Conference
Contemporary Feminist Studies and it’s Relation to Art History and Visual Studies
Göteborg March 28–29, 2007
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Patrik Steorn –
Staging Masculinity and Identity.
Visual Culture of Naked Men ca. 1900

In the last few decades the presence of male nudity in popular culture has grown significantly. The 1980s saw the first coffee-table books with glossy images of naked men that appealed not only to a homoerotic male audience but also to a general audience – the naked man appeared as a popular culture icon. Tracing this visual tradition back in history, the turn of the twentieth century was an important stage in the genealogy of how images of naked men became icons of masculinity in art and popular culture.

At the turn of the twentieth century, there was a notion that the urbanisation and industrialisation of the nineteenth century had drained the human race of its spiritual and physical energy. The deterioration of the civilised world, the degeneration of the civilised nations and the imminent degradation of humanity, in terms of race, gender and class – that was the bleak picture painted by the thinkers of the day. A particular concern was that men were being emasculated. Vitalism viewed the body (implicitly, the male body) as a kind of sanctuary for the worship of life, a straggling and unpredictable expression of the life force. The doctrine of vitalism purported to describe bodies and movement in philosophical terms through Friedrich Nietzsche, whose work *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883-1891) had a strong influence on Swedish artists, not least through translations by Ernst Thiel, who was also an important patron of the arts. Against this background, performing a vital type of masculinity became an important issue. This ideological search for creative energy influenced conceptions of social categories and artistic production.

My research on images of naked men in Sweden in 1900-1915 demonstrated that such images were used for different purposes by different groups of viewers. In other words: the effects of masculinity were generating a variety of responses and reactions. Based on my research, this article outlines a performative approach to images of masculinity that focus on images as stagings and their potential effects of generating and regulating the continuous normative process of social categories.
**Performative masculinity – images as stagings**

Research on the male nude is closely connected to the understanding of gender as a social category. The American art writer and feminist, Margaret Walters, wrote *The Male Nude. A New Perspective* (1978) with the explicit purpose of publishing images of naked men as a counter-act opposing the recurrent representations of naked women. From a theoretical point of view, Walters argues against the British art historian Kenneth Clark and his formalist aesthetic approach to the human body in art.¹ In his book *The Nude. A Study of Ideal Art* (1956), Clark considers the nude as a symbol of ideal beauty and proposes that human bodies in art should be judged according to their concordance with laws of perspective, proportions and mathematics.² The non-idealised body is naked, according to Clark, who thereby draws a line between erotic nakedness and mysterious, logic and idealised nudity. Clark uses these terms to separate ideal beauty from dirty looks, missing the possibility that both qualities could potentially co-exist in any representation of the human body. Ideological, cultural and social aspects of the naked body are absent in this text, and the sensual potentials of the naked body are overlooked. The scientific gaze is dominant in Clark’s text, which is blind to issues of gender.

Walters aimed at augmenting this idealised image of the male nude with a historical and social context. She explicitly genders her own gaze and the bodies of the male models, which are the object of her study. There is also an underlying political agenda in her text: to empower women and to awake female desire towards men's bodies - a desire that also carries the potential to direct a new, liberated desire towards their own bodies, previously repressed within patriarchal structures. Walters exposes images of male nudes in order to revenge a history of male sexist gaze and patriarchal structure. The battlefield of her revenge is the representation of the naked male body.

The Danish book *Billeder af mændenes historie* [Images from the history of men] (1984) can be understood as a response to the 1970s feminist critique of patriarchy. The writers Bent Fausing, Steffen Kieselberg and Senius Clausen aimed at creating a positive image of masculinity through a historical overview of “the man”, using illustrations of men from all times and places. “Men” is understood as a social category, not as representatives of humanity. The writers’ political goal is to awake any previously repressed potentials within every man, thereby incorporating weak men, losers and pariahs in developing a new “loyal” perspective on masculinity.³ These three books share an understanding of femininity and masculinity as two constructed but separate genders and their
underlying agenda seems to be that men should strengthen their masculinity and women their femininity by looking at images of naked men.

The critical study of masculinity within art history grew internationally in the 1990s, along with two other broader academic fields: Masculinity Studies and Visual Culture. “Masculinity” as a cultural concept and its relation to representation is one of the areas where these fields intersect in several studies using representations of masculinity to deconstruct the idea of a “natural body”. Tamar Garb examines images of both the male and female body as products of the visual culture. Garb’s analysis is often based on dichotomies such as working class/bourgeoisie, feminisation/masculinisation, and idealisation/commodification. Anthea Callen studies the cultural production of bodies by examining different scopic regimes within art and medicine. Patricia G. Berman has contributed to this field with studies of how male nudity is interrelated to conceptions of landscape and nature. The cultural production of masculinity examined through representations deconstructs not only the idea of a “natural body” but also that of “neutral masculinity”.

The constructivist method is obviously very rewarding but in this article I would like to outline an approach that combines a constructivist line of thinking with a performative approach, by considering images of naked men as stagings of ideas of masculinity. A staging is something that we normally associate with a theatrical event, but when used in a more general sense the term refers to something that is not given by nature, something constructed and manipulated that generates foreseen and unforeseen effects within the viewer. To consider images as performative as opposed to constructed is to shift the emphasis from the cultural production to the generation of effects. The approach that I am suggesting here combines both perspectives. Images can thus be said to play out their constructedness: on the one hand, this combination underlines the fact that an image is “constructed”; i.e., a finished product with a genealogy, generated by ideological and social structures as well as individual sequences of events; and on the other hand, it accentuates the capability of an image to “construct”; i.e., to generate structures, attitudes, and sequences of events, as well as transform genealogies.

Production and interpretation of images are two practices that can be understood as organised by discursive orders. Seen from what sociologist Stephen Whitehead describes as a poststructuralist perspective, based on Michel Foucault’s theories, these practices exercise power through regulating and producing power relations at the same time as front lines of resistance are instigated.
theory on power provides a theoretical understanding that images form the discourse of a period, which leads to the question of how these relations affect the production of images and the production of their meaning. From this perspective the connections between images and social organisation and regulation are focused; an image generates social categories such as gender and sexuality at the same time as it is produced by contemporary attitudes towards the same categories. Images – unique oil paintings as well as mass-produced newspaper images – are productive agents within the discourse, visualising phenomena, staging ideas and simultaneously generating attitudes, values and social patterns and categories.

According to a performative understanding, the human body is seen and understood through the same cultural, social and semiological discursive patterns as artefacts and other cultural products and stagings. Judith Butler states, in this line of thinking, that the body cannot be used as a “true” structure existing outside of discourse and continues by theorising that the physical body appears and is made legible only through these structures and patterns. Not until the body has been subjugated to ideologies, cultural patterns and social structures and started to act accordingly, can it become a subject. Within this process, the physical body, with sex, gender and desire, is materialised. Thus, the clothed body, and the naked and/or nude body alike, generate effects of cultural, social and political meaning. This is crucial, I argue, for how to approach the study of images of bodies as stagings of discourses on sexuality, gender, class and ethnicity. From this perspective I consider it useless to withhold the distinction between nakedness and nudity as a qualitative difference in artistic representation. Nude and naked are used more or less as synonymous words in this article where “the male nude” and “images of naked men” are considered as two facets of a performative trope that refers to the visual representation of naked men and to social, ideological and cultural conceptions of masculinity.

Treating the body as analogous with the discourse of any historical or contemporary period involves the risk of reducing it to merely a simple illustration of discourse. According to Butler, the body always preserves its contingent potentials, since bodies produce verbal, visual and physical statements that do not fully conform to incorporated discourse or to conscious intentions. Consequentially, the body has to be constantly staged through imitation. Men who are conceived as normative stage masculinity in a fashion that passes within the frames of “normative masculinity”. Every staging of a norm has a potential of sabotage, the gap between model and imitation can be used in order to subvert
social categories. Many stagings, however, are done with the opposite purpose – to confirm and to reproduce normative patterns. Sociologist Tim Edwards argues that subcultural masculinities are more often studied from a performative perspective, which is a practice that runs the risk of naturalising a normative type. My research and my approach show that the process of staging is identical whether the effect is a normative or a subcultural version of masculinity. The mode of use is what differs and might situate the image in different – even rival – settings.

**Fashioning masculinity at the turn of the twentieth century: ideals and stagings**

Beauty ideals often come across as normative, even though they have varied greatly through history, as visual stagings of men in different eras manifest, e.g. neoclassical soft, androgynous men as opposed to nineteenth century athletes. In the nineteenth century, the staging of masculinity was dominated by the costume; colourful, fashionable creations, wigs and make-up for men of the Ancien Régime were replaced by a discrete but nonetheless fashionable suit. On the one hand, a suit can be perceived as an anonymising uniform, on the other hand it is a visually pregnant and striking dress and this ambivalence makes it a productive attribute in the staging of power and of masculinity. The suit gave men access to private and public spheres in nineteenth century society and worked as a symbol for the freedom of bourgeois men. Fashioning the body with or without clothes generates effects of ideological, social and political meaning that is gendered and sexualised. Even though normative masculinity might come across as neutral, it merely acts out a privileged type of masculinity and a privileged type of sexuality. As Butler demonstrates, compulsory heterosexuality is intimately connected to normative gender-acts. These bodily acts are ruled by clichés while complexities of gender and sexuality are minimised. An interesting aspect of the normative gender act that we will explore in the following is that they can produce the impression that a certain body type carries certain inner qualities.

At the turn of the twentieth century, the body becomes an increasingly important part of staging bourgeois masculinity. The group portrait *Konstnärsförbundets styrelse* (1903) by Swedish painter Richard Bergh shows a group of powerful artists in the Swedish art world ca. 1900 (Image 1). The shiny table, decorated with the emblem of *Konstnärsförbundet* (The Society of Artists, opponents of the Art Academy), together with the objects on the table; inkwell, pens, documents and not least the chairman’s gavel, are the attributes of the formal
power of these men. They are all wearing black suits, Eugène Jansson with a top hat, Karl Nordström with an artist’s turban and Robert Thegeström smokes a pipe. They act as powerful men of the bourgeoisie and the black suit is part of the manifestation. However, their power is not only performed through their attributes but also through their bodies – the potent gestures, facial hair and expressions suggest their inner life and stage masculinity. All of them assume poses that take up space in the room: elbows jutted out, stretched hands, clenched fists put to the side of the body, and an arm put on the back of a chair or expressively bent forward. Thegeström spreads his legs, showing his crotch, apparently to give emphasis to what he is about to say. These poses suggest that behind the clothes, and maybe even behind the bodily surface, there is a violent, lively and creative interior. This suggestion of interiority seems to articulate their bodies and also their inner qualities as more important than their clothing. Judging by this portrait, the masculine body seems to outgrow the black suit at the turn of the twentieth century.

The ideal of a well-trained male body, which was established in the same period, has been theorised by historian George L. Mosse as “the modern masculinity” or “the masculine stereotype”. This ideal developed, according to Mosse, in close relation to the growing industrialisation and urbanisation of the bourgeoisie, and consists of a stereotype, a mental visualisation that was internalised in the individual. “Modern masculinity” took the shape of a beauty ideal for men that symbolised virtues such as autonomy, self control, moderation, sexual and mental purity and health, courage, loyalty and strength. These characteristics, normally thought of as inner qualities, were connected to physical appearance, which Mosse considers partly to explain the ideal’s cultural impact. Nakedness was an important component of this “normative masculinity” and the bodies are characterised by sharp and hard, visually pregnant muscles, proportionate to body size, formed by smooth and flexible exercise. Mosse traces the genealogy of this ideal back to the late 1700s and the passion for antiquity of J.J. Winckelmann. Classic sculpture linked body and soul in a beauty ideal for men in a way that was influential for the conceptions of normative masculinity in the following centuries. “Modern Masculinity” is described as emerging in contrast to a number of counter-types – “the socialist”, “the Jew”, “the New Woman”, etc. Mosse’s theory on “modern masculinity” is constructed in terms of images and of norms, which makes it relevant for the perspective that I am outlining here. Mosse explains how a visual ideal can unite inner qualities with outer appearances in a specific body type, thereby creating a norm. However, in my empirical
work, researching the visual culture of the male nude in Sweden in 1900-1915, I have not found the clear division between ideals and counter-types that Mosse describes. On the contrary, I argue that ambivalences and double meanings are characteristic of the stagings of masculinity of the early 1900s. Mosse describes “Modern Masculinity” as a constructed ideal, but once it is set in place in the beginning of the nineteenth century, he treats it as a static category. As already mentioned, my own research did not confirm this observation, but rather showed the flexibility of norms and their ability to take on new shapes.

Accordingly, my performative approach deals with stagings and effects, not constructed ideals. Certain bodies are always considered as embodying ideal and eternal beauty or true masculinity, and there might even be a consensus on the findings. From a performative approach we can explain this as an act that is so skilfully executed, based on a number of established norms and conventions, enough to give an effect of eternal beauty or normative masculinity. An ideal, on the other hand, is theoretically separated from its materialisation at the same time as the ideal is depending on the aim to stage it as truly as possible. As every staging implies a potential transformation of the ideal, if read in a poststructuralist way, it can be considered a copy of a copy without an original, related to a large number of historical and contemporary stagings. My performative approach implies that images of naked men can be considered as stagings of an ongoing normative process that regulate and generate multitudes of effects – responses, uses and violations of laws and norms – all of which are active agents in the continued process of constructing and performing masculinity.

Thus, the masculine body that appeared on the cultural arena in the early 1900s revealed traces back to antique forefathers and enacted at the same time the muscular body, shaped for and by the taste of the modern era. This performance generated a large cultural production, widespread and multifaceted.

**Cruising the bath house with Eugène Jansson**

_Navy Bath House_ (1907) by Swedish painter Eugène Jansson shows a large number of young men standing around a swimming pool in an outdoor bath house (Image 2). The water is dark but the men are sunlit as they are standing, sitting and half-laying in plastic formations. The only person in the painting who is actually exercising is the diver, high above the water. Physical activity is not the focus of the painting, the diver is blurred. Rather, the young men, looking and resting in various poses are the visual focus of the painting. Their bodies are painted with distinct brush strokes and blue contours outlining, almost caressing
the body shapes. We, the external viewers, are placed amongst these men, with them under the sunroof, looking at them without knowing if they are aware of us looking. They are completely absorbed with looking themselves; the act of viewing is the motif of this painting. The scene displays men looking at other men, the physical appearance of a looking body and the examining, gazing look. And we look at them looking, a sort of double voyeurism.

Masculinity is thus staged, the bath house is the stage, the muscular nudity, the non-classical poses, the modern haircuts and moustaches are the attributes, and “normative masculinity” seems to be the enacted role. Bath houses were one of the most important arenas for acting out the new masculinity of this period. Bathing, at the turn of the century, signified not only water-bathing, but also air-bathing and sun-bathing. Air-bathing literally meant bathing the naked body in air. All forms of bathing were considered a cure for medical problems, hardening for the already healthy and, in the long run, a measure against degeneration.

The outdoor bath was an environment for the nude to be enacted in a setting that was considered physically and nationally invigorating, compared to the art academies. Outdoor-bathing also generated poses that had not been staged in art before, motivated not by classic posing, but by the regulating practice of bathing. On the one hand the bath house was a platform for performing normative masculinity; on the other hand it was the arena for subversive desires for men. Homosexual activities were forbidden by the law until 1944 in Sweden. A few “homosexual scandals” of the period took place in the bath houses of Stockholm and these incidents and the following legal processes were widely reported in the local media. Thus, the double meaning of the naked man in a bath house was widely known and probably made naked men even more interesting in popular image culture. Homoerotic desires were directed towards the same type of body that was the objective of the vitalist strengthening of a “national body”.

Knowing that Eugène Jansson engaged in homosexual activities himself, the normative masculinity that is presented in these paintings is subverted, the effects of masculinity become ambivalent. Distinctions between a normative type of masculinity and a homosexual type of masculinity are actually no longer easy to make in front of a painting like this. The categories are leaking – the body is contingent, opening up the potentials of the male nude. The modern masculinity and the homosexual counter-type that Mosse discusses as two different types are thus united here in the same staging of masculinity, a visual performance regulated by cultural and individual desire for masculinity,
potentially social and erotic at the same time. Masculinity as a set of performative effects has only contingent relations to heterosexual activities and can also be the object of subversive desires.

**Athletics – normative and subversive potentials of the athletic body**

At the turn of the twentieth century, athletics was an important part of the growing sport and outdoor movement. All over the western world photographs of athletes circulated as collectors items. Athletes also appeared on stage in vaudrevilles as well as in local athletes clubs, shaping the phenomenon of *Physical Culture*. This phenomenon comprises intense athletic training in local clubs, the exhibition and posing of athletes as well as the commercialisation of athlete’s magazines, handbooks, portraits, statuettes etc.

Eugen Sandow, a German/British athlete, was launched as the strongest and most well-trained man of his time. Sandow’s body articulated the new conceptions of masculinity, he embodied them physically – leanness and lightness, sharp and clear muscles, as well as flexibility and suppleness (Image 3). He posed in non-symmetrical postures that suggested movement and physical force. Sandow displayed the contemporary look for men with attributes such as moustaches and short hair; *Physical Culture* was a cultural arena for male beauty. In this portrait Sandow is wearing a leopard skin, an attribute that gives an animal quality to the well-trained body and formulates a conception of masculine “primitivism”. Even though the body had been meticulously trained, this attribute aimed at performing natural masculinity, a characteristics that was called upon to ward off degeneration. He was a representative not only of a new type of athlete but also of a new type of man.

A visual comment to the phenomenon of *Physical Culture* was sketched by Swedish artist Tyra Kleen. The lithograph entitled *La Force* (1907) shows a muscular athlete with medals and decorations and his rival: a young, slender man with long, combed hair (Image 4). The image stages a battle between two types of masculinity, a fight that the trained athlete is winning. The image also displays the male interest in this symbolic battle – the audience consists only of men, wearing dress suits and high hats, throwing white flowers to the winner. I interpret this image as an ironic comment on the male homosocial interest in the well-trained athlete. Male homosocial interest as a term defines men’s interest in other men as social, as opposed to erotic. Men are supposed to be interested in other men only as objects of identification, never as objects of desire. This interest, however, creates common conceptions of masculinity, identity and ideals.
The main object of this idea is that social identification and erotic desire can be separated and that they exclude one another and do not mix. In the following I will argue that these processes of desire were parallel, not excluding.

Physical Culture was an explicitly visual field. In his books Sandow’s System of Physical Training (1894) and Strength and How to Obtain it (1897) Sandow posed for well-known photographers. His choice of theatre photographer Napoleon Sarony underlines the performing aspect of athletic masculinity. These photographs had a strong influence on the imagery of Physical Culture in the Nordic countries. Handbok för brottare och atleter [Handbook for wrestlers and athletes] (1904) launched athletic systems in the Swedish and Finnish languages. The illustrations in this book clearly reveal influences from Sandow’s books, as the model has short, curly hair and a large moustache, and poses and movements are very similar.

Naked athletic men as a visual subject was established not only in photography, it was also taken up by artists. Between 1911 and 1914 Eugène Jansson made a total of eight paintings of naked athletes performing exercises. Several of these paintings show similarities with the images in Sandow’s books. The nakedness, the position of the feet, the tension of the abdominal muscles and the eyes, directed towards the heavyweight are some of the traits they have in common. Using photographs as sketches in the creative process was something that artists had been doing since photography was introduced in the middle of the nineteenth century. Photographic sketches were often taken by the artists themselves but mass-produced images could also be involved in this process. A few preserved preparatory pen-sketches by Jansson’s hand show that he probably also drew from live models. Poses displayed in these sketches share several visual traits with the images in athletic handbooks; therefore it can be presumed that either Jansson or the model (or both) were familiar with the Sandow images. A photograph in a handbook, a live model posing and the painted pose in a painting are interconnected in a complex of relations, which makes it difficult to identify the exact source. The images in the handbook may have influenced the concepts of “correct” posing in general, which directly and indirectly set the standards for the posing and the paintings.

The well-trained athlete also made his first appearance within the production of male homoerotica. There was a change of the types of models that appeared in the homoerotic pornography at the turn of the century. Young, feminised boys posing like the antique ephebes had previously dominated male homopornography. German photographer Wilhelm von Gloeden’s images of Italian boys
were widely known and distributed in the 1890s. At the turn of the twentieth century, muscular athletes entered the homoerotic stage with masculinised poses and mature bodies.\(^{38}\) In Sweden there were no specifically homoerotic magazines as a consequence of the prohibition against homosexual acts. However, there was a visual culture for homoerotic images. In 1906 the Stockholm Police seized 85 homoerotic images in the home of writer Carl von Platen. He produced his own images and owned images by international producers, such as von Gloeden.\(^{39}\)

Three athletic naked men stand in the studio of the Eugène Jansson in a photograph preserved in the archives of Nils Santesson, who was convicted of homosexual behaviour in 1907 (Image 5).\(^{40}\) Comparing this photography to the paintings by Jansson, it is possible to conclude that it was not used as a preparatory sketch for any of the male or bath paintings. Rather, it seems to have been another type of documentation; probably it can be regarded as a documentation of his models or as home-made erotica. The photographs of athletes from Jansson’s studio were found in another homosexual man’s personal archive, which suggests that they circulated in homosexual networks as erotica.

Male athletes were often depicted as muscular, self-sufficient and thereby inaccessible to the viewer. At the same time their posing is visually enticing through immodest gestures and naked skin. Vivid and clear brushstrokes on canvas or smooth surfaces in photographs highlight tactile aspects of the muscular body. Personal traits in physical looks and bodily constitution make the bodies individual and accessible. The uninhibited nakedness and the sometimes spectacular poses also make the images potential objects of non-normative desires. Images of naked men are ambivalent in that they could be used both in order to create and enforce norms or to subvert and reshape them.

**The reversible look**

The relation between a male viewer and an image of a female model has, according to a strong tradition within visual studies, often been considered according to heteronormative structures that position the viewer as the active, masculine subject, the model as feminine and passive. The relation between a male viewer and a male model, according to this heteronormative understanding, is seen as a homosocial relation that is based on the act of identification of sameness. To theorise the position of a male viewer with an erotic desire for the male nude in history is not without complexity. Formulating such a position in Sweden before 1944 was associated with the risk of being convicted. However, it is essential for my approach to assume that artists and photographers, viewers and users of
images have not necessarily staged, looked and used images and motives in order
to shape and confirm heterosexuality.

In nearly all Jansson's paintings of naked men exercising there is at least one
more figure, a viewer included in the painted scene (Image 6). This vicarious
viewer, similarly naked and well-trained, is always looking straight at the exercising
man in question without averting his eyes. The onlooker is attentive, as if
waiting for his turn; within a few minutes the viewer is going to take an active
part, becoming the object of attention. This gaze certainly contains an element
of objectification, but my reflection is that the look is reversible. This relation
might be difficult to grasp from a heteronormative perspective but include the
complex potential relations in an encounter between two naked bodies. In his
complex and multi-layered analysis of Robert Mapplethorpe's photographs of
naked black men, Kobena Mercer compares Mapplethorpe's images to male ho-
moerotic pornography, and concludes that a "homoerotic look" is not as strongly
coded within a gendered hierarchy as a "heteroerotic look". Mercer theorises a
potential reversibility that can be acted out into an imaginary and visual area
between the depicted model and the viewer's look. This reversibility undermines
the idea that subjective activity and objectified passivity are permanent charac-
teristics inherent in masculine and feminine gender. Within a homoerotic gaze
these positions become roles that can be interchanged reciprocally. The revers-
able look has the potential of revaluating art history writing in order to make
heteronormative suppositions on relations between artists, models, images and
viewers. Theorising a reversible look allows us to explore the contingent relations
between sex, gender and desire, as well as their respective relations to the produc-
tion of images and the interpretations of their visual effects.

The use of images of naked men was widespread at the turn of the twentieth
century; different circles settled on different aspects of "the image of the male
nude". My research has brought together art images, sculptures, photographs,
illustrations, newspaper pictures, advertising images, etc., which means that I
have been able to demonstrate that the subject of male nudes existed in many
variations, and that it appeared in different cultural arenas. Sports magazines de-
picted muscular men as examples of activity; health journals and medical books
used them as visualisations of health and wholesomeness; in the art world they
were symbols of an artistic reawakening, while the images were objects of desire
in male homosexual circles. A masculine, athletic, heterosexual, short-cropped,
bourgeoisie Swedish man with a moustache became a nationalistic figurehead.
At the same time he was a complex figure with an exterior that was hard and
distant, as well as visually inviting. Returning to the bath houses and the studio of Eugène Jansson with a reversible look certainly involves the viewer in staging gender and sexuality and envisioning potential encounters. The painting positively vibrates with energy, articulated in the stream of brush strokes that surround the athlete. This energetic field is drawn not only between the two men in the painted scene, but also in relation to us, the external viewer. Subtle visual traits thus open up the painted surface as a field of visual and performative stagings of bodies and their contingencies.

Patrik Steorn

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Walters 1978, p. 10ff.

Clark 1956, p. 19ff.

Fausing et. al. 1984.


Walters 1978, p. 10ff.

Clark 1956, p. 19ff.

Fausing et. al. 1984.


Stagings of photography is an important research field, e.g. Solomon-Godeau 1991.


Austin 1997, p. 10.


Edwards 2006, p 113f.


Breward 1999, p. 25.

Women, in contrast, were organised to the spheres they had access to, as analysed by art historian Grisel-da Pollock; bourgeois women belonged to the private sphere while models, dancers and prostitutes moved in the public sphere. Pollock 2003, p. 94 ff.

Butler 1999, p.42.


Mosse 1999, p. 17f.

Mosse 1999, p. 6.

Mosse 1999, p. 24, Potts p. 113 ff.

Mosse 1999, p. 56ff.


Rydström 2003, p. 29.


Hedin 1979, p. 52ff.

The sketch is made for the painting *Pressning av stång på en arm II* (1913-14)


1. Richard Bergh

*Konstnärsförbundets styrelse (The Council of the Society of Artists), 1903.*

Oil on canvas

150 x 212 cm

Nationalmuseum, Stockholm

Photo: Nationalmuseum.
2.
Eugène Jansson
*Flottans badhus (Navy Bath-house)*, 1907
Oil on canvas
197 x 301 cm
Thielska Galleriet, Stockholm.
Photo: Tord Lund.
3.
Benjamin J. Falk
_Eugen Sandow, Sandow 1897_, p.113.
Photo: British Library, London.
4. Tyra Kleen
La Force, 1907
Lithography, Tyra Kleen archive, Royal Library, Stockholm
Photo: Royal Library, Stockholm
5.
Eugène Jansson (ascribed)
_Tre atleter i ateljén på Glasbruksgatan (Three athletes in Eugène Jansson’s studio on Glasbruksgatan, Stockholm), 1910s._
Photography, Nils Santesson archive, Royal Library, Stockholm
Photo: Royal Library, Stockholm
6.
Eugène Jansson
*Stötning av stång på två armar II (Pushing Weights with Two Arms No 2)*, 1913–14.
Oil on canvas
238 x 198 cm
Peter Nahum at The Leicester Galleries, London.