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“La Blanquirroja” – Perú’s forgotten heroes of Olympic Football

- + Edwin Vásquez “Shooting Star”
- + Passing the Torch: Romanticism and the Modern Olympic Revival
- + Branding the legacy of “The Flying Finn”
- + The Ancient Games of Aktion
- + Three sailors and a sergeant-major: Dutch participation in Paris 1900

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On the cover: Loose and relaxed. Perú’s Footballers before the quarter-final game against Austria in 1936 in Berlin, which had an unexpected outcome.

* Peer-reviewed article

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

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Welcome to the issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

The 131th IOC Session in September in Lima is an ideal opportunity to direct our focus to the host country. In March, Perú was devastated by the destructive “El Nino” flood, but the Peruvians insisted the Session will go ahead and transmit a living message.

At first glance, the country appears to lie on the Olympic periphery, but in fact, a Peruvian did take part in the Paris Games of 1900. Since 1936 Peruvian teams have been sent to all Summer Games except 1952. Since 2010 they have also been at the Winter Games. Anyone who knows their history will be aware that marksman Edwin Vásquez Cam won Olympic gold for Perú in 1948. His story is in this edition.

The title story is however dedicated to the footballers of 1936. They were considered co-favourites. Their misfortune is little known today. In fact it does not reflect well on FIFA, the world football governing body. They ordered Perú to replay their game against Austria after the South Americans had won the match 4-2.

Many see the hand of Hitler in this move but that is a myth. Instead it was a resolution by FIFA which was described at the time as “fair”. Other people see it as an expression of European snobbery towards “exotic” nations. The decision provoked the departure of the Peruvian team from the Games and later from FIFA itself.

What else does this edition offer? There are two important birthdays to celebrate. A quartet of Finnish authors look again at the legendary Paavo Nurmi, who was born 120 years ago and today represents a marker

for sports tourism. The Luxembourg ISOH member Pierre Gricius recalls his compatriot Josy Barthel, 1952 Olympic champion at 1500 m. He would have been 90 this year.

There are two contributions from the Netherlands. Rolf Bos spoke to 106 year old Mien Schopman-Klaver, who travelled to Los Angeles in 1932 as reserve for the 4x100 m relay. Henk Mees and Wim Zonneveld complete the picture of Dutch Olympic participation of 1900, a journey started by Tony Bijkerk.

Two Canadian PhD candidates, Taylor McKee and Brittany Reid, shine a light on hitherto unknown aspects of the Wenlock Olympian Games. They catch a glimpse of a climax of the British cultural interest in the ancient Greek society of the 19th century.

Christian Wacker describes the Ancient Games of Aktion, which he regards as a panhellenic mega-event, equivalent to the Games in Olympia.

Professor Hans Giessen tells the story of Saarland’s participation in 1952 in Helsinki, and how it was used to build a national identity. A French protectorate, the Saarland was then an autonomous state.

Collector Oleg Vorontsov focuses on the 1980 Moscow Games torch relay and reveals the difference between the “ordinary” torch and the 20 “special” models used for the ceremonies.

The regular features include our series of IOC biographies, obituaries and the latest in Olympic related books. There is also news of the ISOH Executive Committee meeting in Stockholm. ■

ISOH Executive Committee | 2016–2020

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Message from the President



David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT

On 9th June 2017, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) announced the addition of sixteen new events in existing sports, in addition to sixteen events already approved in the new sports of karate, skateboarding, sport climbing and surfing, and the reintroduction of baseball and softball.

With the elimination of one weight category in men's weightlifting, the net addition of 33 events that were not in the previous Olympics is the biggest change since the post-World War I 1920 Antwerp Games saw a jump from 102 events in the pre-war 1912 Stockholm Games to 154 events eight years later.

However, in this case, many of the 1920 events were quickly dropped and it would be another 44 years before that number of events was exceeded (163 in Tokyo 1964). At the Tokyo 2020 Games, there will be 339 events, more than double the number of those contested the last time the Olympics were held in Tokyo.

As part of its movement towards gender equality, the IOC has proposed that 48.8% of the athletes at the Tokyo 2020 Games be women. At the Rio de Janeiro 2016 Olympics, female participation was 44.25%. This increase of almost 3.6% will be the fourth greatest in Olympics history. At the Montréal 1976 Games, the proportion of women jumped 5.8% from 14.9% to 20.7%. For Atlanta 1996, the increase was 4.1% from 29.0% to 33.1%. And for the Sydney 2000 Games, the increase was another 5.1% from 33.1% to 38.2%.

Historic decision in agreeing to award 2024 and 2028 Olympics at the same time

The IOC unanimously agreed in principle to award both the Olympic Games 2024 and 2028 at the same time, paving the way for a "win-win-win" situation for the Olympic Movement, Los Angeles and Paris.

The 130th IOC Session met on 11th July 2017 at the SwissTech Convention Centre in Lausanne to discuss the proposal made by the IOC Executive Board.

(continued on p. 74)

In 2020, there will still be eight men-only events: the 50-kilometre race walk, Finn class one-person dinghy sailing and six Greco-Roman wrestling events. There will also be four women-only events: duet and team synchronized swimming and individual and group rhythmic gymnastics.

There are also several gender differences. Men compete in the ten-event decathlon, women in the seven-event heptathlon. Men race in the 110-metre hurdles, women in the 100-metre hurdles. In 2020, men will have three more boxing weight categories than women. Four of the six men's canoeing events are longer than the equivalent women's events. Male gymnasts continue to compete on two more apparatuses than females. Men compete in baseball and women in softball. Weight categories in various sports are, of course, different, as are the height of hurdles and the weight of throwing implements.

The IOC has doubled the number of mixed-gender events from nine to 18. Mixed doubles table tennis is a natural addition, but the other mixed events seem to be designed to increase the medals won by existing national powers in various sports or to look good on television. For example, there are team events in which the men and women are on the same team, but perform as individuals, such as mixed team archery, mixed team judo and three mixed team shooting events. Even in mixed team relay events, such as in medley swimming, triathlon and 4x400-metre running, the athletes' only contact with each other is at the handoff, which, in these events, requires little coordination (unlike the 4x100-metre sprint relay).

Because men's football is one of only two sports in the Summer Olympics that does not include the world's best athletes (boxing is the other), perhaps the IOC should consider adding a mixed-gender football tournament with five women and five men on each team, plus a goalkeeper.

Equestrian continues to be the only sport in which individual women compete against individual men. Between 1968 and 1992, women and men competed against each other in skeet shooting and trap shooting. In fact, the last winner in the mixed-sex skeet event was a woman, Zhang Shan of China. Since 1996, women and men have competed in separate skeet and trap events. ■

Minutes of ISOH Executive Committee Meeting in Stockholm

By David Wallechinsky

The Executive Committee (EC) of the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) met in Stockholm on 12th June 2017. Those present were President David Wallechinsky, Vice-President Christian Wacker, Secretary-General Markus Osterwalder and EC members Volker Kluge, Philip Barker and Leif Yttergren. Treasurer Laurel Zeisner and members Richard Pound and Kostas Georgiadis were unable to attend.

Membership Update

Markus Osterwalder reported that ISOH now has 434 members, including nine new members who have joined in 2017. He also recommended a revised, simplified membership structure, allowing members to join for one year or five years or to obtain a lifetime membership. It was decided to eliminate a separate category for student membership because there was little difference in price for a student membership and a regular membership.

Treasurer's Report

Laurel Zeisner filed her report stating that for the year 2016, ISOH had net receipts of \$63,956.68 and disbursements of \$67,051.92. The negative balance for the year was a result of a loss of \$3,200.93 due to changes in exchange rates. ISOH retained an overall balance of \$79,913.28. She also reported that for the first five months of 2017, 65% of ISOH spending was used to produce and distribute the *Journal of Olympic History*; 25% went to travel expenses; and 10% paid for maintenance of the ISOH.org website.

Awards

The following awards were approved:

ISOH Lifetime Achievement Award: Jean Durry (FRA)

ISOH Vikelas Plaques: Kitty Carruthers (GBR) and Elizabeth A. Hanley (USA)

Journal of Olympic History Article Awards: to Janice Zarpellon Mazo and Alice Beatriz Assmann (BRA) for



"Willy Seewald and the 1924 Olympic Games in Paris" and to David Davis (USA) for "Controversy in Stockholm: Duke Kahanamoku and the Olympics".

Ian Buchanan Memorial Scholarship: Tanya K. Jones (University of Texas at Austin) to continue her doctoral dissertation on "South African Apartheid and the Olympic Games".

It was decided that five members of the EC would divide nine possible entries for the *ISOH Karl Lennartz Memorial Book Award*, review them, share their opinions and vote for a winner at a later date.

Journal of Olympic History

Philip Barker proposed an updated style sheet for articles published in the *Journal of Olympic History* which would emphasize clarity, while retaining the basic style of the author of each article. The quality of the *Journal*, under the direction of Volker Kluge, has received so much praise from the Olympic Movement community that discussion was initiated as to the best way to find a new editor if Kluge retires from the position in 2020.

ISOH Website

There are now 313 articles from the *Journal of Olympic History* on ISOH.org. The articles can now be searched by author, in addition to by Olympic Games, sport, country or person. We have also added, under Olympic Games, the categories Summer Olympics (general) and Winter Olympics (general).

Meeting of the ISOH Executive Committee on the campus of the Swedish School of Sport and Health Sciences (GIH), formerly the Stockholm University College of Physical Education and Sports. It was founded in 1813 by Per Henrik Ling. As such it is the world's oldest University college in its field. The statue in front of the building is "Hyllning till Ling" (Homage to Ling). Created in 1943 by sculptor Gustaf Edvin Nordahl (1903-1992) it was awarded a gold medal for sculpture in the Art Contests at the 1948 London Olympics.

Photo: Markus Osterwalder

The South Gate on the Valhallavägen. On either sides stand granite pedestals with bronze busts: on the right Per Henrik Ling, on the left the President of the 1912 Olympic Organising Committee, Viktor Balck. Far right: In the stadium the gate is flanked by the busts of the Swedish kings Gustaf V and Gustaf VI Adolf.



The corridor under the amphitheatre has been re-modelled as a "Wall of Fame". Where there had once been windows, there are now photographs of famous participants in the 1912 Olympics such as Duke Kahanamoku. Far right: Replica of vest and shorts worn by South Africa's Olympic marathon champion Kennedy K. McArthur



Photos: Philip Barker, Markus Osterwalder, Volker Kluge

ISOH Helping IOC and NOCs

David Wallechinsky reported that IOC President Thomas Bach requested that ISOH participate in preparing a video interview with 104-year-old Baron Eduard von Falz-Fein of Liechtenstein, who worked as a journalist at the 1936 Olympics, helped create the National Olympic Committee of Liechtenstein and was instrumental in getting luge added to the Olympic programme. Wallechinsky and Maria Bogner, head of the Olympic Studies Centre, conducted the interview and also interviewed Adolf Heeb, a participant in the 1960 cycling road race.

Wallechinsky also, during a visit to Bratislava, met with the leaders of the Slovak National Olympic Committee and Slovak members of ISOH to provide information and advice regarding a pension request from a non-playing member of Czechoslovakia's 1964 ice hockey team.

Structure of ISOH Executive Committee

Currently, the President, Vice-President, Secretary-General and Treasurer are elected separately, with candidates running for each office, while the other four

elected positions on the Executive Committee are elected without the winners having specific responsibilities. Christian Wacker led a preliminary discussion to change the structure so that each elected member would have a designated responsibility, such as *Journal Editor*, *Marketing Director*, *Web Site Editor* and *Awards Coordinator*. It was decided to continue the discussion after receiving feedback from ISOH members.

Ethics Agreement

An ethics agreement for all Executive Committee members was proposed by Christian Wacker and, after mild editing, approved and signed by all present at the meeting.

2018 Executive Committee Meeting

It was decided to hold next year's EC meeting in Lausanne and to coordinate the exact date with the awarding of the ISOH Lifetime Achievement Award. ■



Barbecue? Not at all – the ISOH management in the Cauldron on the western stadium tower. Here and on the opposing bell-tower fires burned in 1912 during the Stadium Festival and at the Closing Ceremony. Far left: East stand of the stadium with bell-tower. Under the face of the clock are two sculptures, which symbolise the male “Ask” and the female “Emble”. According to Nordic mythology these are the first two human beings, created by the three gods – with Odin as their leader – from the wood of two washed-up trees.



Left: The tableau d'honneur of the Olympic champions of 1912 is at the South Gate. It was extended by an extra panel for the pentathlon and decathlon Olympic champion Jim Thorpe, after the IOC had rehabilitated the American in 1982. Thorpe was disqualified in retrospect in 1913 for breaching the amateur rules.



The Queen has sent her traditional message to those who will compete in the 2018 Commonwealth Games on Australia's Gold Coast. It was despatched in a specially designed baton. The first bearer was Olympic and Commonwealth cycling gold medallist Anna Meares who was joined at the gates of Buckingham Palace by Victoria Pendleton her greatest rival in competition. Later singer and environmental campaigner Cody Simpson continued the journey in a camper van, typically used by surfers in the region. The relay will last 388 days and visit all Commonwealth nations and territories before arriving at the Games. It is 60 years since this tradition was begun at for the 1958 British Empire and Commonwealth Games in Cardiff. (PB)

“La Blanquirroja” – Perú’s forgotten heroes of Olympic Football

By Volker Kluge

The Peruvian football team before their match against Austria in the Hertha BSC Stadium in Berlin-Gesundbrunnen on 8th August 1936.

Standing (from left): Carlos Tovar, Víctor Lavalle, Juan Valdivieso, Arturo Fernández, Segundo Castillo, Orestes Jordán, Juan Delgado (Masseur); kneeling: Adelfo Magallanes, Jorge Alcalde, Teodoro “Lolo” Fernández, José Morales and Alejandro Villanueva. In the first match against Finland Teodoro Alcalde had played instead of his brother Jorge.



Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

The Peruvian capital Lima will host the 131th IOC Session this September. The gathering will put the focus on a country with an Olympic tradition which stretches all the way back to 1900, when the Olympic Games were held in Paris. Among the participants that year was a Peruvian who took part in fencing and tennis. His name was Carlos González de Candamo y Rivero and he came from one of the richest families in the country.¹ His father was the Ambassador in France. (An uncle, Manuel Candamo Iriarte, was Mayor of Lima who became State President in 1903 but was struck down by cancer and spent only eight months in office.)

Carlos de Candamo was born in London, but studied in Paris, where he joined the elite Racing Club de France (RCF). In 1891 he reached the quarter finals in the first French tennis championships (now known as the French Open). The following year, he captained his team in the final of the first French Rugby Union Championship. Amongst his team mates was the famous French all-rounder Frantz-Reichel.² The referee

of the match was no less well known: Baron Pierre de Coubertin.

In May 1901 de Candamo was nominated as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Perú in Great Britain. This was probably the reason Coubertin invited him to join the IOC in November 1903. He lived in the Atlantic resort of Biarritz, and was an envoy to Paris. In Olympic circles, de Candamo proved an elusive figure, a veritable “phantom”. Of the 15 IOC Sessions which were held during his tenure, he was present at only three. These were all after the First World War. Perú had entered on the side of the allies in 1917 and on the formal document of setting out the Treaty of Versailles his signature can be found: “F.G. Candamo”.³

Perú had not yet sent a team to the Olympics, but in 1923 Alfredo Benavides succeeded de Candamo as an IOC Member. He also came from a very rich family. His mother was the niece of Pedro Diez Canseco and Francisco Diez Canseco. Between them, they had led their nation five times in the second half of the 19th century.

Football – the Peruvian national sport

British sailors had brought football into the country. While their ships were being unloaded in Callao, an important Pacific port, they amused themselves with the round leather ball. Soon they had also invited locals to play against them.

In 1893, a group of young Peruvians founded the Unión Cricket club in Lima. This had sections for cricket, tennis and also to football. Among the members was Benavides, who used his contacts to secure the finance for the construction of a football stadium, the Estadio Guadalupe.⁴

From 1914 to 1920, he was manager of the foreign ministry diplomatic office and also an important promoter of sport. In 1918 he founded a tennis club, a jockey club and the Peruvian athletics association. Perhaps his most important sporting endeavour was the foundation of the Comité Olímpico Peruano (COP), which came into being on 9th October 1924.

The early years of football in the country had been somewhat “wild”, overshadowed by conflicts between the clubs. In 1912 an agreement had been reached in on the foundation of a football league, and an unofficial national championship title. A national association, the Federación Peruana de Fútbol (FPF) only came into being in 1922. It received formal recognition at the 13th Congress of the International Football Federation (FIFA) in 1924 in Paris. The next year it also joined the South American continental association (CONMEBOL).

The setting up of the national team initially faltered for economic reasons. In 1927, the matter became rather more pressing because Perú had been asked to host the South American championship (Now known as the Copa América). The hosts managed to beat Bolivia 3-2. It was no surprise when they lost 4-0 to Uruguay and were beaten 5-1 by Argentina.

In the run-up there had again been problems between the rival clubs Alianza Lima and Universitario de Deportes. These had arisen because Alianza players had been excluded. They did not return to the fold until 1930 when they took part in the inaugural World Cup tournament. The Peruvians were drawn in Group 3, but lost 3-1 to Romania and by a single goal to Uruguay.

Hymns of Praise for the “All Pacific Team”

By this time professional football was beginning to grow. First in Austria, Hungary and Czechoslovakia, then in Italy, France, Uruguay and Argentina. At their 1925 Olympic Congress in Prague, the IOC had decided that eligibility would be down to the amateur definitions enforced by the individual international federations. They discussed the question for hours. The issue was whether payment for lost earnings and paid holidays,

known as “broken time” should be admissible. Although they discussed the matter at great length, no satisfactory solution was found.⁵

FIFA reacted in its own way. It removed the paragraph from its rule book. This triggered the resignation of the British associations, who insisted on the amateur rules.

On the evening of 18th May 1929 in Barcelona FIFA decided that a World Championship, styled the “World Cup” would be held in Montevideo the following year. The tournament would be a knockout competition.

Uruguay was celebrating the 100th anniversary of its independence in 1930, so the government allocated 300,000 gold pesos to the event. They also set aside 200,000 gold pesos for the construction of the stadium. For FIFA the offer was tempting, as they received ten per cent of the gross income.

As FIFA was not prepared to return to the amateur regulations decided upon in Prague, it became clear after the 1930 Olympic Congress that the 1932 Games in Los Angeles would take place without football.⁶ Despite that dealings went on behind the scenes, as the Americans too were interested in “soccer”. After all, the football tournament had accounted for 40 per cent of all ticket sales in Amsterdam.⁷

When the member associations of FIFA gathered in Berlin at Whitsun 1931 for their 31st Congress none of them really believed that football would be excluded from Los Angeles. For that reason they empowered the Executive Committee, led by the Frenchman Jules Rimet, to renewed negotiations with the IOC, which however came to nothing. In 1932 football was left out of the programme.



NOC President Eduardo Dibós Dammert. He joined the IOC in 1958, and remained a member until he was succeeded in 1982 by his son Iván Dibós Mier. In 1931 Dibós Sr. became Vice-President of Goodyear in Perú. He was Mayor of Lima from 1938 to 1940 and again from 1950 to 1952. From 1958 to 1959 he served as Minister for Development and Public Works.



The “All Pacific Team” made headlines on its six month European tour although they lost 4-1 to Barcelona on 8th December 1933.

FIFA did not wish football to be permanently excluded from the Olympics. Two years later they agreed to the IOC demand and would only permit amateur teams for the 1936 Games in Berlin. Because of the large number of entries, some kind of qualification system was included for the first time. For South America, the continental championship of 1935 was used to determine who would go to Berlin. Uruguay won the tournament from Argentina and Perú.

But as Uruguay and Argentina were concerned that their amateur teams might not perform well enough, they decided not to take part. It was left to Perú to represent South America alone in Berlin. They appointed Alberto Luis Denegri, a veteran of the 1930 World Cup squad as coach. He named a party of 22 – the majority from Alianza, Universitario and Sport Boys Lima. Only three had World Cup experience. These were goalkeeper Juan Valdivieso and forwards Arturo Fernández and Alejandro Villanueva.

The Peruvians were not an unknown quantity in Europe. From September 1933 to February 1934 they had toured seven countries. Their side was bolstered by three Chileans from the Colo-Colo Club. They were known as the “Combinado de Pacifico” (All Pacific team) and played 39 games. Ten were won, 13 lost, 16 drawn.⁸

Even after the first match in Belfast against Glentoran, which they drew 1–1, there were hymns of praise. In the Austrian *Sport-Tagblatt* paper, the “All Pacific Team” was even compared with the Uruguayans and their players described as “fast and hard-working ball technicians”.⁹ Teodoro Fernández, known as “Lolo”, was considered a great discovery. He was seven years younger than his brother Arturo but he was the leading scorer on the tour with 48 goals. This meant he was tempted with the most amazing offers. An “open” cheque from Chile for example. Despite this he kept faith with his club Universitario and remained with them for 22 years.

A 7-3 victory – “90 enjoyable minutes of play”

Since the early 1930s Perú had been considered an interesting trading partner by Germany. Even the National Socialists showed respect for the great history of the Incas, also because in the “ruling class personalities with really recognisable Indio traits” had been recognised, whose “future possibilities” were predicted.¹⁰

As a by product of the Olympic Games it was hoped to attract rich people from non-European states. They were offered the incentive of freedom from taxes for one year and in the event they took up residence in Germany, for ten years.¹¹ The Peruvian NOC President, Eduardo Dibós Dammert, who was of German origin was also considered “very useful”. As President of the Touring Club he was seen as the “driving force” behind road building in Perú, so he was invited to Germany in September 1934 to view the Alpine autobahns.¹²

State President Óscar R. Benavides was also in favour of promoting good relations with Germany, nothing more stood in the way of the first participation of a Peruvian team in the Games. The government agreed to pay for a party of 74 on 13th June sailed on the passenger steamer “Orazio”. The voyage would take 44 days. Apart from the footballers there were nine athletes, eight swimmers, six boxers, four cyclists, two fencers and a twelve-strong basketball team. Claudio Martínez Bodero led the delegation. From 1922 to 1926 he had served as the first president of the FPF.

The withdrawal of some nations meant that the Olympic football tournament had been reduced to 16 entries. The draw was seeded. The eight teams seen as stronger were placed in pot A and the eight ‘weaker’ sides drawn against them. Perú, thought to be strong were drawn against Finland

The preliminary round game was played on 6th August in the Hertha BSC Stadium in the Berlin quarter of Gesundbrunnen. The reporter of *Fußball* magazine described “90 enjoyable minutes of play”. He watched “two fabulous wingers (who can bring every defender to despair), two skilled, silky negroes [sic] working together and a quickly reacting centre-forward”, “who does not miss even a small and tiny-looking chance to shoot”.¹³ The result spoke for itself. Perú won 7–3. Five goals went on “Lolo’s” account.

“Fascinating” or “Scandal for the Olympic Idea”?

Perú’s match in the next round would also be played in the Hertha Stadium. The opponent was now Austria who had been drawn in the “weaker” pot. In the first round they had defeated “strong” Egypt 3–1. Until then the Viennese press, spoiled by the “miracle eleven” or “Wunderteam”, knew little of the amateurs who

The Peruvian team celebrated their national holiday on 28th July 1936 at the Olympic Village of Döberitz. 115 years before Argentinian General José de San Martín had proclaimed independence after victory over the Spaniards.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive





The Peruvian team took part in the Games for the first time in 1936 in Berlin. At the Opening Ceremony they used the Olympic salute. It is distinct from the Nazi greeting by the arm turned far to the right. In 1947 to avoid any further misinterpretation the IOC decided that teams should acknowledge the royal or presidential box with a simple turn of the head.

Below: In 1986, the Peruvian post office issued a special stamp to mark the 50th anniversary of Perú's first Olympic team.

mostly came from Linz, Salzburg or Klagenfurt. They were considered the "team of the nameless". Their coach was far better known. He was Jimmy Hogan, a master tactician from Scotland who had been in Austria since before the First World War and prepared Austria's Olympic teams for 1912 and the ill-fated 1916 Games.¹⁴

The temperamental South Americans had already made a great impact and attracted thousands of spectators on the 8th August 1936. The crowd figures given in the press varied between 12,000 and 20,000, while the German "Reichsfachamtsleiter" Felix Linnemann¹⁵, who was responsible for the overall management of the tournament, spoke of an attendance of "about 6000" in a later report.¹⁶

Whatever the correct figure, those present saw a "football drama in the most colourful illumination"¹⁷. Unfortunately no film of the game exists so that we have to rely on written match reports. These vary greatly in the detail. The German *Olympia-Zeitung* carried the following report:

*Even the first attacks by the Peruvians were impressive and promised much more from this favoured South American team. But soon the Austrians had found their form and with the high technical skill of both teams there were wonderful passages of play.*¹⁸

The account given in the Austrian *Sport-Tagblatt* was very different:

*After their 7-3 victory over Finland, the South Americans were considered as great favourites, but even after a short period of play it was clear that the Perú team apart from superfluous toughness and an inconsiderate attack on their opponents were unable to should anything important.*¹⁹

It was agreed that in the first half the Austrians "left an essentially more balanced impression", as indicated by goals in the 23rd minute from Werginz and Steinmetz after 39. Yet a 'different' Peruvian team emerged from the changing room after the interval.

The *Olympia-Zeitung* wrote:

*After the change the South Americans attacked even more passionately, but the Austrians held on. But they were unequal to the wonderful wing play of the Peruvians, and when in the 63rd minute Austria's left half Ladon [sic!] went off, the South Americans got a clear advantage. They forced the Austrian team back. In a jostle in front of the Austrian goal in the 78th minute there was an Austrian own goal. Thus the game changed. In the 81st minute the Peruvians scored a lucky equaliser, and they would almost have won the last seconds, but the unmarked outside left missed.*²⁰

For the reporters, Laudon's departure was seen as the turning point. "With one blow the South Americans got the upper hand. They raced forward, only now did they display their artistic dribbling with the ball and the Austrians were now clearly on the defensive."²¹ With the loss of the lead the tone in the Austrian accounts also changed. The talk was now of the "heroic struggle of our amateur footballers", of the "savage action of the



Perú's footballers justified their reputation as one of the strongest teams in the tournament. In the photo: goalkeeper Juan Valdivieso foiled an attack by two Austrian forwards.

Photo: Kurt Grimm



Peruvians" and of "exotics" who performed "a series of nasty tricks". The words had racist undertones which were unmistakable. The report in the *Tiroler Anzeiger* exemplified this:

*The movement of the Peruvians becomes ever sharper, especially the negroes in their ranks commit some unqualified nasty tricks. Stormy shouts of protest from the public like "Get out of Europe" accompany the actions on the playing field.*²²

The match finished 2-2 after 90 minutes, but this was a straight knockout, so extra time was played. Laudon returned to the field for the Austrians. The Peruvians, believed that this was not permitted under the rules. They protested violently, but gradually calmed down.

"Only now did the tension rise to a scarcely surpassable climax" and *Fußball* described the dramatic conclusion: *The players started the last general attack, the masses were put in a genuine confusion through the constantly changing scene, the choruses of the Peruvian colony who had assembled in remarkable numbers, but who had for a long time been more silent tried with redoubled volume, but the clock advanced inexorably. People thought there would be a new game. But four minutes before the end a shot from Villanueva went into the Austrian goal, and in the very last minute Perú's centre Castillo put the ball a further time into the net. Poland versus Perú was now the pairing in the second semi-final. It should not*

*surprise us if Perú wins here as well, so as to produce a unique battle with southern temperament in the final against the winner of the Italy-Norway encounter.*²³

The press in Austria offered some very excitable coverage. They carried a picture of "fanatics from South America" intended to portray the Peruvians in a bad light. There were negative words even from fans who had had chanted "Perú! Perú!" before the game and sung national songs. The press also said that the Peruvian supporters had swarmed onto the pitch before the end of the match:

*Again fanatics forced their way onto the field and kissed the players. But it was really bad at the end. We civilised central Europeans felt sorry for the players! The exertions of the two hours on the pitch were in our view not so great as the "kissing" ceremonies after the win. Every player was kissed by each of the Peruvians present...*²⁴

Immediately after the match the Austrian football president Dr. Richard Eberstaller spoke to the press:

*Scandalous scenes as happened today are incomprehensible to me. Still less do I understand that in view of the bad experiences we had of the Peruvians in the Finland game, no better measures were taken against repetitions. What the South Americans showed was not culture, but represented a great scandal for the Olympic Idea!*²⁵



Goalkeeper Alejandro Valdivieso (left), dubbed El "Mago" ("the magician"), during a walk round Berlin.

Far left: In their first game the Peruvians convincingly beat Finland 7-3.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive, Juan Valdivieso Archive

Eberstaller lodged a protest with FIFA. He wanted the result annulled. This was dealt with the following day. As a reason he had given "the unexampled rough excesses of the Peruvians as well as the repeated disturbance of the run of play by invasion of the pitch by the public". Eberstaller addressed the jury and there were statements from Norwegian referee Thoralf Kristiansen and the linesmen. A Peruvian representative was invited but did not appear. As the court of appeal²⁶ did not believe that the invitation had not reached him, it was concluded that this had been a deliberate action on the part of the Peruvians. The session was adjourned at 1.00 in the night and continued later in the day.

The road cyclists who "prevented" a hearing for the Peruvians

According to researches by Luis Carlos Arias Schreiber, it was not until the Monday morning, 10th August, around 8 a.m., that the Peruvian team management learnt of the deliberations of the FIFA session.²⁷ A messenger was sent to summon their delegates to the "Russischer Hof" hotel. A four man delegation led by Claudio Martínez left the Olympic Village about 9 a.m. It happened that on this day the link road between Döberitz and Berlin was closed because of the cycling road race. The departure of the bus carrying the Peruvians was delayed by almost an hour, and even then, the route to the city centre was slowed by diversions.²⁸

By the time the Peruvians finally entered the hotel, the session was practically finished. The FIFA officials were unsympathetic. They did not consider the delays experienced on the road to be a valid excuse for lateness. Officials read them the text of Austrian protest and the referee's report. After that the Peruvians were asked to leave the room and wait for the jury's decision in the hotel lobby. It was communicated to them at about 11.30 a.m.

That afternoon, FIFA published a communiqué. "Circumstances exist which prevented the normal course of the game" it read. It had been impossible to keep spectators off the pitch and to prevent one of them from kicking a player. In other words it was a failure by the security services and by the match officials. As those responsible had not yet been established, it was said that they had had to make a "sporting decision" and resolved to repeat the game the very same day behind closed doors.²⁹

This announcement been made in the late afternoon, with the intention of discouraging fans from making their way to the Post Stadium, where the game was to be replayed. The *Daily Herald* was able to report that "hundreds of armed SA men" had been posted there, "in order to prevent possible attacks by South Americans".³⁰ But the fears were in vain. The Austrians ran onto the pitch at 5 p.m. but there was no sign of the so-called "frightful Peruvians"³¹. A telephone call was made to the Olympic Village. The message came

“How the Peruvians behaved” ran the headline above this photo in the *Sport-Tagblatt* of the 11th August 1936. It is captioned “scenes of joy of the South Americans after the decisive goal” in the 4-2 victory. Despite reports in the Austrian papers, no rioting spectators can be seen. A policeman can be made out in the background. He obviously see no reason to get involved in events on the pitch.

Photo: KeystoneView



that Perú were unwilling to play again, whereupon the Austria were awarded the match by default.

Anyone who received their information from the Austrian newspapers, must have believed it a “pyrrhic” victory. Six players were thought to be injured and would therefore have missed the remainder of the tournament. But the next day that would be forgotten. The team showed only two changes when they beat Poland 3-1 to reach the final. There, they lost 2-1 to Italy after extra time.

Willy Schmieger, Austria’s most popular sports reporter, now wrote with some venom: “The Peruvians with their negro dances, with their savagery and their battle songs got on our nerves enough, but that is now over. We are no longer angry with them, that is just the way they are, nothing but children.”³²

A presidential order for Perú to return home and accusations against Germany by Rimet

On the evening of the 8th August, it seems indisputable that many Peruvians did indeed behave like children. After the result had been announced on the radio, some players were heard from speaking from Berlin. Then, thousands of people gathered at the Plaza San Martín in Lima, where they danced for joy. Congratulations came from everywhere, even from the archbishop.

The crowd moved to outside the presidential palace, where they gave ovations to their President General Benavides, who was surprised by this spontaneous show of affection. In a message to Berlin the German

Embassy cabled their interpretation from on the ground: “They strengthened him in the intention not to leave the stage with his cabinet at the presidential elections in October.”³³

After the FIFA decision, the four Peruvian officials had hurried to their embassy. From there Claudio Martínez sent a telegram to NOC President Eduardo Dibós Dammert, who had remained in Lima. The message told him of the latest turn of events and made a proposal that the team should leave Berlin as a protest. In the afternoon IOC Member Benavides was also drawn in and promised his support, after he had received the agreement of the State President who considered such a gesture was the “only solution to preserve the dignity of the country”.³⁴

Celebrations in Lima had gone on for two days and two nights, so it came as a body blow when the Peruvians finally learnt of FIFA’s decision to declare the result invalid on 10th August. A crowd of twenty thousand, mainly young people and students, demonstrated through the city centre. Again they gathered at the palace where President Benavides made a speech from the balcony. To great applause he announced that, in order to defend the honour of Perú, he had ordered the team to depart. Although he tried a little to calm the excited crowd, he still described Germany as “co-responsible”. In the heated atmosphere his words were lost. In fact the President fully understood “how to exploit the injury to national pride to establish his position for the upcoming change of President”.³⁵

In the meantime Jules Rimet had criticized the Berlin Organising Committee as “the main guilty party”, because of the failure to cordon off the pitch.³⁶ The impression of a German–Austrian plot strengthened correspondents’ reports, which in the annulment of the 4–2 victory saw a reward for the “July agreement”, by which Austria hoped to improve its relations with Hitler’s government. These had been strained since 1934.³⁷ For that reason the anger of the Peruvian demonstrators was also directed against the German Embassy, where windows were broken by stones. The Olympic flag was pulled down and ripped apart.³⁸ Similar scenes were played out at the Austrian general consulate, whose chief, Dr. Franz Ostern, was also representative of the German “Olympic Service”.³⁹

Things did not calm down over the next few days. There were more demonstrations. Universities and schools remained closed. Unrest spilled over into the provinces, where consulates and branches of German banks and companies were attacked. In Callao, dockers refused to load up German ships.

Word had reached Reich propaganda minister Goebbels that the teams from Uruguay, Chile and Mexico were beginning to express solidarity with Perú. He became concerned about the image of Germany which he had tried to portray as an “Island of Peace”.⁴⁰ He pointed out that there had been disputes at earlier Games and tried to play down the importance of this affair with a statement to the press:

*Germany regrets that it has come to this small incident, which of course is too insignificant to adversely affect the harmony between the peoples which has been shown in such a wonderful way during the Berlin Games.*⁴¹

With the Austria game the retention of power was ensured

Before IOC President Henry de Baillet–Latour travelled to Kiel for the sailing competitions, he had declared FIFA’s decision to be a “purely sports–technical matter”⁴², in which neither the IOC nor the Organising Committee had been involved. As no solution could be expected from him, the Peruvians followed orders from Lima and took their leave from Berlin on 12th August. The basketball team, which had won their first two matches against Egypt and China, did not appear in the fourth round against Poland. None of the boxers took part in the Games, nor did most of the swimmers. The IOC President wrote a critical letter to the Peruvian NOC in which he described the action as “anti–sporting”.⁴³

The Peruvians travelled to Paris, where the footballers wished to play a friendly game against France. It was thought that they intended to return after the Olympic Games to play against a German team.

Initially the Peruvians only got as far as Cologne, where they stayed for two days. They awaited news from the 23rd FIFA Congress which began the next day in the Berlin Kroll opera house. They did not send a representative to the congress but at the request of Uruguay, the replaying of the match was put on the agenda, prompting endless debate.

There were well–intentioned proposals such as that from Norway to find solution through “friendly negotiations”. Austria offered as a “substitute” a Vienna team as opponents – Rapid or Admira – while Germany hoped to an international match in Stuttgart. The Lebanese had just been accepted into FIFA and he suggested that the Peruvians play a match against whoever became Olympic champion. This idea was rejected.

The Peruvians had hoped FIFA would change their decision but this was not on the table. Instead FIFA Vice–President Rodolphe William Seeldrayers declared the resolution to be “unassailable”. A reaction came by return of post. The German Embassy cabled to Berlin from Lima that the friendly matches in Stuttgart and Vienna would not take place. “Neither the State President nor the local NOC is prepared to agree to it.”⁴⁴

Hitler had also been “most coarsely attacked”, in the Peruvian press. The chief of protocol of the Foreign Office, Vicco von Bülow–Schwante, summoned the Peruvian Ambassador Enrique E. Gildemeister to demand an official declaration “that Germany bears no responsibility for the incident”.⁴⁵

IOC Member Alfredo Benavides, who had returned to London during the Olympic Games, but was given the task of handing over a conciliatory note. The Peruvians were in no mood to jeopardize their relations with the Nazi regime. As requested, he dictated a statement to a German correspondent to the effect that “that no single German position had anything to do with the matter”.⁴⁶



IOC Member Alfredo Benavides even annoyed his own State President with his declaration that the protests of the Peruvian population had been the work of foreign Communists. This was not true. He did not express an opinion about the FIFA decision. On the contrary, he sent a letter to Berlin Organising Committee President Theodor Lewald praising the “wonderful work of the organisation” and the “perfect order”.

Photo: Official Report Berlin 1936



Four of the Peruvian participants in the Olympic Village. There was not a single woman in the party of 74.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

An emotional greeting for the Peruvians regarded as the "real" Olympic football champions. Team members were honoured by the Mayor of Lima with specially produced gold medals.

Photos: magazin Don Balón



His statement also described the demonstrations as the work of "foreign elements", but this did not go down well with his own government. In fact it read as if it had been personally formulated by Goebbels:

I can assure you most definitely that these demonstrations, which we much regret, were conducted by Communists. We have unfortunately had several times had to experience that foreign Communist elements attempt to bring Perú into conflict with the neighbouring states and with the great European states ... In this very situation in which we are again brought through Communist agitation, we see in today's Germany the decisive power against Communism.⁴⁷

The consequence was an "heated exchange of telegrams", in which the President demanded a correction from his namesake. In addition he imposed censorship and forbade publications of foreign transoceanic reports. The German Embassy staff formed their own impressions. They reported to Berlin in the following terms:



These mass assemblies and demonstrations do not at all allow the influence of apristic-communist agitators – in contrast to the manifestations that took place in the provinces.⁴⁸

President Benavides was prepared to exploit the damaged national pride of his compatriots to strengthen his own position at the risk of a permanent fall out with the Nazi regime. "The State President will leave no stone unturned to maintain this mood until the day laid down for the presidential election", the diplomats supposed.⁴⁹

The next opportunity was offered by a reception for the Olympic team, who returned on 17th September 1936. President Benavides declared the morning a public holiday. The schoolchildren too were free. Offices and shops were shut.

On arrival in Callao the sportmen were welcomed by a cheering crowd at the town hall in Lima. The press celebrated them as the "real Olympic champions". The Mayor distributed specially minted gold medals. Although the government had instructed the press to desist from new attacks on Germany, they did not manage to avoid nastiness. In a special edition of *Prensa* a headline compared Germany to Pontius Pilate, who had sentenced Jesus to be crucified and "washed his hands" in innocence.

The plans of President Benavides did not quite work out. He had come into office after the murder of President Luis Miguel Sánchez Cerro by supporters of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA). Elections were then held on 11th October 1936. The winner was Social Democratic Party founder, Luis Antonio Eguiguren. Under pressure from the representatives of the oligarchy and of the military, Benavides had the result annulled because Eguiguren had also received votes from the APRA which was a banned organisation.⁵⁰ With this move, the General was able to extend his time in office to 1939.

Meanwhile, back in Berlin at the FIFA Congress, the South Americans had demanded a representative on the Executive Committee and threatened to leave the world association if they were not successful. Their request was refused. The South Americans were mollified by the promise that they would be brought into discussions if matters pertaining to them were on the agenda.

The Venezuelan newspaper *El Herald* was one of many in South America which was highly critical. It was they said "proof of the contempt with which Europe regards us and the slight respect shown to the South American nations".⁵¹

By the time the CONMEBOL members met in November 1936 in Santiago, the Peruvians had withdrawn from FIFA. They asked other South American countries to follow their example. Only Chile supported them. But

all agreed not to take part in FIFA events until their continent was represented on the executive.

In the years that followed, Brazil went their own way. They did take part in the World Cup in 1938. They were the only South Americans to do so. The tournament was held in France where their black player Leônidas was the leading scorer. He achieved this feat despite an injury in the quarter final replay against Czechoslovakia which ruled him out of the 2–1 semi final defeat at the hands of Italy. Leônidas did not recover in time for the third place play-off where the Brazilians beat Sweden 4–2.

The other CONMEBOL countries including Argentina, whom FIFA President Rimet had long wooed, continued to display solidarity. In future countries were permitted to belong to their continental confederation even if they were not members of FIFA.

In 1938 Perú won the football tournament at the inaugural Bolivarian Games in Bogotá, and were awarded the South American championship of 1939. The team known as “la Blanquirroja”⁵² (because of their red and white jerseys) were trained by the British coach Jack Greenwell. They performed above themselves. In the final they defeated Uruguay 2–1 to achieve their first international title. As a result the team qualified for the 1940 Olympic tournament in Helsinki, one of 19 teams to enter. That these Games never took place is all too well known.

A petty epilogue and the glorious memory

Internationally Perú’s Olympic footballers of 1936 are more or less forgotten. But in Perú they are considered heroes who had been unjustly denied their rightful plaudits. Their exploits have been the subject of a number of books and *Goleadores* (Scorers), a television documentary by the French director Michel Gómez.

Of course legends are needed. It is said that Hitler was sitting in the tribune of honour on that 8th August in order to watch his country of birth Austria win. Nothing of that is true. In fact he was at the athletics in the Olympic Stadium. If the “Führer” wanted to manipulate the results, then one can ask oneself why he did not try to do that the previous day when the German team lost 2–0 to Norway in the Post Stadium and were knocked out.

The popular Uruguayan writer Eduardo Hughes Galeano, himself a big football fan helped contribute to the confusion, by stating on television that Hitler humiliated the Peruvians because they had black players, whereas he wanted to prove the superiority of “Aryans”.⁵³

There also is no proof that the result was annulled because of a German–Austrian conspiracy. There would certainly have been discussions among the leading FIFA officials, who regarded the temperamental ways



of the South American players and their fans as a thorn in the flesh. The Austrian football president Dr. Richard Eberstaller⁵⁴ possessed great influence, and as a member of the banned Nazi Party since 1931, he was also a spiritual “brother” to his German counterpart Felix Linnemann⁵⁵.

The treatment of the South Americans was also demonstrated in a petty “revenge” campaign which followed the Olympic Games. When the Berlin Organising Committee published their *Official Report* in 1937 they included a photographic register of Presidents and General Secretaries of the participating NOCs. Only one country was missing: Perú.

In the meantime, Hitler had created an Olympic award of his own. These orders of the 2nd Class were to have been presented to Eduardo Dibós and Cáceres Álvarez, a representative of the Peruvian Education Ministry. A ceremony to make the presentation had already been announced.⁵⁶ But once Dibós had reported to his NOC on the events in Berlin and not spared FIFA from criticism, the awards were withdrawn.

This particular episode had one final twist. Shortly afterwards Dibós became Mayor of Lima and Álvarez was appointed Education Minister. The German Embassy resurrected their proposals and now offered the first class order to the two men, with the expectation that the German community in Perú would enjoy certain privileges in return.⁵⁷ Only when Dibós repeated his criticism, was Berlin informed that it would be best to forget the matter.⁵⁸

There was to be no shortage of honours and distinctions for the Olympic footballers. The most unusual memorial was dedicated in the Cordilleras. An expedition of young Peruvians ostensibly sent to establish a possible route for a road through the

The Austrian football president Dr. Richard Eberstaller had been a member of the Nazi party since 1931. The photo shows his membership card.

Photo: Bundesarchiv Berlin, NSDAP-Zentralkartei

Shooting the ten part TV series *Goleadores* (Scorers) – in the foreground the French director Michel Gómez. The series is based on the true story of the Peruvian footballers, but it is a work of fiction. Hitler is portrayed as the instigator of the episode.

Photo: base image



mountains, climbed a local peak. They reached the summit some 5015 metres high on the 9th August and named the site "Punta Olympic" in honour of the footballers. In the early 1980s the construction of a tunnel began there. Since 2013 this has linked the Huaylas and Conchucos valleys. The tunnel was named "Túnel Punta Olímpica". At 4735 metres it is the highest in the world. There will surely never be a tunnel at a greater altitude! ■

- 1 *Journal of Olympic History*, Vol. 17, No. 3, 2009, Ian Buchanan/Wolf Lyberg, *The Biographies of all IOC Members*, part III, p. 47. Here the dates of Candamo are given as ca.1840–1922–1930. In fact he was born on 15th February 1871 in London; he died on 16th February 1946 in Paris. According to Lyberg he was coopted to the IOC in November 1903. However IOC publications give the date as 1905. De Candamo took part in the foil and sabre fencing, in addition in the tennis tournament, single and double handicap. See: Bill Mallon, *The 1900 Olympic Games*, McFarland, 1998, pp. 213–214.
- 2 The RCF beat Stade français 4–3.
- 3 *Traité de Paix*; signé à Versailles, 28th June 1919, *Deutsches Reichs-Gesetzblatt 1919*, No. 140, p. 329
- 4 An interesting and extensive presentation of the history of Peruvian football is to be found in: Aldo Panfichi (Ed.), *Ese gol existe. Una mirada al Perú a través del fútbol*, Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima 2008/2016.
- 5 Minutes, IOC Session, 9th April 1929 Lausanne, p. 5. The rule decided on by the Olympic Congress of 1925 read: "An Athlete taking part in the Olympic Games must satisfy the following conditions. 1. Must not be, or knowingly have become, a professional in the Sport for which he is entered or in any other sport. 2. Must not have received reimbursement or compensation for loss of salary. A holiday given under the normal conditions of a business or profession or a holiday accorded under the same conditions on the occasion of the Olympic Games, and provided that it does not lead to a reimbursement for lost salary, direct or indirect, does not come within the provision of §2."
- 6 Minutes of the Olympic Congress of Berlin 1930, pp. 11–15. IOC President Baillet-Latour devoted his opening speech almost entirely to the controversy with FIFA. After that the Congress confirmed the Prague resolution by 90 votes to 20. The question of holidays compensated by the employer or "broken time" was the only area in which there was not total agreement.

- 7 Wolf Lyberg, *Fabulous 100 Years of the IOC. Facts-figures-and much, much more*, IOC, Lausanne 1994, p. 247.665,699 tickets were sold. Of those 251,747 were for the football tournament.
- 8 There were also games against Newcastle United (1–6), West Ham United (2–2), Sparta Rotterdam (3–0), AC Sparta Prague (1–2), SK Slavia Prague (2–2), FC Bayern München (1–2), Berlin select (1–3), FC Barcelona (1–4) and Madrid select (1–10).
- 9 *Österreichisches Sport-Tagblatt*, 4th October 1933
- 10 Political Archive of the German Foreign Office (PADAA), RAV Lima 16/1, Consulate Report, 30th June 1936, Participation of Perú in the Olympic Games
- 11 *Ibid.*, 14th May 1935, Freedom from tax for those travelling to Germany in connection with the Olympic Games.
- 12 *Ibid.*, 24th August 1934. See also: *JOH*, *The Biographies of all IOC Members*, part XII, Vol. 21, No. 3, 2012, p. 70.
- 13 *Fußball, Illustrierte Sportzeitung*, No. 33, 11th August 1936
- 14 James "Jimmy" Hogan (1882–1974) was a Scot who played for Fulham and Bolton Wanderers. He was employed by club captain Hugo Meisl to prepare the Austrian team for the 1912 and 1916 Olympics. During his trainer career he also coached MTK Budapest, FC Lausanne-Sport, Young Boys Bern, Dresdner SC und Racing Club de France. In 1938 he helped Aston Villa win promotion to the First Division.
- 15 Felix Linnemann (1882–1948) became President of the German Football Federation (DFB) in 1925, from 1934 designated as "Reichsfachamtsleiter". See also footnote 55.
- 16 PADAA, R 98765, Report to the Foreign Office, 5th October 1936
- 17 *Fußball*, 11th August 1936
- 18 *Olympia-Zeitung*, No. 21, 10th August 1936
- 19 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 10th August 1936
- 20 *Olympia-Zeitung*, No. 21, 10th August 1936
- 21 *Fußball*, 11th August 1936
- 22 *Tiroler Anzeiger*, 10th August 1936
- 23 *Fußball*, 11th August 1936. The report in the *Olympia-Zeitung* ran similarly. In it there was talk of "clever attacking moves by the Peruvians", which the Austrians were not up to countering. However the scorer of the last goal must be corrected, scored in fact by "Lolo" Fernández.
- 24 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 20th August 1936
- 25 *Tiroler Anzeiger*, 10th August 1936
- 26 The members were Jules Rimet (FRA), Giovanni Mauro (ITA), Rodolphe W. Seeldrayers (BEL), Professor Rudolf Pelikán (TCH) and Anton Johanson (SWE).
- 27 Luis Carlos Arias Schreiber, „BERLÍN 1936: LA VERDADERA HISTORIA DE LOS OLÍMPICOS PERUANOS“, in: *Ese gol existe*, pp. 143–187
- 28 *XI. Olympiade Berlin 1936, Amtlicher Bericht*, Vol. 2, Wilhelm-Limpert-Verlag Berlin 1937, p. 932.

- 29 Ibid., pp. 1048–1049.
- 30 PAdAA, R 98765, Deutsches Nachrichten-Büro (DNB) London, 8th August 1936. The internal information was obviously wrongly dated.
- 31 *Sport-Tagblatt*, 11th August 1936
- 32 The former Austrian football international Wilhelm “Willy” Schmieger (1887–1950) wrote the article quoted before the FIFA verdict, but published it only afterwards in the *Illustrierte Kronen-Zeitung* of 11th August 1936. In fact a secondary schoolteacher, he worked most of the time as a journalist and radio reporter.
- 33 PAdAA, R 98765, Report of the German consulate in Lima, 21st August 1936
- 34 Arias Schreiber, p. 161
- 35 Ibid., Telegram from Dr. Willy Unverfehrt, employee of the Außenpolitisches Amt of the NSDAP to the Foreign Office, Lima, 11th August 1936
- 36 PAdAA, R 98765, Report Embassy Montevideo. The information related to an interview conducted by the Paris correspondent Javier Esteban Yndart with Rimet in the Uruguayan newspaper *La Mañana*.
- 37 After the failed putsch by Austrian Nazis of the 25th July 1934 (“Juli-Putsch”), in which 270 people lost their lives (among them Federal Chancellor Engelbert Dollfuß), the participation of Austria in the 1936 Games was considered uncertain. From the agreement of 11th July 1936, in which Hitler recognised the “full sovereignty” of Austria, the government of the Alpine Republic promised a normalisation of relationships. In fact however the consequence was an ideological undermining, ending in the “Anschluss” of 1938.
- 38 Ibid., Telegram to the Foreign Office, 10th August 1936
- 39 *El Comercio*, 10th August 1936. The German Dr. Franz Ostern emigrated 1908 to Perú, where in 1919 he founded the firm Ostern & Co., which specialised in the export of sugar and wood as well as ship journeys to Europe. From 1927 he was also Austrian honorary consul.
- 40 Ibid., Information Alfred–Ingemar Berndt to Goebbels, 11th August 1936. Elke Fröhlich (Ed.), *Die Tagebücher von Joseph Goebbels. Sämtliche Fragmente*, Vol. 2, K.G. Saur, München 1987, p. 660, 12th August 1936: “Embarrassing gameplay with Perú. But Germany was quite innocent.”
- 41 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 12th August 1936
- 42 *DNB*, 11th August 1936
- 43 PAdAA, R 98765, report Otto von Erdmannsdorff to Vicco von Bülow-Schwante, 18th August 1936
- 44 Ibid., Telegram Embassy Lima, 15th August 1936
- 45 Ibid., Report, 17th August 1936. Before the Olympic Games Bülow-Schwante (1891–1970) had invented the concept of “species-similar blood” to prevent a boycott of Egypt.
- 46 *DNB* London, No. 223, p. 43, 12th August 1936
- 47 *Völkischer Beobachter*, 14th August 1936
- 48 PAdAA, R 98765, Report to Foreign Office, 21st August 1936. “Apristic” referred to the adherents of the Alianza Popular Revolucionaria Americana (APRA). This was a mass movement founded in 1924 by the social underclasses. It had been banned by President Benavides.
- 49 Ibid., Report Embassy Lima, 5th September 1936
- 50 El Presidente de la República, ley No. 8459, declaranda ilegales los votos emitidos en las elecciones generales realizadas el 11 de octubre de 1936
- 51 PAdAA, R 98765, Report from the Embassy in Venezuela to the Foreign Office, 13th August 1936
- 52 “La Blanquiroja” – “the white-and-red” – is the nickname of the Peruvian national team. It literally translates as a wine which is produced from white grapes – mixed with small quantities of red – and whose characteristics are fruit aromas and a golden colour.
- 53 Eduardo Hughes Galeano, *Cuando Perú humilló a Hitler*, 20th April 2012, www.youtube.com
- 54 German Federal Archive (Barch), R 9361–IX, NSDAP–Gaukartei. Dr. Richard Eberstaller (1887–1945) was President of the Austrian Football Federation (ÖFB) from 1926. In the Austrian Sport and Gymnastic Front, led in 1936 by Vice-Chancellor Ernst Rüdiger Fürst Starhemberg he became leader of the 5th group (football). After the “Anschluss” with Germany he liquidated the ÖFB with over hasty obedience. Eberstaller had been a member of the Austrian Nazi party (NSDAP) since 31st January 1931 (member No. 440,371) until it was banned in 1933. Until 1938 he had been an Oberlandesgerichtsrat and his career blossomed quickly under the Nazi regime. As Senate President and later Vice-President of the Vienna regional court he was involved in several death sentences. Shortly before the end of the war he took poison along with his wife Maria, a half-sister of the widow of the Jewish composer Gustav Mahler and of the Jewish writer Franz Werfel.
- 55 Linnemann was promoted to Oberregierungs- and Kriminalrat in 1936. He joined the Nazi party in 1937, after the limit on new memberships which had been imposed in 1933 was removed after four years. In 1940 he was accepted into the SS and at the start of 1945 promoted to Standartenführer in the Reichssicherheitshauptamt (RSHA).
- 56 *Reichsanzeiger*, No. 37, 15th February 1937
- 57 PAdAA, RAV Lima 16/1, Ambassador Ernst Schmitt (1879–1946) to the Foreign Office, 23rd June 1937.
- 58 Ibid., 14th September 1937. *La Cronica*, 1st October 1937



The Olympic tunnel in the Cordilleras, which was inaugurated in 2013. At 4735 metres above sea level it is the highest tunnel in the world. The first tunnel was opened in 1984, but soon had to be closed again because of the danger of avalanches and falling rocks.

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Edwin Vásquez "Shooting Star"

By Volker Kluge

Edwin Vásquez Cam. His memorial stands in the Olympic Park of San Borja. The Peruvian was born on the 28th July 1922 in Malambito, a popular quarter of Lima. When his parents had him baptised with the first name "Edwin", the priest refused because the name did not correspond to the Gregorian calendar. In the end there was a compromise: the child received the additional forename of "César".



In shooting an old adage still holds good: No one is born a master. Most often it is the very experienced competitors who win. The Swede Torsten Ullman was a typical example. He first took part in the Olympics in 1936 and made his final appearance in 1960. As the reigning Olympic champion from 1936, he started favourite in 1948. He had been very successful before the war and won the world title in 1937. Another World Championship gold followed in 1947.

The free pistol competitions at the 1948 Games were held far from the London spotlight at the remote Bisley Camp in Surrey. It was here, on 2nd August that another man staked his claim. He stood only 1.59 m tall and his name was Edwin Vásquez Cam. He came from Perú. Most asked 'Who?'

It was not his fault that he was "unknown". At that time, few observers took any interest in a South American shooter. He had won double gold in the continental championships and won four titles at the the Bolivarian Games of 1947. Perhaps they even scoffed at the Peruvians, for they used pistols that many felt were obsolete, while the latest models were at the disposal of the elite.

A special thanks to ISOH member Fernando Caillaux, Director of the Peruvian Olympic Academy, for his generous help.

In Bisley, Vásquez was quickly made aware of this disadvantage. But there was a solution. The small calibre marksman Luis Mantilla was the only Peruvian to own a modern pistol. He had a Swiss "Hämmerli MP33 Kaliber .22LP"¹ and lent this to his teammate. Vásquez still had to content with an unfamiliar grip which had not been made for his hand.

The shooters were each required to shoot six series of ten shots. At halfway, the Swiss Beat Rhyner was in front with 277 hits. Vásquez was tied for second with another Swiss, Rudolf Schnyder each on 271, and Ullman was fourth with 269.

There was a mandatory break of 30 minutes, which did not suit the favourites. When they resumed, Vásquez shot his remaining three series with stoic calm, but his rivals needed some time to rediscover their rhythm. Before the last series, Rhyner was still one point in front of Vásquez, but out of sorts, he missed the black and recorded only a "4" to finish outside the medals.

Vásquez finished six shots ahead of his nearest rival Schnyder of Switzerland. It was his country's first Olympic gold and made sure that 2nd August would forever be a red letter day. Edwin Vásquez truly was the "Shooting Star".

He was in fact, no meteor but a something of a "Wunderkind". In 1935, he had competed for the first time at the tender age of 13 in a competition "carbine for beginners with handicap". Edwin won even without a handicap.

He had been taught by his father, Gonzalo Vásquez Tejeda, an officer in the Peruvian Air Force (FAP) and himself successful marksman. In 1938 Vásquez senior was selected for the 1st Bolivarian Games in Bogotá. At the same time he was chosen for the Bolivia Cup, his 16 year old son appeared in his place and demanded to compete. At the end of the day the winner was Vásquez Jr.

In 1940, the youngster took part in the Gildemeister Trophy. This was for a trophy donated in 1916 by the "Casa Grande Zuckerplantagen" company in memory of the entrepreneur Juan Gildemeister². It was a prestigious competition. Vásquez Sr. had been afraid that his delicate son would not be able to cope with a three positions event with the army rifle. He was wrong. Although the competition lasted a grueling seven hours Edwin recorded 985 scores with his 120 shots to take first place. At 18 he became the youngest winner.



March of the Peruvian team in 1948 in London. Perú was represented from 1936 at all Olympic Summer Games with the exception of Helsinki 1952. Far left: the champion shot in the caricature of the artist Víctor Leonardi.



Until today Edwin Vásquez is the only Peruvian Olympic champion. Silver went to Francisco Boza (left) in 1984 in trap and to Juan Jorge Giha (right) in 1992 in skeet. A further silver was won by the women's volleyball team in 1988 in Seoul. Photo far left: Olympic gold in Bisley Camp: left Torsten Ullman, who was second, right Huelet Benner (USA), who came fourth.



Edwin Vásquez Cam died in 1992 of a heart attack. The pistol with which he won in 1948 he gave to the Museo de Oro in Lima, which has a significant collection of weapons. Far left: Vásquez as flagbearer in 1984 in Los Angeles.

A year after his Olympic victory in London, Vásquez qualified from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUCP) as a construction engineer. His first job was in irrigation systems at an altitude of 4500 m in Choclocha. He became project leader at the housing ministry.

He remained involved with shooting. In 1951 he won gold at the inaugural Pan-American Games in Buenos Aires, but Perú did not take part in the 1952 Olympics because of an order from State President Manuel A. Odría.

In 1956 Vásquez was back – now as technical director. And in 1984 in Los Angeles he was allowed to carry the Peruvian flag. ■

- 1 In 1933 the constructor was German gunsmith Hugo Döll from Zella-Mehlis. Hundred copies were made for the company Hämmerli & Co.
- 2 Juan (Johannes) Gildemeister (1823–1898) was a merchant and father of 19 children. German born, he became rich through the export of the fertiliser guano to Europe and the extraction of saltpeter. In 1889 Gildemeister founded the "Casa Grande" sugar plantation revolutionised the Peruvian sugar industry.

Photos: Teodoro Salazar Canaval, Edwin Vásquez: Campeón y Señor Olímpico, Comité Olímpico Peruano; Volker Kluge Archive

Branding the legacy of “The Flying Finn” *

By Miia Grénman, Juulia Räikkönen, Ulla Hakala & Kalle Virtapohja

A postcard motif: Nurmi memorial in front of the Olympic Stadium in Helsinki. It was signed by Paavo Nurmi in 1963 and sent to the Editor of the *Journal*. The runner's statue was commissioned in autumn 1924 by the Finnish government. It was the work of sculptor Wäino Aaltonen who was 30 years old at the time. The statue originally stood at the Helsinki Atheneum, and now has returned there. A copy of the original statue was placed in front of the Olympic Stadium in 1952. There are other copies in Nurmi's home town of Turku, in Jyväskylä, and in Lausanne.

Photo: Volker Kluge Collection



“His imprint on the track world was greater than any man's before or after. He, more than any man, raised track to the glory of a major sport in the eyes of international fans, and they honoured him as one of the truly great athletes of all sports.” (1986)

This paper examines sport tourism from the perspectives of tourism studies and brand management by taking the legendary Finnish athlete, Paavo Nurmi (1897–1973), as a case example. During his running career, he won nine gold and three silver medals in the Olympic Games (1920–1928), and is still considered one of the greatest athletes of all times. His achievements had an enormous significance for his country, the young and small nation which had just declared its independence from Russia.

In Nurmi's time, target-oriented branding was not a topical issue but, during the past decades, it has become

a focal concept in marketing literature and is now frequently discussed in relation to sports and athletes (Arai, Ko & Ross, 2014). Athletes can be considered as cultural products and brands in their own right but, as this case demonstrates, their legacy can expand to many other fields – even long after their lifetimes. A brand in sports is defined as a name, design, or symbol which differentiates it from the competition (Shank, 1999). Accordingly, Nurmi was a name, and his legacy is a brand: he had a name, a distinctive appearance, and a strong personality. In this paper, we discuss how his human brand has been leveraged to various categories of sport tourism and levels of branding.

The brand of Paavo Nurmi forms the basis for a series of sport tourism events that manifest his legacy and bring thousands of domestic and international sport tourists to Nurmi's home town, Turku, in Finland. The most significant event is the Paavo Nurmi Games, an internationally recognised track and field meet for the

world's leading athletes. The Paavo Nurmi Games is a part of the European Athletics (EA) Premium Permit Circuit and is also highly ranked by the International Association of Athletics Federations (IAAF), rising to the IAAF World Challenge Permit in 2017.

The Paavo Nurmi Games represents a traditional form of sport tourism, which centres on a passive observing of various sporting events. Indeed, event sport tourism has been the most recognised form of sport tourism with large-scale sporting events, such as the Olympic Games, greatly influencing this tendency (e.g. Gibson, 2002). Currently, there is also an increasing demand for more active forms of sport tourism that involve active participation in various sports-related exercises and events (Gibson & Fairley, 2014). As a response, the supply of active sporting events has increased significantly during the last few years, of which the Paavo Nurmi Marathon in Turku, with thousands of participants, is a good example.

Our aim is to describe how Nurmi has opened the way to multi-level branding and how his legacy is maintained and extended by various factors in order to benefit the local and national tourism industry, and even society, in a wider sense. In order to complete this task, we have conducted interviews, documentary analysis, and participant observation. This paper is written by academic researchers and, notably, one of the authors has been writing a biography of Paavo Nurmi, providing access to inside information and ensuring the accuracy of the factual content on Nurmi.

Sport tourism

During the past decades, sports and tourism have developed into highly desirable leisure time activities and have also become significant economic activities (Roche, Spake & Mathew, 2013; Weed & Bull, 2004). Tourism is regarded as one of the world's largest industries (UNWTO, 2016), while sport as the world's largest social phenomenon (e.g. Delpy Neirotti, 2003). Accordingly, sport tourism has become a major sector of the global travel and tourism industry (e.g. Ritchie, 2005). It is noteworthy that several scholars have argued sport tourism to be more than the simple combination of sport and tourism – greater than the sum of its parts (e.g. Weed & Bull, 2004; cf. Gibson, 2002). Weed and Bull (2004, p. 37), for instance, have considered sport tourism as “a social, economic, and cultural phenomenon arising from the unique interaction of activity, people, and place”.

The exact definition of sport tourism has been widely debated, not only in terms of the core concepts of sport and tourism, but also how the field itself is described and how sport tourism is categorized (e.g. Weed, 2009). Sport tourism is frequently characterized by travelling,

to either actively participate in sports (e.g. scuba diving, skiing, and golf) or passively watch and observe sports (e.g. sports events and sports museums), where either sport or tourism can be the main motive (e.g. Gibson, 2002; Ritchie, 2005).

In this paper, we follow the classification of Gibson (1998; 2002), in which sport tourism is portrayed as a leisure-based activity with three overlapping categories: active sport tourism, event sport tourism, and nostalgia sport tourism. Although this categorization has been criticized for viewing events mainly as a spectator phenomenon and considering nostalgia as a sport tourism type, instead of a motivational factor (Weed & Bull, 2004; Weed, 2009), it offers a solid base for analysing sport tourism centring on the legacy of Paavo Nurmi.

Active sport tourism comprises several activities such as skiing, fishing, and biking, as well as active participation in different events and sporting tournaments (Gibson, 1998; Ritchie, 2005). During the last decades, active sport tourism has increased its popularity among traditional sports, such as skiing and golf (Gibson & Fairley, 2014), but also among endurance sports, such as marathon events, the number of which has exploded globally (Burfoot, 2007). This trend is partly explained by the increased awareness of the benefits of an active lifestyle, tourists' desire for a variety of experiences, learning and engaging



Nurmi medal, created in 1974 by Raimo Heino. On the reverse are the three Olympic cities in which Nurmi won medals: Antwerp, Paris and Amsterdam.



The “Flying Finn” – so called for his wonderfully easy running style. The photo shows Nurmi in the German Stadium in Berlin which was to have held the Olympics in 1916. Ten years later Nurmi set a 3000 m world record with a time of 8:25.4 min.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

“The runner Nurmi” – bronze statuette by the sculptor Renée Sintenis. She was inspired when she saw him run in Berlin on 11th September 1926. Although the German Otto Peltzer took the 1500 m world record from Nurmi in this race with 3:51.0 min, she did not choose the winner as her model but instead decided on the Finn as the subject for her work.

Photo: Nationalgalerie Berlin



in something new, and also greater opportunities to take part in sporting activities during their vacation (Gibson & Fairley, 2014).

Event sport tourism is, to date, the most researched area of sport tourism, entailing large-scale events, such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA World Cup (Ritchie, 2005). These mega-events are characterized by an extraordinary significance, scale, and reputation with an international focus in terms of athletes, spectators, and substantial media spectacles that boost the tourism industry and attract new businesses (Gibson & Fairley, 2014). However, there is also an increasing interest in event sport tourism concerning smaller-scale

events, such as regional and amateur competitions, the popularity and economic importance of which has been noticed by both scholars and tourism professionals (Gibson & Fairley, 2014). Compared to short-term mega-events, small-scale sporting events can provide communities with more positive and less negative impacts as they often use existing infrastructure, require minimal public funding, are more manageable, and may minimize tourism seasonality (Higham, 1999; Ritchie, 2005). Today, many cities prioritize local sporting events and focus on both spectators and active participants in order to generate tourism income and develop destination image and branding (Gibson & Fairley, 2014).

Nostalgia sport tourism refers to something or somebody associated with sports. It is generally related to physical artefacts, such as sports halls of fame and museums, sport tourism tours to famous sporting stadiums, or sport-themed vacations (Ritchie, 2005). Furthermore, it relates to social interactions within different sport tourism groups, such as fan group tours (Fairley, 2003). Nostalgia sport tourism is still the least researched area of sport tourism and also largely ignored by the tourism industry (Gibson & Fairley, 2014), offering a vast future potential.

Sport tourism and the legacy of Paavo Nurmi

In general, legacy refers to what is inherited from one person to another, from one organisation to another, or from one generation to another (Holt & Ruta, 2015). In sport management literature, legacy often refers to mega-events, especially the Olympic Games, which must succeed in their own terms but also respond to the public's expectations of renewing a city, reviving an economy, and even re-branding the nation (Holt & Ruta, 2015). Instead of the mere short-term effects of sporting events, legacy refers to a wider transformation, long-term activities, and alternative forms of impacts such as creating new skills and improving communications (Holt & Ruta, 2015; Preuss, 2007).

The legacy of Paavo Nurmi is manifested through the various sporting events and attractions that, together,

Table 1
Events and attractions centering on the legacy of Paavo Nurmi.

Year	Event or attraction	Form of sport tourism
1893/1997	Paavo Nurmi Stadium	Active, event and nostalgia sport tourism
1925/1952	Statue of Paavo Nurmi	Nostalgia sport tourism
1957	Paavo Nurmi Games	Event sport tourism
1992	Paavo Nurmi Marathon	Active sport tourism
1997	Paavo Nurmi Museum	Nostalgia sport tourism
2013	Paavo's Sports Day	Active sport tourism
2013	Master/Junior Games	Event sport tourism
2016	Paavo Nurmi Athletics Day	Active sport tourism



Finnish special stamps of 1997 commemorating the 100th birthday of Paavo Nurmi.

Far left: The final runner Paavo Nurmi, 55, lit the Olympic Cauldron in the Helsinki Stadium in 1952.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

form the Paavo Nurmi Festival Week, culminating in the actual Paavo Nurmi Games. As described in Table 1, these events represent all forms of sport tourism: active sport tourism, event sport tourism, and nostalgia sport tourism (cf. Gibson, 2002).

The most significant active sport tourism event is the annual road running race, the Paavo Nurmi Marathon, which was established in 1992, including half and full marathons, as well as a 10 km race. The Paavo Nurmi Marathon has grown tremendously during the recent years and recorded 4000 participants in 2016. The Paavo Nurmi Festival Week also includes events for beginners, while promoting sports, and especially athletics, to a wider audience. The Paavo Nurmi Athletics Day engages ordinary people of all ages in trying different track and field sports, while Paavo's Sports Day is targeted for children and families, attracting thousands of potential future athletes to try, and to enjoy sports.

In relation to the passive event sport tourism, the main event here is undoubtedly the Paavo Nurmi Games, an annual track and field meet, inviting the world's leading athletes to Finland. The meeting was first established in 1957 to celebrate the 60th birthday of Paavo Nurmi. For many years, it remained a grassroots event, but eventually developed into a major, internationally recognised sporting event, due to a more professional approach in terms of management, marketing, and branding. A significant turning point was the establishment of the PN Turku Ltd in 2012. The company was founded in cooperation with local sports clubs, the Finnish Athletics Federation, and Paavo Nurmi's son Matti to assure the legacy of Paavo Nurmi. The aim of the company is to develop the Paavo Nurmi Games, increase its international media coverage, and raise the meeting to higher levels in the international rankings.

Indeed, the Paavo Nurmi Games have expanded and evolved every year, and in 2016, more than 13,000 spectators attended the event. The event was also broadcast through the Eurosport and Discovery channels to approximately 100 countries worldwide, with millions of potential viewers. Furthermore, since 2014, the meeting has been a part of the European Athletics Premium Permit Circuit, and in 2016 the IAAF announced the elevation of the meeting to the IAAF World Challenge level.

As noted, the Paavo Nurmi Festival promotes physical activity to those of all age and skill levels. The Junior and Master Games is a track and field meeting for junior and senior athletes. The Paavo Nurmi School Tour brings professional athletes to local schools to endorse a healthy lifestyle, and the *paavonurmi.fi* website presents the achievements and legacy of Nurmi in nine different languages.

In relation to nostalgia sport tourism, the main attractions are the Paavo Nurmi Stadium, the home museum, and the statue of Nurmi. The multi-use

Paavo Nurmi depicted on a Finnish 10 Mark banknote in 1986.

Photo: Volker Kluge Collection



Figure 1
Extending the legacy
of Paavo Nurmi.



stadium, where the Paavo Nurmi Games are organised, was opened in the late 19th century, but named after Paavo Nurmi in 1997 to honour his 100th anniversary. The home museum is a small apartment furnished in the style of the 1920s. It is maintained by the Sports Museum Foundation of Finland and open to the public on Nurmi's birthday and other special occasions. The most well-known attraction is the statue of Nurmi located in the centre of Turku. It was originally cast in 1925 by the famous Finnish sculptor Wäinö Aaltonen. A copy of the statue was erected outside the Olympic Stadium in 1952 when Finland hosted the Olympic Games and Paavo Nurmi had the unquestioned honour to light the Olympic fire. Interestingly, the statue of Paavo Nurmi was illustrated also in the Olympic Poster, welcoming the sportsmen from all over the world to the home country of "The King of Runners".

Nurmi as a brand and an extension of his legacy

Applying the brand concepts by Shank (1999), Thomson (2006), Keller (2008) and Arai et al. (2014), we define an athlete brand as "the public persona of an individual athlete whose name and fame have established functional, symbolic, and economic value" (cf. Knott, Fyall & Jones, 2015). As illustrated in Figure 1, we suggest that this value also applies to the legacy of an athlete. Primarily, the brand of Nurmi benefits the Paavo Nurmi Games and other main sporting events. Secondly, this brand value can be expanded into various other levels of branding.

According to Arai et al. (2014), an athlete's brand image consists of three dimensions: athletic performance, attractive appearance, and marketable lifestyle. In relation to Paavo Nurmi, his individual achievements and athletic capability were outstanding, and his performance in competitions demonstrated a burning will to succeed. Nurmi was known for his virtuous behaviour and love for running. In Finland, there is a traditional virtue that can be described as "silence is golden". Paavo Nurmi, who did not like to talk to reporters, was like a symbol of the old virtue, "work,

don't talk". He was one of the first athletes known to have a systematic approach in training and even though perceived as cold and unemotional, he respected his competitors. Nurmi had aesthetically pleasing physical characteristics and he was ideally built for long-distance running (174 cm and 65 kg).

However, he was an introvert by nature and often seemed bleak and remote, training with a dedication and intensity that had never been seen before. A famous Finnish sports journalist has stated: "There was something inhumanly stern and cruel about him, but he conquered the world by pure means: with a will that had supernatural power." (Jukola, 1935).

Moreover, Nurmi had an appealing life story. As the eldest son of a poor working class family, Nurmi had to quit school after the death of his father and help his mother in providing for the family, but during his leisure time he was always running. With his incredible achievements, Nurmi became a true role model, as the newly independent Finland was in need of a national hero who could reunite the nation after the bitter Civil War in 1918. Even though Nurmi's personal manners were not always appreciated, he was valued for being extremely hard-working. Nurmi stubbornly avoided all publicity, but was always ready to do good for the cause of sports and Finnish society. In relation to his brand value, his successful American campaigns in 1925, 1929, and 1940 were nearly as important as his Olympic medals. During these tours, Nurmi was praised by the American media, and his popularity was even paralleled with a hero myth from Greek mythology.

Product branding

The legacy of Paavo Nurmi has been noted in several books and he has been memorialized on various medals and stamps. In addition, already in the 1920s, Nurmi authorized the company Oy Karl Fazer Ab to sell peppermint candies with his name. As Keel and Natarajan (2012) note, celebrities have long been used to sell various products and the trend has only increased with the current trend of celebrity-branded products.

Today, the Paavo Nurmi Festival has many sponsors, and two of these, the Finnish coin company Moneta and the sporting goods company Karhu, feature product-level branding in relation to Nurmi. The Bank of Finland featured Nurmi in a ten-mark note in 1986 and during the next six years his face became familiar to all citizens and tourists. Currently, Moneta offers Paavo Nurmi gold coins that have been designed in collaboration with PN Turku Ltd, and a share of the sales profit is directed towards supporting the Paavo Nurmi Games. According to Jari Salonen, the Managing Director of PN Turku Ltd, "The coins, honouring the legacy of Nurmi, have become an important part of the Nurmi awareness and culture, both in Finland and abroad." (personal interview, 25th August 2016)

City and destination branding

Sporting events can play a major role in a city's tourism strategy. Cities can proactively attract sporting events by creating a destination image which is favourable to tourist segments (Roche et al., 2013). In the case herein, it was vice versa. First, there was Nurmi – who happened to be born in Turku – and much later in the 1950s, the Paavo Nurmi Games were established.

The city of Turku and the Paavo Nurmi Festival Week make up a synergetic combination, together fulfilling the criteria of successful events (see Roche et al., 2013). The various events are targeted not only to tourists, but also to local residents, thus having an impact beyond the economic value. From the perspective of destination branding, it is important that Turku, the former capital of Finland, offers high quality tourism services and various interesting attractions. The issue of safety has also become extremely important, especially after the recent terrorist attacks in sporting events around the world. This is likely to increase the attractiveness of Turku, and the country of Finland, one of the safest countries in the world, as sport tourism destinations. Antti Pihlakoski, the Board Member of the EA and the IAAF, has stated that "Paavo Nurmi ran Turku and Finland onto the map of the world. Treasuring his legacy is an honour and a great possibility". (TS, 2016)

However, it seems that the true value of Paavo Nurmi was acknowledged only very recently. The city of Turku and its destination marketing organisation, Visit Turku, started to promote strongly the city of Turku as the hometown of Paavo Nurmi, only after the establishment of PN Turku Ltd in 2012. The museum and the themed guided tours also seem to have much potential, but their commercialization is still in progress (cf. Henriikka Heikinheimo, Communications Officer at the Sports Museum of Finland, personal interview, 13th June 2016; Tiina Gustafsson, Authorized Tour Guide, personal interview, 25th July 2016). Furthermore, Markus Kalmari,

the Director of Sports Services in Turku, has stated that "Turku will strengthen Nurmi's world-wide fame and legacy even more in the future." (personal interview, 29th June 2016)

Country branding

Countries around the world are increasingly developing their nation brands (Dinnie, 2016) and one way of doing this is celebrity endorsement, which refers to associating a country with a person whose name is well known (Van Heerden, Kuiper & Saar, 2008). Paavo Nurmi has always been an unending source of national pride for Finland. Additionally, his personality and commitment to running represent the nature of Finnish people in general. Nurmi is considered a model example of the Finnish "sisu" (i.e. perseverance), a trait that is also related to other Finnish sportsmen, such as the Formula One driver, Kimi Räikkönen. Räikkönen has been nicknamed "The Ice Man", describing not only his cool temper under pressure but also his "actions speak louder than words" attitude.

The legacy of Nurmi has significance for Finland in terms of country image, but also in economic measures as noted by Pihlakoski: "The complex built around the legacy of Paavo Nurmi is justified also from an economic point of view. Employing hundreds of people voluntarily and bringing in visitors, Paavo Nurmi Festival has an enormous impact on the Turku area and the whole country." (TS, 2016). Regardless of the enormous power of athletes, both current and former, it seems that the potential of athlete branding has not yet been fully understood when branding Finland as a country or as a tourism destination. The challenge is most likely related to the fact that service providers often act in ignorance



Special stamp to mark the death of Paavo Nurmi.

When Nurmi died on 2nd October 1973, he received a state funeral. In the photo: State President Urho Kekkonen, himself a successful athlete in the Nurmi era. Kekkonen was NOC President from 1938 to 1945.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



PAAVO NURMI GAMES

of each other and there is confusion about who controls and manages the brand. Thus, networking and a shared vision are highly needed (cf. Gnoth, 2002).

Wider societal significance

Jari Salonen from PN Turku Ltd emphasises the opportunity, but also the responsibility involved in branding Paavo Nurmi and his legacy: "It feels great to realize that the Paavo Nurmi Games and our other events have brought about the notion that Paavo Nurmi and his legacy also have a wider societal significance. This adds depth to our work and needs to be kept in mind when organising events that carry his name." (personal interview, 25th August 2016)

The legacy of Nurmi has, indeed, value beyond branding. After his running career, he became a successful businessman and made a considerable fortune. He maintained a healthy lifestyle and promoted physical activity throughout his life. To honour his lifework, a health and sports research centre, the Paavo Nurmi Centre, was established in 1957. However, Nurmi suffered from heart disease and eventually died of a heart attack at the age of 76. Before his death, Nurmi decided to use his wealth to solve the puzzle of heart diseases and established the Paavo Nurmi Foundation in 1968. The foundation is still running and contributes to the research of heart and vascular diseases, as well as public welfare in Finland, by organising international science conferences and offering grants to individual researchers.

Conclusions

Sport tourism has become one of the cornerstones of the international tourism industry in terms of its size and economic value. In this paper, we have discussed sport tourism in relation to branding by using the record-winning Finnish long-distance runner, Paavo Nurmi, as a case example. We have illustrated how an individual athlete and his legacy can be considered as a brand, how this relates to, and brings about, different forms of sport tourism, and how an athlete brand can be utilized at various other levels of branding and even have a wider societal significance.

In marketing literature, the athlete brand is a fairly recent concept that has so far been examined mainly

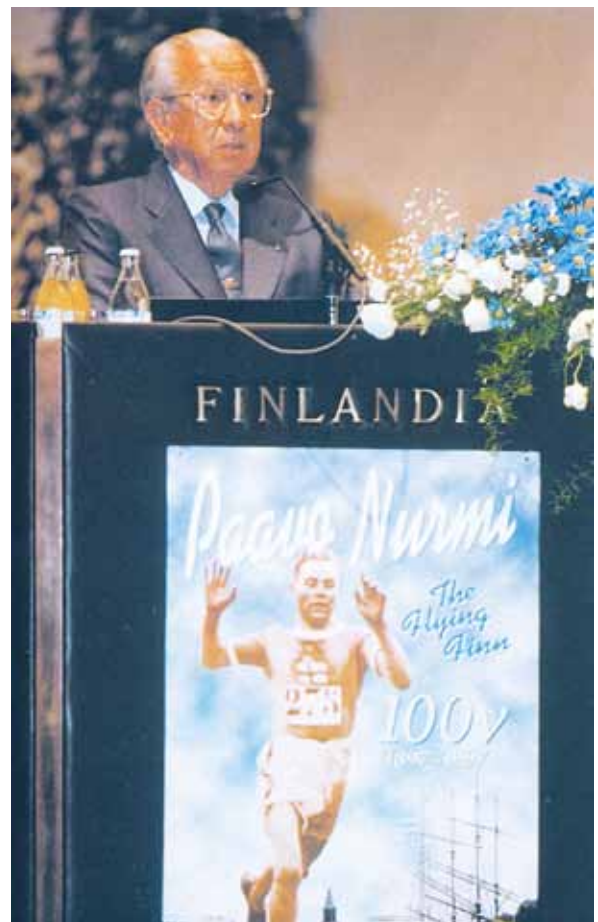
in relation to living athletes, either during their athletic or post-athletic career. Similarly, in sport tourism literature, branding is quite an unexplored theme and the significance of an athlete brand has been sparsely addressed. With this case, we have demonstrated that an athlete brand can exist and even extend – long after an athlete's lifetime. Nurmi's athletic capabilities and achievements created a fame that made him a brand in his own right. Today, his legacy lives on in the many sporting events and attractions built around his name and brand, illustrating how one person can make a difference.

The challenge is, however, keeping alive the legacy when the number of people who have personal memories and shared stories about the athlete, is constantly decreasing. Notably, the legacy cannot be taken for granted, but instead, it needs to be cherished and reinforced in order to keep it alive. The role of the different actors, including for example, service providers, as well as the city and destination authorities, is crucial in maintaining the legacy and passing it on to the future generations. In order to succeed, constant collaboration and networking are needed among all the actors.

Compared to mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, that have a legacy of their own, smaller sporting events are often based on the legacy of local sporting

IOC President Juan Antonio Samaranch honoured the "Flying Finn" at a ceremony in Helsinki's Finlandia Hall to commemorate his 100th anniversary. Samaranch, as a young journalist, was present in the 1952 Olympic Opening Ceremony, when Nurmi brought the Olympic fire in the Helsinki Stadium.

Photos: picture-alliance; PN Turku Oy / Paavo Nurmi Festival





Very Finnish: At the 54th Paavo Nurmi Games in Turku in 2016 the German javelin thrower Thomas Röhler broke the 90 m barrier for the first time in his career. Nine and a half weeks later the 25 year old became Olympic champion in Rio de Janeiro.

Photo: PN Turku Oy / Paavo Nurmi Festival

heroes and the enthusiasm of local actors. People generate stories that are powerful in mediating the legacy of an athlete, evoking emotional responses. Accordingly, combining athlete brands to small-scale sporting events creates not only economic, but also symbolic and emotional value, that further strengthens their appeal. In conclusion, embracing an athlete brand is a worthwhile opportunity, especially when developing and promoting small-scale sport tourism events and attractions. As this case has proved, a good story, enthusiasm, and hard work can turn local sporting events, such as the Paavo Nurmi Games, into world class sporting events. ■

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'What? I'm going to the Olympics? Delightful!'

By Rolf Bos

Wilhelmina Hendrika ("Mien") Schopman-Klaver at 106 years old. She had five children, 12 grandchildren and 20 great grandchildren

Photo: De Volkskrant



Editor's Note: At the age of 106, Mien Schopman-Klaver (born on 26th February 1911) is now the world's oldest living Olympian. She made her Olympic debut 85 years ago when she went to the 1932 Los Angeles Games as a back-up sprinter for the Dutch 4x100-metre relay team. In the following remembrance of her life as an Olympian, done with the help of editor and sports journalist Rolf Bos of Amsterdam's De Volkskrant and other publications, she tells a fascinating story. As her mother once said: "What a load of hubbub."

1911

Wilhelmina is Queen of the Netherlands, in Vienna Adolf Hitler tries to build a career as an artist, in Bosnia Gavrilo Princip attends high school and in Amsterdam Mien is born.

I am a girl from Amsterdam, a girl from the Ceintuurbaan, a street in the western part of the city. I grew up in a family of six children, which later grew to eight. My father worked nearby, at the Heineken brewery.

Nowadays it is hard to imagine, but we were always playing outdoors. Only trams were rolling by. Every season came with its own games. Playing with marbles, hula hooping, diabolo – running around the block, each would run a different direction to see who would be back first.

We were roaming through the entire city. To Schellingwoude, where the Zuiderzee (now IJsselmeer) still was, to Noord, to Het Vliegenbos and then back to Central Station by ferry.

I went to primary school at the Van Ostadestreet and later to the Mulo (a secondary school), which took three years at the time. When I graduated I started working at an office, I was 16 years old.

1927

Construction of the Afsluitdijk, connecting Friesland to Noord-Holland and closing the Zuiderzee, commences – Mien wants to run!

At the start of the twenties there was no track and field club for girls. We were doing gymnastics, at Hollandia. I remember reading the paper and seeing an advertisement stating that they wanted to start a track and field club for women. I thought to myself: that's just what I'm looking for! I want to run! That ad is the start of the Amsterdamse Dames Atletiek (ADA) club.

Now you see young women running everywhere, but back then it wasn't like that. It took a lot of effort and grit before we could run at the tracks at the Olympiaplein. City Hall arranged special dressing rooms for ladies. The male athletes who trained there, thought us to be idiots.

I participated in sprinting, high jump and long jump. Long distances did not exist for women, not even the 200-metre sprint. There was the 100-metre sprint, and 80-metre hurdles, but that was all. At the starting point of the race you had to dig a little hole for your feet. We didn't have those synthetic tracks as they have nowadays. So we took a little shovel with us in our duffel bag, next to a shirt, some shorts and our spikes.



Rolf Bos | *1955. He works for De Volkskrant since 1983. He is a sportswriter covering athletics, the IOC and Olympic Games until 2004. After the Athens Games he became a foreign correspondent, first in Jerusalem and then in Berlin until 2015. He is now based in Amsterdam as an editor.

Women's track and field was rising up left and right throughout the entire country. At the end of the 1920s and the start of the 1930s we would take the train to run in Groningen or The Hague. To do sport on a Sunday wasn't an issue in the city. What you must not forget is that we would work six days per week. I remember when my father was granted a vacation, three days. At the dawn of the 20th century vacation was a luxury, not something everyone would receive.

We were girls, married women didn't participate in sports.

1928

The Olympic Games came to Amsterdam – Mien went to see hockey.

I have never seen track and field competition in the stadium, but a friend from Haarlem had two tickets to the hockey final, British Raj versus the Netherlands. We were standing among men wearing hats, and I had to stand on my toes to be able to see anything. The stadium was filled to the brim. I wasn't able to see everything, but the Netherlands were defeated, 3-0. I remember that some of the Raj were playing barefoot.

1932 (1)

The world buckled under a great economic depression – Mien receives a surprising phone call.

I loved track and field, was fast, was among the national top 10 at the 100-metre sprint. During those years I would sometimes compete against Tollien Schuurman, she was outstanding, she even set the world record at the 100-metre sprint. She ran for the national team; I ran for ADA.

I was the third runner. I ran the last bend; I was really good at that: running the bends. During the Olympic Day in June of 1932 I ran great individually, but I ran in ADA's relay team. The national team won that day, and would enter the Games of Los Angeles. Bummer, because I could outrun some of the runners from the national team. But the men in charge did not want to change the team.

A week afterwards a phone call came for me at the office, asking me if I would want to go to the Los Angeles Olympic Games, as the fifth member of the relay team. I said: What?! Well of course! I would be delighted!

My father said it was ok. My mother said: what a load of hubbub.

1932 (2)

Trying on the Olympic uniform at the Bijenkorf – going to the United States by boat – Mien sees the Statue of Liberty!

At the Bijenkorf (large shop in Amsterdam, RB) we were collecting our Olympic uniforms. Hat, jacket, skirt – it was a lovely uniform.

My parents brought me to Rotterdam. My dad hired a car. In Rotterdam lay the "Statendam", the passenger ship that would bring us to New York. I had been near the border of Germany and Belgium, but never beyond. Zandvoort, that was the furthest I had been. We had to look at map to see where Los Angeles was.

The ship was an extraordinary experience. The luxury and the scope of it all! We would constantly get lost. It was during the years of crisis; we weren't acquainted with any of this. There was a lot of poverty back then, plenty of people who had to get stamps twice a day.

While on board, we kept eating. We ate way too much, we also gained a lot. You could say that it doesn't sound like a good preparation for the Olympics, but we had no idea. The men had a coach, we didn't, we had to figure it out by ourselves. The first few days we were really seasick.

We were training on the first-class deck, doing a lot of sprints. The cyclists trained stationary. Cyclist Jacques van Egmond was an amazing example of stamina; he could ride for an eternity. The swimming team had to train in the small pool, turning and turning.

The Olympic horses were on a different ship – those ships went through the Panama Canal.

After a week of sailing I got up early on a Saturday morning, to see the Statue of Liberty.



Training in Los Angeles: reserve Mien Klaver (in front), behind Tollien Schuurman, a member of the Dutch 4 x 100 m relay team. There were only six entries so the heats were cancelled.

A look into Mien's photo album: the Dutch team travelled from Rotterdam to New York on the "Statendam", a cruise ship of the Holland-America Line (HAL). It was a vessel with a displacement of 29,511 gross registered tons. It had left the shipyard in 1929. After the German attack on the Netherlands in May 1940, it caught fire in Rotterdam harbour and was scrapped that August.



1932 (3)

Going to Los Angeles by train – Mien sees Native Americans and meets Marlene Dietrich.

In New York we boarded a train at night, which we had to travel on for another week. We passed through Washington, where we were welcomed by the Mayor. It was a lovely journey, straight through America. We stopped at the Grand Canyon. During the train journey we saw Native Americans and cowboys on horses. We went through the mountains, the altitude caused some of us to have nosebleeds. And there was also a lot of heat, there was no air-conditioning in our trains. The German team had a private train, which had air-conditioning. Of course.

When we arrived in Los Angeles we were greeted with an amazing welcome. There were a lot of Dutch immigrants, who invited us to everything imaginable. Especially Tollien was very popular, there was a Frisian immigrants club, with whom she could talk Frisian with. They loved her, that "Fryske Famke". I would join her every time, going from dinner to dinner, and I kept gaining weight.

The men were far away in the Olympic Village, they even had a Dutch cook with them. The village, with a lot of beautiful houses, was being guarded by cowboys. We, the women, stayed at the Chapman Park Hotel. Palm trees in a dazzling garden and astounding mountains in the background.

We went to Hollywood, to the recording of "the Blonde Venus". The director, Josef von Sternberg, introduced us to his movie stars, Cary Grant and Marlene Dietrich.

1932 (4)

The Olympic Games commenced – Mien loses the qualifying race.

We trained on a hard clay track. Jo Dalmolen and I had to decide who would race in the fourth place of the relay team. She won the race. Usually I was the fastest, but it wasn't my day. My speed was also lost, as I had eaten a lot traveling to Los Angeles. It was too late to sign up for the individual sprint and the long jump. Was I angry that I was sitting on the bench, after being traveling for over two weeks? Not really, I was only a bit disappointed.

On the 31st of July the Games opened. We went to the stadium by bus, where we had to wait in the burning sun, wearing our uniforms. The heat was astounding ...

The opening was amazing. We walked behind the Dutch flag, which equestrian Pahud de Mortanges carried into the stadium. There were over hundreds of thousands of people. I was in awe! The oath was taken, the Olympic flag was raised, the doves were released and then the Games were opened.

I have seen many matches. Van Tollien, as a world record holder, was expected to win the golden medal on the 100-metre sprint, but she didn't deliver. There was something wrong with her spikes. But it all felt like an amateur tournament.

Our relay team came in fourth, just missing out on the medals. It was a pity, because they were really fast. The cyclists and swimmers were more successful, winning a total of seven medals. Pahud de Mortanges and Jacques van Egmond both received gold medals.

I received two commemorative medals, one signed by the Mayor of Los Angeles.

Halfway through August we made the long journey back. We took the train to the coast of San Francisco, and then on the way to New York we passed the Niagara Falls. On board of the "SS Rotterdam" we went back to the Netherlands. Because of a strike, we eventually had to go to Cherbourg, and continue our journey back home by train, through Paris all the way back home.

My boyfriend did not recognize me. I had gained ten pounds.

1933

Adolf Hitler rises to power in Germany – Mien stops sporting.

After the Games we had to get our hands dirty. My boyfriend Leo Schopman couldn't find a job in construction. So we opened a shop selling delicacies in the Heemstedestraat in Amsterdam. It was hard work, especially when Leo got a job at a garage and I had to work the shop on my own. Everyday at half past five I

stood at the Markthallen at the Marnixstreet searching for products. In 1936 Leo and I got married.

There was no time to sport anymore. I could have participated in the Olympic Games of Berlin, but I did not, and I also didn't see or hear a lot of those Games.

It was a terrible time. You were already happy if, by working really hard, you could eat a meager piece of bread.

1946

The war is over – Mien starts sporting as a young mother.

We spent the war partly in Arnhem, and later on back in Amsterdam, where my father-in-law had a house for us. We brought a lot of coal with us from Arnhem, which we would trade for potatoes.

Our first child, a son, was born in 1937, later on in rapid succession our family grew with another four children. After the war I returned to ADA, at the recommendation of my practitioner. I had problems with my back, sporting would improve my back.

At the track at Olympiaplein I trained with Jan Blankers, Fanny's husband. I started out great again, as Blankers said: "Mien, you should come running with the relay team this Sunday." Delightful, I thought to myself.

When I came back home my husband told me that I couldn't. As a fiancé he stood next to the tracks many times, but now with five young children he would not do that anymore. I cancelled the running.

2016

The great-grandson of Queen Wilhelmina is baking pancakes – Mien reaches the age of 105 years old.

Up until I was 99 I often rode my bike. Now I go for a little walk every once in a while. I kept doing gymnastics. I keep moving – that keeps your head clear.

My hearing is still good, and my eyes... well it's okay, I have to do with what I got. For quite some time I suffered from restless legs, but now I finally have good medication to aid me with that.

I have got a large family – children, grandchildren and great-grandchildren. There is always someone there for me when I need something.

Leo passed away a long time ago. One of my sons also died. He was 72 years old, had heart problems. All my children have had heart-related problems – they inherited it from Leo, not me.

I read a lot, newspapers, books. Yes, you have a keen eye, that's the latest Amos Oz novel. I listen to the radio, watch television, watch all sports – I even watch soccer.

Of course I follow Dafne Schippers. A great talent, stunning woman too. She runs really fast, certainly when you compare it to our times. But now you have those beautiful, synthetic tracks. Dafne does not have to dig a starting hole. Sporting is a profession nowadays. We worked six days a week and did sports for fun.

King Willem-Alexander is our neighbor. On a Sunday morning, as a surprise for the residents of our service flat, he came by with his family to bake pancakes. They did a lovely job.

Yes, he is really interested in the Olympic Games as a fan of sports and a former IOC Member. But me being an athlete at the 1932 Olympic Games, was new to him. But I forgive him, the pancakes were delicious. ■

Translation: Thom Volkers



Even during the crossing there was training on board. The cyclists cycled on rollers, the athletes ran laps, and the swimmers had a narrow pool.

Photos: Mien Schopman-Klaver Collection

Passing the Torch: Romanticism and the Modern Olympic Revival*

By Taylor McKee and Brittany Reid

In *The British Olympics: Britain's Olympic Heritage 1612–2012*, Martin Polley culturally contextualizes the 2012 London Olympics by chronicling the games' significant British antecedents. This history includes the Wenlock Olympian Games, which were first held in 1850 in the Shropshire town of Much Wenlock. In contrast with the more rural and festive nature of the Cotswold Olimpicks that originated in the 17th century, Polley characterizes the Wenlock Olympian Games as “a Victorian attempt to rationalise the Olympian ethos”¹ and re-contextualize the Ancient Greek tradition within a modern, and distinctly British, setting. But although the Wenlock Olympian Games took place well into the Victorian period, it can be argued that they are, in many ways, a uniquely *Romantic* production. In the nearly 200 years since the Romantic age, the movement and its associated writers have been generally linked with ethereality, poetry, beauty and imagination. This modern rendering of Romanticism, as concerned with issues of the mind and the heart rather than the body, puts the movement at apparent odds with sport and physical culture. However, as this article demonstrates, the Romantic paradigm helped shape 19th-century English sporting culture, including William Penny Brookes and the Wenlock Olympian Games.

While the first Wenlock Olympian Games were held 12 years after the coronation of Queen Victoria and following the death of many of Romanticism's key figures, they were a direct reflection of the Romantic-period ethos across Britain, especially its idealisation of Ancient Greek culture. Far from a question of semantics, the decision to re-read the Wenlock Olympian Games in Romantic terms draws attention to the dialogical relationship between the Ancient Greeks and the English that underpins the modern Olympic Movement. By acknowledging how a fascination with the Greeks in 19th-century Britain led to Romantic Hellenism, which

would ultimately contribute to greater cultural interest in the Ancient Olympics, we can better understand the unique role the Wenlock Olympian Games play in Olympic history.

This article works to trace the salient connection between Romanticism and the Wenlock Olympian Games to draw attention to the unacknowledged cross-cultural ties that bind these games to the Olympics of antiquity and would later contribute to the continued exchange of influence that helped to inform the modern Olympic Movement. While Much Wenlock were not the only English Olympic-style games held prior to the 1896 Olympics in Athens, they maintain a unique position as both a throwback to the Ancient Olympic emphasis on physical and intellectual strength and a crucial forerunner of the Olympic Movement. Furthermore, the salient characteristics of Romanticism, especially their championing of the Ancient Greeks, nature, individual achievement, and the co-development of the mind and body, are key components of the Wenlock Olympian Games that further distinguish them from other Olympic-style games or festivals. Considered in this way, the Wenlock Olympian Games can then be reconceived as the culmination of a collective cultural interest in Ancient Greek society that began during the late 18th century and exploded in the mid-19th century through the writings of the “second-generation” Romantics.

In order to explore this dialectical influence between the Ancient Olympics, the Wenlock Olympian Games, and the Olympic Movement, we begin by looking at Romantic Hellenism in 19th-century Britain and the widespread celebration of the Greeks as paragons of culture and lifestyle. From there, we investigate how conceptions of the “Romantic Hero” emerged in response to these Ancient Greek exemplars and, in turn, how the collection of key characteristics associated with this Romantic-era paradigm would subsequently inform the notion of the “athlete hero” that was lauded later in the 19th century through the Wenlock Olympian Games. To show these similarities at play, we are specifically considering how the Romantics' emphasis on the Ancient Greeks, individual achievement, and the holistic education of the mind and body all carry forward into Much Wenlock, thus distinguishing these games from other earlier British iterations. Ultimately



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then, we are seeking to show that although the Wenlock Olympian Games were a Victorian cultural production due to their setting in 1850, they can, and indeed should, be reconceived as a Romantic legacy project.

A Callback to the Classics: Defining “Romanticism”

To begin, it is necessary to first establish our own use of the term “Romantic” in this context and to provide some contextual background on the Wenlock Olympian Games before forging a connection between the two. Firstly, the word “Romanticism” has been broadly and variously defined² throughout the more than two centuries since the writers we now identify as “Romantic” lived and wrote. As early as the 19th century and continuing into the 21st century, literary and cultural critics, including Northrop Frye, Harold Bloom and Paul de Man, have grappled with how the term “Romantic” should be applied, both within its historical context and for contemporary readers.³ Our own application of the term “Romanticism” in this article builds on this established critical tradition by referring to a period of intellectual, cultural, philosophical, artistic and socio-political revolution that spanned the late-18th and early-19th centuries. Romanticism, as a socio-cultural movement, first began during the 18th century in France and Germany, with writers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau or Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, respectively.

In the late 18th century, the movement spread to England, Ireland and Scotland, leading to the creation of the distinct, yet connected tradition of British Romanticism. Like its continental forbears, British Romanticism emerged in response to the rapid changes and developments in urbanisation, ideology, industrialisation, politics, social order and art taking place across Europe at the time. Born out of this new world order, and especially informed by the American, French and Industrial Revolutions, the so-termed “Romantic” philosophers, artists and writers emerged and, in the process, ushered in what Isaiah Berlin referred to as “the greatest transformation of Western consciousness”.⁴ Unlike many artistic movements which rely on a strict adherence to rules or standards of execution, Romanticism, and its foundational emphasis on the individual, necessitate that its general traits and features may apply more to some Romantics than others. Consequently, contemporary critics have since



Lord Byron (1788–1824) was a Romantic writer and advocate for the Greek sovereignty. On 3rd May 1810 he crossed the Hellespont following the example of the mythological hero Leander. It was the inspiration for a poem. The exploit resulted in an enormous popularisation of the sport of swimming.

Image: coloured drawing

cautioned against broadly identifying “any essential or prescriptive characteristics”⁵ of the movement, lest we “inevitably end up over-systematising and simplifying the phenomenon”.⁶

However, although much of the difficulty in defining Romanticism’s key characteristics derives from the term’s pervasiveness and broad application across various creative mediums, geographical locations, and nearly one hundred years of output, there are specific subsets of Romantics who exhibit shared features, influences, localities, and even personal relationships that do directly align them. Most especially, and of specific interest to our study, is the key sub-group known as the “second-generation Romantics” in England. While the Romantic Age in Britain is often critically situated between the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789 and the coronation of Queen Victoria in 1838, the second generation is associated with the latter half of the Romantic period in England, beginning in approximately 1810. Many of Romanticism’s most influential and enduring writers were part of this second generation, including John Keats, Percy Bysshe Shelley, Mary Shelley and Lord Byron.

Writers associated with Romanticism’s second generation were linked in life through their shared context of early 19th-century England and their bonds were further strengthened through friendships, creative collaborations, or even sexual relationships.⁷ This sense of personal closeness similarly translated to their writing, since many of them adopted shared ideologies, composed using common tropes, and championed similar social causes. For example, like many other Romantic texts, the second generation’s writing frequently returned to Classical forms and ideals,



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privileged imagination and fancy, and celebrated nature as a source of divine revelation. But, in addition to these prototypical Romantic traits, the second generation was chiefly interested in three important characteristics that would prove to be of continued importance for the development of the Wenlock Olympic Games later that century: an emphasis on the Ancient Greeks, individual achievement, and holistic education comprised of intellectual and physical development. As we will explore in the following sections through a comparative reading of second-generation Romantic writing or culture and William Penny Brookes' formation of the Wenlock Olympic Games, these characteristics contribute to the traceable ideological connection between this predominantly artistic movement and this Victorian-era sporting festival.

An Archetypical Romantic: William Penny Brookes and the Wenlock Olympic Games

William Penny Brookes, a physician trained in schools in Italy, France and England, became highly invested in the physical and intellectual well-being of the inhabitants of his small, south-eastern English town called Much Wenlock. Throughout his medical career, Brookes gained a reputation for "considering the individual nature of his patients' needs as well as placing public health high on his agenda".⁸ Brookes' accomplishments in Much Wenlock can be characterised as a mixture of Classical education and a fierce passion for public recreation. These bifurcated intellectual guiding principles combined to eventually form the Much Wenlock

Olympian Games. In 1841, Brookes founded the Wenlock Agricultural Reading Society (WARS), which essentially functioned as a small-town library and hosted classes in art, music and natural history.⁹ One of the classes formed by the WARS was the Wenlock Olympian Class, whose stated purpose was to promote the "moral, physical and intellectual improvement of the public, by the encouragement of out-door recreation, and the award of prizes, annually, for literary and fine-art achievements, and for skills and strength in athletic exercises and proficiency in industrial attainments".¹⁰ Central to Brookes' desire to improve his town's health was his belief in the effectiveness of outdoor exercise, as demonstrated by the Wenlock Olympic Class' stated goals.

As articulated by Ashrafian, Brookes "was much inspired by the ideal and conviction of the Ancient Olympic Games initiated by his Classical schooling, he set about to revive a modern Olympic fellowship".¹¹ On 22nd October 1850, the Wenlock Olympian Class organised a meeting where several outdoor games would be played and cash prizes awarded to the victors. These events would constitute the first Wenlock Olympic Games, an event that would take place in some form for many decades following this initial meeting. Importantly, the Wenlock Games were a mixture of sporting competitions, such as cricket, football and athletics, and intellectual competitions, a hallmark of the style of education important to Brookes himself. Polley described Brookes as "the archetypical Victorian gentleman"¹², due to his broad education and his interest in improving the lives of his town's citizens. However, as will be discussed, perhaps describing Brookes as the archetypical *Romantic* gentleman is more precise, given how much Brookes' endeavours in Much Wenlock echo Romantic sentiments. This distinction is not a trivial one; Brookes' desire for his citizens to learn from Classical sources, develop physical culture alongside intellectual improvement, and recognise individual greatness, makes plain the Romantic influence on Brookes' actions.

"We Are All Greeks": Romanticism, Ancient Greece, and Much Wenlock

To begin situating the Romantics as a key cultural interlocutor between 19th-century England and the Olympic Movement, it is necessary to first situate the Romantic project in relation to the Ancient Greeks and to establish the second-generation Romantics as *philhellenes*, which literally means "ones who love Greece". As Stephen Hebron has argued, "in the Romantic period it was taken for granted that the intellectual and artistic achievement of ancient Greece and Rome was one of the foundations of Western culture".¹³ Specifically, he notes that this return to Classical ideals led to an

Dr. William Penny Brookes in 1853 with two of his children: Isabella and John.

Photos: Wenlock Olympic Society



“increasing interest ... in ancient Greece, often referred to as Hellenism”.¹⁴ Romantic Hellenism was a widespread cultural movement adopted throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries in England that was marked by “an interest in Greece or the Grecian model and a desire to appropriate it for present purposes”.¹⁵ Although other time periods or movements have similarly acknowledged modern civilization’s debts to Ancient Greece, Romantic Hellenism is uniquely defined through the fervent desire to return to this Classical paradigm and adopt it as a model for art, politics, and lifestyle. But while Romantic Hellenism, and its associated interest in the image of Ancient Greece, can be perceived throughout the whole of the Romantic period, it gained greater resonance in the 19th century through both the lives and writing of the second-generation Romantics.

In early- to mid-19th-century England, the second-generation Romantics ushered in a period of renewed interest in Ancient Greek culture that had not previously been seen and has never since been matched. One of these second-generation Romantics, Percy Bysshe Shelley, famously encapsulated this pervasive Hellenic sentiment in his introduction to his 1822 verse drama, *Hellas*, by stating: “We are all Greeks – our laws, our literature, our religion, our arts have their root in Greece.”¹⁶ This popular resurgence of Classicism in 19th-century England was bolstered in part through the translation of numerous Ancient Greek texts into English, including several by Romantic writers themselves. Furthermore, the acquisition of the famed Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon at Athens meant that as early as 1807, and in permanent installation after 1816, English citizens could directly experience major artifacts from Ancient Greece at their British Museum. Finally, the Greek War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire began in 1821 and served as a modern-day rallying cry to both liberate and honour Greece as an enduring pillar of 19th-century society. Famed second-generation Romantic writer, George Gordon, Lord Byron, was especially inspired by this cause; in 1823, he joined the fight in defence of Greece and lost his life to the conflict in 1824. Byron is still memorialised in Greece for his contributions to their cause and the continuing celebration of him as both an English Romantic writer and an advocate for Greek sovereignty embodies the close relationship between the two movements in the 19th century.

Whether through the concerted effort taken to translate Greek texts into English, the patterning of literary and other artistic works after the Classical ideal, an active involvement in modern Greek politics, or simply the acknowledgement of contemporary society’s debts to that Ancient culture, the second-generation Romantics are not only the most clear example of 19th-century Hellenism in England, but indeed, also a influence on British cultural perception of the Ancient Greeks that



Wenlock Olympian Games on Linden Field in June 1867. The picture is considered to be the earliest sporting photo.

would endure for many years. Resultantly, and as we will now argue, the efflorescence of Ancient Greek culture in 19th-century England, known as Romantic Hellenism, had a continuing and enduring cultural influence that would inform William Penny Brookes and contribute to the development of the Wenlock Olympian Games later that century.

As mentioned earlier, Brookes’ desire for the continued physical and intellectual edification of Much Wenlock’s population drew heavily on Ancient Greek sources. Furthermore, the early Wenlock Olympian Games, the name itself a homage to Ancient Greece, featured many components consistent with Romantic Hellenism. The model of the Ancient Greek Olympics, used by Brookes in his Wenlock Olympian Class beginning in the 1850s, included competitions in arithmetic, English history, Bible history, drawing, singing, essay writing and poetry.¹⁷ Furthermore, as Polley notes, the winning entry from the poetry competition in 1860 explicitly links English and Greek history: “O England! Wise as thou art free ... Like Greece – which in her mighty prime / Pluck’d Immortality from Time / Thou to thy manly pastimes cling!”¹⁸ This poem, in both form and content, is emblematic of the Romantic Hellenic poetic tradition, as it is structured as an ode, employs allegorical figures, and directly addresses an embodied version of England. In addressing the Wenlock Games’ inclusion of intellectual pursuits alongside athletics, Sam Mullins notes that “this broader cultural conception of the Olympics was clearly drawn from the classical model”.¹⁹ Considered in this way, the Wenlock Olympian Games, born out of the Wenlock Olympic Class, were quite clearly an attempt to resurrect the Ancient Greek Olympics and aligned with Romantic Hellenic ideals.

Hero Worship: Romantic Individual Achievement and the Wenlock Olympian Games

One of Romanticism’s most distinctive features would later go on to become a foundational component of the Wenlock Olympian Games: an emphasis on individual achievement. In his introduction to *English*



Minute Book of the Wenlock Olympian Class. Brookes had introduced this in 1850 with the aim "to promote the moral, physical and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Wenlock, and especially of the working class, by the encouragement of out-door recreation".

Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830, Gary Kelly explains that Romanticism "attempted to redefine secular culture in the image of the progressive professional middle classes", and one of the ways they worked to accomplish this was "by redefining the idea of the self" in relation to the "experience of community, the nation, and nature".²⁰ This attempt to redefine "the idea of the self", especially in relation to "community, the nation, and nature", led to a conception of the individual as the movement's focal figure and renewed interest in how each relates to others and

their world. In the Romantic period, this emphasis on the dynamic relationship between an individual and his or her environment led to "the notion of *self-development*" itself, which Steven Lukes asserts is "typically Romantic in origin".²¹ Daniel Shanahan elaborates on how this burgeoning "notion of self-development" and renewed interest in individual experience culminated in "a social, literary, and philosophical movement that places an emphasis on the solitary individual as nothing less than the center of the universe".²² This conception of Romanticism as a movement that not only considered the significance of human experience, but indeed lauded the individual as "nothing less than the center of the universe", led to the emergence of "the individual – fully conscious and anxious to test his or her powers of awareness to the utmost" as an "overriding Romantic motif".²³ As a result, in the Romantic period, exploring how individuals uniquely engaged in processes of self-development became of focal interest and while the period maintained a pointed interest in the central tenets of "community", "nation", and "nature", these aspects were all read in relation to the individual experience of testing "his or her powers of awareness to the utmost".

Romanticism re-casts the individual as the subject of *the greatest* interest to society, reading individual accolades, achievements or attempts at self-development as not only exemplary behaviour, but also as the greatest tribute to the community, nation or natural setting from which these exceptional individuals emerged. Therefore, individual successes were cast as broader societal gains and these figures were publicly lauded for their contributions. Consequently, this view of the successful individual as both an exemplum for self-development and a representative of and benefactor to the community, nation or nature itself, led to what Lillian Furst terms "the Romantic cult of the exceptional individual".²⁴ This near cult-like worship

of the "exceptional individual" in the Romantic period meant that these figures were not only acknowledged as integral to the Romantic world view, but also revered, respected and celebrated as heroes.

The "Romantic hero" emerged as Romanticism's key archetype and became emblematic of the period's championing of the exceptional individual. Furst attributes the rise of the Romantic hero as an archetype to the period's "preoccupation with heroism in the widest sense of the term".²⁵ Peter L. Thorslev Jr. reiterates this view and observes that there was "a distinctive heroic tradition" in the Romantic age, so much so in fact that it was "our last great age of heroes".²⁶ But while Furst argues that "the Romantic hero has become something of a stock figure on the literary scene", its ubiquity in the 21st century reflects the concept's pervasiveness in 19th-century society as well as its continuing currency.²⁷

As early as 1919, Irving Babbitt was articulating a definition of the Romantic hero as the embodiment of "an almost unparalleled triumph ... of the sense of the individual".²⁸ In addition to representing the sense of "triumph" associated with individual experience in the period, the Romantic hero also embodied a specific set of experiences and attributes: a sensitivity to nature, pride in England, artistic ability, appreciation of the Classics, exemplary physicality and, vitally, a traditional masculinity. The Romantic hero represented an ideal to which anyone could strive, but only the most exceptional few could achieve: the epitome of sensitivity, masculinity, strength, and intellect. The sense of rugged intrepidity associated with the figure is reflected through Berlin's characterization of the Romantic hero as "the heroic individual", who operates as "the contemnor of danger who defies the storm".²⁹ As this description suggests, the Romantic hero represents the ultimate culmination of individual self-development in the period: becoming somehow representative of humanity at its best and excelling to super-human heights.

Significantly, this Romantic hero archetype and its popularity within the period extended to different facets of society and led to a widespread interest in individual achievement in the 19th century. As John Strachan observes, the Romantic age also saw the return of "the sporting hero"³⁰, as both a callback to the Ancient Greek celebration of athleticism and the period's interest in individualism. Consequently, Strachan asserts that Romanticism's pervasive interest in "heroism and hero-worship" became a defining feature of 19th-century sporting culture through their "celebration of contemporary sport's most vigorous champions".³¹ Considered in this way, the rise of the hero-athlete in 19th-century England was a distinctly Romantic innovation that emerged from the movement's emphasis on individuality and concerted return to Ancient-Greek paradigms.

For their part, the Much Wenlock Olympian Games celebrated individual achievement as well, awarding cash prizes to the competition's victors, whose achievements were recorded after a process of rigid measurement, careful categorisation and scientific play.³² However, Brookes' Wenlock Games saw the individual's victory as an achievement for the entire community. As the original mission statement of the Wenlock Olympian Class stipulated, the purpose of the Games was "for the promotion of the moral, physical, and intellectual improvement of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood of Wenlock".³³ Considered through the lens of Romantic heroism, celebrating the individual's achievement as a victory for the larger community was a distinctly Romantic enterprise.

Although the town of Much Wenlock was, and still is, a small community, the exploits of those who took part in the Wenlock Olympian Games had lasting repercussions, both for the individuals and the town itself. Exceptional individuals, recognised as such by the Wenlock Olympian Games, were to serve as examples for the larger community. Employing physical culture as a means of modelling ideal public behaviour was a practice with roots in the Romantic period. These individual and larger community achievements were celebrated at the Much Wenlock Olympian Games and fit neatly within the Romantic paradigm. Consequently, the championing of the exceptional individual, as an exemplum for the community, again demonstrated the influence that Romanticism had on Brookes.

Faultless Forms: Romantic Physicality and 19th-Century Physical Culture

Having addressed the salient connection between Romantic Hellenism, the Romantic hero, and the Wenlock Olympian Games, we now turn to the direct link between Romanticism and 19th-century physical culture in England. To do so, we return to the perceived disjuncture between later readings of Romanticism as an ethereal, poetic movement and the corporeality of Britain's burgeoning sporting culture. In his article "Romanticism and Sport", Strachan acknowledges the persisting discord that underpins our critical reading of the relationship between Romanticism and sport by observing that the two might first appear to be "an unlikely conjunction".³⁴ Despite the prevailing perception of Romanticism as a strictly artistic movement concerned only with the imagined or abstract, it is important to note that physical forms, culture and education played a major role in Romantic society and, indeed, that these were greatly developed during the period. Speaking again in his preface to *Hellas*, Shelley encapsulates the equal privileging of both the physical and the intellectual in the Romantic period, through his

assertion that both the "human form" and "the human mind" are "faultless productions", which were both "attained to a perfection in Greece".³⁵ This assertion not only underscores Romanticism's emphasis on both physical and intellectual development, but it also aligns the movement with the Ancient Greek view of holistic education. As Athena S. Leoussi observes, "for the Greeks, muscular development should be combined with and tempered by the development of moral, intellectual and aesthetic qualities".³⁶ She goes on to state "this balance was considered, then as now, to be the measure of the perfect man" and that "without it, athletics and muscular development were of no cultural value".³⁷ Resultantly, Shelley's celebration of both the "form" and the "mind" here not only recalls the Ancient Greek celebration of holistic development, but also reflects the Romantics' broader interest in the relationship between physical, intellectual and spiritual growth during the period. Furthermore, this Romantic and Ancient Greek view directly correlates to the concurrent development of English sporting culture during the period, as exemplified through the Wenlock Olympian Games.

The Romantic view of education, and especially their championing of experiential knowledge and their view of the natural world as the ideal classroom, put the movement in direct line with the underlying tenets of physical education in 19th-century England.³⁸ In *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature*, Onno Oerlemans attributes the Romantics' "notable interest in the physical sciences" as due in part to their "profound interest in the natural world" and the "seeming rejection of the city and the culture it represented"³⁹ that characterised so much of the period's writing. Strachan reiterates this view of Romanticism and physical education as intrinsically linked, by asserting that both emphasize "the educative power of sport".⁴⁰ Furthermore, Strachan acknowledges that the championing of sport, as seen through sporting literature, Romanticism, and the nascent physical education movement in England, was bolstered by their shared belief that "nature teaches the mind and imagination through 'boyish sports'" and the shared themes 'of exercise and play' that informed and united these distinct movements.

The Second Generation's Participation in Sport

In addition to the fact that the Romantic era was an important time for the broader development of sport in England, especially through innovations in physical education and the genre of sport literature, the second-generation Romantics themselves also personally participated in 19th-century sporting culture. Strachan captures this close tie between second-generation Romanticism and physicality in his use of the term "the

Brookes had founded the Agricultural Reading Society in 1841. This also had a lending library. The label indicates that a book was loaned to a Mr. Henry Blunt for 14 days.

sporting Romantic",⁴¹ which recasts these figures as active participants in the country's burgeoning athletic culture. As Strachan observes, although their individual emphasis on sport varied, the male writers associated with the second generation of English Romanticism both wrote about and took part in English sporting life: "Consider also the poet Keats shooting at tom-tits on the heath at Hampstead, Hazlitt's obsession with the fives court, Lord Byron's love of boxing,⁴² and P.B. Shelley sneaking off to practise shooting behind his lordship's back, the better to defeat him in a contest of marksmanship."⁴³ While Strachan's representative list here speaks to the apparent ubiquity of sport in 19th-century England, it also demonstrates that the Romantics themselves were not only actively interested in sport, but also directly participated.

"The Educative Power of Sport:" Romantic Education in Much Wenlock

Romanticism's emphasis on holistic development and the cultivation of strong intellect, character and physicality both reflected, and actively contributed to, 19th-century educational practices. More specifically, the Romantics' progressive view of education, which was variously articulated through polemical treatises, creative depictions, or memoirs,⁴⁴ all presented a view of education that was entirely revolutionary for its time; one that hinged on a deep appreciation for childhood as a distinct phase, holistic education, and guided, experiential learning in nature. In his introduction to *The Educational Legacy of Romanticism*, John Willinsky asserts that Romanticism's influence on education "is as an unnamed force shaping the very form of schooling" and he attributes this formative influence to the Romantics having "revered childhood and celebrated the imagination",⁴⁵ as well as their provision of an "inspiring vision and vocabulary" for what education could look like. As Willinsky's argument here suggests, the Romantics' innovative approach to education, as individually conceived through their accounts and depictions, helped inspire new developments in 19th-century pedagogical practices that continue to resonate. Importantly though, beyond Romanticism's more general contributions to educational practices at large, the movement had an immediate and discernible influence on English public schools, specifically with regards to physical education.

Speaking to the development of physical education in the Romantic period, Kyle Grimes asserts⁴⁶ that "collective classes for the sole purpose of improving the participants' level of fitness constituted an innovation of the era", which leads him to conclude that the modern fitness movement and its efflorescence in England was an "unlikely product of the Romantic movement".⁴⁷ The



Romantic interest in organising classes for the purpose of exercise is patently similar to Brookes' own attempt at organising the Wenlock Olympian Class, alongside the Wenlock Olympian Games. Certainly, through Brookes' actions, it can be inferred that he believed in the "educative power of sport" and endeavoured to unify public education with public recreation in the town of Much Wenlock. Brookes was passionate about improving the lives of Wenlock's citizens and believed that exercise was a crucial aspect of both a proper education and proper working conditions for the English working class.⁴⁸

Throughout his life, Brookes would tirelessly champion the cause of public physical education, an endeavour that would ultimately lead to his contact with modern Olympic founder Pierre de Coubertin, first by letter and later, in 1890, through organising a festival in his name. Coubertin admired Brookes' efforts to enshrine public physical education in English schools and his attempts to balance physical and academic development. Again, Brookes' advocacy for the English working class and children, even in light of his relative affluence⁴⁹, directly mirrored the second-generation Romantics and their championing of working-class rights.⁵⁰ Read in this way, Romanticism's emphasis on educational reform and celebration of nature not only influenced the modern physical education movement in 19th-century England, but also directly contributed to a particular conception of English sporting culture, crystallized in Brookes' Wenlock Olympian Class and Wenlock Olympian Games.

Conclusion

The efforts undertaken by William Penny Brookes to create the Wenlock Olympian Games culminated in what is largely considered to be one of the most important precursors to the modern Olympic Games, which were resurrected at the end of the 19th century. However, the existing sport literature largely ignores the intellectual culture that shaped Brookes' actions, presenting Brookes' desire to revolutionise British, and later international, sport as solely the product of

singular inspiration and single-minded determination. While Brookes was clearly both an inspired and determined person, it is important to consider the intellectual context in which he lived and the influences that formed Brookes' society, eventually leading to the Wenlock Olympian Games. The Romantic period, in full-swing during the time of Brookes' birth in 1809, was not, as popular memory suggests, exclusively concerned with the ethereal. Furthermore, Romantics, especially those from the second generation, shared Brookes' passion for physical education, the Ancient Greeks, celebrating individual achievement, and participating in sport. Brookes' Wenlock Olympian Games are, in many ways, a Romantic legacy project, bringing to fruition a mixture of the modern and the classical. Considered in this way, the Wenlock Olympian Games mark the culmination of both a cross-cultural exchange from the Ancient Greeks to the 19th-century English and a source of intracultural inspiration from the second-generation Romantics to William Penny Brookes. Ultimately, then, the Wenlock Olympian Games stand out as an exceptional development in the Olympic Movement, as they embody the passing of the torch from Ancient Greece to England, the Classical to the modern, and the poetic to the physical at this important juncture in the Games' modern revival. ■

- 1 Martin Polley, *The British Olympics: Britain's Olympics Heritage 1612–2012* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2011), 38.
- 2 For a history of the term's etymology, early applications in the 19th century, and efflorescence in the late 20th century, see: Carmen Casaloggi and Porscha Fermanis. *Romanticism: A Literary and Cultural History* (New York/London: Routledge, 2016).
- 3 For more on these discussions see, for example, Frye's *A Study of English Romanticism* (1968), Bloom's *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (1973) or De Man's *The Rhetoric of Romanticism* (1984).
- 4 Isaiah Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity: Chapters in the Histories of Ideas*, Ed. Henry Hardy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 20.
- 5 David Simpson, "Romanticism, Criticism, and Theory" in *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 1.
- 6 Aidan Day, *Romanticism* (London/New York: Routledge, 1999), 5.
- 7 For more on Romantic coterie culture, see Scott Krawczyk, *Romantic Literary Families* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).
- 8 H. Ashrafian, "William Penny Brookes: Forgotten Olympic Lord of the Rings," *British Journal of Sports Medicine* 39, no. 12 (2005), 969.
- 9 Martin Polley, *The British Olympics: Britain's Olympic Heritage 1612–2012* (Swindon, UK: English Heritage, 2011), 39.
- 10 Ibid., 40.
- 11 Ashrafian, "William Penny Brookes", 969.
- 12 Polley, *The British Olympics*, 39.
- 13 Stephen Hebron, "The Romantics and Classical Greece", *British Library*, Accessed 30th September 2016.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Timothy Webb, "Romantic Hellenism," *The Cambridge Companion to British Romanticism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 150.
- 16 Percy Shelley, "Preface to *Hellas*". *Shelley's Poetry and Prose*, Ed. Donald H. Reiman and Sharon B. Powers (New York/London: Norton, 1977), 409.
- 17 Polley, *The British Olympics*, 44–45.
- 18 Ibid., 45.

- 19 Sam Mullins, *British Olympians: William Penny Brookes and the Wenlock Games* (London: British Olympic Association, 1986), 17.
- 20 Gary Kelly, *English Fiction of the Romantic Period 1789–1830* (London/New York: Longman, 1989), 24.
- 21 Steven Lukes, *Individualism* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1973), 67.
- 22 Daniel Shanahan, *Toward a Genealogy of Individualism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 90.
- 23 Ibid., 91.
- 24 Lilian Furst, "The Romantic Hero, Or Is He an Anti-Hero?" *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 9.1 (1976), 56.
- 25 Ibid., 53.
- 26 Peter L. Thorslev, Jr., *The Byronic Hero: Types and Prototypes* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962), 165, 16.
- 27 Furst, "The Romantic Hero," 53.
- 28 Irving Babbitt, *Rousseau and Romanticism* (New Brunswick/London: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 114.
- 29 Berlin, *The Crooked Timber of Humanity*, 126.
- 30 John Strachan, "Romanticism and Sport", *Romanticism*, 19.3 (2013), 238.
- 31 Ibid., 239.
- 32 Polley, *The British Olympics*, 40.
- 33 Mullins, *British Olympians*, 13.
- 34 Strachan, "Romanticism and Sport", 233.
- 35 Shelley, "Preface to *Hellas*", 40.
- 36 Athena S. Leoussi, *Nationalism and Classicism: The Classical Body as National Symbol in Nineteenth-Century England and France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998), 61.
- 37 Ibid.
- 38 As Strachan's article helps establish, sport literature and culture as we now know it came of age in the Romantic period and he asserts that "the rise of sports publishing is one of the great success stories of Romantic-era print culture" (234). In defense of this argument, he observes that, "the rise of sports publishing is one of the great success stories of Romantic-era print culture", "there were unprecedented numbers of press columns on the subject of sport in this period" (234) and that "a series of training manuals sold in large numbers during the Romantic era" (234; 234; 242).
- 39 Onno Oerlemans, *Romanticism and the Materiality of Nature* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 3.
- 40 Strachan, "Romanticism and Sport", 241.
- 41 Ibid., 234.
- 42 Although all the men of Romanticism's second generation were involved with sport or physical culture in different ways, the most notable and influential example of Romantic-era physicality can be seen in the still-visceral corporeality of Lord Byron whose fervor for Greek independence led him to join the cause abroad. Lord Byron is the epitome of "the sporting Romantic". This identity was reinforced through his literary interest in physical culture, which can be seen through his frequent depiction of Classical athleticism in his writing and the frequent evocation of figures from Greek mythology that embodied this ideal.
- 43 Strachan, "Romanticism and Sport", 236.
- 44 For examples, see Rousseau's *Emile, or On Education* (1762), Wollstonecraft's *Thoughts on the Education of Daughters* (1787), Wordsworth's *The Prelude* (1850), or Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* (1818).
- 45 John Willinsky, "Introduction", *The Educational Legacy of Romanticism*, Ed. John Willinsky. (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1990), 1.
- 46 In his article "Fit audience, though few: Romanticism and Physical Education in the 1820s", Grimes traces the history of our "emergent concern with physical fitness" and connects the movement's popularity in England in the 1820s and 1830s to two related influences: Romanticism and the "increasingly prominent discourse of English nationalism and a transformation of the political order," Kyle Grimes, "'Fit audience, though few': Romanticism and Physical Education in the 1820s", *Romanticism* 19.3 (2013), 261–62.
- 47 Ibid., 261.
- 48 Mullins, *British Olympians*, 10–13.
- 49 Brookes was the son of a medical doctor and later married into a wealthier family, further advancing his social status.
- 50 Percy Shelley himself wrote the poems "The Mask of Anarchy" and "A Song: 'Men of England'" that directly address the conditions of the working class in 19th-century England. See also: Paul Foot, *Red Shelley* (London: Bookmarks Publications, 1980).

Saarland: The 'new' Olympic nation which appeared only once

By Hans Giessen

Entry to the Olympic Village in Käpylä – at least for the Saarland men. The five female team members were directed far away to a school run by nuns in Tuka. Everything was to be conducted with “decency”. On the shield is still the French inscription ‘Sarre’.

Photo: Saarländisches Landesarchiv



On the 19th July 1952, Urpo Ryönänkoski was amongst the 70,000 crowd and watched the opening ceremony of the Helsinki Olympic Games with great excitement. The day was not exactly summery. It was cool and rain left the arena full of puddles. The day of all weather tracks had not yet arrived. Even so, the mood among the spectators was good, even uplifting. Ryönänkoski was excited not only because the Games were about to begin, but also because they represented the start of a personal adventure.

His regular job was as a lieutenant in the Finnish army, but he spoke excellent German. For the duration of the Games, he was seconded as a radio producer and ‘fixer’. In 1952 broadcast journalism was still a complicated business. Radio not television was the dominant medium but live transmissions to distant countries remained technically difficult if not impossible.

There were also language problems. English was not the obvious *lingua franca* it has become today. It was important to the Finns that they were perceived as capable hosts as the potential of Helsinki as a host city of major events including political events would later be founded on the success of the 1952 Games. The organisers in Finland carefully considered how things could best be arranged.

“The Department for the Olympics of Finnish radio” decided to engage “language assistants”. A personal assistant would be on hand to assist a foreign commentator for the duration of the Games’, remembers Ryönänkoski. His duties included organising transport between various venues, interpretation and translation, the gathering of information and establishing contacts. He would then also take the recordings to the public Finnish broadcasting service (YLE), from where they would be relayed to the reporter’s home station. In short the role was one of facilitator so that reports of a high standard could be presented.

In early July 1952, the list of foreign commentators and their assistants was published. Ryönänkoski discovered that he had been assigned to the only radio reporter from a completely new Olympic nation: Saarland.



Hans Giessen | He studied at the FU Berlin, the Université de Metz, France and the Universität des Saarlandes. After achieving his doctorate, he followed a career in the media working in Saarbrücken, Luxembourg and as an editor and reporter with ZDF. He was then awarded a research bursary and has been a Professor in Saarbrücken since 2009. He also works with the University of Helsinki. In 2014, he contributed an article on Michel Bréal to the *JOH* (Vol. 23, No. 2).

Saarland as an Olympic nation? Today it is one of the smallest federal states in Germany.² How could a such a territory, with a population of less than a million, become an independent Olympic nation? Then as now, it was necessary for a National Olympic Committee (NOC) to be internationally recognised.³ This was a time when "Cold War" tension was at its height. The Federal Republic of (West) Germany had risen from the Western Allied zones of occupation. The German Democratic Republic (GDR) had been formed in the East from the Soviet zone.

So as not to exclude East German athletes, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) Executive Committee had brokered an agreement with both German NOCs. This laid down that athletes from the GDR would be permitted take part in the West German qualification events and if they qualified they would become part of the German team. In the end negotiations foundered. This was a time of great political tension and the GDR demanded equal treatment. As a result only West German athletes appeared at the Games in 1952. An "all-German" rule was not put in place until the 1956 Melbourne Games. This remained in force until 1964. It was only in 1968 that a GDR team took part as a separate entity.

Which begs the question, if such matter were so complicated, how was it that little Saarland was permitted to send its own team to Helsinki in 1952? It was for the same reason for the little state today exists as an independent federal unit.⁴

Historically Saarland has been a rich strip of land. Rich because of coal mining, the basis of industrial prosperity. Since the Congress of Vienna in 1814-15, part of the area occupied by today's federal state had been Prussian, another section was Bavarian and there was a portion which belonged to the free state of Oldenburg.

After Germany's defeat in the First World War, France received "Reparations". As part of the deal, a rich "Saar Region" was created. This included the Prussian, Bavarian and Oldenburg territories here mining was dominated. Politically the territory came under League of Nations administration.

The population was mainly German however, and in a plebiscite held in 1935, around 90 per cent voted for a return to Germany, even though Hitler had already risen to power. After the Second World War the whole process was repeated, with slightly adjusted borders. Once again the Saar territory was economically joined to France.

This time the French were determined to avoid the mistakes of the past and made concessions. They granted people a far-reaching autonomy with their own regional government. Sport seemed an especially suitable vehicle to foster identity, and the Olympic Games was the most prestigious event. It was little

wonder then that the Saarlanders made a big effort to become full members of the Olympic Movement as quickly as possible.

The strength of political interest in the matter was indicated by the nomination of Erwin Müller as NOC President. He was Minister of Justice and Culture and as such was a member of the regional government and sometime Deputy Prime Minister.⁵

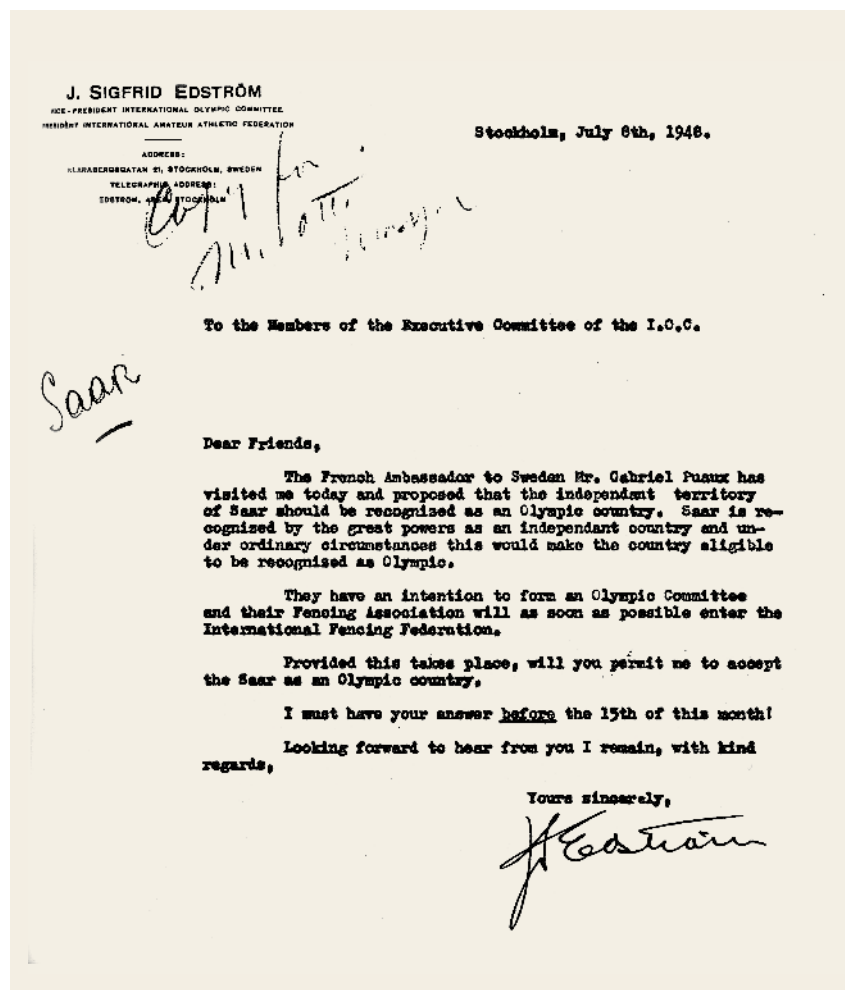
The IOC accepted the application on 15th May 1950 at their Session in Copenhagen. According to Wolfgang Harres⁶ this was achieved through various procedural "tricks". The vote on the Saarland NOC had been set for ten minutes before the lunch break, a time members were less willing to become embroiled in complex arguments. Although the IOC were set to discuss new Olympic Committees and the German question, there was no explicit mention of the Saarland on the original agenda.

Since Coubertin's time, the IOC had favoured their own 'sporting geography' (As a result of this Bohemia, which belonged to Austria, and the Grand Duchy of Finland, at that time still a part of the Russian empire, was permitted take part in the Olympic Games from 1906 to 1912). Whatever: now the Saar NOC was accepted. The West German NOC's claim to represent all German territories



The legendary Saarland miner's lamp. Below: IOC President Edström informed the Executive Committee in 1948 before the London Games of a visit from the French Ambassador in Sweden. As no sports associations had yet been constituted, Saarland had to be patient until 1952.

Photos: Finnish Sports Museum, IOCIOSCArchives



Olympic stamps as a source of finance. An extra stamp of 30+5 francs was devised by Hubert Blum. Around 225,000 were sold. Far right: "Being there" is everything. Saarland appeared for the first and only time as an independent Olympic country at Helsinki. The flag bearer was long jumper Toni Breder.

Photos: Saarländisches Landesarchiv, Volker Kluge Archive



was rejected. The inclusion of the Saarland team was conditional on the affiliation of a number of national governing bodies including athletics to their respective International Federations.

On 19th July 1952 the Helsinki Games opened and a Saar team of 37 athletes marched into the Olympic Stadium of Töölö as one of the 69 'nations'. It included five women, four relay runners and a canoeist. A further 24 other representatives followed, among them eight coaches and a sports doctor, plus the 'officials' from the Saarland NOC, among them Erwin Müller.

Three journalists were also accredited. Two newspaper reporters and the radio correspondent Charly Scholz, to whom Ryönänkoski was assigned. "This was a lucky task", said the 'language assistant'. For athletes from the Saar took part not only in athletics but also in eight other sports. "The job of looking after Scholz, who commentated on all sports, proved to be varied and mobile, but also demanding." It was fortunate that the two men got on so well.

The Saarlanders won no medals but for them, the high point them was the march in during the opening ceremony. This had the effect of establishing the identity of the Saar as a separate territory. In addition the marching order according to the language of the hosts had dealt them a prominent position following Sweden (in Finnish: Ruotsi), and almost too good to be true, directly in front of Germany (Saksa in Finnish)! So the whole world gazed at tiny Saarland.

However the Saarlanders had been early in twisting the screw. For when the new member country was introduced at the IOC, the French 'Sarre' was to be used the region is after all named after the frontier river. In

German this is written as 'Saar', but in French as 'Sarre' (its name is supposed to derive from a pre-Celtic word, probably Sara/Sarava = to flow, to stream)⁸.

'Sarre' would have been appropriate because French has been the predominant official language of the IOC since Coubertin, but also because France had been the driving force behind this autonomous small country. The photographs were sent back to their homeland in the early stages depicted the team displaying a shield with the inscription 'Sarre'. But suddenly the German designation 'Saar' was deemed acceptable, to hit back at their mighty neighbour. And thus the Saarlanders marched in directly in front of the Germans, and not just behind them.

It was a thrilling moment for Saarland, but Charly Scholz remained cool. "The slim, sharp-eyed commentator spoke perfect High German, with a pleasant, sonorous voice, which did not let him down even at the critical moment, although the noise increased", recalled Ryönänkoski. Scholz's contributions needed scarcely any editing before at all they were then sent to Saarbrücken in the evening⁹.

Germany had reacted sniffily to the decision to grant the Saarland recognition. The 'Olympic passports' given out by the IOC were supposed to guarantee a visa-free journey to Finland. They were valid from 1st March to 31st August 1952 and were legally recognised. But the Federal Republic did not recognise the documents of the Saarlanders, as their claim to be a team for the whole of Germany did not accept the existence of a separate Saar team. The Saarlanders were therefore forbidden to travel by the shortest route which would have been via Germany to Finland. Instead the delegation had make a

special trip in chartered buses to Paris. From there they flew in two SAS aircraft via Copenhagen and Stockholm, respectively, to Helsinki.

The difficulties extended to the team uniforms. On 14th November 1951 the Saarland NOC decided on an Olympic uniform consisting of a blue jacket, grey trousers, grey leather shoes and a grey hat. Later it was learned that the Germans would be intending to march in a similar colour combination. On 24th January 1952, the decision was changed and new clothing ordered. To distinguish themselves from the Germans, the Saarlanders uniform was altered to beige hats, brown blazers with cream shirts and sandy coloured ties, grey trousers and brown shoes.

It was an emotional scene when those 37 Saarlanders marched into the Olympic Stadium ahead of 214 Germans. An image to spark feelings of pride. Perhaps it awakened feelings of identity among many Saarlanders. At least that was the impression held by Ryönänkoski. "There was hardly any other team at the Helsinki Games, which would have experienced the Olympic Games and their atmosphere at the opening and closing ceremonies more deeply and intimately than the Saarland team."¹⁰

And they managed one further public relations coup. The Olympic flame was flown from Athens to the

north in a Saarland miner's lamp typical of those used underground in the pits. The idea probably came from Ludwig Seitz, the chief sports official for company sport in the state Saar mines in Sulzbach – he was then also nominated as Olympic inspector. Thus this new nation was also mentioned prominently in coverage of the Olympic Torch Relay. Saarland could hardly have been introduced to the world's public in a more public or sympathetic way and at minimal cost.

Originally it was intended that a Saarland football team was supposed to travel to Helsinki. From April 1952 the Saxon-born Helmut Schön was put in charge of training the squad. (He later guided West Germany to victory in the 1972 European Championship and 1974 World Cup.)

But here the Saarland NOC hesitated, probably because of political advice. A potential meeting between Saarland and the German team might well cause divisions amongst a football-mad population. This would undo the efforts made in political circles to foster a 'feeling of Saarland identity'.

Although the Saarlanders had been drawn against Austria in the elimination round, their football team was then withdrawn. Officially the reason given was financial, but was probably a pretext. After all the government had guaranteed the participation of all



The most emotional moment. The entry of the Saarlanders to strengthen national identity.

Photo: Saarländisches Landesarchiv

competitors to the IOC and the Saarland parliament had also agreed the money.

On 23rd October 1955 there was yet another referendum and around two thirds of the population voted to return to the German fold. (There was a 96.6 per cent turnout of voters). In spite of their traumatic experiences in the Nazi era, the feelings of belonging to the German culture outweighed the newly emerging sense of Saar identity.

Now it was a question of taking back the special route without 'breaking too much china'. At first the NOC tried to make it possible for its athletes to compete in the next Games in Melbourne. Although the independent Saarland still existed in the summer of 1956, after the referendum result it was almost impossible for their own team to travel. At the IOC Session in Cortina d'Ampezzo the Saar NOC asked to be allowed to take part as part of the 'united' German team.

Initially the IOC Members refused, in view of the expense already incurred to get a Saar team to Helsinki. Once the Saarland sports federations had joined the Deutscher Sportbund (DSB) on 20th September 1956 despite the misgivings of the NOC, the IOC declared itself in agreement with this premature integration. Shortly after that the Saarland NOC dissolved itself.

On 1st January 1957 there followed political integration as the tenth German federal state, and on 6th July 1959 economic attachment followed as the German mark was adopted. The independent 'Radio Saarbrücken' now became a regional German station, which continued to employ existing members of staff including Charly Scholz.

Even though the new nation was no more, Ryönänkoski had his memories of a unique historical event, in which he had taken part and taken a 'special' path, that had its crowing moment in the triumphal march on 19th July 1952. ■

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- 1 Bernardi/Fischer/Meyer 2004: 173
- 2 The incredulity which attends the story of the Saar team is demonstrated in Höfer's 2016 contribution: "A Saarland Olympic team – did it really exist?"
- 3 Although this is not explicitly stated in the Olympic Charter, it is generally accepted that the IOC only recognises one NOC per country.
- 4 Linsmayer 2007
- 5 On the history of the NOC and the events in the run-up to the Games, cf. Bernardi/Fischer/Meyer 2004 und Harres 1997
- 6 Harres 1997
- 7 Bernardi/Fischer/Meyer 2004: 174
- 8 Kirsch 2016
- 9 Bernardi/Fischer/Meyer 2004: 174
- 10 Bernardi/Fischer/Meyer 2004: 175

At the 1956 Games in Melbourne the Saarlanders had already been absorbed into the unified German team. However two of their own stamps appeared, showing an antique head of a youth, exhibited in the Louvre, the "Tete de jeune homme de Bénévvent". The designer was the well known French engraver Raoul Serres.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



When tears write history

Josy Barthel, Luxembourg's only Olympic champion, was born 90 years ago

By Pierre Gricius

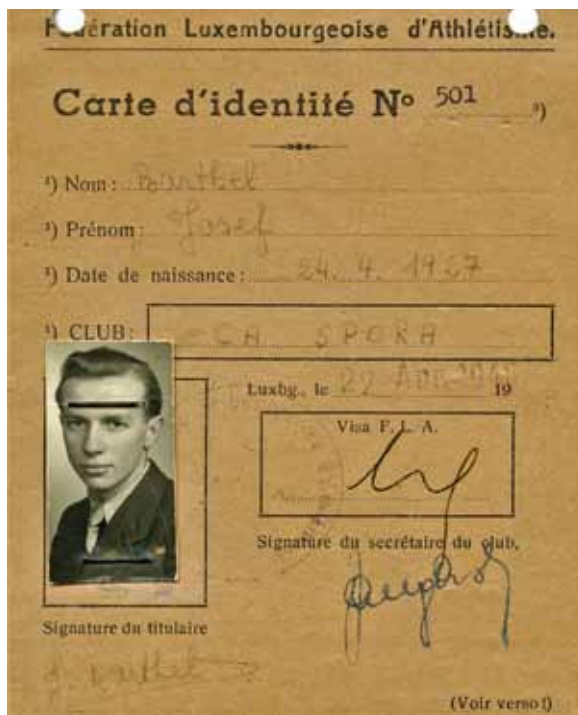


In Luxembourg his name is known by every child. It was on 24th April 1927, 90 years ago, that Josy Barthel came into the world. He came from Mamer, born into modest circumstances but remained proud of his roots. On 26th July 1952, he won the men's 1500 m at the Helsinki Olympic Games and became world famous at once. Two pictures went round the world. One shows Barthel in the moment of triumph, with arms raised, the other, a few minutes later, as Olympic champion, on the podium, fighting back tears.

Barthel made a lasting impression on Luxembourg sport that went beyond his sporting achievements on the track. He was an initiator of groundbreaking reforms in the athletics federation. He served as its President from 1962 to 1973. Then he presided over the National Olympic Committee from 1973 to 1977. In September 1977, he was



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called to join Gaston Thorn's government as a minister. Barthel died at the age of 65 on 7th July 1992. His passing came all too early after a long illness.

A perfectionist with a will to teach

Sixty-five years after his Olympic victory, and a quarter of a century on from his death, Josy Barthel still holds a unique place in the history of Luxembourg sport, itself not exactly short of dazzling performances. Barthel was a sporting hero such as the Grand Duchy had not seen. It had produced two great cyclists Nicolas Frantz, a Tour de France winner in 1927 and 1928 and Charly Gaul who did so in 1958. Like them, Barthel was a man of the people and a hard worker in sport. At the same time he had a light elegant writing style and reflected on his performances, but also his sufferings and doubts, in literary form. Barthel was most comfortable in French, kept a diary conscientiously and wrote genuinely demanding texts.

To a certain extent he was an intellectual of his sport. He was never tempted to move into what some regarded as higher spheres. He was too firmly anchored

At 17, Josy Barthel was called up to an anti-aircraft regiment during the war. But he deserted in September 1944, a month before the liberation of Luxembourg by the US Army. Over 10,000 Luxembourgers born between 1920 and 1927 were conscripted. 28 per cent lost their lives. As early as April 1945, Barthel received the licence of the Luxembourg athletics association (left), issued under his name "Josef".

Adjacent: Barthel first made his mark as a 16 year old in a 1500 m race in Diekirch during the summer of 1943.

Photos: Pierre Gricius Archive

Josy Barthel with Woldemar Gerschler, who organised his training programme from 1951. This included interval training. Gerschler, had previously trained the German world record holder Rudolf Harbig who had been killed during the war. He visited Luxembourg rarely. When Barthel surprisingly became Olympic champion, Gerschler was criticised in Germany, because his own protégés Werner Lueg and Günter Dohrow had been beaten by a foreigner.

Photos: Pierre Gricius Archive, Volker Kluge Archive



in Luxembourg sport to wish involvement elsewhere. Nothing caused him greater irritation than the attitude of armchair administrators. At that time they persisted with old fashioned practices at the expense of the vitality of an open lively sporting life. After his competitive career, Barthel was not shy of taking on responsibility and getting much needed reforms under way.

Throughout his life, Barthel was a perfectionist with a tendency to be a teacher. There was no question for him of neglecting his studies to have more time for sport – at least not at the price of stress and innumerable short nights.

His big chance of Olympic victory did not come until 1952, but Barthel had first caught the eye with impressive performances as early as 1947. But at that time, his studies took priority. Here too, he was also driven to be among the best.

A family man through and through, Barthel had a special affinity with his friends at the CA Spora sports club and the Lasel student sport federation. They formed the guard of honour when a few months after his triumph in Helsinki, the Olympic champion married his fiancée Fernande Senninger. His motivation to pass on his knowledge to those followed in his footsteps was less not so much a matter of obligation but an expression of a natural desire to teach.

Barthel and Letsch, the story of a friendship

The friendship of Léon Letsch and Josy Barthel developed in childhood and continued until Barthel's death in 1992. Their family homes were scarcely a hundred metres apart; their common interest was sport. Barthel lived with his parents and his sister Cécile, two years his

junior. The house called "A Chruetzesch" was in the Rue Josy Barthel, which today is no longer as modest as 90 years ago, when the lane stood in the shadow of the "A Schungeschten" estate building. This has long since disappeared. Now the site is occupied by the Place du Marché. Just opposite are the church and the school. A little farther on is the house where Letsch was born. His parents ran, an "Epicerie" (grocery shop) and a café.

"As far as I can remember, we were always together", says Letsch. The two attended a kindergarten and later the primary school, at which incidentally the boys and girls went into a single class. From the second year of school they were separated.

Their time as schoolfriends in Mamer continued into the seventh class of the upper primary school. Thereafter they both attended the Athenäum in the capital, Josy in Septième B, Léon in Septième D – but both classes had the same timetable. Letsch describes his friend as "a very good and very ambitious pupil". Josy was equally interested in all subjects.

Exclamation marks in Diekirch and in Berlin

Although he was barely 16, Barthel first made his mark as a runner in the summer of 1943. At that time Luxembourg was occupied by Nazi Germany. It was ordered that sport in the Grand Duchy be "Germanised". Barthel was a member of the SV Moselland 07 club.

On the cinder track in Diekirch the "coming man" gave the established stars cause to be afraid. In the 1500 m Luxembourg's 3000 m record holder Josy Deloge, and Charles Heirendt who held the 5000 m and 10,000 m were considered favourites. Yet in the duel of these "cracks" Barthel showed himself as a laughing third man. When Heirendt quickened the pace, it was Deloge who fell away not Barthel. Even then Barthel had an irresistible sprint and broke the tape in first place.

This was the first 1500 m race for the boy who would later be Olympic champion. His winning was 4:29.6 min, not particularly dramatic. It was not the last that would be heard of Barthel that season. On 19th September 1943 he raced for SV Moselland in a match against Strasbourg in Esch. He beat the Strasbourg runner Bässler in 4:16.4 min. Two races and two victories at only 16 years, both at what would become his specialist distance. It was a more than respectable start.

A commitment with consequences

In 1950, the former German Reich trainer Woldemar Gerschler was engaged as Barthel's coach. This was the result of an agreement made in Lausanne between Lucien Hayardt (First Vice-President of the Luxembourg athletics association, FLA) and the President of the (West) German association (DLV), Dr. Max Danz. It was



Helsinki 1952: after the last bend in the 1500 m final the German world record holder Werner Lueg led by five to six metres. Barthel made his decisive move 50 metres from the line. He said later that he had practised this sprint at home in the woods of Mamer around 3000 times. Barthel crossed the finish line with a smile on his face.

agreed that Gerschler was to take in hand the Olympic preparation of the Luxembourg athletes.

In return they would support the reintegration of the Germans. At that time the DLV only had observer status at European Athletics congresses. The two former middle distance runners discussed the possibility of engaging a German coach for Luxembourg. Danz brought up some names including that of Gerschler, who after the war had gone from Dresden in the Soviet zone of occupation to Freiburg i.B., in the French zone.

As far as Hayardt was concerned Gerschler was the only candidate, He had trained Germany's world record holder Rudolf Harbig, who had been killed in war. But Danz reacted defensively: "You are taking my best horse. As a man of honour however I accept your proposal if you can achieve a match." What Danz had was an international match between West Germany – whether with an A-, B- or C- team – and Luxembourg.

To get agreement was anything but easy. The Lausanne congress was chaired by none other than the French representative Paul Méricamp. When the meeting discussed "international matches" Luxembourg was the first association to be asked for proposals, whereupon Hayardt listed: "Alsace-Lorraine, Netherlands B, Belgium B and ... Germany B!" There was a cry of indignation from Méricamp. There was a lively discussion and finally the decision: "Do what you want!"

With that the proposal was accepted. Other countries followed. On 5th August 1951 in Trier, the German B-team and Luxembourg met in the first post war international athletics match. The Germans won by 112 points to 44.

The official and the unofficial winning time

At the 1952 Olympics there was an innovation in the men's 1500 m. For the the first time there were to be three qualifying rounds. Heats, semi-finals and final. These three races were held on 24th, 25th and 26th July. 52 runners took part. For the leading contenders, it was a matter of keeping something in reserve in the two preliminary rounds in order to go to the start in the final still relatively fresh.

Josy Barthel did not show this tactical caution. Each time he ran played safe and won, using his sprinting strength. In the first of the six heats he was a convincing winner in 3:51.6 ahead of German Günther Dohrow (3:51.8) and Sweden's Ingvar Ericsson (3:52.0). The first four in each heat qualified for the semi-final. Besides the nominated runners in Barthel's heat was also the Australian Donald Macmillan (3:52.0).

Barthel won the first of the semi-finals in 3:50.4 ahead of the Swedes Olof Åberg and Ingvar Ericsson, American Bob McMillen and Roger Bannister of Great Britain. All given the same time of 3:50.6 min. As the sixth finisher the German Rolf Lamers (3:50.8) also qualified for the final. Dohrow, who had been considered co-favourite, was tenth and eliminated.

The final went the way Barthel had hoped and expected. As forecast, Lamers went into the lead from the gun, followed by Werner Lueg who had set a world

After his victory Josy Barthel wept like a child. Lueg, who won the bronze medal, registered disappointment. Barthel later told his friends about a dream in which he won the race but then woke up with a start, because he believed that the band could not play the Luxembourg anthem. But when the dream became reality, the band did manage to play.



Josy Barthel at the Grand Prix which bore his name. He was especially concerned with young people. He was also ready to take on responsibility. From 1973 to 1977 he was President of the Luxembourg NOC. Previously he led the athletics federation for over ten years.



Photo: Le Cinquantenaire du C.O.L.

record in Berlin barely a month before (He posted 3:43.0 on 29th June 1952 in the Berlin Olympic Stadium). He came through the first 400 metres in a fast 57 seconds, so that his tactics were clear. Lamers was to set the pace for Lueg so as to shake off the competition early.

In fact, the race became markedly slower, for the weaker Lamers could not perform to the same level as Dohrow might have done. At 800 m, reached in 2:01.4 min, Lueg took over again and speeded up, but Barthel had already moved into position behind him. The German was the first into the finishing straight with a lead of two metres, but he felt his advantage over his fast-finishing opponents melting away, which is why he looked several times uncertainly to the right, where a runner sprinted past him. It was Josy Barthel.

Again Lueg glanced to the side and this time, he caught sight of the American McMillen. Now it was the bronze at best for Lueg. Those who had worshipped him until then, now became his sharpest critics. "Disappointment for Germany" – that that was the least of it. The Germans were not to win a single gold medal at those Games.

Barthel and McMillen were given an Olympic record 3:45.2 min in the official results. In fact the Luxembourgier was a tenth of a second in front of the American. This apparent contradiction is explained the fact that according to the existing rules at the time the results from the 1500 m upwards were rounded up to full fifths of a second. In accordance with an IAAF from 1926. Until then all times reached on the track were timed in tenths of a second.

The reason for this step, incomprehensible today: people were of the view that from a certain span of time, thought to be around three minutes, the stopwatches used then would not give exact measurements. How absurd this argument was is seen clearly from the picture of the run-in in Helsinki. It can be clearly recognised that Barthel lay well in front of McMillen. Yet both were given the same time of 3:45.2 min. In Olympic record progression lists, Barthel's name is alongside that of McMillen.

Even then technical development was well in advance of the rules. Automatic timekeeping which was much more precise had been developed pre-war but the IAAF

refused to accept it. In 1952 in Helsinki the results were given in hundredths of a second. These unofficial times offer a much truer picture of the run-in and the intervals: Barthel ran 3:45.28 min, McMillen 3:45.39. The difference between the hand-timed 3:45.1 and the automatically timed 3:45.28 is explained by the reaction time of the timekeepers at the gun.

An Olympic victory for the front page

Barthel's Olympic victory was front page news for the *Luxemburger Wort* on 28th July 1952. At the time this in itself was highly unusual. That this was achieved was due to former international sprinter and long jumper François Mersch. (His national record of 7.44 m stood for 47 years from 1938)

Mersch was a sort of jack of all trades in all branches of Luxembourg sport. Although not employed by the newspaper, he wrote a long euphoric report off his own bat and presented it to the editors. As it turned out, the 1500 m final was on a Saturday and the paper did not appear on Sundays. For the Monday edition only a relatively small report from Helsinki was expected from sports editor Emile Goebel, who in addition to his journalist duties was also President of the Sporting Press Union and Luxembourg press attaché. In other words, he was very busy.

It all happened in the press room, where typesetters altered the already finished first page and sent it to the management and chief editorial team and inserted the photo of the finish in Helsinki. They did so with "be it on your head, Herr Mersch!" On a weekday that would certainly not have been possible. The picture moved to make room was of Eva Perón, the wife of the Argentinian President, whose was relegated down the page.

"Luxembourg Express" creates a furore on the US east coast

The next challenge was approaching. Barthel had been offered a scholarship by the famous Harvard Graduate School of Art and Sciences. This had a double attraction, for he had the opportunity to specialise the subject of sanitary engineering, today one would speak of environmental protection, and in addition the chance to race at indoor meetings on the east coast of the United States. On the 19th September 1953 Josy and Fernande Barthel boarded the "Maasdam" of the Holland-America Line in New York.

The Olympic champion's tour was a great success. On 30th January 1954 Barthel ran the mile at the Boston Amateur Athletic Games in 4:07.7 min. The American media immediately suggested that he would be capable of achieving the "Dream Mile", in other words break the four minute barrier.

Barthel's result was at that time the third best in the all time indoor lists. Until then only the Americans Gilbert Dodds (1948/4:05.3 min) and Chuck Fenske (1940/4:07.4 min) had run faster. Barthel was to improve his time by two tenths of a second a week later at Madison Square Garden . On 20th February he brought his indoor tour to an end with a victory at the open American Championships also in New York.

The critic takes responsibility

In Luxembourg there was a lot of discussion about the 1956 Melbourne Games and not all of it was about sporting matters. Before the team boarded the plane to Australia on 13th November 1956, Barthel and the 400 and 800 m runner Gérard Rasquin both gave interviews to *Revue* magazine. Neither man held back "My mother did more for my colleagues as the whole federation, starting with the president", said Barthel. Rasquin pointed out that "On my own initiative and at my own cost I went with Barthel to Freiburg."

In retrospect these interviews appear to be the tipping point of dissatisfaction with the arrogant behaviour of federation chiefs. The most important consequence came six years later Barthel and Rasquin took over the fate of the Luxembourg athletics association with others who were also dissatisfied. They ended the old routine, modernised structures and introduced reforms which restored respect for the FLA.

Four years after Helsinki things had become clear. Barthel's victory presented a golden opportunity to take Luxembourg athletics forward. To a great extent this had been missed. There was only one visible legacy for the principle Olympic sport: since 1954 the CA Spora had organised the "Grand Prix Josy Barthel" for the primary schools in the capital.

Barthel and Rasquin, regarded until then as "eternal" critics, had interesting initiatives ready for their first months in office were already waiting in the first months of their new mandate with interesting initiatives. The "Route du Vin" over the half-marathon route along the Mosel was called into life – a project at the heart of which above all was peace. The rules were reformed from the bottom up, and within the main committee, people worked as a team, but each had individual responsibility for a specific area. This model justified itself in the course of the decades. After his ten and a half years as athletics president, Barthel led the Luxembourg Olympic Committee from 1973 to 1977.

From 1962 a fresh wind blew through the hidebound and obsolete structures of athletics in Luxembourg. It was anything but a gentle breeze. Over the next ten years and with only seven honorary members, who met every week, a huge amount of work was done. Performance classes with set criteria were created, on



Josy Barthel had taken part in the European Championships as early as 1946 and made his Olympic debut in 1948. He studied chemistry in Strasbourg from 1947 to 1951 and later went to Harvard. He made a name for himself as an environmentalist. He became government commissioner for water protection, which brought him the nickname "Water-Josy". From 1977 to 1984 he was minister for amongst other things, environment, traffic, energy, tourism and communication.

Photo: Volker Kluge

the basis of which the athletes were supported and sent to courses not only in Luxembourg, but also abroad. One such was on the French Atlantic coast in Lacanau. Connections were established with regional associations in neighbouring countries.

Common courses were organised and mutually agreed on at meetings. Courses for coaches and officials sprang into life. Women's athletics was not forgotten either. This was systematically built up again. Although in 1948 there had been a legendary Luxembourg female trio "Tilly, Triny a Milly" (Tilly Decker, Triny Bourkel and Milly Ludwig) athletics for women had faded from the scene.

All these developments for the benefit of athletics would not have been possible without the natural authority and charisma of Josy Barthel. He and Rasquin managed to build up solid and reliable structures within the FLA, which still functioned when their successors took over responsibility. Today that is called sustainability. ■

Michel Theato and Jean Jacoby

Often Josy Barthel is described as the only Luxembourg Olympic champion. That is not technically correct. It would be better to say that he is the only official Olympic winner in sport.

In 1900, twelve years before the foundation of the Luxembourg NOC, Michel Theato won the Olympic marathon in Paris for his French club Saint-Mandé. The medal was (and remains) ascribed by the IOC to France. This was in breach of the rules in force at that time, which stated that the athletes started for their own country. Theato had been born in the City of Luxembourg in 1878 and remained a Luxembourger all his life.

The artist Jean Jacoby won the gold medal for painting in 1924, with the work "Etude de Sport (Corner, Départ, Rugby)". In 1928 he was awarded gold again, this time in the "drawings" category for his work "Rugby". From 1912 to 1948 the art competitions were part of the official programme of the Olympic Games. They had equal status with the sports competitions though most contemporary record books do not include them. (PG)

Three sailors and a sergeant-major: Dutch participation in Paris 1900

By Henk Mees and Wim Zonneveld

Silver Winner's Plaque from the Olympics in Paris 1900. These were also regarded as World Exhibition contests. On the reverse a naked athlete can be seen, in addition the description of the sport in which the plaque was won.

Photo: Volker Kluge Collection



Anthony Bijkerk's labour of love on the history of Dutch participation in the Olympic Games, both Summer and Winter, has resulted in two veritable treasure troves. His *Olympisch Oranje. Van Athene 1896 tot en met Londen 2012* (Olympic Orange. From Athens 1896 to London 2012) and an earlier special edition entitled *Nederlandse deelnemers aan de tweede Olympisch Spelen – tijdens de Wereldtentoonstelling Parijs 1900* (Dutch Participants in the Second Olympic Games at the World Exhibition Paris 1900).¹ Bijkerk's work is not just informative but invites elaboration and, respectfully but inevitably, fact checking.²

In this article we examine the personal histories and sporting backgrounds of four Dutch participants in the Paris 1900 Olympics. There had been no athletes from the Netherlands at the 1896 Games in Athens. Given the way the Paris events were programmed, these cases concern the first ever Dutch Olympic team comprising three sailors, Smulders, Hooijkaas and Van der Velden of Rotterdam, and the first Dutch individual participant,

fencer Van Nieuwenhuijzen of The Hague who took part in épée competition. Our aim is firstly to show how the members of the sailing team actually operated and allocated tasks in their races; and secondly to show how the efforts of the fencer have mistakenly been attributed to his younger brother. The upshot is that the 1900 Paris events continue to intrigue the Olympic history investigator.

The Paris 1900 Olympics

After the bold experiment of the 1896 Athens Games, the 1900 Paris Olympics might have been those of progress, in ideas and ideals, in interest, and in organisational skills. They were not. Instead, they were the most chaotic in the history of the Games. They took place in direct competition with the World Exhibition of the same year. This event also comprised sports events. In contradistinction to those of the Games, these were heavily subsidised, and promoted as World Championships, irrespective of the Games, for some sports as well.

The chairman of the committee, Charles de la Rouche-foucauld, withdrew in frustration during preparations in 1899, and Pierre de Coubertin, head of the Olympic Movement and IOC President, saw his role marginalised. "I surrendered – and was incorrect in doing so" he said later. The new chairman of the Organising Committee was Daniel Mérillon. He edited the elaborate post-Games *Official Report* and in doing so ensured his own place in Olympic history.³

Planning the programme for 1900 had originally begin in 1898. The programme was rearranged to the extent that it became virtually unrecognisable. This has subsequently meant a Herculean task of disentangling the jumble and reconstructing a semblance of 1900 Games. Bijkerk himself recalled that when he made



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contact with the descendants of those who had taken part in Paris, many were astounded to hear that their ancestor had taken part, let alone that some might even be considered an Olympic champion. There have been similar episodes in many other countries.

Dutch participation in the Paris 1900 Olympics

Bijkerk's involvement with the history of the 1900 Paris Olympics started with a discovery in the 1960s. He realised that the Dutch Olympic Committee "was convinced that Dutch athletes only made an appearance for the first time in London 1908". He consulted foreign sources which revealed there had been participants as early as 1900⁴ and he carried out painstaking research in national and international publications and archives.

He presented his findings on Dutch participation in Paris exactly 100 years after the event. He had discovered Dutch participants in archery, fencing, football, road running, rowing, sailing, shooting and swimming, virtually all of them traced and described, as far as the available data allowed, in brief biographies, and captured against the background of the complicated history and structure of the Paris Olympics.

The Dutch Olympic Movement at the turn of the 20th century was small to the point of non-existence. 19th century sports pioneer and propagandist Willem "Pim" Mulier of Haarlem, for instance, wrote about Coubertin's Congrès des Jeux Olympiques at the Sorbonne in Paris in his 1894 *Athletiek en Voetbal* (Athletics and Football). Mulier's opinion was that he "could not muster very much enthusiasm for these Olympic Games and saw little of future value in them".⁵

In 1896, Dutch athletes were absent from the inaugural modern Olympics in Athens. F.W.C.H. 'Frits' Baron van Tuyll van Serooskerken, an aristocratic social networker and a prominent and active member of hunting association "Nimrod", became the Dutch IOC Member in 1898.

In addition, to meet growing confusion about enrolment for Paris, sports enthusiast and administrator C.A.A. 'Bram' Dudok de Wit was appointed chairman of a committee in March 1900, "entrusted with providing information to would-be participants of the sports events to be held at the exhibition."⁶ Van Tuyll's role, if any, remains unclear. It is also doubtful if Dudok's activities proved of much help. Even so, a sizeable number of Dutch athletes were present in Paris to compete.

In his 2000 Paris special, Bijkerk had 36 Dutch participants. Between then and 2012 he revised his opinion on the criteria for inclusion. He acknowledged the influence of work by noted Olympic historians and fellow ISOH members such as Karl Lennartz, Walter Teutenberg, Volker Kluge, Bill Mallon and André Drevon

who had all written extensively on early Games: 'The 1900 Paris Olympic Games took place in very special circumstances which cannot and should not be judged by the usual standards, and which above all cannot be compared with the current situation.' said Bijkerk.⁷ He defined as '1900 Olympic' events which took place in the context of the World Exhibition, with an international character, and whose results were entered in Mérillon's report.

This implies greater numbers of competitors in two particular areas. These were in sports based on mechanical propulsion, such as automobile and motorcycle contest, and those in which true professionals competed, such as speed cycling. There were also events in which prize money was awarded in contests to any deserving competitor, irrespective of amateur or professional status. Such awards were made in sailing and shooting.

The category of mechanical propulsion is irrelevant to Dutch participation in Paris. Of the other two, it is impossible to separate the Olympic 'wheat from the chaff' in combined events a century after the fact. Bijkerk's proposal not to bother seems perfectly reasonable.

Accepting as Olympians true professionals, however even when contesting in separate events, is much more controversial. For Dutch participation, this would mean bestowing Olympic status on speed cyclists such as professional world champions Jaap Eden and Mathieu Cordang, who happened to be in Paris to compete at the Vincennes racing track in races organised under the auspices of the Exhibition Committee. They did not realise, care, or possibly even want to have their efforts labelled as Olympic.

And finally, there is the intermediate status of the "masters" in fencing. These were professional or semi-professional teachers in the sport who were used to competing against amateurs without any distinction being made. They competed separately in Paris, even though at the time fencing teachers were recognised by the IOC as non-professionals.⁸ Using Bijkerk's more liberal criteria from his 2012 publication, Dutch participation increases to 42.

Against this backdrop, our two cases studies address significant Paris athletes from the point of view of Dutch Olympic history. Three Rotterdam sailors formed the first Dutch team which competed on the River Seine at



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Meulan in May 1900. And in early June, a fencer named Van Nieuwenhuizen became the first Dutch individual when he competed in épée in the gardens of the Tuileries Palace.

As there were no participants in Athens 1896, they were therefore the first Dutch Olympians. This makes it especially important to make sure their personal details and accomplishments are correctly recorded.

Dutch participants in sailing: the Smulders team



Henricus "Henrie" Smulders. His sailing boat "Mascotte" was second in the first contest of the 3-10 ton class and finished fourth in the second regatta. There was no overall ranking.

Photo: Smulder's family collection

Three adventurous inhabitants of the thriving seaport and water sports centre of Rotterdam took part in the sailing events on the River Seine near Meulan as part of the sports programme of the Paris World Exhibition.⁹ The trip with their flat-bottomed, Dutch-built sharpie sailboat "Mascotte" was both sports and business motivated. The owner was 37 year old Henri Smulders (1863-1933)¹⁰. He hoped to perform well in the races but had another goal. He also wanted to represent and develop foreign contacts for his father's successful and rapidly-growing engineering works. At the exhibition, the company presented "state of the art" versions of a dredging machine and a steam boiler.

"My father once told me that to promote the expansion of his Gusto engineering firm his father bought two large halls at the 1900 Paris exhibition. After, he had them shipped home. Olympic Games, or sailing events in Paris? I never heard anything about those." This is how his grandson Folke Smulders reacted when told about the Olympic exploits of his grandfather by the *Brabants Dagblad* newspaper in 2004. Whether the firm's presence at the exhibition brought tangible benefits remains equally unclear.

Henri's companions were Chris Hooijkaas (1861-1926) and Arie van der Velden (1881-1967). Their interest would have been tickled by early 1900 media reports. On 27th January, for instance, an announcement appeared in the *Nederlandsche Sport* magazine: "Sailing event in Meulan, at the occasion of the Paris Exhibition. Purse 50,000 French francs."

The prize money was emphasized in further reports which appeared later in the *Nederlandsche Sport* of 10th March and the *Nieuws van den Dag* newspaper of 13th March, apparently in the hope of promoting Dutch participation: "Should the owners of yachts such as 'Mascotte', 'Zwaluw', 'Go-ahead', etc., decide to participate, there is no doubt in our minds that they would perform well and take home a sizeable sum of the far from meagre prize money. We hope the owners will take this into serious consideration, strike us as it does, when viewed from all angles, as a good opportunity of profit."

In the years from 1897 to 1899, "Mascotte" proved to be one of the best, if not the best in its class in Dutch

competitive sailing. It was in competition with such rivals as "Yum Yum", a boat belonging to Rowing and Sailing Association chairman Willem Six. It raced on the popular waters of the River Y near Amsterdam and on the Meuse near Rotterdam. On 19th May 1900, *Nederlandsche Sport* expressed its delight at the selection of Smulders. "Bravo Mr. Smulders. We have high hopes of success but even if this should not happen, the aim of showing our Dutch flag abroad deserves our appreciation."

Efforts of the Smulders team

The World Exhibition sailing events formed part of Section VII of the programme and were classified as "Sport nautique". They were contested in two parts with seven disciplines. The lighter boat classes competed from 20th to 27th May on an 11-kilometre course on the River Seine between the bridges of Meulan and Triel, some 30 kilometres southwest of Paris. "Mascotte" participated in the 3-10 tons class, out of five categories, ranging from 0.5 to 10 tons. The heavier boat classes of 10-20 tons met from 1st to 5th August, in the mouth of the River Seine at the Channel port of Le Havre.

The events started on 20th May with an open class race. Most of the entries were French but "Mascotte" was one of seven foreign boats. Many Parisians took the opportunity for a Sunday by the river with an impressive naval pageant as an added attraction. The boats paraded in their categories and the races were time trials with handicaps. Real competition was scarce because the winds were so light.

In addition a strong tidal pull caused real problems in making progress upstream. Four hours passed with not a single boat across the finish line. Organisers considered abandoning the race but did not do so and eventually seven boats did complete the course. "Mascotte" was not among them. Nor did "Sans Gere" finish. This was Prince Henrik's boat sailing under the American flag with French owner Georges Maillard.

The *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* newspaper of 23rd May dedicated only a brief note to the event: "On Sunday at Meulan the international sailing races started, which are part of the sports festivities organised on the occasion of the exhibition. 64 yachts participated in the race of honour and the result was 1st 'Scotia' (An English Yacht), 2nd 'Aschenbrödel' (A German yacht)."

On 24th May the first race in the 3-10 tons category took place. "Correspondent X" was the first to report in the *Nederlandsche Sport*, adding a brief note to a notice on the 20th May opening race:

It will probably interest your readers to be informed of the participation of the "Mascotte" in the sailing events at Meulan near Paris, at which I was a spectator. 64 yachts participated, 12 of these in "Mascotte's" class. At the start of the race there was some wind and



at 1 hr. 17 mins. "Mascotte" rounded the first buoy, increasing its lead on its competitors. After some time, however, wind unfortunately fell and the rest of the race was a matter of simply floating along, so that this day did not give any results. Yesterday, on the second day, "Mascotte" took the second prize.

P.S. "Mascotte" was sailed by amateur Mr. C. Hooykaas, and also amateur Van der Velden of Rotterdam was on board.

The *Algemeen Handelsblad* of 26th May hailed the Dutch team's second place as "a big success". It reported that *Sailing. In spite of the disadvantageous weather, the third 'exhibition race' for sailing yachts at Meulan, in which the "Mascotte" of Mr. Smulders of Rotterdam, so well-known from our waters, participated, was a big succes. [...] Yachts, 3-10 tons class. 1. "Fémur" (French) of Girardoni in 1 hr. 57 mins. 54 secs. 2. "Mascotte" of H. Smulders, time 2 hrs. 15 mins. 34 secs.*

The finishing times mentioned were completely different from those in the official reports. In these, "Mascotte" was recorded as finishing second after 3 hrs., 9 mins. and 45 secs., more than four minutes after Frenchman Henri Gilardoni's 5 tons yacht "Fémur". After handicap correction for tons of water displacement, a 1 min. 50 secs. difference between these two yachts remained.

On Sunday 27th May, the final race took place and on 30th May the *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported again:

Sailing. Numerous protests were lodged on Sunday by various participants in the Paris exhibition races at Meulan. There were many spectators and the weather was beautiful, although not for sailing because it was only in the course of the afternoon that a light breeze arose that enabled the vessels to complete the course. The result was [...] 3-10 ton, 1. "Bona Fide" of Howard Taylor (Engl.), 2. "Turquoise" of Michelet (French).

"Mascotte" finishes fourth, behind "Bona Fide", "Gitana" (France) and "Frimouse" (USA) and after disqualification of "Turquoise".¹¹

The Prize money. No small sum.

As the owner of the "Mascotte", Smulders's second and fourth place finishes brought him prize money of, respectively, 800 and 600 francs. None of the three had any notion that one day their presence in the sailing events at Meulan would be interpreted as Olympic participation. Similarly there was no thought that the acceptance of prize money might jeopardise their status as Olympic.¹²

Nederlandsche Sport "Correspondent X" emphasised that Hooijkaas and Van der Velden should be considered "amateurs". This seems to imply that during the trip the two were simply Smulders' employees, whereas the owner received the prize money in his bank account. 1400 French Francs in 1900 is approximately € 8400 or \$US 9000 in 2017.

More tellingly, they represent a contemporary industry hand's two years' wages.¹³ These sums were no doubt payed out to Smulders, but payed out for what?

It is almost certain that Smulders did not personally participate in the sailing at Meulan. 'Correspondent X' wrote that *Mascotte* was sailed by Hooykaas, with Van der Velden as a hand – Henri Smulders was not mentioned; on 27th May *Algemeen Handelsblad* reported "the Mascotte of Mr. H. Smulders steered by Mr. C. Hooijkaas".

The *Algemeen Handelsblad* edition for 26th May is clearest on this issue. For the race in which "Mascotte" finished second, this newspaper mentioned "numerous spectators", with an impressive range of dignitaries, among them H. Smulders. Their list read "[...] messieurs: Comte de la Jaille, de Merillon, Jean d'Estournelle de Constant, Marquess de Rochechovart, Count de Biré, H. Smulders, d'Andigré, Count de Pourtales etc., and also the representative of Dutch sailing, W. Six, esq".

Charles Édouard Comte de la Jaille was a French admiral and a veteran of sea warfare in French exploits in China and the Franco-German war. Estournelle was a high-ranking cultural administrator.¹⁴ Daniel Mérimon was the President of the Organising Committee. Hermann Alexander de Pourtales from Switzerland, together with his American wife Hélène (née Barbey) and his cousin Bernard participated in the 1-2 tons class, finishing first and second in their two races. Hélène can be considered the first ladies Olympic champion.¹⁵ Willem Six had been the Chairman of the Royal Dutch Sailing and Rowing Association since 1897, and was a well-known competitive sailor.

The report mentioned similar attendance on a "grandstand of honour" at the 27th May race, again with Six and Smulders among the dignitaries. "Non-sailing captain" would seem to be an appropriate description of Henri Smulders's role in these events.

1900 sailing regatta in Meulan, about 30 km west of Paris. There were monetary prizes. The winner of the first race in the 3-10 ton class won 1500 francs. The prize for the second race was 2000 francs. The owner of the "Mascotte" received 800 and 600 francs. Known since 2010 as Meulan-en-Yveline, it was had been a river port on the Seine. In the 1924 Olympics it was where the 12 foot Jollen competition was held.

Source: Wikipedia, "1900 Summer Olympics"



The poster of the fencing competitions of 1900 depicts a woman, although women were not permitted to take part in this sport. The designer was Romanian Jean Pal (1869–1942) who lived in Paris. The original size of the posters is 160 x 114 centimetres.

Photo: Olympic Museum Lausanne

Fencing instructors at the Royal Military Academy (K.M.A.) in Breda. Right: Eugenius Antonius van Nieuwenhuizen.

Photo: Koninklijke Nederlandse Algemene Schermbond; www.knas.nl/node/2248

Christoffel “Chris” Hooijkaas was 39 years at the time of Paris 1900. He was a well-known figure in his hometown of Rotterdam. Bijkerk describes him as a “businessman”.¹⁶ According to family data in the municipal archives, however, he was a carpenter and the *Rotterdamsch Adresboek* of 1925 listed him with his own contractor’s firm. His obituary in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* of 15th October 1926 recorded his service as a member of the local voluntary firefighters, over a period of forty years. “As a structural engineer he expertly advised his colleagues in many instances.” In a notice in the *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* a “Yacht-skipper and personnel” paid tribute to him as their “esteemed employer”, without mentioning the name of the company.¹⁷

Hooijkaas was an active sailor himself. In 1899 he participated in a race on the Zuiderzee,¹⁸ the large inland sea between Amsterdam and Frisia, with his yacht “Elizabeth”. After 1900 he sailed, Henri Smulders’s new yacht “Elly”. Smulders had sold “Mascotte” in Germany.¹⁹ Hooijkaas also sailed his own yacht “Sperwer” until at least 1907.

According to data in the Rotterdam municipal archives, Arie van der Velden, 18 years in 1900, was a “sailorman” (“varensgezel”) and a boilerman. He frequently changed his address and lived in England for four years. Seemingly a freelance sailor, no further information can be found about him, other than that he died in 1967.

On its website the IOC²⁰ describes Paris 1900 as Olympic Games. Each individual sport has a survey of all events considered “Olympic”. For all sailing categories, both races are listed as separate events, resulting in six medal winners for each category. This rule has one exception. The 3–10 tons class lists only the last race in which “Mascotte” finished fourth. The race in which the Rotterdam trio finished second is missing. “We are still in the process of completing our database” said an IOC Olympic Studies Centre staff member.²¹ More than a century after the event, the 1900 Olympic Games are far from a closed book.

The mysterious fencer: Van Nieuwenhuizen

Reconstructing Dutch participation in Paris 1900 provides more intrigue in fencing. The *Official Report* lists just two amateur and two professional sabreurs, none of them surviving the qualifying round.²²

Bijkerk, however, notes research by ISOH member Bill Mallon who has uncovered greater detail. “Dr. Bill Mallon, the author of the elaborate and statistically most complete [1998] publication on these Games: *The 1900 Olympic Games – Results for All Competitors in All Events, with Commentary*, provides [...] one name of a Dutch fencer, that of van Nieuwenhuizen. [He] participated in the épée event, in the ‘masters’ class. He finished last in his 1A poule and then could go home.”

And: “Dutch sports magazines of a little later provided enough clues to enable tracing this mysterious fencer. He turned out to originate from The Hague. His name was Eugenius Antonius van Nieuwenhuizen. Nowhere in the Dutch sports literature of 1900 can anything be found about this sportsman, nor about his participation in Paris.”²³

E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen was born on 3rd September 1879 in The Hague. Bijkerk’s research revealed he was a “professional soldier” who died on 16th January 1957, in The Hague.

According to the *Official Report*, the épée tournament took place as “Section III” of the fencing events. These lasted from 1st to 5th June; and ‘Le concours d’épée était confié à la *Société d’escrime à l’épée*, et ce concours étant plus intéressant en plein air, une terrasse des *Tuileries* était désignée par le Comité comme l’emplacement le plus favorable.’

The English term “masters” in the above quotation from Mallon is a rendering of French “professeurs”, that is to say, fencing teachers who were assigned to their own category, separate from the “amateurs”. This was an initiative of the Paris organisers, although the Olympic Committee was prepared to ignore the distinction. Van Nieuwenhuizen, apparently by then a Dutch fencing teacher, was 20 years of age at the time.

When considering the case of Paris participant Eugenius Antonius van Nieuwenhuizen, Bijkerk refers to Dutch “sports magazines of a little later”. It is in these that Van Nieuwenhuizen makes his first appearance.



In fact²⁴, the first source mentioning him is the *Nieuws van den Dag* national newspaper of 22nd January 1906, which reports on "The fifth Arms Festival of the Royal Non-commissioned Officers Fencing Association" [Koninklijke Onder-officiers Schermvereniging, K.O.O.S. for short]". This was held on 19th January in The Hague, with Queen Wilhelmina and husband Prince Hendrik in attendance. The festivities ended with 'an épée fencing bout between Sergeant C.O. de Vaal of the 1st artillery regiment and Sergeant E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen of the regiment of grenadiers and riflemen". A winner was not mentioned, so this will have been an exhibition meeting for the esteemed party.

From 1906 to 1913 Van Nieuwenhuizen fenced in épée, sabre and foil, in 'column rifle', in 'corps events' as a member of The Hague Brigade of Grenadiers and Riflemen, and as the 'director' or 'commander' of The Hague Fencing Club 'Recreation by Exertion' ('Uitspanning door Inspanning'). Among the top Dutch fencers of this period were A.J. Labouchere, M.J. van Löben Sels, W.P. Hubert van Blijenburgh, G. van Rossem and J. Doorman, who took part in events such as the 1906 Athens intercalated Olympic Games and the 1908 London Olympics. Doorman was the winner of the prestigious 1907 Paris fencing tournament in sabre, earning him the title of unofficial world champion.²⁵

But Van Nieuwenhuizen was no stranger to winning prizes either. In August 1906, he won the column rifle category in Antwerp, and in June 1908 in The Hague he was first in the Dutch sabre championship, "French method".²⁶ His military rank at this time was always recorded as sergeant, although there are indications that later he was promoted first to sergeant first class, and then to sergeant-major. He held the latter rank by the time a reference appeared in a 1915 newspaper. It was headed "Military sports exhibition", in which "serg.-maj. Van Nieuwenhuizen" was said to have participated in "events for sabre and rifle, and sabre against rifle"²⁷.

After this, Van Nieuwenhuizen's career proceeds at a different level. He appeared frequently as a juror and "competition leader" for The Hague fencing association and national K.O.O.S., in which he took a variety of administrative positions. Once or twice he was referred to as a fencing teacher, most specifically in the 5th February 1923, *Haagsche Courant*: "We are being notified that starting 5th February fencing club 'Wilhelminagarde' will have training sessions between 8 and 10 p.m. in the Municipal gymnastics hall at 55a, Van Dijck straat, under the supervision of the club's fencing teacher, Mr. E.A. v. Nieuwenhuizen."

No references to E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen, in newspapers or elsewhere, occur after 1923, other than his date of death in 1957.



A Dutch source mentioning Paris

On 26th May 1900, the *Haagsche Courant*, and its subsidiary *Delftsche Courant*, published the following brief notice: "Military notices. Sergeant-major Van Nieuwenhuizen, teacher in fencing and gymnastics at the 'Normaal Schietschool' in The Hague, will take part in the fencing events during the exhibition in Paris, for which he will be granted furlough abroad." So, after all, there was a Dutch source mentioning the intended participation of a fencing athlete in Paris. This small piece of Dutch sports heritage, however brief, clearly invites further scrutiny.

The big six-year gap between fencer E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen's presumed participation in Paris and his earliest recorded Dutch sports activities already requires an explanation, but this note raises further difficulties. A sergeant is not (yet) a sergeant-major. E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen only achieved this rank after promotion in the years following 1910. Yet this note in 1900 recorded sergeant-major as his rank.²⁸ There is another factor which suggests this is problematic.

The Hague Normaal Schietschool established in 1855 under the joint jurisdiction of the Ministries of War and Colonial Affairs, served as a physical training centre for the Dutch military, soldiers being temporarily assigned to it from all over the Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies, for courses in gymnastics, fencing, shooting, and weaponry.²⁹ It seems highly unlikely that a 20-year old sergeant would hold such an elevated position as teacher at this institute. In 1900, legal adulthood was reached at the age of 23.³⁰ But if this Paris fencer is not E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen, then who is he?

A Dutch military competition fencer

On 23rd January 1886, the *Haagsche Courant* published the following announcement: "In the upcoming events at The Hague in fencing and gymnastics, the non-commissioned officers association of the regiment of grenadiers and riflemen will be represented by: for gymnastic sergeants Menger and Piepers, and for fencing sergeants Korn, Petri, de Chavannes Vrugt, Van Nieuwenhuizen, Classen and Van Rantwijk."

This is the first time the name of a Van Nieuwenhuizen appears in the context of military fencing, but when the

Brief newspaper notice announcing the participation of the fencer E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen in the Olympic Games in Paris

Photo: Haagsche Courant and Delftsche Courant, 26th May 1900

Fencing practice at the
Normaal Schietschool
in The Hague.

Photo: *De Revue der Sporten*
1:21, 5th March 5, 1908



results of this meeting were published three days later, this name, however, is not listed. This happens only in 1893, in the same newspaper, on 10th January: "In the fencing tournament organised by The Hague club 'Excelsior', and held on the 7th and 8th of this month, the following prizes were awarded: Carré rifle, 1st pr., 'Recreation by exertion' (non-comm. officers of the reg. of gren. and riflemen); 2nd pr. Fencing club 'Oranje Nassau'; 3rd pr., Club 'Oranje', all of them locally based. Masters épée, 1st pr., G.C.E. Nieuwenhuizen of 'Uitspanning door inspanning'. [] Rifle 1st pr., M.F. Graafland; 2nd pr., G. Graafland; 3rd pr., G.C.E. Nieuwenhuizen." From these two newspaper notices it can be inferred that there was indeed a Dutch military competition fencer called G.C.E. (van) Nieuwenhuizen, fully a decade before Paris 1900.

From 1895 onwards this soldier-athlete can be found associated with the Normaal Schietschool in The Hague. In an important Dutch Fencing Association tournament in The Hague the épée event was won by "G.C.E. van Nieuwenhuizen, sergeant-instructor at the Normaal-schietschool" (*Haagsche Courant*, 24th December 1895). The issue of the same newspaper for 31st August 1896 reports that a "sergeant of the grenadiers Nieuwenhuizen, affiliated to the Normaal Schietschool" is a first class military speed cyclist in 1895-1896, winning the 22 kms. Maliebaan-Wassenaar race near The Hague.

On 13th October 1896 it reported on a one mile track race in The Hague Sports Grounds. In 1897 there was another account of a competition at "an international Arms Festival and Fencing Tournament, on 8th August Sunday and 9th Monday" in Dordrecht first prize winner is "G. van Nieuwenhuizen of the Normaal Schietschool in The Hague" for the school team in the Corps event in épée as well as in rifle (*Haagsche Courant*, 11th August 1897).

The conclusion follows that G.C.E. van Nieuwenhuizen was assigned to the position of teacher at the Normaal Schietschool at some point in the course of 1895. It is exactly the position mentioned in the brief newspaper announcement of May 1900, and would correspond perfectly with participation in the "masters" category in the Paris exhibition fencing tournament mentioned in Mallon's *The Paris 1900 Olympic Games*, quoted by Bijkerk. It seems reasonable also that at some point

between 1896 and 1900, Van Nieuwenhuizen was promoted to sergeant-major as a consequence of satisfactory performance in this position.

In December 1898, the regional Brabantic newspaper *Provinciale Noordbrabantsche en 's-Hertogenbossche Courant* hosted an increasingly agitated discussion on the merits of fencing training within that of overall physical exercise, at schools. Messrs. Scholten and Vorstenbosch, both presumably physical exercise teachers, displayed a strong difference of opinion which was played out over the course of a two-week debate. As an expert, Vorstenbosch attracted the attention of G. van Nieuwenhuizen, someone of authority, being "responsible for fencing education at the State Normaal-schietschool in The Hague".

When even more contributors joined in, the discussion went off the rails. "Mr. van Nieuwenhuizen from The Hague has dirtily called me names: Brr!", is the opening line of one of the contributions. This is all very entertaining. What is much more interesting to current scholars is the contribution of Van Nieuwenhuizen himself. He pointed out that "after some 20 years of being active mostly in fencing he is entitled to a say" and that he can assure his opponent "to have taken a look [...] in Paris and London, but not only that, but also to have taken part in fencing events there". The former assertion explains his name being mentioned already in a newspaper note from 1886, the latter shows he was an international fencing competitor who knew Paris from personal experience.

The next newspaper notice of note was the May 1900 announcement of his intended participation in the Paris fencing events. For him, it was familiar territory. Everything points to the conclusion that "G.C.E." was the sergeant-major and Normaal Schietschool teacher mentioned in it.

In January 1903, the K.O.O.S. staged an Arms festival in Amersfoort. Its finale was an "exhibition bout in épée by sergeant-major G. van Nieuwenhuizen, of the regiment of grenadiers and riflemen, a sportsman also famous abroad and a formidable opponent in fencing events, and sergeant-major De Jong, of the 5th regiment infantry." The following year he stood down from the association's board "because of retirement". Hence in February 1905 it is civilian sportsman "Mr. G. van Nieuwenhuizen (reunionist)" winning a prize of honour at shooting "on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the Normaal Schietschool" in The Hague.

In autumn 1907 the sports magazine *De Revue der Sporten* published a series of articles entitled "Fencing and our fencing instructors". This contained a list of teachers old and new. Among them appeared the name "Nieuwenhuizen Sr.", which would indicate that by this time, there was a need to avoid confusion with his younger namesake.³¹

G.C.E. and E.A. Van Nieuwenhuizen: (half)–brothers

The genealogical section of the The Hague Municipal Archive holds records which help to clarify the relation between the two van Nieuwenhuizen, E.A. and G.C.E.³²

On 22nd June 1864, in The Hague, 33 year old sergeant Geurt van Nieuwenhuizen, sergeant, married a 26 year old seamstress called Helena Marianne Daan. At the occasion they legally acknowledged three children, a girl and two boys, one of whom was Gerardus Christiaan Eugenius van Nieuwenhuizen, born 13th April 1863.³³ By 29th June 1887, he was 24, and had become a sergeant in the regiment of grenadiers and riflemen. He married Elizabeth Knight, a seamstress who was 22. He died on 31st July 1926, in The Hague.

Geurt and Helena's marriage produced (at least) two further sons, one of them was Eugenius Antonius van Nieuwenhuizen, born 3rd September 1879. On 26th June 1901, he was a witness at the wedding of a cousin. By this time he was a sergeant and claimed to be 24 years old.³⁴ He was still listed as a sergeant in 1908 when on 29th April, he married Adriana Gerardina Rühl. He died on 16th January 1957 in The Hague.

So G.C.E. and E.A. van Nieuwenhuizen are brothers, or half–brothers, and both were military fencing athletes. Gerardus Christiaan Eugenius van Nieuwenhuizen was 37 years old when he participated in June 1900 in the épée event of the World Exhibition in Paris.

Conclusion

The aim of this article is to contribute to Olympic sports history writing, addressing Dutch participation at the somewhat confused 1900 Paris Olympics. Using Bijkerk's seminal work as a point of departure, we believe we have further clarified participation of the first ever Dutch team and individual Olympians.

In the division of tasks among the members of the Rotterdam sailing crew of Smulders, Hooijkaas and Van der Velden participating in the 3–10 tons category at Meulan, Smulders was 'non-sailing' captain and the other two the actual competitors.

The first Dutch individual Olympian can be re-identified as épée fencer Gerardus Christiaan Eugenius van Nieuwenhuizen, sergeant–major and instructor at the Normaal Schiet school military training centre in The Hague. ■

1 Bijkerk, Anthony. *Olympisch Oranje. Van Athene 1896 tot en met Londen 2012*. Haarlem: Spaar en Hout Publ., 2012. (First edition: Bijkerk, Ton, en Ruud Paauw, *Gouden Boek van de Nederlandse Olympiërs*. Haarlem: De Vrieseborch Publ., 1996). Bijkerk, Ton. *Nederlandse deelnemers aan de tweede Olympisch Spelen. Tijdens de Wereldtentoonstelling Parijs 1900*. Haarlem: De Vrieseborch, Publ., 2000.

- 2 The continuation of Bijkerk's work is currently in danger, due to his own ill health, publishers' reluctance, and uncertain funding.
- 3 *Exposition universelle internationale de 1900 à Paris. Concours internationaux d'exercices physiques et de sports*. Rapports publiés sous la direction de M.D. Méryllon, délégué général. Paris: Impremérie nationale, 1901.
- 4 Bijkerk. *Parijs 1900*, 8. Translations from Dutch into English in this article by the authors.
- 5 Mulier, W.J.H., *Athletiek en Voetbal*. Haarlem: Loosjes, 1894, p. 74.
- 6 *Ibid.*, p. 14.
- 7 Bijkerk, *Olympisch Oranje*, p. 16.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 25.
- 9 We are grateful to Willem F. Cupedo for his contribution to the contents of this section.
- 10 Henricus Petrus Augustinus Johannes Smulders (20th August 1863, 's-Hertogenbosch–8th November 1933, Paris).
- 11 Bijkerk, *Parijs 1900*, 62. And: *Rapports*, Tome 1, p. 165.
- 12 Bijkerk, *Nederlandse deelnemers*, p. 64.
- 13 Cf. International conversion rates and comparisons at <http://www.nederlandsepoezie.org/jl/1900/geldwaarde.html>
- 14 Cf. https://www.senat.fr/senateur-3eme-republique/de_la_jaille_charles1272r3.html and http://data.bnf.fr/12539207/jean_d_estournelles_de_constant/.
- 15 British tennis player Charlotte Cooper was the first individual women's champion, with victory in the ladies singles. Later she also won in mixed doubles.
- 16 Bijkerk, *Olympisch Oranje*, p. 33.
- 17 *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 16th October 1926: p. 16; *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant*, 16th October 1926: p. 1.
- 18 *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad*, 8th September 1899: p. 6.
- 19 *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 19th October 1901: p. 6.
- 20 www.olympic.org/olympic-results
- 21 In the autumn of 2016, the OSC database contained 29 Dutch participants at Paris 1900. Bijkerk's 2012 work *Olympisch Oranje*, listed 42. The Dutch Olympic Committee NOC*NSF have followed his lead. This figure includes Dutch-born footballer Henk van Heuckelum, who played for Belgium.
- 22 *Exposition 1900 à Paris*, 165; online at: <http://library.la84.org/6oic/OfficialReports/1900/1900parti.pdf>.
- 23 Bijkerk, *Nederlandse Deelnemers*, p. 48.
- 24 The contents of this paragraph is, unless indicated otherwise, based on Bijkerk, *Olympisch Oranje*, and on newspaper notes and articles from the *Haagsche Courant* and *Algemeen Handelsblad* newspapers, as available on the www.delpher.nl website.
- 25 Or European champion, depending on the source; the *Fédération Internationale d'Escrime* only organised official World Championships from 1921 onwards..
- 26 The first few decades of Dutch fencing, both in teaching and in competition, were hampered by a controversy between adherents of the indigenous "Dutch" method, and the "French" method employed in France and Belgium. The result was prolonged lost ground internationally, which was just being made up for around this time. Cf. Kok, Ch.F., "Schermen" [Fencing], in Jan Feith (ed.), *Het Boek der Sporten*, Amsterdam: Van Holkema and Warendorf Publ., 1900, pp. 160–168.
- 27 *Haagsche Courant*, 29th July 1915: p. 6.
- 28 Cf. Dutch military ranks "Lijst van militaire rangen van de Nederlandse Krijgsmacht."
- 29 Kamphuis, P.H., "De Normaal Schiet-School te Den Haag, 1855–1933", in: *Armamentaria* 15, 1980; online at: collectie.legermuseum.nl.
- 30 A lower age of 21 was laid down in the "Children's Act" of 1901, promulgated by Royal Decree of 1st December 1905; cf. *Nieuws van den Dag*, 17th November and 2nd December 1905. The move was not without controversy.
- 31 Who at that time therefore is not a teacher, or, in any case, not a prominent one.
- 32 The Hague Municipal Archive, online at denhaag.digitalestamboom.nl.
- 33 Making him just four months and a bit older than Henri Smulders, sailing captain in Paris 1900.
- 34 He seems to have been liberal with the truth, witnesses at marriages needed to be legal adults (so over the age of 23, or of married status themselves).

The “unknown” Moscow-80 torch – an Olympic mystery

By Oleg Vorontsov

The Belorussian wrestler Alexander Medved. He won three Olympic titles in succession from 1964 to 1972, the first in the world to do so. In 1980 he lit the Olympic fire in the Minsk Dinamo Stadium. Photo far right: The special torch from Minsk was presented to Medved by the Organising Committee.

Photos: ITAR-TASS/Vladimir Meshevich



What do historians like most of all? Perhaps it is a mystery. Investigations with conspiracy and secret or unpredictable results which change the order of history. The story I would like to tell hardly changed the legacy of mankind, but still deserves to be explained.

For a long period of time, historians and collectors believed only one design of torch was used for the 1980 Olympic Torch relay to Moscow. All historical publications, books, and articles used photos of this torch. It was originally planned that the torch would be manufactured by the Japanese company, Mizuno, but in fact it was eventually made “in house” by the Soviets. There were 6200 torches produced. In photos from ceremonies held in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and Kiev, we saw athletes holding the flame at local ceremonies. One thing became clear. Some of them carried a different design of torch. It emerged that there were two different types and both of them were official.

This story begins when I acquired archives of Boris Tuchin many years ago. He had been chief engineer of the 1980 torch relay. His collection consisted of hundreds of documents. These ranged from local maps for the torch relay to important organising documents. They even included his handwritten notes for a speech at the Communist party meeting in the factory where he worked. Without any doubt, his records form the best source for the complete story of the 1980 Moscow Olympic torch.



Oleg Vorontsov | *1962. Ph.D. From 1992 till 2014 his primary business was related to the Olympics and sport marketing, now an IT business. Vorontsov is a member of the International Olympic Memorabilia Federation (1993-2001); author of various publications on Economics, Olympic history and memorabilia, and, also, literature and poetry. He received the bronze medal Olympihilex-92, silver Olympihilex-96; Medal of Honour at Olympihilex-2002.

In May 2002 I published an article about the 'ordinary' Moscow torch which explained the main reasons why it had been produced locally in the USSR instead of by Mizuno. It detailed how a prototype had been created in less than a month. It also noted the varieties of Olympic souvenirs produced to celebrate the torch relay. Along with those archives, I also acquired an unusual torch which did not resemble those seen in most photographs. This continued to puzzle me until I saw a book written by Conrado Durántez about the history of the torch relay (*La Antorcha Olímpica*, 1987, published in Spanish, French and English).

On the front page was a photo of Sergey Belov, the Soviet basketball gold medallist who was the final torch bearer. He was shown running at the Lenin (Luzhniki) Stadium at the Opening Ceremony with "my" torch. I couldn't believe it! At that time the Internet was by no means as developed as it is now. It proved very difficult to find the necessary information. But I knew it was just a question of time. This time is now!

Let me first present you the facts, before coming to some conclusions. I would like to illustrate my research not only with photos, but with Internet links, so you can judge for yourself.

During the 1980 Games, Kiev, Leningrad and Minsk were used as sub centres for the football tournament. In addition, Tallinn staged the Olympic sailing regatta. In each of those cities, an Olympic flame was lit in a special ceremony.

There are now many photos of Sergey Belov at the Opening Ceremony itself on Internet websites. Although the text is in Russian, this website¹ shows six different photos with this unusual torch.

At the ceremony in Leningrad, 1980 cross country skiing gold medallist Yevgeny Belyayev ran the last final metres to light the cauldron.

Another link² depicts the Olympic flame arriving in Leningrad by train. It also shows the flame being carried in an Olympic lamp. 15 of these were produced in all. There are also photos of local dignitaries carrying the Olympic lamp at the railway station. The picture of Belyayev shows him with the "special" torch in Leningrad's Kirov Stadium. It is the same design used in Moscow during the Opening Ceremony.

Alexander Medved – torch bearer in Minsk

Triple Olympic wrestling champion (1964, 1968 and 1972) Alexander Medved was selected to light the cauldron at the stadium in Minsk. This link³ offers detailed information about the transportation of the flame from Moscow to Minsk and about the ceremony at Dinamo Stadium in Minsk.

On another site⁴, there is a wonderful and extraordinary report on the torch and Opening Ceremony in

Minsk. It is clear that throughout the day of the arrival of the flame in different locations throughout Minsk, they used the "ordinary" torch. However, there is one photograph where it is possible to see that Medved is bearing a special torch. After lighting cauldron in the stadium, he put the torch into a special metal bucket but the fire from the torch burned a hole in it!

A special torch was also used in Kiev. The torch bearer was 1972 decathlon silver medallist Leonid Litvinenko. Now we are very close to understanding just why they used two different torches in the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. That day, Litvinenko carried the torch on two separate occasions. He was a bearer during the relay in the city centre and then used a different torch at the stadium. He presented the first of these torches to the Kiev Historical Museum. He kept the model used at the Opening Ceremony for his private collection.

The "ordinary" Moscow torch used liquid gas. However, those used at the Opening Ceremonies used solid fuel which was capable of burning even in water (It can be used by divers). The Organising Committee were determined to avoid unexpected mishaps. To make sure each ceremony would be trouble free, they decided to use a different torch, without any aluminum part at the top (this would probably have been too fragile when lighting the large fire in the cauldron).

The most likely reason that this special torch was introduced was because the fuel would keep burning under any circumstances (heavy rain, strong wind, etc.). There was always the possibility that those used in the general relay might fail unexpectedly.

To illustrate the level of improvisation by Moscow Games organisers, let me tell you another curious story.

Arrival of the Olympic fire at the "Moscow – Hero city" obelisk on 18th July 1980.

Photo: ITAR-TASS/Igor Utkin





In a ceremony in front of the Moscow City Soviet building, the flame was sent on its way to Kiev, Leningrad, Minsk and Tallinn, where the preliminaries in football and the sailing competitions took place.

Photo: ITAR-TASS/Oleg Ivanov

Originally costumes made of paper had been produced for the "crowd scenes" at the Opening Ceremony. However, at the general rehearsal it rained heavily, and the colours ran. In different tailoring shops around Moscow, some 2500 new dresses were produced in one night!

In Tallinn the torch bearer was Vaiko Vooremaa. He was not an Olympic athlete but twice junior world champion in the sport of ice yachting (see Estonian post in the Russian language).⁵

Since the person lighting the cauldron in Tallinn didn't run at all, the Organising Committee of the Olympic Regatta, taking into consideration the small size of the cauldron, decided to use the normal relay torch and not the special one. In the 1980 *Official Report*⁶ there are photos of the Opening Ceremony in Tallinn with the generic panorama of the event.

Another reason might be that, because the athlete was coming by boat to light the cauldron, there was

no time to fire the solid fuel, which needs a special procedure and more time (In the article about the ceremony at Kiev stadium it was mentioned that it took a great deal of time to fire the solid fuel before Litvinenko could proceed with the ceremony).

On this website⁷ there is detailed information about sport competitions in Tallinn. This includes the arrival of the flame in a special lamp on 19th July 1980, the Opening Ceremony on 20th July at the Regatta center on the Pirita river, and the Closing Ceremony on 29th July. Eighteen IOC Members, came for the Closing Ceremony as a part of group, headed by outgoing IOC President Lord Killanin and the newly elected Juan Antonio Samaranch.

And now another interesting fact. If someone views the ceremony of the lighting of the Olympic flame in Moscow (on the Daily Motion website) he will realise that it was Viktor Saneyev, three times Olympic champion in the triple jump, who ran into the stadium carrying the Olympic torch. But nobody saw him lighting his torch from the previous athlete! A gate was opened, he ran in, and the gate was closed. So nobody saw the process.

This was because it took time to light the ceremonial torch. As he reached the flagpole with the Olympic Flag, he passed the flame on to Olympic gold medallist Sergey Belov. That's exactly what spectators and television viewers saw. A description of this ceremony is in the *Official Report*.⁸

The flames for the sub centres travelled from Moscow by train. These were carried in two safety lamps. Two special torches were prepared and delivered for the lighting ceremony in each city (except Tallinn). The solid fuel was provided by Mizuno (I have those boxes in my collection, as well as three cylinders with liquid gas for the normal relay torches). Solid fuel was also used in the lamps.

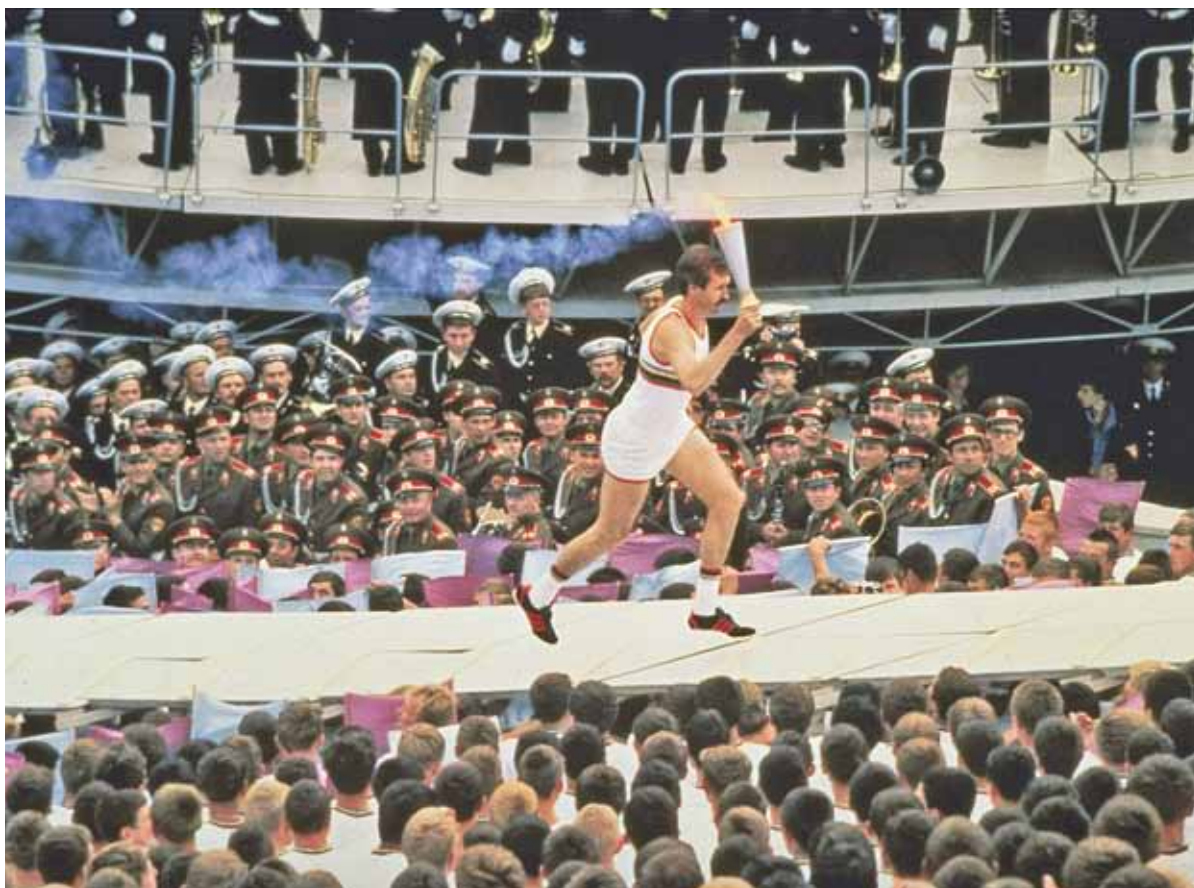
The only mention of the special ceremonial torches is to be found on page 264 of the *Official Report*:

It was first proposed to use pyrotechnic components as fuel for the torch. However tests had shown that the high burning temperature and the build-up of waste called for great care in the use of the torch. This first proposition was only used in the creation of a variant of the torch which was to be carried around the stadiums (20 of this type were produced).⁹

The comparative dimensions of both torches are as follows:

	Height (in cm)	Weight (in kg)
Moscow relay torch*	56	0.75 (without cylinder)
Moscow ceremonial torch	56.5	0.97

* The *Official Report* gives different figures for the relay torch. However, I used figures from my own measurements.



The basketball player Sergey Belov lit the cauldron at the Opening Ceremony in the Central Lenin Stadium (Now known as the Luzhniki). An Olympian from 1968 to 1980, he had won Olympic gold in 1972 and had two World championship golds to his name. He was also a captain in the Soviet Army . He died on 3rd October 2013.

Photo: ITAR-TASS

Summary

1. The 1980 Organising Committee produced 6200 'normal' relay torches and 20 special torches for the Opening Ceremony to light the cauldrons at the stadia.
2. Those 'special' torches were used in Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and Kiev.
3. The relay torch used a liquid gas system, while the special ceremonial torch used solid fuel. Its basic elements comprised a burner section, a ringed cup and protective screen, made from an aluminium alloy. The torch handle contained the gas reservoir.
4. The special ceremonial torch had no aluminum part at the top in order to avoid heavy burning or possible damage.
5. The holder of the ordinary relay torch is made of aluminum alloy and was designed to hold a container with liquid gas. The holder of the Opening Ceremony torch was made of a different material in brown.
6. The shape design of the special torch is quite similar to the relay torch, especially taking into consideration the yellow aluminum part above the holder. This is the main reason why so many were confused and never speculated about a special torch for the Opening Ceremony.
7. In ten years of investigation I have found seven out of those 20 special torches in museums or private collections.

It goes without saying that today, this special torch is highly collectable. As a matter of fact, it is thought that no example has yet been offered at any Olympic memorabilia auction. I truly hope that this interesting "pedigree" of the ceremonial 1980 torch will serve as inspiration in the continuing quest for as yet "unknown" pages of Olympic history.

* * *

The Russian News Agency ITAR-TASS has been of great help to my investigation and has offered (at a reasonable fee) to publish photos from their archives. Some of them for the first time ever, to illustrate the use of special torches at the Opening Ceremonies of the 1980 Olympics in different cities. ■

- 1 <http://yapet.livejournal.com/227078.html>
- 2 <http://yapet.livejournal.com/193904.html>
- 3 <http://news.tut.by/sport/177596.html>
- 4 <http://yapet.livejournal.com/196431.html>.
- 5 [http://rus.delfi.ee/sport/muudalad/foto-smotrite-kak-35-let-nazad-v-tallinne-zazhigali-ogon-olimpiady-80?id=71948193#!dgs=dgsee-157361:1KnnL2354Yo8d iSJM10-B\).](http://rus.delfi.ee/sport/muudalad/foto-smotrite-kak-35-let-nazad-v-tallinne-zazhigali-ogon-olimpiady-80?id=71948193#!dgs=dgsee-157361:1KnnL2354Yo8d iSJM10-B).)
- 6 *Official Report of the Organising Committee of the Games of the XXII Olympiad*, (in English), Vol. II, pp. 247-249, Fizkultura y Sport, Moscow, 1981
- 7 http://www.barque.ru/sport/1980/olympic_regatta_in_tallinn_1980
- 8 *Official Report*, pp. 290-294
- 9 *Ibid*, 264

The Ancient Games of Aktion*

An ethnical festival turns into a panhellenic mega-event equal to the Olympics¹

By Christian Wacker

Fig. 1: Discovery of the foundation of the temple of Apollo of Aktion near Vonitsa.

© Christian Wacker, 1990



The games of Aktion were founded or to be precise reorganised by Octavian, who later became emperor Augustus after the victorious battle of Aktion 31 BCE. This battle had been the political starting point for the Roman Empire, lasting for several hundred years. The importance of the games of Aktion had been equal to the Olympic Games and they had been classified as panhellenic, in addition to the games of Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea.² They had been one component of a significant topographic, demographic and propagandistic restructuring of a region, where the fleet of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra was devastatingly destroyed. The battle itself took place at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf in North-western Greece, close to the eponymous and archaic sanctuary of Aktion. To the North of the entrance to the Gulf, Augustus created the victory city, Nikopolis, as an independent Greek city for around 100,000 inhabitants who were resettled from a nearby vicinity of about 70 kilometres.³ In order to guarantee long-lasting endurance to Nikopolis, the major part of local rituals, as well as representative buildings from sanctuaries and the old cities and villages (poleis), were transferred to the new megapolis. As part of his political propaganda, Augustus ordered the construction of a victory monument (tropaeum) at the former field

commander's camp with a monolithic altar for Apollo, which included a bold relief depiction of the history of the battle of Aktion and the triumphal procession in Rome. Apollo, as saviour and pacifier, was turned into the main god, with whom Augustus became identified. In honour to Apollo and for the keepsake of Augustus the new games of Aktion were organised at the edge of Nikopolis.⁴ (Fig. 2)

An older sanctuary for Apollo Aktios existed from the 6th century BCE at the southern shore of the Ambracian Gulf, inside the territory of the ancient city, Anaktorion, in the district of Akarnania. This sanctuary hosted the Aktian games before the arrival of Augustus as a unifying celebration of the tribe, and later, for the federation (koiné) of the Akarnanians located there. The sacred site with its buildings, its temples, its fairground and its competition arenas was within sight of the victory monument near Nikopolis. The resettlement politics (synoikismos) of Augustus purposely connected the old tradition of the cult of Apollo with its celebrations to the new games of Aktion. The old sanctuary of Apollo Aktios is not well researched, and even its location has caused, and still causes discussions. Nearly all archaeologists, historians and historiographers dealing with the topic located this sanctuary at the peninsula Punta, even

In memory of Dr.-Ing Goetz W. Faist for his many years of contribution to the research of Akarnania.

though detailed investigations of the Oberhammer Society Munich⁵, carried out between 1989 and 1991, brought to light significant archaeological findings in the plain of Vonitsa, identified as the sacred area which included a temple of the old sanctuary of Apollo Aktios.⁶ This paper examines the sanctuary of the Akarnanians, its shape and its Aktian games, which became a model for the games of Aktion near Nikopolis, equal to the Olympic Games from the time of Augustus.

The first games of the Akarnanians

The earliest history of Akarnania can be captured through historical sources, but only from the 7th and 6th century BCE is it possible to locate the area of settlement of the Akarnanian tribe. The southern shore of the Ambracian Gulf, as well as the coastal line of today's district Akarnania down to the delta of the river Acheloos, had been occupied by colonies from Corinth and Kerkyra. The Akarnanian tribe settled in the mountainous hinterland. Only during the Peloponnesian war and with the support of Athens in the late 5th century BCE could Akarnania extend its domination to the coastal sites.⁷ (Fig. 3)

The eponymous god Acheloos, named after the perennial river at the eastern border of Akarnania, had been regarded as progenitor of the Akarnanian tribe in mythology, being famous as related directly to Zeus, in parallel to Oceanus.⁸ He played an important role in the hierarchy of the Greek gods and was acknowledged as the father of the nymphs and the sirens. In Greek poetry the word Acheloos was used as a general synonym for "water". Following a mythological narrative, Alkmaion, one of the companions at Troy who visited Acheloos, married his daughter Kallirhoë and had a son with her called Akarnan.⁹ In honour to their progenitor Acheloos, the Akarnanians organised games, whose character and site are uncertain.¹⁰ However, it is known through numismatic remains of the Akarnanian federation, from the decades 300 to 280 BCE, which represent the depiction of the head of Acheloos on the front, that this god had been worshipped by the entire tribe.¹¹

The city of Stratos, located at the upper Acheloos and atop a huge fertile plain, had an outstanding role amongst the Akarnanian settlements because of its strategic position at the border to the neighbouring tribe of the Aetolians. Thucydides mentioned Stratos as the largest city in Akarnania¹² and, during the 4th century BCE, it had been the capital of the Akarnanian federation.¹³ Stratos also had a sanctuary dedicated to Zeus, which probably had been used as a ritual centre for the federation. It is known that the main Akarnanian god, Acheloos, had not yet been connected to this sanctuary. In analogy to Pelops and Zeus in Olympia, or Python and Apollo in Delphi, Acheloos could have been worshipped along with Zeus in Stratos, although he



Fig. 2: Map of the Ambracian Gulf and adjacent areas

Source: Adaptation of the navel map: www.esys.org/rev_info/Griechenland/Ambrakischer_Golf_Seekarte-hq.jpg (27th April 2017)

© Christian Wacker, 2017

is not documented in historical sources.¹⁴ It should be considered with high probability, that Stratos had been the centre of the Akarnanian federation formed during the 4th century BCE through unification of former tribal settlements, with a sanctuary used by the federation to organise its rituals and games dedicated to Acheloos.

Stratos could not be used as the capital for very long, as the Molossian Empire in the North and the Aetolian federation in the Southeast by mid 3rd century BCE occupied Akarnania. Due to this occupation, the Akarnanian federation was dissolved and re-established only around 230 BCE after recapturing parts of their traditional territory.¹⁵ The eastern areas including Stratos remained Aetolian and, therefore, the Akarnanian federation was forced to find a new sanctuary for its



Fig. 3: Map of North-western Greece

© Christian Wacker, 1996

unifying rituals and as the focal point for its tribal identification. The tribal cult was transferred to Aktion, an extra-urban sanctuary of Apollo already in use since the 6th century BCE inside the territory of Anaktorion at the shore of the Ambracian Gulf.¹⁶ (Fig. 2)

Aktion – sanctuary and games of the Akarnanians

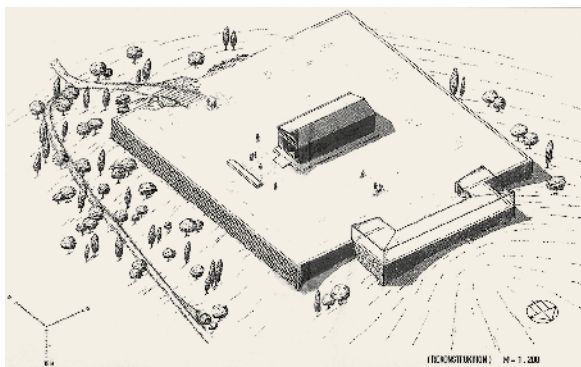
Following its foundation myth, Anaktorion had been a Corinthian and Kerkyreian colony at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf as far back as the 7th century BCE.¹⁷ Apollo, the protective deity of Corinth, received an extra-urban sacred area inside the territory of Anaktorion. In the third part of the 5th century BCE, Thucydides had been the first to mention this sanctuary named Apollo Aktios.¹⁸ Games had been celebrated there long before the rituals of the Akarnanian federation were transferred from Stratos, and the games of Aktion had already been called “old” in the 4th century BCE.¹⁹ The most important document to reconstruct the sanctuary of the Akarnanian federation in Aktion was a recognised inscription dated 216 BCE and arranged in Aktion and Olympia.²⁰ Caused by the wars accompanying the separation of Akarnania, Anaktorion obviously had not been able to organise the celebrations alone. Aktion, therefore, joined Anaktorion and the Akarnanian federation. The federation planned to restore and reconstruct the partially destroyed sanctuary and it governed the expenses and revenues for future ritual celebrations and games.²¹ The Aktian games were to be organised yearly and moved into the city of Anaktorion in case of wars or if armies were encamped on the fairgrounds. The fairground seems to have been extremely important for the Akarnanian federation as each tribe was traditionally positioned on a specific area during the celebrations. The track for the holy procession had been defined and probably led from Anaktorion to Aktion, accompanied by a ceremony to sacrifice hair, and an ox to be protected against flies or mosquitoes.²² The inscription, unfortunately, does not inform about the programme of the games in detail, but one has to assume that the usual athletic and horse riding disciplines, as well as music and theatre competitions in honour to Apollo, were organised.²³

Following ancient sources, the federal sanctuary of Aktion must have been situated to the right of the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf opposite the harbours of Nikopolis.²⁴ Using these sources, the sanctuary had been located on a flat, sandy peninsula called Punta to the South of the modern city of Preveza, controlling the entrance to the Gulf on the northern shore today. This location goes back to the Greek geographer, Meletios, who visited Punta following the path of Strabon back in 1728. In 1805 and 1807 the travel writers Leake and Pouqueville arrived at Punta independent from each other and identified obvious Roman walls with Aktion. Pouqueville, the French consul in the potentate of Ali Pascha, observed the contemporary construction of a castle with huge reused stone blocks, obviously from ancient ruins. According to his fanciful descriptions, those blocks had been taken from a former hippodrome. An inaccurate map drawn by Pouqueville indicates a stadium, a theatre and the temple of Apollo without having any indication for the information given.²⁵

Impressed and obviously encouraged by a detailed travel report from Heuzey,²⁶ the French consul at Ioannina Champoiseau organised an excavation inside the castle of Ali Pascha in the year 1867 and discovered Roman mosaics and brick walls. Two torsos from archaic statues (kouroi), displaced from another spot, had been found inside this layer and can be visited today at the Musée du Louvre (Inv.-No.: 766, 767).²⁷ Another 140 years later excavations took place again at the same spot, discovering Roman walls to a length of 24 metres, more pieces of mosaics, a transverse wall, a central base perhaps for a statue, some ceramic sherds from different centuries and fragments of statues. Without having substantial arguments, the excavators identified this with the temple of Apollo.²⁸ Evidently, the architectural feature belongs to a secular Roman building, probably a villa, where displaced statues or other findings from Greek times did not come as a surprise.²⁹ Most probably, the incorrect location of Aktion at Punta was laid by the travellers of the 18th and 19th century and repeated up to the present day,³⁰ even though Lolling described in detail back in 1876/77, that the ancient building material for the castle of Ali Pascha was displaced from somewhere else and brought to Punta.³¹ Together with this ancient building material, probably the kouroi and other objects found during the latest excavation, as well as a series of inscriptions of the Akarnanian federation, were used as part of the castle construction at Punta.³² The remains of a Roman villa and a castle of the early 19th century with ancient spolia alone cannot place the location of the federal sanctuary of Aktion at the peninsula of Punta.

The proposal of the location of Aktion at Punta also contradicts a variety of indications written down in ancient sources, for example, the distance indications from Aktion to Anaktorion and to Leukas given at

Fig. 4: Reconstruction of the sanctuary of Apollon of Aktion near Vonitsa

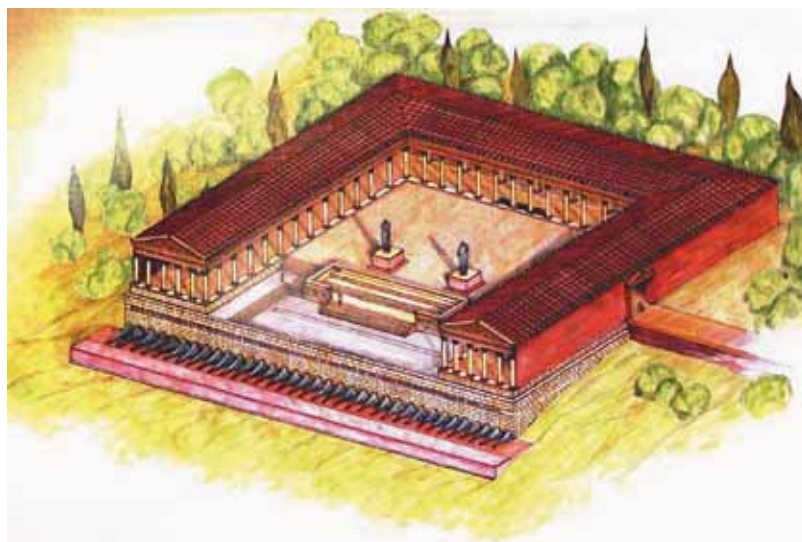


Picture: ©Faisst, G.W.: Apollonos Aktios, Vol. 2, Norderstedt 2013, 184

Strabon in the late 1st century BCE. Following the ancient Greek geographer, Aktion is 40 stadia (appr. 7.4 kilometres) from Anaktorion and 240 stadia (appr. 44.2 kilometres) from Leukas away.³³ Punta, however, is situated a distance of 9.5 kilometres from Anaktorion, with certainty³⁴, and 22 kilometres from Leukas. The recently discovered sanctuary of Vonitsa matches exactly the distance given at Strabon (to Anaktorion: 7.3 kilometres; to Leukas: 45 kilometres). Furthermore, the temple of Apollo had been built on a widely visible hill with a holy grove in a vast plain below and adjacent shipyard.³⁵ The highest elevation at Punta, a sandy geologically young spit at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf, is just eight metres high. A hill never existed on this peninsula. Aktion always had been described in ancient sources as close to the entrance into the Gulf, but never as located at the entrance itself.³⁶ The geographic and source-critical analysis excludes the location of the federal sanctuary of Aktion with the peninsula at Punta. As stated above, the allegedly wrong location of Aktion at Punta goes back to the research of Meletios in the 18th century and was repeated like a guiding thread until today,³⁷ despite the fact that two Venetian marine maps from 1571 and 1691 CE related Aktion to Anaktorion and did not locate it at Punta.³⁸ (Fig. 2)

During 1989 and 1991 the Oberhammer Society Munich, under the coordination of Goetz W. Faisst, organised a systematic cleaning, surveying and measuring of the sacred area, including the foundations of a temple on top of a hill called Magoula near the modern city Vonitsa. The site was described in travellers' reports and correctly interpreted as ruins of a temple, but unfortunately was forgotten; it became overgrown by trees and bushes and was used for agriculture.³⁹ The examinations shed light on a so-called antae temple measuring 20.4 x 8.2 metres with an open pronaos and two columns erected on the top of a 25 metres high hill widely visible from the Ambracian Gulf. Because of architecture and historical typology, the temple can be dated around 500 BCE. Probably during the second quarter of the 4th century BCE, the sacred area had been armed with two u-shaped terrace walls towards the East and the West of the hill. Shortly after the middle of the 4th century BCE, a second extension with another terrace wall to the North was built, apparently carrying a lesene hall.⁴⁰

The fertile plain of Vonitsa, with its striking hill Magoula accommodating the temple area on its northern verge two kilometres away from the sea, had been part of the ancient territory of Anaktorion; therefore, the identification of the findings at Magoula with Aktion seems to be obvious!⁴¹ The distance indications given at Strabon, the location of the temple on a prominent hill, the description of the federal sanctuary of the Akarnanians with wide spaces to host military camps and areas for further sacred buildings and competition



facilities, substantiate this location.⁴² The games, the festival and the market of the "aktiadaí" took place in the plain of Vonitsa/Aktion, since Aktion had not only been a sanctuary, but since the Roman period, a village/city and the promontory of Panagia to the Northwest of Vonitsa.⁴³ Several findings were made by coincidence in the area around Vonitsa, for example, architectural and sculptural remains, which were listed by Faisst in a catalogue with 80 records. In the context of the games, the discovery of a life-size naked torso of a young man, a second naked male torso as well as the fragment of a male thigh, are of main interest.⁴⁴ Without further iconographic examinations it will, unfortunately, not be possible to make additional assignments. (Fig. 4, 1)

These recently published research results at the sanctuary near Vonitsa prompt an identification of the temple area at Magoula with the sacred district of Apollo Aktios and the federal sanctuary of the Akarnanians. Propaganda politics of Augustus made reference to this holy borough and integrated the old traditional Aktian cult into the new topographic ensemble around Nikopolis, the new Aktian games and the victory monument after the battle of Aktion 31 BCE.

Nikopolis: the new Aktian games in Roman times

The consequences of the battle of Aktion for the principate of Augustus, the Roman peace (pax romana) and the Roman Empire in general during the decades and the following centuries only became visible long after the event itself.⁴⁵ The demographic and political changes in northwestern Greece had likewise been significant. The final battle at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf between the opponents Octavian and Marcus Antonius, who both entered into a triumvirate with Marcus Aemilius Lepidus after the homicide of Julius Caesar 44 BCE, had been decisive for the beginning of the Roman Empire. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus became

Fig. 5: Reconstruction of the victory monument of Augustus

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https://classconnection.s3.amazonaws.com/354/flashcards/3762354/png/tropaeum_-1444C06EDD3111C194E.png
 (7.7.2017)

Fig. 6: Terrace wall with traces for ram bows at the victory monument of Augustus

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politically isolated and the other two divided the empire between themselves, with Octavian dominating the West and Marcus Antonius the East. Rising conflicts emerged into a civil war and various influential consuls left Rome to join Marcus Antonius after the provocative power demonstration of Octavian in the senate. Exploiting this political situation, Octavian occupied the island of Kerkyra, being part of the eastern part of the empire, and landed with his troops in northern Greece. Surprised by the speed and manoeuvres of Octavian, the fleet of Marcus Antonius and his ally Cleopatra saw itself trapped inside the Ambracian Gulf. To risk a naval battle would have been in vain for Marcus Antonius, due to the onerous superiority of Octavian, and he decided to burst through the adversarial lines and escape. The army command, with its war chest, escaped to Egypt by the famous speedboats of Cleopatra. The fleet of Marcus Antonius was conquered, Octavian turned into the undisputed emperor, and the civil war finally ended.⁴⁶

Octavian, the later emperor Augustus, pacified and reorganised the landscape to the North and South of the Ambracian Gulf following his propaganda policy and his victory in the battle of Aktion. The victory city of Nikopolis was founded on a drafting table as mega-city on a wide peninsula to the North of the entrance into the Gulf and the modern settlement of Preveza. In contrary to Patras in the South, Nikopolis had been established as a free Greek city; Aktion/Actium by contrast became an Augusteian colony.⁴⁷ The population from the surrounding poleis, from Leukas down to the Acheloos as well as southern Epiros, was resettled in Nikopolis and the new mega-city used a hinterland of around 70 kilometres in diameter.⁴⁸ About 80% of the inhabitants of Nikopolis were of Greek origin. A process of identification, therefore, would have been extremely difficult, if Nikopolis had been a Roman colony. It can be assumed that former poleis in the mountains became completely abundant, whilst settlements at coastal regions had been retained as spots (chorai) to supply the mega-city.⁴⁹ The resettling of the population was accompanied with the transfer of holy rituals, cultic behaviour and traditions, as reported in various ancient sources. All cultic images from Aetolia, e.g. except Kalydon, were brought to Nikopolis. In Kassope even buildings had been systematically

dismantled and rebuilt in Nikopolis.⁵⁰ This politics of pacification under Augustus was explained altruistically in Roman literature and poetry, even though in reality the foundation of the new city of Nikopolis must have been received as an aggressive act of power. The victory monument of Augustus atop the mega-city must have been conceived as a bang!⁵¹

To build the victory monument, Augustus had chosen a slope North of Nikopolis at the site of his former commander's camp above the newly erected stadium, theatre and gymnasium for the Aktian games during the Roman Empire.⁵² Discovered and identified back in 1922, the first excavations took place in the 1980s and, since the 1990s, the site has been examined systematically.⁵³ The monument was built on top of an artificial terrace more than 50 metres long and had a monumental terrace wall showing traces for 36 to 37 ram bows from captured adversarial ships. On the upper edge of the terrace a Latin inscription was mounted, indicating the importance of the two Roman gods: Mars with his responsibility for violence and strength, and Neptune for domination. Through this inscription the erection of the monument can be dated 29 to 27 BCE.⁵⁴ The plateau itself was surrounded on three sides by halls, with a central monumental altar measuring 22 x 6.5 metres, where sacrifices took place under the open sky in honour of Apollo.⁵⁵ The altar was decorated with bas-reliefs and excavations brought to light around 21,000 fragments still under treatment. The themes and topics of the depictions with ships, some of them with figures standing atop, weapons perhaps from processions or looting, parts of an amazonomachy and five bigger fragments (together around 3 x 1 metres) with sequences of a triumphal procession put the scenery into a context of Augusteian political propaganda.⁵⁶ (Fig. 5, 6)

The main message of the victory monument is that Augustus presented himself as a strong conqueror against Marcus Antonius but, also, as peacemaker and saviour under the protection of Apollo. Therefore, it was not surprising that Augustus also renovated and expanded the old federal sanctuary in Aktion in order to underline the importance of this traditional cult site. Aktion was extolled as an Augusteian colony⁵⁷ and became an important harbour and settlement in the wide plain of Vonitsa. The Akarnanian sanctuary was promoted with the dedication of a new and larger additional temple for Apollo not yet discovered. Ten adversarial ships had been dedicated to Apollo in Aktion, perhaps as part of a monument similar to that North of Nikopolis.⁵⁸ This monument must have been built out of ephemeral material as it burnt down during the time of Strabon only a few decades after erection.⁵⁹ (Fig. 2)

Apollo, the protective deity of Augustus, was successively transferred from the federal sanctuary of the Akarnanians to Nikopolis following the politics of

resettlement, and underpinning the sacral relation between Augustus and the battle of Aktion.⁶⁰ The Augusteian foundation myth, called Aeneid, compiled the relevant passages accordingly.⁶¹ The companions of Aeneas sailed along Cape Leukatas at the southern peak of the island Leukas, with its sanctuary of Apollo Leukadios, and turned into the Ambracian Gulf to Aktion. At Aktion, safe from the open sea, they founded a small city (*parva urbs*), which “[...] is defined by *pietas erga deos* as the legendary foundation of the future victory of Rome over Greece”.⁶² Aeneas sacrificed the targe captured from the Argive king Abas, known as the symbol for the strength of defence of the Greeks to Apollo Aktios. The donation to Apollo as guardian of the companions around Aeneas legitimised Apollo as protector for Augustus and connected the emperor to the sanctuary of Apollo Aktios. Nikopolis was founded as a large city (*magna urbs*) after the small city (*parva urbs*) Aktion. The old competitions, which were established by Aeneas as Illyrian games (*Illiaci ludi*) following the myth were reorganised as new Aktian games.⁶³ This mythical narration helps to understand the positioning of Augusteian politics after the battle of Aktion. Under the protection of Apollo the power of the former sovereigns, i.e. the Greeks, was broken and the old Akarnanian sanctuary became the respected nucleus to legitimise the construction of the victory city Nikopolis, the victory monument, and the Aktian games.⁶⁴

The new Aktian games were established as “Aktia in honour to the big emperor”⁶⁵ and were organised for the first time in 27 BCE as an integrative part of Augusteian propaganda politics.⁶⁶ Following the Greek model, they had been laid out for Hellenic identification of the new citizens of Nikopolis and had been later integrated into the series of Roman competitions. Since the 2nd century CE and during the competition years, the Capitolinian games took place in July in Rome; in summer the Sebasteia in Naples followed, and in September the Aktian games in Nikopolis.⁶⁷ The compilation of the three competition sites in some winners' catalogues may indicate, that the Sebasteia founded during the 2nd century CE and the Capitolinian games from 86 CE, were tied topographically and chronologically to the Aktian games. The inauguration of the city of Nikopolis, as well as the Aktian games, seems to have had an equivalent near the Egyptian city of Alexandria, where Octavian finally had beaten Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra.⁶⁸ Ancient sources document the extraordinary importance of the new Aktian games being equal to the Olympic Games (*isolympia*). Even the Aktian games themselves had been used as blueprints for other competition sites (*isaktios*), and especially in the East of the Roman Empire after the 2nd century CE.⁶⁹ The games had been integrated into the traditional periods of panhellenic games with Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia and Nemea. Athletes who had

been victorious at the four sites were allowed to call themselves *periodonikes*. This rule got extended and athletes who won four out of the five new panhellenic games could then name themselves *periodonikes*.⁷⁰

The Aktian games were organised in gymnastic, horse riding and artistic disciplines. Known through inscriptions are the athletic disciplines of the stadium run, double stadium run (*diaulos*), long distance run (*dolichos*), armoured run, pentathlon, wrestling, boxing and pankration for the three age groups of boys, beardless and men. Since the competitions were dedicated to Apollo, it might not surprise the reader that a comprehensive programme was organised for poets and lecturers, tragedies and comedies, guitar players (*kitharoidoi*), flute players and pantomimes.

Unfortunately, neither ancient sources nor the hippodrome itself document the horse races.⁷¹ The competition sites are well preserved with an overgrown stadium, a theatre and a gymnasium, all dating to the times of the Roman Empire and visible below the victory monument to the North of Nikopolis. Further investigations would probably help to identify more details about the Aktian games. The festival of Aktion at Nikopolis was embedded into the official competition calendar and, for the year 25 BCE, a winner was recorded victorious in Olympia, Delphi and Aktion.⁷² Looking at the documentation of the *periodonikes* registers, the Aktian games lasted until the late 3rd century CE⁷³ (Fig. 7, 8, 9).

Summary

With the installation of the new Aktian games Octavian and, later, emperor Augustus re-established a panhellenic mega-event after the victorious battle of Aktion 31 BCE, which became part of his propaganda politics. After the battle the victory city of Nikopolis was created,

Fig. 7: Aerial view of the stadium and theatre of Nikopolis

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resettling the population from the neighbouring cities. A programmatic victory monument was erected above the city. The games had been newly launched as panhellenic games equal to the Olympics following the Greek model, but had been ritually legitimated through the federal sanctuary of the Akarnanians in honour to Apollo Aktios. At the older sanctuary of Aktion, games of the Akarnanians took place as a means for identification to the federation since 4th/3rd century BCE. Even though the cult site had been located on the peninsula Punta, new archaeological findings prove with high probability, that the sanctuary of Aktion has to be located in a plain near the modern city of Vonitsa. The tradition of the Akarnanian tribe and later, federation, to organise games in honour of Apollo can be traced back to the 5th/4th century BCE, when the tribe celebrated competitions in honour of its patron god Acheloos in the Akarnanian hinterlands. The old cult of Acheloos probably became absorbed by the cult of Apollo, when the federal sanctuary was moved to Aktion. Augustus then transferred the festival of Aktian Apollo with its games to Nikopolis. ■

- 1 The paper is an adapted version of the essay: Wacker, Ch.: *Die Spiele von Aktion. Vom ethnischen Kultfest zum panhellenischen Megaevent*. In: Court, J./Müller, A. (Eds.): *Jahrbuch 2016/17 der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Sportwissenschaft e.V.*, Münster 2018.
- 2 Strab. 7, 7.6. Lämmer, M.: *Die Aktischen Spiele von Nikopolis*. In: *Stadion 12/13, 1986/87, 30f*; Pavlogiannis, O./Albanidis, E.: *Τα Άκτια της Νικόπολης: Νέες προσεγγίσεις*. In: Zachos, K. (Ed.): *Νικόπολις Β. Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς για τη Νικόπολη (11th–15th Sept. 2002)*. Preveza 2007, 60f.
- 3 Plin. n.h. 4, 5.
- 4 Moretti, L.: *Iscrizioni Agonistiche Greche*. Roma 1953, Nr. 59, 60: Άκτια τὰ μεγάλα Καισάρηα; Lämmer 1986/87, 35.
- 5 The Oberhammer Society Munich (1987–2015) dedicated its mission to the academic legacy of the historiographer Eugen Oberhammer (1859–1944) and executed surveys and excavations among others in the plain of Vonitsa. The eponym Oberhammer had been teaching at the universities in Munich and Vienna and did his habilitation 1886 about “Akarnanen, Ambrakia, Amphilochien, Leukas im Altertum” (Akarnania, Ambrakia, Amphilochia, Leukas in antiquity). See also: Bertold, P./Wacker, Ch.: *Dr. Eugen Oberhammer – Leben und Werk*. In: Behnke, J.Th./Bertold, P./Wacker, Ch. (Eds.): *Jahresbericht der Oberhammer-Gesellschaft München e.V.*. München 1994, 16–19. Following the research legacy of Oberhammer the society organised excavations and surveys in Akarnania from 1887 to 1992, lecture series at the University of Munich, academic travels to North-western Greece, edited the diaries of Oberhammer, the journal “Acheloos” as well as the series “Studien zur Geschichte Nordwest-Griechen-

lands”. The author of this paper had been President of the Oberhammer Society Munich from 1991 to 2015.

- 6 Faisst, G.W.: *Apollonos Aktios*, 2 Vols. Norderstedt 2013. The project had been directed by the building researcher Goetz W. Faisst, who compiled the results of the archaeological prospection of the sanctuary in the meadow called Magoula near Vonitsa in a dissertation at the University Graz from 1992 entitled “Magoula, ein extra-urbanes Heiligtum bei Vonitsa in Akarnanien” (Magoula, an outer-urban sanctuary near Vonitsa in Akarnania).
- 7 Bertold, P./Schmid, J./Wacker, Ch. (Eds.): *Akarnanien. Eine Landschaft im antiken Griechenland*. Würzburg 1996, 75–116; Corsten, Th.: *Stammeskult und Bundeskult. Die einigende Rolle der Religion am Beispiel Akarnaniens*. In: Acheloos 2, 2000, 18; Schoch, M.: *Beiträge zur Topographie Akarnaniens in klassischer und hellenistischer Zeit*. In: Bertele, M./Wacker, Ch. (Eds.): *Studien zur Geschichte Nordwest-Griechenlands*, Vol. 2. Würzburg 1997, 27–60.
- 8 Hom. Il. 21, 194. Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 71.
- 9 Regarding the various mythological narrative traditions see: Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 66–71; Corsten 2000, 22f. Regarding the importance of Apollo as part of the founding myth of the Akarnanian tribe see: Ath. 6, 232. d–f.
- 10 Schol. Hom. Il. 24, 616: Ἀκαρῶνες δὲ καὶ ἀγῶνα αὐτῶ ἐπιτελοῦσιν.
- 11 Corsten 2000, 25; Dany, O.: *Akarnanien im Hellenismus*. München 1999, 276–310. Regarding the iconography of Acheloos on coins see Isler, H.P.: *Der akarnanische Flußgott Acheloos in der Bildkunst*. In: Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 169–173; Isler, H.P.: *Acheloos. Eine Monographie*, Zürich 1970.
- 12 Thuk. 2, 80.8: πόλιν μεγίστην τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας.
- 13 The κοινὸν τῶν Ἀκαρνανῶν (assembly of the Akarnanians) held a meeting in Stratos 389 BCE caused by a threat from Sparta, which can be seen as hint for Stratos' leading role. See Xen. Hell. 4, 6.1–4. Stratos also had been the place to set out inscriptions of the Akarnanian federation as documented by the decree IG IX 1² 2, Nr. 393 from the 3rd century BCE.
- 14 Corsten 2000, 19, 26f., 30; Schwandner, E.–L.: *Stratos am Acheloos, η πόλις φάντασμα* In: PHEGOS. Festschrift für S. Dakaris, Athen 1994, 459–465.
- 15 Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 125–128.
- 16 Corsten 2000, 28f assumes, that the sanctuary of Aktion had been used by the Akarnanian federation already before 230 BCE as a second ritual space to systematically melt the Corinthian population with the Akarnanians, who occupied Anaktorion in the 5th century BCE.
- 17 Skymn. 453ff; Strab. 10, 2.8. Schoch 1997, 20f.
- 18 Thuk. 1, 29.3: Ἄκτιω τῆς Ἀνακτορίας γῆς, οὐ τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστιν ...
- 19 Hypereides Fr. 155: Ἄκτια ἀγῶν παλαιὸς ἦν: s.a. Kallimachos Fr. 403; Strab. 10, 2.1–7 described the competitions as dedicated to the fatherland: κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ...; Habicht, Ch.: *Eine Urkunde des akarnanischen Bundes*. In: Hermes 85, 1957, 102, FN 3.
- 20 IG IX 12 2, Nr. 483; Corsten 2000, 19; Habicht 1957.
- 21 Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 31. The coins of the Akarnanian federation from the 3rd and 2nd century BCE mostly depict Apollo Aktios.
- 22 Herakleides Pont. Fr. 144; Faisst Bd. 2, 2013, 39; Habicht 1957, 89, 102–107. A similar sacrifice is also known from Olympia: Wacker, Ch.: *Olympia. Ein kulturhistorischer Rundgang*, Munich 2004, 21.
- 23 A bas-relief with the depiction of an elderly man playing the lyre was found in Anaktorion: Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, Abb. 183; Habicht 1957, 102.
- 24 Strab. 7, 7.6; 10, 2.7; Cass. Dio. 50, 12.7f.
- 25 Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 14f; Gazes, A. (Hg.): *Μελετίου. Γεωγραφία πάλαια και νέα, 1728, 1807, 290*; Leake, W.M.: *Travels in Northern Greece*, Vol. 1, 1835, 174; Pouqueville, F.C.H.L.: *Voyage de la Grèce*, Vol. 2, 1826, 308f; id. Vol. 3, 1826, 444–447.
- 26 Heuzey, L.: *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, 1860, 386–394.
- 27 Regarding the excavations of Champoiseau see: Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 20f, Abb. 4; Trianti, I.: *O Charles François Noël Champoiseau στο Ἀκτίο*. In: Zachos, K. (Hg.): *Νικόπολις Β. Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς για τη Νικόπολη (11. – 15. Sept. 2002)*. Preveza 2007, 49.
- 28 Trianti, I./Lambaki, A.: *Das Heiligtum des Apollon in Aktion*. In: Lang, F. et al. (Hg.): *Interdisziplinäre Forschungen in Akarnanien, Akarnanien-Forschungen 1*. Bonn 2013, 279–284.
- 29 Regarding the interpretation of the findings of Champoiseau as a villa see: Kahrstedt, U.: *Die Territorien von Patrai und Nikopolis in der Kaiserzeit*. In: Historia 1, 1950, 555; Klaffenbach, G.: *Bericht*

Fig. 8: View of the stadium for the new Aktian games.



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über eine epigraphische Reise durch Mittelgriechenland und die Ionischen Inseln. In: SBerlin, Mittl d. phil.-hist. Klasse, 1935, 720f. Regarding the inventory of Roman villas and the trend to collect and display Greek „art“ see: Neudecker, R.: *Die Skulpturen-Ausstattung römischer Villen in Italien*, Mainz 1988.

- 30 See latest: Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 58; Trianti/Lambaki 2013, 279; <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Actium> (23rd April 2017).
- 31 Ley, J.: *Stadtbefestigungen in Akarnanien: ein bauhistorischer Beitrag zur urbanen Entwicklungsgeschichte einer antiken Landschaft*. Berlin 2009, 56; Lolling, H.G.: *Reisenotizen aus Griechenland 1876 und 1877*, Reprint 1989, 258.
- 32 Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 196.
- 33 Strab. 10, 2, 7.
- 34 Anaktorion is located at the entrance to the Ambracian Gulf near Aktion, where the temple of Apollo was erected (Thuk. 1, 29; 1, 55). Strab. 10, 2.2 reports, that Anaktorion lies on a peninsula near Aktion. Regarding the localisation of Anaktorion with the ruins of Agios Petros firstly mentioned at Leake, Bd. 3, 1835, 492-497 see recently: Ley 2009, 55; Faisst, Vol. 2, 2013, 26; Schoch 1997, 20f. Strab. 7, 7.6.
- 35 Strab. 7, 7.6 described Aktion as “close to the entrance” πρὸ τοῦ στόματος. In another passage Aktion had been called the first site of the Akarnanians coming “from the entrance” (Strab. 10, 2.7: ἀπο γὰρ τοῦ στόματος ἀρξαμένοις τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κόλπου πρῶτόν ἐστιν Ἀκαρνανῶν χωρίον τὸ Ἄκτιον. Following Cass. Dio. 50, 12.7f Aktion is located at the waterway “before the entrance” to the Ambracian Gulf ([...] καὶ πρὸ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ πορθμοῦ τοῦ κόλπου τοῦ Ἀμβρακικοῦ κατ’ ἀντιπέρας τῶν πρὸς τῇ Νικόπολει λιμένων κείται. Obviously Cassius’ view is directed from the Gulf towards the Ionian Sea. The same source portrays the military camp of Marcus Antonius embedded in the description of the Aktian war as located aside the sanctuary in a plane and wide area at the broadest spot of the entrance to the Gulf.
- 37 Only the traveller Wolfe did not follow the localisation proposals of Leake and Pouqueville and assumed that Aktion could have been situated at the Peninsula Panagia to the West of the bay of Vonitsa. Wolfe, J.: *Observations on the Gulf of Arta made in 1830*, 1833, 88.
- 38 The map of 1571 marked a site called “Atium” instead of Anaktorion. Anaktorion is located a little further on the West corresponding to the suggestion Vonitsa for Aktion. The map of 1691 recorded a site named “Azio” instead of Anaktorion near Agios Petros with following adjunct: “Città di Azio rou [sic]: fondamenti di gran Fortezza tutta spianata, chiamati S. Peitro”. *Venedig. Golfo della Prevesa*, 1571. (Bayr. Staatsbibliothek München, Mapp. XVIII, 95b); *Golfo della Prevesa*. In: Coronelli, Atlante Veneto I, 85 (Bayr. Staatsbibliothek München, Mapp. 56m). S.a. Faisst, Bd. 2, Abb. 159, 179.
- 39 Faisst, Bd. 1, 2013, 17ff. Meletios also had been the first to depict this site in 1728: Gazes, 1807, 290.
- 40 Faisst, Bd. 1, 2013, esp. 62, 70f, 115ff, 138-142, Abb. 121.
- 41 Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 40-82; Schoch, 1997, 21.
- 42 esp. Strab. 7, 7.6.
- 43 Strab. 10, 2.7; Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἄκτιον. Faisst, Vol. 2, 2013, 36f.
- 44 Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 237-243, Abb. 132. Regarding the torso of the young man: BCH, Chronique, 1956, 294. Regarding the male torso: Adelt. Chronika 19, 1964, 294.
- 45 Among others: Bringmann, K./Schäfer, Th.: *Augustus und die Begründung des römischen Kaisertums*, Berlin 2002.
- 46 Regarding the civil war and the details of the battle of Aktion see: Lange 2009, 49-94.
- 47 Plin. n.h. 4, 5: [...] colonia Augusti actium [...] civitas libera Nicopolis. Lange 2009, 100-103.
- 48 Paus. 5, 23.3; Strab. 10, 2.2; Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 146; Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 216-220; Lange 2009, 100.
- 49 Strab. 10, 2.2 called Alyzeia, Leukas, Argos Amphiloichikon, Ambrakia and Palairos perioikides, i.e. villages inside the territory of a city [Nikopolis]; Pom. Mela 2, 3.54 enumerates settlements, which still had been populated during the time of his report between 41 and 44 CE: Actium, Argos Amphiloichikon, Ambrakia and Aecidarum. Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 147; Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 36f; Strauch, D.: *Römische Politik und Griechische Tradition. Die Umgestaltung Nordwest-Griechenlands unter römischer Herrschaft*. München 1996, 168.
- 50 Paus. 7, 18.8f; 8, 21.1. Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 146f; Hoepfner, W./Schwandner, E.-L.: *Haus und Stadt im Klassischen Griechenland*, 2. Aufl. 1994, 114, 117, 130; Strauch 1996, 166, 170.



Fig. 9: View into the theatre for the new Aktian games.

© Christian Wacker, 1990

- 51 In Anth. Pal. 9, 553 “[...] Caesar turned myself into divine city Nikopolis, and sovereign Phoibos [Augustus] received myself as reward for Aktion’s triumph” (translated by Ch. Wacker, Freiburg 2016). Bertold/Schmid/Wacker 1996, 146; Strauch 1996, 167.
- 52 Cass. Dio. 51, 1.3; Suet. Aug. 18, 2. Zachos, K.: *Excavations at Actian Tropaeum at Nikopolis*. In: Isager, J. (Ed.): *Foundation and destruction, Nikopolis and Northwestern Greece. The archaeological evidence for the city’s destructions, the foundation of Nikopolis and the synoecism*. In: Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens, Bd. 3. Athens, Århus, Oakville (Conn.) 2001, 30.
- 53 See the detailed reports in Greek in Adelt. and two summarising papers in English: Zachos 2001, 29-42; Zachos, K.: *The Tropaeum of the Sea-Battle of Actium at Nikopolis*. In: JRA 16, 2003, 65-92. Regarding the bas-reliefs and the ceramic findings of the monument: Kappa, Ch.: *Πήλινες διακοσμημένες κεραμώσεις στο Μνημείο Οκταβιανού Αυγούστου*. In: Zachos, K. (Ed.): *Νικόπολις Β. Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς για τη Νικόπολη* (11. - 15. Sept. 2002). Preveza 2007, 401-409; Zachos, K.: *Τα γλυπτά του βωμού στο Μνημείο του Οκταβιανού Αυγούστου στη Νικόπολη. Μία πρώτη προσέγγιση*. In: Zachos, K. (Hg.): *Νικόπολις Β. Πρακτικά του Δευτέρου Διεθνούς για τη Νικόπολη* (11. - 15. Sept. 2002). Preveza 2007, 411-434.
- 54 Zachos 2001, 32f; Zachos 2007, 74-76, 83. Fig. 12 depicts a bronze fragment of one of the ram bows.
- 55 Cass. Dio 51, 1.3 calls the monumental altar sacrificial site (ἕδος). Zachos 2001, 36f; Zachos 2007, 82.
- 56 Zachos 2007, 83-91, esp. Fig. 39.
- 57 Plin. n.h. 4, 1.2; 4, 5. Faisst, Bd. 2, 2013, 36f.
- 58 Cass. Dio. 51, 1.2f: [...] τὰ τε ἄλλα τὰ ἐξῆς μέχρι δεκίρουσ, ἐκ τῶν σίγμαλῶτων νεῶν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ ναὸν μείζω ὠκοδόμησεν, [...]; Suet. Aug. 18, 2: [...] ampliatio vetere Apollinis Templo. Lange 2009, 95; Zachos 2003, 65.
- 59 Strab. 7, 7.6; Prop. 4, 6.15-18; 4, 6.67-70; Suet. Aug. 18, 2. Lange 2009, 105.
- 60 Lange 2009, 106.
- 61 Vergil Aen. 3, 276ff. Vergil wrote the Aeneid starting 29 BCE and only short time after the victorious battle of Aktion.
- 62 Paschalis, M.: *Virgil’s Actium - Nicopolis*. In: Chrysos, E. (Ed.): *Νικόπολις Α. Πρακτικά του πρώτου Διεθνούς Συμποσίου για τη Νικόπολη* (23. - 29. Sept. 1984). Preveza 1987, 63.
- 63 Paschalis 1987, 64-68.
- 64 Lange 2009, 106.
- 65 Moretti 1953, No. 59, 60: Ἄκτια τὰ μεγάλα Καισάρηα.
- 66 Lämmer 1986/87, 29; Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 64.
- 67 Lämmer 1986/87, 29; Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 61; Strauch 1996, 162.
- 68 Cass. Dio. 51, 18.1. Lämmer 1986/87, 34; Lange 2009, 97.
- 69 Strab. 7, 7.6; IGR I 448f; IGR II 1012. Lämmer 1986/87, 30, 35; Paschalis 1987, 68; Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 60f; Strauch 1996, 161.
- 70 Lämmer 1986/87, 30f.
- 71 Lämmer 1986/87, 32; Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 57-76.
- 72 Moretti 1953, Nr. 149; Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 68.
- 73 Pavlogiannis/Albanidis 2007, 68f. For the year 275 CE a victorious trumpeter is recorded, who won twelve times only in Aktion. See also: Lämmer 1986/87, 29f.

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XXIV

By Volker Kluge



401. | Alex Gilady | Israel

Born: 9 December
1942, Tehran, Iran

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 28,
Absent 0



Born in Iran to parents of Polish origin, Gilady was educated at the Naval College, Mevo'ot Yam, Michmoret, Israel. He began his journalistic career in 1964 with Israel's daily newspaper Yedioth Ahronoth. In 1969, he joined the newly established Israel State Television as a sports commentator and editor. In 1975 he became its head of sports.

His success led to a promotion. He became executive producer of all special events, including Egyptian President Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, and the subsequent Israel-Egypt peace talks. In 1993, his Keshet Broadcasting was granted a franchise to become Israel's first commercial television channel. Gilady as founder became president and CEO.

In 1980, he became a member of the European Broadcasting Union's Operation Group at the Winter Olympics in Lake Placid. The following year, he moved to NBC Sports, where he held the position of Vice-President until 1996. Since then he has been a Senior Vice-President, focusing on international business. He played a major role in the network's acquisition of broadcast rights for the 1988 Summer and Winter Olympics and then from 2000 to 2008. He received an *Emmy* for the reporting of the Summer Games from 2002 to 2012 and of the 2002 Winter Games.

Gilady was the first Israeli to become an IOC Member. In 1984, it made perfect sense for him to join the IOC Radio and Television Commission. He continued to serve until 2015. Since then he has been a member of the Board of Directors of the Olympic Channel Services S.L., Spain.

402. | Shamil Anvyarovich Tarpishchev | Russian Federation

Born: 7 March 1948,
Moscow

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 28,
Absent 0



A graduate of the State Central Institute for Physical Culture in Moscow, Shamil Tarpishchev became a professional tennis player and coach and led the Soviet Union to the Davis Cup World Group semi-final in 1974 and 1976. He also guided the women to the Federation Cup semi-finals in 1978 and 1979. He helped to win tennis players 26 gold medals at European Championships (1974-1983). He was also a finalist in the King's Cup in 1981. From 1974 to 1991 he was the head coach of the USSR, CIS (1992) and Russian (since 1997) teams.

When the Russian Federation came into being in 1992, he became one of the most influential figures in sports administration. He served as Advisor of the State President on Physical Culture and Sport and also to the Mayor of Moscow (from 1997), Chairman of the National Sports Foundation (1993-1995), Chairman of the Coordination Committee for Physical Culture and Sports (1994-1996), Chairman of the Russian State Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism (1994-1996), Chairman of the Russian National Olympic

Committee Executive Board, President of the All Russia Tennis Association from 1999, and Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Kremlin Cup (1996).

"Yeltsin's tennis coach" is considered controversial because of his extensive business dealings. In October 2014 he made headlines when he described the American tennis sisters Serena and Venus Williams as "Williams brothers". Although he later apologized for what he called a "joke" he was given a one year suspension from the WTA Tour.

403. | Valery Pylypovych Borzov | Ukraine

Valery Borzov spent his childhood in Nova Kakhova in the Kherson oblast of southern Ukraine, where he found his way to athletics. After moving to Kiev he was coached by Valentin Petrovski, who with the help of scientific knowledge transformed him into world class.

For a decade Borzov was one of the top sprinters in the world. In 1972 in Munich he did the golden Olympic sprint double and also won silver as part of the Soviet 4x100 m relay team.

Borzov had burst on the scene as a 19 year old with 100 m victory at the 1969 European Championships. He defended his title in 1971 and 1974. Besides that he won in 1971 also over 200 metres. Indoors he won seven European titles over 60 m (1970–1972, 1974–1977). He set European records on three occasions: 100 metres 10.0 s (1969/hand-timed) and 10.07 s (1972); 200 metres: 20.00 s (1972).

In 1971, Borzov studied at the Kiev State Institute of Physical Culture, where he was educated to be a trainer-teacher. Thereafter he dedicated himself to his studies. He completed his dissertation in 1977 and emerged with a Pedagogy degree. Although he was only able to train part time in this period, he still decided to compete at the 1976 Montreal Games. There he won bronze medals in the 100 metres and 4x100 m relay. An achilles tendon injury and subsequent operation at the end of 1978 put paid to plans for an Olympic farewell in Moscow.

After his career on the track, Borzov became Secretary for Sport and International Relations with the Ukrainian Youth Federation (Komsomol). After Ukrainian independence in 1991, he became the first President of the new NOC, an office he held until 1998.

From 1990 to 1997 he served as his country's Minister for Youth and Sport and as President of the Ukrainian Athletics Federation (1996–2012). From 1991 to 1999 he was a member of the European Athletic Association (EAA). From 1998 to 2006 he was a member of parliament for the Social Democratic Party (SDPU).

Since 1977 Borzov has been married to another great Olympian: gymnast Lyudmila Turishcheva, who won four golds, three silver and twice bronze at the Olympic Games over an eight year period from 1968. In addition she won seven World Championship gold medals (1970–1974) and eight in the European Championships (1971–1973).



Born: 20 October
1949, Sambir,
Lviv region

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 28,
Absent 0



404. | René Fasel | Switzerland

Born: 6 February
1950, Fribourg

Co-opted:
5 September 1995
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0

Executive Board
Member No. 85
Elected Member:
7 August 2008 –
26 July 2012
Second term:
Elected Member:
26 July 2012 –
4 August 2016



The highly-trained dentist played for HC Fribourg–Gottéron in the amateur division from 1960 to 1972. After that, he acted as a referee, officiating in 37 international games. In 1982, he became Chairman of the Swiss Hockey League (LSHG) Referees' Commission. From 1985 to 1994 he was President of the Swiss Ice Hockey Association.

After joining the board of the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF) in 1986, he served as head of the Referee and the Marketing Committee. In June 1994, he became President of the IIHF, succeeding the German, Günther Sabetzki. In that capacity he was co-opted as the IOC's very first ice hockey representative and as an ex-officio member the following year. In this role, he raised the stature of this sport enormously.

From 2002 to 2014, Fasel served as Chairman of the Association of International Olympic Winter Sports Federations (AIOWF). He was also named the Chairman of the Coordination Commission for the Winter Games in 2010.

In May 2008, he was nominated to replace ISU President Ottavio Cinquanta as the winter sports representative on the IOC Executive Committee. After five terms as IIHF President, he was re-elected for a sixth term at the 2016 General Congress in Moscow.

Under Fasel's leadership the IIHF managed to establish closer relationships with the National Hockey League (NHL), the major professional ice hockey organisation of North America. Thereupon, NHL players took part for the first time in the 1998 Winter Olympics in Nagano. His efforts to persuade the NHL to attend the tournament in PyeongChang 2018 were, however, unsuccessful.

The integration of In-Line Hockey into the IIHF and the foundation of the European Hockey League were other long-term projects realised under Fasel's presidency.

The father of four studied dentistry at the Universities of Fribourg and Bern and acquired his diploma in 1977. In 1997, he was commissioned by the IOC to compile a study on the dental treatment of Olympic athletes at the University of Barcelona, for which he was awarded a doctorate in 2008.

406. | Sambasivan "Sam" Ramsamy | South Africa

Born: 27 January
1938, Magazine
Barracks, Durban

Co-opted:
17 June 1995
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0



The son of a trade unionist of Indian descent, he attended Sastir College, the first Indian high school and teacher training college in South Africa. At Springfield College of Education in Durban, he qualified as a primary teacher and swimming trainer.

In 1972, he received permission to travel to the Olympics in Munich, where the apartheid regime intended to present him as a coloured sports official. Ramsamy did not return to South Africa but went on a bursary to the GDR. There, in 1973, he took part in the international training course at the German Sports University (DHfK) in Leipzig and met the former national basketball player, Helga Zimmermann, who was accompanying the course as interpreter. They married in 1977 and from then on lived in London.

During his years in England, Ramsamy studied at Carnegie College of Physical Education in Leeds, where he acquired his diploma as sports teacher. In 1973, he co-founded the South African Council on Sport and, in 1976, the

405. | Jean-Claude Killy | France

Leaving school at 15 to concentrate on skiing, he joined the French national team in 1961, when Honoré Bonnet took over as trainer. He was considered a daredevil, twice breaking his leg in his exploits. After military service in Algeria, he made the 1964 Olympic team. On his debut in Innsbruck he came fifth in the Giant Slalom, but was then struck down with jaundice.

The breakthrough to the top class succeeded between 1966 and 1967. In Portillo, Chile he became world champion in downhill and in combination. On the Lauberhorn, he won three times and triumphed in Kitzbühel and in the World Cup. But when his amateur status came under scrutiny, Killy was unsettled. Before the Winter Games in Grenoble he won not a single race.

Right at the Olympics, however, he succeeded in an important coup. The then unknown US promoter Mark McCormack had put forward a plan to Killy to explain how he could capitalise on his expected success. The pair made a secret agreement, which came into effect on the day Killy achieved the third of three possible victories. This triumph made him a national hero in France.

However, his success was tarnished by the controversial disqualification of the Austrian Karl Schranz. The Chamrousse mountain, where he had won, became known as 'Killymandscharo'. Shortly afterwards, when immediately his income came under discussion, Killy fled. He retired at the age of 24 to ski professionally in the USA, where he signed endorsement contracts for more than 100 products and soon became the first ski-racing millionaire. In 1973 he won the World Championship.

Privately, his life was overshadowed by the early death of his wife, Daniëlle Gaubert. Killy had got to know her in 1972 during the filming for the movie *Snow Job*, in which they played a married couple of bank robbers. They married a year later and settled in Cologne, Switzerland. She died of cancer in 1987, at the age of 44.

A highly successful businessman, he was President of the Amaury Group from 1993 to 2001, the group which controls the Tour de France, the Paris Marathon, the Rallye Paris-Dakar and *L'Équipe*, the French daily sporting newspaper. Together with Michel Barnier, he developed the idea in late 1981 of bringing the Olympic Winter Games of 1992 to the Savoy region. When that succeeded, he acted as Co-President of the Organising Committee.

In gratitude, IOC President Samaranch brought him into the IOC, where he was a member of a number of commissions, most recently chairing the Coordination Commission for the Winter Games in Turin 2006 and Sochi 2014. On 28th March 2014, Killy announced that he was stepping down as IOC Member after two decades of service to the Olympic Movement.



Born: 30 August 1943,
Saint Cloud,
Seine-et-Oise

Co-opted: 17 June
1995, Replacing
Maurice Herzog
Resigned: 28 March
2014

Honorary Member
since 2014

Attendance at
Sessions: Present 23,
Absent 0



South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC), whose Chairman he was from 1976 to 1990. In 1978, he served the United Nations as adviser on formulating the resolution against Apartheid in Sport. It took until 1985 for the document to be accepted by the UN Plenary Assembly.

After the end of apartheid, he went back to his homeland where, in 1991, he was elected President of the South African NOC. He retained the post until 2005. He was General Manager and Chef de Mission of the South African team at the 1992 Games in Barcelona, and at the Winter Games in Lillehammer. In addition, he was Chairman of the South African Commonwealth Games Association (1994–1997).

Ramsamy's favourite sport is swimming. From 1991 to 1997 he was President of Swimming South Africa. Since 2003, he has been Vice-President of the International Swimming Federation (FINA) and, since 2012, of the African Swimming Federation.

The first South African IOC Member for 13 years since the death of Reginald Honey, he is an honorary doctor of the University of Surrey and of Leeds Metropolitan University.

Executive Board
Member No. 84
Elected Member:
10 February 2006 –
12 February 2010
Second term:
Elected Member:
12 February 2010 –
4 August 2016

407. | Reynaldo González López | Cuba

Born: 14 September
1948, Ciego de Ávila
Died: 4 July 2015,
Mexico City

Co-opted: 17 June
1995, Replacing
Manuel González
Guerra
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 24,
Absent 0



A teacher by profession, he was First Vice-President of the INDER (Instituto Nacional de Deportes, Educación y Recreación) from 1981 to 1994 and then its President until 1997. At the same time, he served from 1984 to 2000 as General Secretary of the Cuban National Olympic Committee.

He made a name for himself as an organiser: he was Secretary-General of the Organising Committee of the XI Panamerican Games in Havana (Copan '91) and Vice-President of the Organising Committee of the XIV Central American and Caribbean Games (Havana '82).

His favourite sport was baseball. Between 1981 and 1999, he led the Cuban Amateur Baseball Federation. From 1988 to 1999 he was 1st Vice-President of the International Baseball Association (IBA), then President of the IBAF Ethics Commission until his death. Before his demise, in May 2014, he had been elected Vice-President for Baseball of the World Baseball Softball Confederation (WBSC).

Having become an IOC Member in 1995, he was a member of the Women and Sport Working Group (1996–2001) and the Women and Sport Commission (2006–2015).

A close friendship linked González with Mario Vázquez Raña, the long-time President of the Pan-American Sports Organisation (PASO), whose General Secretary he became in 2010. From then, he lived in Mexico City.

Death of Hein Verbruggen



The longtime President of the International Cycling Union (UCI), Hein Verbruggen, died on the 14th June 2017. He had been suffering from Leukaemia and was 75 years when he died.

A Dutchman, he joined the IOC in 1996 and became an Honorary Member in 2008. We will publish his biography in issue No. 1, 2018.

Photo: www.bicycle.net

Historic decision in agreeing to award 2024 and 2028 Olympics at the same time

(continued from p. 2)

Recognising the exceptional circumstances and unique opportunities presented by the candidatures of Los Angeles and Paris for the Olympic Games 2024, the IOC takes the following decision:

1. To authorise the IOC Executive Board to conclude a tripartite agreement with Los Angeles and Paris and their respective NOCs for the simultaneous election of the host cities of the Olympic Games 2024 and 2028 during the 131st IOC Session in Lima;
2. Should such tripartite agreement be concluded, the 131st IOC Session will ratify the tripartite agreement, thereby electing one city for the Olympic Games 2024 and the other city for the Olympic Games 2028. To that effect, the 130th IOC Session hereby waives the seven-year deadline set out in Rule 33.2 of the Olympic Charter; and
3. Should such tripartite agreement not be concluded, the 131st IOC Session will proceed with the election of the host city 2024 in accordance with the current election procedure.

Seconds after this decision, Los Angeles Mayor Eric Garcetti and Paris Mayor Anne Hidalgo signalled their desire to reach an agreement by making a surprise joint appearance before the Session to thank IOC Members.

(IOC/JOH)

Obituaries



Adolph Gustav Kiefer (USA), *27 June 1918 in Chicago, Ill.; †5 May 2017 in Wadsworth, Lake County, Ill. With the death of this charismatic American, the last of the 1936 Berlin Olympic champions is now gone. Kiefer won 100 m backstroke gold and revolutionised the backstroke. His strength was the "Kiefer turn", also called the "flip turn", which teammate Albert Vande Weghe had first demonstrated at the 1934 AAU Nationals.

Kiefer was the first swimmer in the world who covered the 100-yard backstroke under a minute. In his career he set 17 world records – all in the backstroke. Had the Games taken place in 1940 and 1944, he might well have added to his gold medal tally. His 1944 world records over 200 m and 400 m backstroke suggest he would have been a strong contender. In all he competed in some 2000 races and lost only twice.

Kiefer's parents were immigrants from Germany. His father Otto came from Alsace and had served as an artilleryman in the fortress of Spandau near Berlin. His mother was born in Stuttgart. The elder Kiefer was very keen that his son should learn to swim early in Lake Michigan.

At nine years old, Adolph was allowed to compete against older and bigger children for the first time. Soon after that, unfortunately, the

father died so Adolph was forced to bring in money to support a family of seven. He sold newspapers and worked in his free time on his uncle's farm.

In 1933, he got a job as lifeguard at the Chicago World's Fair, where he met three-time Olympic swimming champion, Helen Madison, and two-time Olympic diving champion, Peter Desjardins. A meeting with swimmer and water polo player Tex Robertson (1909–2007) proved decisive for his career. Robertson had graduated from the University of Michigan. When Robertson later founded a swimming team at the University of Texas, he allowed Kiefer to train under his instruction at the campus at weekends and during holidays.

Kiefer became internationally known when, in autumn 1935, he came to Europe and among other things set three world records in Germany, from 20th October to 9th November. As "Sunny Boy" and also because of his German descent, he attracted much sympathy a year later at the Berlin Games. His meeting in the Olympic Village with Hitler, on which he reported later in several interviews, is, however, almost certainly a myth. Hitler visited the Village only once – on 19th June 1936, about a month before the arrival of the US team – and then never again.

Kiefer attended the University of Texas and, in 1941, at the start of the Second World War, joined the US Navy and first served as a chief petty officer. He quickly moved through the ranks, becoming a first lieutenant by the war's end. He was allowed to implement new safety guidelines and a training programme to teach sailors how to stay alive in the water. During the remainder of his service, he trained 13,000 wartime instructors.

After the war he founded in 1947, his own firm called Adolph Kiefer & Associates, which specialised on the sale of swimming clothing and equipment. Later he expanded his

activities, setting up sports areas and sports equipment, especially for swimming pools as well as flooring for sports halls. His company developed inter alia, the long jump board, which gives a signal if a jump is invalid. He held twelve patents, including non-turbulent racing lanes, which he constructed for a coach at Yale. Another revolutionary product was a racing suit of nylon, instead of the customary wool or cotton. (VK)

Hubert Hammerer (AUT), *10 September 1925 in Egg in Bregenzerwald; †24 March 2017 in Vorarlberg. A trained carpenter with a sharp eye, Hammerer won Austria's only Olympic gold medal in 1960 in Rome, capturing the free rifle three positions at 300 m. In 1964, he carried the Austrian flag at the Opening Ceremony in Tokyo.

Motivated by his father, also a well-known marksman, Hammerer first made a name for himself in 1942 when he placed third in the German youth championships. During the Second World War he served in a mountain group, later volunteered in the elite SS "Brandenburg" Division that fought in Greece and Albania. During a German retreat he was captured and held as a Yugoslav prisoner of war. But after eight months he was released. Equipped with a Soviet weapons certificate he became an auxiliary policeman in Vienna. He then served on the Austrian border, protecting his country's frontier.

Hammerer had to show much patience until he could compete in the Olympics. In 1948, he missed the chance to compete in London because the only weapons he had available were out of date and thus ineligible according to Allied rules. Four years later, in 1952, he lost his left thumb due to an accident at work, preventing him from competing. Then, in 1956, the Austrian NOC had no money to send him to Melbourne.



But in 1958 he made an international breakthrough. Competing at the European Championships in crossbow shooting he won silver. Then in the World Shooting Championships he came in fifth in free rifle despite an error by a judge (another athlete had shot at his target).

The way to the Olympic gold medal was opened to him in 1960 by the young Swiss gunsmith, André Danner, who before the Rome Games had offered for 2000 francs the revolutionary "Danner Support". But at the time Hammerer, living as a journeyman carpenter was financially overburdened and could not afford the "Danner Support". However, the Tirol "Supreme Master of the Austrian Shooters" bought the weapon and lent it to him. After his Olympic victory he received the gun as a gift. (VK)

Steven "Steve" Holcomb (USA), *14 April 1980 in Park City, Utah; †6 May 2017 in Lake Placid; NY. Holcomb competed in three Winter Games, winning the four-man gold at the 2010 Olympics, piloting a sled he called the "Night Train" to victory, and bronze medals in both events at Sochi in 2014. He became a pilot after serving as a brakeman early in his career, and switched after failing to make the 2002 US Olympic team.

Early in his career, Holcomb served in the Utah Army National Guard (1999–2006). He won the Overall World Cup title six times, and garnered 60 medals on the world-cup circuit. He won five World Championships, winning the two-man in 2012, four-man in 2009 and 2012, and the mixed team in 2012–13.

During the middle of his career, Holcomb developed eye problems with a disorder called keratoconus, and his virtual blindness led to depression. He underwent experimental eye surgery to correct the condition, which was successful. He detailed his struggles in a book published in 2012, *But Now I See: My*

Journey From Blindness to Olympic Gold which also told how in 2007 he attempted suicide at the depths of his depression. In April 2017, Holcomb was still competing and was training at the US Olympic Training Center in Lake Placid, looking towards the next world cup season and the 2018 Olympics. Sadly, although only 37 years old, he was found dead in his room at the training center. No cause of death was announced. (BM)

Margit Schumann-Esmarch (GDR).

*14 Sep 1952 in Waltershausen/Thuringia; †12 April 2017 in Oberhof. Margit Schumann, who played faustball and badminton, followed Olympic luge champions Anna-Maria Müller and Wolfgang Scheidel into learning the secrets of specialised toboggan on the all-natural track at Friedrichroda. In 1971, she became European junior champion and for the first time GDR champion. Then she was selected in 1972 for the GDR Olympic team, where in Sapporo she justified her selection with a bronze medal.

Four years later, in 1976 in Innsbruck, she took Olympic gold. At her third Olympic Winter Games in 1980 at Lake Placid she landed in sixth place, after she had broken her collarbone in a fall three weeks earlier at the European Championships in Olang.

The Thuringian was a four-time world champion (1973–1975 and 1977) and three-time European champion (1973–1975). From 1973 to 1976 she was GDR champion consecutively.

After her career she worked for the army sports club Oberhof as youth trainer. After German reunification she was part of the services. In 2005 she married the former press chief of the International Luge Federation (FIL) Harro Esmarch. (VK)

Yury Lobanov (URS), *29 September 1952 in Dushanbe, TJK; †1 May 2017 in Moscow. In 1972, Lobanov became the first athlete from Tajikistan to get an Olympic gold medal,

winning in the C2–1000 m with Lithuanian Vldas Česiūnas. At the 1980 Olympics, he was bronze medal winner in the C2–1000 m.

Born in Dushanbe to Russian parents, Lobanov and his older brother Mikhail, who would later become a two-time world champion, took up canoeing in their teens with a local club. He was on the national team from 1971–1980. Competing mostly in Canadian doubles, Lobanov was a 10-time world champion – C2–500 in 1974–1975; C2–1000 in 1974, 1977, 1979; and C2–10K 1973–1975, 1977, 1979. He also won three lesser medals at the Worlds.

He retired after the 1980 Olympics and later worked as a canoeing coach. In the 1980s and 1990s he was head coach of the Tajikistan team. At the end of 1990s he moved to CSKA Moscow. (TK)

Yelena Naimushina (URS), *19 November 1964 in Askiz, Khakasiya, RUS; †14 March 2017 in Krasnoyarsk. Naimushina was on the Soviet gymnastics team from 1979–1980, which won gold at the 1980 Olympics and a silver at the 1979 World Championships. Individually, her best international placement was 13th at the 1979 Worlds. She also won gold in balance beam and silver in floor exercise at the 1980 world cup.

She ended her career in 1982 after a serious back injury. Educated as a physical education teacher, Naimushina married Latvian cyclist Andris Zelčš-Ločmelis, the 1980 world junior track champion. They lived to Latvia where they raised three children. The couple divorced in 2001 and a year later Naimushina moved back to Russia. (TK/WR)

Frank Schepke (GER), *5 April 1935 in Königsberg, East Prussia; †4 April 2017 in Kiel. Together with his brother Kraft, Frank Schepke won gold with the German eight at the 1960 Olympics. That same line-up had already won the 1959 European and



a few weeks earlier the West German championship.

This crew was known as the "Ratzeburg", even though their members came not only from the Ratzeburg clubs. Their prowess was attributed partially to their new oar design. In 1960, the crew again won the German championship, and both brothers also were champions with the coxed fours and the coxless fours that year. In 1961 the brothers again claimed the national title with the coxed fours. (WR)

István Szondy (HUN), *11 August 1926 in Berettyóújfalu; †13 May 2017 in Budapest. Szondy was a three-time Olympian: 1948 and 1952 in the modern pentathlon and 1956 in showjumping. His greatest success came in 1952 as a member of the Hungarian gold medal winning team. He also won individual bronze. In 1954 and 1955 he won the World Championship with the team; a year before, in 1953, was runner-up in the individual rankings.

After the Hungarian revolution the qualified fencing master emigrated to West Germany, where initially he worked as a waiter. In 1957 he moved to Frankfurt (Main), where he co-founded the university fencing club.

From 1962 to 1971 he was a trainer with Frankfurter TV. He later looked after the US modern pentathletes and from 1971 to 1987 worked as a trainer in Hessen before returning to Hungary in 1999. (VK)

Steffi Walter, née Martin (GDR), *17 September 1962 in Schlema; †21 June 2017 in Leipzig. The daughter of a baker from the Erzgebirge, she was 13 years old when she made acquaintance with luge.

After winning the Junior European Championship in 1981 she became world champion twice (1983 and 1985) and twice Olympic champion (1984 and 1988). She had three children, studied law after her sporting career. She died at the age of 54 from cancer. (VK)

Józef Grudzień (POL), *1 April 1939 in Piasek Wielki, Buska Zdroju; †17 June 2017 in Pultusk. His career fell in the "Golden Age" of Polish boxing. National coach Feliks Stamm sent in 1964 ten boxers to the Olympics in Tokyo, of whom seven won medals. Grudzień achieved one of the three golds, defeating in the lightweight final Velikton Barannikov (URS) on points (5-0).

Grudzień was runner-up at the 1965 European Championships and won the European Championship in 1967. He returned to the Olympics in 1968 where he lost against Ronnie Harris (USA) in the final. He was a three-time Polish champion (1965, 1967 and 1968).

Later he worked until 1972 as junior trainer. An army officer, he was for many years a member of the the NOC and Vice-President of the Polish boxing association. (WR/VK)

Sergey Mylnikov (URS), *6 October 1958 in Chelyabinsk/RUS; †20 June 2017 in Moscow. He began his ice hockey career with Traktor Chelyabinsk in 1976 and played there until 1989, except for a short spell with SKA Leningrad in 1980-82. With Traktor Chelyabinsk Mylnikov won his only medal at the Soviet Championships, a bronze, in 1977.

Internationally Mylnikov was the top Soviet goaltender for nearly four seasons, from 1986-90. He won Olympic gold in 1988, was world champion three times (1986, 1989, 1990) and European champion four times (1985-87, 1989). He also won silvers at the 1987 World Championship, 1990 European Championship, 1987 Canada Cup.

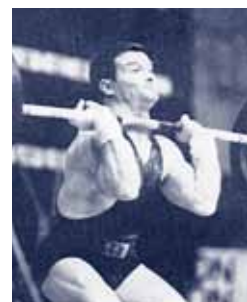
In 1989 Mylnikov was drafted by the Québec Nordiques as the 127th overall choice, and although he played only one season, 1989-90, he was the first Soviet goaltender to play in the NHL. From 1991-93 Mylnikov played with Lokomotiv Yaroslavl and finished his playing career in Sweden, playing with Sätters IF from 1993-95. (TK)

Imre Földi (HUN), *8 May 1938 in Kecskemét; †23 April 2017 in Tatabánya. The Hungarian was one of the best weightlifters of all time. His first international medal came at the 1959 European Championships, when he claimed bronze in the bantamweight category. For well over a decade, Földi would be a fixture on international podiums.

He won the 1962 European Championship, held in Budapest front of his home crowd. He added four more European overall titles (1963 featherweight, 1968, 1970, 1971), while also winning five golds in the individual disciplines.

In 1965, after three silver medals at the World Championships, Földi finally became the world's best. After earning silver medals in 1964 and 1968 (in which he had only lost the gold on body weight), his greatest triumph occurred in 1972 when he won the Olympic gold medal (which doubled as the World Championship). To boot, Földi won the press and the clean & jerk, registering an overall world record – one of his 20 records between 1961 and 1972. After this victory, Földi continued to compete, but with less success. In 1976, he did become the first weightlifter to compete in five Olympics, finishing in fifth place. A year later, an injury ended a career in which he collected 13 Hungarian titles. (OM)

Vladimir Petrov (URS), *30 June 1947 in Krasnogorsk, RUS; †28 February 2017 in Moscow. Petrov was one of the best forwards on the Soviet hockey team in the 1970s. He began playing in 1965 with ice hockey with Krylya Sovyetov Moscow and two years later joined CSKA, playing there through 1981. With CSKA he won 11 Soviet titles (1968, 1970-1973, 1977-1981) and 11 European cups (1969-1974, 1976, 1978-1981). He led the Soviet Championship teams in points scored in 1970, 1973, 1975, and 1978-79 and he was the leading goal scorer at the Soviet



Championships in 1970 (51), 1973 (27) and 1979 (26). In 1971, 1975 and 1978 he was selected as part of the best line of the Soviet Championships with teammates Boris Mikhaylov and Valery Kharlamov.

Internationally, he played 281 games with URS team and scored 189 goals. He won two Olympic golds in 1972 and 1976 and one silver in 1980. He was a nine-time world champion (1969–1971, 1973–1975, 1978, 1979, 1981), seven-time European champion (1969, 1970, 1973–75, 1979, 1981) and scored the most points at the 1973, 1977 and 1979 World Championships. He also took part in the 1972 and 1974 Summit Series, and helped win the 1979 Challenge Cup between the Soviet Union and the NHL All-Stars.

After finishing his competitive career, Petrov worked as an official. From 1986–1988 he was head coach of VS Moscow Oblast football club. From 1992–94 he served as President of the Russian Ice Hockey Federation. He has also worked as a general manager of SKA St. Petersburg, CSKA and Spartak Moscow. (TK/WR)



Dieter Kottysch (FRG), *30 June 1943 Gleiwitz, Upper Silesia; †9 April 2017 in Hamburg. Kottysch came in 1956 as an immigrant from Poland to Harburg near Hamburg, and for a long time spoke better Polish than German. He came into contact with boxing as a 16-year old, yet two years later the trained architectural draughtsman was (West) German youth champion. In the adult class he won the welterweight title five times in a row, from 1964 to 1968.

But internationally he had yet to find success. At the qualifying contests for the 1964 united German Olympic team he lost to the GDR boxer Bruno Guse. At the European Championships of 1967 he lost to the 1960 Olympic light welterweight champion, the Czech Bohumil Němeček. In his next title contests – in 1971 – he went out in the quarterfinal.

Meanwhile, following the Olympics of 1968, at which he was put out in the second round, he moved to light middleweight. Until the 1972 Games in his own country he had 247 fights, of which he lost only twelve. In Munich he then had the good fortune of the virtuous. When the draw in the first three rounds had given him relatively easy opponents, he beat the British fighter Alan Minter by 3–2 in the semi-final and took gold with the same margin of victor against the strong Pole Wiesław Rudkowski (1946–2016). The pair began a life-long friendship.

Kottysch abandoned thoughts of a professional career in boxing after Cologne boxer Jupp Elze had suffered fatal injury to the brain in a 1968 European Championship fight. Instead, he got a job as a sports teacher, but the attempt to convert his sporting success into money failed. He became an alcoholic; his marriage collapsed. From 2006, he suffered from dementia. (VK)

Paul Falk (FRG), *21 December 1921 in Dortmund; †20 May 2017 in Queidersbach. It was an unequal couple who became ice-skating Olympic champions in 1952. Ria Falk, née Baran and by profession shorthand typist, was the temperamental aesthete. He, a trainer precision engineer, was the calm "gymnast", who learned dancing from her. This opposition was the secret of their harmonious appearance.

After they had become a couple in 1937, their career went off in two directions. In the winter they were skaters, in summer roller-skaters. They were German champions 11 times – from 1947 annually just as much on the ice as on roller-skates.

Before they could celebrate international successes, Baran/Falk needed lots of patience. The 1944 Winter Games were cancelled because of the Second World War, and in 1948 the Germans were excluded. Their "premiere" was the

European Championship of 1950 in roller-skating, which they won. In 1951 they acquired the title on the ice as well. In the same year they became world champions in both sports. Then they got married.

After that, participation in the 1952 Winter Games was by no means certain, as they father of the US siblings Kennedy had begun a campaign before Oslo with the aim of casting doubt on the amateur status of the Germans. One day before the event the ISU however decided in favour of the Falks.

After Oslo the couple changed to revues. For three years they were under contract to Holiday on Ice. They then joined an Ice Ballet which had been established by the 1936 champions Ernst and Maxi Baier and skated with this troupe until 1956.

After the sudden death of his wife, Falk married for a second time in 1987. At 95, he had been the oldest surviving German Olympic champion. (VK)

Derek Ibbotson (GBR), *17 June 1932 in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire; †23 February 2017 in Wakefield, West Yorkshire. "Ibbo" did two years in the RAF. In 1955 he won the Inter-Counties three miles title and was second to Chris Chataway over the same distance at the AAA Championship. The following year, he beat Chataway to win the title and then became the first man to win the coveted Emsley Carr Mile in under four minutes, before going to the Melbourne Olympics where he finished third in the 5000 m behind Vladimir Kuts (URS) and the Briton Gordon Pirie. (HE/WR)

BM = Bill Mallon, HE = Hilary Evans, OM = OlyMADMen, PT = Paul Tchir, TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge, WR = Wolf Reinhardt

The ISOH offers the families of the deceased its sincere condolences.

BOOK REVIEWS



Richard Safranyos

The Commonwealth Games Factbook

Blurb, Ontario 2017 softback

pp. 399, \$US15, ISBN 978-1-36-604368-9

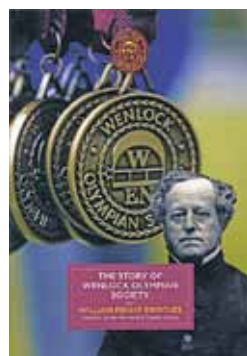
Reviewed by Philip Barker

The Commonwealth Games were first held in 1930 in the Canadian city of Hamilton. Known then as the British Empire Games, they were inspired by the Olympic Games but were intended to be 'Merrier and Less Stern'. Although a report of each Games was produced, styled as an 'Official History', other publications on these Games have been few and far between. The author, an enthusiastic amateur athlete, has done much to address this problem. He has updated and improved his pilot edition, published for the Glasgow 2014 Games. I, for one, will have this book readily to hand when reporting the 2018 Games on the Gold Coast.

There is a brief summary of the history of the Games which includes a year-by-year run down highlighting key points of interest. There is a section on the Commonwealth's ingenious variation on the Olympic torch, a baton relay which transports a message from the Queen to the host city. There are also other fascinating snippets, including information on the David Dixon Award. A long-time secretary of the Commonwealth Games Federation, the award was

established in his memory and has been given to the outstanding performer in every Games since 2002. There are illustrations of the medals and even details of the Commonwealth Youth Games.

The core of this volume is, of course, the results section. Clearly inspired by ISOH President David Wallechinsky's *Complete Book of the Olympics*, Safranyos has used similar conventions but only lists medallists. He also is working with Bob Phillips to produce an eight-volume complete results series, similar in scope to Volker Kluge's wonderful multi-volume work on the Olympics.



Wenlock Olympian Society (Ed.),

Chris Cannon / Helen Clare Cromarty

The Story of Wenlock Olympian Society and William Penny Brookes' Inspiration for the International Olympic Games,

Wenlock Olympian Society,

Much Wenlock 2016, pp. 39

Reviewed by Christian Wacker

Those who attended the Wenlock Olympian Games experienced a peaceful, harmonious and friendly festival dedicated to serious sporting competitions designed to please spectators, organisers and athletes alike. If the festival as a whole was a banquet, the brochure edited by the Wenlock Olympian Society Limited is an attractive appetizer. Given time one might discover and savour similar content through the website www.wenlock-olympian-society.org.uk/ (5th June 2017) and a paper published by Chris Cannon,

'The Crowning Glory – The Champion Tilter, Coubertin and the Olympics' in the *Journal* (JOH 24.3, 2016, 60–63).

But the brochure offers a consumer-friendly alternative, embedding the topic into the context of the Olympic Games in London 2012 and focusing on the actual event. Various attractions – such as the newly refurbished Much Wenlock Museum and Visitor Information Centre, a comprehensive educational programme, and an Olympian trail around Much Wenlock. This brushes the dust off the story of Olympian Games which have endured for over 150 years in the now famous town of Much Wenlock. (About 40 km from Birmingham.)

The brochure also leads us through the history of the Wenlock Olympian Society, the brainchild of local doctor William Penny Brookes. As an intellectual, he set up one of the earliest lending libraries "for the promotion and diffusion of useful information" (p. 10). The Olympian Class originally had been one of the classes Brookes established, but at the end the most influential and popular until today. The stories about the relation between the so-called Zappas Games in Athens and Brookes, the visit of Pierre de Coubertin to Much Wenlock, and the character and the spirit of the Games are well and consisely covered.

Thanks to the diligent work of colleagues in Much Wenlock, the brochure is able to offer a variety of images of interesting items of memorabilia and the stories behind them. For example, the medal Pierre de Coubertin donated as a prize, lost for nearly 100 years and rediscovered by chance when 92-year-old Joyce Farmer presented the medal won by her father 1891, to the Wenlock Olympian Society (p. 32); and, for enthusiasts of sports photography, an image of the Wenlock Olympian Games taken 1867 (p. 12) at 'Linden Field' is regarded the first sports photograph ever!



Christian Wacker / Stephan Wassong /
Natalia Camps Y Wilant (Eds.)

Olympic & Paralympic Discourses,
in: *Olympic Studies*, Vol. 17, Agon Sportverlag,
Kassel 2017, pp. 299, 25.00 EUR
ISBN 978-3-89784-983-9

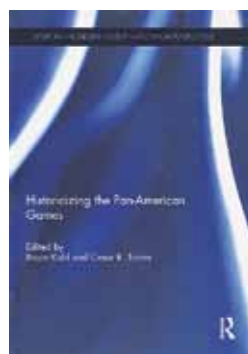
Reviewed by M. De Franceschi Neto

This book is dedicated to Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Norbert Müller on the occasion of his 70th birthday. The contributions stimulate discourse, encompassing the range of his academic work, which is clearly coined by a multi- and interdisciplinary approach. The articles meet Norbert Müller's high academic expectations and can make a significant contribution to his approach of research-led teaching both in and outside of the world of academia. Within this volume, academic colleagues together provide new insights into just some of the many different subject areas that Norbert Müller focused on within his career. The intention of this tribute is that the works encompassed here will keep alive the Olympic and Paralympic Discourse.

English and German contributions from the different subject areas researched by Norbert Müller are brought together. The ancient Olympic Games are addressed first by Ingomar Weiler and Christian Wacker. It is followed by a historical and contemporary analysis of the profile of the International Olympic Academy by Stephan Wassong and Konstantinos Georgiadis. The articles submitted by Bernd Wirkus, Dietmar

Mieth and Karen Joisten focus on the ethical dimensions and challenges of the Games. Jean-Loup Chappelet and Jens Flatau have dealt with the topics of territorial Olympic heritage and the Olympic Games in the era of globalization. Their articles are followed by insights on the evolution and management of TV rights, presented by Emilio Fernandez, and writings on the modern pentathlon from the perspective of spectators, researched by Manfred Messing. Otto Schantz and Gabriel Kunzer are the authors of a contribution focusing on the Paralympic Games.

In concluding the book, Lamartini DaCosta and Ines Nikolaus have addressed Norbert Müller's expertise in Olympic Studies and his successful efforts in establishing and supporting the circle of International Pierre de Coubertin Schools. Without doubt, the articles collected here should be preserved, as they contribute to keeping alive this vital line of research.



Cesar Torres and Bruce Kidd (Eds.)
Historicizing the Pan-American Games
Routledge New York & London 2017
pp. 250, £90.00, ISBN 13 978-1138219830

Reviewed by Philip Barker

The editors are both ISOH members and they have brought together a wide range of articles on the 'Pan-Ams'. That in itself is a major service, as studies of regional games are by no means as common as works on the Olympics. Each of these articles had previously seen the light of day

in scholarly journals. A conference bearing the same title was held in 2015 in Toronto to coincide with the Pan-American Games.

The editors offer a useful introduction on the 'history and relevance' and there is an interesting chapter on pre-history which recalls an event held in conjunction with the Greater Texas and Pan American Exposition held in Dallas in 1937.

More formal Games had been planned for 1942, but war put paid to them. In fact, the first official celebration was not until 1951. It was held in Buenos Aires under the patronage of Argentina's dictator, Juan Perón. The review of these Games is well told and the role of *Mundo Deportivo a Peronist* magazine is particularly fascinating.

Light is shed on many long-forgotten incidents, including a murder. Controversies include friction between Mexico and USA, an all-too-contemporary problem. This volume highlights the introduction of sex tests and drug testing at the 1967 Games, one of the first major multi-sports events to do so. There is also a chapter on doping scandals at the 1983 Games held in Caracas and how these shaped approaches to the 1984 Los Angeles Olympics.

The book takes these Games as far as Rio 2007, which is considered as 'Paving the Olympic Dream'. The city was awarded the Olympics only two years later.

It must be said that some of the writing is a little unwieldy, which is a great pity because each article has been diligently researched and deserves as wide an audience as possible. Extensive use of online resources has been made. In itself, this is not a problem, but it is troubling to see Wikipedia cited as a source.

Such illustrations as are included add to the interest, although – as with most academic works – the book has a utilitarian feel to it and the familiar bugbear of price will again keep it out of reach of many.

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BURNS Andrew (USA) *E-mail:* aburns@hamiltonpoint.com, *Home Address:* 100 Timberhill Place, Chapel Hill, N.C., 27514, USA, *Home Telephone:* +1 919 428 3765, *Occupation:* Investments, *Specific Olympic Research Interests:* 1936 Winter Olympics, especially hockey. My hometown of Clinton, N.Y. is celebrating 100 years of hockey in February 2018 by honouring Albert Prettyman who brought the game to Central N.Y. a century ago, he also coached the 1936 USA Hockey team (bronze). *Own Homepage:* www.thankyoualbertprettyman.com

HEYERDAHL Gaute (NOR) *30 March 1979, *E-mail:* g.s.heyerdahl@nih.no, *Home Address:* Stubbeløkkveien 40A, Moss, 1538, Norway, *Home Telephone:* +47 97683977, *Occupation:* Post doctor, *Olympic/Sports:* Heyerdahl, Gaute (2014). *Vinter-OL i skisportens vugge, Publications:* De VI Olympiske vinterleker i Oslo, 1952 og De XVII Olympiske vinterleker i Lillehammer, 1994. PhD Dissertation, *Department of Culture and Society:* Norwegian School of Sports Sciences (Winter Olympics in the Cradle of Skiing: The VI Winter Olympics in Oslo, 1952 and the XVII Olympics Winter Games in Lillehammer, 1994), *Specific Olympic Research Interests:* Mega-events, Bidding, Planning and Staging Olympic Games, Olympic and Sport Politics, Sport, Culture and Identity

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SUDIP Dey Sarkar (IND) *10 July 1963, *Home Address:* Janapath Road, North 24 Parganas, West Bengal, 700065, India, *Home Telephone:* +91 9830651640, *Occupation:* Businessman

ZONDAG Jelle (NED) *28 June 1985, *E-mail:* jelle.zondag@let.ru.nl, *Home Address:* Archipelhof 69, Nijmegen, 6524LE, Nederland, *Home Telephone:* +31 638427833

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New Address: Universitätsbibliothek, Medienbearbeitung GFG, Jakob Welder-Weg 6, 55128 Mainz, Germany

RESIGNED

RATHJEN Karl (GER) quits on 31 December 2017

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Markus Osterwalder, Eggweg 6,
CH 9100 Herisau, Switzerland

E-Mail: markus.osterwalder@isoh.org

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