²⁵⁹ In the letters between Amado da Cunha and Benoît, one finds many details and stories of the society's events. Here, Amado da Cunha wrote Benoît how the first Sonata concert went:

The first "Sonata" concert was a huge success: full house, enthusiastic clapping, absence of the usual fighting scenes. [...]

²⁵⁸ Bento de Jesus Caraça (1901-1948) was a mathematician and member of the Portuguese Communist Party. He founded and directed the *Biblioteca Cosmos*, in 1941, a publishing company that edited many innovative scientific and cultural books in Portugal. He served as the director of the *Universidade Popular Portuguesa* from 1928 until its end (Pedroso, 2007).

²⁵⁹ The French Institute occasionally hired French musicians to play in Portugal, and Sonata would co-organize the concerts, with all costs supported by the Institute. When Elisa de Sousa Pedroso hired foreign musicians to play at her house, in the context of *Ciclo de Cultura Musical's* activities (the concert society that she founded), she arranged for them to play in Sonata's concerts as well (Silva, 1996).

Now the “assembly” has to meet, to improve bureaucracy and to put a stop to the dictator Lopes. [...]

Several people were missing, according to our calculations; Graça won’t stop insulting and humiliating me, but he doesn’t remember that we are in a festive season and the post is poorly organized and not prepared for an excess of mail. [...]

Mr. Kastner, as usual, was attached to Rui Coelho. Present were, aside from them and many other people, P[edro do] Prado, Armando [José Fernandes], Stella, Joly [Braga Santos], João Pedro, Manuela Porto’s group [...] Mr. and Mrs. Maissa, etc, etc. (Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha to Francine Benoît, 29/12/1942, BN – N33/611)

While the broader picture is how successful the event was, Amado da Cunha remembered that the board (in which Benoît was included) had to meet to control Lopes-Graça’s authoritarian impulses, and shared that he was angry with her because a few people were missing. The composer’s attitude towards Amado da Cunha was not only undemocratic, it was also patronizing, especially taking into consideration that she was a volunteer collaborator. Lastly, Amado da Cunha gave an overview of the audience, noting the attendees that would be the most relevant for Benoît: a few key members of the musical elite, including people close to the regime such as Ruy Coelho and Pedro do Prado, but also the feminist and antifascist actor and author Manuela Porto (1908-1950) and her theatre group.

A very important aspect of the Sonata concert society was women’s participation. Not only was the Sonata largely managed by women, but it also had a strong presence of women as performing musicians. Not counting groups such as choirs and orchestras, more than half of the musicians who played in Sonata’s concerts were women.²⁶⁰ While this might look balanced, parity was unfortunately not part of Sonata’s intentions. The ratio between music by male and female composers was extremely unbalanced. In its concerts,

²⁶⁰ 54 women musicians, against 47 men. These included internationally acclaimed women, such as the pianist Helena Moreira de Sá e Costa (1913-2006), whose collaboration was arranged by Francine Benoît. See Appendix 6 for a list of the musicians who performed in Sonata’s concerts.

the society played music by seven women composers versus one hundred and nineteen men.²⁶¹ Among these, Benoît was an exception with four works performed, Berta Alves de Sousa and Elsa Barraine had two works performed, and the remaining four women only had one music piece performed. This number becomes even more striking if one keeps in mind that some of the male composers had more than a dozen of their works performed, such as Fernando Lopes-Graça, Béla Bartók (1881-1945), Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), Francis Poulenc (1899-1963), and Serge Prokofiev (1891-1953).

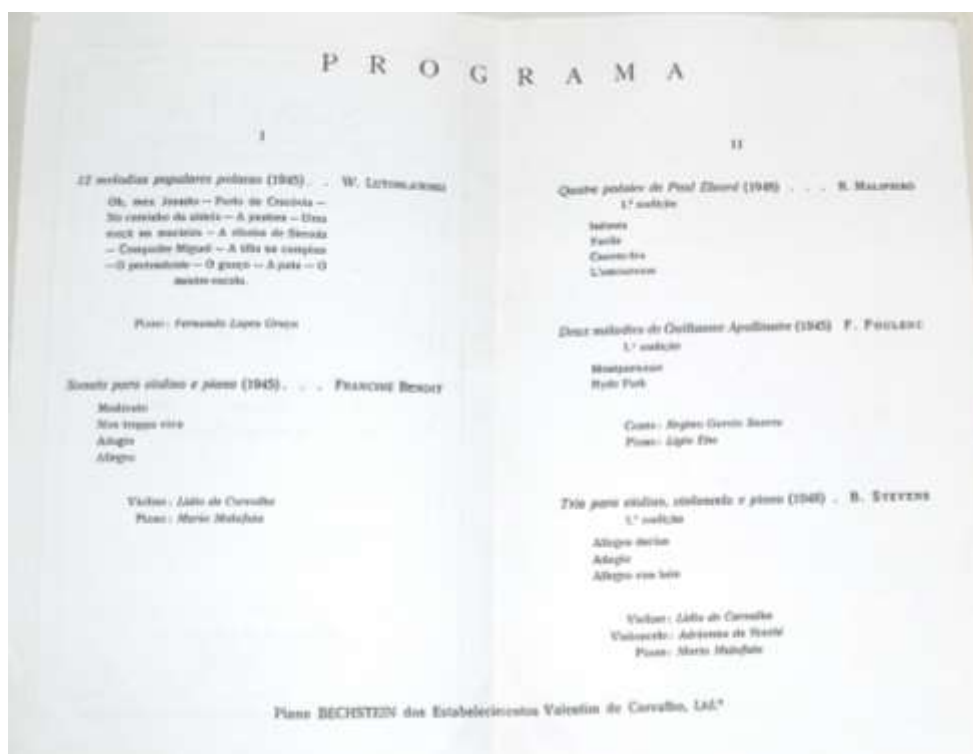


Figure 5.3 Program of Sonata's 55th concert, 02/04/1950, with Benoît's Sonata for violin and piano (Author's private collection).

To explain the relatively high number of women musicians, Teresa Cascudo argued that Sonata was preceded by a tradition of women-organized private concerts, such as those organized by the Countess of Proença-a-Velha or by Ema Romero da Câmara Reis, and therefore the significant presence of women was a direct consequence

²⁶¹ The women composers were Elsa Barraine (1910-1999), Francine Benoît, Elvira de Freitas, Maria Isabel Lupi (1921-?), Sheila Power (?-?), Berta Alves de Sousa and Germaine Taileferre (1892-1983).

of that recent past (2017, p. 45), an hypothesis that I contest. Sonata was a contrasting type of cultural intervention, as these were public concerts organized by a society, and not private events organized by women patrons. There was also an evident class difference between the two types of events. Additionally, even if they occasionally presented the same music, there was an ideological discrepancy: Sonata was fundamentally a political project, against the cultural politics of the Portuguese regime. In my view, the presence of women in Sonata shows three aspects: (1) it was primarily was a proof of Sonata's financial precariousness, (2) it was a clear indication of how gendered the music field was, and lastly, (3) it once more proves women's significant role in the musical opposition.

To begin with, performing in the Society's concerts was, with very few exceptions, voluntary work. This is why the Society only had a small number of frequent performers, aided by many occasional musicians – and, very rarely, hired performers, usually sponsored by the French Institute or *Ciclo de Cultura Musical*. For this reason, the most frequently performing musicians were Fernando Lopes-Graça (who performed in 43 out of Sonata's 85 concerts) and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (15). Sonata was a project with public visibility, whose concerts were reviewed in many newspapers and arts magazines. It was prestigious for women musicians to take these opportunities to perform in public professional settings. Additionally, as most of the women musicians who performed in Sonata were married, they did not depend on their own income, or had to provide for their households, so they could afford performing for free.

Secondly, the large presence of women musicians shows the gendered division of musical instruments: the majority of these women were pianists and singers, with a few violinists, a cellist, a harpist, and a violist. While there were a few men who played the piano in Sonata's concerts, most of them played orchestral instruments, namely

woodwind and a few brass instruments. As North-American musicologist Jennifer Post has argued, the gendered division of musical instruments comes from a long-standing tradition of sexual stereotyping, existing since the Renaissance, which restricted women to instruments that do not alter facial expressions or physical postures (1994, pp. 40-41). These divisions emphasised the ideal of domesticity that incited women to perform in private musical contexts, either by playing alone or in small groups in a domestic environment (Post, 1994, pp. 40-41). Therefore, the piano and the voice were considered the most appropriate instruments for women, but the violin and the harp were also acceptable. This inequality does not mean that there were no male pianists, and that is where the problem resided. Male pianists were not as available to perform for free as women were, they had paying contracts and invitations, and stable positions as teachers.

Lastly, Sonata was administered by Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha who, as a feminist musician, was aware of the challenges that women musicians faced. By directing invitations to women, Amado da Cunha provided them an alternative means of professional exposure. Thus, even though Sonata had no money and no feminist program, it ended up aiding women musicians to gain professional experience and public visibility. Doing so replicated the cycle of precariousness and sub-professionalism of women musicians, but it also increased those women's cultural capital because they performed in Sonata's concerts.

To conclude, Sonata was largely managed by Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and became a platform that promoted women musicians, even if unintentionally. However, this had an unintended negative effect, as women were utilized for their availability and willingness to play without financial compensation, perpetuating a cycle of precariousness. This gender (and class) dynamic mirrored Lopes-Graça's use of Amado da Cunha as "his" pianist and "his" secretary. Thus, it is not surprising that the

large number of women collaborating with Sonata was at its time, and has been in historiography, an overlooked aspect of its existence (Cascudo, 2017; Cid, 2010; Silva, 2005, Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, 2006).

5.3.2. CONCERTOS E PALESTRAS SOBRE MÚSICA (1943)

In 1943, a few members of the communist intelligentsia organized a cycle of lectures and concerts, entitled *Concertos e Palestras Sobre Música* (Concerts and Lectures About Music). The venue was *Grémio Alentejano* (now called *Casa do Alentejo*, in downtown Lisbon), known for hosting events organized by the intellectual opposition, and Benoît and Amado da Cunha called them “Mário Dionísio’s Concerts”, suggesting that they were author Mário Dionísio’s idea.²⁶²

In 1987, Mário Dionísio publicly recognized Benoît’s involvement, but not Amado da Cunha’s (Dionísio, 1987, p.19). However, the primary sources show that both Benoît and Amado da Cunha equally worked for this event. In a letter to Bento de Jesus Caraça, Dionísio informed him of how the preparation was going: “Maria da Graça tells me that everything is settled regarding the musical part”.²⁶³ Although this letter only mentions Amado da Cunha as the person responsible for the musical part of the cycle, a letter by Amado da Cunha to Benoît, quoted below, gives a clearer picture of both women’s involvement:

About the “Mário Dionísio Concerts”: Caraça [...] still hasn’t started writing his lecture, but because he knows what he wants to say he doesn’t need much time to have it done. Daniel de Sousa’s lecture is

²⁶² Manuel Deniz Silva listed the organizers as Mário Dionísio, Sidónio Muralha, Alexandre Cabral and Francine Benoît (2005, p. 611). Mário Dionísio (1916-1993), Sidónio Muralha (1920-1982), and Alexandre Cabral (1917-1996) were Portuguese authors of the literary *neo-realismo* (the Portuguese expression of the socialist realism). In the early 1940s the three of them were affiliated with the communist party.

²⁶³ Mário Dionísio to Bento de Jesus Caraça, 29/01/1943, cited in Pedroso, 2007, pp. 429-430.

nearly ready, and I suppose Cochofel's as well (Graça is responsible for reminding him). We are only missing [...] the ones by Graça, but he says that they are in the same state as Caraça's. This being said, I am responsible for communicating with you, namely: are the musical programs ready? How long does it take the artists to be ready to go on stage [...] What is Arminda's program and how long is it? [...] One more thing: in the event of having a trio for the 1st concert, it should obviously be Emissora's, of course; but how about dough for Ms. Regina? Will she play for free? How much would she ask? (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, no date, estimated February/March 1943, BN-N33/582)

Here one sees how involved both women were. They contacted the speakers, chose and contacted the musicians, discussed details such as the musicians' payment, coordinated the musicians' programs, and so on. In the final program, there were only two women musicians, Arminda Correia singing at the first session (June 1, 1943), and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha playing the piano at the fifth (June 14, 1943).

Portuguese musicologist Manuel Deniz Silva argued that the cycle *Concertos e Palestras Sobre Música* was crucial for the development of the communist intelligentsia's debate on the relationship between art and society (2005, pp. 611-618).²⁶⁴ Similarly to what happened in the press, no woman was invited to participate in that debate as a lecturer, even though Francine Benoît had extensive experience doing so. After two successful sessions, a militia of the *Legião Portuguesa* interrupted the third session (June 7, 1943), while Lopes-Graça was delivering his lecture. The militia started physical altercations with members of the audience, while screaming "Long live the homeland! Long Live Salazar!" which caused the end of that session, and the suspension of the whole cycle (Dionísio, 1987, pp. 39-40). The invisibility of Benoît and Amado da Cunha's contributions to the organization of *Concertos e Palestras Sobre Música* might have had the positive outcome of them not being targeted by the *Legião Portuguesa* or the PIDE at

²⁶⁴ I have elaborated on Francine Benoît's positioning in the debate in chapter 2.

the time of this event; nevertheless, it once more highlighted their devotion to the communist intelligentsia, as well as their uncredited labour.

5.3.3. *GAZETA MUSICAL* (1950-1973)

Gazeta Musical was a monthly arts magazine founded in 1950 by Fernando Lopes-Graça, Francine Benoît, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Maria Vitória Quintas, and João José Cochofel. Similarly to what happened with the other projects of the artistic opposition analysed previously, women's participation in *Gazeta Musical* has been largely overlooked and Lopes-Graça is credited as the person responsible for the magazine (examples include Neves, 2019, p. 143-144, or Cascudo, 2017). Scholars often consider *Gazeta Musical* complementary with the Sonata concert society, as both were *counter-hegemonic*, and focused on promoting Portuguese composers, with a strong internationalist intention that involved promoting music by contemporary foreign composers (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, 2012, 2017; Cascudo, 2017; Silva, 2005). The magazine itself promoted Sonata, by publicizing its concerts, or discussing music that was played in Sonata's concerts, or by including a publicity pamphlet inviting its readers to subscribe to Sonata's concerts. Like Sonata, *Gazeta Musical* served as a privileged platform to promote the work of Fernando Lopes-Graça, primarily, but also of Sonata's team of collaborators.

Gazeta Musical was an independent magazine; however, in order to avoid political suspicion, it was published as the magazine of the *Academia de Amadores de Música* (Silva, 1996; Cid, 2010, p. 561). Because most of its collaborators were teachers in AAM, the cover-up affiliation was both convenient and credible. *Gazeta Musical's* official positions were also, for their majority, a cover up, and consisted of people with a

safer reputation with the regime, such as Luis de Freitas Branco (1890-1955) as its director, followed by Maria Vitória Quintas, from 1954 onwards.²⁶⁵ Still, the state police opened a file about the magazine in June 1956, citing the names of Fernando Lopes-Graça and Francine Benoît as “collaborators who stand out because of communist tendencies” (Vieira de Carvalho, 2006, p. 204).



Figure 5.4 The teachers of AAM in 1951, advertised in *Gazeta Musical* n. 8 (Author's private collection).

The magazine was financed by João José Cochofel, organized and written by him together with Fernando Lopes-Graça, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and Francine Benoît (Cid, 1996, p. 561).²⁶⁶ Between internal disagreements and financial difficulties, the magazine became far less regular, particularly after 1960, when Lopes-Graça had a mental health crisis and Amado da Cunha retired. In the 1970s only two numbers came out (May and November 1973), with Francine Benoît as its editor-in-chief and Fernando Rau (1902-1977) as its director.

²⁶⁵ Regardless of Quintas' friendship with the leftist intelligentsia, she herself was not formally connected to any oppositionist groups.

²⁶⁶ In 1958, the name changed to *Gazeta Musical e de Todas as Artes* (musical gazette and of all the arts).

In regards to *Gazeta Musical*'s organization, there are occasional remarks in Francine Benoît's diaries and letters about her participation, and there is evidence of at least one occasion when her name was omitted from the magazine: a series with the opinions of Portuguese intellectuals about music that started in June 1951 (*Gazeta Musical* n.9). Francine Benoît's collection in the National Library proves that she organized this series.²⁶⁷ However, in the magazine, it was published without the name of the organizer as pictured below (Fig. 5.5).



Figure 5.5 *Gazeta Musical* n.9, 01/06/1951 (Author's private collection).

²⁶⁷ BN - N33/6.

Another relevant aspect of *Gazeta Musical* is the quantity and quality of articles authored by women. Despite having women involved in the editorial process, very few women signed articles in the magazine, and those articles were significantly less numerous and extensive than articles signed by men. While some of the unsigned texts were possibly written either by Benoît or by Amado da Cunha, I have no evidence of which or how many, with the exception of the abovementioned inquiry. As Benoît confided with João José Cochofel when letting him know that *Gazeta Musical*'s first number was ready to be published, with some regret, she was excused from authoring an article in that same first number, likely by Lopes-Graça.²⁶⁸ However, she did publish in the magazine's second number, and she was the only woman publishing in *Gazeta Musical* for a while.²⁶⁹ Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha was the second woman to sign articles, from number fifteen, and Maria Vitória Quintas was the third; her first article came in the number seventeen.

In a letter to João José Cochofel, Francine Benoît lamented the unequal treatment she received:

I feel abandoned and sad [... and] in the attitude of a slave I come to tell you and the Composer, how much I think about you, how I humbly, and without leaving the margin, would want to listen to your conversations. Who knows, maybe you'd feel sorry and let me listen to the arrangements for next winter too... (I am still an outsider, I don't think of mysekf, and only think of Gazeta to put it together, as far as I am concerned I stopped thinking about Gazeta). (Benoît to J. J. Cochofel, 07/10/1951, BN – E23/279)

Her words translate the frustration of not feeling truly included in the group responsible for the magazine, but instead like a “slave”, who would simply do what she was asked to do.

²⁶⁸ Francine Benoît to João José Cochofel, 07/10/1950, BN – E23/278.

²⁶⁹ There is a list of Benoît's articles in the first two years of the *Gazeta Musical* in the Annexes.

These indicators of sexism become stronger once one takes a closer look at the topics women wrote about in *Gazeta Musical*. For example, in the first thirty numbers of the magazine, from October 1950 to March 1953, Francine Benoît's articles are mostly music critique, two book reviews (Benoît, 1950a; 1950b), two interviews (Benoît, 1951d; 1953), and a three-part essay on "Music and the Children" (Benoît, 1952a; 1952b; 1952c). In the same thirty numbers, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Maria Vitória Quintas both signed short articles of music critique, the first of piano concerts (Amado da Cunha, 1952a; 1952b), and one essay on instrument players' professionalism (Amado da Cunha, 1952c); Quintas also published a single critique, of a women's choir (Quintas, 1952). The singer and former teacher at the AAM Marina Dewander Gabriel (1898-1969), authored two short "Chronicles from Paris" (Gabriel, 1952a, 1952b) and an interview with the French leftist musicologist and composer Jacques Chailley (1910-1999) (Gabriel, 1952c). These are contrasting with the topics covered by men, and with the length of men's articles. While men also did music critique, they did it more frequently, and additionally authored essays on music, biographies of composers, musicological and ethnomusicological articles, and more, often occupying two or more full pages. For example, in *Gazeta Musical*'s first number, João de Freitas Branco published a three-page long article about two modern operas: Britten's *Lucrecia's rape* and Blacher's *Romeo and Juliet* (Freitas Branco, 1950, p.2-4). In the second number of *Gazeta Musical*, Nuno Barreiros's essay about Lopes-Graça's only symphony, the 1944 *Sinfonia per Orchestra*, occupied three and a half pages (Barreiros, 1950, p. 4-7). In *Gazeta Musical*'s third number, Manuel Dias da Fonseca published a two-page long essay entitled "The music and the People" (Fonseca, 1950, p.4, 7).

In *Gazeta Musical*, men were the thinkers, the ones who decided what should feature in the magazine, the ones who wrote about important topics, the ones who were

interviewed or whose creative work was discussed. Women were those who helped organize the magazine and who published about secondary topics, such as children, or music critique of certain concerts, close to their field of professionalization. The gendered hierarchy of the participation in the magazine replicated the lived dynamics between genders, age, and professional class. Just like Francine Benoît was sometimes considered an intellectual by her peers, but they never fully recognized her as an equal, in the magazine too, she signed more and longer articles than any other women – including a few book reviews, a few interviews, and even a few longer articles of music critique. This was likely due to her being a composer and not an instrument player, together with her status as a mature independent woman – in 1950, Benoît was fifty-six years old. Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Maria Vitória Quintas were instrument players, married, and roughly twenty-five years younger than Benoît and Lopes-Graça, but roughly the same age as Cochofel. These are factors that, in my reading, strongly influenced how the men of the magazine perceived them. Men wrote about a large variety of topics, regardless of their age, marital status, or field of professionalization.

In several numbers of *Gazeta Musical*, there was a notice that read: “Gazeta Musical only publishes requested articles, while its content is the exclusive responsibility of its authors”. This statement makes it clear that the editorial board decided who wrote about what, adding to my point about a glass ceiling preventing women from authoring more and different types of articles. Knowing the dynamics between Fernando Lopes-Graça, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and Francine Benoît from my research, it seems likely that Lopes-Graça dictated who, when, and what women would sign.

Just as the other projects analysed in this chapter, *Gazeta Musical* had an impact on the Portuguese cultural life during the dictatorship. This project would not have existed without the women who participated in it. However, the contribution of those women

remained unacknowledged, made invisible both by the men who were involved in the same projects and by the scholars who have studied these activities.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I analysed through a gender lens the contributions of women in the Portuguese cultural sphere, focusing particularly on Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha. I argued that, despite being committed intellectuals and artists in their own right, the male dominated groups did not recognize them as such, and their crucial role in initiatives of the opposition remained largely unacknowledged. This invisibility has been crystalized in historiography, which has overlooked any gender dynamics in order to build a national post-dictatorship grand narrative that centers on Lopes-Graça as the great (communist) musical genius.

The dynamics analysed here show that Lopes-Graça often had misogynist attitudes towards Benoît and Amado da Cunha, whose servitude and emotional labour he abused. The cultural activities examined revealed several layers of emotional burdens, and of uncredited organizational labour, which is symptomatic evidence of the gendered experiences lived by these women.

This chapter also brought to light the collaboration of Francine Benoît and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in their investment in building a reputation for Fernando Lopes-Graça, which I analysed under Bourdieu's "cycle of consecration" as done by Kimberly Francis in regards to Nadia Boulanger's role in Igor Stravinsky's consecration (2015). In effect, Benoît and Amado da Cunha's uncredited work in these three projects resulted in promotion for Lopes-Graça. In historiography, *Sonata* and *Gazeta Musical* remain central aspects of the composer's cultural action and democratic commitment.

While both women themselves purposely collaborated with Lopes-Graça towards his public recognition, their work deserved recognition and a gendered analysis. Especially considering that Lopes-Graça did not do the same for them. He did not treat them with the respect and professionalism they deserved; he rarely fought for their public recognition or in their support when others publicly attacked them.²⁷⁰ Moreover, the labour Benoît and Amado da Cunha invested in such projects made them neglect their own artistic careers and personal lives, as I have showed.

However, one must avoid the pitfall of conceptualizing Benoît and Amado da Cunha as victims of Lopes-Graça. Their investment in Lopes-Graça was certainly also strategic, as part of said cycle of consecration. By befriending, collaborating with, and promoting Lopes-Graça, both Benoît and Amado da Cunha were able to obtain some visibility and recognition for themselves as two women struggling in a male-dominated professional field, and to expand their social circles among the leftist elites, thus increasing their own cultural and social capital.

Benoît's music was performed in Sonata's concerts. Benoît herself performed, including a concert where she conducted the choir of the AFPP accompanied by a quintet.²⁷¹ Her participation in *Gazeta Musical* allowed her not only to write music critique outside mainstream newspapers, but also to publish longer articles, and longer interviews, in a specialized publication. *Gazeta Musical* also published critique of her concerts and her music. Similarly, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha found in Sonata a

²⁷⁰ The most notorious exception was Lopes-Graça and Arminda Correia's public defense of Francine Benoît and her music, through a public letter published in *Gazeta Musical* (N.11, p. 2), after an attack by Joly Braga Santos in the newspaper *O Século* (29/06/1951).

²⁷¹ Benoît conducted the Portuguese premiere of five Polish songs by the Polish composer Andrej Panufnik (1914-1991): *De Awolén, De Przysucha, De Olkusz, De Kazanów, De Janowiec*. It was in Sonata's 51st concert, July 5, 1949, in the *Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes*, Lisbon. The quintet was composed by the following musicians: Luís Boulton, Alberto França, Carlos Saraiva, Carlos de Oliveira, and António Candido Borriço.

privileged stage for her performances as a pianist specialized in modern repertoire, and in *Gazeta Musical* not only a platform where she herself signed articles, but which also reviewed her concerts. Moreover, Amado da Cunha was the pianist who premiered most of Lopes-Graça's piano music until she retired in 1964.



Figure 5.6. Fernando Lopes-Graça's 57th anniversary, 17/12/1963. Lopes-Graça is in the center, with Francine Benoît on his right and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha on his left (MMP-EMGAC).

My research argues that even within smaller circles of comrades such as the groups in which Benoît and Amado da Cunha were involved, gender was unremittingly a key element in the way that it shaped and was shaped by those relationships by rendering their contributions less significant and often simply invisible. Moreover, gender has also shaped musicological narratives. In the post-Revolution historiography of the musical intelligentsia, scholars such as Mário Vieira de Carvalho (2017, 2012a, 2012b, 2010, 2006), Teresa Cascudo (2017, 2010a), or Manuel Deniz Silva (2018, 2005), among many others, built a hegemonic narrative that places Lopes-Graça as the single and most important actor in the musical opposition, a status that I have deconstructed in this chapter. This chapter demonstrated that Francine Benoît, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and Fernando Lopes-Graça were the core of the Portuguese musical opposition,

struggling not only to overcome the challenges that artistic life posed, but also to overcome a hegemonic cultural sphere dominated by the musicians' relationships with the regime, and the regime's surveillance – as PIDE's records of the three of them prove.

CHAPTER 6 – FRANCINE BENOÎT’S NETWORKS OF WOMEN IN PORTUGAL

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines Francine Benoît’s networks of women as participants in the Portuguese public sphere. I discuss these networks from a feminist perspective, arguing that their shared class belonging and gendered experiences brought them together, and that their political beliefs and lesbian continuum were forms of political action. I also analyse their ties with Portuguese oppositionist movements and groups, focusing on oppositionist women’s groups.

When I use the word networks (of women), I am referring to women who were connected among themselves because of their shared social capital. Most of these women came from the bourgeoisie or even aristocracy, and began their musical studies with Francine Benoît, either as her colleagues, or as her students as was the case with all the women in Figure 6.1. These were women from a cultural elite, who either belonged to or were very close to the leftist opposition to the dictatorship and were involved in political and cultural movements from those same groups.²⁷² The most noticeable exception is Portuguese author and pedagogue Virgínia Gersão (1896-1974) who met Francine Benoît through Gabriela Monjardino Gomes Nemésio but grew apart from those friends due to her political affinities.²⁷³ Other women who did not join political movements were the Portuguese singer Arminda Correia (1903-1988), Teresa Abecassis Vargas (c.1910-19?),

²⁷² As discussed in chapter 1, the women’s movements that Benoît and her friends were part of belonged to the opposition, as the fascist regime created its official women’s groups (such as OMEN and MPF) to police women’s activities and disseminate fascist propaganda. By calling these women an elite, I am acknowledging their privilege as white people in a mostly white country, who belonged to privileged class positioning: they all had access to what is known as “high culture”. These privileges co-existed with society’s gender inequality.

²⁷³ Virgínia Gersão served as a member of the Portuguese Parliament between 1945 and 1949.

and her younger sister Rosalia Abecassis Vargas (1913-19?).²⁷⁴ Even though they did not join oppositionist movements, they were very close to people who did, and Correia was a regular collaborator with the musical opposition. Chronologically, the women in this study were born roughly between the last decade of the 19th century and the first three decades of the 20th century. I organized table 6.1 below by dividing the women in two groups. The row above includes women born around the same time as Benoît and the women in the row below were born after the establishment of the 1910 Portuguese Republic.

Table 6.1. Names of women from Francine Benoît's networks

Maria Albina Cochofel (1887-1947)	Irene Lisboa (1892-1958)	Virgínia Gersão (1896-1974)	Gabriela Gomes Nemésio (1900-1980)	Virgília S. Coutinho (1900-1981)	Arminda Correia (1903-1988)	Maria Helena Leal (?-1952)
			Francine Benoît (1894-1990)			
Rosalia Vargas G. Ferreira (1913-19?)	Maria Palmira Tito de Morais (1912-2003)	Maria Letícia Silva (1915-2010)	Noémia Cruz (1916-?)	Maria Vitória Quintas (19?-?)	Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (1919-2001)	Madalena Gomes (1928-2010)

Table 6.1 shows just a small number of women from Benoît's networks, and does not include her transnational connections, with the exception of Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, whose relation with Benoît I analyse in the next chapter. The women in the top row met Benoît when she was young. The three to the right, Virgília Coutinho, Arminda

²⁷⁴ Maria Teresa de Abecassis Vargas and Rosalia Abecassis Vargas were from a small village built exclusively around copper mines, Minas de São Domingos, in the municipality of Mértola, in the south of Portugal. Their father was António Maurício de Vargas (1871-1936), a republican medical doctor, and their mother was Maria Teresa Abecassis (18?-1918). Maria Teresa Vargas married José Joaquim dos Santos Pessegueiro (1905-1973) in 1924, and Rosalia Vargas married the oppositionist author José Gomes Ferreira in 1951 (CEMSD, 2018).

Correia, and Maria Helena Leal, met Benoît when they studied at the *Conservatório Nacional*. The women in the bottom row started as Benoît's music students, with the exception of Madalena Gomes, Benoît's life partner, who she met in the early 1950s through Virgília de Sousa Coutinho.²⁷⁵

To analyse the relations between these women and discuss their processes of socialization, I borrow the concepts of homosociality (Sedgwick, 1985, Hammarén and Johansson, 2014) and mostly Rich's lesbian continuum (Rich, 1980). I will show how these women's lives were co-constituted through processes of socializing among women, emphasizing that Francine Benoît's biography was both shaped by and shaped those of the women in her life. In 6.1, I discuss Benoît's crucial role as a link between networks of women. In 6.2, I describe those women's processes of socializing, conceptualising such processes as feminism. Lastly, in 6.3, I analyse how and why Benoît was a feminist, by focusing on her activities in women's movements, and among these networks of women.

6. 1. FRANCINE BENOÎT AS THE LINK BETWEEN NETWORKS OF WOMEN

My analysis of the letters exchanged between Victorine Benoît and Francine Benoît, mother and daughter, revealed that Francine Benoît inherited a women-centred existence from her mother who, after Paul Benoît's death, socialized almost exclusively with women. Benoît and her mother's shared networks included Madame Péchenard, the owner of a French school for young girls in Lisbon where they both worked, and Virgínia Quaresma (1882-1973), a black feminist lesbian who was the first woman working as a

²⁷⁵ Virgília de Sousa Coutinho lived in Azores from the mid-to-late-1930s until the 1960s, where Madalena Gomes was from. After Madalena Gomes moved to Lisbon in 1946 and commented that she felt very lonely and had very few friends, Sousa Coutinho advised her to go meet her friend Francine Benoît (Gomes, 1995).

professional journalist in Portugal in 1906 (Roldão, 2019). Their networks also included feminist activists such as Deolinda Lopes Vieira (1888-1993), Gabriela Castelo-Branco (?-?), who served on the board of CNMP in 1945 (Correia, 2013, p. 90), Isabel Cohen von Bonhorst (active between 1930 and 1950), who served as CNMP's vice-president in 1937-1941 and 1945-1946, president from 1942 to 1944, and president of its general assembly in 1946 (Correia, 2013, p. 13), and even the actress and singer Berta de Bívar (1889-1964), after her divorce from pianist Vianna da Motta (1868-1948) in 1922.²⁷⁶

Thus, Marie Victorine Benoît was part of Benoît's lesbian continuum. However, Francine Benoît herself was an important contact point for women from the upper echelons. Having made a name for herself as a private music tutor since 1919, many of Benoît's acquaintances and friends started as her students. The large number of students that Benoît had who became influential in Portugal's cultural sphere underlines her relevance as a key cultural actor. Besides the women mentioned in these chapters (5, 6 and 7), the internationally acclaimed pianist Maria João Pires (1944), the internationally acclaimed composer Emanuel Nunes (1941-2012), and the Portuguese jazz conductor Jorge Costa Pinto (1932) are only a few examples of other students of her who became culturally relevant. Benoît's networks were also influential in the political field. The particular group of students from the chart above (Table 6.1) had three women who signed the lists of MUD (Palmira Tito de Morais, Amado da Cunha and Maria Letícia Silva),²⁷⁷ and two women who married members of the leftist intelligentsia (Maria Letícia Silva, who married Mário Dionísio, and Rosalia Gomes Ferreira, who married José Gomes

²⁷⁶ The references to these women can be found in the letters exchanged between Victorine and Francine Benoît (BN-N33/193-334; BN-N33/12-165).

²⁷⁷ MUD, or Movimento de Unidade Democrática (Movement of Democratic Unity) was the quasi-legal oppositionist group (1945-1948) discussed in the previous chapters of this dissertation.

Ferreira). The picture below (Fig. 6.1) shows Benoît with a group of some of her closest students.



Figure 6.1 From left to right: Teresa Abecassis Vargas, Maria Letícia Silva, Rosalia Abecassis Vargas, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Francine Benoît, and Maria Vitória Quintas, 1937 (Casa da Achada).

6. 2. PROCESSES OF SOCIALIZING AS FEMINISM

One of the most important aspects of these women's homosociality (Sedgwick, 1985) was the feminist potential of their socializing; by exchanging correspondence and meeting and organizing, they created networks of emotional, financial and political support, thus resisting patriarchy.

As discussed in chapter 1, I use Adrienne Rich's lesbian continuum (Rich, 1980) to articulate the intimacy between these women.²⁷⁸ When conceptualizing these women's networks as a lesbian continuum, I am addressing their proximity without making it

²⁷⁸ See chapter 1. Rich argues that the lesbian continuum includes a variety of women-identified experience, which encompasses "the sharing of a rich inner life, the bonding against male tyranny, the giving and receiving of practical and political support" (Rich 1980, pp. 648-649).

exclusively sexual, while simultaneously making those who were lesbian and bisexual visible. Moreover, the importance of the lesbian continuum for my project is that women-exclusive relations can be understood as a political act, an act of resistance (Rich, 1980, p. 649).

Adrienne Rich's lesbian continuum has been deemed problematic for being essentialist and binary, western centric and classist (Johnson, 1988; Cameron, 2008). Additionally, some lesbian and gay scholars, such as US literary scholar Terry Castle (1993, pp. 12-13), believe that the lesbian continuum generalizes lesbianism by implying that all women are potential lesbians, which questions the existence of a lesbian identity as such, and as a result lesbians are once more "ghosted" (1993, pp. 12-13). While acknowledging the value of such readings, I still found the concept of the lesbian continuum useful to discuss these women's lives, as these women were inscribed in an essentialist and binary, western centric and classist context themselves, and, crucially, did not reclaim any sexual identity. However, it is important to remember that some of them were queer, this is, had a non-normative sexuality, which made their existence even more challenging to the contemporary gender expectations of the mid-20th-century Portuguese society. Some others' sexuality is unknown and irrelevant for this research.

According to French historian Wendelin Guentner, the ideology of two spheres, inheritance of the Enlightenment, "held that men were destined for public life, and women for hearth and home" (2013, p. 15). Portuguese fascism, similarly to other Southern European dictatorships between the wars, relied heavily on that ideology and was in favour of women's "return to the home" (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 71).²⁷⁹ There were

²⁷⁹ Although in Portugal it was more about remaining in the home, rather than returning, as women had not abandoned the home to join the workforce in larger numbers, as had happened in other western countries.

some apparent contradictions, as I discussed in chapter 1, such as having women as members of the parliament and in public positions in the regime's official women's groups. Nevertheless, women were expected to live a modest, quiet, and private life, caring for the family and thus contributing to the homeland. As a result, much of women's socializing was done in private, either in private meetings, private lessons, or through letters and/or telephone. This was the case with Benoît's networks. Even when they met in public, they usually met in small groups of 2-5 people, as the correspondence and diaries show.²⁸⁰ Political meetings were the exception, such as the meetings of MUD or of women's groups. The way Benoît's networks of women socialized was a crucial component of their participation in Portuguese public life, as I have shown with Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in the previous chapter. Creating their own spaces for sharing thoughts of political, ethical, artistic or even emotional nature were feminist gestures. Even though socializing in private and public had different repercussions and affected these women differently, both public and private meetings were acts of resistance.

The correspondence and the gatherings at one's home were privileged spaces for these women to socialize, by creating networks of shared political and artistic thought and action. These women's public gatherings occurred at a time and place when women's presence in public spaces was deemed inappropriate, if they were not accompanied by a man, as was the case with most of these women's meetings. These public spaces encompassed professional, cultural and political events, and the café, a male-dominated space *par excellence*, where the male intellectual elites gathered. The women listed above used these spaces for creative experiences such as composing, writing, or painting, and

²⁸⁰ In any case, the regime paid attention to gatherings of people. The larger the groups were, the more they would be under suspicion, even if they were women.

sharing their works and intellectual thought. I use the term “spaces” not only to include the physical gatherings, but also the correspondence, a space that functioned similarly.

It was among and through these processes of socializing that these women became political activists, joined movements that opposed the dictatorship, joined women’s movements, wrote and organized magazines, and organized and performed in music recitals, concerts and other intellectual activities. These women-exclusive networks were not only spaces for building careers and sharing lived experiences, but also places where and through which they first met lovers, partners, husbands, co-workers, and fellow activists.

Both private and public spaces became sites to fight (family and societal) confinement, where these women shared their knowledge, opinions and art in a time and place where women were not granted the same access to knowledge as men were.²⁸¹ This makes the use of both the private and the public spaces feminist acts of resistance because the women involved created alternatives to socialization imposed by societal norms. The private gatherings and correspondence granted them a safe haven where they could exist and express themselves freely (that is, apart from self-censorship), develop their ideas and discover a sense of shared women-identified experiences.²⁸² In the public gatherings and actions, the women involved challenged the status-quo of the traditional masculine public sphere. Nevertheless, both spaces remained marginal: the public by punishing women who did not follow the norms, and the private by the misogynist historians who had overlooked these women’s meetings and actions, as argued in chapter 5. Examples

²⁸¹ In 1930, circa 70% of women were illiterate (significantly higher than 52% of men), a number that gradually declined. However, in 1960, the number of women illiterate was still at a high 38% (and men at 25%) (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 76).

²⁸² I refer to the specific women in question, who connected because of their shared experience of womanhood, often being blind to their class, nationality and ethnicity privileges.

of social punishment for these women's publicly visible lesbian continuum includes being discriminated against in professional settings, or facing rumours or other dynamics that harmed their reputations. The correspondence from Gabriela Gomes, or Suzanne Laurens includes several examples of such, and so does the following excerpt of a letter by Virgínia Gersão.

Our people are always the good ones, but the world nevertheless exists. [...] Our large affections are forbidden in smaller places, under the threat of closing us all the doors [...] If the consequences take work opportunities away from me,] I see no other solution than leaving Coimbra, maybe even the continent. They don't blame me: only her, can you believe, they want me to stay away from her so I don't follow her footprints; and they create [lies], create [lies], they slander her, I swear to you. True monstrosities. And what for, and why, my God??!... [...] They] don't forgive her a godmother from the past. (Gersão to Benoît, 20/09/1926, BN – N33/793)

This excerpt shows that these women sometimes faced harsh consequences for their women-exclusive relationships because the absence of men in women's lives was seen as a threat. Gersão was targeted by homophobic violence because she spent time with a woman rumoured to be a lesbian. The extent of the violence was such that she feared having no work opportunities in Coimbra, where she lived, because of it. In the 1920s, when this letter was written, both Benoît and Gersão, as well as most of their friends, were inspired by the popular image of the French *garçonne*, with all it entailed, from hairstyle and fashion to paid jobs outside the home and publicly socializing in female circles.²⁸³ One can only imagine how much harsher the reactions were in the 1940s, considering the gendered radicalization of Portuguese society under fascism, and the radicalization of Benoît herself – discussed in chapter 4.

²⁸³ See Figure 4.2 in chapter 4, of Benoît, her mother, Gabriela Gomes and Virgínia Gersão. For more on the Portuguese *garçonne* of the 1920s, see Marques (2007).

Below I will subsequently discuss the three main contexts these women used to socialize: (6.2.1) the private gatherings, (6.2.2) the public gatherings, and (6.2.3) their letters. As mentioned, these were all places for artistic creation, circulation and dissemination of ideas, for sharing affects, and where the perception and reputation of artists as intellectuals was established.²⁸⁴

6.2.1. PRIVATE GATHERINGS

The gatherings of artists and intellectuals in someone's home can be considered an inheritance of the 18th and 19th-century tradition of the salon. As discussed in the first chapter, Portugal was strongly influenced by French culture throughout the 19th and early 20th century.²⁸⁵ Paris was (seen as) the centre of modernity, the cultural capital of the world, with an urban European lifestyle, which other European capitals, such as Lisbon, aimed to mimic. The circulation of cultural practices to the European cities transformed and adapted those same practices the specificities and actors of each country, thereby creating new local practices which would, in turn, influence other capitals while also disseminating within each country to smaller cities and readjusting to those different settings. This act of exploring, incorporating and adapting the French modernity became evident in the behaviour of the Portuguese elites, especially the artistic elites, who wanted to be part of the *avant-garde*. It was common in the Portuguese elites to speak French

²⁸⁴ US musicologist Jane Fulcher explored how the French nationalist competition with Germany shaped western musical ideology, during the Third Republic (1870-1940), showing that the emergence of the composer as an intellectual was one of the outcomes. She argues that composers intentionally created narratives according to their political ideologies and through appropriation and creation of musical canons. For example, according to Fulcher, during WWI, Schola Cantorum and its head Vincent D'Indy were seen as the representatives of a "traditional, nationalist French right", which advocated musical classicism (Fulcher, 2005, p. 48).

²⁸⁵ For more on the influence of France in late 19th and early 20th-century Lisbon, see Magalhães (2014).

fluently. In addition, throughout the *Belle Époque* and until the mid-20th century, members of the musical elites studied the French artistic scene intensively and *in loco*, whenever possible. This resulted in another class division because very few people, even within the elites, could afford to travel and stay in France.

There were still many salons in Lisbon in the first decades of the 20th century. Similarly to what happened in other European capitals, many were hosted by female aspiring writers and poets from wealthy families such as Carlota de Serpa Pinto (1876-1949), also known as Clarinha, Branca de Gonta Colaço (1880-1945), Elisa de Sousa Pedroso (1881-1958), Veva de Lima (1886-1963), Ema Romero Santos Fonseca da Câmara Reis (1897-1968), and Virgília de Sousa Coutinho (1900-1981), Benoît's friend.²⁸⁶ Some of these salons, like Veva de Lima's and Elisa de Sousa Pedroso's, were very sumptuous, while others, like Virgília de Sousa Coutinho's, were more down-to-earth.²⁸⁷ Notwithstanding the fact that these salons were gender-mixed, rather than women-only, they were a way of escaping the male-dominated "outdoor culture" such as the meetings and gatherings at cafés, where women's presence was deemed inappropriate, or the *Boulevard*, where women exhibited their fashionable *toilettes*. Not free from heteronormative culture and displays of flirting between men and women, the salons still provided a space for female socializing and lesbian affection. One should not overlook the fact that many women hosting salons, all throughout Europe and the US, were lesbian

²⁸⁶ Virgília Olímpia Peixoto do Canto Brandão de Sousa Coutinho was originally from the Azores but moved to Lisbon, probably to study at the Conservatory, where she was a colleague of Francine Benoît and Arminda Correia, among others. The gatherings at Sousa Coutinho's home began with a small group that included these names, but soon expanded to include a larger number of artists from the Lisbon elite, such as the feminist antifascist Manuela Porto (1908-1950), the painter Maria Helena Vieira da Silva (1908-1992) and her husband, the Hungarian painter Arpad Zsenes (1897-1985), the philosopher Francisco Vieira de Almeida (1888-1962), and many others (Miranda, 1992).

²⁸⁷ According to Portuguese musicologist Gil Miranda, in Virgília de Sousa Coutinho's salon the guests participated in all the activities, including preparing and cooking the meals (1992, p. 75).

or bisexual – such as Winnaretta Singer (1865-1943) or Gertrude Stein (1874-1946) (Kahan, 2003; Solomon, 2013).

Because Francine Benoît was born in France, and because she had studied in Paris, her cultural capital favoured her participation in the Lisbon salons. Additionally, being a private music tutor close to the Rey Colaço family granted her direct access to the Portuguese elites during the First Republic (1910-1926) and into the establishment of the *Estado Novo* in 1933. However, as the Portuguese political landscape changed, and Benoît reconfigured her social networks, during the 1930s, the salon practice also changed. Virgília de Sousa Coutinho, for example, moved back to São Miguel, Azores, in the mid-to-late-1930s.²⁸⁸ In the following years, the state police opened and read some of the letters Sousa Coutinho sent Benoît from Azores. Benoît and her friends kept meeting in private environments, even more private and more discreet than the salon. While these meetings were an inheritance of the salon, they also re-interpreted it: the leftist Portuguese women's privilege and wealth were not the same as, for example, Winnaretta Singer's (1865-1943), whose salon in Paris was highly influential in building artistic careers.²⁸⁹

In the 1940s, under Salazar's dictatorship, Veva de Lima, Elisa de Sousa Pedroso and Fernanda de Castro (1900-1994) still hosted their salons. This fact is a clear indicator that politics played a role in determining whose practices could take place and whose

²⁸⁸ Virgília Olímpia do Amaral Peixoto de Sousa Coutinho moved to Açores when she separated from her first husband. In 1936, she married Lopo de Sousa Coutinho (1891-1976), and the couple returned to Lisbon in the 1960s (Miranda, 1992).

²⁸⁹ Winnaretta Singer, Princesse Edmond de Polignac, was one of the heirs of the Singer empire (Singer Sewing Machines), and held a salon in Paris that became responsible for some of the best known (western European) musical careers of the turn of the 19th to 20th centuries (Kahan, 2003).

could not.²⁹⁰ The threat of seeing their activities subjected to the presence of police surveillance, made many people, ideologically closer to the opposition, put an end to their salons.

Francine Benoît never held a salon, *per se*, partially because her financial situation was never stable enough to afford a large house and host a salon, but also because she was under the radar of the state police, as the PIDE files confirm. However, the gatherings at her and her friends' homes were reminiscent of the salon: they played music, read poetry, and discussed arts and politics. The following excerpt from Francine Benoît's diary mentions one of those gatherings:

I haven't registered yet the last gathering here at home last Thursday evening with Germaine, Georges de Roo, Maria da Graça, Rosália, Gomes Ferreira, Ms. Palmira and Totó, Carlos de Oliveira and Ângela. It wasn't perfect, but it was healthy. (Benoît's diary, 27/07/1952 – BN – N33)

Among the friends who attended that evening were Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, José Gomes Ferreira, and Carlos de Oliveira (1921-1981) who were known leftists. Many of Benoît's frequent guests, like herself, were under State police surveillance. As Maria Letícia Silva stated, "one easily loses the real perception of how limited daily gestures were, but they were very limited, very limited.[...] We were all aware that PIDE could walk into our homes anytime..." (Silva cited in Gorjão, 2002, p. 256). Even though these meetings at Benoît's and her friends' homes were smaller than

²⁹⁰ Genoveva de Lima Mayer Ulrich was a writer married to Rui Enes Ulrich (1883-1966), a professor and politician who served as ambassador in London and represented Portugal in NATO meetings. Fernanda de Castro was a poet, married to António Ferro (1895-1956), the director of the SNI (National Secretary of Information), the regime's propaganda organ. Elisa de Sousa Pedroso was daughter of an aristocrat, and married to a lawyer (Fernandes, 2010, p. 977).

a regular salon, the state police could still consider them suspicious, because of the people who hosted and frequented them.

6.2.2. PUBLIC GATHERINGS

The second context for the feminist socializing of Benoît's networks consisted of their gatherings in public. It is important to note that both the public and the private sphere are active parts of societies, equally contributing to the maintenance, transmission and ever-changing ideologies and social dynamics. However, it is convenient to analyse the different practices separately, because Portuguese 20th-century urban society was shaped by the ideology of the separation of the spheres. As such, they had different characteristics and society perceived them differently.

Here I include three types of public spaces: professional contexts, cultural contexts, and casual contexts. These three categories are also artificial constructions that I use to demonstrate that there were different types of events; however, they often overlapped. For example, when Benoît was at the café *A Brasileira* waiting for other women to show up or after they had left, she was often working on some music critique for a newspaper, or preparing lessons for her students. Another example is women going to other women's concerts, for some a nice entertaining evening, for others, a professional event.

Professional Contexts



Figure 6.2 From left to right: Inês Vianna da Motta, Francine Benoît, Maria Lamas, and Arminda Correia (Magazine *Ilustração*, 16/04/1934).²⁹¹

I identify as professional contexts the schools where Francine Benoît, Arminda Correia, Maria Helena Leal, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Maria Vitória Quintas, among others, studied and taught, as well as rehearsals, performances, lectures and talks, etc. The following letter from Maria Helena Leal to Benoît discusses the exams for the National Conservatory, a professional context that both author and recipient knew well, quoting the presence of some of their friends:

I have barely been doing anything except walking to the Conservatory to attend all kinds of exams, finding out the results, etc. I heard Rosalia, who played without major flaws [...] Maria da Graça played with an extremely rough technique and she lacked serenity, but one can see that there is someone [talented] there.
I am guessing you know the result for both: Rosalia was excluded, and Maria da Graça was number 18.
Yesterday [...] I heard Palmira de Moraes. What a beautiful, beautiful voice! It is dreamy! (Maria Helena Leal to Benoît, 19/10/1934, BN – N33/1000)

²⁹¹ This picture (Fig. 6.2) is an example of a professional event. It was taken at a public talk delivered by Maria Lamas followed by a recital when Inês Vianna da Motta played the piano and then Arminda Correia and Francine Benoît performed a few of Benoît's songs.

Here, Maria Helena Leal, a piano teacher, commented on the piano performances of Rosalia Vargas (later, Gomes Ferreira) and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, who were both students of Benoît. In the second paragraph of the excerpt, Leal discussed the singing competition, praising Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, a key name in the history of the Portuguese left and of Portuguese women's movements, as well as in the history of nursing in Portugal, remained a close friend of Benoît throughout her life.²⁹²

Cultural Contexts

The cultural contexts consisted of Benoît and her friends attending conferences, or political events, going to the opera and the theatre, and visiting exhibitions, among others. The following excerpt from Benoît's diary mentions just one of those many occasions.

My mother confirmed the invitation, "The Marriage of Figaro", I managed to pick her up and bring her to "Brasileira", where the three of us and M. Carlota had dinner before going to the rare concert of Mainerdi-Zecchi. (Francine Benoît's diary, 27/02/1956, BN – N33)

Benoît briefly noted in her diary the events of that evening. Once again, one can see how the classification overlaps, as Benoît wrote a critique of the cello and piano concert by the Italian duo Carlo Zecchi (1903-1984) and Enrico Mainerdi (1897-1976) (Benoît, 1956, p. 6). The concert took place at São Luiz Municipal Theatre in Lisbon on February 24, 1956, and the duo played sonatas by Bach, Beethoven and Brahms.

²⁹² I discuss the relation between Benoît and Palmira Tito de Morais in chapter 7.

Casual Gatherings

The casual gatherings overlap with the previous categories, but also encompass their meetings for walks, for lunch, for coffee, etc. These gatherings occurred mostly in Lisbon, especially in Baixa and Chiado, two of the most prominent neighbourhoods in downtown Lisbon. In Chiado, Francine Benoît and some of her friends were frequent customers of the café *A Brasileira*, which had been a privileged centre for intellectual gatherings since its inception in 1905. The most reputed (male) artists and intellectuals from the first decades to the middle of the 20th century were regular customers at this café. Benoît and her friends were among the few women who went there without a man. Between 1935 and 1941, Benoît and her mother lived in *Rua Ivens*, only a three-minute walk away from *A Brasileira*, where they often had lunch. Benoît's diaries thereafter mentions meetings at *A Brasileira*, such as this one:

There was a funny meeting in Brasileira, Ilse Losa, Maria da Graça, Ilse's sister-in-law, Ângela. They left, I stayed. (Benoît's diary, 10/1952, BN – N33)

Here she noted that she and Amado da Cunha had a pleasant time with the Jewish German-born Portuguese author Ilse Lieblich Losa (1913-2006), who had also been a member of the AFPP.²⁹³

In Simone de Beauvoir's 1958 autobiography *Mémoires d'une jeune fille rangée* (published in English in 1959, *Memoirs of a dutiful daughter*), the French philosopher recounted her experiences in the culture of the café. Beauvoir started frequenting cafés in the 1920s, at the same time as Benoît, and remained a member of the Parisian café intellectuals during the 1930s and beyond. US historian W. Scott Haine argued that

²⁹³ The also mentioned Ângela Gonçalves Lieblich (?-?) was, however, Ilse Losa's niece and not her sister-in-law.

Beauvoir was able to create a “distinctly public persona that transcended the Victorian norms of female propriety and feeling comfortably at home in café society”, which was an essential routine for male intellectuals (W. Scott Haine cited in Redmond, 2014, p. 68). Beauvoir’s presence in the café was a subversive act, and the café also served as an important space to build her social networks among intellectuals and artists, and to place her as an intellectual herself. Benoît’s presence in the café had a similar effect. For her and her female friends to be socializing in the same way as their male counterparts did, or even being by oneself, was an act of defiance. Considering that Benoît and most of her friends were antifascists and many were under police surveillance, their presence in *A Brasileira* was even more subversive. Additionally, Benoît’s diary shows that *A Brasileira* was one of the public places where she smoked. If one pictures Benoît in the mid-20th century, in her butch presentation analysed in chapter 4, sitting alone, smoking and drinking coffee, reading and writing, in one of Lisbon’s most iconic cafés, one sees someone who was not afraid of challenging prescribed gender roles, providing more reasons to consider Benoît a feminist.²⁹⁴

6.2.3. LETTERS

The women’s correspondence complemented their other spaces of socializing. One might argue that the letters were likely shaped by a certain amount of self-censorship, because of the surveillance by the State Police and these women’s proximity to men who were constantly under surveillance and sometimes arrested. They all knew that the PIDE could walk into their homes anytime and even check their mail. Nonetheless, the same

²⁹⁴ Baixa and Chiado were two of the most reputed neighborhoods in downtown Lisbon for aristocratic and bourgeois women to visit, but never alone (Guinote, 1997, p. 123).

applies to other meetings because these women likely self-censored their attitudes and speech in public meetings as well since the State Police was a constant danger via its undercover members, spies, and snitches.

The letters are one of the most important primary sources that I use in this dissertation, and many of my arguments are based on them. Francine Benoît's collection in the National Library holds circa 1,500 letters that she received from other people, and 171 letters that she sent (including drafts of letters) to other people. From these, I have read circa 1,300 and transcribed over 1,000 letters to my personal archive. The variety of topics covered and the extension to which certain topics were discussed were what allowed me to build certain arguments instead of others. For example, the nearly complete absence of political commentary as well as of references to women's groups or political movements suggests that Benoît and her friends were afraid of doing so and having their letters checked by the police and/or neighbours willing to denounce them.

Having shown here why I consider these processes of socializing feminist events, in the next section, I will position Francine Benoît within her friends' Portuguese Feminist Activism.

6. 3. FRANCINE BENOÎT AS A FEMINIST WITHIN HER NETWORKS OF WOMEN

Most of the women in Benoît's networks were antifascist, and many of them were directly involved in women's movements and organizations in opposition to the regime. To make this clearer, I have put together Table 6.2 below, with Portuguese leftist women's organizations and the names of the women connected to Francine Benoît. I included MUD, because even though it was not a women's group, it was the most visible *quasi-*

legal group in the opposition to the dictatorship. MUD mobilized oppositionists from a large political spectrum, not just leftists but people who believed in democracy, and it included several women from Benoît's networks. A few of MUD's women intellectuals created a women's Committee inside the movement, called *Comissão Feminina do Movimento de Unidade Democrático* (Women's Committee of the Movement of Democratic Unity). From among Benoît's closest friends, Irene Lisboa, Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha were members of MUD's women's committee. The reason why I included MUD and not its women's committee is that Benoît and many of her friends signed MUD's list, but were not part of its women's committee.

Table 6.2. Benoît and women from her networks in Portuguese leftist women's organizations

Movement or Organization	CNMP (1914 - 1947)	AFPP (1935 - 1952)	MUD (1945 - 1948)	Comissão Feminina de apoio a Norton de Matos (1948)	Movimento Nacional Democrático Feminino (1949 - 1957) ²⁹⁵	MDM (1968-)
Francine Benoît		X	X			X
Gabriela Gomes Nemésio		X				
Irene Lisboa		X	X	X		
Maria Albina Cochofel ²⁹⁶	X	X				
Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha	X	X	X	X		
Maria Letícia Silva	X	X	X			
Maria Palmira T. Morais	X	X	X	X		
Ilse Losa		X	X	X		
Manuela Porto	X	X	X		X	X
Maria Antónia Pulido Valente	X	X				
Maria Isabel Aboim Ingles		X	X			X
Maria Keil do Amaral		X	X			
Maria Lamas	X	X	X	X		
Maria Lúcia Namorado	X		X			

²⁹⁵ This group was created inside *Movimento Nacional Democrático*.

²⁹⁶ Maria Albina Cochofel and her daughter-in-law signed a petition requesting to open a delegation of CNMP in Coimbra published in the CNMP's magazine *Alma Feminina* (Feminine Soul, n.15, 1946, p. 1-3).

As Table 6.2 indicates, most women in Benoît's networks were members of the AFPP (Portuguese Feminine Association for Peace), and many of them, besides Amado da Cunha, discussed in the previous chapter, were part of its board. In the year 1944-45, Maria Palmira Tito de Morais was the President of the board, Irene Lisboa was a member of the board, and Maria Letícia Silva was the president of the general assembly (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 108). In 1946-47, the vice-president of the assembly was Maria Antónia Pulido Valente (19?-?), daughter of Benoît's acquaintance and medical doctor Francisco Pulido Valente (1884-1963). The first secretary of AFPP's assembly was Maria Palmira Tito de Morais and the second was Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 108).²⁹⁷ From 1948 to 1952, Maria Letícia Silva held positions in the AFPP's assembly, and from 1949 to 1952, Maria da Graça Cochofel (wife of João José Cochofel) held positions on the board – in 1950-51 as the vice-president of the AFPP – both Maria Letícia Silva and Maria da Graça Cochofel were also members of the CNMP (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 108). This makes it clear that Benoît and her friends were part of shared feminist networks from the opposition. Not all of the groups from the charts above were dedicated to women's issues. In fact, as many scholars have argued (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997; Gorjão, 2002; Esteves, 2006; Tavares, 2010; Serralheiro, 2011), the 'purely' feminist struggle, if one does not conceptualize women acting together as feminism in itself, became secondary in favour of the more pressing eradication of fascism, especially after WWII. Several women's groups were created specifically to that end, such as the *Comissão Feminina de Apoio a Norton de Matos* (Feminine Committee of Support to

²⁹⁷ The President of the Assembly in that year (1946-47) was Isabel Aboim Inglês (1902-1963), an oppositionist who was imprisoned on more than one occasion, and who was the only woman in MUD's Central Committee (Gorjão, 2002, p. 192). Together with other women, among whom were Benoît's friends Irene Lisboa and Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, Isabel Aboim Inglês was responsible for the creation of MUD's women's committee (Gorjão, 2002, p. 190). In 1949, Aboim Inglês was the only woman among fourteen men in the Central Committee of Norton de Matos' Presidential Candidacy (Gorjão, 2002, p. 200).

Norton de Matos, 1948-1949), the *Movimento Nacional Democrático Feminino* (National Democratic Feminine Movement, 1949-1957), or the *Comissão de Socorro aos Presos Políticos* (Relief Committee to Political Prisoners, 1969). In addition to the pro-democratic struggle, as the same scholars have argued, those groups had in common an intrinsically elitist character, as they were constituted by (mostly white) women from the Portuguese urban and educated elites.

Among these women's groups, two stand out for their political action and wide participation: CNMP and AFPP. Both the CNMP and the AFPP were feminist, even without using the word in their definitions, because they actively fought for women's rights, but above all, as Lúcia Serralheiro argued, because they constituted "an autonomous space where women exercised citizenship, could elect and be elected, outside of the institutional sphere of the regime or any of its affiliated groups" (2011, p. 185).

The *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* (National Council of Portuguese Women, CNMP) (1914-1947), was the Portuguese feminist group with the longest life during the first half of the 20th century, surviving changes in the Portuguese regime and two World Wars. It was affiliated with the International Council of Women (ICW), and with the International Woman Suffrage Alliance (IWSA) (Cova, 2010b). Similarly to the ICW, the CNMP was non-political and non-religious, in order to appeal to women from different backgrounds and with different ideologies. This position was convenient to prevent, or rather delay, its closure under fascism. The CNMP fought for women's right to literacy and public education, to work, for better working conditions and equal pay, and to vote. They also fought prostitution and the trafficking of women, and child labour. The Council was pacifist, and its activities encompassed petitions to the government(s), the publication of a magazine, *Alma Feminina* (Feminine Soul), and the organization of events. Among those events were exhibitions, workshops, a feminist

library, two national conferences (*Congresso Feminista e de Educação*, 1924 and 1928), and participation of the CNMP in international conferences. In 1944, the council reached two thousand members (Cova & Costa Pinto, 1997, p. 87). While the CNMP did not take a public political stand against the Portuguese fascist regime for most of its life, that changed with the start of WWII, and particularly after feminist author and known oppositionist Maria Lamas (1893-1983) became its president in 1945.²⁹⁸

The *Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz* (Portuguese Feminine Association for Peace, 1935-1952) was created under *Estado Novo* thanks to its assumidly pacifist, but apolitical status. However, it became the women's group most engaged in the Portuguese antifascist struggle. Besides Lisbon it had two other branches, in Oporto (1942-1952) and Coimbra (1950-1952). As Portuguese women's scholar Lúcia Serralheiro observed, most of the women artists and intellectuals active in the 1940s were members of the AFPP (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 185). The number of members is unknown as most of its files are lost, but it is estimated that the Porto branch alone had five hundred members (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 186).

Lúcia Serralheiro has distinguished three phases in the life of AFPP according to the activities developed: the humanitarian (1935-1942), the cultural (1942-1950), and the political (1950-1952) (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 89). During the first phase, and honoring the group's definition as pacifist, women's activities were pro-peace and against war, and with WWII, their action focused on sending packages to political prisoners in German camps. They organized fundraising events to collect funds for this task, and then collaborated with the Red Cross to deliver the packages. It was in this context that

²⁹⁸ For more on the CNMP, see Costa (2021, 2007), Correia (2013), Gorjão (2002, pp. 146-175), Esteves (2006), and the comparative and transnational studies by Cova (2018, 2017, 2016, 2013, 2010b).

between 1941 and 1942 Benoît sent packages to her cousin Gerard Deraymaeker, his family, and some of his fellows from the Belgian army imprisoned in the camp Oflag VIII C, as I discuss in the next chapter. However, in Portugal, the food shortage and rationing worsened and in 1942, the fascist regime explicitly forbade sending goods to German camps (Serralheiro, 2011, pp. 85-86).²⁹⁹

AFPP's second phase was characterized by a strong cultural intervention with the purpose of educating, and raising political awareness and critical skills in Portuguese women. AFPP women organized workshops on a huge variety of topics, talks, lectures and cultural soirées (music, dance, film, theatre),³⁰⁰ as well as activities for children and promotion of books and art by women. In 1944, there were plans to create a women's choir conducted by Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 95) which did not materialize; likely because Amado da Cunha gave birth to her first child shortly thereafter, in 1945, and was increasingly busy with the Sonata concert society and other artistic projects from the cultural opposition. In 1947, Francine Benoît founded the AFPP children's choir, discussed in chapter 3, which performed at parties and other cultural events organized by the association.

²⁹⁹ In 1942, the AFPP was still able to send 15 packages with a total of 76.5Kg, a low number compared to the "few thousands of kilos" they had sent in 1941 (Serralheiro, 2011, p. 86).

³⁰⁰ The workshops, talks and lectures included topics such as: health (sexual health, women's reproductive health, first aid, nursing), by Maria Palmira Tito de Morais; physical exercise; French language; music, by Francine Benoît; literature; literacy (for illiterate women); children's health; education and well being; women's work; or women and the law.



Figure 6.3 *Benoît and the choir of AFPP, 1947 (AFPP's magazine).*

In its last phase, the AFPP was explicitly consistent with the antifascist struggle. AFPP's 15th birthday (1950) coincided with the 1948-1949 presidential campaign of Norton de Matos,³⁰¹ with the intensifying of the regime's repression, and internationally with the beginning of the Cold War (1944-1991). The struggle against the regime absorbed and dominated the efforts of the group, which denounced the situation of political prisoners and exiled people, and called for attention to the suffering of their families – Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha and Maria Palmira Tito de Morais were among the women directly involved in those initiatives. The AFPP's activities, and some of its leaders, were under more surveillance, particularly those who were involved in other (non-feminist) political actions or were close to the Portuguese Communist Party. Some of the AFPP members were imprisoned by the PIDE, and many of them suffered harsh consequences for being a member in their post-1952 professional lives (Serralheiro, 2011, pp. 139-170, 190). Portugal joined NATO in 1949, legitimizing the regime in an international democratic context, the same year when Salazar openly decreed the

³⁰¹ Many women from the AFPP were involved in Norton de Matos' campaign, namely in its women's committee, as table 6.2 shows.

prohibition of any groups or collectives that developed communist activities – which pleased the western democracies under the Cold War (Rosas, 1994, pp. 398-400, 406-407; Birmingham, 2008, p. 162). In practice, the vague and propagandistic adjective (communist) forbade any collective action that did not endorse the regime. The AFPP, similarly to what had happened with the CNMP in 1947, was closed and forbidden under the accusation of carrying out communist activities in 1952 (Serralheiro, 2011, pp. 165-170).³⁰²

Francine Benoît was a feminist in her pioneer professional activity, but also because she was involved in this feminist activism. Her transnational contacts as well as her personal struggles of navigating a men's world as a woman in the field of professional music were enriched by, and enriched, the collective awareness in these groups and networks. In the letters of friends and comrades, they often discussed the limitations of being a woman working in an artistic field, as I have analysed in the previous chapter. The following excerpt is another telling example from a letter sent by pianist Maria Helena Leal to Benoît as early as the mid-1920s, when neither of them were formally engaged in feminist activism.

And with all of this I have heard many times: “a woman should never say she would like to be a man!!” She shouldn’t say?! But if we had it easier and if we had more freedom we probably wouldn’t say so. Some would answer me: “But precisely, a woman should not feel the need for such freedom!” Well gentlemen, then wouldn’t it be better for you to be brave enough to say, dealing with all the responsibilities of the sentence: “a woman should not have any artistic, literary or scientific ambitions, or even be the messenger of anything, no matter how high!”? (Maria Helena Leal to Francine Benoît, no date, estimated mid-1920s, BN – N33/988)

³⁰² For more on the AFPP see Serralheiro (2011).

This excerpt was an outburst where Leal expressed that she would rather be a man so that she could go on tours by herself and develop her artistic career. The fact that she shared with Benoît such a personal and controversial feeling confirms both women's closeness, and that Benoît had the same beliefs. Leal was clearly upset with the lack of artistic opportunities and, more generally, of freedom that women like herself and Benoît had to endure.

Benoît shared feelings of being excluded by men with other friends, such as Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, as discussed in the previous chapter, or Irene Lisboa, as in this example from a letter from 1954.

Graça is going through a tough period himself – and because of truly unfair objective causes. About what I would want, the equality not of values, but of companionship that I thought was spontaneous, he has hurt me many times, as you know. (Benoît to Irene Lisboa, 08/08/1954, BN – E24)

Benoît's relationship with Lisboa provides another great example of feminist action: Benoît shared Lisboa's work through her networks, promoting her books and organizing their deliveries by mail to her friends in other parts of the country, who would, on their end, promote and facilitate their friends' acquisition of Lisboa's books. For example, Maria Vitória Quintas in the South, or Virgília de Sousa Coutinho in the Azores (Braga, 2013, pp. 68, 74).

Benoît was never in a leadership role, she did not represent or speak up for the groups, nor did Benoît publicly associate the fact that she was a woman with her (perceived) unsuccessful life. We can see this for example from this 1960 interview, where she complained about not having had the right opportunities to be a successful composer, without mentioning specific causes:

Even though I have expressed myself rarely as a composer, maybe it sounds weird that it makes sense for me to feel somewhat accomplished

as a composer.[...] But one needs to separate the feeling of accomplishment with the feeling of the length of the exercised function, and its eventual reach. [...] Unfortunately, other prosaic demands of my family life have paralyzed me again, as they have paralysed me repeatedly over my existence. And I have a profound displeasure in recognizing such weakness and vulnerability, because of all my activities composing is, by far, the one that comes in first place. (Vértice, Revista de Cultura e Arte, n. 293, February 1968, pp. 151-154)

Benoît was 73 years old at the time of this interview. She would live for twenty-one years more and compose a few other works, but she looked at her career mostly in the past and mentioned that she had not composed often, humbly using “rarely”. She added that being a composer was still what made her feel most accomplished and that composing was the activity that she prioritised. Benoît did not go into detail but mentioned that the main cause for what she considered her modest oeuvre were “demands” of her “family life”, and called those obstacles “weakness and vulnerability”. It is telling that even though in private contexts Benoît recognised some injustices and inequality, in public, Benoît mentioned self-doubt and family demands as the causes for her not being more successful. As I have been arguing throughout this dissertation, as a woman in a male-dominated field, Benoît had to struggle for professional recognition. Publicly calling out sexism certainly would have jeopardized her reputation, even among those who were her friends and comrades, such as Fernando Lopes-Graça, who often adopted sexist attitudes – as discussed in the previous chapter.

One might ask what motivated Benoît’s political activity. Was it her mother’s influence, for being acquainted with women’s struggles, was it her own political insight, was it her friends and acquaintances’ influence? My answer would be that these three reasons were not mutually exclusive: any option presupposed Benoît’s agency in deciding whether or not to join them. While one cannot know for sure the extent of her mother’s influence in her life, Benoît did admit some influence. The following excerpt is from a

1982 interview in a feminist magazine, where Benoît paid homage to her mother, and exceptionally referred to masculinity as a problem and to men as a danger.

[Marie Victorine Van Gool Benoît] *was an admirable mother. She was a woman full of potential. [...] She wrote “La Maternité Consentée” at a time when besides being a crime, it was insane to discuss free maternity, abortion.*³⁰³ *However, she has never clarified anything about sexual matters. I learned at my own cost. I had to protect myself from the brutality of men. I saw the misery of masculinity. I saw how the woman is typically a slave to the man. I saw who she should not be.* (Benoît cited in Neves, 1984, p. 24)

The rawness of Benoît's words is very telling, especially if one bears in mind that this was a 90-year-old woman speaking, only ten years after the 1974 Portuguese Revolution.³⁰⁴ Benoît started by paying homage to her mother's feminist intellect, however, she noted that not even her mother taught her about sex. Even though she confided that she had witnessed men's brutality, it is not clear if she was referring to her personal experience in romantic relationships with men, or to that of her female friends, or even to her own father, of whom she rarely spoke. It is possible that she rarely spoke of her father simply because he had died when she was a teenager. Benoît referred on other occasions to the fact that her mother had been a fighter and a survivor, but she did not share details.³⁰⁵

I propose three reasons for Benoît not having been as vocal or visible regarding women's struggles, as some of her friends. One might have been the fact that her affection was directed towards women, unlike the majority of the women who belonged to her networks and were married with children, therefore fulfilling some gender expectations.

³⁰³ I have not been able to establish whether this title that Benoît quoted more than once refers to a book or a pamphlet or another kind of text, nor when or where it was published.

³⁰⁴ The Carnation Revolution had occurred only ten years before this interview, in 1974.

³⁰⁵ Characterizing her mother as a fighter and survivor might have come both from the early loss of Benoît's brother, and from the emotional and financial struggle that was her father's death was for her mother.

Despite advocating for many things that contradicted gender norms, the Portuguese women's groups of the mid-20th-century often reinforced women's roles as mothers and caregivers, maintaining differences between men and women, and arguing for an intrinsic reality common to womanhood; they never discussed non-normative sexual or gender identities.³⁰⁶ Another reason could have been the generational gap between Benoît and her feminist friends. Most of Benoît's feminist friends were about twenty years younger than Benoît, with the exception of Irene Lisboa and Gabriela Monjardino Gomes Nemésio – two of the women less publicly active in feminist groups. Benoît could have felt that supporting the younger generation was more effective than she herself speaking up for/with those younger and more vocal women. Lastly, Benoît was focusing on making the most of her professional career, under her life circumstances. Her finances were unstable, she had to work in several schools, and teach private lessons, and publish articles in the press to make ends meet, she also worked voluntarily in the projects of the musical opposition discussed in chapter 5, and she barely had time to compose. With this in mind, it is remarkable that Benoît still had time to be an active feminist, and that she put together her primary interests and feminist antifascist action for example, when she created the AFPP children's choir.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I discussed Francine Benoît's networks of women in Portugal, focusing on their processes of socializing and participation in Portuguese women's groups. I argued that Benoît was an important member of the Portuguese mid-century feminist

³⁰⁶ As Vanda Gorjão concluded, these “women's political participation did not change traditional models and behaviors, or implied its critique”(2002, p. 248).

cultural elites, not only directly through her activities, but also by being a crucial personality in those same elites, as a music teacher of young women (and men) who became relevant members of the leftist Portuguese cultural sphere. I described the private and public contexts where these women socialized, which I see as feminist tools of action in themselves. Moreover, I discussed the women's groups that these women were members of, and their main activities, to show that they also engaged in publicly visible feminist activism, despite the political repression.

This chapter has brought feminism and women's homosociality to the forefront of Benoît's biography. I showed that Benoît was directly involved in women's activism, as well as many of her closest friends, and that being a feminist was a fundamental aspect of her life that has also shaped how she and friends socialized.

In addition to her Portuguese networks of women, Benoît exchanged correspondence with women living abroad, from members of her family, to lovers and other professional musicians, as well as former students, a correspondence that I will analyse in the next chapter, in order to further explore Benoît's women's homosociality, as well as her transnational political and feminist awareness.

CHAPTER 7 – FRANCINE BENOÎT’S TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines Francine Benoît’s transnational contacts, both with people from outside Portugal, and Portuguese people living abroad. I focus on Benoît’s correspondence with four women, who provide contrasting examples: the Hungarian composer Erzsebet Szőnyi, the French sculptor Suzanne Laurens, the French-born US journalist Marcelle Henry and the Portuguese nurse Maria Palmira Tito de Morais.

Dutch Historian Francisca de Haan has argued that transnational history is a central tool for the writing of women’s history because it allows scholars to study how women’s history has always been dependant on “transnational processes of economic, political and cultural change, [...] or the history of European colonialism” or, in the case of the history of women’s movements, to study the “numerous transnational links between individual women and women’s groups [...], or the] large international umbrella organizations that were important in terms of inspiration, support and legitimation, and whose histories in turn were connected” (De Haan, 2017c, p. 501). The transnational not only moves beyond nation and other types of borders, but it transcends them, in the sense that it studies the interactions, circulations, movements, and exchanges, between them (Curthoys & Lake, 2005, p. 5).³⁰⁷

In the field of Portuguese women’s history, the work of historian Anne Cova remains the reference for comparative and transnational studies, although in recent years,

³⁰⁷ Transnational history shares similarities with the concept of *histoire croisée* or entangled history, coined by Michael Werner and Bénédicte Zimmermann in 2006. However, entangled history critically added two key dimensions, as influenced by the post-structuralist turn: the “mutual shaping of entities and objects of research” and the self-reflexivity of the researcher (De Haan, 2017c, p. 504). Even though this dissertation is also inspired by post-structuralist feminist theory and entangled history, and pays attention to these two dimensions, as discussed in chapter 1, this chapter focuses on Benoît’s transnational contacts.

other scholars have conducted transnational research.³⁰⁸ In Portuguese musicology, there are studies that incorporate transnational aspects of the lives of many composers and musicians (such as Vieira de Carvalho, 2005, 2006; Manuel Deniz Silva, 2003; Maria José Artiaga, 2017, 2021). However, the concept of transnational history is not spelled out nor discussed.

Studying Benoît's life from a transnational perspective means looking at the political and cultural events that took place outside of Portugal and how they interacted with her life, how they affected her intellectual production but also the conditions under which she developed her intellectual activities, her gendered queer persona, and her social networks. Benoît's transnational connections show an unknown and under-researched side of Benoît's life and highlight how she was informed and shaped by events happening outside Portugal, as well as an active participant in transnational exchanges, of information, culture, and politics. I call these connections transnational, rather than international or foreign, for two reasons: because the women analysed here lived, themselves, transnational lives,³⁰⁹ but mostly because these exchanges mutually shaped Benoît's and the other women's lives. Francine Benoît lived a transnational life, because of the years she lived abroad and how they have shaped her life and intellectual thought, and because of the transnational contacts that she maintained throughout her life. Benoît remained in contact with many people living abroad throughout her life, from her family in France and Belgium, to internationally renowned artists, or other women intellectuals.

³⁰⁸ A relevant example for this dissertation is the transnational biography of Portuguese feminist Ana de Castro Osório (1872-1935), by Brazilian historian Juliana Goulart Machado, which discussed Ana de Castro Osório's role as a cultural mediator between Portuguese and Brazilian early 20th-century feminism (Machado, 2019).

³⁰⁹ All of them lived in more than one country and corresponded with people from several other countries, thus enriching their lives in terms of cultural, geographical, ethnic and political exchanges.

Section 7.1 starts with an overview of Benoît's transnational contacts. In 7.2, I discuss the letters that Benoît received from Hungarian composer Erzsebet Szönyi, with whom she corresponded between 1956 and 1963. In 7.3, I focus on the letters that Benoît received from her lover Suzanne Laurens, between 1926 and 1943. 7.3 discusses the letters of French-born US journalist Marcelle Henry, received between 1933 and 1988. Lastly, I analyse the letters that Benoît received from antifascist nurse Maria Palmira Tito de Morais between 1926 and 1977.

7.1. BRIEF OVERVIEW OF BENOÎT'S TRANSNATIONAL CONNECTIONS

In the surviving correspondence of Francine Benoît at the Portuguese National Library, in Lisbon, there are many occasional letters from non-Portuguese people. Most of them are from the period when her activity as a music critic was more intense (1930s-1960s), from artists such as the Polish harpsichordist and pianist Wanda Landowska (1879-1959), the Italian tenor Mariano Caruso (1905-1975), the Hungarian-born US dancer Paul Szilard (1912-2012), or the Italian baritone Ginno Bechi (1913-1993). Such letters consisted mostly of thank you notes and were usually in response to Benoît's articles or musical critiques that she herself had sent. However, in this chapter I will focus on some of the people with whom Benoît exchanged correspondence on a regular basis. The extended family from her mother's side is one example.

Among Benoît's family members, some of the most remarkable correspondence for its historical relevance was from her uncle and godfather, Joseph van Gool (18?-1949), as well as his son Paul Van Gool (active from 1920 to the 1960s), who served in the

Belgian army and was a war prisoner twice during WWII.³¹⁰ The correspondence with Benoît's cousin Gerard Deraymaker (1911-1996) and his wife Marie José Dechievre (1913-1978) was likewise important. Gerard Deraymaeker also served in the military during WWII, and his letters to Benoît include the period when he was imprisoned in German camps from 1941 to 1945.³¹¹ Those letters consisted mostly of requests and thanks for packages that Benoît prepared and sent him, in the context of AFPP's activities.³¹² During those years, Benoît also served as an intermediary between Gerard's family and people in other countries, who would send him other needed items, such as cigarettes and clothing. Benoît additionally corresponded and sent care packages to Marie José Dechievre, Gerard's wife, who was left with the couple's young child, Anne Marie Deraymaker (born in 1940).³¹³

Benoît and her mother also exchanged letters with Benoît's cousin Marguerite Deraymaeker (1895-1954). Whenever she read anything about Portugal in Belgian newspapers, Marguerite Deraymaeker shared those news and her opinions about them with the Benoîts. For example, in 1935-36, she commented on the series of articles "Portugal, country of Salazar" in the Belgian newspaper *Resa*. Believing that it was mostly political propaganda, she requested her aunt, Francine Benoît's mother, to write her own realistic impressions of the country and its people, suggesting a future publication.³¹⁴ Interestingly, in 1935, Marguerite commented on a picture of Benoît

³¹⁰ Paul van Gool was imprisoned in Germany in 1940, but released due to illness in 1941. He was a member of the underground resistance in Germany from then until September 1944, when he managed to escape the country but was soon recaptured (Paul van Gool to Benoît, 1953-57, BN – N33/1575-1579).

³¹¹ Deraymaker was first in Juliusburg bei Oels, Oflag VIII C, then after September 1942 in Fischbeck bei Hamburg, Oflag X-D, until the camp was liberated by British troops in May 1945.

³¹² The products she most often sent Gerard were canned sardines (and other canned food), coffee, and chocolate.

³¹³ The packages requested by Marie Jose also included canned sardines, coffee, chocolate, honey, butter, and bananas. Anne Deraymaker (Masereel by marriage), Gerard and Marie Jose's daughter, corresponded with Benoît, and visited her in Lisbon in the 1980s, with her husband and children.

³¹⁴ Marguerite Deraymaeker to Benoît, 22/12/1935, BN – N33/710.

wearing a man-tailored suit that she had sent: “Yes, indeed I believe she must look a lot like this, in any case, it is a very nice picture.[...] Do you always wear your hair like this or was it just for the occasion?”³¹⁵ It is possible that the comparison was with the German actor Marlene Dietrich (1901-1992) who scandalized Europe and North America by wearing a man-tailored suit in the 1930 film *Morocco*, as well as in her daily life. Benoît and her mother’s sharing of what seems to have been an unusual picture with Marguerite Deraymaeker revealed that they did not fear judgement from their own extended family.

From Benoît’s many non-family transnational contacts, I discuss four examples of four different ideological and cultural contexts. The first is of Erzsébet Szőnyi, a Hungarian woman composer and pedagogue, and Benoît’s only known contact from beyond the Iron Curtain. The second is Benoît’s lover Suzanne Laurens, who lived in Portugal until the dictatorship, when she relocated to France. The third is Marcelle Henry, a French born-US journalist who was persecuted by McCarthyism when she lived in the United States. Lastly, Benoît’s former student Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, a Portuguese feminist and anti-fascist who studied in North-America and worked across the globe for the World Health Organization (WHO).

7.2. BEYOND THE IRON CURTAIN: SZŐNYI ERZSÉBET (1924-2019)



Figure 7.1 Erzebet Szőnyi, date unkown (Jaccard, 2014).

³¹⁵ Marguerite Deraymaeker to Benoît, 11/1935, BN - N33/709.

Erzsébet Szőnyi was a Hungarian composer and pedagogue with whom Francine Benoît exchanged letters between 1956 and 1963, written in French.³¹⁶ What led these two women to exchange letters in the first place were their similarities. Both women introduced themselves to one another as women composers and music pedagogues. Just like Benoît in Portugal, Szőnyi was one of the first women conductors in Hungary. Their letters show evidence of shared gendered experiences, including their struggles to have sufficient time for composing, to have opportunities for their music to be performed, and their commonality of the gender-conforming profession of being a music teacher. There are eight letters from Szőnyi in Benoît's collection,³¹⁷ while in the Archives of the Kodály Institute, in Kecskemét, Hungary, which hosts Szőnyi's collection, there is only one letter by Francine Benoît, dated March 30, 1956.³¹⁸

Benoît initiated contact with Szőnyi to praise her first musical pedagogy book, *A Zenei Írás-olvasás Módszertana* (Methodology of Reading and Writing Music) (Szőnyi, 1954).³¹⁹ Although Benoît did not know Hungarian, the musical exercises and possibly the help of some dictionary were enough for her to realize its outstanding value; she wrote

³¹⁶ Szőnyi studied composition and choral conducting at the Ferencz Liszt Academy of Music, where she had folk music classes with Zoltan Kodály (1882-1967) from 1943-1947. Sponsored by Kodály himself, Szőnyi studied in the Paris Conservatory with Nadia Boulanger (1887-1979) and Olivier Messiaen (1908-1992), among others. Upon her return to Hungary in 1948, she worked as a teacher at the Liszt Academy of Music, serving as Chair of the Faculty for School Music Teachers and Choir Conductors of the school from 1960. Szőnyi wrote many orchestral, chamber and choral works, operas, church music, and published five books about musical education. She is considered the biggest promoter of Kodály's pedagogy. For more on Szőnyi, see Jaccard (2014).

³¹⁷ BN – N33/1560-1607.

³¹⁸ In 2017, Szőnyi had no memory of Francine Benoît or of ever having contacted any Portuguese composer, but she remembered that her book had been reviewed in a Portuguese newspaper. I thank Zsuzsanna Polyák for finding and sharing the letter, and for putting me in touch with Professor Mihály Ittész (1938-2018), then (2017) President of the Hungarian Kodály Society, who served as an intermediary between me and Erzsébet Szőnyi.

³¹⁹ English edition: *Musical Reading and Writing*, 1972, Editio Musica Budapest. A few sources (such as the Kodály Society website) say that the book was translated to Portuguese, but I could not find evidence of this in any Portuguese catalogue. Benoît started conversations to translate it to Portuguese, but once more there is no evidence that it ever happened. Benoît had the book in its original language, possibly through some friend or acquaintance who might have bought it in France.

that it was in no way comparable to any other existing methods.³²⁰ In this first letter that Benoît sent Szőnyi in 1956, she introduced herself as the music critic of the newspaper *Diário de Lisboa* and teacher at *Academia de Amadores de Música*, and promised to publish a review of Szőnyi's book in *Gazeta Musical*. Three months later, Szőnyi thanked Benoît for her review, which she claimed to have understood by “mingling French, English, German and Italian words” and because the article was about music.³²¹ In that same letter to Benoît, Szőnyi shared that besides being a pedagogue, she was also a composer, adding that she was “the only woman in Hungary who writes serious music”.³²² From then onwards, Szőnyi sent Benoît some of her music and shared details of its national and international premieres, and informed Benoît about the international invitations she received to present her book.³²³

It is clear that Szőnyi had many conditions that allowed her to build a career, including her family background and privileged education, as the only child of a bourgeois couple, and crucially, being noticed by the Hungarian composer Zoltán Kodály (1882-1967). Szőnyi's career was built in large measure thanks to the mentorship of Kodály and his first wife, Emma Gruber (1863-1958). The mentoring translated into a family-like relationship that encompassed recommendation letters and even financial support when Szőnyi studied in Paris, including when she had private lessons with Nadia Boulanger – where she went thanks to Kodály's reference letters (Jaccard, 2014, pp. 46-51). The support was not one-sided, and eventually Szőnyi became the most important

³²⁰ Benoît to Szőnyi, 30/03/1956, Kodály Institute Archives, folder NDK.

³²¹ Szőnyi to Benoît, 30/06/1956, BN – N33/1560.

³²² Szőnyi to Benoît, 30/06/1956, BN – N33/1560.

³²³ For example, in 1957, Szőnyi shared with Benoît that she was working on her second opera, based on Oscar Wilde's *A Florentine Tragedy*, but with the text in Hungarian, German, and possibly even French (Szőnyi to Benoît, 18/03/1957, BN – N33/1562).

promoter of the Kodaly musical pedagogy, and one of its main theorists, through a dynamic that could be theorized as another example of the ‘cycle of consecration’.

In her letters, Szőnyi shared a few political comments. For example, in 1956, Szőnyi briefly wrote about the Hungarian Uprising, disclosing that she had been thinking about leaving Hungary, and considering Portugal as her destiny:³²⁴

*As you must probably know from the newspapers: we have been going through very rough times. A revolution, like it is written in history books, with all its wonders and horrors.
My pen is too weak to describe these events.
I have been thinking about you a lot, and this thought comes to me like a picture of a peaceful landscape, a calm and truly desirable island. At this moment I can already confess you openly that I thought of moving to Portugal, to begin a new life and forget that I was Hungarian. But that is too difficult to imagine. And I have decided to stay, even if that means dying, if that is the luck of this poor country of ours. (Erzsébet Szőnyi to Francine Benoît, 31/12/1956, BN – N33/1561)*

Szőnyi mentioned the violence of the events and that she would like to move to Portugal, indicating that she saw it as a neutral country, as a paradise. This perspective suggests that she had read the 1943 novel *Arrival and Departure* by the Hungarian-British author Arthur Koestler (1905-1983) where, under the fictional name of *Neutralia*, Portugal is described as a “peaceful, calm and desirable island”.³²⁵ It is telling that Szőnyi believed that a fascist country was a paradise – unless she was oblivious of the lived political situation in Portugal.

³²⁴ On October 23, 1956, what started as a peaceful student protest marching through the streets of Budapest to the Hungarian Parliament demanding, among other things, an end to the Soviet occupation, rapidly became a nationwide popular uprising after the secret police opened fire on the crowd (Furlow et al., 1996, p. 101-102). Protestors were against the Hungarian People’s Republic, a single-party socialist regime, under the influence of the Soviet Union. As a result, the government collapsed. However, on November 4th, the Soviet Union violently invaded Hungary and put a stop to the Revolution, reinstalling the regime. Circa 200,000 people fled the country in the following months (Furlow et al., 1996, p. 102).

³²⁵ This best-selling novel tells the story of a Hungarian refugee, former member of the Communist Party, who escapes to what he describes as a neutral country, *Neutralia*. The novel was written during WWII and is considered auto-biographical because of its similarities with Koestler’s own life as a Hungarian Jew, and former member of the German Communist Party (1931-1938), who briefly lived in Lisbon. Koestler was “one of the major anti-Communist voices in the English-speaking world” (Inbari, 2018, p. 127).

Overall, and despite occasional comments such as those discussed above, Szőnyi's letters to Benoît were mostly about her musical career. Szőnyi wrote about her compositions, what she was working on at that time, giving context about its instrumentation, the inspiration, the *premieres*, or sending Benoît copies of the compositions.³²⁶ For example, in 1957, Szőnyi answered a question from Benoît about conducting, adding a detail that Benoît as a feminist may have found interesting: Szőnyi's husband did not want her to conduct.³²⁷

You asked me if I do not conduct. Yes, I did it sometimes, even at the Paris Conservatory when the orchestra played my "Divertimento I", and when I presented my "Prix de composition" as the first piece for competition. And I have also conducted choirs [...] However, I took this job [teaching] since I returned – it was the desire of my husband. But I do not miss it, I am happy to make music as a composer, and I leave conducting to others. (Erzsébet Szőnyi to Benoît, 21/12/1957, BN – N33/1565)

Benoît learned that Szőnyi had conducted a few times, but heeded the wish of her husband, working as a teacher and composer, moving away from public display and more towards the traditional expectations for (white, middle/upper class) women. This episode likely made Benoît think of her own experience conducting orchestras in Portugal and how they were unacknowledged by the musical establishment *vis-à-vis* the success of the first concerts conducted by Natércia Couto in Portugal in that same year, as discussed in chapter 3.

The evolving relationship with Francine Benoît led Szőnyi to suggest a translation of her book to Portuguese, edited by Francine Benoît, using examples from Portuguese

³²⁶ I could not find any evidence that Szőnyi's music was at that time performed in Portugal. Even though Benoît was one of Sonata's organizers, Fernando Lopes-Graça was the one who decided the repertoire performed.

³²⁷ This is confirmed in Szőnyi's biography *A Tear in the Curtain* (Jaccard 2014, pp. 71-72).

folk music.³²⁸ Szőnyi also inquired about the possibility of travelling to Portugal for a lecture on music education, likely in French, paid by the magazine *Gazeta Musical*, which never happened because the magazine was financial and politically precarious, as discussed in chapter 5.³²⁹

The correspondence from Szőnyi to Benoît shows that both women shared common concerns such as the lack of time for composing, because they both worked primarily as teachers. Or the frustration of not having their works finished when they wished, and of not having their works performed as often as they would like; as well as concern with the political situation in their countries. However, politically they were far apart: while Benoît was a communist, active in the opposition to the fascist dictatorship, Szőnyi identified as anti-communist (Jacquard, 2014). Even though Szőnyi did not clearly express her political affinities in her letters, Benoît might have hinted or expressed hers. This might have been the reason why the correspondence, as far as I know, did not last long: the letters from Szőnyi date from 1956 to 1957, except for one last letter from 1963.

7.3. UNE HISTOIRE D'AMOUR: SUZANNE LAURENS

Charlotte Suzanne Laurens (1904-2003) was a French sculptor who studied in Lisbon with the Portuguese sculptor Júlio Vaz (1877-1963) and in Porto with António Teixeira Lopes (1866-1942) (Braga, 2013, p. 69).

³²⁸ As mentioned before, even though some sources on Szőnyi say that the book was translated to Portuguese, there is no evidence that it ever happened.

³²⁹ Szőnyi to Benoît, 23/04/1957, BN – N33/1563.

Laurens met Benoît while both lived in Lisbon and worked as teachers in the school of Madame Péchenard in the mid-1920s,³³⁰ and they had a romantic relationship during the following years. They eventually grew apart due to the geographical distance between them. Laurens moved to Porto in 1926, and in 1929 to Paris. There are seventy-four letters from Laurens in Benoît's collection, written between 1926 and 1943, in French.³³¹ It is the fourth largest volume of letters in Benoît's collection in Lisbon's National Library, after the letters from her mother (one hundred and forty), Gabriela Gomes Nemésio (one hundred and thirty-three), and Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (ninety-nine). Lauren's letters in Benoît's collection discussed politics and daily life, but the most frequent topic was their love. Both women exchanged pictures, locks of hair, and love declarations. Laurens wished for a future when they could be together, and they used tender versions of each other's names: Francinette, the French tender version of Francine, and Suzaninha, the Portuguese tender version of Suzanne.

You are my great friend whom I love to madness, who I admire, who intimidates me. Other times, only a sweet friend in whom I profoundly trust, who interests me, and with whom I speak about everything. And you are also my Francinette, my dear girlfriend, for whom my heart melts, for whom I know I would do anything, from whom I would like to take all the pennies and worries and troubles away and give all the good things that I have, the best.
Francine, my pretty Francine, my great friend and my Francinette. I kiss you with all my heart. (Suzanne Laurens to Benoît, 26/11/ny, BN – N33/915)

In letters such as this, Laurens expressed her love and devotion to Benoît, also using the term girlfriend (*petite amie*). Laurens often wrote about their common acquaintances in Portugal, and on one occasion, she welcomed in Paris two good friends

³³⁰ A French school for women, where Benoît worked as a music teacher.

³³¹ BN – N33/908-981.

of Benoît, Virgínia Gersão and Maria do Céu.³³² Laurens discussed the impact they had on her, in a language that shows the intimacy of these women-only networks:

Miss Virgínia Gersão is a bit stiff, the other is kinder, more playful, she must be gayer, but so lackluster [...] I imagine that she [Gersão] is not the least passionate.

Maria do Céu gives an impression of pleasure, joy, good grace, and eagerness to please. She arrived so kind, so good for me, that it reveals how much she truly loves you and how much she wanted to please you. (Laurens to Benoît, nd, estimated 1928-1930, BN – N33/911)

Virgínia Gersão and Maria do Céu were a couple, good friends with Francine Benoît. It was because of this relationship that Gersão felt that her reputation and financial stability in Coimbra were threatened, as discussed in the previous chapter.

On a slightly different note, in 1928, Laurens commented on Benoît's project of conducting an orchestra. She reacted with surprise, wondering if it was possible for a woman to conduct "properly" because she had never thought about it. The fact that a French well-educated woman artist had never heard of or thought of a woman conducting an orchestra proves how extraordinary it was for Benoît to have done this in 1929. Nevertheless, Laurens found it admirable and added that she trusted Benoît and her talent.³³³

In their letters, Benoît and Laurens discussed music and literature, and the latter often investigated and bought music scores and books about music in Paris for Benoît. From the exchange of literary references, I want to stress the Portuguese lesbian poet Virgínia Vitorino (1895-1967), whose secret for success, gender and literary scholar Anna Klobucka argues, "may have resided precisely in her ability to bend the conventions of love lyric into expressions of affect and desire applicable equally to heterosexual

³³² For more on Virgínia Gersão see chapter 5.

³³³ Laurens to Benoît, 15/04/1928, BN – N33/952.

romance and to same-sex intimacy between women” (Klobucka, 2019, p. 408). In one of the letters, quoted below, Laurens let Benoît know that she had met the Portuguese poet twice, but did not have the best impression until later, when Benoît made her read Vitorino’s sonnets.

I know Virginia Vitorino by sight – I have seen her twice, something like five or six years ago. Once in a delegation, once on a French boat that I don’t remember the name of. It was Madame Bonin who introduced her as a Portuguese poet she had “discovered”!!!! On one of those two occasions, the young girl played the guitar and sang one of her poems [...]. She did not leave a great first impression (is she not a bit too infatuated with herself?). I must say that I changed this first impression when you asked me to read one of her sonnets two years ago. And afterwards you sent me one to Porto that I really liked and that I had asked you, “serenidade” [serenity], and also one of the two that you were composing music for at that time, “fui nova, mas fui triste...” [I was young, but sad] ³³⁴ (Laurens to Benoît, 19/01/1928, BN – N33/949)

The music that Benoît composed for two of Virgínia Vitorino’s sonnets, however, remains lost. The circulation of female-authored literature among women brings forward their identification with the author, especially in cases such as this, when the two women in question were in a relationship and the author too was part of lesbian and bisexual circles of the Portuguese modernist culture. According to Anna Klobucka, the fact that many of Vitorino’s poems were not explicitly heterosexual further stresses this identification (2019). In the case of this poem, “Fui nova, mas fui triste”, the “impossibility of loving and expressing love and the resulting predicament of existential

³³⁴ The poem is as follows, translated by Anna Klobucka (2019, p. 406):

I was young but sad; only I know
how youth has passed me by!
To sing was the duty of my age...
I should have sung but sing I didn’t!

I was beautiful and loved. And I disdained...
I refused to drink the potion of distress.
To love was the duty, the lightness...
I should have loved but love I didn’t!

desolation” (Klobucka, 2019, p. 406) might have been the perfect trigger for the lesbian reading and identification with its author. Vitorino was on the opposite side of the political spectrum, she was a member of the right-wing elite, acquainted with Salazar himself.³³⁵ In the 1920s, Vitorino’s political sympathies were likely not yet evident. Notwithstanding, Benoît’s appreciation for Victorino’s homoerotic poetry possibly decreased after the establishment of *Estado Novo*, and after Benoît’s own political radicalization.

Despite the passionate tone, the relationship between Benoît and Laurens remained secret because Laurens feared its consequences. A few weeks before Laurens moved to Paris in November 1936, she wrote from Porto announcing her temporary moving (she thought she would only be in Paris for a couple of months) and fearing the distance between her and Benoît. In that same letter, she told Benoît about an aunt with whom she had shared the existence of her lover:

I have an aunt who is a good friend. She is the only person with whom I have spoken about you – live and not in letters – but I did not tell her much. Just that I have a great friend in Lisbon called Francine Benoît and that not seeing each other has been a burden. I also told her I have a small portrait of you. (Laurens to Benoît, nd, estimated October, 1926, BN – N33/919)

Even though she mentioned not having shared many details with her aunt, nevertheless, she was “the only person” who knew about the existence of a “good friend” that she missed dearly, thereby Laurens hinted to the secrecy of their love. Homophobia affected the relationship between Laurens and Benoît in other ways. Laurens sometimes had problems with her mother, and she assumed that those problems arose because her mother had found Benoît’s letters. On other occasions, the tone and language of her letters

³³⁵ In a letter sent by Vitorino to the dictator Salazar from February 28, 1946, she referred to a meeting in his home a few days before (Joaquim, 2018).

to Benoît was much more distant, and she used the formal pronoun “vous” to address Benoît, instead of the casual “tu”, indicating that she was writing the letter in the presence of other people, or that she was afraid someone might intercept them.³³⁶ The following is an example when Laurens suspected that her mother had found one of Benoît’s letters.

Maman has suddenly started acting weird with me, the explanation I find is that she found your last letter. [...] She does not speak to me. So this is pure supposition. But, if this was the case, I always thought that it would eventually happen.

This is why I came to warn you. I do not regret what I have done and what I could have done. Do not worry, my dear darling, I will defend “us” to the extent possible if there is any drama, and afterwards I will bear [the consequences,] but to regret, no, one can only regret evil.

[...] But if you receive a letter from Maman, asking for an explanation, it is too long and useless to foresee all the possibilities – I would have a lot to tell you if it was not so long to write. [...]

If the letter comes from Papa or Germaine from Lisbon, and you have to reply without writing me first, do your best, quick and gently. Do not be afraid to say that it was me, and by the way, don’t try too hard to take on the responsibility.

[...] Next time write me to Bureau n.38, rue Claude Bernard [...] That is the most cautious. (Laurens to Benoît, 18/06/ny, estimated 1928, BN – N33/914)

It is possible that internalized homophobia contributed to the end of the relationship between Laurens and Benoît. According to Laurens’ letters from the period that they started growing apart, Benoît was puzzled with Laurens’ letters and did not understand how she wanted to be treated. In the letter below, Laurens explained that she wished for their affection to remain private because of others:

Our affection is one of those things, which I instinctively wanted to hide from indiscretion or I do not know what from others. That is all.

Do you understand? This time I cannot explain better, I believe I am being completely clear. (Laurens to Benoît, 21/07/1930, BN – N33/962)

³³⁶ An example can be found in a letter dated from 13/09/1927 (BN – N33/943).

Laurens repeated the idea that their relationship (or its homoerotic nature) should be hidden from other people, without explaining why. While Benoît was lucky in this regard, because her mother was aware of her same-sex relationships, she possibly understood Laurens, as she had suffered homophobia while in a relationship with Gabriela Gomes Nemésio. Gomes' family, too, had been suspicious of their daughter's extreme closeness to Benoît, as the letters between them prove. On the other hand, this could have been precisely why Benoît was confused: she did not want to accept that a grown-up independent woman could be afraid of her parents' reaction and could let her parents manipulate her love life.

The relationship between Benoît and Laurens lasted from before 1926 until roughly 1930. Even though they began exchanging letters in 1926, they both lived in Lisbon and saw each other regularly before that. Besides teaching at the same school, they visited each other's home and went together to public events such as conferences and recitals, as Laurens recalled in her letters. In 1930, Laurens began wondering why Benoît was writing less often, while she herself wrote less frequently. Eventually in December 1931, Laurens told Benoît that she had a fiancé, the French sculptor Jacques Hartmann (1908-1994).

Suzanne Laurens and Jacques Hartmann met in Paris in 1931 and married in 1933.³³⁷ From then onwards, the couple worked together and signed their works under the name J. S. Hartmann. They specialized in religious sculpture, working mostly with marble but also with wood, and had a few rather important commissions, such as the statue of Saint Bernadette in Lourdes, pictured below. In her letters, Laurens shared that

³³⁷ According to Laurens' letters to Benoît, she and her husband had four children: Thérèse (1934-?), José-Marie (1935-?) Bernardette (1937-?) and Philippe (1941-1942).

the work between the couple was not balanced. She often complained about being tired because she had to take care of the children and the home in addition to working in the atelier with her husband.



Figure 7.2 *Bernardette à l'agnelet* by J.S. Hartman, 1936. Lourdes, France. Photo by Philippe Guillot (Flickr.com)

Although not a significant topic of discussion, Laurens and Benoît also discussed politics. Laurens described events in France and asked Benoît for information on Portuguese events. Below is a letter in which Laurens asked Benoît for details about the Portuguese Revolution of 1926.³³⁸

*I am very interested in the details of the Revolution. No one has given us any. And also, Papa who is in Lisbon, I think I told you, told us that there are six bullets in our windows in S. Mamede and that the roof of the house has collapsed.*³³⁹

The Portuguese newspapers used to arrive here more often. The French newspapers are full of news from Portugal: but I thought they were overreacting. Basically, it was civil war: it's natural.

The rebels were allied with the Bolsheviks, have you been told that afterwards?

So you have not walked [outside] for three days? And in Porto I think I was praying. And there are many things destroyed, probably like in Praça do Brazil in Lisbon, as you told me. The nurses at a French

³³⁸ In Portugal, May 28 of 1926 became known as the National Revolution. It consisted of a military coup that put an end to the First Republic and installed the *Ditadura Nacional* (National Dictatorship), a military dictatorship. It was the beginning of a dictatorship that would last 48 years, because this regime paved the way to Estado Novo in 1933, as discussed in chapter 1.

³³⁹ São Mamede was a parish in the center of Lisbon at that time, where Laurens' family had lived a few years before.

hospital in Porto said that there were dead bodies in the streets which remained unburied because they did not dare to go and fetch them facing probable death. (Laurens to Benoît, 07/03/ny, BN – N33/972)

The sentence about the rebels being allied with the Bolsheviks suggests that this letter was from 1927. In February 1927 (Feb. 3 in Porto, and 7 in Lisbon) a military rebellion organized mostly by leftist democrats occurred, opposing the recently installed dictatorship.³⁴⁰ Even though they did not classify themselves as Bolsheviks, the regime propaganda did so in an attempt to discredit them.

Later, during WWII, the political content of Laurens' letters was mostly related to life in Vichy France.³⁴¹ She and her family were geographically close to occupied France, as the next excerpt discusses.

The war surprised us, it stopped just a few kilometres from here. We occupy some rooms at a large mansion with a large garden, which does not belong to us to cultivate, but where the children can play safely. [...] I will write to Germaine to send you 40 escudos. Then I will settle with her. But the services of international mail are suspended with Portugal. (Laurens to Benoît, 26/04/1941, BN – N33/975)

Laurens referred here to requests for parcels from Portugal. During WWII, probably in the context of AFPP's activities, Benoît sent Laurens parcels with goods that her family was lacking.³⁴² During the next few years, the content of the letters was similar: acknowledgement and news about parcels, news from the family, and news about the

³⁴⁰ This was one among many revolts that took place between 1926 and 1931, led by republicans and democrats, but also communists and anarchists, and the leftist artistic elites. The movement was called *Revirvalho* (turnaround), and aimed to put an end to the recently installed dictatorship. The country nearly entered a civil war, and the *Revirvalho* was one of the main reasons why Salazar's regime was successfully installed only in 1933, and not earlier.

³⁴¹ At that time, Laurens and her family were living in Allex, a small commune in southeastern France. The couple was working on their sculptures, as Laurens' letters testify.

³⁴² In 1941, Laurens asked for soap and sugar as the most urgent things, but Benoît sent other goods as well, which she knew would be appreciated, such as sardines, jam, figs and quinces. On one occasion, Benoît sent her some medications from the pharmacy – probably for Laurens' son Philippe, whose health was very fragile, and who died in late 1942.

occupation.³⁴³ In 1942, Laurens complained about the long time it took for the parcels to arrive and showed concern towards Benoît because of the expenses she incurred, preparing and sending the parcels,³⁴⁴ with the increase in the cost of living. Laurens' last letters, from January and March 1943, mentioned a lack of any response from Benoît, so she wondered if they were having problems with correspondence since the Axis forces had in the meantime occupied the *Zone Libre* (Vichy France). Benoît and Laurens seem to have lost contact in the last years of WWII. Laurens and her family later moved to Dieulefit, a nearby commune, where they lived until the end of their lives.

7.4. ESCAPING MCCARTHISM AND RETURNING TO FRANCE: MARCELLE

HENRY



Figure 7.3 Marcelle Henry in Belém, Lisbon, 1943. (BN-N33)

Marcelle Henry (fl. 1920-1988) was born in France and met Benoît in Lisbon between 1928 and 1930, when they both worked as teachers in Madame Péchenard's French

³⁴³ The news about the parcels consisted on how late they arrived and their state of arrival, as they were often cut open, and the feedback of her children, who according to Laurens loved the food, especially the sardines and the figs.

³⁴⁴ Referring to Benoît and her mother, Laurens wrote: "You are two women alone, I don't know how you make money, you probably also have problems and I feel sorry for the terrible expenses that these parcels are causing you" (Laurens to Benoît, 14/10/1942, BN – N33/979).

school. There are eleven letters from Henry in Benoît's collection, dated between 1933 and 1988 (BN – N33/851-862). As reported in her letters, Henry graduated in languages at the Sorbonne, and did a Master's and a PhD in the USA, where she worked as a journalist for several years.³⁴⁵ Henry's first letter from the USA is from 1933, sent from Buffalo. In the fall of 1953, she fled to France, after being persecuted during McCarthyism. In her first letters from Paris, Marcelle Henry wrote to Benoît recounting her years in the US and the problems she faced in France finding a house and a job. Henry recalled the relative success she achieved in the US, mostly through her job as a journalist at the radio *The Voice of America* (VOA) and in some newspapers. Back in France, she kept working as a journalist, including writing for women's magazines under the penname Liliane d'Orsay.³⁴⁶

VOA was an American propaganda organ created in 1941, under US president Franklin Roosevelt's (1882-1945) administration, which broadcasted to Europe twenty-four hours a day during WWII, where "renowned but underpaid European writers translated propaganda policy into radio shows" (Shulman, 1990, p. 5). In the transition to and throughout the 1950s, with presidents Harry Truman (1884-1972) followed by Dwight Eisenhower (1890-1969) in office, VOA was one among many other state organs scrutinized in search of any dissidents, communists and sexual deviants, under Eisenhower's "Let's clean the house" slogan (Johnson, 2004, p. 119). Marcelle Henry's problems began in 1952, when among other VOA workers she was a target of

³⁴⁵ In Henry's letters there are no dates or further references about her academic career.

³⁴⁶ Henry told Benoît that the pseudonym was not her choice, but the magazine's editors' choice. This penname has made my research challenging, because René Goscinny (1926-1977), creator of the Astérix comic books, also used the same pseudonym. According to Henry's letters to Benoît, the articles signed under this name in the Belgian Magazine *Bonnes Soirées* were hers.

McCarthyism, accused of being a communist. Describing the discomfort she went through, she told Benoît that, despite being a leftist, she was not a communist:

No doubt that my tendency, my love for poor and brave people, and my critical spirit together with my passion for freedom, is to be a leftist. I hate reactionism, the bourgeoisie, opportunistic people, the hypocrisy of the literate classes, etc. But there is a difference between that and calling me a communist, a huge difference, because I am indeed anti-communist for the same reasons that I am anti-fascist and a leftist: I love nonconformity and freedom.³⁴⁷ I had to argue from commission to commission explaining myself. (Henry to Benoît, 29/12/ny, BN – N33/851)

According to this letter, Henry equated her leftism with caring for poor people, possessing critical skills and loving freedom. In her letters, Henry's concern with poor people was often oblivious of her own class privilege, and rather patronizing, as one can tell by her choice of adjective here, characterizing poor people as "brave". The clearance and verdict of "not guilty" arrived six months after she was questioned, according to her letters. However, shortly thereafter, her whole section of VOA was accused of communist sympathies, and she told Benoît:

It became unbearable. We could no longer go to the WC without looking under the doors [...] We were silent in elevators, in restaurants we looked for isolated tables to make sure that there were no sneaks there. What an atmosphere for America, the so-called land of freedom! (Henry to Benoît, 29/12/ny, BN – N33/851)

In the same letter, Henry shared more details about the accusation of "immoral behaviour" she had faced, and of her meetings with US authorities, as shown below.

They asked when was the last time I had made love, with whom, where and if I had condoms, etc [...] I had in front of me guns from the government of the US and the Starred flag [...] However, to their first question, asking me if I had ever made love without being married, I answered yes. They threatened to send me to jail for civil law offense

³⁴⁷ I will not engage here in a debate about Henry's definition of communism, but she seemed to have equated communism with authoritarianism. However, even though she identified herself as anti-communist, she also identified as an anti-fascist and as a leftist.

because it was forbidden. But in all this dismal joke, I did not lose my temper. I asked for the names of the guys [...], and [...] promised to inform the press of these hideous acts [...] Finally, the official documents stated that my behaviour was against the “standards of conventional behaviour in the United States”. [...] The press talked about this for eight days, including the cover of the New York Post! [...] For months, people spoke about “The case Marcelle Henry”. [...] But I, dear Francine, have healed. Not of politics or believing in what is fair, but of living in the United States, a country under the guise of freedom and defending it, and seeing that it uses methods worthy of the Nazis... Or the communists! [...] Some people thought I could be murdered. I never believed that, but persecution, yes. That is why, disappointed, ruined, ridiculed, dirty, I have returned to Europe to find my moral balance again seriously endangered. (Henry to Benoît, 29/12/ny, BN – N33/851)

US historian David Krugler stated that there were more than twenty allegations against Henry, and he quoted the court documents confirming that Henry admitted to sexual relations with many men (2000, p. 202). Krugler also argued that in the campaign against VOA, the general accusation was the dominance of sexual deviants and communists. The fact that Henry was an unmarried woman was motive enough for suspicion. According to US historian David Johnson, “what was extraordinary about the Henry case was not the sexual nature of the questioning, but the heterosexual nature of the relationships” (2004, pp. 136-137). Under the “lavender scare” moral panic, the US government and its agencies persecuted any kind of behaviour that could be read as homosexual (such as knowing any homosexual, visiting a bar known for having a queer clientele, being unmarried, especially in the case of women), and the real motive for the accusation was usually as vague as “immoral behaviour” followed by the discreet disappearance of the person in question from their official job (Johnson, 2004).³⁴⁸ In such cases, official documents would cover up women’s relationships with other women without stating the reasons for their behaviour to be considered “immoral”, but David

³⁴⁸ “All they had to do was have somebody say that they doubted your orientation” (David Bowling cited in Johnson, 2004, p. 150).

Johnson stated that the interrogation always included direct questions about same-sex relationships. In Henry's case, as Johnson mentioned, the questions were specifically about her relationships with men so it seems that they thought Henry was promiscuous with men, and not a lesbian.

After a thorough explanation about what happened in her life in the past few years, Henry described her struggle to find a job and a house in Paris. She asked for Benoît's help with finding her a position as an independent correspondent for any Portuguese newspaper, for which she listed the newspapers and radios she had worked for before,³⁴⁹ and the personalities she had interviewed.³⁵⁰ Henry also asked Benoît about her recent compositions and recalled Benoît playing Chopin for her, which she loved.³⁵¹

Henry shared with Benoît her thoughts on the political situation in occupied France *vis-à-vis* Vichy France, and how it was impossible to get along with her own family for political reasons. She added that the fact that she had become a US citizen did not help her job search, and that although she worked for French and international newspapers, that was not enough to pay her bills in the mid-1950s.³⁵² Henry rejoiced with the wave of collective agreements of journalists in the mid-1950s, listing some of the benefits she was able to get from them:

Press pass, 30% tax reduction, 13th month paid by the end of the year and paid vacation [...] It is amazing what workers here can get: paid

³⁴⁹ *O Globo*, *Diário de Notícias* (Brazil), *Le Monde*, *Le Monde des Livres*, *La Page de la Femme* (France), *Christian Science Monitor* (USA), *Het Parool* (The Netherlands), *A.B.S.I.E.* (London), *Radio Luxembourg* (Luxembourg), *Voice of America*, *W.H.O.*, *W.S.U.I.* (USA).

³⁵⁰ US first lady Eleanor Roosevelt (1884-1962), US politician and actor John Lodge (1903-1985), French Prime Ministers Robert Schuman (1886-1963), René Mayer (1895-1972), Georges Bidault (1899-1983), US actors Rosalind Russel (1904-1976), Edward G. Robinson (1893-1973), Irene Dunne (1898-1990), Franchot Tone (1905-1968), and Humphrey Bogart (1899-1957).

³⁵¹ Henry to Benoît, 29/12/ny, BN – N33/851.

³⁵² Henry complained that *Le Monde* was paying her 4.000 francs per article and that was low considering the amount of work each article demanded (29/12/ny, BN – N33/861).

relocations, paid vacation, marriage bonus, maternity bonus, etc.
(Henry to Benoît, 06/01/ny, estimated 1954, BN – N33/854)

Even though she had been making more money while in the USA, she was pleased that in France journalists had better rights.

Although Henry had not lived in Portugal probably since the late 1920s, she seemed to be somewhat acquainted with its reality via her contacts there (namely, Benoît), her professional career as a journalist, and through literature, as we can see from the same letter:

We talk a bit about Salazar in the newspapers and recently in Les Mandarins by Simone Beauvoir there is a whole chapter devoted to Portugal and to what is happening there. Do you know this wonderful book? Is it forbidden in Lisbon? And if you want the book, can I send it to you? (Henry to Benoît, 06/01/ny, estimated 1954, BN – N33/854)

Suspecting that Beauvoir's 1954 book *Les Mandarins* was forbidden in Portugal, since the author was a leftist intellectual and a feminist, and the book discussed Portugal, Henry offered to send a copy to Benoît, or to bring one during her summer visit that year. Beauvoir's book was not part of the more than nine hundred books that were forbidden during the dictatorship, simply because the list only included books in Portuguese. *Les Mandarins* was translated and published in Portuguese in 1976, two years after the 1974 Revolution, which is a clear indicator that it was not welcome before.³⁵³ It was likely through this letter that Benoît first heard about the book, and Laurens possibly did send her a copy. As I have shown in chapter 5, Benoît discussed it with her former student Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha in 1956.

³⁵³ Alexandre Neves was the translator of the Portuguese 1976 edition of *Les Mandarins*, published by Bertrand, in Amadora.

In her letters to Benoît, Henry often stated loving and missing Portugal and missing Benoît. She discussed that visiting Portugal would be good for her workwise as well, because she could then publish articles about Portugal in other countries. She even discussed the possibility of interviewing Salazar.³⁵⁴ This idea was unrealistic. Just as Henry pointed out, Salazar was not fond of interviews, especially if they were by foreign journalists that he could not control – and in this case a leftist female journalist.

In the following excerpt, Henry expressed her surprise when finding out about Benoît's political stance:

I did not know you as "political". What a revelation! And I do not like you more for being "well thinking". I am not affiliated to any party, but I am attached to my principles. For sure, I am very revolutionary. [...] I have had my hours of honour and glory, but I have never made any distinction between my driver or my maid. We have always been a team, each one with their task. (Henry to Benoît, 08/09/ny, BN – N33/855)

Although it seems unlikely that Benoît identified herself as a communist in a letter, fearing being under surveillance, she must have said something that made Henry aware of her leftist stance. The fact that this came as a surprise to Henry once again confirms my interpretation that Benoît's political radicalization took place in the late 1930s. Henry then clarified that while she did not belong to any political party, she was "revolutionary". Suggesting that the good treatment of her servants was proof of her equalitarian character is, to say the least, ironic. However, arguing that she has never made any distinctions between herself, her driver or her housemaid might have not surprised Benoît, because she herself had a housemaid. It is striking how oblivious to their class privilege these women sometimes were, regardless of their good intentions.

³⁵⁴ Henry to Benoît, 08/09/ny, BN – N33/855.

On another occasion, Henry asked Benoît if she was interested in publishing something in a “lively” and “mundane” tone in the magazine *Bonnes Soirées*, where she herself authored articles. Henry described her contract with this magazine as a disappointment due to the editors’ choice of illustrations, subjects and even distribution process.³⁵⁵ Henry’s critiques indicate her awareness of the magazine’s stereotypical representation of women, featured below.



Figure 7.4 Three 1958 numbers of the magazine *Bonnes Soirées*.

All these letters, together with the fact that their friendship lasted at least until 1987 (when Henry discussed the French presidential elections of 1988), indicate respect for and trust in Benoît, in her character and in her political and professional value.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁵ Henry to Benoît, nd/12/1958, BN – N33/858.

³⁵⁶ I want to note that Henry shifted from being a proud leftist and openly pro-unions in the 1950s to complaining about the “abuses of workers’ unions” and commenting on how Portuguese domestic workers were much more honest and brave than French who were “busy with the class struggle, anti-patronage feelings, the will to abuse those in charge” (Henry to BENOÎT, 06/07/1987, BN – N33/861). She also made some racist remarks, arguing that the French had become racists due to the presence of “all kinds of manifestations of Arabs (first generation born in France) and Africans of all shades of black. But we have to understand that they are difficult to assimilate because of their anti-social, aggressive and dishonest behavior” (Henry to Benoît, 27/12/1985, BN – N33/857). Henry added that some French “know how to distinguish thieves from honest foreigners, so Portuguese are well appreciated”, repeating again that Portuguese domestic workers were the best (Henry to Benoît, 27/12/1985, BN – N33/857).

7.5. MARIA PALMIRA TITO DE MORAIS: BUILDING DEMOCRACY

THROUGH HEALTH, FROM NORTH AMERICA TO THE WHO



Figure 7.5 Maria Palmira Tito de Morais, unknown.date (Associação Tito de Morais).

Maria Palmira Macedo Tito de Morais (1912-2003) was one of Benoît's private music students in the early 1930s, who became a friend and comrade. Tito de Morais was a feminist and anti-fascist nurse who played a foundational role in professional nursing and public health in Portugal, as well as in the antifascist struggle. With a Rockefeller Scholarship, she graduated from Case Western Reserve University in the US, later specialized in Public Health at the University of Toronto, Canada, and did a Master's degree in Social Pedagogy at Columbia University, US. She was one of the founders of the first Public Health Centre in Portugal in 1939, and she authored scientific articles on nursing (Associação Tito de Morais, nd; Fiadeiro, 2020, p. 469).

Besides her professional activity as one of the responsables for building a more democratic Health System in Portugal, she was also a political activist devoted to building a more democratic country. Tito de Morais was a vocal member of MUD, whose lists of supporters she signed, and directed the AFPP from 1944 to 1945. She also took part in demonstrations against the imprisonment of members of the opposition, among other oppositionist activities that resulted in her being fired from the Social Health Centre of

Lisbon and a year later, forbidden to teach in all State organizations.³⁵⁷ Following these events, she took a job as a Permanent Consultant with the World Health Organization (WHO) in Geneva, being the first woman in that position, in 1951 (Fiadeiro, 2020, p. 469). After her retirement from the WHO, she became a consultant for the International Council of Nurses (ICN) and other Nursing Unions and Federations (Associação Tito de Morais, nd). There are twelve letters from Tito de Morais in Benoît's collection, dated between 1936 and 1977.³⁵⁸ Because Tito de Morais was under surveillance, it is likely that there were more letters but they did not survive, either because they were destroyed or because the police might have intercepted them.

In the early 1930s, Tito de Morais studied music theory privately with Francine Benoît and had as colleagues Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Rosalia Vargas (Gomes Ferreira) and her sister Maria Teresa Vargas, Maria Vitória Quintas, among others. Tito de Morais proceeded to study singing in the *Conservatório Nacional* (CN). The following excerpt from one of Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha's letters to Benoît, bears witness to Amado da Cunha's friendship with Palmira Tito de Morais from an early age; she was only sixteen years old when she accompanied Tito de Morais on the piano at the CN's singing competition:

I was promoted to collaborator of Maria Palmira! This is a fact worth registering in History! She asked me to accompany her in the singing competition, because Marina does not want to be seen [playing in public], and I have gladly accepted it. It will only do me good and it will be a pleasant experience – the one who might lose is Maria Palmira. (Amado da Cunha to Benoît, 10/09/1934, BN – N33/583)

³⁵⁷ Portuguese journalist São José Almeida (2010) argued that Tito de Morais left Portugal because of the generalized homophobia that she had to endure. While it is credible that she did suffer from homophobia, her prominence both as a nurse, and as a feminist and democratic leader and activist, leave no doubt as to why she was a target for the regime.

³⁵⁸ BN – N33/1085-1096.

In the fall of 1936, Tito de Morais moved to the USA for her first year of studies at Case Western Reserve University. She wrote about her new life on the other side of the Atlantic, about music and literature, and always complained about how much she missed Francine Benoît, emphasizing that Benoît was one of the most important people in her life. In a 1987 interview, Tito de Morais publicly stated that Francine Benoît showed her “a new world” (Fiadeiro, 2020, p. 470). It is unclear if Tito de Morais was referring only to music or speaking more broadly, about life. In any case, she was another historical personality who acknowledged Francine Benoît’s strong influence over her life. Their relationship too is telling of the influence that Benoît exercised over her students, as I have discussed for Amado da Cunha and others in chapter 5 and 6, most of whom became relevant cultural actors.

In her years living abroad, Tito de Morais shared her impressions on the musical culture with Benoît. The following excerpt is one example, where she mentioned attending a talk by Nadia Boulanger:

They have presented here, directed by Artur Rodzinski, St. Matthew Passion and I suffered greatly listening to it. [...] A lousy interpretation and I went to see it twice, hoping that I might have been exaggerating. A couple of months ago we had here Nadia Boulanger who delivered a talk, in an excellent English, about the relation between Past and Present in Choral Music. She made us listen to, among others, Palestrina, one that I did not know, Thomas Tallis, Leo Preger, Lili Boulanger, Francis Poulenc. It seemed that she admires Stravinsky. She also talked about Honnegger, Milhaud, and I became curious about the music of Jean Françaix. It was a pleasure listening to her. (Maria Palmira Tito de Morais to Benoît, 15/05/1938, BN – N33/1088)

Letters such as the above revealed that Palmira Tito de Morais was still interested in music, more than just in her studies, thus underlining the complexity of the lives of the women in Benoît’s network. These women were not just “a nurse”, or “a pianist”, or “a writer”, they were complex people, just like their male counterparts, and they must be

analysed under a nuanced and more comprehensive light that emphasizes their diverse activities.

Tito de Morais visited Portugal with some regularity and met with Benoît and other women from their circles. Throughout the decades when they were apart (1936 to the late 1970s), Benoît and Tito de Morais exchanged pictures, and Tito de Morais sent postcards from the places she visited, especially after she began working for the WHO. Her accounts of the US, Canada and other parts of the world were mainly about her everyday life, even though they often included remarks about music, and literature. It should come as no surprise that there is scant mention of politics in Tito de Morais' surviving letters, because Tito de Morais and her whole family were under regime surveillance. Her father was Tito Augusto de Morais (1880-1963), a republican leader during the attempts to overthrow the monarchy in the first decade of the 20th-century, who served the government in different positions during the first republic (1910-1926), and remained an active member of the opposition during the dictatorship. Her brother Manuel Tito de Morais (1910-1999) was likewise a vocal opponent to the dictatorship, who was arrested twice (in 1947 and 1961) and then lived in exile, from where he organized oppositionist activities and co-founded *Partido Socialista* (Socialist Party, PS). After the dictatorship, Manuel Tito de Morais served as vice-president and president of the Portuguese Parliament, of which he remained a member until 1989 (Associação Tito de Morais, n.d.; Blog Tito de Morais, n.d.). Maria Palmira Tito de Morais was also a member of the *Partido Socialista*. After the 1974 Revolution, she resumed her teaching activity at *Escola Técnica de Enfermagem de Lisboa* (Lisbon's Technical Nursing School), from where she had been fired in 1949. She retired in 1982 (Associação Tito de Morais, n.d.).

CONCLUSION

This chapter added a transnational dimension to Benoît's biography, by scrutinising examples of the type of exchanges she had with people living abroad. Women's intellectual production (and contribution to the intellectual production of others) and transnational social-historical awareness are too often ignored, and they are only judged by their publicly visible and credited work. As Kimberly Francis has shown, that was the case with Nadia Boulanger. Because women have historically been deprived of conditions to produce public work similarly to the ones men often had, scholars tend to characterize them as secondary historical actors and to belittle and neglect their socializing and intellect. In this chapter, I have focused on how Benoît's transnational contacts have shaped and were shaped by Benoît's musical and political convictions, and by her women-only relationships. Until now, these exchanges had not been studied, and Benoît's biography was limited to a national scope. However, I outlined Benoît's transnational interactions to show that they most likely have shaped her political conscience and intellectual production.

CHAPTER 8 – CONCLUSION: AN INTERSECTIONAL HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF FRANCINE BENOÎT AS A CULTURAL ACTOR

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation was set out to explore how gender and politics have shaped Francine Benoît's career and legacy. To do so, I engaged in an intersectional historical analysis that has shown how her career was dependent on her political affinities, musical activities, gender and queer expression. My main research question was: How did gender and politics shape first the life and professional activities of the Portuguese composer Francine Benoît, and secondly her place in the historiography? Throughout this study, I have shown how Benoît's career was crucially shaped by her gender and class belonging, as well as by her political ideology. I demonstrated how those mutually intersecting dynamics were influential to negotiate her place in Portuguese and transnational networks of women artists and intellectuals, as in the intelligentsia of the opposition to the dictatorship close to the *Partido Comunista Português*, and crucially in her historiographical treatment.

My other research questions were: what were the ideological characteristics of Benoît's intellectual production? How was Benoît's intellectual production connected to her social networks and political activities, within the Portuguese and international context? How did Benoît position herself within the main debates concerning art in Portugal? What activities did Francine Benoît engage in within the artistic opposition and women's movements? How has gender shaped the activities of the artistic opposition to the dictatorship and its historiographical narratives? What transnational links did Benoît have and could those links have shaped her political conscience and intellectual production?

To answer these questions, throughout this dissertation, I treated musical activity and life as interactive and inseparable in the shaping of Francine Benoît's career. More specifically, I have analysed how Benoît's leftist ideology manifested itself in examples of Benoît's music, of her music critique, of her public lectures, of her public personae, and of her social networks. In part I, I have focused on Benoît's musical activities, by contextualizing them (chapter 2), by describing them (chapter 3), and by showing how Benoît's public persona went through two distinct phases: one during which she followed a few gender norms as a strategy to inscribe herself in the public sphere, and the second when she became politically more radical, as shown in her music, her texts and public action, and in her appearance (chapter 4). Benoît's publicly visible musical activities encompassed composing, teaching music, conducting musicians and choirs, delivering public lectures about music, and working as a music critic. As demonstrated, her gender, queerness, and political affinities were visible in all those activities. I have also argued that Benoît positioned herself within the main debates concerning art in Portugal by adopting a dialectic stance. This means that she conciliated two apparently contradictory situations: composing European art music, in which political ideology was not (always) explicitly visible, and undertaking activities, in which she explicitly combined music and politics, as her work as a choir conductor, a public lecturer, a music pedagogue, and a music critic. However, even her activities within the range of European art music were political, as she believed music could and should change society, without having to be explicitly propagandistic. One way to do that was to educate mainstream audiences by broadening the access to musical repertoire, and another was to stimulate critical skills in her audiences, which she hoped her activity both as a music critic and as a public lecturer would contribute to.

In part II, I have focused on Benoît's networks of women, first those within Portugal. I have analysed those networks, how those women socialized and the outcomes of their socializing. This included the activities they developed together, both within the artistic opposition and women's movements. Crucially, within the artistic opposition, Benoît worked behind-the-scenes, often together with her student Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, in the organization and administration of several events and activities. I scrutinized both women's role in the *Concertos Sonata* (1942-1960), in a series of concerts and lectures about music (1943), and in the magazine *Gazeta Musical* (1950-1973). Crucially, the historiography usually credits just Fernando Lopes-Graça for both *Concertos Sonata* and *Gazeta Musical*. My study has revealed how gender has shaped, first, these oppositionist cultural activities, in the sense that contemporary historical actors failed to credit and/or minimized Benoît and Amado da Cunha's (besides other women's) contributions, and secondly, the historiographical narratives, which similarly credit only men for those activities. The erasure of women has directly contributed to the construction of Lopes-Graça's reputation as a "genius" and as the only musician involved in the communist opposition (Fausto Neves, 2019; Manuel Deniz Silva & António Sousa, 2018; Teresa Cascudo, 2017, 2010a; Vieira de Carvalho, 2017, 2012, 2010, 2006; António Sousa, 2006; Manuel Deniz Silva, 2005). Lastly, in terms of the transnational scope, I scrutinized what I believe were Benoît's most relevant contacts, and the type of exchanges between her and those persons. The broad scope of topics present in Benoît's transnational interactions strongly suggests that those exchanges helped shaping her political conscience and cultural action. For example, through Szőnyi Erzsébet, Benoît found some similarities and differences between being a woman composer (and conductor) in Portugal and Hungary, through her (former) lover Suzanne Laurens, Benoît

learned about life in Vichy France, and she learned about McCarthyism through her friend Marcelle Henry's lived experience.

8.1 FRANCINE BENOÎT AND THE 'CYCLE OF CONSECRATION'

We must begin to recast our stories, mindful that in their current state they often disparage the work of women, whose often 'tangential' relationship to our musicological stories is currently more easily omitted than included. What if, instead, we brought these tangents to the center in an effort not only to include their stories but also to shift our historical paradigm? What if our stories ceased to lean so heavily on composers as our central protagonists and instead reflected the complex and often convoluted nature of the realities that mold our cultural existence? (Francis, 2015, p. 252)

Canadian musicologist Kimberly Francis, cited above, did a thorough historical study that includes a historiographical reconstruction of Nadia Boulanger's role as a powerful cultural agent (2015). By analysing the relationship between Nadia Boulanger and French composer Igor Stravinsky, Francis demonstrated that scholars have systematically downgraded the cultural relevance of certain historical personalities because their gendered role often falls outside canonical historiographical categories. On the contrary, her research brought to light Nadia Boulanger's successful efforts to consecrate Igor Stravinsky as a modernist icon.

Women musicians and musical actors are a chronically under-researched topic in musicology, to which Portuguese musicology is no exception. In the shadow of the scholarly fascination with national grand narratives that focus on (white male) composers as individual geniuses, women and several other identities placed under the umbrella of otherness (sexual difference, racial and ethnicity difference, or dis/ableness), as well as other musical actors whose activity was not primarily composing, have unremittingly been undervalued and left out of historiography. Musicology, as a western-centric social

science, thus perpetuates class, gender, race, religious, ableist, and queerphobic violence. Specifically regarding Francine Benoît, her erasure and recent recovery have actively produced gender and queerphobic violence, by overlooking important categories such as gender and queerness. Moreover, in Francine Benoît's recovery, scholars have tried to place her within the canonical musicological categories of a composer, and a music critic. Instead, this dissertation has showed that her role in the Portuguese cultural sphere went beyond such compartmentalisation, and that only a more comprehensive analysis can provide an adequate understanding of her life and work. My research included gender and politics as categories of analysis, and revealed how gender and politics, in their mutual intraction, co-constituted Benoît's life and work, and influenced Benoît's cultural-political actions, intellectual production, and social networks.

Portuguese musicology has kept Francine Benoît invisible until very recently, when a few scholars decided to excavate her role. However, and as discussed in this dissertation, her historiographical recovery revealed complications similar to the ones Kimberly Francis found in the narratives on Nadia Boulanger. Besides the insistence on excavating Benoît's importance under the fixed categories of "composer" and "music critic", the work of Ana Sofia Vieira and Mariana Calado relied on Benoît's proximity with the "male geniuses", especially Fernando Lopes-Graça, to validate Benoît's importance and credibility. Doing so, they unintentionally reinforced the male hegemony of the musical field and the problematic focus on the figure of "the composer" as the centre of musicological discourse. For example, at the end of her PhD dissertation, Ana Sofia Vieira posed "the questions [sic] that still needs to be answered: why does [Francine Benoît's] musical oeuvre remain in an unjustifiable obscurity?" (Vieira, 2010, p. 473).

Justifying Benoît's recovery with the invisibility of her musical work, or rather arguing for the visibility of Benoît's music, in my view reinforces the glorification of

individual composers and the idea that a person's cultural value lies in their artistic oeuvre per se. Instead, and in light of Kimberly Francis' (2015) groundbreaking research, this dissertation claimed that Benoît's historical relevance goes well beyond her music. As I have shown, Benoît was a complex cultural actor, whose actions shaped the 20th-century Portuguese cultural panorama, as well as the artistic opposition to the dictatorship. All her activities have affected several people and institutions: from historical personalities whose career and reputation she helped building, to her students who did and did not pursue an artistic career, to Portuguese women's groups, such as the *Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz*, to institutions, such as the society *Voz do Operário*, or the school *Academia de Amadores de Música*, and to the newspapers in which she published articles. Pierre Bourdieu's "cycle of consecration" can be used in a broader sense to include all of Benoît's socializing and activities. For example, the "cycle of consecration" is also convenient to reflect on how Benoît's activity often increased and reinforced both her own cultural capital, and the cultural capital of the personalities, groups and institutions with which she collaborated. As I have argued, all her actions were co-constituted and shaped by her historical context, by her political stance, by her queerness, and by her national and transnational social networks.

Furthermore, even if one wanted to propose justifications for the invisibility (and inaccessibility) of Benoît's music, the dynamics that shaped her life need to be thoroughly scrutinized, using gender, class, nationality, cultural capital, and other (open and unfixed) categories that interacted and were juxtaposed in different ways throughout her life. Such a study could not be complete without including her social networks. Benoît's social circles were far from being simple and unambiguous. As I have discussed, one of the crucial examples was the relationship with the composer Fernando Lopes-Graça, in whose life and career Benoît was deeply influential – and who similarly influenced

Benoît. Although there is more to examine in the dynamics between Benoît and Lopes-Graça of them and their outcome, I have argued that Benoît as well as her student Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha served as Lopes-Graça's advisors, secretaries, collaborators and promoters. They did so through unpaid labour and unrecognized effort, and they were often put aside as he only used them when it suited him. However, instead of thinking of them as his victims, it is important to recognise that both Benoît and Amado da Cunha have also profited from this unfair and gendered relationship, because their cultural capital increased by collaborating with the male composer in cultural initiatives, and by reviewing, playing and promoting his music. These dynamics are comparable to the ones found in the relationship between Nadia Boulanger and Igor Stravinsky, as scrutinized by Kimberly Francis (2015) and mentioned above. Nadia Boulanger served as an unpaid and unrecognized teacher, editor, promoter, at times secretary, and even agent of the composer Igor Stravinsky, while her social capital also increased by doing so, in what Francis called the 'cycle of consecration', borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's cultural theory. The cooperation between Fernando Lopes-Graça and Francine Benoît, as well as Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, was similar: however unbalanced and unfair their relationship was, they reinforced each other's social and cultural capital. Benoît's cycle of consecration were the dynamics that negotiated her position in the Portuguese cultural sphere: how her friends, comrades, and students became cultural actors themselves through her role as their friend, teacher, collaborator, or in her activity as a music critic by promoting them; or how Fernando Lopes-Graça's reputation was built through her

collaboration, both visible, in her music critiques, and invisible, in organizational and administrative tasks or helping transcribing music.³⁵⁹

8.2 LIMITATIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

Due to the complexity of Francine Benoît's long life, a number of decisions had to be made regarding the scope and temporal boundaries of this dissertation. In terms of chronology, I have focused on the years during and after WWII because those were the years when important initiatives of the cultural opposition took place, and because those were the years when Benoît was publicly more active, and when her activity was most connected to her political affinities. The analysis sometimes exceeded these chronological limits in order to identify the premises of certain events set in motion before, during and after those years, that were important for my analysis. I decided to pay particular attention to Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, instead of other women with whom Benoît was close and whose relationship with Benoît was also influential in the same or in other periods of her life, such as Arminda Correia, Irene Lisboa, or even Benoît's own mother. It was my intention to focus on the narratives concerning the artistic opposition, and to counterbalance the excessive attention that makes Lopes-Graça the centre of the Portuguese musicological discourse for this period. In this regard, given the male composer's relationship with Benoît and Amado da Cunha, the relationship between these women had to be part of my enquiry. As for geographical boundaries, this dissertation focused primarily on the Portuguese context, particularly on Lisbon and Coimbra because

³⁵⁹ Francine Benoît stood by Lopes-Graça until the end of her life – even after Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha or João José Cochofel, among others, left his closest circle, due to personal disagreements and/or family reasons.

those were the cities where Benoît spent most of her time. Although the transnational aspect of Benoît's persona was also under analysis, namely her transnational contacts, more was not feasible due to temporal and spatial constraints.

Directions for future research include studying Benoît's cooperation and personal relationships with other women with whom she was close, which could lead to new findings regarding Benoît's feminist and political action and her musical work.³⁶⁰ Similarly, the professional exchanges between Benoît and Fernando Lopes-Graça deserve further scrutiny, to map out more occasions when they both cooperated, and better evaluate Benoît's contributions to his public consecration. The role of Victorine Van Gool Benoît, too, calls for additional enquiry to understand the relationship between mother and daughter and its outcomes better. For example, it would be interesting to know which were Victorine Benoît's links, if any, with the French feminist movement and then with Republican Portuguese feminism. The chronicles of her life in Portugal, which Francine Benoît kept and then left to her partner Madalena Gomes, would be a valuable source for this.³⁶¹

I hope this dissertation contributes to the effort to re-cast musicology's stories, in line with Kimberly Francis' call for action cited in the opening of 8.1 (Francis, 2015, p. 252). It is not that music history (only) needs more narratives to include more composers in the canon, but the verb 'to recast' means to remodel, rearrange, reconstruct. This means that scholars need to deconstruct dominant historiographical categories. In the musicological

³⁶⁰ A biographical study of the singer Arminda Correia is long overdue. Her cooperation with both regime-approved composers as well as with Fernando Lopes-Graça and Francine Benoît, and her personal friendship with Benoît deserve further attention. Benoît's friendship with author Irene Lisboa is another dynamic worth analysing for future studies on both Benoît and Lisboa.

³⁶¹ As discussed in the first chapter, the whereabouts of these and other personal documents of both Francine Benoît and her mother are currently unknown.

field, as Francis argued, we need to shift the historiographical paradigm and stop centring our discourses on (white male) composers as the main protagonists of music history. Instead, women, who musicologists often include only peripherally, if at all, because their gendered labour is belittled, must be included in the narratives in a way that reflects how “complex and often convoluted” social relations and cultural dynamics were and are (Francis, 2015, p. 252).

This study is thus part of the broader effort to decentre the ‘great white men’ from historiography that has been taking place in the international context for the past few decades. Important examples include the analysis of Simone de Beauvoir’s role in Jean Paul Sartre’s career, by French philosopher Michèle Le Doeuff (1989, 1998), the canonical work of US historian Bonnie Smith about women’s role in historical practice (1998), and, in musicology, Kimberly Francis’ revealing research on the dynamics present in Nadia Boulanger’s public persona vis-à-vis Igor Stravinsky’s consecration (2015). I see my work as part of this paradigm shift.

Overall, this dissertation has re-evaluated Francine Benoît’s place in historiography by offering new insights and approaches to the wider range of her activity. It has established Benoît as an important cultural agent in the artistic opposition to the Portuguese dictatorship as well as in the creation of networks of women connected to Portuguese and transnational cultural and intellectual life. In both circles, Benoît was responsible for broadening musical, social and political awareness by stimulating critical skills and inspiring action. My study of Francine Benoît contributes to the understanding of the historical moment and political context in which she lived and developed her activities. It has showed how a cultural actor’s career can be grounded in several layers of their gendered, classed and politicized experiences, and how all these are shaped by the social context. Such an intersectional approach leads to new understandings of

Benoît's historical context, as well as of some strategies that women musicians used to increase their cultural capital, thus contributing to the field of feminist musicology, women's and gender history, and 20th-century European cultural history.



Figure 8.1 Francine Benoît in the mid-1970s (Courtesy of Sofia Cochofel Quintela).

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1. FRANCINE BENOÎT'S LIFE CHRONOLOGY

YEAR	EVENT
1894	July 30 th , Benoît was born in Perigueux, France.
1906	Benoît and her parents moved to Portugal (Lisboa). In October, Benoît enrolled in AAM.
1908	Benoît and her parents moved to Setúbal.
1910	End of the Portuguese Monarchy. Benoît met Gabriela Monjardino Gomes.
1914	Death of Paul Benoît. Benoît and her mother moved to Lisbon. Benoît enrolled in <i>Conservatório Nacional</i> .
1917	Benoît graduated from the CN. Moved to Paris with her mother, studied in Schola Cantorum with Vincent D'Indy
1918	Returned to Lisbon.
1919	Got back together with Gabriela Gomes. Started teaching at <i>Escola Oficina n.1 de Lisboa</i> . First public lecture.
1920	Talk in Liga Naval de Lisboa
1925	Talk in AAM (01/05/1925)
1927	Contract as resident critic of <i>Diário de Lisboa</i> .
1928	Conducted a women's string orchestra (March). First talk in UPP (19/01/1928). Cycle of talks in CN (23/01, 20/03, and 26/06)
1929	Acquired Portuguese citizenship
1930	Concert exclusively with her works in CN (27/01/1930).
1931	First met Fernando Lopes-Graça. Was fired from <i>Escola Oficina n.1 de Lisboa</i> .
1934	Talk in AAM (18/03/1934). Talk in CN (17/06/1934).
1935	Benoît and her mother moved to R. Ivens, in the heart of downtown Lisbon.
1936	Delivered public talk in <i>Emissora Nacional</i> and SPN.
1937	September to October, traveled to France and Belgium. Met Lopes-Graça in Paris.

1938	Talk in Museu João de Deus (31/03/1938). First file with the PIDE (07/05/1938).
1939	Cycle of 3 talks in UPP (June); Second file with the PIDE (19/12/1939). Conducted <i>Orquestra da Emissora Nacional</i> – premiere <i>Partita</i> (09/12/1939).
1940	Cycle of 6 talks in UPP (Feb-April)
1941	Benoît and her mother moved to Praça do Brasil (renamed Largo do Rato in 1948), where she lived until her death.
1942	Founded <i>Concertos Sonata</i> with Lopes-Graça, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, and others. Talks in Voz do Operário, Coimbra and EN.
1943	Joined AFPP. Cycle of talks in UPP (Dez 1943-March 1944).
1944	File with the PIDE (as collaborator of <i>O Globo</i> , admirer and comrade of Lopes-Graça).
1945	Joined MUD (collective file with the PIDE); Joined CNMP.
1947	Founded AFPP's choir.
1948	Started working as a teacher in the AAM.
1950	Founded <i>Gazeta Musical</i> with Lopes-Graça, M.G. Amado da Cunha, and J. J. Cochofel. Founded the choir of <i>Voz do Operário</i> .
1952	AFPP forbidden by the State Police.
1954	End of the choir of <i>Voz do Operário</i> .
1956	File with the PIDE (as collaborator of <i>Gazeta Musical</i> with “communist tendencies”).
1958	2 files with the PIDE (March; April). Organized and directed music courses at <i>Voz do Operário</i> .
1965	Won Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian's Composition Award.
1971	(September) Travelled to France with Madalena Gomes.
1972	(September) Travelled to Italy with Madalena Gomes.
1973	(September) Travelled to France with Madalena Gomes.
1974	End of the fascist regime with the Carnation Revolution (April 25).
1989	December, went to the hospital.

1990	January 27, Benoît died in the hospital.
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2. APPENDIX 2. CATALOGUE OF FRANCINE BENOÎT'S MUSICAL OEUVRE

2.1 BY DATE

YEAR	INSTRUMENTS	TITLE
1916	String Quartet	Seis Pequenos Quartetos
1917	Voice and Piano	Deus na Planície
1917	Voice and Piano	Nocturne
1917	Voice and Piano	Poente
1918	Voice and Piano	Paysage de guerre
1919	Voice and String Quartet	Partindo-se, or 15 th -Century Song
1921	Children's Choir and Piano	Os Ovos de Oiro
1923	Children's Choir and Piano	A Gata Borralheira
1925	Children's Choir and Piano	A Formiga e a Cigarra
1928	Voice and Piano	Cantilena
1928	Voice and Piano	Sant'Ana
1928	Voice and Harp (or piano)	Deux Stances (Dans Cette Aubergue en Ruines)
1929	Piano and String Quartet	Evocação do Soberbo Templo da Batalha
1930	Piano	Cantares de Cá (Ao Desafio, Dança e Descante, Canção de Embalar)
1930	Voice, Harp, Viola and Cello	Amen
1930	Piano	Variações sobre um tema original
1930	Harp	Dança do Cativo
1931	Voice and Piano	Três Canções Tristes (Partindo-se, Queixa, Fala ao Coração)
1932	Voice and Piano	Tonadilha da Gota de Água
1936	Voice and Piano	Pelas Landes à Noite
1938	Orchestra	Partita
1939	Piano	Nine children songs (Uma menina séria e teimosa, Um menino irrequieto e falador, A doentinha, O pequeno implicante, A cabecinha de vento, A preguiçosa, O menino do box, O amiguinho dos pardais, A devaneadora.)
1940	String Quartet	Prelude and Fugue
1942	Piano and Orchestra	Concerto for piano and orchestra (4 movements)

1944	Piano	Sonatina
1945	Voice and Piano	Five Portuguese Songs
1945	Violin and Piano	Sonata (4 movements)
1949	Children's Choir and Piano	Bichos, Bichinhos e Bicharocos (3 songs)
1949	Voice and Piano	Music for three poems by Alberto de Serpa (História, Rua, unknown name)
1949	Two Pianos	Three songs for two pianos (Ritorno Sentimental, Humoresca Militar, Capriccio)
1950	Choir (3 voices) ³⁶²	Falam Casebres de Pescadores
1951	Choir (3 voices) ³⁶³	Oração a Santa Bárbara
1952	Choir	À Mocidade das Escolas
1952	Choir (SATB)	Brado
1952	Choir (3 voices)	Jesus, Maria e José
1954	Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Trumpet and Basson	Cinco Peças Infantis
1959	Piano	Theme and 10 variations
1964	Orchestra	Fantasia-Suite (4 movements)
1966	Children's Voices and Orchestra	O Caçador e a Princesa
1978	Voice and Piano	Aquele Homenzinho
1979	Voice and Piano	Canção da Vida Renovada
1979	Viola and Orchestra	Poemeto
1981	Piano and Orchestra	Concertino para a mão esquerda
1983	Voice, Recorder and Doublebass	Pingas de Chuva
Unknown	Choir	Murucutu ³⁶⁴
Unknown	Choir	A Portuguesa (Portuguese National Anthem) ³⁶⁵
Unknown (1920s)	Voice and Piano	Despondency
Unknown	Voice and Piano	Fim de Festa

³⁶² Choral arrangement, not Benoît's original.

³⁶³ Choral arrangement, not Benoît's original.

³⁶⁴ Choral arrangement, not Benoît's original.

³⁶⁵ Choral arrangement, not Benoît's original.

2.2 BY GENRE: SONGS FOR VOICE AND PIANO

1. Deus na Planície, op.1, n.1 (1917). Lyrics by António Sardinha. There are two other versions, a revision from 1925 and an orchestration (date unknown).
 2. Nocturne (1917). Lyrics by Henri de Régnier
 3. Poente (1917). Lyrics by unknown author
 4. Paysage de guerre (1918). Lyrics by unknown author
 5. Cantilena (1928). Lyrics by Francine Benoît
 6. Três canções tristes (1931) – collection of three songs: Partindo-se (1919), Queixa, Fala ao coração. Lyrics by João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco, António Sardinha, António Nobre
 7. Tonadilha da gota de água (1932 – 1938 improved version). Lyrics by Augusto Gil (1873-1929)
 8. Pelas landes, à noite (1945 – composed in 1936, dedicated to Maria Palmira Tito de Moraes). Lyrics by Eugénio de Castro (1869-1944)
 9. Five Portuguese songs (1945). Lyrics by Afonso Lopes Vieira (Búzio, 1943), Augusto Gil (Avena Rústica, 1943; Cinturinhas da Murtosa, 1944), Afonso Duarte (Elegia do Lavrador, 1943).
 10. Three songs (Música para Três Poemas de Alberto de Serpa) (1949): História (dedicated to Olga Violante), Rua, ?. Lyrics by Alberto de Serpa
 11. Aquele homenzinho (1978). Lyrics by Mário Castrim
 12. A canção da vida renovada (1979). Lyrics by Lília da Fonseca
 13. Fim de Festa (date unknown). Lyrics by António de Sousa (1898-1981)
 14. Despondency (date unknown, estimated 1920s). Lyrics by Antero de Quental.
- Total: 22 songs.

2.3 CHOIR MUSIC

1. Falam Casebres de Pescadores (1950) – choral arrangement for three voices after a song by Lopes-Graça. For the choir of *Voz do Operário*.
2. Oração a Santa Bárbara (1951) – choral arrangement for three voices after a song by Claudio Carneiro.
3. À Mocidade das Escolas (1952) – choral arrangement after a song by Fernando Lopes-Graça.

4. Brado (1952) – original for four voices. Lyrics by José Apolinário Ramos.
5. Jesus, Maria e José (1952) – choral arrangement for three voices. For the choir of *Voz do Operário*.
6. A Portuguesa (date unknown) – choral arrangement of the Portuguese Anthem.
7. Murucutu (date unknown) – choral arrangement for three voices after a Brazilian folk song.

2.4 CHILDREN'S CHOIR AND PIANO (WRITTEN FOR ESCOLA OFICINA N.1)

1. Os ovos de oiro (1921) – Collection of four songs. Lyrics by César Porto
2. A gata borralheira (1923) – Play in 1 Act. Lyrics by César Porto
3. A formiga e a cigarra (1925) – Play with sixteen songs. Lyrics by Adolfo Lima and César Porto

2.5 SOLO INSTRUMENT

1. *Cantares de Cá* (192?), collection of three songs for piano: Ao desafio, Dança e descante, Canção de embalar.³⁶⁶
2. Variations on an original theme (1930) for piano.
3. *Dança do cativoiro* (1930) for harp. Dedicated to Cecilia Borba.
4. Nine children songs (1939) for piano: *Uma menina séria e teimosa*, *Um menino irrequieto e falador*, *A doentinha*, *O pequeno implicante*, *A cabecinha de vento*, *A preguiçosa*, *O menino do box*, *O amiguinho dos pardaís*, *A devaneadora*. Dedicated to Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha.
5. *Sonatina* (1944) for piano. Dedicated to Maria Vitória Quintas and Conchita Valverde.
6. Theme and ten variations (1959). Dedicated to Maria João Pires.

³⁶⁶ Joaquim Fernandes Fão did a version for band, published in 1930, when he was the conductor of the Banda da Guarda Nacional Republicana [National Republican Guard].

2.6 CHAMBER MUSIC

1. *Six Short Quartets* (1916) – For two violins, viola and cello. Performed at the National Conservatory.
2. *Partindo-se* (1919) – Originally for voice and string quartet.³⁶⁷ Lyrics by João Rodrigues de Castelo Branco. Dedicated to Gabriela Monjardino Gomes. Recorded by Columbia Gramophone in 1930, performed by Arminda Correia and Paulo Manso's string quartet.
3. *Sant'Ana* (1928) – For voice and harp. Lyrics by António Sardinha. Recorded by Columbia Gramophone in 1930, performed by Arminda Correia and Cecília Borba.
4. *Deux Stances (Dans cette auberge em ruines)* (1928), – For voice and harp. Lyrics by the Iranian poet Omar Khayyam (1048-1131).
5. *Ámen* (balada) (1930) – Song for voice, harp, viola and cello. Lyrics by Francine Benoît. Performed at the National Conservatory
6. *Evocação do Soberbo Templo da Batalha* (1929) – For piano and string quartet. Performed at the National Conservatory.
7. *Prelude and Fugue for string quartet* (1940) – For two violins, viola and cello.
8. *Sonata for violin and piano* (1945) – Four movements: moderato e justo, non troppo vivo, adagio, allegro. Premiered in *Concertos Sonata*.
9. *Songs for two pianos* (1949): *Ritorno Sentimental*, dedicated to Maria Albina Cochofel (1947), *Humoresca Militar* (1949), *Capriccio* (1949). Premiered at the National Conservatory, by Campos Coelho and Varella Cid.
10. *Children songs* (1954) five songs for woodwind quintet: flute, oboe, clarinet, trumpet and bassoon.
11. *Pingas de chuva* (1983) – For voice, recorder and doublebass. Lyrics by Adolfo Casais Monteiro. Performed at least once, in Casa do Alentejo.

³⁶⁷ There is a 1920s arrangement for voice and piano.

2.7 ORCHESTRAL MUSIC

1. *Partita* (1938) for chamber orchestra (Benoît wrote a piano reduction as well). Four movements: Prelude, *Divertimento*, *Andante*, *Finale*. 2 Movements premiered in 1938, full Partita premiered in 1939, conducted by Francine Benoît.
2. Concerto for piano and orchestra (1942). Four movements: *Moderato*, *Vivo assai*, *Molto lento*, *Allegro*. Signed: Bárbara Catarina.
3. Fantasia-suite for chamber orchestra (1964). Five movements: tempos compostos, muito lento, bem ritmado, cegarrega and epílogo. Performed at the 11th Gulbenkian Music Festival, in Lisbon. Won the Gulbenkian Composition Competition of 1965.
4. Cantata *O caçador e a princesa* (1966) – For children's solo voices and chamber orchestra. Lyrics by Almeida Garrett (1799-1854). Dedicated to Jorge Cutileiro. Commissioned by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.
5. *Poemeto* (1979) – For viola and chamber orchestra. Dedicated to Anabela Chaves. Performed at least once, conducted by Álvaro Salazar with Anabela Chaves as viola soloist. Commissioned by the Portuguese Secretary of State for Culture.
6. *Concertino para a mão esquerda* (1981) – For piano and orchestra. There is a reduction for piano and harp.

WOMEN WHO HAVE PLAYED FRANCINE BENOÎT'S MUSIC

Singers: Arminda Correia, Sara de Sousa, Lúcia Cutileiro, Raquel Bastos, Maria Adelaide Robert, Maria Alice Vieira Lisboa, Celeste Mota, Susana Teixeira.

Piano: Francine Benoît, Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha, Regina Cascais, Maria Fernanda Pinto, Orquídia Quartim.

Other Instruments: Cecília Borba (harp), Maria da Luz Antunes, Ilca Leão, Anabela Chaves (flute).

APPENDIX 3. TRANSCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTS IN FRANCINE

BENOÎT'S FILE IN PIDE'S ARCHIVE³⁶⁸

➤ PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0001

Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado

Boletim de Informação nº. 21201

Respeitante a Francine Germaine Van Gool Benoit

Filho de Paul Théodore Clément Benoit

E de Marie Victorine Van Gool

Nascido a: 30/7/1894, em: Perigueux – Dordogne – França

Profissão: Profª do ensino artístico part. Estado: Solteira

Bilhete de Identidade nº: 647540, emitido em 31/10/1934

Arquivo de Identificação de Lisboa

Residente Lago do Rato, 4 – 2º.- Lisboa

Enviado em 2/4/1958 ao S. Mamede

INFORMAÇÃO

Reside na morada indicada. Moral e politicamente, nada se apurou em seu desabono.

Lisboa, 19 de Abril de 1958

O subinspector,

(signature)

Desafecta 26-4-58 (signature)

³⁶⁸ Does not include the two reports in Lopes-Graça's file with PIDE, which were analysed by Vieira de Carvalho (2006)

➤ **PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0002** (back of M0001)

REGISTO Nº 3208/18/3/958 – I – INSPECÇÃO SUPERIOR DO ENSINO PARTICULAR.

Procº. 71-K2

➤ **PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0003**

Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado

Boletim de Informação nº. 21201

Boletim de informação respeitante a D. Francine Benoit ou

Francine Germaine Van Gool Benoit

Filho de Paul Théodore Clément Benoit

E de Marie Victorine Van Gool Benoit

Natural de Perigueux – França

Residente Rua Ivens, 26 – 2º - Dtº - Lisboa

INFORMAÇÃO

É pessoa contra quem nada consta em seu desabono.

Lisboa, 19 de Dezembro de 1939

(signature)

Desafecta 15-10-52 (signature)

➤ **PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0004** (back of M0003)

REGISTO Nº 10099/952 – I – MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO NACIONAL.

INSPECÇÃO DO ENSINO PARTICULAR.

Procº. 71-0

➤ **PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0005**

Polícia de Vigilância e Defesa do Estado

Boletim de Informação nº. 21201

Boletim de informação respeitante a Francine Germaine Van Gool

Benoit

Filho de Paul Théodore Clément Benoit

E de Marie Victorine Van Gool Benoit

Natural de Perigues (França)

Residente Rua Ivens, 26 – 2º - Dtº

INFORMAÇÃO

Nada consta em seu desa-

bono.

(signature)

7/5/38

➤ **PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0006**

Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado

S. (?) Solicita ao SERVIÇO DE

FICHEIROS informação do que constar acerca de:

Nome Francine Germaine Van Gool Benoit

Filiação – Pai Paul Théodore Clément Benoit

– Mãe Maria Victorine Van Gool

Data do nascimento, 30/7/1894, Profissão profª.

Naturalidade França

Residência Largo do Rato, n.-4-2º- Lx.

Em 12/3/1958

(signature)

➤ **PT-TT-PIDE-SC-BLT21201_M0007** (back of M0006)

INFORMAÇÃO			
Boletim	nº <u>21201</u> /S. Inf.	Processo	nº <u>1079/44</u> /S. R.
Processo	nº <u>75-M</u> /S. Inf.	»	nº _____ /S. R.
»	nº <u>71-O</u> /S. Inf.	Cadastro	nº _____ /S. R.
»	nº _____ /S. Inf.	»	nº _____ / _____
»	nº _____ /S. Inf.	Processo Cr.	nº _____ / _____
Cadastro	nº _____ /S. Inf.	»	nº _____ / _____
M. U. D. <u>Lisboa – Lista 1452</u>		»	nº _____ / _____
Observações:			
Serviço de ficheiros <u>15/3/1958</u>		a) <u>(signature)</u>	
(Handwritten on top of the card:)			
Prº Janº 11/XI/45		Dº Lisboa 20/X/45	
» » 30/X/45			

APPENDIX 4. SHORT BIOS OF SOME OF FRANCINE BENOÎT'S FRIENDS

- **Arminda Correia** (1903-1988) – Portuguese singer. Started as Francine Benoît's colleague when they both studied in the *Conservatório Nacional*, and remained good friends. Benoît wrote many songs specifically for her voice.
- **Fernando Lopes-Graça** (1906-1994) – Portuguese composer and pianist. A member of the Portuguese Communist Party until his death, Lopes-Graça authored several books about music, including a dictionary.
- **Gabriela Monjardino Gomes (Nemésio)** (1900-1980) – Met Francine Benoît in Setúbal when they both were teenagers. Were lovers and remained close friends throughout their lives. Benoît was the godmother of her child Jorge Nemésio.
- **Irene do Céu Vieira Lisboa** (1892-1958) – Portuguese author. Met Francine Benoît in the 1930s, and remained good friends until her death. Lisboa was a feminist activist who was involved in many initiatives of the opposition to the dictatorship, and in women's movements.
- **João José de Melo Cochofel Aires de Campos** (1919-1982) – Portuguese author, known member of the communist opposition. He was the only child of Maria Albina Cochofel, Francine Benoît's lover. In 1942, Cochofel married Maria da Graça Dória (Cochofel) (1922-?), member of the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas* and *Associação Feminina Portuguesa para a Paz*.
- **José Gomes Ferreira** (1900-1985) – Portuguese author, known member of the communist opposition, although he became a member of the Portuguese Communist Party only in 1980. After the death of his first wife Ingrid Hestnes (1904-1949), Gomes Ferreira married Benoît's friend and former student Rosalia Abecassis Vargas.
- **Luis de Freitas Branco** (1890-1955) – Portuguese composer and aristocrat. In the 1920s, he was among Francine Benoît's main public promoters. He offered her his place as the resident music critic in *Diário de Lisboa*, and publicly complimented her work as a composer, conductor, and public lecturer. After Benoît's unfavourable reviews of his music in the 1940s, he cut ties with her.
- **Madalena Gomes** (1928-2010) – Portuguese author born in the Azores. Was Francine Benoît's partner from the early 1960s until the end of her life.
- **Maria Albina de Manique e Melo Cochofel** (1887-1947) – Portuguese aristocrat from Coimbra. Mother of the author João José Cochofel. She and Benoît were lovers during the 1940s, until her death in 1947. Cochofel was a member of the *Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas*.
- **Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha** (1919-2001) – Portuguese pianist, who started as Francine Benoît's student and became a friend and comrade. Amado da Cunha was a feminist activist who was involved in many initiatives of the opposition to the dictatorship, and in women's movements.
- **Maria Letícia Clemente da Silva** (1915-2010) – Portuguese author, who started as Francine Benoît's student and became a friend and comrade. Married to author Mário Dionísio, known member of the communist opposition. Silva was a

feminist activist who was involved in many initiatives of the opposition to the dictatorship, and in women's movements.

- **Maria Palmira Tito de Morais** (1912-2003) – Portuguese nurse, who started as Francine Benoît's student and became a friend and comrade. Tito de Morais was a feminist activist who was involved in many initiatives of the opposition to the dictatorship, and in women's movements.
- **Maria Vitória Pacheco Quintas** (19?-?) – Portuguese pianist, who started as Francine Benoît's student and became a friend and comrade. Quintas worked as a teacher in Academia de Amadores de Música.
- **Rosalia Abecassis Vargas (Gomes Ferreira)** (1913-?) – Started as Francine Benoît's student and then became her friend, having married author José Gomes Ferreira in 1951.
- **Vitorino Nemésio** (1902-1968) – Portuguese author and professor. Husband of Gabriela Monjardino Gomes (m. 1926).

APPENDIX 5. FRANCINE BENOÎT'S ACTIVITY AS A MUSIC CRITIC

5.1 NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES WHERE FRANCINE BENOÎT PUBLISHED

ARTICLES

A Batalha (The Battle, 1924-1925)

A Informação (The Information, 1926)

Actualidades (Current Affairs, 1929)

Afinidades (Affinities, in 1943 and 1946)

Arte – Boletim da Sociedade Nacional de Belas Artes (Art – Magazine of the National Society of Fine Arts, 19?)

Arte Musical, (Music Art, in 1932, 1943, and 1947)

Capital (Capital, 1968-1987)

Contravento (Counterwind, 19?)

De Música (On Music, magazine of the National Conservatory, 1930)

Diário de Coimbra (Coimbra's Diary, 19?)

Diário de Lisboa (Lisbon's Diary, 1924-1968).

Diário de Notícias (News' Diary, in the 1950s and 1960s)

Eco Musical (Music Eco, 1920-1925)

Eva (1948)

Expresso (Express (1973-198?)

Fradique (in 1934)

Gazeta Musical (Musical Gazette, 1950-1973)

Ilustração (Illustration, 1927-1929)

Jornal-Magazine da Mulher (Woman's newspaper-magazine, 194?),

Magazine of the AFPP (1947-1952)

Magazine of the Portuguese Union of Critics (1939)

Mundo Literário (Literary World, in 1946)

O Diário (The diary, 1982-1984)

O Globo (The globe, 1944)

O Tempo e o Modo (The Time and the Way, 19?)

Os Nossos Filhos (Our children, 1942-1950)

Portugal em Acção (Portugal in Action, 19?)

Revista de Portugal (Portugal's magazine, 1937-1939)

Revista dos Alunos do Conservatório de Música do Porto (Magazine of the Students of Porto's Music Conservatory, 1941)

Revue Musical (Musical Review, in 1931)

Seara Nova (New harvest, in the years 1931, 1937, 1948, and 1968)

Sonoarte (Soundart, 1930-1931)

Ver e Crer (Seeing and Believing, in 1946)

Vértice (Vertex, 1947-1950),

5.2 EXAMPLE OF TWO YEARS OF ACTIVITY IN *DIÁRIO DE LISBOA*³⁶⁹

1935 – Total of 53 articles

1936 – Total of 50 articles

Day	Page	Title(s)
<u>1935</u>		
January		
14	3	Artur Rubinstein e Stravinsky; Concerto José Rosenstok
18	8	Franz Schubert
19	4	Academia de Amadores de Música
25	3	Orquestra Filarmónica de Madrid
28	3	Os últimos concertos de Perez Casas
February		
3	3	Círculo de Cultura Musical
4	3	O Requiem de Mozart
11	3	Michael Zadora
19	9	Grupo Instrumental de Bruxelas
25	9	Concerto no Grémio Lírico; Concerto de Gabriela Filipe
March		
1	3	Paul Mekanovitzky
9	3	Cossacos de Don
13	9	Os Cossacos de Don

³⁶⁹ Mariana Calado has collected Benoît's articles in *Diário de Lisboa* from 1926 to 1934.

16	11	J. R. Casaux e F. Ember; Dora Soares e Varela Cid
26	3	Coral Zamora
31	7	O pianista Bennoi Moiseiwitsch; Alexandre Brailovsky
April		
1	3	Quarteto de Dresde [sic]
6	24	A Despedida de Moiseiwitsch; Concertos Liga Naval; Maria Cid
15	9	Na Academia de Amadores de Música
17	5	Sampaio Brandão
18	5	O pianista Querol
May		
11	4	Edwin Fischer; Sociedade Nacional de Música de Camara
28	9	Academia de Amadores de Música
June		
6	8	Recital de órgão e canto
12	5	Sociedade do Grémio Lírico
24	4	Mina Krokovsky
July		
3	4	Concerto Jaime Silva (Filho); Discípulos Oliva Guerra
6	5	Discípulos de Vianna da Mota
16	2	<i>Cravistas Portugueses</i> ; Publicações de Óscar da Silva
November		
6	3	A Música e os Olhos
7	9	Sociedade Coral de Duarte Lobo; O Concerto do Radio Club
16	3	Centenário de C. Saint-Saens; Os “Solfejos” do Maestro Artur Fão
December		
3	11	Orquestra Sinfónica da Emissora Nacional; Universidade Popular Portuguesa
4	11	S. Prokofieff; R. Soetens
10	3	Yehudi Menuhin
14	13	Os últimos concertos; Recital de piano; Sociedade Nacional Música de Câmara
19	10	Orquestra Sinfónica da Emissora
20	9	Josef Hofmann

1936

January

2	3	Vida Artística: Júlio de Sousa
10	6	Quarteto Busch
22	9	Sociedade Nacional de Música de Câmara
29	9	Sociedade Nacional de Música de Câmara

February

10	6	Conferência-Concerto Francine Benoît e Arminda Correia
14	9	Concerto Viana da Mota
20	12	O Concerto de “lieder” de Fernando Lopes-Graça

March

13	4	Ivonne Brothier
22	2	Festival Espanhol
25	11	Concerto Elisa Reis
28	10	O Requiem, de Berlioz, no Coliseu; Enrico Mainardi
29	2	Wanda Landowska
31	3	O Requiem de Berlioz no Coliseu dos Recreios

April

4	11	O Requiem de Berlioz
14	6	Orquestra da Emissora Nacional

May

13	10	Os últimos concertos
19	3	Academia de Amadores de Música
23	9	Conchita Badia

June

1	11	Uma Companhia Nacional de Ópera; Duas Artistas Gregas
13	3	Sociedade Nacional Música de Câmara; Ruth Slenczynski; Concerto Húngaro
20	6	Concerto no São Luiz; Concerto Albertina Sagner; Concerto Yvonne Santos
24	15	Concerto Joaquim Guerrinha; Conservatório Nacional
30	6	Concerto Varela Cid

July

4	15	Os Madrigais de G. M. Asola; Concerto de canto
27	2	Divulgação Musical
28	3	Música do Renascimento

August

12	2	Conferência no curso de férias em Coimbra
21	9	Duas conferências de Armando Leça no curso de férias em Coimbra

November

16	3	Academia dos Amadores de Música; Canções de Lope de Vega; Reaparição do pianista José Rosenstok; Sociedade Nacional de Música de Câmara
30	11	Festival Igor Stravinsky; Concerto Viana da Mota; Manuel Benjamin

December

9	11	Concerto Jose Rosenstok; Cantos e Danças da Arménia
16	6	Canções de trovadores
21	9	O recital Franz Liszt
26	11	Halffter no Círculo de Cultura Musical; Concerto no Tivoli

5.3 BENOÎT'S ARTICLES IN THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF ACTIVITY OF *GAZETA MUSICAL*

Page Title

1950

N. 2 – November 15

2	Edições Musicais – Cravistas Portugueses II, revistos e editados por M. S. Kastner
3	Os Concertos

N. 3 – December 1

6	Os Concertos (x2 critiques)
---	-----------------------------

1951

N. 4 – January 1

6	Os Concertos
---	--------------

N. 5 – February 1

12	Os Concertos
----	--------------

N. 6 – March 1

3	Bibliografia Musical – Escutar, Cantar, Solfejar J. Gonçalves Simões
6	Os Concertos

N. 7 – April 1

6	Os Concertos
---	--------------

8 Alguns Minutos com Claude Delvincourt

N. 8 – May 1

8 Os Concertos

N. 9 – June 1

3-4 Os Concertos

N. 10 – July 1

8 Os Concertos

N. 11 – August 1

8 Os Concertos

N. 13-14 – October/November

3 Bibliografia Musical – Les Modes Gregoriens dans l’oeuvre de Claude Debussy
, Júlia d’Almendra, Paris, 1947-48

6 Os Concertos

N. 15 – December 1

3 Os Concertos

1952

N. 18 – March 1

8 Os Concertos

N. 20 – May 1

8-10 The Sadler’s Wells Ballet em Lisboa

N. 22 – July 1

9-10 A Música e a Criança I

12 Os Concertos

N. 24 – September 1

4-5, 9 A Música e a Criança II

N. 25-26 – October/November

8-9, 23 A Música e a Criança III

1953

N. 28 – January

45-46 Entrevista com o Maestro Joseph Keilberth

APPENDIX 6. SONATA CONCERTS (PERFORMING MUSICIANS)

Total of 85 concerts between 1942 and 1960

Women musicians (instrument, x concerts played)	Male musicians	Large groups
Adrianna de Vecchi (cello, 2x) Albertina Freire (viola, 3) Ans Bierman (singer, 3) Arminda Correia (s, 8) Béatrice Berg (piano, 1) Berta Alves de Sousa (p, 1) Berta Rosa Delgado (p, 4) Cecília Borba (harp, 3) Clara Felix da Costa (1) Dália Lacerda (p, 1) Dinorah de Oliveira (p, 1) Fernanda Losa (p, 1) Francine Benoît (p, cond, 3) Ginette Guillamat (1) Grazzi Barbosa (p, 1) Helena Freitas Branco, (p, 2) Helena Moreira Sá Costa (p, 2) Idalina Fragata Leite Pinto Irene Servais Tiago (s, 5) Janine Dacosta (1) Katharina Heinz (p, 2) Lélia Gousseau (p, 1) Lidia de Carvalho (Pereira Conceição) (violin, 12) Ligia Ebo (p, 2) Madalena Andersen (s, 1) Maira Adelaide Robert (s, 3) Maria Alice Vieira de Almeida (s, 5) Maria Beatriz Soares (p, 2) Maria da Graça Amado da Cunha (p, 15) Maria da Luz Antunes (viola, 1)	Alberto Bastos Nunes, Alberto França, Amadis de Almeida, Andor Foldes, Angelo Pestana, Antonino David, Apolinário Cruz, Blaise Calame, Carlos de Figueiredo, Carlos Rodrigues, Carlos Saraiva, Daniel-Lesur, Diogo de Melo Sampaio, Duarte Pestana, Eduardo José Marques Simões, Emílio de Carvalho, Eurico Thomaz de Lima, Fausto Caldeira, Fernando Costa, Fernando Lopes-Graça (43x) Filipe de Sousa, Filipe Lorient, Idílio Gomes, Jaime da Silva, Jean Reculard, João Nogueira, Joaquim de Carvalho, Joaquim Silva Pereira, Jorge Croner de Vasconcelos, José dos Santos Pinto,	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Orchestra (Paulo Manso, Fausto Caldeira, Felipe Lorient, Paulo Correia, Luis Boulton, Apolinário Cruz, Eusébio de Carvalho, Francisco Borriço, Mário Barroso, Amadis de Almeida, Armando Ferreira, Jacinto Cruz, António Campos), Roma Quintet (Pina Carmirelli, Enzo Sabatini, Arrigo Tassinari, Arturo Bonnucci, Alberta Soriani) Hungarian Quartet (Zoltan Szekely, Alexandre Moskowsky, Vilmos Palotai, Denes Koromzay) Children's choir of the AFPP with a quintet (Luis Boulton, Alberto França, Carlos Saraiva, Carlos de Oliveira, António Candido Borriço) – conducted by Francine Benoît Portuguese windbrass quintet (Luis Boulton, Santos Pinto, Acácio Pestana, Angelo Pestana) Orchestra (cond. Pedro de Freitas Branco. Paulo Manso, Carlos Saraiva, Angelo Pestana, Armando Ferreira, Abel Rezende, Paulo Correia, Julio Campos) Choir AAM + chamber orchestra – cond. FLG Women's choir (cond. F. W. Verner) Orchestra (Cond. António de Almeida)

<p>Maria Delfina Costa Simões (p, 7)</p> <p>Maria Dewander Gabriel (s, 4)</p> <p>Maria do Carmo Moreno da Fonseca (p, 1)</p> <p>Maria Elvira Barroso (p, 6)</p> <p>Maria Emilia Oliveira Machado (p, 3)</p> <p>Maria Fernanda Bivar Pinto Lopes (p, 2)</p> <p>Maria Helena de Matos Silva (p, 4)</p> <p>Maria Isabel Cerqueira (vln, 1)</p> <p>Maria Malafaia (p, 2)</p> <p>Maria Vitória Quintas (p, 1)</p> <p>Marta Lobowski (vln, 2)</p> <p>Mercedes Carbonell (p 1)</p> <p>Nella Maissa (p, 5)</p> <p>Noémie Perugia (1)</p> <p>Odette Gartenlaub (1)</p> <p>Olga Violante (s, 4)</p> <p>Raquel Bastos (s, 6)</p> <p>Regina Croner Cascais (p, 8)</p> <p>Regina Diniz da Fonseca (s, 1)</p> <p>Regina Garcia Soares (s, 2)</p> <p>Sofia Pelágio (p, 3)</p> <p>Stella Tavares (s, 2)</p> <p>Suzanne Roche (p, 1)</p> <p>Violante Servais Tiago (p, 4)</p>	<p>José Lopes,</p> <p>José Tiago Velez,</p> <p>Lopo de Bragança,</p> <p>Luigi Dallapiccola,</p> <p>Luis Barbosa,</p> <p>Luis Boulton,</p> <p>Luis Millet,</p> <p>Macario Santiago Kastner,</p> <p>Morais de Sousa,</p> <p>Oliveira Gomes,</p> <p>Procópio Branquinho,</p> <p>Raymond Gallois Montbrun,</p> <p>Robert Soëtens,</p> <p>Sandro Materassi,</p> <p>Tristan Risselin,</p> <p>Vasco Barbosa,</p> <p>Vitor de Macedo Pinto.</p>	
TOTAL WOMEN: 54	TOTAL MEN: 47	

APPENDIX 7. FRANCINE BENOÎT'S MUSIC

7.1 PAYSAGE DE GUERRE (1918), FOR VOICE AND PIANO³⁷⁰



³⁷⁰ I wish to thank Ana Barros for sharing her catalog of Ema Romero Santos Fonseca's collection at the National Library, and Alejandro Reyes Lucero for showing me the manuscript.

7.2 TRÊS CANÇÕES TRISTES (THREE SAD SONGS, 1931), FOR VOICE AND

PIANO

— “PARTINDO-SE”,
(CANÇÃO DO SÉCULO XV.)

JOÃO RODRIGUES DE CASTELLO BRANCO

FRANCINE BENOIT

Andantino *expressivo, simples*

CANTO *cresc.* *cantabile* *p* *ritmo brando*

Se - nho - ra, par - tem tam tris - tes Meus

um pouco mais carregado *aligeirando*

o - lhos por vós, meu bẽ, Que nun - ca tam tristes vis - tes Ou - tros nenhũs -

mais p

carregando um pouco *respondendo bem*

- por ninguém - Nin - guem. Tam tristes, tã saudo - sos, Tam do -

cantabile *p* *pp*

O acompanhamento d'este canto é para quarteto de cordas na versão original. —

ligado, triste, singelo menos

- en-tes da par-ty-da. Tã cansa-dos, tã cho-ro-ros. Da mor-te mais dese-

pouco rit. *tempo 12*

-josos Cem mil ve-zes que da vi-da. Partem tã tristes os *cantabile, bem simpido*

p *pouco rit.*

trys-tes, Tã fo-ra d'espe-rar bem, — Que nun-ca, nunca Tam

cresc

tris-tes vis-tes Outros nenhũs porninguem.

mais p *p* *decrec.* *pp*

A Gabriela Monjardino Gomes — (1919)

“QUEIXA” DO ANTONIO SARDINHA

AO FILHINHO QUE LHE MORREU.

FRANCINE BENOIT

CANTO *Non troppo lento* *p*

E - ra u - ma vez um me - -
o acompanhamento segue o colorido do canto
pp mas ritmado

PIANO *p*

- ni - - - no Co - mo o Me - - hi - - no Je -

menos p

- sus. Não sei que i - men - so des - ti - - - no

O acompanhamento d'êste canto é para harpa na versão original. —

pouco rit. *a tempo*

No seu des - ti - - no eu su - puz

pouquissimo mais lento, e a ganhar luz

Ti - nha um sor - ri - so di - -
com a voz

multo suspenso

-vi - - no, Ti - nha u - ma aure - o - la de luz!

mais piano e voltando ao primeiro tempo

E - - ra u - ma vez um me - - ni - - no,

com fanatismo

Co - mo o Me - - ni - no Je - - sus!

sentido, grave (dramatisação interior)

Nu - ma má - ré de má Sor - - te

Vi - o nos bra - ços da Mor - - te

cresc. muito

Co - mo um cor - dei - ro na Cruz!

f decrescendo muito e rit.

tempo 1º - singelo e desencorajado

Tão do - ce e tão pe - que - ni - no

A his - tô - ria des - se me - ni - no A is - to

só se re - duz.

A Arminda Nunes Correia
que tão expressivamente lhe deu a sua alma
(1919-1929)

—FALLA AO CORAÇÃO.

ANTÔNIO NOBRE

FRANCINE BENOIT

Lento soluto -

CANTO

mp

Meu co - ra - ção não ba - tas,

PIANO

p. mas sempre ritmo sforzato

pá - ra Meu co - ra - ção vae-te dei - tar

menos p A nos - sa dôr, bem sei, *cresc.* é a - ma - ra, A nossa

cresc. *intenso* *multo dim.^{do}*
 dôr, bem sei, é a - ma - - ra, Meu co - ra - ção va - mos sa.
diminuindo muito

mais febril
 - nhar... Ao mun.do vim mas en ga.
sempre sforzato todos os pormenores *menos p* *mf*

mais p *sem força*
 - na - do, Sin.to - me far.to de vi - ver... Vi o que ele era,
mais p *cresc.* *sonoro*

p *cresc. ... pouco*
 'Stou massa - do - 'Stou massa - do Meu co - ra -
cantabile *mais p* *p*

a pouco *3* *mp quasi mf*
 -ção va.mos morren!... Ba.hi á

cresc. pouco *p* *cresc.*
 por.ta da ven.tu.ra Ninguem a abriu, ba.hi em vão

3 *menos f*
cresc. *sempre* *e* *apressando um pouco*

pouco mais depressa, e rude *decresc.*
 Va.mos a ver se a se.pul.tu.ra, Va.mos a

mais p
3 *cresc. outra vez* *3* *intenso*
 ver se a se.pul.tu.ra Nos fazo mes.mo, co.ra.ção.

3 *muito cresc.* *f*

mf mas com timbre velado

ral.^{do} e dim. muito *um pouco mais lento e doce* A - deus Pla - ne - ra, adeus, ó

ritmo mais brando

mais p *mp* *escurecendo sempre*

la - ma Que ambos nos vaes di - ge - rir Meu co - ra - ção a Ve - lha

cresc. apenas

cha - ma — Meu co - ra - ção a Ve - lha cha - - ma

acresc. *pp*

exausto *ral.^{do}*

Basta, por Deus — Va - mos dor - mir.

pp *ral.^{do}* *muito devagar*

A Maria do Céu Fonseca e Dória
(1930-1931)

7.3 RITORNO SENTIMENTAL (1947), FOR TWO PIANOS³⁷¹

A Maria Alfrina Wachofl. Peças para dois pianos (1947) *Ritorno Sentimental* Francisco Benoit

Andantino (♩ = 72)

1^o piano *f sonoro com Pedal*

2^o piano *f sonoro com Pedal*

brilhante *f molto espressivo.*

1^o

2^o *pesante*

ga (M. 152)

10 8a.

atenuando *più mosso poco legato*

12/8 7 12/8 7 12/8 7 12/8 7

1^o

2^o *atenuando*

12/8 7 12/8 7 12/8 7 12/8 7

u.c.

³⁷¹ I wish to thank João Pedro Mendes dos Santos for sharing this manuscript.

Handwritten musical score for two staves, 1º and 2º. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The first system includes the instruction *meno mais f*. The second system includes *t.c.* (tutti). The third system is marked with a box containing the number 15. The fourth system includes the instruction *Rall* (Ritardando) and *A Tempo*. The fifth system includes the instruction *molto cresc.* (molto crescendo) and *sonoro, non troppo sf.* (sonorous, not too sforzando). The sixth system includes the instruction *molto cresc.* (molto crescendo) and *2/4* time signature. The seventh system includes the instruction *2/4* time signature and *2/4* time signature. The eighth system includes the instruction *2/4* time signature and *2/4* time signature.

Handwritten musical score for two staves, numbered 10, 20, and 25. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "cresc...", "rit.", "molto dim.", and "atenuando".

Handwritten musical score for a piano piece, featuring two systems of staves with treble and bass clefs. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like "piano", "crescendo", and "molto legato". The manuscript is written on aged paper with visible ink and some corrections.

Handwritten musical score for two staves, 1st and 2nd parts, in G major. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *f*, *dim...*, *mp*, *mf*, *a tempo*, and *Rit*. A box with the number 40 is visible between the second and third systems.

Handwritten musical score for two staves, 1^o and 2^o, in G major (one sharp). The score is divided into three systems.

System 1:

- 1^o Staff:** Starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first measure has a *dim.* marking. The second measure has a *sotto voce* marking. The staff continues with various musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.
- 2^o Staff:** Starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first measure has a *dim.* marking. The second measure has a *sotto voce* marking. The staff continues with various musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests.

System 2:

- 1^o Staff:** Starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first measure has a *dim.* marking. The second measure has a *sotto voce* marking. The staff continues with various musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The word *acelerando* is written above the staff, followed by *e cresc.*
- 2^o Staff:** Starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first measure has a *dim.* marking. The second measure has a *sotto voce* marking. The staff continues with various musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The word *cresc.* is written below the staff, followed by a red line indicating a crescendo.

System 3:

- 1^o Staff:** Starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first measure has a *dim.* marking. The second measure has a *sotto voce* marking. The staff continues with various musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The word *rel.* is written above the staff, followed by *pp*.
- 2^o Staff:** Starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one sharp. The first measure has a *dim.* marking. The second measure has a *sotto voce* marking. The staff continues with various musical notations, including eighth and sixteenth notes, and rests. The word *rel.* is written below the staff, followed by *pp*.

The score is marked with a box containing the number 55 in the first system.

Handwritten musical score for two staves, labeled 10 and 20. The notation is complex, featuring many accidentals (sharps, flats, naturals) and dynamic markings such as *mp* (mezzo-piano) and *cresc...* (crescendo). The score is divided into measures by vertical bar lines. A small box containing the number 62 is visible above the second system. The handwriting is in dark ink on aged, slightly yellowed paper. The first system shows a melodic line on staff 10 and a more rhythmic, possibly bass, line on staff 20. The second system continues this pattern with more complex rhythmic figures and dynamic changes. The third system shows a continuation of the melodic line on staff 10 and a more complex, possibly chromatic, line on staff 20. The fourth system shows a continuation of the melodic line on staff 10 and a more complex, possibly chromatic, line on staff 20. The fifth system shows a continuation of the melodic line on staff 10 and a more complex, possibly chromatic, line on staff 20. The sixth system shows a continuation of the melodic line on staff 10 and a more complex, possibly chromatic, line on staff 20.

65

1º

2º

calando

trama trama

molto dir...

pp

CEU eTD Collection

[illegible]

320

Handwritten musical score for a symphony, featuring staves for Flute 1, Oboe, Flute 2, Clarinet, Bassoon, Trumpet, Trombone, Tuba, Violin 1, Violin 2, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The score includes tempo markings like *piu lento*, *a tempo*, and *molto espressivo*, as well as dynamic markings like *mf*, *f*, and *p*. The bottom section is marked *Allegretto* with a tempo of 108.

1. Desculpe-se a irregularidade da colocação da flauta na orquestra instrumental.

2. As pausas sem indicação de compasso são de ritmo irregular em que predomina a acentuação binária.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The score includes staves for Flute I, Flute II, Oboe I, Oboe II, Clarinet, Trumpet, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The music is in G major and 4/4 time. Measures 1-4 show various melodic and harmonic developments with dynamic markings like 'f' and 'p'.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. The score includes staves for Flute I, Flute II, Fagotto, Tromba, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The music continues with measures 5-8, featuring a 'Tempo 12' marking at the start of measure 8. Dynamic markings include 'f', 'p', and 'dolc. mf'.

Handwritten musical score for a string quartet, featuring staves for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. The score includes various musical notations, dynamics, and performance instructions.

First System:

- Violin I:** *mf*, *acc.*, *a due*
- Violin II:** *mf*, *acc.*, *espressivo*
- Viola:** *mf*, *acc.*, *espressivo*
- Cello/Double Bass:** *mf*, *acc.*, *molto espressivo*

Second System:

- Violin I:** *piu lento*, *p. aerea*, *acc.*, *molto len.*
- Violin II:** *acc. re#*, *gliss. acc.*
- Viola:** *solo*, *acc.*, *solo*
- Cello/Double Bass:** *solo*, *mf*

Tempo and Performance Markings:

- piu lento* (slower)
- p. aerea* (piano, airy)
- acc.* (accelerando)
- molto len.* (very slow)
- gliss. acc.* (glissando, accelerating)
- solo* (solo)
- mf* (mezzo-forte)
- mp* (mezzo-piano)
- molto espressivo* (very expressive)

Other markings:

- a due* (two together)
- espressivo* (expressive)
- molto espressivo* (very expressive)
- gliss. acc.* (glissando, accelerating)
- solo* (solo)
- mf* (mezzo-forte)
- mp* (mezzo-piano)

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-5. The score is written on ten staves. The instruments are: Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Trumpet (Tromp.), Trombone (Tromb.), Violin (Vln.), Viola (Vla.), Cello (Vcl.), and Double Bass (Vcb.). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The time signature is 4/4. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *mezzo*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 6-10. The score continues on the same ten staves as the first system. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and dynamic markings like *mf* and *mezzo*.

Handwritten musical score for a large ensemble, featuring multiple staves with various instruments and vocal parts. The score is divided into two systems, separated by a double bar line. The tempo is marked *♩ = 60*.

First System:

- Flute (Fl):** *rit*, *raldo molto*, *non legato*, *pesante*, *poco più f*.
- Piccolo (Pic):** *rit*, *molto ral.*, *molto legato*.
- Clarinet (Cl):** *rit*, *molto ral.*, *molto legato*.
- Bassoon (Fag):** *rit*, *molto ral.*, *molto legato*.
- Violoncello (Vcl):** *rit*, *molto ral.*, *non legato*, *poco più f*.
- Contrabasso (Cb):** *rit*, *molto ral.*, *non legato*, *poco più f*.

Second System:

- Flute (Fl):** *legato*, *incalzando*, *dim.*.
- Piccolo (Pic):** *legato*, *incalzando*.
- Clarinet (Cl):** *legato*, *incalzando*.
- Bassoon (Fag):** *legato*, *incalzando*.
- Violoncello (Vcl):** *legato*, *incalzando*.
- Contrabasso (Cb):** *legato*, *incalzando*.

7

Op. 126

mp

poco f

simile

poco f

simile

cresc.

poco rit.

ben articolato

a tempo

mf

cresc.

poco rit.

ben articolato

a tempo

f

cresc.

poco rit.

ben articolato

mf non legato

ben articolato

Handwritten musical score for a symphony orchestra, page 8. The score includes staves for Flute, Piccolo, Clarinet, Bassoon, Oboe, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. The music is in 2/4 time and features complex rhythmic patterns, including sixteenth and thirty-second notes, and rests. Dynamics include *f*, *mf*, *mp*, and *dim*. The score ends with a double bar line.

Flute: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Piccolo: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Clarinet: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Bassoon: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Oboe: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Violin I: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Violin II: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Viola: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Cello: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

Double Bass: *f* *mf* *mp* *dim*

FANTASIA-SUITE PARA ORQUESTRA DE CÂMARA

9

II- MUITO LENTO

♩ = 69

Flautim
Flauta
Fagote
 Trompete
Violas
depois Viol II
Violoncelos
Contrabaixo

Sempre des = II so um dois um dois

poco
poco più

Fltim
Flta
Fag
tp
Harpa
Viol II
vc

liberamente, cantabile
tapado
conso ltim, più p
glissando
glissando
m.d.
m.esq.
miss
miss

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The score includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Violin I (Vln I), Violin II (Vln II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The music is in 2/4 time and features various dynamics like *p*, *mf*, and *f*, along with articulation marks and slurs.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. The score includes staves for Flute (Fl.), Clarinet (Cl.), Bassoon (Fag.), Violin I (Vln I), Violin II (Vln II), Viola (Vla.), Violoncello (Vcl.), and Contrabass (Cb.). The music is in 2/4 time and features various dynamics like *p*, *mf*, and *f*, along with articulation marks and slurs. Handwritten notes include "re#dubstahid", "dedilhado", "bem cantado", and "pizz."

Handwritten musical score for a large ensemble, featuring multiple staves with various instruments and vocal parts. The score includes dynamic markings, articulation, and performance instructions in Portuguese.

Top System:

- Flautas:** Flute parts with various notes and rests.
- Clarinete:** Clarinet part with notes and rests.
- Fagote:** Bassoon part with notes and rests.
- Violão:** Guitar part with notes and rests.
- Violoncelo:** Cello part with notes and rests.
- Contrabaixo:** Double bass part with notes and rests.

Bottom System:

- Flautas:** Flute parts with notes and rests.
- Clarinete:** Clarinet part with notes and rests.
- Fagote:** Bassoon part with notes and rests.
- Violão:** Guitar part with notes and rests.
- Violoncelo:** Cello part with notes and rests.
- Contrabaixo:** Double bass part with notes and rests.
- Vozes:** Vocal parts with lyrics and notes.

Performance Instructions and Markings:

- mf* (mezzo-forte)
- mp* (mezzo-piano)
- p* (piano)
- f* (forte)
- pp* (pianissimo)
- pp não ligado* (pianissimo, not connected)
- timbale* (timbale)
- Harpa tacet* (Harp tacet)
- unus 2* (unus 2)
- para vibrato* (for vibrato)
- p. bem articulada* (piano, well articulated)
- dois* (two)
- duas* (two)

12

Flauto

Flauto II

Cello

Fagotto

Violino I

Violino II

Viola

Violoncello

Contrabbasso

glissando

molto glissando

molto decelerando

molto ritardando

ben cantato

cresc

5 76 (grando)

5 16

[illegible]

Handwritten musical score for measures 1-4. The score includes staves for Flauto I, Flauto II, Clarinet, Violino I, Violino II, Viola, Violoncello, and Contrabbasso. The music is in 3/4 time with a key signature of one sharp (F#). Measure 1 features a piano introduction with "cusc" and "cusc" markings. Measure 2 has "cusc" and "cusc" markings. Measure 3 has "cusc" and "cusc" markings. Measure 4 has "cusc" and "cusc" markings. The score includes various dynamics such as *mp*, *mf*, *p*, and *mf*, and includes the instruction "tacet un viola".

Handwritten musical score for measures 5-8. The score continues with the same instruments as the previous system. Measure 5 has a piano introduction with "cusc" and "cusc" markings. Measure 6 has "cusc" and "cusc" markings. Measure 7 has "cusc" and "cusc" markings. Measure 8 has "cusc" and "cusc" markings. The score includes various dynamics such as *mp*, *mf*, *p*, and *mf*, and includes the instruction "tacet un viola".

III - BEN RITMADO

Handwritten musical score for a string quartet, measures 112-114. The score includes parts for Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. Dynamics include *mf* and crescendos.

Handwritten musical score for "The Rose Tree". The score is written on ten staves. The vocal part (Soprano) is on the top staff, and the string quartet (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Violoncello, and Double Bass) is on the bottom five staves. The music is in 2/4 time and G major. The score includes a key signature change to one sharp (F#) and a tempo change to "mod. rit. al 104". The vocal soloist enters with a melodic line, and the strings provide harmonic support. The piece concludes with a final chord.

Handwritten musical score for measures 1-4. The score includes staves for Flute 1, Flute 2, Clarinet, Bassoon, Oboe, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. Dynamics include *mf*, *p*, and *mp*. Performance markings include *solo*, *poco f*, *tutti*, and *rinf.*

Handwritten musical score for measures 5-8. The score includes staves for Flute 1, Flute 2, Clarinet, Bassoon, Oboe, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. Dynamics include *p*, *mf*, and *f*. Performance markings include *Tutti 12*, *poco f*, *tacet oboe C.I.*, and *C.I.*

Handwritten musical score for a symphony, page 17. The score is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The tempo is marked $\text{♩} = 116$. The score is divided into two systems, each containing ten staves. The instruments are: Flute I, Flute II, Clarinet in B-flat, Trumpet I, Trumpet II, Horn I, Horn II, Violin I, Violin II, and Viola/Cello/Double Bass (VC).

First System:

- Flute I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enter with a melodic line.
- Clarinet in B-flat: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Trumpet I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Horn I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Violin I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- VC: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.

Second System:

- Flute I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Clarinet in B-flat: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Trumpet I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Horn I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- Violin I and II: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.
- VC: Rests for the first two measures, then enters with a melodic line.

Dynamic markings include *mp*, *cresc*, *meno*, *f*, and *lento*.

Handwritten musical score for a symphony, page 18. The score is written on 12 staves. The top staff is for the first violin (Viol. I), followed by the second violin (Viol. II), viola (Viola), cello (Cello), and double bass (Bass). The bottom staves are for the woodwinds: flute (Fl.), oboe (Ob.), clarinet (Cl.), and bassoon (Bsn.). The score is in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The tempo is marked "Largamente" (slowly) and the metronome marking is "♩ = 104". The score is divided into two systems by a vertical dashed line. The first system contains measures 1 through 10, and the second system contains measures 11 through 20. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, accidentals, and dynamic markings like "mf" (mezzo-forte) and "f" (forte). The handwriting is in ink on aged paper.

Handwritten musical score for measures 1-12. The score includes staves for Flute (Soprano), Clarinet (C1), Flute (Alto), Violin (V1), Violin (V2), Viola (VC), and Cello (CB). The key signature is one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked "Tempo 15". The score features various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *dim*, *dim...*, *more*, and *dim.*. The first system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for measures 13-24. The score continues with the same instruments and key signature. The tempo is marked "Tempo 15". The score features various musical notations including notes, rests, and dynamic markings such as *mf* and *mf*. The second system ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

Handwritten musical score for a symphony, page 20. The score is written on ten staves. The top five staves are for woodwinds and strings (Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, and Violin I). The bottom five staves are for strings (Violin II, Viola, Cello, Double Bass, and Contrabass). The music is in 2/4 time and features a variety of notes, rests, and dynamic markings. The key signature has one sharp (F#). The score is divided into three measures. The first measure has a *meno f* marking. The second measure has a *cresc molto* marking. The third measure has a *f* marking. The bottom two staves (Cello and Double Bass) have a *cresc* marking. The score is written in a clear, legible hand.

Handwritten musical score for a string quartet, featuring four staves (Violin I, Violin II, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass). The score includes various musical notations, including notes, rests, and dynamic markings.

Key markings and annotations include:

- affetando* (appearing twice)
- calmando* (appearing twice)
- ral^{do} e dim.* (appearing twice)
- mp* (mezzo-piano)
- mp to mezzo*
- aff.* (affettuoso)
- ral^{do} e dim. molto*
- gracioso*

The score is written in a system with four staves, and the page number 21 is visible in the top right corner.

Handwritten musical score for orchestra and voice, page 22. The score includes staves for Flute I, Flute II, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Violin I, Violin II, Viola, Cello, and Double Bass. It also features a vocal line with lyrics in Portuguese. The music is in 4/4 time and includes various tempo and dynamic markings.

Tempo and Dynamic Markings:

- Fl. 100* (Flute I)
- accelerando como no principio* (Clarinet)
- meno rubato* (Violin I)
- a tempo* (Violin I)
- piu lento* (Violin I)
- liberamente* (Violin I)
- accelerando para encerrar a IV* (Violin I)
- tutti* (Violin I)

Other Markings:

- Flauto I*
- Flauto II*
- Oboe*
- Clarinet*
- Bassoon*
- Violino I*
- Violino II*
- Viola*
- Cello*
- Double Bass*

IV - CEGARREGA E EPILOGO

Allegretto $\text{♩} = 132$

Flute

Oboe

Timpani/Harp

Violoncello

Violone

poco t

poco legato

simile

1. o sib. do timbale é o complemento do grupo que precedeu

beni legato

Atenção a volume II

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The score is written on ten staves. The first three staves (Flute 1, Flute 2, and Oboe) contain melodic lines with various notes and rests. The fourth staff (Clarinet) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The fifth staff (Violin 1) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The sixth staff (Violin 2) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The seventh staff (Viola) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The eighth staff (Cello) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The ninth staff (Double Bass) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The tenth staff (Conductor) has a melodic line starting in measure 3. The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf* and *unus*.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. The score is written on ten staves. The first three staves (Flute 1, Flute 2, and Oboe) contain melodic lines with various notes and rests. The fourth staff (Clarinet) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The fifth staff (Violin 1) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The sixth staff (Violin 2) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The seventh staff (Viola) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The eighth staff (Cello) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The ninth staff (Double Bass) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The tenth staff (Conductor) has a melodic line starting in measure 5. The score includes dynamic markings such as *mf* and *unus*.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The score includes staves for Flute, Oboe, Clarinet, Bassoon, Violin, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. Dynamics include "cresc. poco", "mf", "p", "f", "cresc.", "poco cresc.", "simile", "solo", "tutti", and "mf".

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. The score continues with the same instruments. Dynamics include "simile", "poco cresc.", "cresc.", "mf", "p", "f", "cresc.", "poco cresc.", "simile", "solo", "tutti", and "mf".

Handwritten musical score for "L'Espresso" by Luciano Berio. The score is written on ten staves, featuring various instruments including strings, woodwinds, brass, and voice. The notation includes complex rhythmic patterns, dynamic markings (mp, mf, p, f, cresc., decresc.), and performance instructions like "legato", "tutti", and "tacet Flautino". The score is in G major and 4/4 time.

Handwritten musical score for the first system, measures 1-4. The score includes parts for Flute, Clarinet, Bassoon, Oboe, Violin, Viola, and Cello/Double Bass. Dynamics include piano, forte, and marcato.

Handwritten musical score for the second system, measures 5-8. The score continues with the same instruments. Dynamics include piano, forte, and marcato.

Tempo 1^o

mf cresc

f

mf

piu f, liberamente

mf

piu lento

mf

dim.

p suado, dim.

dim

evaporando-se

FIM

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