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‘Simulando assim a cópula normal’. Sapphists, Tribades, Fricatrixes and Lesbians: Between biomedical taxonomical categories and identity in Portugal (1895-1930)

Richard Cleminson (University of Leeds) & Francisco Molina Artaloytia (UNED)

This co-authored article analyses the work of a number of sexual scientists and legal experts in Portugal at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in respect of their attempts to classify and investigate female homosexuality in Portugal. Building on work already published by the two authors on the subject of Egas Moniz’s ideas on male homosexuality, this article considers the sexological discourse on lesbians and their presence in Portuguese society in the first half of the twentieth century through a close textual analysis of the work of Moniz and that of other authors. The differences and similarities between Portuguese specialists’ work and their European counterparts forms a key aspect of this work. In this way, a contribution is made to the history of sexuality in Portugal and the framing of Portuguese discourses on lesbianism within broader European expert fields.

Keywords: Portugal, lesbianism, history of sexuality, history of sexual science

**Introduction: Lesbian studies and the history of the sexual sciences in Portugal**

Three main tendencies in recent and current historical work on same-sex sexuality can be discerned. First, an on-going process of historicization of the categories gay, homosexual, lesbian, heterosexual and others, whereby these subjective positions, the result of the interaction between legal, scientific, political and personal discourses and practices, have been understood in the context of their times rather than read backwards into the past. This historicist approach has been informed by a debate on so-called essentialism and social constructionism. While the first posits a more enduring trans-historical identity or classification of the ‘homosexual’, the second emphasises discontinuity and specificity of meaning for different categorizations such as the ‘sodomite’, ‘invert’, ‘homosexual’ and ‘gay’. In those countries where the debate has been enduring, it is primarily the social constructionist position that is now predominant. In other countries, the debate has hardly begun.

Second, within studies of same-sex sexuality a significant tendency has been the analysis of this phenomenon within the scientific disciplines, whether psychiatry, legal medicine or sexology, that is, the focus has been on the ‘creation’ of a field that was directly concerned with the ‘causes’ and the solutions for same-sex activity. This field often crossed over with and fed on broader political, social and educational discourses that viewed homosexuality as problematical in some way, whether as a cause of decadence, effeminacy in the male case, an attack on the nation or a perversion to be prevented in childhood and adolescence. Third, there has been a complementary set of analyses that have looked at the lifestyles and self-identification of those that understood themselves to be ‘queer’, either by drawing on some of the sources mentioned above or through diaries, testimonies or other personal and public manifestations.

These three tendencies in the history of same-sex sexuality often overlap, particularly in those countries where the history of sexuality has been evolving over decades. In this sense, attempts have been made to understand the relationality between, for example, the construction of a medico-legal

focus on same-sex sexuality and the individuals that live these experiences (Hacking 1992). The result has been to question the notion that it is the sciences that make up the people whose activities are analysed; instead, more recent work has emphasized the dynamic interaction between 'subjects' and the expert fields of psychiatry and sexology (Oosterhuis 2000). In the case to be considered here, Portugal, there is no substantial body of work on any of these aspects, although important contributions do exist that touch on related issues (Gameiro 1998; Moita 2001). In this article, we wish to make a contribution especially to the second tendency (the history of the science of sexuality), while on the way making some suggestions for a broader history of sexuality in Portugal, to which this monograph of the *International Journal of Iberian Studies* is dedicated. The lack of work in Portugal is particularly evident in the historicization of heterosexuality, masculinity and femininity but is also the case for lesbianism. We are therefore still some way from detailed and suggestive accounts made for other countries such as those of Lillian Faderman (1981), Bernadette de Brooten (1996) and Adrienne Rich (1980) and still some way from the queer theory that emerged in the 1990s that sought to deconstruct essential historical accounts and representations of subjectivity (De Lauretis 1991; Penn 1995) or from consolidating a field of 'lesbian studies' (Wilton 1995). The usefulness or otherwise of employing theories elaborated under other circumstances and applying them to Portugal has, on the other hand, been explored in studies on LGBT realities in Portugal (Cascais 2004) and there has been productive work on the current situation of lesbians and male homosexuals in Portugal in current times. Despite this, the historical reach of this work is mainly limited to the last thirty or forty years (Almeida 2010; Brandão 2008; Santos 2006).

Other recent work appears to reject as irrelevant the insights possibly to be gained from engagement with the above debates. The recent *Filhas de Safo* by Paulo Drummond Braga (2011) is extensive in its historical reach and documentation from the thirteenth to the twentieth century, tracing the shift from conceptions of sin to crime to illness, but tends to collapse identity and acts across historical time. The author dismisses the kinds of historiographical questions tried and tested in other scenarios early on in the book: 'debates que considero pura e simplesmente estéreis, como o de saber se se incorre ou não em anacronismo ao utilizar termos como homossexualidade ou lesbianismo, uma vez que este só surgiu no século XVI e aquele em oitocentos' (Braga 2011: 12). Such a perspective does not, however, impede the author from drawing on the work of Alison Oram and Annemarie Turnbull, *The Lesbian History Sourcebook* to assert that, like these authors and the female subjects they study, he will endeavour to 'understand their desires, behaviour and experiences within the social context of their own times' and the language and identities available at that time (Oram and Turnbull 2001: 1-2).

Taking into account these considerations and limitations within the field, there is still a need to place the development of the Portuguese biomedical or sexological fields of the early twentieth century within its own context and within a more extensive European comparative analysis.<sup>1</sup> As a contribution to this question, this article sets out to provide a detailed exploration of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century context of medico-legal, sexological and biomedical research into lesbianism in

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<sup>1</sup> The study by Brandão (2010), although analysing some of the texts we focus on here, is more devoted to the question of gender in lesbian representations and relations than a reconstruction of the shift from sodomite to lesbian by means of a detailed analysis of the sexual sciences. The excellent work by Robert Howes (2001a, 2001b, 2002) provides a brief discussion of sexological knowledge and the literary and social context of homosexuality. Our previous study, dedicated to the question of male homosexuality, addresses this question (Cleminson and Molina Artaloytia 2012).

Portugal. Integral to this task is the placing of Portuguese sexual science within the wider framework of European knowledge. While not assuming that Portuguese sexual science merely acted as a passive reproducer of European (especially German and French) paradigms, the dissemination of such knowledge amongst Portuguese practitioners and specialists is an important question allowing us to see what routes (linguistic, geographical and cultural) such diffusion took as well as the particular interpretations that resulted from this transfer. In order to achieve these aims, we focus principally on five works that form major contributions to Portuguese sexual science over the years 1895-1930. These works are *A Inversão Sexual* by Adelino Silva (1895), *Perversão sexual*, by Albano Pereira dos Santos (1903), *A Vida Sexual*, by the doctor and future neurosurgeon Egas Moniz (1901/1928), *Amor Sáfico e Socrático* by the medico-legal doctor Arlindo Camilo Monteiro (1922), and 'Evolução da Pederastia e do Lesbismo na Europa' by Asdrúbal António D'Aguiar (1926), an extensive study produced under the auspices of the Lisbon Institute of Legal Medicine. Of these five, the works by Moniz, Monteiro and D'Aguiar are focused upon in detail as productions clearly of the twentieth century in respect of their taxonomical complexity, their engagement with matters pertaining to legal questions and their evident awareness of Portuguese lesbianism of the time.<sup>2</sup> While the emphasis in our analysis is on how psychiatry, sexology and legal medicine represented same-sex sexuality, we believe that these works, filtered though they were through scientific and usually repressive and heteronormative frameworks, do allow us to envision historical lesbian presence and, to some degree, lesbian experience. While a discussion of this particular aspect of lesbian history – lesbian sub/cultures – is not the aim of this article, some brief remarks will be made that may orientate such a project in the future.

### **Late Nineteenth-Century Discourse on Lesbianism: Between *perversão sexual* and *inversão sexual***

In order to contextualise the studies by influential Portuguese medical and legal figures such as Camilo Monteiro and Egas Moniz, some words are required on the preceding production of scientific knowledge on lesbianism in Portugal. The ground-breaking and overtly modern book on 'sexual inversion' by Adelino Silva ('A aberração contra natureza é tão velha como a humanidade, o que não é velho, é o estudo feito sobre as suas modalidades') (Silva 1895: 42), was replete with the new terms employed to describe 'homosexuality' and was keen to acknowledge that studies of this variety had become focused on the individuals perpetrating such acts rather than simply the acts themselves, an aspect that the French medico-legal expert Ambroise Tardieu had signalled in the 1860s (Tardieu 1863). In a flourish, Silva confirmed the current historiographical emphasis on the late nineteenth century as the moment of epistemological change in this sense. He wrote: 'Antigamente estudava-se a anomalia independentemente dos individuos que eram atacados e, todos os casos que se encontrassem, entravam nos dominios da pederastia e do tribadismo' (Silva 1895: 42). Silva proceeds to classify male and female homosexuality in accordance with Charcot and Magnan's designation of 'sexual inversion', although other classificatory systems are employed simultaneously despite his insistence on the need for a clear set of terminology in legal medicine. Finally, Silva settles for the

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<sup>2</sup> Moita (2001: 82-84; 88) discusses these authors and most of the works we address here but from a more general perspective on the history of pathologizing discourses on homosexuality in Europe and America, their influence on the therapeutic profession and the concomitant internalization of such discourses by LGBT people.

understanding that sexual inversion in men is called Uranism and in women is called Lesbianism (Silva 1895: 158-159).

Silva argues that sexual inversion can be divided into congenital and acquired varieties, the former stemming from childhood and arising from some kind of inherited predisposition that may or may not be triggered in later life and acquired inversion that develops in adulthood. The causes of inversion are either objective, coming from the social sphere, or subjective, from the individual make-up or circumstances and the author admits that it is possible that acquired inversion remains latent and only appears later in life. Even so, acquired sexual inversion is, in Silva's view, extremely rare. In the case of lesbian women, acquired sexual inversion is always preceded by sexual desire for a woman (Silva 1895: 221-226). Clearly, for Silva, sexual inversion amongst men and women is a condition in most cases that requires the appropriate stimulus that either works on something inherited as congenital or something that results from the environment. Such aetiology also extends to those cases of acquired inversion, which are derived from some kind of nervous predisposition: 'É certo que em todos os casos d'uranismo, quer se trate d'uma perversão adquirida ou congenital, encontra-se sempre uma hereditariedade muito accusada. Quasi todos os auctores estão d'accordo sobre este ponto, apenas Westphall [sic] se pronuncia pela conveniência de saber-se se não existirá antes um estado neuro ou psychopathico provocado por uma hereditariedade nervosa muito carregada' (Silva 1895: 227). Given such a pathological state and despite society's disgust, it was the task of the medical professional to offer the means to cure sexual inverts of their 'defect' and thus alleviate their misfortune (Silva 1895: 188).

Although Silva's analysis leaned towards a strong hereditarian cause for sexual inversion, with little terrain ceded for acquired inversion, the discussion both in Portugal and further afield continued to weigh up the relative influence of these two sets of causes. In this sense, the later work by Pereira dos Santos (1903) tended to emphasise the *perversion* of the sexual instinct, rather than its *inversion*. An extensive set of causes were outlined by Pereira under-pinning the supposedly acquired, 'vicious' nature of same-sex desire.

Albano Pereira dos Santos did admit, however, following Casper and others, that perversion could be either congenital or acquired (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 14). The ideas presented by Pereira dos Santos were, therefore, doubly positioned between two paradigms: between the causation of deviations of the sexual instinct through either hereditary or environmental factors and between older moral concepts of perversion and newer psychiatric and sexological frames. In respect of the first of these paradigms, he admitted that in the case of acquisition, a morbid constitution was required for the deviation to take hold. Such a paradigm was not, as histories of European sexual sciences have shown, exceptional in any way. Less sophisticated but adhering broadly to interpretations elaborated by international specialists such as Krafft-Ebing and Tarnowsky (both were referred to in the text), Albano dedicated his thesis to three main areas of perversion: heterosexual, homosexual and what he termed asexual. In the first of these, sadism, masochism, necrophilia and what Egas Moniz had called 'devassidões' were included (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 42).<sup>3</sup> The second category, homosexual perversion, encapsulated Uranism, Sapphism and Tribadism (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 44-46). The last category, covering asexuality, focused on fetishism, exhibitionism, bestiality, onanism and what the author termed 'erectomania' (what other authors termed erotomania). Although such a taxonomy

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<sup>3</sup> This category included practices such as cunnilingus, oral coitus, sex with children and sex *in vaso indebito*.

suggests that, for example, homosexual sadism was not possible, in fact Albano pointed out that a certain number of intermediary or transitional forms between the groups was possible (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 17).

In his discussion of homosexual perversion, Pereira dos Santos defined this as 'inversion', with different labels according to the sex of the protagonist and different aetiologies along the hereditary/acquired line of causality: 'A homo-sexualidade toma no homem o nome especial de *uranismo* e na mulher as designações de *saphismo* e de *tribadismo*, conforme o modo pelo qual se satisfaz a perversão. A inversão observa-se nos casos de degenerescência por herança, no decorrer d'algumas doenças mentaes e, ainda algumas vezes, como um vicio adquirido' (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 48). Among these various aetiological and taxonomical systems, the author introduced a further possible cause, drawing on much older paradigms which posited somatic confusion between male and female as a cause of homosexuality. Inversion was also deemed to be a historical phenomenon, having existed in all eras and in different parts of the world. In most cases, the practitioner was not to be blamed (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 48).

The section specifically on female homosexuality argued that lesbianism could be traced back to Sappho. The perversion is seen by Pereira dos Santos to be rooted firmly in inherited dispositions and psychological causes rather than any vices of conformation (malformations) of the genital organs; any over-development of the clitoris is understood to result from the homosexual practices themselves (Pereira dos Santos 1903: 63-64). Pereira dos Santos also advanced a common description of what we might now term gender deviance: female inverts played masculine games when children; as adults they often dressed in masculine attire. Often, homosexuality was not incompatible with heterosexual relations. In terms of sexual practices, Pereira dos Santos defined tribadism as the friction of the sexual parts and Sapphism as oral onanism. Sadism and masochism could also accompany female sexual inversion.

The work by Pereira dos Santos is one of very few modern sexological accounts in Portugal to devote some space to the question of female homosexuality. Its theoretical apparatus is eclectic. Wavering between explanations focusing on hereditary and acquired causes, it utilises numerous taxonomies (inversion, perversion, Sapphism, tribadism) and in its use of 'homo-sexuality' Pereira dos Santos is at the forefront of the new terminologies being adopted.<sup>4</sup> Pereira dos Santos was not, however, the only figure to be in the vanguard of the new sexual knowledge that was to inhabit Europe. The attention paid to the neurological aspects of the work of future Nobel Prize winner Egas Moniz, *A Vida Sexual*, has over-shadowed the sexological aspects of this work.<sup>5</sup> It is the second part of *A Vida Sexual* that most interests us here. The first part, devoted to discussing the physiology of the sexual organs, puberty, menstruation and the menopause, the sexual instinct, conception, heredity, 'artificial sterility' in women and sexual hygiene was largely a biological exposition. Those parts that strayed into other territory, such as the more explicit description of the sexual act (with some sections in Latin) and, in particular, the section on 'artificial sterility' (contraception) raised some controversy in academic and

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<sup>4</sup> In this sense, it is worth noting that one of the first documents, if not the first, to use the term 'homosexuality' in neighbouring Spain dates from 1903. See Bravo y Moreno (1903, 1904).

<sup>5</sup> The work by Egas Moniz was originally published as *A Vida Sexual - Fisiologia* in 1901 as his thesis. The revised version incorporated a second part, *Patologia*, and the combined work ran to nineteen editions. His recent biographer, João Lobo Antunes, devotes just a few pages to this work in his book (Lobo Antunes 2011: 52-55) but notes (p. 54) that by the 1927 edition, 29,000 copies of the book had been sold.

medical circles at the time. Such topics would remain part of Egas' repertoire for some time to come alongside his overwhelming interest in neuroscience (Lobo Antunes 2011: 52-55; Cleminson and Souto Miranda 2012).

The second part of *A Vida Sexual* developed notions of sexual pathology to include not only its 'inverted' expression, as Silva had done, but extended over a greater variety of sexual desires and practices as Pereira dos Santos would do in 1903. As such, the 'sexual perversions' included sexual neuroses, morbid heterosexuality, homosexuality, 'para-sexuality', moral perversions and the sexual life of the mentally ill or impaired. Given such terminology, it is clear that one of the major referents of Egas' work was *Psychopathia Sexualis* by Von Krafft-Ebing, a psychiatrist who is cited extensively in the pages of *A Vida Sexual*. As is to be expected in an early twentieth-century work such as *A Vida Sexual*, the governing framework was faithful to a concept of the sexual instinct as heterosexual and dedicated to the reproduction of the species, whereby the individual was conceived as a machine to achieve the perpetuation of the species: 'Essa fôrça que nos leva à reprodução chama-se, nas espécies superiores, *instinto sexual*' (Moniz 2009: 101). In human kind, masturbation, a natural phenomenon, would be followed by the desire for copulation with a member of the other sex, as the individual passes from adolescence to adulthood, although men and women would experience such changes differently (Moniz 2009: 114-118). Moniz viewed the sexual instinct as modifiable, however, not only as a result of physical factors (such as castration) and psychological factors (the desire for love), but also as a result of the influence of physical beauty, prudishness and parental authority (Moniz 2009: 120, 128, 142). Such a basis for human sexuality – its naturalness – together with the influences provided by the social milieu and civilization, would explain heterosexuality and its morbid or pathological derivations. We now turn to lesbianism in the work of Egas Moniz.

Moniz, drawing on a wide selection of foreign authors such as Hoessli, Krafft-Ebing, Ulrichs, Moll and Mauriac, advocated the use of the term homosexuality as synonymous with sexual inversion (Moniz 2009: 417). Homosexuality, despite his over-arching heterosexual framework, was conceptualised as fundamentally natural, if deviated, and was described in moderately neutral terms: 'Há homens que só se excitam genèsicamente com a aproximação de outros homens, e há mulheres que só experimentam desejos sexuais quando se aproximam de outras mulheres' (Moniz 2009: 417). With respect to the terminology employed for female homosexuality, Egas remarked that there was an abundance of terms, none of which fully designated all its dimensions. Sapphism ('safismo') only described one group of practices, notably the stimulation of the clitoris with the mouth (Egas does not employ the term cunnilingus). Lesbianism ('lesbismo'), deriving from the inhabitants of the island Lesbos, described oral and manual masturbation. Tribadism ('tribadismo'), from the Greek τριβω, to rub, described a form of coitus between women with especially long clitorises. Latin gave the names *fitrices* and *subigatrices* to these women. Lately, Moniz observed, the generic term had become tribadism to describe all these practices (Moniz 2009: 419). Moniz favoured the terms lesbianism and tribadism over 'female uranism'. It was specifically the tribades, however, that would possess larger clitorises than normal women, enabling them to mimic 'proper' heterosexual relations between a man and a woman. This 'falsification', rooted in the old category of the tribade, allowed for the 'simulation' of 'normal copulation' (Moniz 2009: 419).

After accepting the historical nature of homosexuality from the 'mais remotas eras' (Moniz 2009: 421) and in a discussion that focused primarily on male homosexuality for several pages, Moniz developed further his analysis of lesbianism (Moniz 2009: 460-469). Although love between women, Moniz

remarked, had existed from the earliest times, Greek and Roman societies being clear examples, there were fewer cases of tribadism known about than cases of uranism. This was partly due to social constraints and partly due to women's supposed nature: 'a vida da mulher, por mais que pretendamos observá-la, foge à nossa observação, quer pelas conveniências sociais, quer ainda pela falta de sinceridade nas suas confidências sôbre tais assuntos' (Moniz 2009: 460-461). Lesbianism was common in the medieval period in Germany, and in other countries such as France, England and Portugal, especially where mysticism and the existence of convents fomented such practices. In current times, tribadism was common in large European cities and was most common in prostitution circles and amongst actresses, although 'sexual inverts' could also be married women (Moniz 2009: 461).<sup>6</sup> The strictures of the Mediterranean model of active and passive sexuality were not followed by these women, as roles were often swapped. Anatomically, there was nothing special about lesbians, and women with a lot of facial hair were not necessarily predisposed towards inversion.

In a further move towards the dissociation between lesbianism and what might now be termed 'gender deviance', Moniz refused to qualify the common desire in childhood of lesbian women to play boys' games as a definitive sign of future orientation. The author remarked that he had known women who were sexually 'normal' but who displayed these tendencies. Another tribade who liked to take the 'passive' role in intercourse was perhaps more masculine-looking than her 'active' partner (Moniz 2009: 462). The use of the clothes of the other sex, smoking, and the ability to build machines were, however, tribade traits and underlying the lesbian mentally was the desire to be the other sex: 'ela e o uranista completar-se-iam operando uma troca de órgãos sexuais', there being the soul of a man within (Moniz 2009: 463). Such ideas were the typical fare of the sexual psychiatrists and sexologists of the period. Mixing personal case histories that Moniz presumably came across as a young doctor, those taken from specialist volumes and those derived from literature (Zola is often quoted), he built up a picture of a perverse but not generally fundamentally vicious (in both senses of the word) group of women. On occasion, lesbians were compared to male homosexuals or Uranians, and even though Moniz argued that some characteristics were shared between the two groups, such as masochistic or sadistic tendencies (Moniz 2009: 466), the lesbian was deemed to be distinct from the male Uranian.

Where Egas Moniz did coincide with other European commentators was on the supposed prevalence of lesbians in the houses of prostitution. Moniz noted that at least since the work of Parent-Duchâtelet, *De la prostitution dans la ville de Paris* (1857) such an association had existed. Moniz's explanation followed that of other analysts: the fact that prostitutes lived in such houses derived from the desire to live together for mutual support (Moniz 2009: 468). Moniz gave numerous examples, but unfortunately none from Portugal. Although he provided some personal case studies, these were more anecdotal than those provided in his study of male homosexuality and most were simply reproduced from other sources, including one from Adelino Silva's book, curiously dated by Moniz at 1869 (Moniz 2009: 466, n. 2).

Perhaps of greater interest still is the section on the aetiology and pathogenic causes of homosexuality. While this section was not specific to lesbianism and addressed mainly male homosexuality, Moniz coincided with some European thinkers by conceding importance to heredity, predisposition and social causes. Perhaps more unusually, he inclined towards the power of the environment and

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<sup>6</sup> Moniz appears to have derived such data from Coffignon, who, he notes (Moniz 2009: 461, note 1) places aristocratic lesbians as the second most populous group behind prostitutes.



education, especially in the production of the perversions. By this, he meant that a perverse sexual life could lead to a life of entrenched homosexuality: ‘Se é certo que as taras hereditárias muito conseguem do indivíduo sôbre que pesam, não é menos certo que o contágio educativo não é menos importante. A homossexualidade tem tido épocas de maior e menor desenvolvimento e, por mais que queiramos recorrer à distinção, por vezes artificiosa, de perversão e perversidade, é fora de dúvida que muitos invertidos deixariam de o ser, se não tivessem sido contagiados e influenciados pelo meio’ (Moniz 2009: 470).

While the consequences of male homosexuality in terms of pathological anatomy could be serious, for Sapphists these were less so, but still involved the lengthening of the clitoris and perhaps some reddening of the genital area. Syphilis was a possibility, through buccal transmission, but such a correlation had not been proven (Moniz 2009: 489-491). Finally, as in the case of male homosexuality, Moniz believed that a cure was possible. He did not thus accept Krafft-Ebing’s distinction between perversion and perversity, whereby the first would be an illness and the second a vice (Moniz 2009: 491). Just as Silva had noted, it was the duty of the doctor to cure all illnesses and homosexuality fell into this category. The views of Egas Moniz, from a more physiological and biological perspective, with shades of the new sexual psychiatry, were to be much more liberal than those emerging from the medico-legal profession. We now turn to the work of two figures working in this area - Arlindo Camilo Monteiro and Asdrúbal D’Aguiar.

Arlindo Camilo Monteiro wrote the extensive monograph *Amor Sáfico e Socratico* on homosexuality from a perspective that was a combination of cultural, sexological and forensic elements; it was published by the Legal Institute of Medicine of Lisbon in 1922. In the opening chapters Monteiro carried out a historical and geographical analysis of homoerotic practices. He compiled general data and anecdotes by country and considered the relations between public and private. His account was similar to those that appeared in several countries on the subject of the so-called ‘bad life’ (‘mala vida’ in the Spanish, which appears to have had no direct Portuguese equivalent) or set of quasi-criminal or morally ‘dubious’ activities (Cleminson and Fuentes Peris 2009) and Monteiro’s work contained detailed references to the presence of ‘sexual dissidents’ within art and literature. This ethnographic overview prevailed in the first part of the work. The third chapter of the second part of the volume dealt with female homosexuality and offered new perspectives on the study of homosexualities in Iberia in particular and Europe more generally.

The ‘cultural’ aspects of his work paid testament to a common phenomenon in the historiography of homoeroticism: the scarcity of cases of, and literature on, female homosexuality. Lesbian love was viewed as less virulent, and where it was widespread this was understood to be due more to circumstantial influences than to any supposed ‘essence’ of the participants. Thus Monteiro cited work by Havelock Ellis on the apparent ability of English girls to oscillate easily between lesbian love and ‘normal’ love (Monteiro 1922: 84).<sup>7</sup> This sociological universality can be seen in other passages of the work, for example, in the section on Spain, where the phenomenon is linked to prison life. Here, Monteiro cited the Spanish criminologist Rafael Salillas who compared the female prison to a tribade-producing region, some kind of abhorrent Lesbos. Together with this criminological discourse, Monteiro’s work figured numerous standard classifications of lesbianism and homosexuality, namely

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<sup>7</sup> Monteiro cited the French translation of volume two of Ellis’ *Studies on the Psychology of Sex* (1917) (*Études de Psychologie Sexuelle. II. L’ Inversion Sexuelle*, pp.32-33).

active and passive, where the former referred to the energetic and masculine, and the latter, to docility and subservience with respect to the demands of the former (Monteiro 1922: 119-121).

Later chapters are devoted to the existence of cases of lesbianism in Portugal itself. Of interest is the characterisation of female sodomy (as *pedicatio*)<sup>8</sup> in some colonial regions. Other authors, including Father Sinistrati, referred to the practice and to the use of dildos in homoerotic acts, whereas in Monteiro's account they are treated more generally as evidence of perversion.<sup>9</sup> This section echoes the studies by Ferraz de Macedo (Monteiro 1922: 188) and it is this author that is quoted by Monteiro when describing lesbians: 'transitarem emproadas como as gondolas de Veneza, vaporizando vaidade por todos os poros da pele fedeintosas pelas essencias, proferiendo em cada phrase tres asneiras, em cada pensamento uma tolice'.

After providing a more or less detailed history of customs related to masculine and feminine homoeroticism, Monteiro moves on to a more sexological analysis. Monteiro, like the Uruguayan author Alberto Nin Frías, whose book has some similarities to Monteiro's, was familiar with the pioneers of homosexual literature (Nin Frías 1933). In the first chapter of *Amor Sáfico e Socratico* there is a proliferation of sexological terminology as used at the time by other Portuguese writers such as Adelino Silva and Egas Moniz. Monteiro stressed the importance of avoiding the use of narrow terms to describe general phenomena and employed a variety of terms to describe 'lesbianism', including tribadism, female uranism and female homosexuality, arguing that sexual inversion could manifest itself in both sexes (Monteiro 1922: 221). He was, nevertheless, most precise in explaining the semantics of Sapphic love and Sapphism in relation to implicit or real sexual practices. These practices were made explicit by his referral to tribadism (frottage) and in relation to oral sex (*cunnilingus*), treated as *cunnilinctas* for the passive partner and *culinctarias*, *cunnilinctoras* or *cunnilingiarias* for the active partner (Monteiro 1922: 223). The typologies identified were an attempt at conceptual fixing that was, however, difficult to sustain, as we will see.

Monteiro, like Silva and others who worked in this field, often mixed more contemporary understandings of lesbianism with those arising from much older interpretations. For example, in contrast to the more biologically-oriented explanations of delinquency that reached their zenith in the previous century (Mollo 2012), Monteiro employed a psychologically-oriented approach that also drew on the corrective pedagogical premises of 'regenerationist' thought prevalent at the time in Portugal which sought to sweep away the anachronistic past and bring in the modernized new (Birmingham 2003: 139-141).

The newer understandings were positioned alongside more classical ideas in sexology, such as female fragility, the notion of the impudent, uncontrollable sexual dissident, the Mediterranean masculinisation of the lesbian defined by active and passive roles (Cleminson and Vázquez García 2007: 9). A range of social explanations for lesbianism were advanced. Monteiro viewed lesbianism, partially at least, as the result of an exclusive relationship with the father and an education that was conducive towards an outpouring of virile energy. 'Future uranists' preferred boys' sports, clothes and school subjects (sciences and humanities) and even strong flavours at mealtimes. Socialisation and physical contact between women led to a Sapphic voluptuousness and extremes of exaltation that caused

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<sup>8</sup> This should be understood as 'anal sex'. On *pedicatio*, see Monteiro (1922: 146).

<sup>9</sup> A general analysis of the view of Sinistrati can be found in Chamoza Cantudo (2008).

jealousy and rivalry among males. On other occasions the lesbian aberration was fostered by a pseudo-literary passion or an expression of sentimentalism between women.

On the one hand, incipient psychoanalysis or at least dream analysis was drawn upon in Monteiro's account. If the dreams of lesbians were examined, Monteiro argued, it would be possible to see that masculine roles were involved. There was an emphasis on the desire to convert themselves (the Romeos) into seducers of the loved ones (the Juliets). This oneiric lack of inhibition permitted the emergence of profound feelings. On the other hand, there was also a physiological alteration that took place in female uranists as a result of their sexual practice and this not only delayed menstruation but also presented other irregularities. This eccentric physiology, as other authors had suggested (for example, Pereira dos Santos but not Moniz), was often accompanied by a suspect anatomy. The most seductive curves of a woman hardened into strong, masculine edges, reaching their maximum expression in the *virago*.

However – and herein one of the many 'modern' aspects of Monteiro's account – these altered bodies and bodily functions presented numerous exceptions. There were those with no variation from the norm and some androgynous girls even went on to become heterosexual. A deviant anatomy did not necessarily signify non-heterosexual desire. Although Monteiro developed a notion of heterosexuality (and employed this term), his was a flexible approach that recognised the fragility of the identity that was being made up at the time of writing. While 'o hetero-sexual puro surge, sem mescla de tendência ou impulso aberrante, como termo definido e íntegro da evolução biológica, melhor adaptado às funções reprodutoras e às leis naturais e constituindo, não um caso esporádico desta, mas sim a sua resultante lógica, estável e genérica' (Monteiro 1922: 390), variants were not pathologised but written into a naturalised process. In this way, homosexuality and bisexuality were exceptions that had fallen by the wayside of a biological and teleological evolutionary process but still had a 'right' to exist: 'o hetero-sexual puro, como elemento harmónico, mantendo equilíbrio, a coordenação, a solidariedade associativa, sinérgica e perfeita de órgãos, tendências e funções, será no processo evolutivo a regra de que o homo-sexual e o bi-sexual constituirão as excepções' (Monteiro 1922: 390). Such attempts to fix 'sexual orientation' were inherently difficult and experts themselves acknowledged not only their fragility but also the 'naturalness' of what did not correspond to the norm (Katz 2005). Monteiro was no exception.

There were other psychological and social aspects to be taken into account. Physical appearance could alter relations with the other sex. Here, Monteiro pointed out, an evolutionary psychological perspective was necessary. It was permissible for lesbians to share an affinity for the games and company of boys, as long as they operated in the opposite realm when they reached puberty. In youth they could socialise with boys but only if they were viewed as objects of desire by boys (Monteiro 1922: 264). Monteiro proposed that this unusual way of relating to the other sex could have come about as a result of feminist discourse on women's rights. Feminists had their own internal conflict about these rights. For Monteiro there was a strong relation between lesbianism and feminism. Alongside other authors he denounced the presence of women in those liberal professions 'meant' for men (such as medicine and pharmacy). In this context, the masculinisation of women and the feminisation of men were seen as symptoms of decadence at odds with a conservative vision of society.

The two Mediterranean models of lesbianism, masculine and feminine, were discussed by Monteiro through two rare examples from Portugal (Monteiro 1922: 266ff). One woman demonstrated a strong

masculine character, and the other a model of femininity. The bravery of the first contrasted with the nervous acquiescence of her companion. Dress, manner and taste completed the picture. In this sense, the so-called 'butch' had much in common with the male 'fairy' (Chauncey 1995; Munt 1998). In the figure of the butch there was a double challenge: not only was she violating the sexual regime of normality, what she offered was a challenge to masculinity as did the fairy as well as to the established model of femininity. In addition, the feminine companion had frustrated 'heterosexual' antecedents, being divorced and therefore she represented a common theme in the sociocultural imagination of the day about female homosexuality. This interpretation led Monteiro to embark upon an exhaustive report about lesbianism, peppered with some anecdotes and other comments referring to the general health of women. Androphobia or '*horror sexus alterius*' prevailed in the cases discussed. He also commented on a case reported by Alexandre Morgado (Monteiro 1922: 270) of a young woman surprised in suspicious activity with her female friends and the difficulty she had in suppressing her enjoyment of the situation. Many such women married under familial pressure. Following Iwan Bloch, Monteiro explained that on other occasions androphobia was so marked that the rejection of the opposite sex was not as painful for these women as it was for male homosexuals on account of the women's imaginative capacity that allowed them to continue in 'normal' sexual relations. Embraces and kisses, among other sexual caresses, would provoke a strong rejection for these women, while the coital act would allow them to fantasise about their ideal female lover. However, after sex with men they felt irritable and sleepless. The classic roles of a virilised seductress and a weak, female victim were thus present in Monteiro's work. These two roles provided an illustration, acknowledged by Monteiro himself, of the difficulties encountered in studying this question among so much hypocrisy, ignorance and so few attempts at researching the issue from a scientific perspective. In Portugal women rarely consulted doctors about sexual matters (Monteiro 1922: 274). Monteiro assured his reader that there was an abundance of lesbian behaviour in the world of prostitution, especially when it was linked to sadomasochism (Monteiro 1922: 277).

In respect of actual sexual practices, following Hirschfield, Monteiro divided these in the following way:

- a) Digitario (the use of fingers)
- b) Linctio (oral)
- c) Apressio (femoral)
- d) Olisbismus (membral)

A significant 40% of women showed a preference for digital acts and the same percentage for oral practices, while tribadism ('femuração') was preferred by 12%, leaving 8% opting for 'membral' sex. Lacking a member, they asked if one could be obtained through a surgical operation. Active and passive roles were chosen equally (50% each). Classified sexual tendencies included those who preferred virgins (*partenófilas*), adult women (*ginecófilas*), pubescent (*korófilas*) or elderly women (*graófilas*). Some 5% opted for each of these tendencies (Monteiro 1922: 284).

In relation to sexual preference couples were divided into homophiles (preferring other homosexual women), alophiles (preferring heterosexual women) or antiphiles (those who preferred bisexuals). They were evenly divided (33%) in Monteiro's view. As for physical appearance, there was no evidence that a masculine appearance was necessary in order to be classified as a lesbian, in contrast to all the space dedicated in Monteiro's work and in other sexological literature asserting such a linkage. Much attention, however, was paid to psychological aspects. But here again, the relative distribution of

viruloid and feminoid aspects was more or less even across the types. In a similar way to male homosexuality, they were divided into *viris* (the *virago*), who showed male tendencies (and could also show 'normal' preferences) and *feminis*, who displayed feminine characteristics.

In addition to these more socio-psychological questions and attempts at categorization, Monteiro presented data on the genitalia of lesbian women. The studies he drew on emphasised the internal organs in general and what Monteiro classed as a 'resistant' hymen. This resistant hymen may have been related to the physiological alterations outlined earlier. Monteiro reflected on debates on the form and atrophy of the clitoris and the possibility that these were the products of fantasy was considered. Physical anomalies of this type had been studied by Nunes Bomfim (1889) in the previous century.

A final aspect of Monteiro's work is worthy of mention. Although still largely derivative of broader existing European work on same-sex sexuality, Monteiro did advance some daring explanations of the 'origins' of homosexuality. Striking for its modernity, he came up with a kind of mathematical formula that could map the sexual make-up of a particular individual. Human beings were composed of different male and female characteristics. The male characteristics were designated by a, b, c and the female by a', b' and c', that is, in the ideal type, a kind of mirror image. Total attraction between the two sexes, male and female, was designated as a + a', physical attributes were described by b and b', respectively for male and female, and psychic characteristics, again respectively for the sexes, by c and c'. Any individual would be ranged on the scale of 0 to 1 for each of these qualities (n, n' and n'' in the formula) and his or her individual sexual proclivities could be calculated thus (Monteiro 1922: 384-386):

$$I = n.a + (1 - n).a' + n'.b + (1 - n').b' + n''.c + (1 - n'').c'$$

It is notable that such a formulation left ample room for a high degree of variability and a broad range of combinations, taking in multiple gradations along the physical and psychic scale. His schema despite this, as is to be expected for the period, was heavily imbued with naturalistic associations of heterosexuality as the default sexual expression: 'A hetero-sexualidade é a lei na natureza, a origem da vida, o fenómeno harmónico com esta, e por isso o mais avultado é o número de seres que a perfilham e lhe obedecem. A homo-sexualidade é a excepção, variante inútil, senão prejudicial à conservação da espécie, com que entra em conflito e oposição' (Monteiro 1922: 389).

Although notions of 'sexual intermediates' had been popular since at least Magnus Hirschfeld's detailed work, the work by Monteiro was indebted to one of the fathers of Portuguese psychiatry, Júlio de Matos. In turn, Matos echoed the theories on 'ultrasexuality' as elaborated by Eugenio Tanzi in his work on psychiatry. Matos recognised the ubiquity of homosexuality. Same-sex desire could, in addition, range across a variety of expressions: 'O grau de atracção é variavel, podendo ir desde o simples prazer da convivencia (uranismo casto) até aos contactos impuros da pederastia e do tribadismo, por exemplo' (Matos 1911: 521). For Matos male inverts with a feminoid form and female inverts with a masculinoid form existed (Matos 1911: 524; Tanzi 1911). These 'pure' versions of inverts would search for companions who displayed the 'opposite' traits, that is, those who were 'ultrasexual', that is hyper masculine or hyper feminine respectively (Matos 1911: 523-24). Despite this complex formula, which perhaps appeared on the face of it to be comprehending of the invert's situation, any humanistic acceptance of homosexuality was closed off by Monteiro as he cites Matos to confirm his

own disapproval. Homosexuality would constitute 'uma irreparavel anomalia, um desvio de evoluçã, uma verdadeira monstruosidade tributaria de factores endógenes' (Matos 1911: 522).

The classifications and observations made by Monteiro in his extensive study would be elaborated upon further by one of the principal figures of Portuguese forensic sexology, Dr. Asdrúbal d'Aguiar, whose output was extensive. D'Aguiar made a significant contribution to the forensic sciences in Portugal and homosexuality is treated extensively and exhaustively in his works. The available *scientia sexualis* was collected and systematised and D'Aguiar provided full details of the 'deviations' characteristic of female homosexuality.

The most extensive foray into the subject by D'Aguiar is his monographic issue of the journal of the archive of the University of Lisbon, the 1926 issue of which was authored entirely by D'Aguiar with the title 'Evoluçã do pederastia e lesbismo na Europa' (D'Aguiar 1926). This extraordinary three-hundred page work draws on D'Aguiar's previous material but develops greater depth and sophistication. This text simplifies some of the more arcane terminology in favour of employing the term lesbianism for all female homosexuality although a further distinction is made between Sapphism and tribadism. Where simplification of the overall practice of same-sex activity was gained, complexity is retained with respect to tribadism. Here 'clitorism' refers to a more voluptuous form of tribadism whereby the clitoris simulates a penis and is considered to be hypertrophic. A colourful case is cited which involved a woman who had recently copulated with her husband and was able to successfully inseminate her female partner afterwards (D'Aguiar 1926: 34). Again the active and passive polarisation in associated gender roles is presented. The imitation of the male extended to tattooing lovers' names on the body.

Passionate unions with teachers, fellow students and other girls were frequently established and seen as a factor in the genesis of lesbianism. Lesbians were more comfortable with fathers and brothers than with mothers and sisters in the family home. D'Aguiar viewed the brain as a masculine psychosexual centre, while the body was understood to be feminine. The socio-political projection of active partners made them avoid men in all spheres of life, not only the sexual, and led them to become feminist activists.

D'Aguiar established a direct relation between Sapphism and pseudo-homosexuality, acquired and depraved, and tribadism was treated as a more constitutive phenomenon, a true inversion: tribadists in his typology were the true homosexuals. The over-development of the clitoris was a recurring theme. Here D'Aguiar posited an interesting relation between 'nature' and 'nurture': the naturally large clitoris led to hyper-sexualisation, masculinisation and the desire to experience inverted practices, while on the other hand, the same perverted acts, particularly cunnilingus, could produce an enlargement of the same organ. This teleology functions as a prediction of conduct as much as a result of the conduct itself.

The question of the social impact of lesbianism on marriage is once again treated at length. Not only was an adulteress preferable to an adulterer, but men accepted the female lovers of their wives better than male heterosexual lovers. Between female lovers an exchange of glances, passionate romanticism and the caresses of the genuine homosexual could lead to the awakening of the sexual voluptuousness of a normal woman.

Despite all the pathologisation of lesbianism in D'Aguiar's work, there were signs that a tepid process of normalisation was perhaps on its way. The author acknowledged that, alongside homosexual and

heterosexual men, lesbians experienced jealousy. D'Aguiar proposed that the most beautiful partners were jealous about the least gracious lovers. But even this was turned around to underline the deviant nature of the lesbian: lesbianism was associated with delinquency and excess, social exclusion and socio-pathology. Crimes of passion, individual or double suicides and murders were not rare and were worthy of criminological attention. The link to prostitution was, furthermore, evident in several cases.

The elaboration of this complex diagnostic and taxonomical framework drew, as we have seen, on a broad range of European sources specialized in this area. In this sense, much of D'Aguiar's work was derivative of that of other European scholars working on 'pathological' sexuality. It is difficult to say how much of this work derived from real life case studies, such as those studied by figures such as Krafft-Ebing, Havelock Ellis, Gregorio Marañón or Egas Moniz. We do know of at least one case study by D'Aguiar that relied on the statements made by a young woman in her autobiography. Written up in 1932 (D'Aguiar 1932), the author discusses the work activity, the adventures and love life of an unnamed protagonist. In an extensive anthropometric and psychological account of this individual D'Aguiar comes to the conclusion that she 'é uma homo-sexual feminina do tipo tribade completo, tendo bem frisadas as características másculas de actividade, quer no que corresponde ao seu papel físico nos actos lúbricos a executar, quer no que se refere ao transvestitismo, quer ainda no que respeita à ânsia do domínio e restante psiquismo' (D'Aguiar 1932: 154). Apart from remarking on the mixture of terms employed, combining the old and the new (tribade and homosexual), what is notable here is the gendered prism through which the individual was understood and presented in the report. Actual homosexuality is combined with 'deviant' gender in respect of transvestism (in reality, probably the use of 'masculine' clothing).

This kind of clinical report in the work of D'Aguiar was rare. But the author sustained an interest in the question of homosexuality and revised his work several times condensing similar insights in subsequent publications. In the case of his *Medicina Legal* (1942) the complexity of his taxonomy grew. Lesbianism was discussed under the section on Forensic Sexology (D'Aguiar 1942). D'Aguiar, in contrast to Monteiro, did not employ the term uranism and he considered female homosexuality less evident than its male counterpart. 'Lesbians' – the term employed by D'Aguiar – would possess a double aetiology, both innate and acquired, that is to say, using the terminology commonly invoked in the period, would be constituted by both 'inverted' and 'perverted' natures.

D'Aguiar coincided with other commentators in different national scenarios by noting that lesbianism in the capital, Lisbon, in the case of Portugal, was widespread but was generally invisible. In this way, for D'Aguiar and for society more broadly, a certain degree of permissiveness was shown towards lesbian desire. This resulted from the notion that male homosexuality, especially as an infidelity within marriage, caused greater social harm than did female homosexuality. As in many European countries, it was this notion that caused male homosexuality to be criminalised where lesbianism was often not.

The medico-legal expert provided more details on the matter of practices than many other authors, discussing various expressions of same-sex activity including lingual contact, masturbation, anal contact and frottage, both manual and vulva to vulva. As had previous authors, he also dealt with so-called active and passive roles. Particular types of lesbians, 'Sapphics', he noted, were more experienced in frottage and oral sex and did not emphasise the use of the whole vagina. They could also have heterosexual contact. Other varieties, such as 'tribades', appeared to require a hypertrophic (over-sized) clitoris for effective clitoral practices. Excessive virility was deemed to alter sexual

functionality among active partners. These were often tattooed, adopted masculine mannerisms and let their body hair grow. They also showed some signs of menstrual irregularities. These categories, initially clear-cut, became hazy around the edges as D'Aguiar's account progressed.

In terms of this typology, D'Aguiar considered the types presented by Monteiro, but was more exhaustive in establishing sub-types for sexual tendencies according to age. There were few *infantilistas*; then there were *pederastas* who sought pre-pubescent girls; *pediconas*, who preferred adolescents; *fildelfas* who were aficionados of women aged 20-30 and finally the *virastas* who sought mature women. Like Monteiro he classified preference too: homophiles, who preferred other lesbians; allophiles, who preferred heterosexuals, and bisexuals or antiphiles (D'Aguiar 1942: 544-558).

In this extraordinarily complex typology, Sapphics were deemed depraved, at times verging on aberrant. For many men they represented a kind of pseudo-homosexual. *Tribadas* showed congenital inversion and disregarded men that they had failed to interest sexually. There were aesthetic versions among them and a simple glance between tribade individuals could be instantly recognised and identified. Sapphics may well have had normal bodies but they could possess an abnormal mind. This was reflected in sexual practices that would never result in the propagation of the species – the lack of desire to reproduce *must* have reflected some mental imbalance, it was argued – and Sapphics only felt passion for other women. In addition to these comments on lesbianism, D'Aguiar also documented a few cases of transvestism in Lisbon. On occasion, women dressed as men had to be protected from the public by the authorities. Hence police detention became a kind of safety net from harsh popular justice (D'Aguiar 1942: 552-558).

As many other European commentators had remarked, D'Aguiar noted that lesbians were present in all professions and social classes. The terminology used to refer to them in all languages was proof for D'Aguiar of the universality of the phenomenon. There were however certain activities that were thought to be more conducive to lesbianism; where women spent a lot of time alone (e.g. as *costureiras*) and in the world of prostitution where lesbianism was understood to be prolific. It was estimated that 75% of prostitutes had practised these perversions. Certain environmental circumstances meant that acquired female homosexuality could be facilitated by an overly liberal education with access to certain literature. The fear of heterosexual relations, venereal contamination or pregnancy, agglomerations and cities, extreme friendships and the lack of men could all contribute to lesbian activity.

## Conclusions

The analysis of the works presented here, mainly from the sexological and medico-legal field, show that there were specialists in Portugal who were both dedicated to exploring homosexuality in their country and who were evidently well placed within the broader European frame of the sexual sciences. In this sense, the Portuguese experts discussed here produced an account of lesbianism that coincided with other countries' approaches. We cannot talk of a Portuguese exceptionalism in terms of a lack of discourse on sexological matters but neither can we assert that there were far-reaching innovations in this field on the part of Portuguese specialists. What can be said, nevertheless, is that interest in lesbianism was sustained in a number of writers from the end of the nineteenth century onwards and that, in the case of the work of D'Aguiar, in particular, the survey of homosexuality was unusually



extensive. In this sense, D'Aguiar made a notable (although probably little known outside of Portugal) contribution to the broader range of specialist studies in the European sexual sciences. The same should be said of Monteiro's work in respect of his algebraic formulation of gender/sexuality outlined in 1922.

The work of D'Aguiar, Moniz and Monteiro, amongst others, also followed the European sexological tradition whereby a distinction was attempted between 'inversion' and 'perversion', theorised notably by Ellis. The fact that this distinction was constantly under threat and difficult to maintain is typical of other traditions, such as the Spanish. As in the Spanish case, there was some concession to a 'Mediterranean' understanding of 'active/passive' sexual relations and the implications that this had for the formation or non-formation of specific sexual identities. Indeed, rather than specifically sexual identities, many of the characteristics described by this group of authors related to what may be termed 'gender deviance', which may or may have been fully associated with actual sexual practices (Cleminson and Vázquez García 2007: 8-12), thus in effect coinciding with Rich's much later plea to enlarge the field of discussion when analysing the history and present of lesbianism. In turn, the mutual exclusiveness of active/passive roles in sexuality was also rejected by some of the authors (such as Egas Moniz). Portugal, in this sense, provides a break with the strictures of the model that seemed to guide understandings and behaviour in countries such as Greece, Italy and Spain. Portugal is, after all, not a Mediterranean country in a full geographical sense despite certain cultural commonalities with nations in this orbit.

It is hard to tell from the texts examined (with exception of D'Aguiar 1932) the degree to which there was any interaction between what the expert texts stated and what the women in question actually felt or how they described themselves (if they described themselves at all). How were, as Ian Hacking has asked, these people 'made up' (Hacking 1992; Davidson 2001)? Some taxonomical processes are indifferent in that they do not affect the objects they classify. The social and biomedical sciences, including psychology, psychiatry and medicine, however, do affect those that they classify. To some extent, these sciences construct individuals through classification, and these individuals are entered as a 'kind of people' invented by scientific method. Constructed identities of this kind include the 'disruptive pupil', the 'invert' and the 'homosexual'. When individuals are classified in this way, they begin to interact with their classification, even adapting their behaviour, their ideas of self and their interpretation of their personal histories: an individual's past can be entirely rebuilt. At the same time, collateral effects become established in expert practice while social views on these 'kinds of people' are also influenced.

As our doctors indicated, female emotion and sexuality in a Mediterranean context permitted a certain degree of mimesis. Single women could become intimate with spinsters or widows and not necessarily be 'suspect' where external emotional gestures were avoided. In this way, as happened to a lesser degree with male homosexuals, they could find refuge in the grey areas of discourse: they could marry, still feel feminine and look for a place to satisfy their preferences. A liminal figure in this sense was the 'butch' woman. She existed in Spain and in Portugal and was more or less tolerated depending on her effectiveness in a variety of scenarios, either as a strong woman or as a woman who 'passed'. But too often her violation of gender rules brought her under obvious scrutiny and doctors, judges and relatives could also exploit these grey areas. The precise social significance of such women was determined by a set of rules defined by what John Searle has called an 'institutional fact' where the facts are constructed in accordance with the set of circumstances that prevail in any given context

(Searle 1995). This in turn could lead to a variety of 'security measures' being taken to limit and control the social visibility of homosexuality (Almeida 2010). These security measures were different under Salazar from those adopted in other totalitarian regimes. Even though the strong tradition of liberal medical research was, in fact, retained into the 1930s and without underestimating the social effects of the regime with respect to those caught in the disciplinary trap of 'homosexuality', the policy of elimination and repression followed in Portugal was not of the same nature as that of Germany or even Spain.

These questions are perhaps more internal to the field of the sexual sciences and the implications they may have had in respect of the social and cultural life of Portugal in the years studied and, in particular, with respect to the lives of those who practised same-sex relations, that is, the first and third of the research tendencies outlined in the introduction. The small number of real life cases mentioned in these scientific works does not allow for any major conclusions on this point. What can be emphasized are the connections that the work of D'Aguiar and Moniz, to name two of our authors, established with specialist fields outside of but connected to the sexual sciences. For D'Aguiar, a specialist in legal medicine and director of the Institute of Legal Medicine, all forms of 'delinquency' and what might now be termed non-normative behaviour were worthy of scientific examination and disciplinarian intervention as part of a biopolitical project of management of the deviant outsider. Clearly, more work needs to be done on the history of (homo)sexuality in Portugal in order to be able to construct a more complete picture.

As a last point, it is worth noting that, particularly in the early twentieth century, with changes in the educational and university system in Portugal arising from the establishment of the Republic from 1910, the creation of knowledge centres and the dissemination of the work of Portuguese scientists in general beyond Portugal were priorities for the new liberal and progressive elites vindicated in their attempt at educational reform by the 1911 Constitution. Portugal in the 1910s was on the brink of a new scientific and social world – the engagement of the psychiatrist Miguel Bombarda, for example, with new techniques and his discussion of the promises offered by eugenics before his death in 1914 are testimony to this new dawn. In many senses the work by Egas Moniz, Camillo Monteiro and others studied here drank from the waters of this new intellectual current that would continue to flow well into the Salazar years.

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