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Youth, Sport, and Olympic Games Today

Gilbert Felli
IOC Executive Director for the Olympic Games

The International Olympic Committee is committed to extending the reach of sport and the Olympic values to younger audiences.

It is to this end that the IOC Session in 2007 approved a major new initiative, the Youth Olympic Games (YOG). The first YOG took place in Singapore in 2010 and were a tremendous success. We saw more than 3,500 athletes aged between 15 and 18 participate in 26 sports over 12 days of sports competitions. Some 48 per cent of the athletes were women, a record level of participation by women in an Olympic event.

As important as sporting excellence is participation. We are all aware that sport increasingly competes with online activities for the time and attention of youth. Too often, the result is inactivity and obesity.

The YOG placed equal emphasis on the manner in which sport is practiced as it did on the level that athletes reached. Uniquely, all competitors are required to stay for the duration of the entire Games and to take part in a unique Culture and Education Programme (CEP) that runs alongside the sporting competition. This gives all participants the chance to interact with each other and learn about different cultures and other topics such as Olympism, the environment, health, career planning and social responsibility. We believe this ensures that YOG serves as a means of encouraging young people to learn about the Olympic values and the benefits of sport and healthy living.

The task now is to continue building on the success of the first YOG and to widen and deepen the relationship that youth around the world can have with sport.

I welcome the focus of Nikephoros on the subject of Youth, Sport and the Olympic Games and I commend you for your interest and work in this field for this special edition of the journal.

Tilmann Märk
Managing Vice-Chancellor, University of Innsbruck

Dear readers of this special edition of "Nikephoros"!

In my role as the Managing Vice-Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor for Research at the University of Innsbruck, it is a pleasure to greet you in this editorial – after all, sport science and research has a long and extremely successful tradition in Innsbruck, which was recently underlined when our educational institutions were awarded the title of "Olympic Centre".

The University of Innsbruck launched its first academic sports organisation as far back as 1847/48, more than 150 years ago – this tradition has clearly stood the test of time, as we continue to offer an extensive selection of sports courses and activities for all members of the university. All those years ago, the University of Innsbruck was the first in Austria to provide such a facility.

Innsbruck also boasts another first for Austria in the field of sport science: In 1968, a chair for the "Theory of Physical Education" was established at the then Faculty of Philosophy – this was the first tenured sport science professorship in Austria. This was followed in 1975 by the inauguration of the new sports facilities on the site of the former zoo, in the western part of the city. Over the years, these facilities have been extended and modernised and still accommodate our university sports enthusiasts and sport scientists today.

1968 was an important year, not only because it witnessed the introduction of the chair for the Theory of Physical Education, but also because it saw both the Winter Olympics (in Grenoble) and the Winter Universiade staged here in Innsbruck. The Universiade – also known as the World Student Games – can doubtlessly be classed as a special event since it is heavily dependent on a large number of volunteers and, in contrast to other sporting events, it has to cater for many different disciplines. At the second Winter Universiade to be held in Innsbruck in 2005, many students at the Leopold Franzens University were involved in its organisation. It was particularly exciting to see top Austrian student athletes clinch 21 medals at the "Home Games" and head the table of medal winners.

Next year, an Olympic sporting event will be taking place in Innsbruck for the fifth time. This time round, however, it is a completely new event: Innsbruck will be hosting the first ever Youth Olympic Winter Games. In view of our long tradition of varsity sport, the University looks forward to giving these Games our full support.

Youth Olympic Games, a Chance for the Future of Sports. Singapore 2010 in Retrospect

Dr. Jacques Rogge, President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) opened the 1st Youth Olympic Games, a novelty of the Olympic Movement of modern ages, on the 14th of August 2010. "Tonight, we open a new chapter in the history of the Olympic Movement. From this moment on, young people around the world have a chance to participate in a global forum that combines sport, education and culture", says the President during the Opening Ceremony in Singapore.

UN and IOC recognize importance of sports for youth around the world

With the implementation of the Youth Olympic Games, the IOC followed international tendencies to establish sports for social goals. "Physical education and sports should promote understanding between peoples and individuals and should lead to unselfish competition, solidarity, fraternity, mutual respect and acceptance of the inviolable dignity of all humans" as written in the International Charta for Physical Education and Sport of the UNESCO of 1978.

In the early 90ies IOC-President Dr. Jacques Rogge, who back then was President of the Association of the European Olympic Committee (EOC), had the idea of gathering young athletes, between 14 and 18 years old, for a European multi-sport-event and to introduce them to the Olympic Movement. In the summer of 1991 the starting signal for the first European Youth Olympic Festival (EYOF) was given. From then on, the European Youth Olympic Festival is carried out once in two years, in the summer as well as in the winter. Goal of this event is to give young athletes the opportunity to compete with international competitors under Olympic conditions as well as introducing Olympic Values such as friendship, respect, fairplay and denial of violence or any form of doping to them. The competitions are held according to the regulations of the respective International Federations. Doping controls are held according to the rules of the World-Anti-Doping-Agency (WADA).

A further international step was marked when representatives of 189 states agreed on eight development goals in New York – the so

called "Millennium Development Goals". These goals stand for peace, equal rights, democracy and combating poverty. The numerous international UN-sport projects show the close relationship between sports and development. "Sport has many values for human beings. Social development can be greatly promoted through sports. Many millennium goals can be implemented through sports as it is excellently suitable for development work. Humans can be changed in a positive way through sports. Athletes know that they have to work hard, motivate themselves, force themselves in order to bring a good performance" says Willy Lemke, who is special advisor to the United Nations Sport for Development and Peace. His mandate in the UNO has the goal of establishing a close connection between the United Nations and the sports world as well as using the inter-connective character of sports as means of promoting development and peace.

In October 2010 the UN General Assembly in New York granted observer status to the IOC. The Five Rings should act as ethical authority. The IOC has started numerous projects with its partners in different areas and regions of the world, where sport acts as instrument to overcome social barriers. Among others these are for example development assistance, equal treatment of men and women, promoting peace and in the area of education through sports, they introduced the Youth Olympic Games.

Singapore 2010 – premiere of the Youth Olympic Games

From the 14th to the 26th of August 2010 3.522 athletes between 14 and 18 years, from 205 nations wrote Olympic history in Singapore. The basis and fundament for this event were formed three years in advance. On the 5th of July 2007 at the 119th IOC-Session in Guatemala City, the IOC members agreed on introducing the Youth Olympic Summer and Winter Games. "This is an historic moment for the Olympic Movement. We owe this to the youth of the world", underlined the IOC its responsibility and liability towards the youth by offering them an own event that marks the spirit of the Olympic Movement.

Sport programme – innovative and connecting

3.522 young athletes between 14 and 18 years and from 205 nations – the Kuwaiti athletes were able to start under the Olympic Flagg – met in Singapore to compete in 201 events in 26 sports in an Olympic surrounding. The participation of all 205 National Olympic Committees

as well as the granting of so called "Universality Places", i.e. every NOC can send at least 4 participants to the Games, underlined the universality of the Youth Olympic Games. Every event had its own specified age group. In the team sports soccer, handball, volleyball and hockey at least every continent was represented through one national team. In the sports basketball (rules of the FIBA 33) and modern pentathlon (no show jumping), the format or the competition mode was slightly changed. In the sports archery, fencing, judo, athletics (team event over 1km in Swedish style), equestrian, swimming as well as in triathlon, mixed teams started in nine different events (e.g. relays).

TEAM Austria – six medals and many Olympic experiences

Austria was represented by 16 athletes at the first Youth Olympic Games in Singapore. 10 girls and 6 boys from all over Austria competed in 12 sports. With 2 gold and 4 bronze medals, the Austrian Olympic Committee and the Austrian Sports Federations of judo, canoe, athletics, wrestling, rowing, sailing, shooting, swimming, table tennis, triathlon and gymnastics were very satisfactory. Over all 10 placements among the top eight ranks were made in 6 sports (sailing, triathlon, judo, canoe, wrestling and athletics). Additional top performances, for example in table tennis, gymnastics or swimming are very promising for the future and a fertile basis for Austrian summer sports. The Games were not only marked by excellent sportive achievements but also by the harmonious presentation of the TEAM AUSTRIA.

Education and culture in Singapore – following the traces of the Olympic Idea

With the idea of the IOC of holding Youth Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement as well as the social and cultural force of sports, got a new dimension and mission. "To ask people to love each other is simply baublery. To ask of them to respectfully treat each other is no longer a utopia. A requirement for respect is getting to know the other one first. That's the real fundament of true peace!" says Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who is known as spiritual father of the modern Olympic Movement. Athletes from all over the world met in Singapore to compete in sports and take part in a large cultural and educational programme (CEP).

One of the main differences between the traditional Olympic Games and the Youth Olympic Games is therefore the especially developed "Culture and Education Programme (CEP)". The main part of the Culture and Educational Programme and the respective activities took place in the Olympic Village in Singapore. It was their goal to promote values to tomorrow's champions, which they need for a successful career and a life outside of sports. It was a further goal to anchor the sportive hopes as "messengers of sports", as role models for the youth. Numerous interactive and diverse discussions, workshops and outdoor-activities were on the program to promote different values.

At the CEP five topics were on the agenda, which voluntarily could be completed in seven exciting, informative and especially fun activities by the young athletes. The offered programme was subject to the participant's willingness for self reflection. Current professional sport needs more strong personalities, who not only glow in their sport but question themselves in order to procure new ways and develop themselves.

The young athletes got the opportunity to speak about topics such as doping and career development ("skills development") with famous Olympic winners such as Jelena Isinbajewa and Sergey Bubka. They were informed about individual health management as well as healthy alimentation in sports ("well-being and healthy lifestyle"), took part in music and cultural festivals and they also learned important facts about digital media ("expression") and about what it means to be a responsible athlete and citizen ("social responsibility"). Olympism was in the center of attention with its values excellence, friendship and respect.

The willingness for self reflection as well as taking part in the CEP was a great success for most athletes. The experiences also opened a

wide and valuable access to other people and cultures. The common message was: "There are many different cultures. In many respects, also in sports, we all think and act the same. Despite language barriers it was possible to get to know important facts about other cultures and sports. It's possible to achieve something together."

The Youth Olympic Games in Singapore were also a chance for other adolescents to educate themselves and make valuable experiences. This idea was supported by the so called 30 "young ambassadors", who had to support the young athletes and promote the CEP among adolescents on the one hand, and on the other hand by the 28 "young reporters", young journalists, cameramen, photographers and anchormen from over 23 countries, who had detailed training and education in all relevant sports journalistic areas. The representatives from Austria, Florian Kogler and Gernot Bachler, proved their professional and convincing work on site, were very popular and with their juvenile impetus, they were valuable contact persons for the TEAM AUSTRIA.

TEAM AUSTRIA – workshops and actions in preparation for Singapore

The Austrian Olympic Committee too, saw the importance of the joining force of workshops and outdoor activities before the 1st Youth Olympic Games 2010 (YOG) in Singapore. The goal was an ideal preparation for the upcoming competitions. Austria's 16 promising young athletes should arrive well prepared and motivated at the Olympic premiere in Singapore. At the Youtels Resort Rupertushof in Abtenau, Austria, they not only had professional media coaching – a sports-psychological speech with the topic "success with mental strength" – they also had an anti-doping-seminar held by the National Anti Doping Agency of Austria (NADA). Numerous outdoor activities concluded the teambuilding programme. Highlight of the 2-days kick-off event was the "chat with champions", the personal information exchange with experienced Olympians and professional athletes. "The Youth Olympic Games are an important step in the career of a young athlete. Many athletes got to know the international aspect of sports during World or European Championships, but during Olympic Games this flair becomes far more emotional and intense. The offered Cultural and Educational Programme will open new perspectives to athletes beyond the borders of sports" underlines Judoka Ludwig Paischer, silver medalist in Peking 2008, during the events.

Singapore 2010 –
the premiere, a success for the youth around the world

"Nobody could count on the success we had here, it simply overcame my boldest expectations" stated IOC President Dr. Jacques Rogge in his résumé. Around 1.850 officials and 20.000 volunteers made the Youth Olympic Games in Singapore an extraordinary experience. Over 160 TV stations broadcasted images from Singapore and over 1.900 media representatives sent pictures, comments or articles around the world. The YOG YouTube Channel had more than 5 Million visitors, not to mention the official Singapore webcasting platform, which brought reports about the Youth Games around the clock. Over 3.6 Million fans on the Olympic-Facebook-page were between 13 and 24 years old.

"Although I was rather skeptical about the Youth Olympic Games at first, the concept was very successful. It's great that the young athletes from different sports got together here, learned about mutual respect and friendship and competed against each other in these circumstances. When I watched triathlon I really had the feeling that the guys respect each other and accept others being stronger or better than them. In the future it will depend on the fact how the Youth Olympic Games are respected and accepted from the public. The media will

also certainly play a major role in this respect" says Secretary General Dr. Peter Mennel in his résumé of the Games.

Singapore 2010 and the upcoming 1st Youth Olympic Winter-Games 2012 in Innsbruck are a new chance and opportunity to bring productive movement in old structures. With the implementation of the Youth Olympic Games, the Olympic Movement will go back to its roots and will mark a decisive step for the future of youth in this world. Sport is more than just competing for miles and seconds, an Educational and Cultural Programme is a valuable basis to form athletes to role models for adolescence. This project is an opportunity for sports and a chance for the positive development of international sports. We should believe in this generation, in possible new missions, free from deception, corruption and manipulation and full of belief in our young athletes, role models for a successful and fair sport.

(Übersetzung ins Englische: Brigitte Collins)

Werner Petermandl/Christoph Ulf

The contribution of the journal 'Nikephoros' to the Cultural and Education Programme of the Youth Olympic Games

This special edition of the *Nikephoros* journal seeks to demonstrate the nature and extent of the relationship between sport on the one hand and youth, society and cultural life on the other. The relevance of sport in popular culture knows no bounds. It is a phenomenon that has existed throughout the ages and within all cultures.

The modern Olympic Games were the result of a deliberate attempt to emulate the tradition of the ancient Greek Olympic Games. This significant and, to this day, most renowned of all Greek sports festivals was conceived in an age of flourishing competition and enthusiasm for sports The numerous, still visible, constructions that were built for sports competitions, including stadia, horse racing tracks, gymnasia and sports facilities in Roman baths, would all strongly suggest that sport was by no means an elitist pastime. There is plenty of evidence that keen spectators attended in vast numbers; the stadium of Olympia had a capacity of 40,000 spectators, the Circus Maximus horse-racing course had a capacity of 150,000.

Notwithstanding the numerous differences between the ancient world and the modern day, there does, however, seem to be plenty of common ground as far as sport is concerned. It is hardly surprising then that the media coverage of successive summer Olympic Games, whether it be in the form of publications, newspapers, radio and TV or of course internet, tends to hark back to the past. As for the winter Olympic Games, which have no obvious equivalent in the ancient Olympic festival, a common denominator can nevertheless be found in the underlying nature of sport itself.

The international journal *Nikephoros* is the only worldwide existing academic publication to devote itself entirely to sports in ancient times and cultures, notably with two of its editors based at the University of Innsbruck. For these reasons, the journal was recognized as having potential to provide the historical basis, in cooperation with the University of Innsbruck, for the Cultural and Education Programme of the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) in Innsbruck.

To mark the occasion of YOG 2012 in Innsbruck, an array of sports academics and historians, together with authors of the *Nikephoros* Journal, provide not only academic and topical, but also

eminently readable insights into both sports in general and more specifically into the ancient and present Olympic Games.

Many of the contributions contained in this journal, focus specifically on the young athletes themselves, whilst others are concerned with wider issues surrounding sports, sports events and in particular the Olympic Games. It becomes apparent that sport is a phenomenon that can be traced back to well before the ancient Greek culture. Some light is shed on other subjects too, such as the organization of games, the status of athletes or physical disability in ancient times.

As we are all too aware, sport carries inherent physical risks, a fact that has always been present throughout the ages. Indeed, the well known saying, *mens sana in corpore sano*, originates from a Roman author, Juvenal. Now, just as in the past, the risks of sports injuries or violent behaviour towards opponents resulting from an uncontrollable desire to win, are of particular concern in respect of young athletes competing against one another.

A separate section deals with the revival of the Olympic Games and the development of the modern Olympic idea – all topics that are relevant in the context of the YOG. The general observations relating to youth sports and in particular to the YOG contained in the last section of the volume once again demonstrate the close relationship between sport in the ancient and in the present day.

To neatly summarise the contents of the contributions in this edition, it could be said that a historical background or, to put it another way, a focusing on the past, is an absolute necessity in order to learn more about people and their behaviour. The present day does not merely reflect the past but is firmly rooted in the past, be it in the form of traditions, never changing constants or other frequently recurring factors. But the past, on the other hand, also discloses completely new and unexplored material, that can be usefully drawn on as the basis for potential innovation. Therefore knowledge about sports history allows us to reach informed conclusions about today`s sports activities and about their diverse and varying qualities. Knowledge of history equips us better to understand and make a judgment as to what might be considered "normal" or not, as the case might be.

In providing a wealth of information on sports in different ancient cultures, the role of young athletes and the ancient Olympic Games, the history of the emergence of the modern Olympic Games and reflections by young athletes in the present day, this special edition of *Nikephoros* has consciously set out to contribute to the Culture and Education Programme of the Youth Olympic Games 2012 in

Innsbruck, as described in this volume by the Executive Director of the Olympic Games, Gilbert Felli, and in the text of the Austrian Olympic Committee (ÖOC).

As a final note, we would like to thank the organization committee of the Youth Olympic Games and the University of Innsbruck for their cooperation, and not least for their financial support of this special edition. Thanks must also go to Isabelle Esser and Helen Miles for their work in translating those articles into English, submitted in another language. It has been assumed that all authors have secured the relevant permission to reproduce any images or pictures in their articles.

Ingomar Weiler

Victory and 'Bringer of Victory' Nike and *Nikephoros*

In Byzantine history several emperors and Christian personalities had the name *Nikephoros* which originally could be used in a programmatical sense. The naming of the journal *Nikephoros. Zeitschrift für Sport und Kultur im Altertum* has nothing to do with these historical individuals. After some discussion about the title and the objective of the journal (the first volume was published in 1988) the editors called the periodical after the Greek compound *Nikephoros*. I would like to offer here some thoughts about the meaning of this title and of both parts of the word (*nike* + *phoros*). The conventional translation of the ancient Greek word *nikephoros* is '*bringer of victory*'. In the oldest ancient texts where Greek authors used *nikephoros* it refers in most cases to a martial triumph or success. It is not a pure coincidence that Nike became an epithet of the patron goddess of Athens during the war between the Hellenes and the Persians, when the Athenians claimed for themselves to be the most celebrated victors. Another aspect belongs to the law-court and jurisdiction where winning in a trial or court procedure was also called *nike*. By the way: the Greeks often understood a lawsuite or a trial as an *agon*, a contest. But here in this paper we concentrate on the term 'nike' in athletics.

In early Greek mythology (Hesiod, *Theogony* 383–385) Nike was a daughter of the Titan Pallas and Styx, and her sister and brothers were Bia (Force), Zelos (Emulation), and Kratos (Strength). Nike is involved in the war between the Titans and the Olympian gods, fighting for Zeus. This myth, recorded before or after 700 BC, shows Nike as the goddess of Victory and also as a symbol or abstraction of bringing victory. The three famous tragedians Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides use the compound *nikephoros* several times, especially in connection with martial affairs. But since the late fifth century BC the Greek poets, historians and philosophers associate *nikephoros* with the world of athletic and equestrian contests as well as with all other kinds of competition. The connection of the goddess Nike with sport is stressed in the victory hymns (epinicians). Pindar, for instance, speaks about a successful athlete who has "twice fallen into the arms of Nike" (*Nemean ode* 5.42) and Bacchylides (*fragments* 3 and 11) mentions the goddess flying over the victorious charioteer. In Pergamum the Greeks organized special games for this goddess called *Nikophoreia*.

In ancient iconography only few examples of Nike are known from the archaic period. But in classical times the number of statues is growing and in most cases connected with the Persian Wars. In the decades after the Greek victory in the battle of Salamis many statues, vase-paintings, and the construction of the temple of Nike on the Acropolis of Athens illustrate the popularity and power of the goddess. In the figurative and symbolic language of the artists Nike looks like a standing or flying Christian angel with wings and often with attributes of the contest, with a winner's wreath or a ribbon in hand. Pheidias from Athens, one of the most famous sculptors in antiquity, designed the 12 m high statue of Zeus in Olympia, one of the Seven Ancient Wonders of the World. "In his right hand", as Pausanias (5.11.1) writes, the supreme god "carries a Nike, which ... is of ivory and gold; she wears a ribbon and – on her head – a garland". The archaeologists assume that the statue of Nike was ca.4–6 m high. Pausanias also mentions a golden Nike in connection with a tripod on the roof of the temple of Zeus in Olympia which again is a clear allusion to the athletic context. Another famous statue in the Altis, the sacred district of Olympia, is the Nike of Paionios, which was dedicated to the Olympian Zeus in memory of a victory of the Messenians and Naupactians against Sparta.

The literary motif of the flying Nike over a chariot is also well documented on Greek coins. Especially the tyrants of Syracuse minted drachmae which show Nike flying over the horses and holding a wreath or ribbon above the charioteer or the horses. These coins are the earliest iconographic documents of *nikephoros*. It is a display presenting the chariot race and the decoration of the winner at the same time. The original pattern of a tetradrachmon which Utta Decker used to create the logo for the journal *Nikephoros* is a Syracusan coin (413 BC) indicating the goddess as the bringer of victory, in the ancient Greek term *nikephoros*.

(I would like to express my gratitude to Ernst Kastrun for his help in the English translation.)

NIKEPHOROS YOG, 2012, 23–33

Sport in Ancient Egypt

Wolfgang Decker
Cologne

For a long time sport in Ancient Egypt did not exist so to speak; it was totally overshadowed by the interest in sport in Greek antiquity, which became a topic of research since the European Renaissance. This interest was intensified when excavations at ancient Olympia (1875) started and especially when Pierre de Coubertin was able to revive the Olympic Games in 1894 and to turn them into an international sport festival. From a historian's perspective, unlike ancient Greece, Egypt with its very old and magnificent monuments, had no comparable impact on modern sports. Egyptology was born when Jean-François Champollion deciphered the hieroglyphs in 1822, and this branch of scholarship emerged as a newcomer in sport history. Concerning the heritage of Ancient Egypt, these studies only started to examine the archaeological and philological sources for sport history during the last decades, with sport in pharanoic Egypt subsequently becoming a well known field of study.

Sport in Ancient Egypt has two special qualities not to be found in any other sport culture in world history:
1.) The sources go back to 5000 years before our own lifetime, exceeding the beginnings of the ancient Olympic Games by twice the number of years, when counting backwards from the present day.
2.) We have sources of Egyptian sport history covering three millennia, and more recently into the Ptolemaic and Roman periods when this sporting tradition had not yet been totally discontinued.

On the other hand we must acknowledge that there are certain periods of Egyptian sport history (for instance the 18th dynasty) for which there is sufficient information, but also others (such as the Late Period) where there is a lack of corroborative information.

The sporting kings

Before reviewing the sporting kings of Ancient Egypt we must consider the basic code of the ideology also relevant to sport history. The royal dogma held that he was the guarantor of life. He was the only mortal to enter into direct contact with the gods. Pharaoh was responsible for the security of Egypt. In practice this means that he suppresses enemies who are a permanent threat the country and that he

repulses their attacks. This requires physical strength, which is intrinsic to every officiating king and which is part of his legitimacy as ruler. Pharaoh is the conqueror of enemies, an insuperable hunter with an immense booty, even of the larger animal such as lions and elephants, and he can achieve sporting performances beyond any mortal yardstick. His superiority is absolute; his strength must not be measured within the confines of a contest. The principle of an open competition, giving every participant a chance of victory, contradicts the ideology of royal self-evidence. It was not even theoretically possible to question his absolute superiority so that even a splendid victory in competition would have violated the principles of royal dogma. So it was taboo for Pharaoh to participate in a contest.

The picture of the sporting king, which exists despite the ideological backgrounds can be divided (if we simplify) into a static and into an actual concept. The first concept can be seen in a ritual practised in all dynasties. It is the jubilee festival, which is celebrated by Pharaoh to reassert the accession to his reign. Ideally this festival was organized 30 years after his coronation, but it was possible to celebrate it earlier in the event of the ruler's illness or of a dangerous situation for the state. Central to this ritual is a 'running event' but in which the ageing king had to demonstrate his continuing fitness for office. It is self-evident that the run was staged without other competitors.

There is no direct source for such a running event, which has survived the millennia, although the actual stages of the ritual can be seen in the mortuary temple of Djoser (2690–2670 BC). A race-course in the southern court of his pyramid at Saqqara, the first example of this typically Egyptian building, which was placed at the king's disposal for eternity, gives us some idea of the scene. At this place we see two stone marks at a distance of 55 m (ca. 100 Egyptian cubits) from each other. They consist of two semi-circles 10 m across and mark out the distance which Pharaoh had to run (fig. 1). We do not know how often he had to go round the marks, but it seems that the ritual was fulfilled when he had completed a few runs, maybe three times. In the subterranean part of the pyramid there are three reliefs showing Djoser running. In contrast to the stone marks preserved in the south court, here the marks consist of three semi-circles, which tends to be the case with nearly all the many other representations of the running king known from all the Egyptian periods. The object of the run was not only the demonstration of physical fitness, but also the regeneration of the strength of the ruler through magical influence. At the same time it signified a repossession of the realm once the course had been completed.

Fig. 1: Northern turning base of Djoser's running track in the courtyard of his pyramid, Saqqara (photo W. Decker)

It might be supposed that the significance of the run in this, one of the most important rituals connected with the Egyptian kingship, is no accident. It is possible that the ritual survives from remote antiquity when the most fleet-footed hunter qualified as the leader of the tribe.

The actual concept of the royal dogma is based on historical facts, considerably influencing how Pharoah's sporting achievements are portrayed. The best example happened in the 18th dynasty, during which the shameful foreign rule by the Hyksos was finally abolished. For four generations this people ruled over wide parts of the Nile valley by taking advantage of its superior weapons. They used chariots with spoked wheels pulled by two horses and the extremely flexible composite bow, made of different types of wood and horn glued together. When they imported these technical innovations into Egypt they were unknown to the Egyptians and exerted an element of surprise. It is quite interesting to see that the kings of the 18th dyn. – after the expulsion of the first foreign invaders – used the weapons, which had formerly been the cause of their inferiority, as tool to introduce a very complex sporting discipline. By this we mean shooting arrows at a target from a moving chariot, as shown and described by a text for instance on what is known as the archery-'stela' of Amenophis II

(1428–1397 BC) (fig. 2). Pharaoh is in an elegant chariot with large four-spoked wheels. The speed of the galloping horses made it extremely difficult for the archer; however, the arrows hit the mark with striking accuracy. The moment is captured with the image of a further arrow about to fly from the string and definitely hit the target. Leaning against the post there is a strange, oblique, rhombic rectangular object with four tongue-shaped edges, bristling with five arrows. Every person of that era would have known that it was a copper ingot (weighing about 20 kg), i. e. the raw material (together with tin) for the production of bronze, the principal metal of the Bronze Age. Copper ingots were much sought-after commodities transported by ship from their source to the harbours of the Mediterranean sea. The ingots were then loaded on the back of asses, which was done without any problems because the concave rims of the ingots made it easier to attach them with ropes. In recent years a large number of such ingots has come to light thanks to underwater archaeology. The southern coastline of Turkey (Cape Gelidonya, Ulu Burun) is especially rich in such discoveries.

Fig. 2: Archery-'stela' of Amenophis II from temple of Amun, Karnak, now Luxor Museum (photo W. Decker)

The text, which describes the ingot of the archery-'stela' runs as follows:

> *The great target of foreign copper at which his Majesty shot, of three fingers in thickness. The one great of strength pierced it with many arrows; he caused three palms' (thickness) to come forth at the back of this target; one who shot to hit every time, the hero, lord of strength. His Majesty did this pleasure before the entire land.*
>
> translation P. Der Manuelian

The other text related to the post has the following wording:

> *The perfect god, great in strength, who acts with his two hands in the presence of his army, the mighty bowman who shoots to hit and whose arrows do not go astray; when he shoots at a target of copper, he splits it as (one splits) papyrus, without (even) considering (using) any wooden one to ... on account of his strength. Strong of arm, whose equal has never existed; Mentu, when he appears in the chariot.*
>
> (translation P. Der Manuelian)

It was Amenophis II, too, who erected the colossal statue vis-à-vis the sphinx of Giza known as the sphinx-stela. Nearly half of the text is dedicated to the sporting achievements of the young prince and subsequent king. It is reported that he even pierced four of the copper ingots (each ingot being a hand's breath in its thickness) to the extent of going straight through the ingots and falling to the floor on the other side. (Our experiments had the disappointing result that even falling iron tips did not pierce the copper any deeper than by a few millimetres.) He is also praised as a champion runner and a strong armed oarsman who was easily able to hold the course of a boat with 200 rowers after the team had stopped. The young prince had no equal in training horses, a fact encouraging the enthusiasm of his father, the king. Their excellent condition is seen by their appearance after a gallop when they do not even seem to be sweating. The motif 'king as horse trainer' is once iconographically represented in the mortuary temple of Ramses III (1183/82–1152/51 BC) in Medinet Habu; he selects a pair of horses for his royal stable, "which he had trained by his own hand" (fig. 3). Ramses II (1279–1213 BC) and much later Pije (746–715 BC) are famous for their love for horses, too.

It appears that the taboo of the king as a competitor, which was always observed, was only broken once when an inscription of Meda-

mud in Upper Egypt mentioned a king, skilled in archery, presenting a prize to those who could equal his performance. We are pretty sure that Amenophis II was the king, although his name has not been preserved.

The motif of a king piercing copper ingots by his arrows found its way into Greek literature centuries later. Homer describes Odysseus coming back to his home in Ithaca after 20 years of absence; nobody could imagine that he was still alive. He is the only one who can bend the ruler's bow and shoot through holes of 12 axes, which resemble Egyptian copper ingots in shape. In the same way as Pharaoh legitimized his rule by corresponding performances, Odysseus does so too, when he gains back his wife Penelope and the kingship of the island.

Fig. 3: Ramses III inspects his horses, royal mortuary temple, Medinet Habu (photo W. Decker)

Sport of private persons

The above mentioned mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu is the best preserved temple in Egypt before the Ptolemaic period. A palace is annexed to it with a viewing window for the king. Below this window there is a remarkable relief. It contains 10 pairs playing combat sports, seven of them are wrestlers, the other three are stick fencers (fig. 4). Apart from these stick fencers who all seem to be Egyp-

tians, the other pairs consist of an Egyptian and a foreign opponent. The foreigners are from Asia, Libya and Africa, countries touching Egypt's borders. With the Pharaoh being depicted as victor of the enemies, the Egyptian athletes, wearing soldiers' skirts, are competing in the unreal presence of their king and are, like him, victorious, or at least superior in the phase of the match represented. The idea of Egyptian superiority is enhanced by the presence of spectators who watch the combatants from the right and the left hand side. It is interesting that amongst these spectators there are not only Egyptian princes and courtiers, but also some compatriots of the opponents of the matches. In other words: They are witnesses to the defeat of their own compatriots. As to the technical details there are some points worth mentioning: the grips, swings and throws of the wrestlers (in one case accompanied by a judge [holding a trumpet?]) look very professional; the artists also accurately sought to represent vital victory scenes in which the victor throws his arms upwards whereas the loser lies on the ground unconscious. Clearly seen are also the stick fencers who sought to protect themselves against the attacks of their opponents by binding bandages around their faces, applying splints to their forearms and protecting the grips of their weapons with special guards. The pairs of the stick fencers flank the pairs of wrestlers; on the right hand side, one of the stick fencers is greeting the spectators in a deep bow.

Fig. 4: Ceremonial games: a pair of wrestlers and a pair of stick fighters, mortuary temple of Ramses III, Medinet Habu (photo W. Decker)

As we saw combat sports seem to have been a favourite sport in Pharaonic Egypt. This opinion is confirmed when we look at the tombs of the nomarchs of the Middle Kingdom (around 2000 BC) in Beni Hassan with their hundreds of wrestling pairs (fig. 5). Nine of these 39 rock tombs looking down from a cliff into the Nile valley are decorated with such pairs wearing only a girdle and showing very different positions of a wrestling match; some positions are combat scenes on the ground as is permitted in modern free style wrestling. Unfortunately we do not know much about the rules, but it seems that the series of pairs are not to be understood as displaying a sequence of a real wrestling match. Rather, we prefer to view such scenes as simple impressions of such an event. The usual location of the combat scenes depicted in the tombs at Beni Hassan is the eastern wall where scenes of attack against fortifications are also represented. So we are not far from the idea that wrestling was part and parcel of the training of the soldiers under the nomarch's command. It is an Egyptian belief that the owner of the tomb enjoys the scenes of his daily life, represented in this place for eternity. The world famous wrestling scenes in the tombs of the nomarchs in Beni Hassan are unique in the universal history of sport.

Sport festivals

We do not know the reason for the wrestling matches of Beni Hassan tombs, other than to train soldiers. As for the combats depicted under the appearance window in Medinet Habu, one could imagine that visits of foreign delegations provided an opportunity to stage these combats, in which Egyptian athletes excelled. We know from other examples that such sporting events were closely connected with official festivals to enable them to be considered sports festivals in their own right. One of the latest important discoveries in Egyptian sport history, reliefs from an annex of the pyramid of Sahure (2596–2483 BC), attest the fact that sport constituted part of the builders' activities whilst constructing this Pharaoh's tomb. Members of the building team participated in wrestling (supervised by a judge), stick fencing and archery; the presence of a boat (on a fragment) could be a reference to a regatta.

It is certain that such a regatta was held under Tutankhamun (1333–1323 BC) on the river Nile as is reported in a short inscription on a ceremonial staff of the king. It is interesting to read that prior to the contest, the teams had to perform a training session in the presence of Pharaoh.

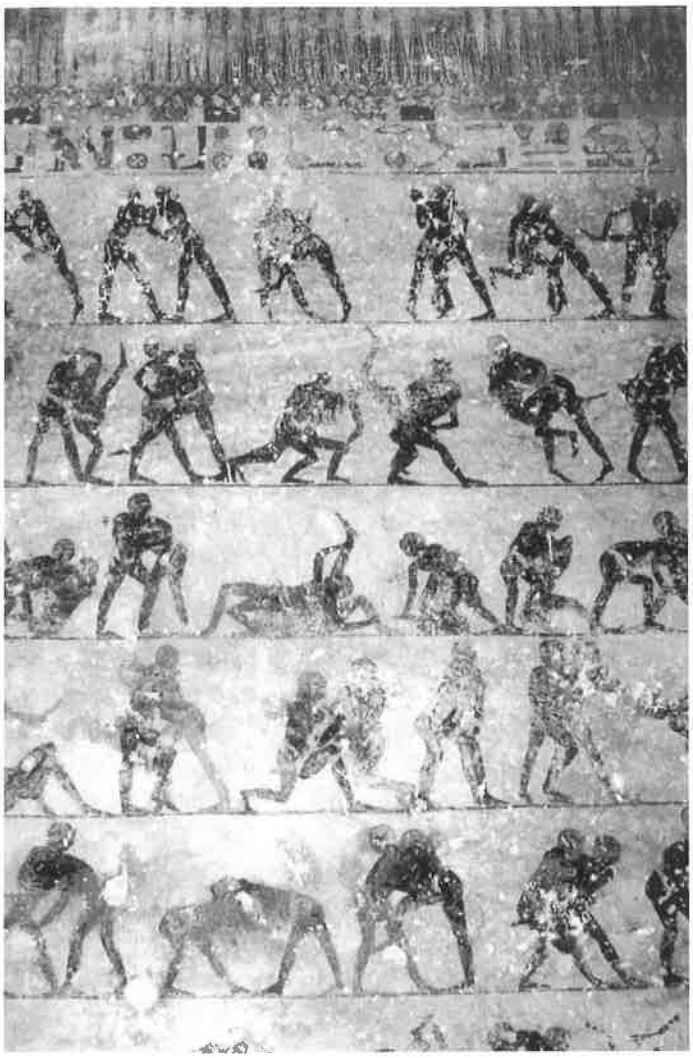

Fig. 5: Pairs of wrestlers, tomb of Baqt III, east wall, Beni Hassan (photo W. Decker)

Before Tutankhamun it was Amenophis IV (1351–1334 BC), better known by his name Echnaton, unsuccessful reformer of Egyptian religion, who whilst sitting on his throne observed the performances of wrestling, stick fencing and maybe also of boxing of the Nubians bringing their tributes consisting of typical products of Nubia.

Boxing is the main discipline of a scene in the tomb of Cheriuf (Theban Tomb 192), organizer of the third jubilee festival of Amenophis III (1388–1351/50 BC); the boxers are elegantly practising their

art without gloves in connection with the erecting of the *djed*-pillar, a ceremony intended to stabilize the rule of Pharaoh.

In the Late Period there was quite a scarcity of sport history sources. This circumstance considerably changed some years ago when surprisingly a stela was found of king Taharka (690–664 BC), member of the 25th dyn. coming from Kush (Nubia). The text of the document with the conspicious name 'running stela', as seen in the original, is amazing: The Nubian king of Egypt selected a group of 250 soldiers and ordered a training period in a kind of training camp. We neither learn how long this training period lasted nor how long the distances were, which the runners had to cover every day. Finally the condition of the runners was checked by means of a race from Memphis to the Fayum and back, which is a distance of approximately 100 km. At the turning-point the runners paused for two hours. The best runners needed 8–9 hours to complete the whole distance, a time that equals the record times of running comparable distances at the end of the 19th century AD. The victors were awarded prizes and all those finishing the race were rewarded with a feast in the presence of the body-guard of the king. We have to consider that the runners were soldiers and that the aim was a military one as can be seen by the start at night; but nevertheless the mention of an exact running time and of further details are sensational pieces of information – seen from a sport historical perspective – for the 7th century BC when Olympic Games in Greece had just started.

Although the Greeks with their regularly organized *agones* made a very important contribution to sport history, we should also recognize that there are cases of such sport festivals in earlier times. In this context the Egyptian examples selected above have to be highlighted.

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Sports in Hittite Anatolia

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The Hittite Empire spread over Anatolia – the Asian part of modern Turkey – in the second Millenium BC. In the capital Hattusa (modern Boğazkale) in the province of Çorum in Central Anatolia tens of thousands of clay tablets were found that had been written in cuneiform script. Most of the texts are of religious nature: prescriptions of rituals, religious festivals, prayers, and omina. There are also historiographical texts, private letters, and correspondence with the rulers of other empires of the Ancient Near East.

In these texts – which are often in a very bad condition and sometimes even broken into small pieces – we find some references to sport. Almost all testimonies come from ritual texts, so we find sport existing primarily as part of religious cult.

The following sorts of sport can be found in Hittite written documents: foot-race, horse-racing, wrestling and boxing; weightlifting and archery.

In the "Festival of the gatehouse" we find some interesting but short references to foot-races, for example:

> *Ten runners come next; to the one who wins and to the one who is in the second place they give two "soldier's dresses". ... They pay homage and they [take their places?]. One [gives] them* sarama-*bread.*

This text dates to the empire period (1380–1190 BC), in an older version from the middle of the 16th century the winner gets one mina of silver, which is a weight of about 480 g:

> *The runner who wins takes from the hand of the king two* wagada-*breads and one mina of silver.*

In another text we find palace officers as runners:

> *When the king comes in the spring from Tahurpas to the AN.TA.SUM-festival in Hattusa, as he arrives at Tippuwa, a tent and a* baitylos *(a sort of cultic stone) have already been put in place. Then the king steps down from the chariot and he per-*

> *forms* proskynesis *in Hattusa. He also goes inside the tent and washes his hands. The king comes out of the tent and he pours wine in front of the* baitylos. *Then the king steps into the chariot. He goes up to the upper* baitylos. *The bodyguards run, and he who wins, that one seizes the bridle. Then the king steps down from the chariot and breaks a breadloaf and libate before the* baitylos.

Here we find no mentioning of any prizes; the winner is only allowed to grasp the bridle of the king's (chariot-)horse. We can be sure that this was a very great honour for this bodyguard.

The aforementioned ritual has been incorporated in later times to the AN.TAH.SUM-festival, which was a spring festival named after the AN.TAH.SUM-plant which hitherto has not been identified; the festival lasted for more than one month. In a text listing the contents of the festival we find in the descriptions relating to the daily events, references to a horse and foot race, as described in the text just cited above:

> 2nd day:
> *Next day the king and queen enter Hattusa. At Mount Tippuwa the bodyguards and the palace attendants race. Then the king and the queen bathe in the* tarnu-*house. ...*
> 11th day:
> *Next day the chief of the palace attendants carries the "year" [a symbolical object] to the House of the Dead, and the king follows him. He goes and puts the racehorses on their way.*
> 19th day:
> *Next is the day of the meat offerings. The king goes to the boxwood trees and puts the racehorses on their way. Afterwards someone, be it the chief of the bodyguards or the chief of the palace attendants, sets up the cups before the Storm-god* pihasassi *and the Sun-goddess of Arinna.*

The same text also mentions horse-racing on the 19th day. It is a pity that we do not have the full descriptions of this race in the ritual text itself, because from this short reference we do not know what sort of horse-racing the Hittites practised: we know about chariot-horse training from cuneiform texts, but we do not know if the races were entered by riders on galloping horses.

We can find references to wrestling, boxing and stonelifting or -throwing in the texts(?) of smaller local rituals. Those festivals regularly took place in spring and in the fall. During these festivals the

gods' statues were moved out of their temples to a holy place, where they were treated ritually; and afterwards a cultic meal for the king, the priests and the nobles took place. We can assume that some distance away common people were also eating and drinking. After this banquet in the presence of the deity, performances of cult staff and unspecified participants took place, including athletic combats. One such text reads as follows:

> *they eat (and) drink, they fill cups, they go in for boxing, they throw the stone.*

An interesting passage of the next text provides a hint for the understanding of athletic performances as an act to please the gods:

> *... Before the (statue of the) deity there is boxing and they fight. They entertain the deity.*

The following text also demonstrates that these combats should entertain the gods:

> *Ours and the enemy's man prostrate themselves to the deity three times, and then they proceed to wrestling. When our man topples (his opponent), they applaud, he (i.e. the opponent) prostrates himself to the deity, and our man squats. But afterwards the men likewise get into fistfight. And after that they go to* tarpa. *Four rams go to* tarpa *(unknown word). Afterwards bulls(?) go to* tarpa. *After that they go before the deity.*

Some texts mention young men lifting stones after the cultic meal: "They eat. They drink. The young men lift the stone", which means that they performed weightlifting.

Although not concerning sport in a narrow sense texts describing ritual mock battles clearly refer to features relating to agonistic games: there are spectators, who applaud the winner.

> *They divide the young men into two halves and name them: one half of them they call Men of Hatti, and the other half they call Men of Masa. The Men of Hatti have bronze weapons, whereas the Men of Masa have weapons of reed. They fight the battle. The Men of Hatti are victorious; they take a captive and consign him to the deity.*

Archery is the only activity which we do not know from rituals but from other texts. An archery combat is mentioned in the old Hittite mythological text about King Gurparanzah. In this text the king defeats other kings during a banquet, which calls to mind the scene of Odysseus' return, when he was the only man who could use his own bow and by doing this was identified by his enemies. The text reads:

> *Impakru, Gurparanzah, the sixty kings and the seventy heroes went to the city of Akkad. Impakru let his son-in-law (Gurparanzah) sit in the front; they ate, they drank and they had fun together. Afterwards they ordered the bows, the quivers and the target. They lined up with Gurparanzah. Gurparanzah shoots, and his arrow flapped away like a bird. He defeated the sixty kings (and) the seventy heroes in shooting.*

The other text mentioning archery is the old Hittite "Palace chronicle". Amongst other stories about an unnamed king's officers, their mistakes and punishments, we read:

> *They (Ispudasinara and Suppiuman, two Overseers-of-One-Thousand-Chariot-Fighters) are always calling at night, because he places their young chariot fighters on chariots. He teaches them about the arrow, the sharpening-wheel and the holding of the weapon. Them he trained and this one he trained. And some, the father of the King gave to Nakkilit, the 'Chief of the Cupbearers'; some he gave to Huzzi, the 'Chief of the Herolds'; some he gave to Kizzu, the 'Chief of the Palace Guards'. They made them skilled.When they shoot before the king, he who hits the mark, to him they give wine to drink ... But to him who does not hit the mark, to him they give a bitter cup. He has to fetch water naked.*

Before the young men show their skills in archery, they are trained; this text could therefore be the description of an exam after the training.

The existence of a further sporting activity possibly carried out by Hittites is not established by texts, but simply by an illustration on a relief vase. This vase was found in Hüseyindede in Central Anatolia (fig. 1 & 2). Besides groups of musicians and – maybe – dancers, the frieze shows a bull held by a man with a lituus and two men in different positions on the back of and behind the bull. The explanation of this is that these two persons show two positions within one movement over the bull. Bull-leaping is well known from Minoan and Syr-

ian paintings and glyptics, but so far unique for Anatolia. Though the bull is the holy animal and the symbol of the Hittite Stormgod, who leads the Hittite pantheon and is therefore often mentioned in Hittite ritual texts, no single text illustrates such activities like bull-leaping.

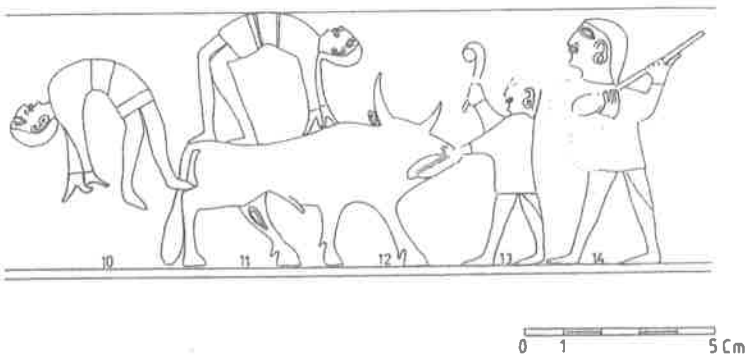

Fig. 1: Bull-leaping on a Hittite relief vase from Hüseyindede. From: Tunç SIPAHI, *Eine althethitische Reliefvase vom Hüseyindede Tepesi,* in: Istanbuler Mitteilungen 50, 2000, 67.

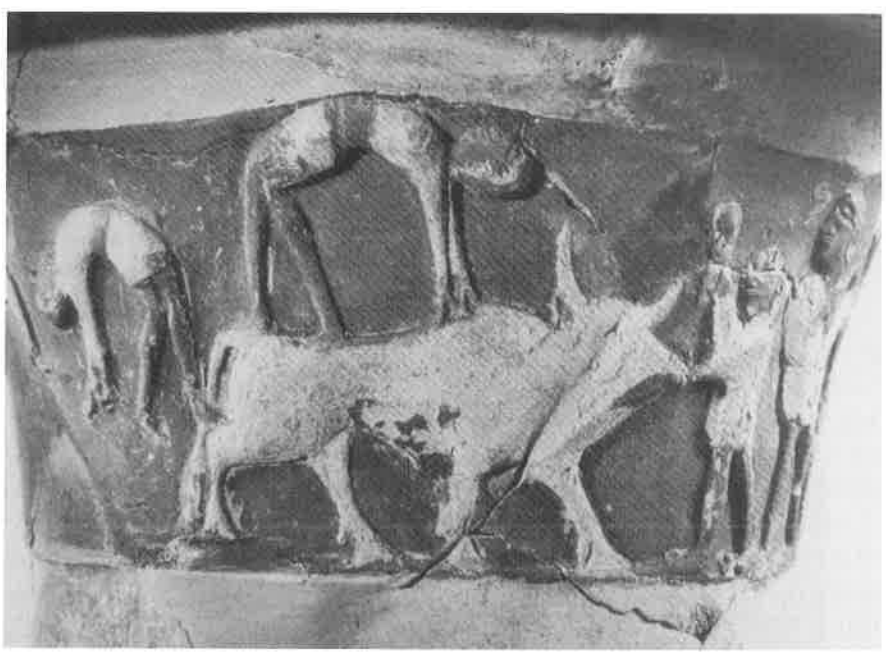

Fig. 2: Bull-leaping on a Hittite relief vase from Hüseyindede. From: Tunç SIPAHI, *Eine althethitische Reliefvase vom Hüseyindede Tepesi,* in: Istanbuler Mitteilungen 50, 2000, 79.

From these examples we can see that Hittites surely knew sports and athletic combats, but there are many questions for which we cannot find any answers in the texts: we have no training instructions though we have such instructions for horses used for war-chariots; we don't know if there were combats included in religious festivals; we neither know a Hittite word for "sportsman", nor can we find a word for "sport" or "combat" in Hittite texts. And last but not least, we do not find any sport in the Hittite funerary rituals, though these rituals – preserved are only those for the members of the royal family – read like the forerunners of the funeraries described by Homer for Hector and Patroclos. And in respect of the large quantities of ritual texts preserved, there are only few references to sport, so we can say that sport was not very important in Hittite rituals.

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Sport in Minoan Crete and in the Mycenaean World

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Sport in Minoan Crete

The island of Crete is situated at the southern end of the Aegean islands. Its geographic location made it a crossroads for different cultural influences where Egyptian, Oriental, Balkan and indigenous elements mingled together. During the Bronze Age, the Minoan culture, named after the legendary King Minos, was the leading power of the island. The history of Crete during the second millennium BC is divided into the period of the Old Palaces (2000–1700 BC) and the period of the New Palaces (1700–1400 BC). It was a violent earthquake that afflicted the island sometime between these two epochs. During the last period, the palace of Knossos gained a leading position over the other palaces of the island. The fact that Crete was of political significance was even acknowledged by the great power, Egypt. The Minoans used a writing system influenced by the Egyptian hieroglyphs and the cuneiform tablets of Mesopotamia called Linear A, that remains undecipherd. In the middle of the 15th century BC, Crete was conquered by the Mycenaean Greeks coming from mainland Greece.

It is interesting that Greek mythology recounts an old conflict between Athens and Minos, King of Crete. The reason for the conflict was the murder of the Cretan Prince Androgeos who was a splendid victor at a sports festival held in Athens. The King of Athens, Aigeus, was party to the crime. Minos demanded compensation from Athens, and every nine years the Greeks were required to send a group of seven maidens and seven youths as food for the cruel Minotauros who lived in the labyrinth of Knossos. Theseus, son of Aigeus, one of the youths sent to Knossos managed to kill the Minotauros and escaped from the labyrinth by means of a thread given to him by Minos' daughter Ariadne.

It seems that the figure of Minotauros, half man, half bull, is a relic of real bull games, which played an important role on the island of Crete during the Minoan time. They took place in the courtyards of the palaces. It was Arthur Evans who started excavations in the most important of these Minoan palaces in 1900 AD, at the one in Knossos. He discovered a real labyrinth consisting of more than 1000 rooms. Labyrinth literally means: "house of the double-axe (*labrys*)", a holy symbol of the Minoan civilization.

Evans also discovered numerous 'bull game' motifs. Maria C. Shaw was able to ascertain 19 stucco reliefs and – in nine different places at the palace of Knossos – mural paintings on this subject that was to become the 'leitmotiv' of the Minoan sports culture. The most famous one of these representations is the 'taureador fresco' reexamined recently by N. Marinatos and C. Palyvou. They also considered four more panels of the same size (ca 59 x 119 cm), whose significance had been underestimated until today. The best preserved fresco shows a raging bull together with three acrobats. The first one is hanging onto its horns; a second one seems to be in the act of somersaulting over the animal, with his arms leaning on its back. A third person is situated behind the bull which could be interpreted as his final landing completing the sequence. There can be no doubt that all the represented acrobats are male. Some scholars, however, are convinced that they are women. But then they really would need to explain why the female leapers are wearing penis pouches.

A. Evans interpreted this mural painting as showing three different phases of a great leap. He assumes that the leaper was courageous enough to approach the raging bull and to endeavour to hang onto its horns. Then the bull would have catapulted him with its head so that he would have been thrown onto its back into a standing position before springing down to the ground behind it. However, it should be noted that the British archaeologist did not consider the second phase of the leaper in his diagram of the acrobat's alleged movements.

J.G. Younger's diagram represents a variation, which is similarly unconvincing. His theory that the leaper started from a high starting point is only shown once in the original representations of Cretan bull-leaping. It is also worth mentioning that the Spanish toreros, the heroes of today's bull fighting arenas, believe that both methods are quite unrealistic. Their opinion is that an acrobat is not able sufficiently to predict a raging bull's behaviour so as to allow him to pull off the stunt in a manner, advocated by Evans and Younger. We should perhaps avoid trying to interpret such representations of the leapers too literally. The different phases of their movements cannot be treated as biomechanical data suitable for the purposes of a scientific reconstruction. It is clear that an artist whose task was to depict such a bull leaping scene would have wanted to reproduce it in the most spectacular manner. Another way this excitement was captured can be seen from a neighbouring panel which depicts an unsuccessful attempt to jump over the animal and the ensuing fall to the ground, as well as a further depiction of such a perfect jump that could not in truth have corresponded to reality.

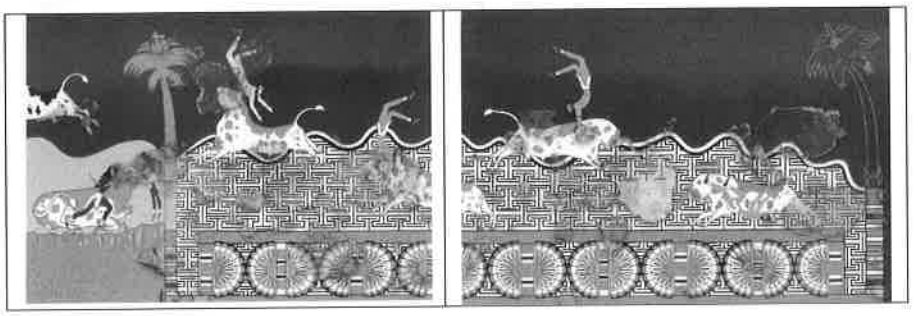

Fig. 1: Tell el-Dab^{c}a: Bull leaping fresco (BIETAK et al. 2007, fig. 59 B)

Let's find out why the bull was such a revered creature in Knossos and in the other palatial centres of the island of Crete during the Minoan period. And what was the real reason for playing such dangerous games with these animals in the central courts in the presence of spectators. We think it was a test of courage carried out by youngsters when entering the age class of men. They had to fulfil a *rite de passage* still performed by their modern counterparts in certain East African tribes today. So, for instance, the young men folk of the Hamar, a nomadic tribe of cattle-breeders, have to run over the backs of a row of up to 30 cattle, to spring down and repeat the feat from the other side, before being accepted into the circle of the next age group.

*

As already mentioned, Minoan Crete was not unknown to Pharaonic Egypt. In many tombs of the early 18th dynasty, there are representations of Minoans carrying typical products from the island, including a statuette of a running bull. Also, lists with names of Cretan sites are preserved in the mortuary temple of Amenophis III. Vice versa, Egyptian objects from this and earlier times were found in Crete so that we can speak of relations of mutual benefit to both civilizations. In this context, I would like to focus on the discovery of a palace in the eastern delta at Tell el-Dab'a (Greek Auaris), which was decorated by Minoan craftsmen with Minoan motifs. Manfred Bietak and his team were able to reconstruct the original mural paintings despite their poor condition. Not only do stylistic techniques point to the hands of Minoan artists but so do the particular techniques used to decorate the wall which was painted *al fresco* using murex shells. One of the motifs shows a cycle of bull leaping typical of the Minoan sports culture and of the type of 'exotic' subject matter so highly prized by Pharaoh. With the aid of computer simulation it was possi-

ble to reconstruct a part of the original painting for a length of about 4 m (height: 86–89 cm). There are two friezes, a "beige frieze" and a "labyrinth frieze" (fig. 1). In the first one, we can distinguish five spotted bulls running (apart from one of them) to the right. The acrobats attempting to leap over the animals seem to have been successful; only one of them fails and falls down. The foremost bull has collapsed and is being goaded by two people. The right frieze (the "labyrinth frieze") is in a better condition. Its name comes from the labyrinth pattern around the animals imitating the design of the pavement of the court of the palace. We see four raging bulls (one of them directly facing us) and their acrobats; three are running to the left, the fourth one in the opposite direction. One of the athletes has miscalculated his leap and has fallen down. The lower part of the frieze comprises a row of half rosettes, a symbolic element of the palatial world. This row is delineated by two horizontal blue lines. The motif derived from a Cretan palace was worthy of being represented in an Egyptian royal building. We can assume that the ruler of Knossos made a royal gift to his Egyptian counterpart as was customary amongst the kings at that time. He would have sent highly specialized craftsmen from Crete into the Nile valley so that they could decorate the palace in the delta with a novel subject matter designed to arouse the interest of Pharaoh. It was far from predictable, however, that a dangerous sport like this should become the theme of a diplomatic cultural gift.

Fig. 2: Akrotiri (Thera), Beta 1: Young boxing boys
(C. DUMAS, *Die Wandmalereien von Thera*, Munich 1996, fig. 79)

The Minoan culture was not only limited to Crete, but expanded in its later phase to other islands of the Aegean world. In respect of sport, volcanic Santorini provides a good example of Minoan influence. The Minoan settlement of Akrotiri was destroyed by a volcanic eruption in the 17th century BC, the same fate which awaited Pompei some 1600 years later. During the excavation of the site, a mural painting showing a pair of boxing children was brought to light. It is known under the title "Boxing Princes" (fig. 2). The youngsters are only wearing belts and on their right fists, gloves; but they also punch with their bare left hands. Their blows are aimed directly at the heads of their opponents. The boys' hair is elaborately styled and their jewellery comprises blue beads around their wrists, ankle-joints and necks, all serving to accentuate their aristocratic appearance. Incidentally, it is worth noting that a large relief figure in Knossos, known as the "Prince of Lilies" can now be interpreted as representing a boxer.

Bull leaping and boxing, both favourite disciplines of the Minoans, are well represented on the famous rhyton (tunnel vessel) of Hagia Triada dated to about the 16th century BC. Although the four different reliefs decorating the vase are badly damaged, each of their themes can clearly be understood. The two upper and the lower reliefs show boxers in violent fights. Knocking down the opponents was the object. So heavy were the gloves that even a helmet does not seem to have been sufficient to counter the powerful blows, in this particular case. In the upper section, fighters stand beside a column, indicating that the scene of this combat is the court of a palace; they are practising shadow-boxing and preparing themselves for the next bout. We are able to ascertain that the rhyton of Hagia Triada is exclusively decorated with sporting scenes. The question arises whether it was a prize in a Minoan sports festival as was the case with Panathenaic amphorae centuries later.

In the year 2000, a golden ring from the neopalatial time was found in the Minoan sanctuary of Syme in Crete (fig. 3). This ring not only provides an excellent depiction of a sprinter but also gives an indication of the role of athletics and sport in Minoan society. It seems that the craftsman and customer were both of Knossian origin. The small bezel only measures 1,8 x 0,9 cm. It is amazing that there is even actually space for a composition of these three figures, that have been executed as high reliefs. The two outer figures are focusing their attention on a sprinter in the centre, whose movements are captured at the time of his greatest exertion in the final phase of his sprint. This is depicted by his wide stride length and 'rowing' arm action, propelling him forward during the last few metres. As the runner expends his last ounce of energy, his upper body is seen to leaning backwards with his

head thrown back. His streaming hair, illustrated simply by dots, emphasises his speed In the author's view, the item over the runner's head could be interpreted as a comet and thus as a lucky omen for the runner's success. Until now, the representation of a sprinter (in contrast to long distance runners) is quite unique in Minoan iconography. The other two figures in this scene also need to be examined. The person on the right hand side is a man with a puffed leather skirt reaching down to his knees as would have been worn by participants of a sacrifice. He is depicted alongside the holy symbol of a snake frame and is believed to be the same person as the sprinter, but clearly in another phase of his life and fulfilling a different function from that of a runner. The person on the left hand side is a priestess in a long robe with bare breasts whose hair is shown by dots (as was the case for the runner). She stretches out her left arm in the direction of the sprinter, whereas she has placed her right arm on her breasts.

Fig. 3: Syme (Crete): The runner's ring (LEBESSI/MUHLY/ PAPASAVVAS 2004)

Commentators of the scene are of the opinion "that the ring from Syme was dedicated by the owner to mark the end of his term of office a responsibility which included organizing athletics and sport in Minoan society for a certain period of time". This explanation is not easy to prove, but sport historians tend to accept this theory on the basis that it is supported by leading archaeologists of the Minoan civilization even if further evidence would be needed to make it more convincing.

Sport in the Mycenaean world

Minoan Crete was conquered by the Mycenaeans in the middle of the 15th century BC. They began to invade mainland Greece in about 1600 BC and moreover to settle on the Aegean islands and on the Western coast of Asia Minor. The Mycenaeans are the first Greeks to have developed a writing system, which was deciphered by Michael Ventris, two generations ago. We call them Mycenaeans and speak of the Mycenaean civilization because the palace of Mycenae in the Argolid had a certain position of influence over the other palaces such as, for instance, Iolkos, Thebes, Pylos, Messene, and Amyklai. Mycenae was also the first place from this relevant period to have been unearthed by modern day archaeologists (Heinrich Schliemann in 1875). Many clay tablets with written texts were found, but the value of the texts is limited, restricted to economical and administrative matters concerning the relevant palaces. Historical reports or information on matters of sports history are not contained in these materials, and it is unlikely that such texts will emerge in the future either. Knowledge of this writing system fell into oblivion when, during a vast migration of the so called sea people, the Mycenaean palaces were destroyed in around 1200 BC. To replace this loss the Greeks invented the alphabet in the 8th century BC.

For a long time, scholars believed that the poems of Homer reflected events of the Mycenaean period. So the funeral games of Patroklos in the Iliad and the sports festival of the Phaiacians in the Odyssey were regarded as reflections of Mycenaean sport. This opinion has since been abandoned and Homer's sports reports are now interpreted as relating to customs during his own lifetime, the 8th century BC.

So sports history of the Mycenaean period is exclusively dependent upon archaeological sources as was already the case for Minoan sport. We are already familiar with a limited number of representations on vases of runners and boxers. Most importantly, during the Mycenaean

period, chariot racing was represented for the first time in sports history as a discipline in its own right, destined to become very important later on in Greek and Roman sport. The oldest representation of chariot racing can be found on an amphora of Tyrins dated to about the 13th century BC. Two incompletely preserved chariots with four spoked wheels pulled by horses at high speed are to be seen. The scene is not set within a military context. The drivers wear long robes and urge on the horses using long goads as is often shown on Greek vases from the first millennium BC. K. Kilian who published information about this amphora and commented on its scenes, explained that the presence of a goddess was proof of a chariot race held to honour the deceased at a funeral ceremony

Already 300 years previously, a motif of chariot racing was engraved on a golden signet ring from a Mycenaean tholos tomb in Aidonia not far from Nemea in the Argolid (fig. 4). A biga with four spoked wheels is represented in deep relief technique. Its driver is urging the horses to go faster using a goad (as seen in the motif of the Tyrins amphora). Again, the scene is not set within a military context. The ring's small plate has prevented the craftsman from adding a second chariot. So although the scene is not depicting a competition in its strict sense, but rather a training for an actual race, the images depicted by the ring are hinting at such an event.

Fig. 4: Aidonia: Gold signet ring engraved with a chariot scene (DEMAKOPOULOU/DIVARI-VALAKOU 1997, fig. 3)

Fig. 5: Tanagra: Larnax from chamber tomb 22, lamenting women; funeral games (chariot racing [?], sword fighting), now Thebes, Archaeological Museum (E. SPATHARI, *Το Ολυμπιακό Πνεύμα*, Athens 1992, 23)

Despite the remarkable nature of the aforementioned object, the most significant relic of Mycenaean sports history is a clay sarcophagus (*larnax*) of Tanagra (tomb 22), dating back to the 13th century BC. (now in the Archaeological Museum of Thebes). It is 59 cm high, 73 cm long and 31 cm wide. Only the colours red and black are used for its decoration. The principal figural representations are situated on both of the longitudinal sides. Side A shows two pictures of equal size, which are separated by a black line (fig. 5). The upper half depicts a row of 13 women lamenting the deceased and tearing at their hair. The lower field shows two chariots, placed at the outer edges and looking into the centre. The chariots each with a crew of two men have wheels of four sturdy spokes. Although the horses are portrayed as being in a tranquil state, if other sources from that time are taken into account, their presence could be understood as implying that a chariot race is about to take place. During the moment captured by this image, the chariots seem to serve as a stand for the charioteers to watch a pair of sword fighters in action between the two chariots. They don't wear any armour. Three smaller horses appear randomly in the background. Side B is essentially structured in the same way as side A. The upper part is occupied by a herd of goats; two animals in the foreground are depicted as being larger than the others. They are

looking at each other with the space between them occupied by a man aiming at (with a long knife or sword) the throat of one of the animals. He is undoubtedly carrying out a sacrificial slaughter. The lower field presents us with a familiar motif. It is dominated by three bulls with long horns. Troupes of acrobats are leaping over the animals. The discipline of bull leaping can be seen to have survived the Minoan period. However the postures of the Mycenaean leapers are less spectacular than those of their Minoan counterparts in Knossos or Tell el-Dab'a. Two of the bulls are looking each other; a man standing between them is holding their horns in a gesture of "hero of the animals" known from the Ancient Orient.

We can assume that the four scenes on the sarcophagus may be explained in the context of a funeral program; two scenes are devoted to mourning, the other two to spectacle. The women are mourning a leading member of their society to whom a sacrifice is offered. The presence of a chariot, itself a sign of social status, may depict an imminent race. Blood that flows during the duel as expiation for the dead, and the bull leaping might well enhance the splendour of the funeral. The bull leaping is the only incongruous element in a cycle, that seems to anticipate the *agon* for Patroclus in Homer's Iliad. In this poem, we encounter gestures of mourning, sacrifices, a chariot race and a combat in armour, which finishes after one of the fighters receives the first bloody wound. Only the bull leaping does not constitute part of the program of Homer's funeral *agon* written half a millennium after the *larnax* of Tanagra.

Without doubt the funeral *agon,* so excellently and poetically recounted by Homer and subsequently enacted during real festivals in Greek history, was already known in the Mycenaean period, so that it is a heritage from former times.

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The Olympic Games – Apart from Sport
A Cultural and Social Event Beyond the Competitive Olympia

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Introduction: No festival in antiquity attracted more athletes and spectators than Olympia. Only athletes and spectators? Before I offer an answer it is necessary to mention that the famous sanctuary of Zeus where the athletic games were organized is located on the periphery of the Greek mainland. No urban settlement existed near Olympia. The next city-state was 60 km away. Most of the time very few people, priests and artisans lived here in a splendid isolation. The quietness and silence of everyday Olympia reminds of a Sleeping Beauty, which is woken up once every four years for a few turbulent days, for the Olympic games.

Festival – Fairground: The lack of even the most elementary urban infrastructure had far-reaching consequences for the managing of spectator masses. Ulrich Sinn introduced the term 'fairground' (Festwiese) in order to describe the situation at Olympia and other sanctuaries as precisely as possible. Everyone who knows the rural life in contemporary Greece and who has been close to a Greek church at Easter will know what Sinn means by this term: Fairgrounds are popular places where relatives get together, celebrate and end a cheerful and social day with a beaker of wine accompanied by music and dancing. Sinn assumes that temporary wood-constructions were used to set up tents, there were huts made of leaves and booths for selling various goods. From the sixth and fifth centuries there were probably between 40,000 and 50,000 spectators at the Olympic Games. Greek intellectual visitors like Epictet or Lucian convey a vivid description of the energetic activity of the people. They speak about numerous annoying and unpleasant things of life. During the games most of the people staying along the riverside of the Alpheios slept under the open sky or in tents. They had to live without any special hygienic and sanitary facilities. Before the second century AD there was not even a water conduit. A single example may help us to understand the deleterious hygienic conditions at the time. One morning in July or August, when the hotness and dryness of summer reach their highest point and the cultic rituals of the Olympic festival are at their zenith, a hekatombe (100 bulls) is sacrificed by the Eleaens in the name of Zeus. A part of the carcasses is burnt at an ash-altar, some meat is preserved for the festive banquets. The stench caused by the smoke of the altar

and by the dung and blood of the sacrificed animals, flowing onto the ground, the lack of fresh water, the complete ignorance regarding the fundamentals of sanitary measures create a situation for thousands of people present at the festival which can be at least classified a serious health hazard. Is it surprising that the Greek 'globe-trotter' Pausanias tells us about a delegation of Elis travelling to Delphi "to find salvation against a plague-like disease". One did not try to eliminate the nuisance caused by the numerous flies by improving the sanitary conditions. Pausanias noticed in Olympia an altar of Zeus Apomyios, known as the 'fly-fighter', and the author reports that already Heracles when making sacrifices felt molested by the flies and chased them away – across the river Alpheios.

On the peak days tens of thousands of visitors arrived together with the athletes at the riverbanks of the Alpheios. Not everybody had the same motive for his journey as for instance the Macedonian baker who proudly mentions on his gravestone that he saw the Olympic stadion twelve times in his life. The distance from his hometown to Olympia was far more than 500 km.

Some spectators seem to have come as pilgrims. Others accompanied a competing athlete. Some just came to get attention. In other words: To quench the thirst for status and prestige. This holds true not only for politicians, but also for artists, poets, philosophers and other scholars. Some were guided by financial motives; and here I do not only think of the professional athletes. In his *disputationes Tusculanae* (5.3.9) Cicero writes about the visitors of the most famous sport-meeting-places of all Greece: Some are looking for "glory and the honor of a crown", some want "to be attained by the performance of bodily exercises", some are hoping for "the gain of buying and selling", and some came to the games "merely as spectators through curiosity". In other words: "Some being slaves to glory, others to money; and there are some few who, taking no account of anything else, earnestly look into the nature of things; and these men call themselves studious of wisdom, that is, philosophers." That at least economic motives can in no way be excluded is visible outside of the sacred district in Olympia, where the Greeks donated altars to Zeus Agoraios and Artemis Agoraia, sanctuaries which were usually erected in Greek cities on the market-place, the agora. The Greek was not only a *homo politicus*, or, as Aristotle says, a *zoon politikon*, he was not only a competitive young person, a *homo ludens*, but he was also a *homo oeconomicus*.

Another not very polite description of the visitors and the colourful going-ons at the panhellenic games is offered by Dion Chrysostom, who presents a vivid picture of the visitors at the Isthmian games

(near Corinthos). We may assume that this description is also applicable to the strange company who moved from everywhere to Olympia:

> *That was also the time to hear crowds of wretched sophists around the Temple [...] as they shouted and heaped abuse on each other, and their so-called students as they fought with one another, and many historians reading out their dumb writings, and many poets reciting their poetry to the applause of other poets, and many magicians showing their tricks, many fortune-tellers telling fortunes, countless lawyers perverting justice, and not a few peddlers peddling whatever came to hand.*

After these general depictions of the busy meeting-places for athletes and the whole crowd I would like to refer to other visitors and their contribution to the cultural life at Olympia. Among them there are famous artists, sculptors, painters, and poets. The travelling author Pausanias mentions 55 well-known artists who were present at Olympia. Among them there were prominent sculptors and manufacturers of bronze foundries. Pheidias built his own workshop in Olympia and created the above-mentioned statue of Zeus. It was said in antiquity that whoever once saw this wonder of the world, 'could never become entirely unhappy again'. The sculptors Myron (diskos-thrower), Polyclitus (doryphorus and diadumenus, a victorious youth binding a fillet round his head), Lysippus (portraying the pancratiast Polydamas), and Praxiteles (statue of Hermes), the famous painters Zeuxis and Aëtion worked in Olympia. Among the architects and engineers of whom we have evidence that they were present there are Libon of Elis (temple of Zeus), Kleoitas, who devised the complex starting-mechanism of the hippodrome, and Leonidas, who built the big guesthouse for the VIPs of Olympia. What holds true for artists and architects, probably also holds true for poets. The Greek documents mention among the poets who stayed at Olympia: Simonides of Keos, Pindar, and probably Bacchylides; they composed their renowned epinicians, the choral hymns for victors.

Another group were the philosophers, intellectuals, orators, and scholars. Several anecdotes and historical records inform us about the staying of two of the Seven Sages, namely Thales and Cheilon, and of the later philosophers Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Plato, and Aristotle. Whether Socrates or Diogenes of Sinope visited Olympia, as is claimed in the modern literature, cannot be said for certain. The less famous Elean Alexinus founded a philosophical institute which was called the 'Olympian school'. Distinguished representatives of the great Greek politico-rhetorical tradition composed programmatic

speeches in and for Olympia and her Panhellenic functions, for instance the sophists Gorgias, Isocrates, Lysias, Hippias of Elis, and Demosthenes. In the period of the Roman emperors the philosopher Epictetus, the Neopythagorean faith-healer Apollonius of Tyana, the Cynic moralizer Dion of Prusa, the travelling lecturer and author of almost eighty pieces Lucian (he visited the games four times), and Proteus Peregrinus, a strange Cynic charlatan, delivered speeches to the crowd concerning various topics. Other intellectuals like Herodot, the 'father of history', took the unique opportunity to demonstrate his knowledge about the Greek and Non-Greek world and about the Persian War in front of a great audience. According to a late ancient lexicographer the historian Thucydides attended Herodot's lecture and was moved to tears by what he heard. He was so fascinated that he decided to write about history, too. A renowned physicist, geometer and astronomer, Oinopides of Chios, put up a bronze-plate at Olympia to teach the audience the basics of his astronomical knowledge. And in 161 AD the above-mentioned Peregrinus announced in front of the mass of Olympic visitors that he would burn himself publicly during the next Olympic Games. In 165 AD, at midnight, at the end of the Olympic Games, Lucian became an eyewitness to this macabre spectacle.

The politicians, in ancient times as well as in modern, always enjoying or craving popularity had similar motives as the artists and intellectuals: Their 'gain' was not so much the money but 'being seen by everybody'. Of course there were also other reasons and motives to travel to Olympia. But ancient sources offer a long list of politicians who wanted to be present at Olympia: tyrants, especially from Western Greece, and kings like Philip II, and other well-known Greek personalities like Cimon, the older and younger Miltiades. A special example of PR-politics is reported of Themistocle and Alcibiades from Athens. Olympia offered an opportunity to make political and economic treatises between city-states or to discuss a general peace-movement among the Greeks. One example: A royal herald announced a decree of Alexander III in the stadium which allowed all the people who had been exiled for political reasons to return to their home-towns. 20,000 spectators in the stadium were personally involved by this announcement.

Some concluding remarks: Most of the research on Olympia has focused on the athletic aspect of the festival. This is understandable. The purpose of this paper is to draw the attention to the various happenings apart from and beyond sports. It is important to note that I have drawn upon sources scattered over 700 years of Olympic history and that many Olympic festivals probably took place without any

spectacular or remarkable events and happenings beyond sport. But we can also assume that many of the non-athletic events of Olympia are simply not recorded because of the limited sources available to us. The sources we do have, however, give us some insight into the various activities on the 'fairground'; activities that belonged to the general setting of the games.

(I would like to express my gratitude to Ernst Kastrun for his help in the English translation.)

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Sports Festivals Like the Olympic Games: Iso-Olympics

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The Greek historian and geographer Strabo (about 60 BC/20 AD) says that, when the Greeks commanded by Alexander the Great reached India about 326 BC at the end of their incredible expedition to conquer the Orient, "the (Indian) craftsmen of strigils and of oil-flasks quickly arose in great numbers" (Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.67). That is to say, in order to obtain economic benefit from the arrival of the Greeks, the Indian craftsmen were specializing in the making of the objects that the Greeks would need to practise sport with at the gymnasiums: the strigils or scrapers to remove the oil and dirt from the skin after the exercises of the gymnasium, and the flasks containing the oil to anoint the body. This text shows clearly that even in the remote India, 2.300 years ago, 5.000 kilometres far from Athens, in between today's Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan, sport was the activity by which the Greeks were preferably identified. For the Indian people, the Greeks were above all those men who practised sport in the gymnasiums in an organized way. And it is not surprising that Indian people thought so, because the Greeks themselves thought that practising sport in an organized way was one of the most distinctive features of their civilization.

The Greeks took sport everywhere they went. As a result of Alexander's conquests between 334 and 323 BC the Greek civilization spreads across the Orient and reaches India, and the Greek way of practising sport spreads as well. The Greeks build gymnasiums everywhere they settle down; the ruins of one of the largest gymnasiums of Antiquity (100 x 100 meters) have been found in Alexandria on the Oxus, a city founded by the Greeks of Alexander the Great in the north of Afghanistan, near today's Ai Khanum. These gymnasiums played a very important social and cultural role. On the one hand, they were the places where young people from Greek families settled among non-Greeks were educated "in the Greek way"; they were also centres where the Greeks got together to keep the distinctive features of their culture alive, and this was such a well known fact that Greeks were called by the non-Greeks "the people of the gymnasium". And, on the other hand, the gymnasiums also became a very weighty factor to spread the Greek culture and the "Greek way of life" among the non-Greeks. In fact, the non-Greeks who wished to "hellenize" them-

selves (that is to say, to adopt Greek culture) no matter their motivation (conviction, self-interest, desire of social promotion, etc.), began their process of "hellenization" by going to the gymnasium and adopting the athletic practices of the Greeks. This identification of the gymnasium and sport with the Greek culture was so strong that those who considered the presence of the Greeks as a dangerous threat against the local traditions used to attack the practice of sport, because for them sport was the symbol of the undesirable and corrupting Greek civilization. For example, the Jews who defended their traditions fervently considered sport and Greek gymnasiums to be a very serious danger, because for them sport and gymnasiums meant the victory of the Greek culture over the Jewish tradition, and they thought that the Greek culture corrupted Jewish young people. So, in the year 175 BC the high priest Jason, who wished to hellenize Palestine, organized a gymnasium and an *ephebia* (Greek school for young men) in Jerusalem, intending to spread the Greek culture among the Jews; the author of the Biblical *Books of the Maccabees* is horrified by this enterprise and he describes an almost apocalyptical panorama of its supposedly terrible consequences for the Jewish people (*Books of the Maccabees* II 4.8–14):

> *He* [Jason] *at once shifted his countrymen over to the Greek way of life ... and he destroyed the lawful ways of living and introduced new customs contrary to the law. For at once he founded a gymnasium right under the citadel of Jerusalem, and he induced the noblest of the young men to adopt the Greek customs. There was an extreme of Hellenization and increase in the adoption of foreign ways because of the surpassing wickedness of Jason, who was ungodly and no high priest. The priests were no longer intent upon their service at the altar. Despising the sanctuary and neglecting the sacrifices, they hastened to take part in the unlawful proceedings in the wrestling arena as soon as they were called to throw the discus, disdaining the honours prized by their fathers and putting the highest value upon Greek forms of prestige.*

So, to practise sport meant to follow Greek culture. The gymnasiums that the Greeks built wherever they settled down, fulfilled the dual role of keeping Greek culture among people of Greek origin, and of spreading Greek culture among non-Greeks. The athletic Games (*agônes*) also fulfilled similar roles. They were organized wherever the Greeks arrived, from Italy to the Orient, from the Black Sea's coast to Egypt. In fact, Alexander the Great and his successors (his

generals, who shared the empire and founded royal dynasties which held the power until the Roman conquest), sought to encourage everything that could be seen as a link uniting Greeks and that could contribute to hellenizing the native people, and, of course, this program included the encouragement of athletic Games. The great athletic Games (the so-called Panhellenic Games or *periodos*: Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games) enjoyed the official protection of the Greek kings during the 3rd–2nd centuries BC and later the protection of the Roman governors. Greek kings as well as Roman governors also fostered the creation of an infinity of athletic games in order to exploit the social, political and cultural importance of sport and its huge popularity. So, around the year 150 AD the Greek orator Aelius Aristides writes a laudatory speech *To Rome*, where he refers to "an endless number of *agônes*" in the Roman Empire.

Of course, these countless sports festivals, which spread above all across the hellenized territories in the East (but also across the western territories of the Roman State), very often follow the fashionable model of the above-mentioned Great Panhellenic Games ("the Games of all the Greeks"), and particularly the model of the Olympic Games. In order to enhance their grandness, glamour and popularity, many of these sports festivals seek to follow the model of the Olympic Games (in the program of events, age categories, prizes and privileges to the winners, etc.) in such an exact way that they were called "Olympic Games" or "Isolympic Games" ("Games equal to the Olympics"). So, many (Iso)Olympic Games were celebrated from Italy to Syria, from Olbia (in the northern coast of the Black Sea) to Alexandria in Egypt. And also there were many "Isopythian Games" ("Games equal to the Pythians") from Cartagena (Spain) to Ancyra (now Ankara, Turkey).

Let's comment on three particularly significant examples of these many sports games created from the model of the Olympic Games.

Between Orient and Occident: the Actian Games

A naval battle, decisive for the future of our history, took place on 2nd September 31 BC near a flat sandy promontory on the west Greek coast of Acarnania, called Actium ("the promontory" in Greek language). The fleet of Octavius, the future Emperor Augustus, defeated the army of Antony and queen Cleopatra VII of Egypt, and so Octavius held all the power of Rome for the first time. Octavius commemorated his victory by founding a new city called Nicopolis ("the city of the victory") on the peninsula opposite the promontory, by sweeping into it the population of the neighbouring Greek communi-

ties. And he instituted the "Actian Games", in order to commemorate his victory and also to honour his protector god Apollo (traditionally worshiped in Actium). This is the report by the Roman historian Suetonius (*Life of Augustus* 18.2):

> *to extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate its memory, he founded a city called Nicopolis near Actium, and provided for the celebration of games there every four years.*

Such an important victory on Greek ground was worthy of being commemorated periodically by celebrating outstanding Games, and for this purpose nothing was more suitable than founding a great sports festival modelled on the Olympic Games. In fact, Actian Games had to be held every four years, the same as Olympic Games. They included athletic and equestrian events; the Games were organized and supervised by a sacred "Actian college", similar to the Olympic college of the *hellanodikai* ("the judges of the Greeks"), who took care of the regular holding of the Games and the fulfilment of the rules. According to the Greek historian Dio Cassius (2nd–3rd AD) the Actian victors, like Olympic victors, were rewarded by their cities with free meals for life (Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 51.1).

Octavius desired so strongly that his new Games should one day enjoy the prestige similar to that of the Games of Olympia, that the Actian Games were named "Olympian" or "Isolympian" (Strabo, *Geography* 7.7.6: *these Games - the Actia, sacred to Actian Apollo –, have been designated as Olympian, and they are superintended by Spartans*).

A truly exceptional privilege was even established for them: the Actian Games (at least from the year 67 AD) were added as the fifth member of the *periodos* (the "Grand Slam" of the ancient sport) together with the four traditional Sacred Games of Greece (Olympic, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian Games). The event which had given rise to the foundation of Nicopolis and the Actian Games (his victory at Actium) was considered so important by Octavius, that he even wished to imitate the Olympic Games by establishing an Actian 'era' to compute time: in the same way as Greeks used to compute time by "Olympiads" (periods of four years associated with the Olympic Games, starting from 776 BC, the traditional date for the first Games), so Octavius fostered to count the years by use of the so-called "Actian Era", that began the day of the battle of Actium, 2nd September 31 BC (so, the year 44 of the "Actian Era" is 13–14 AD).

Although the Olympic Games were the model for the Actian Games, there were some differences between them both. This is the

most remarkable: since Actian Games were dedicated to Apollo, the god of music, they not only included athletic and equestrian events, but also artistic events, above all musical ones, the same as the Pythian Games, which were also dedicated to Apollo (there were no artistic events in the Olympic Games). And, just as in the Isthmian and Nemean Games, it seems that Actian Games included events for three age groups (children, "beardless youth" and men), unlike the only two age groups (children and men) distinguished in the Olympic Games.

Actian Games no doubt became an athletic meeting of great magnitude. The level of the competition was really very high and a great number of athletes (and artists) from across the Roman Empire took part. The Actian Games began on 2nd September, that is to say, the day of the naval battle. The exact year when the Actian Games were held for the first time is not known, but we must place it between the years 30 and 27 BC (more probably in 27). It is sure that the Actian Games continued to be celebrated regularly at least until 275 AD, and later they had a revival during the times of Emperor Julian (middle of the 4th century AD), who tried to encourage and revive important institutions of the pagan world.

Over the course of the centuries several other cities (Thessalonica, Perinthos – near Thessalonica –, some towns in Asia Minor, Alexandria of Egypt, etc.) organized Actian Games, and so "Isactian Games", namely games modelled on the Actian Games, were created. Therefore, these Isactian Games, "sons" of the Actian Games, were "grandsons" of the Olympic Games, since Actian Games were "sons" of the Olympic Games.

The "Olympic Games" of Rome

The Emperor Augustus not only continued and strengthened the Greek sport tradition in the Oriental part of his Empire but also made remarkable efforts to promote sport in Rome (and Greek sport especially). Also in order to commemorate his victory at Actium, in the year 28 BC he instituted the first athletic Games "in the Greek way" that were celebrated in Rome itself on a more or less regular basis. These Games were held in a wooden stadium built in the *Campus Martius* (the "Field of Mars", home ground for military triumphs, public assemblies, and leisure activities); they included athletic and equestrian events and had to be celebrated every four years, the same as the Olympic Games. From the information available from our sources, we can deduce that these "Games of Augustus" were held at

least in 20 BC (probably), 16 BC, 9 and 13 AD, but they were cancelled after the Emperor's death (14 AD).

The Emperor Nero (54–68 AD) made a new attempt to hold Greek sports games on a regular basis in Rome. Nevertheless, his main purpose was not to foster Greek sport in Rome, thinking that it should benefit Roman society and above all the education of youth; he organized Greek games mainly for the sake of his own glory. Because of that, the *Neronia* ("Games of Nero") founded by Nero knew only two celebrations, in 60 and 65 AD, and they ceased being held after the death of the hated Emperor. This is once again the report by the historian Suetonius (*Life of Nero* 12.3–4):

> *Nero was likewise the first to establish at Rome a contest to be held every four years, in three parts, in the Greek manner, that is in art, athletics and horse-races, which he called the* Neronia. *At the same time he dedicated his baths and gymnasium, supplying every member of the senatorial and equestrian orders with oil. To preside over* [and to act as judges of] *the whole contest he appointed ex-consuls, chosen by lot, who occupied the seats of the praetors. Then he went down into the theatre among the senators and accepted the prize for Latin oratory and verse, for which all the most eminent men had contended but which was given to him with their unanimous consent; but when that for lyre-playing was also offered him by the judges, he knelt before it and ordered that it be laid at the feet of Augustus' statue. At the gymnastic contest, he shaved his first beard to the accompaniment of a splendid sacrifice of bullocks, put it in a golden box adorned with pearls of great price, and dedicated it in the Capitol. He invited the Vestal virgins also to witness the contests of the athletes, because at Olympia the priestesses of Ceres were allowed the same privilege.*

As we can see from Suetonius' text, judges' decisions were not very impartial, and it is evident that Nero organized his Games mainly for the sake of his personal glory. Actually, Nero did nothing more than repeat more or less in Rome the same behaviour that he had just previously demonstrated at Olympia itself, when he was responsible for the most shameless manipulation of the sacred Olympic Games that has happened in the history of ancient and modern Olympics: following Nero's wish, the Olympic Games were not held at the usual date, in order to make them coincide with the Emperor's stay at the sanctuary; also for the first and only time, musical events were included in the Olympic program, with Nero's sole purpose to show off; Nero also

entered for the four-horse chariot race driving a ten-horse chariot, and he was proclaimed winner, although his ten-horse chariot had not even reached the finish, as Suetonius reports (*Life of Nero* 24):

> *he also drove a chariot in many places, at Olympia even a ten-horse team ... But after he had been thrown from the car and put back in it, he was unable to hold out, and gave up before the end of the course; but he received the crown just the same.*

Suetonius adds that Nero took care that the statues and busts of the other winners in the Olympic Games were all thrown down, dragged off with hooks and cast into privies, to obliterate their memory and leave no trace of them.

In any case, from Suetonius' report it is clear that the Olympic Games were the model on which Nero wished to institute his mad *Neronia* in Rome. The Olympic Games were also the model which twenty years later inspired the Emperor Domitian to found the Capitolian Games in 86 AD. The Capitolian Games were, among the Roman athletic games "in the Greek way", the only games which had a long and permanent life: they were held every four years until the mid fourth century. The key to their success was probably that Domitian did not institute the games for the sake of his own glory. He expected the Capitolian Games to become a Roman version of the Olympic Games. Accordingly, they were celebrated in honour of the supreme god of Rome, Jupiter Capitolinus, and consequently for the greater glory of Rome. Here the description of Suetonius (*Life of Domitian* 4):

> *Domitian also established a contest to be held every four years, in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus, of a threefold character, comprising art, riding and athletics, and with considerably more prizes than are awarded nowadays. For there were competitions in prose declamation both in Greek and in Latin; and in addition to those of the lyre-players, between choruses of such players in the lyre alone, without singing; while in the stadium there were races even between maidens. He presided at the competitions in half-boots, clad in a purple toga in the Greek fashion, and wearing upon his head a golden crown with the figures of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, while by his side sat the priest of Jupiter and the college of the 'Flaviales'* [priests for the worship of the deified Flavian emperors, the family of Domitian], *similarly dressed, except that their crowns bore his image as well.*

From this description by Suetonius and from other sources, it is evident that the Capitolian Games were "Isolympian Games", and more concretely they became the "Olympic Games" of Rome. In fact, the program of athletic and equestrian events and the rules of the competitions were similar to those of the Olympic Games, and even athletes competed naked, a circumstance which was usual in Greek sport but absolutely exceptional in Rome. The Capitolian Games were also held every four years, in honour of the supreme god of Rome, Jupiter, the Roman Zeus. The prize for the winners was a crown of leaves from a sacred tree, the oak of Jupiter being the Roman substitute of the sacred olive tree of Zeus at Olympia. There was a strong emphasis on the religious nature of the Games, reinforced by the chairmanship of the high priest of Jupiter and the college of the "Flaviales" priests. Furthermore, like at Olympia, there were races between maidens in the Capitolian Games (although they died out very soon), following the model of the races that maidens ran at Olympia in honour of the goddess Hera.

As we have seen in the case of the Actian Games, there were several differences between Olympic Games and Capitolian Games, some of them important. So, the program of the Capitolian Games included art events, following the model of the Pythian Games and the Actian Games. As in the Actian Games, athletes were divided into three groups according to their age (children, young people, men), unlike the two age groups (children and men) distinguished in the Olympic Games. Other differences with the Olympic Games can be explained because we are not in Greece but in the Imperial Rome. So, according to Suetonius' account, the figure of the Emperor received more attention than any man ever had in the Greek Olympic Games. Furthermore, Suetonius says that athletes received great prizes, while the only reward for winners at the Olympic Games was the crown of leaves from the sacred olive tree.

The information we have seems to indicate that those who took part in artistic events came mainly from Italy, but those who participated in the athletic events, all (or almost all of them) came from Greece and the Orient. We must say, finally, that Domitian, with the foundation of the Capitolian Games, introduced another novelty into the Roman sport, because for the first time a permanent stone stadium, with a capacity of 20.000 spectators, was built in Rome; it was placed in the today's Piazza Navona.

The Capitolian Games had a long and fruitful life: they were held regularly until the 4th century AD, and some scholars think that, as well as the Actian Games, the Capitolian Games were added to the

periodos of the Great Greek Games, but we do not have concrete pieces of information to confirm it.

The "(Iso)-Olympic Games" in the hellenized Orient: the Olympic Games of Antioch

We have seen that in the western part of the Roman Empire, where Latin was spoken, many sports competitions were held. But these athletic games were extensive in the eastern part of the Empire, where the Greek language and culture had deeply rooted since Alexander's conquests. So, it is not surprising that many cities created Games called Olympic or Isolympic, in imitation of those at Olympia. As an example of these numerous (Iso)Olympic Games of the Greek East, we shall refer to the Olympic Games of Antioch, which illustrate perfectly the deep and lasting impact of Greek sport in the Orient. The Olympic Games of Antioch not only kept their religious nature as late as at least the fourth century AD, but they even continued to be held many years after the Christian Emperor Theodosius finally abolished the Olympic Games of Olympia in 393 AD. In fact, these Olympic Games of Antioch were to be celebrated right up to the sixth century AD.

Antioch of Syria (now Antakya, Turkey) was founded at the end of the fourth century BC by Seleucus I Nicator, one of Alexander's generals. It became a great metropolis, the third largest city in the world after Rome and Alexandria, and its population reached its peak of 500.000 inhabitants. The town was very important, then; moreover its inhabitants were well known for their passionate fondness for sport and theatrical spectacles. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the Olympic Games of Antioch attained great importance and survived until the 6th century. This enthusiasm for sports festivals was shared also by other towns in Syria, including the not so distant Apamea (where Olympic Games were also held until 361 AD at least).

The Olympic Games of Antioch illustrate very well how the Greek athletic tradition settled down in the Orient and how this tradition was continued and even encouraged by the Roman governors. These Games were created under Augustus (27 BC–14 AD) and reorganized under Claudius (41–54 AD). In the year 175 the Olympic Games of Antioch were abolished by the Emperor Marcus Aurelius as a punishment to the Antiochians for having supported the usurper Avidius Cassius; but after a few years, in 181, they were re-established by the Emperor Commodus, and since then the Olympic Games of Antioch were to be held for more than three hundred years. Our main source of

information on these Games is the Greek writer Libanius (about 314–394), who was born and also died in Antioch; Libanius is author of a very large number of speeches and letters, in which he often refers to the Olympic Games in his town.

What does Libanius say to us about the Olympic Games of Antioch? First, he confirms that the model on which they were based was the Games of Olympia. In fact, the common features of both festivals are very evident. The Olympic Games of Antioch were held every four years, during the months of July and August. The program of athletic events was probably similar, although we do not know it accurately, and it is not well known if many changes took place in this program in the course of time. The winners were rewarded with crowns made with the branches of a sacred olive tree, that had been cut off by a child whose parents were both alive. The divinities of the Games are Olympian Zeus and Heracles (as well as Apollo, the god worshiped in the sanctuary where the Games were held). Men and women competed separately. As in Olympia, a college of judges called *hellanodíkai* took care of the regular holding of the Games and the fulfilment of the rules, etc.

Libanius lives in an age where Chistianity is spreading widely. Nevertheless, he still supports the ancient paganism (it has been said that he "embodies in his work many of the ideals and aspirations of the pagan Greek urban upper class of late antiquity"); and one of the most significant manifestations of the ancient Greek religion are the Olympic Games and generally the great athletic festivals. So, as a defender of the ancient Greek religious tradition, Libanius often emphasizes the religious aspects of the Games and continuously defends the need for keeping this religious dimension as an essential feature of the Greek athletic tradition. And Libanius also insists on the idea that the Olympic Games are one of the highest expressions of the Greek civilization, and that it is essential to keep the Games alive in order to keep the Greek civilization alive as well. It is necessary to keep them alive because the Olympic Games play an essential political, social and cultural role: being a link to unite all the cities which have the Greek civilization as a joint and common bond (the cities of Syria in the case of the Olympic Games of Antioch).

In conclusion, Libanius sees the Olympic Games of Antioch as the symbol of the Greek cultural tradition, which Syria shares to a high degree, and therefore he fights to avoid the introduction of practices that could turn the Games away from their most pure "Olympic" tradition and, in his opinion, could threaten to destroy the "Greek" and religious essence of the Games (see above all *Speech* 10). Therefore, Libanius is against all those novelties that tried to strengthen the

spectacular dimension of the Games, with the risk of turning the Olympic Games into just a mere spectacle and nothing but a spectacle. Libanius had his reasons to be afraid of this danger: the Olympic Games of Antioch reached the point of lasting 45 days! (the traditional Olympic Games of Olympia lasted less than a week; Libanius even affirms that the Olympics of Antioch had surpassed the original Games of Olympia in splendour, *Speeches* 11.269); and other spectacles which did not belong to the Greek tradition but to the Roman one, such as the gladiator fights and the *venationes* (huntings of wild animals), were organized during the Games, but without being part of them. It is true that, in spite of Libanius' opposition, the fondness for the magnificence and the spectacle had pervaded the celebration of the Olympic Games of Antioch as well as many other sports festivals for centuries. In any case, it is very significant that in the 4th century AD, when the Games of Olympia are about to disappear after almost 1200 years of existence, there were still people who could say "our Olympic Games are near and, in our festival, the main thing are the athletes" (Libanius, *Letters* 1182.2). And the athletes continued to be the main protagonists of the Olympic Games of Antioch of Syria for a further 150 years after Libanius and after the end of the Olympic Games of Olympia.

Female Isolympic Games?

It has been said that men and women competed separately in the Olympic Games of Antioch. In fact, like the Capitolian Games of Rome, the Games of Antioch could have imitated the Games of Olympia by including in their program female events, according to the model of the race that maidens ran at Olympia in honour of the goddess Hera. The question is dubious, since the only information (although its truthfulness is debatable) we have about the existence of female sport competitions in the Olympic Games of Antioch comes from a Christian Byzantine historian of the 6th century AD called Johannes Malalas; he says (*Chronographia* 12.10) that in the 2nd century AD the Olympic Games of Antioch included female competitions and the winners became priestesses:

> *There were also* [in the Olympic Games of Antioch] *virgin girls who practised philosophy and who were present under a vow of chastity, competing, wrestling in leggings, running, declaiming and reciting various Hellenic hymns. These women fought against women and the competition was fierce whether in the*

> *wrestling, the races or the recitation. Anyone among them ... whether a woman or a young man ... would remain chaste till the end of his life, for immediately after the contest they would be ordained and become priests.*

This leads us to raise the following question (very briefly, because in this volume there is a chapter dedicated exclusively to the theme "Girl, women and sport"): did the spread of Greek sport across the Orient and across the Roman West, and the creation of numerous Isolympic and Isopythian Games, lead also to the spread of the female athletic competitions and even to the creation of professional female sport?

We have seen that Johannes Malalas says that the women winners at the Olympic Games of Antioch became priestesses. This would mean that in the 2nd century AD the female athletic competitions still kept very close ties with religion. In fact, if in ancient Greece the athletic games were, in general, a religious manifestation, this link between sport and religion was kept especially close in the case of female sport, because women's social position in ancient Greece was a big handicap for the development of professional female sport. Did the geographic spread of Greek sport, from the 3rd century BC, offer women the possibility of entering for athletic contests in a regular way and of even taking part in the Great Panhellenic Games? Some scholars have come to this conclusion starting from what can be read in a long commemorative inscription that a proud father called Hermesianax of Tralles (now Turkey) dedicated in about the year 45 AD at Delphi (the sanctuary where Pythian Games were held); in the inscription Hermesianax prides himself on the sport and musical success of his three daughters:

> *Hermesianax, son of Dionysius, citizen of Caesarea Tralles as well as of Corinth, on behalf of his daughters who themselves hold the same citizenships,*
>
> *Tryphosa, who won the Pythian Games when Antigonus and Cleomachidas were organizers of the Games, and the Isthmian Games when Juventius Proclus was organizer of the Games, in the short race consecutively, first of the girls,*
>
> *Hedea, who won the chariot race in armour at the Isthmian Games when Cornelius Pulcher was organizer of the Games, and the short race at the Nemean Games when Antigonus was organizer of the Games, and at Sicyon when Menoetas was organizer of the Games; she also won the cithara-singing in the*

category of the children at the Sebastia in Athens, when Novius son of Philinus was organizer of the Games, ...

Dionysia, who won at...when Antigonus was organizer of the Games, and the Games of Asclepius at sacred Epidaurus when Nicoteles was organizer of the Games, in the short race.

To Pythian Apollo".

The record of the three girls is impressive. It includes victories in athletic, equestrian and musical events, and these victories were achieved in local games at the Greek cities of Athens, Sicyon and Epidaurus as well as in three of the four most important sports competitions of ancient Greece: the Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games. Does this mean that female competitions were gradually included in the great athletic festivals of the ancient Greece, based on the model of the male competitions? This issue has been discussed at length by the experts on Greek sport. Some of them support this opinion, but the majority think that these female competitions mentioned in the inscription were not held in a regular and periodic way; that is to say, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean Games where women could take part every four years (in the case of the Pythian Games) or every two years (in the case of the Isthmian and Nemean games) were not created; these female competitions were probably held sporadically, promoted by influential public men and rich citizens who proudly wished to show the athletic qualities of their daughters. Therefore we cannot say that there were female Isolympic and Isopythian Games, created in order to offer women the possibility of developing a career in sport.

To know more

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Organization and Sponsorship

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The current Youth Olympic Games at Innsbruck provide a perfect example for the various difficult responsibilities of organizing a huge, international sports event – and of financing the whole affair. Coping with this task would be impossible without the help of a professional organizing committee, hundreds of volunteers and a sufficient number of wealthy sponsors, both corporate and private. Having a look at the situation in ancient Greece, we will find that basically ancient communities were facing the same problem as communities today. They too needed efficient officials and committees to set up the program, invite the participants, organize food and lodging, provide the prizes and survey the whole event. Moreover, when they celebrated festivals, sacrifices or religious ceremonies, the cities desperately needed the money to pay for staff, sacrificial animals, prizes and many assets more.

Achilles and the funerary games in the Iliad

The most prominent games known from classical times were the games at Olympia in Elis, to which we will return later on. Although these games are also among the oldest festivals celebrated in Greece, we can go even one step further back in history to find the first organizer and sponsor of games. In his epic poem "Ilias" Homer describes in vivid colors how the main hero Achilles grieves for his beloved friend Particles, who had been killed in battle. After the magnificent funeral Achilles took up with the old tradition of honoring the dead by sports contests, in which the best warriors should participate. Still the poet of the Iliad makes it quite clear, that the Achaeans had already turned to return to their quarters after the pyre had burnt down and that only by presenting the precious and valuable prizes was Achilles able to incite their ambition.

> *When they had raised the barrow, they made as if to leave, but Achilles stopped them and made them sit in a wide ring where he had decided funeral games would be held, and sent for prizes from his ships; cauldrons, tripods, horses, mules, sturdy oxen, female slaves and grey iron.* (Homer, *Iliad* 23,256–261)

The next 640 lines are dedicated to a lively description of the chariot race, boxing, wrestling, running, discus- and javelin-throwing, as well as a race in full armor (*hoplomachia*) and archery. Each description follows the same pattern: At first, Achilles presents the prizes, which come from his own goods or the estate of Patroklos. All the prizes mentioned can be regarded as valuable treasures during the times of the Iliad and the Odyssey, although the participants are all men of remarkable social standing and wealth and thus do not need to enlarge their fortunes by competing in a tournament. Still Achilles shows his high esteem for both the contests and the contestants by sparing no efforts or costs (in order) to provide magnificent games in honor of his dead companion. The honorary banquet for the winners of the armed combat can be seen as the precursor of the festive dinner held in honor of successful athletes at their hometowns in Classical and Hellenistic times. Strikingly, prizes are not only set out for the winners of each contest but also for the other participants. After the description of the prizes follows the announcement of each contest, in which Achilles invites the best warriors of the Achaeans to rise and compete. The names of the competitors are more than familiar to the audience of the bards, who sang the epics and thus told the stories: Odysseus, Agamemnon, Menelaos, the Telamonian Ajax and Ajax the lesser as well as Diomedes, the famous charioteer. The funerary games of Patroklos truly present the Champion's League of the Homeric epics.

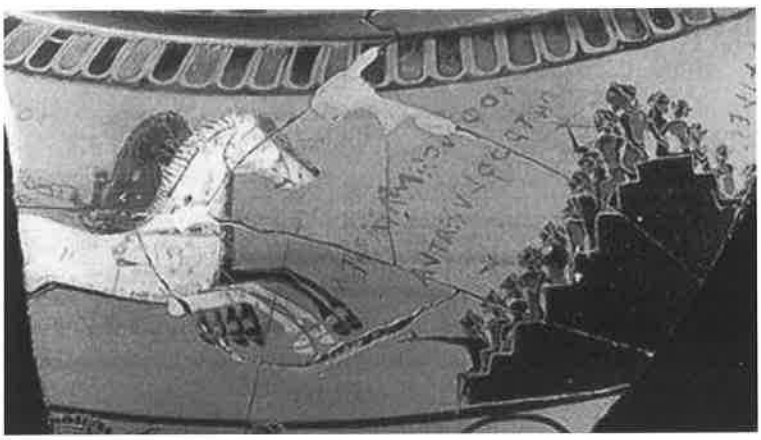
Apart from organizing and equipping the games, Achilles takes on another role: as the patron of the games, he acts as an umpire in several situations as well. He is able to terminate the contests and even award extra prizes. On realizing that the two wrestlers Ajax and Odysseus would not be able to overcome each other, he decides the contest by declaring both of them victors. When it comes to the throwing of the javelin, Achilles commands not to even start the contest. He declares Agamemnon, the leader of the Achaean army, the winner right away.

> *Atreides, we know how excellent you are at the javelin, our superior in strength and skill; so take the cauldron to the hollow ships, and I suggest we grant the spear to Meriones, if that is agreeable to you.* (Homer, *Iliad* 23, 890–894)

Moreover, Achilles takes care of some minor tasks in the preparation of the contests: he sets the turning posts both in the chariot and the foot race and allocates the starting positions for the charioteers. During the thrilling chariot race the spectators get so excited that they

start to quarrel, insult each other and nearly come to blows. Achilles placates the brawlers and urges them to calm down again:

> *At this, Ajax the Lesser, in his anger, leapt to his feet ready with more insults, and the quarrel would soon have been out of hand, if Achilles had not risen and spoken: Ajax, Idomeneus, no more of this, enough of these crude discourtesies! It is wrong to behave so, and you'd be the first to condemn such things in others. Sit down again, in the ring, and watch the race.* (Homer, *Iliad* 23, 488–496)



On a large bowl used for mixing water and wine from the 6th cent. BC the painter Sophilos depicted the chariot race of the Iliad and the enthusiastic spectators (today in the National Museum of Athens).
P. VALAVANIS, *Games and Sanctuaries in Ancient Greece,* Athens 2004, p. 42

Officials and organizing committees of the great games in Athens and Olympia

Thus Achilles can be seen as the precursor to the later *agonothetes*, the patron and leader of festivities in the classical Greek city. Almost every Greek city prided herself in having festivals and sports-competitions attracting not only their own citizens but also visitors from neighboring cities or abroad. Among the most splendid events, the Great Panathenaia of Athens have to be mentioned. They were celebrated every four years, starting from the 6th cent. BC, and at least during the 5th cent. BC probably outshone even the Olympic games. The Lesser Panathenaia, an abridged version of the festival, were held in between two Great Panathenaia. The days of these festivals were

most popular among the Athenian citizens, who enjoyed themselves listening to music and songs, watching plays, attending athletic contests and taking part in the big Panathenaean procession.

The organization of the Great Panathenaia lay in the hands of a board of ten *athlothetai*, literally the "ones who award the prizes". They were elected among all citizens by lot, one from each tribe of Athens. In contrast to other magistrates in Athens, they fulfilled their duty not only for one, but for four years, thus working from the time right after the festival until the completion of the next. Aristotle regards the organization of the Panathenaic procession, the central religious ceremony of the event, as their major task, next to setting up the musical and agonistic contests. The ancient spectator saw Athenian officials and special groups of citizens, embassies from allied cities, formal guests from other city states and not least the victors of the games slowly proceeding through the city. They followed the Panathenaic ship, drawn on wheels and carrying the new garment for the statue of Athena, brightly adorned, as a sail, until they reached the Acropolis. Moreover, the organizing committee had to see to the provision of the oil that was awarded to the winners of the contests. The famous Panathenaic prize amphoras did not contain regular olive oil, but oil made from olives growing on the sacred trees in the grove of Athena. 60–70 tons of this oil were needed for every Panathenaic festival to be handed out to the successful athletes.

Part of a black-figured Athenian Prize Amphora from Cyrene (North-Africa), about 340/39 BC (dated by an inscription on the vase). The picture shows a victorious athlete, standing on the left side, and an official, who is just announcing the victory and awarding the prize. Next to the official is a young man with a trumpet, who had probably opened the awarding ceremony.
M. BENTZ, *Panathenäische Preisamphoren,* Basel 1998, Catalogue 4.079

Next to the text in Aristotle's description of the constitution of Athens, stone inscriptions form a most valuable source and inform us about the enormous amounts of money that the magistrates were given in order to organize the festival and about honors they received for having fulfilled their duties in accordance to the laws. An inscription from Marathon near Athens shows that in fact the Athenian *athlothetai* seem to have done such a good job that they were called upon to lend their services to other communities and celebrations.

The precursor of all modern Olympic games were the competitions held in Olympia in the province of Elis on the Peloponnesos allegedly since the 8th cent. BC. This festival was organized by the Olympic council, which included members of the wealthy elite of the city of Elis, and the ten *hellanodikai*. The council, residing in the council house (the *Bouleuterion*) of Olympia, was a supervisory body for everything going on in the sanctuary and during the games. It appointed the priests and other officials, heard appeals of athletes against decisions of the umpires and decided on the setting up of honorific statues and monuments for athletes and benefactors. The council probably was in charge of the finances of the Olympic games too. The *hellanodikai*, the "judges of the Greeks" also administered a variety of tasks. Pausanias, a travel guide from the 2nd cent. AD provides us with an extensive description of Olympia and its monuments that can still be of good use. Due to his texts we know more about the work of the *hellanodikai*. Ten months prior to the competitions, they moved to the *hellanodikeion*, a building in Elis, where they were trained by the "guardians of the laws" in order to learn every rule that had to be applied during the games. After a ceremony of religious purification they swore an oath not to accept bribes and to keep secret whatever they might get to know about the candidates applying for participation in the games, be they accepted or not.

Then their first task was to decide about the admission of the athletes, who had to be Greeks and had to train in Olympia one month before the games started. The admitted athletes then were divided into different age classes by the *hellanodikai*, who drew lots in order to decide which athletes were to compete with each other. During the games they acted as umpires, made sure that everybody abided by the rules, as the athletes had solemnly affirmed on oath, and – if necessary – called stick- or whipbearers to maintain the order and execute punishments. In cases of corruption or bribing, the *hellanodikai* determined the fine, usually condemning the athlete to pay for a bronze-statue of Zeus. This statue would be put up at the entrance to the stadium, bearing an inscription that would serve as a warning to all other athletes not to do the same. Pausanias mentions that all of the inscrip-

tions contained self-praise of the Eleians for their judgments and that the quality of the poems inscribed on the bases of the statues was very poor.

Finally, the *hellanodikai* presented the prizes to the successful athletes. During the games, they wore precious purple robes and had their seats of honor in the front row of the stadium. In order not to get them into a personal conflict, they themselves were not allowed to participate in the games.

The *hellanodikai* (easily to be recognized by their purple garments) control the training of the athletes in Uderzo's and Goscinny's *Asterix at the Olympic Games* (1968, Reprint Cologne 2008, p. 31). You can see the stick and whip in the hand of the *hellanodikes* on the left side of the caricature.

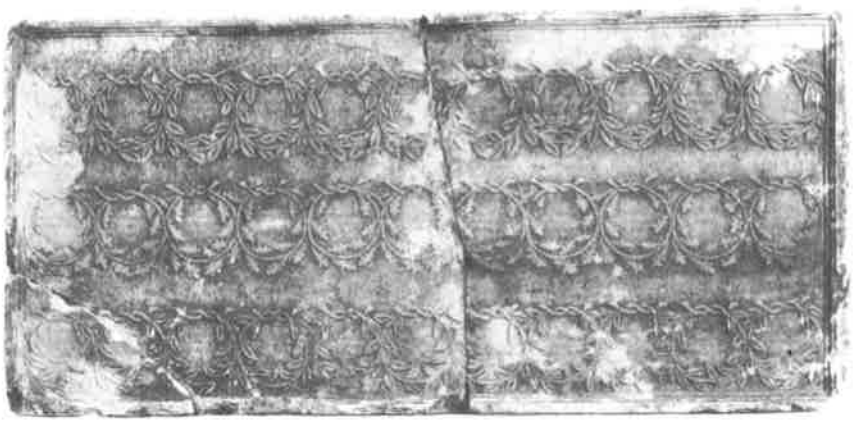
Financing and Sponsorship

The function of the *hellanodikes* as well as of the members of the council was prestigious and probably reserved for rich Eleans who would in return pay for the organization of their office themselves. Since budget problems were common in Greek cities – as they are today – sports events and other festivities often could not be financed solely out of public money. At first, these events seem to have been paid by the state itself. The Athenian politician and orator Demosthenes compares the costs for the Great Panathenaia with the costs of an entire military campaign. Still, the festival was celebrated from the 6th to the 3rd cent. AD every four years in great splendor. Donating a portion of the costs was a welcome possibility for wealthy citizens or foreign rulers to show the engagement in the well-being of the city and thus raise their own status, as we shall see later on in the case of Herodes Atticus.

Usually the sources for the money needed were the public budget with the regular state-income from taxes or leasing of public and sa-

cred land, or revenues from endowments and other financial benefactions. Moreover, already in classical Athens rich citizens were given the opportunity – and the obligation – to finance some parts of the festivals out of their own pocket as a benefit for the state. Still, sponsors were needed to fill in the gaps and maybe add some extras to the usual routine. In many cases the rewards that the ancient city agreed to give to the sponsor included the publication of the honorific decree on a stone plate, and thus inscriptions form the most valuable source of information on sponsoring in ancient sports.

As an example let us have a look at the Basileia celebrated in Lebadeia in Boiotia in Central Greece. Games were held every four years in honor of Zeus Basileus, the "King Zeus", who was the patron of the confederation of Boiotian cities and was given credit for their victory over the Spartan oppressors in 371 BC The president of the games, the *agonothetes*, did have public money at his disposal, which was provided on the one hand by the cities of the Boiotian confederation, who whished to honor Zeus Basileus, the "King Zeus", their main god. On the other hand, public income came from the leasing of the hippodrome, the stadium and its surroundings, which seem to have been leased out as grazing lands during the years in which the games did not take place. Several texts of accounts rendered by presidents of the games are preserved on stone inscriptions. These texts show that the presidents were able to negotiate the rent of the land belonging to the temple, and that thus different sums were brought in by them. Xenarchos, an *agonothetes* from the 3rd cent. BC, proudly stated that he got twice the income for the hippodrome than his predecessor. Still, it was necessary for the organizing officials to provide private money too, as an inscription from Lebadeia shows: in this case the *agonothetes* did not accept the payment of the contributions and paid the expenses for the contests out of his own pocket. Among the costs he thus had to bear we find the wages for servants and other personnel as well as the engraving of the list of victors and other public documents. The prizes of the competition at Lebadeia were crowns, probably of laurel. The Basileia were abandoned or at least reduced to a small local festival during the 1st cent. BC – probably due to financial difficulties.



Victor's list of a competition held yearly in the gymnasium of Chalcis on Euboia, honoring the caretaker of the contest, who provided the prizes. The specific contest is written above every wrath, the name of the victor and his hometown can be found within the wrath. The contests are divided into several age groups (boys, young men, grown men). *IG* XII 9,952.
N. Kaltsas (ed.), *Ἀγών*, Athens 2004, 333–334 no. 23

Another way of coping with the costs for a festival and sponsoring it was to set up an endowment. In order to provide stable income a certain amount of money would be given to a city by a rich donor. In turn, the city – acting as a bank – would lend the money on interest, and by collecting the interest be able to meet the costs of a festival. Often the festival would be named after its sponsor, who would of course be awarded the highest honors the city was able to give. An inscription of more than 130 lines from the little town of Aigiale on the island of Amorgos contains the rules of an endowment for a festival and sports-competition. The untimely death of his young son Aleximachos incited the wealthy citizen Kritolaos, son of Alkimedon, to ensure the memory of the young man for all times. He handed 2.000 Drachmas over to the people of Aigiale, who would then lend them out and collect the interest every year. Using this money, a sacrificial ceremony, a public banquet and a competition were to be celebrated every year. To administer the specificities of the endowment, the city annually appointed two officials, called *epimeletai*, "care-takers", who would organize the festival. First of all, they had to assemble all the young, male citizens to form the procession and follow the bull that was to be sacrificed on the first day of the festival. In doing so the caretakers even had the possibility to force young men who were not willing to

participate in the event. After a banquet in the evening, to which all members of the community were invited, the second day saw the games. It was the task of the caretakers to prepare the prizes, which in this case consisted of a festive meal prepared from the sacrificial meat of a ram and a dish of wheat. After this sacrifice, they announced the competitions:

> *On the second day (of the festival) they (i.e. the caretakers of the celebration) together with the head of the gymnasion shall hold the competition ... They shall arrange all contests according to the law on the gymnasion, separately for boys and men. They shall not hold a pankration (wrestling) but shall announce Aleximachos, son of Kritolaos, as victor. In order for the torch race of the boys and men to take place, the gymnasiarchos shall take care (of everything). He shall arrange everything that seems necessary to him and he shall force those who are not yet of age to participate.* (*IG* XII 7, 515, ll.79–86)

After completing their education in a *gymnasion*, the young men usually presented their new skills in a competition and chose their champion. This is exactly what Kritolaos had in mind when he established the festival in honor of his deceased son. He did not need to specify his wishes in his proposition to the council and the assembly of the people of Aigiale. A reference to the gymnasiarchic law, the law regulating the affairs of the public *gymnasion*, was enough to ensure that everything was done in the way he wished. Nevertheless, the text clearly shows that Kritolaos, as the sponsor of the event, had the possibility to dictate his own wishes – he who pays the piper calls the tune. By announcing the deceased Aleximachos as winner of the *pankration* every year, Kritolaos could be sure that the memory of his beloved son (?) would last – and of course that the memory of himself as a benefactor of the little town would not be forgotten either.

Herodes Atticus

Sponsorship was not only necessary to provide the means for the games. In many cases, major preparations of competitions had to be financed beforehand, and of course the erection of buildings and sports sites has always been expensive. Therefore, the Athenians were thankful to several benefactors who undertook the construction and maintenance of one of the most famous sports-grounds in Athens, the Panathenaic Stadium, called Kallimarmaron ("beautiful stone") by the

Athenians today. The stadium had at first been erected at the present spot by the Athenian politician Lykourgos at the end of the 4th cent. BC for the track events of the Greater Panathenaia. Up to the 2nd cent. AD, many repairs were needed, until the Athenian magnate Herodes Atticus undertook it to present to his fellow citizens a splendid marble stadium in the year 143/4 AD, after he was chosen as president of the Panathenaic games. Philostratus, a biographer of ancient philosophers, who gave us an extant description of the exciting life of Herodes Atticus and his family, describes the benefactor's thoughts as follows:

> *Being honored with the liturgy of the Panathenaic festival, he said: "O Athenians, I will receive you and those Greeks who will be present and those athletes competing, in a stadium of white marble." And saying this he completed the stadium in four years on the other side of the Ilissos, and constructed a work beyond all others, for no theatre can compare with it. ... The other side of the stadium is occupied by a temple of Tyche (i. e. "Good Luck"), with her statue in ivory to show that she directs all.* (Philostrat, *Lives of Sophists* 550)

As it is typical for ancient stadia, the site has the form of a prolonged horseshoe, with a track 204,07 m long and 33,35 m wide. Archaeologists estimate a number of up to 50.000 people being able to watch the events taking place in the stadium, entering the site through splendid marble entrance buildings adorned with columns. Next to the stadium in Athens, Herodes Atticus and his Roman wife Regilla financed other famous buildings and sites, disclosing their favor for the Panhellenic sports sites: the renovation of the Stadion at Delphi, the provision of a water supply and the building of a fountain house at Olympia, and the renovation of the spring of Peirene at Corinth would not have been possible without their money.

During the following centuries the stadium at Athens – as almost all other ancient sites – was neglected and used as a quarry for the valuable marble. When the first modern Olympic games were to be hosted in Greece, a worthy successor of Herodes Atticus was found: Giorgios Averoff, a wealthy Greek businessman from Metsovo, who at that time lived in Alexandreia, Egypt, was addressed by the Crown Prince Konstantinos for financial help. He granted almost a million Drachmas to his native country and enabled the Athenians to reconstruct the site using the same Pentelic marble they had used 1800 years before under the guidance of Herodes Atticus. Honoring the benefactor, the Athenians raised a statue of Averoff in front of the entrance to the

stadium, which was unveiled the evening before the Olympic Games in 1896 began. Baron Pierre de Coubertin closed the gap between the ancient and the modern games by stating:

> *A few days now and this stadium will be alive with the animation given such structures by the crowds that fill them. We will see them again climbing the stairs, spreading out across the aisles, swarming in the passageways – a different crowd, doubtless, from that which last filled such a stadium, but animated nevertheless by similar sentiment, by the same interest in youth, by the same dreams of national greatness.*
> Opening speech of the Olympic Stadion, March 1896, delivered by P. de Coubertin
> (http://www.pe04.com/olympic/athens1896/stadium_1896.php)

Achilles, Xenarchos, Kritolaos, Herodes Atticus, Giorgos Averoff, as well as many more whose names are not preserved all helped to achieve one goal: Celebrate splendid games, unite the young sportsmen from their own countries and abroad and let them compete in peaceful surroundings. But their stories also remind us of the fact that it are – and have always been – the benevolent sponsors and the committed organizing officials, who make events like the funerary games for Patroklos, the Greater Panathenaia, the Basileia in Boiotia or the Youth Olympic Games in Innsbruck as successful and illustrious as they are.

NIKEPHOROS YOG, 2012, 85–93

Age-categories in Greek Athletic Contests

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In the middle of this very volume there seems to be little need to reiterate that sport was of overriding importance in the ancient Greek world. Nor too does it seem necessary to point out that young people also were then very much engaged in sports. So this essay will delve more deeply into this subject and seek to provide some insight into a more particular aspect of our knowledge concerning ancient sports.

Today age-categories, especially for young participants, are a well known element in many athletic contests – although they do not exist in all of them (cf. the modern Olympic Games). Probably not so well known is the fact that age categories were already part of the game(s) in the early days of ancient Greek sports.

Now, what do we know about that? First of all, we have to be aware that about 2,000 years lie between us and the period we are interested in. Therefore it might not come as a big surprise to admit that we are far from knowing everything about it. On the other hand, luckily, some sources have survived, which form quite reliable evidence. Indeed, we do have at least some knowledge of age-categories and how they worked in ancient times.

Earliest evidence

A very helpful source for ancient sports is the work of Pausanias. Written in the 2nd century AD, it is nothing more than an ancient guide book for Greece. A large part of this work deals with the sanctuary in Olympia. A description of what a visitor could see there is provided: i. e. of the famous buildings and of many of the literally hundreds of victor monuments. But the text also contains lots of background information about the ancient Olympic Games taking place there every fourth year. And that brings us back to our topic. The Pausanias-text informs us that:

> *There is no ancient record of the boy's contests, and the Eleans* [Elis was the neighbouring city organizing the Games in Olympia almost throughout antiquity] *have simply established them as they wished. The prizes for running and wrestling open to boys were instituted at the thirty-seventh Olympics; Hipposthenes of Lacedaemon won the wrestling and Polyneices of Elis won the*

> *running. At the forty-first Olympics they introduced boxing for boys, and the winner out of those who entered for it was Philytas of Sybaris.* (Pausanias 5.8.9)

According to ancient tradition the first Olympic Games were held in 776 BC. That means that in line with this ancient belief the thirty-seventh Olympics took place in 632 BC and the forty-first Olympics in 616 BC.

This record by Pausanias is confirmed by another source. Preserved in the work of Eusebios, a Christian writer of the 4th century AD, is an Olympic victory list. It is a list providing the names of the victors of the *stadion* race (= short distance race) of all the Olympic Games from the supposed beginning i.e. 776 BC down to the time of the third century AD. In some cases further information is also included, as for instance additions and alterations to the Olympic program. The entry to the 37th Olympic Games, i.e. 632 BC, states that this time the short distance race (*stadion*) for boys (*paides*) was added to the program. This is how the entry appears in this victory list:

> *37th Olympiad: the Lakonian Eurykleidas won the stadion-race. Added was the stadion-race for boys, and the victor was the Eleean Polyneikes.*
> (Eusebios, Olympic victory list, 37th Olympiad)

These texts cite references to age-categories that lead us back furthest into the past. Yet we have to take into account that the above cited texts, although ancient, are not contemporary. As a matter of fact they were written hundreds of years after those incidents they are referring to: It is worth recalling that the Pausanias-text stems from the 2nd century AD and that of Eusebius from the 4th. Can we be sure that they provide us with reliable data?

I'd say we need to treat these texts with utmost caution. Of course Pausanias and Eusebius certainly used older ancient material. But it is hardly likely that they had access to reliable sources dating back to the 7th century, or that such sources even existed. It can in no way be assumed that any kind of contemporary written records or any reliable tradition even existed for those early periods of the Olympic Games. It is rather to be expected that at some stage, when people started to ask themselves about the origin and the program of the Games, the relevant "data" were made up.

So, although, there is ancient information – which is, incidentally, often used by modern scholars – about the introduction of age categories in Olympia, we have to state that we really don't know anything

for certain about the beginning of separate age classes at the Olympic Games, not to mention at other festivals. But we do know for sure what the ancients of later periods believed about this issue. That is, of course, less than we would like to know but better than nothing.

It is, indeed, my intent to make it clear that as far as the origins of ancient athletic age-categories are concerned we are lost in the dawn of history and left with the stories and explanations provided by ancient authors of later centuries. But let us proceed to a sounder basis.

The mere existence of agonistic age-categories is not open to debate There are, however, not wholly reliable records for the 7th and the 6th century, but as from the 5th century BC, at least, the information we have is sound enough. From this time on a wide variety of contemporary sources attest those age-categories – and not only for the Olympic Games. From now on – and until the end of the ancient era – we do find the distinction of competitors in "boys" (*paides*) and "men" (*andres*) in Olympia and at other sport festivals; for instance, at the Pythian Games in Delphi or the Lykaia on the Mount Lykaion in the centre of the Peloponnese.

Different classification systems

As just mentioned, we can quite safely prove the existence of age classes in athletic contests from the 5th century BC. Poets, like Pindar, praising successful athletes, and other ancient writers mention them in their texts. But also plenty of victor inscriptions have survived, revealing not only the discipline but also the age-category in which the athlete was successful. And not only do they refer to this twofold age-class system ("boys" – "men") that we have been dealing with up to now, but also to other age-class systems. Indeed, other age-class systems are starting to appear in our sources.

Already in the first half of the 5th century BC a classification system including three categories is safely attested: with the age group of "the beardless youths" (*ageneioi*) to be found between "boys" (*paides*) and "men" (*andres*). And again we have to admit that we don't know anything about the time before the 5th century. But from now on we can trace this age-category-system throughout antiquity at many contests such as the Isthmian and the Nemean Games, the Amphiareia or the Panathenaia. Other festivals like the Olympic Games always kept the twofold system.

For the Panathenaia – the most important sports games in ancient Athens – an interesting 4th century BC inscription (*Inscriptiones Graecae* II^2 2311) provides us with some insight. It is a list of prizes awarded to the winners in those games. Firstly, it clearly reveals that the threefold system ("boys", "beardless youths", "men") was in use here. As we can see the Panathenaia awarded prizes to the victors consisting of certain specified numbers of amphoras filled with olive oil. Such an amphora contained about 36 litres of olive oil. The value of the oil of, for instance, 30 amphoras was about the same as the income of a workman in a whole year. And this inscription, also, shows that the victors of younger age-groups received less and that different disciplines were awarded with different quantities of amphoras. Interestingly there was also a prize for second place. To give an impression what this interesting 4th century BC source looks like in detail I wish to present (in translation) a section of this long inscription:

...
for the victor in the pentathlon in the "boys" category:
30 amphoras of olive oil;
6 for the second
for the victor in the wrestling in the "boys" category:
30 amphoras of olive oil;
6 for the second
for the victor in the boxing in the "boys" category:
30 amphoras of olive oil;
6 for the second
for the victor in the pankration in the "boys" category:
40 amphoras of olive oil;
8 for the second

for the victor in the stadion in the "beardless" category:
60 amphoras of olive oil;
12 for the second
for the victor in the pentathlon in the "beardless" category:
40 amphoras of olive oil;
8 for the second
for the victor in the wrestling in the "beardless" category:
40 amphoras of olive oil;
8 for the second
...
(*Inscriptiones Graecae* II^2 2311)

From the 3rd century BC on, our sources provide sound evidence for the existence of many different age categories at several contests.

It should be recalled that two kinds of sports festivals existed in ancient Greece: some were open to all Greeks (so called panhellenic festivals), we might call them international, others were restricted to citizens of the cities where those contests took place. The big Games like the Olympic, the Pythian, the Nemean or the Isthmian Games (just to mention the big four) were panhellenic sport festivals. But each and every Greek city could have several of its own local sports contests.

Especially for the local civic games a wide variety of age-categories in local contests is very well attested. These local games, as we will see, could use their own very particular age grade systems. For example, an inscription (*Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*[3] 959) referring to a contest in Chios in the early 1st century BC attests a system in which youths were subdivided in younger, middle and older ephebes, i.e. a five-class system was in use there: *paides*, *ephebeoi neoteroi*, *epheboi mesoi*, *epheboi presbuteroi* and *andres*.

But new age classifications appear within the panhellenic games as well. Many contests always stuck to the twofold ("boys", "men") or the threefold ("boys", "beardless", "men") system, but for some others, new categories can now be traced. At the Asclepieia in Cos, for instance, the "boys"-class was divided in "*paides Pythikoi*" and "*paides Isthmikoi*". It is not the aim of this essay to present all the attested classification systems. I only want to point out here that general all-Greek regulations obviously did not exist.

In an important article (*Age Categories and Chronology in the Hellenistic Theseia,* in: Phoinix, 1999, 249–262) Nigel M. Kennell pointed out that sometimes, sports festivals could include both local and panhellenic contests. And, interestingly for us, different age-class systems could then apply. At the Athenian Theseia, for instance, we find different age-class systems in one festival. It is interesting to observe that the typical disciplines of athletic festivals (foot-races, wrestling, boxing, and *pankration*) were panhellenic, i.e. open to all Greeks. And they would compete in the two age-classes known to have existed in various panhellenic games: "boys" and "men". But the very same disciplines (foot-races, wrestling, boxing, and *pankration*) were also held in an Athenian-only section; and there we find the three age classes: "boys of the first age", "boys of the second age", and "boys of the third age". Furthermore, in the torch race, again an event reserved for Athenians, another age grade system appears, comprising *paides*, *epheboi*, *neaniskoi*.

Allocation

How were those age-categories determined and who was responsible for decisions to allocate competitors into the different categories?

At local events, the allocation of competitors into age categories could not have been a serious problem. In societies where civic age grades played an important role in public life, it was clear to which age group citizens belonged and in which age category they had to compete in local contests.

But what about panhellenic games, where contestants from all parts of the Greek world showed up? For Olympia, with its two-class system, some information about the actual age of participants is available. Pausanias (6.2.10–11) mentions a 12 year old boy who had won the stade-race in the Olympic Games in 368 BC. A little bit later in the text, Pausanias (6.14.2) refers to an 18 year old who was not allowed to compete in the wrestling contest in the "boys"-class (so he entered and won the "men"-competition). The age-limit between "boys" and "men" in Olympia might therefore have been somewhere around the age of 18.

But the actual age was certainly not the decisive factor. It is important to remember that in ancient Greece birth certificates or similar documents did not exist. This fact alone makes it more than likely that the development of the body must have been the crucial point. Therefore it seems quite clear what is meant, when Pausanias, reporting on the Games in Olympia, says:

> *An oath is also taken by those who examine the boys, or the colts entering for races, that they will decide fairly and without taking bribes, and that they will keep secret what they learn about a candidate, whether accepted or not.*
> (Pausanias 5.24.10)

By way of additional background information to this text it should be noted here, that in equestrian events age-categories for the racing horses (colts and grown up horses) also existed.

The Greek term for the assignment into an age-class is '*enkrino*'. The opposite term i.e to reject assignment into a certain class is '*ekkrino*'. Exactly this word is used in the inscription on a little plaque found in Isthmia, saying: "I, Marios Tyrannos, reject Semakos". Perhaps it is referring to a decision of one of the umpires to exclude an athlete from an age-class category at the Isthmian Games.

Pausanias (6.14.1) mentions that in 486 BC a certain Pheirias of Aigina was not allowed to compete in the wrestling in Olympia

because he was considered to be too young and unqualified. On the other hand, a few ancient stories recount that athletes tried to qualify into lower age-categories; obviously to enhance their chances of victory. Such an incident is reported by Xenophon (*Hellenica* 4.1.40) and later on the same story is told by Plutarch (*Agesilaos* 13.3): The Spartan king Agesilaos needed to intervene on behalf of a young competitor (a "beloved" of one of the king's friends), to enable him to compete with the "boys".

It was, as it seems, probably the job of the umpires to exclude athletes from an age-category for which they were already too old. But according to some sources, it seemed possible for athletes to join the next higher age-class, at least if they were successful in the lower age-class. The following example is perhaps rather anecdotal in nature, as indeed many records of ancient tended to be, but it gives us some idea of ancient stories concerning the existence of age-categories that were already well established in those days, and is likely to be an accurate reflection of reality. It is again Pausanias (6.14.2–3) who reports that a certain Artemidoros from Tralleis 69 AD was unsuccessful in the *pankration* for "boys" in Olympia, because at this time he was still too young. Not much later, however, at another competition in Smyrna he won the *pankration* for "boys", "beardless" and "men" in one single day.

It is important to note in this regard that age-categories should not be expected to exist in each discipline of every sports festival. There was, for instance, no long distance race for "boys" at the Olympic Games, there was often no *pankration* for "boys" and the race in armour always appears to have been closed to the "boys"-class.

That's more or less what we know about age categories in ancient sports contests, and I have tried to present some of the main sources for this knowledge. Naturally, lots of further questions arise in this context. We could, for instance, ask, whether and to what extent our knowledge of athletic age categories is dependant on the dissemination of and the purpose of the available sources. It is not the place to do that here. But we can ask another question that seems to raise interesting issues.

Reasons and Meaning

Unfortunately – but perhaps not surprisingly – there is no ancient reliable record concerning the reasons for establishing athletic age-categories. If we want to know more we have to proceed by means of

a process of deduction. At first glance answers seem to be straightforward with concepts like 'fairness' and 'protection of young athletes' coming to mind.

Indeed scholarly work has referred to such reasons. However, concerning protection of young competitors, doubts are – to put it mildly – justified. Why then, on these grounds, would there be age-categories in the running events? And, as far as combat sports are concerned, wouldn't a minimum age (or the reaching of a certain stage of physical development) have simply sufficed? Rather the wish to enhance fairness or better to maintain a competitive level seems to hold true. Certainly, this line of thinking could explain why umpires had to prevent more developed athletes from starting in age categories for which they were already too old, whereas on the other hand, it was possible for a successful athlete to enter the next higher category.

Furthermore, it is extremely likely that the wish to extend the sports program played an important role in the invention of new age categories. Such considerations may also have led to the introduction of special races for colts in the equestrian events.

In his book *Sport and Society in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1998, 107–111) Mark Golden puts forward another appealing idea. He emphazises that there was a huge desire for victory in ancient cities. Taking into account that the young athletes tended to originate from regions closer to the locations of the contests rather than being on tour as much or as far from home as their adult colleagues, the introduction of age classes for younger athletes certainly enhanced the chances that local athletes might win and bring honour to the organizing city. Golden shows that in Olympia, for example, 22,5 per cent of all the boy victors, whose home-towns are known, came from Elis (i.e. the organizing city).

All those considerations are certainly, to a greater or lesser extent, relevant to the development of athletic age categories. They correspond to a world of developed sports events. Though, I believe it is necessary to go back further in time when considering the origins of the age-classification system. Indeed, as indicated below, age classification in sports games seems to date back to early periods. At least we can say that it does not appear to have been a new concept but was already well known and established by the time our sources in the 5th century BC start to mention it.

It is easy to see that age grades generally played an important role in ancient Greece (and, incidentally, not only there). The human lifespan was seen as being divided into stages. Festivals existed to celebrate the official transition from one stage to the next and lots of initiation rites – or surviving traces of them –, which marked those

steps, can be found in the ancient Greek world. Furthermore, it could be said that the public life of Greek societies was based on age grades and in that way different ages were linked to different rights and duties. Not to mention the separations by age to be found in the gymnasia. Of course, all that could diverge quite significantly in different communities. And last but not least it should be pointed out that age groups appeared at several festivals and religious ceremonies. In public group dancing, for instance, we find special groups of maidens, women, boys or warriors. In the famous Spartan Gymnopaedia festival groups of boys, youths, and men were performing.

Now, taking into account that age grades were omnipresent in Greek life and a common feature in public festivals, it seems almost logical to expect them in the field of sports as well.

But more can be said. The most important of those age distinctions in the Greek world was certainly the one between adults and non-adults. That goes without saying. To give just one example, however, I wish to recall how a significant part of the Odyssey deals with Odysseus' son Telemachos and his becoming an adult man.

In view of these circumstances, it is unsurprising that non-adults were not meant to compete with adults. – A tiny relict of this original thinking might be seen in the fact that it was never the case that the "boy"-category took part in the race of armour. Even in later times, this was something for men not for boys. – This reasoning seems to explain the existence of the twofold system ("boys" – "men") which can be understood as the most simple and basic athletic age classification.

Doubtless, some of the later classifications, which become evident in the time of the development and flourishing of athletic events, have to do with, what I would refer to as, "athletic reasons" i.e. to improve festival programs, to maintain competitive standards, and to enhance the opportunities for victory. But the origins, as I tried to demonstrate, seem rather to have been a consequence of social order or, in other words, a requirement of the ancient Greek society.

(I am very much indebted to Mrs. Helen Miles, Graz, for helping me with my English.)

NIKEPHOROS YOG, 2012, 95–101

Female Sports in Classical Greece

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Men had to act outside the house, women spent most of the time inside their home. This was the traditional way of everyday life in ancient Greece. Physical exercises were important for men, who had to train their bodies for the challenge of warfare. Athletics in the gymnasia belonged mainly to the education of boys. We learn little about the physical training of women in ancient sources, but sporting activities for women did exist in some areas.

The mythical Spartan lawgiver, Lykurgus, instituted public games for both boys and girls. Thus, Spartan education methods with girls exercising naked, or almost naked, were exceptional in comparison to the traditional customs that existed in other Greek cities. As we will see, Spartan girls were famous for their beautiful bodies resulting from their physical training. Sporting activities for girls up to the age of 20 years had been of interest for statesmen and philosophers in other parts of the Greek world too. Like Lykurgus they knew about the benefits of gymnastics not only for the bodily constitution of men and women but also for the community. Unfortunately these progressive ideas of coeducation were not adapted in reality outside of Sparta because they were found only in the ideal state of Plato. This is why female sporting events were mostly limited to traditional cults or public festivals. We find female contests, for example, in prenuptial rites such as the footraces of the Attic Arkteia and in the Heraia at Olympia (discussed below).

1. Women acting as athletes

1.1 Athletic contests for girls

Women were not allowed to participate in the Olympic Games, neither in athletic competitions nor as spectators. Only maidens up to the age of marriage could enter the stadium and watch the beauty of athletes in competitions. Girls even had contests of their own, known as the Heraia at Olympia in the form of special athletic events for the goddess Hera. She is thought to be one of the old mother-goddesses who was honoured in Olympia long before Zeus. Hippodameia is said to have created these games out of gratitude for her marriage with

Pelops. The Heraia never became as popular as the famous Olympic Games for men. But they were periodical festivals for girls too at Olympia, held regularly every fourth year with detailed rules under the control of a special committee of 16 women and an unknown number of female attendants, who were all married. This is what we know from the ancient author Pausanias (5.16,2–4), living in the 2nd century AD. These athletic events consisted of foot-races for different age groups, starting with the youngest, followed by the next age category and terminated by the oldest group of girls. They competed in the stadium of Olympia where the running track was shortened by about one-sixth of its usual length. They were following a dress code, with their hair hanging down, a short tunic ending little above the knee, with the right shoulder bare as far as the breast. Statues of maidens have been found, dressed like runners according to the description of Pausanias (see below figure 1). To the winners they gave crowns of the olive tree and a portion of meat of the cow sacrificed to the goddess Hera. The female victors – probably of each age group – were privileged to set up a statue with their names inscribed upon them. One of the earliest victories is ascribed to the mythical Chloris, daughter of the house of Amphion.

Figure 1: Statue of a girl runner, Rome, Vatican museums Inv. 2784, aus BARTELS J./BOHNE A.,et al., *Sportschau. Antike Athleten in Aktion,* Bonn 2004 (= Ausstellungskatalog)

1.2 Athletic training for girls

1.2.1 The Spartan education system

Spartans knew about the benefits of physical training for boys and girls. This is why they encouraged athletic contest for both sexes. Girls were familiar with different kinds of athletic events. They learned how to throw the discus, were experienced in running events, used to throwing the javelin and were even allowed to compete in wrestling. At Sparta the girls' upbringing resembled the male education system more than anywhere else. The atmosphere of the coeducational sporting activities is vividly shown in the modern painting of Degas, called "Young Spartans" (see figure 2). Unlike the male youths, girls are not completely naked there; they are wearing a short tunic similar to the female participants in the running events for Hera. This could have been the athletic dress for a special age group of girls, as perhaps for the older girls, as is documented in the theoretical education system of Plato (see below), whereas the youngest group was allowed to appear nude.

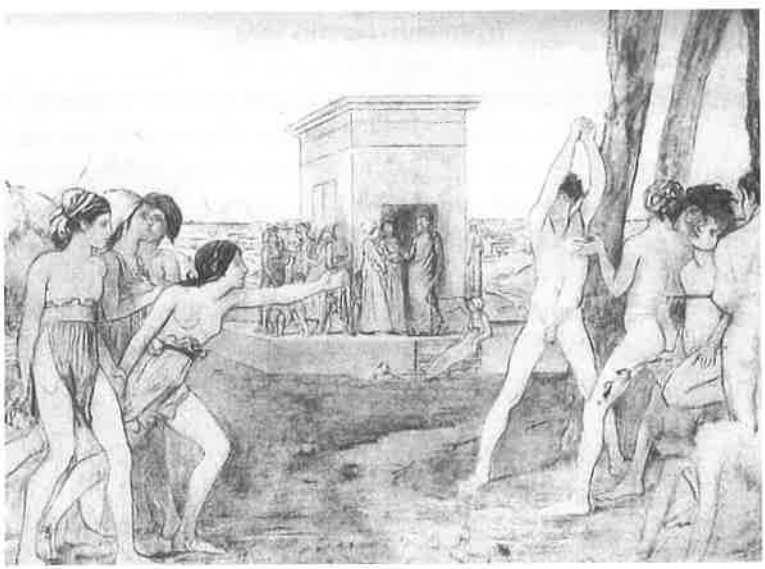

Figure 2: Degas E., Young Spartans, 1860 (Art Institute of Chicago)
Young Spartans, boys and girls, are exercising, observed by adults nearby. In front of the building you can see Mount Taygetos.
http://artmight.com/ger/Artists/Degas-Hilaire-Germain-Edgar/Degas-Young-Spartans-1860-Art-Institute-of-Chicago-160931p.html (13.5.2011)

Athletic activities of Spartan girls were primarily thought by statesmen to be helpful for the development of strength and health for wives and mothers-to-be of warriors or in the opinion of the women themselves, of real men. On the other hand physical training promoted the ideal shape of the female bodies. This is why Spartan girls and women were famous for their beauty throughout the ancient world. The Attic comedy writer, Aristophanes an ancient author of the 5th century BC, gives some information on the admired bodily constitution of Spartan women resulting from special training methods:

> *LYSISTRATA*
> *Warm, greetings, Lampito, dear Spartan friend.*
> *Sweetheart, you're looking simply ravishing.*
> *What gorgeous skin – and, oh, those muscles of yours.*
> *Your could throttle a bull!*
> *LAMPITO*
> *By the Twins, I swear, I could.*
> *My exercise includes rump-streching kicks.*
>
> Aristophanes, *Lysistrata* 76ff.

1.2.2 Women sports and the ideal state of Plato

Source material on sporting activities of Greek woman is scanty. More detailed information is strongly based on the theories of the philosophers. Plato's ideas for the upbringing of girls were influenced by the well-known Spartan model of coeducation somehow but there are new ideas too. Girls up to 20 years were included in the new education system with a variety of regulations for their sporting activities. There were footraces for females organized in different age groups and, what seems to be most important for the male lawgivers, combined with specific rules for special dress codes.

> *Let us plan these contests in three divisions – one for children, one for youths, and one for men. We shall ordain that the course for the youths' races shall be two-thirds of the full course, and that for children one-half, when they compete either as archers or as hoplites. In the case of females, we shall ordain races of a furlong, a quarter-mile, a half-mile, and a three-quarters*(200 meters, 400 meters, 800 hundred metres) *[833d] for girls under the age of puberty, who shall be stripped, and shall race on the course itself; and girls over thirteen shall continue to take part until married, up to the age of twenty at most, or at least eight-*

> *een; but these, when they come forward and compete in these races, must be clad in decent apparel. Let such, then, be the rules concerning races for men and women.*
>
> Plato, *Laws* 8,833c–d

For girls used to the labour of physical training the Attic reformer even thought about training them for horse races (Plato, *Laws* 8,834d). More than that Plato tried to improve the model of Spartan education with regard to women who had been neglected there. He knew that the introduction of sporting activities for adult women would not easily be accepted by the men's world. Observing old women engaged in physical training in the gymnasium and acting naked according to male athletes would seem more than ridiculous in the eyes of men:

> *"What then," said I, "is the funniest thing you note in them? Is it not obviously the women exercising unclad in the palestra [452b] together with the men, not only the young, but even the older, like old men in gymnasiums, when, though wrinkled and unpleasant to look at, they still persist in exercising?" "Yes, on my word," he replied, "it would seem ridiculous under present conditions."*
>
> Plato, *Politeia* 5,452a–b

It was not the right time for the implementation of Plato's laws in most of Greece, although in Sparta females practised sports up to the age of marriage.

2. Cyniska – a female winner of the Olympic Games

As we have seen, women were not allowed to participate in the athletic events of the official Olympic Games. It is surprising, therefore, to hear about Cyniska, daughter of the Eurypontid king of Sparta, Archidamus II, and sister of the later king Agesilaos II, who did succeed in competition at Olympia. She did not win there by her physical condition and excellence, but twice (396 BC and 392 BC) as the owner of the successful horses in the chariot race, because in equestrian events the victory wreath went to the owner of the horses who was not necessarily the charioteer. Cyniska was honoured by bronze statues of a chariot and horses, a charioteer and a statue of herself made by a famous sculptor. She was famous for her victories which were praised in inscriptions too. Moreover in her hometown they erected a hero-shrine, an honour which traditionally was not given to anyone but

kings. She was not the only woman from Sparta who was victorious in the Olympic Games ever, but none of them was more celebrated than she.

3. Female sports consumers

3.1 Sports spectators

Women did not compete in sporting events of their own but some of them were ambitious enough to organize athletic competition for girls (see above, the Heraia). Only one adult woman, the priestess of Demeter Chamyne, was free to watch the Olympic Games of men. She had a special place in the stadium, sitting on an altar of white marble opposite the Hellanodikai, the most important umpires of the games. Various women of Elis were honoured with this function in the course of time.

Girls were privileged here too. They were both authorized to compete in athletic events and welcomed as spectators of the Olympic Games. Married women who tried to enter the stadium risked their lives if they were caught at the Olympics or on the other side of the Alpheius river on days forbidden to women (Pausanias 5,6,7). Women neglecting this law of Elis could be thrown from the high rocks of Mount Typaion. There was only one woman ever who violated the rule and attended the Olympic Games. She had trained her son after his father's death in boxing and entered the stadium disguised as a trainer. Overwhelmed by the victory of her son she jumped over the barrier that separated the spectators' area, and so lost her clothes. She was not punished because several male members of her family were known as famous victors in the Olympic Games.

4. Sports festivals and eroticism

Athletes presented the beauty of their well shaped bodies in various public games and festivals. These cultic events were meeting places for boys and girls too who could get in contact here for the first time or even fall in love. Homosexuality is important with regard to ancient Greek gymnasia. Heterosexual eros could arouse men and women watching athletes of different sexes. The coeducation of boys and girls was seen as an adequate model for the development of eroticism and even partnerships for marriage.

> *Moreover, there were incentives to marriage in these things, – I mean such things as the appearance of the maidens without much clothing in processions and athletic contests where young men were looking on, for these were drawn on by necessity, 'not geometrical, but the sort of necessity which lovers know', as Plato says.*
>
> Plutarch, *Lykurgus* 15,1
> with reference to Plato, *Republic* 5,458d

Athletic festivals could furnish a place for matchmaking where eligible girls or boys could be found for marriage. Yet there was not always a happy ending when girls lost their hearts to athletes. This is documented by moving stories of ancient authors who describe tragedies when betrayed women suffered from unrequited love. Sometimes they cried for revenge as is the case of the unfaithful athlete Delphis who was bound by a magic spell by his former beloved (Theokritus, *Idyll* 2). Athletes, especially winners, were the object of desire of women of different social status, of virgins, married women and prostitutes who fell in love with these adored and charismatic persons.

Amusing erotic affairs and detailed rules for female dress codes are repeatedly described in ancient sources. These subjects seem to have been of special interest to the male dominated historical tradition whereas the ideas of the development of women's sports according to athletic activities of men never have been taken too seriously. Men and women had to play their special role within the norms of the conservative community. Public performances of women exercising could not be combined with the common role of mothers and wives in traditional ancient Greece – even in outstanding Sparta the institution of public female sports, which we have seen was limited to girls up to the age of marriage, has been ascribed to what today we may call eugenics.

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The Social Status of Greek Athletes

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A certain Theogenes lived on the island of Thasos, in the north of the Aegean, in the fifth century BC. His father was a priest of Herakles and his brother was one of three high-ranking magistrates, so Theogenes was a member of the elite on the island. We learn from an inscription found in Delphi that in the course of twenty-two years Theogenes had won thirteen hundred victories in boxing and *pankration*: some of them in Olympia and a few equally prestigious games but the majority in innumerable other so-called money-games. His disciplines were rough, bloody sports in antiquity. The *pankration* was a free-for-all which barred nothing except biting and poking out eyes. Boxing was considered so violent that an ancient chronicler thought it noteworthy that only one athlete had ever won a boxing match at Olympia 'without wounds'.

More than 600 years later, in the imperial age of Rome, an inscription from the city of Aphrodisias in Caria (in the southwest of modern Turkey) tells us about an athlete in the *pankration* named M. Aelius Aurelius Menandros. He had won a large number of victories in sacred contests, in which the prize was a crown (as in Olympia), and in competitions for money prizes. He was said to be 'a scion of a prominent and illustrious family'. He had also been an Olympian victor. The pattern is the same. The two young members of noble families, Theogenes and Menandros, excel in sport. They are professional athletes, perform in contests for (sacred) crowns (the equivalent of the modern medals) or large sums of money, and have no qualms about specializing in the bloodiest sports of all.

Are they abnormal, atypical exceptions? The answer is a short one: no. Theogenes of Thasos comes at the end of a long line of athletes who were members of the elite during the Archaic Greek era (650–500 BC). The early fifth-century poet Pindar, 'the prince among poets and the poet of the princes', celebrates a number of leading athletes. Theogenes belongs to the same category. Of course, the elevated language of Pindar's victory odes does not contain such prosaic statistics as Theogenes' Delphic inscription. Pindar calls the victories of one of the athletes whom he celebrates 'as many as the grains of sand on the shore', or simply 'innumerable'. Nor is Menandros an isolated case: he belongs to an impressive series of well-born athletes who are commemorated in inscriptions and on coins.

Greek elites were in the business right from the start, and they stayed there down to the bitter end of antiquity. They do not call themselves professional athletes, but that is what they are. They behave as such. A man like Theogenes, who stays at the top for twenty-two years and wins a victory on an average of at least twice a month (and probably more), lives as a professional, with specialized training methods and trainers and a rudimentary specialized diet.

Only the trainers were referred to as the professionals that they were. They had a *profession*, while the athletes had a *way of life*. Trainers earned a *salary*, aristocratic athletes won *prizes*, and quite sizeable ones at that, but the ancient Greeks saw a world of difference between them and an ordinary wage (*misthos*). Our modern usage preserves relics of the Greek perspective in distinguishing between the 'salary' of the better paid employee and the legal 'wage' of the man or woman in overalls or behind the dreary counter or desk.

While men of property were a permanent feature of ancient sport, both in Olympia and elsewhere, things were different for ordinary folk. While the possibility cannot be ruled out that young men from outside the circles of the elite already took part in top-level international sport in the Archaic period, it is not very likely. At a strictly local level, young talent from an ordinary background will undoubtedly have begun to practise sport in the Archaic period. It was in the course of this period that members of the agrarian middle classes joined the aristocracy on the battlefield as heavily-armed infantrymen or hoplites. This is the context in which the *gymnasion* emerged as an institution. It was originally a training institution for hoplites. It rapidly turned into a sort of sports school with public trainers. These trainers were known as *paidotribai*: 'those who polish young men'. Eventually, slowly but surely, sportsmen who did not belong to the elite could still work their way up from the *gymnasion* to the international level of Olympia and the numerous other games of more than local importance. This development set in around 400 BC. It was at about this time that the opulent Athenian dandy Alkibiades, a member of a very noble family, announced that he was retiring from athletics to devote himself to equestrian activities. There were now athletes from non-aristocratic backgrounds and with a low level of education entering the former branch, he claimed, and when Alkibiades was on his high horse he did not like that kind of thing one little bit.

Alkibiades seems to have been a voice crying in his own elitist wilderness. Other members of his class did not follow suit. Worse still – at least in Alkibiades' view – they continued to compete alongside talented athletes from common backgrounds throughout antiquity. Some time after 300 BC associations were set up: one of all athletes

'who travelled all over the ancient world', the second consisting of the 'victors in games for the sacred crown'. It is a typically Greek phenomenon: a club for all professionals, and a separate one for the winners! The 'games for the sacred crown' are all of those very many games which followed the example of Olympia in only awarding a crown as a prize. Athletes like these, by the way, also readily participated in contests at which sizeable money prizes were to be won. The Greeks would have been completely unable to understand Coubertin's idea of amateurism.

Increasingly stringent training requirements and the necessity of having good private trainers naturally created financial problems for the athletes. Of course, the well-to-do athletes solved problems of this kind without any difficulty. This was not so easy for ordinary folk. An inscription from the city of Ephesus in Asia Minor, dating from around 300 BC, indicates that, on the recommendation of a trainer, cities proceeded to subsidize young talented sportsmen 'for training and for trips abroad'. The cities considered it in their interests to support top-level sportsmen from their midst. After all, at every victory in the ancient world the herald announced not only the name of the victorious athlete but also that of his city: the laurels of a successful boxer were also the laurels of his city. Such a city was prepared to honour its successful athletes, not just with a laudatory inscription in his honour and/or a statue, but also with tax exemption, free meals in the town hall, and an allowance. In this way a 'crown' was indirectly a source of income.

If we view the Greco-Roman world as whole, the main trends are clear enough: the elite is always present in competitive sports, including the roughest and bloodiest events; during the Archaic era in Greece, ordinary athletes are also slowly but surely given the chance to compete. We find both groups throughout the rest of the ancient period. No percentages can be given.

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The Role of the Father and the Family in an Athlete's Participation and in the Celebration of His Victory

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In this paper I would like to introduce you to the view of youth athletics reflected in the poems of two Greek poets working in the early- to mid-fifth century BC, Pindar (518–438 BC) and Bacchylides, who was Pindar's contemporary but for whom we have no date of birth or death. Pindar came from Thebes in Boeotia and Bacchylides from the city of Iulis on the island of Ceos in the Aegean Sea. They were commissioned by victors, their fathers, or other family members to write poems celebrating athletic victories, including a fair number won by boys or members of a separate class, the beardless youths. The surviving poems, with a few exceptions, celebrate victories won at the four major religious festivals in Greece that awarded wreaths or crowns rather than material prizes as the Panathenaea at Athens did. In order of prestige these were the Olympic Games, sacred to Zeus, held in Elis every four years, the Pythian Games, sacred to Apollo, held at Delphi every four years, the Isthmian Games, sacred to Posidon, held at the Isthmus of Corinth every two years, and the Nemean Games, sacred to Zeus, held at Nemea every two years.

The poems were performed in song and dance to the accompaniment of lyres and sometimes also wind instruments by a choir of male singers drawn from the victor's home community, who were trained by an instructor. These poems let us see how the victors were encouraged to view their participation and victory and what other beliefs and values were inculcated into the victors, their families, and the audience who had come to join in the celebrations. The victor was very much part of the immediate family and the wider clan. If the father had been a victor, the son was following in his footsteps (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.18). If the father had not been a victor but the grandfather had, that was seen as a healthy alternation of good fortune (Pindar, *Nemean* 6.1–27). A victory could also be seen a sign of the revival of a family's fortunes, generally (Pindar, *Isthmian* 1, *Isthmian* 4). While the favour of a god or gods was sometimes acknowledged and always assumed (Pindar, *Nemean* 10.49–54a; Castor and Pollux, who were supposed to have been actually visited and been entertained by an ancestor), the poet could combine that favour with inherited prowess (Pindar, *Pythian* 10.10–18). Elsewhere the poet speaks of a family

destiny being at work (Pindar, *Isthmian* 1.39–40; *Nemean* 5.40–41: "Family destiny is what decides in all actions").

In general, the victor was believed to have served his community as a whole by winning. He was striving to serve the common good (see Pindar, *Pythian* 11.54), but adults involved either as competitors or as family members entering them still feared the envy of others (see Pindar, *Nemean* 7.60–63), which could feel like a sharp stone when it hit you (see Pindar, *Olympian* 8.54–55). But let us consider how the young victors themselves felt.

What did winning mean for a young athlete? Interestingly, the clearest definition, offered in a poem for a boy wrestler from Aegina, an island in the Saronic Gulf, opposite Athens, who won at the Pythian Games, is introduced by a definition of what defeat meant, and is also quite frank about what attitude a contestant needed to win:

(1)
On four bodies you sprang from above with hurt in mind;
For them no homeward way was decreed by fate at the Pythian Games as happy as yours,
nor did welcome laughter give rise to any joy around them
when they returned to their mothers, but, shunning their enemies,
they slink down alleyways, gnawed by their misfortune.
But he to whom fate has granted some recent success
flies up, launched by hope, in great splendour on the wings of deeds of manly prowess,
And his concerns are with more than riches.
Pindar, *Pythian* 8.81–92 (VERITY, modified)

There is no talk of a "gallant loser" here. We may compare what Pindar says in a poem for another boy from Aegina who had won in the wrestling at the Olympic games:

(2)
On the limbs of four boys he put away from him
The hateful return, the dishonouring tongue,
The secret by-path,
And into his father's father he breathed
Strength that was a match for old age
A mortal man forgets about Hades [the Underworld] *when he is successful.*
Pindar, *Olympian* 8.68–73 (BOWRA, modified)

Yet the passage from *Pythian* 8 (1) shows how these athletes, still children, all returned to their mother, the one person they could turn to, winning or losing. Leaving aside the lofty thoughts with which that extract ends, which are clearly meant as applicable to success in many fields at any age, we may ask what the poets could do for the young victor. Pindar evokes the practicalities in a vivid comparison. Writing for another winner of the boys' wrestling, again from Aegina, at the Nemean Games, he claims that after the hard struggles in a match joy, joined with music, is the best healer, and in the word "joy" he probably includes the pleasures enjoyed at a celebration feast:

(3)
Nor does warm water so drench and soften the limbs
As praise joined to the harp.

Pindar, *Nemean* 4.4–5 (BOWRA)

What effect that praise was claimed to have is spelt out in a poem for a boy runner from Thessaly:

(4)
But while the men of Ephyra pour forth
My pleasant song beside Peneius' bank,
I hope that for the crowns he won, my music
May bring Hippocleas
Yet greater admiration among his own age-fellows
And amongst elder folk, and make tender maids
Pine for him.

Pindar, *Pythian* 10.55–59 (CONWAY, modified)

In a poem addressed to a member of the intermediate class between boys and men, Pytheas of Aegina, who had won in the *pancratium,* a ferocious form of all-wrestling, Pindar promises through his song the wide dissemination of the victor's fame. This dissemination could well mean the circulation of written copies.

(5)
I am no statue-maker, working on images to loiter standing there on their bases!
No; on every merchant ship and every pinnace go forth, my sweet song,
From Aegina, and spread the news that
Lampon's son, Pytheas, broad in his might
Won at the Nemean Games the crown in the pancratium,

> *As not yet showing on his cheeks*
> *The tender fruitful season, mother of the vine stock's bloom.*
> Pindar, *Nemean* 5.1–6 (author's translation)

Pytheas' father Lampon was fortunate in the successes of his sons. Pytheas won not only at the Nemean Games but also at Megara, and the local Delphinian Games held in Aegina honour of Apollo. Another son, Phylacidas, won in the boys' pacratium at the Isthmian Games at Corinth and later in the men's pancratium at the same festival. Other members of the family had also been winners in the past. But the profound satisfaction a victory at the Olympic Games conferred, and the driving ambition of the father comes out in these lines of *Isthmian* 6, which Lampon commissioned after Phylacidas' victory in the men's pancratium. The poet creates a metaphor from the three libations made successively at a feast: to Olympian Zeus, the heroes, and Zeus the Saviour. Pytheas' victory had been like a first libation, Phylacidas' victory was now like a second libation; and the poet now prays for an Olympic victory as an occasion to praise Aegina:

> (6)
> *For, if a man, rejoicing in expense and toil, achieves distinctions on a divine foundation, and if heaven helps by sowing for him the seed of fair fame, he casts his anchor on fortune's farthest shore, as a man honoured by the gods. The son of Cleonicus prays that he may experience feelings such as these before he meets death or grey old age. And I myself call on Clotho enthroned on high to listen with her sister Fates to the loud commands of a man dear to me.*
> Pindar, *Isthmian* 6.10–18 (SANDYS, modified)

That is not the only place where the poet prays for further success for his patron, but it is the insistence and the pathos of an ageing man fervently praying for this form of success that should interest us. Perhaps the previous successes would make such a publicly uttered prayer to the very gods of Fate seem less inept. It was a common practice to appeal to earlier divine help granted as an argument in asking a god for help yet again. Other fathers, especially when first entering a son for one of the major contests, saw *themselves* as taking a great risk. The importance of athletic victories won in boyhood or youth for a man throughout his life is clear from an ode written by Pindar for the inauguration of Aristagoras as *Prytanis*, Chief Magistrate, of the island of Tenedos. It is a solemn affair, at which the chorus, after praising Aristagoras' handsome appearance and native cour-

age, anticipates the formula *Sic transit gloria mundi, Thus passeth the glory of this world,* pronounced at a Pope's coronation, and sings:

(7)
But, if any man who has riches, excels others in beauty of form, and has shown prowess in the games, let him remember that the limbs he is robing are mortal, and that, in the end of all, he will be clothed in earth.
Pindar, *Nemean* 11. 11–16 (SANDYS, modified)

And yet a whole section is taken up not only with the eleven victories Aristagoras had won at local games in the boys' wrestling and pancratium but even more with those he believed he had been denied:

(8)
But the timid expectations of his parents held back the boy's strength and prevented him competing in contests at Delphi and Olympia. For otherwise, I swear, in my opinion, if he had gone to Castalia [the stream at Delphi] *and the tree-clad Hill of Cronus* [Olympia], *he would have returned more gloriously than his opponents after celebrating at the quadrennial festival ordained by Hercules and binding his hair with gleaming garlands* [of victory]. *But, in mortal life, one man is cast down from his blessings by empty-minded boasts, while another underrates his strength and is cheated of the glories that were within his powers by an un-daring spirit that seized his hand and pulled him back*
Pindar, *Nemean* 11.22–32 (SANDYS, modified)

Clearly the memory of such achievements was consciously kept alive afterwards by the victor, and by his family, too, as we see from a passage that reveals one way in which the victory odes were preserved:

(9)
If your father Timocritus were still warmed by the fierce sun
He would often have accompanied this song,
Playing a complex melody on the lyre,
Loudly celebrating his gloriously victorious son.
Pindar, *Nemean* 4.13–16 (VERITY, modified)

The victor, Timasarchus of Aegina, had won as a wrestler at the Nemean Games. Although the manuscripts simply describe him as a wrestler, the mention of the trainer Melesias, an Athenian, in the last

part of the poem suggests that he was still a boy. The mention of the dead father in this passage could also be an indication of Timasarchus' young age, to judge from two poems to be cited later. The poem contains a further reference to dead relatives, and, intriguingly, to an earlier victory ode, apparently actually composed by Timasarchus' grandfather. The victor belonged to the clan of the Theandridae, who had, says Pindar, a long record of victories at Olympia, the Isthmus of Corinth, and Nemea, and these victories had been celebrated in victory odes. The poet then singles out one of those relatives, now dead:

(10)
But, if you would have me also set up in honour of Callicles, your maternal uncle, a monument whiter than the ivory of Paros – for even as gold, when refined, is made to show all its radiance, so does song in honour of brave deeds make a man the equal of kings in his happiness – may he, who now dwells beside the Acheron [a river in the Underworld], *hear my voice as it resounds on how in the contests* [sacred to] *the loudly-roaring wielder of the trident* [Posidon god of the sea and of earthquakes, in whose honour the Isthmian Games were celebrated] *he burst into bloom with the Corinthian crown of wild celery. Your aged grandfather Euphanes would willingly have sung of him, my boy.*

Pindar, *Nemean* 4.79–90 (SANDYS, modified)

In another poem, celebrating the victory of Alcimedon of Aegina in the boys' wrestling at Olympia, not only victories won earlier by his clan, the Blepsiadae, are commemorated but also the boy's father and paternal uncle are mentioned, both now dead, possibly of disease since the concluding prayer includes a plea to Zeus to ward off "sharp sicknesses":

(11)
But it is fitting for me to awaken Memory, and tell of the fruit of the hands of race of the victorious Blepsiadae, who have now been wreathed by the sixth garland from crowned contests [the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian, and Nemean Games, the prestige of which was such that simply a wreath was the prize]. *Even the dead have a share in customary rites, and the dust does not bury over the trusty gratitude of kinsmen. Iphion* [pretty certainly the young victor Alcimedon's father, now deceased] *may hear from Hermes' daughter, Angelia* [a personification of news] *and tell*

Callimachus [probably his brother and Alcimedon's uncle, now also deceased] *of the glistening decoration at Olympia* [the wreath] *that Zeus has bestowed on the clan.*

Pindar, *Olympian* 8.74–84 (SANDYS, modified)

The desire, or the belief, that dead relatives should hear of successes won is expressed in several poems of Pindar, and is illustrated earlier in Book 11 of the *Odyssey*, where the soul of Achilles strides away full of pride after Odysseus has told of his son's distinguished role in the final victory over Troy. The most moving example from Pindar ends a poem celebrating the victory won by Asopichus of Orchomenus, in Boeotia, in the boys' single-length foot race at Olympia. The poet addresses a beautiful hymn to the Three Graces as they were worshipped in the victor's home city, and continues:

(12)
Go now, Echo, to the black-walled house of Persephone
and take this glorious news to his father Cleodamus
so that when you see him you may say of his son
that in Pisa's famous valley he has crowned his young head
with winged garlands from the games that bring renown

Pindar, *Olympian* 14.20–24 (VERITY, modified)

But what of the athletic feats themselves? Curiously enough, Pindar himself does not go in much for that side of the achievement. The best direct description comes from Bacchylides. It is of the three events that secured Automedes of Phlius victory in the men's pentathlon in the Nemean games, discus, javelin, and wrestling (the other two events, making up the five in the pentathlon were the long jump and the foot race):

(13)
For he was outstanding in the pentathlon, as the bright moon distinguishes [i.e. excels] the light of the stars in the mid-month night. Such was he when he showed his wondrous frame throughout the boundless circle of the Greeks as he threw the wheel-shaped discus, and when, launching the dark-leaved cornel's branch into the lofty sky, he prompted the shouts of the people.

Or as he completed the wrestling's flashing movement. After bringing strong-limbed bodies to the ground with such confident strength, he came back to the dark-eddying [*River*] *Asopus ...*

Bacchylides, *Ode* 9.27–39 (CAIRNS/HOWIE)

Pindar is more likely to give a vivid impression of an athletic event in a metaphor he applies to his own performance as a poet, as in *Nemean* 5 for Pytheas of Aegina (see also [5] above), when he swiftly moves from a reference to Peleus and Telamon's murder of their half-brother Phocus to the more edifying tale of the temptation of Peleus:

(14)
But if of fortune's wealth my praise is due
Or of strength of hand or armoured war, rake a long landing-pit
Straightway for me; my limbs can muster
A nimble spring.

Pindar, *Nemean* 5.19–20 (CONWAY)

This metaphor, which is drawn from the long jump event in the pentathlon, is being used here in a poem for an all-in wrestler!

Pindar and Bacchylides often included not only references to the gods and heroes but also mythical narratives, usually about heroes. Some poems celebrating a boy's victory include myths suitable for the young victor himself as well as for the adult audience. Thus *Pythian* 10 tells the fabulous tale of Perseus' travels, especially his coming to blissful the land of the Hyperboreans, who enjoyed sacrifices in honour of their divine protector Apollo and the dances of maidens; and how, with the goddess Athena's support, he slew the Gorgon Medusa and returned to the island of Seriphos and with Medusa's hideous snake-haired head turned his mother's tormentor King Polydectes and all his subjects to stone. But, though young, such victors still had to look forward to a life that might well include warfare. Bacchylides' song for Pytheas of Aegina (also celebrated by Pindar; see [5] and [14] above), now approaching manhood and formidably fit, begins with a description of Hercules' wrestling with the lion at Nemea and Athena prophesying that the pancratium will be one of the events at the games destined to be celebrated there; and following praise of the Pytheas' native island, the poet introduces a fine account of the respective contributions of the local hero Aeacus' descendants, Ajax and Achilles, to the Greeks' efforts in the Trojan War, which clearly draws on what would have been a standard item in Pytheas' education, Homer's *Iliad*. It brilliantly evokes Ajax's defence of the Greek ships and the false hopes of the Trojans encouraged during Achilles' withdrawal and shattered by his return to the fighting. Perhaps the way the poet introduces that account delicately hints at another side of the life ahead for Pytheas: a cultured and virtuous virgin Aeginetan bride and noble, warlike sons:

(15)
Many a maiden with high-soaring boast sings in praise of your [Aegina's] [*might*], [...] *rapidly on feet* [...] *as she leaps lightly like a carefree fawn onto the flowery* [*banks*] *with her illustrious* [*companions*] *from close neighbours' homes.*

Crowning themselves in their native delight of crimson flowers and reeds, the maidens sing of your [the nymph Aegina's] [*marriage bed*], *O mistress of a land hospitable to all, and of rosy-armed Endeis, who bore godlike Peleus, and Telamon, the helmeted warrior, when she had mingled with Aeacus in his bed.*

Their battle-rousing sons I shall proclaim, swift Achilles and the super-spirited son of comely Eriboea, Ajax, the shield-bearing hero...

Bacchylides, *Ode* 13.84–104
(CAIRNS/HOWIE; from a fragmentary papyrus)

Pindar's song celebrating the same victory of Pytheas, (*Nemean* 5), includes a story with a complementary, moral, message for this mighty man in the making. It is a story like that of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (*Genesis* 39), how Peleus, the future father of Achilles, was tempted by his host's wife, and how, when he spurned her advances, she told her husband that the advances had been made by Peleus. Peleus had been afraid of the anger of Zeus *Xenios*, god of the bonds between host and guest; and that same god had observed this and now swiftly persuaded Posidon to let Peleus have Thetis, a nymph of the sea, as his bride.

Most striking of all is *Pythian* 6, written for the still youthful Thrasybulus, son of Xenocrates, the brother of the tyrant of Acragas (now Agrigento) in Sicily. Xenocrates had won in the chariot race at the Pythian games, but the poem is addressed to Thrasybulus, presenting him as a loyal son. As such he obeys the teaching imparted by Chiron the Centaur to Achilles, who fostered him up in the mountains of Thessaly after his goddess mother left Peleus and went back to the sea: to honour Zeus most highly among the gods and likewise his parents most highly among mortals. This was the precept followed during the Trojan War by Antilochus, Nestor's youngest son, who died saving his aged father (far the oldest of the Greek leaders at Troy) from Memnon:

(16)
For Nestor's chariot was entangled by his horse which had been stricken by the arrows of Paris, and Memnon was bearing down with his mighty spear, The old man of Messene's mind was set spinning, and he cried out for his son. His cry fell not to the ground, but remaining there, the god-like son bought with his own life the rescue of his father; and, by doing this wondrous deed, was believed by men of later times to have proved himself, among men of old, supreme in virtue towards parents.
Pindar, *Pythian* 6.26–42 (SANDYS, modified)

Despite his ambition to emulate his uncle, the tyrant, in splendour, Thrasybulus uses his wits where his wealth is concerned, and his youth is free from wrongdoing and violence. Instead, he cultivates poetry. He has won the favour of Posidon, god of horses (perhaps in local chariot races in which he himself has competed), and he is a delightful companion at symposia. This is surely all traditional morality (there was a poem purporting to relate what Chiron taught Achilles, *The Precepts of Chiron*), and must have been highly acceptable to the immediate audience, and no doubt, to anyone else who heard it at the time or sang it or read it afterwards, gift-wrapped, as it was, in a beautiful poem. Even the Royal Family of Acragas, the poem proclaims, abides by those ancient teachings.

A quarter of a century or so before, the dynasty founded by Pisistratus of Athens, a great patron of religion and an imaginative patron of the arts, had been implicated in a scandalous affair after their father's death. This began with the harassment of a young man, Harmodius, by Hipparchus, one of Pisistratus' sons. This led to the deliberate ruining of the reputation of Harmodius' young unmarried sister by Hipparchus and his brother Hippias in revenge for Harmodius' rejection of Hipparchus's advances, and that led in turn to the assassination of Hipparchus by Harmodius and his lover Aristogiton. The subsequent harshening of Hipparchus' brother Hippias' rule then eventually led to the fall of the dynasty, and the establishment of the Athenian democracy. The assassination was soon the theme of a song at Athens which became traditional (Thucydides 6.54–59). One wonders if a widespread knowledge of those events at Athens contributed to the decision of the rulers of Acragas in Sicily to commission this resounding celebration of family values at the top.

The finest, and less extravagant, expression of such values occurs towards the end of the poem for the boy pentathlete from Aegina, Sogenes, son of Thearion. The poet calls on the hero Hercules, who has two shrines close to the family home, to act as a good neighbour

to them as his faithful worshippers and intercede with the supreme god Zeus and the goddess Athena on behalf of Sogenes and his father; after all Hercules had helped the Olympian gods against the Giants:

> (17)
> *If a god, too, were to uphold this principle* [of valuing a good neighbour], *then, O thou who didst subdue the Giants, Sogenes would wish to dwell in thy care, keeping a tender heart towards his father in his forefathers' blessed-in-possession and godly street. For he has a house with precincts of thine on either side as he goes forth, like a four-horse chariot with its two yoked pairs.*
>
> *Mayest thou fit together for them a life securely strong and interweave it with a sleek old age in such a way that their life remains fortunate. And may their children's children ever have the same privilege* [probably a hereditary priesthood with its perquisites] *as now and a better one later.*
>
> Pindar, *Nemean* 7.89–101 (author's translation)

Commissioning a poem to celebrate a victory was clearly something that victors or their families thought worth while if they could afford it. In the case of young Hippocleas (see [4] above), the rulers of that part of Thessaly paid – and had praise of themselves as descendants of Hercules and on a par with the kings of Sparta included, framing the whole poem. We have two instances where a boy had lost his father and his grandfather stepped in, *Olympian* 8 (see [2] above) and *Nemean* 4 (see [9] above). In the case of a runner from Athens who won at the Isthmian Games, probably called Aglaus, Bacchylides tells us that the victory Ode (*Ode* 10) was commissioned by the husband of the victor's sister. As I write this I am more than ever struck by the prominence of Aegina. One reason is surely to be found in *Nemean* 4 which reveals how closely allied participation in the games and singing and even composing of poetry could be within a family there (see [9] and [10] above).

Further Reading

For non-specialists the most interesting parts of the poems of Pindar and Bacchylides are the mythical narratives. These are often in ring composition, with the ending stated in advance and a move back to the beginning and then a move forward to the end. This arrangement was

already used in mythical narratives incorporated in speeches in the Homer. Worth trying are a long narrative on Jason, Medea, and the Golden Fleece (Pindar, *Pythian* 4), a clever account of the birth of Pelops leading to a awesome account of that hero's confrontation with Posidon when seeking his help in a chariot race to win a bride (Pindar, *Olympian* 1), a similar and very moving confrontation of Pollux pleading for his brother Castor's life (Pindar, *Nemean* 10), and the sophisticated testing of the prophetic Centaur Chiron by Apollo when contemplating abducting the huntress nymph Cyrene and carrying her off to Libya (Pindar *Pythian* 9), the exciting story of Jason and the Seven Youths and Maidens and the exciting and yet ominous return of Theseus to Athens, in two examples of another kind of poem, the dithyramb, by Bacchylides (poems 17 and 18), and the one semi-historical myth among those poems, the miraculous rescue of Croesus from the Persians in Bacchylides' *Ode* 3, written for the tyrant of Syracuse. The beauty that religious poetry can attain in Pindar's hands emerges from the first part of *Olympian* 14 (see [12] above), and in an astonishingly light, dramatic form in a humorous setting in Apollo's testing of the Centaur in *Pythian* 9.

For Pindar I have drawn and sometimes modified excerpts from the verse translations in C.M. BOWRA, *The Odes of Pindar,* Harmondsworth 1969, G.S. CONWAY/R. STONEMAN, *Pindar: The Odes and Selected Fragments,* London/Vermont 1997, A.W. VERITY, *Pindar: The Complete Odes, with an Introduction and Notes by Stephen Instone,* Oxford 2007, and from the older prose translation in Sir John SANDYS' Loeb edition of the Greek (London/New York 1919). There is also a modern Loeb edition of Pindar with translation by W.H. RACE (2 vols.; Cambridge, Massachusetts/London 1997). For Bacchylides I have drawn on the translation to which I contributed an early draft in D.L. CAIRNS, *Bacchylides: Five Epinician Odes (3, 5, 9, 11, 13),* Cambridge 2010 (Francis Cairns Publications); for other poems of Bacchylides readers might like to try Anne Pippin BURNETT's *The Art of Bacchylides,* Cambridge, Massachusetts/London 1985, with its verse Greek text, verse translations, and interpretative essays, as well the prose translation in D.A. CAMPBELL's recent Loeb edition, *Greek Lyric IV*, Cambridge, Massachusetts/London 1992. For Pindar one could use in combination CONWAY-STONEMAN (excellent notes and introductions) and VERITY-INSTONE.

For athletics as practised in the days of Pindar and Bacchylides, see S.G. MILLER, *Ancient Greek Athletics,* New Haven/London 2004, a full account, and, the same author, *Arete: Greek Sports from Ancient Sources. Third and Expanded Edition,* Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 2004.

For the myths, see especially *Apollodorus: The Library of Greek Mythology*, translated and provided with excellent notes by R. HARD (Oxford 1997). For a fine linking up of the myths and the ancient poetry, including Homer, Pindar and Bacchylides, with early Greek art, particularly vase-paintings, illustrating the myths, and so giving an idea of how audiences visualised them, see H. A. SHAPIRO, *Myth into Art: Poet and Painter in Classical Greece,* London/New York 1994.

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Youth Sport Participation and Victory in Archaic Greece

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In the ancient Greek world childhood, puberty, adolescence and early adulthood were ambivalent and transitional periods, frequently marked by physical trials and social marginalization. It is the aim of this paper to examine the role of sport in the social construction of youth during the archaic period (c. 800–480 BCE). The term youth is here used not only in connection with biological or institutional age-periodization (e.g. as in the age-categories in athletic contests) but in a wider sense to denote all the individuals who for some reason or another have not been fully integrated into the social and institutional fabric of their community.

To be sure "youth", as well as any other age identity, can only be enacted in relation, emulation or antithesis to other age groups. In the case of Greece young persons were groomed, in an institutionalized or informal manner, with the objective of becoming conversant with dominant social norms and conventions in the expectation that they could eventually fulfill certain adult roles as dictated by their gender and social background. Hence age, gender and status divisions were endemic in Greek society and the introduction of age-groups in athletics was an extension of an embedded social practice (Petermandl 1997). Yet within this general schema of acculturation laid great complexity: "youth" identities were instantiated through an intricate network of practices, including sport, which were contingent on social, political and cultural factors. In this process social expectations were paramount: the athletic performance and eventual victory of a member of the jeunesse dorée was enacted in a different manner and with different objectives than the sport practices of a youth from less well-heeled backgrounds. Local variations, both at different athletic contests and within individual city-states (e.g. in Sparta, if the age-grades of the Classical and Hellenistic state-sponsored system of youth upbringing and education can be extrapolated for the archaic period) suggest further nuances and complexity as well as a lack of systematization and co-ordination of the limits of age-divisions. Finally some evidence indicates that, contrary to widely held stereotypes of children and youths as passive receptacles of the norms and paradigms imposed by adults, in the process of cultural initiation through sport and other practices Greek youths were active agents often engaged in a re-

negotiation of established models of class, gender and age categorizations.

The Homeric epics provide a glimpse of elite youth sport practices in early archaic Greece (c. late ninth-eighth centuries BCE). Both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed from an aristocratic perspective and primarily for an aristocratic audience, hence they provide a somewhat skewed depiction of life in the early archaic Greek communities. They are nonetheless valuable in illuminating the nature of elite power and the techniques whereby it was achieved. The world depicted by Homer acknowledged biological age and gender categorizations and attributed various needs and character traits to such groups. In general, children, young adults, women and the elderly are depicted as depended on the socially dominant adult males. Yet contrary to women of all ages, blue-blooded male children and youths often appear as engaging in hallmark elite masculine practices, sometimes alongside their adult male peers, in a manner that blurs clear-cut biological age distinctions. Furthermore, in determining the rules of participation in sport and commensality considerations of social background, and not of strict biological age, were of primary importance.

Elite youths are often portrayed in the Homeric epics as participants in sports and hunting. Funerals of socially distinguished individuals were in early Greece commemorated by athletic contests. The funeral of Patroclos (*Iliad* 23.257–897) was organized by Achilles himself and is presented as a grand occasion complete with processions, feasts and sports. Equestrian events have been throughout history an elite sport, primarily because of the high cost of breeding and maintaining high quality racing-horses. Not surprisingly, the starting line-up of the chariot-race at the funeral games of Patroclos consists of several socially illustrious Greeks. Among them is Antilochos, the son of king Nestor of Pylos. Despite his alleged horsemanship skills Antilochos is subjected to a long, technical coaching speech (*Iliad* 23.306–348) delivered by his father, old Nestor himself, a famously successful athlete during his prime. The poet emphasizes Antilochos' youth (23.306; 587–590; 604) and recklessness during the race (*Iliad* 23.426; 439–440; 570–585) in attempting a risky overtaking that endangered king Menelaos of Sparta. When after the race Menelaos rebukes Antilochos over the incident the latter, as befits a dutiful youth, admits his guileful horsemanship and attributes his conduct to youthful impulsiveness. In another case of elite youth tutoring, an adolescent Odysseus is depicted (*Odyssey* 19.428–466) being trained in hunting, another popular male pastime and status token, by his maternal grandfather and uncles. Showing particular courage Odysseus proved himself an exceptionally skillful young hunter but

acquired a leg scar in the process as a result of his impetuousness to rush headlong towards a boar.

Elite youths also compete in athletics in the contests conducted in honor of Odysseus in Phaeacia (*Odyssey* 8.97–255). A number of athletes are introduced as "excellent young men" (*Odyssey* 8.110), including the three sons of king Alcinoos. There are several hints (e.g. young Euryalos' slur that Odysseus did not resemble an athlete but a merchant seeking profit through maritime trade, *Od*yssey 8.159–164) that the other entrants in the Phaeacia contests originated from the ranks of the local landed nobility as well. Odysseus himself, though visibly older than most participants, is invited to participate. Despite their age, or rather because of it, the young athletes are no match for Odysseus' superior athletics skills, as the latter's impressive discus throw demonstrates. Moreover, Odysseus' exasperated response to Euryalos' affront redresses the intergenerational balance and highlights the socially subordinate position of youth. Besides the familiar motif of the inculcation of skills and norms on youth, these Homeric vignettes of youth involvement in sport and physical activities emphasize generational differences but also the entrenched role of sport and other practices (hunting, war) in validating and perpetuating elite political and social dominance. For young aristocrats acting out the part of a future leader was partly articulated in the public demonstration of certain physical and social skills.

The Greek world underwent ground-breaking social, cultural and political changes in the decades following the written composition of the Homeric epics. These changes are discernible in sport: it is now increasingly agreed that the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE were a watershed period in the history of Greek athletics. In short, the most important developments included the establishment and consolidation of numerous periodic athletic contests, including the prestigious *periodos* circuit consisting of the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games. New artistic and literary genres, e.g. athletic statues and epinician (victory praise) poems, propagated the importance of athletic victory and fed the growing popular appetite for athletic contests. Moreover, in a related but less well documented development, during the sixth century the first civic facilities (e.g. gymnasia) for athletic training were established. There were also pivotal changes in the way youth sport was conducted. Beginning in the Olympic games of 632 BCE special contests for *paides* (boys) were held. Age-categories were adopted in all other panhellenic (all Greek) and local contests as well. Olympia and perhaps Pythia retained the boys/men age-distinction but in other parts of the Greek world more variations were introduced, the most common (but not the only one) being the interpolation

of the age-category of *ageneioi* ('beardless youths') between *paides* and *andres* (men). In a world that lacked registries and birth certificates, the decision to allocate an athlete to a particular age-group was based on chronological age assessment and external physical characteristics, a process that was often subjective and controversial (Crowther 1988; Frisch 1988; Golden 1998, 104–112).

It is worth considering why sport age-categories were formally established during the period in question. The desire to multiply the opportunities for further victories, especially for local boy competitors (Golden 1998, 104–112) or, more generally, to increase participation and attendance (Kyle 2007, 117) quite possibly contributed to the introduction of junior events at athletic meetings. Yet such factors were more decisive in later periods of Greek athletics when athletic youth age-grades and contests multiplied exponentially. In contrast, in the archaic world the opportunities for victory in one of the junior age-groups remained somewhat restricted compared to the multitude of events open to men. In Olympia, boys competed only in the *stadion* (sprint footrace), wrestling and boxing until 200 BCE. The pentathlon for boys was added in 628 BCE but it was immediately dropped in the following Olympics. Meanwhile, eleven separate events for men were gradually introduced in the Olympic games during the archaic period. The Pythia games included a fuller program of boys' events since their inception in 586 BCE, but similarly to the Olympics the games at Delphi did not admit an intermediate *ageneioi* category. The other two *periodos* games and possibly some local contests (including the Panathenaea) offered *paides* and *ageneioi* athletes the chance to pursue an athletic victory in some events. But overall, the archaic youth athletic calendar does not seem to have been structured with the maximization of the number of junior athletic victories or the enhanced popularity of the contests as primary objectives.

Viewed in this light, it is worth reviewing patterns of athletic participation and victory among male children and adolescents in archaic Greece. It should be noted that there were in the Greek world athletically talented youths of modest social backgrounds who were distinguished in athletics. But then, as now, the scions of wealthy families had an advantage as they could expend time and resources to increase their chances of success. Given this background, it is worth noting that in Olympia, out of the 17 known youthful victors up to 480 BCE (Moretti 1957, nos 60, 61, 63, 71, 79, 82, 88, 115, 116, 155, 162, 163, 182, 183, 203, 204, 205), 7 originated from cities of the Peloponnese (Elis, Sparta, Mantineia, Argos, Heraia). Yet 3 of those Peloponnesian victors date to the seventh century. For the period 600–480 BCE, no city could claim more than one victory in the *paides* category, with a

total of 13 different cities from mainland Greece, Asia Minor and Sicily represented in the victors' list. This strongly suggests that, even if a desire to provide victory opportunities for local young competitors was a factor in introducing the Olympic *paides* events, soon these contests appealed to athletes from far and wide. Moreover, just like adults, young Olympic hopefuls and their families were not fazed by the practical difficulties of travel and outlay. A similar picture emerges from an examination of the victors in the *paides* and *ageneioi* age-groups in the other *periodos* games. Aegina's strong showing in youth *periodos* victories during the first half of the fifth century might allude to special conditions among the island's elite or, more likely, might be due to a lopsidedness in the preservation of the evidence, i.e. the disproportionate number of Pindar's odes dedicated to Aeginitan victors (Golden 1998, 107; Hornblower 2007).

Two other patterns of athletic victory (and presumably, competition) during the archaic period are of particular interest. The first concerns victories by members of the same family. Once again we are better informed about the Olympics. M. Golden (1998, 109, n. 4) has detected 20 instances throughout the ancient Olympic games where at least two members of the same family have gone on record as winning an Olympic wreath. Seven of these involve athletes of the archaic period (Moretti 1957, nos 61+82; 132+189+313; 149+195; 154+249, 167+170; 194+257; 190+192): six cases concern recorded victories by fathers and sons and in one case victories by two brothers. Not all of the victories were achieved by young athletes, although some were. According to the ancient victor lists Hipposthenes of Sparta was the first ever Olympic champion in boys' wrestling in 632 BCE (Moretti 1957, no. 61). He capped his career by five further Olympic victories in the same event for adults in successive Olympiads (624–608 BCE) and was awarded cultic honors posthumously, possibly during the fifth century BCE (Pausanias 3.15.7). His son Hetoimokles carried on the family tradition in wrestling with five Olympic victories, the first probably in the boys' category in 592 BCE (Moretti 1957, nos 82–86).

Sparta was of course the undisputed political and military superpower of the late archaic world, and the case of eleven Olympic victories by father and son (Hipposthenes and Hetoimokles) was atypical in the scale of the achievement, though not in its ideological implications. As a matter of fact there is other evidence which suggests that the symbolic power of a solid familial tradition of athletic excellence was not lost to the elites of smaller archaic communities either. Phrikias of Pelinna in Thessaly was Olympic champion in the hoplite armor race in 508 and 504 BCE and victor at a running event at the Pythia (perhaps in 506 BCE; Moretti 1957, nos 150 and 156). His son

Hippokleas stepped in his father's shoes and won the Pythian *diaulos* for boys in 498 BCE (Pindar, *Pythian* 10), followed by two Olympic wreaths in 492 and 488 BCE in a men's running event (Moretti 1957, nos 175 and 184) and possibly another victory at Pythia. The athletic pedigree of the family of Alkidamas of Aigina was even more illustrious. According to Pindar, *Nemean* 6, members of the Bassidai clan had achieved twenty five victories in the crown games over several generations. Alkidamas had won the boys wrestling crown in the Nemean games shortly before 475 BCE (Gerber 1999, 34–36) and competed in the Olympics unsuccessfully. His grandfather Praxidamas was men's boxing Olympic champion in 544 BCE (Moretti 1957, no. 112) and victor in other panhellenic games. Praxidamas' brothers Kallias and Kreontidas had been victorious at Delphi and Nemea. Polytimidas, another member of the clan, was good enough to compete in the Olympics without success.

The second pattern of sport competition and victory relates to repeat victories by the same athlete in different age-categories. 3 out of the 11 secure or very likely instances of athletes who attained at least one Olympic victory in the age-categories of boys and men date to the archaic period (Moretti 1957, nos 61, 82, 115). Moreover, there were undoubtedly many cases of athletes who achieved victories in different age-groups in local contests before going on to claim a victory crown in one of the *periodos* games. Epharmostos of Opous, a wrestler active in the 470s and 460s BCE illustrates the point. Pindar's *Olympian* 9 mentions Epharmostos' victory in the boys' age-group at the Panathenaea games of Athens and when he was slightly older he attempted to enter the *ageneioi* contests at the Heraklea games in Marathon. On that occasion the judges allocated him to the men's age-group, but nonetheless Epharmostos went on to win the contest. He then proceeded to accumulate victories, presumably in the men's category, in a host of local festivals in Argos, Arcadia, Pellene, Thebes, Eleusis as well in the *periodos* Isthmian and Nemean games. All these victories pre-date his Olympic victory of 468 BCE as well as his Pythian victory of probably 466 BCE. Becoming *periodonikes*, i.e. victor in the four major games of Greek antiquity, was a rare achievement. But Epharmostos' overall athletic career choices, including his exposure from a young age to a diverse range of local contests, must have been more typical of many aspiring young athletes.

The two patterns of youth athletic participation and victory were closely interconnected as often athletes, especially those of elite social origins, who achieved multiple victories in different age-groups also boasted illustrious and enviable athletic family traditions. For these athletes and their families sport was a strategy of social distinction.

Elite families invested substantial amounts of time and material resources over several generations in competitive sport, especially during the sixth and early fifth centuries. Often several members of the clan had a go at the highest level of competitive sport, with varying degrees of success. Victories by boys and adults of the same family at the most prestigious games surely necessitated some commitment from an early age in the form of systematic training and competition in local contests. It is therefore quite likely that for families with an athletic tradition, children's activities were consciously channeled towards athletics in order to consolidate and expand the image of an athletically robust aristocratic family.

Hence the need to formalize and legitimize elite athletic victory pedigrees might partly account for the crystallization and diffusion of age-categories in the panhellenic and local contests in the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE. But victories needed to be advertised and ideologically assessed. Hence epinician poetry and statuary became essential parts in the construction of the athletic family tradition discourse. Poets and sculptors who specialized on sport themes were patronized by the wealthiest of athletes but the fruits of their labor were widely disseminated. It was indeed chiefly through the media of poetry and art that elite athletic victories, and all their meanings, were communicated.

Youth sport was part and parcel of this process of ideological exploitation of aristocratic athletic practices through poetry and the plastic arts. This was especially the case in connection with attempts of elite self-positioning in the context of intra-elite conflict (e.g. Fearn 2011 for late archaic Aegina) or vis-à-vis other social groups. Hence Pindar, a panegyrist of the aristocratic athletic discourse, presents the athletic talent of youths and adults largely as an inborn, hereditary feature of aristocratic nature. Assisted by generous spending and honed by toilsome practice, the physically endowed aristocrat eventually achieves the rewards and glory of athletic victory. Once achieved, victory is converted into social and political capital by reasserting and legitimizing the inclusion of the individuals in question in the higher echelons of the economy, politics and culture of their communities. This representation of athletic success as an upshot of aristocratic temperament is partly at odds with the years of dedicated training and competition invested by the athletes. Correlatively, in its celebration of aristocratic sport victories archaic statuary engages with issues of bodily form and masculinity. More specifically, the athletic body in archaic art marked out the honorand as a member of the wealthy elite endowed with the leisure and the resources to engage in athletics (Osborne 1998; Smith 2007). Yet by its insistence on athletic

nudity and physical form sculpture highlights bodily skill at the expense of the material expenditure involved in an athletic victory. Overall, through their discursive and visual representation of elite athletic victories, late archaic poetry and sculpture mitigate, and to a certain extent neutralize, the investment of material resources and the years of hard training by presenting individual and familial athletic success as largely dependent on inbred, hereditary skills.

One final question needs to be considered: what did it mean for a boy or young adolescent to be part of the athletic circuit of archaic and classical Greece? There should be no doubt that many young athletes were fully integrated into the dominant paradigm of aristocratic sport and victory adumbrated by epinician poetry and art. But even in the midst of the most ardent eulogies there are clues that the model was not evenly or smoothly adopted. For instance Theon, the father of Alkidamas whose familial athletic achievements were outlined above, had no noteworthy success in sport even though both his father and son turned out to be distinguished athletes. In a family with a notable athletic record it is a reasonable assumption that Theon was encouraged to pursue athletics as a youngster, and perhaps he even entered some local contests. But it was a simple fact of nature that many scions of aristocratic families, Theon included, were not skilled or interested in athletics.

Besides competitive athletics, sport was employed in other facets of the construction of manliness and age-identities as well as in the process of cultural assimilation of male youths in adult life. For instance, it seems reasonable that young athletes would have frequented the *gymnasia*, the most common training facilities in the Greek world, for practice. The organization and activities conducted within these athletic facilities during the sixth and early fifth centuries BCE are only scarcely documented, but on the present state of the evidence it is plausible that *gymnasia* were integral parts of the late archaic elite sport culture described above (Mann 1998). Moreover, sport was also used in practices of social initiation of Greek youths. A suggestive example is provided by Herodotus (6.126–130) in connection with the betrothal trials for Agariste, daughter of the ruler of Sicyon Cleisthenes, in the mid/late 570s BCE. According to Herodotus, following a proclamation by Cleisthenes thirteen youths of aristocratic origin assembled in Sicyon to compete for the hand of the ruler's daughter. The wooing process lasted an entire year. During that time the suitors competed in running and wrestling while they consorted with Cleisthenes and each other. Cleisthenes' original pick, Hippocleides of Athens, was ruled out because of his indecorous behavior during the final feast and hence Agariste was married to another

young Athenian aristocrat, Megakles. Incidentally, though not known for any personal athletic feats, both Megakles and Hippocleides hailed from families of athletic notoriety distinguished, among others, for sixth-century Olympic victories in chariot-racing.

Overall, in the Greek world childhood, puberty and adulthood were multifaceted and interrelated identities, largely articulated not merely through biological age and physical appearance but, more importantly, through an actively negotiated set of social relationships and practices, including sport. The construction of age-identities through sport was often contingent on local conditions. At a wider level, youth sport practices corresponded to embedded views on gender and age-group roles. Moreover, youth athletic practices were prominent in the process of propagation and ideological exploitation of individual and family athletic achievements in poetry and sculpture. Patterns of competition and victory by aristocratic athletes contributed to this use of sport as a strategy of social distinction as well as to the growing visibility and popularity of youth sport in the Greek world.

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NIKEPHOROS YOG, 2012, 131–133

The Reward of the Ancient Athlete

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The exclusively amateur status of the Olympic movement has undergone plenty of changes between 1896 and 2012. It is true that the medals have been retained instead of replacing them by money awards, but the amateur criteria have been interpreted in a very flexible way over the years. While the most that the founders of the new Olympic Games had in mind was to compensate participants for loss of wages, during the last decades more and more semi-professionals have been admitted to the Games: in tennis the competitors are the opposite of genuine amateurs, and the same is true of most members of the Olympic football and athletic teams. Training facilities are openly subsidized, often with government funds; and many a prize winner can expect some form of local or supralocal bonus in addition to his or her medal.

No one in the Greco-Roman world would have been in the least surprised by the recent developments in the Olympic Games; they would have been much more surprised at the original ideology of amateur participation and non-commercial Olympic sports – and 'surprised' is quite a euphemism! The Olympic Games began on a small scale in 776 BC with a 200 metre sprint near the temple of Zeus; the prize was a crown of olive leaves. They must have wilted within a few days, so this was no way of making a living. Funerary games were also held here and there in remote antiquity in honour of very important dead persons. The winners of these games received valuable prizes: a costly bronze tripod, a mule or a slave-girl (there were no coins in the Greek world at this stage). A victor in one or more funerary games had plenty of time to compete in Olympia (once every four years). No one said that he had recently won valuable prizes in other games and was therefore out of place in Olympia.

A lot of changes took place in the period of more than one thousand years between 776 BC and 393 AD (the year in which the Games were abolished) in quantitative terms, but not qualitatively. Hundreds of cities developed in the course of this millennium with their own public sports schools (*gymnasia*), stadiums, hippodromes and temples. Greek culture expanded to cover modern Turkey, the Levant, Egypt and modern Libya, as well as southern Italy and the Black Sea coast. The result was that new sports festivals were started up in all the cities of the ever expanding area of Greek culture, usually in honour of local gods and goddesses, though sometimes also for the deceased members

of the urban elites. As in Olympia, athletics was the main item on the programme of all these games: running (200, 400 and ca. 4000 m.), the pentathlon and *Schwerathletik*, i.e. wrestling, boxing, and a rough combination of the two (*pankration*). Ancient athletics was a matter of individual athletes, not of teams.

Some of these games copied Olympia: they followed the Olympic athletics programme, the Olympic age categories, and awarded crowns as prizes. However, many other games followed in the footsteps of the funerary games and rewarded the winner with appreciable money prizes. There are cases of boxers who went home after a victory in the finale of a match with enough money to feed, clothe and house a family of four for at least eighteen months. At the zenith of the culture of Greek sports in the Roman Imperial Age, there were some 500 sports festivals throughout the Greek-speaking world. There was also a genuine sports calendar which enabled numerous athletes to travel all over the Mediterranean and to arrive in time at the contest of their choice.

As far as the material aspect is concerned, we can trace the line from the beginning of the Olympic Games without any difficulty: athletes who won substantial money prizes outside Olympia experienced no difficulties in competing in the Olympic Games. Despite the fact that there were officially no prizes in Olympia, the professionals were still interested in taking part in the Games there. This is probably connected with the enormous prestige of Olympia: these were the oldest and thus, as the ancient Greeks saw it, the most prestigious Games. Nowadays the Olympic Games are still a unique and highly prestigious event for many a hardened sportsman or sportswoman.

A supplement to the 'prize-less' Olympic crown was already devised in the earliest stage of Greek history (ca. 600 BC), when his home-city gave an Olympic victor a bonus of 500 drachmae for his 'medal'. In the course of time the number of privileges and material benefits for Olympic victors increased. Dining in the city hall at public expense was a common and enjoyable privilege; tax exemption and a regular monthly or annual allowance were extremely interesting financial bonuses for Olympic victors. In addition, both Olympic victors and those who had won prizes in other 'crown games' could count on a place of honour in official processions and on a ticker-tape parade *avant la lettre* as they made their triumphal entry into their city. Rare but no less important is the evidence for the payment of a bonus at the start to Olympic victors by the organizers of less prestigious contests for a money prize; apparently the money prizes to be won in these contests were not always attractive enough in the eyes of the real celebrities. Nowadays it is the done thing in circles of athlet-

ics, tennis and cycle racing to attract top names to participate in certain contests by paying them a fee for appearing at the start.

Making money from sport, whether Olympic or not, was a perfectly normally and universally respected activity in the ancient world. The only criticism that can sometimes be heard in the sources concerns the *abuse* of their wealth by Olympic and other sportsmen; some of them ended their career in the gutter like worn-out rags. In short, the same danger that threatened the Dutch Ajax soccer team in the past, according to the coach Rinus Michels: booze and women. But in practice things were not as bad as they may look. Greek cities began subsidizing the training and travel of promising, potential Olympic winners from 400–300 BC. The cities were extremely proud of their celebrities, and the latters' achievements reflected back on their cities: not just the name of the victor, but that of his city too, was called out during the presentation of awards at Olympia. It is hardly surprising that the cities liked to pamper their Olympic heroes.

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"... Through Blood to Victory" A Few Remarks on Ancient Combat Sport

Peter Mauritsch
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The young Alypius is dragged against his will to watch the Roman gladiator games by his friends; up until that point, he had abstained from this common form of entertainment, and so decided to resist temptation by keeping his eyes tightly shut. However, there is an incident in the arena, the spectators shriek, his curiosity gets the better of him and he opens his eyes:

> *as soon as he saw the blood, he drank it in with a savage temper, and he did not turn away, but fixed his eyes on the bloody pastime, unwittingly drinking in the madness-delighted with the wicked contest and drunk with blood lust*
>
> (translation Albert C. Outler)

– from that moment onwards, he was addicted to these spectacles, returning to watch them again and again. This forceful description of the fascination with violence was written by Augustine, Bishop of Hippo Regius (present-day Algeria), in his work entitled *Confessiones* (6,8,13), which was penned around 400 AD.

These lines do not portray a fascination with the spectacle in the arena or with the precision of the combat manoeuvres, but with pure violence. The gladiator games are not a sport in the classical sense, as injury and death to the opponent is the declared aim of battle; as a result, contests between gladiators are not usually included in histories of sport. However, they constitute one of the most widely known phenomena of ancient times, serving modern-day audiences often as an indication of Roman decadence; it is not considered a characteristic of a civilised society or particularly humane to delight in a spectacle that will ultimately culminate in someone's death.

The – understandable – indignation over this planned and applauded form of cruelty does not disguise the fact that some sports were associated with extreme brutality even if death was not their ultimate goal; and, of course, the Romans were not the only people to derive great pleasure from fights that resulted in bloodshed. Many sports festivals in antiquity, of which the Olympic Games are no doubt the best known to us (see the articles by I. Weiler and F. Garcia Romero in this edition), also included disciplines involving

violence: Boxing, wrestling and pankration which today is better known as mixed martial arts. Whereas the first two sports still form part of the Modern Olympic Games, all attempts at having pankration acknowledged as an Olympic discipline have failed.

Martial arts and combat sports were included in the Olympic programme early on: according to (unreliable) ancient sources, wrestling was introduced at the 18th Olympic Games (708 BC), boxing at the 23rd (688 BC) and pankration at the 33rd Olympics (648 BC). In those days, there were no weight divisions, although a distinction was made between youths and adults (the age limit is likely to have been around 18; see the article by W. Petermandl in this edition): wrestling is first mentioned as a discipline for youths at the 37th Olympic Games (632 BC), followed by boxing at the 41st Games (616 BC) and pankration at the 145th Games (200 BC).

It is likely that each sport had already been developed over many years before being accepted as an Olympic discipline: After all, resolving disputes not only verbally but also by resorting to physical retaliation has been a behavioural pattern throughout the history of mankind. The physical wrangling observed between children can be developed into a dangerous weapon by practising various techniques – such as punches and kicks – which can be used in wartime – or war-like – disputes. Rules and regulations are, therefore, essential for such practice fights, show fights, as well as sporting competitions, if serious injury and even death are to be avoided. We know that rules were defined for Greek combat sports although they did not specify weight divisions or rounds and the ring in most cases was only created by the spectators. However, it was not necessary to fight to the death to win: Whereas three falls were enough to secure a victory in wrestling, both boxing and pankration continued until the opponent was knocked out or submitted. Some bans have also been handed down for pankration: the competitors were not allowed to bite or scratch out each other's eyes.

Despite the rules, injury was common. Whereas, broken ribs or fingers were something of an occupational hazard for the wrestlers, the boxers were exposed to greater danger, as is illustrated by an inscription from Thera, which reads: *The boxers fight through blood to victory.* The literary portrayals colourfully describe the dangers to which boxers were exposed as the punches were chiefly aimed at the head and face. The fighters were very much aware that their punches could lead to death.

The most detailed descriptions of fights can be found in epic poems, beginning with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* which are both ascribed to Homer. He writes that when squaring up to Irus, Odysseus wonders

whether he should kill him with a single blow or let him live: Although he lets him live,

> *he came through*
> *with a hook below the ear, pounding Irus' neck,*
> *smashing the bones inside–Suddenly red blood*
> *came spurting out of his mouth, and headlong down*
> *he pitched in the dust, howling, teeth locked in a grin,*
> *feet beating the ground.*

Homer also observes the spectators at this fight: they, *flinging their hands in the air, died laughing,* and the spectators reward Odysseus for his actions and they wish him,

> *"Stranger, friend, may Zeus*
> *and the other deathless gods fill up your sack with blessings!"*
> *"All your heart desires!"*
> (Homer, *Odyssey* 18,95–98. 99. 111–112; translation Robert Fagles)

The boxing fight between Epeios and Euryalos which took place as part of the funeral games organised by Achilles for his friend Patroclus drew blood in much the same way. In this first literary witness report of a boxing match, the opponents wear thongs, strips of leather wrapped around their hands to increase the impact of their punches. Epeios hits his opponent on the cheek,

> *and he sprang up with a bound, as a fish leaps into the air near*
> *some shore that is all bestrewn with sea-wrack, when Boreas*
> *furs the top of the waves, and then falls back into deep water.*
> (Homer, *Iliad* 23, 692–694; translation Samuel Butler)

Considering the reactions the fight between Odysseus and Irus triggered in the spectators and – a good millennium later – Alypius' fascination with the bloody scenes before him, it is fair to assume that the portrayals of such fights also appealed to the readers. Moreover, although the sportsmen and their actions were the target of criticism, it was never directed at the excessive brutality or the general dangers of the sport. The only critical stance towards boxing and pankration can at best be discerned in the authors' comments about the visible scars the fights left on the athletes' bodies and faces. However, the writers never expressed their sympathy for them but rather ridiculed them and their war wounds, as did the poet Lucilius, in his description of a boxer's head:

> *When Odysseus returned safely to his home after 20 years, only his dog Argos recognized him when he saw him. But you, Stratophon, after you have boxed for four hours, neither dogs nor your fellow citizens can recognize. If you will be so kind as to view your face in a mirror, you will affirm with an oath, "I am not Stratophon."*
>
> (*Anthologia Graeca* 11,77; translation Waldo E. Sweet)

Injuries are not only described in writing, but are also recorded in pictures and statues. A series of vase images, dating from the 6th–4th century BC, shows how the blood spurts from the boxers' noses after receiving hefty blows and the seated statue of a boxer in the Octagonal Hall of Diocletian Bath (Aula Ottagona delle Terme di Diocleziano) in Rome, who is resting his exhausted body after a fight, his arms supported by his knees, shows the typical wounds sustained by fighters: swollen ears, visible traces of punches to the cheeks and eyebrows and a crooked nose.

The statue of the boxer also sheds light on another aspect: in antiquity it was clearly the object of the people's admiration. The ambivalence of the attitudes towards extreme athletes – who were targeted with ridicule on the one hand and showered with admiration on the other – stemmed, among others, from the spectators' appreciation of what wrestlers, boxers and pankratiasts put themselves through, as these sports were also part of the curriculum at Greek educational establishments. Some ancient authors believed that training in such sports served to toughen up young men. Accordingly, Plato, who himself wrestled in his youth, is expressly in favour of the sport because it prepares youths for combat in war. And it was also believed that combat training not only strengthened the body but built the character, too: In many mythical accounts, the heroes are challenged to fights. The (barbaric) challengers are always endowed with great physical strength but succumb to the (Greek) heroes who have a better technique and use their intellect to approach the fight, rather than blindly throwing punches. With the targeted and coolly calculating use of their fighting techniques, they are exemplary representatives of a culture of self-discipline and temperance, as is postulated by many Greek schools of philosophy.

And the sportsmen themselves? They doubtlessly understood the dangers to which they exposed themselves but also comprehended the attraction of risking life and limb for the spectators. Anecdotes surrounding famous extreme athletes and inscriptions commissioned by sportsmen tell us how professionally they went about marketing themselves. In one anecdote, a boxer is described who preferred to swallow

the teeth his opponent had just knocked out rather than show him how hard the blow had been; in another, when a boxer was asked how he went about winning a fight, he answered "*by detesting death!*". This shows what appealed to the audience, but also how the fighters liked to portray themselves: as fearless men who could withstand all pain on their way to being equated with immortal mythical heroes.

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Handicapped People: Sports and Entertainment in Antiquity and Today[1]

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In 1989 the *International Paralympic Committee* was founded as a non-profit umbrella organization for handicapped people to achieve sporting excellence and to develop sport opportunities for athletes with a disability from the beginner to elite level. The word 'Paralympic' derives from the Greek preposition *para* = 'beside' or 'alongside' (like paraplegic) and the word *Olympics* (the scholarly convincing proposal by the expert Joachim Ebert, *Memorandum.* In: *Nikephoros* 11, 1998, 279, to say correctly Parolympics instead of Par*a*lympics, was not generally accepted).

The history of sport-activities for athletes with a disability goes back at least to the 19th century and informs us especially about the development of sportive rehabilitation, physiotherapy and sports medicine since World War I. To organize athletic meetings for disabled persons on a worldwide level is a meritorious and distinguished adaption of the Olympic concept and movement in the last few decades. The historical roots of this humanitarian development do not go back to former historical periods. Handicapped persons were often stigmatized, in feudal and medieval Europe as well as in antiquity.

Ancient authors developed the well-known idealistic concept of the perfect body and mind which was called *kalokagathia.* This compound exists of two Greek words. The meaning of *kalos* is beautiful of form

[1] The ancient sources and modern literature concerning this topic is quoted in several articles by the author: *Inverted Kalokagathia,* in: Th. Wiedemann/J. GARDNER (eds): Representing the Body of the Slave, London 2002, 11–28 [translated in: P. MAURITSCH/W. PETERMANDL/B. MAURITSCH-BEIN (eds): Ingomar Weiler: Die Gegenwart der Antike. Ausgewählte Schriften zu Geschichte, Kultur und Rezeption des Altertums, Darmstadt 2004, 325–348]. – *Das Kalokagathia-Ideal und der 'hässliche' Athletenkörper,* in: P. MAURITSCH (ed.): Körper im Kopf. Antike Diskurse zum Körper. Vorträge gehalten im Rahmen der 8. Grazer Althistorischen Adventgespräche am 18. Dezember 2008, Graz 2010, 95–119 (Grazer Universitätsverlag. Allgemeine wissenschaftliche Reihe. Band 13. Nummi et Litterae. Band III). – *Körperbehinderte aus der Sicht des Althistorikers,* in: G. FETKA-EINSIEDLER/G. FÖRSTER (eds): Diskriminiert? Zur Situation der Behinderten in unserer Gesellschaft, Graz 1994, 7–23. – *Hic audax subit ordo pumilorum (Statius, silvae 1,6,57). Überlegungen zu Zwergen und Behinderten in der antiken Unterhaltungskultur,* in: Grazer Beiträge 21, 1995, 121–145. – *Physiognomik und Kulturanthropologie. Überlegungen zu 'behinderten' Gauklern,* in: G. DRESSEL/B. RATHMAYR (eds): Menschen – Gesellschaft – Wissenschaft. Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaftliche Studientexte, Innsbruck 1999, 191–210.

and shape, elegant, good, fine quality; also in a moral sense: noble, honourable – in opposition to *aischros*: ugly, deformed; in a moral sense: causing shame; dishonouring. The second part of the word, *agathos*, means *good, well-born, gentle* – in opposition to *kakos*: bad, evil, in the full sense of the word. In Greek art there exists an iconographic program, which frequently is associated with the term *kalokagathia*. To me it is no coincidence – it leaves a strong message – when Myron's Discobolus and Polyclitus' Doryphorus represent pentathletes. The versatility and the training of these athletes led to a harmonious depiction of their physical qualities. Aristotle was convinced that pentathletes are the most beautiful persons and athletic excellence in a body is defined in terms of strength and size, as well as in terms of speed, for to be swift is to be strong.

This interpretation of the physically aesthetic ideal of the human body by Greek philosophers, poets and artists has left a clear impression on the European art tradition. Modern art and literature have followed a progression from the Renaissance to the Philhellenic Classicism of the 18th and 19th centuries and in the 20th century to a concrete re-use of the athletic model as an ancient classic motif. Leni Riefenstahl's famous metamorphosis of Myron's discus-thrower to a contemporary athlete in her movie *Olympia* (1938) concerning the games at Berlin 1936 illustrates the aesthetic and classicist connection between ancient and modern times. J. A. Mangan convincingly documented this ongoing and potent tradition in his book *Shaping the Superman. Fascist Body as Political Icon-Aryan Fascism* (1999). At the same time he has exhibited an ideological bridging to a modern "Rambo type", personified by Clint Eastwood, Charles Bronson, Arnold Schwarzenegger and Silvester Stallone.

The important point I would like to show is the inversion of this universal concept of *kalokagathia*: One can observe in ancient (and modern) mentality that there exists a pseudo-physiognomic theory which tries to connect physical abnormality, deformed bodies, dwarfism, a long penis, the physiognomy of apes and other animals, and ugliness with a bad and dangerous character. A typical paragon: the ugly old woman. These traditional iconographic elements characterize outsiders, outlaws, and other marginal groups. They are pushed to the fringe of society. This concept connects causally a bad and aggressive character, animal attitudes, and deviant behaviour with a misshapened or monstrous body. Besides the shortened (!) Juvenal version of *a sound body in a sound mind* (*mens sana in corpore sano* – it is important to add *orandum* or *optandum est* – in other words: one should pray for a sound mind in a sound body) there is a remarkable saying in Pseudo-Aristotle's *On Physiognomics*: "An ill-proportioned body in-

dicates a rogue, the argument being partly from congruity and partly from the female sex. But if bad proportions mean villainy, a well-proportioned frame must be characteristic of upright men and brave." This mentality is still present in our days. One can see it in fairy-tales, in movies, and in cartoons as well as in xenophobic caricatures.

This inverted *kalokagathia* had and has practical consequences in the distinction not only between free men and women on the one hand and slaves and servants on the other hand, it was and is also important for the elitist attitude concerning physically disabled persons

As a stigmatized group they were on the one hand outsiders in ancient societies, excluded from athletic events, and on the other hand they were entertainers, especially jesters, buffons (*gelotopoioi*: in the literary sense of the word 'fun-makers'). On vase pictures, as sculptures, and in literature they are reproduced and described generally as dwarf-like or with physiognomic features of apes or as crippled persons in scenes in which merriment was meant to be excited in the viewer. These entertainers display their ugliness, weakness, and voracity. They suggest to the laughing spectator the feeling of his own superiority. This type of person, as conceived by the poets, philosophers and artists of antiquity, which represents an alternative to the *kalokagathia*-ideal, belongs within the motif category of a crazy or 'topsy-turvy world'.

Very few ancient sources inform us about the presence of handicapped persons in the world of sport, athletic training, and physical education. The Greek author Claudius Aelianus (ca. 170–240 AD) tells the two following anecdotes: (1) A member of an old and rich family, Straton, contracted splenopathy and started to exercise in the gymnasium for his cure. He became addicted to sport and had a great career as wrestler and pancratiast (a combination of wrestling and boxing). Finally he was a *periodonikes*, a victor in Olympia, Nemea, Isthmia and Delphi. (2) Another Greek wrestler, Democrates, could obvioulsy not participate at the official Olympic Games (my interpretation), because he injured his legs. Nevertheless he went to the stadium, made a circle around himself in the sand and invited athletes to drag him beyond the line out of the circle. The athletes were not able to do so, because he stood firmly and irremovably in his position, and so he was crowned as a victor. The deeper meaning of the first narration is that in certain cases athletic exercises and sport are a kind of helpful medicine. The second anecdote tells about a disabled person who invented a special contest and tried so to find competitors and an auditory to demonstrate his athletic abilities. It is also possible that his performance was part of a funny diversion for spectators in the stadium.

Cicero tried to offer an explanation for the conduct and behaviour of the people. Why are they laughing? In ugliness and in physical blemishes, too, so his own answer, there is enough matter for jesting, but here as elsewhere the limits of licence are the main question. Behind this kind of mentality one can assume a sociological background and an elitist thinking. The intellectual roots of the above mentioned pseudo-physiognomy go back to the dichotomy of the aristocratic and freeborn Greek *kalokagathos* and the representatives of the working class, the labourers, the low-brows or philistines (the Greeks preferred the expression *banausoi*), and the slaves.

A law concerning persons who are not allowed to enter the gymnasium of Beroia (2nd century BC), a Macedonian city, validates the idea that physical and mental qualities were not topics of mere philosophical deliberations, but had a practical application as a municipal decree: The prohibition says: "No slave is to disrobe in the gymnasium, nor any freedman, nor their sons, nor a cripple, nor a male homosexual, nor those engaged in commercial craft, nor a drunkard or madman." Here the Greek word for 'cripple' is *apalaistros*. The exclusive character of the Greek games and gymnasiums becomes evident: not only were barbarians (and often women) affected, but also people who were to an extent integrated in society. Common to both excluded groups is their non-conformity to the principle of *kalokagathia*, as philosophers stipulate and artists depict.

Some Roman emperors wanted to offer a special entertainment in the amphitheater when they presented worthless and decrepit gladiators or men with bodily infirmity (*insignis debilitate aliqua corporis*) to the spectators. Some other time dwarfs had to fight as boxers for the amusement in front of the audience. In the *cena Trimalchionis* the author describes one gladiator as foolish, and gouty for good measure; another one as club-footed, and a third half dead, and hamstrung. In the late 2nd century AD some of these filthy clowns and buffoons, disgusting in appearance and with still more disgusting nicknames and habits, had become extremely wealthy. They form a group of forerunners of the court-jesters, artistic jugglers and athletically well-trained acrobats in medieval times, they are in a way precursors of the freakshows. However, these handicpped persons had no general reason to perform in sporting activisties based on a humanitarian, or medical or physically therapeutic motivation. A comparison with the aims and activities of the International Paralympic Committee is impossible. The main reason for these historical performances where dwarves and handicapped people, exhibited their deviant behaviour and appearance, was the particular voyeurism of the audience. Scholars like Robert Garland, Thorstein Veblen, and Paul Veyne term this phe-

nomenon 'derision as diversion', 'conspicuous consumption' respectively 'ostentation and narcissism'.

(I would like to express my gratitude to Ernst Kastrun for his help in the English translation.)

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What Does it Mean: *Mens sana in corpore sano*? A Latin Adage and its Curious Career

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Mens sana in corpore sano – "A sound mind in a healthy body". Of the Latin expressions used in modern languages, this is undoubtedly one of the most common. The two-and-a-half million hits on Google speak for themselves. When asked to explain the meaning of this catchy phrase, its users may say that a healthy mind can reside only in a healthy body, or that the aim is to achieve a state of harmony between body and mind. The secret of staying at the top of one's game both physically and mentally is, they say, to practice sport, to get enough sleep, avoid stress and abstain from alcohol, cigarettes and drugs! And if antiquity arrived at this conclusion, then surely it must still apply today.

But were the ancient Greeks and Romans really the pioneers of today's fitness and well-being gurus? Hearing ancient views on the topic soon plants a seed of doubt in our minds. Generally speaking, physical and intellectual performance did not appear as variables that went hand in hand but rather as contrasts that tended to exclude each other. In a well-known fragment, the philosopher and poet Xenophanes of Colophon ($6^{th}/5^{th}$ century BC) criticises the prizes and gifts showered upon the leading sports personalities of the day in their home cities, although these would not profit from their accomplishments at all. He continues that his own wisdom, which serves the good of all, is by contrast not appreciated enough! In one of his letters to a certain Lucilius, the Stoic Seneca from the early Imperial Era, not the most sportive guy himself (fig. 1), mocks what we would today describe as bodybuilding: "Even when you've managed to fatten yourself up and your muscles have grown, you'll still never match the strength and power of a majestic bull. Also the greater weight of the body suppresses the mind and reduces its agility." Whilst top athletes were frequently deemed stupid, there was much admiration for individuals suffering from severe physical afflictions but whose intellectual prowess, attitudes and plans still remained strong and unerring. In a letter to his student Idomeneus written shortly before his death, Epicurus ($4^{th}/3^{rd}$ century BC), founder of the eponymous school of philosophy, portrays himself as a role model, describing himself as happy despite suffering unbearable pain, and the doctor Galen ($2^{nd}/3^{rd}$ century AD) praises the strong will of the speaker

Aelius Aristides, whose serious multiple and chronic illnesses did not deter him from pursuing a career as an orator. Such comments are based on an image of humanity that was later passed onto Christianity and holds the mind and soul of a human being in much higher esteem than the body. Full of admiration, Porphyrios (3rd century AD), for example, states at the beginning of his biography of his teacher, the Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus, that this sage "resembled someone who was ashamed of being in his body".

Fig. 1: Seneca the Younger
(double bust Seneca/Socrates, first half of 3rd cent. AD, Berlin, Pergamon Museum).

Under these circumstances, it would be quite remarkable if the modern-day interpretations of the idiom *Mens sana in corpore sano* corresponded to its original meaning. Based on this insight, a different explanation is sometimes offered. Accordingly, some would argue that it should, in fact, be understood as a criticism of the body cult, meaning: "One should not worry too much about one's body (which is normally relatively healthy anyway), but one should concentrate on ensuring that the mind inside the body remains healthy, too." Does this explanation hit the nail on the head? Unfortunately not – after all, the opposite of a misunderstanding is not automatically a truth.

If we want to find out how this expression was originally meant, we have to do something we have thus far failed to consider: We have to ask ourselves where it comes from and in which context it was used

for the first time. If we do this, we stumble across the name of Juvenal, a Roman author who lived at the turn of the 1st to the 2nd century AD and penned a series of long satirical hexametric poems, in which he grappled with the personal follies and societal injustices of his time. His tenth satire is devoted to the prayers his contemporaries addressed to their gods, which in his eyes were greatly misguided. The main body of the text comprises a list of foolish supplications (for wealth, power, eloquence, wartime glory, a long life and beauty), whose pernicious effects are discussed using mythical and historical examples. In the final twenty lines, Juvenal contrasts this with his own recommendations: He believes that it is best to allow the gods to decide one's fate as they know what is best for humankind. However, if people want to express their wishes, they should be limited to what is necessary and useful for all individuals – and this is where the idiom finally appears (lines 354–357):

ut tamen et poscas aliquid voveasque sacellis
exta et candiduli divina tomacula porci,
orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
fortem posce animum mortis terrore carentem ...

And still, if you want to ask for anything and offer to the shrines
entrails and sacred sausages from a white porker,
pray for a sound mind in a healthy body.
Ask for a brave soul free from the fear of death ...

Now although modern philology asserts with good reason that the line in question is unlikely to have been coined by Juvenal himself, but was patched into the poem by a reader at a later date and was left in the medieval manuscripts in which Juvenal's poems were handed down to us, this need not worry us for the moment: Irrespective of who the true author was – it first appears in Juvenal's work and fits so well into the final passage of the tenth satire that no-one complained for almost two thousand years. From this point of view, one is justified in asserting that the quotation is indeed in its original context. So what does this line mean here? Its meaning is simple, even trivial, and was something familiar to every reader in antiquity: it paraphrases a simple, popular prayer of the day in which people implored the gods to give them *bona mens* and *bona valetudo*, i.e., a good, sound mind and good physical health. Neither the prayer nor the author of this line create a causal link between the two: the health of the mind does not appear as a consequence of physical well-being or vice versa. There is also no attempt to polemicise against physical or mental exercise

(even if Juvenal believes the latter to be of greater importance, as the final lines of his poem illustrate). Indeed, two elementary prerequisites for our well-being simply appear side by side, two aspects that are given high priority by most people then as much as now.

If this is the case, how did this idiom assume the meaning we are familiar with today? The answer is that it was taken out of its original context, developing its own dynamic as it did the rounds. This occurred in two stages.

The first was triggered by the simple fact that the line *Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano* concisely and accessibly describes a general wisdom or aphorism. In antiquity and the Middle Ages, aphorisms were frequently taken out of context and collected in anthologies, thus reaching a wider audience. In this way, our idiom became known beyond the limited circle of Juvenal readers. However, at that time it was still associated with its original meaning and context: It was still clear that it was about how to pray to the gods in the right fashion. Moreover, until the recent past, it remained just one of thousands of less prominent Latin expressions that were commonly known to many educated people. For a long time, there was no indication that the adage was particularly popular. Juvenal's commentators did not pay particular attention to it and it would often be missing even from comprehensive anthologies of Latin proverbs.

This does not appear to have changed – and this was the second step – until sometime during the 19th century. *Mens sana in corpore sano* was now increasingly cited without the remaining stanza. As a result, the awareness that it offered advice on how to pray blurred into the background until it was widely lost. The aphorism was transformed from a sentence that was complete in terms of its grammar and content into an ambiguous phrase which urgently required further interpretation in order to become a linguistically correct and meaningful statement. Such interpretations started to appear around this time, thus replacing the original context: As far as the sentence type is concerned, the phrase was increasingly interpreted either as a statement or, if still as an invitation, as an invitation for people to take care of body and mind themselves. Of even greater consequence was the tendency to place the emphasis either on the first or second part: either *Mens sana in corpore sano* or *Mens sana in corpore sano*. This gave rise to the two aforementioned ways in which the idiom was understood, with the intellectual slant on the one hand, and the physical emphasis on the other.

Prominent instances of the first alternative are few and far between. Two examples may suffice: In Anton Chekhov's short story *The Black Monk,* published in 1894, the hero, Andrey Vassilitch Kovrin, who is

on the brink of madness, cites the idiom to express his fear for his own mental health. The name of a well-known organisation for intellectually gifted people, Mensa, not only refers to the Latin word for "table" (*mensa*), around which people gather to exchange ideas, but it also phonetically alludes to the beginning of *Mens sana in corpore sano*.

By contrast, the interpretation that places the emphasis on the body became the more dominant one. In England, this idea appears to have gained ground within the context of a new educational ideal that education reformers such as Thomas Arnold (1795–1842) sought to introduce to the country's public schools. The increasingly predominant ideal of the gentleman was accentuated by propagating "muscular Christianity": Physical exertion was thought to help youths not only to become good Christians but also to grow into well-rounded men who were capable of fighting for the cause with the necessary energy and passion. The idiom *Mens sana in corpore sano* was used again and again in this context. In Germany, it experienced a similar rise to fame in connection with the ideal of enhancing the physical strength of the nation and its armed forces. The founding fathers of the German gymnastics movement, Johann Christoph Friedrich GutsMuths (1759–1839) and Friedrich Ludwig Jahn (1778–1852), do not appear to have instrumentalised *Mens sana in corpore sano* in this way, even though Jahn is frequently associated with this adage today. However, just a few decades later, in Wilhelminian Germany, reference was expressly made to it in a move to underline the importance of a healthy, strong, military-minded population. The nationalistic historian Heinrich von Treitschke (1834–1896) postulated in one of his Berlin lectures, for example, that national service was important because it promoted the people's physical well-being, and that it was necessary to apply in this context what he referred to as the "old rule" *Mens sana in corpore sano*. Consequently, the idiom became more and more common throughout Europe. As it did so, it was sometimes released from national ties and the emphasis was specifically placed on sport: Pierre de Coubertin (1873–1937), the founding father of the modern Olympic Games, tried to enhance its impact by modifying it to *Mens fervida in corpore lacertoso*, "A glowing mind in a muscular body". At the same time, a line can be drawn from the military nationalism of the German Empire to the body cult of fascism and national socialism: Under Mussolini and in the Third Reich *Mens sana in corpore sano* became a central slogan, encouraging physical exertion among the young with a view to producing able soldiers.

Following the Second World War, the military associations attached to the dictum understandably paled into insignificance in Ger-

man-speaking Europe, but remained in other countries: Above all, in the Anglo-Saxon regions of the world, the phrase serves as a motto for many military training organisations. Of greater significance, however, is the fact that the physical aspect continues to dominate: Accordingly, many gyms, sports clubs and sports schools use *Mens sana in corpore sano* as their maxim or at least refer to it. In today's globalised economy, even the name of the Japanese sports footwear brand *asics* is an acronym for the variation *Anima sana in corpore sano* (fig. 2). In recent decades, the idea that a healthy body automatically gives rise to a healthy mind appears to have edged more visibly to the fore than in the past. Associations for the disabled are justified in criticising this idea, as it suggests, in reverse, that if you do not have a healthy body you cannot have a healthy mind. However, this does not stop many life coaches and health gurus from referring to the motto of a sound mind in a healthy body and from propagating the idea of undertaking sports to heighten mental performance – a method whose success clearly lacks compelling empirical evidence. (The subversive and parodistic version *Mens sana in Campari Soda,* which replaces sport with alcohol, can perhaps be seen as a response to the obtrusiveness with which this idea is sometimes asserted.) At the same time, a slightly vaguer interpretation has become widely accepted which associates the expression with contemporary ideas of physical and mental harmony and holistic well-being. Germany, for example, is home to a club called *Mens Sana* which is committed to holistic life-coaching, announcing on its home page: "*Mens sana* stands for an harmonious balance between body, feeling, mind and soul." The reference to the balance between the different elements is unintentionally amusing since the shortened maxim *Mens sana* only includes one of these elements, namely the mind, whilst the body is completely ignored. However, such inaccuracies seem to be of little importance in the business world. In this and many similar instances, the challenge is to find a slogan that triggers a spontaneous and positive reaction and pleasant feelings in the reader.

Mens sana in corpore sano has had an exciting and impressive career: From the casual comment of a meddlesome reader, it became part of a classical text, was detached from it, advanced to a proverb, slimmed down to a phrase, moved on to become a slogan for the education of gentlemen, patriots and soldiers, and finally serves the body cult and the love of sport of the present as well as its foggy esotericism! This success story is not only of interest in itself, but it also clearly illustrates the more general manner in which antiquity (and other early epochs and distant cultures) is still present in our modern world: Elements that we believe to be of genuine, ancient

origin often only serve as a surface onto which we project our own ideas and desires. Such elements can fulfil this function more easily the less we know about the contexts in which they originally stood. Is this a lamentable misunderstanding or a fertile adaptation? That depends on each individual instance and on the judgements of those involved. This means that each and every reader can and should form their own opinion about the chequered fate of *Mens sana in corpore sano*.

Fig. 2: *Anima sana in corpore sano*: a pair of *asics* athletic shoes.

Further reading

No in-depth treatment of the topic as a whole seems to exist to date. Concerning antiquity in general, informations can be found in a number of dictionaries such as *Der Neue Pauly,* Stuttgart 1996–2003 or the *Oxford Classical Dictionary,* 3rd ed. Oxford 1999. The discussion of Juvenal's text is based on J. WILLIS (ed.), *D. Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae sedecim,* Stuttgart/Leipzig 1997. For England in the 19th century and Pierre de Coubertin, Christoph ULF's article *Ancient Greek Competition – a Modern Construct?* in: N. FISHER/H. VAN WEES (eds.), Ancient Competition, Swansea 2010, and a number of hints given by the author in personal conversation proved very helpful. For the rest, I have made free use of the sources to be found in the internet.

NIKEPHOROS YOG, 2012, 155–169

The First Project for Modern Olympics: The Memorandum of I. Kolettis/P. Soutsos of the Year 1835 to Otto I, King of Greece

Wolfgang Decker
Cologne

The Fall of Constantinople in 1453 was the end of the Byzantine Empire and the beginning of a long period of foreign rule in Greece. Only by the end of the 18th century when the French Revolution of 1789 had succeeded and its political aims had been fulfilled, did the spirit of freedom arrive in Greece. Men like Konstantinos Rhigas Pheraios (1760–1798) who gave his life for his revolutionary ideas and Adamantios Korais (1748–1833), prepared the ground for independence. Encouraged by separatist movements starting at the beginning of the 19th century in some areas of the Turkish Empire, an insurrection flared up, soon to become a regular war of independence. On 25 March, 1821, a struggle for Tripolis ensued, fanning the flame of revolt throughout the whole country. This date has become a national festival in Greece. Despite many setbacks and high casualities, enslaved Greece displayed an irrepressible desire for freedom strengthened by a wave of sympathy coming from all over Europe. The *philhellenes*, enthusiasts of Ancient Greek culture, were unfettered advocates of the Greek interest. Many of them travelled to *Hellas* supporting the acts of the insurgents as guerillas. Like Franz Lieber, a pupil of Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, who in 1822 stayed three months in Greece and during this time even having had a meeting with Ioannis Kolettis – a person who will play a central role in my paper – many of them were disillusioned by the poor state of the country, so far removed from an idealistic picture held from studying the philosophy of New Humanism. The most famous of these active *philhellenes* was the poet Lord Byron who died of malaria in 1824 during the siege of Mesolongi. His death created a myth which turned Greece into a kind of utopic ideal in Europe.

In spite of many failures and hopeless situations during the long years of the war of independence, the struggle for national autonomy finally won the day. The turning-point of the various military events was on 20 October 1827 with the annihilation of the Turkish navy in the Bay of Navarino (today Pylos), by the united fleets of the great powers, England, Russia and France. These nations were also the signatory powers of the 1832 Protocol of London which guaranteed the

freedom of Greece. Under this treaty, Otto, the second son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, was nominated monarch of Greece. He set foot on Greek soil on 6 February, 1833, at Nauplia when he was 17 years old.

Less than two years after the arrival of the King, a plan was drawn up outlining details of a national festival with a sporting and artistic program directly relating to the tradition of the panhellenic festivals of antiquity. This plan was written in accordance with the model of the Ancient Olympics (except for the artistic program), which, even at this time, were a well known historical phenomenon to the inhabitants of liberated Greece. This sophisticated plan, all but unknown to the historians of the modern Olympic Movement was drafted by Panagiotis Soutsos, an influential intellectual of early modern day Greece; the political response came from Ioannis Kolettis, at that time Minister of Inner Affairs and later, after serving as Greek ambassador in Paris, Prime Minister of the government of his country from 1844 until his death in 1847 (fig. 1). The well balanced document provided the fertile soil in which all the later Olympic ambitions in Greece took root. As you will see later on, the Greek attempts to resurrect their venerable Olympic past were of great significance to the definitive revival of the festival by Pierre de Coubertin.

Fig. 1: Ioannis Kolettis, by Dominique Papety, Versailles, Musée National du Château, Inv. MV 6546 (BAUMSTARK 1999, fig. 223)

The document is written in French, the then diplomatic *lingua franca* (like English today). It is obvious that neither the minor King nor his court officials nor his regency council were able to understand enough Greek (even two years after their arrival) to study a document written in the language of the country.

The document contains 20 pages, written on both sides by a hand trained in calligraphy (fig. 2). The text is set out on the right hand side leaving the left hand side blank for comments. In fact, apart from the first page where you can find the general comments of the King, no other comments are contained in the document.

As usual, the title of the document appears on the first page: *Sur l'institution des solennités nationales et des jeux publics à l'instar de ceux de l'antiquité* (*Concerning the institution of national festivals and public games according to the model of antiquity*). Above the title you find information about the place and the date of the document: *Athènes le 22 Janvier/2 Février* 1835/Athens, 22 January/2 February 1835.

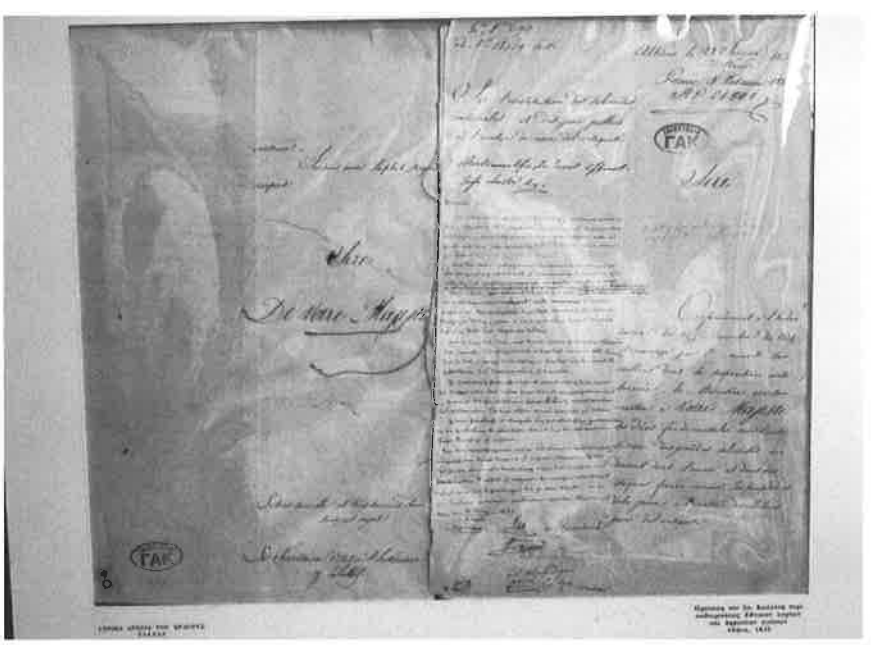

Fig. 2: Memorandum of the year 1835, first (at right) and last page, Athens, Greek National Archive (photo W. Decker)

The memorandum is divided into seven separate chapters. The prologue and epilogue are not expressly listed. The chapters of different lengths concern the following:

Date	*3 lines*
Title	*3 lines*
[Prologue]	*13 lines*
1. Usefulness of these festivities	*59 lines*
2. Which event is to be commemorated by these festivities?	*78 lines*
3. Number and location of these festivities	*62 lines*
4. Special reasons why Tripolis and Hydra should be chosen over other places of the Peloponnesos and the Aegean Sea	*98 lines*
5. Splendour of the ancient games and reasons for this	*94 lines*
6. How can the festivities of modern Greece be made more splendid?	*253 lines*
7. Public games of modern Greece	*133 lines*
[Epilogue]	*89 lines*

The memorandum contains a total of 901 lines. The 386 lines of chapters 6 and 7 alone represent 42 % of the whole text. Chapter 6, the longest one, discussing how to confer a special status to the modern festivities takes up more than a quarter of the entire text.

– Chapter 1 puts forward arguments for a modern national festival, namely the need to create a new identity for a country rich in history, but previously lacking in freedom. It was believed that the presence of the King would give the festival a special status and that the granting of a national prize would serve to strengthen the country.

– Chapter 2 addresses the historical reason for the festival. The same spirit of freedom that characterised the war of independence was to be reflected in the national festival. The proposed date was 25 March, when a spark of revolution spread through the whole of the Peloponnesos.

– Chapter 3 designates four venues, in an annually rotating cycle, (according to the model of the four panhellenic games at Olympia, Delphi, Corinth and Nemea); these venues were notable for having played a significant role during the war of independence. According to the four phases of this war Tripolis, Hydra, Mesolongi and Athens were chosen.

– Chapter 4 explains the choice of Tripolis and Hydra as venues in detail, so as to avoid any doubt or disputes as to why other places were not selected. It was in Tripolis where the insurrection started, and where very intense armed conflicts took place. The inhabitants of Hydra did not hold back on using their merchant fleet and acted without regard to their life and fortune to weaken the enemy – a modern Sparta. It was undisputed that Athens – centre of the final battle for independence and capital of Greece since 1 December 1834 – and Mesolongi, still named as "holy town", both made special sacrifices for freedom.
It was intended that the festival be organised in the following sequence:

1836: Athens
1837: Hydra
1838: Tripolis
1839: Mesolongi.

– Chapter 5 highlights the historical greatness of the ancient panhellenic venues and their *agones*, with a special status being ascribed to Olympia.

– The object of chapter 6 is the practical realization of a festival. It was important that the spirit of modern Greece should prevail without the historical context taking precedence in this process. I quote a large part of the text of this important chapter in its original diction:

6 How can the festivities of modern Greece be made more splendid?

...
The ministry should like to propose to His Majesty, as a means of conferring splendour to these festivities, that during the eight days of their duration the customs duties for import and export to and from the relevant venues should be diminished by a third
...
Majesty! Another measure to make these festivities more splendid would be the presence of His Majesty in the midst of the ministers and all high-level employees of the capital and of many of the officers of the army and the navy ...

As a third measure for its success, the minister proposes that each of the Kingdom's municipalities should, at their own cost,

send a delegation of at least three members to participate at the festivities, which are organized to give thanks for the divine providence that brought about their political existence and for a King who represents and acts upon it. By means of this both religious and political act, a total number of nearly 2000 distinguished subjects of theKingdom will be assembled and the people will contribute in this way to the splendour of these public games ...

Fourth measure! Each municipality of the first class (of which there are only six or seven in the whole Kingdom) should supply the public games competition with a biga, two trained horses and four runners; the name of the municipality should be inscribed on the chariot. Likewise the stadion runners and those who drive the horses should wear special clothes displaying their town of origin.

Fifth measure! The government should help the communities of Athens, Hydra, Tripolis and Mesolongi to ensure that at least one of their respective churches are in a condition worthy of His Majesty and Most Royal Highness and of the great ceremony that will take place. Likewise, the government should see to the construction of a stadium and a hippodrome in each of these towns.

The stadium in which the running events will take place should have a course of at least 600 feet and be of adequate width.

The hippodrome for the horse and chariot races should have a length of 1200 feet and a width of 600 feet.

Stadium and hippodrome should only be separated from each other by a barrier. Around the stadium and hippodrome a throne should be provided for His Majesty and seating areas for the judges and delegations of the municipalities of the kingdom.

To the right and left of the throne two columns of marble should be placed. The names of the dead heroes of the Greek revolution and of all those who came to the rescue of the Hellenic people: Kyriakoulis and Elias Mavromichalis, Markos Botsaris, George Karaiskos, Anastasios Tzamados, Demetrios Ypsilantis, together with the inscription: "Otto, rewarder of services given and of virtue" should be inscribed in golden letters on the first column.

On the other column inscriptions should record the battles of the Greek revolution, commencing with Dragatzani where the

Holy Batallion immortalized itself. The events at Lala, Valtetzi, Doliana, Dervenaki, Aginori, Makrynori, Klissova, Amblani, Arachova and Distomo will take shape together by the inscription "The prelude to what Divine Providence ordained for the Greeks."

Apart from the stadium and hippodrome, there should be a colonnade with an exhibition of paintings and sculptures; the idea is one from the distant past. The paintings adorning the lesche at Delphi were all by the hand of Polygnot; two of them particularly attracted the admiration of the most renowned experts. One of them, with its hundred figures, showed the capture of Troyes; the other one of the same size represented the descent of Odysseus to the underworld.

Sixth measure to ensure the festivities' splendour! The relevant municipality where these festivities take place is obliged to establish a choir of 24 young boys and another one of 24 young girls. These two choirs, dressed in ceremonial and festive clothes and crowned with flowers, should sing the hymn of the liberation of the Greek nation in church on the first day of the festivities.

Seventh measure! Four theatres should be built in Athens, Hydra, Tripolis and Mesolongi; the first of them in the capital in 1835, the others in 1836, 1837 and 1838. One half of the costs is to be paid by the relevant municipalities where the public festivities take place. According to the model of antiquity these theatres should be extensive arenas complete with steps reaching up to an adequate height. The galleries and staircases should cross each other at regular intervals to facilitate communication and arrange the rows in different sections. The number of spectators to be housed in these theatres should amount to 6000.

This sixth and by far longest chapter of the memorandum is clear in its structure, but ambiguous in some of its details. It deals with the following topic, which may once again be summarized:

1. Reduction of the customs duties for the duration of the festival
2. Presence of the King, his court and high-ranking officers at the festival
3. Sending delegations from the municipalities

4. Participation of the larger municipalities in the competitions with a two horse chariot and four runners
5. Establishment of churches, stadiums and hippodromes (with areas for the judges) and exhibition halls for objects of art at the four assigned sites. In addition to this a throne should be provided for the King flanked by two marble columns on which the names of fallen heroes and of places of decisive battles of the war of independence should be inscribed.
6. Furnishing of choirs of boys and girls by the municipalities of the festivals
7. Erection of theatres (for 6,000 spectators) at the sites of the festivals

Most of these ideas are inspired by ancient models. Just as is the case with point 1, the sending of delegates (theoroi, point 3) had already been the custom in antiquity. Concerning the construction of venues (point 5), they existed in antiquity, too. But it is striking that despite the frequency of equestrian events, no Greek hippodrome has survived – in contrast to the Roman circus which is to this day visible in many places. Hippodromes were built in Greece only using transient materials and without great expenditure. This is true even for Olympia where amongst the only parts of the hippodrome to be documented, albeit only in literary form, was the starting gate (*aphesis*); with traces of it only being detected in recent times. In antiquity, cult sites were architectural unities containing temples, stadia and hippodromes. The memorandum states that the government has to provide a church, a stadium, a hippodrome and an exhibition hall for objects of art. The latter building is a modern invention without any ancient tradition. Although we hear of art competitions from time to time, there were no permanent buildings for the exhibition of submitted and prize winning works.

Certainly, there are specific provisions relating to the stadium's length of 600 feet (like in antiquity) and for the hippodrome (1200 feet long, 600 feet width), although the topographical relation of these two constructions is expressed in an extremely cryptic manner. The location of the King's throne and of the stands for judges and delegations are not much clearer.

The choirs of boys and girls are (at least for the first group) based on an ancient model. Undoubtedly, the concept of theatres have an ancient origin, but they did not exist at every panhellenic festival site.

Whereas the sixth section regulates the overall formalities and organisation, chapter seven deals with the actual core program of the festival. Therefore this part of the memorandum is to be translated in

the same way as its predecessor. The introductory part which deals with the differences between antiquity and modern times concerning the requirements of war is omitted here.

7 Public Games of Modern Greece

...

Which parts of the ancient time should we imitate?
These are our central thoughts:
Every year, His Majesty may select eight judges or presidents of the games. They will meet two months before the festivities to instruct themselves about the necessary preparatory measures. Their duty is to award the prizes.

There are six kinds of prizes.
The first prize is awarded for the best work in philosophy amounts to 10,000 drachmes.
The second one is awarded for the best work of literature amounts to 8,000 drachmes.
The third one is awarded for the best work in painting or sculpture amounts to 6,000 drachmes.
The fourth prize is awarded to the victor in chariot racing amounts to 4,000 drachmes.
The fifth prize is awarded to the victor in horse racing amounts to 3,000 drachmes.
The sixth prize is awarded to the victor in running amounts to 2,000 drachmes.

The first day of the festival is dedicated to the religious ceremony which takes place in memory of the restoration of Greece.
The second day is devoted to running.
The third day is devoted to horse racing.
The fourth day is devoted to chariot racing.
The fifth day is devoted to the solemn victory ceremony and the crowning of those who excelled in literature and in the fine arts.
On the sixth day the scenic games in the theatre will start.
On the seventh day a comedy is played.
During the eighth day music pieces and dances will be performed.

No stadion runner having led a dissolute life may enter the stadium. On the second day after the opening of the stadium the herald will announce: "The stadion runners should present themselves!" and the runners should give their names and their

places of origin. He should add: "Can anyone reproach the stadion runners for having been in prison or for leading a dissolute life?" If there is no voice objecting to any of the participants on these grounds, the trumpet should give the signal.
On the fifth day the names of the victors should be proclaimed in the stadium in the presence of the King and the members of the court. In addition, those who excelled in literature and the fine arts should be crowned in the stadium with a laurel presented by the supreme judge of the games and in the presence of the King who will award them with a medal with the inscription: "The king of Greece to the talent."

During the course of the festival, in order to emulate the ancients, philosophers, orators, historians and poets should be allowed to present their works in public.

Two weeks after the festival the market should be opened on the basis of considerations which we will present in another report.

The seventh and last chapter of the memorandum show a clear understanding of the festival's program and its development during the eight days of its duration. It is undoubtedly far-sighted to plan a period of two months to prepare the judges for their tasks. Subsequently the disciplines for which prizes are awarded are listed in detail. In keeping with the preferences of the day, sports competitions, such as running, horse racing and chariot racing were classed as inferior sports events (with events being listed in ascending order, according to their relative prestige). Of higher profile are the prizes awarded for painting/sculpture and literature, with philosophy attracting the highest accolades and the largest prize money:

1. philosophy	10,000 drachmas
2. literature	8,000 drachmas
3. painting/sculpture	6,000 drachmas
4. chariot racing	4,000 drachmas
5. horse racing	3,000 drachmas
6. running	2,000 drachmas

Disciplines and money prizes

The awarding of monetary prizes does not reflect the situation ~~events~~ at the panhellenic games in ancient Greece where the victors were rewarded with simple crowns. Particularly, in later times of antiquity,

money was a regular prize at most of the *agones* The fact that cash-prizes were awarded to the victors of sports disciplines, without causing controversy can be explained by the fact that the so called amateur problem arising in England in the middle of the 19th century did not play a part at the time of the memorandum.

The sequence of the program appears in reverse order to the sequence of the prizes.

1st day: opening ceremony
2nd day: running
3rd day: horse racing
4th day: chariot racing
5th day: presentation ceremony (including art, literature, philosophy)
6th day: performance of play
7th day: performance of comedy
8th day: music and dance

Program of the festival

The concept of scrutinizing the athletes before a running event is one borrowed from antiquity and more precisely, the *dokimasia* (testing the athletes by the judges before a competition). An element of this procedure would indicate similarities with the oath of the modern Olympics.

It is quite remarkable that the presentation ceremony should take place in the presence of the King who presents a laurel branch and an inscribed medal to the victors.

The ancient tradition of public presentations by philosophers, orators, historians and poets was to be emulated here as well.

The economic significance of the national festival is evident from the fact that the market was to remain open for two weeks after the end of the festivities.

The reaction of the King and the realization of the project

On the first page of the memorandum in the blank left-hand column, a commentary can be found in German dated 30 March/11 April, 1835 containing the King's opinion.

Its title "Einwände: Otto" (objections: Otto) seems to suggest that the contents of the memorandum did not meet with the King's approval, but in reality, the memorandum mostly received positive feedback. However, the document of the Minister of Inner Affairs and P.

Soutsos had been in the possession of the King and his regency council for two months, before its president, Earl of Armansperg, recorded the official opinion by his own hand. The importance of the matter is also to be seen by the fact that the other members of the regency council signed, too. The general opinion, summarized in the first sentence, has the following wording:

> *Wir haben den Bericht vom 22. Jänner/2. Feb[ruar] d.J. mit ebenso großer Aufmerksamkeit als Wohlgefallen durchlesen, und bezeugen dem Ministerium, dann ins besondere dem Verfasser unsere Zufriedenheit über diese großartige und im echt nationalen Sinne entworfene Arbeit.*
>
> *(We have read the report of 22 January /2 Feb[ruary] of this year with all due consideration and goodwill and we testify to the ministry and notably to the author that his excellent work demonstrating a true national spirit fully meets our satisfaction.)*

In order to further enhance this national spirit of unity, it was deemed necessary that a second version of the memorandum carve out a more defined role for the King in the overall proceedings. Some requests for small scale modifications are made, such as, for instance, that the municipalities are not to be burdened by a mandatory requirement to participate. This is to be understood in relation to the sending of chariots, which (according to the first draft), the larger municipalities were obliged to do.

In view of the comprehensive nature of the plan and particularly due to the fact that after liberation, the young state had seen an outpouring of national pride, it was fully expected that the project would be realized immediately. It is unclear as to why this did not happen. It could have been to do with the fact that its initiator, the Minister of Inner Affairs, Ioannis Kolettis, was appointed in 1837 as ambassador of Greece in Paris; he did not come back before 1843. But even after his return when Kolettis became Prime Minister, the project entitled: "of the institution of national festivals and public games according to the antiquity models" – was not realized.

Nevertheless, on one occasion, the proposed Olympic Games had a kind of rehearsal. It was not long after the composition of the memorandum. During the festivities celebrating King Otto having reached his majority (accession to the throne: June 1, 1835) in Athens, the Minister of Inner Affairs organized a sports festival inspired by the memorandum itself. There is a report of the eye-witness Ludwig Ross,

at this time working as an archaeologist in Greece, who was not overly impressed by the outcome of this event:

> *Die Thronbesteigung ging so still wie möglich vor sich, man merkte sie kaum. Kolettis hatte als Minister des Innern eine Art olympischer Spiele angeordnet, Wettlauf, Ringen und Scheibenwerfen auf offenem Platz, und hatte einige schmutzige Gesellen als Olympioniken angeworben, aber der sonst so gescheite Mann machte mit dieser seiner nationalen Festlichkeit vollständig Fiasko: man konnte höchstens darüber lachen. In der Stimmung des Volkes war kein Aufschwung; das Einzige, was zählte, war die Begnadigung und Freilassung der gefangenen Häuptlinge.*
>
> *(The accession to the throne was staged as quietly as possible. The Minister of Inner Affairs, Kolettis, had ordered a kind of Olympic Games, racing, wrestling and discus throwing in an open place, and he had recruited some shady fellows as Olympic victors, but this otherwise clever man allowed this national festivity to be turned into a real fiasco. Certainly the people's mood was not improved; the only thing which counted was the pardon and release of the imprisoned chieftains.)*

The start of the national festival planned for the year 1836 did not take place, even later on it was not realized. But it is important to know that the royal decree of 2 February 1837 entitled: *The foundation of a committee of twelve persons for the promotion of the national industry, agriculture and stock-farming*, stated:

> *... um diesem Fest einen festlichen und nationalen Charakter zu verleihen, befehlen wir dem Sekretariat des Innenministeriums, im Einvernehmen mit dem Komitee die notwendigen Maßnahmen zu ergreifen, daß an drei aufeinanderfolgenden Tagen – und zwar nach dem Ende der oben erwähnten Ausstellung und Leistungsüberprüfung – an demselben Ort öffentliche Wettkämpfe stattfinden, namentlich Pferderennen, Ringkampf, Lauf, Diskuswerfen, Sprünge, Speerwerfen, Volkstänze und andere Übungen, die in Begleitung von Musik durchgeführt werden sollen.*
>
> *(... to lend to this festival a solemn and national character we command the secretary of the Ministry of Inner Affairs in agreement with the committee to take suitable measures so that during the three successive days – precisely at the end of the*

above mentioned exhibition and performance test – and in the same location, public games should be organized, in particular, horse races, wrestling, running, discus throwing, jumping, javelin throwing, folk dances and other exercises which should be performed to music.)

Despite the fact that the first modern day plan (drafted by hand) to organize Olympic Games could not immediately be realized, the memorandum of P. Soutsos, for which I. Kolettis was politically responsible, remains a source of inspiration for the following period. In it we find the igniting spark before the explosion which was given by the decision to organize International Olympic Games during the Congress in the Sorbonne at Paris in the year 1894.

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Youth and Sports at the Much Wenlock Olympian Games in Shropshire/England from 1850 to 1895

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At the 19th IOC session in Guatemala City, on 6 July 2007, its representatives approved a youth version of the Olympic Games for those between 14 and 18 years of age. The First "Summer Youth Olympic Games" were scheduled for 2010 in Singapore and the First "Winter Youth Olympic Games" are going to be staged in Innsbruck from 13 to 22 January 2012. In the run-up to the latter event – and to IOC events in general – sports historians are ever and again asked to trace the development of such "new" ventures, which often leads to the result, that most of what was thought of to be new had already existed decades if not a century ago. In most cases the IOC is one of the last organizers in the long row of Olympic history to stage "new" events.

It is still widely unknown that some of the Modern Olympic Games *before* Pierre de Coubertin, of which there are more than twelve in number, had various items in their programmes, which were to become part and parcel of the Modern Olympic Games after 1896. This holds for competitions proposed as early as 1835 by Ioannis Kolettis: competitions in the fine arts, in literature, painting, sculpturing, and in architecture, all of them in the Modern Olympic programme from 1912 to 1948, but all of them abandoned after the Olympic Games in London that year. The guiding principle that amateurs only should be admitted to the Olympic Games had been laid down at the Much Wenlock Olympian Games as early as 1850, when Dr. William Penny Brookes decreed: "One of the conditions is that these games shall not be contested by professional persons." After 1860 this rule was re-enforced: "That professional athletes shall be excluded from all contests." However, Brookes knew when to make exceptions to this strict rule: already from the year 1864 onwards he was clever enough to follow the spirit of the age by also admitting professionals to compete in certain disciplines. He had to ensure that his Olympian Games did not lose their attraction. After various controversies and scandals it was to take the IOC till 1981 until their strict amateur rule was finally given up for good. But it took the IOC another seven years to realize this rule in full force; in the year 1988 at the Olympic Games in Seoul. In this respect the organizers of the Morpeth Olympic Games

(1870/73–1958) could have shown the IOC how to solve this problem in a very clever manner: in 1873 they inaugurated Olympic Games "for professionals only". If severe amateur rules had not – for decades! – excluded "labourers, craftsmen, and artisans" from participation in the Modern Olympic Games of Coubertin there would not have been any motivation for the Socialist Workers Sport International to stage its own Workers Sport Olympiads in Frankfurt (1925) and Vienna (1931). At the Much Wenlock Olympian Games and at the Morpeth Olympic Games the social stratum above did not belong to the group of professionals strictly speaking, which had to be excluded, and thus labourers, craftsmen, and artisans were admitted to their Olympian/Olympic Games. Quite often sports historians get the impression that the forerunners of Pierre de Coubertin's Modern Olympic Games had developed and realized many items in their Modern Olympic games, which the IOC was to adopt at a much later date.

And this takes us directly back to the IOC's Youth Olympic Games in the years 2010/2012 and the Much Wenlock Olympian Games, in which there were special athletic sports for youths as early 1850. In the 1850 programme we read: "Foot-Race for boys under 7 years; prize: book and laurel crown, 2s/6d" as well as "Foot-Race for boys under 14 years; prize: 5s". If you should think that this was an ephemera, you are greatly mistaken! On the contrary: sprints and short distance foot-races for boys were part and parcel of the Much Wenlock Olympian Games' yearly programmes from 1850 to 1895, if we disregard the years 1873 to 1876 and 1888 to 1890. Up to the year 1878 the distances to be run by boys under 10 years of age ranged from 50 yds. to 100 yds. Prizes consisted of books or book values varying between 2s/6d to 5s. From 1879 onwards boys under 12 years of age ran 120 or 200 yds. Prizes remained constant. At the same time there were yearly foot-races for boys under 14 (later 15) years of age. The distances to be covered ranged from 100 yds. to 200 yds. Here, too, prizes consisted of olive crowns, books or book values between 5s and 10s. In the years 1887 and 1890 to 1895 Brookes introduced a rare event: 120 yds. handicaps for boys under 15 years of age. Prizes increased to 1£/1s/0d. Participation was confined to boys of the County of Salop. If we summarize briefly, we can state that 1. no girls were ever permitted to compete in the foot-races and 2. these foot-races for boys already existed at the Much Wenlock Olympian Games 160 years before the IOC was to stage its first "Summer Youth Olympic Games" in Singapore (2010), confined to youth between 14 and 18 years of age. Again we see that the IOC was last in coming on the Modern Olympic scene by "inaugurating" events with such a long run in sports history.

And there is another feature of importance for youth: the smaller arts and crafts at Modern Olympic Games. As far as the author knows the IOC has – so far – never thought of introducing such items into their Youth Olympic Games' programme.

Here, too, the first one to combine the arts with athletic sports not only in theory but in his "Wenlock Olympian Games", which were staged in 19th-century England, was Dr. William Penny Brookes (1809–1895) of Much Wenlock in Shropshire. In 1831 he had taken over his father's surgery and became Justice of the Peace in 1841.

As the local practitioner he was only too well aware of the needs of his rural patients and lower-class clientele in those days. In the same year he founded the "Wenlock Agricultural Reading Society" (W.A. R.S.), with a "lending library, reading-room, museum and classes for arts, music and botany to improve the intellectual standard of the rural population, especially of the working classes".

And for the furtherance of their moral, intellectual, and physical status Brookes instituted a "Wenlock Olympian Class" (W.O.C.) under the wings of the W.A.R.S., which staged eleven "Annual Meetings" on local level from 1850 to 1860. See fig. no. 1. Its aims and objectives were to encourage outdoor recreation and to award prizes for skill in athletic exercises and proficiency in intellectual and industrial attainments as well as in the arts and crafts. During the decade in question, an array of 44 diverse and colourful events were included in the programme, which was staged on the local race-course, later on Windmill and Linden Fields. Of course, not all the events were staged every year. Some of them were restricted to local inhabitants, but others enjoyed the participation of athletes from as far afield as Liverpool and even London.

In the year 1859 alone there were 29 events. See fig. no. 2. As early as 1852 Brookes had started with the inclusion of arts and crafts in the Annual Meetings of the W.O.C., and, with the exception of the year 1855, he had increased this category to 11 events in the year 1859. Cf. fig. no. 3. And this was the year, in which Evangelos Zappas' Olympics had started in Athens. As early as 1858 Brookes had been in touch with the Organizing Committee of the Zappas' Olympics; he had been sent the programme of the Games and he had even donated the "Wenlock Prize" for the winner of the tilting event in the year 1859.

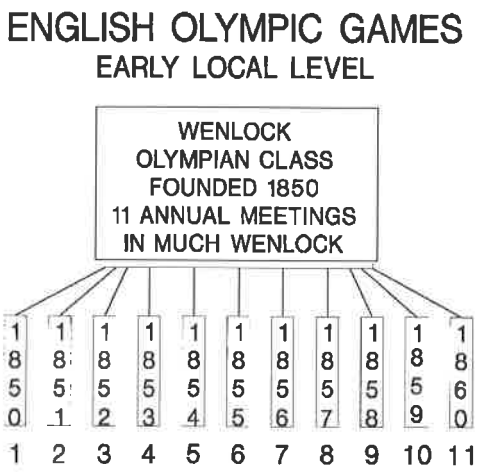

Fig. no. 1: The 11 Annual Meetings of the Wenlock Olympian Class, 1850–1860

THE PROGRAMME OF THE ANNUAL MEETINGS UP TO 1859

1. Quoits (50)
2. High Leap (50)
3. Long Leap (50)
4. 200 yd for Wenlock men (59)
5. Football (50)
6. Foot-race for boys, under 14 (50)
7. Javelin (50)
8. Archery for Wenlock men (51)
9. Javelin at the ring, Wenlock Men (59)
10. Essay on physical education (59)
11. Poem on the Wenlock Ol.Games (59)
12. Knitting for women (52)
13. Knitting for girls, under 15 (53)
14. Arithmetic for boys, under 15 (53)
15. Writing for boys, under 15 (53)
16. Engl. History for both, under 15 (57)
17. Drawing for Wenlock boys (57)
18. Solo singing for girls, under 15 (59)
19. Wheelbarrow Race (52)
20. Tilting at the ring on ponies (59)
21. 1 Mile Hurdle Race (59)
22. Foot-race for boys, u. 7 (50)
23. Tilting at the ring, Wenlock men (59)
24. 800 yd Hurdles for Wenlock men (51)
25. Jingling Match (52)
26. 800 yd Foot-race (59)
27. Cricket (50)
28. Glee Singing (59)
29. Sewing for girls, under 15 (52)

Fig. no. 2: Numbers in brackets indicate the year of first occurrence

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS AT THE ANNUAL MEETINGS 1852–1859

1852:
Sewing for girls, under 14
Knitting for women
1853:
Knitting for girls, under 14
Sewing for girls, under 14
Arithmetic for boys, under 14
Writing for boys, under 14
1854:
Arithmetic for boys, under 14
Writing for boys, under 14
Recitation for both, under 14
1855: ---
1856:
Knitting for girls, under 14
Sewing for girls, under 14
Arithmetic for boys, under 14
Writing for boys, under 14
1857:
Knitting for women
Knitting for girls, under 14
Sewing for girls, under 14
Arithmetic for boys, under 14
Writing for boys, under 14
Reading and Spelling for both

1857: (continued)
Bible History for both
English History for both
Drawing for both
1858:
Arithmetic for boys, under 14
Writing for boys, under14
English History for both
Drawing for Wenlock boys
Sewing for girls, under 14
Knitting for girls, under 14
Knitting for women
1859:
Essay on physical education
Poem on Wenlock Ol. Games
Knitting for women
Knitting for girls, under 14
Arithmetic for boys, under15
Writing for boys, under 15
English History for both
Drawing for Wenlock boys
Solo Singing, girls, under 15
Sewing for girls, under 14
Glee Singing

Fig. no. 3: Arts and crafts were primarily intended for the youth of Much Wenlock

In November 1860 Brookes founded and became president of the "Wenlock Olympian Society" (W.O.S.), which had emerged from the W.O.C., had separated from the W.A.R.S. and became completely independent. From 1861 to 1895 the W.O.S. was to stage 34 "Olympian Games" in Much Wenlock. Cf. fig. no. 4. After having studied the Athens programme of 1859 Brookes had resumed his correspondence with Queen Amalia of Greece as early as October 1860. He was greatly influenced by Zappas' Olympics and adorned his "Wenlock Olympian Games" (W.O.G.) with a pseudo-Hellenic varnish in the years to come. They were staged on the "Olympian" Field, Greek inscriptions decorated the ribbons, winners were crowned with laurel and olive wreaths, bronze, silver and gold medals were coined, the latter with an effigy of Nike, Greek goddess of victory, encircled by a passage in Greek, which was taken from Pindar. The javelin and three "pentathlons" (in 1868 and 1869) became new events of the Games. Between 1850 and 1895 a plethora of athletic and popular sports (in total 32) were added to the programme or underwent slight changes as

far as distances or participants are concerned. Cf. fig. no. 5. In quite a few cases sports played in previous years had to be abandoned in favour of new and more popular events throughout the whole country. In general athletic disciplines were the winners of the day, unfortunately to the disadvantage of the arts and crafts, which were to become the great losers, especially in the 1880s and the 1890s. Amateurs and professionals played side by side, facing new regulations of admittance from one year to the next one.

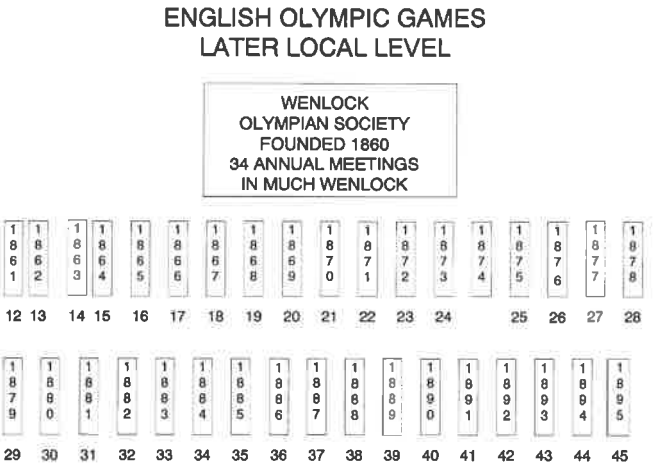

Fig. no. 4: The 34 Olympian Games of the Wenlock Olympian Society

THE ATHLETIC AND POPULAR EVENTS AT THE MUCH WENLOCK OLYMPIAN GAMES

1. Throwing the Stone 52)
2. Putting the Shot (51)
3. Throwing the Hammer (65)
4. Cricket-Ball (65)
5. Pole Leaping (67)
6. Cross-Country (91)
7. Boxing (69)
8. Bicycle Race (76)
9. Tricycle Race (85)
10. Handicaps/Cycling (78)
11. Rifle Shooting (61)
12. Prison Base (55)
13. Jumping in Bags (56)
14. Three-Legged-Race (67)
15. Climbing the Pole (57)
16. Single Stick (52)
17. Sword Exercise (68)
18. Tug of War (80)
19. Pentathlon/gymnastics (57)
20. Pentathlon/general (67)
21. Donkey-Race (57)
22. Pig-Race (58)
23. Brass Band Contest (82)
24. Zulu-Contest (79)
25. Balaclava Melee (93)
26. Gimcrack-Race (95)
27. Tent Pegging (92)
28. Umbrella + Cigar Race (94)
29. Steeple Chase/water (67)
30. Pentathlon/amateurs (68)
31. Pentathlon/children (69)
32. Victoria Cross Race (1893)

Fig. no. 5: Numbers in brackets indicate the first year of occurrence

As already outlined above the arts and crafts at the Wenlock Olympian Games, which had more or less enjoyed a position in its own right and of equal standing in comparison to the athletic and popular events at the Annual Meetings of the W.O.C. had to give way, which finally lead to their gradual extinction. Cf. fig. no. 6.

THE ARTS AND CRAFTS AT THE WENLOCK OLYMPIAN GAMES

1860:
Essay on the Middle Class
Ode to the winner of the tilting match
Drawing for Wenlock boys
Arithmetic for Wenlock boys
Writing for Wenlock boys
English History for both
Sewing for Wenlock girls
Knitting for Wenlock girls
1861: ---
1862: ---
1863: ---
1864: ---
Arithmetic
1865:
Knitting for Wenlock girls
Writing for Wenlock boys
Drawing Wenlock Abbey
1866:
Glee Singing
Writing for Wenlock boys
Arithmetic for Wenlock boys
Knitting for Wenlock girls
Sewing for Wenlock girls
1867: ---
1868: ---
1869: ---
Writing for Wenlock boys
Arithmetic for Wenlock boys
Shirt Making for Wenlock girls
Knitting/stockings for W. girls
Scripture History for both
1870: ---
1871: Arithmetic for W. boys
Writing for Wenlock boys

1871: (continued)
Knitting for Wenlock girls
Sewing for Wenlock girls
1872:
Writing for Wenlock boys
Arithmetic for Wenlock boys
Knitting for Wenlock girls
Sewing for Wenlock girls
(prizes at Wenlock Nat. School)
1873: ---
1874: ---
1875: ---
1876: ---
1877: ---
(from 1877 on sprints for boys replaced the arts and crafts)
1878: ---
1879: ---
1880: ---
1881: ---
Drawing of Wenlock Abbey
1882: ---
1883: ---
1884: ---
1885: ---
1886: ---
1887: ---
1888: ---
1889: ---
1890: ---
1891: ---
1892: ---
1893: ---
1894: ---
1895: ---

Fig. no. 6: The arts and crafts became restricted to the youth of Much Wenlock

After many years of people's active and enthusiastic participation in the arts and crafts, they gradually "sank down" from the adults to the youth of Much Wenlock. The "Zeitgeist" was to exclude them from

the Wenlock Olympian Games, until, from 1872 onwards, they ceased to be part and parcel of the "Olympian" programme altogether. Prizes were no longer awarded to the youth on the "Olympian" Field, but handed over by the teachers of the Wenlock National School – at the beginning of their Autumn holidays.

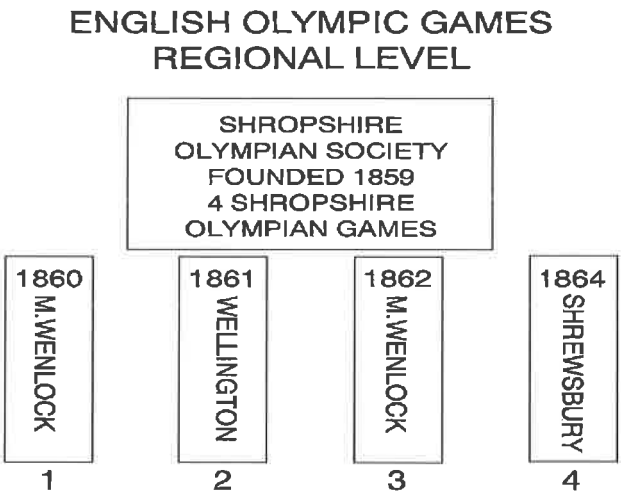

Fig. no. 7: The four Olympian Games of the Shropshire Olympian Society

Perhaps Brookes' interests had shifted to new horizons, for he was eager to establish "Olympian" Games on regional, on county-level, which can be seen in fig. no. 7.

The Shropshire Olympian Society (S.O.S.) above was envisaged by Brookes in 1859, discussed with the W.O.S. in May 1860 and then formally inaugurated in 1861. It proved to be rather short-lived and discontinued its "Shropshire Olympian Games" (S.O.G.) after a run of only five years if we disregard 1863. In addition we should not forget, that two of its Olympian Games were staged in Much Wenlock, which contravened Brookes' original intention of having them staged "in rotation" among the cities on shire-level at certain intervals. Anyway, as far as the arts and crafts are concerned the two events in Much Wenlock were absolutely identical with the W.O.G. of the years 1860 and 1862, and we are told that the Games in Wellington (1861) and Shrewsbury (1864) were pretty much on the same lines with the W.O.G. of the same years.

One year after the end of the S.O.G. above Brookes went even one step further: in 1865 he co-founded the "National Olympian Association" (N.O.A.), which was inaugurated in John Hulley's Gymnasium in Liverpool and which staged six "National Olympian Games" (N.O.G.), which you see in fig. no. 8. These six N.O.G. were staged from 1866 to 1883 at different intervals, and here, too, Brookes had originally had in mind that they should be staged in rotation among the *major* cities on national level. Grandiosely he started with the capital London, but ended up rather unpretentiously with Hadley, a small market-town in Shropshire not too far from Much Wenlock, where the N.O.G. had taken place in the year 1874. The N.O.A. did not care too much about the arts and crafts for youth in the programmes of their N.O.G., on the contrary: one of its usurping objectives was "to form a centre of union for the different Olympian, Athletic, Gymnastic, Boating, Swimming, Cricket, and other similar Societies", thus meeting the wrath and ire of the Amateur Athletic Association, which led to its end soon after. However, Brookes must have foreseen such a development and he must have anticipated that he would not be able to stem against the own objectives of the AAA and the other "Societies" listed above with any prospects of success.

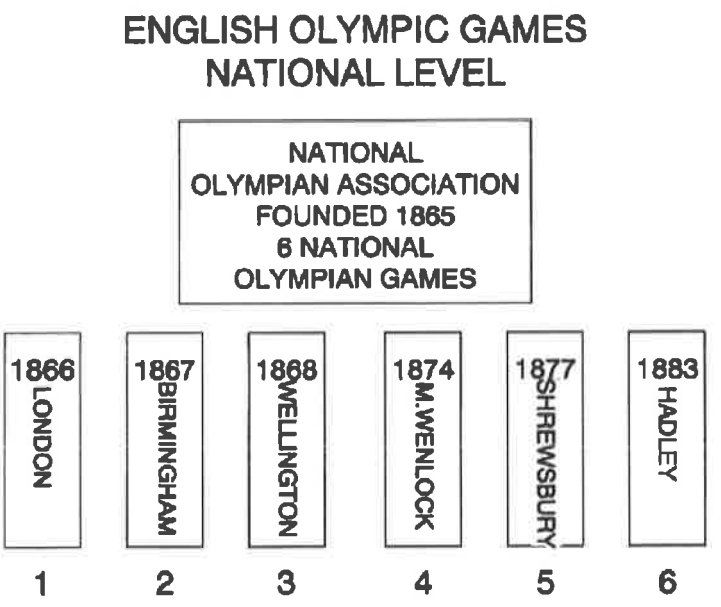

Fig. no. 8: The six Olympian Games of the National Olympian Association

Thus, as early as 1877, which was six years before the end of the N.O.G., Brookes renewed his contacts with Greece and – with the help and mediation of John Gennadius, the Greek "Chargé d'Affaires" in London, – he succeeded in persuading the Greek King George I to donate a silver cup with a Greek inscription for the winner of the pentathlon at the fifth N.O.G. in Shrewsbury in 1877 (cf. above), which the Greek King called "the modern Olympia of the British". What a triumph for Brookes when he could present this silver cup of the Greek King at the N.O.G. in Shrewsbury in the same year.

In 1880 Brookes' last step was to organize "an International Olympian Festival to be held in Athens" in the year 1881 and even the Greek press was already spreading the news. However, his mediator only reluctantly – if at all – answered his letters and so finally let him down. Apparently, as the Greeks saw it, only a Greek could be able to re-institute their Olympic Games of Antiquity. Nevertheless, we must not forget that William Penny Brookes had had the idea of such a re-institution on an international level fourteen years *before* Pierre de Coubertin!

A propos Coubertin. In October 1890 the twenty-seven-year old Pierre de Coubertin, still an absolute "Olympic greenhorn" at that time, came to Much Wenlock to meet William Penny Brookes, then already eighty-one-years old. As Brookes saw it Coubertin had come to England to learn more about athletics, physical education and school sports for their transfer to and the inclusion into, the French educational system. To honour his guest Brookes even staged an extra autumn meeting and Coubertin was so much enthused that he reported two months later, that it had been thanks to Brookes that the Olympic Games had survived.

Both exchanged letters, and Coubertin invited Brookes to the 1894 Congress in Paris when Brookes had to decline because of failing health. Brookes greatly supported his "friend" Coubertin and in 1894 he wrote a letter to Charilaos Trikoupis, the Greek Prime Minister, to support Coubertin and help him execute his plans for 1896.

Brookes died in 1895, three months before Athens 1896, and thus never learnt what Coubertin said about him in the year 1908:

> "Ce médecin anglais, d'un autre âge, romantique et pratique, avait fait de sa petite ville une métropole des sports populaires." [note that Coubertin intentionally does not say "olympiques"!]

When historical reality was at stake, Coubertin, strictly speaking, was a sort of "charlatan, qui voulait réserver le primeur de l'institution des jeux olympiques modernes exclusivement pour lui-même".

As David C. Young has cleverly analysed, Coubertin not only tried to belittle Brookes (*vide supra*) and to negate his name and merits altogether, but

> "Coubertin actually stated in print that there had never been any Zappas Olympics at all and pretended that he knew nothing of Brookes' Olympic endeavours."

William Penny Brookes' Much Wenlock Olympic Games are still being celebrated to-day at yearly intervals, and all academic sports historians sincerely hope that in the run-up to the 30th Olympic Games of the IOC in London in the year 2012 the international sporting community will remember and do justice to, William Penny Brookes who was:

1. *the first one* to attempt a re-institution of the Olympic Games of Antiquity on an international level – long before Coubertin and
2. *the first one* to include sports and the arts and crafts for youth in practice in the programmes of his Olympian Games in Much Wenlock.

If the reader would be so kind and consider what William Penny Brookes has done for the sports and the arts and crafts for youth, for the Olympic Movement, and for his own country, then London and the year 2012 will provide *the* opportunity to honour him with a monument, which he had already deserved more than 160 years ago.

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The Olympic Motto "citius, altius, fortius" and its Author Henri Didon

Norbert Müller
Mainz

The motto's origin

At the inauguration of the first sports festival at the Dominican Albertus Magnus College in Arcueil, near Paris, on 7 March 1891, the headmaster of this boarding school, the Dominican Father Henri Didon, presented the members of his school sports club with a pennant which "was to accompany them often to victory, always to their competitions" (Didon 1891). He also gave them a motto which he described as the foundation and the rationale for practising sport, and that was the Latin "citius, altius, fortius", which literally translates as "faster, higher, stronger". The founder of the modern Olympic movement, Pierre de Coubertin, who was the then secretary general of the French national association of school sports clubs (U.S.F.S.A.), attended this event as a competition leader; he must have taken Didon's speech and motto very much to heart. Just a few days later, he quotes the motto in a short report about these competitions in the specialist journal "Les Sports Athlétiques".[1]

On 23 June 1894, at the closing meeting of the IOC Founding Congress at the Sorbonne in Paris, Coubertin successfully proposed these three words as a motto for the newly founded international Committee of the Olympic Games, as the IOC was initially dubbed. A note in the minutes does not exist but a report on the closing evening event does, at which the classical philologist Michel Bréal referred to the maxim once more. The wording in the IOC Bulletin reads as follows:

> "Mr Bréal ended [his table speech] by eloquently interpreting the famous sports motto, which was articulated by Father Didon and accepted by the Congress; Citius, Fortius, Altius: faster, stronger, further."[2]

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[1] Cf. *Championnats de l'A.A.A.G.*, in: Les Sports athlétiques, Year 2, March 1891, no 50, 4.

[2] *Les Fêtes du Congrès*, in: Bulletin du Comité international des Jeux olympiques, Year 1, July 1894, no. 1, 3.

Compared to Didon's version from 1891, the terms "altius" and "fortius" have been swapped, perhaps for stylistic reasons or perhaps because the contrast between "citius" and "fortius" is stronger than "citius" and "altius". The motto, however, derives its rhetorical unit from the parity of the final syllables, the homoioteleuton.


BULLETIN DU COMITÉ INTERNATIONAL
DES
JEUX OLYMPIQUES
Citius — Fortius — Altius

The Olympic Motto "citius-fortius-altius" published for the first time on the Cover of the Official Bulletin of the IOC in 1894

In the early days of the IOC, Coubertin remained true to the sequence "citius, fortius, altius", with the current form "citius, altius, fortius" only appearing after 1920. In 1921, the Olympic motto appeared together with the Olympic rings for the first time on the cover of the IOC's charter and other official printed materials. The IOC's first statutes, which after 1894 were summarised by Coubertin in just a few articles, did not make any mention of the motto. It was not until many years later, in 1949, that it officially appeared in the IOC Charter. Article 32 of the 1949 Charter states:

> "The Olympic Flag has a white background with no border; in the centre it has five interlaced rings (blue, yellow, black, green, red). The blue ring is high on the left nearest the flag-pole. The flag as used in Antwerp (1920 Games) is the regulation model. These rings together with the motto 'Citius, Altius, Fortius' constitute the Olympic Emblem, which is the exclusive property of the International Olympic Committee and must not be used by commercial enterprises as trademarks or for similar purposes."[3]

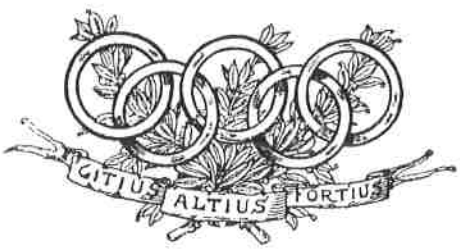
The reference to Antwerp in 1920 was significant for the motto's dissemination. In his Olympic Memoirs from 1931 Coubertin writes:

[3] IOC: *Règles olympiques,* Lausanne, IOC, 1949, 13f.

> "From the city centre to the stadium, the route was lined with Olympic flags. Everywhere the five multicoloured rings and the motto 'Citius, Altius, Fortius' were prominently displayed."[4]

In contrast to the motto, the Olympic flag was still very new at this time.

Coubertin devised it for the Olympic Congress in Paris in 1914 as a symbol connecting the five continents.



The five Olympic Rings including the Olympic Motto "citius-altius-fortius" designed by Pierre de Coubertin for the Olympic Congress in Paris 1914

Following the cancellation of the Olympic Games in 1916, the flag did not fly over the Olympic stadiums until 1920. The flag of honour donated by the Belgian Olympic Committee, which since the closing ceremony of the Olympic Games in Antwerp has travelled from one Olympic city to the next, features not only the rings but also the three words "citius, altius, fortius". Based on information from another important witness of the day, IOC member Angelo C. Bolanaki, the motto was widely propagated for the first time in 1920.[5]

In the 1995 IOC Charter, the motto is described in detail in Chapter 1, article 14:

> "The Olympic motto 'Citius, Altius, Fortius' expresses the message which the IOC addresses to all who belong to the Olympic Movement, inviting them to excel in accordance with the Olympic spirit."[6]

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[4] COUBERTIN, P. de: *Mémoires olympiques,* Lausanne, B.I.P.S., 1931. English translation: *Olympic Memoirs,* Lausanne, IOC, 1979, 102.

[5] Cf. BOLANAKI, A.: *Le drapeau olympique. The Olympic Flag,* in: Bulletin du Comité International Olympique 6, Lausanne 1951, No. 27, 42f.

[6] IOC: *Olympic Charter,* Lausanne 1995, 20.

The 2011 relevant Olympic Charter in force as from 2007 simply states: "The Olympic motto 'Citius – Altius – Fortius' expresses the aspiration of the Olympic Movement."[7]

Who was Father Didon?

Before shedding more light on Didon's thinking behind the motto, we will first take a closer look at the man himself. Didon was born on 17 March 1840 in Touvet (Department Isère) as the son of a staunchly Catholic mother and a liberal father. His character was greatly shaped by the French alpine foothills: he had a passion for hiking and ascending the summits; renunciations and exposing himself to danger had a strong attraction for him. Later, he never becomes a city dweller whether in Rome, Paris, Marseille or Toulouse, and he always fights for bold causes. A quotation illustrates this very well: "I was born with a great strength of faith and vitality."[8]

He attends the "Rondeau" episcopal seminary (Petit Séminaire) in Grenoble, where he is not only exposed to the Classics but also to the ideal of the ancient Olympic Games. Since 1832, it had been a tradition at this seminary to carry out an "Olympic promenade" every four years. The teachers' intention was to spark the pupils' interest in the Classics by adding a more practical slant to the subject. A student committee organised running competitions, whilst the award ceremonies mirrored the ancient model. In 1836, ball games, boules, French tennis and shooting competitions were added. The programme also included a literary competition which the 11-year-old pupil Henri Didon won in 1851. At the time, he was praised for "showing the same glowing and admirable intelligence at the Olympic Games that he had already proven in his other subjects."[9]

At the age of 16, Didon enters the Flavigny Dominican Monastery in 1856. From this time onwards, he is known by the monastic name of Father Martin. He studies at the order's universities in Chalais and Toulouse where he meets the famous Father Lacordaire. The latter made a lasting impact on Didon, becoming his role model for the rest of his life. In 1861, Didon goes to study in Rome for a year and is or-

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[7] IOC: *Olympic Charter,* Lausanne 2007, 21.

[8] DIDON: *Lettres du R.P. Didon à Madame Caroline Commanville,* Vol. 2, Paris 1930, 179.

[9] Quoted after BOULONGNE, Y.-P.: *Les présidences de D. Bikelas et de P. de Coubertin,* in: IOC (ed.): Un siècle du CIO. Vol. I., Lausanne 1994, 36.

dained to the priesthood in Aix-en-Provence a year later. It is not long before he also becomes a doctor of theology.

In 1871, he comes to Paris, preceded by his reputation as an inspiring preacher.[10] The French encyclopaedia of church history describes this gift as follows:

> "Indeed Didon has incomparable oratorical qualities: A powerful, thorough language full of imagery, emphatically profound in thought – perhaps created by the dynamism of his idioms and the sequence of figurative expressions [Metaphors] –, deep convictions and an irrepressible need to communicate characterise his extensive correspondence and speeches. For Didon every sermon is a true conquest ..."[11]

He is often criticised in conservative Catholic circles for his candid opinions and remarks. In a German biography, he is later described as the "French spearhead of Catholic progress".[12] In 1877, he is elected Prior of St. Jacques Dominican Monastery in Paris. In spite of creating very public enemies, he is incited during a private audience with Pope Leo XIII. in 1879, to continue along his path of reforming the world through religion.[13]

Around this time, the French general public is very much caught up in the issue of secularisation. Didon also plays an active role in this debate, but clearly takes too passionate a stance, as he is banned from preaching in 1880 and sent for 18 months to Corbora Monastery on the island of Corsica. In 1882, he spends six months in Germany, chiefly at the universities in Berlin, Leipzig and Tübingen. He is keen to study the Prussian *Kulturkampf* at its source, which culminates in his book entitled "Les Allemans".[14] Following two trips to Palestine, Didon used the 1880s for his life's work, a two-volume Christology, an apologetic response to Ernest Renan's "The Life of Jesus" (1863).[15]

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[10] Cf. FORISSIER, M.: *Un moine-apôtre Le Père H. Didon, 1840–1900,* Nérac 1936.

[11] *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographique ecclésiastique,* Vol. XIV, 412.

[12] PLATZ, H.: *Ein französischer Vorkämpfer des katholischen Fortschritts: Henri Didon,* in: Hochland 28, 1931, II, 338–351.

[13] Cf. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique,* Vol. XIV, 412.

[14] DIDON, H.: *Les Allemands,* Paris 1884 (30th edition), German translation Basel 1884.

[15] DIDON, H.: *La vie de Jésus-Christ,* 2 vols, Paris 1890. In the *LThK* in 1931, the work is described as "exegetically not quite satisfactory, but with rhetorical

Didon's international reputation and the influence of this work are demonstrated by the fact that the latter reaches its 45th edition and is translated into many languages, appearing in German in 1892.

When his book is published, Didon has already turned his attention to new tasks. The Monastery of Arcueil appoints him head of the college, a challenge he feels compelled to accept for the sake of the young people in spite of having many doubts. On 10 March 1890, he assumes the new role and is welcomed by the students and teachers with great enthusiasm.[16] His name bears great weight in France, and his words have considerable clout. With great passion, he reforms the content of the curriculum, which also encompasses the inclusion of school sports based on the Anglo-Saxon model. This is where Coubertin's interests cross with Didon's. The boarding school model provided much room for sporting activities, not least because parental prejudice had less influence on the children. The idea was to encourage pupils to become independent and to develop stamina, courage and faith in themselves as well as the ability to take the initiative.[17] Didon believed that school was supposed to prepare students for their later lives, since only an active person can survive in the competitive battle of daily life. His views also coincide with Coubertin's ideas in this respect and also with regard to the patriotic education of young people. The fatherland required everyone to be active. Compared to Germany, he believed the education system in France was inadequate. In all his speeches to his students, Didon explains how to become hard-working, proficient French citizens.[18]

In an attempt to remove the barriers between teachers and students, the members of the college ate their meals in the dining hall without any fixed seating arrangements. Personal contacts developed on walks, particularly on the long excursions known as "Caravanes".[19]

As a rule, Didon joined in the sporting activities of his students in spite of the poor reputation sport had in public. Didon believed that practical activities restored the decisive balance with lucubration but that sport was no more than a means to an end. He encouraged sport in all weathers and thought that sports injuries helped to toughen up the

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verve and powerful apologetics" (p. 304). In Germany, four editions are published by Fr. PUSTET, Regensburg.

16) Cf. *Le R. Père Didon à Arcueil. Par un ancien Maître du Collège Albert-le-Grand,* Paris 1891 (Archives Convent Saint-Jacques, Paris).

17) ROBIERE, G.: *Moine moderne: le père Didon,* Paris 1901, 33.

18) *L'éducation avait fait l'Allemagne victorieuse, et l'insuffisance de l'éducation, da France vaincue,* in: DIDON, H.: L'éducation présente, Paris 1898, 3.

19) Cf. COULANGES, A.: *Le Père Didon,* Paris 1900 (3rd edition), 345.

students. Moreover, he was convinced that it was only possible to deliver a good performance if the will had been trained.[20] Nothing was possible without endeavour. For this reason, athletic training was not only important for physical development but also for training the will. Here too, Didon's thoughts closely reflect Coubertin's views. At a leaver's ceremony in 1894, he reminds his students to continue working ceaselessly, to be ambitious and never to give up. This gives rise to another interpretation of the motto "Citius, Altius, Fortius", and that is to draw strength from defeat such that one may go on to victory later.[21]

With the royalties from his books, Didon purchases a park next to the school grounds to enable his students to practise sport. A large swimming pool is built in the school grounds to extend the choice of physical exercise.[22] It is not long before his students are no longer satisfied with just playing sport together; they want to organise competitions against other schools. Coubertin encourages Didon to establish a school sports club.
In this context, Coubertin reports:

> "Although I didn't know him personally, as soon as I heard of his appointment as Prior at Arcueil, I sensed that he could be a pillar for our cause. I went to visit him at the Rue Saint-Jacques without delay where he had a consultation hour once a week. I told him how his predecessor had repeatedly declined our invitation in the past and made it clear to him that we were also very keen to see a school sports club established in Arcueil. He answered, 'Come to the founding ceremony yourself' and 'I will become a member too!' So on 4 January 1891, I held a speech in front of the students at the Lycée Albert-le-Grand and announced that a paper chase would be organised for the 13th. It took place on the agreed date; three students accompanied me as the hares, and Father Didon came too. I can still picture him now, jumping over the puddles next to a freshly ploughed field near Bourg-la-Reine. The 'Association athlétique Albert le Grand' had thus been founded and the first competitions took place on 7 March."[23]

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[20] Cf. DIDON, H.: *L'éducation présente,* Paris 1898, 178.

[21] Cf. DIDON, H.: *Grande réunion annuelle, jeudi, 31 mai,* in: Les Sports athlétiques 4, 3.6.1894, No. 11, 472.

[22] Cf. COULANGES, A.: *Le Père Didon,* Paris 1900 (3rd edition), 355.

[23] COUBERTIN, P. de: *Une Campagne de vingt-et-un ans,* Paris, 55.

For Didon and Coubertin, this initiative in December 1890 was the beginning of a long friendship and it was on the occasion of the first student competitions that Didon held the speech in which he used the motto "citius, altius, fortius" for the benefit and encouragement of his pupils.

Born from an inner conviction, Didon was the first to give organised school sport a chance at a church-run school. The trial was such a success among the 350 students at Arcueil that more schools run by the Dominican Order soon followed suit.

Coubertin's family must also have agreed with the educational content in Arcueil as one of Pierre de Coubertin's nephews started at the school in 1892. Only a handful of correspondence exists between Didon and Coubertin. Their common interests and close proximity meant that they met on a regular basis.

In a letter dated 29 August 1892, Didon encourages the young Coubertin to push forward with his idea to stage annual congresses on educational issues with a view to eradicating prejudice, above all, towards school sport.[24]

Didon's key statements on sport and the Olympic Games

Coubertin's friendship with his fatherly friend Didon not only introduced him to the most passionate promoters of school sport in France but also brought him closer to his Olympic idea. Thus, it is surely no coincidence that in 1896 Didon took his "Caravane", the annual school trip that lasted several weeks, to Athens at exactly the same time as the first Modern Olympic Games. Didon was seated as a guest of honour in the first row, close to the king. A year later, he was the highly acclaimed speaker at the Olympic Congress in Le Havre.

The only speech Didon ever devoted solely to sports issues is the one he held at the inauguration of the Congress on 26 July 1897. Coubertin reports that Didon's "was whipping up the enthusiasm of a large audience with one of those speeches at which he was so expert ... ."[25] No-one had any comments to add to the discussion once Didon had spoken.[26]

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[24] Letter from Didon to Coubertin, Arcueil 19 August 1892 (IOC Archive).

[25] COUBERTIN, P. de: *Mémoires olympiques,* Lausanne, B.I.P.S., 1931. English translation: Lausanne, IOC, 1979, 28f.

[26] ibidem, 29.

So what did he actually say in this speech about the character-building qualities of sport? In some ways, it was a retrospective view of his experience in Arcueil.

First and foremost, he asserted that sport had an important influence on the student's moral make-up. Physical weaknesses were, he believed, also moral weaknesses. Sporting activities developed a fighting spirit that every child needed in order to assert himself in life. Widespread laziness fuelled fear and anxiety, which was why it was important to develop every child's fighting spirit. A strong person is not necessarily defined as the one who attacks but who never gives up. Stamina can be built up through sport which, he stressed, also required abstinence from alcohol and nicotine.

Sport also promoted the constant formation of new teams, thus eroding rigid cliques. Constant cooperation for the honour of the school, and in a figurative sense, for the honour of the fatherland, was the result. He strongly believed that it was important for the school sports clubs to be organised by the students themselves as this taught them to take on responsibility from an early age. He also shared the view that sporting activities stimulate the body to such an extent and in so many ways that they also benefit the academic subjects. Didon also squared up to the opponents of modern attitudes to sport, especially with the mothers, who feared exposing their offspring to excessive physical stress. Sport was to help France become strong again and he passionately believed that sport would assert itself and convince its critics of its necessity.[27]

The following sentence at the end of his speech illustrates how passionately Didon believed in his ideas: "I am who I am: I have my ideas, I have the courage to voice them and I look for ways to lead them to success"[28]

Didon's sermon, held on Easter Sunday 1896 at the Catholic Church of St. Denys in Athens in front of a congregation of 4000, including the Catholic patriarch of Athens, is helpful in shedding light on Didon's views on sport, and thus also the Olympic motto. Didon spoke of his admiration for Classical Greek education which embraced the training of physical strength which it taught so perfectly. He wanted these elements to be incorporated in the education of modern man. He underlined the importance of encouraging encounters between youths within the new international sports movement which found expression in the games in Athens. These games, he continued,

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[27] Cf. DIDON, H.: *L'influence morale des Sports athlétiques,* special print Paris 1897; printed in: DIDON, H.: *L'éducation présente,* Paris 1898, 372–394.

[28] ibidem, 394.

were the first step towards achieving a brotherhood of peoples and thus a moral unit that Jesus Christ was the first to articulate as an ultimate goal. Later in his sermon, Didon speaks of the Apostle Paul who had also preached in Athens.[29]

We do not know whether he also spoke of the first letter from Paul to the Corinthians in general and the metaphor of the runner in particular.

"Citius, altius, fortius" and Coubertin's Olympism

The motto coined by the Dominican Father Didon must have fitted snugly into Coubertin's image of a modern "religio athletae", whilst tying in with his educational intention to revive the Olympiad, not least because he emphasised it in his writings around fifty times and embedded it as a symbol in his movement.[30]

Coubertin's most detailed and precise interpretation of Didon's motto is found in an essay on the psychology of sport dating from 1900:

> "The athlete is not interested in striving for utility's sake. The task he fulfils is one he has set himself and because he is under no obligation to continue the next morning for the sake of making a living, he does not have to worry about pushing himself to the limit. Thus, he can cultivate his commitment purely for the sake of commitment, seeking or setting himself obstacles, always striving to reach the level above the one he expected to achieve. This explains the motto that Father Didon chose for the students united within his sports club in Arcueil: At their first meeting he said to them: Here is your motto – Citius, altius, fortius! (faster, higher, stronger).
>
> Here, we are almost leaving the world of sport, venturing into the realms of philosophy. This verbalisation is by no means new. It goes back to the stoics of all eras. The Greek schools undoubt-

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[29] Cf. HOFFMANE, S.: *La carrière du Père Didon, dominicain (1840–1900),* Diss. Paris IV 1981, 940–944.

[30] Coubertin filled 15 000 printed pages with 1.150 articles, 34 books and around 50 pamphlets. The author was responsible for the edition of Coubertin's sports-related writings in 1986 on behalf of the IOC. Cf. MÜLLER, N./IOC (ed.): *Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis,* 3 vols, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1986. Cf. also MÜLLER, N./ SCHANTZ, O.: *Bibliographie des œuvres de Pierre de Coubertin,* Lausanne, CIPIC 1991.

edly disseminated similar slogans, spoken by the unknown supporters of great thinkers and reiterated by simple school teachers who would never have thought that this recipe for manliness would ever fall into oblivion among civilized peoples.

Antiquity made frequent use of it, but do we do so today? Can the motto still be applied in today's civilisation which is characterised by feverish haste and fierce competition? And has sport which has returned to us from so far away, not completely changed its character after such a long and absolute absence? Will it not adapt to the use of increasingly perfected methods of transport? Is it still the same athleticism, the moral importance of which was once unceasingly emphasised and which Father Didon intended to encapsulate in his motto?

Ultimately, only time will tell; however, it is already evident that even though some forms of sport are new, the spirit has remained much the same. The desire to practise sport has always been unevenly distributed. Not everyone who would like it, is blessed with it. And of those who have it, many still do not realise their full potential. Not everyone goes in search of fear with a view to defeating it, or fatigue in order to triumph over it, or difficulty to overcome it. These people appear to be greater in number than one would initially think. This may lead us to believe that there is a tendency to practise sport to the extreme, then as much as now, with a view to achieving greater speeds, higher heights and greater strength – always striving for more. And that is its downside, if you like – as far as the human equilibrium is concerned. And yet, it is also its nobility – and its poetry."[31]

Unfortunately, we do not have the speech Didon held in 1891 and in later statements he never explicitly referred to the motto again. Having attended a school that focused on the Classics, he was greatly influenced by Greek and Latin. It is, therefore, not surprising to find that his speeches were peppered with metaphors in the style of the period. Coubertin was, likewise, keen to revive the values of ancient athletics which he believed to be of considerable importance. To this end, he was happy to use simplifications, as is apparent in his extensive writings. He was, in the positive sense, eclectic.

In an end-of-year speech that Didon directed at his students in 1893, he quotes Caesar:

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[31] COUBERTIN, P. de: *La psychologie du sport,* in: La Revue des Deux Mondes 70, 1900, Vol. 160, 167–179.

> "I'd rather be the first in the village than the second in Rome, ..., this reflects the harsh formula of every human endeavour always to be first rather than to submit, regardless of where."[32]

Didon is appealing to his students never to give up but to be ambitious irrespective of the situation in which they find themselves. Hans Lenk believes that the Olympic motto stems from antiquity:

> "This «faster, higher, stronger» is reminiscent of Homers «Always be best and be distinguished above the rest» (*Iliad* VI)."[33]

Coubertin also liked to refer back to these ancient roots, as it was all part of the attraction of reviving the Olympic Games in a new guise.

An important element of Didon's ideas regarding his motto "citius, altius, fortius" is a story that Coubertin related from 1903: one evening when Didon accompanied him on their usual walk from Arcueil to Montrouge metro station he suddenly stopped and drew imaginary lines on the tarmac, saying:

> "... If you want to jump three metres you have to aim for five. In life, it isn't the obstacles that stop them [the students, ed.] but the lack of challenges, spurring them on."[34]

Coubertin's perpetuation of the motto "citius, altius, fortius"

In his intellectual lesson "The Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism" of 1935, Coubertin goes far beyond Didon's interpretation of the motto "citius, altius, fortius". Whereas in his famous speech at the reception of the British government in 1908, he quoted the Anglican Bishop of Pennsylvania Ethelbert Talbot: "In these Olympiads, the important thing is not winning, but taking part,"[35] adding: "The important thing in life is not the triumph but the struggle, the essential thing is not to have conquered but to have fought well",[36] thus high-

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[32] DIDON, H.: *L'éducation présente,* Paris 1898, 112.

[33] LENK, H.: *Werte, Ziele, Wirklichkeit der modernen Olympischen Spiele,* Schorndorf 1972 (2nd edition), 74.

[34] COUBERTIN, P. de: *Silhouettes disparues. L'âme d'un moine,* in: Le Figaro 24.3.1903, 1.

[35] COUBERTIN, P.de (1908): *The Trustees of the Olympic Idea.* English translation in: MÜLLER, N. (ed.): *Pierre de Coubertin.Olympism. Selected Writings,* Lausanne, IOC, 2000, 589.

[36] ibidem.

lighting the social and individual dimension of performance, at the end of his life Coubertin insists on "aristocracy and elite" as a trait of his Olympism. In his eyes, this aristocracy is defined by the physical superiority of the individual. Olympic contestants are "men capable of disputing world records".[37] His idea of elitism is based on the following:

> "For a hundred men to take part in physical education, you must have fifty who go in for sport. For fifty to go in for sport, you must have twenty to specialize, and for twenty to specialise you must have five who are capable of remarkable physical feats."[38]

This pyramid model only accepts top performances at the Olympic Games, such that the Olympic motto "citius, altius, fortius" can indeed be interpreted as a superlative, since it leads only the best athletes from the broadly based foundations of "sport for all" to the absolute climax of the Olympic Games.
In his lesson, Coubertin continues:

> "To try to impose a regime of strict moderation on all athletes is to be a Utopian. Sportsmen need to know that they are free to commit 'certain excesses' if they desire to do so. This is why they have been given the motto: *Citius, Altius, Fortius* – ever quicker, higher, stronger – the motto of men who dare to aspire to break records!"[39]

By adding the word "ever", Coubertin reveals that the motto is about maximisation with a view to achieving one's absolute best performance. In doing so, he distances himself from Didon's Christian social dimension, which advocates individual physical exertion for the purpose of perfecting corporeality and as the foundation for shaping both the body and souls of young people.

In 1931, Coubertin reinterpreted Father Didon's Olympic motto by stating that he was not the "great Apostle with the manly energy"[40].

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[37] Cf. COUBERTIN, P. de (1935): *The Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism,* in: *Pierre de Coubertin.Olympism. Selected Writings,* Lausanne, IOC, 2000, 581.

[38] ibid.

[39] ibid.

[40] COUBERTIN, P.de (1931): *Devises nouvelles,* in: MÜLLER, N./IOC (ed.): Pierre de Coubertin. Textes choisis, Vol.II, Hildesheim/Zürich/New York 1986, 454. English translation: *New Mottoes*, in: MÜLLER, N. (ed.) Pierre de Coubertin.Olympism. Selected Writings. Lausanne, IOC, 2000, 591.

Thus, Coubertin admits a fundamental difference in his outlook to that of Didon. In the same essay, he speaks of the three superlatives "citius, altius, fortius"; a Freudian slip since they are, in fact, three comparatives.[41]

A further misconception emerges in Coubertin's opinion that the glorification of the record in the classical sense could be expressed in these three words. He overlooks the Greek maxim: "Everything in moderation". However, Coubertin states that this is the consequence of the "new (Olympic) motto", which its original author could not have foreseen. It was, he continues, the task of Olympism to disseminate this message across the world. He also states:

> "Today, the renown resonates among the youths of all countries. It has triumphed wherever sport has a firm footing in society in association with the five symbolic rings. In the spirit of the games, new records of speed, stamina and strength are rapidly being broken and reset. As if to ridicule the platonic objections of the anxious advocates of moderation, new records are passionately celebrated by the crowds who sense the irreplaceable nature of records in sporting life, and the necessity of the heroic act for the sake of physical activity."[42]

Here, Coubertin is divided between his Olympic and educational mission in sport, both of which he would like to preserve and bring together.

Hans Lenk can only be supported in his view that Coubertin's statements on Olympic sport were centred around a functional elite that served to bridge social gaps, to foster contacts between people of different backgrounds, races, countries, age groups as well as religious and cultural origins.[43]

The concept of sport as an "apanage of all races"[44] is diametrically opposed to such a narrow notion of elitism which also stands in con-

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[41] Cf. ibidem.

[42] ibidem, 592. The educational aspects of Henri Didon's works were examined in detail by Michaela Lochmann in her master dissertation supervised in Mainz by N. Müller. Cf. also LOCHMANN, M.: *Les fundaments pédagogiques de la devise olympique «citius, altius, fortius»,* in: MÜLLER, N. (ed.): Coubertin et l'Olympisme. Questions pour l'avenir. Le Havre 1897–1997, Niedernhausen/Strasbourg/Sydney 1998, 92–101.

[43] Cf. LENK, H.: *Zu Coubertins olympischem Elitismus,* in: Sportwissenschaft 1976, no. 4, 404–424.

[44] COUBERTIN, P. de: *Mémoires olympiques,* Lausanne, B.I.P.S., 1931. English translation: *Olympic Memoirs,* Lausanne, IOC, 1979, 135.

trast to the international character of the games, with 204 countries participating in Beijing 2008. Indeed, the contradiction here is inevitable.

Coubertin and Didon: a comparison

Didon and Coubertin shared many identical thoughts and views. An aspect the history of sport has not yet attempted to deliver will be suggested here as a hypothesis: Didon made a lasting and decisive impact on Coubertin's views on education, providing him with a template for his thoughts on endeavour in sports competitions, on self-conquest and tenacity, or in other words, on the moral benefits of modern sport.

Both men, Coubertin and Didon, were spearheads or rebels of a movement. In spite of many setbacks, both were endowed with an admirable measure of stamina and determination to overcome hurdles and to achieve their goals. Both looked for inspiration to the English education system and its elite public schools; both saw it as their goal and responsibility to reform French youths, their motivation, commitment and perseverance. Both were patriots in the positive sense of the word, who believed sport was an important tool in rejuvenating France, also from a military point of view. However, Didon was also influenced by German leading theologians, which he had studied while in Germany. The path from putting theory into practice was short for both men.[45] Both made an impact through the written word, whilst Didon also made his mark with the spoken word.

Coubertin's wish to be close to Didon can be explained by his efforts to win over as many influential personalities as possible for his sports campaign in France. Didon's popularity as a preacher and church rebel guaranteed Coubertin and his movement additional attention from circles that would otherwise have eluded him. Moreover, Didon was important for Coubertin in that he introduced school sport not only to Arcueil, but also to several other Dominican schools, thus serving as a model for many church-run schools throughout France.

The decisive difference between the two men lies in Coubertin's desire to create a "religion of muscle power" for his modern Olympism which, at the beginning of a secularised century characterised by a lack of transcendental values, had no basis for existence and thus had to lean on external notions and perceptions. Didon, who always remained true to the establishment in spite of his disagreements

[45] Cf. COULANGES, A. de: *Le Père Didon,* Paris 1900 (3rd edition), 377.

with the church, was interested in re-evaluating corporeality and the way it was viewed in a pastoral and theological context. He would never have defied Apostle Paul's teachings in his first letter to the Corinthians by attaching the same, if not more importance to the earthly Olympic crown as to the divine crown.

Didon died on March 13, 1900. He did not live to see modern Olympism develop, nor did he witness the rise to fame of his motto. His extensive works have not been examined with respect to the theological and educational dimension of the Olympic motto "citius, altius, fortius" that he shaped.[46] This article will perhaps encourage more research in this field.

[46] The admirable doctoral thesis by Simone HOFFMANE: *La carrière du Père Didon, dominicain (1840–1900),* Paris IV 1981, only briefly broaches this aspect and does not offer concret answers to this question.

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Intercultural Education for Student Youth: A Fundamental Idea of Pierre de Coubertin

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1. Introduction

Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937) is best known as the founder of the modern Olympic Movement. He brought this about at the *Congrès International De Paris Pour Le Rétablissement Des Jeux Olympiques* which took place at the Sorbonne in 1894. His intention to revive the modern Olympic Games is discussed in the academic discourse controversially. This is particularly true in considering his attitude towards an emerging internationalism. Amongst Olympic historians and others who have studied him, there are many who claim that Coubertin was driven by purely nationalistic ambitions when he suggested the revival of the Olympic Games. He is portrayed as a narrow minded national reformer who suffered from the French defeat in the war against Germany in 1871. It is argued that Coubertin blamed this national nightmare on the poor physical condition of French youth and that he tried to stimulate athletic sport in France to restore the physical wellbeing of the nation's young men in preparation for war. Despite numerous efforts to promote sport in his home country success was limited. Many in France rejected modern athletic activities because they had their origins in England. In order to improve the image of sport amongst the French public Coubertin came up with the idea of reviving the Olympic Games. An international competition and comparison would serve as the best stimulation for the French youth to engage in athleticism. Of course, Coubertin did have his own nationalistic agenda when he thought of reviving the Olympic Games. But we should be careful not to see this as his only objective. The reason for not doing so must be seen in Coubertin's strong commitment to an emerging educational internationalism. This will be analysed in the article. Attention will be also given to the fact that student youth was the focus of his educational thinking which has to be regarded as the basis for the Olympic enterprise.

2. Coubertin's focus on American student youth

During the 1880s and early 1890s Coubertin travelled extensively to England and the USA. In the course of his study trips he visited prominent public schools and universities to analyse the role of sport in the Anglo – American school and higher education system. Referring to the latter, he visited Cambridge and Oxford in England and equally prestigious universities in the USA, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Cornell and Johns Hopkins University. He shared his experiences with his fellow countrymen by publishing, amongst other, the books *L'Éducation en Angleterre. Colleges et Universités* and *Universités Transatlantiques*.


L'ÉDUCATION

EN ANGLETERRE

COLLÈGES ET UNIVERSITÉS

PAR

PIERRE DE COUBERTIN

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET Cie

79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 79

1888

Image 1: Book cover: *L'Éducation en Angleterre. Colleges et Universités*


UNIVERSITÉS

TRANSATLANTIQUES

PAR

PIERRE DE COUBERTIN

PARIS

LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE ET C^ie^

79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 79

1890

Image 2: Book cover: *Universités and Universités Transatlantiques*

Coubertin observed a school and university life in which, in contrast to French institutions, the daily routine was broken up by colourful extra-curricular events organized and run by the students themselves. According, to Coubertin this freedom of the students and pupils to organize themselves in associations embodied the educational effort of the English system to develop citizens who were conscious of their rights, duties and obligations. Thus Coubertin recognizes that the organization and maintenance of debating societies, reading clubs, literature and sports clubs familiarize pupils and students with democratic principles such as free speech, forming opinions, willingness to communicate, regular votes, electing leaders and recognizing legitimate authority. In Coubertin's opinion the associations, and above amongst these, the extracurricular sporting activities, offered opportunities for learning democratic principles in practice. He regarded this as far more effective than the mere theoretical teaching of democratic principles.

Coubertin's insight into American university life was guided above all by his two American mentors and university professors William M.

Sloane (1850–1928) and Andrew D. White (1832–1918). Sloane had graduated from Columbia University in 1868 before coming to Europe to become private secretary of US-ambassador George Bancroft (1800–1891) in Berlin. While in Germany he studied at the Universities of Berlin and Leipzig and earned his Ph.D. from the latter universities in 1876. On his return to America he made his career as a university professor in Latin and History at Princeton University from 1883 to 1896. In 1896 he accepted a professorship in history at Columbia University in Manhattan. In the academic year of 1912/1913 Sloane returned to Berlin to accept the Roosevelt Professorship as a guest lecturer. Sloane was a prolific author who was well accepted in academic circles. He was awarded the French Medal, *Chevalier de la Légion d'Honneur*, for his biography of Napoleon and his books *The French War and The Revolution* and *French Revolution and Religious Reform.* Without doubt, Sloane was Coubertin's mentor and responsible for introducing him to university sport. Sloane was a competent partner for Coubertin as the university professor chaired not only the athletic committee of Princeton University but also the intercollegiate athletic committee in 1884.

White, a graduate from Yale University, became a student at the Sorbonne in Paris and the University of Berlin in the early 1850s. After his European university experiences he became assistant to the US ambassador in St. Petersburg in 1854. Returning to the USA, White held a chair in history at the University of Michigan from 1856 to 1860. In 1865 he was appointed president of the newly founded Cornell University. White was even the ambassador of the USA in Berlin from 1879 to 1881 and again from 1897 to 1902. It might seem strange that White was ambassador from 1879 to 1881 and although living in Berlin while he was still president of Cornell University. When White was assigned the office as ambassador he offered his resignation as president of the university. But its administration unanimously refused to accept this. White remained in the office as president of the university until 1885, and four years later, he became professor for history at the prestigious university. As a politician he served on various committees, including the one for The Hague Peace Conference and for the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. His reputation as a historian led to his nomination as the first president of the American Historical Association. According to research carried out by Wassong it was Sloane who established contact between White and Coubertin in 1889.

White and Sloane provided Coubertin with the information he was looking for; namely that higher education must aim at educating useful citizens who should be able to conquer challenges of modern life

successfully and should act as leading personalities taking key positions in professional life. According to White and Sloane this goal required not only the teaching of relevant knowledge in various subjects but also imparting notions of character education. Referring to the latter, Sloane above all, never tired of stressing the fact that students who participate in moderate sporting activities will go through an indirect educational process which will lead to the maturation of their characters. Although Coubertin knew this already from his study trips to England his experiences in the USA are relevant for research in two respects.

Firstly, at American universities and above all at Princeton, Coubertin became even more aware of the special status of sport education. Precisely because university sport was to contribute to preparing students for leading positions in the world of employment, it was even more important for this age group than for school pupils. This led to a shift of focus in Coubertin's early educational thinking: namely, from a strong orientation on school life to a growing concentration on the educational importance of a university education. Secondly, Sloane and White perceived it as important to make students more receptive for international learning experiences. Both of them had been exposed to these kinds of experiences during their stays in Europe. This was important for Coubertin who himself appreciated the relevance of fostering intercultural learning experiences by encouraging the student youth to learn more about the culture, history and politics of foreign nations. This would lead to the diminishing of prejudices and misunderstandings; the very forces which were regarded as stimulating war.

3. Coubertin's Medal Campaign in the USA

Coubertin became acquainted with the idea of intercultural learning by his close contacts to leading representatives of the growing peace movement in the late 1880s and beginning of the 1890s. Referring to the topic of the article it is relevant to mention at least one important resolution of the Third International Peace Conference in Rome in 1891. The Englishman Hodgson Pratt (1824–1907) recommended that the teaching of universal history should be encouraged at European and American universities to spread knowledge about foreign nations among students. He also recommended the study of political and social aspects of other nations. As "consumers" of these studies Pratt identified students as the main recipients as they were the world's future leaders. In the proceedings of the World Peace Conference in

Rome, it can be seen that the congress planned to realize the following objectives:

> "109. Mutual respect and friendliness should be sowed between students of European and American universities.
> 110. Students should study the progress of civilization by reading universal historiography and by analyzing each nation's contribution to the progress of humankind."

Research has shown that Coubertin followed the proceedings of the Rome Congress closely and that he was both an acquaintance and admirer of Pratt. Pratt's recommendation to the congress fitted perfectly with the ideas of Coubertin, White and Sloane to promote intercultural learning experiences amongst student youth. Coubertin seemed to realise that American students had a diminishing interest in European culture, history and politics. Seeing American students as future key actors in international politics Coubertin felt responsible for intervening to try and prevent the erosion of their interest on Europe. As a representative of France he instigated a medal campaign was to spread knowledge of France among American students. From 1893 onwards Coubertin donated the following medals to the universities mentioned below:

French Medal instituted in 1893 at Princeton University.
Carnot Medal instituted in 1894 at Tulane University.
Carnot Medal instituted in 1894 at Stanford University and the University of California.
Tocqueville Medal instituted in 1898 at Johns Hopkins University.
Pasteur Medal instituted at Harvard University.
Victor Hugo Medal instituted at Cornell University.

On behalf of Coubertin these medals were awarded to students who demonstrated knowledge on French culture and politics in essays and lectures. Leading topics addressed by the students included French imperial politics, the presidential crisis of the 3rd French Republic, the question whether a constitutional or parliamentary-type of government is better for the French Republic or whether the French president should be directly elected by popular vote.

Image 3: Front and back of the French Medal (Shaw 1894, 646). Front of the medal: Marianne, the national personification of France. She is wearing a Phrygian hat on her head. Back of the medal: In the middle of the wreath the name of the medal as well as the donator Pierre de Coubertin is engraved. American Whig Society (top) and Princeton University (bottom) is stamped on the side of the medal.

Coubertin himself became active in making France better known in the New World. From 1896 to 1901 Coubertin published a number of articles in American periodicals, including essays *in The American Monthly Review*, *The Century*, and the English/American magazine, *The Fortnightly Review.* Besides detailed information in the genesis of the French Republic and its constitution, Coubertin introduced the American reader to the important personalities who had strongly influenced the political life of the 3rd French Republic. In his 'American writings' he was not consstrained by his own political convictions. Indeed, while he expounded on the lives and works of Republicans like Jules Simon (1814–1896), Jules Grévy (1807–1891), Jules Ferry (1832–1893), Sadi Carnot (1837–1894), Gabriel Hanotaux (1853–1944), and François Loubet (1838–1929), he also explored the anti-republican and militaristic endeavours of Georges Boulangers (1837–1891) and Paul Déroulèdes (1846–1914) to overthrow the democratic-republican constitution of France. Coubertin informed his readers that those revolutionary attempts had been no real danger for the Third Republic because the republican conviction of most of her citizens and politicians had been very solid.

In his articles, Coubertin tried to give his readers a good overview of the political situation in France. He did not neglect to discuss the political problems and scandals that the French Republic was con-

fronted with from its day of proclamation. Thus, Coubertin mentioned the Wilson Affair by which President Grévy was forced to resign from office. Additionally, Coubertin wrote about the Panama Scandal. The French company responsible for the construction of the Panama Canal bribed parliamentarians to get permission to use illegal loans to secure further financing for the construction work. And, of course, Coubertin told his readers about the Dreyfus Affair.

Besides his articles in American literary periodicals, Coubertin laboured to inform academic circles in America about The French Republic through publishing a translation of his book, *L'Evolution Française sous la Troisième République* into English. For the publication of his book in English, Coubertin chose a publishing company in New York. In a letter to Albert Shaw (1857–1947), a well-known American journalist and editor of the *American Monthly Review of Reviews*, Coubertin explained his motivation for translating and publishing his book in English:

> "I would prefer an exclusively American edition of it because what I want is to make my country better understood in America, and yours better understood in mine."

The very same Shaw wrote the preface of the English language version of Coubertin's book. The two men had enjoyed a close relationship. At the beginning of his preface Shaw stressed the educational value of the book for his compatriots by describing it as a well written learning tool on the French Republic. After remarks on Coubertin's aristocratic origin and his attempts to popularize athleticism at French schools and universities, Shaw compared Coubertin's interest in the social and political affairs of the New World with that of Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859). Finally, Shaw highlighted Coubertin's medal campaign at American universities and his success in having revived the Modern Olympic Games. Later, Coubertin assisted Shaw in writing a chapter on the French capital in his book *Municipal Government in Continental Europe*.

4. International Sport Meetings and the Olympic Games

Coubertin saw the meeting of students from different countries as a more personal approach in bringing countries together and reducing isolation. Again this shows a striking resemblance to the resolutions of the 1891 Rome Peace Conference. By 1892, Coubertin together with Sloane had already invited athletes from American universities to

a sport event in Paris. For this purpose they had founded the American Committee which dealt with the organisation and promotion of the project. In the same year, Coubertin provided White with information on his intention to send a French student sporting team to the USA. Coubertin emphasised in his letter to White that the aim was not merely sporting competition, but that the French students should have the opportunity of visiting cities and universities in the USA:

> "But athletics are not the end of our voyage. I want our young men to visit New York, Boston & Chicago & some of the leading universities [...]. The French Government will help us in giving free tickets across the ocean. I want to know what I ought to do in order to make the expenses as small as possible on the U.S. railways & in the hotels."

Against the background of these early meetings, the assumption that Coubertin introduced the Olympic Games for purely nationalistic reasons cannot be maintained. The strategies chosen by Coubertin to counteract possible processes of estrangement between France and America actually stress his ideas for optimising transnational understanding. Coubertin considered the international sport exchange between France and America as effective as his medal campaign. This in itself must be incorporated into our assessment of his reasons for the re-introduction of the modern Olympic Games. In his view, the Olympic Games were to realize what the sporting meetings between American and French students aspired to achieve: namely to provide pathways for the creation and expansion of friendly relationships through mutual understanding. He justified his intention to produce opportunities for international contact primarily through sport because of the growing interest in sport worldwide. The Olympic Games with their mandatory rules and regulations for athletes were to facilitate international sport activities; the four year cycle of the Olympic Games was to ensure the continuity of international sporting competition. It can be seen that Coubertin expressed these ideas as early as the summer of 1892 in a letter he wrote to White. This letter can be considered as one of the earliest sources in which Coubertin mentioned his thoughts to promote the internationalisation of sport by re-introducing the Olympic Games:

> "I have lately studied very carefully the question of international athletics & the way of making international meetings as easy & useful as possible. A few days ago we had a team from the New Zealand Athletic Association in Paris, Australia is growing very

> fast in the way of sports, as are also France, Holland, Belgium & Germany. I have come to the conclusion that if the Olympic Games will start anew & held [...] it would be a great benefit to modern athleticism."

In his medal campaign and the sport exchange Coubertin focused on student youth for educational reasons. He had the same age group in mind to which he liked to refer as the modern Olympic athlete. In his opinion, the athlete was most probably a young adult who had just finished his vocational training or had almost graduated and was ready to join professional life. He mentioned this in his famous radio speech *The Philosophic Foundation of Modern Olympism* in 1935:

> "But neither the child nor the beardless youth is the human springtime. [...] The human springtime is expressed in the young adult, who may be compared to a superb machine whose cogwheels are all completely assembled, and which is ready to enter into full movment. It is he in whose honour the Olympic Games must be celebrated and their rhythm organised and maintained, for upon him depend the near future and the harmonious linking of the future with the past."

Indeed, the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) has been organized for a much younger age group, namely for athletes between 14 and 18 years of age. But even for these young athletes intercultural learning experiences are already necessary and highly valuable. The YOG offers the opportunity for these learning experiences in a joyful atmosphere which will be beneficial for the stimulation of learning processes of any kind. The introduction of the YOG is a strategy to bring Coubertin's vision of educationally orientated sport to a period of youth which deserves our upmost consideration in terms of character training.

It is not too speculative to say that the YOG requires a modern reading of Coubertin.This has already been called for by IOC president Comte Jacques Rogge. He did so in his opening speech of the XIIIth Olympic Congress held in Copenhagen in October 2009. The president gave a substantial analysis of Coubertin and his Olympic project. Rogge caught the attention of the audience by mentioning that Coubertin developed his idea in the late 19th Century. The point was made that Coubertin must be regarded as the founder of the Olympic Movement but that his vision and valued centered interpretation of sport has to be critically transferred to the demands to and nature of today's sporting world and society. In fact Rogge challenged the au-

dience to think seriously about how Coubertin's core approach of educationally oriented sport might be adapted to our world. Rogge himself took the initiative. The introduction of the YOG could be said to be mainly down to him. Coubertin had made his main focus the mature student athlete, and stressed that "upon him depend the near future and the harmonious linking of the future with the past". Rogge realized that the same is true and important for a much younger age group whose representatives will be educated at the YOG and by its cultural programme which stresses central Olympic Values, including the importance of transnational understanding.

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The Mediatisation of the Modern Olympic Games and How it All Began

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Let's just steal a glimpse inside an Austrian train in the winter of 1956:

> "A man was sitting in a compartment with a portable radio. He switched it on just as the commentary of the sensational downhill race was starting. Just a few moments later, the compartment was bursting at the seams. Tightly squeezed in together, everyone lucky enough to hear above the deafening noise of the grinding wheels listened with bated breath."
>
> (EXPRESS, 1956, p.13 [translated into English]).

The listeners do not know who is about to win this exciting race but when the commentary draws to an end, they will all say that they have just witnessed an historic event "live" and attended one of the decisive moments in the history of this Olympic Sport. The scene described here was the radio commentary of the downhill race in the Winter Olympics in Cortina d'Ampezzo, and is just one of many pieces in the jigsaw puzzle of sports media history in the modern-day Olympic Games. It was indeed an extraordinary event in which the main protagonist and winner was one of the most outstanding skiers in sports history, the then 20-year-old Austrian Toni Sailer (17.11.1935–24.8.2009). Sailer went on to achieve unprecedented popularity – his appearances sometimes triggered hysteria among the waiting crowds – which he partially owed to his athletic performances but which would not have been possible without the already highly advanced infrastructure of the mass media. In the mid-1950s, the most technologically advanced and leading medium was the radio. It was modern and able to create an intense live atmosphere which was extremely important when commentating sport. Sailer's immense popularity stemmed from this phenomenon.

The sports sections of the newspapers and magazines also had an important role to play. Pages filled with letters to the editor gave fans the opportunity to make their opinions and feelings known. Here is just one example of how strong an impact (Olympic) sports reporting had on people's lives. Let us stay for one moment with "our hero Sailer" and in the year 1956. In a letter to the editor of the Express

magazine two women wrote: "And before you (Toni Sailer) started your downhill run, my mother and I went to church and prayed for you. And when we heard that (sic) had won, we both broke down in tears." (EXPRESS, 1956, p.3).

This example illustrates quite impressively the overwhelming emotion the media and the featured sports stars were capable of triggering. In this context, media sociologists speak of "parasocial communication". This refers to how individual personalities, whom we may never actually meet in real life, can spark such strong feelings in us solely because we participate in their acts of heroism and in their fate through the medium of radio or television. We identify with them or we may even hate them for something they have or have not done. Sports reports stir something inside us, they influence us.

From sport in media to media sport

These days, we take it for granted that we are surrounded by sport and impressive images of athletes in the mass media. Flat screens are not only found in our front rooms but also in shopping malls, bars and even in underground stations; live streams and tickers of sporting events can be viewed on any high-spec mobile phone. Media sports are ubiquitous and have become a powerful part of our everyday culture. For this reason, we refer to this as a *sports media complex*. This means that the media no longer merely report on sport, but that sport and the media have grown into an autonomous social, economic and cultural phenomenon. In a nutshell, there has been a transition from "sport in the media to media sport". In this context, the question arises as to *how* the relationship between media and sport is shaped and *what* was and is the correlation between these two social areas?

Explanations for the relationship between sport and the media frequently assert that these two areas are "symbiotically" associated with one another. This means that they mutually determine one another but that they also need each other. In other words, the modern media need sport because it is a relatively cheap way of boosting readership whilst modern sport needs the media to ensure that the sport has the potential to be acknowledged by the masses. Thus, the main aim is to generate attention and thus to market products and create profit which in itself constitutes an additional component of the sports media complex. Thus, economics is playing an increasingly important role within the sports media complex.

How has this symbiotic relationship developed in the course of the Olympic Games?

When Pierre de Coubertin, the founding father of the Modern Olympic Games, invited delegates to the IOC Founding Congress at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1894, the link between sport and media was almost non-existent. The idea that sport could be a source of income was very much frowned upon. This explains why the amateur sports issue was central to modern sport at the turn of the 20th century.

Print

When the athletes were invited to the first Modern Olympic Games (6.–15.4.1896) in Athens, they were not greeted by hoards of journalists. There were, however, specialised sports papers, such as the *Allgemeine Sportzeitung* which had been published and marketed successfully by Austrian sports media pioneer Victor Silberer (1846–1924) since 1880. Other reputed sports magazines which still appear today were likewise on the market. One such example is *La Gazzetta dello Sport*, which was founded just a few days before the Olympics started in Athens – on 3rd April 1896. However, in 1896 it took up to three weeks for the latest reports on the Olympic Games in Athens to arrive at the editorial offices of Europe's sporting magazines. It was not uncommon for the athletes to write the articles themselves as opposed to having them penned by a trained journalist. Accordingly, the *Allgemeine Sportzeitung* of 10th May 1896 featured a detailed article headlined *Die Festtage in Athen (The festival days in Athens)*, which was a kind of situation report describing the atmosphere at the first Modern Olympic Games. It paints the mood of euphoria and positivity encountered in Athens: "As much as the people cheered for their own country in the competitions, they were kind and friendly in their dealings with the foreigners. They were eager to assist and accommodate them and were quick to single out the more outstanding athletes among the foreign competitors" (*Allgemeine Sportzeitung*, 10.5.1896, p.478,). The article was written by *Otto H.* This was Otto Herschmann (1877–1942), who came second in the 100 m freestyle swimming. This was not to be his last Olympic Games. In 1912, he went on to win a silver medal in sabre fencing as a member of the Austrian team in Stockholm. In 1942 Herschmann died in a National Socialist concentration camp. We do not know whether the athlete and reporter Otto Herschmann ever received a fee from editor Victor Silberer for writing his report. Moreover, the profitability arising from sending a reporter to the tourist destination of Greece or Athens would at that time have been greatly limited.

Radio

After the turn of the century, sports journalism in the printed media gradually became more professional. Daily newspapers could no longer exist without their own sports sections. At the same time, sport was slowly but surely developing into a mass phenomenon in Western Europe and the USA. From the mid-1920s, the technological development of a new live medium, the radio, had become so far advanced that, following a trial phase, regular programmes could be transmitted. A key date in this context was the foundation of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on 18th October 1922. It was not long before sports commentaries started playing an important role. In Austria, RAVAG (Radio Verkehrs AG) started broadcasting sports news on a regular basis on 10th December 1924. It was the National Socialists who then expanded the medium of radio into a political propaganda instrument with the mass distribution of the wireless after 1933. When the Olympic Games took place in Berlin and Garmisch Partenkirchen in 1936, it was still largely the newspapers that brought sport to the masses despite the rapid spread of the radio – at this time, around two million German households had a wireless. However, it was during these Olympic Games that new standards were set in radio sports commentary and reporting. The National Socialists aimed to create a German sense of national community not only through the ether in Germany but, with the help of a technological tour de force, in all four corners of the globe. Thus, it was ensured that the live atmosphere in the stadiums could be experienced as much by "the men in New Zealand as in Upper Bavaria, by the shorthand typist in Baltimore and her colleague in Tokyo" (quoted after Alkemeyer, 1996, 465).

Film – Television

The 1936 Olympic Games in Germany were of particular importance from other media-historical perspectives. Not only did Leni Riefenstahl shoot a sensational, feature-length cinema film about the Berlin Games but the event also marked the start of sport on television.

As early as 1912, the IOC had commissioned the organisers to produce a cinematic document of each Games. However, until 1932 these products were mostly limited to the confines of a rather modest documentary format. Leni Riefenstahl (1902–2003), a trained dancer, who learnt her acting and cinematic skills from the famous mountain film director Arnold Fanck, set completely new standards in the genre of sport film in 1936. Riefenstahl was close to the highest ranks of the

National Socialists and succeeded in gaining Hitler's trust. She was even commissioned to produce the Nazi party conference films. Riefenstahl created a very individual aesthetic in which she combined innovative camera positions, frames, slow motion and dramatic background music to create her own unmistakeable cinematic signature. She thus succeeded in enthralling a mass audience and the *Führer* himself. In a monumental feature film (Olympia 1936. Part 1: Festival of Nations; Part 2: Festival of Beauty), which premiered on Hitler's birthday in Berlin on 20th August 1938, she creates fascinating images of motion and physicality, catapulting a superficially apolitical, "normal" presentation of "innocent" sport in the Third Reich onto global cinema screens. Thus, in this ostensibly apolitical representation of sport, an impression of normality was insinuated in a dictatorship that was driven by anti-semitism and characterised by rapid armament. This is the core of the film's political impact, a film that received many awards and which still ranks among the most fascinating products in Olympic media history. The suggestive studies of movement portrayed in Riefenstahl's images define the clichés of National Socialist sport to this very day with great normative force.

The medium of radio made it possible to bring live coverage of a sporting event to a mass audience outside the stadium or other sporting venue. With the support of the sound technicians, it remained the reporter's task to capture the live atmosphere. The listeners were still left with plenty of room to imagine the sporting event in their mind's eye. The introduction of television reduced the scope of the imagination. Live television broadcast moving images beyond the boundaries of the sports arenas. The historic premiere came in Berlin on 1st August 1936. Sports coverage of the Games was broadcast on television every day from 10 am to 12 pm and 3 pm to 7 pm. Since private sets were few and far between, the viewers had to go to public television rooms. Berlin and Potsdam were home to 26 such rooms whilst Leipzig boasted two. The viewers had to buy tickets to gain admission. 138 hours of footage covering around 175 competitions was televised. The programmes were seen by around 130,000 people – some sources suggest there were 150,000 viewers – which translates into an average of 10,000 viewers a day. This highly advanced media technology was introduced by Telefunken, which achieved its breakthrough with the launch of the fully electronic iconoscope. It was, among others, the major global sporting events such as the Olympic Games that gave rise to technological innovations in the media. Such events include the Olympic Games in London in 1948, when the BBC succeeded in broadcasting television sports to the regions around London. The games in Tokyo in 1964 brought about great progress with the help of

magnetic sound recordings. At the Olympic Games in Mexico City in 1968 direct satellite coverage was used for the first time and Munich helped colour television make its breakthrough in 1972. Developments in Austria lagged behind a little. The Austrian broadcasting company Österreichischer Rundfunk (ORF) did not introduce television sport until 1955. However, the Winter Olympics in Cortina d'Ampezzo could also be watched on television in Austria, albeit by just a handful of viewers. In fact, this event marked a highpoint in the alpine republic's short television history. It was difficult, if not impossible to believe back then that almost fifty years later we would be watching moving images on mobile devices, even in moving trains. It was just as inconceivable that the present-day era would be referred to as post modern, characterised by total mobility, the almost limitless availability of images and data and an apparently unlimited acceleration of all life processes.

Total mediatisation – The sports media complex

Without going into detail about the continued process of mediatisation after 1945, two central aspects are worth mentioning. Coubertin's project to revive the Olympics was designed as a public spectacle right from the beginning. However, modern electronic media, and above all television – despite the growing presence of the internet – have radically transformed mediatised (Olympic) sports. Above all, the huge economic interests involving broadcasting rights and TV ratings, have radically transformed Coubertin's idea of amateur sport. Two figures illustrate the dimensions of this change. In 1960, the US broadcasting company paid just under US$ 400,000 for the right to broadcast the Summer Games in Rome, a sum which from today's perspective appears ridiculously low. Today, broadcasting companies are prepared to pay more than US$ 2bn just for the broadcasting rights (Winter Games 2010 in Vancouver and the Summer Games in 2012 in London). Media sport has advanced to a globally traded product within the entertainments industry. This shows that sport is not what it once was in 1896. The often publicly unquestioned hegemony of specific sports and media sports events with a high potential for telegenity is just one of the consequences of this development.

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Athletes – Cultural Actors in Competition

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Athletes want to win – this conviction is surely at the core of every definition of sport. Yet, what exactly do they want to win? This question is rarely asked because the objective appears to be clear. However, looking at the common definitions of what sport is or is said to achieve, one is confronted with a variety of answers. The well-known sequence of adjectives *altius – citius – fortius* expresses one of the more familiar notions of sport. Another idiom that is used just as frequently takes a slightly different slant on the matter: *mens sana in corpore sano* (a sound mind in a healthy body; cf. Korenjak in this colume). Although both opinions on the purpose of sport apparently contradict each other, they are often deemed of equal value or as complements to one another. This is no coincidence as they mirror two kinds of practices that in our modern – not just western – world exist side by side whilst also competing against each other. In order to explain the parallels between these differing concepts of sport, it is helpful to refer to a distinction that was made by one of the first famous German sociologists, Georg Simmel (1858–1918), in an attempt to describe the phenomenon of competition between human beings.

Georg Simmel distinguished between two kinds of competition. The first consists in striving for victory over an individual or a group of individuals. It is based on the kind of opposition that brings forth disputes and conflict but which can also be observed in combat games. In these instances, the prize for the victor lies in defeating the opponent. The second form of competiton, for which Simmel chose the term *Konkurrenz* or rivalry, emerges when the prize "is not in the hands of one of the opponents". This means: The aim of the competition is not to defeat an opponent but to obtain a good that is worth striving for and which can only be gained by competing against others. The participants in the competition all attempt to grasp this good and the first to lay their hands on it is the winner. As a consequence of this competition, the winner also gains the "favour of one or many other people"; however, since not only the winner contributes to achieving the good that benefits everyone, this "favour" may also be directed at the "losers", albeit in a diluted form.

Having made a distinction between these two kinds of competition, it follows that a contest can have consequences for the victors and losers. In the first instance, the defeat of an opponent means that the

latter is excluded as a player. In the second instance, this is not the case. On the contrary: The winner has proven to the audience that he is capable of providing something that is not only for his own benefit. Simmel states: rivalry that is understood in this way has a "monumental socialising impact".

Once aware of this distinction between *antagonistic competition* and *socializing rivalry*, the diverse forms of sport, competition and sporting events both past and present not only appear in a completely new light but they also give rise to a new question: Is it a coincidence that these different forms exist or is there a correlation with the social and political environment in which each kind of contest is embedded? In answering this question, the cultures of antiquity provide an excellent field of observation. On closer inspection both forms of competition were very much in evidence here and they can be ascribed to differing political and social environments.

Of the huge number of competitions in antiquity, the first example selected is an account from Homer's epic poem *Odyssey*: on his adventurous return from the Trojan War, the hero Odysseus is shipwrecked; as the only survivor he manages to reach the island of Phaeacia. The society of the indigenous Phaeacians is described as a rudimentary city state, which is ruled by several leaders or "kings", who steer the fate of the Phaeacians. When Odysseus is shipwrecked on the beach, he is found by Nausicaa, the daughter of the most senior leader Alcinous. Nausicaa is quite taken with the stranger and sends him to the nearby city where he should approach her father and ask to be admitted. She does not accompany him because Nausicaa is of an age when she is expected to choose a suitor among the male Phaeacians and thus does not wish to spark gossip. If she were to be seen with the stranger, some may think she was making her choice. The situation is quite clear: Odysseus' sudden arrival disturbs what, until that point, had been a predictable game, i.e. the competition among the young Phaeacians for the hand in marriage of the much coveted Nausicaa. Since Odysseus is accepted by Nausicaa's father as a guest, the young Phaeacians suddenly see him as a threat which was far from being his intention. Since they are unable to remove him using violence because he is Alcinous' guest, they have to find another way. They attempt to rid themselves of him in a sports competition (*Odyssee* 8,96–255). The way in which this situation arises is described in a psychologically subtle manner. First of all, the young men goad each other into challenging the stranger to a sports contest. They size him up and notice that he is, in fact, well built and his muscles are well formed. However, they also notice that he has been weakened by the shipwreck. The banter between the young Phaeacians culmi-

nates in the strongest member of the group having to challenge Odysseus to a contest. Odysseus immediately realises what he would be letting himself in for. Initially, he tries to resist: he has more important matters to consider than such a contest. However, the young men do not relent but start provoking Odysseus: they say, he is no more than a merchant who knows nothing of competing. As expected, this angers Odysseus who sings his own praises at being a particularly good athlete. And yet, he still refuses to compete in the classical sense but suddenly seizes a discus and throws it farther than anyone before him. Odysseus then turns the tables and starts goading the young men: he challenges them to throw the discus to see whether they can beat him. Since this is clearly impossible the matter is resolved – the young challengers do not emerge victorious, indeed they lose and are out of the bidding. When Odysseus leaves the island of Phaeacia, this may solve the young Phaeacians' problem but it does not detract from the fact that they failed in their aim to crush their opponent in a contest.

The same motives shaped the ancient competitions that are considered models for sporting attitudes and events to the present day – that is, the Panhellenic Games and, above all, the Olympic Games. It is seldom considered, however, that the athletes taking part in what, for a long period, were the biggest sporting events in Greek history, were not permitted to do so as individuals but only as representatives of their cities or city states. As a result, the competitions were not only a contest between athletes but also reflected the sometimes fierce rivalry between the Greek states. It is therefore no coincidence that victory was striven for at all costs. The brutality with which the opponents fought for victory, above all, in wrestling, boxing and *pankration* (a brutal free-for-all combining wrestling, boxing and kicking) was a characteristic feature of these contests. At these games, only the winner was celebrated. This is a clear indication that these games were based on antagonistic competition as opposed to socialising rivalry. Although the winner only received a laurel wreath, it was of great symbolic value. On their return home, the winners were emphatically celebrated, receiving prizes of great material value in thanks for helping their state gain greater prestige (cf. Pleket in this volume).

These two examples illustrate quite clearly that a form of competition that aims to defeat the opponent is linked with social or political situations which in themselves are highly competitive. This correlation was also acknowledged in antiquity. A very well-known example of how this correlation was instrumentalised in an absurd fashion is the behaviour associated with the Roman emperor Nero. Nero is said to have governed boundlessly, arbitrarily and against all the rules.

However, he was determined to make people believe the opposite. To this end, he used a diversity of methods to demonstrate his superiority over all others. One such method was to stage competitions in which he defeated his opponents. He sought and created situations in which his entourage and the general public were forced to pretend he was superior because of their dependence on their emperor. One well-known example was when Nero arrived at a chariot race during the Olympic Games with a "chariot and ten" although only quadrigas were normally allowed (Sueton, *Nero* 24). When the emperor was catapulted from the chariot, the race was stopped to haul him back in. Although he was unable to finish the race due to exhaustion, he was still awarded the victor's wreath and thus preserved the intended illusion that he was capable of defeating any opponent.

If the frequently voiced opinion were true that humans had a basic instinct pushing them at all times to prove their superiority over others, then surely there would only be one kind of competition. However, this is not the case. The other form of competition described by Simmel as *socialising rivalry* exists not only on the odd occasion but always when a society and its politics either have to or wish to push common goals to the fore.

Let us take a brief look at the *Iliad*, Homer's other epic poem. It depicts, among others, the competitions staged by the main protagonist Achilles to mark the death of his friend Patroclus. The story leading up to this event is long and complex. The most important part, however, is that the two most powerful leaders among the Achaeans have a serious dispute during the Trojan War. Achilles is dishonoured by Agamemnon which prompts him to withdraw his troops from battle. This not only weakens the Achaeans to such an extent that they are nearly defeated by the Trojans but his friend Patroclus also falls in battle as a consequence. The funeral organised by Achilles turns into a festival of reconciliation amongst the Achaeans. For the second part of the funeral, Achilles organises athletic games for which he donates valuable prizes (*Iliad* 23,257–897). Based on our modern-day understanding of fair play, the most important contests held here do not run fairly because the strongest competitors do not win. However, the lack of fairness is there for a reason; this is the only way to ensure that the cohesion amongst the Achaeans is strengthened. Six of the eight contests have different outcomes than would be expected on paper. In the chariot race, young Diomedes wins because he is supported by the goddess Athena; the wrestling is not won by the clearly superior Odysseus, as Achilles breaks off the fight and calls it a draw; much the same applies to the contest in armour. Victory is not awarded to the fastest yet quarrelsome Ajax but, with the help of Athena, to

Odysseus. The archery contest is won by the weaker Meriones, because he brings Apollo a sacrifice in accordance with custom. The final contest, the spear throw, does not take place at all as Achilles simply declares his former opponent Agamemnon the winner; Agamemnon's opponent in the contest does not protest. It is striking to note that everyone is not only fascinated by the contests despite the "irregularities" but they are also happy with their outcome. The message that this competition communicates is clear: The main objective here is not to defeat the opponent. The most important aspect is how the opponents – and also the spectators – perceive each other after the contest. These competitions do not take place in an isolated world but are part of the social and political environment in which they are carried out. They serve to have a positive effect on this environment.

This was not just a figment of the poet's imagination, as is illustrated by another major sporting event which takes us into the realms of historical reality: the Panathenaea, the most important festival in Athens. It was one of the many festivals staged in the Greek city states. However, this particular festival features some unique characteristics. It was organised on a grand scale by the democratic state of Athens, that is, by the elected politicians as a "Festival of Citizens". A significant part of the packed programme of events, which in later years extended over nine days, consisted of a diversity of competitions. The state and numerous rich sponsors donated extremely valuable prizes for the winners. However, in contrast to the above-mentioned Panhellenic Games, a conscious effort was made in some contests to award prizes not only to the winner but also to the runner-up and sometimes the third, fourth and even fifth placed competitors. In addition, the well-known Panathenaic amphorae were awarded as prizes for many of the contests.

These vases were decorated with an image of the city goddess Athena as a symbol for the Polis and an inscription explaining that it was a prize for the Athenian games. A unique feature was that some of the contests involved teams. The districts (*phylai*) of Athens and thus only Athenian citizens made up the teams for a dancing contest, a contest in manly beauty (*euandria*), a ship contest and the torch race, marking the end of the games. In the team competitions, the winner's prize was an ox which was consumed at a joint feast of the *phylai* after the competition. Clearly, it was not impossible for individual performances to be noticed at these games; however, the way victory was branded, the fact that not only the winner was congratulated and also the team contests ensured that the attention was steered towards a common goal: to create a sense of community among the citizens of Athens.

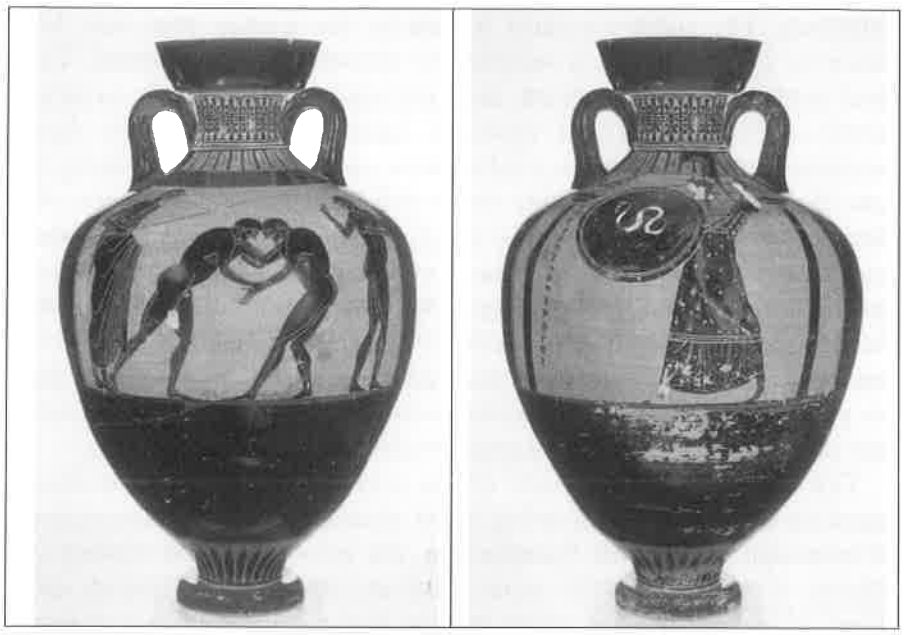

Fig. 1: Panathenäische Preisamphora, um 510 v.Chr., Staatliche Antikensammlung München, Inv. Nr.1455, aus: Lockender Lorbeer, München 2004

Emperor Nero's behaviour reflects the kind of competition that aims to defeat the opposition. In a similar, likewise indirect way, it is possible to link the objective of shaping competition around a common goal to the behaviour and actions of the Roman aristocracy at the time of the Roman Republic. In Republican Rome, the aristocracy dominated society and politics for centuries. Their survival was based on an unwritten consensus that their rivalry for the political offices in the state must never culminate in direct personal conflict. To prevent individuals from breaking this unwritten agreement, they were under an unavoidable obligation, inherent in this consensus, to consider the needs of the Roman population as a whole (*populus*). The observation of this obligation was regulated by elections which decided which aristocrats were allocated which political positions. The entire population could participate in these elections. A consequence of this common goal was that the aristocrats were constantly competing against each other to do justice to the interests of the *populus*. This was the only way to remain in the political arena. This political competition is clearly aligned to the common interest and forms the framework in which the relationship between the aristocracy and competitive sport is embedded: The Roman aristocrats were not allowed to participate in the sporting events. The reason is understand-

able: Had they taken part, they would have been in danger – as was illustrated by the relationship between the young Phaeacians and Odysseus – of suffering an open defeat not only as athletes but also as politicians. Since social and political competition was not aimed at defeating the opponent but at achieving a common goal, it would then no longer have been possible to uphold the political system of consensus among the artistocrats. It was not until the political system was violently changed from a republic to a monarchy that behaviour such as that demonstrated by Nero became feasible.

Thus, the distinction made by Georg Simmel between the two forms of competition leads to the insight that athletes are not beings who are simply driven by a human instinct and thus only fight for victory. Like all people, athletes are part of a clearly defined social environment with specific rules which they and everyone else have to observe. For this reason, athletes can also be seen as *cultural actors*, because their ideas and actions are governed by the rules of their environment. Even if they do not realise this as individuals, they are unable to detach themselves from this correlation. The conscious decision to choose a form of competition that strives towards a common goal is embedded in the Olympic idea. Since the days when the Olympics were founded in modern Europe, the world has indeed fundamentally changed. This should be borne in mind when the youths compete against each other at the Youth Olympic Games since the currently more dominant interpretation of competition as victory over the opponent could undermine the true ideals of Olympism.

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Youth Athletes: Talent Selection and Age-Appropriate Performance Optimisation in Austrian Alpine Ski Racing

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1. Introduction

The social significance of alpine ski racing in Austria is naturally extremely high. The country's long-standing dominance in this sport stems partly from the deep well of talent it can draw from, and partly from having a well organised national federation whose presence is felt right through to the smaller regional associations. For years now, much time and effort has been invested in nurturing budding talent in an attempt to continue this success story. Constructive cooperation between the Austrian Ski Federation (Österreichischer Skiverband [ÖSV]) and the regional ski associations, the ski academies and the sport science institutes at Austrian universities is a key factor in securing this success.

2. Talent selection and development

2.1 Talent selection and development of 6 to 10/11 year old ski racers

In the search for new talent, the focus for this age group falls on the many ski clubs throughout Austria. In Tyrol, for example, approximately 250 clubs and innumerable voluntary coaches are committed to encouraging children who have a flair for skiing and ski racing. For several years now, the number of commercially run ski racing centres has been on the increase. Like other countries specialising in winter sports, Austria has been facing a fall in the volume of children taking up skiing in recent years which, not surprisingly, has a knock-on effect on the number of children participating in ski racing.

In this age group, parental support is indispensable. Without the parents' willingness to taxi their children to the ski slopes and to assist the coaches during training sessions, it would often be impossible for snow training to take place. It is also worth mentioning that one parent also has to be responsible for preparing their child's skis. This not only requires knowledge but also a commitment of up to eight

hours per week. In comparison with other competing sports, the costs incurred during a single ski season are, likewise, considerable. Parents have to put aside between three and four thousand euros per year and child for coaching, materials and ski passes.

The search for ski racing talent begins at the local races staged right across Austria, comprising giant slalom (GS), slalom (SL) and Mini Cross (MC) competitions. The latter include elements of SL, GS and Super G with jumps, waves and steep bends. The Kids Cup is organised throughout Austria through the ÖSV. This Mini Cross competition takes place in seven states and competitors may only take part in their own home state. The best placed girls and boys are invited to a four-day training camp at the end of the season with a view to improving their technique and off-piste skiing skills under the direction of the ÖSV's coaches. For their part, the universities carry out age- and sports-specific motor skills tests. The parents attend special presentations on age-appropriate fitness training and optimum ski preparation, whilst gaining an insight into the ÖSV's talent development programmes. This event draws to a close with a demanding MC team competition, introduced in 2010–11. This format ensures there are no individual winners at this age and that the children do not specialise in a single alpine ski discipline too early on.

2.2 Talent selection and development of 10/11 to 14/15 year old ski racers

The transition from the junior to the intermediate competitions is accompanied by a preliminary talent selection process. Austrian schools with a ski specialism constitute an indispensable pillar in developing talent. Educational establishments which combine an academic education with top-level sports are gaining significance for top youth athletes (Brettschneider & Klimek, 1998). After primary school, children can apply for a place at such a ski academy. Austria is currently home to seven such schools for the 11- to 14-year-old age group. One of the first of its kind was the SHS Neustift in Stubai Valley/Tyrol which was founded in 1969. Experts select the most talented children on the basis of ski tests and sport-specific motor skills tests. The ski test comprises cross-terrain descents as a means of assessing the candidate's ski technique, as well as timed runs through gates. The results from the sport-specific motor skills test provide a rounded picture of each applicant. This four-year schooling option incorporates a timetable that guarantees optimum training conditions (e. g snow training in the mornings, schooling in the afternoons) whilst fitting around the

many ski races throughout the season. Involving high speeds and high physical impact, downhill skiing requires that the skier not only has excellent technical skills but also a high level of fitness. As a result, regular medical and physiotherapy checks as well as a series of sport-specific motor skills tests have, for many years, formed an integral part of the SHS Neustift's mission to promote talent responsibly. The unilateral leg strength test is illustrated here as an example (fig. 1).

Fig. 1: Unilateral leg strength testing

These measures serve first and foremost as a training guide and assist in preventing biomechanical stress and injury. The tests which have been conducted at the ski academies and the regional ski associations in the 11–14 age group since 1998, make use of gender- and age-specific standard values (see fig. 2) for all aspects of sports motor skills that determine performance in ski racing (Raschner et al., 2008). This makes it possible to detect negative deviations from optimum performance early on, allowing the coach to take targeted counter measures.

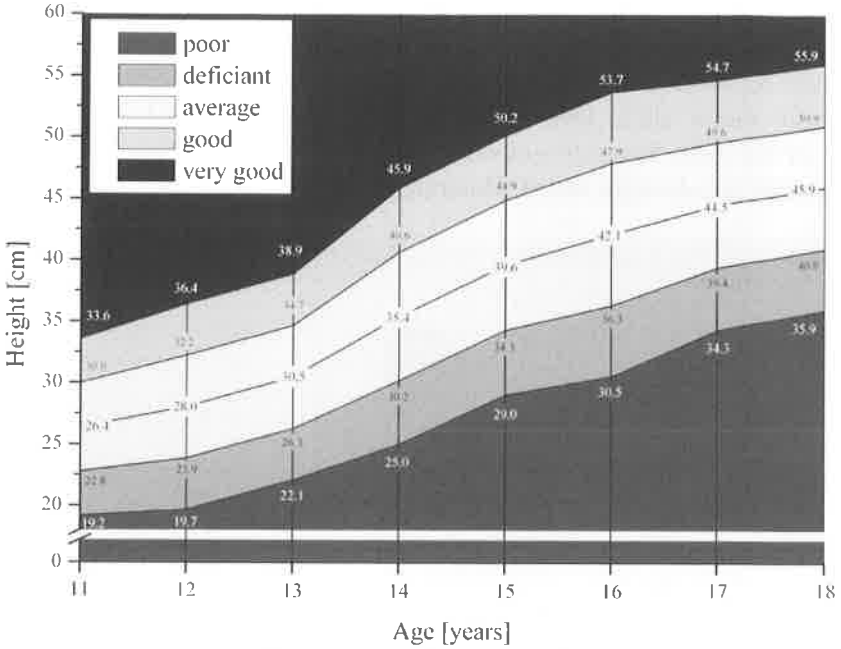

Fig. 2: Norms of performance (Counter Movement Jump) in male ski racers

Another important way of promoting young talent involves recruiting external experts (coaches for weight-lifting, apparatus training). This introduces young sportspeople early on to the technical prerequisites of strength training and provides them with additional stimulus for improving body posture and coordination.

The selection process for the youth team of each regional association takes place within this age group. The criteria include racing results as well as an expert assessment of the skier's technical skills. In Tyrol, the series of races used as the basis for selection currently comprises four SL, four GS, two SG and an MC competition. Anthropometric factors such as a higher body weight may be an advantage in ski racing, particularly on flatter slopes. In a move to allow for problems caused by differing stages of development, technical skills assessments were introduced several years ago that place the focus on autonomous competitions. At the beginning (mid-December) and end (mid-March) of each racing season independent experts judge the students' on- and off-piste technical skills. These results, the coach's opinion of the talent and the racing points so far accumulated provide the most objective selection criteria possible.

In an attempt to focus on the importance of achieving a perfect technique and optimum physical fitness, the judges look for the most rounded skiers. This occurs in each state and at national level. Just before the students leave school, they take part in a versatility and fitness competition staged in each state, in which the young athletes complete a diversity of disciplines. Obstacle swimming and runs, inline-skating, hurdles, slack-lining, archery and speed stacking competitions are just a few of the disciplines included in last year's schedule in Tyrol. The nationwide competition, featuring the five strongest competitors from each state, is staged in September both as an individual and a team competition. Austria's best overall student ski racer is determined by the GS results from the Austrian intermediate test races, the on- and off-piste, technical skills assessments and the fitness competition.

The 11–14-year-old members of the regional ski associations spend around 25 snow and five stamina training days with the regional coaches. The remaining snow or stamina coaching units are carried out at their ski academies, their clubs/with parents or at a ski racing centre. At this age, a student will be aiming for 80 to 100 snow training days per season. In recent years, greater importance has been attached to skiing in a wide variety of terrains, snow types and skis (e. g. short carvers, slightly waisted skis). The time invested in fitness training greatly depends on the sports played during the summer months. However, certain guidelines must be observed in order to remain in the squad. The summer sports must have a relevance to ski racing in terms of fitness building.

2.3 Talent selection and development of 15 to 19 year old ski racers

As the young athletes make the transition from intermediate to student and start taking part in the FIS races, a new era starts for them in ski racing. Suitable parameters have to be set to cater for the increased demands on infrastructure (e. g. hard artificial snow slopes) and a qualified team of coaches on the one hand, and essential academic and vocational training on the other. These requirements can usually only be met by specialist ski academies.

One of the world's most reputed schools is the residential ski academy in Stams/Tyrol. The organisation which has been in place since 1967 and is specifically designed to promote top athletes, is widely respected both nationally and internationally and frequently serves as a role model when founding similar institutions elsewhere. The selection criteria are similar to those adopted by the academies with a ski

specialism, but have been adapted to the age group. Besides considering the students' sporting successes, the school also subjects the candidates to a three-day selection process to test their ski racing ability and their technical and sports-specific motor skills.

When practising ski racing within several performance-defining parameters, it is necessary to take an interdisciplinary approach by incorporating anthropometric, physiological and psychological methods to guarantee that talent is developed to a high quality (Williams & Reilly, 2000). Accordingly, 1996 saw the implementation of two projects at the residential ski academy in Stams – "Prevention" and "Performance Diagnostics", which still represent an indispensable foundation for comprehensively promoting and developing talent. With the aid of biannual physiotherapy tests and the subsequent compilation of individually tailored, complementary exercises, it has been possible to reduce the incidence of several problem areas quite dramatically (e. g. muscular injuries and stress-related injuries or syndromes). Injuries to the knee still represent the most common health problem sustained by budding ski racers. During the school term, physiotherapists are on site two to three days per week to assist in the rehabilitation of injured athletes. The series of sport-specific motor skills tests includes an extra test in this age group, bringing the total to three diagnostic appointments, one in May, September and November (Raschner et al., 2005). The small coaching groups make it possible to recognise and respond to fitness deficits individual. Following the recent extension of the training facilities in general and the weight room in particular, the coaches are now able to work in accordance with the latest scientific findings.

In addition to the projects launched in 1996, the following years witnessed the inclusion of new modules such as "Performance-based Eating and Drinking" as well as "Mental Coaching – Social Learning". In the mental coaching units, targeting entire groups or individuals, an attempt is made to instil in the students a positive attitude towards the highs and lows of a career as a sports personality. A mental coach teaches students the basic techniques of psycho-regulation. Complementary one-to-one units are used to devise individual strategies and are extremely popular amongst the athletes. In addition to mental coaching, the residential academy also gives high priority to teaching social learning. An additional team, comprising a doctor and a nutritionist, assists in optimising the school catering and the athletes' dietary habits and in adapting them to the demands of their sport. The close cooperation between medics, sports scientists, therapists and psychologists creates a stable network of support for the talented young skiers.

As much attention is given to the students' academic education as to their skiing careers. The number of places on the ÖSV's youth team is limited. Only a fraction of the ski racers actually succeed in joining the ranks of the world's top athletes. And only a fraction of the best will reap the benefits of success and live on the financial proceeds ensuing from their sport. It is, therefore, important that the students strive at all costs to achieve academic qualifications (be they of a vocational or academic nature). The school timetable is adapted to fit in with the winter sports training schedule. Accordingly, between October and December schooling is interrupted for four days every other week to cater for snow coaching courses. During the competition period between December and the end of March schooling may not take place at all. The hours thus lost are caught up on Saturdays, by extending the school year and by adding an extra year at the end. The students receive additional support in the spring with extra tuition taking place two afternoons per week. By implementing e-learning platforms in certain subjects the young athletes have also been able to improve their time management. A study conducted by Rost and colleagues in 2001 on the time outstanding young athletes spend on schooling and sport at the sports academy in Leipzig showed that the rising demands of training went hand in hand with increasing academic pressure as the students progressed through the school system. The overall time invested in school, homework and training (without including travel times) climbed from approximately 45 hours/week in year 5 to more than 50 hours/week in year 12, thus far exceeding the regular working hours of employed adults (Rost et al., 2001).

An important step in shaping a young athletes' skiing career is gaining a place in the youth squad of the skier's home state at the age of 15. At this stage, cooperation between the specialist ski schools and the coaches of the regional ski associations is key when it comes to agreeing on training courses and selecting the squad. In this context, it is expedient for the coaches to play a dual role – both in the specialist ski school and the regional ski association.

After their first, though normally after their second or third FIS racing season, the young ski racers may qualify for one of the few free places in the ÖSV's youth squad. First and foremost, it is the FIS points that form the basis for selection. More recently, however, the coach's assessment of an athlete has also been taken into account when selecting the squad. Once the athletes have joined the ÖSV youth squad, they can take advantage of all the services provided by Austria's most successful ski association. Within the framework of this article, the structures and support programmes offered by the ÖSV cannot be discussed in any greater detail.

3. Discussion

A ski racer needs around 10–15 years of targeted training to keep pace with the world's top skiers. Besides raw talent, optimum levels of fitness, a large measure of courage and sufficient mental strength, a young athlete also requires a lot of luck to remain untouched throughout this period by serious injury.

For some years now, experts have been calling for a diverse programme of technical skills training to be introduced, especially for the younger children. The pole-based coaching needs to be reduced further in favour of skiing in a wide variety of terrains. This shift in focus has already manifested itself in the introduction of technical skills competitions. The selection criteria for the Tyrolean squad have also recently been modified. In 2009/10, the association decided not to include the youngest racers (11 years of age) in the squad. It is hoped that this will eradicate some of the overwhelming pressure on children to succeed at ski races, allowing them more time to perfect their technical skills and technique. The child's overall physical training must also be given greater priority at this age. Due to the seasonal nature of the competition calendar, several months in spring and summer can be devoted to targeted and diverse fitness training.

The first Youth Winter Olympic Games, which will be staged in Innsbruck in January 2012, will give talented young athletes from all over the world the opportunity to compete against each other. In contrast to the Olympics in the classical sense, the Youth Olympics include cultural and educational programmes and are thus more closely committed to conveying the Olympic ideal. Youths aged from 14–18 are eligible to participate. Each age group spans two years (e.g. 14 to 15-year-olds). For the Youth Winter Olympics in Innsbruck, the number of athletes for all disciplines has been limited to 1058 (in alpine skiing 55 girls and 60 boys). Besides the classical disciplines, mixed gender team competitions will also be staged encouraging athletes to form teams of participants from different nations. The goal of the Youth Olympic Games and their impact on young athletes is a widely discussed topic. In addition to the aim of the International Olympic Committee to spread the Olympic idea, the young athletes will, of course, dream of emerging from the competition as a "Youth Olympic Winner".

This gives rise, among others, to the danger of premature specialisation in alpine ski racing which the abovementioned measures have attempted to reduce in recent years. At the same time, the limited number of participants may increase the pressure on competitors to qualify. Whereas four athletes per nation and discipline are permitted

to compete in the classical Olympic Games, only two will qualify for the alpine competitions in the Youth Olympics. Experts took a critical stance towards the immense scale and the level of commercialisation to which the young athletes were exposed at the first Summer Youth Olympics in Singapore. The Youth Olympics should also focus more strongly on the dangers of doping at anti-doping workshops. The importance of discussing this topic was illustrated by two young athletes in Singapore who tested positive for a banned substance for weight reduction. All in all, the Youth Olympics constitute a considerable challenge for the associations, coaches and the young athletes. Ideally, training young athletes should always be conducted with a sense of responsibility and be tuned to long-term rather than short-term success.

Continuous performance diagnostic tests, starting at the age of 11, play a significant role in developing talent. Accordingly, a squad member will undergo a series of diverse tests tailored to the athlete's age and performance level, providing subsequent information on his/her current fitness and a comparison with the standard values. Ski academies have established themselves as an indispensable institution for promoting talent. As the athletes make the transition from junior to intermediate level, it must be decided whether ski racing will become the main focus of their lives in years to come. The holistic approach offered, for example, by the residential ski academy in Stams has an important role to play in preventing athletes from dropping out. A premature end to a sporting career can have a considerable and lasting impact on the young athlete whilst also constituting a waste of resources, which is particularly painful for the field of alpine skiing. The reasons why young athletes drop out are manifold and include everything from injury, the dual burden of school/sport and a lack of leisure time to a loss of motivation due to poor racing results and social conflicts (Elbe et al., 2003). Combined systems incorporating school, residential facilities, coaching, cooperation with the ÖSV and/or the regional ski associations, such as the set-up found in Stams, are designed to minimise the pressure on students by spreading the workload. It would also be worthwhile enhancing the teaching staff's understanding of the exacting demands made on young athletes. In order to detect possible correlations between the current physical condition of budding ski racers and the incidence of injury and to take steps to intervene, it will be necessary to collate comprehensive data over a long period of time. Although still too high, the number of injuries preventing young athletes from competing at the top level of ski racing and the number of excessive training breaks due to injury have steadily decreased since the prevention project was implemented.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a dilemma in the selection process for the ÖSV youth squad. For many years, it was only possible to make the squad if the athletes shone in at least three disciplines. This meant that extremely good slalom skiers, for example, were turned away whilst other nations would welcome them to their squads with open arms. The discernible fall in the dominance of the ÖSV youth teams has recently prompted the management to reassess the situation.

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Winter Youth Olympic Games Innsbruck 2012

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After the Athens 2004 Olympic Games and the Torino 2006 Olympic Winter Games, the Olympic Movement's top leadership felt a strong need to re-energize Olympism and the Olympic brand in young target groups with TV ratings in this demographic declining. The idea of creating the Youth Olympic Games (YOG) was pushed by the President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Jacques Rogge, who saw a need and an opportunity to recruit more young people to participate in sports. Even though the decision to create the YOG was made unanimously, a few IOC members didn't completely agree with the IOC President's view. For example, Canadian IOC member, Richard Pound, said: "Will the Youth Olympic Games get one more – what we call in America a 'couch potato' – into a pool or on a track?" (Pound, 2007).

The IOC has awarded the 1st Winter Youth Olympic Games in 2012 to Innsbruck, a two-time host city for Olympic Winter Games in 1964 and 1976. Innsbruck's credibility and expertise in hosting winter sports as well as its modern youth culture should facilitate the delivery of a truly innovative Olympic event. Innsbruck's (and the Tyrol's) worldwide reputation is still shaped by hosting Olympic Winter Games more than 30 years ago. Can and will Innsbruck fulfil Rogge's wish to create a lasting legacy for the sports community?

Before bidding for the Winter Youth Olympic Games (WYOG), Innsbruck hosted several events; notably since 2005, many 'rotating' sporting-events have taken place there. Annually Innsbruck hosts the FIS Four-Hills-Tournament Ski Jumping Competition as well as the Air & Style Snowboard Contest (recurring events). The various legacies from the events held in Innsbruck between the WU 2005 (Winter Universiade Innsbruck/Seefeld 2005) and the WYOG 2012 have been covered in detail by Bielowski/Schnitzer (2009) and categorised into five different examples:

1. Reaching new target groups: the WU 2005 was aimed at students and the campaign "u better be there" was launched to portray Innsbruck as an urban city in the Alps; Innsbruck was positioned as a university city and with specific marketing strategies, new target groups were reached.

2. Professionalism in organizing large-scale-sports events: the WU 2005 showed that multi-sport-events in the Tyrol needed new approaches and new standards. The WU 2005 was the starting point of a transfer of knowledge program in Innsbruck. Other events, like the UEFA EURO 2008™ demonstrated new levels of professionalism in the strategy and project management of organising large events.

3. Social legacies as a new dimension: the importance of minimising the negative impacts of and maximizing economic and social impacts needs to be understood. Thöni/Philippovich (2008) labelled the WU 2005 as a hallmark event and showed the positive economic impact of the WU 2005. Preuss/Schütte/Siller/Stickdorn/Zehrer (2010) examined consumer behaviour in the context of the UEFA EURO 2008™; the outcome seen from an socio-economic perspective was superb. The social impacts of sporting events ("getting new friends", "being proud as host" etc). on visitors and residents of the host region haven't been studied in the past, but are becoming more important.

4. Sporting legacies – the future of ice sports in Austria: Austria is known as a snow sports country. In ice sports, especially over the last 15 years, the success of Austrian competitors has been decreasing; a starting point in the Tyrol for a new era of success has been the huge investment in the infrastructure of the Olympiaworld Innsbruck (Ice Arena and Olympic Sliding Centre Igls). During multi-sport-events, not only athletes but also referees and officials have the opportunity to develop their skills.

5. Spreading the Games among stakeholders – especially the Universities: During the WU 2005, over 50 university projects were launched which helped deliver the Games (Redl, 2006). Together with the University of Innsbruck the project "creating a strategy for hosting major sport events" has been developed; for the WYOG 2012 the "Innsbruck 2012 – Youth Olympic Games Laboratory for Youth and Innovation" has been established, securing the transfer of knowledge among all stakeholders.

A SWOT Analysis by the author shows the critical points the local organisers should focus on in order to create long lasting legacies. Table 1 shows the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats for the WYOG 2012.

Strengths	**Weaknesses**
• venues are state-of-the-art and ready for hosting large events • experience from previous large-scale-sporting events can be used • easy to reach (Airport, Motorway, Railway) • infrastructure (non-competition-venues) including the new Youth Olympic Village ready • short distances between different event venues (e. g. Innsbruck to Seefeld: 25 km) • Innsbruck, a well known place of high quality (strong brand) • scale of branding of Innsbruck fits well with YOG • Universities in Innsbruck (over 20,000 students, research etc.) • youth culture well developed (snowboarding scene)	• Overload of events in city of Innsbruck (lack of interest from local residents?) • Lack of credibility (IOC too old fashioned, traditional) • Opponents of events due to Olympic history (1964, 1976) • Absence of (event) strategy, no clear vision from decision makers • overconfidence or arrogance possible (we know how to organise! Don't tell us how to organise our events!) • poor reputation of National Olympic Committee • local media works against the WYOG 2012
Opportunities	**Threats**
• Reaching new markets • Being benchmark for future YOG • Being back in "Olympic family" • Innovation Centre for Sport and Youth • Projects to promote sport and physical activity • Development of Ice Sport • Testing digital media as marketing tool	• no (sporting) legacies assured • (sport) political opponents work against the YOG • election of new mayor in Innsbruck 2012 (campaign) • lack of political support on all levels in Austria • little support by IOC sponsors (lack of resources, lack of interest) • contradiction (Coca-Cola, McDonald's) vs. healthy life style, nutrition • credibility gap (YOG are only being organised because of marketing, TV issues of IOC) • doping scandals? • lack of homogeneity due to different views from International Federation (IF) • overtraining of athletes, early specialization • - lack of time for the organisation of the Games

Table 1: SWOT Analysis of Innsbruck's staging of the 1st WYOG 2012

It is clear from looking at the SWOT Analysis there are, on the one hand, a lot of strengths facilitating the organisation of the WYOG 2012 and it shows Innsbruck's high potential because of its pre-existing association with the Olympics brand. On the other hand, there is a lack of awareness and interest amongst local people in the benefits of being associated with the Olympic symbols. Innsbruck's political life is strongly influenced by a critical media and a strong "anti-Olympic lobby" seeing Innsbruck's legacies from staging the Winter Olympics 1964 and 1976 in a negative light. Furthermore, a common shared sports (event) strategy is still lacking notwithstanding that Innsbruck's political leaders have positioned the city strongly in many areas (culture, fairs / convention, tourism, education).

The opportunities the WYOG 2012 can offer are manifold: generating interest in sport and physical activity, development in sport, capitalising on being the first host city for the WYOG (using digital media [social networks like Facebook, Twitter etc.], to reach out to the young and to new markets) and being put back on the world map by being associated with a prestigious international (sporting) event. Any potential benefits need, however, to be treated with caution. Such a project is exposed to a number of threats. Of course many of them cannot be controlled; others are unlikely to even occur. An absence of political support on a federal level, for example, would result in a significant lost opportunity to communicate values in schools or actively to fight against issues (such as obesity, postural deformity, psychosomatic illnesses, cardiovascular diseases, social integration, and criminality) with which politicians are confronted, when they have to deal with youth on a national level.

Also, contradictions raised by the YOG such as having a fast food chain as an Olympic sponsor (nutrition) may cause a credibility gap for the event (product)

By looking at the aims that IOC has set itself when creating the YOG and looking at them critically, in the author's opinion, there could be some modifications made to the YOG **bringing together the world's best young athletes** in one event is feasible. However, a qualifying process needs to take place (1,000 athletes) and quotas need to be set and this in itself is quite problematic. In order to **organise a sports event of the highest international standards,** there need to be many restrictions in place. It is a fact that many potential participants (because of an excessively restrictive qualification system / quotas) are not eligible to participate at the WYOG. An idea could be to link the continental youth festivals (e. g. European Youth Olympic Festival) more closely with the YOG in order that these two events could be of benefit to each other. Furthermore "National Olympic

Days" could be organised at the same time for those athletes in different age groups unable to qualify or not considered in order to learn about and strengthen **the power of Olympism**. Also, the WYOG 2016 has been awarded to Lillehammer (NOR), the sole candidate for the 2016 Games. A big obstacle to potential bidders for the WYOG is definitely the requirement to construct a Youth Olympic Village. This idea, which is basically sound in principle, needs to be reviewed.

Literature shows (e. g. Veal, 2003) that sporting events do not automatically **raise sports awareness and participation**. Therefore a crucial part of the bid evaluation should the commitment of each bidder (e.g. through financial guarantees) to fight against diseases of civilisation. Of course, it is the job of a national sports & health policy and not of the IOC to fight against obesity etc., but raising (active and not passive!) sports awareness needs to be the common denominator.

The new formats (NOC mixing, gender mixing, disciplines mixing) which are tested at the YOG could **bring about new initiatives within the Olympic Movement**. These new formats also need to be analysed by other stakeholders (e. g. spectators at the venues). Finally, not only should the athletes benefit from the Culture and Education Programme (CEP), but also non participants of the YOG should be **educated in Olympic values and challenges of society** learn about problems caused by society at schools and sport organisations. Not only the media, but also NOCs could play an important role in promoting Olympic values by **reaching out across youth communities**. Finally, the YOG like the Olympic Games, offers a unique platform for **sharing and celebrating the cultures of the world in a festive atmosphere**.

From the author's point of view, everything is currently focused on delivering the Youth Olympic Games on time. The IOC defines the phase of the development and preparation of the Youth Olympic Games as "co-creation phase". The critical task is to be ready for the Games in time. The preparation for the Games is difficult as the WYOG format still needs to be tested, with the IOC going through a "co-creation process" together with the local organisers. The strategic assessment of the Host City Innsbruck by a SWOT Analysis shows that all ingredients for staging a world-class event are there. Lack of time, a difficult (sport)-political situation and a weak support structure due to an absence of TV and marketing income could pose organisational challenges.

After the WYOG 2012, together with its stakeholders, the IOC will evaluate an interim balance sheet and discuss if and how the agreed targets have been achieved. To what extent the Host City Innsbruck assesses the degree of success and failure is most likely to depend on

each personal view. But one thing is certain, as stated by Michael O. Leavitt, Governor of Utah in 2002, after staging the Winter Olympic in Salt Lake City: "Once you are an Olympic city, you are never the same" (Leavitt, 2002).

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The Youth Olympic Games – A Serious Business or Just for Fun?

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Augsburg

1. Modern sport became more international

At the end of the 19th century, in addition to high-level continental athletic competitions, such as the Asian Games, there were early ambitions to bring together people from every nation to high-level international contests.

The Olympic Games has acquired a position of eminence in organized sports. From the outset, the Games were characterized by the so-called "Olympic Idea" of the founder Baron Pierre de Coubertin (1863–1937), as he aimed to bring together the youth of the world in peaceful competition through sports. Sport should be an effective model of rule-based, athletic competition that can be achieved by fair contest between adolescent competitors. The amicable meeting of young people in peaceful competition should be provided with a platform via the modern Olympic Games, allowing the people of the world to unite regardless of race, skin color, gender or nationality. Within the one hundred year old history of the Olympic Games, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) has built a stable infrastructure with the help of the National Olympic Committees (NOC) and has grown to 206 NOCs today.

Coubertin could not have predicted the current shape of the Olympic Games. Initially classified as a life philosophy by Pierre de Coubertin, the spiritual component has become an ideal. He saw all the necessary qualities brought together in educationally-based sports and which were important for an ethically demanding lifestyle and therefore for a successful life:

- The consistent striving for perfection and improvement in sporting performance of competitors from all over the world.
- The principle of fairness in sporting competition, through the strict adherence to the rules of sport which are based on international agreements.
- The opportunity for peace and international understanding through world-wide participation by the best sportsmen from all nations and continents.

- Recognition and appreciation of all participants in Olympic competitions, regardless of their religion, language or political or ethnic origin.

This multi-cultural orientation and the international coverage were of such importance for Coubertin that he brought together these provisions into the so-called "Olympic Charter". Because of this he expected adherence to them, not only by sports officials and sports journalists, but above all, by the Olympic athletes themselves. A special role was attributed to these athletes, that of role model for society. Therefore, a complete knowledge of the regulations and rules of conduct is expected of them. Several rites, celebrations and symbols were established to underline their importance, each of which was attributed a specific meaning: Olympic Rings, Olympic Fire, Olympic Torch, Olympic Village, Olympic Hymns and the Olympic Motto.
Discover for yourself the meaning of these rites and symbols!

2. Criticism of the "big" Olympic Games

Critical voices levelled at the Olympic Games have become more persistent during recent years. Justifiable criticism of the Games often arises because the original concept behind the Games is seen as being neglected.

What are these concrete points of criticism that have led to strong hostility towards the modern Olympic Games?

It should be noted at the outset, that much of this criticism should be seen as closely relating to the economic system and its negative impacts, some of which creating exploitative situations and social disparity. Currently, one can state that high-level sports – such as the Olympic sports –reflect the latest developments in today's society. Three examples illustrating this are:

- Commercialization

The Olympic Games have become an enormous business in recent decades. The broadcasting rights revenue for the IOC alone has become unfeasibly large. The marketing of the Olympic Games and the athletes has been pushed so far to the forefront that as a result, the original Olympic Ideals lag far behind. Nowadays, the general public is far less impressed or fascinated by an Olympic victory and is instead distracted by the magnitude of the financial rewards involved. This impression is often reinforced by the athletes' own attitudes to an Olympic victory, whereby the victory itself is no longer seen as having any intrinsic value but rather being of financial value only. The expectations of the hosting country that the Olympic Games will stimulate economy and tourism are discussed contradictorily. It is fair to ask the question why no African nation has ever hosted the Olympic Games. Another criticism is that, when hosting the Olympic Games, the political image of the country is first and foremost the principal focus.

- Economy and ecology

In recent years, critics of today's society have become more vociferous denouncing the gigantic scale of the Games and casting doubts as to the ecological sustainability. Many cases are known where recently-built sports facilities are now run down and were not, as promised, made available to the public following the Games.

- Doping and drug abuse

The problem of doping has been very high profile in relation to the Olympic Games. Cases of doping have repeatedly been revealed or rumors spread, all damaging the Olympic Ideal of the fair pursuit of excellence. In addition to dramatic health risks, doping gives critics a platform on which to challenge the sense and integrity of high-level sports. Critics maintain that it is no longer possible to sustain "doping free" high-performance sport. The public is often sceptical about record-breaking performances culiminating in the common view that the entire top-tier of sport is "contaminated by doping". Many successful world-class athletes are criticised for failing to publicly condemn drug abuse or to highlight the dangers to physical and mental health.

A future priority will be to make young athletes aware of the dangers of doping. Education makes it possible to stave off undesirable developments at an early stage. The future of the Olympic Ideal will only endure if not only a few idealists, but also the Olympic athletes themselves become involved. It would therefore be necessary to systematically educate these younger athletes about the Olympic idea,

thus allowing current and former high-level athletes to take collective responsibility for the Olympic sport.

3. The idea of the Youth Olympic Games (YOG)

In 2007, the IOC decided to hold the Youth Olympic Games. Like the Olympic Games, there are to be Summer and Winter Olympics every four years. The first Youth Olympic Games were staged in 2010 in Singapore; the Winter Games are set to take place in 2012 in Innsbruck, Austria. The Youth Olympic Games differ in several fundamental ways from the adult Olympic Games:

The participants are adolescents between the ages of 14 to 18. The program of the YOG is focused around two themes. The first is that the YOG should not just be about top class competition, but also about the participation by the athletes in a cultural educations program, which is a new feature of the YOG. The young competitors are selected according to criteria set out by international federations. These provide that performance levels are the main criteria for selection. In the attractive cultural education program, participants are actively learning about the characteristics of other cultures, their history, religion etc. and they become acquainted with geographic and political features. Fascinating team training should promote social ties and allow the participants to experience the diversity of cultures in the Olympic community. The participants from diverse cultures are taught at various associated schools in close proximity to the venue. This is important for a complete educational overview, allowing the dissemination of information to a wide cross-section of cultures.

A special feature of the sporting competitions is that they are geared towards young people. For example, streetball instead of basketball or mixing teams from different nations and continents. This alternative approach, caters for the particular needs of 14 to 18 year-olds. The participants are expected to be on-site for the entire duration of the Youth Olympic Games and to stay in the Olympic Village. Many other symbols and rites are borrowed from the Olympic Games (Olympic Fire, Opening and Closing Ceremony, Victory Ceremonies, Flags).

From past experience, especially of the Summer Olympics in Singapore – we have seen, the potential for providing young people with a meaningful educational experience that can be refined in the future. As a direct result, many new ideas may be taken up, facilitating the organization of an Olympic movement that is appropriate for young people.

4. A Mail from Singapore 2010

E-Mail from a German Athlete after the first Youth Olympic Games in Singapore to a friend, a participant from South Africa.

Dear John!

I hope you got home well. My head is still buzzing from all those impressions in Singapore and I am happy that I captured everything with the many pictures in my blog.

Unfortunately we didn't meet at the Closing Ceremony. It certainly became rather chaotic so even our group had problems staying together. Some made their own way back to the Olympic Village and it was a bit of luck that we knew which metro to take to get there from the contests.

What is your overall assessment of the first Youth Olympic Games? My impressions are ambivalent, due to the fact that I couldn't fulfill my high aspirations in the sports events and, as you know, was knocked out in the preliminaries. I only took part, after all, to achieve my personal best and to come within the top three– and then I went and made such a careless mistake!
On the other hand, I had never experienced such an atmosphere before. But I really enjoyed simply being with all the other athletes and being able to participate in the other activities afterwards. At first, I wasn't entirely clear just how many were taking part or how many countries were involved. And I didn't realise either quite how diverse the Culture- and Education Program was. I made many new friends from all over the world, just by visiting the many stands in the Olympic Village and by participating in the Island Adventure. Do you remember how we first met at the Chat with the Champions with Veronica Campbell-Brown? Just like me, you wanted to know, how it would feel to be an Olympic Champion.

Did you also feel like a representative of your country in Singapore? Other participants kept on asking me about "Bayern Munich" and the Oktoberfest, but also about Berlin and supposedly typical german habits. Also, Germany seems to be known mostly for the number of cars that are produced here. I wasn't aware of that and I think that this could be a topic for discussion at a future preparatory meeting. On the other hand, there seem to be many prejudices: We, Germans, are apparently incapable of being happy, we cannot celebrate and we are always distant and impersonal. I hope you agree that I managed to prove the opposite! Additionally, thanks to you, I came to learn a lot about South Africa that was unfamiliar to me. It was all very interesting and I think it is great that I've now got a new South African friend. I hope we will stay in contact - maybe you'd like to come to Germany sometime. You are welcome anytime!
Oh, I've got to go to training now, so I'm sending you my best wishes

Frank

5. The first YOG in winter in Innsbruck 2012

The winter Youth Olympic Games will be held for the first time in Innsbruck and about 1,000 athletes, aged between 15 and 19, are ex-

pected to arrive from all over the world to compete against one another in 63 different competitions. But what is the difference between the YOG and other competitions?

A decisive point is that adolescents from different nationalities and backgrounds come together at a mega sporting event. Moreover, this event reinforces the goal of spreading the Olympic Ideal amongst our youth. This goes beyond just focusing on competition and performance. The hosts of Innsbruck have organized a diverse youth program. The program is a revised and advanced version of the first Culture – and Education Program in Singapore 2010 (online: http://www.innsbruck2012.com/en/culture__education).

Beside the *Youth Olympic Games World Mile* – a platform for dialogue amongst nations – five further projects are presented, which deal with special issues of athletes such as doping, education and career planning (*Youth Olympic Games Competence Project*), as well as with general issues such as environmental protection and sustainability (*Youth Olympic Games Sustainability Project*).

The hosts attach great importance to the involvement of the population from Innsbruck and it's vicinity, in the attempt to promote the coming together of young people from all over the world.

The intercultural exchange is part of a continuing process to help athletes more effectively communicate and better apprehend the Olympic Peace Ideal.

Furthermore, the competitions are structured differently from those of the adults. For example, it is envisaged that many disciplines will allow for mixed team-competitions. The form of the competitions is to be modified to organize Games more appropriate for young people.

As the very first winter Youth Olympic Games come to fruition, it is possible that there may be a few glitches. But rest assured that Innsbruck has done everything to organize a great event. If you find anything to be unsatisfactory, just inform your Youth Ambassador. The next Games can only benefit from these experiences!

6. How to prepare for the YOG?

What can be done to best prepare for the YOG in Innsbruck? For starters, the athletic competition is important for every participant and requires the right preparatory training. Many athletes will be confronted with a competition of this standing for the first time, whereas others have already participated in national and higher level competitions.

The YOG give many athletes from various nations the chance to participate, even though their chances of winning may be low.

Despite everything, the YOG is more to do with the hard training involved rather than simply about the winning.

Additionally, in the context of intercultural relations, the Youth Olympic Games provides the unique opportunity to meet sport enthusiasts from all over the world.

The YOG last two weeks for the participants, thus each athlete should have enough time for the Culture and Education Program (CEP) in addition to the competitions. The CEP focuses on the following themes:

- Olympism: Participants will learn to understand, embrace and express the three Olympic values of Excellence, Respect and Friendship
- Well-Being & Healthy Lifestyle: Nutrition, anti-doping, overtraining and the balance of body and mind
- Social Responsibility: Young athletes will learn about (personal) sporting success and the responsibility as role models which this brings. Other themes will include environmental issues and sustainability.
- Expression: Using digital media, the athletes will learn how to share their experiences and impressions of the Winter Youth Olympic Games with a worldwide community.
- Skills Development: The various facets of a professional athlete's career will be discussed, including how to co-operate with sponsors and media and the options when it comes to combining a sporting career with a professional education.

You probably dealt with some issues and problems in preparation for the YOG, but certain other issues could be new. Perhaps you will encounter some difficulties, other opinions or language issues. Food is likely to be different from food at home. Try and stay open-minded towards opinions of others. Sometimes even the food is not as bad as expected – you could just try it!

Furthermore, every participant is expected to be an ambassador for his or her own country. Therefore, it is important to be familiar with the culture of your nation and the fundamental historical information. If you know something about the cultural tradition in your country, you will be able to inform other young people from other countries about your culture. The Youth Games are more than simply about competition. They also afford competitors the opportunity to meet different participants from all over the world who are all sport enthusi-

asts. Knowing who you are and where you are from allows you to tell others about yourself and your country!

7. As a young athlete, how do I fulfill my role as an ambassador of the Olympic movement?

Each young high-level athlete needs to be aware of his or her role model function vis a vis other participants of the YOG.

This is the case as individuals from many different cultures come together and are required to respect the Olympic values. These mainly concern the requirement for fairness, without which the Olympic competition could not function. Even though the participant's main objective may be to win, this should not justify the taking of performance-enhancing drugs or a violation of the competition's rules. Fair competition cannot exist unless the rules of competition are adhered to. Also, mutual understanding of one another is an essential requirement if participants are to treat each other with equal respect, regardless of different cultural backgrounds.

The above mentioned rules are applicable both before and after the Games, distinguish you as a true participant of the Olympic movement. Your attitude towards the Olympic Peace Ideal should be put into practice for everyone to see. You should also be aware of the fact that as a high-level athlete you are a role model for other athletes.

Last year we carried out a survey of the German participants and asked them to identify the qualities of other participants that in their view were exemplary. Many of them mentioned ambition, determination and discipline, while others identified helpfulness, frankness and good social skills. These are all important characteristics, which ultimately go towards establishing the Olympic Idea. With your personality you will certainly be sure to succeed – just remind yourself from time to time to make sure that you do not stray from these values due to numerous obligations or cash incentives!

8. How can the development of the YOG be continued?

The Youth Olympic Games are by far the most recent component of the Olympic movement. They do not have a long history and were originally conceived for the purpose of instilling the Olympic values into the young high-level athletes, to a greater extent than could otherwise be achieved by the Olympic Games. Should cases of cheating, e. g. through drug-taking, become more frequent, as was already found

to occur in several Olympic Games, it would be clear that the original concept of these Games had become distorted. As a result, the continuation of the Games in this form should not be continued. Even becoming fixated with the concept of winning medals in high-level sport or with excessive commercialisation would run counter to the founding principle of the Youth Olympic Games.

The recent start-up of the Youth Olympic Games will hopefully prove to be very productive. It is essential that the endorsement of an athlete's single-minded ambition to succeed gives way to the nurturing of a more broad minded approach and that the exchange of values between all of the athletes is encouraged. The first Games in Singapore was a good start, as it included a varied and interesting Culture and Educations Program. After facing initial criticism, the YOG in Singapore have afforded Winter Games in Innsbruck with a greater chance of success.

It is up to the on-site hosts to ensure that success is realized. The Singapore Games were a great beginning. Now the Games in Innsbruck need to be refined – notwithstanding that this is the very first Youth Winter Games. A first overall evaluation is likely to take place at the Games in Nanjing (China), from August 16th–28th 2014. This will provide an indication of what to expect for the future of the Youth Olympic Games.

NIKEPHOROS YOG, 2012, 255–266

Representation and Risk: Youth and Sports in Today's World

Lynne Chisholm
Innsbruck

There can be few realms of interest and activity that are more truly global in their reach and significance than are sports in today's world. In parallel, the global village is already a consistent dimension of young people's life-worlds, even if more insistently in the virtual than in the real, and for those living in the isolated fourth world certainly in but embryonic and disorganised fragments of the imagination. Today's world is a myriad of worlds of circumstance and experience that intersect only partially with each other: there are still millions upon millions of young people who cannot watch the Youth Olympic Games and may well not know of their existence, still less why they might be interesting or relevant. In other words, Olympic Games and other competitive sports events on a global, world regional or even national scale represent nothing at all for such young people. But many of them can immediately appreciate that physical activities can be a risky endeavour, since this is part of their everyday lives in the savannah, in the forest, on the water or in the fields and mountains of their local environment. This is a kind of risk that young people living in Innsbruck – where the 2012 Youth Olympic Games take place – know precious little about, though on average probably rather more than the average young European: Tyrol is full of mountains and its people carry the memory of a hard, unforgiving life between a rock and a hard place, as the Irish would phrase it. Not a few of them continue to scale the summits for the sheer joy of it; many more ski in the opposite direction, and learning how to do so with calculated risk reduction is part of every child's school curriculum.

Social scientists prefer to calculate risks, too, before they tender accounts of what observations and patterns might represent. That usually means collecting some information and making sense of it. The Youth Olympic Games is a global event; it would be good to have some reliable global information about youth and sports, and even better to have some comparable data that goes beyond who set which records when and in representation of which country. Here, the social scientist draws a blank and must begin from where she and the Youth Olympic Games 2012 find themselves, namely in Europe.

The latest Youth Eurobarometer reports that 45% of young Europeans (aged 15–30 in 2007 and in 27 countries) take exercise (going for

a walk or a bike ride and practising sports) in their leisure time. Almost as many (40%) said that they spend time going out and about (meet friends, go dancing, to drink and to eat) and 16% go to the cinema, theatre or concerts. Many young people evidently like to be on the move and they are sociable – and these two kinds of things often go together, not least through membership in sports clubs. Just under half of young Europeans who belong to an association of some kind report that they are members of sports clubs – but overall, only just over one in five are members of any organisation in the first place. Active involvement in *la vie associative* is on the whole much more popular in the west and especially in the north of Europe than in its eastern and southern countries. Furthermore, physical exercise is generally less popular in the latter than in the former. Everywhere in Europe, it is young men who are more likely to be sports-active (the Eurobarometer question records on average 50%, compared with 40% for young women); and higher participation levels also hold for those of both sexes who stay in education until they are at least 20 years of age.

The statistically typical picture of the young European who is physically active is hence a young man in his mid to late teens living in northern Europe and who is still pursuing his education. The correlation between involvement in sports and being in a club also means that young men are more often members of an organisation than are young women (26% vs. 18%; and this trend is repeated for membership specifically in sports clubs: 54% vs. 41%). Similarly the better educated are more likely to be members of organisations (25% vs. 16% for those completing their education by the age of 16). It is quite possible that the correlations between educational status, being sports-active and being in an organisation are in part due to the greater time-flexibility that pupils and students enjoy in comparison with young workers. But this cannot account for the gender differences.

Interestingly, in Europe (and not only here) young women now equal or outpace young men as far as educational participation and achievement is concerned, so that in principle we ought to expect that young women would be better represented as members of organisations – and also amongst those who are sports-active. Young women's participation in organised sports is definitely on the rise – this is attested by their growing visibility in football, handball and tennis as well as in the classic Olympic track and field disciplines. So at least in the upper levels of competitive individual and – increasingly, but still less so – team sports, young women are claiming their share of the action – to which the high interest in the 2011 Women's Football World Cup also testifies. Change is much slower and less clear at the

level of everyday involvement in sports and exercise; the persistence of gender differences is closely associated with what sports represent for young people, as we shall see further below.

Fig. 1: Dance – a team sport

Comprehensive facts and figures on sport as a social activity amongst young people are sparse, especially in international comparison; and in contrast to medical, biological and psychological studies, relevant social research literature is no less rare. The relevance of sports for creating and reflecting the embodiment of the self, most especially the gendered self and most specifically for young men is a topic that is currently much in vogue. Beyond this, youth researchers seem to be mesmerised by 'sports-like' physical activities – both city-street trolley-surfing and bunjee-jumping in canyons – as a symbolic variety of sex, drugs and rock'n'roll. Young people who engage in non-regulated and spontaneous physical activities are particularly likely to be considered 'at risk' – not of an accident, but of waywardness. It is worth recalling in this context that this is exactly the view that was taken by respectable adult society of working-class young men playing football on the streets in 19th century England: unregulated football was a symbolic demonstration of being out of control and at risk of crime and deviance. Not only everyday public opinion but also much research-based analysis shares the conviction that young people

– and most particularly teenage boys – are prone actively to court risk, whether for thrills or to test their courage and skill. This can equally be reinterpreted as a form of self-directed learning that includes exploration of the self – something that engaging in sports can offer, of course, and not only going to raves – which might well also be seen as a kind of endurance sport that may be aided and abetted by substance use and abuse.

Uncertainty and risk have always accompanied people's lives. Social theorists would argue that objectively, people were exposed in the past to greater risks to life and limb than they are today, but that it is the *subjective perception* of inherent uncertainty and risk that characterises contemporary perspectives and interpretations of our worlds. This is certainly related to the modernist conviction that we can in principle manipulate and control our environment and ourselves, not only because scientific and technical knowledge is at our command to do so but also because we have developed a strong sense of personal agency and human volition. Paradoxically, the more we seek to exert direction of our minds, our bodies and social and natural worlds, the more we become aware of how much there is to bring under control and how ineffective and even counterproductive we can be in trying to do so – as we are beginning to learn to our cost as far as the forces of the natural environment are concerned.

The reflexive modernisation thesis holds that in today's world, people both learn and are compelled to create and recreate, on a continuous basis, the confluence of circumstance and choice in the unfolding of their lives, weighing up the balance of chances and risks as these present themselves in specific conjunctures, being prepared to act with reason and judgement within multiple contingencies – and taking or accepting responsibility accordingly. These processes and how we come to understand them mask, at least in part, the pre-structured qualities of the social contexts into which we are born and grow up. So, for example, the links between social background and formal educational attainment remain strong, despite all the individual efforts made by children, young people, their parents and teachers to reach their full potential. Participation in sports reflects these patterns, too. Some sports (such as golf or fencing) are still associated with social distinction, whereas others (such as billiards and darts) are seen as *populaire*. Which is which varies across time and between countries and cultures: in the United Kingdom, skiing still retains something of an elite aura, but in Austria and Norway, it has always been a sport for everyone that was only relatively recently discovered by adventurous and largely well-off gentlemen. When sports jump across national-cultural boundaries, they are prone to lose their associations with par-

ticular milieus – as in the case of Rugby League, which originated in northern English popular culture but is now Papua-Neuguinea's national sport.

This increasingly fluid world, it can be argued, generates hyper-awareness of uncertainty and risk against the backdrop of a normative imperative to take one's life into one's own hands. Paradoxically, the most evident solution strategy is to avoid risks, in the hope of re-introducing greater predictability as the structural prerequisite for achieving greater autonomy of action – taking considered decisions depends on being able to survey and assess the range of options available. At the societal level, risk-avoidance translates into institutionalised precautionary measures: the London Tube's injunction to 'mind the gap' is a world-renowned simple example; increasingly expensive modification to office buildings to reduce fire hazards and their consequences is another. In everyday life, the growing concern to protect children and young people from all possible risk in a world where danger seems to lie around every corner, including in their own homes, may lead to an over-regulation of their activities and movements that only begins with walking or driving them to school and can end in islands of disconnected experience that themselves produce other kinds of risks to positive identity development and active social participation. One example might be the retreat into 'an e-room of one's own' that distorts interests and perspectives; another might be restricting young women's participation in social life outside the family, leading to emotional dependency and low self-confidence. One thing is certain: such young people are unlikely to be sports-active, since their freedom of movement is subject to containment, either that imposed by families and social institutions (such as schools, faiths and social services) or that which they come to impose upon themselves.

At the same time, of course, engaging in sports activities is generally something that elicits the approval of proximate and institutionalised adult society – more precisely, engaging in *organised* sports activities that are *supervised* by adults, especially by those formally qualified to do so. This means in school sports and at sports clubs, both of which are *regulated social environments* that bring young people together as age-structured peer-groups. They also constitute a significant expression of social and community involvement and as such are informal learning environments where young people can experience and gain knowledge and competence for active citizenship on a broader front in adult life and the public sphere – not only through playing sports as a social activity in itself, but also through gaining a sense of community belonging and social identity. Yet participation in organised sports activities is not only about social cooperation and

togetherness – it also involves competition with others, both as individuals and as groups (that is, teams), and there can be little doubt that sharper competitiveness in sports goes together with sharpened competitiveness in economy and society. Young people today are exposed to much more severe competition to secure valuable educational credentials, a socially distinctive curriculum vitae and a decent job with career prospects. Participating in competitive sports might be seen as a practising and hardening ground for these challenges – as well as contributing to that distinctive cv, especially when the sport carries social prestige, such as sailing, squash or scuba-diving. Competitive sports offer space for learning about how to take calculated risks, and indeed there is some evidence to suggest that those on the entrance cusp to the youth phase are not very practised at doing so, which helps to account for the high rates of sports injuries amongst those aged between 11–14. This reminds us that sports themselves can indeed pose risks *for* young people, though not simply or primarily in terms of potentially incurring physical injury. More pertinently, institutionalised sports today are typically highly competitive environments that induce early specialisation into a sports discipline, which can together lead to over-concern with body-image, high levels of conflict and aggression within the group and ultimately to youth burnout.

A key problem with organised and supervised sports, however, is that they are organised and supervised. These are not qualities that young people necessarily find attractive as a way to spend their time, and certainly not all of the time – after all, gaining personal and social autonomy is a process that requires independent exploration and practice, quite simply: learning by doing and under one's own steam, with trial and error as an inevitable part of the process. The rise of 'extreme' or 'lifestyle' sports has been linked with this problem, in that mainstream organised sports are caught up in over-regulated societies that are preoccupied with risk and its avoidance. Over-regulation provokes, in turn, searching to identify and cross risky borders – or edgework, as it is termed in the literature. The point about snowboarding off-piste is precisely that it crosses over to the wild side, where the mainstream taken-for-granted no longer holds. Oslo's Holmenkollen ski-jump may rightly inspire respect and awe amongst the jumpers and the spectators alike, and accidents are not impossible, but taking on the challenge is very much a calculated risk in a well-regulated environment. When young graffiti artists scale up onto a rooftop to score a 'heavens' (spraying on a place difficult or dangerous to reach) spectators are not part of the sport, its exercise is by definition self-regulated and only they are involved in calculating the risk.

Fig. 2: Graffiti heavens

Most young people are neither off-piste snowboarders nor graffiti artists in the urban jungle, nor are they world-class ski-jumpers. Yet increasing interest in novel, as-yet-unregulated sports-like activities on the one hand and widespread irritation amongst young people with institutionalised forms of social and political engagement and participation on the other hand may well be related phenomena. Young people in Europe, at any rate, have made it abundantly clear that they see their opportunities for gaining autonomy shrinking in the face of the complexities and risks associated in particular with education and employment transitions, and that moreover their voices go largely unheard in the public sphere, above all in organised politics. It follows that their membership and active participation in established organised forms of community and political life is in decline – and this includes sports clubs and associations. It does not follow that young people are socially and politically disengaged, but much rather that they are increasingly insisting on new ways of engaging and participating in social and political life. The interesting issue is whether this also applies to the world of sport and if so, how it manifests itself. Are young sportspeople beginning to question the aims and the operation of major sporting councils and regulatory bodies? Do they see themselves as under-represented amongst the sports decision-makers and advisory bodies? What kinds of things would they like to see changed?

So the mainstream represents relative safety, the wild side relative risk. Which young people prefer which side of the coin, or to which side they have greater access, is by no means largely a matter of chance or indeed of personality. Quite the reverse: patterns of participation and preference are significantly associated with social background and gender. It may be self-evident that girls and women play sports and that there are now plenty of top sportswomen, but their distribution across sports disciplines remains uneven and they are still more likely to be found in individual rather than team sports. Whereas in general, boys and young men are more likely to be sports-active than girls and young women, this does not hold in the case of 'elite sports', where children of both sexes are involved in equal measure; this reflects their social background, in that they participate in the sports that their parents practice and choose for them. Access to organised sports provision itself differs according to locality and milieu, as well as between individual countries and between urban and rural areas. These differences and inequalities arise from differing levels of national prosperity and its distribution, but also from divergent social and community policy and action with respect to sports facilities and funding.

These factors in themselves produce social inequalities in participation, but they are joined by cultural traditions that code particular types of sports as 'belonging to' specific social milieus. These traditions can change over time and space: football was originally a working-class sport for a European island nation and is now a global sport that attracts great interest in all social quarters; tennis was originally an aristocratic sport that now enjoys broad spectator popularity in the western world, although it still carries something of an aura of middle-class respectability as a participant sport. So individual sports can and do represent social locations and cultural traditions, although this is not necessarily the case for all sports – it is interesting, for example, that at least some track and field disciplines may be seen to represent a certain noble heritage through their association with ancient Greece, but today this has little systematic influence on their recruitment patterns – many decades of targeted talent selection, grants, bursaries and commercial sponsoring have erased the practical influence of the cultural coding, although it remains the case that young people must somehow have access to the places where talent is scouted in order to be discovered as having high sporting potential. Such access is by no means self-evident or equally social distributed.

Fig. 3: Spontaneous trolley-surfing

Most significant of all, perhaps, is the persistence of the gendered coding of sports activities – not only with respect to which kinds of sports are seen to be more appropriate for which gender, but in the fundamental sense that sports per se are coded as masculine activities. They *represent* masculinity and are an arena for acquiring, displaying and practising masculinity, in that they not only *incorporate* endurance and daring but they also *create body images* that affirm physical and muscular strength. In cultures that code masculinity and femininity as binary opposites, engaging in sports stands in contradiction with femininity, so that girls and women who do participate are doing do in spite of their gender identity and the attributes and behaviours that are associated with femininity. This contradiction makes itself felt more sharply in some sports than in others: women boxers are therefore especially likely to cultivate an accentuated feminine appearance (dress, make-up). Yet it is particularly noticeable that as the visibility of top sportswomen has risen, so has the sexualisation of their appearance intensified – as in all other spheres of social life, women are judged not only for their knowledge and competence, but also for how they look and the extent to which they match the ideals of feminine beauty of the day.

Boys and young men whose access to organised sports is constrained, or who themselves reject organised sports because these are over-regulated and therefore rather boring, do have alternatives. If they live in naturally open-space regions or come from families with appropriate resources, they can turn to less regulated lifestyle and extreme sports. If they live in urban environments or come from disadvantaged backgrounds, they can turn to informal street sports that are invented on the spot and may become an ephemeral youth cultural fashion. As far as the production and display of masculinity is concerned, all these activities serve the same purpose as organised sports participation. In the abstract, girls and young women have these options too – but they are much less likely to adopt them: femininity is essentially affirmed by *not* participating in sports activities and physical exercise, and so constrained access to organised sports, howsoever occasioned, is fundamentally unproblematic as far as the production and display of femininity is concerned. They are least likely of all to engage in informal street sports, since this also contravenes a deeply-coded tradition of restrained involvement in the public sphere: to transpose what used to be the mark of well-brought up children in general, it is still very much the case that girls and women may be seen, but not heard.

All these dimensions have to be taken into account when trying to understand and explain the fact that on the one hand, it is perfectly clear than many girls and women not only take part in sports but also reach fame and even fortune thereby, and on the other hand it remains the case that girls and young women are considerably less likely to participate in sports in everyday life. This is especially so if they come from socially disadvantaged backgrounds or from particularly traditional cultures and regions. This explains, then, why the statistical picture of the young physically active European is a young man in his mid to late teens living in northern Europe and who is still pursuing his education. Girls and young women from socially disadvantaged backgrounds with less education are least likely to engage in sports, especially if they come from cultures that traditionally protect and prevent women from participation in the public sphere.

At the same time, it is almost impossible to bring together a single consolidated account of how representations and risks are structured and reflected in the patterns of participation and meaning with respect to youth and sports in today's world – this world is much too differentiated to do so with adequate reference to and respect for the variety of social and cultural tradition and opportunity. Most of the published research literature available and accessible is itself lop-sided, produced and grounded as it is in the perspectives and practices of a

small number of countries, cultures and language communities. This does not make it any the less valuable, but it does lead us to conclude that speaking to and with a global community of young sportspeople ought to be able to draw on a much wider knowledge-base and especially one that can view such issues from non-western worldviews and circumstances. One of the most significant insights that the world of sports can bring is that it furnishes an open space in which mind, body and environment meet and coalesce into personal and social experience and development. Sports activities can thus represent an arena for critical reflection on how relations between self and society are currently constituted and how these might be amended. Youth is a life-course phase in which the potential for change and its wider impact is open-ended – if circumstances permit this to be so. One might conclude, then, by asking those engaged in the Youth Olympic Games to consider their edgework potential and how to make better use of it, not least by ensuring that young sportspeople everywhere in this world are not only seen, but also heard.

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