

Welcome to the issue



Volker Kluge
EDITOR

Our *Journal* to mark the 25th anniversary of ISOH features the story of two strong women. The first, Barbara Rotraut Pleyer, went into history as the "Peace Angel". Her failed attempt to combine the opening of the 1952 Games with an appeal for peace, prompted the IOC to explicitly forbid any form of demonstration or propaganda within Olympic sites. Her story remained largely unknown until now but Pleyer's life as a "peace worker" began in Helsinki.

Our second strong woman made headlines 50 years later. Swedish heptathlete Carolina Klüft was the world's best from 2002 to 2007. Leif Yttergren and John Hellström examine the change to her media profile. Klüft began as carefree as "Pippi Longstocking". Enjoyment was more important than victory. But by the end of her career her serious side had come to the fore. With the greater interest in her personality there was also a more critical scrutiny.

Even 80 years on, the 1936 Games still offer fascinating themes for discussion. This time Elizabeth Hanley analyses the role of dance in the service of Nazi propaganda. Stars such as Mary Wigman, Gret Palucca and Harald Kreutzberg performed on the opening day in the festival of "Olympic Youth", which ended in the glorification of "heroic death". What a contrast to Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and the humanistic message of the "Ode to Joy", with which the evening ended. The use of this music fulfilled a dearly-held wish for Pierre de Coubertin as Jeffrey Segrave explains.

It has long been established that the victors in the ancient Games were seldom amateurs. The Greek cities granted them privileges, but also played a role in fostering talents. Until now this aspect has not been examined. Professor Christian Mann reveals the motivation and financial backing for this practice.

Don Macgregor, himself an Olympic marathoner, spotlights an earlier era in his sport. His article on the "Fantastic Four" is the story of British marathoners Ferris, Harper, Robertson and Wright. The quartet enjoyed considerable success in the twenties and thirties. Ferris and Harper both came home with medals, Wright and Robertson achieved top ten finishes. The author is well qualified for this task, he finished seventh in the 1972 race.

Environmental issues are a central part of the Olympic Movement but the first "Smoke-free Games" were only declared 25 years ago. Alberto Aragón-Perez details a process which began hesitantly only at the start of the 1980s and articulated itself by protests from individual environmentalists. Today it is at the very core of the Olympic Movement. Without sustainability the Games have no future.

To prove that a sport took place is simple, provided that there is access to results, documents and pictures. There is still it seems, uncertainty amongst some over the early football tournaments. In particular there is confusion between the Athens Games of 1896 and 1906. This has prompted Bill Mallon and me to examine the subject again to set the record straight. ■

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Secretary-General
Markus Osterwalder
Eggweg 6
9100 Herisau
Switzerland
Phone: +41 71 351 77 19
E-mail: markus.osterwalder@isoh.org

Message from the President



David Wallechinsky
ISOH PRESIDENT

On 9th December 2016, Richard H. McLaren released the second and final report of his investigation into allegations of widespread government-sponsored doping in Russia.

The report makes it clear that, from the highest levels, the Russian government conspired to make a mockery of the Olympic Movement and the ideals of Olympism by systematically manipulating and covering up positive doping tests at the London 2012 Summer Games, the Universiade Games 2013, the Moscow IAAF World Championships 2013, and the Winter Games in Sochi in 2014. This cheating continued after the Sochi Olympics.

In the words of the McLaren Report, "The Russian Olympic team corrupted the London Games 2012 on an unprecedented scale, the extent of which will probably never be fully established ... The desire to win medals superseded their collective moral and ethical compass and Olympic values of fair play."

More than 1000 Russian athletes in 30 sports benefited from the concealment of positive doping tests. Although the names of most of the athletes were redacted from the public report, investigators forwarded the details of 695 of these Russian cases (and those of 19 foreign athletes) to International Federations.

The Russian Ministry of Sport directed the swapping of samples and the falsifying of doping test results with the active participation of the Russian Federal Security Service (FSB) (the successor to the KGB), the Centre of Sports Preparation of National Teams of Russia (CSP), the Russian Anti-Doping Agency and the Moscow and Sochi doping laboratories.

It was Russian President Vladimir Putin who personally appointed Yuri Nagornykh, a member of the Russian Olympic Committee, to be Deputy Minister of Sport. Nagornykh was put in charge of the implementation of the doping programme and was informed of every positive doping test at the Moscow Laboratory from 2011 onwards.

Thirty-seven Russian athletes who were considered to be possible Sochi medal winners were asked to supply up to four or five clean urine samples each. Irina Rodionova, deputy director of the CSP, was in charge of receiving these samples.

The "protected" athletes were then put on a regime known as the "Duchess Cocktail", a mixture of three

steroids – trenbolone, methenolone (Primobolan) and oxandrolone (Anavar) – which had been developed by Grigory Rodchenkov, director of the Moscow Anti-Doping Centre from 2005 and a FSB agent since 2007. These athletes were authorized to continue taking the "Duchess Cocktail" during the Sochi Games.

Prior to the Sochi Olympics, the FSB transferred the clean samples to large freezer units inside a secret FSB command centre adjacent to the Sochi laboratory. Whenever a doped athlete was tested, he or she would take a photo of their Doping Control Form and then transmit the photo to Rodionova.

FSB agent Yevgeny Blokhin, who was credentialed as a "maintenance engineer" for the Bilfinger Company, would go to the command centre and defrost the clean samples of the Russian athletes who had been tested.

Rodchenkov's second in command at the Sochi laboratory, Yuri Chizhov, would adjust the specific gravity of the samples to reflect the values of the original dirty sample indicated on the appropriate Doping Control Form.

Late at night, after all non-Russian personnel had left the Sochi laboratory, Moscow laboratory employee Evgeny Kudryavtsev would pass the dirty samples through a hole in the wall to the FSB Command Centre, where Rodchenkov, Chizhov and Blokhin would swap the dirty samples for clean ones and pass these back through the hole in the wall to Kudryavtsev.

McLaren and his associates sought, but were unable to obtain, the Moscow laboratory server or its computer records. Samples in the laboratory's storage area were sealed off by the Investigative Committee of the Russian Federation.

Deputy Prime Minister Vitaly Mutko did not cooperate with the investigation. He is currently Chairman of the 2018 FIFA World Cup Organizing Committee.

The good news is that the IOC is taking aggressive action to retest doping samples from the most recent Olympic Games, including all Russian samples from 2008 to 2014. As of 5th March 2017, the IOC had already sanctioned 18 Russian athletes from Beijing 2008 and 20 from London 2012. Athletes who might consider cheating now know that their samples will be preserved for at least ten years to take advantage of improved testing methods. ■

Message from the Secretary-General



Markus Osterwalder
ISOH SECRETARY-GENERAL

In recent weeks, my top priority has been to update and improve the membership list. At present we have 421 regular members, 13 students and 48 patron members as part of our organisation. Unfortunately fewer than 12% of these are women.

51 nations from all five continents are represented. Most members come from Europe (235) followed by North America (144), Asia (23), Central and South America (16), Oceania (15) and Africa (3).

The greatest potential for development is in Asia where the next three Games are to be held in PyeongChang 2018, Tokyo 2020 and Beijing 2022. Asia is the most populous of regions but our members there are few. In Japan there are ten members from a population of 126.9 million, the People's Republic of China with only three members amongst its 1380 million inhabitants. India has a population of 1314 millions but only four members and in South Korea there are no members of ISOH at all even though there is a population of 50.7 million. I believe the biggest potential areas for growth are in China, Japan, Italy and South Korea.

By individual nation, the breakdown is as follows. The USA with 113, followed by Germany (42), United Kingdom (36), Netherlands (26), Canada (21), Australia and France (12), Japan (10) and Brazil (9). The number of Brazilian members almost doubled in the run-up to the Rio 2016 Games.

Measured by population density, Luxembourg has the most members per capita followed by the Netherlands and Switzerland. The healthy numbers in smaller countries such as the Netherlands (25) or Hungary (10) are also noted.

In 2012 we welcomed 28 new members. In the following years 2013 (14), 2014 (18), 2015 (18) and 2016 (36).

It seems clear that Olympic years bring about a growth spurt in memberships

The age range of our members varies considerably. Our oldest is already 95 and the youngest 22 years old. The breakdown is as follows: 20-29 year olds (1.4%), 30-39 year olds (9%), 40-49 year olds (12.3%), 50-59 year olds (22.5%), 60-69 (24.3%), 70-79 (19%), 80-89 (10.5%), 90-99 (1%). Thus, the largest group of members is between 60 and 69 years old. Nevertheless, it can be said that in the last five years the membership profile has become younger than in the previous years. The newly designed ISOH website may well be a factor in appealing to a younger group.

At the last General Assembly in Rio, the Executive Board decided to offer published articles on the site in other world languages as well as in English.

The development in countries where "Olympic History" is offered at universities has been particularly positive. The USA and Canada have been in the vanguard of this movement.

The publication of the *Journal of Olympic History* remains our main concern. In addition to our members, the *Journal* is circulated to all IOC Members, the 206 National Olympic Committees and every International Federation. In total, over 1000 copies are dispatched worldwide three times a year.

There has been one unpleasant development. In the last few weeks it has proved necessary to exclude a member from ISOH for the first time. This was as a result of abuse received on social media platforms and by email. This was the first time we have encountered this problem. Our regulations have hitherto made no provision for this but it is an area we will have to discuss at our next meeting in June. ■

One year until PyeongChang 2018

The Countdown Ceremony for the Olympic Winter Games PyeongChang 2018 was held at the Gangneung Hockey Arena on 9th February – one year before the opening ceremony. Thousands of spectators turned out to witness a star-studded affair spearheaded by PyeongChang 2018 Ambassador Yuna Kim (Olympic figure skating gold medallist) and Magnus Kim, the cross-country skier who won Korea's first gold medal at the Winter Youth Olympic Games 2016. During the ceremony, the Olympic Torch was also unveiled. Ticket sales began on the same day. (IOCOH)



Report on ISOH 25th Anniversary Celebration in London

By David Wallechinsky

IOC Doyen and ISOH member Richard W. Pound gave the address at our 25th anniversary. Adjacent: President David Wallechinsky and General Secretary Markus Osterwalder present the Vikelas Plaque to Dutch journalist and historian Ruud Paauw.

Photos: Markus Osterwalder



On 3rd December 2016, the International Society of Olympic Historians (ISOH) held a celebration at the Victory Services Club in London in honour of its founding (in London) on 5th December 1991.

Members from 11 countries attended, including three of the seven members who were present at the 1991 founding meeting: Stan Greenberg, Peter Matthews and David Wallechinsky. Two members who were invited to the founding meeting, but were unable to attend, Tony Bijkerk and Volker Kluge, were able to take part in the 2016 meeting.

Current ISOH President David Wallechinsky called attention to Luke Harris, winner of the 2015 ISOH book of the year award (*Britain and the Olympic Games 1908–1920*) and to Tony Bijkerk, who recently retired after serving twelve years as ISOH Secretary-General. He also introduced the new Secretary-General, Markus Osterwalder.

Osterwalder and Wallechinsky then presented the ISOH Vikelas Plaque award to Dutch historian and archivist Ruud Paauw, who gave a brief speech of thanks.

After these formalities, the keynote speaker, Richard W. Pound, the Doyen of the International Olympic Committee, took the floor and shared with the audience his long and deep experience with the Olympic Movement. He did so by highlighting 25 major historical milestones:

1. Soviet Union enters the Olympic Movement in 1952.
2. Roger Bannister breaks the four-minute mile in 1953, leading to changes in training methods.
3. The “losers” of Second World War are allowed to host the Olympics, beginning with Italy in 1960, followed by Austria and Japan in 1964 and Germany in 1972.
4. Expulsion of South Africa in the 1960s because of racial policies and reinstatement for the 1992 Barcelona Games.
5. Role of television in spreading awareness of the Olympics.
6. Introduction of anti-doping rules, albeit with limited success, with testing beginning at the 1968 Grenoble Games.
7. Terrorist attack at the 1972 Munich Games, leading to security becoming a regrettable necessity at subsequent Games.
8. Post-World War II politics, including the divisions of Germany and Korea, tensions between China and Taiwan, and the Soviet invasions of Hungary and Czechoslovakia.
9. Changing eligibility rules, with the elimination of the word “amateur” from the Olympic Charter and a final definition in 1986.
10. The rise and fall of boycotts between 1956 and 1988.
11. Financial autonomy for the IOC, taking charge of TV rights and the introduction of TOP sponsors.

12. The China solution with ultimate acceptance of separate National Olympic Committees for China and Taiwan.
13. Olympic Congresses, with Baden Baden 1981 being the most productive.
14. Creation and evolution of the Court of Arbitration for Sport as the recognised arbitral court.
15. Risk management changes after 1984 Games, with the IOC taking responsibility for issuing national invitations rather than host countries doing so, and advance notice required for participation.
16. Korean negotiations for the 1988 Games, with the IOC taking charge rather than relying on politicians.
17. Cycle change for Summer and Winter Games so that Olympic competitions take place every two years instead of every four years, beginning with the addition of the 1994 Winter Games.
18. Salt Lake City crisis and subsequent reforms, leading to the expulsion or resignation of ten IOC Members.
19. Creation, protection and monetization of the Olympic brand, helping to finance the Games and the Olympic Movement.
20. Establishment of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA) in 1999.
21. Establishment of Olympic Broadcasting Services (OBS) in 2001 to ensure that rights holders get what they pay for and that all countries have access to coverage.
22. Identifying Russian doping misconduct in real time rather than after the fact, as was the case with East Germany (GDR).
23. Olympic Agenda 2020, identifying a wish list, much of which was already under way.
24. Olympic Channel goes live in August 2016, with the goal of providing an ongoing awareness of the Olympic Movement.
25. The journey through the presidencies of Brundage, Killanin, Samaranch, Rogge and Bach, with their varying styles and substance.

Following the conclusion of the meeting proper, attendees informally exchanged anecdotes and opinions regarding the past and future of the Olympic Movement. ■

On 19th January 2017, President David Wallechinsky, on behalf of the ISOH, presented the Vikelas Plaque to Stephen L. Harris at his home in Anthem, Arizona.

Born 24th January 1942, Steve Harris grew up in a writing family. His grandfather and two great uncles were journalists and illustrators. Harris' own journalism career began as a reporter for his hometown weekly newspaper, *The Wilton Bulletin* in Connecticut. He later worked as a newspaper and television news editor in Vermont. From 1979 to 1992, he edited *Monogram*, the company magazine of General Electric (GE).

After leaving GE in 1991, Harris began writing increasingly about the Olympics. He was the senior writer on three best-selling CD-ROM histories of the Olympic Games, including *Olympic Gold: A 100-Year History of the Summer Olympic Games*. In 1996, he published *100 Golden Olympians: 100 Years of Achievement*, which was sponsored by the United States Olympic Committee.

Harris served as the editor of the *Journal of Olympic History* from 1998 to 1999 and as associate editor, first in 1997 and then again since 2006.

The former ISOH General Secretary Tony Bijkerk expresses his thanks in this way for the friendly greetings and wishes which he has received in the last months by letter or email. As his sight has been greatly reduced since the summer of 2016, he is no longer able to answer in person but he is receiving excellent care and is still able to take part in the life of ISOH. He receives information about the contents of the *Journal of Olympic History*. His contact details by mail and telephone remain unchanged.



For the *Journal of Olympic History*, he wrote "Hannes the Mighty and the National Guard" about Hannes Kolehmainen's refusal to go to war during First World War, and "No Excuses – American Hurdler Glenn Davis".

Harris has also written a tetralogy about First World War: *Duty, Honor, Privilege: New York's Silk Stocking Regiment and the Breaking of the Hindenburg Line; Harlem's Hell Fighters: The African-American 369th Infantry in World War I; Duffy's War: Fr. Francis Duffy, Wild Bill Donovan, and the Irish Fighting 69th in World War I and Rock of the Marne: The American Soldiers Who Turned the Tide Against the Kaiser in World War I.*

"The award was a complete surprise and a humbling experience", Harris said. "When you do your everyday work, you never realize that people take notice. And when they do, it's very gratifying." ■

At a separate ceremony, American Stephen L. Harris was also awarded the Vikelas Plaque.

Photo: Sue Harris

The “Peace Angel of Helsinki” wanted to save the world

By Volker Kluge

Unauthorised intruder at the ceremony: 23-year-old Barbara Rotraut Pleyer took her place in Olympic history with her ‘illegal’ lap of the stadium as the “Peace Angel of Helsinki”.

Photo: Suomen Urheilumuseo



On the 19th July 1952, the weather gods proved ungracious as a storm raged over Helsinki. The downpour continued for hours. Yet people still streamed towards the stadium, protected by umbrellas and capes. Once there, they found 70,000 wet seats. Gusts of wind made them shiver. Yet they remained good-humoured, for this was the opening of an Olympics for which Finland had been forced to wait twelve years.

The rain had relented by the time fanfares announced the ceremony at one o'clock on the dot. In those days the ceremonial was still somewhat ponderous but this time at least, the IOC Members did not wear top hat and tails when they were presented to Finland's President Juho Paasikivi. A roll of drums announced the “parade of the athletes”. March music rang out. The flag of each of the 67 teams was welcomed with a storm of applause.¹

Helsinki's former Mayor Erik von Frenckell greeted the assembly in the name of the Organising Committee. He was followed by President Paasikivi with the traditional

opening formula – for the first time in four languages. Six thousand doves flew away into the grey sky, startled by the 21 gun salute which accompanied the raising of the Olympic Flag.

The last torchbearer who entered the stadium was nine time Olympic champion Paavo Nurmi. He kindled the bowl in the centre field. Shortly afterwards, another running legend Hannes Kolehmainen lit the fire at the top of the stadium tower. A choir sang the Olympic hymn by Jaakko Linjama.

This solemn moment was to be followed by a sermon by Archbishop Ilmari Salomies. Instead, there was an unexpected incident. In the *Official Report* it was later described thus:

Just as the atmosphere in the Stadium was at its most hushed and solemn and the Archbishop was preparing to read his Latin prayer, an unexpected intermezzo occurred. Dropping over the barrier in front of stand C, a young woman in white ran along the track and gained the rostrum. There, however,

her performance ended without further disturbing the programme. The Chairman of the Organising Committee tactfully escorted her from the field to be taken care of by the authorities.²

Who was this young woman? She was named as Barbara Rotbraut-Pleyer – an error which is repeated in many publications to this day?³ The second part of her surname was in fact “Rotraut”. She was a 23 year old German and had succeeded in entering the stadium without a ticket. She had red hair, wore a long white dress and as she carried a torch, stewards probably assumed that she must be a participant.

And Pleyer also regarded herself as such even if there was no mention of her participation in the programme. She had sought a starting position in Block C. Although the infield was surrounded by a fence, there was a gap immediately behind the finish and it was here that she slipped through.

In fact she intended to wait for the Archbishop, but the rain, which had extinguished her torch, upset her timing. She made a snap decision to enter the softened cinder track, on which she covered almost an entire lap. Accompanied by the cheers of the spectators. Many believed they were watching the Finnish beauty queen Armi Kuusela who lived in the USA. That June, Kuusela had been chosen as the first “Miss Universe” at a competition in Long Beach, California.

Nobody stopped Pleyer and she was able to step onto the podium in front of the VIP stand. She started to make an address, but got no further than the word “Ystävät” – “Friends”. Only now did the organisers realize what was happening. Gallant as a bridegroom, von Frenckell offered the young lady his arm. “I took



Although she had planned a “speech of peace” in seven languages, the German student did not get beyond the opening words. When Organising Committee President Erik von Frenckel offered her his arm like a bridegroom, she willingly followed him. General Secretary Martola (behind Pleyer) then handed her over to the police.

Photo: AP, Volker Kluge Archive

the little lady, after a steward had removed her from the microphone, by the arm to calm her down and said to her: ‘Now I must put you on the right path.’ She was of course very excited and shaking all over. For that reason I added: ‘Now you must drink a glass of cognac, that will calm you.’”⁴

What did the “troublemaker” want to say?

Rotraut Pleyer allowed herself be handed over to the police without resisting arrest. When her identity became known, a Frenchman in the IOC lounge commented with the exclamation “Naturellement les boches”.⁵ Otherwise excitement was limited.

Meantime Pleyer had been taken to a psychiatric clinic. The rumour spread that they were dealing with a mentally sick person or someone seeking validation in a sick way. A journalist asked Baron von Frenckell if the “white lady” had at least been locked up. He answered with a smile: “So many eccentrics are running around

Who was the last torchbearer in 1952?

For the global public the nine times Finnish Olympic champion Paavo Nurmi was the person who lit the cauldron in the Helsinki Olympic Stadium. It is however also correct that a few minutes later a flame burned on the stadium tower which had been set alight by the Olympic champion of 1912 and 1920 Hannes Kolehmainen.

However the 62-year-old Kolehmainen did not carry the fire himself up to the around 72-metres-high tower. For this four young runners were responsible, of whom the first can be seen on the photo. Merja Vilen of the Photo Archive of the Finnish Sports Museum was able



to identify him. His name is Martti Laitinen.

Vesa Tikander, the Museum Archivist, also informed us: “The choice of the four runners in the tower was a careful

balancing act. The task was given to team sport athletes (ball players) who were otherwise underrepresented in Olympic ceremonies. All four were from Helsinki clubs but they represented different sports (football/pesäpallo), political sports federations (bourgeois SPL/socialist TUL) and linguistic groups (Finnish/Swedish): 1. Martti Laitinen, club: Ponnistus (football, TUL, Finnish); 2. Åke Forsberg, club: KIF (football, SPL, Swedish); 3. Onni Sallinen, club: TMP (pesäpallo, TUL, Finnish); 4. Lauri Lehtinen, club: HJK (football, SPL, Finnish).” After that Hannes Kolehmainen only required to walk a few paces to fulfil his task.

It therefore remains a question of interpretation as to who is regarded as the last runner.

“Expelled” but good-tempered: Rotraut Pleyer (right) before her departure to Stuttgart accompanied by a policewoman.

Photo: AP

in this world unhindered ...” For him the incident was over and done with. The court psychiatrist who had been asked to examine her was of the opinion that she was “a charming, delightful girl” – “somewhat overwrought, but very intelligent”.⁶

Pleyer told how she had set off eight days before from Stuttgart with ten Pfennigs in her pocket. She had little luggage but carried a homemade long white dress. By hitchhiking she managed to reach Flensburg, where she sold her nailfile to be able to pay for the visa for Denmark.

Olympic enthusiasts in the North financed her crossing to Sweden and later Finland, Pleyer reached Helsinki on 17th July, where she experienced a setback. Her attempt to ask the Finnish President to combine the opening of the Games with an appeal for peace, was rejected by Paasikivi’s Secretary Colonel Ragnar Grönvall. After that she resolved to take action herself.

She was well prepared for this. After five semesters studying law in Marburg and Göttingen, she had dematriculated so as not to burden her university. But before doing so she had composed an address. With the help of fellow-students this was translated into Finnish, English, French, Spanish, Russian and Arabic. Her helpers were unaware what she planned to do with the text.

Her ideas had taken root in 1948, when she first became aware of the Olympic Games. Her convictions were strengthened in the summer of 1951. She had wanted to make a spontaneous address during the IIIrd World Festival Youth and Student Games in East Berlin. This was not permitted by the organisers and instead she was jailed for three days.⁷ She had also wanted to appear at the World Peace Congress in Paris but did not get the chance to do so.

Her message was to have been the same as she intended in Helsinki. After her arrest she willingly presented the police with the phonetically written texts, which were checked with the help of three female interpreters. The result was that her appeal was more



widely understood. It had emerged from the longing of a young generation for an everlasting peace and which reached its climax in the demands that

1. all cold and hot wars should be ended,
2. every people should elect its own government,
3. the greatest possible measure of freedom and equality should be guaranteed.⁸

From the Russian text the Finnish police concluded that she could not be a Communist provocateur, which had been suggested in some newspapers. For Pleyer wanted to tell Russian: “You have too little love, and for that reason you are filled with fear. That’s why you write about hopelessness and despair. But God will accept you.”⁹ These were sentiments which would scarcely have found a sympathetic audience in the Kremlin at that time.

Longing for an everlasting peace: Rotraut Pleyer received innumerable letters and congratulatory messages. When she made appearances after the Olympics she was received enthusiastically.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



“No political demonstrations will be allowed during the Games”

Twenty-four hours after her abortive appearance in Helsinki, Pleyer was deported by air to Germany. In Hamburg-Fuhlsbüttel, afraid of being branded a Communist and therefore a target for abuse, she put herself in the protective custody of the police, who led her out through a side entrance. At the request of the Federal Interior Ministry, she was stripped of her passport because it was felt that she had damaged the reputation of Germany.

Reporters pursued her vehicle in cars or on scooters. In the company of a female officer, she was put on a train to Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt. There, at noon the next day, she was met unobtrusively, and finally taken to her mother's house.

It is possible to imagine how the reunion must have been. Although there had been no television coverage and the weekly news in the cinema only showed brief extracts of her campaign¹⁰, the “badly behaved daughter” became on a daily topic of conversation. Details of her life became public. Thus the newspapers reported that Rotraut was the eldest of seven children. Her father was the historian Kleo Pleyer, who had been killed in the Second World War. Her own adventurous exploits and her deportation were described in detail.

In the weeks which followed the hype about her ebbed away. Once Pleyer had spoken of her motives to the media, it changed its tune. Now she was no longer a “red angel of peace”¹¹, but an “idealist” and “devout Christian”¹². Some criticised the „wild-eyed peace crusader”¹³, the “tactless disturbance” of the Olympic Games, but many more congratulated her on it. A Dutch group even demanded that she be awarded a medal.

She received many letters including even proposals of marriage.¹⁴ In addition, the mayor of a Baltic coastal resort invited her to a free stay in his spa – but he withdrew the offer because he could not guarantee her demand that she should not be photographed on the beach in a bikini.¹⁵

Although she had spoken only the first word of her speech in Helsinki, she had nevertheless understood the feelings of many people. At a time of war in Korea which claimed the lives of millions, the fear of a Third World War, in all probability an atomic exchange, was especially great in the divided Germany, since the situation resembled that in Korea. There were heated debates about rearmament and the western integration that Federal Chancellor Adenauer was trying to achieve. For many it would make the idea of German unification less of a concern.

Pleyer's first appearance after the Olympics drew around 600 people to a cinema in Stuttgart. For her it was an “inner need”, she explained, as a simple



human being to express the wish for peace by action and not leave politics only to statesmen.¹⁶

By this time, she had also become involved with the West German Women's Peace Movement (WFFB), which had grown in 1952 with the motto: “Be awake! Be critical! Show civil courage!” Ingeborg Köster, the editor of the magazine *Frau und Frieden* that with her intention to make a peace speech in Helsinki, Pleyer had unleashed a “spiritual conflagration”.¹⁷

To be sure, not everyone agreed. At the Munich cabaret “Kleine Freiheit” artiste Helen Vita appeared in a white nightshirt as “blonde naivety”. A choir disguised as “the angel of peace's bathing wreaths” sang:

Plitsche, platsche, platitudes!

One, two, three – who wants peace?

How will a conflict be avoided?

Plitsche, platsche, Pleyer!

*Good advice is hard to come by!*¹⁸

This satire was gentle by comparison with scornful readers' letters in the newspapers.

Pleyer was given her passport back “after intensive examination”. At the end of the year she travelled to a peace congress in Hiroshima. To great acclaim from the audience, she read out her undesired manifesto¹⁹, this heated up discussion. There was also an appeal which called for a prohibition of nuclear weapons.²⁰ The women's magazine *Constanze*, which had paid for the “Peace Angel's” flight and subsequently printed her travel reports also came in for criticism.²¹

Pleyer resumed her studies, this time in Munich. She had numerous supporters including Nobel Peace

Discussions sometimes became heated at gatherings such as this one in Munich: Ernst Müller-Meiningen Jr., a well-known Bavarian journalist described Rotraut Pleyer as an “estimable Utopian”. To which she answered calmly: “Better Utopian than pessimist.”

Photo: Weltbild. Die Illustrierte

Press conference in the well-filled West-Berlin Kurfürstenteller with Rotraut Pleyer immediately before the Allied Foreign Ministers' Conference of 1954.

Photo: Keystone



Prize such as Scottish doctor and biologist Lord Boyd-Orr and the Alsatian humanitarian Albert Schweitzer²². At lectures and readings she made the acquaintance of the Frankfurt social philosopher Max Horkheimer, Protestant priest Martin Niemöller, writer Carl Zuckmayer, Hamburg publisher Ernst Rowohlt and the actor Victor de Kowa also gave her support.

Pleyer found a focus for her work in the group "Peace through Negotiation", whose leading figures were Dr. Nikolaus Koch, a wounded war veteran who later became professor of philosophy in Dortmund – and the Buddhist Paul Debes. Since 1948 Debes had been lecturing on the general theme "Argument Conversations without Arguments" ["Streitlose Streitgespräche"]. His talks attracted audiences close to 500. What united them was a basic position based on religion. The credo was "powerlessness".

In summer 1953, Pleyer took a leaf out of Mahatma Gandhi's book. After giving weeks of notice, she illegally crossed the frontier into East Germany with her group. This was to draw attention to the 'unnatural' nature of German separation. She was obstinately pursued by 40 senior pupils, whom the anti-Communist Volksbund für Frieden und Freiheit (VFF)²³ had set to harry her. Yet to the surprise of all, the "negotiating walkers" were not imprisoned on the other side of the border. They were looked after for twelve days at the expense of the German Peace Council, an organisation with links with the GDR government. They were keen to demonstrate the GDR's desire to be constructive.²⁴ Pleyer's opponents felt their suspicions had now been confirmed: Her actions in Helsinki came "not from an innocent heart, but as a fully remote-controlled puppet of Red propaganda".²⁵

There was also a reaction from the IOC. The American Avery Brundage had succeeded as president after Helsinki, and at the next Session the following resolution was made:

*POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS DURING THE GAMES. – It has been decided that in future, no political demonstrations will be allowed during the Games, either in the Stadium or on the Sports grounds. On the other hand, demonstrations taking place in the town are outside the scope of our jurisdiction.*²⁶

To begin with, the IOC had a generally formulated appeal, directed against the "nationalization of sports for political purposes".²⁷ It took until 1975 before a rule was drafted. This remains essentially unaltered to this day:

*Every kind of demonstration or propaganda, whether political, religious or racial, in the Olympic areas is forbidden.*²⁸

Interestingly, when IOC Chancellor Otto Mayer justified the adoption of this resolution later, he did not cite Pleyer's appearance, but instead highlighted Czechoslovak triple gold medallist Emil Zátopek, "who on the day after the final of the Olympic Games in Helsinki had made a purely political speech".²⁹ Zátopek had in fact spoken to Finnish workers outside Olympic precincts and had therefore not infringed the regulations.

"Barbara visits the great men of the world"

In early 1954, Pleyer planned demonstrations in churches to coincide with a conference of Allied foreign ministers' in divided Berlin. The "German question" was to be discussed there. Pleyer intended to announce "messages of peace". But there was not much resonance. Her appearance during the Christmas service in East Berlin's Marienkirche was interrupted by the police.³⁰ And the popular press began to laugh at her but gradually things calmed down.

Even so she had not abandoned her ambitions by any means. In the summer, she moved to Innsbruck, Austria, where her father had once taught. Within a year she acquired the title of doctor of public economics, law and politics in *The development of Turkish agriculture since the Second World War*.³¹ It was scarcely a topic that would have been expected of her.

She was still on the search for a political home. This was demonstrated by her meeting with the politician Helene Wessel. In 1952, Wessel had joined with Gustav Heinemann (much later Federal President) to found the Gesamtdeutsche Volkspartei (GVP). Adenauer's opponent was delighted by the visitor, whom she described as an "outstanding personality".³²



However for the public Pleyer remained a phantom. In May 1956, the Australian newspaper *The Argus* carried a story that the "Peace Angel" was on her way to disturb the next Olympic Games. Allegedly she was received in Jakarta by the Indonesian President Sukarno, from which it was concluded: "As the Games in Melbourne begin on 22nd November, it is quite clear which way Miss Pleyer is following."³³ That fitted in with a false report that en route to Melbourne, she had been arrested in Malaysia on suspicion of having typhus.³⁴

Her actual destination was the People's Republic of China. In autumn 1956, she visited with a delegation. On behalf of the *Frankfurter Illustrierte* Pleyer had requested an interview with Prime Minister Zhou Enlai. This was granted and she became the first German journalist to do so.³⁵

Sukarno was in Beijing at the same time. In his own country he was in the process of introducing an autocratic system called "Guided Democracy". He was therefore interested in sympathetic reportage. Pleyer succeeded in engaging him in a 30 minute conversation. Subsequently she was invited by him to Indonesia.

Pleyer had proved a lucky find for the *Frankfurter Illustrierte*. She was multi lingual and spoke Chinese, Russian, Hindu and Sanskrit. Confident, but charming, she was able to arrange meetings with Pakistani President Iskander Mirza, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Ceylon's Premier Solomon Bandaranaike. After that she was the guest of Sukarno, who introduced her to his family at the Presidential Palace. Her experiences appeared as "private stories" under the headline "Barbara visits the great men of the world".³⁶

Many conservatives resented Pleyer's closeness to the leaders of the "Third World" – which was the description preferred by Asiatic and African states, who had banded together in a loosely knit group in Bandung two years before. The foreign editor boss of the radio station Freies Berlin (SFB) Matthias Walden still regarded "the Lady" as merely the "Peace Angel of Helsinki" and still doubted her reliability.³⁷ The publicist and scientist Emil Dovifat, had drawn his attention to one of contributions on China. Dovifat tried in vain to explain her Olympic "appearance" as "an error born of youthful enthusiasm".³⁸

In April 1957, German Social Democracy joined the campaign "Battle against Atomic Death".³⁹ This was a reaction to a declaration by Adenauer, whereby the planned atomic armament would be "nothing more than a further development of artillery", the hostile image of Pleyer revived. In the Christian Democrats's own publicity machine admitted "There lives in German Social Democracy something of this Barbara Pleyer. That is that belief that in the world it depends only on fundamental belief, good old noble belief."⁴⁰

The "Peace Missionary" from Mount Sinai

Pleyer of course could not live on noble belief alone. Certainly, it would not have been a problem for the clever woman to acquire a permanent position in the media or at a university. But that did not fit in with her planned way of life. She wanted to be free.

To start with she resumed her law studies in 1962 – this time in neighbouring Austria. A year later she obtained her second doctorate at the University of Vienna. At the same time she built up her international contacts. In

"Barbara visits the great men of the world": She was the guest of Indonesia's President Sukarno, who received her in the Presidential Palace of Bogor and introduced her to his family. In the 15 years after Helsinki, she met 60 heads of state. These included German Federal President Theodor Heuss.

Photos: Frankfurter Illustrierte

Invitation for David Ben-Gurion to the 1970 Conference of Religion, Science and Statesmanship in Florence with greetings from 'Sinai' Rotraut Pleyer. The document was also signed by Indian yoga champion Swami Chidananda and Munich neurologist Johann Kugler. Ben-Gurion regretted that he was unable to take part.

Illustration: Ben-Gurion Research Institute for the Study of Israel & Zionism

March 1964 she again met Sukarno, though this time she did not wear a business suit.⁴¹ Rather she again wore the well known long white angel's dress. From then on it became her trademark. It had been designed by the famous Italian designer Emilio Schuberth.⁴²

The "Peace Angel" had planned nothing less than once again to save the world. Initially she confined herself to the Yemen, a bloody civil war had been raging since 1962. The republicans had the backing of Egypt, Royalist factions were reported by Saudi Arabia.

One July weekend in 1964, Pleyer was received by British Premier Sir Alec Douglas-Home, who encouraged her.⁴³ In an attempt to get the hostile parties together, she made a radio speech in May 1965. This proved just as ineffectual as the proposal to Egypt's President Nasser that there should be a peace conference on Mount Sinai, to be attended by the Saudi King and Yemeni opponents Imam Al Badr and President Sallal.

This was the mountain on which according to Biblical tradition Moses was said to have received from God the stone tablet with the ten commandments. Pleyer therefore saw it as the interface of the Jewish, Christian and Muslim religions and an ideal place to achieve reconciliation.

And there was to be no lack of theatricality. She walked up the mount in a billowing dress. Later she appeared with a burning candle as a "peace missionary" in Addis Abeba at the Foreign Ministers' Conference of the Organization of African Unity (OAU).⁴⁴ From Ethiopia she travelled to Leopoldville, in order to receive Moisé Tschombé on his return from Spanish exile. By meeting the former Katanga separatist, infamous because of his white mercenaries, she hoped to calm the situation in the Congo.⁴⁵

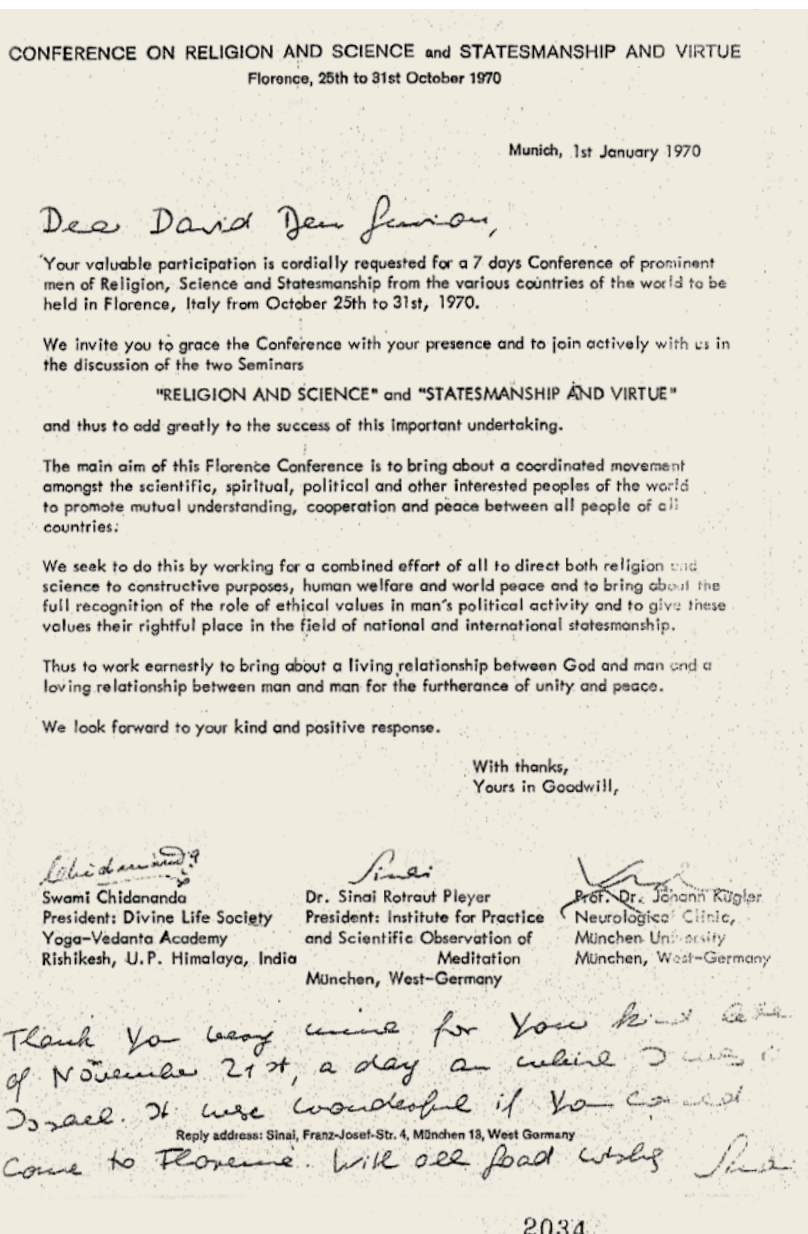
Many wondered how Pleyer paid for these expensive journeys. Since 1958 she had taken an annual "time out" on Mount Sinai, to fast and pray in Saint Catherine's Monastery. Among her favourite places in Italy was the Carmelite cloister in Fiesole near Florence.

As she attended lectures at the Diplomatic Academy in Vienna, the Austrian Foreign Ministry also became interested in her lifestyle. The secret service of the Interior warned the University "that with Dr. Pleyer they were dealing with a very intelligent woman, who however suffered from a sick need for self-validation". She felt herself superior to the other students and consorted with the professors on the same level. Someone described her as a "mentally sick woman".

As proof the 1952 Games were cited, at which "dressed only in a nightshirt [sic] and with a gold clasp in her hair" she intended to make a peace speech. Her landlady had also revealed other 'suspicious' aspects: Pleyer often talked about distant travels "which supposedly were paid for by patrons". She often made long-distance phone calls and had high telephone bills.⁴⁶

"The peculiar activities of Miss Dr. Barbara Pleyer have been observed by the Federal Intelligence Service [BND] for years", the Austrian Ambassador in West Germany informed Vienna. His "trusted source" had reported to him that she maintained contact with leading politicians and statesmen, especially of Asiatic states. But this information could also be found in newspapers. The BND saw in this "however above all the expression of an enhanced egocentricity and somewhat imaginative religious-philosophical ideas".⁴⁷

The question of the donors remained unanswered, as otherwise the secret services would have had to reveal their sources. Pleyer herself had however long since publicly explained that she was supported by two statesman, whom she did not want to name.⁴⁸ Besides this, an American millionaire had also put his private aircraft at her disposal.



When Pleyer applied to be taken on again by the Diplomatic Academy, she spoke no fewer than 14 modern languages. She had met 60 heads of state, and she had been appointed lecturer in international law in Cairo and Jakarta. Although all those asked agreed that she had above average ability, the Austrian Foreign Ministry did everything they could to quickly rid themselves of the "Peace Angel".

The pretext was her white garment. She was given an ultimatum. Discard it by 1st April 1965. She was unwilling to do so. On Mount Sinai she had taken an oath to wear the dress for a year despite all "earthly disadvantages".⁴⁹ Thus her diplomatic career ended before it had begun.

Delayed altercation with her dead father

Since 1964 Rotraut Pleyer was known by the name "Sinai". She considered that she had not taken it herself but rather had "received" it on the mountain according to Biblical tradition as a person who had been "called".⁵⁰ Ignoring her expulsion from the Academy she was determined not to lose sight of her goal as a "peace worker".

Her next move was to South Vietnam, where in 1965 the US Air Force had begun 'Carpet bombing' the Communist north. The fighting later escalated into jungle warfare in the south. Sitting for forty days in the A-Loi-Pagoda of Saigon, Pleyer fasted and prayed for peace.

She also walked barefoot through Saigon by way of demonstration to offer herself as an intermediary. To US President Lyndon B. Johnson she wrote: "You believe in military power – I believe in the power of love and of the spirit."⁵¹ "Crazy?" asked the magazine *Stern*. "If she is, it must be an enviable condition which gives a face so much cheerful seriousness, so much calm and peace as it does to hers."⁵²

Anyone who followed her progress probably wondered where she drew the inner strength just to be herself and to let adversaries just bounce off. In 1967 she founded a "Research Center for Kundalini" in Kashmir with the Indian scholar Gopi Krishna. Kundalini is according to tradition, an ethereal strength which is to be awakened by the practice of yoga.⁵³

From Buddhism and Hinduism she turned next to Judaism. This metamorphosis had begun in 1961, when she got to know the founder of the state of Israel, David Ben-Gurion in Rangoon. They continued their conversations later in the Sede Boker Kibbutz, where Ben-Gurion had moved after relinquishing office.⁵⁴ Rabbi Schalom Ben-Chorin, whom she lovingly called "Abba" (Papa)⁵⁵ and in whose Jerusalem apartment she had lived for some weeks, wrote:

In 1971 she resolved to convert to Judaism, after during further devotional exercises on Sinai she had



Professor, historian and propaganda poet for the Sudetenland Nazis: Kleo Pleyer as an officer on the Eastern Front, where he was killed in March 1942.

Photo: Volk im Feld

become aware of the necessity for inner certainty. Following this revelation she added the second name of Moria and changed Sinai to 'Sina', obviously in (unconscious) association with the slight variation in calling of the matriarch: Sarai – Sara.⁵⁶

Dr. Sina-Moria saw her mission in the announcement of a peace programme, which this time should start from Mount Sinai. She imagined the whole peninsula as a demilitarized zone and a settlement area for Arab refugees. It had been in Israeli hands since the Six-Day-War of 1967. Neither Israel's Prime Minister Golda Meir nor El-Fatah leader Arafat responded to her proposal.

Without doing anything herself Pleyer (alias Sina-Moria) hit the headlines again in 1972. The popular Israeli paper *HaOlam HaZeh* announced that a "blonde German" was sitting on the mountain. She was described as the daughter of General Field Marshall Erwin Rommel, the Desert Fox. She was there to atone for the sins of her father and Nazi Germany. The *Daily Mirror* followed up. But since Rommel had only one son, the Hamburg magazine *Stern* quickly discovered that the "white woman of the mountain of Moses" was in fact the daughter of history professor Kleo Pleyer.⁵⁷

The father's writings made him a polar opposite to his daughter. Kleo Pleyer was a preacher of hate. He had been the ninth child of a blacksmith in Egerland. Scarcely had he returned from the First World War, than he became youth leader of the Sudetenland Nazi party. His poem "Wir sind das Heer vom Hakenkreuz" [we are the army of the swastika] was chosen as their anthem. As the organiser of a student strike against the Jewish



Return to Sender: Rotraut Pleyer, who styled herself "Sina Hohenstaufen" in her final years, died in Nicosia in March 2000. Dutch documentary maker Niek Koppen learned of this when his letter was returned. Adjacent: the memorial stone at the family grave in Bad Cannstatt which bears the name "Rotraut". She was actually buried in Jerusalem on the Mount of Olives.

Photos: Volker Kluge, Niek Koppen Archive

rector of the German University in Prague, he became a marked man in Czechoslovakia. He fled to Munich, where in 1923 he arrived just in time for the "Hitler-Putsch".⁵⁸

Kleo Pleyer's career flourished after the "Macht-ergreifung" [Seizure of power]. He became a lecturer at the German University for Politics in Berlin. In 1937 he was awarded a professorship at the University of Königsberg, specializing in "Blut und Boden" [blood and soil]. In 1939 he moved to the so-called Alpine University of Innsbruck, and could hardly wait to take part in the "battle for German Lebensraum".⁵⁹ He served as a company commander on the Eastern Front. He was killed on 26th March 1942 during an attempt to break out from the Demyansk Cauldron, where Hitler had consciously accepted the encirclement of six divisions by the Red Army.

After his death his widow, who now had to feed her seven children alone, published his book *Volk im Feld* which he had written during the war. It was a dripping concoction of pathetic soldier romanticism and hatred towards "Jewish Bolshevism", in which Pleyer prophesied: "The war the Jews wanted will end with the extermination of all Jews."⁶⁰

These sentiments were already so important to the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht that they ordered a special print run of 700,000 copies. In 1943 these were distributed among the soldiers by this time already on the run. Pleyer's credo "Dying for the fatherland wants to be learned"⁶¹ can have hardly have been a consolation for them.

It cannot be said for sure that the conversion of his daughter to Judaism represented a belated reaction

against her father. But it did definitively and certainly tear the family apart. In 1945 they had fled to relatives in south west Germany, where the mother took on a plant nursery. Long before the writer, Wilhelm Pleyer, Kleo's youngest brother, had become estranged from his niece. No wonder: in his anti-semitism and racism were prominent in his writings, and even after the war he did not move from that extreme right wing position.⁶²

"Failure" – but faithful to her ideals

At the age of almost 40, the niece of "Onkel Willi" began to study medicine again in Hamburg. Was this also an admission that she saw no future as a "peace worker"? Had she failed because none of her peace projects succeeded? Was the expenditure on armaments and the number of wars and conflicts, despite all appeals, even on the increase? Or was it only a disturbance of perception, of the treatment of which she as a three times graduate doctor surely must understand a great deal?⁶³

With the rise of the Peace Movement in the early 1980s a little optimism certainly returned. In 1982, Dr. Dr. Sina-Moria moved from Bonn to Schleswig and thus near Hamburg. From there the initiative for the "Easter Marches" had begun in 1960, modelled on the "Aldermaston March" by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) in Britain. Together with the former rector of Hamburg University Professor Arthur Jores, theology professor Hans-Rudolf Schwefe and retired NATO Lieutenant-General Wolf Graf Baudissin, she founded a "Society for Religion, Science and Peace", which invited people to international conferences in

the Villa La Selva in Florence, which belonged to her "Auntie".

She did not consider herself to be at home in North Germany. A woman of great self awareness, her patients from that time have stated that she came up against a group of doctors dominated by unpleasant men, who made her life difficult. The rumour that she was not a proper women's doctor went around. Even the equipping of the practice and attached clinic was deficient. Whatever the truth she returned to Bonn-Bad Godesberg after two years. There is evidence that she was here until 1987.

After that she moved back to Jerusalem. Unchanged and dominant, yet always on the search for conversational partners, with whom she could discuss in her gentle way her dreams of a peace in the Middle East. Those who knew her well, praised also her modest way of life. Even on the coldest of days she was only seen in a dress down to her ankles, over which she had painfully placed an equally blossom-white sari. On her bare feet she wore simple sandals.⁶⁴

One of the last people to speak to her before the Olympic Games in 2000 in Sydney was the Dutch documentary maker Niek Koppen, who wanted to produce a film about her for television. She then appeared unannounced in Amsterdam, where she met him in the bar of the Victoria Hotel. Koppen remembers that she also spoke of her fears: "She was convinced that the CIA were on her heels", he wrote.⁶⁵ Finally they both agreed another meeting. At which she intended to give him an interview on camera.

A little later Koppen received a letter from Bonn. In this she told him that she would be flying to Nicosia on 16th March to take part in a conference and meet the Holy Synod.⁶⁶ It was signed "Sinai Hohenstaufen" – why she was suddenly called that remained her secret. It was either a new inspiration or a reference to the Emperor Friedrich II. The Hohenstaufen monarch had in 1225 had himself crowned king of Jerusalem.

Because Koppen heard nothing more from her, he reminded her of the agreement on 10th May 2000. But the letter was returned to sender with an indication that she had died. Later Koppen learned that she had succumbed to a heart attack at the Forum Hotel in Nicosia. She was buried in Jerusalem in the upper part of the Jewish cemetery of the Mount of Olives. The burial ceremony was conducted by Rabbi Adin Steinsaltz, who had once converted her to Judaism.⁶⁷

* * *

On 19th July 2002 Helsinki celebrated the 50th anniversary of the Games of 1952, to which delegations from all over the world came. Hungary alone sent 20 gold medallists. Behind Finland's flag marched no fewer than 140 veterans from 1952.

IOC President Jacques Rogge made a speech of welcome. Scarcely had he finished than there appeared a young blonde woman in a billowing white dress in the stadium. She seized the microphone, spoke a few words, until she was tugged off the podium by "officials" and led away. Just as in 1952 there had been a surprising "Peace Angel", who this time was represented by a double, the well-known Finnish actress 1952 Laura Malmivaara. The next day the press noted how significant such a peace message would have been in the Cold War era had it been delivered.⁶⁸

It is only possible to view the Olympic Games as a contribution to peace up to a point. They certainly offer an image of how the world could look. A model can be recognised in the contests carried out without violence of athletes of the various nations. But can one literally run, swim, row or do gymnastics for peace?

The IOC took a long time to make deeds follow the many sententious words. It was only 100 years after its foundation that it was finally able to convince the General Assembly of the United Nations to call for an "International Year of Sports and the Olympic Ideal" in 1994. The member states were requested to hold an "Olympic Truce" following the example of the ancient *ekecheiria* which ran from the seventh day before the Games until seven days afterwards.⁶⁹

On 5th February 1994, one week before the start of the Winter Games in Lillehammer, a mortar grenade exploded on the Markale Square of Sarajevo. It killed 68 civilians and injured a further 144. Unfortunately behind the call for peace, those who are not peaceful also hide.

The *Olympic Charter* continued to include a strict rule forbidding any "political demonstrations" inside the Olympic venues. This clause was particularly prominent at the time of the Beijing 2008 and Sochi 2014 Games. It

A "double" for the "Peace Angel": Finnish actress Laura Malmivaara at the 50 year anniversary of the Helsinki Games in 2002.

Photo: Hufvudstadsbladet



led to many animated discussions. Many politicians and media representatives called unashamedly for a breach of the rule, knowing full well that that would have consequences for the athletes. They also ignored the fact that in this world there are not only "Peace Angels". The terror attack on the Israeli team at Munich 1972 proved an enduring lesson for the Olympic Movement.

As for the speech that the "Angel" had intended to make in Helsinki. However well intentioned, even a reading of the German version would have lasted four minutes. With the other six languages Rotraut Pleyer would have needed almost half an hour. Would around 4000 athletes have had the patience to listen to her until the end? ■

- 1 Of the 69 participating countries, the People's Republic of China and Guyana, represented by a single athlete at the 1952 Games, were missing.
- 2 *The Official Report of the Organizing Olympic Committee for the Games of the XV Olympiad, Helsinki 1952*, Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, Porvoo 1955, p. 240.
- 3 *Ibid.*, p. 240: "The young woman turned out to be a German 'Peace Apostle', Barbara Rotbraut-Pleyer, who had come to Helsinki for the express purpose of simultaneously addressing all the nations of the world."
- 4 *Internationale Sport-Korrespondenz (ISK)*, Nr. 130, 22nd July 1952
- 5 Willi Daume, *Olympia. Meine Liebe, Kurzgeschichten aus einem langen Leben*, unpublished manuscript, 1994.
- 6 ISK
- 7 *Ibid.*
- 8 Manuscript (German version), Volker Kluge Archive. The text was also published in *Stuttgarter Nachrichten*, 22nd July 1952.

- 9 *Schwäbisches Tageblatt*, 22nd July 1952
- 10 *Neue Deutsche Wochenschau*, No. 130, 22nd July 1952. The material was provided by the Finnish company Olympic Film Pool.
- 11 *Die Welt*, 22nd July 1952
- 12 *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 22nd July 1952
- 13 *Pittsburgh Post-gazette*, 31st July 1952
- 14 *Weltbild. Die Illustrierte*, Vol. 7, No. 18, September 1952, p.25
- 15 *Hamburger Abendblatt*, 26–27th July 1952
- 16 *Die Welt*, 4th August 1952
- 17 Archiv der deutschen Frauenbewegung, Kassel, NL-P-27; 3–1.
- 18 *Der Spiegel*, 24th September 1952, p. 27. In German: "Plitsche, plantsche, Plattitüden! / Eins, zwei, drei – Wer will den Frieden? / Wie wird ein Konflikt vermieden? / Plitsche, plantsche, Pleyer! / Guter Rat ist teuer."
- 19 *Die Welt*, 26th August 1952
- 20 *Frau und Frieden*, No. 2, 1953, p. 2
- 21 *Constanze*, Nr. 6, 1953. Pleyer's Japan Report was published in Nos. 1 and 2.
- 22 The German-French physician and theologian Albert Schweitzer (1875–1965) had founded a "jungle hospital" in French Equatorial Africa in 1913. He received the 1952 Nobel Peace Prize.
- 23 The VFF was a propaganda and news organisation, founded in 1950 under the direction of Eberhard Taubert, former ministerial adviser in the Goebbels ministry and author of the script for the anti-semitic propaganda film "Der ewige Jude" [The Eternal Jew].
- 24 *Frau und Frieden*, No. 8, 1953, p. 11; *Der Kurier*, 16th July 1953, *Frankfurter Allgemeine*, 29th July 1953.
- 25 *Aktueller Reportage-Pressedienst (ARP)*, No. 13/III/1953. The ARP, based in Munich, was a secret organisation for collecting news for the German intelligence services.
- 26 Minutes, IOC Session 1953 Mexico City, p. 5, OSC Archives
- 27 IOC, *The Olympic Games. Fundamental Principles, Rules and Regulations, General Information*, Lausanne 1956, p. 97
- 28 *Olympic Charter*, rule 55, Lausanne 1975, p. 35. Today's slightly altered version is to be found in rule 50.2., *Olympic Charter*, Lausanne 2016, p. 91.
- 29 Otto Mayer, *A travers les anneaux olympiques*, Callier, Geneva 1960, p. 227
- 30 *Berliner Morgenpost*, 29th December 1953



The Olympics as a political platform (from l to r): At the opening of the 1960 Games Chinese Taipei Chef de Mission Lin Hung-tan unrolled a placard, protesting against the IOC's decision to style his country "Formosa". – "Black-Power": A demonstration by African-Americans Tommie Smith and John Carlos in 1968 during the 200 m victory ceremony. They avoided expulsion from the Olympic Village by leaving voluntarily. – Two days later 400 metres medallists Lee Evans, Larry James and Ron Freeman expressed their solidarity. No action was taken against the trio. – After South Korea's 2–0 victory over Japan in the

bronze medal men's football match at London 2012, South Korean player Park Jong Woo displayed a poster with the inscription "Dokdo is our territory". He was highlighting a dispute over a group of islands in the Sea of Japan, claimed by both countries. As Park had broken Rule 50.2, he was excluded by the IOC from the victory ceremony, but was allowed to receive his bronze medal the following year providing this was done without fanfare.

Photos: Official Olympic Report 1960, picture-alliance, Volker Kluge Archive

- 31 Innsbruck University Archive. Pleyer obtained her doctorate on 14th July 1956. Her supervisor was Professor Ferdinand Ulmer, who in Austria was considered an important confidant of the NS regime.
- 32 *UPI*, 16th December 1955
- 33 *AP*, 16th May 1956
- 34 *Rheinischer Merkur*, 30th November 1956. In a reader's letter of 1st February 1957, Pleyer explained that she had never been in Malaysia. During the time of the 1956 Olympics she was in Germany.
- 35 *Frankfurter Illustrierte*, No. 18, 11th May 1957, p. 14
- 36 *Ibid.*, Interview Nehru, No. 29, 27th July 1957, p. 14ff; Sukarno, No. 36, 7th September 1957, p. 10ff; Bandaranaike No. 46, 16th November 1957, p. 34ff
- 37 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, VI. HA NI Dovifat, No. 1750, 30th January 1957
- 38 *Ibid.*, 9th February 1957
- 39 *Der Spiegel*, No. 20, 15th May 1957, p. 12
- 40 *Union für Deutschland*, Informationsdienst der CDU und CSU, No. 51, p. 3, 22nd May 1958
- 41 *Berita Harjan*, 23rd March 1964, p. 1; *Der Spiegel*, No. 16, 15th April 1964, p. 126
- 42 Schubert (1904–1972) also dressed Princess Soraya and actresses such as Ingrid Bergman, Brigitte Bardot, Sophia Loren and Gina Lollobrigida.
- 43 *Welt am Sonntag*, 19th July 1964
- 44 *Handelsblatt*, 17th September 1964
- 45 *Vorwärts*, 7th October 1964
- 46 Kreisky-Archiv, Staatssek. Bundesmin. AA Box 29, Kreisky-Archiv, Bundesmin. AA Box 29, State Secretary Rudolf Kirchschläger, political and news-related inquiry 1965–66, Pleyer Report, 24th May 1963
- 47 *Ibid.*, Ambassador Schöner to Kirchschläger, 31st March 1965. In addition the requests for sight of documents to the German Federal Office for Protection of the Constitution as well as to the BND have remained unanswered by the time of going to press.
- 48 *Abendzeitung*, 8–9th June 1966
- 49 Kreisky-Archiv, Pleyer to the Diplomatic Academy, 21st March 1966
- 50 *Abendzeitung*, 8–9th June 1966
- 51 *Ibid.*, 9th July 1966
- 52 *Der Stern*, 24th July 1966
- 53 Gopi Krishna, *Kundalini. Erweckung der geistigen Kraft im Menschen*, translated from Sanskrit by Sinai B.R. Pleyer und Ursula von Mangoldt, O.W. Barth, Bern, München 1977
- 54 Ben-Gurion Research Institute for the Study of Israel & Zionism, Sede Boker, correspondence, ref. code 12 3 1278, literal. Special thank to Dr. Adi Portugies (Ben-Gurion Research Institute), Professor Michael Bar Eli (Beer Sheva University) and Professor Manfred Lämmer (Cologne).
- 55 Rotraut Sinai-Moria, "Abba", in: *Der Mann der Friede heißt. Begegnungen, Texte und Bilder für Schalom Ben-Chorin*, Bleicher Verlag, Berlin 1983, pp. 132–134
- 56 Schalom Ben-Chorin, *Ich lebe in Jerusalem. Ein Bekenntnis zu Geschichte und Gegenwart*, dtv München 1979, p. 81. The writer Ben-Chorin was born as Fritz Rosenthal in Munich and emigrated to Jerusalem in 1935.
- 57 *Der Stern*, No. 41, 1971, p. 232–233
- 58 Harold Steinacker, *Gedenkrede auf Kleo Pleyer*, Sonderdruck aus *Volksforschung*, Vol. 6, No. 1–2, 1943
- 59 Pleyer wrote educational booklets for instruction about National Socialist world views and targets, published by the Supreme Command of the Wehrmacht in 1939.
- 60 Kleo Pleyer, *Volk im Feld*, Hanseatische Verlagsanstalt, Hamburg 1943, p. 219
- 61 *Ibid.*, p. 16
- 62 Deutsches Literaturarchiv Marbach. The exchange of letters archived there between uncle and niece ends as early as the end of November 1951.
- 63 Sara-Rotraut Fatima Sina-Moria, *Leibmissempfindungen bei Psychosen aus dem schizophrenen und dem zylothymen Formenkreis*, dissertation Bonn University, 1974
- 64 Interviews with Avital Ben-Chorin and her daughter Ariela (Jerusalem), 16th January 2017
- 65 *NRC Handelsblatt*, 14th September 2000
- 66 Dr. Sinai Hohenstaufen to Niek Koppen, 14th March 2000
- 67 Thomas Nisell, Israel Institute for Talmudic Publication, e-mail 11th April 2010
- 68 *Hufvudstadsbladet*, 20th July 2002
- 69 United Nations, Resolution 48/11 Observance of the Olympic Truce, adopted by the General Assembly, 2nd November 1993



At the 1972 Munich Games, 16-year-old Norbert Südhaus proved that nuisances do not think politically. Anticipating the arrival of the marathon runners he jumped over the fence and ran through the tunnel into the stadium, where he was received with rousing applause as the "race leader". When a little later, American Frank Shorter arrived as "second" to a more muted reception. The teenager had hoped to cheer the public up after the atrocities in the Olympic Village. He was hauled before front of chief organiser Willi Daume, who gave him a stern reprimand. The "joker" then apologised to Shorter in writing, but received no answer.

In Judo, impoliteness is considered a more serious matter than in many other sports. At Rio 2016 Egyptian Islam El Shehaby left the mat after defeat to Israeli Or Sasson without the customary acknowledgement of his opponent. He was not punished for this action although political motives were suspected. However the Egyptian NOC's reaction was to send him home. – Everyone reacts differently to winning a medal. Many rejoice, others weep, some remain in a state of shock, and others behave strangely. The Rio 2016 discus champion, Christoph Harting of Germany can probably be best placed in the last category.

Construction of a National Sports heroine – Carolina Klüft in Swedish media*

By Leif Yttergren and John S. Hellström

The new Swedish heroine: Photographers vie for an unusual close of European champion Carolina Klüft.

Photo: picture-alliance



Introduction

This article analyses the mediafication of Sweden's Carolina Klüft, who during the period 2002 to 2007 was the best athlete in the world in her event, the heptathlon. In this period she became the European champion twice, the world champion twice, and the Olympic champion once. At the World Championships in Osaka 2007 she set a new European record. Her sporting success meant that she received massive attention in Swedish and international sports media. In Sweden she was hailed a national hero, and on several occasions she was named Sweden's best sportsperson. Apart from her sporting achievements, Klüft was hailed for her strong character. Unlike other Swedish sports stars, known for their quietness and introversion, she was known for her playful and spontaneous style on the track. In front of the TV cameras she showed, through her gestures and body language all her joy, anger, frustration and fighting spirit.

She stressed in interviews that the most important thing for her was not winning but having fun.

Klüft's successes and great charisma made her popular with Swedish journalists. But her popularity proved to be strongly tied to her youthful manner. During the latter part of her career, when she toned down the playfulness and showed a more serious side of herself, interest in her declined as, at the same time, criticism in the media grew. Despite the fact that she achieved the best results of her career during her final years as a heptathlete, she had by then lost much of her status as a national hero.



Leif Yttergren | *1956. He is an associate professor at the Swedish School of Physical Education and Sport in Stockholm. His research has primarily dealt with The Stockholm Olympics 1912, the IOC President Sigfrid Edström, traditional games on Gotland and the history of training in sport. Yttergren took part in the Olympics in Moscow 1980 as a player in the Swedish Basketball team. Member of ISOH Executive Committee.

The phenomenon of sporting heroes has given rise to lively discussion in the past decades (Hughson, 2009; Smart, 2005; Whannel, 2002). Several researchers have questioned sport's potential for producing true heroes. Smart (2005), for example, believes that the intense pace of the 21st century media society means that few of today's sports stars have time to achieve hero status, and the few that do are overshadowed by celebrities who temporarily gain great attention in the media. Others tone down the difference between heroes and celebrities and point out that heroes are also created in the media. According to Andrew and Jackson (2001), the hero is just one of several categories in a whole system of celebrities in the sports entertainment industry, with winners, losers, villains, rebels and leaders being other categories. These categories are established characters in the narratives that the media create to give sport meaning.

Sporting heroes have traditionally been constructed around qualities associated with masculinity, such as strength, stamina, decisiveness and courage (O'Neill & Mulready, 2015; Bruce, Hovden & Markula, 2010; Markula 2010, Pfister 2010). Hargreaves thus believes that the sporting hero has a gender identity, which makes it impossible for women to be heroes on the same terms as men. Women's sport has historically been marginalized and trivialized, and sportswomen who have in fact put in exceptional performances, even according to male ideals, have been defined differently from sportsmen. Hargreaves believes that the hero and the heroine should thus be differentiated as different types of heroes (Hargreaves, 2000, p. 2).

However, in recent decades there has been a change in Sweden and other countries regarding media's representation of women's sport (Bruce, Hovden & Markula, 2010). Quantitative analyses show that women's sport is being given more and more space in the mass media, at least in connection with international championships such as the Olympic Games and the World Championships, in commercially strong sports (Hedenborg, 2013). A study of Swedish newspapers reporting from the Olympic Games in Athens in 2004, demonstrates that it was Carolina Klüft who was the Swedish sportsperson most written about during the Games (Tolvhed, 2010). The increased interest in women's sport is also reflected in qualitative changes. Several studies point out that there is an increased ambivalence in sports journalists' representation of women sports stars. There are also innumerable examples of sportswomen who have gained international star status at the same time as examples of trivialization and sexualization still exist (Eagleman, 2014; Pfister, 2010; Bruce & Wensing, 2003). In the light of this development, Bruce (2016) believes that there is a need for new perspectives regarding media's reporting of women's sport. Differences between men's and women's sport

do not need to be solely negative. Bruce points out a development where the media, not least the social media, portray what is distinctively female as something positive. A female sporting hero today can be strong, tough *and* beautiful without there being a contradiction (Bruce, 2016).

The aim of this article is to let a specific case contribute to increased knowledge of media's construction of sporting heroes in general, and of female sporting heroes in particular. The study is a qualitative analysis of the reporting on Carolina Klüft in six Swedish daily newspapers during the major championships between 2002 and 2007. The principal questions examined are how Carolina Klüft's performances and personal qualities were valued during these championships.

Results

When Carolina Klüft came to the European Athletics Championships in Munich in 2002, she was still unknown to a wider sporting audience. Nevertheless, her career had developed dramatically prior to the European Championships. Previously, the same year she had taken bronze in the pentathlon in the European indoor championships and just one month before the European Championships, she had won gold at the Junior World Championships in Jamaica. However, performing at the Junior World Championships was one thing, but performing in her first major outdoor championships was something completely different. Few journalists seriously believed that Klüft would also be able to be at her best at the European Championships after peaking at the Junior World Championships. It could be said that the expectations of Klüft were rather hopes that she might be able to be in the fight for a medal. Expectations in the Swedish media were, therefore, low. She was considered to be a promising future prospect, but the step from junior to senior was considered too great for her to be able to hope for one of the top places (*Dagens Nyheter*, July 22, 2002).

Klüft began the championships in a sensational manner. With growing fascination, the journalists noted how she set new personal records in three of seven disciplines. Despite her youth and inexperience, she managed to perform at her best when it really mattered. Her win was the top news story in all the daily



John S. Hellström, Ph.D. He is a lecturer at the Swedish School of Sports and Health Sciences, Stockholm. His main area of research is sport celebrity with a focus on national identity, heroism and the media. His dissertation on this subject, *The Swedish Sport Hero* (2014), analyses the media construction of different Swedish sport heroes from the 1920s until the present day. In a current research project his focus has shifted towards sporting celebrity and transnational sport migration.

An innocent child of nature: In a five year period from 2002 Carolina Klüft won Olympic heptathlon gold at the Athens Olympics and was world champion in 2003, 2005 and 2007. She also won European Championships in 2002 and 2006.

Photo: picture-alliance



newspapers examined, and the comments on the sports pages emphasized how sensational her performance was. She seemed to have come from nowhere and become a star overnight. One columnist described her as a gift to international athletics (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 11th August 2002).

The question is: what it was about Carolina Klüft's victory that was so sensational and made the press react with such unbounded enthusiasm? The performance in itself is not explanation enough. In the first place, a gold medal in the European Athletics Championships was not such an important achievement that it deserved an obvious place in Swedish sports history, especially not in the heptathlon, a somewhat obscure event for Swedish media. Historically speaking, it was an Olympic gold and the world record that created heroes in athletics. In the second place, there were several winners to celebrate in the 2002 European Championships. Both the high jumper Kajsa Bergqvist and the triple jumper Christian Olsson took their first golds in international outdoor championships. Klüft's victory was not as surprising as the media described it. Her winning points from the Junior World Championships was best in the world for seniors as well, and on the basis of previous results, she was one of the favorites to win.

No, what was sensational about Carolina Klüft was not the fact that she won, but the *way* she did it. Apart from surpassing all expectations and setting a personal best in three of the seven disciplines, she literally acted her way through the competition. She waved and grimaced when the TV cameras zoomed in on her, clawed at the TV camera lens with her yellow and blue nails, and showed her full range of emotions in each part of the competition. When others were competing,

she was often to be found standing by, enthusiastically cheering on her rivals. In interviews she spoke of how she prepared by listening to music from Disney films and Swedish pop music. Again and again she described herself as a completely normal girl who just competed because it was fun. The journalists were amazed that she did not take the championships more seriously. Competing in Munich's Olympic Stadium seemed no stranger to her than training with her friends in her home town of Växjö in the south of Sweden (*Aftonbladet*, 10th August 2002; *Expressen*, 11th August 2002).

The combination of the young bouncy girl, who made strange faces before a critical moment when competing, and the top performances of an elite athlete created a narrative that did not fit into the traditional framework of sports journalists' accounts of Swedish heroes (Wennerholm, *Aftonbladet*, August 10, 2002).

But it was not, of course, the unwritten laws of athletics that Klüft defied, but the sports journalists' own preconceptions of how a Swedish sports star should be. Whannel (2002) believes that sports journalists' way of describing sporting events is based on more or less pre-made narrative templates. By comparing a new star with already established stars and thus fitting him or her into a pre-existing reference framework, he/she becomes easier to understand for the general public. The problem is that not all stars fit into media's pre-made stories. Hills and Kennedy (2009) have shown how the English middle distance runner, Kelly Holmes, created problems for English journalists because she so clearly deviated from the standard reference frameworks for how an English sporting hero should be. As a woman with a working class background, with an English mother and a Jamaican father, and a history of sporting failure, she was far from being a prominent star or an English hope for gold before the Olympic Games in Athens in 2004. When she, nonetheless, won two golds, the victories could not be explained as they did not fit into any of the established explanatory models. In the same way, Swedish journalists did not have a pre-made narrative in which to put Carolina Klüft. She was unlike any other Swedish sports star and there were, therefore, no given reference frameworks with which to explain her. Consequently, she was described as strange, inexplicable, and even unreal.

But Carolina Klüft needed explaining, both as a sportswoman and as a Swedish hero. It was not sufficient that she was a Swedish citizen, spoke Swedish with a regional accent and had naturally blonde plaits. To be able to embody the Swedish identity, the journalists needed to explain what it was about her that was so Swedish. In this context, a narrative developed in the media of Carolina Klüft as a child of nature. In brief, it said that what made Klüft unique was that she had kept her natural playfulness. While others had been formed

by the cynicism and commercialism of international athletics, she was the same innocent girl who had grown up in the security of her home town of Växjö. She was herself and did not care about what people thought of her. She had not changed. (Berglund, *Göteborgs-Posten*, 11th August 2002).

The media narrative of Carolina Klüft as a child of nature had several functions. The most important was that it explained the “impossible” combination of childlike playfulness and elite-level performance that Klüft represented. The talent and the winning instinct that she possessed did not come from machine-like and performance-oriented training, but from the pure joy of exercising her body and competing. She had transferred the playful atmosphere among the friends with whom she trained in Växjö to the Olympic Stadium in Munich. It, therefore, did not bother her at all that she was competing against the best heptathletes in the world, watched by millions of TV viewers. She was only doing what she always did. She was natural. After her victory in the 2002 European Championships, a columnist called her athletics’ answer to the beloved fictional figure, Pippi Longstocking (*Svenska Dagbladet*, 11th August 2002).

It was a parallel that stuck. Just like Pippi Longstocking, Klüft could be seen as the strongest girl in the world, who did what she pleased without caring about what people thought of her. Furthermore, she was a girl who did not want to grow up. She even said it herself, “I’m silly, childish, frivolous and foolish. They call me the clown of the European Championships. I want to be a child as long as possible, because children have the most fun, and I know that.” (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 11th August 2002)

The child of nature myth also fulfilled the function of anchoring Klüft in the Swedish cultural environment. A sports columnist painted an almost national-romantic portrait of Klüft’s childhood in the naturally beautiful Swedish countryside.

The link between her performances in the athletics stadium and the years when she grew up made Klüft part of an established Swedish sporting hero narrative. From having been seen as strange and inexplicable, she could now join the long line of Swedish sporting heroes who were brought up to be heroes in the Swedish countryside. The narrative of the child of nature meant that the many and sometimes contradictory experiences of Carolina Klüft could be gathered together in a meaningful unit, with the Swedish national identity as the common base. The secure residential area, the closeness to nature, and the solidarity with her friends at the training facility were portrayed in the media as typically Swedish phenomena that could be found everywhere and anywhere in Sweden, but nowhere else. It was not an obvious recipe for producing super athletic talent, but it inspired hope that the Swedish sporting model still worked.

The girl hero – Carolina’s media infantilization

The problem with the narrative of Klüft as a child of nature is that it diminished her own sporting achievements. It was of course she herself who ran, jumped, and threw herself into the world elite in athletics. But the message that was conveyed was that she hardly understood what it was that was going on. She was described as a big child who did not plan and did not reflect on what was happening. At a press conference during the European Championships in 2002, she was asked who her worst rival was. When she could not remember the name of this rival, she happily noted that “I don’t have a clue about anything.” (*Expressen*, 8th August 2002). She was sometimes described as a child who was not in control of her own situation, and one columnist began to worry whether she would not be able to perform as well if the playfulness and the joy were taken from her (*Stolt, Sydsvenskan*, 23rd August 2003).

The infantilization of Klüft’s own achievements came as a logical consequence of media’s narrative about her as a child of nature. What fascinated the journalists was that she seemed totally unaware of her own ability. She seemed to live in the present. She competed and had fun and let someone else take care of all the boring things, like planning and tactical dispositions. Even though she was the one who won the competitions, the message was conveyed that the heavy responsibility for her future career was in the hands of her (male) trainer. This phenomenon is not unique to Carolina Klüft. On the contrary, many authors have shown that sportswomen are often described as



Forget emotions: the media were not interested that Carolina Klüft won, but how she won.

Photo: picture-alliance



Marketing in the fore-front of the European Championships in 2006 in Göteborg: star photographer Jason Bell displayed the 'artistic' pictures which he had taken in training. Yet the thriller everyone hoped for never came to pass. Klüft's greatest rival, French-woman Eunice Barber was forced to retire from the competition through injury, just as she had at Athens 2004.

Photo: picture-alliance

younger and more inexperienced than they really are in the media. Infantilization is seen as one of many ways of describing sportswomen which contributes to the general marginalization of women's sport. This is primarily to create a perception that sport for women is more of a game than it is for men, but also because it objectifies women by focusing on their gender rather than on their achievements (Brookes, 2002, Bruce & Wensing 2003, Markula 2009). Bruce and Wensing (2003) show in an analysis of media's reporting on the Australian runner Cathy Freeman that, even though she was 27, she was often described as a girl with behaviour that was considered typical of girls. In Carolina Klüft's case it is clear how media's narrative about her was not based on an ideal picture of the Swedish sports star in general, but on journalists' perception of Swedish teenage girls as innocent, naive, and natural.

There are also examples of interpretations of Carolina Klüft that are not part of the narrative of the child of nature. One columnist instead described her as a representative of a new generation of young Swedes who had learnt to make full use of the visual power of television. Rather than being dizzy and innocent, the journalist saw another, and considerably more calculating Klüft, who had full control of the situation. In this article Klüft is described as smart and self-confident, a person who controls rather letting herself be controlled, and who lets everything happen on her own terms (Anrell, *Aftonbladet*, 11th August 2002). In

another article Klüft is described as "a little less bouncy, a little more mature, but still as happy and hungry for records" (Littorin, *Dagens Nyheter*, 31st May 2003).

What both of these alternative interpretations of Klüft have in common is that they describe her as a representative of a new generation that is on its way to taking over. They also show that the prevailing picture of Carolina Klüft as an innocent child of nature is not self-evident. It was quite simply the best story. By emphasizing the statements and sequences that confirmed the required picture, the media created an experience of Carolina Klüft which, at best, was a very distorted picture of reality.

Something that does *not* arise at all in media's portrayal of Carolina Klüft is sexualization, which otherwise is common in media's representation of young female sports stars. If this is because she did inspire this angle, or because Swedish journalists chose not to interpret her as a sex symbol, is difficult to judge. Probably it is a combination of both. Klüft took a clear stand against all forms of sexism with regard to herself and consistently refused to have pictures taken of her that could be interpreted as provocative.

A new athlete is constructed

With her victory in Munich in 2002, Carolina Klüft had made her sporting breakthrough and been introduced to the Swedish public. But she was still not a fully developed hero. Even though the feat of winning gold in the European Championships in her first major senior competition was impressive, journalists never tried to convey the experience of her victory as being of national importance. The basic elements of her heroic narrative were in place, but important parts were still missing.

In the first place, the picture of Klüft as a dizzy teenage girl needed to be revised. During the European Championships in 2002 journalists had been fascinated by her youthful enthusiasm and innocent attitude towards sport. But the picture of Klüft as an innocent child of nature without control of her own situation quickly became untenable. It was above all too simple. Klüft's playful expressions of joy were largely a construction, a selection of TV images and statements that were repeated time and time again, until they seemed to show the true picture. It became increasingly obvious that Klüft not only trained hard and purposefully, but also that she had full control of her life and her career, including outside the sports stadium. For example, she spoke in an interview about how she turned down sponsors who did not share her values. Before she began her cooperation with Reebok, she researched that there was no child labor in their factories (*Expressen*, 8th August 2003). On other occasions she had objected when a photographer's

proposed pictures were too sexually provocative (*Aftonbladet*, 7th August 2003). Experts' concern that she would be destroyed or corrupted by greedy agents and sponsors thus proved to be completely groundless. Instead of the narrative of Klüft as an innocent child of nature, a new narrative came to the fore of an aware, young, and strong woman. Klüft's change was interpreted as her having accepted her role as a sports star, and the general perception in the media was that Klüft's more mature approach was better suited to her new role (*Göteborgs-Posten*, 6th August 2003; Olsson, *Expressen*, 22nd August 2003). Secondly, the heroic narrative about Klüft needed a sporting challenge that could test her heroic abilities. This challenge was found in the French athlete Eunice Barber. Barber was nine years older than Klüft and had most of her career behind her. She was the world heptathlon champion as early as the World Championships in Seville in 1999 and had since then had injury problems. Injuries had kept her out of the European Championships in 2002, but she was now back and, in her comeback in spring 2003, she had impressed with a result that was better than Carolina Klüft's total points when she won in the European Championships in 2002. In the weeks preceding the World Championships, the Swedish sports journalists built up Barber as Klüft's foremost challenger (*Aftonbladet*, 19th August 2003; *Expressen*, 9th May 2003).

Thanks to Eunice Barber, the media could replace the narrative of Carolina Klüft as the Pippi Longstocking of athletics with one of the classic stories of sports journalists, a sporting duel with clear moral undertones: the good guy against the bad guy. Barber was described in Swedish media as an aggressive loner who only focused on herself. She was considered to be a bad loser who was unable to appreciate Klüft's talent and good personality. A statement from Barber, where she was reported as saying that she did not want to be friends with Klüft, made headlines in several Swedish newspapers (*Expressen*, 19th August 2003; *Göteborgs-Posten*, 20th August 2003). The moral tension between Klüft and Barber gave their rivalry an extra edge, but it also served to strengthen the story of sport as a fight between nations, where Sweden was pitted against France.

A third theme that gave the narrative about Carolina Klüft greater depth occurred by chance during the 2003 World Championships. After the first day of competition, it was clear that the expected duel between Klüft and Barber had failed to materialize. Klüft was far superior and looked as if she was on her way to an easy victory. It was then that the drama struck with full force. In the long jump discipline, Klüft started with two no-jumps and, before her final attempt, risked not recording a result if her third attempt was also a no-jump. After the first two no-jumps, experts expected a safety

jump, but instead Klüft gave it her all and recorded the longest jump of the competition. Instead of dropping points to Barber, she extended her lead. The tension thus evaporated and she could relax and secure an overall victory by a good margin, ahead of Barber in second place. The drama in the long-jump discipline in the 2003 World Championships was just a small part of the long heptathlon event, but for the media it was the most important moment in the competition. It is moments such as these, where all the pent-up tension finds release in a concentrated sequence, that make some sporting events live on in the collective consciousness while others do not. It was the drama of the long jump more than the victory itself that led to Carolina Klüft becoming part of Swedish sporting history (Anrell, *Aftonbladet*, 25th August 2003).

The importance of drama becomes especially clear when comparing the reporting of the 2003 World Championships and the 2004 Olympic Games in Athens. There was no Eunice Barber at Athens, because of an injury, and Klüft was thus able to win the heptathlon by the greatest winning margin ever in an Olympic final. The media were full of admiration, and Klüft was hailed as one of the greatest Swedish athletes ever. The feeling that was conveyed was that Klüft needed new challenges so that her superiority would not kill interest.

Deconstruction of a national hero

After the 2005 World Championships, the picture of Carolina Klüft in the media changed and became more complex. The period between the breakthrough in 2002 and the Olympic gold in 2004 had been one long love story between Klüft and the Swedish sports journalists. So far her career had followed an ideal heroic narrative, from the point of view of the media. The narrative had just one problem – what could surpass what had already happened? How could the narrative be further developed when she had already won everything there was to win? It soon became clear that the chasing of new victories was a stronger driving force in the heroic narrative than the repetition of old ones.

Following the 2005 World Championships, the feeling of sensation and drama that had previously made Klüft's competitions a national concern was missing. Despite easy victories in the European Championships in Gothenburg in 2006 and the World Championships in Osaka in 2007, the euphoria had given way to a feeling of saturation in the sports media. This was a feeling that had not been there before. After the European Championships in 2006, where Klüft had won easily without recording top results.

It was not that the value of Klüft's victories decreased in the eyes of the media. After the victories in Gothenburg in

After her third world title, Carolina Klüft sought new challenges, but at the 2008 Olympic Games she fell short of previous achievements. In the long jump she was ninth, in the triple jump she failed to qualify.

Photo: Jack Mikrut/Swedish Olympic Committee



2006 and the World Championships in Osaka in 2007, she was hailed in several newspapers as Sweden's greatest athlete ever. What was missing was not admiration for her performances, but enthusiasm for them.

Another example of the changed attitude of sports journalists to Carolina Klüft is that, from the World Championships in 2005, she was subjected to criticism. An important part of the media's construction of sporting heroes is that negative news is not published about them. Between 2002 and 2004 the relationship between the Swedish media and Carolina Klüft was unequivocally positive, but from 2005 the picture of her in the media was more ambivalent.

Klüft had already previously expressed irritation about what journalists wrote about her. Amongst other things, during the 2004 Olympics she had refused to answer questions about what she wore when she was asleep in bed (*Aftonbladet*, 13rd August 2003). This irritation, however, would bloom into an open conflict during the 2005 World Championships, when a columnist described her boyfriend, the pole vaulter Patrik Kristiansson, as "Carolina Klüft's most serious injury" (*Expressen*, 28th July 2005). That is about all it was, but Klüft and Patrik Kristiansson had previously felt poorly treated by the newspaper, and now their patience was at an end. They refused to advertise for the newspaper, which was the official sponsor of the Swedish athletics team, and they were given permission by the Swedish Athletics Association to take off the newspaper's logotype from their national sports clothing. It ended up with *Expressen* terminating the sponsorship agreement with the Swedish athletics team.

The interesting point about the criticism of Klüft was that it was aimed at her personality. As an athlete she was praised for being able to perform at her best under pressure. Not even her fiercest critics ever questioned her performances. The problem was that the glow of sensation that surrounded her in Munich in 2002 could not be maintained over time. Then she had represented

something totally new in international sport, and sports journalists were fascinated by her special combination of disarming playfulness and sporting performance at the very highest level. When she was then established as a hero, and she lost her innocent quality, she was perceived to be not as exciting. It was as if Klüft did not have a real personality without her crazy gestures and spontaneous expressions of joy in front of the TV cameras. Expressions such as unhuman and machine-like crept into the columns of several journalists.

It is clear that Klüft's development from girl into woman did not favour her heroic status. Media's representation of Carolina Klüft is in line with research which shows that the differentiation of male and female sport has led to the media developing different ways of relating to male and female sport. The boy's development into a man is a principal theme in the male heroic narrative. It is only the fully grown man who has the qualities necessary to shoulder the role of the nation's hero. But there is no corresponding development in the female version of the same narrative.

After the gold in the World Championships of 2007, Klüft decided to finish her heptathlon career and, instead, go in for the triple jump and long jump. The reactions in the media reflect the disappointment that Klüft was no longer chasing the most valuable medals. The continuation of the heroic narrative was the final deconstruction. The results in Beijing were interpreted as a failure (*Aftonbladet*, 16th August 2008). Interviews with Klüft make clear that it was injuries, the search for new challenges, and the constant pressure to win that led to her finishing her heptathlon career.

Her career continued until the summer of 2012, but in journalists' eyes the heroic narrative ended after the 2007 World Championships in Osaka. Everything that happened after 2007 was part of another story, a story where Carolina Klüft was degraded from being a national hero to one more in the line of Swedish athletes who, at best, could fight to achieve a place in the final in international championships.

Discussion

When Carolina Klüft made her breakthrough, it was as if Swedish journalists were hit by a shock wave. Klüft's outward-going and charismatic personality defied all preconceptions of and broke all conventions about how a female Swedish sports star should be. She was described as a child of nature, brought up in the Swedish sports movement and with the countryside as a given part of her life. She quickly became beloved by the columnists of the sporting press, who hailed her personality and her ability to perform her best when the stakes were highest.

There is a clear ambivalence in media's representation of Klüft during the first years of her career. As an athlete she was hailed as a traditional Swedish sports hero when her achievements were focused on. She was compared with names like Björn Borg, Ingemar Stenmark, and it was discussed whether she was the foremost Swedish track and field athlete of all time. But the comparison with former male heroes only stretched as far as her sporting achievements. As a person, Carolina Klüft was presented as a heroic role model created for young Swedish sportsgirls, with innocence, spontaneity and childlike joy as key elements.

Media's infantilization of Klüft did not mean that she could not be hailed a national hero. On the contrary, it was a precondition of her heroic status. Media's narrative about Carolina Klüft was without doubt a heroic narrative. As long as she was associated with childish pranks and generally dizzy behaviour, she acted as a symbol for qualities with which many Swedes seemed able to identify. She became a youthful type of hero who, exactly like traditional heroes, carry out achievements of great importance, but had other qualities than the traditional, male sporting hero. Where traditional heroes are associated with strength, stamina, courage and decisiveness, the narrative about heroines is instead based on the natural joy of exercising the body, innocence, and purity.

Toni Bruce (2016) believes that women sports stars are increasingly met with respect and seriousness in the media on their own terms, without being compared with male sports stars. Carolina Klüft was described in a way that sportsmen would never have been described. But it did not reduce her potential of becoming a national hero. On the contrary, she became a hero with the qualities that she actually displayed. The problem was that she could not develop. A central theme in media's narratives about traditional sporting heroes is the development from boy to man, where one's sporting ability to harden and develop is an important part of the process. While boys' maturing into men is seen as a natural aspect of sport, Klüft's development from girl into woman was not met with the same appreciation in the Swedish sports press. Several columnists considered that Klüft became boring and machine-like when she no longer showed her feelings openly. The fact that she continued to win was of little help. When she no longer fitted into the narrative that the media had created for her, she became uninteresting in the eyes of several journalists.

Media's reporting on Carolina Klüft demonstrates how the male hegemony in sport is maintained. By presenting Klüft as naive and innocent and, at the same time hailing these qualities in her, a female heroic ideal was reproduced that describes the female sporting hero as young, inexperienced, and dependent on the

support of a man. At the same time, it is becoming clear that opportunities are being opened up for sportswomen to become national heroes in their own right. The increased media interest in women's sport is not just a change of a purely quantitative nature. The praise Carolina Klüft received shows that traditional norms for national sporting heroes are being challenged by new ideals. The Swedish sporting hero no longer needs to be a strong man. It can also be a young woman.

Like Bruce (2016) we see the need to analyze women sports stars using new perspectives. By abandoning the point of view that the differentiation between male and female is automatically negative for women's sport, opportunities are opened up to identify different types of women heroes. Carolina Klüft is an example of a female sporting hero who was associated with youthfulness, playfulness, and innocence. These are qualities that would hardly be associated with the tennis player, Serena Williams, for example. The mediafication of women's sport is changing. It is not an unproblematic development, as the media's reporting on Carolina Klüft demonstrates, and more analyses are needed to show how the conditions for women sports stars are impacted by this development. ■

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Origins of the environmental dimension of the Olympic Movement*

By Alberto Aragón-Perez

Cover of *Petit Tétrás*, a French magazine published in 1992 by FRAPNA, an ecologist group that actively protested against Albertville'92. The group claimed the Games would cause serious ecological damage to the region.

Photo: IOC-OSC Archives



The relationship between the Olympic Games and nature can be traced back to antiquity. Pausanias, the renowned Greek writer, visited Olympia in the 2nd century CE when the sanctuary was experiencing its golden age. He described the sacred place with appreciation for the beauty of the landscape, especially the Alpheios River: "By the time you reach Olympia the Alpheios is a large and very pleasant river to see, being fed by several tributaries, including seven very important ones" (Pausanias, 5.7.1, transl. W. H. S. Jones, 1966). He depicted Olympia as an ecosystem with abundant trees. "The Pelopium (...) is surrounded by a stone fence, within which trees grow" (Pausanias, 5.13.1). "It is no wonder that the white poplar grew first by the Acheron and the wild olive by the Alpheios" (Pausanias, 5.14.3). "Under the plane trees in

the Altis, just about in the centre of the enclosure, there is a bronze trophy" (Pausanias, 5.27.11).

The father of modern Olympism was a concerned conservationist. In 1907, IOC President Pierre de Coubertin wrote in the *Olympic Review* that he was alarmed by an increasing problem: "the environs of towns and, in general, every place for races and excursions suffer the rubbished papers that tourists and sportsmen have sprinkled." He gave particular attention to car races because "The problem would be to find for the tracks of rallies a product rather than paper, or susceptible of modifying its deplorable resistance which it offers to the action of the elements (...) like an indelible scar" (Coubertin, 1907: 238–239).

In light of the above, is ecology part of the DNA of the Olympic Games? Another question that arises is whether the Olympic Movement engaged with ecology before or after the 1992 United Nations (UN) Conference and the 1992 Winter and Summer Olympic Games. This article aims to provide a perspective on the topic.

Albertville '92: ecologist protests

Preparations for the 1992 Olympic Winter Games sparked protests from the very beginning. A plan to build new facilities along the French Alps was the problem. Hosting the Games in February 1992 significantly boosted the protests against the IOC, the organisation responsible for all Olympic Games. Verification can be found at the Olympic Studies Centre in Lausanne, in the archive of correspondence from ecologist groups and individual citizens. Most letters were directly addressed to President Samaranch.

A good example of that correspondence is the letter written by the Fédération Rhône-Alpes de Protection de la Nature (FRAPNA) in January 1992. This local ecologist group played a prominent role in complaints about the impact of Albertville '92. After "finishing a report on the damaging effects that the preparation of the Games of Albertville had on nature", FRAPNA concluded that "the IOC directly involved with this organisation". The letter was attached to issue number 28 of *Petit Tétrás*, a magazine published by FRAPNA, titled "FRAPNA is not an Olympic partner: Olympics against Nature" (OSC Archives).

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IOC Secretary-General Françoise Zweifel replied to many of these letters sent by ecologists and individuals. Her usual message stated that "The IOC is also very concerned about environmental issues, which will be dealt with in depth at its next Congress" (OSC Archives). Zweifel's response shows that the IOC recognised ecological issues in Albertville '92, that they concerned Samaranch and his team and, more importantly, that they needed to discuss the topic in future IOC Sessions.

The Olympic Winter Games in Albertville caused more criticism than ever, while interest in ecology rose in Western societies. First of all, these Olympics were hosted in the heart of the Alps, one of the most treasured ecosystems in Europe, and "never before had the Winter Olympics been so regionalized, with the competition sites (...) in 13 Alpine communities". "Reports confirmed that construction was on a scale that would result in the irrevocable transformation of the natural environment" (Cantelon and Letters, 2010: 423). The environmental damage caused by the construction of new sporting venues altered the natural landscape, but there were other negative impacts as well. The inhabitants of La Plagne, the site of the luge and bobsleigh events, "wore gas masks (...) against the risk (...) of the 40 tonnes of ammonia needed to freeze the bobsleigh track" (Newlands, 2011: 155–156).

Some media had voiced discomfort back in 1989; therefore, an alliance of ecologist groups used media interest in the issue to protest by using the opening ceremony as a protest platform. International pressure backed criticism of the 1992 Olympic Winter Games. The IOC, which had previously had little engagement with ecological matters, abruptly faced negative feedback from the international media and environmentalists. The upcoming Earth Summit also came under international pressure. "Landslides, road building, deforestation, disruption of natural habitat, permanent facilities without post-event use, non-recyclable waste, blighting of the countryside" were just some of the costs associated with the 1992 Olympic Winter Games (DaCosta, 1997: 101).

It became a political concern when the Council of Europe voted in early 1992 on a resolution condemning the environmental impact in Albertville '92 and favouring eco-friendly guidelines at sport events. The European Parliament also intervened on 16th March while adopting a report by a German Europarliamentary, deploring the environmental damage and recommending "to the IOC that environmental compatibility should henceforth be an essential criterion for the choice of a site for the Olympic Games" (OSC Archives).

The Albertville '92 OCOG did not acknowledge the existence of environmental scandals, avoided a negative image, and conveyed the opposite perspective. OCOG Co-President Michel Barnier said that, "apart from the

recognised success of the event, the Savoie successfully met another challenge: the gradual reconquest of the environment". This strategy was based on the revitalisation of landscapes and parks. It was argued that new constructions for the ski jumps in Courchevel and the bobsleigh run at La Plagne promoted "landscape integration measures such as new plantations" (Barnier, 1993: 23).

The IOC also refused to admit publicly that Albertville '92 had affected the environment. It officially rejected ecological issues at the Games, although internally it assumed them, as we have demonstrated. In addition, it reported on what it considered to be positive efforts for the alpine landscape, mostly emphasising aesthetic initiatives aimed at alpine beautification. The *Olympic Review* was one tool to spread that official message¹. The Olympic Movement hid its real concern about the issue by dismissing the ecologists' complaints, claiming that they were 'media campaigns' (Cantelon and Letters, 2010: 424).

Lausanne also backed Michel Barnier as a politician specialising in the French environment and one who guaranteed green efforts by the OCOG. He even was appointed Minister of the Environment and Way of Life in 1993. The IOC emphasised that he was "a man who for years has (...) approached to the serious problems posed for a man by the rapid deterioration of his environment" (Gafner, 1993: 6). Consequently, he was in charge of defending the 1992 Winter Olympics in issue no. 35 of *Olympic Message*, a journal published by the IOC. The magazine recognised "mistakes made", though it aimed to stress proper management of ecological challenges.

The IOC understood that it needed to establish a defensive strategy in order to approach eco-friendly policies and avoid more negative campaigns². Albertville '92 is important to this research because, despite adopting new infrastructural, economic and territorial standards³, the IOC was criticised for negative environmental impacts.

The 1992 Earth Summit: brief overview

The UN Conference took place after decades of information regarding ecological problems. Environmental awareness emerged in many countries, and there was talk of global warming in some social sectors and countries⁴. An ecological emergency and a need for international political reactions were perceived. The increasing demand for natural resources led to ecological awareness. Erosion, desertification, and threatened ecosystems were thought to affect our modern ways of life. Sustainable and responsible uses of resources were seen as essential. This led to a tendency in liberal sectors towards the consideration of



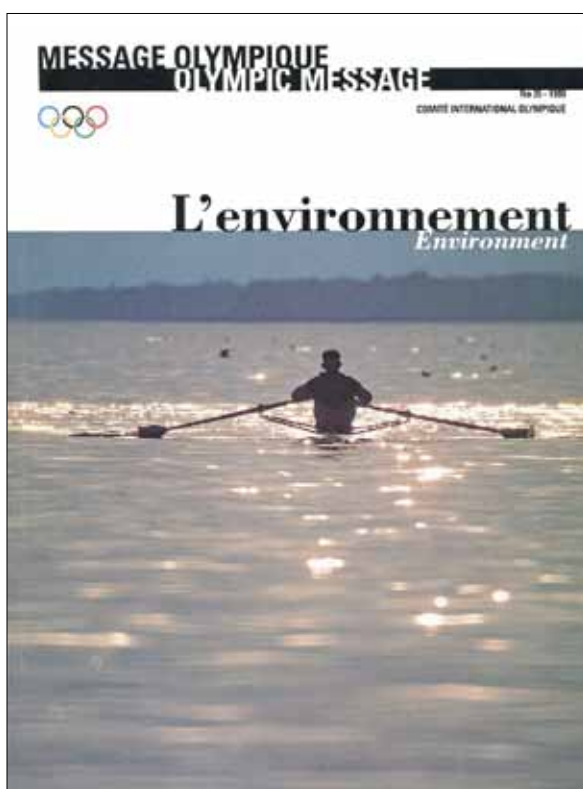
Poster for the 'Smoke-free Games' project. Barcelona '92 guided environmental principles with practical measures such as this campaign and the monitoring of atmospheric and air pollutants. COOB'92 launched a campaign to ban smoking in the indoor facilities (Spanish law did not yet prohibit this). The IOC had earlier set a good example: In 1983, following a proposal by the President, smoking was banned during sessions. The first 'smoke-free' Winter Olympics took place in 1988 in Calgary.

Photo: CEO-JAS/FBO Archive

sustainable ideals and principles (Strong, 1994: 20–23; Eckersley, 1992).

The 1992 UN Conference in Rio, or Earth Summit (known as Eco-92 in Brazil, the host country) was a high-level meeting that marked global society's attitude towards ecology. The evolution of ecologism after the Second World War "explains the context of the 1992 Conference. In December 1989, the UN General Assembly, in reaction to (...) the Brundtland Report, decided to host a conference about environment and development in June 1992" (Strong, 1994: 41). This decision in 1989 was adopted with UN Resolution 44/228. It was also agreed that the meeting should be attended by all the nations in the world, represented by their heads of state or government⁵.

Cover page of *Olympic Message*, issued by the IOC in March 1993. It was totally focused on environmental and sustainable approaches to the Olympic Games and their necessary eco-friendly management.



The UN Conference on Environment was held from 3rd to 14th June 1992. Nearly all UN member nations participated and 116 were represented by their heads of state or government. The Global Forum was also held in Riocentro, site of the UN conference. This was an opportunity for international organisations, ecologist groups, and Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) to discuss strategies and proposals. Meanwhile, UN member states discussed agreements like the Rio Declaration, the Agenda 21 or the Convention on Biological Diversity.

Participating NGOs received official passes to Riocentro for the Global Forum. The Exhibition Hall inside Riocentro was specifically for the NGOs, equipped with meeting rooms and where the Olympic

delegation delivered its presentation. The schedule at the Global Forum included 'A Better Way', in which every organisation had 30 minutes to present its vision and solutions to ecological issues. The speeches were followed by debates with other NGOs (Soromelho Marques, 1993; OSC Archives).

The conclusions of the 1992 UN Conference in Rio urged countries and organisations to "facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available" (Rio Declaration, 1992, 10th principle). Rio de Janeiro became the focus of several approaches to ecologist thought: radicals, left-wing movements, animal rights activists, pragmatic environmentalists, conservationists, and similar groups. The IOC paid attention to the Earth Summit in the wake of the negative image generated by the environmental impact of Albertville '92. The Organising Committee of Barcelona '92 (COOB'92) did not emphasize a communication strategy before 1992. The Rio Declaration's 10th principle was adopted when the 1992 Summer Olympics were about to begin. Although this left little time to have an effect, the UN Conference raised environmental awareness during Barcelona '92, and in some cases, it was raised by the IOC itself.

The IOC's participation in the Earth Summit

As early as the 1960s, the UN began working with the Olympic Movement. The IOC approached the UN when the issue of South African apartheid brought about an interest in sports. At the 1972 Olympics in Munich, a symbolic gesture acknowledged the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm when many NOCs planted shrubs and trees brought from their countries in Munich Olympic Park (Chappelet and Kübler-Mabbott, 2008: 109; IOC, 2012: 16).

Embodied by the capitalist economy and influenced by preparations for the Earth Summit, Western nations and organisations increasingly embraced environmentalist concepts. The IOC paid attention to the Earth Summit in the wake of the negative image generated by the environmental impact of Albertville '92. It assessed the advantages of promoting post-Olympic green legacies. "In the current phase of globalized capitalist flows, this process of an ecological rift is (...) acute, and it has had an immense impact in environmental sustainability." In this context, "the IOC has operationalized the green dynamic imbued by Olympic Games hosting" (Karamichas, 2013: 67).

The process started in Lausanne's IOC Headquarters, when the UN Conference's Media and Information Office met with the IOC a few days before the Rio Summit. The IOC was considered an NGO by the Summit's organisers (the other form of participation was as a UN member state). This meant that it was part of the Global Forum

with access to important meetings: IOC representatives at the Earth Summit were aware of the main negotiations and agreements between the UN, nations, and other organisations. A photocopying service was available to accredited NGOs; this allowed the Olympic delegation to collect important documents (only one copy per accredited participant) to be examined by the IOC Board in Lausanne⁶.

The IOC delegation took the floor at 'A Better Way', respecting that "The rules of participation of NGOs in the conference will be considered by the Bureau at the beginning of the conference" (OSC Archives)⁷. Presentations at 'A Better Way' followed a specific structure consisting of an introduction, a subject, and ideas for change. The IOC delegation delivered a speech: 'The Olympic Movement and the Environment, by the International Olympic Committee'. Its introduction focused on the following:

- The 103rd IOC Session in Paris (1994 Centennial Congress) planned to focus on four central topics, with the environment as an additional topic.
- The first emblematic ecological initiative in the Olympic Movement was the planting of bushes and trees in the Olympic Park during Munich '72.
- The new IOC Headquarters in Lausanne were built respecting the trees in Vidy Park, and the architectural plans for a new Olympic Museum were modified to preserve an old oak.
- The IOC had cooperated with the UN and its agencies for years (UNESCO, WHO, UNEP, etc.).
- The Olympic Movement demonstrated an interest in ecology by its presence in Rio, where it aimed to cooperate in protecting the Earth.

It was also argued that "the IOC is an international non-governmental organisation whose actions and measures in favour of the environment are projected without political purposes". Although environmental policies were the responsibility of each UN member state, this meant that "the IOC holds tools to improve the relation between sport and the environment" (OSC Archives).

The IOC presentation also emphasised three recent milestones that validated Olympism's interest in ecological issues: atmospheric pollution and dangerous smog during the 1984 Summer Olympics in Los Angeles, Albertville's 1992 Winter Olympics and "its policies of beautification of landscapes and the environment", and the negotiations between the OCOG of Lillehammer '94, ecologists, and the local community (OSC Archives). Barcelona '92 was not mentioned.

The IOC delegation also announced new environmental criteria for candidate cities. This initiative, to be launched during the 2000 Olympic Games bidding process, would include a mandatory report, including environmental

requirements, submitted by the candidate cities. Aspects such as a transportation plan to prevent air pollution, waste treatment, efficient water and energy management, and ecological education programmes were to be included in the report. In an implicit allusion to Albertville '92, the IOC also promised that the bids should prove that their infrastructure projects "were focused on a method to eliminate, or at least to reduce, all attacks against nature" (OSC Archives).

The presentation culminated with a brief message written by Juan Antonio Samaranch, endorsing the Olympic commitment to ecology. Neither the IOC President nor the IOC Executive Board participated in the Earth Summit. Samaranch, however, did go to Rio de Janeiro in February 1993 to attend the Beach Volleyball World Tour. This opportunity was used to ratify the agreement on Olympism with the local authorities and the Earth Summit conclusions (OSC Archives).

The Earth Summit in Rio led directly to the adoption of measures by the IOC, and the assumption of liability for negative impacts resulting from hosting the Olympics⁸. IOC Member Richard W. Pound stated in 1993 that, as a participant in the UN Conference, the IOC must "determine the extent of its role in protection of the environment. The enormity of the problem has been identified by many national and international organisations. Conferences have been held; laws have been enacted" (Pound, 1993: 14).



Ecology ever more in focus: At Beijing 2008 participants and visitors struggled at times with the city smog but other Games have also given cause for concern. Winter Games have often necessitated extensive building works and incursions into areas of nature and harmful emissions are also a target for criticism.



The UN Conference's Media and Information Office designed a specific 'Earth Pledge' campaign involving media and international stakeholders. Olympism was one of them. After the Rio Summit, the office contacted the IOC. On 1st July 1992, they sent a fax to Juan Antonio Samaranch telling him about the campaign to promote this during the Barcelona Games. Samaranch agreed and IOC Director General François Carrard asked the COOB'92 CEO Josep M. Abad to join sign up for the scheme. Finally, athletes signed an 'Earth Pledge' wall in the Olympic Village, an initiative repeated in Rio.

Photos: Fundació Barcelona Olímpica

This implicitly recognised the validity of ecologists' demands regarding the Olympic Games. It forced Lausanne to accept the subject of environmental impact as another important aspect of the Olympic Movement. The IOC considered ecological legacies and assumed a new Olympic dimension in the following years (Kováč, 2003: 112).

Barcelona's participation in the Earth Summit

The city of Barcelona was chosen in 1986 to host the 1992 Olympics, and the municipal authorities planned to revitalize the metropolitan area, based on strategic cornerstones, i.e. the regeneration of the shoreline, the reduction of air pollution, and the promotion of green areas. The Earth Summit, held only 40 days before Barcelona '92, fostered global social and political awareness of said goals. The achievements of Barcelona '92, in the realm of sustainability, were implicit but not explicit. Although they did not adhere to ecological guidelines or specific standards; the urban regeneration was based on a sustainable idea: to manage the Games in order to leave an urban legacy with a better quality of life after the Olympic Games.

The environmental control programme was planned according to European environmental policies and standards. Aiming to achieve a positive legacy for itself, Barcelona encouraged a planned urban impact. It embarked on a massive improvement programme under the dynamic impetus of Mayor Pasqual Maragall. The construction of a ring road eliminated most rush-hour

traffic jams, with a corresponding drop in air pollution and noise levels. This was accompanied by the creation of an additional 3.5 sq km of green areas. The construction of an Olympic Village over 0.5 sq km brought Poblenou, a decaying industrial area, back to life.

The Organising Committee of the Barcelona Olympic Games was not directly represented at the UN Conference in Rio. The Games were the main priority for COOB'92, as they would begin one month and a half later. The Barcelona City Council, COOB'92's main institutional partner, attended the Earth Summit, and Pasqual Maragall, Mayor and COOB'92 President, signed the commitment to the aims of the UN Conference in June. The 1992 Games continued to absorb most of the city's attention. As a result of the meetings in June, the Mayors of Barcelona and Rio de Janeiro (Maragall and Marcello Alencar, respectively) met and signed an official declaration a few months later, in 17th December 1992.

The introduction to the declaration stated: "In the year 1992, the cities of Rio and Barcelona have been capitals of the world, due to the UN Conference on the Environment and Development and the Olympic Games. (...) The two cities, one in the northern hemisphere and the other in the southern, proclaim their certainty that the role that cities can play in the world will increase and will be positive" (ACMB archive).

This statement reflected a symbolic connection between Olympism and ecologism. However, neither the IOC nor the UN joined the meeting or signed the declaration. The document, mostly a representational proclamation with no legal effects, was agreed to by two cities without either international organisation. Highly significant is the fact that both cities emphasised two circumstances, that they hosted the Olympics and the Earth Summit in the same year.

The final conclusion of the declaration strengthened international cooperation: "We want to be valid and acknowledged references for large international organizations, in first place the UN, its organs (UNESCO, UNFPA, HABITAT, [...] UNDP). The 92 Rio Conference for the first time enabled international associations of cities and local entities [...] to appear together [...] at the Conference. [...] In the world there are families, towns, cities, regions, countries and nations. We believe the best guarantee for the progress of all of them and for their common existence is the government of the UN" (ACMB archive).

Both cities were establishing a brotherhood according to the principles of the 1992 UN Conference. The environment and development were issues to be dealt with together, addressed by cities like Barcelona and Rio under the international leadership of the UN. It is true that Maragall signed it four months after Barcelona '92 as the Mayor of Barcelona, and not as the

COOB'92 President. Barcelona, however, promoted this agreement claiming its unique authority as an Olympic host city. In conclusion, the governments of Barcelona and Rio had agreed that the Olympic values and the spirit of the Earth Summit should coexist.

Aside from Barcelona City Council, Barcelona '92 did not participate in the Earth Summit. The COOB'92 did not attend the UN Conference because it was fully focused on hosting the Olympic Games, as the interviews demonstrate. The only documented approach to the Conference occurred during the 81st meeting of the COOB'92 Executive Board on 15th June 1992. These meetings were structured in functional areas and operational targets. The programme of the 81st meeting reveals that, after dealing with operations of budgets, human resources and certifications, the next to last point on the agenda was established to "follow the Summit in Rio" (CEO-JAS/FBO archive). There were no further comments, although 15 minutes of the meeting were scheduled to talk about the Rio Summit.

The management of Barcelona '92 had previously followed environmental principles with practical measures: 'Smoke-free games' campaign, monitoring of sea and air pollutants, and a Rio-Barcelona declaration. Such environmental measures implemented during the organisation of the 1992 Games were not reinforced within the framework of a communication plan. The 1992 UN Conference highlighted the importance of raising environmental awareness, and therefore, gave impetus to the adoption of measures during and after the 1992 Summer Games. Communication initiatives included the organisation of an exhibition called 'Beloved Earth' during the Games [a], pedagogical activities at the International Youth Camp (IYC) [b], assembly of an Earth Pledge wall in the Olympic Village signed by athletes [c], and planting of a number of trees equivalent to the amount of paper consumed by COOB'92 [d]. Their main characteristics were:

- They had different targets. [a] and [d] were addressed to the general public. However, [b] and [c] were focused on the Olympic Family: the IYC's participants and athletes, respectively.
- Their promoters were different stakeholders of the Games. [a] was organised by the COOB'92 Olimpíada Cultural Department, [b] and [c] by the COOB'92's Olympic Village Department, [c] by the IOC and [d] by Barcelona City Council in collaboration with the COOB'92 Executive Board.
- Chronologically, the initiatives were held at different times in relation to the Earth Summit (between 3rd and 14th June) and the Olympics (between 25th July and 9th August): [a] opened in May and lasted until the day after the Games closed, [b] and [c] took place exactly during the two weeks of the Olympics and [d] was implemented months after Barcelona '92 had ended.

- All four projects were conceived either in late 1991 or in 1992, directly influenced by the preparations for the Earth Summit [a] and [b], its celebration [c], or its aftermath [d].
- There was collaboration with the UN through its agency UNESCO in [a] and [b] and directly with the UN Conference [c].

One month before the 1992 Olympic Games, the Earth Summit in Rio announced conclusions that were quickly adopted by the IOC. The declaration signed by Rio and Barcelona, and the four initiatives, are good examples of the approach taken by Barcelona '92 to the Earth Summit. These projects had different targets and features, were different from each other and encapsulated the same spirit: ecological awareness in symbiosis with the Olympic platform.



The International Youth Camp (IYC) of Barcelona '92 offered an ecological education programme, providing different environmental activities.

Photo: Fundació Barcelona Olímpica

The Olympic environmental dimension

By studying the minutes of all IOC Sessions, we understand that sustainability and the environment became a major issue for the IOC Members starting in the 97th and 98th IOC Sessions. These sessions (in Birmingham in June 1991 and in Courchevel in February 1992, respectively) hosted detailed discussions about the subject for the first time in Olympic history (OSC Archives). The issues concerning Albertville '92 were another significant episode. The IOC paid attention to ecology, mostly in reaction to the criticism of Albertville '92.

The draft of the IOC President's opening speech at the 99th IOC Session, on 20th July 1992 in Barcelona, proves that the head of the Olympic Movement had already adopted an eco-friendly discourse prior to the Summer Olympic Games. President Samaranch dealt with matters like the relationship between Olympism and culture, the Athletes' Commission, and the extreme situation in Sarajevo. He also provided different impressions about sustainability and ecology and concluded his speech with an allegory comparing



The concept of the Winter Games of 1994 in Lillehammer drew justifiable praise. It used a large number of temporary constructions. The Olympic Village was subsequently dismantled and the buildings sold as holiday houses.

the world of sports to a forest and the IOC to a big tree suffering the winds of incomprehension. Samaranch claimed: "dear colleagues, IOC Members, our tree has pretty deep roots" (CEO-JAS/FBO archive). Samaranch's message, together with other discussions during the 99th Session about ecological aspects concerning Lillehammer (OSC Archives), demonstrates that the IOC was ready to implement an environmental strategy.

Samaranch acknowledged the sustainability of Barcelona '92 as an example: "The effort made by Barcelona (...) has been accomplished, however, with a pattern of restraint. I think that athletes shouldn't feel lost in some kind of giant engine. Here, near an Olympic Village built next to the sea, we have a new occasion to return to the sources of Olympism." He then cited the new Olympic Museum's modification to avoid felling a very old oak in Lausanne. The IOC President then declared that the 1994 IOC Centennial Congress would officially adopt an ecological third dimension and would establish strong green criteria for bidding cities. "Among the topics that [the Congress] will address, I must mention the environment. Olympism, which is basically a culture rooted in nature, must be in the frontline of the battle to preserve our planet" (CEO-JAS/FBO archive).

The March 1993 issue of *Olympic Message* was entitled Environment and was fully devoted to this topic. It contained articles about Albertville '92, Barcelona '92, Lillehammer '94 and the 2000 bidding process. It became a means of officially recognising the new Olympic dimension. It also noted that the Olympic

Movement had already targeted the environment, which the journal confirmed in its foreword: "The environment has therefore become an intensely topical theme for the IOC, and rightly so. (...) This issue of the Message is devoted to the search for a reasonable balance" (Gafner, 1993: 4). After the alarms raised by the ecological protests during the 1992 Winter Olympics, the interaction between Eco-92 and the Barcelona Olympics demonstrated that the communication of ecological education could be achieved at the Olympic Games.

For this reason, the IOC understood that the adoption of its third dimension was feasible and realistic. It was accomplished in less than five years, which contrasts with long-standing discussions such as amateurism. The IOC environmental policy has promoted worldwide ecological awareness since 1993. It collaborates with internal institutions like the UN and the EU, and has undertaken a series of actions and educational values to raise awareness among the sports community (DaCosta, 1997: 101-102; IOC, 1997: 43). After two decades of the Olympic green dimension, positive and less positive feedback regarding its achievements emerged. The policy proved to be flexible when under external pressure, but it also lacked the strength to resolve internal controversies. The candidate city and chosen sites for the Olympic Games must follow guidelines and recommendations, but some call for placing more importance on the environment when evaluating bidding cities (Mestre, 2010: 26; Jägemann, 2013: 253-254).

In conclusion, through the projects and initiatives described in previous sections, the synergy between the UN Conference in Rio and the Olympics in Barcelona was a key achievement in the process to adopt a green third dimension. The IOC stated in 1993 that "demonstrators protesting against the environmental impact of the various constructions (...) by the staging of the Games [of Albertville]" prompted the 98th IOC Session in Courchevel to propose developing a long-term environmental protection policy (Gunz, 1993: 40). Twenty years after the 1992 Olympics, the IOC recognised that it had been a key year because the United Nations (UN) and the Earth Summit formally moved environmental issues into the political mainstream. Its influence meant that "environmental governance became a structural part of the Olympic framework and thinking. The culmination of this was articulated at the Centennial Olympic Congress (1994) where concern for the environment became the third pillar of Olympism" (IOC, 2012: 5-6).

The origins of the environmental dimension of the Olympic Movement are an important legacy of Barcelona '92. Although nothing is totally black and white, so the environmental management of the Barcelona Games was neither black or white. The

current environmental and sustainable dimension of Olympism was not the outcome of a single legacy, but of various ones. One of them, and a very significant one, is the connection between the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development and the 1992 Summer Games. This paper studied all the details of that connection. We can confirm that the origins of the environmental dimension of Olympism were rooted in Barcelona '92. As such, sustainability-oriented behaviours and eco-friendly criteria in the Olympic Movement were more likely to be incorporated as a legacy of the Barcelona Games. ■

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Municipal Archive of Barcelona (ACMB archive), which houses the COOB '92 documentary archive.

- 1 *Olympic Review* printed Samaranch's speech during the 98th Session, noting that the organisers of the 1992 Winter Olympics preserved “magnificent mountains by protecting their flora and fauna, as in the superb national park of La Vanoise” (*OR*, no. 294, 1992: 143). The IOC President compared the aforementioned protection of the Alps to the construction of the new Olympic Museum in Lausanne that preserved a hundred-year-old oak. The magazine also promised that bidding cities would be asked for a report on their ecological impact.
- 2 In addition to ecological issues, criticism of an organisation as prominent as the IOC occurred in the early 1990s (powerful, successful in securing funding, etc.). This was inevitable (Toohy and Veal, 2007: 50–51). Some criticised the committee for its undemocratic, oligarchic and secretive nature, and books like *The Lords of the Rings* (Simson and Jennings, 1992) were published. This worried the IOC.
- 3 There was a change in the management of the Olympics between the 1980s and 1990s; i.e., LA'84 was organised around a few objectives, for example, developing a cadre of volunteers to minimise costs and to aid in staging the sports competitions. Atlanta'96 planned additional goals such as urban redevelopment (legacies like Woodruff Park and Centennial Olympic Park) and economic growth (Burbank et al., 2001: 79–101–106). Since Samaranch's presidency, Olympism was reprogrammed following a paradigm of modernisation, an idea that guides contemporary societies. This led to commitment to the environment (Karamichas, 2013: 73).
- 4 There were many interests and ecological approaches in the Earth Summit, the result of a complex process. Governments, NGOs, private companies and scientists were some of the varied kinds of stakeholders at the event (Dias de Oliveira, 2013: 423). However, this paper only studied relevant aspects of the Summit to understand the participation of the Olympic Movement.
- 5 It took place in June 1992, a tribute to the 20th anniversary of the 1972 UN Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm. The same Secretary-General, Canadian national Maurice Strong, coordinated both UN Conferences in 1972 and 1992 (Johnson, 1993: 19). UN Resolution 44/228 was also important because it reflected the fact that 128 developing countries (like China, countries in Eastern Europe and African nations) forced Western countries to strengthen the connection between the environment, development and poverty, as Montañó indicates (1994: 238). Since 1990, the resolution was also committed to hold a few previous international conferences known as PrepCom and coordinated by the UNCED, in order to prepare for the Earth Summit.
- 6 These official papers are currently part of the IOC–OSC Archives. These include the guide Information pour les ONG Accréditées a l'UNCED, a progress report on preparatory negotiations entitled *The Final Report and PrepCom documents*.
- 7 The IOC's speech was delivered in a meeting room seating 200. Other participants at the Global Forum could read the speech because “the documents prepared by the NGOs to be presented at the Conference will be deposited on tables at the entrance of the main conference rooms” (OSC Archives).
- 8 Pernas López argues that the IOC observed similarities between the spirit of the 1992 UN Conference and Olympic principles. The 27 principles of the Rio Declaration could be traced back to the vision of Olympism and to some principles of the Olympic Charter. Another example is the adoption of Agenda 21 by the Olympic Movement seven years after it emerged during Eco-92 (2011: 15–16).

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony and Olympic Games ceremonial*

By Jeffrey O. Segrave

A memorial to Ludwig van Beethoven (1770-1827) in his native Bonn. His hearing problems soon degenerated into profound deafness, which put an early end to his career as a pianist. Thereafter he concentrated on composing.

Photo: picture-alliance



Music has always been integral to the Olympic Games. Music accompanies particular sports, is played at award ceremonies, is a mainstay of the Cultural Olympiads, brands media presentations, and is extensively featured during the opening and closing ceremonies. From the very beginning, modern Olympics Games founder Pierre de Coubertin recognised the power of ceremony and pageantry in the staging and popularisation of the Olympic Games, and he assigned music a central role in the Games' ritual presentation. "Fashions have undergone many changes over two thousand years," he said, "but music has remained the factor which best conveys the emotion within a crowd, and which best accompanies the amplitude of a grand spectacle."¹ While he employed a wide variety of music genres in his fledging creation, he was invariably drawn to classical music. One of his favorite pieces was the final movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, the *Ode to Joy*.

Upon learning that Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* would grace the opening ceremonies of the 1936 Berlin Olympics, Coubertin declared:

Nothing could make me happier, because during my childhood this particular movement stirred and moved me greatly. The harmonies of the piece seemed to communicate with the Divine. I hope that in future choral music, which is so well-suited to translating the power of the hopes joys of youth, will accompany their Olympic feats more and more.²

Although he died shortly after the Berlin Games, Coubertin would no doubt have been delighted to know that his hope would be fulfilled, that Beethoven's famed Ninth would endure as a part of the Olympic ceremonial. In fact, few musical pieces, with the obvious exception of the mandated Olympic Hymn and national anthems, have been performed as often as Beethoven's monumental expression of human idealism.

The purpose of this paper is to trace the use of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, specifically the *Ode to Joy*, throughout the history of the modern Olympic Games, indicating where and when it was performed and for what purposes. I first introduce the famed work, then detail the history of the *Ode to Joy* within Olympic Games history, and conclude with some theoretical musings about the relevance of Beethoven's work within the panopoly of the Olympic Movement.

Beethoven's Symphony No. 9 in D Minor, Op. 125³

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony has assumed iconic proportions. Harvey Sachs acknowledges the work as "one of the most precedent shattering and influential compositions in the history of music".⁴ Mikhail Bakunin, the Russian revolutionary and anarchist, told Richard



Jeffrey O. Segrave | *1947. Professor of health and exercise sciences at Skidmore College, Saratoga Springs, NY. He has been at Skidmore since 1978 where he has served as women's tennis coach, Chair of the Department of Exercise Science, Dance and Athletics, Director of Athletics, Dean of Special Programmes, and Co-Director of Project Vis. He was awarded the David H. Porter Endowed Chair in 2015.

Wagner that "if all the music that has ever been written were lost in the expected worldwide conflagration, we must pledge ourselves to rescue this symphony, even at the peril of our lives".⁵

Innovative and ground-breaking, it was the first example of a symphony to incorporate voices. The words sung during the final movement were taken from Friedrich von Schiller's *Ode to Joy (An die Freude)*, written in 1785 and revised in 1803, with changes by Beethoven. The Ninth premiered on 7th May 1824, at the Kärntnertheater in Vienna. The programme also included Beethoven's *The Consecration of the House (Die Weihe des Hauses)* and the three grand hymns of the *Missa Solemnis*. The respected violinist Ignaz Schuppanzigh led the orchestra and Michael Umlauf, the theater's Kapellmeister, directed the whole. The soprano and alto parts were interpreted by Henrietta Sontag and Caroline Unger. The audience greeted the work enthusiastically.⁶

Like the music itself, Schiller's text celebrates the great ideals of the Enlightenment and revels in the possibility of a progressive and amicable humanity. "All men will be brothers" (*Alle Menschen werden Brüder*), the *Ode to Joy* boldly proclaims. With its heroic aspirations, awesome grandeur, and choral splendour, the *Ode to Joy* encodes the Enlightenment themes of brotherhood and reconciliation, equality and progress, and the possibility of human perfectibility. In the Ninth, Beethoven specifically employs Schiller's text to portray "This kiss for the whole world" (*Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt*) which originates "above the starry canopy" (*über'm Sternenzelt*), which must unite and touch us all, "All good" (*Alle Guten*) and "all bad" (*alle Bösen*); "Run, brothers, your path" (*Laufet, Brüder, eure Bahn*); "Be embraced, millions!" (*Seid umschlungen, Millionen!*).⁷

Conceiving of the *Ode to Joy* as an enduring sonic symbol of a community of mankind, Richard Coudenhove-Kalergi, the founder of the early 20th-century Pan Europa organisation, announced in 1929 that "Ludwig van Beethoven composed the melody that supremely expresses the will and desire of the masses for joy, union, and brotherhood".⁸ The philosophical similarities between Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* and Olympism, with its enduring emphasis on peace, joy, and universal amity are, of course, striking.

1924 Paris

While conventional histories suggest that Beethoven's Ninth was first performed at the Olympic Games in Berlin in 1936, it is possible that it may have actually been played at some point during the 1924 Paris Olympics celebrations. According to one historian, W. E. Künstler, Coubertin expressed his desire as early as 1912 that the *Ode to Joy* be performed at the 1916 Berlin



Olympics because "he [Coubertin] considered the words to be the best expression of the Olympic spirit".⁹

Carl Diem, General Secretary of the 1916 Olympic Games, records that in 1912 Coubertin, in a postcard to Diem, expressed his wish that Beethoven's Ninth be included in the opening ceremonies.¹⁰ While Diem does not indicate whether it was played during the 1924 Games, Künstler asserts that the symphony was, in fact, "performed for the first time at the Games in Paris, at the Théâtre du Champs Elysées".¹¹ It is possible that the timing of the performance was a coincidence and had nothing to do with the Games themselves.

1936 Berlin

Although Beethoven's Ninth Symphony may or may not have been performed as part of the 1924 Paris celebrations, it was certainly played as part of the Berlin Olympics. Having been elected General Secretary for the 1936 Games, Diem notes that another postcard from Coubertin appeared on his desk renewing Coubertin's wish that the symphony be part of the Olympic ceremonies. According to Diem, Coubertin did not want to overburden the opening ceremony with the Ninth Symphony, but suggested rather that it be performed on the evening of the opening day.¹² As a result, it was performed on the evening of 1st August 1936 as the climax of the *Festspiel*, a pageant that immediately followed the official opening ceremonies in the Olympic Stadium and featured 10,000 performers. Allegedly, Coubertin followed the performance of the festival on the Geneva radio programme.

When the 1916 Games were awarded to Berlin, Pierre de Coubertin encouraged the idea of including Beethoven's Ninth Symphony in the opening ceremony. But he had to wait 20 years for this. When he spoke on the radio for the first time on 4th August 1935, he was able to announce that his dream would finally be fulfilled in the following year.

Photo: IOC/OSC Archives



**Olympic Stadium
Berlin, 1st August 1936:
The night-time finale
rang out with the final
chorus of the Ninth
Symphony. Yet the
humanistic message
"Alle Menschen
werden Brüder"
(All men become
brothers) seemed
to be hollow words.
In the festival that had
just ended, a hero's
death had just been
glorified.**

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

Written and conceived by Carl Diem to exemplify the romantic theme of youth, the pageant began at 9:00 pm, and, according to *New York Times* reporter Frederick Birchall "surpassed in sheer beauty even the picturesque pageant of nations".¹³ As historian Richard Mandell describes it: "Row after row of boy and girl gymnasts, planted on the brilliantly illuminated sward, swayed and stretched like animated tulips".¹⁴

Following on the heels of Mary Wigman's presentation, 'Dance of the Mourners', the first few bars of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*, conducted by Fritz Stein and featuring the soloists Ria Ginster, Emmi Leisner, C. A. Walter and Rudolf Watzke, rang around the stadium. A voice was heard singing Schiller's famous poem and a chorus of 1500 joined in to present what Birchall called "the most ambitious and, in the opinion of many, the most beautiful pageant ever before attempted in any land".¹⁵ The pageant was repeated on 3rd August and two more times after the Games.

According to Mandell, the most enchanted participant in all the pageants was the Führer.¹⁷ But the various ceremonies also clearly impressed Coubertin, who invoked Schiller's lines in extolling "the physical harmony stronger than death itself" that was being forged under the auspices of the Olympic Flag, and he warmly thanked the German people and their leader.¹⁸ Despite the Ninth's reputation as a manifesto of universal solidarity, for the German organisers the music was more pragmatically and politically conceived as a proclamation of Nazi *Volksgemeinschaft*.¹⁹ Hitler's strategy was to use the Games to present Germany as an "island of peace" and himself as the "chancellor of peace", and he used both the good name of Coubertin and the joyful universalism of the *Ode to Joy* to accomplish his political goals.

1952 Oslo

The Ninth Symphony was next heard during the 1952 Oslo Winter Games as accompaniment to the gold medal performances of German athletes in the two- and four-man bobsled and the figure skating pairs. From an historical perspective, the use of the final chorus of the Ninth in the Oslo Games stemmed from a disagreement between Chancellor Adenauer and President Heuss over the most appropriate anthem for the Federal Republic of Germany, as well as, to some extent, Heuss' desire to appease the anti-German feelings that were still prevalent in Norway.

While Adenauer supported a return to Weimar and the anthem *Deutschlandlied*, Heuss objected to the refrain '*Deutschland, Deutschland über alles, über alles in der Welt*', and favoured in its place a text which he had written called *Hymne an Deutschland*. But Heuss' hymn found little favour with the German public and Heuss agreed to Adenauer's compromise proposal to raise the third verse of the *Deutschlandlied*, with the theme '*Einigkeit und Recht und Freiheit*', to the rank of a national anthem.

However, Heuss, under the law, delayed his signature until after the Games in Oslo because he felt that the Norwegians might construe the playing of the anthem as an affront. As a result, Beethoven's final chorus rather than the German national anthem marked the three German victories in the Oslo Games. Although the new anthem was adopted in time for the Summer Games in Helsinki, it was never heard because Germany failed to win a gold medal.²⁰

From 1956 Cortina d'Ampezzo to 1968 Mexico City

Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* melody was subsequently heard as a mitigating factor in the Cold War, as deteriorating political relations between East and West Germany spilled over into the Olympic arena.²¹ Post-World War *Realpolitik* confronted idealists who optimistically hoped that the spirit of Olympism would overcome political differences and bring East and West Germany together as one nation competing under the Olympic banner.

At the International Olympic Committee's (IOC) 50th Session in Paris in 1955, the National Olympic Committee (NOC) of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was provisionally accepted on the grounds that the two Germanys would carry out the necessary steps to send a joint team to the 1956 Games. Seeing this as a positive step forward, in what were hitherto stymied negotiations, the East and West German NOCs both agreed to compete under a non-partisan flag, a banner with the German colors of black, red and gold, with the five Olympic rings set in white in the middle, and a neutral anthem, Beethoven's Ninth.

Consequently, during the opening ceremonies of the 1956 Melbourne Summer Olympics, the combined German team marched into the stadia to the accompaniment of Beethoven's widely-recognised Choral Symphony. Even though the IOC Congress in Madrid in 1965 authorized separate teams to represent East and West Germany at the 1968 Winter and Summer Games, it did so with the stipulation that they would still march into the stadium using the compromise Olympic flag as well as share the choral theme from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as their victory anthem.²²

Despite the IOC's mandates, however, the *Ode to Joy* was, in fact, only used during the Melbourne Games. During the negotiations on the formation of a united German team, it was agreed that for individual winners at Cortina d'Ampezzo the anthem of the relevant state would be played, but that in the case of a team victory a minute's silence would be held in order to draw attention to the partition of Germany.²³ As a result, the third verse of the *Deutschlandlied* accompanied the giant slalom victory ceremonial for West Germany's Ossi Reichert.

While in 1956 there was no problem with the adopted flag because both Germanys had the same black, red and gold banner, a new situation arose in 1959 when, in connection with the 10th anniversary of its founding, the GDR changed its flag to include an additional state's emblem in the red section of the flag. A compromise was engineered by IOC President Avery Brundage, and between 1960 and 1968 both Germanys adopted a flag with white Olympic rings on a red background.²⁴

Furthermore, in order to avoid the danger that the so-called *Becher Anthem* would be played at subsequent Summer Games (*Auferstanden aus Ruinen und der Zukunft zugewandt, lass uns Dir zum Guten dienen, Deutschland einig Vaterland*), West Germany insisted on returning to the music of Beethoven. This

arrangement was maintained until 1964, and, as resolved by the IOC, until 1968. By the time of the 1972 Munich Games, both German Olympic Committees had obtained full recognition by the IOC, and both marched into the stadium under their own flags and their victorious athletes were honoured with their own national anthems.

1968 Mexico City

In Mexico City, Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* was, for the first time, played during the closing ceremonies, a tribute to the next Olympic Games to be held in 1972 in Munich. The *Ode to Joy* theme was followed by a thousand mariachis sounding the gay notes of *La Negra*, the bold notes of *Guardalajara*, and the poignant notes of Mexico's traditional song of farewell, *Las Golondrinas*. After the official declaration of the closing, the flag was lowered, and the flame extinguished. When the scoreboard changed from Mexico 1968 to Munich 1972, fireworks filled the night sky.²⁵

Mexico City was also the last time Beethoven's *Finale* was mandated as the anthem for East and West Germany. According to Dr. Eduardo Hay, a member of the Mexican presentation committee, the East Germans actively lobbied to secure their own national anthem for the closing ceremonies. When the official Mexican band explained that they could not learn a new symphony on such short notice, the East Germans found a band that said they could, to which Pedro Ramirez Vázquez, the President of the Mexico City Organizing Committee, retorted: "They are Mexicans. If you asked them to play Beethoven's Eleventh Symphony, they would tell you they could do it."²⁶ The Germans paraded to Beethoven's Ninth.

1972 Sapporo and Munich

While the *Ode to Joy* did not feature in the Sapporo Games celebrations, several of Beethoven's pieces, including the *Eroica*, his Third Symphony, as well as his Fifth Symphony, were performed as part of the Arts Festival.²⁷ Nor was the *Ode to Joy* performed during the Munich Games. But, in certain respects, its omission was more significant than its inclusion. Otl Aicher, the head of the design department for the Munich Olympics, purposely eschewed Beethoven's Ninth and the Nazi aesthetic of monumentalism – what organising committee chair Willi Daume described as "the bombastic style of the Third Reich"²⁸ – and argued instead that there should be "no enormity of scale" or "ceremonial awe", no "gigantic choirs" or "blaring military bands", but rather an atmosphere of "playful improvisation"²⁹ that featured "fresh innovative, formulations".³⁰ His intentions were to transform what

At the 1960 Winter Games in Squaw Valley, a combined German team marched behind the black, red and gold flag superimposed with white Olympic Rings.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive





Einheit beendet



“Unity ended”, announced the satirical magazine *Simplicissimus* in early 1960. On the left it shows Federal Chancellor Adenauer (West) who wanted to remove the rings prescribed by the IOC, while East German party boss Ullbricht (right) wanted to add the GDR emblem. IOC President Brundage decided to end the “flag argument”. In addition the Germans were to use Beethoven’s melody as their “anthem”.

Illustration: Christian Kunz Collection

cultural historian Paul Betts called “the wreckage of the past into a brave new work of post-fascist modernity”.³¹

Even though a regular *Arbeitskreis Musik*, which included Carl Orff, Werner Egk, and Herbert von Karajan, strenuously lobbied for the retention of Coubertin’s “favorite classical melody”³², Beethoven’s *Finale*, which they envisioned being performed by three Munich orchestras,³³ Aicher’s modernist approach demanded music of a more “carefree and relaxed” nature that displayed an “openness to the future”.³⁴ As a result, the opening ceremonies in Munich showcased music such as Herbert Rehbein’s *Olympic Fanfare*, a Dutch-manufactured Glockenspiel that played *Kalinka* and *Jingle Bells*, as well as the German *Volklied Muss I denn*, Carl Orff’s *Sumer is icumen in*, and Kurt Edelhagen’s selection which included *American Swing*.

On the *Spielstraße*, avant-garde theater maker Frank Bruckner also proposed Beethoven’s Ninth – interestingly interspersed with the sounds of machine-gun fire and bomb salvos – as a way to directly confront Germany’s past, but Daume objected on the grounds that reminding the world of 1936 was not the most

prudent way to represent the new modern Germany of 1972.³⁵ The idea was dropped and Beethoven’s Ninth Symphony was dismissed from the Munich Games.³⁶

1980 Moscow

During the 1980 Olympics in Moscow, Beethoven’s Ninth was used more than once. The piece was used twice, both times as an acknowledged expression of Olympism and global harmony, even amid the Cold War, and even in the face of the US-led boycott of the Games. During the opening ceremonies, Beethoven’s *Ode to Joy* acted as background music.

The piece echoed throughout the Grand Arena of the Central Lenin Stadium while eight Masters of Sports of the USSR carried out the Olympic Flag. Marching behind them were 22 other Masters of Sports. The tune was played on loudspeakers rather than by live orchestral, and there were no accompanying voices. It played for only one minute. Spectator response was subdued. During the closing ceremony, the audience was more animated as the *Ode to Joy*, played while the Olympic Flag was lowered, blasted out across the loudspeaker system as fireworks “boomed and whooshed like rocket guns exploded in the dusky sky”.³⁷

1984 Sarajavo and Los Angeles

Beethoven’s famous tune adorned the opening ceremonies during both the Winter and Summer Games of 1984. In Sarajevo, 48 countries marched into the Koševo Olympic Stadium on 9th February, to the sounds of pop and disco, folk and traditional music, but also to the sounds of Mozart, Bach, and Beethoven’s Ninth. In Los Angeles, the *Ode to Joy* played after the administration of the Olympic Oath as 2000 Los Angeles residents from numerous ethnic groups, all in native dress, marched onto the track, “an appropriate musical expression of a global humanity”, as one witness commented.³⁸

1992 Albertville and Barcelona

Beethoven’s *Ode to Joy* was used extensively during the 1992 Albertville and Barcelona Olympics, as a neutral anthem and as a component of the opening and closing ceremonies.

Reflecting the dramatic reconfiguration of Europe after the fall of the Berlin Wall, a newly constituted Commonwealth of Independent States consisting of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan, marched into the opening ceremonies of both the Winter Games in Albertville as well as the Summer Games in Barcelona as the Unified Team. The traditional red flag bearing the hammer and sickle was replaced

with the Olympic banner of five interlocking rings, and the State Anthem of the USSR was retired in favour of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*. But the Unified Team, at least in Barcelona, was not alone in its use of Beethoven's esteemed work.

On 6th November 1991, Sam Ramsamy, President of the NOCSA, announced South Africa's acceptance of an invitation to participate in the 1992 Barcelona Games. He further revealed that South Africa's team would discard the traditional Springbok emblem and orange, white and blue flag, as well as the traditional anthem, *Die Stem van Suid-Afrika*, acknowledging that each were considered by many as notorious symbols of apartheid. Consequently, in the Barcelona Games, South Africa marched under a new flag of cascading brown, blue, and green bands set against a mountain, and a new anthem, Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*.

Ironically, in 1974, another African country, the Republic of Rhodesia, also adopted the tune of Beethoven's Ninth as its national anthem.³⁹ Although no Rhodesian athletes ever competed in the Olympic Games, had they marched in the opening ceremonies, or won a gold medal, the world would have heard yet another rendition of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*, this time under the rubric of 'Rise, O Voices of Rhodesia'.

The opening ceremony of the Barcelona Olympics were touted by many as one of the most spectacular and stylish of all time, an elegant expression of Catalonia's message of culture and sport. Held in the neo-classical Olympic Stadium on Montjuïc, a live audience of 65,000 was treated to a cavalcade of music and singing that included a tasteful festival of opera, "music for the universe", that consisted of 17 arias performed by six of the greatest opera singers in the world – Jaume Aragall, Teresa Berganza, Montserrat Caballé, Josep Carreras, Plácido Domingo and Joan Pons. Following the rousing 'Triumphal March' from Giuseppe Verdi's *Aida*, the lone voice of 13 year-old Eleazar Colomer delivered the first verse of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*.⁴⁰

The *Ode to Joy* was also used in the closing ceremony as part of an array of music, including the Olympic Anthem sung by Plácido Domingo, Sir Andrew Lloyd Webber's *Amigo Para Siempre*, performed by Sarah Brightman and Josep Carreras, and Manuel de Falla's *Cancion del Fuego Fatuo* delivered by Teresa Berganza. As *New York Times* reporter Michael Janofsky noted, the world was entertained by ceremonies that were "dazzlingly untraditional" in their combined "eclectic theatrics".⁴¹

1998 Nagano

Nagano hosted the most extensive, and, possibly the most spectacular, certainly the most global, rendition of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* to date.⁴² The beloved piece was

performed twice during the Nagano Festival of Culture and Arts as part of Nagano's thematic One Heart–One World programme. Among the 264 cultural events held at numerous venues within the Nagano Prefecture and in major metropolitan areas around Japan, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was presented in February 1997 in Matsumoto City⁴³, and, in January 1998, in Nagano City, performed by a massed chorus of 5,000.

During the opening ceremony in the Minami Nagano Sports Park Stadium, Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* was aired and performed worldwide in an unprecedented hi-tech spectacular. As the finale of the opening ceremony, the *Ode to Joy* was performed by choirs on the five continents represented by the five Olympic Rings. Live images of Seiji Ozawa conducting the Nagano Winter Orchestra, eight soloists chosen from around the world, and the Tokyo Opera Singers at the Nagano Prefecture Hall, were displayed on the gigantic video screens in the stadium.

Images from locations on five continents – in front of the Brandenburg Gate in Berlin, on the steps of the Opera House in Sydney, in the General Assembly Hall of the UN in New York City, in front of the Shenwa Gate of the Forbidden Palace in Beijing, and at False Bay near Cape Town – were carried live via satellite to the 50,000 spectators in Nagano.⁴⁴ The entire global performance was delivered by a 2000 strong chorus in the stadium and an additional 200 singers worldwide. Eighty ballet dancers circled the stadium floor.⁴⁵ In true Olympic fashion, the live audience was asked to stand and join the 2,000 athletes from more than 80 countries in singing the hallowed phrase, "all men will become brothers" (*Alle Menschen werden Brüder*). "People all around the world singing together about joy – that's the purpose", said Ozawa.⁴⁶

2010 Vancouver and 2012 London

In Vancouver and London, Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* melody took on both commercial and artistic overtones. Although the *Ode to Joy* was not performed as part of the Vancouver ceremony, it ran as background music in one of five commercials in official Olympic sponsor General Electric's advertising series entitled 'Healthy Living' that aired during the telecast of the opening ceremonies.⁴⁷ Another major sponsor, Samsung, used the melody in the televisual run-up to the 2012 London Games to promote their new product, the Galaxy Note Phone. The commercial featured their Olympic Ambassador, Los Angeles Galaxy midfielder David Beckham, playing the theme by kicking footballs against specially tuned drums: Olympic idealism in the service of Olympic commercialism.

More traditionally, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was granted a signature role during the London Cultural



The original manuscript of the Ninth Symphony is in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin. It runs to 200 pages and was inducted into UNESCO's "Memory of the World" register. The final movement, for which Beethoven chose the ode *An die Freude* by Friedrich Schiller, is today used as the official anthem of the European Union (EU) and of the Council of Europe.

Photo: picture-alliance

Olympiad as the culminating concert in a complete cycle of Beethoven symphonies. At 6:30 pm, on 27th July 2012, the evening of the opening ceremony in the Stadium in Queen Elizabeth Olympic Park, Daniel Barenboim raised his baton in the Royal Albert Hall to lead the West-East Divan Orchestra in a rendition of Beethoven's Ninth that included contributions from the National Youth Orchestra of Great Britain featuring bass René Pape, mezzo-soprano Waltraud Meier, soprano Anna Samuil, and tenor Michael König. "What better way to mark today's opening of the London 2012 Olympics than Beethoven's ultimate hymn to universal brotherhood?" the BBC asked.⁴⁸ Equally inspiring was the fact that only a few hours after laying his baton down, Barenboim joined seven other noted humanitarians to carry the Olympic Flag in the opening ceremony.

1988 Calgary–2014 Sochi: As Highlights Reel and Tribute

For many years, the American television network ABC and, subsequently, NBC, ran the Olympic highlights reel at the end of the closing ceremonies to various renditions of Beethoven's *Ode to Joy*, most notably after the 1988 Calgary, 1992 Barcelona, and 1996 Atlanta Games. The 1992 Barcelona Games' highlights reel was accompanied by the Cleveland Orchestra under the baton of Lorin Maazel and showcased the voices of Elena Obraztsova, Lucia Popp and Jon Vickers. The 1996 Atlanta highlights reel, considered by many as the best of the closing sports reels, featured Sir Georg Solti

and the Chicago Symphony Orchestra and the soloists Yvonne Minton, Pilar Lorengar and Stuart Burrows. The 2002 Salt Lake City highlights reel, played to the *Ode to Joy*, was uploaded onto YouTube by remediummimus, and, in 2014, following the Sochi Games, Steve Gilkes uploaded a stirring tribute to the Winter Olympics Team Canada medal winners set to Beethoven's famous tune.

In all cases, these visual tributes were inspirational and wistful, full of joy and pathos, and ultimately a rousing and reverential homage to Olympic athletes and the Olympic Games.

Conclusion

Beethoven's Ninth Symphony is more than just a universally popular piece of classical music; it is what semioticians would call an "empty signifier", a symbol that is apt to receive any meaning.⁴⁹ For much of its history, the *Ode to Joy* was, in fact, what *Times* writer Igor Toronyi-Lalic describes as "a companion to the most murky and murderous of political extremes".⁵⁰ It served the Nazi propaganda machine⁵¹, was redeemed by many during the Cultural Revolution in China as a piece of progressive class struggle, was adopted in 1974 as the national anthem by the white supremacist régime in Rhodesia, was played in 1989 during the student demonstrations in Tiananmen Square in Beijing, and blared out across airport runways in Japan during Second World War as kamikaze pilots boarded their planes.⁵² But, as Toronyi-Lilac also notes, the "misappropriation of the ode by evil people does not affect the beauty and good intentions of the original".⁵³

Beethoven's grand piece was also adopted by the Council of Europe in 1972 as Europe's anthem as well as selected in 1985 as the anthem of the European Union, performed in Berlin in 1989 to celebrate the dismantling of the Berlin Wall, featured in the Last Night of the Proms in September 2001, just days after the 9/11 attacks, and included in numerous hymnals as the hymn, *Joyful, Joyful, We Adore Thee*.

Even though the *Ode to Joy* may have "been swallowed up by ideology" – to use Nicholas Cook's phrase⁵⁴ – it has mostly been interpreted as a musical expression of faith and hope that speaks, like Olympism⁵⁵, to a sense of human community and peace, a blaring affirmation of joy and harmony, and a paean to triumph over struggle. As the *Official Report of the Nagano Organizing Committee* acknowledges, the "global performance of the *Ode to Joy* is the embodiment of the Games' message to the world of hope for peaceful harmony in the coming century".⁵⁶ Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* remains today, as it has always been, what the writer Jere Longman aptly describes as "an inspiring, if temporary validation of the symphonic Olympic ideal that all men will be brothers".⁵⁷ ■

- 1 Quoted in Guegold, William K., *100 years of Olympic music: Music and musicians of the modern Olympic Games 1896–1996*, Mantua, OH: Golden Clef Publishing, 1996, p. 5
- 2 Coubertin, Pierre de, *Olympism: Selected Writings*, Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000, p. 583.
- 3 The full and correct citation for Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* is *Sinfonie Nr. 9 mit Schlusschor über Schiller's Lied "An die Freude" für Orchester vier Solostimmen und Chor, op. 125*. For the text of Schiller's *Ode to Joy* as well as Beethoven's adaptations to Schiller's text, see Levy, David Benjamin, *Beethoven: The Ninth Symphony*, New York: Schirmer Books, 1995), pp. 9–12. For a full musical description of the final movement, see Sachs, Harvey, *The Ninth: Beethoven and the world in 1824*, New York: Random House, 2010, pp. 154–161.
- 4 Sachs, op. cit., 3.
- 5 Quoted in Wagner, Richard, *My Life*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, p. 384.
- 6 Sachs, op. cit., pp. 15–19.
- 7 Levy, op. cit., pp. 9–12.
- 8 Quoted in Buch, Esteban, *Beethoven's Ninth: A political history*. Trans. Richard Miller, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004, p. 203.
- 9 The W. E. Künstler History of Olympic Music Collection, Archives, International Centre for Olympic Studies, Western University, London, Ontario, Canada, p. 336.
- 10 Diem, Carl, *Ein Leben für den Sport*, A. Henn Verlag, undated [1970], p. 161.
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- 12 Diem, op. cit., p. 161.
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- 14 Mandell, Richard, *The Nazi Olympics*, New York: MacMillan, 1970, p. 154.
- 15 Birchall, op. cit., p. 33.
- 16 Mandell, op. cit., p. 154.
- 17 Quoted in Brohm, Jean-Marie, *Jeux olympiques à Berlin*, Brussels: Complexe, 1983, p. 141.
- 18 Dennis, David, *Beethoven in German politics, 1870–1989*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996, p. 162.
- 19 I am indebted to Volker Kluge for this information. Personal correspondence, 26th January 2017.
- 20 In particular, see Balbier, Uta Andrea, *The Cold War on the cinder track – German-German sport from 1950–1972. A political history*, Berlin: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag Paderborn, 2007; Carr, G. A., "The involvement of politics in the sporting relations of East and West Germany 1948–1972", *Journal of Sport History*, Spring 1980, 7 (1): pp. 40–51.
- 21 "Minutes of the 63rd Meeting of the IOC," Madrid 7–9th October 1965, *Bulletin du CIO*, 15th November 1965, no. 92.
- 22 Kluge, op. cit.
- 23 Chancellor Adenauer's perspective was that there should only be one German flag and he clashed with the IOC when the IOC determined that the combined team should use a flag with white Olympic Rings on a red background. Willi Daume dissuaded Adenauer from boycotting the 1960 Games in protest of the IOC's decision on the grounds that then only East German athletes would represent Germany.
- 24 *Olympic Games 1968 Mexico City, Official Report*, Mexico City: Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, 1968, p. 503.
- 25 As reported in Witherspoon, Kevin B., *Before the eyes of the world: Mexico and the 1968 Olympic Games*, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2008, pp. 138–139.
- 26 *The XI Olympic Winter Games, Sapporo 1972, Official Report*, Sapporo: The Organizing Committee of the XIth Winter Games, 1972, pp. 86–87.
- 27 DOA/Nachlaß Daume/549. Willi Daume, *Das visuelle Bild der Olympischen Spiele von München*, September 1966.
- 28 Aicher, Otl, *Das Erscheinungsbild der Olympischen Spiele, München 1972*, Berlin: Vorstandsvorlage, 1972, p. 5.
- 29 Wilhelm Killmayer quoted in Schlüssel, Elizabeth Audrey Lechie, *Zur Rolle der Musik bei den Eröffnungs- und Schlußfeiern der Olympischen Spiele von 1896 bis 1972*, PhD Dissertation, Deutsche Sporthochschule, Köln, 2001, p. 669.
- 30 Betts, Paul, *The authority of everyday objects: A cultural history of West German industrial design*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004, p. 9.
- 31 Schiller, Kay, and Young, Christopher, *The 1972 Munich Olympics and the making of modern Germany*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010, p. 118.
- 32 Schlüssel, op. cit., pp. 565–577.
- 33 Aicher, op. cit., p. 5.
- 34 Schiller and Young, op. cit., pp. 139–140
- 35 In a somewhat ironic twist, Beethoven's Third, the *Eroica*, was performed in Munich as the world commiserated following the tragic hostage crisis that compromised the Munich celebrations. While IOC President Avery Brundage had once proudly stood as Beethoven's *Ode to Joy* was used as the victory anthem for the combined German team, now he was forced to listen to the plaintive strains of the second movement of the *Eroica*. See Guttmann, Allen, *The Games must go on: Avery Brundage and the Olympic Movement*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1984, p. 253.
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- 37 Personal correspondence with Dr. Donald B. Chu, 15th December 1984.
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- 39 From 1965–1979, the Republic of Rhodesia comprised the region now known as Zimbabwe. The current national anthem is *Blessed be the Land of Zimbabwe*.
- 40 *Official Report of the Games of the XXV Olympiad, Barcelona 1992*, COOB'92, Barcelona, p. 72.
- 41 Janofsky, Michael, "Barcelona: Games begin with a shot of Catalonian spirit", *New York Times*, 26th July 1992. <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9E0CE0D9143EF935A15754C0A964958>. Retrieved 15th April 2011.
- 42 Incidentally, Beethoven's *Ninth Symphony* has taken deep root in Japan, widely performed during the month of December as part of the annual celebration of a new year.
- 43 Matsumoto City is the first and oldest Olympic Sister City to Salt Lake City.
- 44 The performance was made possible by technology developed by the NHK Engineering Service, a branch of Japan's national television company, and time-lag adjuster technology.
- 45 *The XVIII Olympic Winter Games Official Report*, The Organizing Committee for the XVIII Olympic Games, Nagano 1998, pp. 125–126.
- 46 Strom, Stephanie, "The latest sport? After a worldwide effort, synchronized singing gets in", *New York Times*, 7th February 1998, C3.
- 47 NBC paid \$2B for the television rights to the Vancouver and London Games. In Vancouver, NBC's then parent company, General Electric, had recently signed a \$2M global Olympic sponsorship. In June 2011, NBC extended its Olympic reign until 2020, as Comcast, its new parent company, acquired the rights to the 2014 Sochi, 2016 Rio, 2018 PyeongChang, and 2020 Tokyo Games. NBC paid \$4B beating out Fox and ESPN. See Nancy Armour, "NBC Universal pays \$7.75 billion for Olympics through 2012," *USA Today Sports*, 7th May 2014. Retrieved 7th May 2014. www.usatoday.com/story/sports/olympics/2014/05/07/nbc-olympics-broadcast-rights-2032/88059
- 48 A Proms advertisement by the BBC, www.bbc.co.uk/proms/archive/search/2010s/2012/july-27/14342. Retrieved 26th March 2014.
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- 50 Toronyi-Lalic, Igor, "Ode to Joy or anthem of evil?", *Times*, 29th June 2009, http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/toll/arts_and_entertainment/music/classical/article65. Retrieved 11th March 2011.
- 51 In 1938, it was performed as the highpoint of the *Reichsmusiktag*, the Nazi music festival, and, as arranged by Joseph Goebbels, broadcast live on the radio to honour Hitler's birthday.
- 52 An interesting electronic version was recorded by Wendy Carlos for the 1971 film, *A Clockwork Orange* (Dir. Stanley Kubrick).
- 53 Toronyi-Lalic, op. cit.
- 54 Cook, Nicholas, *Beethoven: Symphony No. 9*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 99.
- 55 As expressed in the IOC's *Olympic Charter*, "The goal of Olympism is to place sport at the service of the harmonious development of humankind, with a view to promoting a peaceful society concerned with the preservation of human dignity." Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2015, p. 13.
- 56 *The XVIII Olympic Winter Games Official Report*, op. cit., p. 126.
- 57 Longman, Jere, "A display of culture and hope opens Games", *New York Times*, 7th February 1998, A1.

The Role of Dance in the 1936 Berlin Games: Why Competition Became Festival and Art Became Political*

By Elizabeth A. Hanley

Rehearsal for the festival "Olympic Youth" on the lawn of the Berlin Olympic Stadium. It was performed on the evening of the opening day and on three other occasions. The picture shows solo dancer Gret Palucca.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive



Introduction

Five Olympic Rings: the symbol of the modern Olympic Games. At one time there were also five Olympic Art Competitions: architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature. But what about the art of dance? Where was dance in this mix of art competitions? In order to comprehend fully the role of dance at the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games, it is essential to take a brief look at the historical background of the Olympic Art Competitions.

When the enthusiastic young Frenchman, the Baron Pierre de Coubertin, achieved his dream of reviving the Ancient Olympic Games as an international festival in the spring of 1896, with Athens as the first modern host city, he also desired to combine art with athletic feats, as in the ancient model. However, the first modern Games was not the time to introduce his artistic aspirations, and the succeeding two Olympic Games faced many obstacles. In Paris 1900 and St. Louis 1904, combining the Olympic Games with a World Fair in each instance did not bode well for adding art competitions, and the survival of the Olympic Games was threatened.

When Athens clamoured loudly soon afterwards to host the Olympic Games permanently, since Greece was the original home of the Ancient Olympic Games, the Baron was not pleased; his vision was to share the Games with the world each Olympiad. In 1906, however, Coubertin finally agreed to an "Interim" Games in the

city of Athens. It was to be the 10th anniversary of the modern Games, but Coubertin would not be in Athens since he had intentionally made other plans: a Paris Conference on Arts and Letters, which he hoped to include in future Games. In his invitation letter to artists and other dignitaries around the world, Coubertin wrote that the purpose was to study "... by what means and under what forms the Arts and the Letters could participate with the celebration of the modern Olympiades and, generally, associate with the practice of Sport for its benefit and ennoblement."¹

The programme for the Paris conference included the following artistic components: architecture, dramatic art, choreography ("Processions, parades, coordinated movements in groups" was noted as "Dances"), decoration, letters, music, painting, and sculpture.² The conference resulted in a "... unanimously approved resolution that the forthcoming Olympiad in 1908 should contain competitions for all the arts. The winners for the best works of architecture, painting, sculpture,



Elizabeth A. Hanley ("Betz") Associate Professor Emerita of Kinesiology Penn State. For four years during her early tenure she was varsity gymnastic coach. In 1978 she founded and directed the Penn State International Dance Ensemble (until 1998). She was also guest lecturer at the International Olympic Academy, and taught History of Olympic Games course at Penn State for several years. Betz attended seven Olympics from 1980 to 2012.

music and poetry, inspired by sport, were to receive Olympic medals.³ The word dance never appeared in the list of arts to be contested, and time constraints did not allow for the art competitions to come to fruition for the London Olympic Games in 1908.

The groundwork, however, was laid regarding the rules for future Olympic Art Competitions, and in 1912, on the occasion of the Vth Olympiad in Stockholm, the Olympic Art Competitions had their debut. With the cancellation of the 1916 Games due to First World War, the next Art Competitions did not take place until the 1920 Antwerp Games, followed by Paris in 1924, Amsterdam in 1928, and Los Angeles in 1932. Dance was noticeably absent from any Olympic Art Competitions throughout these years.

Berlin Olympic Games 1936

In 1936, dance was one art form that the Germans wanted to add to their Art Competitions during the Olympic Games, along with Gold and Silver Smithing, and Works of the Screen (sport film). Expanding the subcategories in each of the five art disciplines, which would have increased the number of medals as well as the number of potential participants, was the German goal for the Berlin Games. Approval by the International Olympic Committee, however, was required and none was forthcoming, not for the addition of Dance, nor for Gold and Silver Smithing or Works of the Screen.⁴

Dance, however, played a significant part both before, and during, the 1936 Olympic Games in Berlin. Nazi organisers sought to draw international attention to the achievements of their leader, Adolf Hitler, and one way to succeed was through the popular medium of dance, but under the term "German dance". Noted German choreographers and dancers of the day were enlisted to play a part in the Olympic programme: Rudolf von Laban, Mary Wigman, and Harald Kreutzberg. In her book, *Modern Dance in Germany and the United States: Crosscurrents and Influences*, Isa Partsch-Bergsohn details Laban's extensive involvement with Olympic preparations as follows: "Laban, a master at arranging mass scenes in choral dancing, was commissioned to direct the triumphal celebration of German Dance at the 'open air theater' and to organise a Great International Dance Competition in July 1936."⁵ The dance celebration to inaugurate the "Volksbühne" stage at the Olympic grounds was to take place on the opening night of the Games.⁶

Laban, indeed, planned a huge event, training a thousand dancers who were then divided into 22 groups for his production, *Vom Tauwind und der Neuen Freude* (*Spring Wind and the New Joy*). What might have been heralded as innovative and captivating was suddenly banned after the final dress rehearsal on 20 June before 20,000 invited guests at the Dietrich Eckart outdoor



As early as 1906 at the Olympic Congress in Paris the question was discussed whether dancing could be regarded as a sport. At the 1935 IOC Session in Oslo the Organising Committee of Berlin 1936 made a request for dancing to be included as part of the Olympic Art competitions. When this was rejected the international dancing competitions were incorporated into the cultural programme. The brochure is shown.

theater. Joseph Goebbels, Reich Minister of Propaganda, was in attendance and promptly dismissed Laban's work as a poorly choreographed piece, one that was intellectual, and had nothing whatever to do with Germans. Of course, the worst possible scenario at the time of Nazi ideology was to create anything intellectual. Goebbels was outraged that Laban was attempting to use the Nazis for his own goals and immediately prohibited the performance of Laban's work. Obviously, Laban's dance philosophy was not in keeping with the view of the National Socialists. In short, Goebbels favoured traditional German dance; he was not appreciative of the avant-garde modern dance which often attempted to deliver a message, or tell a story, on an intellectual level. The opening night of the Olympic Games did include Kreutzberg's choreography as well as Wigman's choreography (in which she also danced), but Laban was out of the Olympic picture for good.⁷

The International Dance Competitions

Laban's personal situation deteriorated rapidly following that fatal dress rehearsal. However, as recently appointed head of the Deutsche Meisterwerkstätten für Tanz (German Master Studio for Dance), Laban organised and coordinated the international dance competitions scheduled for 15th–31st July in the "Volksbühne". An international jury was chosen to judge the dance works for their overall artistic value and cultural

Mary Wigman (1886–1973) made expressive dance internationally well-known as the New German Dance. For the 1936 Games she choreographed the "Totenklage" in the fourth section of the festival. Her group included dancer Oda Schottmüller. During the war she became a member of the resistance group "Rote Kapelle", organised from Moscow. She was arrested in October 1942 and executed on 26th January 1943.



Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

significance. Examples of specific criteria included technique, musical accompaniment, and costumes.⁸ Performance groups were not limited to a specific dance genre, but a group was required to be comprised of a minimum of 10 members. Invitations were sent to all nations competing in the Olympic Games and each nation was encouraged to send its best dancers and dance ensembles to Berlin for this artistic prelude to the Games. National Socialist Germany was anxious to demonstrate its openness to the world.⁹

A programme from 1936 entitled "Internationale Tanzwettspiele anlässlich der 11. Olympiade Berlin, 1936" (International Dance Competitions on the Occasion of the 11th Olympiad Berlin, 1936) specifies in detail "die Künstler und ihre Tänze" (the Artists and their Dances) and cites 14 countries, along with names of their respective dancers and dances. Countries participating in the competition included Australia, Belgium, Bulgaria, Canada, Germany, Greece, India, Italy, Yugoslavia, Netherlands, Austria, Poland, Romania, and Switzerland.¹⁰

One country that was noticeably missing from this international dance gathering in Berlin was the United States of America. Five months before the Olympic Games began, an article in the *New York Times* noted that Martha Graham, one of the country's leading dancers, refused an invitation from Germany to represent the United States in Berlin at the Olympic Games. Details of the invitation were as follows: "Miss Graham received her invitation from the dance division of the German Ministry of Culture and it was signed by Rudolf von Laban, president of the 'Deutsche Tanzbühne,' by the president of the organization

committee of the Eleventh Olympic Games, and by the Reichminister of 'Volksaufklärung, und Propaganda'."¹¹ Graham's reply was clear and to the point:

*I would find it impossible to dance in Germany at the present time. So many artists whom I respect and admire have been persecuted, have been deprived of the right to work for ridiculous and unsatisfactory reasons, that I should consider it impossible to identify myself, by accepting the invitation, with the regime that has made such things possible. In addition, some of my concert group would not be welcomed in Germany.*¹²

The organisers tried to convince Graham that, if she would consent to coming to Berlin, her Jewish dancers would "... receive complete immunity." Graham, however, was not dissuaded. No American dance group went to Berlin in 1936.¹³ It is interesting to note that Graham was deemed so essential to the international competitions, as the leading protagonist of American modern dance, that she had received an invitation from Goebbels himself by short-wave transmitter, even before the official invitation arrived at the close of 1935.¹⁴

England, France, Sweden, and Russia also declined to send performers to Berlin.¹⁵ One nation, however, that answered the call enthusiastically was Canada. Russian-born ballet dancer and teacher, Boris Volkoff, had defected from the Moscow State Ballet while performing in China in 1924, and was enjoying success with his student productions in the city of Toronto. According to an article in *The Beaver*, "He simply saw Berlin as a wonderful opportunity to promote Canadian dance. He knew that the best way to capture Canadian attention was to win international recognition."¹⁶

Volkoff's programme for Berlin included an interesting variety: a group ballet choreographed to classical music, a polka solo to the music of Strauss, and a North American Indian-inspired ballet, among others.¹⁷ When the Volkoff company arrived in Berlin, "They were told to stay close to the theatres, restaurants and their accommodation and not to wander."¹⁸ Few signs of trouble were evident, since Goebbels had ensured that Berlin was cleansed of anti-Semitic signs and flagrant Nazi literature. The city was in order and Berliners were polite. The taped, broken windows of Jewish stores were the only indication of underlying trouble.¹⁹

Folk, Ballet, and Modern Dance in Competition

The anticipated effect of the international dance competitions was not fulfilled, due in part to the variation in artistic standards among both soloists and ensembles, and to the three distinct dance genres competing against one another. The folk genre comprised a large part of the German repertoire, since

traditional German culture had been recently promoted by Goebbels and the National Socialist Government.²⁰ One example was the *Winninger Winzer-, Trachten- und Tanzgruppe* (a folklore dance group wearing typical costumes of the Moselle valley) from Penzberg which enjoyed the popular appeal of its three dances: *Kronentanz* (crown dance), *Schuhplattler* (Bavarian 'slapping' dance), and *Mühlrad* (mill wheel dance.)²¹ The Germans also showcased Mary Wigman and Harald Kreutzberg, the leading European modern dancers of the time and well-known for their North American tours.²²

The Bulgarians, Romanians, and other European countries also focused on the folk genre, as did the Indians by showcasing a Hindu myth based on their classical dance tradition.²³ The Yugoslavs, however, apparently captivated the audience with their programme of six stylized Croatian folk dances two days before the Olympics began. In a 1944 publication, *Kroatische Volksweisen und Volkstänze* (Croatian Folk Melodies and Folk Dances), Dr. Vinko Žganeč stated the following:

*German newspapers spared no kudos in their enthusiastic reports and reviews of the Croatian dances. And that's not all: the audience, numbering an impressive 3000, became so excited that they burst into spontaneous applause in the midst of the performance itself and set to clapping in time with the music, thus accompanying the dances with an expression of genuine empathy, and sharing the dancers' enthusiasm for their art.*²⁴

It was not only the folk dancers from Croatia who captivated the audience; a prima ballerina with the Zagreb National Opera, Mia Slavenska (real name: Mia Čorak), also made her mark. According to a 1997 article by Branko Franolić in the *Croatian Times*: "In 1936 she won first prize at the Dance Olympiad in Berlin, which took place alongside the Olympic Games. She danced with Kreutzberg and Wigman, and her spectacular success there led to guest appearances ... in Paris ... and ... in London."²⁵ Both folk and ballet genres garnered success, as did the modern dance. Notable performances by a full complement of German dancers included internationally acclaimed Mary Wigman and Harald Kreutzberg.

Prizes and Politics

It was not until the award ceremony at the close of the competitions that Laban, as chief of the adjudicators, addressed the international participants and stated that "... one could not measure artistic achievement as in sport with a stopwatch and metre measurement, especially when such a variety of genres were

incomparable, such as the folk dance and ballet."²⁶ In fact, it would have been nearly impossible to create enough categories for proper comparison and, therefore, everyone was to receive a diploma. More than diplomas were awarded, however; medals and other prizes were given to the outstanding dancers and groups. Among those receiving special recognition were Germans Harald Kreutzberg and Mary Wigman, Mia Čorak-Slavenska from Yugoslavia, and the group from India. What began as an international dance competition, therefore, became an international festival.²⁷

Apparently, it had been clear to the Canadians when they arrived in Berlin that Laban had preferred an international dance festival as opposed to a competition from the start, but the Nazis wanted a competition in hopes that it "... would bring easy glory to the predominant German groups."²⁸ As for the Canadians, Volkoff and his dancers were pleased with their performance and reception by the audience, but they did not receive any special awards. Volkoff, however, "... glowingly reported on the virtually valueless diploma, medal and silver cup"²⁹ he was given in an attempt to capitalize on this Olympic opportunity and expand his popularity at home.

What became of Laban and Wigman, the two most noted German modern dancers, after the conclusion of the dance competition-turned-festival? Rudolf von Laban left Berlin to recover from the rigors of the past weeks, but was immediately placed under house arrest by German authorities, subjected to investigation about



Gret Palucca (1902–1993) was amongst the most significant of Wigman's pupils. Her mother was a Hungarian Jew. At the festival, Palucca danced a waltz.

Harald Kreutzberg (1902–1968) pictured with Yvonne Georgi – danced on the opening day of the 1936 Games in a performance of the ‘heroes’ battle’ with 60 “warriors”, which ended with their death. The Nazi regime used him as a figurehead even though he was homosexual. Others with the same sexual orientation were sent to concentration camps.



his past (particularly his membership in the Freemasons from 1917–1918), and had to prove his Aryan ancestry through documentation, which he did. His work as head of the German Master Studio for Dance was subsequently diminished, as was his salary. When his contract expired on 31st March 1937, Laban was jobless. Nazi officials placed him in an apartment at Schloss Banz cloister, in Bayreuth. When schoolchildren wanted to arrange summer courses in Frankfurt and Hamburg for Laban, they were cautioned not to support him or they would forfeit their chance to take part in the exhibitions, “Kraft durch Freude” (Power through Joy). In November 1937 Laban managed to escape to Paris, and, in 1938, he went to England, where he gradually recovered from poor health, both physically and mentally.³⁰ He died in 1958, but not without leaving to the world his systematic method of recording dance movements known as Labanotation.³¹

As for Mary Wigman, she realized that the Nazis had no use for her after the Olympic Games, and she was now alone in her fight for German modern dance. Once an internationally recognised dancer, both she and her work were now categorized as degenerate. The Nazis saw her as an intellectual – an expressionist – and she was treated as such. Support for her school was cancelled. Cultural isolation became difficult for Wigman; many of her Jewish friends had quietly left their homeland by 1936. She eventually ignored Nazi ideology, ceased to compromise her work (which she admitted to having done in the past), and restored herself as an artist.³² Wigman died in West-Berlin in 1973.

Conclusion

The Nazis wanted an international dance competition associated with the Olympic Games; in the end, it became a festival. German dancers in the 1930s had

to conform to the restrictions of the regime’s ideology, or not perform. Art, including dance, was to be made accessible to everyone, that is, to the masses. Hitler’s philosophy was that of community: ‘we’ – not ‘I’ or ‘you’”. The regime’s restrictions against expressionism and intellectual works, therefore, took their toll on Germany’s leading dancers of the era, especially Mary Wigman and Rudolf von Laban. ■

- 1 Richard Stanton, *The Forgotten Olympic Art Competitions* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 2000), 6.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 3 *Ibid.*, 14–15 (The arts competitions from 1912 through 1932 included architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and literature. See pages 34, 58, 79, 95, and 149.)
- 4 *Ibid.*, 156–161.
- 5 Isa Partsch-Bergsohn, *Modern Dance in Germany and the United States: Crosscurrents and Influences* (United States: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1994), 92. Note: Isa Partsch-Bergsohn was a former student (dancer) of Mary Wigman at the Music Academy in Leipzig during WWII.
- 6 Hedwig Müller/Patricia Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer: Dance of Expression in Germany between 1900 and 1945* (Giessen: Anabas-Publishing, 1993), 164. (from Carl und Liselott Diem-Archiv, Deutsche Sporthochschule, Cologne, Germany. Translated from German by Paul Nissler, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of German and Slavic Languages, Penn State University, University Park, PA, January 2004).
- 7 Partsch-Bergsohn, *Modern Dance*, 92–93.
- 8 Müller/Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer*, 164, 168.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 168.
- 10 *INTERNATIONALE TANZWETTSPIELE* (Berlin: Maurer & Dimmick GMBH., 1936), 3. (translated from German by Richard Crum, Berlitz translator, June, 2002)
- 11 “German Invitation Refused by Dancer,” *New York Times*, 13th March, 1936, 10:6. (Note: Dr. Theodor Lewald was President of the Organising Committee for the Games of the XIth Olympiad, *American Olympic Committee Report 1936*, p. 21.)
- 12 *Ibid.*
- 13 Müller/Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer*, 169.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 168–169.
- 15 John Ayre, “Berlin, 1936: Canadian Dancers at Hitler’s Olympics,” *The Beaver*, 76, No.1, February–March 1996: 36.
- 16 *Ibid.*
- 17 *Ibid.*, 36–38.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 38.
- 19 *Ibid.*
- 20 Müller/Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer*, 169.
- 21 “Curriculum Vitae” of the Winner-, Trachten- und Tanzgruppe, from www.tanzgruppe.winningen.de/ges (accessed 23rd June 2003), and *INTERNATIONALE TANZWETTSPIELE*, 10.
- 22 Müller/Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer*, 170.
- 23 *Ibid.*, 169–170.
- 24 Dr. Vinko Žganec, *Kroatische Volksweisen und Volkstänze* (Zagreb, 1944), 44–45. (translated by Richard Crum, Berlitz translator, June 2002).
- 25 Branko Franolić, “Mia Slavenska on the London Stage”, *Croatian Times*, Issue 20, October/November 1997, from www.croatianmall.com/croatia/franolic/miaslavenska.htm (accessed 23 June 2003).
- 26 Müller/Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer*, 170.
- 27 *Ibid.*
- 28 Ayre, *Berlin, 1936*, 40.
- 29 *Ibid.*, 42.
- 30 Müller/Stöckemann, *Everyone is a Dancer*, 170.
- 31 Terry Kirby, “Eight years after the revolution started, modern dance arrives in its £22m home”, *Independent*, 6th February 2003, from <http://enjoyment.independent.co.uk/theatre/news/story.jsp?story=375937> (accessed 23rd June 2003).
- 32 Partsch-Bergsohn, *Modern Dance*, 94.

Collectors' Mania at the "Bautzen" building in 1936

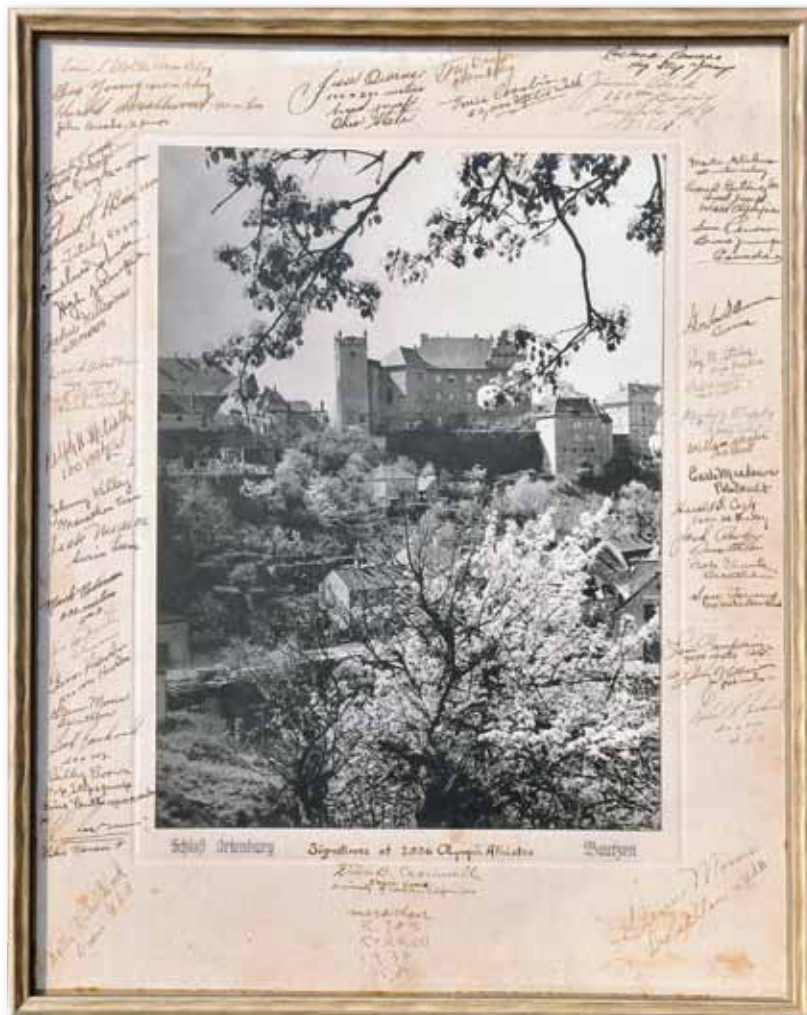
When the "Propaganda Games" of Berlin 1936 are examined, the economic impact on Germany is often overlooked. The import and export of Reichsmarks was forbidden, so they offered an opportunity to take in foreign currency. Hitler claimed that the 500,000 foreigners who stayed in Berlin generated half a billion for the state coffers.

That was achieved by the introduction of the "Reisemark" [travel mark], which had to be bought by the foreigners in their own countries: In addition travelers were offered a 60 per cent discount providing they paid in foreign currency and the journey lasted at least seven days.

The Olympic Village also played an important part in a campaign to make Germany better known as a travel destination. The architects designed it so that the layout corresponded to the German map. The 140 buildings were given the names of beautiful towns. In their lounges, the town crests were painted on the walls.

The twin rooms which accommodated the participants were decorated with photographs of well-known buildings. Towards the end of the Games athletes were encouraged to take these with them as souvenirs. Many had them signed by fellow Olympians. This "collectors' mania" increased the value. The demand was greatest of all at the "Bautzen" building, where the four times gold medallist Jesse Owens roomed with high jump champion Cornelius Johnson. Long queues formed in order to get a signature before his departure on the 10th August.

Among the few pictures that have survived is one which the residents of the "Bautzen" building presented to the leading steward as a thank you gift. It is decorated with 47 signatures, including 20 of 25 American athletes who won medals. Others who signed included marathon champion Kitei Son (Sohn Kee Chung) and Finland's wonder runner Paavo Nurmi. ■ (VK)



US athletes in front of the "Bautzen" building.



Jesse Owens signs the photo for the German steward. Picture: Volker Kluge Archive

“He will win more competitions” – Talent promotion in ancient Greece*

By Christian Mann



Greek boxers.
Panathenaic amphora
from Vulci. A boxer
who triumphed at
the Great Panathenaia
in Athens received 60
of these amphoras
filled with olive oil.

Photo: AKG Images

Introduction

The promotion of talent is a key issue in the world of sport. First-class sports training entails considerable costs, which differ greatly depending on the discipline. Training grounds and equipment must be provided, coaches paid, and the time spent on training limits the possibilities of earning money outside the training ground. For that reason, we can learn much about a given society by the way it treats young athletes who have not shown great successes as of yet, but hold promise for considerable achievements in the future. For social mobility of sports, it is crucial to have effective support for talented, but poor athletes, who cannot afford adequate training. The status of sports in the society can be measured by the resources allocated to it by the state, organisations, and private persons. An examination of eligibility criteria shows how success is defined by a society and what importance is attached to it.¹

The following discussion originated as part of a research project “The self-presentation of athletes in the Hellenistic period: social identities, political identities, ethnic identities”, funded by the German Research Council (Mannheim, 2014-2016).

The question of talent development in ancient Greece has not been examined so far, since research has focused on prizes and rewards for victorious athletes. Since the 1970s, the material dimension has been emphasized,² in contrast to the previously prevalent view, in which ancient athletes were ‘amateurs’.³ While prizes at the Olympic Games were indeed symbolic in the form of an olive branch from the holy olive tree of Zeus, other competitions offered valuable material prizes and even money to attract famous athletes.

Prizes were not the only source of income for athletes: the Greek cities not only honoured their Olympic winners, but paid bonuses and rewarded them with tax privileges.⁴

Researchers broadly agree on the above; however, this article will focus on a different topic: not the material benefits *after* success has been achieved, but the promotion of talent *before* a potential success. It will deal with the question of which people and which institutions enabled promising but penniless athletes to compete at the Olympic Games and other major competitions. I shall present the key texts and focus on the question of which groups of people spent money on talent promotion and what motivated them.

Royal patronage

The Greek historian Polybius related an interesting anecdote that allegedly took place in 216 BC at the boxing contest final in Olympia. One of the opponents, Cleitomachus of Thebes,⁵ was the most famous and most successful boxer of his time.

He had the character of being an invincible athlete, and, as his reputation was spread all over the world, King Ptolemy⁶ is said to have been inspired with the ambition of putting an end to it. He therefore had Aristonicus the boxer, who was thought to have unusual physical capabilities for that kind of thing trained with extraordinary care, and sent to Greece. When he appeared on the arena at Olympia a great number of the spectators, it seems, immediately showed their favour for him, and cheered him on, being rejoiced that someone should have had the courage to make some sort of stand against Cleitomachus.

According to Polybius, as the spectators applauded Aristonicus more and more enthusiastically, Cleitomachus allegedly addressed them as follows:

*Were they not aware that Cleitomachus was at that moment fighting for the honour of Greece, Aristonicus for that of king Ptolemy? Would they prefer an Egyptian to carry off the crown by beating Greeks, or that a Theban and Boeotian should be proclaimed victor in boxing over all comers?*⁷

These words apparently had the audience cheering him on from this moment and carrying him to victory. This anecdote is interesting in many respects. What is important for us is the king's care for an unknown athlete. According to Polybius, Ptolemy IV wanted to put an end to Cleitomachus' glory. One does not want to assume that Ptolemy bore any kind of personal animosity against the Theban boxer. Rather, he wanted a man from his kingdom to take the place of the greatest champion. Cleitomachus describes his opponent as fighting for the glory of his king while portraying himself as the representative of true Hellenism and Hellenic freedom.

Ptolemy IV was neither the first nor the last classical monarch to have attached particular importance to athletic competitions. In the horse and chariots races at the Olympic Games and other prestigious events, we find many kings and tyrants, for it was not jockeys or charioteers, but the horses' owners who were declared the winners. Hence, the monarchs were able to apply their financial strength to the purchasing and breeding of the best horses. In the lists of Olympic winners, we find, among others, the tyrant Hiero of Syracuse (476 and 468 BC),⁸ the Macedonian King Philipp II (340 BC),⁹ who later are joined by members of the imperial Roman dynasty (Tiberius in 4 BC and Germanicus in 17 AD). In the third century BC, it was especially the Ptolemaic dynasty, ruling in Egypt, who succeeded in scoring numerous victories.¹⁰

A victory at the Olympic Games brought tremendous glory, which served not (only) to flatter the vanity of monarchs, but was also relevant in terms of political power. Given how strong anti-monarchist tendencies were in Greek and Roman antiquity,¹¹ autocrats faced the challenge of legitimizing their position. The most important instrument in gaining acceptance lay in achieving victories – for the winner was regarded

as being in favour with the Gods and was able to consolidate his power.¹² Success on the battlefield carried the greatest importance, but autocrats also capitalized on victories in the sphere of sports to stabilize their rule.

In the case of the Ptolemaic dynasty, there is another aspect to consider. Although their family was of Macedonian lineage, and their power based on a Graeco-Macedonian elite, some Greeks still considered them half-barbarians, because they were kings of Egypt. Cleitomachus' speech clearly shows that it was at least dubious whether they belonged to the Greek world. This is where success in the sphere of sports proved to be helpful: since the Olympic Games, and competitive sports in general, constituted the key characteristic of Greek culture, the Ptolemaic rulers made it absolutely clear with their athletic success that they did have a place in the Greek world.¹³



Gold coin from the time of Ptolemy IV Philopator (221-204 BC)

Photo: ©Trustees of the British Museum

While monarchs could gain victories as owners of horses, as a rule they did not personally participate in the so-called gymnastic disciplines (athletics and martial arts). They did, however, make efforts to attract good athletes. The sprinter Astylos, multiple Olympic champion between 488 and 480 BC, scored his last victories for Syracuse rather than for his hometown of Croton. According to the ancient author Pausanias, he had switched his *polis* in order to honour the powerful tyrant Gelon of Syracuse. Angered by this 'betrayal', the citizens of Croton brought down the statue of Astylos and turned his former house into a prison.¹⁴

Support given to Aristonicus by the king Ptolemy IV was similar. In this case, however, the aim was not to recruit a champion, but to develop a future star. According to Polybius, Aristonicus' physical force was outstanding; however, this would have been of little use without careful technical training. Using his power and financial means, Ptolemy did a lot to provide Aristonicus with the best training conditions. In the end, the final goal—an Olympic victory – was narrowly missed. Four years later, an Egyptian called Crates won the Olympic run of the length of one stadium (192.27 m).¹⁵ Nothing else is known about his career, but it is possible that he



Christian Mann | *1971. 1999 Ph.D. in Ancient History, University of Freiburg/Germany. 2006-2011 Heisenberg Scholar, 2007/08 Visiting Scholar at Brown University. Since 2011 Professor of Ancient History at the University of Mannheim. Many publications on ancient sport, co-editor of the journal *Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum*. Leader of a project on Hellenistic athletes funded by the German Research Council (DFG). International Master in chess and member of the BRD youth squad 1988-1990.



The Faiyum-Oasis in Middle Egypt.

Photo: Zorbey Tunçer

received special assistance from the king Ptolemy IV. This ruler seems to have placed a special emphasis on effective development of talent.

Talent promotion by rich benefactors

A few years earlier, a successful tradesman called Zeno lived in Egypt and maintained excellent relations with the royal court. His extensive archive, containing more than 1000 manuscripts, was found in 1915 in Philadelphia (Faiyum-Oasis). It is an important source for the economic and social history of this period. One of the documents is a letter dated the 2nd Xandikos of the year 29, or, according to our calendar 5th May 257 BC:¹⁶

If you are in health, and in other respects are progressing as you desire it would be well. I also am in good health. You wrote to me about Pyrrhus, that if we know for certain that he will win, to train him, but if not, that it should not happen both that he is distracted from his lessons and that useless expense

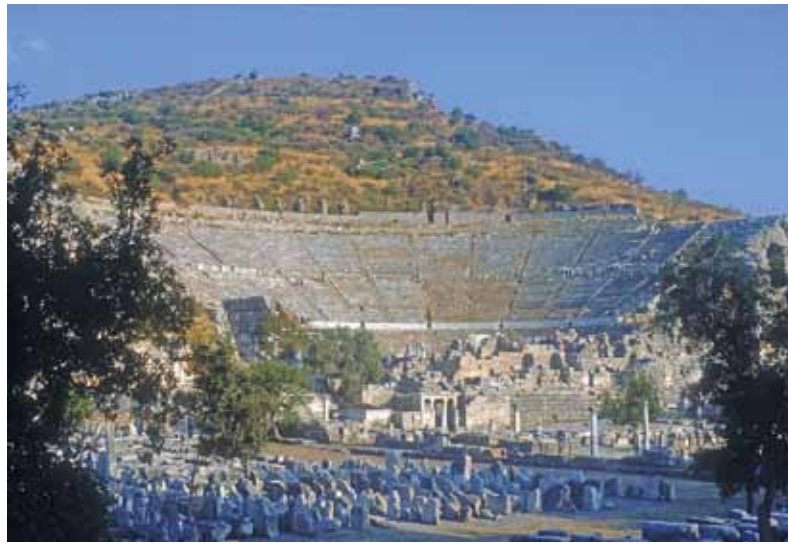
is incurred. Well, so far from being distracted from his lessons, he is making good progress in them, and in his other studies as well. As for 'knowing for certain', that is in the lap of the gods, but Ptolemaeus says that he will be far superior to the existing competitors, despite the fact that at the moment he lags behind them, because they have got a long start and we have only just begun training. You should also know that Ptolemaeus does not charge any fees, as do the other trainers, but simply hopes to win you a crown in return for the kindnesses which you, when a complete stranger, volunteered to him, and are doing everything necessary concerning the palaistra. See about the mattress about which I wrote you earlier, and bring it down with you. And buy a trunk for six drachmae and bring it down. And send two jars of honey, so that we may have some; for it is useful. (transl. T.C. Skeat)

The sender of the letter, a certain Hierocles, was the principal of the gymnasium in Alexandria. Gymnasia appeared in the 6th century BC as athletic training facilities,¹⁷ and even though they evolved into general educational institutions, in the ancient world they retained their athletic significance.¹⁸ A young athlete named Pyrrhus trained in the gymnasium in Alexandria, and apparently Zeno asked Hierocles about the boy's progress. Hierocles gives a reassuring answer: although the boy is still weaker than other young athletes, this is only due to the fact that he started his systematic training later. According to the predictions of his coach Ptolemaeus, Pyrrhus would soon surpass the others. The fact that Ptolemaeus received no money for the training of his protégé suggests that he still owed Zeno a favour. What is interesting is that general educational achievements also play a role in the letter along with athletic performance. Hierocles expressly emphasizes Pyrrhus' good progress in areas other than sports.

Letter concerning a young athlete at the gymnasium in Alexandria (P.Cair. Zen. I 59060)

Photo: Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford/ Photographic Archive of Papyri in the Cairo Museum.





Ephesus, view of the theatre. Far left: Stele of the wrestler Marcus Aurelius Hermagoras (Inscriptiones Graecae XIV 739). Naples, late 2nd century AD. The wreaths are symbols of Hermagoras' victories.

Photo: AKG Images

What was Zeno's motivation behind his support for Pyrrhus? Criboire hypothesizes that the rich tradesman may have been sexually interested in the boy.¹⁹ This is a speculative claim and is not substantiated by the text. In this case it would also be illogical to train the boy in distant Alexandria and to receive information about his performance by means of letters. In fact, the text gives a rather clear indication of Zeno's goal – the allusion to the victor's wreath which Pyrrhus showed the potential to win in the future, which is stated even more clearly in a different version of this letter: "You (Zeno) will be crowned." Wreaths were the prizes in Olympia and at other major competitions and as such symbolized athletic fame in general.²⁰ An athlete wishing to visualize his track record of success would draw on the depiction of wreaths.

When Zeno is addressed as the potential recipient of a wreath, this is not a reference to success achieved by him personally. It means that Zeno would bask in the athletic glory that Pyrrhus was likely to earn in the future as the man who had provided support for the athlete and made his training possible.²¹ Since Pyrrhus exhibited a training deficit in comparison to other boys, according to Hierocles, one can conclude that Pyrrhus did not come from a social class that would normally visit gymnasia. Perhaps, like Aristonicus, he attracted attention because of his athletic physique, in combination with diligent coaching, and the fact that Zeno made it possible for him to attend a gymnasium – while not forgetting his own interests!

Talent support by the polis

The Greek city-states (*poleis* in Greek) took care of their athletes' training. The best example is provided by an inscription from Ephesus, which records a decree from the early third century BC.²² Only fragments of the inscription are preserved; however, it can be

reliably reconstructed in its essential aspects: the people and council of Ephesus resolve that the *polis* shall finance the athletic training of the young athlete Athenodorus,²³ son of Semon, as well as his travels to competitions. Since the city had no money, two other men were to acquire the citizenship of Ephesus for counter-financing purposes.²⁴ The application was submitted by a coach called Therippides, who pointed out that Athenodorus had already won his first victories and that even greater success could be expected in the future. Line three of the inscription reads: "He will win more competitions".

Little is known of Athenodorus' social background, however, the fact that he received support from public sources strongly suggests that he did not come from an affluent background.²⁵ Enormous sums were necessary to pay good coaches,²⁶ and overseas travels to the prestigious venues in Olympia, Delphi and Nemea were even more expensive. The investment in Athenodorus must have appeared worthwhile to the citizens, as he had already been granted a benefit in recognition of his athletic performance before – since he is mentioned in another inscription:²⁷

Since Athenodorus, son of Semon – he lives in Ephesus and pays the same taxes as Ephesian citizens – won the boxing contest for juniors at the Nemean Games, allowed himself to be proclaimed an Ephesian and has won a wreath for the city, the people and the council have decided to make Athenodorus, son of Semon, a citizen of Ephesus – in accordance with the proclamation already made during the competition – and to grant him all the privileges stipulated by law for a boy who has achieved a victory with his body in Nemea. It has also been decided to have his name officially proclaimed in the market-place, in exactly the same way as for other victors. The city's bookkeeper shall pay Athenodorus the sum provided by law for those who win a wreath. (...)"

This text notes that Athenodorus was not an Ephesian citizen by birth. His name is Greek – therefore, he is likely to have been a Greek resident in Ephesus, but of non-Ephesian origin. He must clearly, however, had strong ties to his domicile. He had himself proclaimed an Ephesian citizen when he won at the Nemean Games.

This was not understood as arrogance by the Ephesians, but as homage to Athenodorus' place of residence. For that reason, the Ephesians rewarded him with citizenship, thus genuinely making him an Ephesian. He also received the bonus provided for victorious local athletes. The reason for this is mentioned in the inscription: Athenodorus achieved considerable fame for the city – once more, the wreath symbolizes athletic fame. There were two stages to Athenodorus' development: firstly, he was granted citizenship; secondly, he was awarded a sports scholarship covering the expenses for trainers and for travels to competitions.

Athenodorus was not an isolated case. It was also in the third century BC that Ephesus granted financial aid to another athlete.²⁸ Ephesus appears to have been a pioneer in promoting sports talent,²⁹ but other *poleis* also took care of their athletes. Gymnasia were built everywhere, and coaches were paid from public funds in order to provide athletic instruction to the town's youth. Today this would be called mass sports. Special rules for talented individuals were also enacted. One example is documented in an inscription from Miletus, a city not far from Ephesus. It is a donation by a rich citizen (200/199 BC):³⁰ when a

youth athlete distinguished himself with outstanding achievements so that he stood a chance of winning at a major event, he had the right to be accompanied by a coach. However, the coach had to apply for leave to the principal of the gymnasium and to appoint a substitute for the period of his absence. In this case, the *polis* financed top athletes indirectly by paying the coaches their salaries even while they were absent. This ensured proper support for the athlete at the competition site and to maximize his chances of success. It is generally known that the Greek *poleis* rooted for their athletes and that successful athletes became symbolic figures for all of the citizens.³¹ Researchers have long ignored the fact that the *poleis* also made financial contributions to enable talented, but penniless, athletes to participate in events and to enjoy opportunities for success. Their motivation is self-evident: the *polis* of the winner, whose fame radiated upon the whole community, was always mentioned at the awards ceremony in Olympia and other venues. In particular, we need to bear in mind the fierce competition among the Greek *poleis*: sporting success was seen as a yardstick – a thoroughly modern method – to measure the power of a city.

Conclusion

Three methods of promoting sporting talent can be identified in ancient Greece: funding could be provided by kings, rich private individuals, or by the *polis*. According to the sources, motivation was always the same: what the athlete offered in return was not financial repayment – promoting talent did not have the form of a 'credit' – but allowing others to participate in the glory of his athletic triumph.

The examination of sources yields further similarities; the oldest evidence for all three methods goes back to the third century BC, and all of them refer to Asia Minor and Egypt. This is interesting and significant because of a geographical shift that took place in Greek sports at this time. While the most important and most prestigious events continued to be staged on the Greek mainland (first and foremost the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian Games), the most successful athletes now came from regions that had been under Persian rule until Alexander's campaign.³² From this moment on, this was where the decisive sporting innovations originated.³³ Intensified sports sponsorship was one of them. ■

The stadium of Nemea

Photo: Christian Mann



1 Pritchard, D.: *What is the value of Olympic Gold?*, in: Kathimerini 2013-02-27.

2 Most important in this area are the studies of Harry Pleket, e.g. Pleket, H.W.: *Games, Prizes, Athletes and Ideology. Some Aspects of the History of Sport in the Greco-Roman World*, in: Stadion 1, 1975, 49-89. id.: *Einige Betrachtungen zum Thema 'Geld' und 'Sport'*,



The palaestra of Olympia. In the centre: Young athletes preparing for training. Red-figured krater of Euphronios (ca. 500 BC). Far left: Scene of a pankration fight. Antonio Canova (1757–1822), copy of a Hellenistic sculpture (2nd half of the 3rd century BC). In the pankration, boxing, kicking and holding were all permitted.

Photos: AKG Images, Christian Mann

in: Nikephoros 17, 2004, 77–89. id.: *Zur Soziologie des antiken Sports*, in: Nikephoros 14, 2001, 157–212.

3 For the history of research and the reception of ancient Greece in the Olympic Movement see Young, D.C.: *How the Amateurs Won the Olympics*, in: Raschke, W.J. (Ed.): *The Archaeology of the Olympics* (Madison 1988), 55–75.

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11 The anti-monarchic tradition in classical antiquity is stressed by Luraghi, N.: *Ruling Alone: Monarchy in Greek Politics and Thought*, in: idem (Ed.), *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone. Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean* (Stuttgart 2013).

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15 No. 614 in the “Database of Hellenistic Athletes”. Buraselis 1993, 260.

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The Rumoured Football Matches at the 1896 Olympics

By Bill Mallon and Volker Kluge



Olympic football 1906: Smyrna versus Saloniki. The games took place in the interior of the velodrome in Neo Phaleron. The pitch was 15 metres narrower than usual. The team from Smyrna (dark clothing), which was formed from British and French players, came second.

Photo: Sveriges Deltagande i Olympiska Spelen i Athen 1906

The first modern Olympics were held in Athens in 1896, and there were nine sports on the programme – athletics, cycling, fencing, gymnastics, shooting, swimming, tennis, weightlifting, and wrestling.¹ In addition, there were a number of other sports that were considered. These included cricket, equestrian, ice skating, mountaineering, paume, pentathlon, polo, rowing, water polo, and sailing.²

The other sports are mentioned by Mallon and Widlund³, with descriptions of the purported plans for those sports, and why they were not held, if that was known. The rationale for including those sports was that they were usually included in early programme lists and publications such as *Bulletin du CIO*.⁴

Notifications from the 1894 Congress were published and included mention of some of these sports, including football in the first release in 1894. In the releases of the *CIO Bulletin* in November 1894, both rugby football and association football (soccer/football) are included on the potential 1896 programme. When a later programme was published in the *CIO Bulletin* of January 1895, football was not mentioned, and football is also excluded from the programme of 1st April 1896, only a few days before the start of the Olympics.

Note that football is not included in our list above, but actually Mallon and Widlund did discuss the possibility of football. They wrote as follows:

*Football is sometimes listed as having been contested in 1896 as an exhibition sport or demonstration sport at the Olympic Games, although no such designation existed at the time of the 1896 Olympics. Supposedly, a match between a Greek club and a Danish club was conducted. No 1896 source supports this and we think this is most likely an error which has been perpetrated in multiple texts. No such match occurred.*⁵

That is quite dogmatic and makes it seem certain that no matches took place as part of the 1896 Olympic Games. Since that book was written (1998), the rumour or possibility that football matches were contested at the 1896 Olympics has not died. In fact, over the last few months, both Mallon and Kluge have been contacted by sports historians who have been quite firm in their insistence that such matches did take place. Further, they gave the results of two of the matches.

When we look at the sources for the Mallon/Widlund book, all of the pertinent sources from 1896 were used, including the *Official Report*⁶. Further, Widlund had access to, and photocopies of, all the main Athenian newspapers from 1896 and used those to review all the results of the 1896 Olympics.⁷ Widlund found no mention that any such football matches took place in any of those newspapers. There is also no discussion of such matches in the *Official Report* which, even if they were only demonstrations or exhibitions, would likely have been included. Finally, the daily programmes from the 1896 Olympics are available and have nothing about football matches being played.⁸

The International Federation of Football History & Statistics (IFFHS) put out a 2-volume book on the early Olympic tournaments:

*Already in 1894, it was discussed in Paris which sports should become Olympic disciplines two years later. Originally, football had also been one of those. Some countries had made efforts to field an Olympic football team, but in the end failed due to lacking funds and enthusiasm, or else poor national organization.*⁹

Other football historians have studied the Olympic tournaments, and there is a book in English by Canadian football historian Colin José.¹⁰ He does not even have a sentence related to an 1896 tournament or match.

There are many websites devoted to the history of football. One such site is www.rsssf.com. On their page on the Olympics no mention is made of any match.¹¹

Former ISOH President Karl Lennartz and the German sports historian Jürgen Buschmann wrote a series of books on the Olympic tournaments from 1900–1936. In the first volume¹² they say nothing about an 1896 matches, only noting that Germany considered sending a football team but never did so.¹³ This is likely based on the

report of the Imperial Embassy in Athens to the German Reich government of 15th April 1896¹⁴, and the detailed report by Professor Hueppe, which was published in *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*.¹⁵ In both reports, a football tournament is not mentioned.

More recent interest in the possibility of an 1896 Olympic football tournament may have come about from the publication of the book by David Goldblatt, *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Football*,¹⁶ in which he states that "... teams from Izmir, Athens and Denmark competed in an unofficial tournament at the time the games were taking place."

So what about these purported matches, and their scores, that were allegedly held at the 1896 Olympics? We have both received this information, and the scores are listed as follows:

Denmark vs. Greece 9-0; Denmark vs. Izmir 5-2.

That certainly looks official. There is a superb book done on the history of Danish participation at the Olympic Games, edited by Hans Agersnap Larsen.¹⁷ He has nothing about Denmark competing in football at the 1896 Olympics.

But something about those match scores looks very familiar. If we look at the 1906 Intercalated Olympic Games in Athens there was a football tournament and there were four matches, with results as follows:

Denmark vs. Athens 9-0; Smyrna vs. Thessaloniki 3-0; Athens vs. Thessaloniki 5-0; Denmark vs. Smyrna 5-1¹⁸

The 1906 Olympic football tournament was contested by Denmark and Greek teams, representing Athens, Thessaloniki, and Smyrna, which is on the coast of Anatolia, and is now known as Izmir, Turkey.

If you look closely at those scores, one of the matches is exactly the same two teams, and same score, as one of the rumoured 1896 matches (Denmark 9, Athens 0), while another (Denmark 5, Smyrna 1), is almost identical, with only the score slightly different (5-1 vs. 5-2), and as noted in the footnote above, the score of that 1906 match appears in both ways. So it appears that the matches that purportedly took place at the 1896 Olympics are actually being copied from those that took place in 1906.

Despite all this evidence to the contrary, we looked at it further. Mallon works with a group of Olympic statisticians termed the OlyMADMen, and this theory was circulated among them. After reviewing the documents the OlyMADMen concluded again that there was no football contested during the 1896 Olympics.

Both of us (Mallon and Kluge) have published multiple books on the Olympics and, because we are human, there are mistakes in those books. We acknowledge that. Further, we willingly admit when we have made a mistake, as both of us are only interested in documenting the actual Olympic history, and we change the data for



Denmark – the Olympic champion of 1906 and winner of the Crown Prince's Cup. The opponent in the final was the team from Athens. As the Danes already led 9:0 at halftime, the Greeks abandoned taking part in the second half.

Photo: De Olympiske: Biografi af danske OL-deltagere 1896-1996

future reference. We are not ashamed of this nor are we reticent to do so, as we only want the historical record to be correct. In order to do that for 1896 football, however, we would want evidence from the 1896 documentary record, either in magazines or newspapers, and no such evidence is available, to the best of our knowledge.

In this case, both of us have known about the possible 1896 Olympic football matches for over 20 years, and we have examined the evidence. At this point we continue to believe that no football matches, or tournament, were held during the 1896 Athens Olympics. ■

- 1 One can actually say 7 as, in that era, weightlifting and wrestling were often contested as part of the athletics programme, but by modern standards, it would be nine sports.
- 2 Mallon, Bill; Widlund, Ture. *The 1896 Olympic Games: Complete Results*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press, 1998.
- 3 Mallon and Widlund. *op. cit.*
- 4 *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*, January 1895, Vol. 3.
- 5 Mallon and Widlund. *op. cit.*
- 6 Coubertin, Pierre de; Philemon, Timoleon; Lambros, Spiridon P.; and Politis, Nikolaos G., editors. *The Olympic Games 776 B.C. - 1896 A.D.; With the approval and support of the Central Council of the International Olympic Games in Athens, under the Presidency of H. R. H. the Crown Prince Constantine*. Athens: Charles Beck, 1896.
- 7 Widlund could read the original Greek sources, while Mallon relied on Ture's expertise.
- 8 1896 Daily Olympic Programmes, available in archive of Volker Kluge.
- 9 International Federation of Football History & Statistics. *Olympic Football Tournaments: 1908-1912-1920-1924-1928-1936*. Kassel, GER: self-published, ca 2000, p. 4.
- 10 Colin José, *Soccer: The International Line-ups & Statistics Series: Olympic Football Part 1 1900-1964*. Humberston, ENG: Soccer Book Publishing Ltd., 1996.
- 11 www.rsssf.com/tables/olympics.html, retrieved 10 February 2017.
- 12 Lennartz, Karl. *Geschichte des Deutschen Reichsausschusses für Olympische Spiele: Heft I - Die Beteiligung Deutschlands an den Olympischen Spielen 1896 in Athen*. Bonn: Peter Wegener, 1981.
- 13 Buschmann, Jürgen; Lennartz, Karl. *Die Olympischen Fußball-Turniere: Band 1 - Erste Schußversuche 1896-1908*. Kassel, GER: AGON Sportverlag, 1999, pp. 10-43.
- 14 Available in archive of Volker Kluge, editor of the *Journal of Olympic History*.
- 15 *Allgemeine Sport-Zeitung*, Wien, November/December 1896.
- 16 David Goldblatt. *The Ball Is Round: A Global History of Football*. New York, NY, USA: Riverhead Books, 2008.
- 17 Larsen, Hans Agersnap, ed. *De Olympiske: Biografi af danske OL-deltagere 1896-1996*. København, DEN: Danmarks Idræts-Forbund, 1996.
- 18 The score of this match is listed variously as 5-1 and 5-2.

Bart Verschoor – From Sailor to Architect

By Bep van Houdt



Windsurfing was first part of the Olympic programme in 1984. Four years later Bart Verschoor competed in Division II, a board made by the Austrian firm Lechner.

Photo: Sjaak van der Linden

Bart Verschoor and I hadn't met since 1988. In the last week of September that year we said goodbye in Pusan, in the south of South Korea. I remember the last interview I had with the Dutch windsurfer. He had just missed winning out on a bronze medal and, now meeting him again in 2016, he was still angry about the American who, in his view, more or less stole the third place from him.

It shows the right spirit in a former sportsman, who has since become an architect and built his own wooden house in the north of Amsterdam, close to the water Y (eye) that divides this charismatic city.

It was pure coincidence I found Bart again, through social media, which flagged up his birthday. I congratulated him and he wrote back, "*Dank je* (Thanks), Bep". I saw he had an atelierstudio. Google, google, google and I found his wooden house via www.atelierbart.nl and we made an appointment for an interview. I took the train to Amsterdam and then the ferry, which reaches the other side of the canal in five minutes. There stood Bart, 29 years older than when we last met, with and now sporting a beard. The sailor with an angel face, was now aged 51 years and looked a bit like a gipsy. But a nice genial gipsy, very socialable and friendly.

An old car brought us quickly to his home. His castle. "With five friends we built this house in three days." Downstairs is his workplace, the first floor is their living quarters and the family sleeps on the top floor. He is home alone; his wife, Annemarie, works in the movie business and the kids are at school. The house is complete, but his ideas are still churning. On the other side of the house he wants to build a guesthouse – Amsterdam is very popular with tourists. It all started when the city council offered inhabitants the chance to buy land. Bart bought and started to build.

Part of the change in direction in his life stems from Pusan. The disappointment of not winning a medal – the man who was 1987 *Rookie of the Year* and won the prestigious Dutch Conny van Rietschoten Trofee (named after the famous sailor) – changed his attitude. As the Dutch say: "Knop om."

So what happened in Pusan? A low low-ranked American by the name of Mike Gebhardt had a bad result in one particular race. Bart: "I think he made tactical errors but he claimed he had problems with his daggerboard." And where the sailors every day by draw got another boat Gebhardt thought he had a reason to complain. So he went to the jury and got an average of the other races he had sailed, that eventually lifted him from a place near the thirties and in the end brought him one point and a third place, just above Bart Verschoor.

Bart was angry: "From the start I had the feeling something was wrong and it took me long time to forget. I had been working so hard for a good result. Because I had to weigh less than 64 kilogrammes, I had eaten only salads – , until I met Dutch sports doctor

Peter Vergouwen. He put me on a high-energy diet. In Pusan I bounced the waves up and down." Until he was surprised by the American: "A long time I had the feeling the result was based on the unfair claiming of a better result for him. It was possibly the American way of fighting. I learned from this case but it didn't make me think like him. Now, after 30 years, I realize unfair or not is part of the game and that altogether it was a wonderful experience."

There was another surprise. Before the Olympics, Bart had been practising with fellow Dutchman Jan Boersma on the North Sea, off the Scheveningen coast, and had beaten him to the one place on the team for Pusan. Jan went on to get citizenship of the Dutch Antilles and, amazingly, won silver. "He came out of the blue", Bart says. "I never, ever, had thought he would finish in front of me."

Bart didn't win an Olympic medal he always had dreamt of. What he did win, however, was an everlasting friendship with New Zealander Bruce Kendall, gold medal winner in Korea. The two still meet. Relationships in the yachting world are as important as anywhere else.

Bart went to build yachts in England during the winter and in the hot and warm months of the year sailed in France, Spain and Italy. He became something of a gypsy, revelling in the sea, sun, harbours and girls.

In 1991, he was different man to the angel face who in 1983 had been introduced to Annemarie by a friend, and spoken with her for an hour. Eight years later he saw her cycling by in the famous Vondelpark in Amsterdam. "Hi Annemarie" he shouted. She was attractive, and he was unlike any of her other friends. At that moment he told her, "I'm going with you, I want to discover other things in my life. My gypsy life ended [so he said! BvH], I chose Annemarie for the love of my life."

He had been introduced to boating by his father at an early age. Of his father he said: "He had built bridges in the war but worked as an advisor thereafter. To escape from work, he went out to sail. Every holiday we had was in a sailboat. He was a dabbler and I became a dabbler too. I made the *smeedvuur*, forging heat, made ironwork. If you can handle a shovel, you can handle everything." Bart went to technical schools "until I ended on the windsurfer". After the Olympics and boatbuilding, he read a magazine about fine woodworking "and was hypnotised from that moment. I started to spend all my money on woodworking machinery."

Bart and his wife and children started to rebuild a tram garage in the western part of the Dutch capital and convert it into a home. The couple both worked part-time, and shared the care of the children to save money on kindergarten. For ten years he built everywhere, earned a lot of money, but lost his identity: "I lost myself", he says. "I wanted to be out in the open, and I got depressed. My wife lost the sailor in me. After two



years I found out the pressure during the professional sailing had been too much." Moreover: "because of the constant tugging the on ropes, my hands, – and in particular my tendon ducts, – had suffered from overloading. I sought and found a place where I could work."

He shows relief: "My wife saw me coming alive again, I got my confidence back and thought: This is the moment I have to succeed. The city offered groundland, we bought it and built a house much cheaper than you if could you buy one. After all this these years I can really say: I'm a lucky man."

When after a few minutes outside the room he asks me on return if I'd like a baked egg.

"I would very much love that", I reply.

"I thought so," says Bart, "it's already done". ■

Bartolomeus „Bart“ Verschoor: from the sonnyboy of 1988 came a self-made man who builds houses of sustainable material.

Photos: Bep van Hout



Sir Hugh Robertson (right) has succeeded Lord Coe as Chairman of the British Olympic Association (BOA). A former Minister for Sport, he continues of long tradition of parliamentarians in this role. In 1905, the founding BOA Chairman Lord Desborough had been a member of parliament (MP) and two of Robertson's immediate predecessors, Coe and Lord Moynihan also served in parliament. (PB)

The Biographies of all IOC Members

Part XXIII

By Philip Barker, Volker Kluge, Bill Mallon and Leif Yttergren



392. | James L. Easton | USA

Born: 26 July 1935,
Los Angeles

Co-opted:
5 September 1994,
replacing Robert
Helmick

Resigned:
31 December 2015
Honorary Member
since 2016

Attendance at
Sessions: Present 21,
Absent 5



Jim Easton graduated from UCLA in 1959 with a degree in engineering. He then joined the family company started by his father, Jas. D. Easton, where they developed the use of aluminum in ski poles and baseball bats. The company also developed new archery equipment. In 1973 he became President of the family company, later renamed BRG Sports.

Easton was President of the International Archery federation (FITA) from 1989–2005, and organised the World Outdoor Target Championships in Los Angeles in 1983. In 1994 he was elected as a Member of the IOC, serving as a Vice-President from 2002–2005. He was inducted into the Archery Hall of Fame in 1997. Easton was a member of the Organizing Committees for the 1996 Atlanta Olympics and 2002 Salt Lake City Winter Olympics. In addition he produced the FITA Technical Film for five Olympic Games.

He has also served as Chairman of Easton Foundations, the family philanthropic foundation. In 1985 UCLA named him to their Board of Trustees. He has been a member of the Board of Visitors for the UCLA Anderson School of Management. In 2015 Easton donated \$11 million (US) to endow the Easton Technology Management Center at the Anderson School of Management. (BM)

Executive Board
Member No. 73
Elected Member:
23 February 2002 –
10 February 2006

Appointed
4th Vice-President
23 February 2002
Appointed
3rd Vice-President
4 July 2003

Appointed
2nd Vice-President
11 August 2004
Appointed
1st Vice-President
9 July 2005

Death of Shunichiro Okano

Shunichiro Okano from Japan died on 2nd February 2017 at a Tokyo hospital. He joined the IOC in 1990 and became Honorary Member in 2012. He was a member of the Olympic Programme (1992–1994) and Sport and Environment (1996–2001) Commissions. See also: JOH, Vol. 24, No. 2/2016, p. 66.



393. | Sir Craig Collins Reddie | Great Britain

Arguably the most influential Briton in international sport for almost fifty years, Reddie has forged a career in sports administration. As President of the International Badminton Federation (IBF), he was instrumental in guiding his sport into the Olympic Games and even did the television commentary. In the wake of the Barcelona 1992 Games, he succeeded Sir Arthur Gold as Chairman of the British Olympic Association (BOA). As he took over, Reddie said that the policies adopted by the British government "have caused the BOA to re-examine the role it might play in British sport".

His time in charge of the National Olympic Committee coincided with the advent of lottery funding which helped achieve unprecedented success for British competitors. It was also an era in which the BOA assumed a much more prominent role. Reddie inherited what proved to be an unsuccessful bid for the 2000 Games by Manchester. It prompted him to suggest that in future only a candidacy from the capital city London would do. There was also a full bloodied bid by London for the 2012 Games which crucially came with enthusiastic government support. Reddie addressed his IOC colleagues in Singapore as London was elected Olympic host city in July 2005. He was subsequently knighted.

In October, barely three months after the success of the bid, Reddie stood down as BOA Chairman to be replaced by Lord Moynihan.

Reddie had been an IOC Member 1994 and was elected to the Executive Board in 2009 at their Session in Copenhagen. He subsequently became IOC Vice-President, the first from Great Britain since the Marquess of Exeter in the sixties.

In 2013, he was elected President of the World Anti Doping Agency (WADA). He was the third man to hold the post and succeeded Australian John Fahey. His tenure came at a difficult time for the Olympic Movement after revelations of systematic doping at the 2014 Winter Games in Sochi.

By profession Reddie was an insurance advisor and worked in partnership with the late David Bloomer, another former IBF President (1965–1969). (PB)



Born: 6 May 1941,
Stirling, Scotland

Co-opted:
5 September 1994,
replacing Dame Mary
Glen-Haig
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0

Executive Board	<i>Appointed</i>
Member No. 88	<i>4th Vice-President</i>
Elected Member:	<i>26 July 2012</i>
9 October 2009 –	<i>Appointed</i>
26 July 2012	<i>3rd Vice-President</i>
Second term:	<i>10 September 2013</i>
26 July 2012 –	<i>Appointed</i>
4 August 2016	<i>2nd Vice-President</i>
	<i>7 February 2014</i>
	<i>Appointed</i>
	<i>1st Vice-President</i>
	<i>3 August 2015</i>

394. | Mohamad "Bob" Hasan | Indonesia

Born into an immigrant family of Chinese descent. At birth he was given the name Zhèng Jiànshèng (The Kiang Seng); on his later conversion to Islam, he took the name Mohamad Hasan but became known as "Bob".

He grew up as a foster-child in the family of the later Lieutenant-General Gatot Subroto (1907–1962) who was then venerated as a national hero in Indonesia. Through his father he had the opportunity to know the then Colonel Suharto.

Suharto was partly responsible for the massacres of 1965/66. It is estimated that between 400,000 and a million Communists and critics of the regime fell victim. In 1967, he overthrew President Sukarno the popular leader of the Indonesian independence movement and appointed himself his successor.

With Suhartos's support Hasan developed into a tycoon. As chairman of the Indonesian Wood Panel Association (Apkindo), he was dubbed "king of the forest", he controlled the entire lucrative wood trade of the country. At the start of the 1990s Apkindo was the world's largest producer of plywood. ▶▶



Born: 24 February
1931, Semarang,
Dutch East Indies

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Expelled:
10 August 2004
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 6,
Absent 4



A successful business man, Hasan also portrayed himself as a sports enthusiast and generous promoter. His career as an official began in 1973 as Vice-Chairman of the Indonesian Golf Association. In 1979 he was elected President of the Indonesian Athletic Federation, and in 1991, he became Chairman of the Asian Amateur Athletic Association. From 1986 he had also been Chairman of Foreign Relations of the NOC of Indonesia. He was also Vice-President of the Olympic Council of Asia (OCA).

In addition he led the Indonesian Weightlifting Federation. He was also a Vice-President of the international federation and President of the South East Asian Gymnastics Confederation. In 1993 he won the right to stage the second half of the FIDE Chess World Championship between Dutchman Jan Timman, and the Russian Anatoli Karpov, in Jakarta.

On 21st May 1998, after prolonged student protests, against the background of the Asia crisis and under international pressure, Hasan's powerful backer Suharto resigned after 32 years of authoritarian rule. Suharto was put on trial where it was proved that he diverted at least \$571 million (US), but the trial was later halted for health reasons.

At the same time Bob Hasan's star sank as well. Three months before Suharto stood down, he had named Hasan Minister of Industry and Trade. Hasan, who was accused, inter alia, of vast slash-and-burn clearance operations, was placed under house arrest. In February 2001 he was accused of embezzling \$243.6 million. The court sentenced him to six years imprisonment and was handed a large fine. He was released before serving the full term.

After his sentence, his future appeared on the agenda of the 2002 Session in Mexico City. A discussion was postponed until the following year and Hasan was provisionally suspended.

The Ethics Commission had recommended his exclusion, and official documents relating to his sentencing were handed in to the IOC Executive Committee. At the 2004 IOC Session Hasan was excluded on the basis of a breach of Rule 20 because of his offences. 101 members voted to exclude him. Three voted against; six abstained. (VK)

396. | Gerhard Heiberg | Norway

Born: 20 April 1939,
Oslo

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 26,
Absent 1
Executive Board
Member No. 76
Elected Member:
4 July 2003 – 7 July
2007
Second term: 7 July
2007 – 9 July 2011



Educated at the Graduate School of Economics and Business Administration, Copenhagen and San José University, California. He is a prominent businessman and public figure in Norway. He is a member of several Boards of Directors and Chairman of the firm Aker A.S and has also served as consul for Togo.

After serving as Chairman, President and CEO of the Lillehammer Olympic Organizing Committee from 1989 to 1994, he was elected to the Norwegian Olympic Committee in 1994.

Heiberg has also been honoured abroad. In 1994 he was awarded the Olympic Order in Gold for his work as organising chief of the Winter Olympics in Lillehammer. Heiberg also wrote a book *Et eventyr blir til – veien til Lillehammer* (1995) about his time working with the Olympics in Lillehammer. He is married to Cath and they have three children. (LY)

395. | Mario Pescante | Italy

As a law student at Rome University, Mario Pescante was an outstanding middle-distance runner and won the Italian Universities Championship (UISP) 1500 metres in 1955. He was also national 1000 metres student champion in 1957.

He began his career in sports administration as Manager and Technical Assistant to the Italian Track and Field Association. At the Olympic Games of 1968 in Mexico City he was attaché to the Italian team.

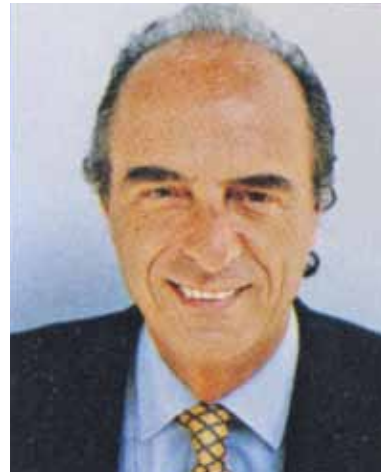
From 1968 to 1973, Pescante worked as a Professor in Financial Sciences at the University of Rome. He then became Secretary-General of the Italian NOC (CONI). He was Chef de Mission of the Italian Olympic team at four Winter and four Summer Games between 1976 and 1988, and in 1993 he succeeded Franco Carraro as CONI President.

Pescante's tenure came under threat when it came to light that the Prorector of the University of Ferrara, Francesco Conconi, also a member of the IOC Medical Commission, charged with detecting Erythropoetin (EPO) in athletes, was accused of providing athletes with drugs. Pescante, too, came under suspicion, because for two years he had kept a private dossier, in which his CONI colleague, Sandro Donati, had attacked Conconi's practices.

Although the CONI National Assembly had expressed their confidence in Pescante in September 1998, he resigned a few days later, after a state commission of investigation had been convened to clarify events. The proceedings lasted several years and finally came to nothing. The last accusations against Conconi were declared beyond the statute of limitations in 2003.

Pescante emerged from this affair undamaged as Secretary of State in charge of Sport at the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities, a position he held from 2001 to 2006. He had also been Professor of Sports Law at the Luiss University in Rome from 1996 to 2004, and a deputy in the Italian parliament. He served as Under-Secretary from 1989 to 2001.

He also retained important international functions: after he had served the Association of European NOCs (ENOC/later EOC) as General-Secretary, he became President in 2001 and retained this position until 2006. In 2009 he was elected IOC Vice-President; however, he stood down in February 2012, after Italian Prime Minister Mario Monti refused to give the required financial guarantees for Rome's 2020 Olympic bid. The decision had been made because of the economic situation in the country. Pescante saw his position as Vice-President as untenable after this but he remained a Member of the IOC. (VK)



Born: 7 July 1938,
Avezzano

Co-opted:
5 September 1994,
replacing Giorgio de
Stefani
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 27,
Absent 0

Executive Board	<i>Appointed</i>
Member No. 83	<i>4th Vice-President</i>
Elected Member:	<i>9 October 2009</i>
10 February 2006 –	<i>Appointed</i>
21 February 2012	<i>3rd Vice-President</i>
Second term:	<i>10 September 2010</i>
9 October 2009 –	<i>Appointed</i>
26 July 2012	<i>2nd Vice-President</i>
	<i>7 February 2011</i>



IOC strengthens its stance in favour of human rights and against corruption

The IOC is moving forward with the implementation of Olympic Agenda 2020 and is making specific changes to the Host City Contract 2024 with regard to human rights, anti-corruption and sustainable development standards.

IOC President Thomas Bach met representatives of the Sport and Right Alliance (SRA), which includes Transparency International Germany, UNI World Athletes, Terre des Hommes, the International Trade Union Confederation, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch.

Reiterating its commitment to integrate the result of its collaboration with the SRA, the IOC adopted new procedures and made changes to the Host City Contract 2024, which now includes a section designed to strengthen provisions protecting human rights and countering fraud and corruption related to the organisation of the Olympic Games. (IOC/IOH)

397. | Arne Lundqvist | Sweden

Born: 23 April 1931,
Stockholm

Co-opted:
5 September 1994,
replacing Matts

Carlgren

Resigned:

31 December 2012

Honorary Member
since 2012

Attendance at

Sessions: Present 19,

Absent 1



In his youth, Ljungqvist was a successful high jumper with a personal best of 2.01 metres and became Swedish high jump champion. For a time, he was ranked in the top three in Europe, but only finished 15th at the 1952 Olympics in Helsinki, which was a great disappointment.

After his athletic career he studied medicine in Stockholm. As a doctor and later professor in medicine, he spent many years at the prestigious Karolinska University Hospital in Stockholm and was head pathologist there from 1983 to 1992. Ljungqvist was amongst the first to become aware of the growth of doping in competitive sports and the health problems this presented. He became a leading figure in international anti-doping circles and played an important role in WADA from its creation in 1999. He was also Chairman of WADA's Health, Medical & Research Committee. He served as WADA Vice-President from 2008 to 2013 and also created the Arne Ljungqvist Anti Doping Foundation.

Ljungqvist also enjoyed a long and successful career as a sport administrator. He was the President of the Swedish Athletic Association from 1973 to 1981 and a member of the IAAF Council from 1976 to 1981. He became IAAF Vice-President in 1981, a role he filled until 1999. He was also Chairman of the IAAF Medical Commission and a key figure in the Swedish Olympic Committee between 1989 and 2011.

Before finally retiring, he spent four years from 1992 to 1996 as Director of the Swedish school of Sport and Health Sciences (GIH). Founded in 1813, GIH is the leading sports university in Sweden. Ljungqvist has received many awards and honours for his long and successful career in sports and medicine and 1986 he was appointed Lord-in-Waiting to H.M. The King of Sweden.

Ljungqvist's life as a researcher and sporting leader is very well documented in a 2008 biography entitled *Dopingjägaren (The Doping hunter)*. He has been a prolific author himself, writing predominantly on doping both for scientific journals and in popular publications. (LY)

398. | Austin Llewellyn Sealy | Barbados

Born: 17 September
1939, Barbados

Co-opted:

5 September 1994

Attendance at

Sessions: Present 27,

Absent 0



A banker and former director of the state-owned Radio, Television, Sports and Tourism Authorities, Sealey was President of the Amateur Athletic Association of Barbados from 1970 until 1978 and again from 1981 to 1988. He held many other posts as a sports administrator including Vice-President of the Central American and Caribbean Athletic Confederation (CACAC/1974–1982), Senior Director of the Central American and Caribbean Sports Organisation (ODECABE/1987–1995) and Honorary Treasurer of the Commonwealth Games Federation (1986). In 1972 Sealey founded the Caribbean Junior Championships (CARIFTA). He was Chairman of the Organising Committee in 1972, 1977, 1985 and 1989.

He began his Olympic career as Honorary Treasurer (1974–1978) and thereafter as President of the Barbados Olympic Association (1982–1996). From 1994 to 2002 he was a member of the Executive Council of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC).

He was appointed Ambassador to the United Kingdom and Israel in 1993 to 1994. In 2015 he was made a Knight Bachelor of the Order of the British Empire in 2015. (VK)

399. | Dr. Robin E. Mitchell | Fiji

An international athlete and hockey player, he studied in Australia and graduated from Adelaide University with a degree in medicine. A practising doctor since 1977, he served as Fiji team physician at Olympic, Commonwealth and South Pacific Games from 1984 to 1992. He also was national hockey coach from 1984 to 1990. He is currently President of Fiji Hockey.

He is considered to be one of the most respected sports administrators in the Pacific region and was Secretary-General of the Fiji Association of Sports and National Olympic Committee (1987–1997) and then President from 1997 to 2005. He also was Vice-President (1989–1993) of the Oceania National Olympic Committees (ONOC). He became the organisation's Secretary-General (1993–2009), since then President. He has served as Vice-President of the Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOC) over the same period.

Mitchell is one of two IOC members from the Pacific Islands and has made use of his background as a doctor. From 1995 to 2014 he was a member of the IOC Medical Commission. Since 2015 he has been Vice-Chairman of the Medical and Scientific Commission. He was also a founding Board member of the World Anti-Doping Agency (WADA). (VK)



Born: 10 March 1946,
Levuka

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 26,
Absent 1

400. | Alpha Ibrahima Diallo Mongo | Guinea

Alpha Ibrahima Diallo studied journalism and civil administration at the École William Ponty in Dakar, Senegal. When independence from France came in 1958, he was nominated Director of the Guinean press agency. In 1960 he was Founder President of the African National Broadcasting and Television Union (URTNA). From 1961 to 1966 he served as Director General of Information Services.

In the late sixties Diallo moved into to the diplomatic service. From 1969 to 1974, he was Ambassador to a number of African countries and the Middle East. He was then appointed Ambassador and permanent representative to the United Nations in New York (1983–1985).

Diallo occupied high government positions on several occasions. He was 'Directeur de Cabinet' to the Prime Minister (1975–1982), Secretary-General of the Communications Ministry (1992–1994) and Minister of Communication and Culture from 1994.

His sporting passion was football. From 1970 to 1990 he was Vice-President of the Guinean Football Federation. He was a member of the NOC of Guinea from 1965 as First Vice-President. In 1986 he was elected President – an office he held till 2001. He was a member of the African Supreme Council for Sport and of the Executive of the Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA/1986–1990). He was President of the organisation from 2001 to 2005, also had a spell as ACNO Vice-President.

Diallo was laid to rest in Cameroon. (VK)



Born: 12 June 1932,
Dittinn, Prefectur
Dalaba
Died: 12 September
2014, Conakry

Co-opted:
5 September 1994
Resigned:
31 December 2012
Honorary Member
since 2013
Attendance at
Sessions: Present 17,
Absent 5

Executive Board
Member No. 77
Elected Member:
4 July 2003 –
26 February 2006



The British marathon race and the “Fantastic Four”

By Donald Macgregor



The “Battle in the sun of Colombes” where Ernest Harper began his Olympic career in 1924. In the cross-country he was fourth (in the photo behind the American Richard Johnson, who won bronze), and placed fifth in the 10,000 m.

Photo: Official Olympic Report Paris 1924

The four leading British marathon runners of the 1920s and 1930s were Sam Ferris, Ernest “Ernie” Harper, Donald McNab Robertson and Duncan “Dunky” McLeod Wright. The first two were Olympic silver medallists; the third was seventh in 1936, and the last fourth in 1932. Altogether, they competed in ten Olympic Games.

Some factors that should be borne in mind: in the late 1920s, the world was hit by the economic recession; in Britain and on the European continent it had serious effects, with wages reduced and jobs in short supply; in most countries, lack of money meant a reduction in the number of athletes sent to Los Angeles in 1932 (for instance, the entire British team numbered 194 in Amsterdam and 71 in Los Angeles).¹

There were relatively few international marathon races until modern times, so that most runners were confined to domestic competition. Most runners ran cross-country or track – each year there was the International Cross Country Championship, in which Ernie Harper ran nine times, winning in 1926 in Belgium, and Dunky Wright eleven. There were of course other good marathon runners, including Harry Payne, Bert Bignall, and Harry Wood, all of whom posted fast times. Six runners in each national squad were permitted until, at

the Berlin Olympic Congress of 1930, the maximum was reduced to three.

No Britons competed in the European Championships until 1950. The Empire Games were first held in 1930 in Hamilton, Ontario, with small fields, then in London in 1934 and in Sydney in 1938.

Ferris and Wright – great rivals and friends

Distance running in Great Britain was mainly a sport for the working classes. In England, as well as in Scotland, track athletics was more the province of the well educated. Professionalism, despite its long traditions in the north of England and Scotland, was severely frowned upon.

Two of the finest marathon runners resident in England were Sam Ferris, a member of the Royal Air Force (RAF) and Herne Hill Harriers from London, who had, in fact, been born in Northern Ireland; and Ernie Harper of the Hallamshire Harriers of Sheffield. In 10 years, Ferris² won the Polytechnic marathon on eight occasions, finishing second in 1924, but not taking part in 1930 because he was recovering from a hernia.

Each race during the Olympic years was a prelude to the Games themselves. Ferris was the first British finisher in three Olympics: fifth in Paris in 1924, eighth in Amsterdam in 1928, and second in Los Angeles in 1932, just 19 seconds behind the Argentinian winner, 20-year-old Juan Carlos Zabala, who coincidentally had been adopted at the age of 13 by the Scottish high jumper, Alexander Stirling.³

On that last appearance Ferris misjudged the finish. He had picked out a giant milk-bottle advertisement a mile from the stadium as the point at which to make his final push, but on the day of the race extra seating for spectators had been built around it, and he did not realise how close he was to the tape and to Zabala.

Born in Dromore, County Down, in Northern Ireland, on 29th August 1900, Ferris was always cheerful when he ran, coming through the field late, and almost unbeatable when he did so. His marathon career lasted from 1924 to 1933. He won 12 of his 20 races and three AAA titles and had marathon victories in Turin, Copenhagen (only 21 miles), Manchester and Liverpool. He was 1.70 metres tall. His best time was 2:31:55.

Ferris did not start running until 1923, when he was posted to India in the days of the Raj after joining the RAF in 1918. He was a mechanic rigger where he worked on two-seater Bristol fighters and was based at Amjala on the Punjab plains as part of the defence of the Northwest frontier.

He took up running simply for something to do and began with half-miles and cross-country. When he returned to Britain and was based in Scotland he joined Shettleston Harriers. There he met up with Dunky Wright, his great rival and friend to be. At the RAF cross-country championship he came in third and was spotted by the legendary coach, Bill Thomas, who later coached another great RAF athlete, Reg Thomas, winner of the first Empire Games mile in 1930, and then repeated as Empire mile champion in 1934. Thomas also coached the 1936 Olympic 1500-metres champion Jack Lovelock from New Zealand as well as many others at Oxford University.

Thomas told the doubtful Ferris that he thought the marathon was the distance for him. He was nothing if not persistent and kept on at Ferris, who wavered to the extent of joining Herne Hill Harriers, where Thomas was also the coach.

That same year, 1923, saw the opening of Wembley Stadium, and the RAF Cup final was played there between Manston and Cranwell. Thomas sent Ferris on to the track, told him to start running, and then vanished. He did not come back until Ferris had covered 10 miles in 61 minutes and then told him that he was running so strongly he should keep going. He produced a full fire bucket and a sponge to give Ferris a soaking at 15 miles and ignored his plea of "How much further?" Ferris completed 20 miles in 2hrs 15mins, lost 3 kg in weight, and was straight away posted to Uxbridge for an Olympic Scheme to prepare all RAF champions for the 1924 AAA race in a bid to have them selected for the Paris Olympics.

Protests that Ferris was not a champion were pushed aside by Thomas, who declared that he was the only RAF man likely to qualify for the British team, and he was proved right. One of a record number of 80 starters for the 1924 Poly, the novice Ferris held back. At 20 miles he was fifth and 5 mins 30 secs down, and he then picked up four minutes on the leader, Dunky Wright, by 25 miles and closed to within 45 secs at the finish – 2:53:17.4 to 2:54:03 – to earn Olympic selection.

Because of the heat wave in Paris there was considerable anxiety about the fate of the marathon runners who were due to start the day after the infamous 10 km cross-country event in which the great Paavo Nurmi of Finland, had ignored the conditions while behind him there had been chaos as competitors fell exhausted and unconscious, one of them running into the stands. Accordingly, the Olympic marathon was put back three hours to after 5 p.m., and Ferris, way back on the leaders,

moved from 30th to 13th and then to ninth with about 8 km to run. He continued to pick off runners to come into the stadium to finish fifth in 2:52:26, compared to the winning time of 2:41:22.6 by another Finn, Albin Stenroos. Ferris ended his first season by placing third in Manchester in his best time so far of 2:47:44.

His training was very modest compared to the changes that Jim Peters was to make in the 1950s to volume of mileage, which led to faster and faster times. Wearing his Woolworth's gym shoes, white socks and white shorts and singlet with either the Union Jack or the RAF badge on the front, Ferris always followed Bill Thomas's instructions. He ran five miles a day on the track and 13 miles round the Uxbridge area every Tuesday, and he took a four-hour country walk on a Wednesday, but his weekly running mileage never exceeded 40. In an interview with Ferris in the *Road Runners Club* newsletter of January 1975 the writer commented: "Today's marathon runners will not be surprised that on such a schedule, bodies were lying about all over the place at the finish of a race. You were not considered to have run a marathon properly if you could stand on your feet afterwards."⁴

In 1925 Ferris won the Poly for the first time (and the AAA championship combined with it), staying off the pace and being two minutes down at 10 and 15 miles, and then running with the American, Frank Zuna, to 20 miles where he was still 1 min 46 sec behind the leader, Wright. But by 25 miles he was well away and he set the fastest ever time by a Briton with an exceptional 2:35:58.2 with Zuna 2nd almost 2 1/2 minutes behind. In 1926 he won the Poly again, trailed by three-time winner Bobby Mills as they leisurely went through 10 miles together in 1:01:41 two minutes behind the leaders, and then picking up nearly all of that in the next five miles, taking the lead again at 25 miles, and beating Mills by almost four minutes in 2:42:24.2.

Later, in 1926, Ferris went to Turin for the international marathon there and won comfortably by three-quarters of a mile in a course record 2:46:18.6 from Joseph Marien (Belgium), and Stefano Natale (Italy), and his prize was an 18-carat Omega gold watch.

First held in 1919 over a 42.195 km route, the Turin race had been resumed in 1921 after a year's break on a long course of 42.75 km, mainly of paved asphalt, under the auspices of the newspapers, *11 Paese Sportivo* and later *La Stampa*. Often incorporating the Italian



In 1920 Bobby Mills set a British record in the Polytechnic Harriers marathon with 2:37:40.4 It was a performance which he never came close to repeating. A month later he finished 14th at the Olympic Games in Antwerp – more than 15 minutes behind the victorious Finn, Hannes Kolehmainen.



Donald Macgregor | *1939. Scottish marathon runner at 1972 Olympic Games (7th place). He also participated in the 1970 and 1974 Commonwealth Games. Personal best: 2:14:15.4 hrs; 24 times under 2:20. President of the Scottish Cross Country Union (1980). Over 40 years as teacher and lecturer. Liberal Democrat Councillor on North East Fife District Council; at present on Fife Council. Autobiography *Running My Life* (2010), with Tim Johnston, *His Own Man*, biography of Dr. Otto Peltzer (2016).

The best performing Scottish runners before the Second World War: Dunky Wright (left), who took part in the Olympic Games from 1924 to 1932, and Donald Robertson (right), who finished seventh in the marathon at the 1936 Games in Berlin.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



championship, it attracted some of Europe's best runners until it was last held in 1933, though the same course was used again for the inaugural European Championships the following year.

Marien and Natale entered the Poly marathon in 1927, but after the trio had come together at 15 miles, Ferris quickly opened up a 200-yard lead, was a minute ahead of the Italian at 20 miles, and won by almost five minutes in 2:40:32.2. Two months later Ferris won again in Manchester by over 11 minutes in 2:48:46.2, and then in September in Liverpool he beat his British record with 2:35:27, finishing almost 10 minutes ahead.

Olympic year of 1928 started with great hopes that Ferris would be the first British marathon victor at the Games, but sadly it was not to be. Ferris won his fourth successive Poly in 2:41:02.2, unusually going into the lead at five miles and triumphing by almost 10 minutes, but he injured a tendon when stepping on a stone in training and had to miss the AAA marathon held separately to the Poly. Harry Payne won this in 2:43:34.3

from Harper, Wright and Bert Bignall, and it was Payne, Bignall, Ferris, Wright, Harper and Harry Wood, who had won the Manchester race in May in an excellent 2:39:29.2, who were selected for the Amsterdam Olympics.

Ferris's injury was so serious that some days he could not even walk, and he had grave doubts about completing the race and was never really committed to it. Yet, after he had started very slowly, the twinges disappeared along the flat canal-side course, enabling him to again be the first British finisher in eighth place in 2:37:41.9 behind Boughéra El Quafi from France (2:32:57.2), who in the following year became Olympic champion in Amsterdam.

In the Liverpool race at the end of September, Ferris ran away from a field which included Harry Wood (11th in the Olympics) to set another British record of 2:33:00, which ranked 2nd to El Quafi on the world-ranking list.

In 1929, Ferris ran two marathons. The first of them was his by now routine success in the Poly, in 2:40:47.4, opening up a gap between 15 and 20 miles and winning by a fraction over three minutes from the Finn, Verner Laaksonen, who had been 12th in Amsterdam.

Victory for the Scotsman Dunky Wright in Canada

The first British Empire Games were to be held in Hamilton, Ontario, in 1930, but Ferris missed the Poly after putting a foot in a rabbit-hole while leading in the RAF cross-country championship and suffering a hernia. Wright won the subsequent AAA race in a personal best 2:38:29.4 from Martti Marttelin (Finland) with a fast-finishing Ferris two minutes back though not fully fit. It was Wright's day at the Empire Games and he led from six miles and had covered two laps of the track at the finish by the time Ferris entered the stadium. It says much for the sportsmanship of those days and the friendship between the two runners that Ferris shook Wright by the hand as he stood on the infield – Ferris had two laps to go. The Scot crossed the line in 2:43:43.2 and no other times were taken!

Ferris won the 1931 Poly in 2:35:31.8, unchallenged after a slow start and more than five minutes ahead of Bert Norris, and that was his only major race of the season, although he ran his regular mix of events in RAF station and squadron meetings, including a half-mile relay leg. In 1932 he was determined to win the Olympic race in Los Angeles, and he prepared for the Games meticulously, taking the Poly by almost seven minutes from the South African, Tommy Lalande, after having hung back until making his move at 17 miles. Ferris did not compete in the AAA event, which was a pity, judging by that excellent widow, Marjorie, and his daughter, Rosemary Vigrass. Marjorie, who was 89 on the day of the ceremony, took along her late husband's 1932 silver

medal. The dedication plaque in the park says simply: "These playing fields are dedicated to the memory of Sam Ferris, a native of Dromore, who competed in the marathon at the Olympic Games in 1924, 1928 and 1932. He won a silver medal in 1932."

The Silver Medallist at the Berlin Olympics

Ernie Harper⁵ was born in Chesterfield on 3rd August 1902. Like Ferris and Wright, he was a three time Olympian, competing in 1924, 1928 and 1936. In 1924 he finished fifth in the 10,000 metres and fourth in the cross-county event.⁶ He was the only British finisher in this race; therefore, the British team was unplaced. Just fifteen of the thirty-eight starters finished the event due to the extreme heat and the fumes from a nearby energy-producing plant, which affected the runners' breathing. It was a disaster, so that the IOC discontinued the event. In 1926, he won a 10,000 m in Oslo, and scored a 10,000 and 5000 metres double in Bergen, Norway. He had many cross-country successes.

In 1928, Harper intended to switch to the marathon. In preparation he undertook a 23-mile run from his home in Stannington, Sheffield, watched by thousands, science of hindsight, when there was one of the greatest finishes ever seen between Wright and his Maryhill Harriers clubmate, Donald McNab Robertson. They entered the stadium together, having run shoulder-to-shoulder over the last six miles to Stamford Bridge with Robertson winning by 1.2 sec in 2:34:32.6.

Ferris had one last marathon in 1933, winning his eighth Poly in 2:42:24.2. Using the tactics that had given him so much success, he started slowly, came though at 16 miles, passed 20 miles in exactly two hours, and then had a great battle with Bert Norris to win by almost exactly a minute. He then retired from top-class athletics and was posted by the RAF to Iraq where he teamed up with Jimmy Green, future founder of *Athletics Weekly*, for training runs at 4:30 in the morning to escape the full heat of the day. Ferris completed his tour of duty in the Middle East in 1939, still unbeaten in competition, and he continued to serve in the RAF until 1950, retiring with the rank of Warrant Officer.

Apart from his marathon achievements, he had won the RAF three miles title twice and the cross-country title six times and was also Middlesex champion at four miles and Ulster champion at three miles on the track and a member of the Irish cross-country team on three occasions. He continued to pass on advice to anyone from novices to the best in the land and he wrote regular road-race reports for *Athletics Weekly* and dabbled in photography. His impish sense of humour never left him even towards the end of his life when he was confined to a wheelchair. He died on 21st March 1980.

His name lives on in his birthplace, Dromore, with a large sports complex named Ferris Park in his honour. The first phase was opened in 1997 by his and paced by a runner from Chesterfield called Mitchell. The hilly run took him 2 hours 23 minutes 18 seconds. The qualifying race was the AAA championship, from Windsor to the White City Stadium in early July. Harper came in second to Harry Payne (2:34:34) in 2:37:10, and gained selection.

The Amsterdam race started at 3:14 p.m. on Sunday, 5th August in ideal conditions (16 degrees C). There were 69 entrants. The British runners finished in eighth (Ferris), 11th (Wood) and 13th (Payne). Wright was 20th, Bignall 21st and Harper 22nd, having gone off too fast, in 2:45:44.

In 1929, Harper set a new record for 25 km (1:23:45.8) in Berlin, and in Glasgow in 1932 a record distance for two hours of 20 miles 1604 yards 2.5 feet [32,2015.54 m]. He ran no marathons between 1928 and 1936.

The AAA laid down the criteria for selection for Berlin, that is, that those selected should reach the standard of those placed sixth at Amsterdam in 1928. There were two opportunities in the UK – the Poly, where Harper finished fourth, in 2:40:24, four minutes outside the time required. At the AAA race over the same course from Windsor to the White City Stadium, Harper and Donald McNab Robertson entered the stadium together. The Scot sprinted to victory in 2:35:3.6, 1.2 seconds ahead. Both men were selected.



In 1932 Sam Ferris became the first Briton to win an Olympic marathon medal. He took silver behind 20 year old Argentinian Juan Carlos Zabala.

Photo: Official Olympic Report Los Angeles 1932

In Berlin, Harper earned praise for advising eventual winner Sohn Kee Chung not to chase after Zabala who had opened a big lead. Zabala eventually pulled out of the race. Sohn, a native Korean, who had to start under the name of Kitei Son for Japan, was later reported to have said: "Much credit for my victory must go to Harper of England, from the time we started, he kept telling me not to worry about Zabala, and let him run himself out."⁷ Harper was in severe pain for the last 13 kilometres. The next day the *Sheffield Telegraph* writer W. Capel Kirby explained that within minutes

Ernest Harper took a break from marathons after 1928, but returned to the road in 1936. In Berlin he celebrated his greatest performance. He won silver behind the superlative Korean Sohn Kee Chung, forced to run in Japanese colours under the name of Kitei Son.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



of finishing Harper had told him he was "through with running" and that his badly blistered feet had prevented him from keeping up with Sohn.⁸

After the race, Harper, as was his usual habit, asked for a cigarette, but disliked the taste of the German one he was given.⁹ He later expanded on the reasons for retirement, stressing in particular his debt to his employers, Thomas Wragg and Sons, Loxley (brick makers).

"I had Sohn in sight the whole way, but with this blister I could hardly bear to put my foot on the ground. But Sohn's a great runner and I don't mind losing to him. Besides, there was twelve years between us."¹⁰

The British team at Berlin had not done as well as some had hoped, but the sanguine team manager Arthur Turk commented on return to London: "We did quite as well as expected, and it must not be forgotten that we were against many men who had trained specifically for their events." Clearly a man with his finger on the pulse!

Harper ran for Hallamshire Harriers and Athletic Club in Sheffield. He represented England in International Cross Country Championships from 1923–1931, winning the individual competition in 1926 in Belgium. What marked him out was "his superior knowledge of himself, how to balance training, racing and recovery and remain fit and fresh and improve at the same time."¹¹

Harper had a fine reputation for sportsmanship. Apart from the incident in Berlin mentioned above, other stories tell of him helping up competitors who had fallen, and re-directing someone who had taken a wrong turn on a cross-country course. More prosaically, he was once said to have vacated his seat on a crowded

bus to allow another passenger to sit, instead running behind the vehicle all the way up the steep hill to his home.

In 1939, Harper turned professional. Around that time he lived with his married daughter, who had settled in Australia. Harper died in Tullamarine, Melbourne on 9th October 1979.

Scottish Running in the 1930s

Distance road running and cross-country were mostly concentrated in the west of Scotland in the industrial heartlands. The leading runners could be described as proletarians, though whether they recognised the term is uncertain. The two leading Scottish marathon runners of the time, Duncan McLeod Wright and Donald McNab Robertson may have had political views, but those have not come down to us. Robertson in particular seems to have lived for running. He was almost certainly the first of the hundred miles a week brigade, closely followed by 'Dunky'.

Robertson, born on 7th September 1905, came late to athletics. A bachelor, whose fiancée had died young, he lived with his widowed mother in Glasgow and worked for Glasgow Corporation as a coach painter. Donald lived at 95 Garnet Street and had a brother called Andrew, who also lived in Glasgow. All his free time seems to have been devoted to training. In the 1980s the present writer interviewed one of his Maryhill Harriers teammates, Andy Burnside, but few details about him emerged. No one had a bad word to say about him, nor were there any anecdotes. His training ("like a horse" in the words of one of his teammates, Gordon Porteous) could be as much as twenty miles, four times a week, with 25 miles on Saturday and a thirty mile hike on Sunday. He had little time for leisure.

Donald McNab Robertson was twice selected for the Olympic Games. In 1932 he could not afford (and was not permitted by his employers, Glasgow Corporation) to take time off to go to Los Angeles. Dunky Wright went in his place. In 1934 he won a silver medal in the Empire Games marathon in London and in 1938 in Sydney he was fourth.

A six-time AAA marathon champion, he was selected for Berlin in 1936. Sadly, Robertson was no diarist, and so we are deprived of his impressions of Hitler's Olympics. In the race he came through strongly, finishing seventh in 2:37:06.2, the best position by a Scottish athlete until 1972. "Donald McNab Robertson had been maintaining a very steady pace to conserve energy on this warm day, and it paid off as he now moved into seventh at 39 kilometers."¹²

During the war, Donald saw action in France, the Netherlands and Belgium. He was involved in the D-Day invasion (it interrupted his plans to run in the South

London Harriers 30 miles in 1944) and was among the first British units to liberate Brussels in September of 1944. A newspaper clipping shows him wearing a beret and a lance corporal's stripe.¹³

When the first Scottish marathon championship was held in 1946, the 40-year-old Robertson, who had yet to be demobilized from the army, won it. He repeated his win in 1947. Tragically, he died in his sleep (from a pulmonary embolism) on 15th June 1949, aged 43. In his short career he ran 16 marathons, winning 10.

The Scots Athlete carried an obituary¹⁴. He had been on a training spin on the evening before his death and had been training conscientiously for the 1948 Scottish championship marathon. He was greatly loved in the athletic community. "The warmth of his smile, and his friendship, endeared him to every sports follower in the country."¹⁵

Scotland's greatest ever marathon runner?

Duncan McLeod Wright was born on 22nd September 1896. A successful cross-country runner, he first attempted a marathon in 1923, running from Fyvie Castle in Aberdeenshire to Aberdeen. His coach advised him to start fast and not to let anyone catch him. With four miles to go, he was offered some brandy (the requested tea not being available), with unfortunate results. He was almost caught by local man, Jim Ronaldson, but crossed the line in 3:13:12.4.

He made a more serious attempt in the Polytechnic race of 1924, winning by 26 seconds over Sam Ferris in 2:53:18. He improved his time in winning the *Sporting Chronicle* marathon in Manchester in 2:34:25. This sufficed to gain him selection for the Paris Olympics. The race was held under trying conditions; it was so hot that the start was delayed until 5:23 p.m. Despite this, 28 of the starters retired, including Dunky, who had severe blisters. "At 20 miles I was lying about sixth. Now, I'd taken the British coach's advice to bind up my ankles with Elastoplast to give some support on the cobbles. The effect was to make my ankles swell and get sore. So I came to a bine (basin) of water and put my feet in it and stripped off the plasters. Just then an ambulance arrived and picked me up. I'd been staggering about a bit, so I wasn't too unwilling a passenger."¹⁶

In Paris, Wright made the acquaintance of Eric Liddell. He said of his first impression: "It was at Queen's Park sports in 1921 ... Through a small window from the competitors' room underneath the Stand, I saw Eric for the first time in the 100 yards and was completely thrilled."¹⁷

Wright later accompanied Liddell on his evangelical tours of Scotland, and wrote in an SAAA circular in 1970: "I was one of Eric's colleagues at the Paris Games and enjoyed his friendship for many years, and without

hesitation I declare that he was the greatest sportsman I ever met."¹⁸

Dunky was a man of many clubs. He started with Clydesdale Harriers, fell out (it is thought) with some officials, resigned and joined Shettleston Harriers in the east end of Glasgow. An ill-judged attempt to start an 'élite' club, Caledonia AC – sponsored by Glasgow footballer and fish merchant WS Unkles – only lasted a year. Dunky then joined Maryhill Harriers, with whom he enjoyed many successes.

In 1928 he was selected again in the six-man British team for Amsterdam, this time finishing 20th. It was his third and final Olympics, in Los Angeles in 1932, that brought him close to being an athletics immortal. Because of the economic situation, teams from Europe attending Los Angeles were relatively small. The class system, which still exists in Britain, though on a lesser scale than in the 1930s, meant that nearly all-British team members were members of the Achilles Club, restricted to graduates of Oxford and Cambridge universities. Dunky and his marathon colleague Sam Ferris were, as Dunky told the present writer in 1975, picked because "we had to have someone in the marathon". They crossed the Atlantic on the *S.S. Empress of Britain* as far as Québec, and Sam and Dunky trained by running round the decks. There followed a long rail journey across the continent. In Dunky's words (in a BBC radio broadcast from 1967) "at every stop, be it for only half an hour, Sam and I were out on the road for a run".

As the marathon was late in the programme, Dunky was able to enjoy the social whirl of Hollywood, meeting such stars as Douglas Fairbanks.

On race day which "was not excessively hot", Dunky and Sam Ferris had a race plan. Dunky intended to get into the lead after halfway, and Sam would use his fast pace in the latter stages to try to win.

In the event Zabala led from the gun. He was challenged and then overtaken by Lauri Virtanen (a marathon debutant, substituting for the banned Nurmi). The Finn stopped for a glass of milk – on hearing which, the coach Lauri Pikhala said, he should have been drinking tea, but none had been provided. As a result of Virtanen's retirement from the race, Wright found himself in the lead at 35 km. But going down a slight incline, he felt a twinge in his thigh, and had to slow. Zabala passed him and a quartet of runners neared the stadium. Zabala, close to exhaustion, crossed the line and collapsed. Ferris was second, only 15 seconds behind, followed by Toivonen and Wright. It was the closest Olympic finish ever.

The Scottish Amateur Athletic Association, under pressure from the Scottish Marathon Club (established by Dunky Wright, Jimmy Scott, and a few others), promoted the first Scottish marathon championship in

Dunky Wright (left) and Donald Robertson (centre) during an Edinburgh to London relay in 1947. Robertson died suddenly in 1949 from a pulmonary embolism. He was only 43.

Photo: Donald Macgregor Archive



1946. At that time severe rationing was in force; food parcels from Australia, South Africa and the USA were sent to improve athletes' diet, and clothing coupons were needed to purchase running shoes. Dunky was made Sports Officer of his Home Guard battalion, and (no doubt surreptitiously) obtained a supply of heavy brown Army plimsolls, which had much thicker soles than the usual ones.¹⁹ Robertson wore plimsolls from Woolworths which cost a mere 1/11 (ca. 1 €).

In August 1947, 26 Scottish runners, including Dunky and Donald took part in the 'Fiery Cross' Edinburgh to London relay run. The idea was to advertise the 'Enterprise Scotland' Exhibition. Thousands thronged Edinburgh Castle to witness the ceremony of lighting the crosses and extinguishing them in goats' blood according to ancient custom. Robertson received the cross from the Lord Provost and all the runners accompanied him out of the city. He went on to complete the 25 miles to Peebles in 2 hours 40 minutes.

The most stirring part of the journey was the last ten miles through London to the Guildhall. Dunky Wright had been chosen to present the message to the Lord Mayor of London. The total distance for this eccentric trip was 406 miles in 47 hours 31 minutes.²⁰

Dunky Wright lived at 17 Polwarth Gardens. He was a salesman of electric photocopying machines, produced by Singer. Dunky was something of a technophile. A cutting from about 1940 shows him running on a treadmill with an oxygen mask strapped on to measure his oxygen uptake. A great friend of Dunky's was Jock Semple of Boston Marathon fame. Jock, a member of Clydesdale Harriers²¹, was also a technophile and had similar testing done on him at Harvard's Fatigue Laboratory. Dunky was married to Mary in 1939. Her maiden name was Mary Guthrie McKay.

After retirement from competitive running, and from his job as a salesman, Dunky became an official, organiser and journalist, ever-present at races, whether

road, track or cross-country. An irrepressible optimist, he was an "athlete's official" rather than a member of the so-called "blazerati". Who else but Dunky would have dared to approach the manager of Glasgow Rangers FC, Scot Symon, to ask if a one hour track race could be held at Ibrox Park in 1956, and to ask *The Daily Express* for prizes?

John Emmet Farrell, a Maryhill Harriers teammate, wrote in *The Scots Athlete* magazine: "Donald was quiet and modest but ambitious. A marathon runner only, he reached his standard by hard consistent work. Dunky was more of an extrovert. He was more talented and versatile – on track and cross-country as well as road. Yet Dunky's sense of humour was not universally appreciated."²²

It was nonetheless a great blow to Scottish athletics when he died in Glasgow on 21st August 1976, aged 79. As journalist Harry Andrew wrote in his tribute:²³ "To be a champion in the marathon, you have to have a heart of enormous size and quality, abiding optimism, infinite patience and a considerable sense of humour. All these qualities Dunky had in abundance. Plus an enormous unflagging zest for life right up to the end. He was a warm friendly little man so interested in everybody and everything. A man just as happy reporting some minor affair as some great international sporting occasion. A man whose delight knew no bounds when he was able to help and advise one of Scotland's young athletes. He had an abiding pride in what he had done as a runner and an administrator. Yet it was a pride without a vestige of conceit." ■

- 1 Volker Kluge, *Olympische Sommerspiele, Die Chronik I*, Sportverlag Berlin, 1997, pp. 604 and 701
- 2 Adapted with permission from an article by David Thurlow, *Track-Stats*, September 1999, Vol. 37, No. 3
- 3 Colin Shields and Arnold Black, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, SATS 2014, p. 124
- 4 Probably RRC Secretary John Jewell
- 5 Harper's life and achievements have been uniquely researched and published in the splendid book *Steel and Grace, Sheffield's Olympic Medallists* by Matthew Bell and Gary Armstrong, Bennion Kearney Ltd 2014
- 6 Ernie Harper, *sports-reference.com*
- 7 David E Martin and Roger W.H. Gynn, *The Olympic Marathon*, Human Kinetics 2000, p. 172
- 8 *Steel and Grace*, p. 172
- 9 *Ibid.*, p. 173
- 10 *Ibid.*
- 11 Martin and Gynn, p. 174
- 12 *Ibid.*, p. 172
- 13 Information from Alex Wilson, Schwäbisch Hall
- 14 *The Scots Athlete*, July 1948
- 15 *Ibid.*
- 16 Colin Shields and Arnold Black, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, SATS 2014, p. 122
- 17 John W. Keddie, *Running The Race*, Evangelical Press, 2007, p. 58
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 21
- 19 C. J. Youngson, *A Hardy Race*, Colin Youngson, 2000, p. 9
- 20 *Ibid.*, p. 11
- 21 Information from Brian McAusland, athletics historian
- 22 *A Hardy Race*, p. 9
- 23 *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 124

List of shame: athletes retrospectively disqualified for doping / Part 2

NAME	EVENT	PLACE
Beijing 2008		
Khadzhimurat AKKAEV (RUS)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	bronze
Khasan BAROEV (RUS)	men's 96–120 kg Graeco–Roman wrestling	silver
Nesta CARTER (JAM)	men's 4x100 m relay and his teammates	gold
CAO Lei (CHN)	women's 75 kg weightlifting	gold
CHEN Xiexia (CHN)	women's 48 kg weightlifting	gold
Natalya DAVYDOVA (UKR)	women's 69kg weightlifting	bronze
Chrysopigi DEVETZI (GRE)	women's triple jump	bronze
Mariya GRABOVETSKAYA (KAZ)	women's +75kg weightlifting	bronze
Ilya ILIN (KAZ)	men's 94kg weightlifting	gold
Iryna KULESHA (BLR)	women's 75 kg weightlifting	4 th
Dmitry LAPIKOV (RUS)	men's 105 kg weightlifting	bronze
Tatyana LEBEDEVA (RUS)	women's triple jump	silver
LIU Chunhong (CHN)	women's 69 kg weightlifting	gold
Pavel LYZHYN (BLR)	men's shot put	4 th
Asset MAMBETOV (KAZ)	men's 84–96 kg Graeco–Roman wrestling	bronze
Maya MANEZA (KAZ)	women's +63 kg weightlifting	dns
Aksana MIANKOVA (BLR)	women's hammer throw	gold
Natalia MIKHNEVICH (BLR)	women's shot put	silver
Irina NEKRASSOVA (KAZ)	women's 63 kg weightlifting	silver
Nadzeya OSTAPCHUK (BLR)	women's shot put	bronze
Vita PALAMAR (UKR)	women's high jump	5 th
Nizami PASHAYEV (AZE)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	5 th
Darya PCHELNIK (BLR)	women's hammer throw	4 th
Vitaliy RAHIMOV (AZE)	men's 55–60 kg Graeco–Roman wrestling	silver
Vladimir SEDOV (KAZ)	men's 85 kg weightlifting	4 th
Elena SLESARENKO (RUS)	women's high jump	4 th
Viktoriya TERESHCHUK (UKR)	modern pentathlon	bronze
Sviatlana USOVICH (BLR)	women's 800m event	23 rd
Denys YURCHENKO (UKR)	men's pole vault	bronze

NAME	EVENT	PLACE
London 2012		
Anatoli CIRICU (MDA)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	bronze
Andrey DEMANOV (RUS)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	4 th
Oleksandr DRYGOL (UKR)	men's hammer throw	34 th
Vera GANEEVA (RUS)	women's discus	23 rd
Ilya ILIN (KAZ)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	gold
Cristina IOVU (MDA)	women's 53 kg weightlifting	bronze
Alexander IVANOV (RUS)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	silver
Hripsime KHURSHUDYAN (ARM)	women's +75 kg bronze weightlifting	
Adem KILICCI (TUR)	men's 69–75 kg boxing	5 th
Boyanka KOSTOVA (AZE)	women's 58 kg weightlifting	5 th
Antonina KRIVOSHAPKA (RUS)	women's 400 m and 4x400 m (including Russian 4x400 m team)	6 th /silver
Iryna KULESHA (BLR)	women's 75 kg weightlifting	bronze
Aksana MIANKOVA (BLR)	women's hammer throw	7 th
Nastassia MIRONCHYK-IVANOVA (BLR)	women's long jump	7 th
Maria SAVINOVA (RUS)	women's 800 m	gold
Sibel SIMSEK (TUR)	women's 63 kg weightlifting	4 th
Rauli TSIREKIDZE (GEO)	men's 85 kg weightlifting	9 th
Margaryta TVERDOKHLIB (UKR)	women's long jump	26 th
Almas UTESHOV (KAZ)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	7 th
Norayr VARDANYAN (ARM)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	11 th
Nataliya ZABOLOTNAYA (RUS)	women's 75 kg weightlifting	silver
Intigam ZAIROV (AZE)	men's 94 kg weightlifting	6 th
Yuliya ZARIPOVA (RUS)	women's 3000 m steeplechase	gold
Deadline: 6th March 2017		

Obituaries



Eva Šuranová (TCH), *24 April 1946 in Ózd/HUN; †31 December 2016 in Bratislava/SVK. Eva Šuranová remains the only female athlete from Slovakia to have won an Olympic medal. The Munich Games in 1972 proved to be the competition of her life. She produced lifetime bests in a great contest with home favourite Heide Rosendahl and Diana Yorgova from Bulgaria. On her second attempt, she set a new Czechoslovak record 6.60 m and improved this to 6.67 m in the fourth round.

Two years later Šuranová enjoyed another starry moment. She won European Championship silver in Rome, leaping 6.60 m behind the Hungarian Ilona Bruzsenyák (6.65 m). She also took part in the Montreal Olympics, but failed to qualify for the final.

She had her greatest international successes in the long jump, yet she was actually national champion in four disciplines – eight times in long jump, but also once each in pentathlon, 100 metres hurdles and 100 metres. In all, she set 25 Czechoslovak records. In 2014, she was named “Sports Legend” by Slovaksportsjournalists. (ZL)

Jean Vuarnet (FRA), *18 January 1933 in Le Bardo/TUN; †2 January 2017 in Sallanches. The son of a doctor, he achieved his first significant alpine skiing success at the Coup Emile Allais in 1956. Yet France’s chief coach James Couttet refused to select him for that year’s Olympic Winter Games in Cortina. In 1957 Vuarnet achieved his first two national titles. He was destined to win seven in all. The following year he won World Championship bronze in the downhill and in the combined.

Vuarnet’s greatest success came in 1960 at the Winter Games in Squaw

Valley. He became the first Alpine Olympic champion to use a metal ski. He played an important part in the further development of a more aerodynamic ski technique, which was described as the tuck (“œuf”). He was also an author.

After his retirement he dedicated himself to building up winter sports area. From 1968 to 1972 he was manager of the Italian team, which included Olympic champions Gustavo Thöni and Piero Gros. After two disappointing years as Vice-President of the French Ski Federation (1972–1974), he founded a sports clothing and accessories company. The sunglasses collection which bore his name became best known of all.



Vuarnet was married to Edith Bonlieu, an Alpine skier who took part in the 1956 Games. The sister of 1964 giant slalom champion François Bonlieu (1937–1973) was a member of the Order of the Solar Temple and died in 1995 along with her son Patrick at a mass suicide in Switzerland. (VK)

Paul Bert Elvstrøm (DEN), *25 February 1928 in Hellerup; †7 December 2016 in Hellerup. One of only seven Olympians who won four consecutive gold medals. Elvstrøm got his first gold as a 20 year old in the Firefly class at the 1948 Games. Further Olympic victories followed in the Finn dinghy in 1952, 1956 and 1960. A reserve in 1964, he made the team again in 1968 and 1972. After an



interval of twelve years he returned to the Games in 1984. This time he competed alongside daughter Trine in the Tornado and finished fourth (They remain to date the only father/daughter combination in Olympic history). He had farewell at the 1988 Seoul Games when at the age of 60 he finished 15th in the Tornado.

Altogether he took part in the Games on eight occasions. He won 13 world titles in ten different classes of boats. His sailing career spanned 40 years during which he brought home 20 medals from international championships. In 1996, on the occasion of the centenary of the Danish Sports Federation, he was elected “Sportsman of the Century”.

Elvstrøm also reached the top in business. In 1954 he founded his own firm of sailmakers became a leader in the field. His technical innovations also enriched the sport of sailing and he also published a series of books about sailing. (VK)

Wim van der Voort (NED), *24 March 1923 in 's-Gravenzande; †23 October 2016 in Delft. He won speed-skating silver at the 1952 Oslo Winter Olympics in 2 min. 20.6 sec. He finished only 0.2 seconds behind the great Norwegian Hjalmar Andersen.

Van der Voort not only had to race against Andersen in the Bislett Stadium but also contend with the snow that just fell before he started. The previous year, Andersen had beaten him in the

World Championship in the same stadium. In the final race against each other, Andersen fell and van der Voort crossed the line first. But he agreed to skate again and this time Andersen prevailed. The Dutch coach and national federation were unsuccessful in their appeal against the organisers' decision. (BVH)



Faina Melnik (URS), *9 June 1945 in Bakota, Khmelnytskyi Oblast/UKR; †16 December 2016 in Moscow. A farmer's daughter, she took up athletics during her studies at the Institute of Physical Culture in Kiev. From 1968 she lived in Erevan, Armenia, where she was coached by Kim Bukhantsev, himself an Olympian in discus from 1956 to 1964. In 1971 after four invalid throws she produced a world record 64.22 m in the last round to take European Championship gold.

Melnik set ten more world marks, finally extending the record to 70.50 m (1976). Her sequence as world record holder was only briefly interrupted by the Romanian Argentina Menis who threw 67.22 m thirteen days after finishing second to Melnik at the Munich Olympics.

Melnik was undefeated in competition for a three year period. She defended her European title in 1974 but was unexpectedly beaten into fourth place at the 1976 Olympics. In the fifth round she did achieve 68.60 m, which would have been enough for silver, but the throw was disallowed because she had started her turn twice contrary to the rules. At the 1980 Games her

53.76 m in the qualification round was not enough to reach the final.

From 1977 to 1979, she was married to the Bulgarian discus thrower Velko Velev. She subsequently worked as a coach and looked after the Olympic shot put champions Natalya Lisovskaya (1988) and Svetlana Krivelyova (1992). After studying medicine in the 1980s in Moscow she also worked as a doctor. (VK)

Heinz Ulzheimer (FRG), *27 December 1925 in Frankfurt-Höchst; †18 December 2016 in Bad Sooden-Allendorf. Rudolf Harbig, who on 12th August 1939 had run a world record over 400 m in 46.6 sec, thereafter visited Ulzheimer's school in Höchst, where he distributed signed cards. From then on he was Ulzheimer's hero, who began serious sport in 1944 – in that year, Harbig died on the Eastern Front.

Ulzheimer had to wait a long time before he could prove his running talent. The Germans were excluded from the 1948 Games. When they were permitted to start in 1952, the almost 27 year old suspected that these would be his only Games. And he knew how to take advantage of his chance: in the 800 m he came third in a personal best (1:49.7 min) behind Malvin Whitfield (USA) and Arthur Wint (JAM). After the Second World War this was the first German Olympic medal at Summer Games.

The Frankfurt car mechanic, who secured a second Olympic bronze in Helsinki in the 4x400 m relay, was subsequently invited to the indoor season in the USA. There he was the first foreigner to win over 1000 yards in Madison Square Garden. With a further bronze in the 4x400 m relay at the 1954 European Championships ended his sporting career.

He did his examination as motor vehicle service technician and opened a petrol station. In his last 15 years of employment he looked after the Frankfurt Sports Museum, which was closed when the stadium was rebuilt. (VK)

Muruse Yefter (ETH), *15 May 1944 in Awsaja, Province of Tigre; †23 December 2016 in Toronto, Ontario/CAN. Although only 1.61 metres tall, Yefter was a very great runner. Called up to the air force to Addis Abeba, he met his sporting hero Abebe Bikila, who was preparing for his third Olympic Games in 1968.

Yefter first drew attention to himself in an USA vs. Africa match in North Carolina. He won over 10,000 metres. At the 1972 Olympics in Munich he took bronze over the same distance behind the Finn Lasse Viren and Belgian Emiel Puttemans. He might well have could have been successful also over 5000 metres, but he arrived too late for his heat. An overzealous steward had prevented him from entering to the stadium.

Yefter missed the 1976 Olympic Games, when Ethiopia were one of 15 black African NOCs to boycott the Games. The following year he achieved the 5000 m/10,000 m double at the inaugural IAAF World Cup and repeated his success in 1979. The same year he also won 5000 and 10,000 m at the Soviet Spartakiade. The following year he returned to Moscow for the Olympics.

By now 36 and a captain in the army, he celebrated his greatest triumph with gold over 5000 and 10,000 m. His dream of ending his career in 1984 with an Olympic marathon victory remained unfulfilled. Ethiopia boycotted Los Angeles and also stayed away from the 1988 Games in Seoul.

The father of seven children, he moved to Canada in 1990 to work as a coach. He had always been known throughout the Western world as "Miruts Yifter" and nicknamed "Yifter the Shifter" because of his finishing speed. In fact he confirmed to the author in a long interview that the correct spelling should be Muruse Yefter. His handwritten confirmation is in the archive. (VK)





Frank Isaac Spellman (USA), *17 September 1922 in Malvern, PA; †12 January 2017 in Gulf Breeze, FL. He started weightlifting in 1940 and within two years he had won the junior middleweight title. In the same year he enlisted in the US Army. He took part in the Normandy Invasion in 1944. When peace returned, he finished third in the World Championships and a silver the following year as a prelude to Olympic gold in 1948. His career was a short one but he also took 1946 and 1948 AAU titles and in 1950 a gold medal at the Maccabiah Games.

In 1961, at the age of 39, he came out of retirement and won another AAU Championship. He made his career as a professional photographer and was also considered an accomplished artist, musician, and woodworker. (PT/VK)

Nadezhda Fyodorovna Olizarenko (URS), *28 November 1953 in Bryansk/RUS, †17 February 2018 in Odessa/UKR. The Russian began in 1967 with athletics. From 1972 she concentrated on the 800 m. Under her maiden name of Mushta she came second in 1978 in the European championship behind her compatriot Tatyana Providokhina.

In the following year she married the Ukrainian steeplechase runner Sergey Olizarenko. After she had set a world record on 12th June 1980 with 1:54.9 min, she was considered top favourite for the Moscow Games,

a role she lived up to. She became Olympic champion and improved her world record in the race to 1:53.43 min. Over 1500 m she won the bronze medal.

After Moscow she retired to have a baby. But her plan to end her career in 1984 in Los Angeles with a second gold failed due to the Soviet Olympic boycott. For that reason she postponed her retirement to the next Games, which was only partly successful. She did become European champion in 1986, but at the Games in Seoul she was eliminated in the semi-final. (VK)

Yury Mikhailovich Poyarkov (URS), *10 February 1937 in Kharkiv/UKR, †10 February 2017 in Kharkiv. Poyarkov from Burevestnik Kharkiv played with the Soviet team from 1960–1972 and was the captain from 1965 to 1972.

He won two Olympic golds (1964, 1968), two World Championships titles (1960, 1962), two European Championships titles (1967, 1971) and a World Cup in 1965. He also won bronzes at the 1972 Olympics, 1966 World Championship, 1963 European Championship and 1969 World Cup.

After finishing his sporting career, Poyarkov worked as a professor of Kharkiv National Pedagogical University, being the head of sport games department. He was also active with Ukrainian Volleyball Federation, being the member of their executive committee. He died on his 80th birthday. (TK)

William Norvall "Bill" Craig (USA), *16 January 1945 in Culver City, Cal.; †1 January 2017 in Newport Beach, Cal. Although Craig was rather below his best on the breaststroke leg of the medley relay at the 1964 Olympics, his USA team still became the first ever to swim below four minutes for the event. He had also been a member of the gold medal medley relay team at the 1963 Pan-American Games.

Craig later owned a restaurant, 'Billy's at the Beach', in Newport Beach, California. This was a Hawaiian style eatery based on concepts he found in the Hawaiian Islands, his favorite place. He also worked in other roles, including finance and teaching. (BM)



Jan Szczepański (POL), *20 November 1939 Małecz; †15 January 2017 Warsaw. A lightweight boxer, he won Olympic gold at the 1972 Games in Munich in what was essentially his second career.

He had been national champion in 1962 and 1963 but was then arrested for alcohol and drug abuse. Released in 1968, he set about rebuilding his career and won national titles again from 1969 to 1971. He won European Championship gold in 1971 before his victory in Munich. The following year he retired and worked as a boxing coach. He also appeared in a number of Polish films. (WR)

Vasily Kudinov (RUS), *17 February 1969 in Ilyinka, Astrakhan Oblast; †11 February 2017 in Astrakhan. A left backcourt player, Kudinov started his professional career with local Dynamo Astrakhan in 1987. After winning gold at the 1989 World Junior Championship, he was selected to the Soviet team in 1990 and played with them (and later Russian) for 14 seasons until the 2004 Olympics. He won the Olympic



golds in 1992 and 2000 and bronze in 2004, while being fifth at the 1996 Olympics.

Kudinov was also the world champion in 1993 and 1997 and European champion in 1996. He was the top goalscorer with 50 goals at the 1994 European Championship and was selected to the all-star team as the best left backcourt player at the 1994 European and 1997 and 1999 World Championships.

From 1993–1997 he played in France with US Ivry and won the French title in 1997 and French Cup in 1996. From 1997–2001, Kudinov played in Germany, first with VfL Hameln until 2000 and then one season with SC Magdeburg. With Magdeburg, Kudinov won both the German title and EHF Cup in 2001. From 2001 to 2004 Kudinov played in Japan, with Honda Suzuka and won three Japanese titles in a row from 2002 to 2004, before finishing his career again with Dynamo Astrakhan in 2004–2005 season.

After that he worked as a children's coach with Zarya Kaspiya in Astrakhan. His son Sergey belongs to the Russian team since 2014. (TK)

Samuel Lee (USA) *1 August 1920 in Fresno, Cal.; †2 December 2016 in Newport Beach, Cal. The Olympic champion in high diving of 1948 and 1952 as well as bronze medallist in London in the 3-metres springboard was the son of Korean immigrants. Although his father was qualified in civil engineering, he found no work in California, whereupon he opened a chop suey restaurant and market.

After the family had moved to Highland Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, Sammy Lee got the opportunity to take part in an "international day", where he was discovered for diving. Under the tutelage of the coach Jim Ryan, Lee in 1938 was the first diver to perform the two-and a half salto backwards and in 1940 the two-and a half Auerbach salto. In 1942 he became US champion for the first time.



After he had concentrated in the next years on his medical studies at the Southern California School, which he concluded with an MD in 1947, he managed a comeback. In 1946 and 1947 he won the national championships at the platform event.

Lee went to the US Army Medical Corps in Korea from 1953 to 1955, where he specialized in diseases of the ear. As a coach he looked after in 1960 the Olympic champion in high diving Robert Webster. He wrote a popular book about diving and in 1971 discovered Greg Louganis, at that time only eleven, whom he coached from 1975 to 1978 and who became four times Olympic champion. At the Games of 1956, 1964 and 1968, Lee was used as a judge. In Los Angeles' Koreatown there has been a Sammy Lee Square at the corner of Olympic Boulevard/ Normandie Avenue. See also: JOH, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 15–21. (VK)

(BM = Bill Mallon, BvH = Bep van Houdt, PT = Paul Tchir, TK = Taavi Kalju, VK = Volker Kluge, WR = Wolf Reinhardt, ZL = Zdenka Letenayová)

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

News

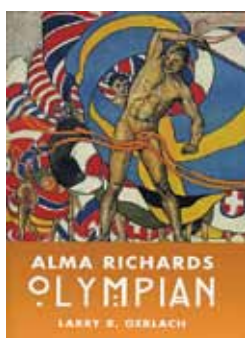
Mohammed Nassiri Sereht from Iran, triple Olympic medallist in weightlifting, has donated his silver medal from the 1972 Games Munich 1972 to the Olympic Museum in Lausanne. There is an amazing story behind this medal, which was stolen many years ago. After searching for it over a long period of time, an Olympic fan discovered the medal up for auction on the internet. The fan bought it and brought it back to Iran. After 30 years, the medal was finally presented back to Nassiri.

Aldons Vrublevski is of course President of the Latvian Olympic Committee and not of that of Lithuania, as was mistakenly stated in a photo caption in the last edition. We apologise.

Stockholm is interested in holding the 2026 Winter Games. In autumn 2017 the government will decide whether the Swedish capital should apply. There is also interest in Switzerland, where "Sion 2026" offer themselves as possible hosts. A first step would be the Youth Olympic Winter Games, which were given to Lausanne for 2020. The Winter Universiad in 2021 will take place in Lucerne. The decision will be taken at the 132nd IOC Session in 2019, for which Milan has applied.

After a controversial planning phase the foundation stone for the new National Stadium in Tokyo for the 2020 Olympics was laid on 11th December 2016. The building work began around 14 months later than planned. After the design of the now deceased British-Iraqi Architektin Zada Haid of 2015, which had been rejected because of the exploding costs, the Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe decided in an anonymous competition on the latticed timber stadium of the architect Kengo Kuma. The contract, concluded in October, envisages costs of 149 billion Yen (\$1.33 billion). Completion is predicted for November 2019.

BOOK REVIEWS



Larry R. Gerlach

ALMA RICHARDS. OLYMPIAN

The University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City 2016

pp. 291, \$34.95, ISBN: 9781607814917

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

Two years after the Winter Games were held in his home town of Salt Lake City, Professor Larry R. Gerlach quizzed former students of his Olympic history classes at the University of Utah about the gold medallists of 2002. Only eight of the 97 students could recall the names.

What could be expected when the triumph of an athlete lies more than a century in the past? They had certainly never heard of Alma W. Richards but I am reasonably certain that many Olympic historians might also be unaware of the name. Admittedly Richards never possessed the popularity of a Jim Thorpe, who won the pentathlon and decathlon in Stockholm in 1912. Yet he was the only person to beat Jim Thorpe in Olympic competition. He did so in the high jump where Thorpe only placed fifth.

Richards had another yet another claim to fame: he was the first "Beehive" State Olympian. This was the name given to Olympic participants from the state of Utah. The state had chosen a beehive as an emblem to symbolize industry.

Richards might now enjoy a new lease of fame as Gerlach, now professor emeritus has given Richards a fitting literary memorial – a cradle to grave chronicle. In this, the reader

not only meets a local athletic hero, but learns a lot about the history of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS or Mormons), about missionary work, polygamy, agriculture and the development of Utah.

Richards was a farmer's boy who attended the Brigham Young University, where he developed an idiosyncratic, unorthodox high jump technique. With his body erect, his legs crossed under his body, he reached great heights. Even so he was still unable to challenge Stanford athlete George Horine. On 18th May 1912, Horine was the first to clear the "magic height" of two metres. In Imperial measurement 6'7" = 2.007 m. He did so using the "Western Roll". Yet in the Olympic final, which took place on an unusually hot day, Horine did not fulfill expectations. He went out of the competition at 1.91 m and had to be satisfied with the bronze medal.

Richards needed three attempts at four heights – from 1.83 to 1.91 m – while the slim German Hans Liesche, who preferred the traditional scissors technique, made steady progress. Liesche stood at 1.88 m, the same height as Richards. When the bar was raised to 1.93 m the roles were reversed. On his second attempt Richards jumped an Olympic record, while Liesche, apparently irritated by the start of the 800 m final failed to clear the height and was forced to settle for silver.

There was to be no further duel between Richards and Liesche, who were both 1.88 m tall. The First World War forced the cancellation of the 1916 Olympics Games scheduled for Berlin. As AAU National champion of 1915 Richards might well have taken part in them as a decathlete. Or in the shot put, in which he won his second AAU championship in 1918.

By 1919 he was a lieutenant and competed at the American Expeditionary Forces (AEF) championships held in the Colombes Stadium on the outskirts of Paris. It says much

for his versatility that he won medals in four different jumping events. His performances meant he had qualified for the Inter-Allied Games. But by the time these were held in mid-June, he was homeward bound, crossing the Atlantic on a troop transporter.

After that Richards studied law at the University of Southern California. He was admitted to the California Bar, yet he felt no real interest in spending his life as a defence counsel. Instead he taught for 31 years at the High School in California. Richards died in 1963. He had corresponded with Liesche to the end. Liesche, survived his friend by 16 years.



Mario Capuana / Pasquale Polo

Io colleziono. I Campioni olimpico italiani

Unione Italiana Collezionisti Olimpici e Sportivi, Rome 2017, c/o CONI Servizio, E-mail: segreteria@uicos.org, pp. 178, Vol. 1 (1896-1976), pp. 175 Vol. 2 (1980-2016), each 20.00 EUR, in Italian

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

ISOH member Pasquale Polo and Mario Capuana have joined forces to produce another important work on Italian Olympic history. This two volume work focuses on Italian Olympic champions. Beginning with equestrian Gian Giorgio Trissino these are presented chronologically in a two volume work which forms part of the series "I collect".

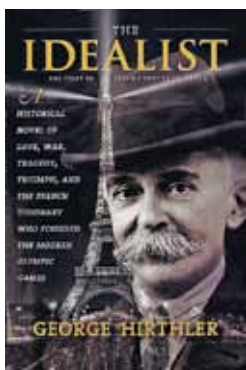
It comes two years after their work on *Cortina '56* and *Rome '60* (see JOH Vol. 23, No. 1, p. 79).

What they have brought to light is in fact astonishing. Each gold medallist is shown in words and pictures. Illustrations also include

medals, diplomas, badges, entry tickets, programmes, stamps, special issues, posters, collector cards and newspaper cuttings – in short it will delight collectors.

My own interest was stirred by the signatures of the Olympic champions, which include with the rare autograph of Alberto Braglia (gymnastics 1908 and 1912). From the mid-1920s there are hardly any gaps in this collection, which grow smaller with each Olympiad, until they completely disappear after the Second World War.

The whole package is very attractive and informative, even for those who do not speak Italian. Then again collectors have their own 'international' language.



George Hirthler

The Idealist

The Story of Baron Pierre de Coubertin

Ringworks Press LLC, Atlanta 2016

555 pp., Hardback \$29.99, Paperback \$19.99,

ISBN-10: 0997475919, ISBN-13: 978-099745913

Reviewed by Robert K. Barney

George Hirthler's compelling historical novel on the "the life and times of Baron Pierre de Coubertin: Reimagined" is a journey attempting to recast the father of the Modern Olympic Games in even greater romantic fashion than that drawn in years past by a trio of the Baron's most noted biographers (Marie-Thérèse Eyquem 1966, John MacAloon 1981, Yves-Pierre Boulongne 1990). Author George Hirthler is described on the book's

back-cover as "one of the leading creative talents at work in the Olympic Movement today." That statement is prompted by his work on the bid books of Istanbul for the 2000 Summer Games, Stockholm for the 2004 Summer Games, Klagenfurt for the 2006 Winter Games, and Beijing for the 2008 Summer Games.

With those experiences in hand, Hirthler rose to become the lead writer and senior communications strategist for five more Olympic campaigns (New York City-2012, Salzburg-2014, Chicago-2016, Munich-2018, and Rome-2020). To put it bluntly, Hirthler is a pitchman for Olympic bid committees in their pursuit of Olympic Games host city distinction. Another statement on that back-cover reveals another descriptive on Hirthler: "His passion for Olympism and its founder have brought him worldwide recognition ..." This "passion for Olympism and its founder" undoubtedly colours his literary effort in painting a portrait of Coubertin.

But casting these slants aside, and adding a measure of grudging consideration for the "genius qualities" of Hirthler's imagination, there is much here that is fixating for the general reader, in fact, even for longtime scholars of Coubertin. Seeing as how Hirthler took the liberty of "reimagining," I do the same in my review of his book. I interpret Hirthler as fitting himself with a *nom de plume*, one Jacques St. Clair, a young French journalist for *Le Petit Journal* based in Paris, contacted in January 1937 by Dr. Francis Messerli, Secretary-General of the Swiss NOC, with a request/offer to come to Lausanne and devote himself "with a degree of urgency" towards constructing a biography of "his friend for some 29 years", the ageing founder and former custodian of the Modern Olympic Movement.

St. Clair (Hirthler?) accepts the challenge, and, with his artist-girlfriend Julliette (Hirthler's wife?),

settles down in Lausanne to scour IOC documents and carry on a series of interviews with the Baron and his wife, both of whom were living in separate quarters in the stately City of Lausanne-owned Mon Repos mansion. From St. Clair's industrious application to the task, a series of chapters emerge, buttressed by notes, observations, drafts and redrafts, all regularly submitted to Messerli for critique and reaction. A final manuscript never reached Messerli's hands – Jacques St. Clair, returning to Paris following Coubertin's death in 1937, mysteriously disappeared as Europe boiled towards the opening salvos of Second World War. Nothing was ever heard from or of him again.

What is St. Clair's (Hirthler's?) "take" on Coubertin? Some aspect of that "take" follow traditional interpretations well-known to the scholarly world – the good Baron; a physically diminutive figure of aristocratic heritage and accompanying wealth; a man of steadfast dedication to "his" concept of Modern Olympic Games celebrating athletic competition, the arts, and culture both "high" and "popular"; a sometimes testy man, much of a "fussbudget" (as he was called by Lord Desborough, overseer of the 1908 Games in London); and finally, a figure caught up in the persistent declaration that the idea for modern Games came from his knowledge of ancient Greek times, rather than from the indelible inspiration drawn from his 19th century predecessors obsessed with a similar quest, William Penny Brookes and Panagiotis Soustos/Konstantinos Zappas.

Those well-known physical/psychic qualities aside, other character dimensions of Coubertin interpreted by St. Clair (Hirthler?) give pause for thought by those who feel they "know" the Baron reasonably well – a youthful, lusty, amorous, confidante of privileged women in Paris society; a kindly old gentleman,

willing to smile and nod at his antagonists; a fastidious exponent of sartorial correctness; a tolerant recipient of his wife's (Marie Rothan de Coubertin) emotional pique and isolation from him driven by the Baron's squander of most of the couple's financial security sacrificed for massive expenditure associated with helping to fund the IOC, indeed, goodly portions of the early grand Olympic scheme in entirety.

One of the most admirable qualities of Hirthler's novel is his vivid and intricate descriptions of Lausanne itself in Coubertin's time. As the journalist St. Clair (Hirthler?) confers with Coubertin and Messerli in scores of various meeting places, including Mon Repos, Hirthler leads the reader about the Olympic City in the manner of a local tour guide – describing in elaborate detail the rich circumstances of scores of hotels, cafes, restaurants (to say nothing of their cuisine), and, as well, the bucolic settings of parks, avenues, and Lausanne's Lac Léman waterfront.

On the other hand, Hirthler's effort is at times "short", indeed "awry" when applied to history. For instance, his statement (p. 505) that the tradition of awarding gold, silver, and bronze medals commenced with the Paris Games of 1900 is incorrect (we know that this occurred for the first time in 1908 at the London Games). In fact, the medals given in 1900 were in no way designated as "Olympic," but rather "Paris Exposition" medals. Most perplexing is Hirthler's lengthy re-interpretation of Coubertin's second visit to the United States in the summer of 1893, a visit in part aimed at attending Chicago's Columbian World's Fair. In Chicago, Hirthler has Coubertin having a lengthy meeting with William Rainey Harper, President of the University of Chicago, on the prospects of Chicago hosting "the Olympic Games, a modern international festival of sport that attracts the

greatest athletes in the world" (p. 428). A laborious search of the archives by scores of Olympic scholars over the years has never revealed any meeting of the sort (or any meeting in their lifetimes) between Coubertin and Harper. In fact, such a statement from Coubertin, even in "re-imagined" context, flies in the face of "where" the Baron was in his "Olympic thoughts" in 1893, a full year before the historic Sorbonne occasion in June 1894.

There is more shortcoming in this vein. In recounting (correctly) Coubertin's ongoing jousts with the Amateur Athletic Union's Jim Sullivan, czar of American amateur athletics and Olympic matters at the time, Hirthler records the Baron's "complete triumph" (p. 359) when he, through his IOC office, "appointed the first American Olympic Committee in 1916 and named Sullivan, Whitney (Gaspar), and Curtis (James) of the New York Athletic Club to executive committee positions." In the first place the IOC never has had the authority to appoint NOC members in any country, including Switzerland. Besides, by 1916, Jim Sullivan had been dead for two years.

But such gaffs, along with others noted, bring to mind the response of baseball historians when they first viewed Ken Burns' now famous baseball history film documentary (*Baseball*, 1994). After identifying 50 outright "history errors", they ceased to count. Despite this, baseball historians loved the film, extolled its virtues, glossed over its shortcomings, and accorded it a revered place of honour in the film legacy of American's national pastime. The same is true for me with regard to Hirthler's novel. Criticisms aside, students and scholars of the Baron de Coubertin will find George Hirthler's "re-imagined" worthy of close attention. For most of us in the scholarly world whose reading almost invariably is linked to books of the non-fiction genre,

an historical novel of the life and times of the father of the Olympic Movement is a refreshing aside.



Josef Ostler / Peter Schwarz /
Alois Schwarzmüller / Franz Wörndle
Die Kehrseite der Medaille
(The dark side of the medal)
Markt Garmisch-Partenkirchen (Ed.) 2016,
in German, pp. 196, 16.90 EUR,
ISBN 978-3-00-054096-7

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

In February 2011 an exhibition in the Garmisch-Partenkirchen "Kurhaus", which had been paid the Organising Committee of the Alpine World Ski Championships from whose cultural budget, recorded one of the darkest chapters in German sport *Die Kehrseite der Medaille (The dark side of the medal)*. An original notice, with the swastika and the inscription "Jews not wanted", had once hung at the entrance of a Garmisch hotel until the Nazi leadership ordered in June 1935 that anti-Jewish propaganda should temporarily be halted for fear of a threatened Olympic boycott.

Prior to the exhibition, there were heated discussions as to which room should be assigned to the Nazi past. There was a fear that the population of Garmisch-Partenkirchen would be split regarding the notice, but this did not occur. Alois Schwarzmüller, who had been the driving force in the four-man organising team, was indeed offended, yet the retired history teacher had done some serious research. Visitors would have to deal with undeniable facts,

especially concerning the expulsion of the 44 Jews who lived locally.

A one-sided presentation, therefore, would not be part of the exhibition. The dazzling side of the Olympic Winter Games was symbolised on the poster with the winner's medal, and its dark side, represented by the anti-Jewish notice, were both included in the exhibition. Such an approach was by no means automatic for, in the past, residents of Garmisch-Partenkirchen preferred to 'white-wash' their Nazi history, cover-up the past, or simply remain silent.

There was already "criticism" back in 1986 when the Mayor of the village admitted, on the occasion of the 50th anniversary, that "the then existing political circumstances would permit no unburdened retrospective look". One particular embarrassment was an 80 page brochure, which appeared in 1996 and in which "the Führer and Reich Chancellor Adolf Hitler" was mentioned only once – because he had opened the Olympics from the balcony of the Olympia House.

The editor was the right wing radical publisher, Gert Sudholt, who had been sentenced in 1992 to a fine and four months imprisonment for racial incitement.

It was feared that the exhibition would disappear and be forgotten after the World Ski Championships, when it closed in May 2011, but in 2014 efforts were made to find a permanent place in the Olympic Ski Stadium – an authentic site, which in its present form had been built for the Vth Olympic Winter Games in 1940. These had been awarded again to Garmisch-Partenkirchen by the IOC after the withdrawal of Sapporo and then St. Moritz. As is well known, they too fell victim to the Second World War.

Among those who visited the exhibition in the Olympia House in 2014 also Dr. Gabriele Rüdiger. It might not have been a pleasant experience for her when, in the section

"Biographies – perpetrators and victims", she discovered the photo of her grandfather, Hans Pfundtner, a member of the Executive Board of the Organising Committee in 1936. It was unknown to her that her grandfather, as State Secretary in the Reich Interior Ministry, had contributed substantially to the working out and implementation of the infamous "Nuremberg Laws" and of the "Reich gypsy law". Shortly before the end of the war, he removed himself from responsibility by committing suicide.

This revelation made a deep impression on Dr. Rüdiger. No catalogue of the exhibition, which she would have wanted as a souvenir, was available. One had indeed been planned, but after the World Ski Championships no funding was available. Dr. Rüdiger, therefore, decided to contribute to the financing of the exhibition book. As a quid pro quo she was allowed to write a foreword.

The catalogue, available since November 2016, does not replace a visit to the exhibition; however, after reading the 196 pages, one has the feeling of knowing everything, or at least a great deal, about those Olympic Winter Games. Scarcely a single subject is omitted. It offers a look behind the scenes without making judgments. The verdict remains with the reader, who hopefully will one day also be a visitor.



Thomas Lindberg (Ed.)

Olympiaboken 2016

432 pp., 1199 SEK (126 EUR, \$135);

CA Strömberg AB, Stockholm 2017

ISSN: 0567-4573; 0347-274, in Swedish

Reviewed by Volker Kluge

Those who familiar with the Olympic book market will be aware that the time when many such volumes appeared is long since past. It is therefore all the more pleasing to see that the Strömberg publishing house continues a series begun by Lennart Brunnhage. Their persistence in maintaining this sequence is admirable. Since 1948 there have been no fewer than 24 "Olympiabokens". From 1964 these have also contained the official reports of the Swedish NOC.

The Rio book maintains the tradition. It opens by honouring the Swedish athletes who brought home medals. The two Olympic champions Jenny Rissveds (mountainbike) and Sarah Sjöström (swimming), occupy a particular place of honour complete with portraits.

The book is presented as a richly illustrated chronicle, in which the texts are accorded sufficient space. The main section, entitled "De olympiska referaten" (The Olympic Abstracts), is in the form of a diary which concentrates on the performance of Swedish athletes. This runs close to 250 pages in which between opening and closing ceremony not only are all 28 sports are extensively described but also every one of the 306 competitions for which medals were awarded.

**Now available –
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www.alpheios-publications.de,
ISBN: 978-3-00-055995-2

Review see: JOH, Vol. 23, No. 2, 2015,
pp. 77-78.



If that is not enough, then the statistics section will surely satisfy even the most demanding reader. It includes complete results of all competitions from first to last place and also lists team line ups. Then there are the “special statistics” provided by ISOH member Ove Karlsson. This really is a treasure, containing a multiplicity of interesting tables as well.

The book includes a register of all proven doping cases from 1968 with Swedish modern pentathlete Hans-Gunnar Liljenwall to 2012 in London. At the time of the book going to press it included names of 85 cheats from 22 countries. Sadly this is only a ‘provisional’ list with more added daily.

Like its predecessors, *Olympiaboken 2016* is very informative and good to look at and in its own way perfect. Yet if there is a short coming it is the lack of background articles. There was certainly scope for these in 2016 with the Russian doping scandal and the Zika virus providing ample material. Even brief reviews of these themes would have added value to this volume.

Budapest withdrawing 2024 Olympic Bid

The IOC has been informed by the Hungarian Olympic Committee that the candidature of Budapest for the Olympic Games 2024 will be withdrawn after having settled some formalities with the City of Budapest. The IOC has taken note of the statements by Prime Minister Orban and the NOC that the candidature has been used to promote a broader domestic political agenda beyond the Olympic Games and was overtaken by local politics.

The candidature procedure for the Olympic Games 2024 will continue with Los Angeles and Paris. The IOC will select the host city at its 130th Session in Lima in September 2017.

(IOC/JOH)

Letter to the Editor

Re: List of shame: athletes retrospectively disqualified for doping

JOH, Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 17

I would like to address you with a problem, which I consider serious and urgent. I am talking about the never-ending revision of the official Olympic results (started since 2000) due to the post-Games positive doping findings, made by the IOC couple of years after the Games.

The problem is not the first step of revision of results itself, what means disqualification of the cheaters. Huge problem is a chaos caused by this revision without announcing publicly in which way the Olympic results of the respective event were influenced and changed and which results are valid and relevant at the moment.

Continuing new and new positive doping tests after re-resting of the samples from Beijing, Vancouver, London and Sochi (and for sure they will be followed soon by re-resting of the samples from Rio) the situation regarding results of some Olympic competitions became really chaotic. Similar it is also with the results from Sydney and Athens as well – following the doping cases of Marion Jones, Antonio Pettigrew and some other athletes, especially in the relays.

This situation caused that at the moment is really extremely difficult – and sometimes impossible – to publish the correct placement of our athletes in events, where the results were revised.

From the historian’s and statistician’s point of view this situation is a catastrophe. However, I am quite sure this makes also the bad image for the Olympic Movement and the IOC itself. Therefore the IOC should show its authority and competence in this issue.

Many historical statistics from the Olympics are in ruins now and almost nobody knows, what’s the truth now. This should be solved in some way – and fast. By my mind it means that is necessary to give not only to the Olympic historians and statisticians, but to the media and it means to the general public as well, clear and up-to-date revised correct results, as well as the information, which cases are still pending the final decision of the IOC EB or CAS.

Therefore I would like to propose and ask the ISOH for support of it: 1. The IOC should publish the list of official updated results from the Olympic competitions in the period 2000–2014 in those events, where the results were or are to be revised following the post-Games positive doping findings. 2. The IOC should publish also the list of the Olympic events where the results should be revised due to the clearly identified post-Games positive doping findings (it means to specify which athlete it concerns), but they are still pending the final IOC EB or CAS decision.

L’ubomír Souček, Slovak Olympic Committee, Head of media communication

Re: “History” and other stories from the shadow of sugar Loaf Mountain

JOH, Vol. 24, No. 3, p. 13–14

You mention that the Rio golf was the fourth time for it being in the programme. My observation is that golf was on the programme at the London Games of 1908 but because of friction between two rival associations from the United States which purported to speak for the correct “amateur” definition. When the Americans withdrew their entry and the British followed suit. There was only George Seymour Lyons of Canada, the 1904 gold medallist who was offered the gold by the committee. He declined since he did not feel that he earned it.

Frank Cosentino, Eganville, Ontario, Canada

Thanks for the extra information. Golf also was in the programme of the 1920 Games, but the tournament was canceled because there were too few entries.

The Editor reserves the right to abbreviate reader’s letters.