

**“Bulging Buttocks”:  
Picturing Virile Homosexuality and the ‘Manly Man’**

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The crisis in masculinity that beset French males after their humiliating defeat in the Franco-Prussian War is encapsulated by two popular images. (Figure 1: Albert Surier, *Comment évoluerons-nous? La Culture Physique*, 1908; Figure 2: Vin de Vial, *Advertisement, Le Petit Parisien*, 20 March 1913) Facing one another in the article on the left provocatively entitled “How are we evolving?” are a puny intellectual and a hypermuscularized athlete. On the right is an advertisement for ‘Vin de Vial’. As may be gleaned from the pythonized phallus projecting from Apollinic loins and wrapped around the text, this ‘wine’ was fin-de-siècle Viagra. Drawing upon Lamarck’s law of natural transformism, the text on the left warns that if Frenchmen neglect their physical fitness, France would devolve into a race of educated but effeminate weaklings. The very health and strength required to transform the effeminate weakling into a ‘manly man’ is promised by the text on the right. A few swigs each day are supposedly all that was needed to help fortify a man’s muscles and to ensure he no longer drooped. Through ingesting this virility tonic, full phallic power, just like Apollo’s, was guaranteed, virtually overnight. While the assumption that muscular development would enhance sexual potency is implicit in both texts, both stress the urgency with which this needs to transpire. This was due to the national dishonour attached to sexual impotency and effeminacy, so troublingly affirmed by escalating depopulation, rampant degeneration and insuppressible ‘sins against nature’.

With its population in decline, the Government Depopulation Commission denounced French men for not having lived up to the manly ideal.<sup>i</sup> Locating the cause of France’s depopulation in waning virility and perverse sexual practices, the nation was, according to demographer, Jacques Bertillon, “plagued by the crimes of Onan and sins against nature”.<sup>ii</sup> To combat depopulation, degeneration, sexual ‘inversion’, effeminacy and the dishonourable stigma of impotence, French males in the Third Republic were impelled to become not just courageous, patriotic and hygienic, but vigorous, muscular and manly. Equating paternity with patriotism, French Morality and Natality Leagues lauded fathers of large families as selfless patriots securing the future of the nation.<sup>iii</sup> Conversely those men who refused to have children were reviled as impotent, cowardly, unpatriotic, immature, sickly, effeminate, ‘inverted’ and unmanly.<sup>iv</sup> They were, according to one politician, “self-indulgent egoists, unmoved by their love of France to regenerate the nation”.<sup>v</sup> Somatically stigmatized, following Ambroise Tardieu’s surveys, with “pointy penises” and “flaccid” rather than “bulging buttocks”, French men were urged to rebuild every organ of their bodies not just through virility tonics but through athletics, boxing, cycling, football, gymnastics and weightlifting.<sup>vi</sup> “Unsavoury passions have no place in healthy souls,” physical culturalist, Albert Surier explained, “and the health of the soul is a corollary of physical health”.<sup>vii</sup> Prized as the perfect panacea for regulating the libido, instilling ethical values and regenerating French manhood, modern sports and physical culture were promoted as a national duty. (Left, Figure 3: ‘La Vie Sportive’, *Le Petit Parisien*, 1903) Yet given the cross-sexual dimensions of effeminophobia, paradoxically the ‘manly man’ to be regenerated by ‘la vie sportive’ was, as revealed by modern artists, the very model of masculinity lauded by proponents of a virile and virilizing homosexuality.

Decrying French schools as incarcerating prisons suffocating vital spirits, Baron Pierre de Coubertin had proselytized the English Public School model of modern sport in the open air, particularly football, as epitomized by Rugby.<sup>viii</sup> Through his advocacy, rugby and soccer clubs mushroomed in most cities, association football boasting some thirty clubs in Paris alone. (Right, Figure 4: *Press Photograph, Football*, used for Robert Delaunay painting, *Le Football*, 1914) Due to the efforts of the indefatigable Baron, the Olympic Games were reinstated, France becoming the host nation in 1900, when the 40 km. Amateur Marathon began. (Left, Figure 5: *Engraving, 40 km. Amateur Marathon*, *L’Illustration*, 1898) With bicycles no longer a luxury item,

cycling was raised to the status of a national spectacle with companies like Peugeot sponsoring the 'Tour de France'. (Right, Figure 6: Jules Beau, Photograph, *Le Tour de France*, Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France) Conceived as the perfect combination of health and hygiene, swimming was touted for bodies young and old. (Left, Figure 7: Le "divine Myra", Cover, *La Culture Physique*, 1906) As "the art of virilizing male bodies and souls," these modern sports could, in the words of the indomitable Baron, "halt the universal neurosis of modern life and ameliorate racial problems" - although as the ironic correlation between caption and paunch on this cartoon indicates, it was not necessarily without a struggle. (Right, Figure 8: 'Battle of the Bulge', Cartoon, *Le Matin*, 1904) Extensively visualized by press and journal photographers, the athleticized male body also became a new subject for writers and painters of 'modern life'.

Whilst boys became the focus of new French literature by André Gide, Rémy de Gourmont, Marcel Proust and Jean Cocteau, from 1895 a spate of healthy boy nudes were exhibited at the 'official' salons.<sup>ix</sup> Some authors and painters, like the 72 year old President of the Salon des Artistes Français, William Bouguereau, continued to deploy a conventional timeless Classical Greek mythological context or pretext as demonstrated by his 1897 painting, *Admiration*, in which a saccharine, cupidesque boy with drapery coyly drooping over his genitals is the centre of attention of drooling nymphs. Departing from Bouguereau, both Kroyer and Henry (Scott) Tuke picture boys by or in water. (Left, Figure 9: P. S. Kroyer, *Boys Bathing, Summer Evening, Skagen, 1899*; Right, Figure 10: Henry (Scott) Tuke, 'Noonday Heat', 1903.) Responding to the call for national regeneration through such invigorating sports as sea-bathing and surfing, Salon newcomers like Max Liebermann, and Walter Sickert, (Left, Figure 11: Max Liebermann, *Boys Bathing, 1898*; Figure 12: Right, Walter Sickert, *The Bathers, Dieppe, 1902*) pictured boys in settings that were more time and place specific – as illustrated by Sickert's striped swim-suited bathers on the right braving the Dieppe breakers in 1902. Unlike the physical deformities of boys suffering hereditary syphilis painted by Bastida, (Right, Figure 13, Joaquin Sorolla y Bastida, *Sad Inheritance, 1899*) Liebermann and Sickert's boys – like those painted by Kroyer and Tuke - display all the requisite signs of regenerated manliness. They appear strong, vigorous, muscular with harmonious proportions and a symmetrical relationship of all the organs. Yet without Liebermann and Sickert's contemporary codes, the contexts that Kroyer and Tuke deploy are not necessarily time specific: They arguably straddle a time harking back to the golden days of Classical Greece stretching into the present.<sup>x</sup> Given that regeneration of manliness entailed for natalists, as well as those like Gide who proselytized pedagogical pedophilia, a return to Classical Greek training in the gymnasium, the stadium and in water sports, this connection may not be coincidental. It can also be discerned in artwork portraying the body of the 'manly man' developed not necessarily by modern sport, but physical culture.

To revitalize the male body and regenerate the nation, Dr. Philippe Tissié warned that more was needed than modern sports – particularly English ones.<sup>xi</sup> When physical education legislation was passed in 1880, gymnastics became a compulsory component of boy's school curriculum.<sup>xii</sup> (Left, Figure 14: Photograph, *Champion Gymnast, 1898*) Gymnastic unions sprouted to promote patriotism, courage and morality.<sup>xiii</sup> Between 1889 and 1914, thirty-four Congresses of Physical Education were held in France with the International Congress of Physical Education synchronized with the 1900 Olympics Games and the International Sporting Competition.<sup>xiv</sup> (Right, Figure 15: Press Photograph, *Le Congrès d'Education Physique, 1913, Le Petit Parisien*) "To restore to French men their muscles", Étienne-Jules Marey's assistant, Georges Demeny, appropriated the German acrobatic techniques of Jahn for his *Cercle de Gymnastique*.<sup>xv</sup> (Left, Figure 16: Engraving, *Le Travail du Paxton, (Paxton Brothers using Demeny's technique), L'Education Physique, 1904*) Inspired by Ling's Swedish model of physical education, Tissié established the French League of Physical Education, for which he developed a rational psychodynamic method designed to regenerate the male body both physically and morally.<sup>xvi</sup> Taking advantage of this "battle of methods",<sup>xvii</sup> from 1885 Edmond Desbonnet was able successfully to launch Schools in Lille, Roubaix and, by 1899, in Paris utilizing his own rational exercising physical culture method designed to turn the most flaccid male into a Greek-God in half the time.<sup>xviii</sup> (Right, Figure 17: LA SANTE ABSOLUE; Advertisement for Desbonnet's Ecole de

*Culture Physique showing the exercising room with the results of Desbonnet's 26 lessons pictured below – a male writhing in pain after a Desbonnet handshake.)*

Modelling his schools and techniques upon Eugen Sandow's Health Institute in London, Desbonnet designed physiological exercises which could ostensibly repair tissue, correct deviations, make muscle and transform the body in only three months – Desbonnet, like Sandow, rarely or barely resisting an opportunity to expose himself as the best exponent of his method.<sup>xix</sup> (Left, Figure 18: Photograph, Eugen Sandow in leopard-skin togs, taken in Melbourne, 1901; Right, Figure 19: Photograph, Edmond Desbonnet in Paris, 1909) In training programmes tailored to individual needs, the so-called rational principle of Desbonnet's Method entailed systematically using dumbbells punching balls, rowing machines, parallel bars and the Attila expander in three progressions from light, medium to heavy weight, in order to exercise all groups of muscles equally, rather than one to the detriment of others. Desbonnet, in fact, warned against the hypertrophies of Herculean acrobats like Louis Cyr, caused by overworking the same muscles, rather than exercising each group of muscles simultaneously. (Left, Figure 20: Cover photograph of Louis Cyr, *La Culture Physique*, Paris, 1908) Instead he stressed the need to achieve an harmonious proportional relationship between them as exemplified by Apollon and those regenerated by the Desbonnet Method. (Left, Figure 21: Photograph of Apollon, *La Culture Physique*, Paris, 1906) Without a twinge of homoerotic consciousness, his protégés were snapped nude – save for a modest tin fig-leaf – and exalted by Desbonnet as *Kings of Strength*.<sup>xx</sup> (Right, Figure 22: *Les Rois de la Force*, *La Culture Physique*, Paris, 1906) Posed in such buttocks revealing tableaux as Canova's *Perseus* (Left, Figure 23: Photograph of Adrien Deriaz, *Second-Place*, *La Culture Physique Concours de Beauté Plastique*, 1905) or as the Borghese Mars reproduced alongside the Roman original (Right, Figure 24: Photograph of Paul Gasquet, *Winner*, *La Culture Physique Concours de Beauté Plastique*, 1905), these photographs of Adrien Deriaz and Paul Gasquet were published in Desbonnet's many books and journals to signify that the classical canon of proportions had been achieved, if not surpassed, by Desbonnet's "kings".<sup>xxi</sup> This "new artistic anatomy", as Paul Richer called it, was espoused by him as anatomy professor at the *École Nationale des Beaux-Arts*,<sup>xxii</sup> while being exhibited by him and others in the 'official' Salons - particularly by esteemed medal-winners, Gustave Courtois and Georges Leroux.<sup>xxiii</sup>

In 1897, Courtois exhibited at the National Salon (*Salon Nationale des Beaux-Arts*) a painting seemingly inspired by French translations of Walter Pater's *Plato and Platonism* and Plato's Symposium, entitled *Love at the banquet*. (Left, Figure 25: Gustave Courtois, *L'Amour au Banquet*, 1<sup>st</sup> exhibited, 1898 *Salon National des Beaux-Arts*; re-exhibited 1900 *Exposition Universal*) Thirteen years later he exhibited his *Hercules at the feet of Omphala* and in 1912, his *Perseus freeing Andromede*. (Right, Figure 26: Gustave Courtois, *Hercules aux pieds Omphale*, *Salon National des Beaux-Arts*, 1910; Left, Figure 27: Gustave Courtois, *Perseus délivrant Andromede*, *Salon National des Beaux-Arts*, 1912.) Given his long relationship with the Francophied Munich painter, Carl von Stretton, with whom he fled Paris at the outbreak of war, the writer, Prince Eugène, wryly hinted that Courtois' obsession with such allegories of nude males was not altogether surprising.<sup>xxiv</sup> Yet a comparison of Courtois' epebic Cupid with his hunky Hercules elicits a decisive shift in Courtois' imaging of the male body comparable with the athletically phallicized male body captured by physical culture photography – particularly shots of Apollon and Desbonnet's "Kings of Strength". (Return Left: Figure 23) Just as Desbonnet's tableaux was designed to frame his 'King of Strength', Adrien Deriaz, in the role of Perseus, so did Courtois' stage his set to 'centrefold' Adrien's brother - the famous bodybuilder and wrestler, Maurice Deriaz, who Courtois chose as his model for Hercules.<sup>xxv</sup> Even such animalistic accoutrements incorporated into physical culture photography as the virilizing tiger skins were not neglected. (Back Left: Figure 18; Back Right: Figure 25) Far from Courtois' 'manly men' being isolated subjects at the Salon, they were accompanied by comparable artworks.<sup>xxvi</sup> These included Richer's sculptures of bodybuilders and Leroux' painting of fit, adolescent, male bathers surrounding a naked diver who, like Desbonnet's *Perseus* and Courtois' *Hercules*, bares unashamedly to the beholder the very bulging buttocks so lamented by Tardieu. (Left, Figure 28: Georges Leroux, *Bords de Tibre*, Number 1126, 1909 *Salon des Artistes Français*; Musée de l'Oise, France. Forward right, Figure 26) Although these painters, like physical culture

photographers, did nothing to belie such homoerotic zones as the firmness of the thighs, the phallic tautness of the torso, let alone the curve of the back and buttocks for such Salon promenaders as Gide, and although the critic, Arsène Alexandre called Courtois' Hercules "more Marseille boy than Saën saint", far from these paintings being denounced for their lasciviousness, they were pronounced "really beautiful" by such well-known proponents of natalism as Luc Montan at *La Culture Physique*.<sup>xxvii</sup>

Despite the ways in which these artists' paintbrushes, like the physical culture photographers' lens, seem to have lingered on the flesh in a caress, rather than clinical scrutiny, their portrayal of rippling biceps, delineated calf muscles, clearly articulated six-packs and of course, bulging buttocks, conjured all the requisite characteristics of the 'manly man' needed to regenerate the race. Falling within an ambivalent, liminal zone between health-phobic scrutiny and homophobic scopophilia, they were then able to titillate specular consumption while seeming to confirm the Neo-Lamarckian quest for regeneration. Despite their staging for the gratification, not denial, of 'perverse' or 'inverse' pleasures, they appeared able to illustrate the words of *La Culture physique* that "only the strongest and most beautiful men could fertilize the strongest race and generate a glorious and fecund future for the nation."<sup>xxviii</sup> That they were able to function as a double sign, simultaneously permissive and perverse, was only endorsed by their settings. Without specific spatio-temporal signifiers, they seem, like Tuke's and Kroyer's paintings, sufficiently ambiguous to allude to the present while simultaneously harking back to the golden days of Classical Greece. This is not discouraged by Courtois' mythological narratives and Leroux's title, *Banks Of The Tiber*. In evoking the results of Classical Greek training in the gymnasium, the stadium and in water sports, they allude to the very return to a virilizing Classical Greek culture ardently proselytized by many homosexual intellectuals, particularly Marc-André Raffalovich and André Gide.

In 1894, one of Lacassagne's students, Georges de Saint-Paul, published a national survey of 'inversion', under the pseudonym 'Dr. Laupts', designed to confirm Dr. Louis Reuss' definition of 'inverts' as "capricious, vain, cowardly, envious, vindictive, susceptible."<sup>xxix</sup> Following Reuss, 'Laupts' argued that 'inversion', which he defined as "the feminiform-born-invert", was not just a matter of scientific curiosity but vital to understanding the French nation's degeneracy. His project led to widespread debate, to which Zola contributed – as did the French educated, London-based, Raffalovich.<sup>xxx</sup> Although commissioned to write the medical annales on his scientific research into 'unisexual', it was from his position as a self-proclaimed 'unisexual' that Raffalovich intervened. Brazenly acknowledging that his research had arisen from personal experience, he claimed that most homosexuals outrightly rejected Reuss' model of the invert as "uniting all the flaws of a woman without balancing them with any qualities of a man."<sup>xxxi</sup> Instead they heeded the words of Edward Carpenter and John Addington Symonds in their contestation of the effeminate mode of same-sex love. Uranians of the "normal type", Carpenter had written in 1895, "possess thoroughly masculine powers of mind and body" and are "often muscular and well built."<sup>xxxii</sup> "The belief that all subjects of inverted instinct carry their lusts written in their faces; that they are pale, languid, scented, effeminate, painted, timid, oblique in expression" is "ludicrous" Symonds had maintained. "While a certain class of such people are undoubtedly feminine," Symonds wrote, "the majority do not differ from normal men. They are athletic, masculine in habits, frank in manner."<sup>xxxiii</sup>

When this debate was published in the *Mercure de France*, it gained currency among such French homosexuals as the young Gide. Like Raffalovich, Gide challenged the stereotype of 'inversion' as effeminate in manner and sickly, unvirile and degenerate in physiology. Instead, he insisted that pedagogic pederasts were vigorous in physique and virile in appearance, just as they were in Classical Greece. Taking this one step further, he maintained that physiological virility and martial vigour flourished in those societies most respectful of homosexuality. "I can think of no opinion more false, and yet more widely held," he explained, "than that which considers homosexual conduct and pederasty as the pathetic lot of effeminate races, of decadent peoples."<sup>xxxiv</sup> In this case he, like his friend, Rémy de Gourmont, insisted that the authentic meeting grounds for homosexuals, particularly those pursuing pedagogic pedophilia, was not in

Tea-rooms - gay parlance for pissoirs - but gymnasiums and sports stadiums.<sup>xxxv</sup> He endorsed Michel du Coglay's observation that "*the great majority of Platonic paederasts supremely despise those who flee the gymnasium to flit from tearoom to tearoom.*" In *Corydon*, which he began in 1907, Gide also challenged those natalists who perceived homosexuality as a threat to the national birthrate. Speaking through the voice of Corydon, Gide claimed that Classical Greece was "*a beautiful plant without blemish*" where "*no one branch harmed the development of any other.*"<sup>xxxvi</sup> If France were to imitate ancient Greece, he argued, it would foster healthy childbearing able to regenerate the race. If France were to tolerate a virile and virilizing homosexuality, he also argued, it would achieve its ideal of the 'manly man'. "*Brave and warlike men could be bred, not only on the banks of the Eurotas,*" he claimed, "*but wherever young men shunned disgrace, proved their courage by valiant deeds, and preferred death to dishonour.*"<sup>xxxvii</sup>

Pathologized as 'inverts' and 'perverts', diagnosed with hereditary degeneracy or traumatic insanity, tainted with unmanly effeminacy and conflated with sodomy, onanism and pederasty, homosexuality had been combated by Natalists as not just an offence against nature, but the nation.<sup>xxxviii</sup> At the same time, Natalists were in turn criticized by such homosexual writers as Gide for not comprehending the way in which a virilized homosexuality could achieve the very manhood to which they aspired. Yet given their mutual effeminophobia, paradoxically both Natalist and homosexual intellectuals idealized the same model of the 'manly man'. Both championed regeneration of the male body through modern sport and physical culture. Both were receptive to press photography of 'la vie sportive' and the Salon paintings by Libermann, Sickert, Kroyer and Tuke depicting young boys pursuing invigorating and virilizing sports. Both promoted the gymnasium and the physically cultivated body, while both lauded the "new artistic anatomy" as captured by Desbonnet's photography and painted by Courtois and Leroux. While their responses to modern sport and physical culture reveal their mutuality, nothing demonstrates their cross-sexual convergence more than their celebration of this artwork for having achieved a modern model of manhood comparable to that of Classical Greece. Hence for all their sexual differences and polarized positions, this picturing of regenerated masculinity constituted an ironic convergence between the virile homosexuality so desired by homosexual artists and the potent, patriotic heterosexual 'manly man' urgently demanded by Natality Leagues to replenish the French race.

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<sup>i</sup>R. de Lannoy, *The Suicide of the Race*, *L'Echo de Paris*, 10 January 1913, p. 1. French population was the first among the industrial powers to slow, stagnate and, by the end of the century, to decline.

<sup>ii</sup> Jacques Bertillon, *La Dépopulation de la France. Ses conséquences – ses causes. Mesures à prendre pour la combattre*, Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris: 1911, Avant-Propos, p. I: "*Les Français voient leur pays se suicider sans rien essayer pour l'en empêcher. La mort de la France, qui sera un des faits marquants du XIXe et du XXe siècle, étonne les étrangers et nous laisse indifférents!*"

<sup>iii</sup> In 1896, Bertillon founded the Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française. Its members included Professor Charles Gide – André Gide's father - as well as numerous Senators and Émile Zola. It had its own bulletin: *Bulletin de l' Alliance nationale pour l'accroissement de la population française*. By 1913, it had 76 general councils. L'Union des familles nombreuses de Levroux was formed in 1898. The Comité des revendications des pères de famille nombreuse was formed in Montpellier in 1906, while the Fédération des Groupements de famille nombreuses, the Société de Prophylaxie and La Ligue des pères et mères de famille nombreuse were founded in Paris by 1908. This is merely an indication, rather than identification, of the many family Leagues, Unions and Federations that emerged.

<sup>iv</sup> Bertillon, op.cit., note 2, p. 10, claimed: *C'est donc le crime d'Onan qui perd la France*. Despite his son's flagrant homosexual performances and publication of *L'Immoraliste*, Professor Gide was one of many who derided men, who did not go forth and multiply. Commissioned to report to the government's Depopulation Commission on the impact of immoral art on repopulation, Professor Gide maintained that it suppressed or delayed marriage, sterilized regenerative power through the practice of 'vices against nature' or the contract of venereal disease and ultimately reduced the birthrate.

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<sup>v</sup> Henri Roulleaux-Dugage, the Republican Deputy who sponsored the ‘family suffrage’ bill in the Chamber of Deputies, was adamant that bachelors did not have the same socio-political value as fathers. They were, according to deputy for Lille, Joseph Landrieu, self-indulgent egoists, unmoved by the imperative to regenerate the nation and only concerned with representing themselves. Unlike childless men, “*who tomorrow will have disappeared without leaving anyone behind them*”, the father of families would always vote with foresight, determined to protect their children’s and the nation’s future. Although the word homosexual does not appear in their rhetoric, they questioned the patriotic spirit of men who refused to have children. Bachelors were identified as selfish, morally deficient, suspect and unpatriotic – pursuing their own indulgences, not the national interests of France. Homosexuality was then not just an offence against nature, but the nation.

<sup>vi</sup> Ambroise-Auguste Tardieu, the French State’s leading medico-legal adviser, was the first to provide a landmark study on Paris’s homosexual subculture and to bring scientific scrutiny to bear upon the detection of pederasty and sodomy – two terms that came to be used interchangeably. After examining over 300 cases over thirty years from 1857, Tardieu concluded that pederasty and sodomy were far more prevalent than ever envisaged, particularly among the professional classes, “*those distinguished by education and fortune*”. His conclusion was based upon their not just bearing such incriminating somatic stigmata as flaccid buttocks, pointy penises and what Tardieu termed an “*infundibuliform deformation of the anus*”. It was also based upon effeminacy in every aspect of their performance. In keeping with the eighteenth century association of sodomy with ‘molles’, Tardieu identified the typical ‘tante’ – or Auntie - as having “*curled hair, made-up skin, open collar, waist tucked in ... jewellery, flowers and the whole body exuding an odour of the most penetrating perfumes.*” Tardieu was alert to ways in which this performance functioned as secret signs of recognition, “*just like a shameful free-masonry*” or a “*confrerie*”. Unlike his German contemporaries, particularly Karl Heinrich Ulrichs (1826-95), he did not correlate effeminacy with the psychopathic condition of inversion.

<sup>vii</sup> Albert Surier, *LE RÉGULATEUR*, Chronique de l’Education, L’Auto, 11 February 1904, p. 1, in response to Maurice Magnus, *La Defence of de la Race*, La Culture physique, No 4, June 1904. As sexual deviations constituted degenerescence for Albert Surier, the strongest races being the least amorous, the victims of vices against nature being the most, he argued that physical decline was always paralleled by moral decline.

<sup>viii</sup> Pierre de Coubertin, *La gymnastique utilitaire*, Paris, 1901, p. VI. A Neo-Darwinist, Coubertin stressed the imperative of sport in the “*struggle for life.*”

<sup>ix</sup> Due to State patronage of the Salon des Artistes Français and the Salon National des Beaux-Arts, through acquisitions from every Salon, the donation of national palaces for their annual exhibitions, as well as the staff necessary to run them, they became known as the ‘official’ salons, as distinct from the Salon des Indépendants and the Salon d’Automne. Refer Fay Brauer, *L’Art révolutionnaire: The Artist as Alien, The Discourses of Academicism, Modern Painting and Cubism in the Radical Republic*, Ph.D. Thesis, Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London, 1997; Fae Brauer, *Modern Art’s Centre: The French State, the Paris Salons and the “Civilizing Mission”*; forthcoming.

<sup>x</sup> Like Tuke, Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) studied in Paris. In 1866, he enrolled in the atelier of Jean-Léon Gérôme at the École des Beaux-Arts. Eakins returned to Pennsylvania in 1870 and became Director of the Pennsylvania Academy from 1882-6. Just before the turn of the century, he returned to athletic subjects, scrutinising the healthy male body in boxing and wrestling matches that combined realism with idealisation.

<sup>xi</sup> Philippe Tissié, *La Fatigue et l’entraînement physique*, Felix Alcan, Éditeur, Paris, 1897, p. XXXII: “*L’éducation physique est la grande régénératrice physique et morale.*”

<sup>xii</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17. A commission was established under the presidency of Jules Ferry to determine the *Manuel de Gymnastique et des Exercices Militaires*. From 20 May 1880, this manuel became a compulsory component of education for both genders requiring 2 1/2 hours out of 30 in the school week. The military orientation of gymnastics led to the ‘bataillons scolaires’, in which boys at primary school were trained as soldiers. In 1891, this Manuel was replaced by the *Manuel de Gymnastique et des Jeux Scolaires*. Refer, Alain Ehrenberg, *Le corps militaire*, Aubier, Paris, 1983.

<sup>xiii</sup> *L’éducation physique et ses enseignants au XXe siècle*, éditions amphora s.a., 1992, p. 16. L’Union des Sociétés de Gymnastique de France was inaugurated in 1873 to promote “*Patrie-Courage-Moralité*”.

<sup>xiv</sup> Philippe Tissié, *L’Éducation physique et la race. Santé-Travail-Longévité*, Ernest Flammarion, Éditeur, Paris, 1919, p. 256: “*Le nombre élevé des systèmes, des procédés, des moyens utilisés en France prouve l’intérêt porté à l’Education physique dont on comprend la valeur sans pouvoir cependant la fixer. C’est*

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pourquoi pendant vingt-cinq ans, de 1889 à 1914, trente-quatre Congrès d'Éducation physique ont été tenus au cours desquels se sont progressivement dégagées les directives de cette éducation.”

<sup>xv</sup> Eugen Weber, *France, Fin de Siècle*, Harvard University Press, 1986, p. 214. Georges Demy, *Les bases scientifiques de l'éducation physique*, Alcan, Paris, 1893.

<sup>xvi</sup> Philippe Tissé, *La Fatigue et l'entraînement physique*, Felix Alcan, Éditeur, Paris, 1908; 1<sup>st</sup> pb. 1897, p. XXXII: “J'ai essayé de créer ainsi une méthode psycho-dynamique ... L'éducation physique est la grande régénératrice physique et morale.” The 1905 French League of Physical Education was first established as the Girondone League of Physical Education in 1888.

<sup>xvii</sup> Claude M. Prévost, *L'Éducation physique et sportive en France. Essai d'anthropologie humaniste*, Presses Universitaires de France, 1991, p. 92: “Le monde de l'éducation physique est, en effet, éloigné de ... la « guerre des méthodes » ... .”

<sup>xviii</sup> Born in 1867 in Lille, Desbonnet died on 28 June 1953, in La Varenne, aged 86. Due to his delicate health, he practised gymnastics at the pensionnat Ste. Marie in 1875, then at the École Supérieure de Lille. In 1879, he discovered photos of strong men, which he began collecting. He opened his first École de culture physique, with a heated room in winter, in 1885 at 26, rue Nicolas Leblanc à Lille. His second School was opened in 1893 at 88 rue d'Artois, Lille, followed by his third in the centre of Lille in the place du Théâtre. After opening a fourth School at Roubaix, he opened his fifth school in Paris in 1899 at 48, rue du Faubourg Poissonnière, which was well publicised in *Le Journal des Sports* and *Le Vélo*. In *La Force physique, Culture Rationnelle, Méthode Attila, Méthode Sandow, Méthode Desbonnet*, Berger-Levrault & Cie, Éditeurs, Paris et Nancy, 1908 (6<sup>th</sup> edition), Professeur Desbonnet acknowledges that his method was drawn from “*Ling et la gymnastique Suédois*”. While he writes that this method had produced excellent results over a century in Sweden, he acknowledges that it had produced indisputably superior results when applied to official gymnastics in France. Nonetheless, he points out what he calls “*les inconvénients de la méthode Suédoise*”. The results took so long that, he claims, “*la plupart des latins le trouvent même mortellement ennuyeuse*.” In this way he justifies the need to turn to other methods, particularly those of Attila, Sandow and Dr. Krajewski to create ‘la méthode Desbonnet’.

<sup>xix</sup> In Chapter 1, *Les Exercices de Force au Point de Vue de la Santé*, of *La Force Physique, Culture Rationnelle, Méthode Attila, Méthode Sandow, Méthode Desbonnet, La Santé par les exercices mis à la portée de tous*, Berger-Lerrault & Cie, Paris, 1909, Edmond Desbonnet extracted the following quotation from Dr. Lagrange's *Physiologie des exercices du corps*: «*Les exercices de force exigent une grande dépense musculaire, mais ils produisent toutes les conditions voulues pour une réparation énergeque des tissus.*» Through modern sports and *la culture physique*, man could, according to Dartigues, make and remake muscle. Only man, he claimed, had the power to evolve a perfectible form in force, agility and health.

<sup>xx</sup> Professeur Desbonnet, *Les Rois de la Force*, Berger-Levrault & Cie, Éditeurs, Paris and Nancy, 1911. Desbonnet also used this term in his journals, *L'Éducation physique, La Culture physique and La Santé par les sports*, to single out those who had succeeded in using ‘la méthode Desbonnet’.

<sup>xxi</sup> Paul Richer, *Nouvelle anatomie artistique du corps humain*, Plon-Nourrit, Paris; 5 volumes, 1906-1926.

<sup>xxii</sup> From 1903 until 1922, Paul Richer was professor of anatomy at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts. Trained as a neurologist, Richer worked alongside Jean Martin Charcot at Salpêtrière Hospital, Charcot appointing him Chef de laboratoire de la clinique des maladies du système nerveux in 1882. Together they published many books on the relationship of the history of art to neurology. From 1888, Richer exhibited his sculpture depicting this “*new artistic anatomy*” regularly, if not annually, at the Salon des Artistes Français and from 1891, at the Salon National des Beaux-Arts; refer Fae Brauer, *Modern Art's Centre*, op.cit., note 9.

<sup>xxiii</sup> A close friend of Dagnan-Bouveret, Gustave Courtois (1852-1924), who trained in Gérôme's Studio at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts, undertook his Prix de Rome from 1876 until 1878. Immediately after, he exhibited at the Salon, rapidly winning sufficient medals to attain the privileged status of Hors Concours by 1880. Following Dagnan-Bouveret and Carolus-Duran, he defected from the Salon des Artistes Français in 1889 to help inaugurate the Salon National des Beaux-Arts. The younger, Georges Leroux, (1877-1957) trained in Bonnat's studio at the École Nationale des Beaux-Arts and took his Prix de Rome from 1904 until 1906. From 1901, he exhibited regularly, if not annually, at the Salon des Artistes Français, winning a silver medal in 1904, a gold medal in 1911, the Grand Prix in 1937 and acclaim for his painting of athletes (presumably *Le Javelot*) hung that year at the French Modern Art exhibition in Berlin cosponsored by both Blum and Hitler's governments.

<sup>xxiv</sup> “Prins-Eugène”, *Gazette de Beaux-Arts*, Mai-Juin, 1983, pp. 211-222: ... “von Stetton était un munichois tout à fait francisé ... il séjourne avec son fidèle ami Carl von Stetton au bord du lac Majeur, abandonnement ses cours à l’Académie Colarossi.” Courtois and the landscape painter, von Stetton, shared a studio. They reportedly became inseparable from 1893, von Stetton inheriting, on Courtois’ death in 1924, Courtois’ estate.

<sup>xxv</sup> Luc Montan, *Le Sport et l’Art, L’Inspiration Sportive au Salon*, La Culture Physique, No. 132, 1 July 1910, p. 397. “Celui qui posa en effet pour l’Hercule de M. Courtois, n’est autre que Maurice Deriaz, le célèbre champion de force et de lutte. Avec un tel modèle dont on a si souvent comparé à juste raison la formidable musculature à celle d’un Hercule Farnèse légèrement réduit, M. Courtois n’avait rien de mieux à faire que de copier. C’est ce qu’il a fait et son Hercule est un admirable portrait, frappant de ressemblance, de Maurice Deriaz au repos.”

<sup>xxvi</sup> Ibid. Luc Montan highlights ‘*Le Boxeur*’, the sculpture by Delapchier exhibited at the 1910 Salon des Artistes Français, awarded an Honourable Mention and a 500 francs government prize, and the engraved reliefs of cycling, running, rugby, soccer and sailing by André Méry shown at the 1910 Salon National des Beaux-Arts.

<sup>xxvii</sup> Ibid.: “... il serait injuste, pour terminer, de ne pas citer le nom du peintre Gustave Courtois qui, s’il n’a pas précisément traité un sujet athlétique dans la fort belle toile qu’il expose à la Nationale : «Hercule aux pieds d’Omphale», s’est servi du moins pour l’exécution de son sujet d’un modèle tout ce que’il y a de plus athlétique.” Arsène Alexandre, *Les Salons de 1910, Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Pour lire avant la visite, Apostrophe*, Le Figaro, 14 April 1910, P. 3: ... enfin l’Hercule aux pieds d’Omphale, de M. Courtois, qui rappelle un peu plus Marseille jeune que Saint Saëns, mais qui ne manquera pas d’attirer l’attention au point que les longs commentaires seraient superflus. Alexandre’s reference to Courtois’ Hercules as a “Marseille boy” indicates his awareness of its homophobic connotations. (Alexandre also mentions the exhibits by Melbourne painter, Phillip Fox, in this Salon.) This point appears overlooked by his colleague, Thiébault-Sisson, who writes, with irony, in *Les Salons de 1912, Le Salon de la Société Nationale (suite), La Vie Artistique*, Le Temps, 14 April 1912, p. 3: *La ténacité que met Courtois à défendre dans son Persée délivrant Andromède, un idéal aujourd’hui dépourvu de toute efficacité, de toute vie, a quelque chose, vraiment héroïque.* While critical reception of Courtois’ paintings was generally as positive as Montan’s, his paintings were widely collected, including by the French State. In 1909, Sous-Secrétaire d’Etat des Beaux-Arts, Henri-Charles Dujardin, Beautmetz, acquired Courtois’ portrait of his partner, Von Stetton, in fancy dress, for the State collection at the Musée du Luxembourg. Hubert Pierquin, *Les Nouveaux Académiciens, M. Georges Leroux*, Académie des Beaux-Arts Bulletin 16, juillet-décembre 1932 writes of Leroux: “Pénétré du sérieux de l’art romain, il a su adapter avec aisance les sévérités de l’école classique aux élégances modernes.”

<sup>xxviii</sup> LA FORCE, *La Culture physique*, No 2, March 1904: *Les hommes les plus forts, les races les plus fortes et par conséquent les plus aptes aux glorieux et fécondes avenir, seront celles qui auront le mieux et le plus parfaitement fait passer ce haut idéal dans la réalité.*

<sup>xxix</sup> Dr. Laupts, *Le Troisième Sexe en France*, Archives d’anthropologie criminelle, 1894; Dr. Louis Reuss, *Les Bissexués, gynecomasts, et hermaphrodites*, Paris, 1884, p. 18.

<sup>xxx</sup> From London, Raffalovich had published poetry and novels and was part of a literary circle that included Henry James, Beardsley, Pierre Louys, Stéphane Mallarmé and Oscar Wilde, who described him as the ugliest person he had ever met. In 1892, he began his life-long relationship with John Henry Gray – Wilde’s lover before Bosie, Lord Alfred Douglas. Four years later, Raffalovich published his study of differing manifestations of homosexuality, which he entitled *Uranisme et unisexualité: Etude sur différents manifestations de l’instinct sexuel.*

<sup>xxxi</sup> Marc-André Raffalovich, *Les Groupes d’uranistes à Paris et à Berlin*, Archives d’anthropologie criminelle 19, 1904, p. 926; quoting Reuss, op.cit., note 27.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Edward Carpenter, *Love’s Coming of Age*, Swan Sonnenschein, London, 1906; pp. 126-130. This was to be first published 1895 as an idealistic treatise on the ‘third sex’, but due to the impact of the Oscar Wilde Trials, was ‘pulled’.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> John Addington Symonds, *A Problem in Modern Ethics*, London 1898. Symonds also denounced those who revered ancient Greece as the original source of modern culture, but denied the moral validity of its sexual ethos.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> André Gide, *Corydon*, Paris, 1925; trans. Richard Howard, New York, 1983, pp. 171-172.

<sup>xxxv</sup> Ibid., p. 159: “Man’s desire was ... the tranquil peace of the gymnasium.”

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<sup>xxxvi</sup> Ibid.

<sup>xxxvii</sup> Ibid., p. 168.

<sup>xxxviii</sup> This classification arose from the medico-legal research conducted by Tardieu who, as indicated earlier, was the first to document Paris's homosexual subculture and to bring scientific scrutiny to bear upon the detection of pederasty and sodomy – two terms that came to be used interchangeably.