

INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC ACADEMY

ARCHIVES AND HISTORY
OF THE HELLENIC OLYMPIC COMMITTEE



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of the Hellenic Olympic Committee.

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Preface

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Athens, 2002

PREFACE

W

ITH THE COMPLETION of the work concerning the historical archives of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, a new period of collective responsibility for the past, as well as for the future of the Committee, has been initiated.

We should note, however, that whatever good intentions we may have as individuals, often inertia insinuates itself between the facts and their history, at times interwoven with indifference, at others with relative lack of erudition.

For that reason, it is necessary that we discover new feelings and new motivations, that we place our heart where once others, in the same roles as we have now, made their entrance and stood on the stage of the Hellenic Olympic Committee (then Committee of the Olympic Games) Theatre.

The circumstances that encouraged and channelled the idea of preserving and classifying the HOC archives, in the most scientific and appropriate way, were both unforeseen and providential. The overall supervision of the work was in the hands of the Associate Professor of the History and Ethnology Department of the Democritus University of Thrace, Christina Koulouri, renowned in the field of historical research for her exceptional and pioneering studies on sport. The research team was made up of the researchers Yiannis Yiannitsiotis, Doctor of History, and the archaeologist Vassiliki Tzachrista. The preservation of the documents was in the capable hands of the conservationist Penelope Banou.

The project was funded by the Olympic Solidarity Committee of the International Olympic Committee, to whom we wish to express our sincere gratitude for their invaluable contribution.

Thus, at last, things have taken a wise course, one can say. The archives are ready, and we no longer have to stress the need for their classification, and to consider it an impossible task.

We have in our possession the completed work and what now needs to be done is to reinforce interest in research and study, the love of culture, respect for athletic and Olympic history, fruitful criticism and an interest in life, which we sometimes think begins and ends in a piece of writing.

In conclusion, I would like to thank personally those who sponsored this project, Professor Christina Koulouri, and all those who put in many hours of work over a two-year period in the basement of the Hellenic Olympic Committee, bringing to light a new taste of the good old times of the HOC.

NIKOS FILARETOS



President of the IOA
Member of the IOC

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INTRODUCTION

THE HELLENIC OLYMPIC COMMITTEE BEFORE ITS HISTORY



The Hellenic Olympic Committee and historical research

AS ATHENS WILL once again, after one hundred and eight years, host the Olympic Games, there is renewed interest in the history of the Olympic Games, not only in Greece but internationally. Greece has been called to take up the challenge and organise games with a 'historical fragrance', a fragrance that is both authentic and appealing, which will spring from a sound and unprejudiced knowledge of the past¹. Indeed, in this re-evaluation of Olympism, Greece has a lot to offer as the 'dual' home of the Olympic Games: as the place where the ancient Olympic Games were born and the place where they were revived after fifteen centuries. The three different moments in the history of the Olympics –Antiquity, 19th century middle-class Europe, the 21st century of globalisation– with one common place of reference, Greece, clearly signpost the historical changes of the Olympic Games through time, despite the misleading retention of the name.

For many, the evolution of the Games in the 20th century, which led to a commercialisation of the spectacle and the transformation of the moral character of the athlete, distorted the values that had inspired the Olympic movement, which needs to be re-baptised in its ancient birthplace. Irrespective of whether such a thing is feasible –given the historicity of physical exercise in general and the Olympic Games in particular– there is no doubt that the Athens Olympics are arousing the collective imagination and giving rise to symbolic associations. In two years' time, the Olympic Games at Athens could be a new 'revival', a time to look back at the past, an opportunity to rekindle our historical memory.

In this renewed broadening of the history of the Olympic Games, the institution that is primarily connected with them, that is, the Olympic Games Committee (which was later named the Hellenic Olympic Committee), cannot but play a central role, both as subject and object – as the instigator and vehicle for historiographical initiatives and as the object of historical research. Equally important is the International Olympic Academy's role, since every effort of this kind is inscribed in the context of Olympic culture and the academic research of the course of the Olympic Idea. Consequently, a book published by the International Olympic Academy (IOA) and dealing with the past of the Hellenic Olympic Committee (HOC) underscores the importance of historical research in defining the content of Olympism.

The historical archives of the Hellenic Olympic Committee

HISTORICAL RESEARCH has, of course, rules and methods familiar to those involved in the science of History. Furthermore, historical research is inconceivable without the use of sources (here we include every type of historical source and not just documents).

The history of sports and the Olympic Games can, therefore, not be written without research into the sports and Olympic archives. Despite this elementary and obvious assertion, sports history –as well as many other types of history– have been written and continue to be written without documentary evidence. The reasons are numerous and

The image shows a vintage Greek postcard from 1906. The top half features a collage of various medals, ribbons, and a large illustration of a classical building with people in front. The bottom half contains handwritten text in Greek, which reads:

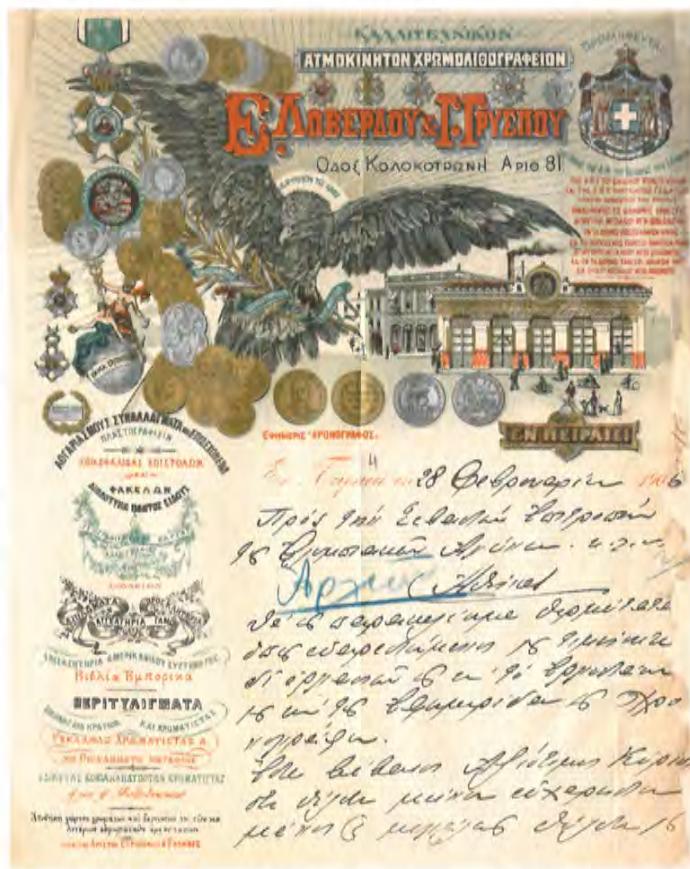
Ε. Λοβεραδού & Γ. Γρεγού
Οδός Κολοκοτρών Αριθμ. 81.

Ε. Γρεγού 28 Δεκεμβρίου 1906
Προς την Ελάσση Σπορτσαρί^ν
16 Δημοσίευμα Αριθμ. 421-1
Αρχείο (θέματα)
Σε 6 σελίδες με όπιστα
σε 6 σελίδες με 16 πληράκες
στην πρώτη σελίδα της έγχρωμης
16 σε 96 σελίδες με 16 θέματα
1906 ή περί.
Σε 6 σελίδες αφίσες και
σε 6 σελίδες με 16 πληράκες
με 16 θέματα σελίδα 16

It is obvious that the HOC archives are one of the most important collections of documents for the writing of Greek and international sports and Olympic history. In 1999, on the initiative of the President of the International Olympic Academy and member of the International Olympic Committee, Mr. Nikos Filaretos, I was entrusted with the work of classifying, recording and preserving the HOC historical archives. The challenge was daunting because of the importance and the size of the archives. An incalculable number of documents placed in folders of different types and periods and with different classification systems, had to be classified from scratch and recorded according to archival principles. At the same time, the urgent work of preservation had to begin.

The archives had already been transferred, in autumn 1999, from the Panathenean Stadium and the previous offices of the Committee in Kapsalis Street to a special area, where they would be safe, with humidity and temperature levels suitable for the preservation of documents. The archives were indeed placed in the basements of the new HOC premises in Halandri, where special cabinets were built for their storage. This was also the workplace for the research team and the place where the archives would be classified and filed.

Because of the state of the archives, preservation strategies had to be drawn up and priorities regarding the order of the work to be completed had to be worked out. The first



finding was that the archives had suffered irreparable damage. The second was that, because of the loss of large sections, it was impossible to completely restore the initial classification. Consequently, priorities were a) the preservation of those documents and books that had survived; b) the saving of information contained in the documents, which constituted the principal value of the archives.

Indeed, as defined by Law 1946/91 'archives are the sum of evidence and documents, irrespective of year, form and material, that has to do with the activity of the State, public and private organisations or legal or private individuals or groups of private individuals'. It is clear that archives are not the same as works of art, which require other strategies and costs to preserve and restore them. What is of primary importance, therefore, in preserving archives is, above all, the saving of their contents, i.e. the historical information they contain and not the paper itself, which is devoid of artistic value in the case of 20th century documents. The cost, therefore, and the time spent preserving documents of our century should be relatively limited, as there are no chemical ways to preserve them. The only thing that can be done is to create environmental conditions that we can control. For exactly the same reasons micro-filming and digitalising the documents are recommended, so that the originals are not subjected to further wear and tear by researchers, who can then read them on microfilm or by means of CD-Rom³.

Saving the contents of the archives in electronic form was considered a top priority. With that aim in mind, a database was designed especially for the HOC archives in accordance with its particular needs and the research potential. The same database was used with minor differences for recording the IOA archives⁴. The two archives –that of the Hellenic Olympic Committee and the International Olympic Academy– have, therefore, been recorded in separate databases and with a different numbering system. This database is exceptionally analytic, with many fields. It is user-friendly and allows the researcher to pursue many lines of research, as well as the printing of catalogues of every type – thematic, chronological, by document, etc.– in a rough form.

For the period 1894-1936, the computer entry was carried out by document, while for the period 1937-1972 by folder. An inventory was also made of the whole of the IOA archives by box up to 1996 (the hundredth anniversary of the revival of the Olympic Games). The classification and entry of the archives was carried out according to three units: the document, the folder and the box⁵. The books (volumes of copies of correspondence, the minutes of meetings, registers of correspondence etc.) form a special unit. On the main body of archival documents are classification notations of the type e.g. K1-Φ2-E3 (= box 1 –folder 2 –document 3), by which means it is possible to access the docu-





ments by computer. Each document has been indexed by 1) date, as well as other dates contained in the document, 2) general theme (e.g. foreign correspondence), 3) summary of content, 4) name of author or authors, 5) name of recipient or recipients (given that the majority of the archives are correspondence), 6) the names of persons referred to in the document, 7) place names, 8) specific themes and key-words. Moreover, on a special field other comments concerning the document have been entered.

The documents have been placed in folders and boxes according to the year and theme that we have chosen for the sum of the Archives. For the first period, where there were handwritten classification notations on the documents, we restored the original, his-

torical classification of the archives. As a result, we have a clear picture of their form at the beginning of the last century and can also locate the loss of individual documents as well as large groups of documents. Larger gaps were found in the local correspondence and in the first period of the Committee's existence, while the archives seem to be considerably more complete with regard to foreign correspondence and for the period around the time the Intermediary Olympic Games of 1906 were held. Losses in recent years are of course fewer, where the original filing system was maintained, which combines year and subject criterion. The number of documents by each activity and importance theme indicates the extent of fairs. For example, for the in the context of the HOC's af-
Games there are more than 1906 Intermediary Olympic 3,500 documents in the ar-
chives and for the Berlin Olympics (1936) 1,476,
while for the other Olympics (1920, 1924,
1928, 1932) the number of documents is clearly
smaller and fluctuates between 400 and 600 documents.
Equally revealing is the quantity of documents for the various sports and reflects the spread of each in Greek society. It is not of course that they are linked to the areas (Panathenean Stadium, Velodrome, Rifle Range) with specific uses for specific sports.
light the history of the Committee it has to take into account the HOC's management of sports institution, on the one hand, and the history of Greek sport in general in combination with the political, social, economic and cultural changes that took place in Greece during the 20th century, on the other.



The history of sport through the HOC archives

FROM THE REVIVAL of the Olympic Games, and because of them, the HOC was the principal athletic institution in Greece, with an important political role. Indeed, the revival of the Olympic Games made the setting-up of the HOC a necessity. However, from the beginning of the 20th century it acquired responsibilities and powers that went beyond the boundaries defined by the holding of the Olympic Games every four years. In the 20th century, with the development of sports, mainly football, the creation of national and international organisations for each sport led to a fragmentation of powers, which undoubtedly limited the role played by the HOC in the administration of sport. Nevertheless, the political and social prestige of the Committee was not diminished.

Those who formed the Committee belonged to the political and intellectual elite of the country and, during the periods of a monarchical democracy⁶, they had close ties

with the royal family. At the same time, they participated in a complex network of relationships, personal, family and institutional, which determined –on a secondary, usually invisible– level both the nature and the functioning of the HOC, as well as the organisation and administration of Greek sport in general.

The 'internal' history of the HOC is outlined in the archives from every aspect. The composition of the HOC, that is, those persons who comprised it, is that which above all defines its character: figures that were members for years, new members and the succession of people, presidents and general secretaries. The concentration of power in the hands of specific individuals and groups within the Committee undoubtedly determined



the ideological and political ethos of any given time. The minutes of meetings, moreover, reflect not only the activities of the HOC but also how it functioned from an administrative point of view (frequency and length of meetings, day, time and place of meetings, number present, subjects under discussion and responsibilities, etc.).

The fact that the HOC was in charge of and managed the main sports grounds in the region of the capital (Panathenean Stadium, Velodrome and the Rifle Range at Kallithea) for many years strengthened the role it played in the organisation of athletic and competitive events. At the same time, the holding of the Olympic Games every four years bestowed on the HOC an international role that other sports institutions did not have, like SEGAS (Union of Greek Gymnastic and Sports Clubs) and various sports federations, at least during the first half of the 20th century. Anyway, the Olympic Games operated, at a time when the rules of sports events and contests had not been fully delineated, as the principal institution around which sports bureaucracy, both on a national and international level, was centred.

In any event, the Hellenic Olympic Committee wished to play an international role, almost from its foundation. The request for the holding of the Olympic Games permanently in Greece, which was put forward during the first Olympic Games in 1896, constituted an ambition that arose periodically and took concrete form in the institution of the Intermediary Olympic Games, of which only the first were actually held (1906). The



proposal for the foundation of the International Olympic Academy, under the auspices of the IOC, in 1949, confirmed the international orientation of the HOC, which took it upon itself to found and operate this cultural institution that was of such great importance to Olympism. The International Olympic Academy, which operated uninterruptedly from 1961⁷, again made ancient Olympia the centre of Olympic culture.

The diverse aspects of the correspondence contained in the archives correspondingly shed light on aspects of the HOC's international activities: relations with the International Olympic Committee and the foreign Olympic committees, with foreign sports associations and federations or international sports personalities. At the same time relations formed on a national level with various sports bodies, both state and private, mainly SEGAS, the federations, various ministries –principally the Ministry of Education– and the General Secretariat of Sport (after its foundation in 1957) and local administrative bodies come out in the correspondence. Also, facts relating to the social range of sport are apparent, facts about the political, social and cultural life of Greece, the athletes and the financial side of sport. These facts are not always obvious 'to the naked eye'. The researcher must look for them among a volume of bureaucracy, which is constantly increasing and trying to regularise sports activities.

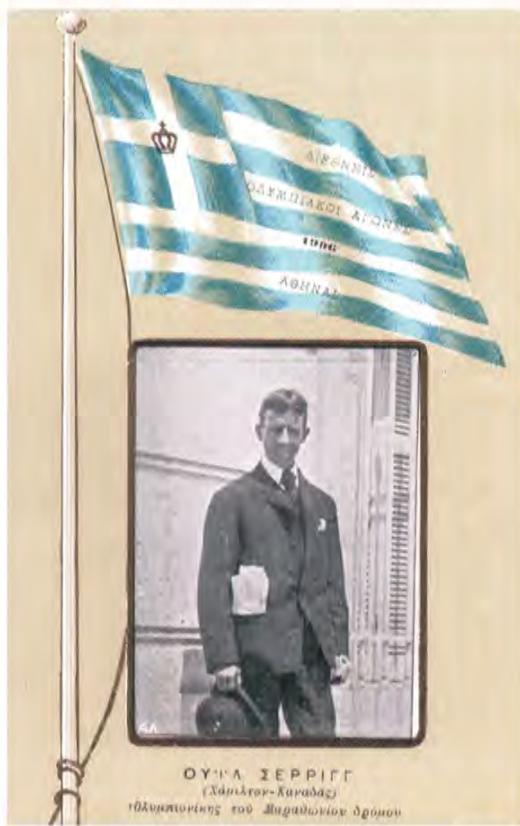
The analysis of budgets and the financial management in general can, for example, reveal useful facts about the HOC, sport and also the city of Athens: donations and grants to and from the HOC, tickets for games, rents and the upkeep of premises, employees' salaries, commissions for gymnastic equipment and others. Already from the time of the Intermediary Olympic Games (1906) the commercial aspect of sport was apparent. The HOC has a wealth of correspondence with foreign companies concerning orders for sports equipment, both for traditional sports and more modern ones (volley balls, sailing boats, gymnastic equipment, etc.). The early commercialisation of sport and the growth of the sports industry, consumerism and financial interest became ever more apparent in the 20th century.

The history of the Olympic Games also takes up a significant part of the archives. We have a considerable amount of information about the Greek participation in the Olympics that took place every four years, the Greek athletes, their performance and the impact of the Greek Olympic presence in Greece and the organisation of Greek sport. There is, moreover, an abundance of information about the holding of each Olympic Games – programmes and the rules of each sport, invitations and tickets, information about the accommodation and food of the athletes and so on.

Linked with the history of the Olympic Games to some extent is the history of the various sports. There were sports that made their appearance only to disappear relatively quickly like, for example, the standing high jump, 'climbing the rope', 'tug of war'. Sports that at the time of the revival of the Olympic Games had not been considered 'worthy' of inclusion in the Olympic programme, like football, quickly became Olympic events, with the recognition of their expansion and importance within the framework of the athletic events as a whole. Other sports were created after the revival of the Olympic Games, became accepted as leisure and entertainment activities and gradually became Olympic sports like basketball, volleyball, diving, etc. Most of these sports –group and recreational– very soon became professional. So, the fact that they were Olympic events was of marginal importance to them and did not significantly influence their development and character.

Along with sports events, athletic meetings were institutionalised and abolished. The Olympic Games was a model institution and a basis for other large international meetings, usually of a regional character, like the Balkan, the European and the Mediterranean Games, on which to establish themselves. These meetings became part of the athletic calendar, with a periodicity corresponding to that of the Olympic Games, while they applied the same international rules of conduct for the various events. In the first





years after the revival of the Olympic Games, in fact, considerable effort was made to codify the rules of the events so that they would be effective internationally. At the same time performances began to be recorded and the notion of a 'record' was introduced, which also became specific to each games – Olympic, World, Balkan, European, National and so on.

The international system of organising the games, enforcing the rules and recording performances was transferred to games of lesser significance, like national and local games. At the same time, therefore, alongside international meetings were national games –the Panhellenic in this case– in each event, as well as local games, which were held in smaller urban centres, usually on the initiative of local clubs. The HOC archives allowed the games to be watched –in Athens at least– from the beginning of the century. Many of these games were institutionalised to honour an individual or in memory of some event or as a revival of some ancient games or with the collaboration of clubs, but they did not endure long and were soon abolished. This was the case, for example, of the shooting games 'Eleftheria' (Celebration of Freedom) (1910-1912), the 'Panathenean' (from 1921), the English-Greek Games 'Ekatombea' (the Hecatombs) (1930), the games 'in honour of the King of Italy' (1907-1912), and others.

The games are also a part of the history of Greek sports clubs, about which the archives have a vast amount of information: founding year, activity, administration, athletes, holding of sports events, distinctions. More importantly, because of their infrequency, there is information concerning the smaller clubs of the capital and outside the capital, as well as the clubs outside Greece for the period up to 1922 (Greek clubs in the Ottoman Empire and the Diaspora). With regard to the Diaspora and its participation in the athletic life of Greece –with financial contributions or athletes– a lot of information can be found for the period around the Intermediary Olympic Games. Up to 1922, most active were the Greek clubs in the Ottoman Empire (mainly Smyrna), which invited the Greek national clubs to the games they held (e.g. the Panonian), while they too took part in the Panhellenic Games held in Athens. After 1922 and the population exchange, the activity of these clubs was transferred to the urban centres of the Greek state. Subsequently, the activity of the Greek Diaspora in America and Egypt became more significant.

From yesterday to today: 'Greekness' and the Olympics

THE QUANTITY AND VARIETY of subject matter contained in the HOC archives – and which go beyond the boundaries of the history of sport – cannot of course be reflected in a publication whose purpose is merely to try and make known an archival collection and shed light on the research avenues it offers. However, instead of the printing of a catalogue of themes that has been recorded during the indexing of documents, folders and boxes, we chose the present publication to use the archives to selectively present some historical themes of the HOC and Greek sport. Consequently, the texts contained in this volume are short studies that combine the primary archival material with the bibliography at our disposal without attempting to offer a complete and exhaustive presentation of themes. Each one of these themes could be the subject of an independent publication, among the many still pending in the history of sport.

The choice of subjects was dictated by the desire to highlight the Greek side of the history of the Olympic Games, according to the availability of the Archives. That does not mean, however, that the approach is entirely Greco-centric. Our aim was to gain deeper insight into the connections between Greece and the general history of the Olympic Games and the spread of the specific weight of 'Greekness' in the institutionalisation of the modern international Olympics – beginning with the revival and ending with the torch race.

For various reasons, therefore, which I will elaborate on later, it was decided to include a presentation of the first modern Olympic Games in Athens (1896), the Intermediary Olympics of 1906, the Balkan Games, the International Classical Games of 1934, the torch run, the Berlin Olympics (1936) and the Greek delegations to the Olympic Games (1900-1972). In all cases, it is possible to find the symbolic significance of the Greek presence, even in the distorted form it took in the Nazi fiesta. At the same time, in the remaining texts, emphasis is given to the development of sport in modern Greece – along with the spread of the institution of the Olympic Games – particularly during the period from 1896 to 1936. The gymnastic and sports clubs, the athletes, sports grounds like the Panathenean Stadium and the Velodrome represent different sides of a history that connects with the history of the Olympic Games and with the history of modern sport in general.

From the first Olympic Games in 1896 until the most recent in 2000, both the essence and the ritual of the Games changed. The modern Olympic Games are a far cry from the Games of 1896, in the same way that the Games of 1896 were clearly very different from the ancient Olympic Games. Indeed, the re-appearance of sport at the forefront of History was made possible in the 19th century after a series of economic,





special training and exercising areas, sports advertising and the economic importance of sports business are some of the aspects that confirm this belief⁸.

For Greece, some instants of the modern Olympic Games have greater significance, at least on a symbolic level. Most significant from every point of view – and not just symbolic – was undoubtedly the hour of the revival⁹. Modern Greece enthusiastically greeted the return of the Olympic Games to Greek soil. Collective self-confidence was reaffirmed in the memories of ancient glory, while 'inner' Greece and 'outer' Greece – Greece of the state and Greece of the Ottoman Empire and the Diaspora – came together in a common dream. At the same time, in those first Olympic Games are seen the contests between the athletic 'powers' of the time around an institution that at first had a French flavour but soon functioned as a reference point for international sport. The holding of the Games in Athens above all helped to speed up the development of Greek sport and at the same time led to the institutionalising of an international 'language' of sports contests with the codification of rules and the recording of performances.

With the holding of the Intermediary Olympic Games in 1906, Greece hoped to assume a leading role in the organisation of the Olympic Games¹⁰. After its failure to be established as a permanent location for the holding of the Olympic Games, Greece created an exclusively Greek institution that in essence affirmed and reminded its international partners that the games were Greek. This institution was supported both by Greek public opinion and by the Greek monarchy, but expired after the first games. The undertaking was formidable for a small country like Greece, and was cancelled because the country was in a constant state of war after 1912. However, the Intermediary Olympic Games of

social and cultural changes (the Age of Enlightenment and humanism, the critique of religion, the development of the physical sciences, the Industrial Revolution and the incorporation of the body in the productive process, etc.). From the end of the 19th century until the beginning of the 21st, the Olympic Games underwent substantial changes, hand in hand with all the other historical changes taking place. Today, the Olympic Games and sports are a basic component of world culture, with important economic, social and political repercussions. The place held by sports, both in the press and the e-media, the spectators at sports meetings, the importance of sports and athleticism in the educational process both in school and out, the rapid spread of

1906 were organised in an exemplary fashion by the HOC and the international participation was widespread and enthusiastic. The Intermediary Olympic Games in Athens gave the 'kiss of life' to the Olympic Games, this newfangled institution that had still to acquire general acceptance, and was still in search of its identity.

About thirty years later, the Olympic Games had become an established and successful institution. The International Classical Games in 1934, on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the revival of the Olympic Games, acknowledged the success of the Games, on the one hand, and brought Greece back to the epicentre of the international sports scene¹¹, on the other. The HOC's decision in 1927 to hold international classical games was not linked to its old desire for the Olympic Games to be held permanently in Greece. It was, however, a further attempt to create a new sports institution, which also petered out, this time because of a new war. The 1934 Games were the Greek response to developments in sport, in which professionalism was becoming more and more widespread and amateurism was being re-defined. The 'ancient spirit' –present in the holding of events like the *στάδιο* (sprint of one stade), the *δίαυλος* (double course sprint), *οπλίτης δρόμος* (race of men in armour)– was invoked to 're-baptise' athletes and amateurs into ancient Olympic models and values.

As a result, along with the Olympic Games, intermittent attempts were made to establish other international games with greater or less success. Of those in which Greece became involved, the most successful were the annual Balkan Games¹², most likely because of the political importance with which they had been invested during the interwar years, and so became established. These games, which were also connected with Olympic symbols, –the name initially proposed was 'Balkan Olympics'– arose out of the idea that the Balkan states should also cooperate in the field of sport. Greece played a key role in this new institution, both in its initial inception and in the holding of the games. Greece held the Balkan Games eleven times from 1931 to 1972, while it was the permanent organiser of the Games immediately after their foundation (1930-1933). Of course, the post-war division of the Balkans affected the institution, but did not lead to its abolition. It made it possible for athletes to distinguish themselves on a regional level, given that it was difficult for them to excel on a world level. Thus, for Greece, where the number of Olympic winners through the decades had been exceptionally limited, the title of Balkan winner bestowed honour on whoever held it.

Indeed, a study of the Greek delegation to the four-year Olympic Games¹³ shows that, after an initial period when Greece achieved some –relative to its size– important Olympic successes, a long period intervened during which the Greek participation had more of a symbolic character. The reasons were, first of all, to do with the general po-

Ο ΥΜΝΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΘΛΗΤΟΥ

(Εθνική Συνθέση)



litical developments and the country's involvement in regional, international and civil conflicts and, secondly, to do with development of sport and the spread of physical exercise within the country. It goes without saying, of course, that the two were closely connected and that Greece's participation in the Olympic Games was defined by the economic state of the country, given that the HOC was directly dependent on the state (only in 1955 did the HOC become a legal entity and would no longer be under the control of the Ministry of Education; in 1957, however, the General Secretariat of Sport was formed). As a result, the economic difficulties created by the almost permanent state of war¹⁴ forced the HOC to look for funds from donations. Apart from the state, banks, businesses and associations from time to time offered to support the Greek Olympic delegation. On many occasions, the contribution made by Greeks of the Diaspora was considerable.

The international athletic presence of Greece has been dependent, as mentioned above, on the development of sport within the country. The study, therefore, of gymnastics and sports associations can throw light on the many parameters of club sports¹⁵, from which came the champions who would strive for international acclaim and attempt to break records. The particularity of the Greek situation lies in the fact that up to 1922 Greek sport was evolving both inside and outside the state. As a result, important centres of development were located outside the borders of the Greek state, in the thriving Greek communities of the Ottoman Empire and the Diaspora. Smyrna and Egypt were centres of exceptional development, not only of classical sport but also of football in particular and other, middle-class sports, like tennis. In the present publication, however, we aim to

focus exclusively on the Greek state and try to give a clear picture of the geographical distribution, the types of sports and the social identity of the various clubs. The chapter on sports clubs for the period 1896-1972 is indicative and should be rather used as a starting point for a fuller and exhaustive research into the development of club sports. The facts contained in the HOC archives, however, show an over-centralisation in the capital and to a lesser extent in the



other urban centres. Regional sport, despite its considerable geographical spread, could not compete with the powerful sports clubs in Athens and Thessaloniki. However, it is interesting to observe the periodic rise of smaller urban centres, like Larissa, Volos, Heraklion and Patras, relative to their economic development and social composition. As for the sports fostered by the clubs, the supremacy of football comes as no surprise, given its global success and the outstanding growth of this particular sport worldwide.

The geographical origin and the social identity of the athletes are inevitably intertwined with the social history of Greek sport¹⁶. The profile of Greek athletes, therefore, is based on the general distinction between 'middle-class' and 'working-class' sports, which undoubtedly underwent change through time. Some sports retained their 'aristocratic' nature from the previous century –like horse riding– while others like cycling were popularised. Correspondingly, the social profile of those who practised them also changed. It is no accident that the Greek Olympic champion in sailing in the 1960 Olympics was the crown prince Constantinos, while the third Olympic champion in the pole-vault in 1956, Georgios Roubanis, was a student of physics and maths. Christos Iakovou, a champion weightlifter, with a number of important distinctions in international games, worked as a private employee along with his involvement in sport. Until very recently women's involvement with sport was marginal. In Greece, as in the rest of the Western world, middle-class women were involved in élite sports, not with the aim of achieving an outstanding performance or becoming champions. Female participation in the official international games was not established before the early 1930s. Thus, Greek female athletes took some time to gain distinction in international track events, especially in the Olympic Games.

Despite the limited distinction of the Greek athletes in the Olympic Games, the Greek presence was felt in the ritualistic side of the ceremonies, reminding the modern world of the ancient model. From the Amsterdam Olympics of 1928, the Greek team paraded first during the inaugural ceremony of the Games, a position that became official in 1949 with the IOC's resolution of approval. However, the Greek presence in the Games was strengthened mainly with the establishment of the torch run from 1936¹⁷. The torch

XIV OLYMPIAD LONDON 1948



COMPLETE LIST OF OLYMPIC CHAMPIONS

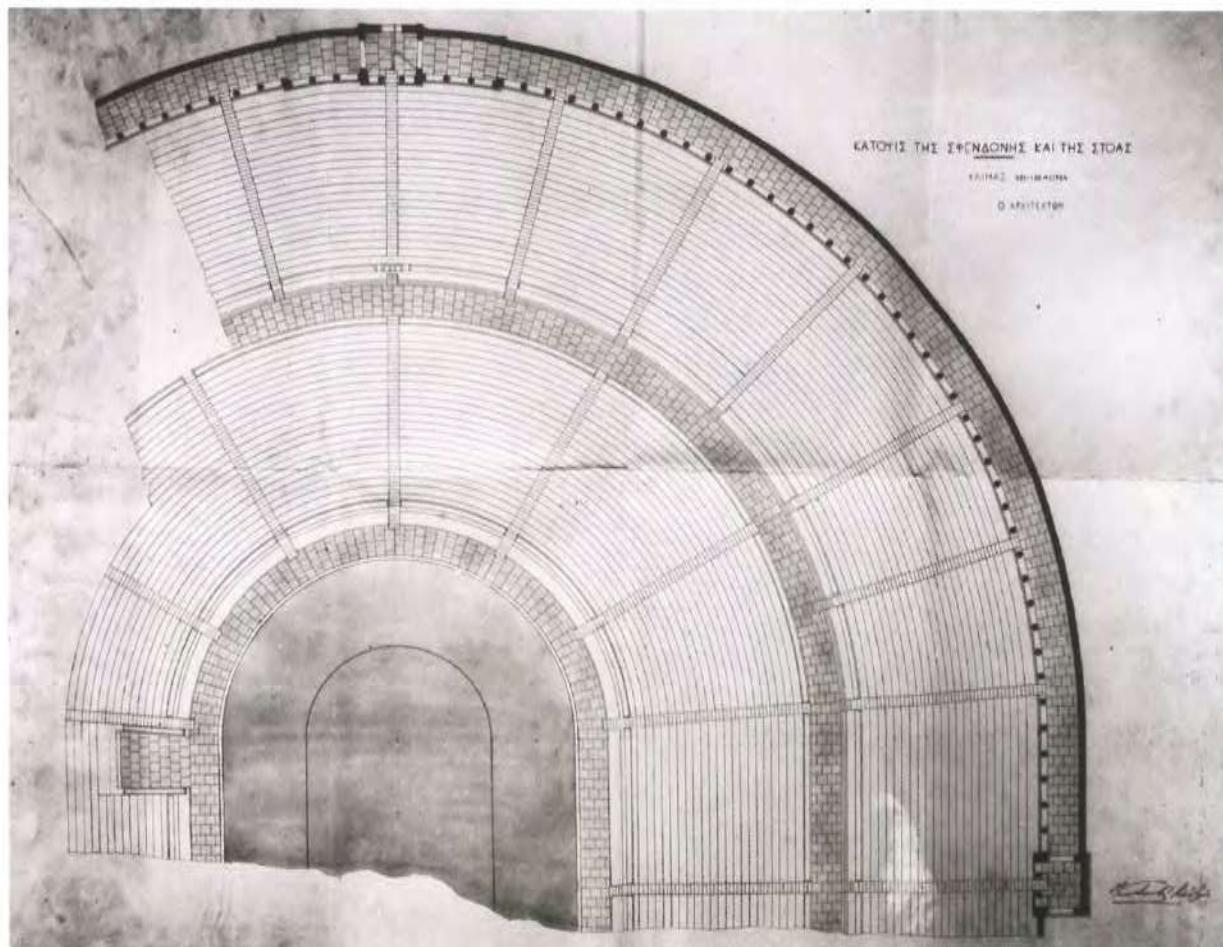
with Winners' performances and records

run is yet another institution inspired by ancient customs, whose revival adapted to the modern world and gradually became removed from its ancient model. The flame had, of course, been used in previous Olympics with symbolic connotations but the torch run was an innovation. The original feature was the lighting of the Olympic flame in Olympia and its transfer to each location where the Olympic Games were to be held. With the establishment of the torch run as an indispensable part of the Olympic Games, ancient Olympia regained importance and underlined the connection between the modern and ancient Olympic Games. In the first torch run, the torch followed the route Olympia–Panathenean Stadium–Delphi, thus retracing the footsteps of antiquity.

It is, of course, no accident that the torch run was inaugurated in 1936. In the Berlin Olympics, a revival of the ancient Greek past took place for propaganda purposes, within the framework of a carefully planned mass celebration, whose aim was to boost the Nazi regime in the eyes of the rest of the world, which viewed it with suspicion and apprehension¹⁸. In Germany there had been a long tradition of philhellenism, mainly centred around the figure of J. J. Winckelmann, while the excavations of Ernst Curtius in Olympia (1875) had revived interest in the ancient Olympic Games. The ancient Greek 'miracle' had been an 'old German temptation', which Germany succumbed to in 1936¹⁹. The Nazis, during the preparations for the Olympic Games, looked for – and found – parallels between the German and ancient Greek culture. In the context of their totalitarian ideology, they wished to emulate the ancient Greeks as leaders of a 'golden age'. Sport was, moreover, part of their programme for cultural regeneration. Therefore, the study of the Berlin Olympics highlighted the darker side of their revival, the use of ancient Greek symbols to legitimise a totalitarian regime and a distorted interpretation of the Olympic ideal.

In 1936, the venue of the modern Olympic Games, Berlin, wished to be linked through the torch run with the ancient Olympic venue, Olympia. For Athens, however, from 1896 and concurrently with the revival of the Olympic Games, a place of athletic culture also revived – the Panathenean Stadium²⁰. The Panathenean Stadium literally combines antiquity with the modern world, the monument with the living track. The restoration of the Panathenean Stadium for the first modern Olympics was a monumental event for Athens. The Stadium was the 'soul' of the first Olympics: athletes competed on its track and spectators inundated the stands. Above all, pictures of it were sent all over the world by means of





photographs, making it the most concrete symbol of the revival.

The Panathenean Stadium, with its plain whiteness, was identified with classical athleticism. The HOC, moreover, deliberately tried to limit its use exclusively to track events, in that way defining its character. On the other hand, the Velodrome, which was also built for the 1896 Olympics, had a different character, as its subsequent development proved²¹. Initially intended for the cycling events and tennis, the Velodrome soon became the main football ground in the capital, to be converted in 1936 into the famous Karaiskakis football ground that we know today. The association of the Velodrome with football undoubtedly gave it a more 'working class' character, which differentiated it from the Stadium. Moreover, unlike the Stadium, right from the beginning, it was a modern creation, which seemed more appropriate for modern sports. The use of the two venues confirmed precisely the distinction that existed from the beginning between classical athleticism –which sought links with antiquity– and modern sport –which expressed the present and looked to the future. Both forms of athletic activity, however, moved forward together and co-existed under the global umbrella of the Olympic Games.

THE PRESENT PUBLICATION is the product of collective work. Both the book and the filing, classification and conservation of the archives, a painstaking and exacting task, are the result of inspiration, dedication and the persistence of certain people. I will begin with those behind the scenes. Christos Manousaridis, once again, gave his knowledge and enthusiasm to the layout and design of the publication. Phoebus Vilanakis, an old collaborator and friend, with patience and imagination, planned the database and came to our assistance with every technical problem we encountered. Former students of mine from the Democritus University of Thrace, Yiannis Moutsis and Ioanna Profyri, helped us with the tiresome job of positioning and numbering the documents. All the employees of the HOC and the IOA put up with our late hours in the basement of the HOC building and made our daily routine that much more pleasant. In particular, the head of the IOA library, Themis Lainis, helped us in our bibliographical research. The dean of the IOA, Kostas Georgiadis, having for some time expressed his concern for the preservation of the Archives, gave us moral support in our work. The Archives were fortunate enough to have been left in the capable hands of the conservationist Penelope Banou, who with conscientiousness, knowledge and sensitivity still continues the time-consuming task of preserving the documents. The great bulk of the work that took place over the past two years in the archives of the HOC and the IOA was shouldered by Vassiliki Tzachrista and Yiannis Yiannitsiotis. To them undoubtedly belongs the praise for the present condition of the Archives. The reading and filing of the documents, putting the documents on computer, processing the information for the compilation of the treatises contained in the present publication demanded dedication, determination, conscientiousness and scientific capabilities. Our collaboration together was for me very precious, mainly because the team we put together worked in an atmosphere of friendship. Finally, I would like to thank the principal 'culprit' for this work, the president of the IOA, Mr. Nikos Filaretos. With his sensitivity and erudition, with a determination gained by knowledge and experience and his love of sport, Mr. Filaretos chose to support a work which is not intended merely for show but to stand the test of time. The support offered by the HOC and its president Mr. Lambis Nikolaou to his initiative gives us every reason to believe in the qualities of our sports leaders.

Agia Paraskevi, February 2002

CHRISTINA KOULOURI

THE FIRST MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES



THE GRAND TOUR, which constituted part of the young British aristocrat's education, and the development of classical studies in the 18th Century brought to the surface the hidden fascination that classical Greek civilization held for the West. Systematic archaeological research in Olympia, the pre-eminent athletic centre in antiquity, from 1829 and on, made a part of civilization tangible that until that time had only been known through ancient texts¹. Although the religious aura surrounding the ancient games did not resemble the secular character of the modern games, the Olympic finds at Olympia did offer ideological stimuli during that period, which in Europe was apparent in a return to ancient Greek values.

The idea of the revival of the Olympic Games took shape in Paris in 1894², at the international sports conference on the subject of amateurism, with an introductory speech by Pierre de Coubertin, which was the product of years of intellectual maturation. In contrast with the local character of the games held until that time, de Coubertin put forward the idea of making them international, and for that reason he remains the pioneer among the other theoreticians of sport.

At that conference was Dimitrios Vikelas, as representative of Greece, a man of letters, in the place of Ioannis Fokianos, president of the Panellinios Gymnastics Association and later general secretary of the Olympic Games Committee. Aware of the prestige and historical significance they would acquire, he proposed that



the first Games be held in Athens³. His proposal 'found an echo in the hearts of noble and French Phil-Hellenes'⁴ and suddenly, Greece, without realising it, assumed a role it was ill-prepared for, the repercussions of which extended far beyond its narrow geographical boundaries, within which it felt trapped.

The government, under Charilaos Trikoupis as Prime Minister, had been very active in trying to modernise the country, wishing to give Greece a character similar to that of western powers. Even though the policies he carried out had many positive results, the economic policy floundered and led the country to massive foreign borrowing. On December 1 1893, Trikoupis briefly announced the situation in Parliament with the famous painful utterance, 'Unfortunately, we are bankrupt'⁵. Within this mood of bankruptcy and dreams of irredentism, it was with considerable satisfaction that the Greeks received the news that they would be hosting the Games, as it was 'a unique opportunity for the honour of Greece, given its current adversaries'⁶.

The initial enthusiasm, however, quickly turned into intense concern, when Trikoupis's government took a cautious stand towards the International Committee's decision, because of the economic situation.

'The additional reason for national disappointment'⁷ was avoided by a series of actions taken by the organising committee of the Games, whose president was the Crown Prince Constantinos, the visit of de Coubertin to Athens⁸, as well as the resignation of Trikoupis



in January 1895. The field was cleared and a general mobilisation began, both within and outside Greece, to hold the Olympic Games in Athens. The climate is clearly reflected in the speech made by the HOC Secretary, Georgios Melas, to the General Secretary of the International Olympic Committee, Pierre de Coubertin:

Things have changed a great deal since I wrote my last letter...the will of the Crown Prince has proved stronger than the many difficulties that have arisen, and since yesterday we are, so to speak, on track. His Highness opened the session with a speech full of enthusiasm and hope, which has instilled in us all the confidence that we will succeed ... Here is the list of the new council: M. Deliyannis, the Prime Minister, Mr. Deligiorgis, ... Mr. Melas, Secretary, ... etc⁹.

From the correspondence of the period between de Coubertin and the President of the International Olympic Committee, D. Vikelas,

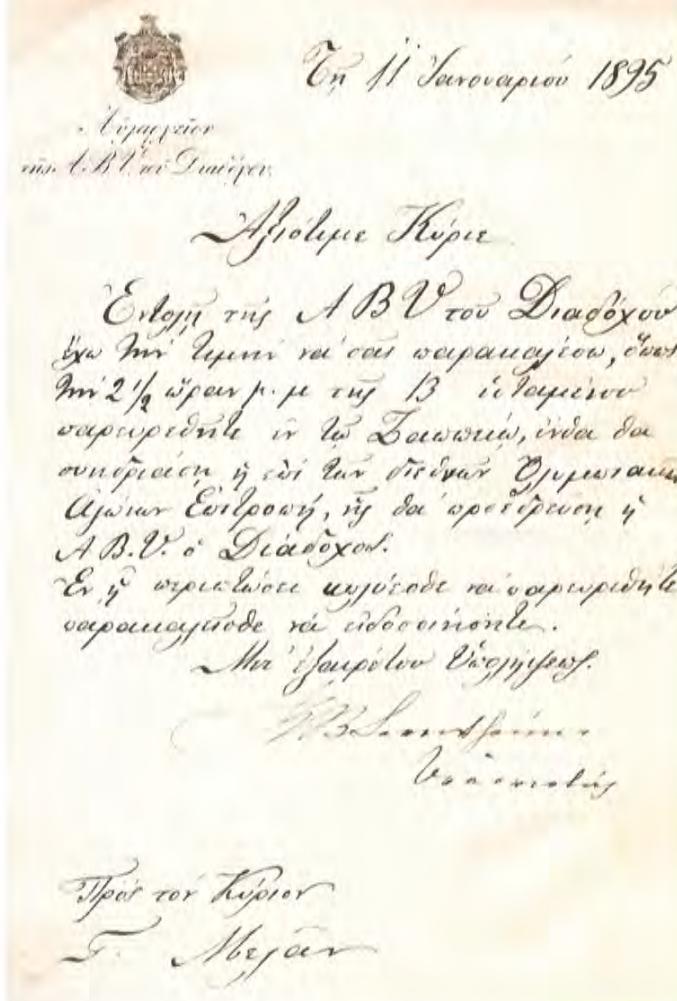
with eminent members of Athenian society and members of the organising committee, the national feeling towards the affair known as the Olympic Games is given considerable prominence. 'And of which I believe that if the idea of having (the Games) in 1896 is suitably cultivated and organised ... the pilgrimage to Athens could attract many people, and the festivities could serve towards greater interaction between people both inside and outside Greece', says the ambassador N. Mavrokordatos to Vikelas in 1894¹⁰.

And elsewhere, 'our impoverished country will manage once again to attract the attention and interest of the outside world to the noble stadium – and thus forget for a while the sad circumstances that have endangered, and still endanger perhaps, our national repute', Fokianos points out to Vikelas¹¹. The hosting of the Games gave rise to a manifestation of emotion from Greeks everywhere, and the customary willingness of Greek businessmen abroad contributed greatly to the endeavour. King George I himself authorised the organising committee of the games to collect monetary contributions to cover the expenses¹².

Of paramount importance was the gesture of Georgios Averof. The 'great patriot and man of exceptional character'¹³, as Philemon called him, gave 920,000 drachmas in gold drachmas for the restoration of the Panathenean Stadium. This donation, Philemon himself again called a 'pyramid' and 'all the rest just huts'¹⁴. He did not wish in this way to belittle the donations of other Greeks, since even ordinary, poor people gave their mite, 'as the cause was glorious'¹⁵.

The attitude of Greeks in England seemed to go counter to the combined effort. This was criticised by Philemon in a letter to Dimitrios Vikelas:

the many Greek-minded Greeks in England have proved unmoved and worse than the Jews regarding the business of the Olympic Games ... they have categorically refused ... to contribute a single cent. God help Greece, if we were to follow



their example! They have confessed to denying their own national identity, acting like full-blooded Englishmen, without a drop of Greek blood in their veins¹⁶.

It is clear that the final estimate of the cost of the works was of the utmost importance to the organising committee, as it had by far exceeded the rough initial calculations of de Coubertin. Despite this, 'every effort will be made to succeed, as long as that is what you want and we all want', Vikelas stressed in one of his letters¹⁷. By systematically dealing with the financial problems, Athens was in a short time able to have the Stadium, the Velodrome and the Kallithea Rifle Range ready, thus creating an athletic infrastruc-



ture, which would be the envy of any European capital.

Of course, with this effort, there was no lack of tension between de Coubertin, Melas and Vikelas, as the size of the task literally surpassed them all. The HOC archives, totally fragmentary and incomplete for that period, because of a fire¹⁸, are nonetheless enlightening about what went on. Melas wrote to Vikelas:

Dearest President and cousin, ... this morning I wrote to de Coubertin asking him to urgently send information about the Rifle Range, which is under the Presidency of his Royal Highness Prince Nikolaos. Could you too please beg him to send a reply quickly on the matter? Read the letter in which I write to him about an estimate amounting to 370,000 drachmas, while we only have 50,000 in hand. I expect him to tell me that what I wrote was nonsense, as when I told him

that his budget of 130,000 dr. was ridiculous. Then I was not wrong, and I am not wrong now when I say about de Coubertin and Philemon that the former should not be allowed to express his ideas and the latter to give orders¹⁹.

Elsewhere:

Dearest Dimitris, ...today I will not grumble any more, but I must confess that I am utterly (weary) and disappointed, and I assure you, that my resentment towards de Coubertin is total and justified, absolutely justified! The excuse of his marriage is a mere pretext, and a bad one at that. I say no more about his famous budget, which he had the audacity to repeat to me in his letter the day before yesterday..., but at last let us hope the fellow will reply with the information we have asked of him²⁰.

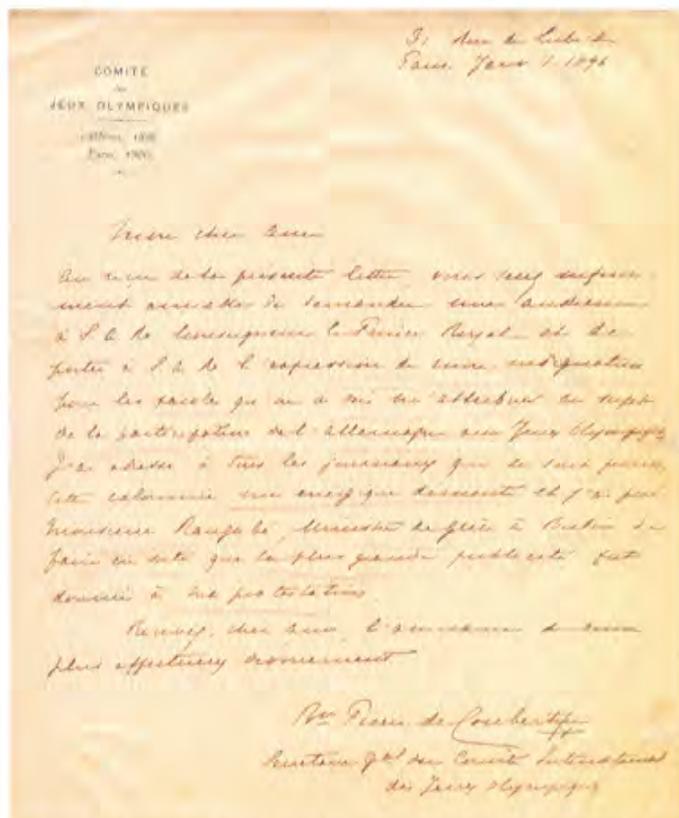
Αγαπητοί μαζί με Ελλήναν πάτε, η σημερινής
τελετής; Μηχανής αναγνώστης οντικής
υποθέσεων που με την προσήλεξη μας αφήνει.
Εγενόταν στην πόλη της Αθήνας την
Κατεπέννυτη. - Είναι αναλατείστηκε στην πόλη
οι δύο σινεμά της πόλης) εις πρώτην παραγάγον
απεριτανούσαι την ιστορίαν της Ελλάδας.
Οι Σούπερ Ουίνερ.

• Σανδυγόν Θεού

It was obvious that Greece could not become 'a sporting country from one day to the next'²¹ and, therefore, the help of the International Olympic Committee was deemed essential, as was the presence of de Coubertin, who at times kept his distance. 'Everyone is beginning to suggest that de Coubertin has deceived us because he promised to come and take charge of the sporting side of the business', Melas again mentions, exasperated²².

Elsewhere, in a letter to the Baron, in a mild tone he informs him about matters concerning the competition areas, the rules of games and wishes him well on the birth of his son:

All your friends here were delighted to hear the news of little Jacques's birth. Mr. Philemon cannot forgive you for giving him this name, as he would have preferred an Olympian name. Please



accept our congratulations and wishes for the child and his mother²³.

As far as the other matters regarding the organisation are concerned, the participation of foreign athletes in the games, the arrival and hosting of foreign visitors²⁴, the issuing of commemorative stamps, medals, commemorative certificates of the games, the laying-out and printing of programmes for the games²⁵, changes to the statutes of gymnastic and sports associations in accordance with the international conference²⁶, the organisation of artistic events, embellishment of the city, festivities²⁷ etc., were handled successfully by special sub-committees formed for the games under the control of the organising committee²⁸.

A matter of extreme importance was the transporting and hosting of those visitors and athletes who would be descending upon Athens. It goes without saying that travelling from one place to another at the end of the 19th Century was not an easy matter, as the cost of travel was prohibitive for the masses. As a rule, only the wealthy classes could afford to travel. The steamships that docked at Piraeus carried busi-

nessmen, counts, barons, dignitaries, and ladies in hoop skirts²⁹. Apart from the foreign visitors, Athens would also be inundated with Greeks from the provinces dressed in traditional costumes (*fustanellas* (white kilt-like dresses worn by men), fez, *tsarouchia* (rustic shoes with pompon), short pelisses) arousing the curiosity of the people³⁰.

The question of the arrival of the foreign athletes and visitors to Athens, which was 'of highest importance', and their transportation, was planned by the sub-committee in charge, while 'Cook would take responsibility for accommodating the visitors, as we have no experience of that at all', as is mentioned characteristically³¹. The firm Cook and Jan 'has contracted, after the International Meeting in Paris, to provide, for a modest fee, travel arrangements from European centres to Athens. The Firm, for this purpose, has issued brochures, which it has distributed free of charge, containing the relevant information regarding the above...' ³².

On the other hand, the German agency Stanger³³, which carried out an intense promotional campaign in favour of the Games, competed successfully with the well-known Cook agency. It advertised in German newspapers and issued a deluxe guide to Greece. In fact, guides were brought out by a variety of European publishing houses, aimed at providing helpful information for the visitor to Greece.

The problem of accommodation, which would almost certainly arise on the visitors' arrival, was clearly presented by Philemon in a letter to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Already, in advance, we believe it doubtful that visitors will find board and lodging in Athens without some difficulty, and for a sum not exceeding 20 francs a day. It is natural that when many people gather in one place the profiteering tendency of hotel owners escalates and the visitors' need and the intense demand will bring with it an increase in prices, especially for accommodation and food. For that reason our sub-committee wishes to take steps to limit the ill effects, in the hope that the above price will be sufficient...
³⁴

The large number of visitors coming to Athens led to a steep rise in rental prices. This was aptly satirised by the poet G.Souris:

*They offer houses and rooms,
they offer exquisite chambers,
upper floors, basements and gardens and
kitchens,
and in all the fuss
stables and hay barns are offered too³⁵.*

The Olympic Games Committee was anxious not only about the way all the people arriving in Athens would be dealt with, but above all about ensuring that all the foreign athletes participated in the Games, which was not an easy thing. Even though invitations were sent out immediately after the Committee had been formed, the number of registrations was fewer than they had initially anticipated.

At that time countries did not have organised Olympic committees and so the presence of most athletes in Athens in 1896 was of a private nature. A thorn in the organising committee's side was the refusal of the Germans and the English to take part. A lot of ink had to flow to secure the participation of the Germans in particular, who expressed their intense dissatisfaction with de Coubertin and the 1894 conference.

The letter of the General Secretary of the HOC, Timoleon Philemon, to Vikelas highlights the matter: 'the two big all-German Unions of Clubs... wrote to us that "their honour forbids them from participating in the Games, because the International Committee, at the Paris International Conference, deliberately avoided the participation of the German Associations"³⁶. Furthermore, they pointed out that the programmes of the 1894 conference had only been printed in English and French and did not take the German language into consideration. So, 'a large part of the German athletic world had the idea that it was a purely French endeavour and decided to abstain...'³⁷. They also referred to de Coubertin's condescending remarks in the French newspaper *Gil Blas*, where he mentioned

that the conference participants did not care whether the Germans participated in the said conference or not.

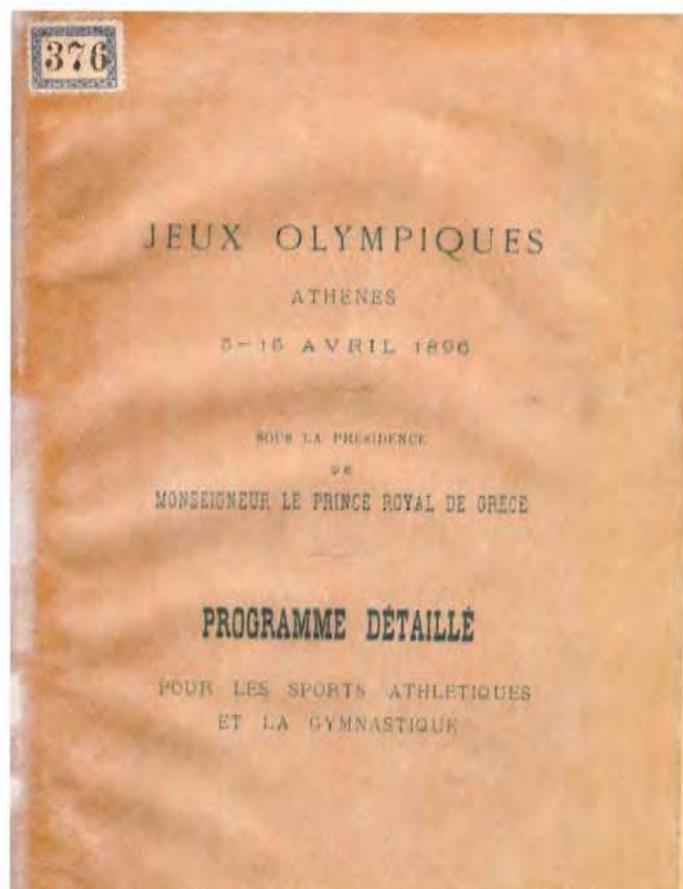
De Coubertin 'flatly denies what has been attributed to him...'³⁸, which, as the Greek ambassador to Berlin, Cleon Rangavis also mentioned in a letter to Vikelas, were malicious intimations by *Gil Blas*³⁹. Naturally this was of deep concern to the organising committee of the games, as they were afraid that this event would influence 'other German peoples, be they Austrian, Swiss, Swedish or those in Italy...'⁴⁰.

The episode 'finally ended and international relations were fully restored...'⁴¹, thanks to the enthusiastic and combative champion of participation, Willibald Gebhardt. He personally took the initiative to work for German participation in the games. With the assistance of Rangavis, they together set up a Sub-committee, under the presidency of Hohenlohe, son of the Arch-Chancellor, which helped to resolve the unpleasantness and ensure the presence of Germany at the games⁴².

Gebhardt mentions in his work concerning the German participation in the games that there were deeper reasons for Germans not to participate in the Games.

They were mainly the bad state of the Greek economy and the result of people in stock market circles not gaining the profit they expected from Greek bonds, because of which stock market newspapers and the daily Press in Berlin call Greece a state of robbers, and have managed in that way to sway the opinion of gymnastic circles towards an unjustified hatred of Greece and Greeks⁴³.

England, on the other hand, was campaigning for the hasty organisation of Pan-British Olympic Games. Even though English athletic circles were sympathetic towards the idea of holding an international athletics festival, they did not find it practical. Constantinos Manos, one of the four secretaries of the HOC, considered the absence of the English a great loss for the games, and presented the matter to Vikelas:



Another great hurdle for the success of the games is the total indifference of the English. If the English do not come to the games they will by necessity fail, because the only athletes the world takes seriously are the English. All the others put together are just a joke...For them Olympia today is West Kensington...⁴⁴.

Amid the above upheavals the organising committee of the games were called upon to balance the conflicts and different ideas concerning the participation of foreign athletes in the games.

In the end, athletes from 13 states came to Athens⁴⁵ and competed in 9 sports and 43 events. 'The only nation not adequately represented at the Olympic Games, because of ignorance and mistrust of anything foreign, is the mother of modern sport, England. Eliot and Goulding, though highly respected athletes, can in no way be said to represent English athleticism'⁴⁶. Most of the athletes came from Hungary and America⁴⁷, 'more than any other country, after Germany, bestowed particular brilliance to the Olympic Games and made them excel. Rightly, the Greeks gave them exceptional honours and manifestations of love'⁴⁸.

Due attention was given by the organising committee to the artistic side of the Olympic Games. On an aesthetic level, a conscious revival of ancient features was apparent in the work of artists chosen to design and create the prizes. Indeed, for the choice of the most suitable commemorative medal of the games a special sub-committee was appointed⁴⁹.

The Olympic meeting of 1896 gave the opportunity to artistic circles of the country, and from abroad, to give free vent to their artistic expression. Eminent artists were involved in designing the medals, the postage stamps and the commemorative certificate.

The certificate of the games was designed by Nikolaos Gyzis, on a purely Greek theme: 'The Phoenix of the Olympic Games, Greece inspired and recalling past glory, is announcing the heartening Winged Victory'⁵⁰.

The athletes' medal was entrusted to Jules Clément Chaplain 'for a fee of 4,000 gold francs' and 'it has been decided that the medal should be 61 mm in diameter. On this basis Mr. Chaplain wishes to proceed with the engraving and the construction of the cast. As for the design, the artist's inspiration has been given a free rein'⁵¹. After a proposal by Chaplain the diameter became 50 mm.



The commemorative medal was given to Nikiforos Lytras, who was informed accordingly: 'His Royal Highness the Crown Prince approves of your design of the commemorative medal for the Olympic Games. ...for the design of the medal the Committee voted a fee of 1,000 dr., which is at your disposal'⁵².

The Frenchman, A.Guilleron, designed the ancient Greek depictions on the postage stamps and the French engraver Louis Eugène Mouchon constructed the copper matrix. The issue, of course, of the first Olympic postage stamps, apart from their aesthetic value, was especially important, as they added 400,000 drachmas to the funds of the organising committee and served to promote the games internationally⁵³.

It is clear that the organising committee was constantly on the alert. Philemon, in a letter to Vikelas informing him about the above matters, hinted at the inactivity of the International Olympic Committee. 'You see, I have not stopped working. However, I see no energy at all on the part of the International Committee, who it seems are resting, discharging the whole burden on to us poor fellows'⁵⁴.

The preparation fever dropped on 24 March, the date of the unveiling of the statue of Averof in the forecourt of the Stadium. The ceremony took place in torrential rain. The following day the Games began. King George declared the opening of the games in a packed Stadium, which was followed by a large troupe with stringed instruments and a group of many singers sang the Olympic anthem, conducted by Spyridon Samaras. After the ceremony, the games began, the first being the trials for the 100 m. race. This was followed by the finals of the triple jump, won by the American James Connolly, the first Olympic winner of the modern Olympic games. The games lasted eight days and were successfully combined with a variety of artistic events and public spectacles.

The attendance in the Stadium surpassed all expectations. The other competitive areas did not lack spectators either. The highlight of the

meeting was the marathon race, which was held on the recommendation of the French Academician, Michel Bréal, in memory of the messenger-soldier who ran from Marathon to Athens, to announce the victory of the Greeks over the Persians. The great distance of forty kilometres turned the winner into a popular hero in the eyes of the people and the marathon event the most important of all. Seventy thousand spectators gathered in the Stadium that day, and hundreds more lined the route.

'The city was deserted and only those who were sick remained in their houses. Perhaps for



three kilometres, very likely a quarter the length of Athens, the crowd formed an excited chain...'⁵⁵. The Marathon, though not a particularly spectacular event, nonetheless, took on a national character, which accounts for the crowds of people in the Stadium.

In the imagination of the crowd the simple messenger was transformed into a herald of a new invisible national victory, the runner into an angel who brought joy to myriad hearts, if he was Greek, a quasi demon announcing an unprecedented defeat of unbelievable destruction, if he was foreign⁵⁶.

Louis's victory, the athlete with the number 17 on his shirt, the moment he entered the Stadium triggered off delirious celebrations. It was obvious that the motivation of those watching was not linked to sport for its own sake but

to national sentiment⁵⁷. Louis symbolised the supremacy of Greece over other nations. He paraded and was photographed constantly wearing the national costume, almost unconnected to his athletic performance, being a national symbol.

The Games ended on April 1st. It turned out that Greece won many victories, gaining 10 gold medals, 19 silver and 17 third places. The next day, 'in accordance with the programme ... after midday the proclamation and crowning of the winners would take place in the Stadium'. The weather, however, being changeable and rainy, did not make it possible to hold the ceremony, which was put off until the following day. 'At ten o'clock the spectators in the Stadium were almost equal in number to those present on the



day of the Marathon run'⁵⁸.

During the presentation of the prizes the King crowned the first winners with an olive wreath from the grove at Olympia and gave them a silver medal, a certificate and a laurel branch, while all the athletes who took part were given a commemorative medal. The winner of the marathon also took a silver cup, instituted by Bréal himself. The Committee did not award monetary prizes, 'because of the noble nature of the game and the ideal of friendly rivalry. The race, the wreath-bearer, would become the money-bearer, and the Stadium would be turned into a stock exchange. The Olympic winners would be asking in what currency they would be paid and from early in the morning would be searching the stock exchange bulletin to find out the differ-

ence in the exchange rate and the price of the franc...' ⁵⁹.

The curtain on the Games fell. The next day at a farewell dinner given by the Athens Municipality in honour of the athletes and the foreign representatives amidst compliments and intense emotion, the fellow-diners bid each other farewell, while many appeared enthusiastic in favour of keeping the Olympic Games in Greece. King George I also brought up the matter, thus strengthening the position of the palace, which had contributed substantially to the success of the games and to the creation of the newborn institution.

The modern Olympic Games 'were successful beyond all expectations...' ⁶⁰. In a letter from Averof to Vikelas, after the end of the games, the feeling of fulfilment left by the games in Greeks inside and outside Greece is evident:

If I in some way contributed to the success (of the Olympic Games) in the reconstruction of the Stadium, the service done by you in this most national of works is no less. You took the initiative to hold the Olympic Games in our land and you helped to represent Greece with dignity before the civilised world. Let us both enjoy our country in the brilliance of the success of the Olympic Games and let us hope, as well as satisfying national desires, for a bright and glorious future amid a chorus of civilised nations⁶¹.

Throughout the games, however, it is worth mentioning that there was no particular reference or honour granted to the man who revived the games, Pierre de Coubertin. Was it an unwitting omission or a deliberate act? Ioannis Chryssafis did not fail to bring up the subject.

The strange thing is that throughout the games and afterwards, all the members of the Olympic Games Committee and the Press and, as a result, public opinion totally forgot the man who first conceived of the idea of reviving the ancient Olympics ... most of those in Athens who had gathered in the year preceding the newborn work avoided meeting him or pretended they did not recognise him...

His presence was irksome to them because he



reminded them that the initiative came from abroad, as de Coubertin himself said later⁶².

After the end of the games, the exchange of ideas concerning the planning of Intermediary-Olympics between the official Olympic Games, shows the lurking conflict between the Greeks and de Coubertin.

The supporter of the Crown Prince, Sapountzakis characteristically mentions to Vikelas⁶³:

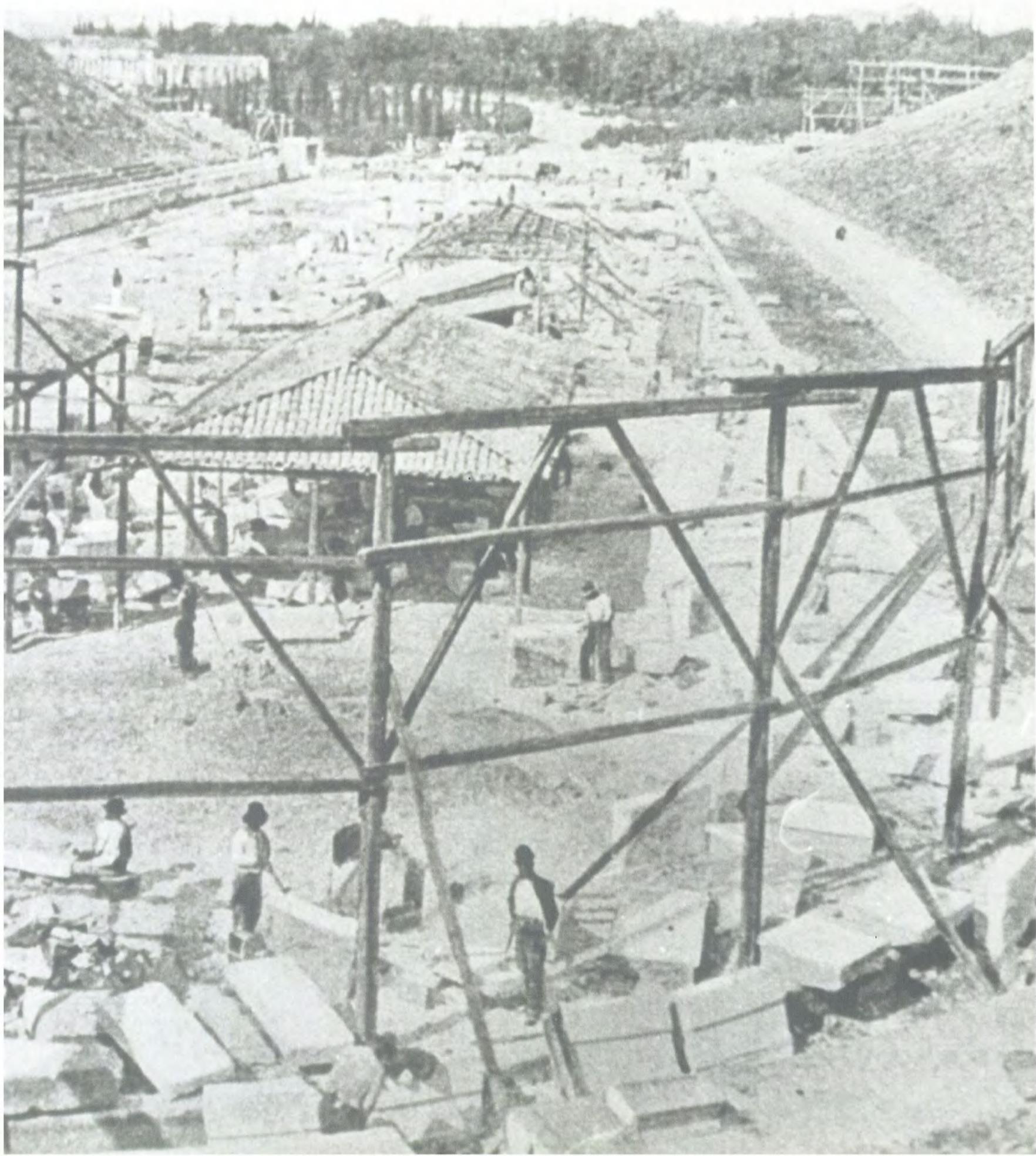
Is the glory of being the (creator) of the idea for the revival of the Olympic Games not enough for him and (is he not) pleased that his idea was so

successful in Athens? Surely it would do no harm to hold the Olympic Games every four years in Athens and at other times holding theirs? And if our games are called 'Olympic Games', with the addition 'in Athens', does it not fully distinguish between our games and theirs? Or will the right to call them 'Olympic' be questioned, as the word has a very general meaning?

These questions were not answered in 1896. The defeat in the war with Turkey in the following year was a sad end to the delusion of grandeur and self-admiration that prevailed in 1896. Quite some time later, in 1906, Greece would again come to the fore with the organisation of the Intermediary Olympics of 1906, without ever abandoning the desire to hold the Olympics permanently on Greek soil.

The revival of the games in 1896 meant the establishment of a global institution, repeated every four years, which would be a part of the modern world and would be unavoidably linked with the economic, political and ideological changes of the century. For Greece, the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896, at the end of the 19th century, was especially significant for a number of reasons: 1. It contributed to the revival of the idea of ancient kudos, boosting, on an imaginary level, the collective self-image and irredentist dreams. 2. The spectacular development of sport in Greece, both in education and in athletic clubs⁶⁴, making sport and athleticism into a spectacle. 4. The formulation of a system of rules concerning the functioning of athletic institutions and games, which would govern such procedures in Greece. 5. The specialisation of athletes and the pursuit of records mainly in the context of clubs that cultivated classical sport, and finally the interest of those in power to have a stake in sport⁶⁵.

THE PANATHENEAN STADIUM

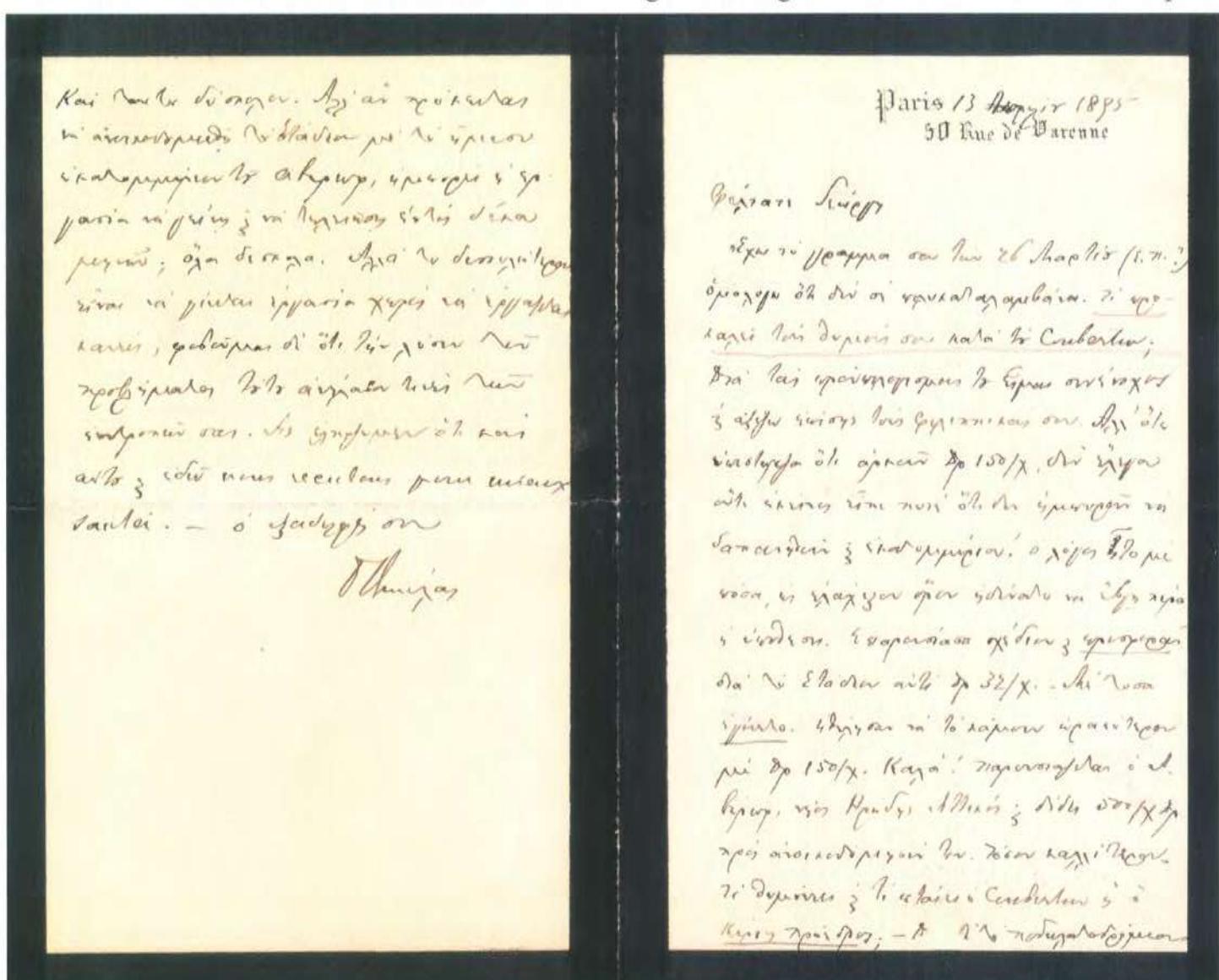


A venue for the Olympic Games

AT THE MEETING of the Union of sub-Committees at Zappeion, for the holding of the Olympic Games, presided over by the Crown Prince, on 13 January 1895, Special sub-Committees were formed, with a view to allocating responsibilities regarding the Olympic Games, according to the recommended pro-gramme of events put forward at the Paris Conference. The setting-up of these sub-committees was absolutely necessary, as Greece lacked an athletic infrastructure, and an international meeting could not rely only on the contribution of sports clubs. Apart from the initial sub-Committees, it was decided to form another three, as required by special circumstances. One of the three additional sub-committees was the 'Sub-committee for the

preparation and restoration of the Panathenean Stadium'¹. It was not hard to understand that the Stadium would become 'the centre of the festivities'. For that reason a way had to be found, 'for the neglected Stadium, then in a skeletal state, to be made useful'².

The marble restoration in the ancient stadium on the edges of Ardittos hill, near the banks of the Ilissos river, would be carried out for the second time. The first time was in the second century A.D. when Herodus Atticus funded its construction in marble for the Panathenaea of the year 144 A.D. It was given a concave shape and acquired seating for 50,000 people. In the Roman period it was converted into an arena for gladiator fights with wild animals. In later peri-





ods, the marble was used in the making of lime. Between 1869 and 1870 Ernest Schiller carried out excavations in the Stadium. Later, it was cleaned and hosted the Zappan 'Olympia' of 1870 and 1875. The renovation of 1896 took place according to Schiller's plans.

The cost of the 1896 renovation far exceeded the financial means of the organising committee and their initial estimates. Melas characteristically mentions to Vikelas that: 'they are asking 158,000 for the Stadium, de Coubertin has authorised credit of 4,000 etc.³'. At the same period C. Manos comments ironically on the whole endeavour:

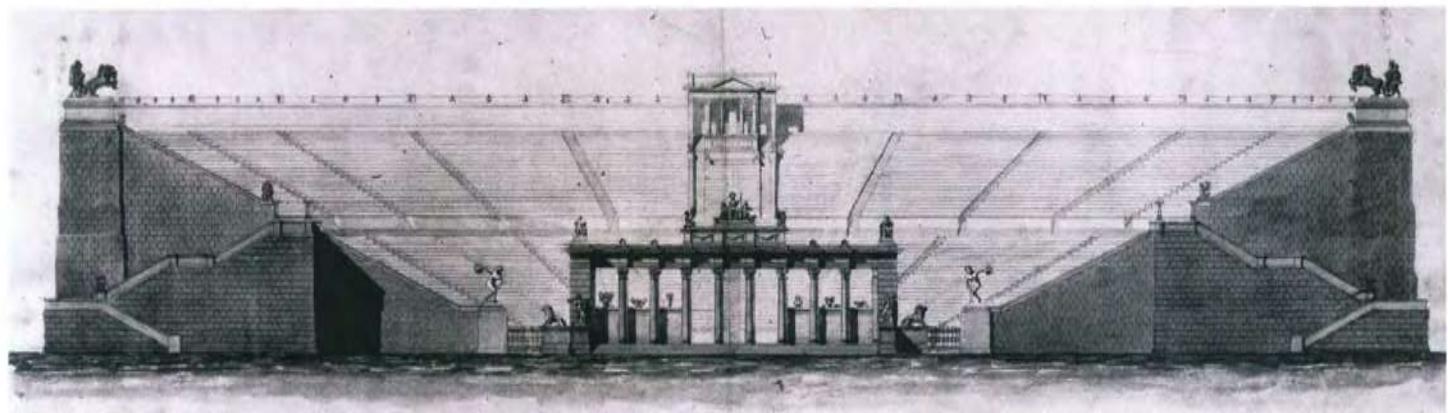
I am utterly disappointed with what is happening in Greece. All the Athenians put together can only manage to scrape up a few hundred drachmas. It's truly a disgrace!! All they can think of is the re-building of the ancient Stadium, instead of thinking about the soil on which these people will run, cycle, play cricket, etc. They don't have a cake but they want the cherry on top! What utter ignorance and stupidity!⁴.

Although 'the cherry' was expensive, Phi-

lemon, however, did not stop asking for it. On orders from the Crown Prince, he planned to visit Averof, a rich Greek businessman, in Alexandria and ask him to bear the costs of the Stadium.

But I look forward to the work being done as perfectly as possible, and I hope that I will manage to persuade the magnanimous Averof to alone bear the cost of preparing the Stadium, and so prove himself to be more fortunate than Herodotus Atticus, because a Stadium will be prepared to receive foreign Greeks who are independent and free, under their own authority, and not as Athenian subjects of Rome.⁵

Averof realised the value of the enterprise and initially gave 585,000 drachmas, and in October of the same year another 250,000. After that, the Crown Prince entrusted the renovation of the Stadium to Anastasios Metaxas on the basis of his plans, which Averof also approved. In collaboration with a team of archaeologists and heads of foreign archaeological schools, further excavations were carried out so that a faithful



restoration of the Stadium could be achieved. The tendering and supervision of the work was carried out by a special committee, according to the wishes of the sponsor and with the approval of the heir⁶. 550 workers were employed to carry out the work, of whom 200 for the Stadium and 350 in the quarries for the extraction of marble and stones.

While the marble was being replaced, work was being done in the area of Ilissos: widening of the existing bridge and the construction of two more bridges to allow easier access to the Stadium for people on foot. Even though 'the work in the Stadium progressed at lightening speed'⁷, it was not possible to fully restore the marble by the beginning of the Games. So, it was decided to build temporary wooden stands.

At the same time the question of the construction of the track came up, and for that reason Charles Perry, a specialist, was invited over from England. 'Regarding the question of the track, we await the Englishman ... who was invited a month ago. 'You are right', Sapountzakis says to Vikelas, 'that the track is the most important thing concerning the Games, far beyond what happens to the stadium as a monument'⁸. The completion of the Stadium continued after 1896, when Averof left one tenth of his fortune for this purpose. And so, 'the White Dream of so many centuries came true, thanks to Georgios Averof⁹'.

In honour of the great sponsor a statue was erected in the forecourt of the Stadium and on the eve of the Games the unveiling took place.

The unveiling ceremony of Averof was without doubt the necessary introduction to the games. The stone statue of the old Epirot, erected there on the threshold of the Stadium, standing guard over it, must first give his permission and blessing to the crowds as they come in festive mood to the great building, which, for whole centuries, was left abandoned and in ruins, and which he brought back to life¹⁰.

The following day the Games began and



crowds of spectators inundated the area 'recalling the beauty and physique of the ancient Greeks'¹¹. In the Panathenean Stadium the heart of Greece pounded for the duration of the Games. It had changed 'from a Stadium of the Athenians to a Stadium of all Greeks...'¹².

Nobody could describe, however, the special emotion experienced by the spectators, on the day Louis, winner of the marathon, entered the Stadium.

From the Arditos hill the moment the winner of the marathon appeared in the stadium, at least a thousand hats were launched into the air. And there was such a push of people, that the mass of compressed people were violently shaken, as if a strong wind had shaken that forest of people. And immediately thousands of waving scarves and flags appeared above their heads...

This event 'found the Stadium, moved, fren-

zied, astir, from the King to the coldest statue'¹⁴.

The newly re-built Panathenean Stadium 'was one reason for the success of the Olympic Games in Athens. The Velodrome and the Rifle Range were obviously necessary additions to the games, but everything centred on the Stadium'¹⁵.

After the end of the Olympics, similar moments were only experienced in the Stadium during the Intermediary Olympic Games in 1906. The heartfelt exhortation of a journalist shows the prevailing spirit of the time.

*Open your embrace, white Stadium
And receive the many people,
gentle and ordinary folk,
you see, we have games, a national contest,
worries for the committee,
prizes and trouble¹⁶.*

As a place of modern Greek athleticism

THE TWO GREAT international athletic meetings of 1896 and 1906 played a crucial role in drawing the public to the Stadium. Spectators and athletes were the two ends of the bi-polar system. At international meetings, as opposed to local, the presence of spectators had to do with the athletic spectacle and the national ardour that needed to be expressed. The enormous number of spectators on the day of the marathon proves it, even though that event was not one of the most spectacular... When a Greek was competing, the participation of the public increased and was more ardent¹⁷.

'Athletic euphoria, mixed with a national ardour, had warmed the breasts and swelled the hearts of all Greeks ... as they imagined a smiling and promising future'¹⁸. Louis's victory in 1896, and that of Tofalos, an athlete of the Gymnastics Society of Patras, who took part in the weight-lifting competitions in 1906, strengthened the athletic presence of Greece in the eyes of foreigners, and the two athletes became national symbols of Greece's supremacy

over other nations.

The model of champion as national hero in the early phase of the evolution of Greek athleticism prevails over that of the champion with exceptional athletic skills, which would prevail throughout the 20th century¹⁹. One should note, however, that the mass attendance at the games did not necessarily mean the establishment of athletics as a spectacle sport. This was proved later when the big meetings came to an end.

For a long time the Panathenean Stadium was the only official stadium the capital city had. According to Averof's will, 16/07/1899²⁰, and article 37 of law 2621 (1899), the HOC had full charge of the stadium, 'under the supervision of the Greek Government', while the management committee of the Stadium were only responsible for the overseeing of the restoration of the marble²¹. However, disagreements occurred between the management committee and the HOC with regard to the handling and completion of the work to the Panathenean Stadium. The violent dispute over the question of jurisdiction

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A.

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hi "Igabos, ducimus hi lois pappa tibi obsequios
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hi tauripore hoc iher iwo sechier mihi "Ig.
Kubipneros cui uspoream opo hi iwo uspore
sua exha. Yoffu di id hi obsequios ebor hi "Ig.
id opo descupalates cui hi descupas formis.
Tippesir tali ducimus unipore mihi uspoream
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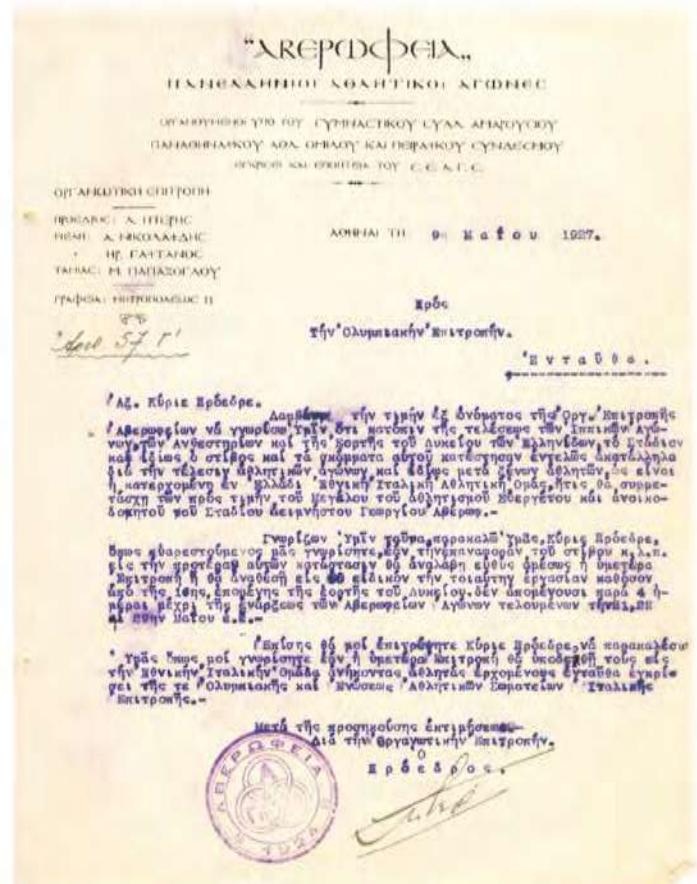
took the form of a complaint lodged by the HOC with the Ministry of Internal Affairs, who were asked to settle the matter. The dispute ended when the works were completed²².

The Panathenean Stadium, after the Olympic Games, hosted all athletic meetings, the most important being the Pan-Hellenic Games from 1901 and on. The pre-War Pan-Hellenic games was the most important athletic event for the Greek people and brought together in Athens not only athletes but also many people from every corner of Greece. 'It is not an exaggeration to claim that a re-baptising of the nation took place in the Panathenean Stadium'²³, which ceased during the Balkan wars and was badly affected by the Asia Minor Catastrophe (1922).

After 1923 Greece again held international athletic meetings. In 1925 the first international

meeting between athletes of the Greek sports clubs and the 'French Stadium' club in Paris was held. During 1927 repeated international meetings took place in Athens, first between Greek and English athletes (Achillian Games), then between Greek and Italian athletes (Averofian Games) and third between Athens and Sophia. Since then, international meetings have been held in Athens almost every year.

The Stadium, as a competition and training ground, is not only used by athletic associations. Military games are also held, because the army promotes physical training, as well as games between the cadet officers of the local police. Scout games always took place at every national and social event. Even though it was not purely an athletic organisation they did, however, contribute to the development of the athletic movement. Games between University faculties and schools. Horse-riding games, after which the HOC always had to deal with the problem of damage to the track or the transfer of disease from the horses. Finally, motorcycle races.



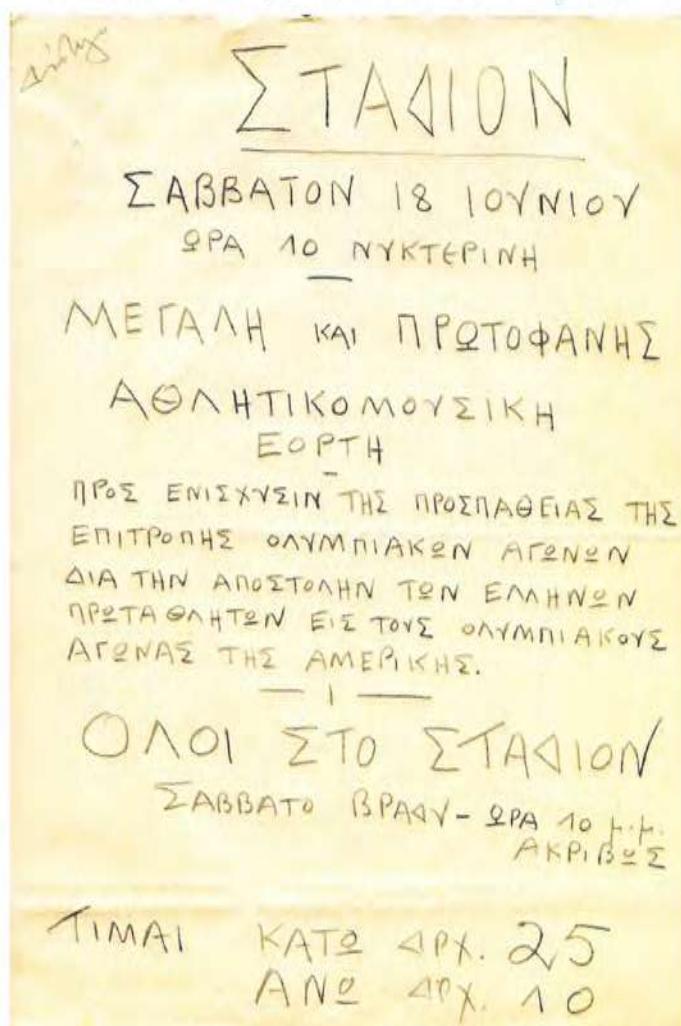
Other uses and events

THE STADIUM, beyond its athletic role, had a cultural role too. Theatrical performances, musical events, celebrations, melodramas were often part of the programme. It also acquired a national and celebratory role during the holding of festivities in honour of kings, church blessings, the swearing-in of new recruits, gymnastics displays and popular gatherings²⁴.

The Stadium was also in demand for the holding of 'strange' sporting events, which often excited the imagination, like bullfights²⁵, chariot races and races between five horses and an ostrich to the delight of the spectators²⁶.

The HOC maintained a negative stance towards such requests, as the Stadium was allocated

for mainly athletic purposes or for festivities of a purely Greek nature, in accordance with the sacredness of the place, but also to fulfil the dic-



tates of its great founder and the Law. The Olympic Committee has strictly discharged its obligation so that, even when faced with severe financial difficulties, it has turned down hundreds of thousands of drachmas, by rejecting proposals to hold bullfights among other things, although they were then held in the Stadium in Paris²⁷.

In addition, the HOC had to confront the requests of aspiring pilots, who asked to use the Stadium for air displays. The request to land planes in the Stadium by the Russian pilot Utaskin was approved. 'The Committee, convinced that there is no danger involved, accepts, on condition that it receives half the proceeds'. To the request by the Frenchman Turot, member of the Club de France, who wished to ascend in a hot-air balloon from the Stadium and sought permission and relevant clarifications, the archives do not contain a reply. The HOC rejected the 'application of the pilot requesting the use of



Η ΠΑΡΑΣΤΑΣΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΗΣ
ΕΝ ΤΩΙ ΣΤΑΔΙΩΙ
(τοι Διεθνής Αρχαιολογ. Συνέδριο)

Athènes

Représentation d'Antigone au Stade
en mémoire du 1er Congrès
International d' Archéologie

the Stadium to land a Montgolfier hot-air balloon, offering to give 10% of the proceeds to the Committee'. However, they accepted the proposal of another 'applicant wishing to carry out a flight from the Stadium. The Committee agrees to allow him the use of the Stadium for a fee amounting to 50% of the proceeds, but on the recommendation that all possible measures be taken to avoid danger...' Among others, a truly 'inflammatory' request was made to the HOC, which it hastened to extinguish. The American G. W. Porter submitted an application, through his representative, to be allowed to use the Stadium, 'for a spectacular firework display ...

re-enacting the burning of Rome. This request is being turned down²⁸.

During the Stadium's evolution the HOC wanted to limit its use 'exclusively to the holding of games of general importance' and 'recommends that the Velodrome be reconstructed in an appropriate manner to accommodate in the future the holding of celebrations and games of secondary importance that hitherto have been held in the Stadium'²⁹. It was an attempt to define the nature of the Stadium, which remained attractive because of its uniqueness and the fact that there was no other sports ground, but also on account of its historical significance.

As a residence for refugees

AFTER THE END of World War I, Greece was on the side of the victors, clearly stronger vis à vis Turkey, which found itself in an unfavourable position due to the humiliating truce signed in Moudros on 17 October 1918. In the

new post-war era, small Greece was celebrating the triumph of Eleftherios Venizelos's foreign policy and seemed ready to finally resolve the irredentist question, with the annexation of regions inhabited by Greek populations.

Between the Venizelian party, which presented itself as the exclusive champion of the national ideal, the royalist opposition, which was bitterly opposed to Venizelos's foreign policy, the antagonism of the Italians, who had territorial designs on Asia Minor, the British, whose aim was to gain absolute control of Cyprus and of the sea routes to the Black Sea, and finally the wounded national pride of the Bulgarians and the Turks, Venizelos intensified pressure on allies to allow Greece to have Smyrna. And, while it seemed that he could exploit friction between the Great Powers and the confusion caused in Turkey by the rise of the nationalist movement under the leadership of Kemal Ataturk, events turned out differently.

On two May 1919 Greek troops reached Smyrna amid Greek acclamation. In the course of the campaigns, which lasted three years, the Greek army got cut off from supplies from the rear inside Asia Minor. At the same time the change in military leadership, the turnabout in the policy of the Great Powers towards Turkey and the culmination of the Kemalist movement, which proclaimed the need for the formation of a purely national state in place of the multi-national empire, led to hasty and badly planned politico-military decisions and showed Greece to be an easy opponent. The battle of Eski-Sehir-Afion-Karahisar in 1922 was fatal for the Greek army. The tragic end to this battle was the burning and destruction of Smyrna in September 1922. The Great Idea expired on the Ionian beaches, leaving thousands of victims on the quays of Smyrna and 1,500,000 people, who were forced to flee as refugees³⁰.

The refugees created political turmoil in the cities that received them. At the same time clashes broke out between indigenous and refugee populations and deep social strife emerged, which spilt over into every part of the society. In this way 'ghettos' of refugees, who were clearly different, were created, hindering interaction with the indigenous populations. The entry of the refugees into Greece created a demographic

explosion, as they constituted 20% of the total population and almost half of the active population of the interwar urban centres. Naturally, from an economic point of view, they formed the purely working class of modern Greek society and also contributed to expansion in the industrial sectors. Finally, they played a significant role in the formation of modern Greek culture³¹. The year 1922 left its mark everywhere. The repercussions of the Asia Minor disaster and of the refugees question expanded far beyond the interwar period.

The Panathenean Stadium could accommodate in its changing rooms, apart from the athletes, a small number of refugees and their families. It was not, of course, the only sports ground. The Rifle Range in Kallithea, the Bellionion Rifle Range and the Velodrome also provided accommodation for refugees. This temporary situation created a deadlock in the HOC's relations with the refugees, as arguments with the staff of the Stadium and attempts to take over the ground were not infrequent.

A personal letter from a refugee to the President of the dictatorial government, Theodoros Pangalos, highlights part of the problem.

As is known, about thirty families of refugee athletes from Smyrna are using the Stadium as living quarters. With them is the family of the keeper of the Stadium. Some blankets, beds and pillows have been given to these families out of the Stadium stores, because when they were in-



stalled there they had nothing. And because the blankets, pillows and beds had some wear and tear and were no longer usable because of their frequent and long use, the Stadium keeper's family took the opportunity to blame it all on the refugees and began to sell and use the furniture and pillows belonging to the Stadium. Recently, in fact, to make enough to cover the cost of his daughter's dowry, he sold off most of the pillows. This is not conjecture. It is the truth. ... I hope that you will take the above into consideration and that you will act in such a way that the refugees will not pay for something others have profited from³².

Of course, internal squabbles among the refugees were not infrequent either. One of them eloquently complained about the testiness of a young refugee woman, and asked the HOC to intervene:

I and my family are staying in a changing room very kindly put at the disposal of a certain social class of Asia Minor refugees by the Committee ... as bad luck would have it, six months ago Angeliki Mamopoulou from Silivria moved in with her daughter, who is a scourge on all the families living here. She swears at everybody in a most vulgar and despicable way, using language that would not be heard even in the worst dens of depravity. What is of extreme interest to me personally is the systematic attacks on my wife ... I wish to protest about the outrages of this woman, Mr.President. On behalf of all the families in residence here I heartily beg you to take the necessary steps...³³

Apart from that, there were the questions of hygiene and litter, as well as the security of the refugees³⁴. The theft of gymnastic apparatus and the damage to facilities were also another matter that the HOC had to deal with. In a report to the supreme head of the refugees, it asked for the evacuation of the 'changing rooms of the Stadium ..., of the Velodrome and of the ... "Bellenio" Rifle Range, occupied by refugees for four years, resulting in untold damage to Greek athleticism ... their transfer to neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Athens will be possible by putting a number of rooms at their disposal for this purpose. The occupation of these buildings which were purely for athletic pur-

<i>Eισιτ.</i>	<i>Καραβάς Ταξιδεύειν</i>
<i>Ταξιδεύειν Ευρωπαϊκή Έπος, Ήπια</i>	<i>—</i>
<i>a/ 4000</i>	<i>3487</i>
<i>b/ 6000</i>	<i>5604</i>
<i>c/ 6000</i>	<i>5509</i>
<i>d/ 34000</i>	<i>31796</i>
<i>e/ 5000</i>	<i>4241</i>
<i>Διαφορά 28 Νοε 15%</i>	
<i>Διαγραφές οικιών της αγοράς στην πόλη</i>	
<i>Αθηναία</i>	

poses is causing the disruption of serious athletic meetings ... with considerable damage to the nation³⁵.

The definitive evacuation of the sports grounds was completed over a long period with the transfer of the refugees to designated settle-

Σεις Ταραχωνούντων Σταδίου.	
Χοιριούντων ή Ηγεμόνων Δικαιούσιντοντος Επίσημης της Τύπου ή Μυρωνός Οργάνωσης	
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ments. In all the letters that were chiefly denunciatory in nature, from and to the HOC, the dead-

end existence of those who lived in the refugee communities is apparent.

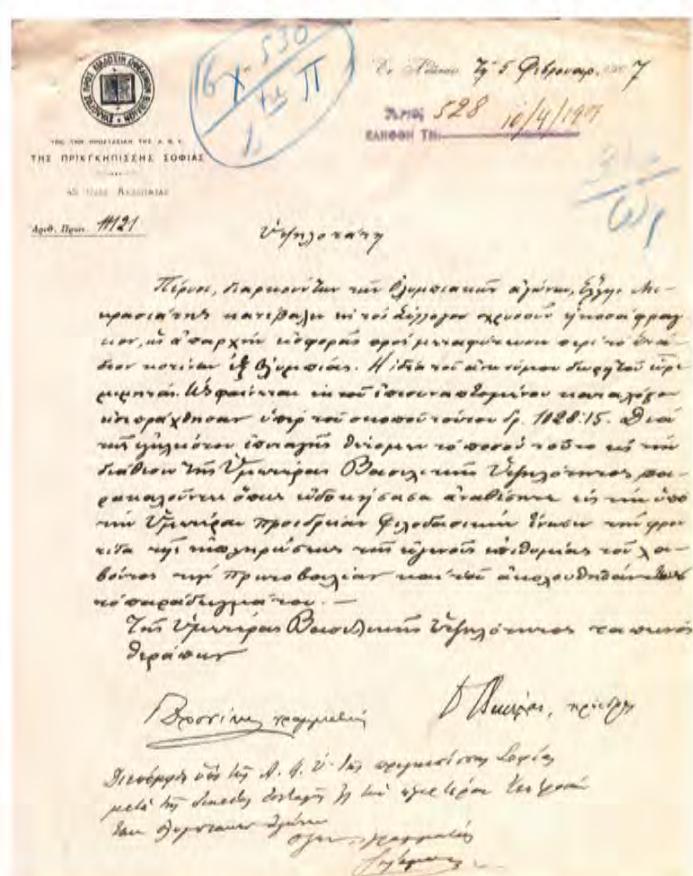
Ardittos Hill

THE AREA SURROUNDING the Panathenean Stadium constitutes an important part of its history, which is worthy of some attention. In the archives are a satisfactory number of documents that refer to the work of reforestation, protection and general management of Arditos and the surrounding areas.

Already from 1895, Stephanos Dragoumis, as president of the Zappeion Committee, had carried out the plan of re-shaping the garden and the whole area that fell under its jurisdiction, which was very active in improving the surroundings of the foundation. On the other hand, the Friends of the Forest Union, founded in 1899, widely advertised the work of reforesting the hills and other areas around Athens. During the same period a public nursery garden was set up in Pangrati to supply saplings³⁶. The tree-planting programme also included the city of Athens.

In 1905 the area around the Stadium came under the authority of the State and as a result was fenced off and planted³⁷. However, as Averof's will only specified the restoration of the marble and did not include anything about the surrounding area, the Ministry of Internal Affairs assumed responsibility for the matter in collaboration with the forestry commission, so as to complete the tree-planting in the right season. In 1908 the HOC asked the said ministry to grant it the right to use Arditos, to ensure the safety of the Stadium and the surrounding areas, and also to enhance and reforest it³⁸.

The reforestation was completed gradually in collaboration with the Committee and the Ministries of Finance and Agriculture, while on occasions the work was supported by private donations³⁹. Pine, cypress, poplar from the public nursery garden of Thision, Pangrati and the Agricultural centre of Haseki, and also olive trees from Olympia were planted on the hill. The forestry departments of the above Ministries saw to the trimming of the trees, and the completion



of the tree planting.

But wherever there is a forest there are also fires. Fire broke out on many occasions⁴⁰. On one of these occasions, according to an account given by doorman of the Stadium, the fire was prevented from spreading thanks to two women, who, with self-sacrifice and slight damage helped to put it out.

If these women had not been there at that time, because of the strong wind, the fire would have destroyed the whole pine forest on the left side of the Stadium and then the changing rooms...with respect we beg the honourable Committee to grant a small sum to the two women...who helped to put out the fire, of whom one had her slipper burnt⁴¹.

There was also no lack of attempts by local residences to trespass on the ground, or of spectators entering without permission during games. So, the HOC was compelled to ask for the help of the Athens Provost Marshall's office to guard the hill during celebrations and games⁴². Some de-

cades later, because of 'Teddy-boyish behaviour ... by various suspect persons ... during the night hours' it requested from the Athens Police Headquarters that the area should be fenced off as quickly as possible⁴³.

A managerial matter that emerges from the history of Arditto is that concerning the collaboration of the HOC with the Olympian and Legacies Committee, with regard to the use of the Arditto and Agra hills.

Arditto hill is the property of the Olympian and the Legacies Committee (Contract... of 10 May 1877) it was never let, nor donated to the HOC, they were simply allowed to plant trees there and fence off the area. Consequently, we have the honour of asking you to recommend to the authorised service of Your Committee for whatever purpose concerning the above lands, to seek agreement from Our Committee... also we have the honour in informing you that the overseeing of the trees and their upkeep will in the future be the duty of our Committee...⁴⁴.

This letter from the Olympian and Legacies Committee to the HOC in 1908 was the beginning of tension between them. In 1933 the HOC was asked by telegram to give up Arditto hill. It expresses its surprise and despondency at the decision, as 'nobody has ever doubted ... both the use and the need to use it, and the care ... it has taken ... to maintain and protect it'⁴⁵. 'Consequently, we are obliged to inform the Olympian and Legacies Committee that for legal and other significant reasons we refuse to give up Arditto'⁴⁶.

The Legacies Committee claimed that it took that step 'to put an end to it by getting a reply from them (the HOC) as they had not received any, to the repeated document from 1927 ... but instead, unduly created a pretext for devious action against the Olympian Committee'⁴⁷. The matter ended when the HOC assured them that 'never ... had we intended to ignore a public welfare institution and certainly not to resort to devious action against the Olympian Committee'. Among the courtesies is mentioned 'the agreement between our two Committees ... to promote ath-

leticism and physical education in general ... and to lay the foundations of collaboration in the future for the common good of the two Committees'⁴⁸.

From the archives, one can conclude that there was indeed relative agreement in the work of the two committees, even though at times, the Olympian and Legacies Committee needed to remind the HOC 'that the land belonging to the OLC is inalienable, (and that) whatsoever expropriation or concession of rights or possession of such is invalid, nothing to nobody cannot be conceded, according to the above right, over the aforesaid lands, that is, the hills Arditto and Agra that surround the Panathenean Stadium'⁴⁹. Tied by the provisions of article 15 of Law 1920/1939 'regarding the administration by Evangelis Zappas of property given to the State'... it would not tolerate without protest the unforewarned illegal and illicit ... activity ... which harms both the greenery of this mainly tourist part of the Capital, and, above all, its legal rights⁵⁰.

But the HOC itself brought up 'questions of order', at another time, as a result of publications in the Press, in which is mentioned the imminent use of the Arditto hill by the Olympian Committee, 'for the creation of recreation areas ... tourist facilities ... the construction of small roads to the Alsos (small wood) ... etc. This fact, that is to say, the 'use' of the wood and the Arditto hill, could not allow 'our Committee' to



stand by and do nothing, given the proximity of the Panathenean Stadium, which apart from sentimental reasons, as the venue of the first Olympic Games, is one of the most wonderful architectural achievements of modern Greece, facts in favour of its preservation and protection⁵¹. The tone of the letter in general suggests a kind of regular communication between the two Committees, which fatefully linked their history with an area of particular historic importance and natural beauty.

The Panathenean Stadium, and the surrounding area, was closely linked to the birth of modern athleticism. It proved to be the best place for holding the first Olympic Games in 1896 and for later athletic meetings. The history of the Stadium was successfully linked to its modern use and has never ceased to inspire and also accommodate athletic spectacles and cultural events. It has remained a living lung of athletic life in the heart of Athens, while being at the same a perfect archaeological monument.

GYMNAStic AND SPORTS ASSOCIATIONS IN GREECE



The emergence of associations

GYMNASTIC AND SPORTS associations appeared and became, along with other voluntary associations, loci for the formation of a collective identity among privileged circles for urban middle class groups in the last quarter of the 19th century. The overwhelming importance of classical Greece in Greek intellectual life led to the development of athleticism and concepts related to gymnastics being closely linked with classical athletic tradition¹. Furthermore, the people who supported athleticism in its first steps were educationalists. Physical exercise, therefore, was initially endorsed as a pedagogic necessity and not as the pursuit of entertainment.

The concept of gymnastics in Greece, as in other European societies of the 19th century, was identified with the growth and dissemination of national ideology and was considered an integral part of military preparation and the citizens' duty to the fatherland. Athleticism was considered a means of indoctrinating the nation and physical exercise was not a field of activity in its own right. The first gymnastic associations that were formed in the 1880s were governed by such concepts². Law 2621 of 1899 prescribed that sports clubs should perform a complementary educational role. At the same time, the associations themselves demonstrated a willingness to function pedagogically, not only for the benefit of young people, but the 'working classes', too. Moreover, until the end of the 19th century, athleticism as an activity remained, in many cases, part of a broader framework of activities carried out by educational and philological associations. Associations with an educational orientation gradually incorporated physical exercise and music into their fields of involvement, in this way emphasising the breadth of their interests. The Piraeus Association, for example, initially focused its attention on the development of working class apprenticeship schools and in 1903 announced the inauguration of new departments: music and gymnastics³. In 1899 the

Athletic Association of Vourvoura, a village in the Peloponnese, announcing its establishment to the President of the HOC, Spyridon Lambros, stressed that its aim was not only the development of athleticism in the surrounding villages, but also the fight against ignorance and illiteracy in the region. In its attempt to set up a library, it asked Lambros to donate his writings⁴.

The co-existence of different sectors within the context of the association and the simultaneous encouragement of its members to be active in more than one area is directly connected to two main factors. The first is the gradual separation of athletic practice from educational activities, along with the formation of a new attitude to gymnastics and subsequently the creation of a sports culture. The second is the geographical context within which an association developed, in combination with the prevailing political, social, cultural and economic conditions of the time. The co-existence of a variety of activities



**ΣΥΝΔΕΣΜΟΣ
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΙΚΩΝ & ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΩΝ
“Η.Σ.Γ.Α.Σ.”**

HELLENIC AMATEUR ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION

ΑΘΗΝΑΙ ΑΘΗΝΑΣ
ΚΑΒΑΛΑ ΚΑΒΑΛΑΣ ΣΤΕ. 4

ΑΡΧΙΤΕΧΝΙΚΑ ΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΑ ΔΥΝΑΜΙΚΗ Σ.Ε.Γ.Α.Σ.

I. ΑΘΗΝΑΣ - ΠΑΙΡΑΙΑΣ - ΠΕΙΡΑΙΩΣ

Α/Η	ΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΟΣ	ΠΟΔΙΣ	Δ/ΣΣ (Δάλακροφίες)
1.	*Βουνιώδης Γ.Σ.	Αθηναϊκός	Α. "Ολυμπος 6
2.	Πανελλήνιος Γ.Σ.	Αθηναϊκός	Βουλιαγμένων 2
3.	Πανελλήνιος Γ.Κ.	Βέτα Σιύρων	Κ. Διαρρέων
4.	Πανεπιστημιακός Α.Ο.	Αθηναϊκός	Η. Παπάδοπολου Σταδίου 43
5.	Α.Ε.Κ.	"	Δρυπετσούντας 8
6.	*Ουλακός "Αντισφαρίδης.	"	Δ. "Ολυμπος 2
7.	Πανεπιστημιακούν Γύμν.	"	Μενικούδηδημον 19
8.	*Βουνιώδης Αναθ.Σ.Ο.ν. Α.Υ.	"	Πλ. Καλυκοποτείου Μάκτανιδη (Τ.4)
9.	Α.Ε.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.	"	Φιλοθέης 49 Τ.5
10.	*Βουνιώδης Αριστοφάνεων Αθλ.	"	Β. Λανοντανίουν 726 (Τ.5)
11.	*Βουνιώδης Αριστοφάνεων Βούλας	"	Ιπποκράτεου 28
12.	Εποντ. Εγγαλίδης Βούλας	"	
13.	Αθηναϊκός Λευκάδιουν	"	
14.	Ελληνικός Ιππικός "Ομηλ.	"	
15.	*Ουλακός Γκράν.	"	
16.	Ουλακός Γκράν.	"	
17.	*Εποντ. Εγγαλίδης	"	
18.	Εποντ. Εγγαλίδης Α.Ο.	"	
19.	Πέτροβονος	"	
20.	Α.Ε.Παγκρατίου	"	
21.	Πειραιαϊκός Βούνθεμος	Πειραιαϊκός	Α. Βενιζέλου 12
22.	*Βουνιώδης Θ.Π.Π.	"	Κ. Κυριακίδης 21
23.	Ουλακός Θ.Ε.Π.Π.	"	Α. Κυριακίδης 21
24.	Σχολή Ναυτικών Δοκίμ.	"	Β. Κυριακίδης 21
25.	Α.Ε.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.Π.	Βίκινα	ΠΑΚΑ Ζερβος 83
26.	Α.Ο.Π.Π.Φαλήρου	Π.Φαλήρου	Βρύσηρας I (Δ.5)
27.	Α.Ο.Επιφανεΐς	Επιφανεΐς	Α. Υψητος 54
28.	Ιαννικός Α.Σ.	Η.Φιλαδέλφεια	Καραϊσκονο 104
29.	Α.Ε.Νέας Σινάρας	Η.Ε. Σινάρα	Μπουκουνίδης 47
30.	Α.Ε.Νέας Σινάρας	Η.Ε. Σινάρα	Τρ. Μονοπολίου 6
31.	Α.Ο.Νέας Σινάρας	Η.Ε. Σινάρα	
32.	Α.Ο.Κεντρικής Αγριού	Κέντρο.Φαληρον	
33.	Πειραιαϊκής Σχολής	Αθηναϊκός	Γρεβενών 32
34.	Δ.Ε. Αγριδίουν	Π.Αριδίουν	Κ. Τοπαλοκανα 'Ατ.' Αλεξανδρ. II
35.	Π.Ο.Σ. Βοτερος	Κρητού	Ζηρίνετον Γυμναστηρίουν
36.	Π.Σ. Αγριδούσιου	Η.Φιλαδέλφεια	Βρυσόδημου
37.	Π.Ο.Σ. Τρετίου	Η.Ε. Σινάρα	Βρυσόδημου Βερανέρου 26B 'Αθ.
38.	Χ.Α.Π.	"	Καραϊσκονο Μετ. Βιολετέου
39.	Δ.Ε. Αγριδοκηφιών	Αθηναϊκός	Πειραιαϊκού 16
40.	Δ.Ο.Τ. Αγριδίουν	Καλλιθέα	Π. Ε. Καναστανίδης Σικελείας 20
41.	Δ.Ο.Τ. Αγριδούσιου	Αναρρόδοτον	Π. Χαροκόπου 84
42.	Δ.Ο.Τ. Αγριδούσιου	Αθηναϊκός	Μητροπόλεως 27
43.	Δ.Ε. Αγριδοκηφιών	Αθηναϊκός	Γ. Λεπτομέρηου - Τήνου
44.	Δ.Ο. Γλυφάδας	Γλυφάδα	Α.Βενιζέλου 12, Αιγαλεόπητον,
45.	Δ.ρη. Σ.Φ.Α.	Αθηναϊκός	Φειδικώπεου I - Αιγαλεόπητον,
46.	Τιρκάν. Α.Ο.	"	
47.	Απτικός Α. & Π.Π.	"	
48.	Α.Ο. Συκινού	Τυχειόν	Αιοσίων 121
49.	Π.Ο. Φυληκού	Μεν. Τυχειόν	Π. Πειραινέλλαν-Κινάλου 104
50.			Μεταδάμου 29

ΠΑΝΙΩΝΙΟΣ ΓΥΜΝ. ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ
 ΓΡΑΦΕΙΑ: ΜΕΓΑΡΟΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΟΥ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ 28 (ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟΝ 49)
 ΑΘΗΝΑΙ

characterised the associations of the Greek communities in the Ottoman Empire located in Constantinople, Smyrna and Thessalonica. The specific ethnic groups perceived athleticism as a structural ingredient of national identity, along with the establishment and maintenance of schools, talks, poetry competitions and concerts. A case in point is that of the Panionios Gymnastic Association of Smyrna until 1906⁵ or that of the Philomuses Club in Thessalonica⁶. This was also true with regard to small town provincial associations, like, for example, the association of Vourvoura, mentioned earlier, which for financial reasons and also because of the limited number of staff available, played host to a number of activities.

A few years before the revival of the Olympic Games in 1896 gymnastics associations went through a period of intense activity. The revival of the Games played a decisive role in the establishment of physical exercise in Greek society. From the end of the century, however, associations whose members practised only one sport began to multiply. Physical and intellectual development, which was the main aim of the associations, gave way to the pursuit of recreation. The difference with regard to the previous century lay in the increase in the number of

associations that cultivated one sport, like tennis, cycling, rowing, football and hiking. There were also other differences. The use of free time and the interest in sports evolved along with the values of a developing Greek middle class during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th. Also, competitive sport slowly began to draw spectator interest, following the Athens Olympics in 1896, and later the Intermediary Olympic Games in 1906. From the 1920s and on, the number of athletic events that took place in the Panathenean Stadium increased a great deal, while the rise of football and its domination after the Second World War made 'Greeks become ecstatic in the football grounds'....

Important changes occurred at the same time on an organisational level of Greek sport. In 1897, 28 sports clubs together formed SEAGS (SEGAS from 1928), the Union of Greek Sports and Gymnastics Clubs, a higher athletic body whose aim would be to coordinate sports activities and support the interests of the associations. The state, with laws passed during 1899 and 1900, decided to play a leadership role in sports affairs. With law 2621 SEGAS was brought under the Ministry of Education, which gained the right to let schools use the associations' gymna-



"ΑΙΕΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΕΙΝ"



siums, while at the same time granting an annual subsidy to those associations that allowed their gymnasiums to be used and performed well in the Panhellenic Games. The control of the administration of the new institution quickly became the apple of discord among the powerful associations of Athens, like "Panellinios" (Panhellenic Club) and "Ethnikos" (National Club).

Relations between the HOC and SEGAS were defined as collaborative. All associations that could not be classified as athletic and gymnastic, according to the notions of the time, like shooting, rowing, fencing, horse-racing, etc. came under the jurisdiction of the HOC. The Committee, according to the legislation, was responsible for the administration and management of the main athletic premises of the time, like the Panathenean Stadium, the Velodrome and the Rifle Range at Kallithea, as well as the management of the funds raised by holding games. They were obliged, however, to give a seventh of the proceeds to the Ministry and another seventh to SEGAS. The co-existence of this higher athletic authority, which had a political role, the HOC, whose members were appointed by Royal Decree with the representative of association sport, SEGAS, the administrative council of which was elected, did not prove to be easy. Furthermore, the clash between the two bodies was the result of the political situation, particularly during the period of the National Schism. The HOC acted under the control of the royal family and the small group of members were friends and collaborators of the king. Mainly the Venizelist faction, on the other hand, controlled the SEGAS⁷.

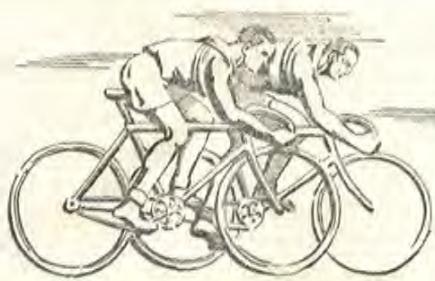
From the 1920s and on, federations of independent sports begin to make their appearance. Until 1936 HFF (football associations), HSF (swimming), HFNA (marine sports), HFWBW (wrestling, boxing and weightlifting), GFRS (rifle shooting), and the federation of winter sports

ΤΗΛΕΓΡ. Δ/ΝΣΙΣ : ELKOFI
TELEGRAMMES :



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΤΙΚΗ ΟΜΟΣΠΟΝΔΙΑ ΦΙΛΑΘΛΩΝ
FEDERATION HELLENIQUE DE NATATION AMATEUR

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ΠΟΔΗΛΑΤΙΚΗ
ΟΜΟΣΠΟΝΔΙΑ
ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ

and climbing. The federations were semi-autonomous bodies and came under the SEGAS⁸. During the following years the remaining federations were formed, while in 1957 the General Secretariat of Sport took on a leadership role in sport. The General Secretariat of Sport was set up in 1957 with the aim of promoting, reinforcing and coordinating extra-curricular sport as well as providing financial assistance to the HOC, recognised athletic federations and sports clubs⁹. The loss of the Committee's independence resulted in the expression of its displeasure about the expressed position of the General Secretariat regarding the subordination of the HOC to it and the interference of the former in

the organisation of the Torch Relay Race of the 1960 Olympic Games¹⁰.

The administrative organisation of Greek sport and the birth of an athletic hierarchy resulted in the restriction of the autonomy of the associations and at the same time Greece's introduction to the practices and ideas of organised world sport: regularity in the holding of games, codification of the rules of sport, recording of performances, communication of Greek associations with foreign associations, enrolment and participation of Greek federations in international associations, participation of the country through its athletic bodies in international games and, of course, in the Olympic Games.

The geography of the associations

THE LARGE URBAN CENTRES were, as one would expect, the first nucleus for the development of sports association life. Panellinios, the predominant association to this day in classical athleticism, was founded in Athens in 1891. It and Ethnikos were the two most significant forces until the end of the second decade of the 20th century. In the harbours of the country flourished mainly associations that specialised in sea sports. The Rowers Club of Piraeus was founded in 1888 and was the first rowing association in the country¹¹. A few years later the Rowers Club of Ermoupolis and the Naval Club of Patras were created.

Gymnastics and later sports clubs were founded not only in urban centres but also in many provincial and small market towns, and

even in villages. The geographical distribution of sports clubs during the period 1870-1914 confirms the direct relationship between urban development and sport. 63 out of the 200 associations in the country operated in Athens and Piraeus. The distribution of the associations is also an important feature. With the exception of Athens, Piraeus, Corfu, Patras, Ermoupolis and Volos, 45 market towns had one association and 13 had two¹².

The HOC Archives give us a satisfactory picture of the sports clubs founded from the 19th century until 1972. The fact that the year the associations were founded has been specified in only 1/6 of the cases makes it impossible for us to make more substantial observations. However, observations can be based on the type

of sport and the place.

The ratio of people involved in sport in provincial areas compared to the capital and other large cities began to increase from the beginning of the 20th century. Nevertheless, given that maintaining and developing an association was financially onerous, a clear hierarchy began to establish itself among the Greek associations, which no longer allowed the provinces to compete with the associations in the capital. The subordinate position of the provincial associations was institutionalised for the first time with the founding of the Union of Greek Sports and Gymnastics Clubs (SEAGS), in 1897, where representatives of the Athenian clubs dominated the Administrative Council, to whom the provincial clubs had surrendered their right to representation¹³.

Local associations, which often expressed a local awareness against the centralisation of the capital, faced profound problems that threatened their very survival. Added to the problem of lack of facilities came that of the frequent fragmentation of local sport into neighbourhood teams that were antagonistic towards each other, as well as financial problems, which were paramount. Provincial associations often lacked the basic facilities required to practise their sports. In 1906, for example, Spartiakos Gymnastics Society asked the HOC to let them have a pole for the pole-vault event in association games, while the newly-formed Gymnastics Society of Keratea (Attica) asked for a discus¹⁴. Up until 1950 there were a number of cases where provincial clubs turned to the HOC for financial support or the sponsorship of prizes and cups for local games¹⁵.

Towards the middle of the 20th century the geographical representation of the associations within the institutional body SEAGS seems not to have changed. Thus, in 1955, of the 185 clubs that fulfilled the prerequisites that allowed them a vote, 55 came from Athens and Piraeus and 12 from Thessalonica¹⁶. At the same time, most of them were the oldest and financially well-off associations, played a leading role in the

Panhellenic Games, were active in more than one sport and had athletes on the national team. Among the associations of note are Panellinios, Ethnikos, Panionios, AEK, Panathenaikos, Olympiakos, Ethnikos Piraeus, and from Thessalonica, Iraclis, PAOK, Aris and the Byzantine Athletic Club. Other historic associations from other urban centres like Patras, Corfu and Volos were members of SEAGS, but mainly, as far as the Greek provinces were concerned, sports clubs founded after 1922 dominated. The vast majority of the associations came from the capital towns of the prefectures. Some of these, in fact, like Kalamata, Rhodes, Volos, Ioannina, Heraklio, Rethimno and Naousa had more than one. The number of associations on the islands was impressive (30). This was followed by Sterea Hellas-Thessalia-Epirus (25), the Peloponnese (21), Thrace (18) and Macedonia (17).

The members of SEAGS could not, of course, be considered a reliable representative sample for a given period of time. On the one hand, not all athletic activities sent representation to the Association and, on the other, being a member meant that each association had to pay an annual subscription and to show considerable athletic

ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ

“ΚΡΙΚΕΤ,,
ΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ



ability within the first two years, when it was a trial member¹⁷. However, the specific prerequisites most likely corresponded to the real picture of the greater part of Greek sport, or at least to that which was officially recognised, because, from what we can see, they constituted insurmountable barriers for a large number of different associations in the capital as well in the provincial towns, who never, or hardly ever, crossed the threshold of the athletic institution.

Recent research into amateur clubs in Greece shows the profile of popular sport in relation to the place where it developed, and also allows us to highlight continuity and lack of it over time. So, in the mid-1990s, the majority of the 5,419 associations sponsored by the General Secretariat of Sport practised only one sporting activity, while approximately 50% of those that practised more than one athletic activity were in the Attica or Central Macedonian regions (where the two large urban complexes of Athens and Thessalonica are located). Central Macedonia, however, clearly outnumbered that of Attica and other regions, having a greater ratio of clubs per

Αριθ. Αρχ.	Εκδόσεις	Όνομα	Όνομα αρχής	Ημ. ή ημ. Εποχή	Αποτίμηση
✓	Ευρώπειος	Τανάγρα	Ηλεία Λακωνία	1896	Σταύρος τέλον στο διάνυσμα από την Αρχαιότητα πάνω λαζανά της Λακωνίας, δημιουργία δημοσίευσης τον ίδιον χρόνο
✓	Καρφιτσαρίου για την παγκόσμια	Τανάγρα	Τελεφόρος	1878	δημοσίευσης τον ίδιον χρόνο
✓	για την παγκόσμια	Ευρώπειος	Τανάγρα	1878	τον ίδιον χρόνο
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population group (6:10,000). The predominant sporting activity in contemporary Greek society has been football (4,406 clubs or 81%). Basketball (528 clubs or 9.7%) and volleyball (139 clubs or 2.6%) follow. The total number of amateur athletes involved in sport is 201,792¹⁸.

The domination of football goes back some time, before it acquired semi-professional status and began to stand out from other sports because of its commercial importance and as a spectator sport. By the end of the 1920s it had become 'the most popular sport of all the athletics and gymnastics exercises', according to Apostolos Nikolaidis, member of the HOC. At that time 600 football clubs with 20,000 footballers were in operation¹⁹.

Greek gymnastics and sports clubs, however, did not develop on Greek soil alone. In the second half of the 19th century Greek Orthodox communities in the Ottoman Empire and Egypt founded educational associations, the aim of which was to define their national identity²⁰. Literate middle-class, as a rule, took these initiatives. Within the context of these attempts, gym-

ΑΓΩΝΕΣ Πανελλήνιοι και Εθνικοί	190 ^η				
Ελληνικοί Αθλητικοί Σύλλογοι Κύπρου ο Υπέροχος	<i>10</i>				
ΕΥΑΛΔΟΣ					
ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ					
ΕΠΙΧΑΙΡΕΤΥΤΗΡΙΟΝ					
ΔΗΔΟΣΙΣ ΑΓΩΝΙΣΤΟΝ ΚΑΤ ΛΑΦΑΒΗΤΙΚΗΝ ΤΑΞΙΝ					
Σημ. 1. Οι συμμετούντες έχουν πάρει μετά από την επιβολή αυτών, μετά την επιβολή αυτών.					
Σημ. 2. Το δυνατό διεύθυντος μεταρρυθμίσεων της απόφασης δεν είναι απορρέουσας λύση.					
Σημ. 3. Εάν την στήλη των συμμετούντων παραγράψεται το δημόσιοτελος είτε δε την αποτελέσματα παραγράψεται το δημόσιοτελος στην στήλη συμμετούντων.					
Σημ. 4. Ο πρόεδρος κατόλογου παραγράψεται του τον Προέδρον και τον Γραμματέα των ομάδων Συλλόγου ή των Διευθυντών των ομάδων Επιλογετύριου ή των Αντιπροσώπων των ομάδων γραμματείας.					
Αριθ. Αριθ.	Επώνυμος	Όνομα	Όνομα πατέρας	Έτος Γέννασης	Λαφαβητικός
1	Καζαζάνης	Χρήστος	Γεωργίου	1876	παναγιώτης αντώνης καζαζάνης
2	Κράφελος	Γεώργιος	Βασιλείου	1876	παναγιώτης παν βασιλείου κράφελος μαρίας
3	Λαζαρίδης	Αρκαδίους	Σωτήρης	1872	παναγιώτης σωτήρης λαζαρίδης
4	Παπαϊωάννης	Χαροκόπειος	Πατσούρης	1881	παναγιώτης πατσούρης
5	Ρεμπέτης	Δημοσθένης	Παναγιώτης	1881	παναγιώτης παναγιώτης
6					



nastics and athletics clubs slowly developed. Until 1922, the Greek orthodox community in Smyrna boasted two dynamic clubs, Panionios and Apollon. Their athletes participated in the Panhellenic Games and helped to make up the Greek national team. After the Asia Minor Catastrophe these two associations began to operate in Athens. We must also mention other, lesser important, clubs operating in Crete, before it became part of the Greek state, Cyprus and, of

course, the active naval associations of Egyptian Greeks in Alexandria, Cairo and Port Said. In 1955, among the 'foreign' associations that were members of SEAGS were 6 from Cyprus, 1 from the United States (New York) and 15 from Egypt. All the above associations were official members of SEGAS and the corresponding sports federations. Their recognition by the official body of Greek clubs meant that they could participate in the Panhellenic Games.

Sports clubs and social groups

THE DEVELOPMENT of sports clubs from the end of the 19th century and on led to physical exercise becoming endowed with new meanings. The identification of gymnastics with nationalistic ideology, the cultivation of military virtues and 'national spirit', physical strength in the service of the nation yielded to the 'discovery' of sport as a form of entertainment, as a system of practice and ideas that went hand in hand with leisure use. Classical athleticism, accepted by all citizens without exception, gave way to an involvement with sport, of which middle-class youth became its most enthusiastic supporters.

The proliferation of sports clubs in the early decades of the 20th century and the popular nature of sport from the 1920s and on changed the attitude of social groups to gymnastics, restructured the priorities of urban populations and at the same time defined the identity of sports.

'Aristocratic' sports like fencing and horse-riding and tennis, which all appeared around the turn of the century, clearly continued to attract

the upper classes. In fact, we could say that as the years went by and sport became popularised, the more 'exclusive' these clubs became. The perpetuation of their middle class identity was due, on the one hand, to the financial requirements of practising such sports and, on the other, to their family-dominated structure.

Fencing and cycling found devotees from the urban classes. However, their popularisation at the beginning of the 20th century turned the upper middle-class towards the 'exclusive' associations mentioned earlier.

The sport, however, that has been identified with physical exercise and leisure for the working classes of Greek society is football. Involvement with the 'round goddess' was not particularly widespread until at least the end of the first decade of the 20th century. The new enthusiasm for the 'ball' concerned athletes from lower middle class and middle-class groups and associations that operated on the fringe of the rest of athletic life. The profound population

change that took place in Greek society, mainly in the urban centres with the influx of approximately 1,500,000 refugees from Asia Minor in 1922, after the Asia Minor Catastrophe, as well as the second phase of Greek industrialisation, in the interwar years, played a decisive role in the spread of interest in football. The combination of those two events radically increased the working class population in the country, which henceforth was located in the old, but mainly in the new working class neighbourhoods of the residential areas of Athens and Piraeus. It is not surprising that at the beginning of the 1930s the foremost port of the country had the most football teams created out of the working-class neighbourhoods²¹. The spread of football and other sports clubs took place in other refugee and working class cities like Kavala, Katerini and Drama. The foundation of Olympiakos in Piraeus in 1925 by the middle class of the local community constituted a landmark for the athletic life of the city, as its football team, after it had slowly pushed neighbourhood teams into the background, became an integral part of the lower class culture of the city²².

The most characteristic case, however, in which class and refugee identity became interwoven was that of the athletic and principally football associations of Thessalonica. Thessalonica, before being annexed by the Greek state in 1913, was the big commercial port of the Ottoman Empire. Within the framework of its cosmopolitan nature, the Greek element, third in size after the Jewish and Ottoman, had been

very active in the various educational, philanthropic, musical and sports clubs²³. The athletic activity of the Greeks developed within the context of the conflict among the Balkan ethnic groups, given that the activities of the various associations, particularly the educational associations, were primarily aimed at building up a national identity. Prime movers in this endeavour were the lower middle class and middle classes of the community. The decisive step for local athleticism, however, was taken with the founding of the Pan-Thessalonican Athletic Club of Constantinopolitans (PAOK) and ARIS. Those refugees who had settled in the district of Toumba and built up a neighbourhood created the former. The new association was founded by refugee workers and technicians and was embraced by the whole of the neighbourhood.

The relationship between football and popular and working class culture in particular is one of the many questions that have to be researched with reference to the history of Greek sport. Through the years, under the influence of mass sport, the transformation of sports meetings into a spectacle, and professionalism, which gradually gained ground, the sports clubs evolved into places of entertainment, athletic involvement and individual and collective pride, irrespective of class. The first three decades of the existence of clubs were an exception as far as tennis and horse-riding clubs were concerned, which even today are accessible only to those who fulfil certain financial and social prerequisites. One of the levels of social distinction of those involved in

ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΪΚΟΣ ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΟΜΙΛΟΣ

ΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΟΝ ΑΝΕΓΝΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΝ - ΙΔΡΥΘΕΝ ΕΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΕΤΟΣ 1908

ΜΕΛΟΣ: Σ.Ε.Γ.Α.Σ. - Ε.Π.Ο. - Ε.Π.Σ.Α.

ΤΜΗΜΑΤΑ: ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ
ΠΟΔΟΣΦΑΙΡΙΚΟΝ
ΠΑΙΔΙΩΝ-ΧΟΚΕΥ



ΓΡΑΦΕΙΑ - ΛΕΣΧΗ - ΓΗΠΕΔΟΝ:

ΛΕΩΦΟΡΟΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑΣ ΑΡΙΘ. 160

ΤΗΛΕΦ. ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΙΣ: «ΑΖΕΝΕΡΑΖ»

ΑΡΙΘΜΟΣ ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΟΥ 20-246



sports clubs could be considered their administration. From the end of the 19th century the boards of management were chiefly made up of members of the urban middle classes, whether public servants, businessmen or independent professionals. Social background and age became determining factors in allowing access to administrative positions in the associations, while on the fringe between administrators and athletes were often people who were young and, in many sports, of 'humble' origin. Even football teams with a strong working class footing were founded by members of the middle classes or at least were given financial support by wealthy citizens of the city, like Piraeus Olympiakos and Thessalonica PAOK. Involvement in administrative matters of the associations, apart from ensuring social prestige and promotion in the con-

text of local societies, was often, in combination with the former, a means of gaining and enhancing political patronage and clientelism. One cannot even rule out the possibility that certain members of the middle classes wished to control working class gatherings, manipulating them by a paternalistic logic, during the period that followed the Civil War, in 1949, when the KKE (Greek Communist party) had been outlawed and a large part of Greek society lived under the threat of persecution. In 1965, for example, the management board of the football team Proodevtiki, of one of the municipalities of Piraeus with a working class profile and a high percentage of leftwing supporters, was made up of independent professionals, while two industrialists filled the positions of president and vice-president²⁴.



THE ATHLETES



THE SPREAD of athletics and gymnastics and the development of sports meant that they were no longer the domain of one class or another, at least as far as the emotion felt by those city dwellers who watched sport is concerned. The social profile of those who actively participated in sport, however, was not above social differences. We have already mentioned the connections between the clubs, sports and social classes. Principally young men from the lower middle classes frequented the first gymnasiums of the city. These were, in fact, the enthusiastic founders of the first gymnastic and athletic clubs. The spread of sport in the 20th century would not alter the social profile of sportsmen, but would help to establish a clear hierarchy regarding who practised what sport.

So, white-collar workers, doctors and lawyers, craftsmen and merchants turned to walk-

ing, rowing and sailing, athletics as well as football. The aristocratic sports quickly formed closed communities of businessmen, industrialists and bankers, doctors and lawyers. Football was 'played' by the middle classes, but mainly by people who belonged to the working classes, skilled labourers, workers and clerks, while military people and representatives of the élite traditionally practised shooting and fencing¹.

The gradual establishment of the athletic spectacle, from the revival of the Olympic Games and on, because of the systematic activity of athletic institutions and the increasing interest of the press in athletic news, gave rise to the fame acquired by some athletes and their performances. The unknown, until his victory in the Marathon race of 1896, Louis, the weightlifter Tophalos in 1906 and Tsiklitiras, the Olympic champion of the London Olympics (1908) and Stockholm (1912) became national idols. The champion of that time was above all a national hero, a symbol of Greek supremacy over other nations rather than the hero of individual performance and competitive superiority, which would prevail in the 20th century².

At the opposite extreme, however, in the 1920s and on, in the mould of the champion-national hero of the turn of the 19th century or the champion in the modern sense of the term, the model of the footballer was born. Football quickly became the favourite sport of the working classes and football players the Sunday heroes of the working class neighbourhoods of the cities. The admiration and worship that they enjoyed, however, from the working classes became rage and scorn from the middle classes. Football and its heroes and their behaviour were believed to totally ignore the true meaning of sport; self-discipline, fair play, respect for one's opponent and individual dignity. In other words, they were an insult to the value codes of sport, as they were perceived and applied by the middle class. A letter from the captain of the Naval Ship P. N. Loundras, also a member of the HOC, to the president of the Committee, is characteris-





ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΑ ΣΤΙΒΟΥ
ΠΟΔΟΣΦΑΙΡΟΥ, ΒΟΛΛΕΥ - ΜΠΩΛ,
ΜΠΑΣΚΕΤ - ΜΠΩΛ,
ΠΥΓΜΑΧΙΑΣ, ΠΑΛΗΣ, ΟΠΛΟΜΑΧΙΑΣ,
ΠΕΖΟΠΟΡΙΑΣ, ΧΟΚΕΥ,
ΔΟΟΥΝ - ΤΕΝΝΙΣ ΚΟΛΥΜΒΗΤΙΚΑ
ΑΘΛΗΤΙΚΑ και ΓΥΜΝΑΣΤ. ΟΡΓΑΝΑ,
ΜΕΤΑΛΛΙΑ, ΕΠΑΘΛΑ, ΠΑΤΙΝΙΑ
ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΓΕΝΕΙ
ΟΛΑ ΤΑ ΕΙΔΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΠΟΡΤ.

Δ. ΚΑΡΑΜΠΑΤΗΣ & ΑΦΟΙ ΑΠΕΤΙΑΝ

ΕΙΔΗ ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΥ & ΣΠΟΡΤ

ΣΤΟΑ ΦΕΞΗ 42 - ΑΘΗΝΑΙ

ΠΡΟΜΗΘΕΙΑΙ - ΑΝΤΙΠΡΟΣΩΠΕΙΑΙ

tic. In it he expresses his opposition to the sending of a football team to the 1928 Olympic Games in Amsterdam because of the image people had formed of football players:

In order that the said players take part in the games they should have received the assurance of the Olympic Committee that they are amateurs. And I ask, will the Olympic Committee dare to confirm the amateurism of persons who, with their repeated anti-athletic acts, have debased all athletic dignity? Will the Olympic Committee confirm the amateurism of persons who swear and hit each other during a game? Will the Olympic Committee confirm the amateurism of persons who, according to the official representative of the Olympic Committee, proposed that only half of the costs of the delegation to Amsterdam be given to them, as they were able to raise the rest by giving matches in various European cities through which they would be passing?³.

More and more footballers, especially from the 1920s and on, came from the working classes. The popularity of the sport, in combination with the fact that those in charge of the teams had important positions financially and socially, resulted in football players being employed in the public services. At the beginning of the 1930s, the Vice-President of AEK, (Ath-

letic Union of Constantinople) Chryssopoulos, as manager of the technical services department of the Water Company⁴, saw to it that most of the players of his team were employed as clerks in the Company. Promises of an easy military service and transfers, but chiefly the securing of positions in the Public sector or in Municipal offices, was a major incentive to induce football players to leave rival clubs. At the same time, however, the breaking or keeping of promises was the trump card the players themselves had over the administrative committees of the teams⁵.

Not only the associations helped to find jobs for the players. At one time even the HOC assisted members of the national team to find posts. In a letter to the administration of the Agoranomia (Field Police) it asked the Director to approve the appointment of the champions G. Eleftheriadis and Ang. Lambrou so that they would be given the positions of inspectors of street markets as, 'being deprived of work and burdened with obligations, they are unable to freely attend intensive training' for the Berlin Olympic Games⁶. The Committee frequently made arrangements with private and public bodies, particularly before important matches, so

TRIPPLICATE

2

XV OLYMPIA

HELSINKI 1952

Feuille d'engagement des équipes
Entry form for teams

A G R E C H

FOOTBALL

C FOOTBALL

Liste des concurrents
List of competitors

D	Nom	C
1 PENTZAROPOULOS	NICOLAS	
2 DELAVINIAS	NICHET	
3 ROSSIDES	ELIAS	
4 NOURATIS	ANDRIAS	
5 ARVANITIS	TOULIKHOS	
6 IOANNOU	JEAN	
7 LIDROXYLIKIS	CONSTANTIN	
8 KOTRIDIS	CHARALAMBOS	
9 POULOS	CONSTANTIN	
10 NEFABIDES	JEAN	✓
11 NOURATIDES	GEORGES	✓

D	Nom	C
12 DROGOS	CHARALAMBOS	
13 NEDILIS	A THANAS	
14 PAPAGEORGIOU	ELIAS	
15 PISTROPOULOS	BASILE	
16 DARIVAS	GEORGES	
17 ISIANOULIDES	PAUL	
18 HAIMENOCLOU	CONSTANTIN	
19 ASSIDIACOPULOS	PHILIPPE	
20 PATAKAS	PANAGIOTIS	
21		
22		

P. Rangébie

Secrétaire, Comité National
French Olympic Committee, National Olympic Committee

Président du Comité, Comité National Olympique
President of Committee, National Olympic Committee

that athletes in the army or those who worked in offices would be given favourable transfers or leave, so that they could be in Athens to train⁷.

We are still not in a position to have a documented picture of the social identity of athletes and the way it changed through time. However, if we examine the professions of the thirty-two athletes that made up the first phase of the Greek Olympic team of the 1952 Olympics, we see that the social background of Greek athletes was not noticeably different from that of the past. Thus, athletics and wrestling were practised by private and minor civil servants, rowing and shooting by private office workers, merchants, lawyers, insurance brokers, industrialists and military men and sailing by private office workers and civil engineers⁸.

As in other European countries in the 19th Century, Greek gymnastic and sports clubs were essentially places for men to get together. The military spirit that inspired the aims and opera-

tion of the first gymnastic clubs continued with the nationalist ideology and regarded the marriage of gymnastics and the duty of a citizen to his country as a fundamental need. Physical beauty and strength not only guaranteed exceptional physical presence but also reflected, according to the beliefs of the time, inner culture, self-discipline and self-control, and a belief in higher ideals. The bourgeois perception of the aesthetic model of the male body is apparent in the photographs of semi-naked, shapely athletes of the beginning of the 20th century⁹.

The first clubs, with very few exceptions, excluded women from their athletic activities and member lists. Only four of the clubs that had been founded by 1899 included a clause in their constitutions allowing women to become members, while of the Athens clubs the Ethnikos and the Lawn Tennis Club were the first to elect women to their Administrative Councils, from 1901¹⁰. The Panionios association, founded in 1890, only made a proviso for the membership

Πῶς ἡ γωνίσθησαν
οἱ παλαισταὶ μας εἰς τὴν XI Ὀλυμπιάδα

"Ολαί αἱ συναντήσεις τῶν παλαιστῶν μας Μπίρη,
Βατανίδη, Ζαχαρία καὶ Λεφάκη

παντούς πόρους αποστολής.
Ο Βατανίδης προσέφερε στην πα-
ραγωγή της μεγάλη διάρκεια. Η πα-
ραγωγή γίνεται στην πόλη Ταϊλάνδη
Μαλάκαν περίπου σε 9° με 20°.
Ειδ. την δεύτερη γένος σε Αθηναϊκή
Γεραρδού, έκδοση της Βατανίδης σε τα-
υτόχροο.

ιαρά ή αλληλεγγύη τον πρώτην ή διάδοχον
την θέση είτε την Διοττηρόπολην έργων
ποδὸς πόλεων την ειδικότερη μια την
συμπλοκής της.

Κατόπιν τούτου άπαιδευτά του, ο πρω-
τεύοντας μητρούς του, η οποία ήταν βασικής σημα-
νίας για την ανάπτυξη της πόλης.

οντας με την πλευρά σαρών από-
κεισθή.

Ο Σωτήριος ήμεροτόν είχε την πάτη
νοσού την πλευρά του διασών.

Ο Σωτήριος ήμερος είχε την
πλευρά γέγον άνω και είχε την θερ-
απή, αναπνευσή.

Είχε την πλευρά γέγον, ο Βασιλίδης
βρήκε από την Ταϊζόν Ταϊζόν με απο-
μίλ είς 18' μηι 21'. Είχε την πλευράν

Οι «Ελληνες πρακτικαι Λεπάρης, Ζαγορίδης, Βατσιώνης κρι-
μάτων» στις οποίες αντέτοπούνται τα Ευκά πας και ναού-
λοι είς τους πελαζούσιον σύγκλιτο του Βεροίαντος.

περιοχής της Ελλάδας Γρεβενών, που θεωρείται ότι είναι η παλαιότερη Μητρόπολη της Ελλάδας Πέτρος. Ο Τσακόνης, δηλαδή ταλαιπωρείται από την πρώτη μητρόπολη της Ελλάδας, που έχει την προστασία της Αγίας Βαρβάρας, καθώς και την προστασία της Αγίας Αικατερίνης, που έχει την προστασία της Αγίας Ειρήνης.

Σ. ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ

THE INTERMEDIARY OLYMPIC GAMES IN 1906



THE HOLDING of the Olympic Games in Athens in April 1906 was an important landmark in the attempt by the country's athletic leadership to fight for and to establish Intermediary Olympic Games every four years in Athens, in the mid-term between the normal holding of the Olympic Games. The decision in 1904 to hold them took the international athletic community by surprise and caused a climate of animosity within the IOC, because it went against the joint decision taken ten years earlier, in 1894, with the agreement of Greece, that the Games would be held every four years in a different city. However, the events that led to the decision give the impression that it was not the result of a coordinated initiative and the collaboration of the political world and the athletic leadership but a combination of coincidental events, political opportunism, individual intentions and the creation of a positive climate with regard to public opinion. More specifically, regarding the latter, we could say that the significance given to the revival of the Games at that time, that is to say, as a continuation of those of antiquity, was aided by the prevailing nationalistic ideology. The Intermediary Olympic Games were prepared and carried out during the period when the Macedonian Question was at the forefront, in other words, the rivalry between the Balkan nationalisms for the control of the orthodox communities of Macedonia that belonged to the Ottoman Empire.

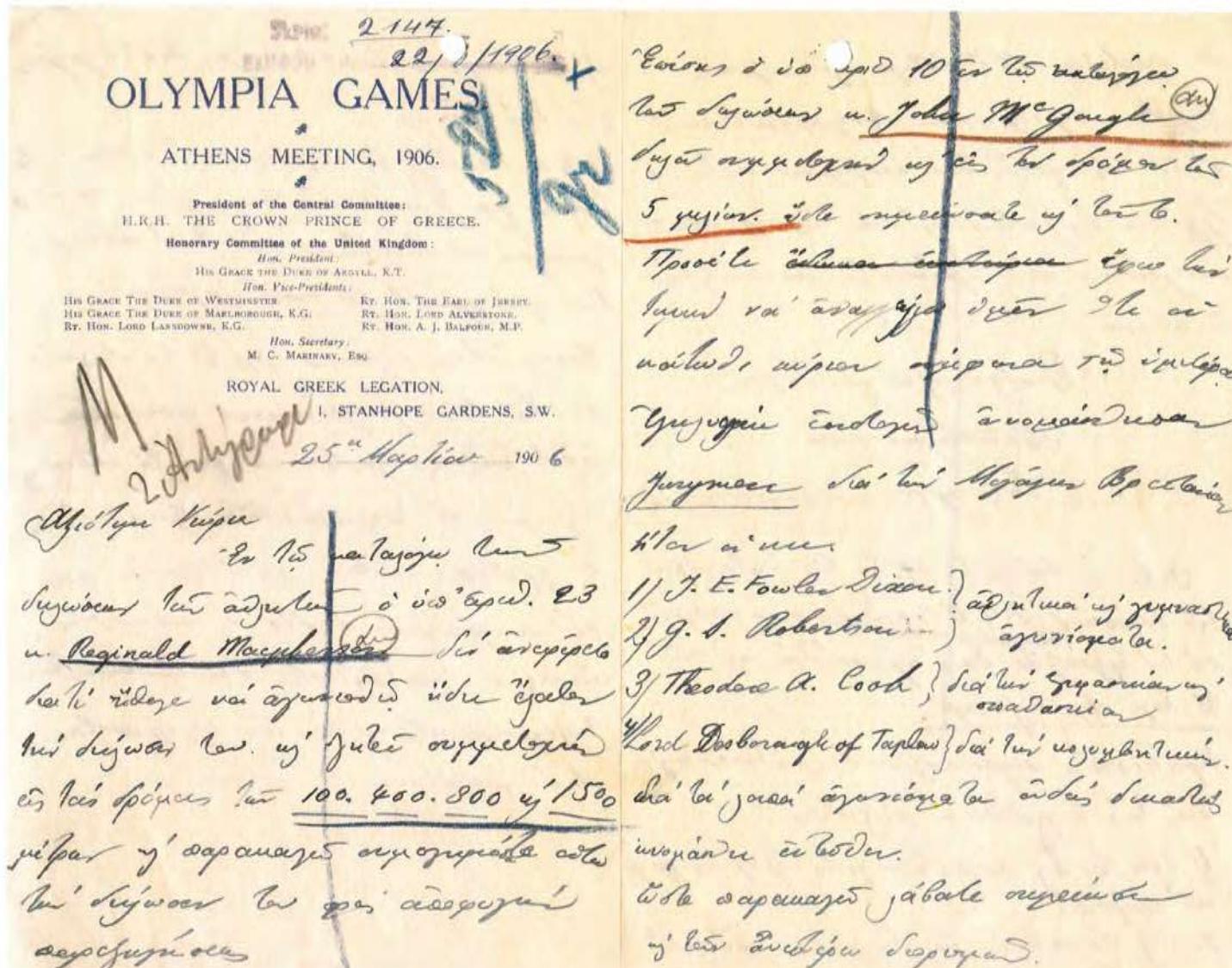
Its beginnings are located immediately after

the end of the revival of the modern Olympic Games in 1896 in Athens. The enthusiasm that prevailed after the concluding ceremony created a climate of euphoria, both among those in office as well as among athletes from various countries, with the result that the idea that the Games be held on a permanent basis in Athens was put forward. The President of the Greek committee himself, King George I, in a toast at the reception held for foreign delegations wished 'by common effort that Athens be designated as the permanent location for the future Games', while at the same time, as a result of an initiative by American and Hungarian athletes, a form of application to the organisers of the Games to see to the above was signed by the majority of those present¹.

This spontaneous stand was adopted immediately by the Athens press and was duly promoted. The then Prime Minister, Theodoros Diligiannis, bearing in mind the enormous response the proposal had with public opinion, quickly drew up legislation regarding the promotion of gymnastics in Greece and the permanent holding of the Games in the Stadium. The previous government of Trikoupis, on the other hand, had opposed the idea of the first Olympics, estimating that the cost of the venture, at a difficult time for the economy of the country, would be overwhelming. The founder of the modern Games, de Coubertin, reacted at once, proposing to the Greek Government that Pan-Hellenic Games be held every four years in the intervening period between the Olympic Games². According to Chryssafis, de Coubertin himself noted that it would be impossible for the Games to be held in Greece every four years, considering the vast expense for foreign delegations, the amount that the organising country would be obliged to spend, and the general political climate that might create insurmountable obstacles to the normal periodicity of the Games³.

It is important to understand, therefore, that it was not so much the views of individuals but the historical environment in which they were ex-





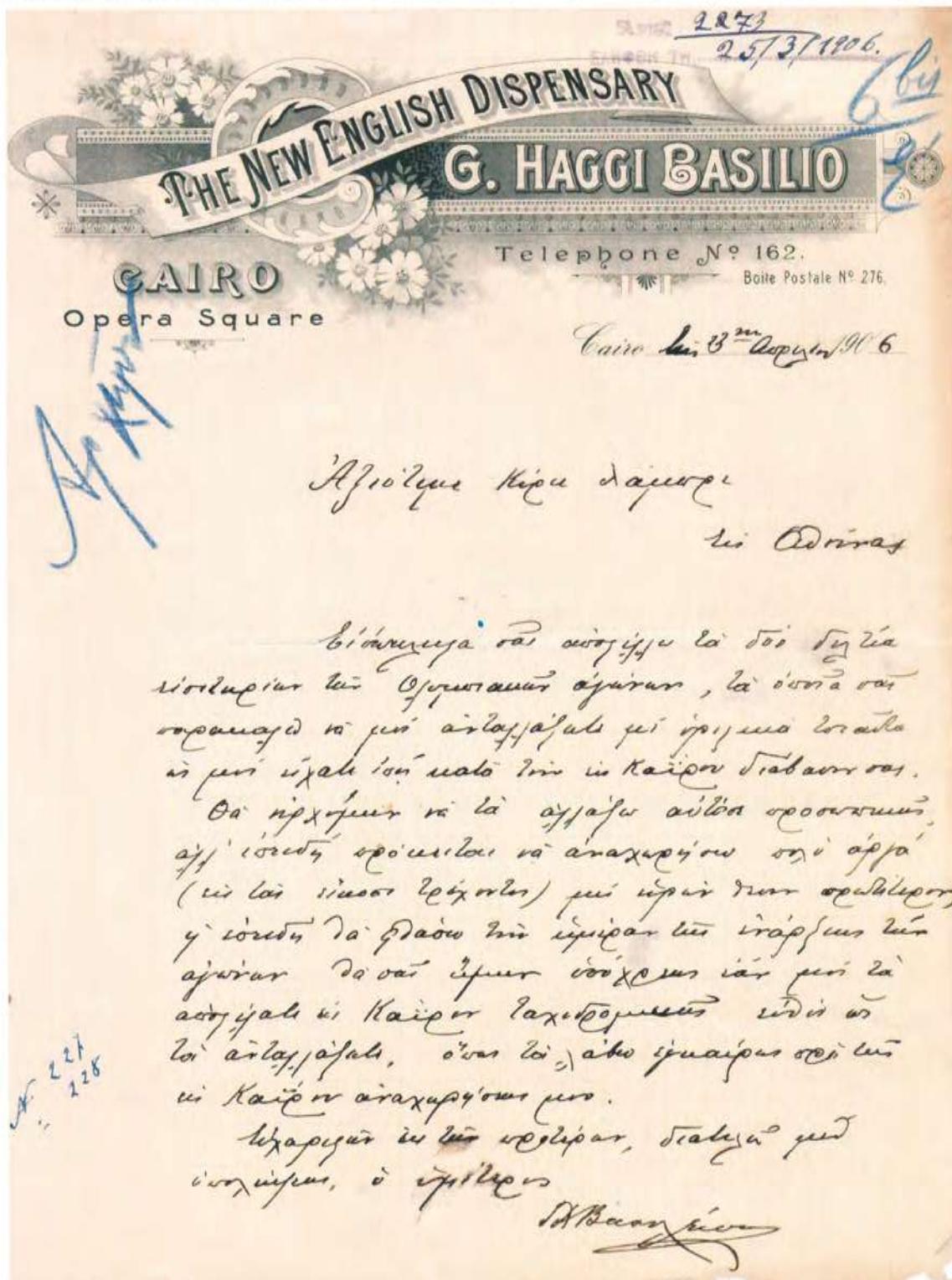
pressed verbally and in practice that counted. De Coubertin, in other words, judged the revival of the Games in terms of the example of the development and spread of sport in France, also taking into consideration the other athletically developed or at least developing countries in Europe with regard to sport. Economically and athletically poor, Greece, with its economic crisis and state bankruptcy in 1893, the constant troubles with the Ottoman Empire, culminating in the defeat of 1897 after the Greek-Turkish war, and its sensitive geographical position in the Balkans, was in no position to provide the guarantees necessary for the organisation and holding of the Games on a permanent basis in Greece.

The idea of the Intermediary Olympic Games belonged to Dimitrios Vikelas and was put for-

tics and athleticism, and the organisation every four years of the Olympic Games⁵. We are unable to judge the different opinions which were no doubt expressed both within the framework of the political world and among the intelligentsia. This parameter is one of the very fertile areas for research around the Intermediary Olympic Games, which is opening up with the classification of the HOC Archives. It should be noted,

however, that the formulation of the law was clear concerning the intentions of the HOC: it indirectly questioned the decisions of the 1894 Paris Conference and was claiming the Games on a permanent basis in Athens. This fact exacerbated its disagreements with the IOC and led to sardonic comments from its members.

The period leading up to the Games showed up new sides of the question with regard to the



game, in order to see the outcome of the HOC's efforts and the extent to which other countries would participate. No doubt the Greek committee's decision to back down played an important part. They decided not to overrule the decisions of 1894, but to organise parallel games in the form of Intermediary Olympic Games, thus offsetting the categorical refusal of England to accept the idea of the Games being held permanently in Greece⁶ and the continued suspicion of Italy, official organiser of the Olympic Games in Rome in 1908. The Italians considered that the Intermediary Olympic Games were in direct competition with the Rome Olympics⁷.

In 1905, it seems that a compromise had already been reached between the HOC and the IOC. The Greek representative on the International Committee made it known that the HOC would have no objection to the organisation of the Intermediary Olympic Games, since the HOC would not be called the Athens Games Committee and the Games would be held at the same time as the Olympic Games⁸. It is possible that, aware of the generally positive response to the Intermediary Olympic Games, it was forced into a compromise, choosing sometimes to take action behind the scenes. De Coubertin, for example, while expressing his displeasure with the HOC, hinted to Lefebure that Baillet-Latour, a member of the IOC, should take the position of president of the Belgian support committee⁹. The IOC, however, officially applauded the Games and gave a trophy¹⁰. Five members of the IOC were present at the Intermediary Olympic Games¹¹.

We cannot say, therefore, that the athletic powers of the time took a common stand. Germany was especially favourable from the beginning¹², as was America and Sweden. The fact that the Greek effort was centred around sports personalities of each country who often acted outside the realm of the national committees must have contributed to the differences in attitude. With ambassadors and consuls as intermediaries, a communications network from

Rome to the USA and from Sweden to Africa and Paraguay was organised. The HOC's strategy included announcements and notifications about the Games, contacting different sports federations, the dispatch of programmes and promotional literature to athletic associations in the urban centres of each country, contact with political and sports newspapers, financial collaboration with journalists who would undertake a propaganda campaign to promote the Intermediary Olympic Games¹³. The ultimate aim was the formation of support committees in each country with clear guidelines that they should be staffed with distinguished sports personalities. These would undertake to man the national teams, the preparation of the athletes and the organisation of the journey to Greece. The HOC decided to fund the committees with sums of money relative to their geographical distance and to offer free accommodation and hospitality to twenty athletes from each national team, while the rest would find lodging and food at a daily cost of 7 drachmas per person¹⁴. The amount of funding was often a point of friction among the committees and the HOC, as complaints were heard that the Greek Committee showed partiality towards certain committees¹⁵. This was not entirely false, judging from the secret funding of the Belgian committee with an extra sum of 1,500 francs¹⁶. In many cases the aim was achieved. On some committees members of the official national committees were even found to be members. Assebourg, for example, was president of the German committee, while General Balck of the Swedish committee. The committee of the United States managed to persuade the president of the country, Roosevelt, to become honorary president. The presence of important personalities was apparently in some cases the result of a personal friendship of Greeks with foreigners, as in the case of Spyridon Lambros with Balck. There are grounds to suppose that Royal Houses, encouraged by the Greek Royal family, because of family associations, played a role in the formation of support committees and the removal

of doubt and suspicion towards the Greek initiative. We should not forget that sport held an important position in the interests of kings and princes at that time. Thus, Prince Albert of Belgium agreed to become patron of the Belgian committee¹⁷, the crown prince and the prince of the Swedish throne were members of the Swedish support committee¹⁸, while the Italian king decided to present a gold medal as a prize in the Games, a fact which, as the ambassador to Rome Mitsopoulos pointed out, resulted in the change in the negative attitude towards the Intermediary Olympic Games in Italian society¹⁹.

The HOC's invitation to form national committees and the successful outcome brought to the surface, in our opinion, three basic characteristics of international sport at that time. The first was the unstable state that prevailed in the area of sport, even among countries that were advanced in sport, with regard to who should decide about where and when the country should be represented athletically. Participation in the Intermediary Olympic Games was proving to be

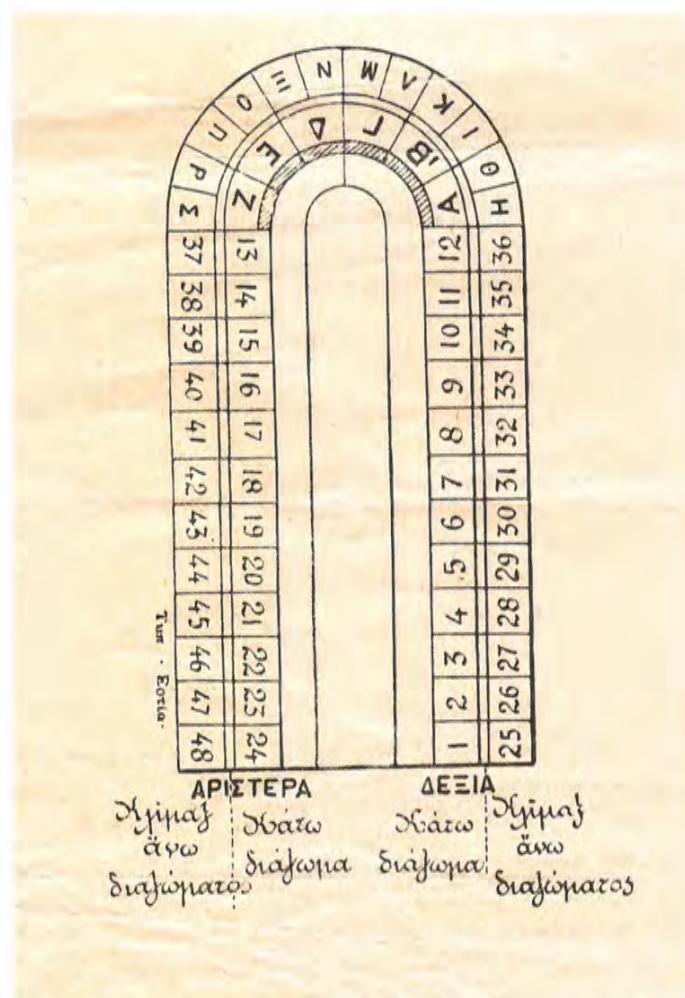
sometimes a matter for certain federations and at others for isolated athletic associations. In 1903 the general secretary of the HOC, Ioannis Chryssafis, contacted the president of the Federazione Ginnastica Italiana and secured the initial participation of the country, at a time when the official Italian athletic leadership was opposed to participation²⁰. There being no specific decision-making centre was also due to rivalries among individuals and associations. It was not possible in Belgium, for example, for Lefebure, the Director of the central gymnastics school of Brussels, to work with the president of the Union des Sociétés Gymnastiques, Cypres²¹. In the USA the ineptitude of the HOC for some time allowed two support committees to operate, in Chicago and New York. When the absorption of the former into the latter was decided, the members of the Chicago committee, who were in the majority, refused to accept the new title, protesting about the loss in prestige of its work and contribution so far.

The second factor was that the Intermediary



Olympic Games were a pretext for the continuation of the dialogue concerning the rules by which the sports events were carried out or the submission of proposals for the introduction of new sports. The HOC itself had initially decided to send a rough programme of the games, urging the committees to express their opinions and asking the committees to send them, in due course, the rules of each sport²². So, the HOC, under pressure from the Italian, Hungarian and German committees, decided to add fencing as a sport²³, while it accepted alterations to the rules of gymnastics, put forward by the Danes²⁴. It is interesting, however, that federations such as the Fédération Française des Sociétés de Boxe should propose the introduction of new sports events, given the letter from the representative, which expresses his disappointment with the HOC's refusal to carry out their request to include boxing as a sport in the Intermediary Olympic Games²⁵.

The third factor was that the 1906 Games were a pretext for small countries to make their appearance felt and to strengthen their position, through sport, for large or small ethnic groups. That fact was chiefly the result of choices made by the HOC to exclude members of the IOC from the formation of support committees and generally from the organisation and, on the other hand, not to address the central athletic bodies of each country but associations or individual personalities instead. The view of the Dane Hansen is characteristic. He applauded the announcement of the organisation of the Intermediary



Olympic Games, noting that the Olympic Games in Paris and Saint Louis were too far apart and it was not what the athletic world had envisaged in 1896, as they were associated with world exhibitions, and the considerable time lapse was forbidding for small countries, due to astronomical costs²⁶. At the same time, ethnic groups were claiming equal rights with national states and official recognition on an athletic level. The Czech committee, for example, protested to the HOC about the Austrian stand, which did not want to give up part of the HOC funding, so that Czech athletes could compete in the Games²⁷. At the same time, it notified the Greek organisers that it could undertake to prepare the athletes, asking that it be recognised officially by sending an invitation directly to them²⁸. Norway's stand is also indicative: hostile to the Swedish gymnastics system, as it came from a country that it was a dependency of until 1905, protested to the HOC about its privileged place in the organisation of

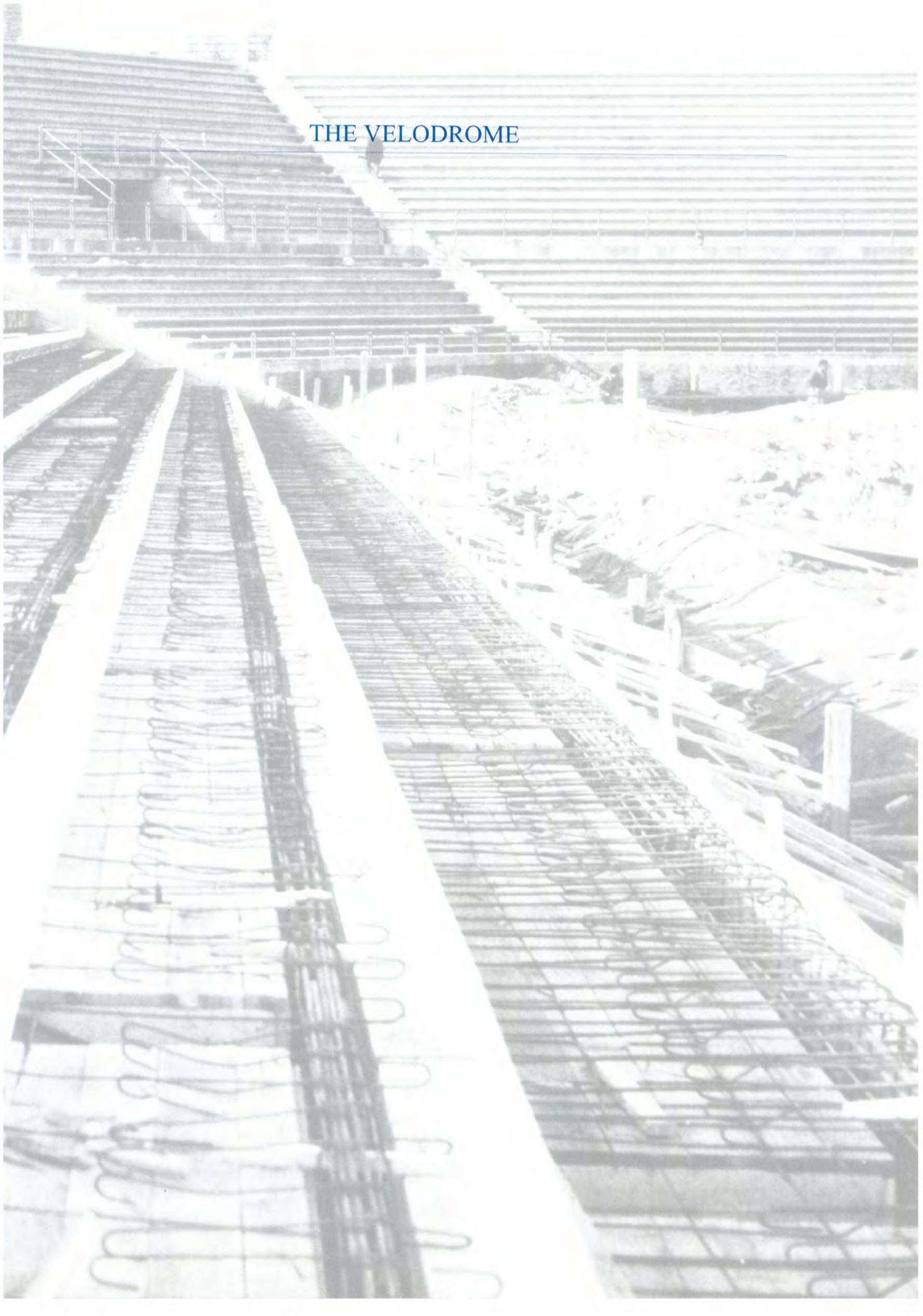




the Games, making its participation subject to the attitude and responses from the Hellenic Olympic Committee on the questions of equal participation of countries²⁹.

National rivalries could be expressed through sport. The president of the German Olympic committee and member of the IOC, Count Asseburg, was quick to adopt the Greek initiative, when the official athletic bodies in France and England were strongly against it³⁰. He himself was a member of his country's official delegation, along with the German Crown Prince³¹. The most characteristic example was probably that of the Greek stand on the participation of Bulgaria and Serbia. The Intermediary Olympic Games would take place during hostilities that were happening in Macedonia between Greek

and Bulgarian guerrilla groups. The president of the IOC, Spyridon Lambros, advised the Greek ambassador in Sophia to make sure that 'Bulgaria be invited, as is indicated by cultural dissemination in Greece towards a work so peaceful as the Olympic Games, but we trust in your patriotism and tried diplomatic experience that the said invitation will be made in such a way that it be given only if deemed necessary...' afraid, as he had noted earlier, that 'if by any chance the Bulgarian team should contrive to win in the Stadium, this might lead to unforeseeable consequences in Athens'³². His judgment with regard to the Serbian participation, Serbia being an ally in the Balkan conflict, was different, because, as he had noted, 'it would be particularly good for obvious reasons'³³.



THE VELODROME

THE VELODROME (Cycle Racing Track), constructed in Neo Faliro to meet the needs of the new event, cycle racing, and the lawn tennis matches, along with the Panathenean Stadium and the Skopevtirio (Rifle Range) in Kallithea formed the triangle of Olympic architecture in 1896. The lack of sports grounds in Athens at that time was an acute problem for the organising committee of the Games, which was compelled to find a solution within a very short period of time.

The choice of Neo Faliro was not a random one, as cycle races had taken place there before, on a roughly laid-out site. Cycling as a spectator sport began to spread in Europe during the 1890s, and Greece fully embraced the new fashion. Not only cycling associations but also the cycling sections of other sports clubs made their presence strongly felt. Although cycling was above all considered to be for personal pleasure, the organising of races was one of the main activities and was included in the constitutional aims of all cycling clubs¹.

The Velodrome, a construction work that had

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March 26 1896

*My dear Mr. President,
The manager
of your project says it would begin
at least 15 October, but sooner if
possible, if he can get help.
His price would be about 120,000 dr.
in the Phaleron Bay, we believe. It
will cost him about 100,000 dr.
for construction in Copenhagen, and the
rest will be paid by the Greeks.
The manager is asking 12,000 dr.
per month to cover his expenses.
He is asking 100,000 dr.
for the site, and 20,000 dr.
for the building.
I am sending you a copy of his letter.
Yours ever etc.,
Philemon.*

no precedent in Greece, with precise specifications, fully covered the needs of the competitors in 1896. The initial budget for the work was a part of the general budget for the sports facilities from de Coubertin himself, and naturally the initial calculations fell far short of the actual cost. This fact was commented upon in an ironic manner in a letter from Georgios Melas to the President of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Dimitrios Vikelas:

the 10,000 drachmas for the Velodrome (allocated) by the ignorant de Coubertin, from 80,000 now comes to 120,000 that is, one hundred and twenty thousand. Don't you believe that it is a great pity to spend so much money on a mere velodrome, which will be of almost no use afterwards, while such a great effort is being made to build the Stadium and other constructions more cheaply? ...therefore, I would like you to ask some experts about it and have them write and tell me what they think about the idea of withdrawing cycling races from the Games².

It is clear that the high estimate for the work led Melas to consider the cost of the Velodrome exorbitant, given that it would only be used for the Games, which is why in his letter he implied that he was in favour of cancelling the event, an idea which Vikelas and de Coubertin did not conform to, as the majority of the representatives at the Paris Conference were cyclists³.

To the above letter of 26 March Vikelas replied on the 13 April in a characteristic manner in an attempt to redress the balance:

Why are you angry and in what way is de Coubertin to blame? And Mr. President? (for) the Velodrome I estimated 60,000 dr. and I hoped that a company would be found to undertake it, so that the committee would give its share. Where was my mistake? The King told me that the one in Copenhagen had cost 30,000. You now tell me that they are asking 120,000 for this one! But Mr. Philemon wrote and told me that the construction would cost 70,000, of which [2]6,000 was for the purchase of the site, and now the ground is being donated by the owners. Which information is correct⁴?

The financial difficulties faced by the organising committee of the Games clearly brought

about tensions and desperate attempts to find a solution. So, he decided to limit the cost of the work to 60,000 drs. The building had to correspond to international specifications and for that reason he asked de Coubertin for a detailed plan of the Velodrome. The plan proposed by the Baron was that of Arcachon of France: 'in Arcachon during my honeymoon, to draw up a whole plan and make a highly detailed estimate for a velodrome...⁵'.

The new inaccurate budget for the construction of the Velodrome by Baltatzis, (between 120 and 130,000 drachmas), brought further delays to the work and it was decided to adopt the plan of the Copenhagen Velodrome⁶. De Coubertin's opinion was again asked and he sent the plan. His delayed reply created new tensions and questions⁷. Melas begged Vikelas to mediate so that Prince George, as well as the Committee, could find out de Coubertin's opinion regarding the plan, which they had sent him and he had sent back without an accompanying letter. He expressed his anger towards the Baron, calling him the 'greatest rogue ever', and believed that his delay in replying was due to the fact that he was afraid that he might be ridiculed if the proposed plan was not approved, while at the same time his silence would entitle him to criticize the work if it failed⁸.

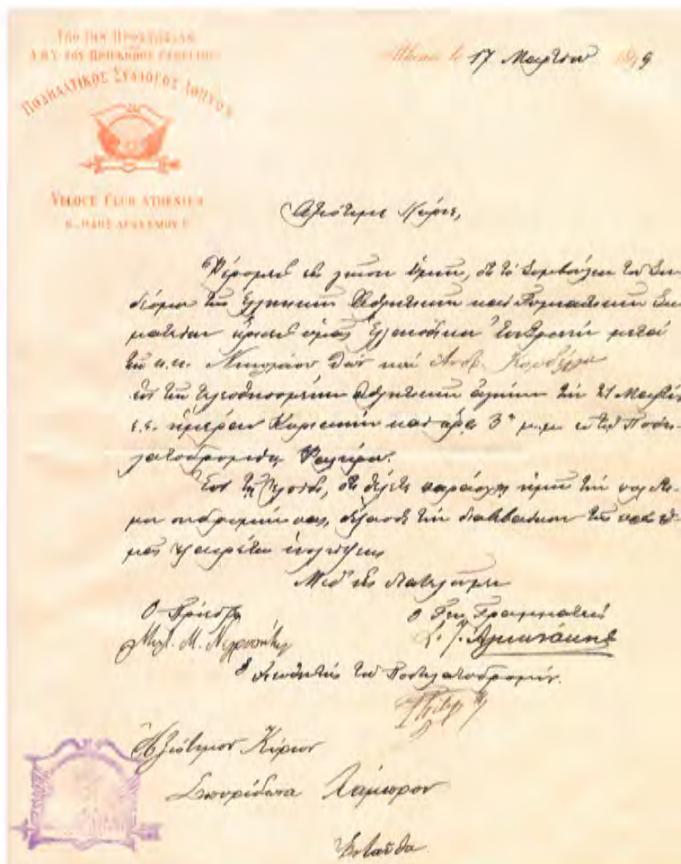
The Committee's next move, on the Baron's advice, was to invite Henry Fivaz to Greece to draw up a new plan and budget. The Committee rejected his high demands regarding his fee. This resulted in the resignation of the president and the general secretary of the cycling committee. The Horse-Railway Company was first to offer an area of land, of 30,000 *pitches* (approximately 20,000 square metres) in Kallithea, on condition that the work would be done there. The HOC accepted the offer, roughly estimating a cost of 50,000 drachmas. The counter-proposal made by Athens-Piraeus Railways provided the HOC with the solution, donating an area of 30,000 *pitches* in Neo Faliro. Furthermore, it made a commitment to prepare the surrounding



ground and the road leading there, and to install lighting. It would complete the work within three months, receiving from the HOC only the initially estimated cost, which was only 1/5 of the initial cost. The ground was in the same area as the monument to Karaïskakis, between N. Faliro and the Protestant cemetery⁹.

The low cost of construction, the gift of land and the rail connection of Faliro with Athens were powerful reasons for the final decision of the cycling committee to prevail. The foundation stone was laid on 13 November 1895. The study and plans were drawn up by the state-employed civil engineer, Vellinis,¹⁰ and were awarded a prize by a committee of Danish experts. The construction of the track costed 61,000 drs., the building 43,000 and the other works 100,000 drs. The HOC paid 50,000 and the rest was paid by the Athens Piraeus Railways. The track had a width of 7 m., while at the starting point reached 10,15 m., and was 333,33 m. in circumference. It had a capacity of 7,000 spectators. In the NW corner were the athletes' quarters (dressing rooms, cycle repairs workshop, showers, massage parlour, conference hall and offices), which had a café and buffet. Between the two cycling lanes two tennis courts were built, where the tennis matches would take place¹¹.

The decision to build tennis courts was taken



at the meeting of 2 February and was announced by Philemon to the president of the special committee for Lawn Tennis, F. Serpieris: 'At yesterday's meeting of the Council it was proposed that the inner area of the Velodrome be used for two Lawn Tennis courts, for financial reasons, so as to avoid constructing other stands'¹².

By 10 March the Velodrome had been completed and the training of those who would take part in the Games had begun. The letter from the general secretary of the Olympic Games, Timoleon Philemon, to the president of the Athens Cycling Association, N. Kontis, with the reply of the Special Cycling Games Committee, is indicative and revealing:

The complaints of the Cycling Association of Athens about the restriction to practise on the Velodrome are totally unfounded as absolutely no application for a permit to practise has been refused to those training today. I would like to take this opportunity to let you know that our Committee has decided that training is only allowed to those who will be taking part in the games,¹³ with special permission from our Committee.

The cycling races took place on the third and sixth day of the Games. The 7,000 spectators watched the contest with great interest. Among the cycling races was the marathon cycling race, which was won by Aris Konstantinidis¹⁴.

After the end of the Olympic Games, cycling races continued to be held. In 1899 the Velodrome was revamped on the initiative of the Cycling Association of Athens and it acquired other athletic sites (wrestling, football, tennis, athletics and competitive sports and a buffet)¹⁵. Slowly cycling as a sport and form of entertainment began to decline. The Velodrome was turned exclusively into a football ground, and for many years was the only football pitch in Greece.

The HOC decided that 'whenever associations wished to hold competitions in the Velodrome, it would be given to them at a rate of 10% of the gross takings, with a minimum of 25 drs pre-paid'¹⁶. The popularity of football increased in leaps and bounds, and the football associations increased to 12, while before 1900, there had not been a single one in the whole of Greece¹⁷. Furthermore, football became one of the main sports in school games after 1907, despite the reservations of those in authority. The Association of Greek Athletic and Gymnastic Unions organised matches, not only among sports clubs, but also among educational institutions, university faculties and schools. The scouts also organized matches and the Y.M.C.A. The rise of football reached a peak in the third

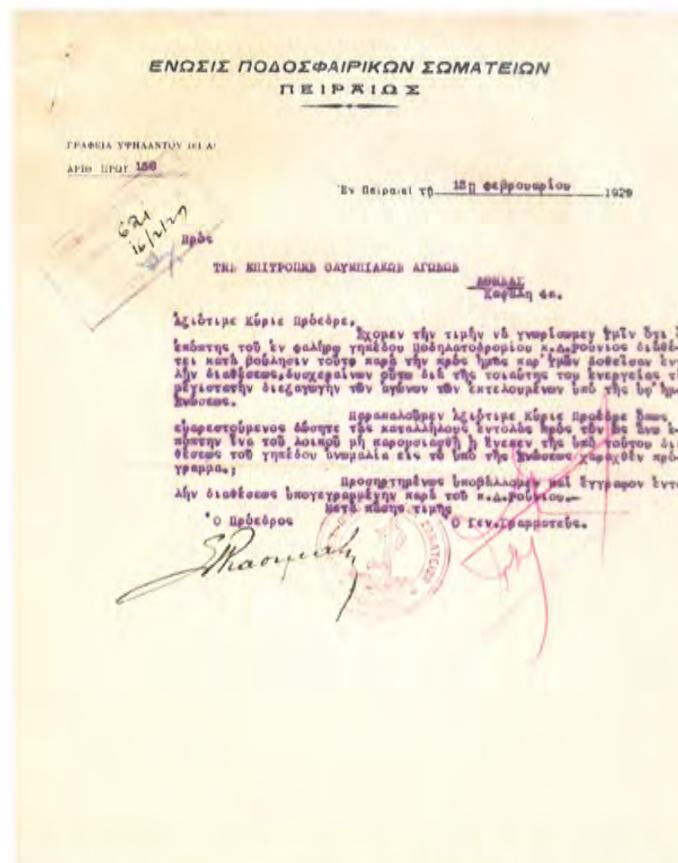


decade of the 20th century, with the influx of Asia Minor refugees into the large urban centres of Greece.

In the HOC archives, from 1907 and on, one comes across a permanent request from associations, schools, educational establishments, etc. for the use of the Velodrome for training purposes. The HOC was compelled to use timetables, to avoid complaints and to resort to various compromise arrangements when it was requested. Naturally, as there was only one ground, it was hard to avoid some disappointment.

Apart from the football matches of Greek clubs, which took on a local identity, very often matches took place in the Velodrome between Greek associations with members of the crews of foreign merchant and war ships¹⁸. In 1907, in fact, the Deanship of Football submitted a proposal to the HOC for the formation of a single team made up of the best players from all the clubs (a kind of 'national team') in order to take on a team from the English fleet in a football game. SEGAS was also kept informed of this¹⁹.

In the Velodrome, of course, there was no lack of unforeseen events and tensions, as sport was an outlet and provided entertainment to the broader strata of society and youth²⁰. It is clear that from the time when teenagers and working class youths turned to football en masse they found a perfect ground for their activities. Football remained an exciting and at the same

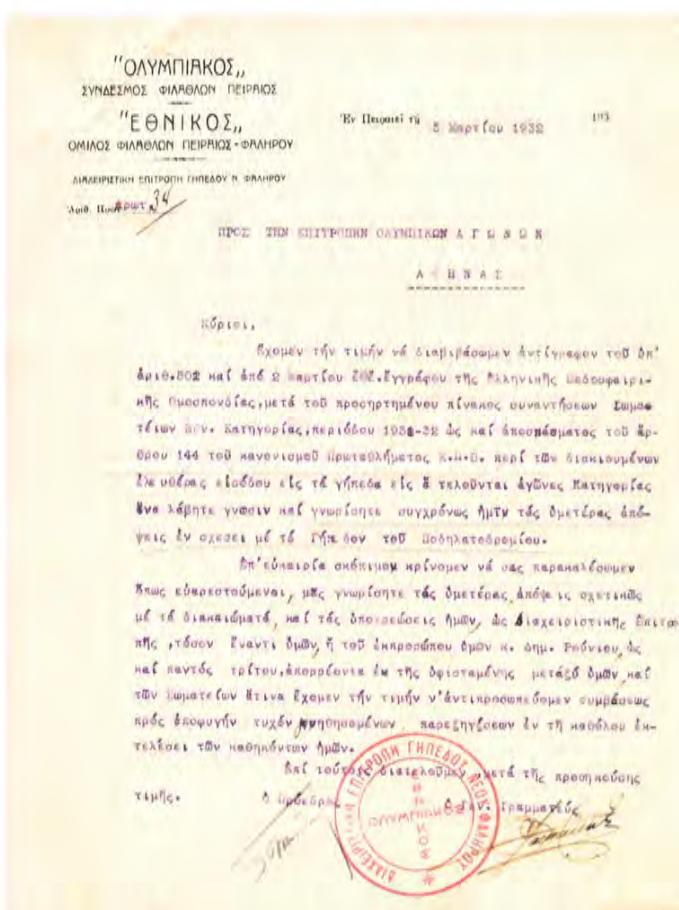


time entertaining sport. The game provoked intense excitement and increased emotion around a contest, a mock battle with the ball. Furthermore, the football team gave to young people, especially those belonging to the working classes, a sense of identity, as they considered the football ground their leisure area²¹.

Associations also infringed upon the regulations regarding the use of the Velodrome, during training, and also during games, which often turned into battles, as local rivalries were lived out through the game. In a letter from the HOC to the HQ of the local police the message is clear:

Unfortunately, during these games various hooligans, particularly from Piraeus, manage to enter the Velodrome and under the pretext of support for the Piraeus teams' players, when they are playing against Athenian teams, or vice versa, resort to various obscene insults, improper gestures and general rioting that expose Greek sport to ridicule ... not infrequently the said hooligans become the subject of disputes, which could easily end in bloody episodes...²²

Action taken by the HOC was either limited to brief circulars or to the banning of entry during



games. It seems that they had a particular problem with the boisterous Piraeus associations, who 'continually resorted to rioting in the Velodrome, taking no account whatsoever of the Committee's regulations...', and similarly elsewhere: 'as a result of the fact that the players and fans of the Piraeus associations continue to cause trouble ... anyone from these two associations coming to train will be strictly forbidden entry...'²³. The said associations mentioned the prejudice shown against them.

In 1925, the Athletic Football Association and the Piraeus Sports Club amalgamated and created the Olympiakos Union of Piraeus Sports, whose activities would to a certain extent be linked with the aim of socially integrating the refugees and the working classes of the city and port²⁴. In the same year, at a meeting of HOC, the general secretary again brought up the question of re-designing the Velodrome as a football ground, removing the existing cycling track, as it was in bad condition and useless, and also according to Chryssafis's recommendation, 'it is im-

possible and pointless to revive cycling as a sport'²⁵. Radical changes to the layout were planned, so as to have a full football pitch. With that aim in mind, the Air Force Defence, the owner of the land, was asked to rent out a large portion of it so as to extend the Velodrome. For many years this was under discussion between the HOC and the owners of the adjacent piece of land²⁶.

It was obvious that the existing situation in the Velodrome did not satisfy the needs of the Piraeus associations and, as the Union of Piraeus Football Clubs mentioned characteristically to the HOC, 'due to the total lack of a ground for many years Piraeus football is now in a pitiful state, as it is quite impossible for our players to train or hold matches...'²⁷.

On 18 February 1930, in a letter to the HOC, Olympiakos submitted 'to the Olympic Committee ...proposals...concerning the re-designing of the Velodrome in Neo Faliro in such a way that in time it will meet the needs of the young Piraeus sportsmen and be turned into a perfect football ground ...' It proposed that the Velodrome be given to them for a certain period of time and in lieu of payment it would carry out various technical works and re-design the ground so that it could be used for football matches²⁸. The Greek Football Federation, the Ethnikos of Piraeus and Piraeus sports and football clubs, 'greatly interested in the improvement of the only ground in Piraeus, view the proposals of Olympiakos in good faith', and support the proposal²⁹. Three months later the setting up of a management committee for the ground was announced, which would represent Olympiakos and the Ethnikos 'in the administration and management in general of the Velodrome, oversee its operation and make arrangements in its best judgement regarding the exploitation of the said ground'³⁰. The two clubs laid out considerable sums of money for the maintenance and improvement of the ground, during the period of the lease³¹.

However, when the management of the

ground passed to the two associations, violent protests began, which resulted in accusations against the HOC, because the approval of the letting out of the Velodrome was considered to be to the detriment of the other Piraeus clubs. Who 'could possibly have imagined that the Velodrome, in the hands of the two big Piraeus clubs, would be used as a means of blackmail against the other clubs...and yet exactly that has happened'. The position of the Athletic and Football Union of Neapolis Sportsmen was similar, as it considered that the monopoly in the use of the Velodrome 'in favour of Olympiakos, whose hitherto policy with regard to other clubs leads us to believe that it will end up creating a financial business, the aim of which will be to serve the interests of Olympiakos and not Piraeus football in general'³².

The Ground Management Committee tried to smooth things over. At the same time it took steps to anticipate the reactions created by the behaviour of members of the Ethnikos club, who, after making charges against the supervisor, entered the ground without paying an entry fee³³. Furthermore, it proposed to the HOC that for every morning match the ground should be let out to the Piraeus Union of Football Clubs for the sum of at least 500 drs. in order to cover the expenses of repairing the damage caused by the fans. As for the question of proceeds, it proposed that the 20% held by the HOC be reduced to 15% and that 5% should go to the Management Fund for the upkeep of the ground.

The dispute between Olympiakos-Ethnikos and the Piraeus Union Football Clubs reached a head and the Ministry of Religion and Education was asked to intervene³⁴. The matter was transferred to the HOC and the Advisory Council for Extracurricular Physical Education to resolve the matter³⁵. Apart from the administrative problems, at that time the question of security at the Velodrome had arisen, because of the large number of guards. It was suggested to the HOC by Olympiakos and the Greek Football Federation that the Piraeus Police Club should undertake



the supervision of the Velodrome during matches and that they should be given the corresponding bonus that was previously paid to the guards³⁶.

During that time the HOC had not ignored the proceedings that would secure it a modern athletic centre with modern specifications. As, however, public funding was not forthcoming, it turned to the Athens-Piraeus Railways Company, which afforded it a considerable sum for the construction of the work required. ESAP (Athens-Piraeus Railways Company) 'took into account the application for financial aid to acquire the adjacent properties from their owners, which, with the rest, would constitute a whole ... decided ... to grant the sum of 600,000 under ... conditions'. The HOC committed itself for 'a period of twenty years from the completion of the said construction, and also within two years of the signing of the respective contract that at least 18 games (athletic, football, games, spectacles, etc.) should be held each year'³⁷. A special committee of architects made up of Anast.



Metaxas, P. Paraskevopoulos and members of the HOC agreed to make a plan of the modern stadium.

In 1936 the foundation stone was laid and the old Velodrome was re-named the Karaïskakis Stadium³⁸. For its completion enormous effort was made to deal with the various economic and technical difficulties. With its gradual extension and modernisation it was converted into 'a totally modern Gymnasium, capable of serving both football and track events, athletics, shooting, etc'³⁹. It also became a centre of Olympic

preparation for all sports⁴⁰.

The Karaïskakis Stadium remains one of the most historic stadiums in Greece. But above all, it is the 'home of the Pireots, a ground that will inspire and excite their memory with images that for many decades now have marked their lives'⁴¹. The Karaïskakis Stadium for the Pireots was not a restricted and limited place, but open and boundless, like the landscapes of our childhood. Whatever was experienced in that Stadium spread to the whole city, was assimilated into it and became a landmark of local social lore.

THE BALKAN GAMES



IN ITS INTRODUCTORY REPORT on the 14th post-war Balkan games, in July 1957, the Union of Greek Athletic and Gymnastic Associations (SEGAS) pointed out from a purely historical point of view the importance of the ambitious effort it had made to create a new athletic institution, equal perhaps to that of the Olympic Games, which would be important for the Balkan states for a variety of reasons.

Among the most significant national services (rendered) by SEGAS was undoubtedly that of the initiative to establish the Balkan athletic games annually from 1930, which would be a great contribution to the fraternity of neighbouring Balkan peoples¹.

To unravel the thread of the Balkan games, we must go back to just before 1930 to find the origin of their birth. Already from early 1920s, there was some interest from the Y.M.C.A. of Greece and Romania in the idea of a common athletic future, with the organisation of athletic events and sports.

The HOC archives provide us with relevant information:

about the General European Director of the gymnastics of the Y.M.C.A., as he had passed through Athens, received from the Presidency a letter from the President of the Romanian Olympic Committee, Mr. Plagenas, on orders from His Royal Majesty the Crown Prince of Romania, inviting Greece to participate in the meeting, which would take place in Sinaia on 30 September 1922, to look into the establishing, for a limited number of countries in the region, of international Olympic games between Romanian, Polish, Yugoslavian, Czechoslovakian and Greek athletes. ... in a special meeting of English-speaking members of the Committee, the usefulness of holding such limited international games was expressed, also that the Y.M.C.A. was prepared to help materially and organise gymnastic displays. After lengthy discussions it was decided that Greece should accept the invitation to participate in the meeting, providing that the Committee designated them representatives at the next meeting².

This proposal, however, was never carried through.

The HOC, at a meeting on 14 June 1924, selected the Greek team and the head of the delegation to the Paris Olympic Games³. Dimitrios Dallas, president of the Panionios Gymnastics Association, and Pavlos Manitakis, consultant to SEAGS, were appointed representatives of SEAGS for the Olympic Games and the international athletic conference in Paris. They also had the following directives: 1) To observe as far as possible the performance of Greek athletes..., 2) at the Conference to ensure that Greek discus-throwing was included in the Olympic programme, 3) to liaise with Balkan representatives regarding the creation of athletic ties and, in particular, of Balkan games⁴.

The SEAGS directive was carried out as mentioned. Again, Manitakis writes:

We met the representatives of the Balkan athletic federations in an effort to reach an agreement regarding the creation of athletic ties in the form of Balkan games. Only two had attended the games, Mr. Dobrin of Yugoslavia and Mr. Iconomou of Romania, who listened to our idea with enthusiasm. Without having, however, instructions to discuss such subjects, they gave us the addresses of their Federations, so that SEAGS could write to them (directly) on the matter, promising their wholehearted support for its ideas⁵.

Of what went on behind the scenes in Paris we can gather that the foundations of a Balkan collaboration were laid down and Greece began to have a new say, for the second time in world athletic history after the revival of the Olympic Games. This new proposal, apart from the victory of the Greek sculptor Konstantinos Dimitriadis, was the only memorable performance of Greece in the Paris Olympiad. It is worth mentioning in connection with the subject that in the HOC archives no document of 1924 or 1925 has been found that refers to the forthcoming Balkan games. Perhaps SEAGS's proposal went unnoticed by the Committee, which had not realised yet the importance of the venture, or simply the shortcomings of the archives prevent us from finding firsthand information there? The only reference is found in a document of 1929: 'the

Balkan Games for some time (in the process of being) prepared⁵.

The following year, on 14 and 20 September 1925, a new event occurred which strengthened the resolve of the Greek Association of Athletic and Gymnastic Clubs. The Panionios Gymnastics Association, within the framework of celebrations for the 35th anniversary of its founding in Smyrna, organised the 21st Panonian Games. Its far-sighted president, Dimitrios Dallas, also invited the Romanian athletic association of Brasof 'Koltea' to the games, with seven athletes, of whom five were champions that year, a move which advanced, as far as we can see, the transition shortly afterwards to the Balkan athletic collaboration⁶.

The games were successful and the Romanian association gained second place in the overall listings. 'As far as the Romanians are concerned, they did not prove to be all that much better than our athletes, as we had a complete team including Karabatis, Kakouris and the Alexandrian sprinters, which naturally reduced their victories considerably'. The Romanian athletes 'were totally satisfied with the games and the attention they received. In fact, one of the throwers, Branteas, was so impressed by our stone-throwing that he took a stone with him, promising to introduce stone-throwing into Romania'⁷.

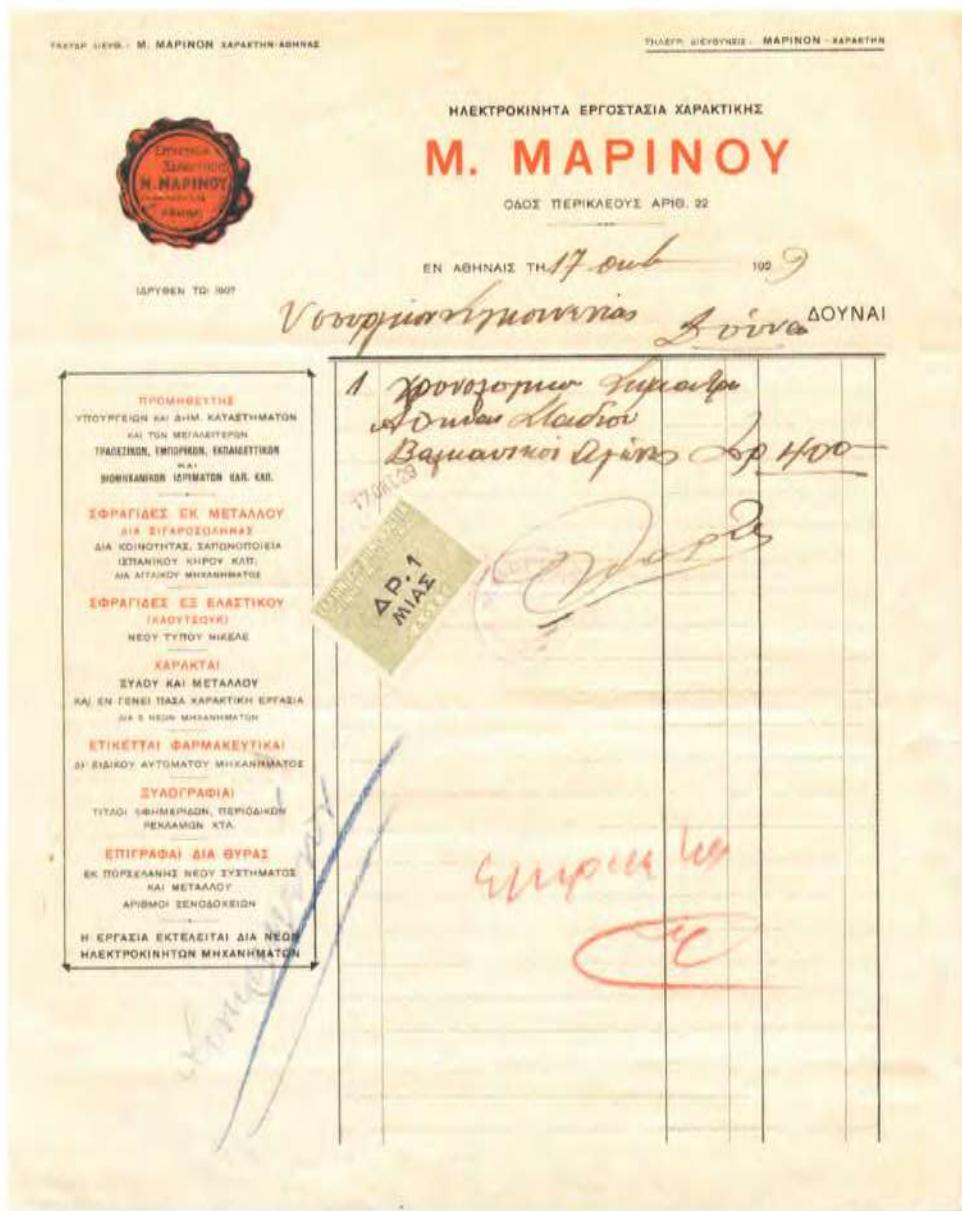
Two years later, on 29 and 30 October 1927, SEAGS organised the international meeting 'Athens-Sophia' in Greece, with a proposal by the Bulgarian Federation, and their representative, Petkof Zlater, who officially made the proposal, stressing 'that Greece and Bulgaria, as neighbouring countries, in anticipation of future friendly and peaceful relations, should create athletic ties, which are justly considered to be the best way for different nations to get to know each other and arrive at understandings'⁸. In those games, despite their special significance because of the international character they acquired, formalities were not observed, because it had been organised by the cities, and the teams



did not have a national character. For that reason the national anthems were not played. There was a large attendance of spectators and officials. The games were also attended by the Bulgarian chargé d'affaires, Natsef, along with the embassy staff. The Athenian athletes were clearly better than their Sophian counterparts, coming first in everything, in an unequal contest, which proved Greek superiority. The athletes were given commemorative prizes and on the second evening SEAGS held a banquet in their honour.

The athletes had a good time, ate, drank, sang and danced national dances, at first separately, in the end all together, the Bulgarians doing Greek dances and the Greeks Bulgarian. Brotherhood and camaraderie were enjoyed to the full, anticipating great success in future Balkan games, which SEAGS is seriously looking into establishing, possibly beginning in two years' time⁹.

These two athletic organisations, SEAGS and Panionios GA, created conditions for the development and strengthening of common athletic



ideas, which was the result of a more general trend towards a multicultural approach by the Balkan countries. This endeavour was part of the broader framework of Greek foreign policy between the Wars, after the Treaty of Lausanne, with a view to maintaining the status quo and strengthening international organisations and the adherence to International Law. Greece, in order to address its severe internal economic problems, had to reduce military expenditure, which would weaken it vis-à-vis Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Thus, the success of a Balkan collaboration was deemed essential, especially as it would fortify it against Italian aggression.

Even though Yugoslavia had maintained an attitude of friendship towards Greece with regard

to the Asia Minor tragedy, as the Slavo-Macedonian issue constituted a constant source of controversy between the two countries. In 1924 the Greek-Bulgarian protocol regarding the minorities was signed, which created tension between Greece and Yugoslavia. In an effort to define a national awareness of Slavic speakers in Macedonia, Yugoslavia did not agree to the term 'Bulgarians' contained in the protocol, as it considered them 'Serbs'. The annulment of the agreement after Greece's appeal to the United Nations in 1925, led to a worsening of Greek-Bulgarian relations.

It is clear that Greece's overall effort to bring about a broader Balkan collaboration was connected with the need to protect the minorities. However, the interweaving of relations among the Balkan countries gave rise to mistrust, which Greece tried to confront in its attempts to persuade countries to sign bilateral treaties that would ensure peace and limit expansionism¹⁰.

Within the political setting that was evolving in the Balkans, one can understand the importance of the athletic rapprochement of the Balkan countries. The Games in Amsterdam in 1928 once again presented the opportunity for yet another meeting within the context of Olympic Games, after that of Paris in 1924. The Greek representation, made up of Rinopoulos, Deris, Dallas, Nikolaidis, Manitakis, along with the representatives of three Balkan countries, Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey, agreed to hold trial pre-Balkan games in Greece. Rinopoulos refers characteristically to a report of his to the

Hellenic Olympic Committee:

to give the necessary direction to the question, which is quite delicate and difficult, I invited the representatives of the Balkan States to tea. Mr. Koudret Bey, Turkish consul, Burhan Eddine Zia, president of the Turkish athletic federation and member of the Olympic Committee of Turkey, the Bulgarian representative to the games and the Serbian president of the Olympic committee, S. Hadgi, came. The Bulgarian and Serbian consuls and the Romanian general secretary of the Ministry of Health and representative of Romania sent their apologies for being unable to attend. During the reception the idea of a closer athletic collaboration among the Balkan peoples was proposed and received wholeheartedly by everyone, with the result that Greece was asked to go ahead with the necessary initial steps¹¹.

SEGAS would undertake the organisation. It should be noted that the decision was partly taken arbitrarily, as the representatives of the Balkan states had not been officially given powers to do so. Manitakis mentions that surprise was expressed, while at the same time there were certain reservations, as 'the small area and the low level of sport in their countries would not be favourable elements for their participation in games of such importance'. 'At the risk of the venture floundering, or, worse still, ending up in other hands...our people cast the dice, and personally shouldering the responsibility, as they had not been entrusted with such a task, announced a great decision, during which, in 1929 in Athens SEGAS would hold trial Balkan games, of which all costs, including accommodation and organisation, would be borne by them'¹².

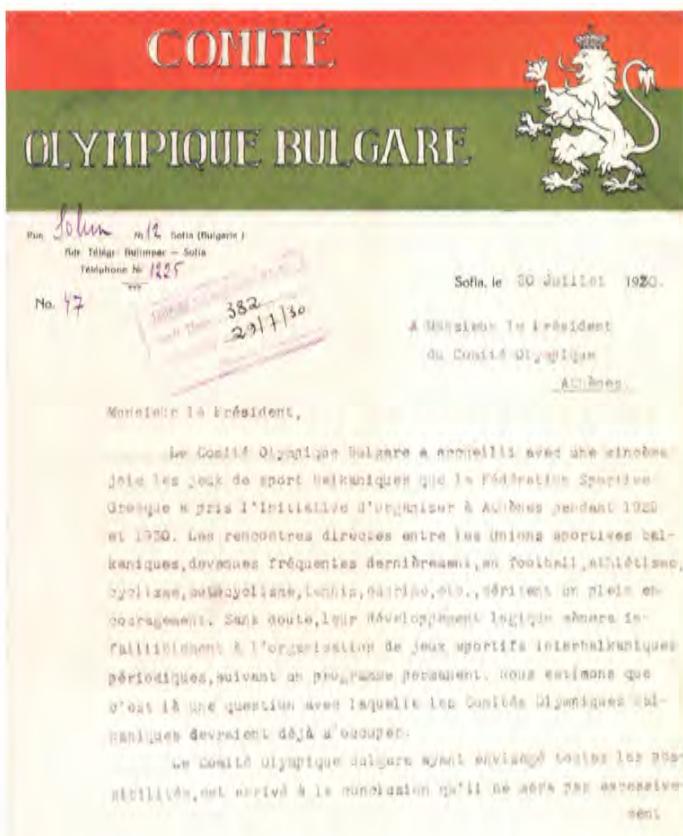
In 1929 the pre-Balkan games were held in Athens and were for SEGAS the ultimate athletic event. A circular was sent to the five Balkan federations. At the same time a general outline of the rules for the Balkan games was drawn up and the sports and handling of the costs of the Balkan delegations were decided on.

And while the pre-Balkan games were arranged for the 22, 28 and 29 September, the Greek-Swiss-Hungarian games¹³, which had taken place in April, created a lot of discussion in SEGAS, due to the poor performance of the

Greek athletes, and their forthcoming appearance. The Greek team was to be put together according to the results of the Pan-Hellenic games, but these never took place. In their place SEGAS decided to organise the championships of Northern and Southern Greece. 'Because of the exorbitant costs required for the transport of the athletes, our Association has decided to hold the championships of Northern and Southern Greece, the former in Thessalonica and the latter in Athens, on the 31 August and 1 September'¹⁴. Even though the event was new, it was interpreted as an attempt by SEGAS to abolish the institution of the Pan-Hellenic games. At any rate, the selection of the 33 athletes for the pre-Balkan games was made on the basis of these two championships.

The participation of Balkan countries was limited to Yugoslavia with 24 athletes, Romania with 19 and Bulgaria with 13. Albania and Turkey did not take part. On the eve of the games, 'as all the Balkan states would be represented',¹⁵ preparations were feverish. The HOC,





'with an earnest view to the success of the Balkan games', tried to foresee 'every detail of problems of a technical nature' (that might occur) in the Stadium, which 'would not require much time to solve'. 'One day would be enough to carry out general repairs of the track, the installation of new plumbing facilities, etc.',¹⁶ and announced to the associations that they would not 'under any circumstances, allow the Stadium to be used by anyone until the Pan-Balkan Games, which had been arranged for the end of September, were over'.¹⁷

SEGAS began to collaborate with the HOC in many areas. The Ministry of Transport with an order to the service in charge undertook the complete installation of a telephone service to cover the games. 'So that on the 22nd of the current month the Balkan Games will begin in this Stadium, we ask that, as agreed with the Olympic Games Committee, that you install in the Stadium and the huts designed for that purposes temporary telephone lines, as well as telephones... and order ... the setting-up of a Post and Telegraph office...for use on the day of the

games. The Post office should be duly provided with a special stamp bearing the title 'Panathenean Stadium', with which to stamp the letters'.¹⁸

The 2nd Athens Division gave '100 new blankets for their use' for the games and the Municipality of Athens cleaned the area around the Propylaea.¹⁹ Press interest in the matter was unabated, while the people were overwhelmed by the novelty of 'Balkan Olympic Games'.

In mid-September, the first Romanian delegation arrived and on 20 the other two. On 21 a meeting of the four nations was held to discuss matters immediately relating to the games, and on 22 the curtain was raised on the meeting, under the aegis of the President of the Republic, Admiral P.Kountouriotis. Ministers and ministry representatives, high-ranking officers, state functionaries, members of the Balkan diplomatic corps, delegates of the Balkan embassies and 20,000 spectators applauded the parade of the teams from all countries to the sound of music. The Greek national anthem was sung and the Olympic flag was raised in the Stadium. The champion Antonios Kariofyllis gave an oath. Rinopoulos addressed the foreign teams and the representative of the Ministry of Education, the Minister of Naval affairs, Botsaris, declared the opening of the games, making reference to their importance:

Sure that this meeting will boost the athletic spirit, promote the mutual understanding of neighbouring peoples under good conditions and help the idea of a Balkan Amphictyony, I declare the games open.²⁰

In these games the supremacy of the Greeks was very apparent, especially with regard to the numerical superiority of the athletes on the Greek team, in contrast with those of the other countries. Romania came 2nd, Yugoslavia 3rd and Bulgaria 4th. Within the framework of the games the Inter-Balkan Conference took place, at which it was decided that Pan-Balkan games would be held annually and a foundation agreement was signed. Furthermore, 'unanimously

... the organisation and holding of these Balkan games in Athens has been entrusted to it (SEAGS) for a three-year period²¹.

The games closed with a reception given by the Mayor of Athens, Spyros Merkouris, and with an expression of total satisfaction by the Prime Minister E. Venizelos on 11 November 'regarding the establishing of the Pan-Balkan Games, for which he hoped would apply to all sports. A particularly pleasant surprise for him was the news that the other Balkan Peoples had decided to concede the holding of the games to Greece for the whole of the four years 1930-1933'²².

Venizelos strongly believed in Balkan collaboration and had repeatedly referred to the question. With his return to politics in 1928, he continued to push for a rapprochement between the Balkan states that other governments had begun. The bilateral treaty of 'friendship, conciliation and settlement', which he signed with Italy in September 1928, was a well-timed move for

Greek-Yugoslavian relations. The latter, afraid of an alliance between Italy and Greece, signed a bilateral protocol with Greece in Belgrade in October of the same year and in March 1929 a 'friendship, conciliation and settlement' pact. Thus, these contracts, along with the previous ones of 1923 and 1926, resolved the problem of claims in the Free Zone, which connected Yugoslavian territory with the lake of Thessalonica, and so re-established good relations between the two countries²³.

It should be noted also that outside the political arena of the Balkan games, the decision to establish them on Greece's initiative, and being given the honour to hold the games for four consecutive years, was a 'small victory' for the country that had endeavoured with particular zeal, from as early as 1896, to monopolise the organisation of the Olympic Games on its territory. What it did not achieve in 1896 it accomplished now with its commitment to hold 'Balkan Olympic Games'.

1930 - 1972

AFTER THE OFFICIAL establishment of the institution of the Balkan Games, the first Balkan Games were held in Athens in 1930 with particular pomp and ceremony. Albania did not take part. The Prime Minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos, declared the opening of the games in the presence of the Prime Minister of Turkey, Kemal Ataturk²⁴. The attendance of the two great politicians at the first and foremost Balkan athletic organisation was not a chance occurrence. It was the result of a reconciliation agreement between Greece and Turkey, which Venizelos had undertaken the day after his return to power. Even if the rapprochement between the two countries was not easy, as a solution to the matter of refugee property was still outstanding. Nevertheless, after long and persistent nego-

tiations, the Greek-Turkish treaty, regarding the settlement of questions arising from the treaty concerning the exchange of population was signed in Ankara on 10 June 1930. In October of the same year a 'friendship, conciliation and settlement' pact was signed, while three years later, in September 1933, the pact guaranteeing common Greek-Turkish borders was also signed²⁵.

The games were a success and Greece won first place, even though 'not one single positive action was taken by the athletic authorities who merely (indulged in) philological discussion regarding the training of the national team'²⁶. For these games the HOC set up prizes in memory of Georgios Averof in the form of a copper statuette, which was awarded to the Greek team that obtained the highest number of points²⁷.

An interesting point concerning the importance the games were gaining within the context of a Balkan awareness was the letter from SEGAS to the HOC. 'The Association Council is happy to affirm the flattering proposal of the Bulgarian Olympic Committee (within the already existing institution of the Balkan Games) that the title of the games should have a more general and more Greek form and should be called 'Olympic Games'. Of course, it continues, the IOC's answer was negative, as it is known that the title Olympic Games is given only to the International Olympics, 'established in Paris in the last century, during the International Olympic Conference'²⁸. In the HOC archives there is a letter of reply from the President of the IOC, Baillet-Latour referring to the question²⁹. 'Consequently', it continues, 'there remains the proposal to expand last year's pre-Balkan athletic games to include other sports...apart from athletics, such as wrestling, lawn tennis, etc.'. 'As a result we feel that any interference whatsoever on the part of Local Olympic Committees as long as there is a consensus of opinion with regard to the organisation of an institution already successfully in operation is unnecessary'³⁰.

Until 1933 the games were held in the Panathenean Stadium and by then they had become established in the mind of the sporting public. 1933 was the year in which Albania took part in the athletics. The capitals of the other Balkan countries hosted the following meetings. The fever of the athletic contests gave rise to new achievements in the various events, while at the same continuing to cultivate a nationalistic climate. The Greek athletics team maintained its lead over the other countries with athletes who literally made history (Syllas, Mantikas, Frangoudis, Kyriakidis etc.).

In 1936 the games returned to Athens, due to Bulgaria's inability to host them. These games, SEGAS mentions to the HOC, 'in furtherance of the Balkan Accord, have a formal flavour and many officials and His Majesty the King will attend them. In this regard, we ask you to help the

Association to set up a prize on our behalf, which will be presented by the King at a special award ceremony'. A cup was set up by the HOC for the pole vault, which was won by G.Thanos. The closing 6th Balkan Games were described as brilliant³¹.

From 1937 to 1940, the HOC archives remained silent, as far as the Balkan games are concerned. We have no information at all with regard to the following meetings, not even that of 1939, which was organised in Athens. The only piece of information during that time was K.Bebis's report on the participation of the Greek cycling team in the 1st Balkan cycling races on 25 April 1940³². In Bucharest in Romania the 1st Pan-Balkan cycling races took place, as well as the 2nd Conference of the



Balkan Cycling Federation, which was founded in the previous year (January 1939) in Sophia. Greece, among other countries, was, after all, a founder member. Apart from Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Bulgaria took part in these games.

In the report 'concerning the participation of the Greek cycling team in the 1st Balkan Cycling Race, held in Bucharest Romania', K. Bebis analysed the programme of games, mentioned facts regarding the preparation of the team and put down the budget for the whole delegation. Among the costs to send the Greek team, the sum of 18,000 drs. is mentioned (city clothes for the athletes). They considered it important as 'it is not right to come to a foreign country and to be inferior to the other teams from the point of

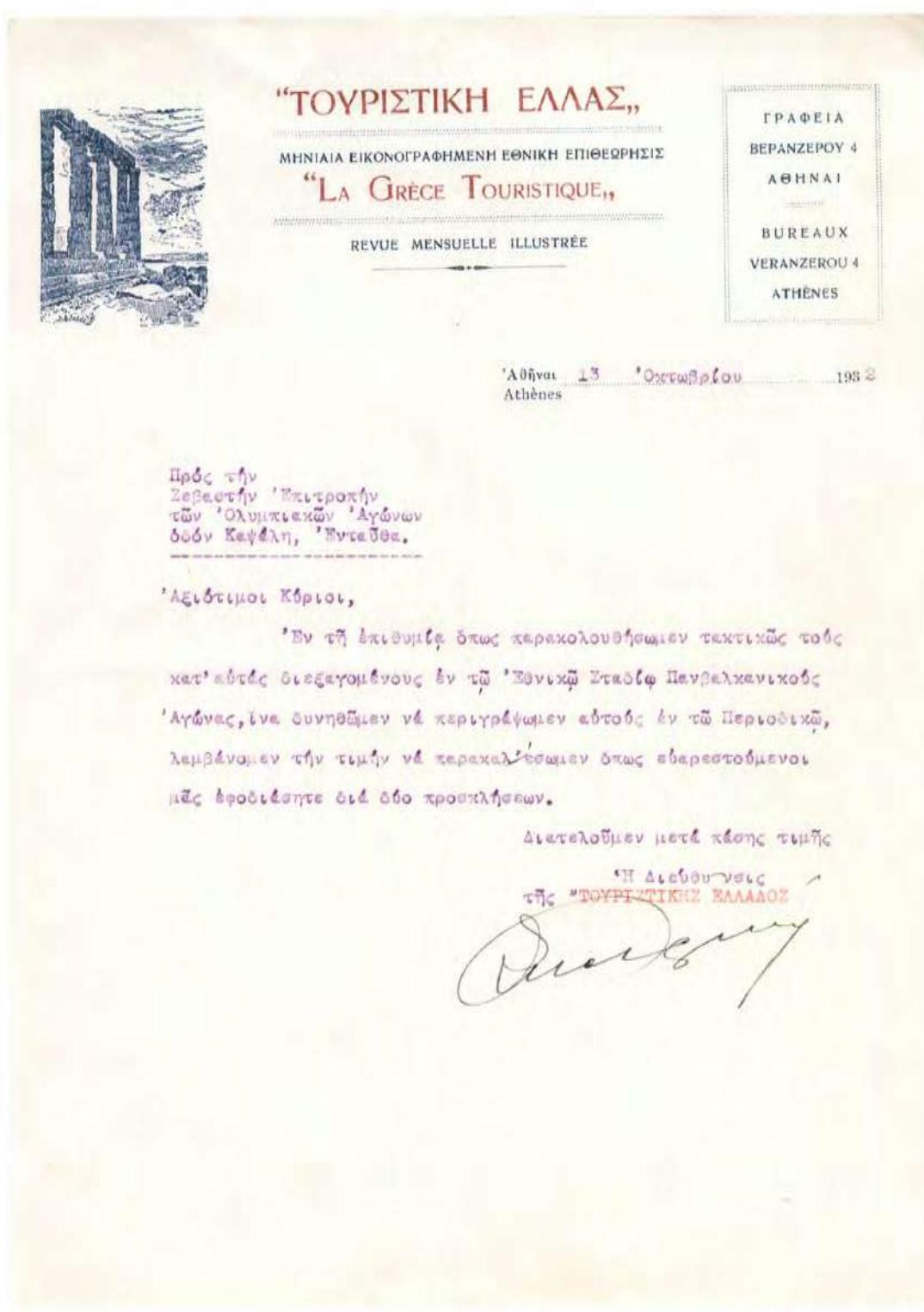
view of appearance'. It specifically mentions that in particular 'the Turkish teams have a uniform appearance that is meticulous in every way'. It also stressed that sport was of particular importance from a military point of view too. Specifically, the Ministry of War in Bulgaria bought bicycles on its behalf, which it sold at a minimal profit and in instalments to members of the Federation, 'having in mind, that in an emergency it could urgently transfer troops to the border by that means'³³.

The hour of war, however, had arrived and other needs prevailed. The 2nd World War broke out and the athletic meetings ceased. Yet, even after the war had ended, things were at a low ebb for some time. The Balkan Games began again in 1953. Greece, however, appeared traumatised as a result of the World War and the Civil War. So, during that period there was another gap in the archives.

In 1956 the Balkan athletic conference was held in Athens and it was decided that the next Balkan Games would be held in Greece. For the games of 1957 SEGAS asked the HOC for financial help and it sent an estimate of expenses, 'so that we can fulfil our serious financial obligations towards our foreign neighbouring Balkan countries and not appear lacking in organisation'³⁴. Its aims and ambitions were that 'the first post-war Pan-Balkan sporting event should be particularly bright and glamorous, worthy of its athletic and national importance and of the name of Greece'³⁵.

It asked the HOC to set up a cup, pointing out that the list of games, for the first time since their establishment, included, apart from male sports and all sports 'relating to women', sports included in the Olympic programme of events. This meeting was considered of particular importance for SEGAS, and its requests to the HOC were accompanied by a report 'on the multiple importance of the Balkan Games, the first full games since the war'³⁶. The success of the meeting was not accompanied by athletic success. Greece came third.





In 1960, the Balkan Games of that year were referred to as the most important after the Olympics in Rome. The report of the representative of the Greek Wrestling Federation, Vasilios Fikioris, on the Balkan Games the same year, is a good source of information³⁷. Greece for the first time since the war took part in the Balkan wrestling tournaments, with the participation of all the Balkan countries. The games took place

in the city velodrome, with a capacity of 18,000 spectators. At the Balkan conference, which was held at the same time as the games, Greece was represented by I. Makridakis and Fikioris. Among other things, it was decided to re-name the Balkan cities cup the Balkan countries Graeco-Roman and freestyle amateur wrestling championship and to hold the next two meetings in Belgrade and Athens respectively.

After 1960 our archives provide spasmodic information about the 1968 Games, which 'despite the Regular Balkan Athletic Association' were unanimously entrusted to SEGAS. SEGAS 'wishing to endow this year's Balkan Games with the greatest possible splendour and brightness, decided to form an Honorary Committee', and ask the general secretary of the HOC to be part of it. The

games were all held in the Karaïskakis Stadium, except for the marathon race, which took place in the Panathenean Stadium³⁸. In the same year the 2nd Balkan sailing races were held in Constantinople. Greece made an impressive showing and won 19 out of the 22 statutory cups³⁹.

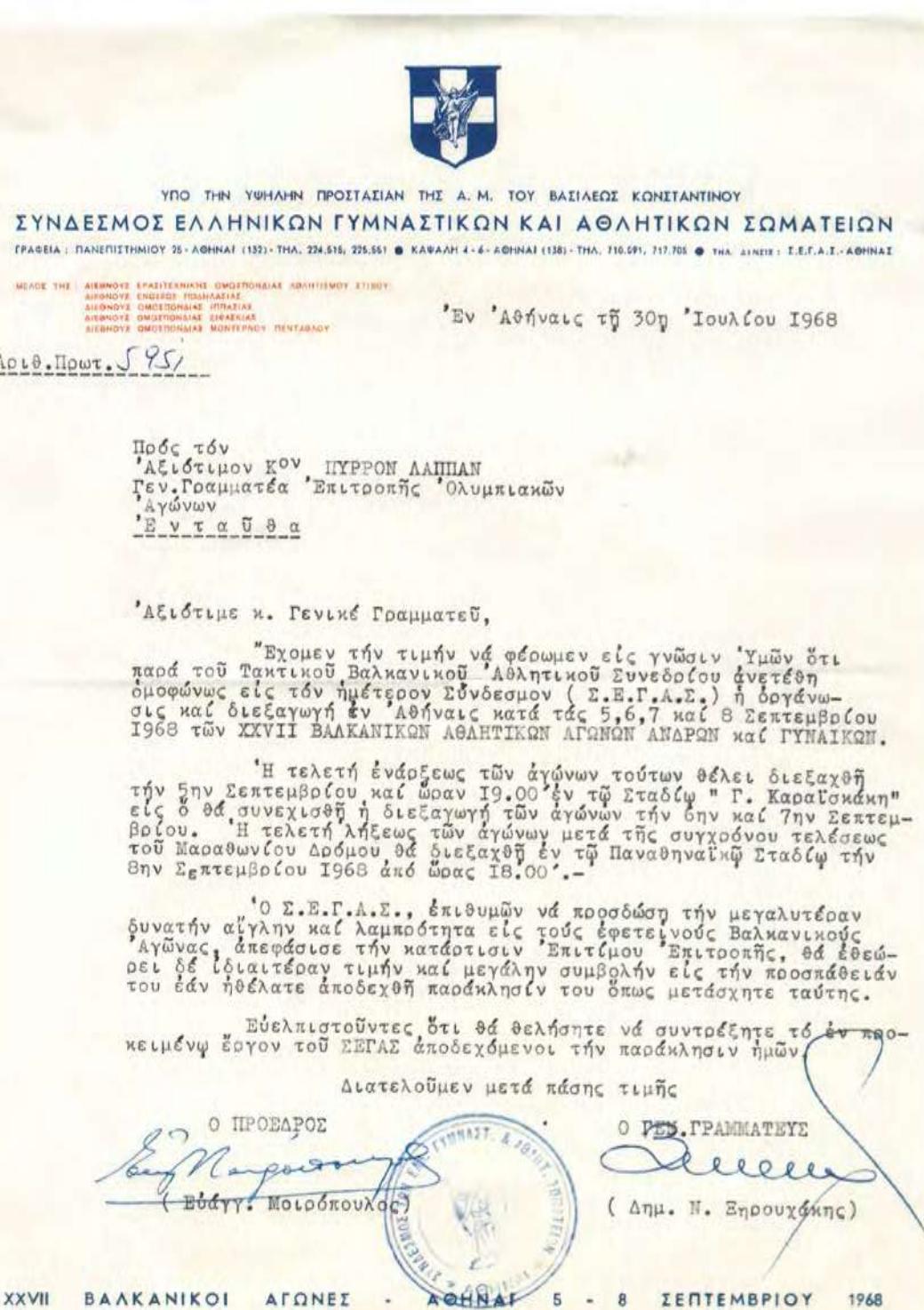
From 1931 up to and including 1972, the games took place 11 times. Up to and before the

war, the Balkan meetings played an important part in the promotion of the country in the Balkans and the enhancement of its role. 'Unfortunately, after the festive celebration in Athens of the 10th Balkan games, the world war put an end to this peaceful project, with the result that sport for the Youth of Greece fell into total stagnation'⁴⁰.

During the first post-war years, economic difficulties did not favour the meeting. They were considered more bilateral-international meetings, from which Greece was absent, even though 'it had even greater need of them to again project itself into the international scene and particularly in the Balkan Peninsula, in which for many years it was the leader of all sporting activities and showed the way...'.⁴¹

Among other things in the SEGAS, (July 1957), the general benefits and the special athletic benefits Greece would have if its role were upgraded in the post-war years were analysed.

1. Greece will again appear active in the athletic foreground, from which it has been supplanted by Yugoslavia, 2. the creation of considerable tourist interest, 3. seriously strengthening friendly rela-



XXVII ΒΑΛΚΑΝΙΚΟΙ ΑΓΩΝΕΣ - ΑΘΗΝΑΙ 5 - 8 ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 1968

tions with the other Balkan Countries through the contact between the youth of these peoples, 4. concrete proof internationally and in particular in Iron Curtain countries, of the real living conditions in Greece, freedom of the individual etc. and the removal of incorrect information and impressions regarding our Homeland, 5. immediate action and appearance of the Higher Greek Athletic Authority (SEGAS) for reasons of national prestige and renown, 6. the end to the partial athletic isolation of Greek Athleticism, 7. a

demonstration of Greece's organising ability from a purely athletic point of view, 8. moral support and encouragement of Greek athletes..., 9. the revival of the athletic spirit among the working classes and the world of Greek sportsmen⁴².

After the war, the games largely stagnated and, apart from the Olympic Games, other world athletic organisations and international meetings attracted more attention.

The reasons for its decline, however, were mainly political and were linked with the changing balance of power that arose after the end of World War II. During the decade after 1945, a deep rift between the USA and the USSR arose over world domination and the race to draw in any states that had remained neutral within their

sphere of influence. As a result, during the 'Cold War' the Balkans were literally cut in half. Greece and Turkey became members of NATO, which was founded in 1949, and the other Balkan countries became part of the Warsaw Pact, which was set up in 1955. Whichever institution favoured co-operation between them declined, while mutual distrust set in on both sides of the 'Iron Curtain'⁴³.

However, in the arena of Balkan stadiums, during the heyday of the games, 1930-1940, a profile of the Balkan athletic champion was formed, which prevailed in the minds of sportsmen, making possible outstanding performances that were becoming more and more infrequent in the global arena of the Olympic Games.

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY IN 1934
AND THE CLASSICAL GAMES

X^e OLYMPIADE - AN 3

CÉLÉBRATION
DU

40^e ANNIVERSAIRE

DU RÉTABLISSEMENT

DES

JEUX
OLYMPIQUES

LE SAMEDI 23 JUIN 1934

A L'AULA DE L'UNIVERSITÉ
DE LAUSANNE

—
1894 - 1934

THE CELEBRATION of forty years since the revival of the modern Olympic Games and its successful outcome left at least three partner institutions satisfied: the HOC, the IOC and the German organizing committee for the 1936 Olympiad.

The desire of the Greek athletic heads in previous years for the Olympic Games to be held permanently in Greece and for the organisation of Intermediary Olympics Games was not crowned with success, as it frequently met with the opposition of the IOC and foreign athletic personalities. In 1927 the HOC altered its position, deciding to organise International Classical Games. Initially, it made sure to obtain the agreement of the President of the IOC Baillet-Latour and to inform Baron de Coubertin¹. The submission of the proposal at the International Conference in Lausanne was accepted and discussed at the Conference in Vienna in 1933, at which it was decided that the next conference would be held in Athens and its members would attend the celebration of the fortieth anniversary and a trial re-enactment of the Classical Games².

The HOC, in a letter to the Minister of Education in June 1934 regarding the importance of the organisation and execution in Greece of the International Classical Games, underlined the fact that 'athletic Greece cannot be present in the future, as a mere spectator, or inconspicuous participant in a glorious athletic event³'. The desperate attempt by the Committee to have a say in the future of athletics and to be instrumental in its shaping was old, but this time they were noticeably different from the past, both in the form of its intervention and the methods used to achieve its aims. Besides, times had changed. It was acknowledged that the organisation of the Games from the point of view of technical know-how and complexity did not permit the country to undertake the burden of the Games as a permanent fixture in Greece because of the inadequacy of the athletic facilities and the enormous financial cost. Experience of past Games, therefore, offered fertile ground for the

formulation of a general debate within the framework of the International Olympic Conference in May 1934 that would take place on two levels, the form of global sport and the role of Greece as a creator of cultural models⁴. The first observation concerned the high level of sport and the desire of athletes to break records, the role of the chronometer, the improvement of tracks and the athletic means available to the competitors, the conversion of the games into a spectacle and the emerging establishment of professionalism. All these had made 'Victory' seem less important and had as a priority 'Performance', depriving sport of its simplicity and the naturalness of the ancient games. The revival, therefore, of the Classical Games, would 're-baptise amateurs into the spirit of Olympism' and would bring back the 'true amateurs and the Olympic spirit inspired by divine power'. At the same time, along with the 'lost spirit' of the Games and the need for its revival, the opinion was put forward that the Classical Games would also benefit the Greek economy, as it would attract tourists⁵. We must note at this point that the dedication of a small paragraph to the tourist flow was included in the letter to the Ministry of Education, that is to say, the state. In other words, it looked more like a political move to bring round the body that would have the last say in the approval or rejection of the funding of the endeavour, rather than a serious parameter of the Committee's rationale. The Government, however, appeared immediately willing to help the HOC's efforts, approving a budget of one million⁶.

The show of interest in the holding of the Classical Games was very cautious, without any surprise tactics for the international authority, as in the past. First, the opinion of the IOC president was sought and a relevant proposal was made at the Olympic Conference. At the same time, the opinion of de Coubertin, who was by now honorary president of the Greek-Swiss friendship association, was considered vital.

The sounding of the intentions of the various

bodies and personalities and the unflagging preparation appears to have paid off, largely in the instrumental role played by the Egyptian businessman Angelos Volonakis. Member of the powerful Greek community in Egypt, municipal counsellor of Alexandria and member of the IOC, as representative of Egypt, he appeared behind the scenes from 1931, when he began to correspond with the HOC. In 1933, in a higher position, as he was appointed official representative of Greece on the International Committee after the resignation of Politis⁷, he took on a leading role in the business of the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary and the revival of the Classical Games. Through his correspondence with the general secretary and the President of the Greek Committee, he seemed to propose, to advise and often to impose his opinions, both with regard to the balance that the HOC should strike regarding important figures and organisations, as well as the way in which the events should be organised. Occasions when Volonakis dictates the content and manner of the letters that the Committee would send to international sports personalities are characteristic. He gradually assumed all the responsibility for the organisation of the Fortieth Anniversary, right from the planning and the recreation of the commemorative medals and costumes of the young people who would parade in the Stadium to contacts with important personalities.

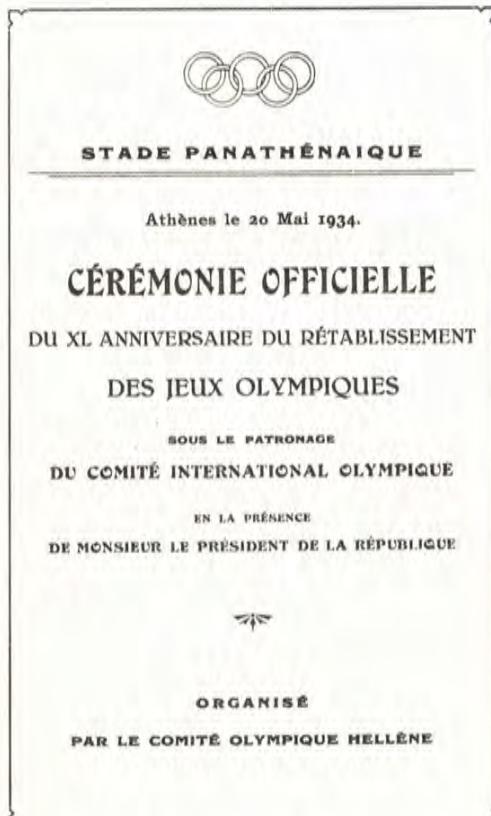
We mentioned the position of the HOC and the significance given by the Greeks to the organisation of the Fortieth Anniversary. To what extent, however, was the perspective of foreign athletic organisations the same as the Greek?

The danger of world sport acquiring a professional character was not only a Greek evaluation⁸. The definition of amateur athlete, according to the principles of amateurism, was after all the reason for convening the Conference in Paris in 1894. Definitive decisions were not taken. That fact can be considered a consequence of the different athletic practices that prevailed in each country even for individual sports and the differ-



ent interpretation given to the terms 'amateur' and 'professional'. This conclusion was also the point of departure for the discussion around the redefinition of the term amateurism at the Conference in Berlin in 1909⁹. And so, the definition was debated and revised many times in the following years.

The IOC, as we mentioned earlier, accepted the Greek proposals and, apparently, tried to make it clear that the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary would be under its supervision and that it would not agree to other partner institutions functioning alongside it. Thus, it demanded that the HOC should not support the German proclamation towards all nations regarding the organisation of theatrical games within the framework of 'the development of the human spirit and the perfection of the Olympic ideal'¹⁰, threatening not to attend the celebrations of the Fortieth Anniversary¹¹. At the same time, Volonakis, conveying the mood of its members, urged the HOC not to encourage the Greek-Swiss friendship association to take initiatives with regard to the Fortieth Anniversary¹². The Swiss Olympic committee had put forward a proposal that its members headed by de Coubertin should

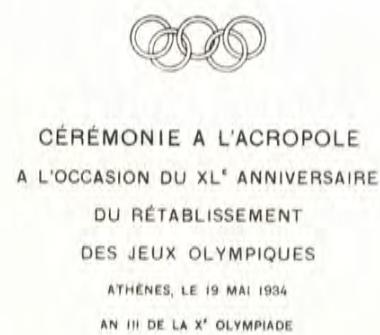


participate in the celebration events¹³.

The President of the IOC, Baillet-Latour, during the inaugural ceremony of the 31st Conference in Athens, underscoring the Greek athletic bodies' contribution to the idea of Olympism, reiterated the most important questions which had concerned the Conference in Vienna and came to the conclusion that they had been resolved satisfactorily. The first had to do with the assurances and guarantees of the 3rd Reich and the second the fight against semi-professionalism. The sub-committee that had been formed tried to formulate the general principles for the definition of amateurism, which would be respected by all the sports federations. The president of the IOC stressed the importance of the World University Games held in Turin in 1933 and highlighted the fact that students were the model of the Olympic athlete¹⁴. The affinities between Baillet-Latour's speech and the aim of the HOC were, at least on an initial level, visible. The observation, however, that professional sport was a lurking danger was not accompanied

by the same rationale. The Greek side saw the revival of the Classical Games as an outlet, the IOC the institutional redefining of amateurism. The participation of athletes in games for financial reward and betting between spectators had had a long tradition in Western and Central Europe. The IOC could not eliminate this parameter of sports culture in countries with developed sport and so merely wished to look at the subject anew, making the necessary concessions to the status quo. It is not coincidental that its president attached particular weight to students practising sport and that the IOC, by avoiding, of course, to refer to the revival of the Classical Games as an official response to the character of semi-professionalism, showed that it did not share the view of the Greek proposal and its rationale.

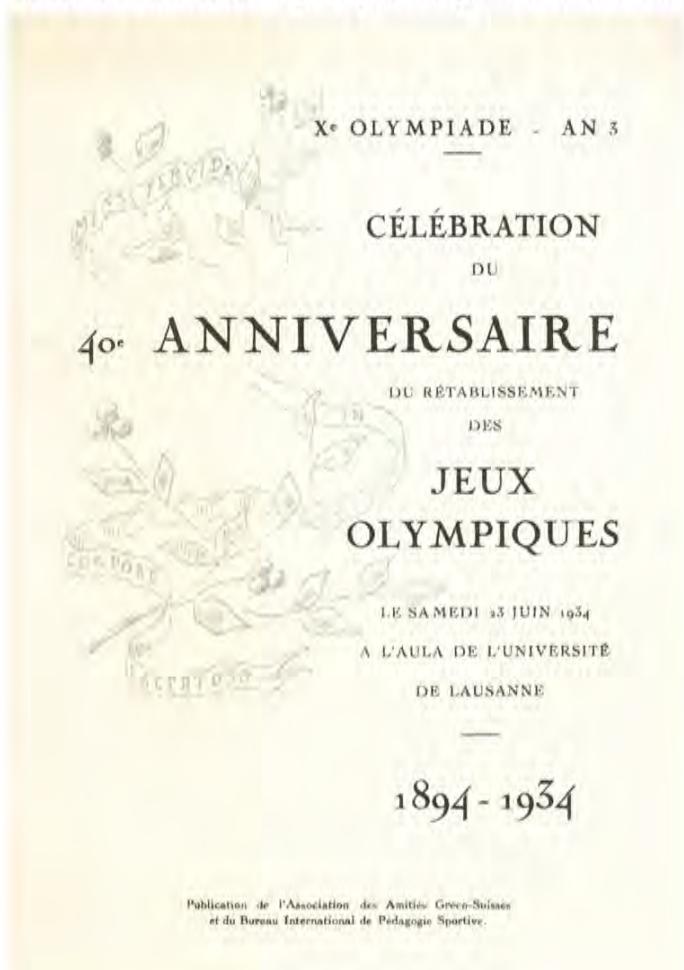
Approximately one month after the Greek celebrations, the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary was held at the University of Lausanne. It was basically a Swiss event, with University lecturers, representatives of athletic societies, representatives of the municipalities,



students, members of the country's Olympic committee, the Swiss IOC representatives and Baron Pierre de Coubertin. His jubilant speech was indicative, we believe, of the general perception that prevailed in the ranks of European sport and their feelings regarding their future course. The father of the modern Olympics, vindicated and truly proud that his dream had been realized, focused his attention on the milestone-dates that followed the revival of Olympism, the action of the IOC, not including the contribution of politicians and athletic personalities, defending the modern athlete, who, in his words, had received unjustifiably negative criticism. In his speech he had only praise for past Olympic Games and made no reference to the question of semi-professional sport. His reference to Greece was confined to the celebrations and in particular to the pilgrimage to the monument of Olympia by young pupils from the schools in the region...¹⁵ The other speeches were in the same vein. The revival of the Games and the Fortieth Anniversary were an opportunity for a positive re-appraisal of the Olympic movement: the internationalisation of the athletic movement, the democratisation in the practice of sports and their adoption by the working classes, the introduction of new sports and the organisation of the Winter Olympic Games. The honorary secretary of the Swiss Committee and president of the Greek-Swiss friendship association, Messerli, stressed that the revival of the Games was in line with modern civilization and identified their affinities with the ancient games in the fact that since 1908 the IOC had decided that the artistic games should be organised at the same time¹⁶. The problem regarding the danger of professionalism in sport was imminent, but was not a key element in the enthusiastic appraisal. If for the Greeks the celebration meant the regaining of the lost Olympic spirit through the revival of the Classical Games, for Western Europeans what mattered most was the spread of the athletic ideal and its internationalisation, and above all, the realistic overview of the question: that the

Olympic Games were adapting to modern civilization, the civilization that had revived them.

The celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary, because of its proximity to the Berlin Olympics, was a trial run with a positive outcome for the German organizing committee. At the Olympic Conference in Athens the objections raised by various committees against the Nazis because of the regime's racial discrimination against the Jews were again discussed. The American-Jewish conference held about one month before the beginning of the events, informed the HOC secretary, Rinopoulos, about the wave of dismissals of Jewish athletes from the athletic associations in Germany, the ban on their participating in games and stressed that, despite the IOC's recommendations to the German government and the assurances of the latter to the American government, such phenomena were still not uncommon, and so their racist policy continued. The members of the American-Jewish Conference concluded by expressing their trust that



the democracy of sport would not allow the Olympic Games to take place in a country that did not merit being their host¹⁷. The Conference in Athens, however, simply reiterated its trust in the words of the German representatives, who reassured everyone that 'not only would the Jews enjoy the same reception as the others, but that on the German team were all those Jewish athletes with the right qualifications'¹⁸.

The celebrations of the Fortieth Anniversary and the re-enactment of the Classical Games, according to the judgement of all interested parties, were crowned with success¹⁹. Even though the initial ambitious plan of events and the games were limited, due to economic and organisational difficulties, three main events took place: the Acropolis ceremony, foreign guests were taken to Sounio, Mystra and Olympia and the celebrations at the Stadium, which included the re-enactment of classical games, a parade of flags, processions and national dances. On 19th May the unveiling of the Olympiad stele at the Panathenean Stadium took place²⁰. The revival

of the games (track, diavlos, pentathlon and the race of men in armour) was carried out by students of the Gymnastics Academy. The processions re-enacted the 'main periods in the evolution of Greek civilization'²¹. The Acropolis ceremony had the form of a ritual. Ancient altars, a pilgrimage of the participating nations to the Parthenon, the reciting of a prayer written by Ernest Renan, wreath-bearers who would crown the Olympic flag and national flags to the sounds of an orchestra playing ancient instruments, were, as noted in the announcement of the event 'the response of the ancient spirit'²². Within this framework it is possible to see the affinity of certain events with those in the Berlin Olympiad.

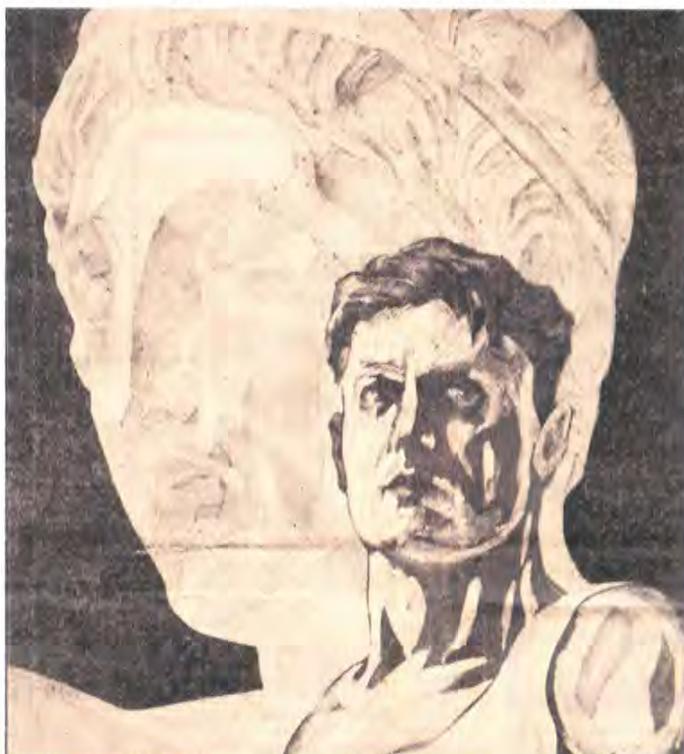
The success of the celebration of the Fortieth Anniversary and the positive response of the foreigners to the Greek initiative were reflected in the Conference announcement, which took under its protection the Classical Games in Athens in 1938 and accepted the candidacy of Athens to host the International Olympic Games of 1944²³.



THE OLYMPIC TORCH RUN

THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE, 'during the meeting in Athens in 1934, applauded the idea of lighting the fire in Olympia and bearing the flame in runs by road to Berlin. The road concerns the following countries: Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Germany. We ask each country's National Olympic Committee, as has been decided and undertaken, to carry out the requisite preparations for the (Olympic torch run)'. However, before the decision was taken, what was the position of European intellectuals and what were their feelings about its symbolic significance before the games?

As early as the end of the 18th century, in texts by Greek writers in the West there were references to public ceremonies and festive celebrations that involved some torch lighting. In a broader sense, they were connected to the ceremonies and games of torch-racing in antiquity, while these ancient models were not a source of inspiration for the Greeks only, but also for the European intelligentsia, with clear elements in the art and poetry of European neo-classicism. During the Renaissance and the Baroque periods, the allegorical aspect of the ancient Olympic torch run was pictured as a race of life.



The flame that is passed on from one athlete to another, as the succession and cohesion of the generations, suggests a symbolism that clearly corresponds to the dictates of neo-classicism, which André Chénier formulated at the end of the 18th century as follows: 'Let us light our torches in their poetic flame and let us make ancient verses upon new ideas'². From a Greco-centric perspective, the art and philosophy of the 19th century approached the symbolic theme, while at the beginning of the 20th century, the great German philosopher, Werner Jaeger, perceived the Olympic torch run 'as an unending chain of human thought', where 'the meaning of the race is to keep alive the sacred flame of thought, which Prometheus brought from the sky to the dark earth, as the first joyful leap of all the arts, for his beloved human race'³.

Before its official establishment in 1936 in Berlin, the symbolic use of the flame, since the revival of the Olympic Games, had already been a part of the Olympic Games, thus foreshadowing its significant role. The first Olympic Games in 1896 were held in Greece, in an atmosphere of glowing light, with the wonderful Attica sun, on the one hand, and the condensed vivid power of the symbols of the torch and fire, on the other, which dominated, either as emblematic representations of artistic expression, or as live demonstrations in a city where it is no exaggeration to say that everything looked like a game, light and joy. The HOC, in collaboration with the official Greek authorities, organised floodlighting during the opening and final ceremonies, as well as a torch-bearing parade.

The relevant description in Charles Beck's album about the 1896 Olympic Games is significant:

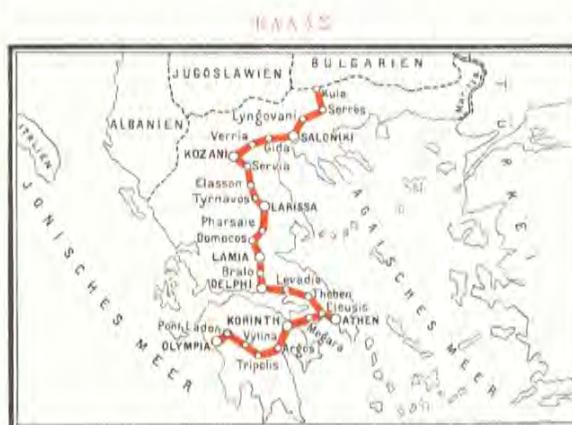
One of the most beautiful spectacles in the celebrations was unquestionably that of a torch run which took place on the Sunday evening, the unforgettable impressions created ... the people flocked in their thousands into the roads and squares, dazzled by the flood of lights... when the torches arrived, the whole of Athens street, from end to end, seemed lit up, creating a bril-

liant spectacle... indescribably wonderful...⁴.

In 1906, during the Intermediary Olympic Games in Athens, the illuminations were repeated and the Olympic torch run assumed a more official symbolic significance. Thousands of soldiers, holding flaming torches, ran through the central streets of the city. As a messenger of *καλό καυαθό*, the flame was lit for the first time in the Olympic Stadium in Amsterdam in 1928, thanks to the good taste of the architect who designed the stadium, Jan Wils. In his attempt to connect the flame with ancient Greece and its symbolism, Wils constructed the 'Tower of Marathon' at one end of the stadium, on top of which was erected an ancient altar, out of which rose the flame throughout the games. This suggested the torch run, which was established in honour of the god Pan after the battle of Marathon⁵.

In Los Angeles in 1932 the flame reappeared with all its symbolism in the peristyle of the stadium, where it was lit in a specially designed altar. It is clear that the subject of the flame had begun to play on the minds of those in charge of the Olympic movement. De Coubertin's saying, 'would that the Olympic torch should carry on through the centuries for the good of humanity with greater faith, courage and purity', written on the notice board of the Los Angeles stadium⁶, sums up the thoughts and expresses the position of the man who revived the Games, who often referred to the symbolism of the torch in his work.

However, the event that triggered off the transformation of the torch into a concrete form in the already vivid imagination of its proponents was the anniversary meeting of the International Olympic Committee in 1934 in Athens. After the conclusion of the official business of the convention, the guests toured the Peloponnese to admire the antiquities. On 22 May they attended a meal at Tegea. Among other things, new ideas were unveiled regarding the holding of an Olympic torch run from Olympia to Berlin, the main speaker being Carl Retter von Halt and his 'accomplices' Carl Diem



Ολυμπία — Πύλη της Αχένεων	37	736	37	736
Πύργος Λάζαρος — Κατεβά Τριπόλεως	87,5	—	124,5	—
Τριπόλεις — Άργος — Καρύλιας	112,5	—	237	—
Καρύλιας — Ιωάννια	00	—	303	—
Ιωάννια — Μήλια	22	—	325	—
Μήλια — Καστοριά — Ηγετών	70	—	390	—
Θεραπεία Λεβάδεια — Δελφοί — Μεράκης — Αργίτια	183	—	578	—
Αργίτια — Δερβιώνες — Φάρσαλα — Λέροισσα	109	—	687	—
Λέροισσα — Τύραινας — Έλλεινα — Σέρρες — Κοζάνη	138	—	825	—
Κοζάνη — Βέρρια — Γέρα — Ηεσσαρίουνη	142	—	967	—
Ηεσσαρίουνη — Αγρινίουνη — Σέρρες	95	—	1062	—
Σέρρες — Κοίλα — Σέρρες	46	—	1108	—
	1108	—	1108	—

1108 Δρομούς στα 1 χρόνια

Οργανωτής: Comité Olympique Hellène | rue Capoul ATHÈNES
Τηλέφωνο: Ολυμπιακό Αγοραστικό Τηλέφωνο: 20075

and Ioannis Ketseas. This meeting in Tegea seems to have been the crowning event of the meeting of the IOC in Greece, as two years later, on 17 August 1936, a commemorative plaque was erected to the Tegea Meeting, referring in full to the event⁷.

From what went on behind the scenes it appears that the idea of the Olympic torch run was not an arbitrary idea, but the fruit of a process that took many years, which found in the person of Carl Diem a timely exponent. Diem, influenced by the classicism of Jaeger, was aware of the symbolic significance of the flame in antiquity, as well as its modern use and in collaboration with de Coubertin adopted the ancient symbol. Ketseas proved to be a useful adviser in the process of lighting the flame. Using the *Parallel Lives* of Plutarch as a guide, he put forward the solution proposed by antiquity, the use of a concave mirror. The athletic and state bodies in Germany fully assessed Diem's idea within the framework of cultural propaganda, based on aes-



thetic models, as well as symbols influenced by Greek antiquity. In October 1934 the organising committee of the Berlin Games announced their decision regarding the holding of the Olympic torch run, which had been recognised by the IOC. Greece's response was wholehearted. 'This special connection between Greece and the current games', would bring it to the forefront of world attention and would strengthen national self-awareness⁸. The HOC would only be responsible for the technical organisation of the celebrations, the inspection and designation of the most suitable routes on Greek soil. The whole distance was 3,059 km., of which Greek runners would cover 1,108. The HOC referred to the event in an official circular:

On 20th July 1936 the Olympic light will be lit in ancient Olympia ... runners will carry it for 268 hours, to Berlin, where it will be lit in the Tower of Marathon in the Berlin Stadium, where it will burn for the duration of the XI Olympic Games. Greece is summoned, after two and half thousand

years, to give the light of its superior civilization to the whole world... Greece created the Olympic Games in antiquity. In Greece the modern Olympic Games were held. In this way, Greece proves that it continues to believe in the ideals of the Olympic Spirit... Greeks, help us to convey the Olympic Light⁹.

To carry out the Olympic torch run in good taste the whole state machine was mobilised. The HOC archives give us ample data. First of all, the various local conditions were evaluated, to ensure the collaboration of the different local athletic and other organisations and, at the same time, to make sure the necessary signposts were made. Of assistance in the whole endeavour were two Germans from the organising committee of the games¹⁰. In a circular to all the Prefectures, the Ministry of Internal Affairs made them responsible for liaising with trusted military and police authorities, who, in collaboration with the representatives of each region, would issue orders to all the municipal and community authorities to ensure the successful completion of the Olympic torch run¹¹. Similar circulars were also dispatched from the Ministry of the Armed Forces to the authorities responsible, and also from the Ministry of Education to teachers and headmasters of schools to ensure their wholehearted participation and support in the work of the HOC.

Also, clear guidelines were given to the runners regarding the question of safety and transfer of the torch¹². We should note that the German Krupp factory made the torches. They were made of stainless copper and each weighed, along with the gas mixture, 700 grams. In the middle of the handle were engraved the German eagle, the five Olympic circles and a map of the route. On the rim of the handle was engraved the inscription: 'As an expression of gratitude to the runner, the organising committee of the XI Olympic Games 1936'. Each runner, after the end of the Olympic torch run, kept the torch as a personal memento of the event¹³.

The Greek section of the Olympic torch run was divided into five parts: Olympia-Corinth,

Corinth-Athens-Amfissa, Amfissa-Larissa, Larissa-Verroia, Verroia-Koula. To carry out the overall supervision of the routes the HOC created a flexible pyramid-mechanism, which was based on the allocation of responsibilities according to each section. In this way, route inspectors were appointed, who would employ supervisors as helpers, to whom smaller portions of the route would be allotted. The president of the Olympic torch run was responsible for overall coordination¹⁴. Particular weight was attached to the following points: designation of a means of transport for the inspector with or without the accompaniment of armed police, the provision of lanterns, night patrols, the placing of signs, measures to avoid fire caused by a torch, informing the Press of the importance of the event to keep the public abreast of what was happening¹⁵. The whole operation seemed to carry the weight of a dangerous operation in peacetime. The last paragraph of the HOC circular ends on this note 'it goes without saying therefore that we cannot make the smallest mistake. We must foresee every last detail, even the improbable and the unforeseen. The light must proceed, and proceed on time, no matter what sacrifices have to be made'¹⁶. The HOC, over and above the technical problems of organisation, also had to confront 'the improbable and the unforeseen', as mentioned above. What could that be? If one were to be flippant, one could say what was evident in the archives themselves: dogs and Bolsheviks¹⁷.

The route inspector judged it essential that forest and land wardens should be present throughout the Olympic torch run 'because of the danger of roaming sheep dogs', while the Mayor of Athens in a top secret letter refers to 'the decision made by OKNE (Communist Youth of Greece) to steal the torch by whatever means ...with that aim it will set up communist athletic clubs in the towns along the route where it will submit statutes for approval and through their legalization will attempt to become accepted by SEGAS (Union of Greek Gymnastic and Athletic

Associations), ...so that their members will take part in the carrying of the flame in order to have the opportunity to destroy it'¹⁸. Later on, further information regarding the communist plan to paint the Stadium red and take over key points so as to create a disturbance of the peace and confusion, in order to snatch the flame, heightened tension¹⁹. The Kozani inspectorate, however, seems more level-headed about confronting events: 'As is well known in our district, the robber Lолос (father and son) is at large. Also the communists, according to information received, are preparing to create difficulties in the carrying-out of our task. With this in mind Draconian measures have been taken and no one should have any fears...'²⁰.

It appears, therefore, that the danger of communist propaganda was of grave concern to the HOC, as it believed that the handling of a work of national importance was threatened. The ultimate question, however, of the Olympic torch run remained the search for and the correct handling of the manpower that would carry the





flame. The chain of torch runners had to get from Olympia to the Bulgarian borders unbroken. The question of finding and transporting the runners was complex²¹. The HOC decided that the runners should be recruited from among pupils, scouts, athletes, footballers, mountain-climbers, walking clubs and military units. As for the question of transport it was closely connected with where the runners came from. The use of runners from villages was inconvenient, so it was proposed that runners be recruited from major urban centres, as it would be easier to find them among a large population, the quality of the runners would be better, as they were more athletic and disciplined, and in the big urban centres there were sportsmen capable of gathering, organising and completing the task in a responsible way. Of course, runners from the villages through which the flame would pass had to be used, so that the event would be more festive, but the participation of village runners would be

limited to one runner for one kilometre before the village and one kilometre after it. In that way, the participation of the village would be assured, without the need to bring in runners, as the local runners could return to their homes without transport²². It should be noted that it was only possible to assist the Olympic torch run by vehicle from three places: Athens, Larissa and Thessalonica.

'To ensure its successful organisation of utmost importance is the transport of the runners' the HOC tells the oil company Shell, 'from the collection point to the various sections of the route and their return to the centres, as it can only be achieved by vehicle, given the great distance from Olympia to the Bulgarian borders ... for this purpose we have the honour of asking you to import 250 barrels of duty-free petrol from the available stocks of the company ... for the whole route'²³.

The lighting of the flame and the Olympic torch run would be accompanied by a series of festive events at selected central points. Ancient Olympia was, of course, the administrative centre. The celebration there had to be splendid and, to that effect, decisions were taken by the HOC and by the relevant Ministries to reappoint and reorganize the ancient site, and also the surrounding area. The works aimed 'to give the whole area of Olympia a dignified appearance in the eyes of the foreign visitors'²⁴. Road works, bridge-building along the Olympia-Tripolis road, the reappointing of the museum and the square in front of the railway station, and the hotel. 'The ground outside the Sacred Altis, an uncovered area, which ... in need of reappointing and beautifying'²⁵, was chosen for the holding of the celebrations, while at the same time the Ministry of Education approved the 'transfer of the Stele of the philhellene founder of the Olympic Games de Coubertin to the new square in front of the Altis in Olympia'²⁶. The 'erection of the altar in ancient Olympia', a further work for which 'it would be necessary for construction to be carried out...'²⁷. It should be noted that the

altars were built in all the towns that took part in the celebratory events.

To complete the works and the holding of the celebration, a celebration committee for the Olympic torch run was formed in Olympia of notables from the local community. The physics laboratories of the Kapodistria University in Athens undertook the scientific supervision of the lighting of the flame 'from solar rays according to the ancient model designed by Plutarch...'²⁸ Although it contained 'pagan references', the Metropolite of Elis was at the Olympic ceremony, as well as the archbishop of Athens, as 'the Committee, having received an order from the International Olympic Committee organising the Olympic torch run, ... strongly desires, as does all the top administration, that the ceremony includes the blessing of the Church'²⁹. The Greek Press commented on the event³⁰.

The ceremony took place in the area outside the Altis, where de Coubertin's stele and the Olympic altar were erected. Around the two monuments the children from schools in Olympia and the surrounding area were lined up. Only officials and guests were allowed into that area. After the Mayor's speech, the runners were sworn in and blessed by the Church. In the meanwhile, inside the stadium the flame had been lit and was taken by young girls. When the light approached, the girls began to talk among themselves and the young people began to dance. They approached the altar and lit the fire³¹.

Then the representative of the HOC moved forward and issued Coubertin's proclamation:

Athletes, who in your eager hands will carry the symbolic flame from Olympia to Berlin, I wish, as it is my duty as founder and honorary president of the modern Olympic Games, to address the first word, to say in what spirit my thoughts accompany you and the significance I attach to your endeavour. These are solemn hours because, everywhere around us unexpected events are occurring... it seems that humanity is at last going to recognise that the crisis in which it is struggling is, above all, a crisis of education... from innumerable stadiums scattered around the surface of the globe cries of muscular joy are now rising

as they used to rise from the Hellenic gymnasiums... ask on my behalf that the youth assembled in Berlin accept the heritage of my work and that they finish what I started, what routine and ever-present chores prevented me from accomplishing fully, so that the union of muscle and thought be sealed for ever in the name of progress and human dignity³².

At the end of the proclamation, the first runner approached and received the torch and the proclamation from him, lit the torch and at that moment the national anthem began to play and the runner departed. Then, the folk dances with the young girls and boys began and were followed by the festival, in which all the guests participated. The total cost of the celebration, as is evident from the detailed list, amounted to 30,913,50 drachmas³³.

After the celebration at Olympia the celebration that took place in the Panathenean Stadium on 21 July, 'for the passing of the torch of the Olympic torch run', was equally spectacular. The





organisation, in a spirit that was clearly focused on Greece, had been undertaken by SEGAS. Displays of ancient games and dances with the playing of the Olympic and national anthems, a special ceremony at the Acropolis, musical compositions and artistic happenings. A group of 42 *evzones* were used as bearers of the national flag and the flags of countries participating in the Berlin Games, while the presence of the army and police gave the whole affair a feeling of a national anniversary celebration³⁴.

The celebration at Delphi had a distinctively archaic character, due to the 'religious' and archaeological significance of the site. In the ancient stadium of Delphi 'around the Olympic altar' a large crowd of people waited for the runner, who 'would wash in the Castalia Spring before entering the Stadium. When the president of the local Community received the torch...he would light the fire of the altar'. The Director of the Delphi antiquities then gave a speech, which was followed by a Pyrrhic dance done by special dancers and the holding of classical contests³⁵.

The programme of the other celebratory events in the other towns included similar features. Ancient contests, speeches, musical events, gatherings around the Olympic altar and assemblies in squares, which sometimes ended badly, as the celebration turned into a commercial feast, the 'police and army were powerless' to contain the crowd, which 'reached a point where they nearly dislodged the altar'³⁶.

What is certain is that the response of ordinary people during the Olympic torch run was decisive. 'Unequivocal and universal enthusiasm'

overwhelmed the people. 'Everywhere crowds welcomed us with cheering, speeches, bell ringing and flowers...the village people regaled us. In many villages they greeted us with fires...'³⁷. Elsewhere:

The love, the pride, the enthusiasm with which they all welcomed and paraded in front of the coming of the Light was indescribable. There was no spring, tap, tree throughout the route, which was not crowded with old people, men and women, small children, who had come from round about with their animals, dressed in their best clothes with their wine and food, enjoying themselves, while they waited for hours to see the runner, to greet him, throw a flower on him, weep, kiss him and wish him a good journey to Berlin. The Olympic Spirit is deeply rooted in the Greek spirit. It is incredible, but true³⁸.

The handing-over ceremony took place at the Greek-Bulgarian border and had a 'distinctly military' flavour. 'Greek and Bulgarian regiments in military campaign uniforms and Scouts from Serres had lined up. Head of the Military regiments were the Administrators of the border sections...'. So, 'with the soldiers presenting arms and the applause of the crowd, who had flocked from every village, the Olympic Flame was handed over unextinguished (sic) to the Bulgarians, before the deputy president of the German Olympic Committee'³⁹. The handing-over of the flame was followed by a telegram greeting from the President of the German organising committee of the games, Lewald⁴⁰, to the HOC:

All Germany, with the greatest feelings of joy and gratitude, watched the Olympic torch run,



which ... successfully crossed the northern borders of Greece. Stop... A new powerful bond of light joins the German and Greek nations. Would that its brightness and warmth never be extinguished from the hearts of our two peoples⁴¹.

And the HOC responded by telegram:

The Olympic Flame, having crossed the length of Greece to its extreme border, has created a strong and indestructible spiritual bond between the German and Greek nations. Stop. The preservation of this bond is guaranteed by the eternity of the Olympic Idea. Stop⁴².

That telegram was to be completed, in a dramatic manner, five years later, on the day of the German invasion of Greece, by Georgios Vlachos in an open letter to Hitler:

And (Greece) will await the return of the runner from Berlin, who came five years ago and received the light from Olympia, to change the light into a torch and bring fire to the small but great place, which, as it taught⁴³ the world to live, must now teach it how to die⁴⁴.

The organising committee of the games entrusted the filming of the whole ceremony of the Olympic torch run from Olympia to Berlin to the 'Olympic Games Film GS Berlin', under the management of the German film director Leni Riefenstahl. Two years later the HOC sent Riefenstahl a prize of honour through the Greek ambassador in Berlin, on the occasion of the opening night of the film⁴⁵.

Once it had crossed Bulgaria, Serbia, Hungary, Austria and Czechoslovakia, the Olympic Flame reached Dresden, the first large city in



Germany after the border. There, a variety of events took place. The ceremony is described in the following Press report:⁴⁵

Dresden, 31 August. Today Germany received the Olympic Flame with cries of joy and unprecedented enthusiasm. Midday at Ellendorf, near the German-Czech border, the last Czechoslovakian runner handed over the torch to the first German in the midst of a glorious ceremony, during which the border was opened, the transfer register was duly signed and received, speeches were made and everything was carried out...but what interests us is the exceptional position that has been given to Greece...so, thanks to the Olympic Games, Greece has received exceptional honour. All the Germans know it today. On everyone's lips can be heard the name of Olympia...all the time one comes across happenings and demonstrations of philhellenism in Germany these days, during which the thermometer of the Olympic Games has reached boiling point....

The Greek Consul of the city, the President of the Greek community, as well as the Greek students and crowds of people attended the celebration at Dresden. The Mayor of the city made particular reference to Greece and the significance of the Olympic torch run.

The enthusiastic climate, however, that prevailed during the entry of the Olympic light into the Berlin stadium is eloquently conveyed in the following article, entitled 'The Apollonian light of Olympia again shines upon the human conscience towards the road of peace and civilization'.

Two million people cheer the Greek Olympic win-





ner Louis as he carried the sacred flame into the stadium...millions of people from all over the world created an atmosphere of civilization when they heard the glorious broadcast of the Olympic radio station: 'The Apollonian light of Olympia traversed every state without going out. Would that it remain forever alight to remind us of the immortal saying of the Greeks "not for money the race, but honour"... It is impossible to describe the scene of the arrival of the Olympic

flame on to the 'An der Lieden' highway. All the people who had gathered along the highway broke into deafening cheering and applause. The torch-runner arrived in front of the Museum, where the altar had been set up. The Olympic fire was transferred to the altar, where it will stay until midday of the 16th, guarded by members of the Hitler youth...⁴⁶.

Nevertheless, the message of peace, which



was the primary message of the Olympic flame largely fell on barren soil in Germany, as is mentioned above. That whole pioneering concept of carrying the light was historically a tragic irony, as the sacred torch of Olympia was turned into 'an arsonist's torch' in the hands of the Germans. The symbolic parallelisms that are evident from the text of the celebrated archaeologist and

writer Alexandros Philadelpheus, in 1939, reveal this change:

(Hitler) rejected the Olympic flame and grabbed a torch from the Black Forest, lit it in the blood-stained altar of Votan and Ertha, the ancient Gods of the Huns, and charged unchecked to burn down the whole of the Earth...⁴⁷.

The outbreak of war put paid to the organisation of every Olympic organisation and the altar of ancient Olympia was silent for eight whole years. The spark that re-kindled new ceremonies and Olympic torch run was given in 1948 on the occasion of the first post-war Olympic Games.

The situation that prevailed in Greece, however, because of the Civil War, diminished the importance of the event and limited the ceremony, which took place under military surveillance. Because of the political situation it was impossible to transfer the high priest (chief dancer) and the priests (dancers) from Athens to Olympia. So, the lighting ceremony was carried out very simply, without special choreography, while an 18-year-old girl from Pyrgos, Elis, performed the role of high priest.

The Games that followed, though they were not threatened by military conflicts, were nevertheless overshadowed for a while by the climate of the Cold War. That, however, did not prevent the formal holding of the Olympic torch runs, which continued uninterrupted in the succeeding years, following the established ritual. The lighting of the flame and the holding of the Olympic torch run gave a ritualistic flavour to the games and, in combination with the worship of beauty, the joy of muscular strength and the ideal of peaceful rivalry, created a new form of secular religiousness, 'religio athletae'.

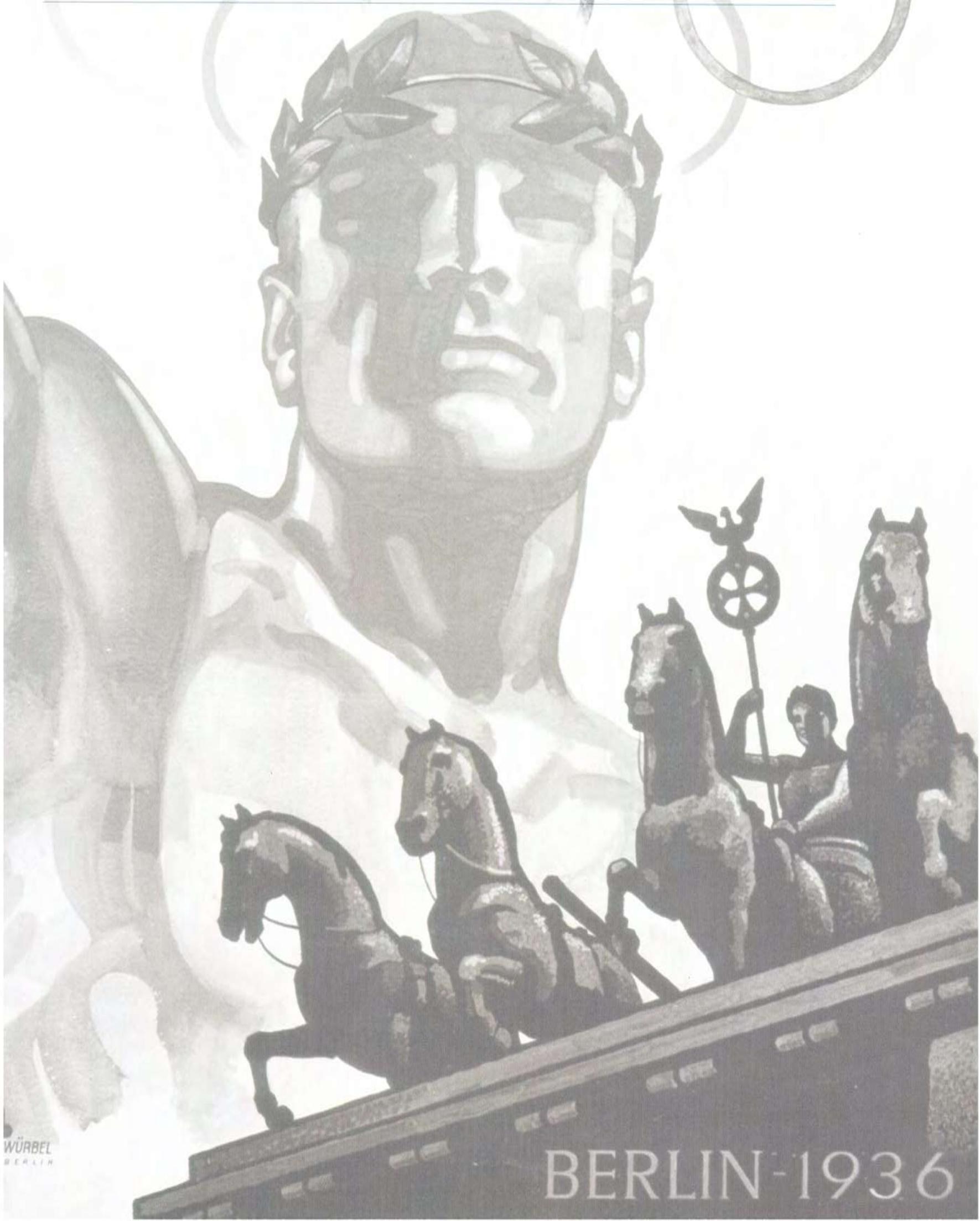
In 1936 'nobody could have foreseen the significance public opinion attached to the event. Besides, it was not possible to imagine what was going to happen...no one could speculate that it was an event that would move the whole of Greece and fill whole pages of the foreign Press with descriptions and photographs...'⁴⁸. On its journey the Olympic Flame became an institu-

tion, which the International Olympic Committee, not only recognised, but also incorporated into its constitutional map. According to these clauses, there is one Olympic flame that is lit in Olympia and all the rights regarding the use of the flame and the torch belong to the IOC, while Greece is merely its guardian on behalf of the International Olympic Committee⁴⁹.

For Greece the holding of the Olympic torch

run is an especially attractive event, as it constitutes a permanent bond with the Olympic Games and also a permanent reminder of its ancient birthplace. At the same time, it has the historic advantage of always being 'ideologically present' at every Olympic gathering, beyond the participation of its athletes, and beyond their athletic performance. It is its Olympic record, ancient, as is the grace of the gods of Olympia...

THE 1936 OLYMPIC GAMES



THE 1936 OLYMPIC GAMES were more than just a series of athletic events. They were of great political and cultural significance in world developments. The Nazi regime was carefully and systematically endeavouring to carry out the perfect organisation of the Olympic Games, investing it with impressive festive events. It had a dual aim. On the one hand, it wished to enhance its image abroad, which was causing a great deal of scepticism and speculation among the governments of other European countries with regard to its more profound aspirations, and concern about its racist and totalitarian image, with its restrictions and the persecution of social-democrats, communists and Jews. On the other hand, its dedication to the athletic ideal and its efforts to revive the ancient spirit of the Games was in accordance with the Nazi concept of gymnastics, which was of primary importance in the German system for the education of the Aryan race, and the opinion that the Germans were in a position to embody ancient

Greek values, and thus, through the revival of the Games, bring about the re-birth of the nation¹. Within this framework, the costly festive ceremonies, which so impressed their contemporaries, were summoning the German people and tourists to participate as spectators, boosting the public image of the regime.

To fully understand the Greek stand towards the Nazi Olympic Games, we must bear in mind, on the one hand, the particular circumstances that surrounded the Greek political scene in the 30's and, on the other, the ancient Greek paraphernalia in which the specific Olympic Games was decked out by the Nazi regime.

In 1936 the establishment of the Ioannis Metaxas dictatorship signalled the end of a particularly turbulent and unstable period, which had lasted about twenty years. The National Schism, as it was called, had principally to do with the conflict between the Venizelists and the Anti-Venizelists, the ousting of the King and a number of short-lived military movements. Venizelism, the party and ideology that took its name from the politician and leader Eleftherios Venizelos, identified itself with the modernisation of Greece in every sector of life, the effectiveness of a nationalistic ideology, with the expansion of national territory, and the expression of European liberalism. Its social base was made up of the majority of the refugee population, landless peasantry and townspeople, who had flooded into the country after the unsuccessful outcome of the Greek military campaign in Asia Minor and the defeat by the Turkish army in 1922. At the other end of the spectrum, Anti-Venizelism, a front of rival political powers, developed, which drew its power from the lower and middle class urban populations.

The transitional period, 1932-1933, with power alternating between the Venizelists and the Populists, ended on 6 March 1933, when the Venizelist General, Nikolaos Plastiras, formed his own movement. Venizelos had not given his consent but politicians and mainly military members of his party, believing that the large percent-



age of votes obtained by the Populists in the recent elections, who were basically Royalists, would result in the restoration of the monarchy. The failure of the movement and the formation of a government by the Popular Party initially led to the persecution of the mutineers and the introduction of legal measures against the Venizelist officers in the military. At the same time, the attempted assassination of Venizelos by superior officers in the police further exacerbated the situation. In a climate of political fanaticism, with Royalist and anti-Royalist demonstrations and the Popular Party's adamant refusal to renounce the monarchy, Venizelist military, with Venizelos's and other politicians' consent, organised a movement that had the control of the navy and the fleet. Its failure led to the restoration of the monarchy, with a rigged referendum prepared by another coup, and the adoption of a tougher stand by the Royalist military against the Venizelists.

The forming of a government, however,

proved particularly difficult after the elections for the appointment of a Revisional Government on 26 January 1936, as the results led to a stalemate between the two parties, and negotiations between them failed to bear fruit. Both tried to arrive at an agreement with the Popular Front, whose base was the KKE (Communist Party of Greece) who, with 15 seats, controlled the political balance. After the death of the caretaker Prime Minister, the King decided, without political consultation, to give Ioannis Metaxas, who had already become Minister of War and was among the hardcore of the anti-Venizelist military, the mandate to form a government.

Strike actions, which broke out in the spring, with demands for the readjustment of wages according to the previous agreement between employers and workers, and its bloody outcome in Thessalonica, gave Metaxas the pretext he needed to talk about 'the overthrow of the system of government' and the 'Communist danger'. His first step was to immediately appoint trusted



individuals to administrative posts in the system and the second to ignore the agreement that the two political parties had reached, thus establishing a dictatorship on 4 August 1936².

The organisation of the Berlin Olympics coincided with the restoration of the kingdom and the preparation to establish a dictatorial regime.

The positive stand of the HOC towards Germany had been expressed earlier during the government of El. Venizelos. In 1931, therefore, Chryssafis asked the Committee to convey to the Greek ambassador to Paris, Politis, Greek support of the German positions at the Barcelona meeting, in consideration of the fact that the Germans had supported the institution of the Intermediary Olympics and the holding of the Classical Games³. The invitation to participate from the German organizing committee sounded the alarm and the HOC and SEGAS were quick to propose to the ministry the organisation of military and provincial preparatory games⁴. The Greek committee contacted the Union of Municipalities and Community Councils in order that they should support the Greek participation financially⁵. In the same vein, the Cabinet voted unanimously to grant a subsidy of two million, which the HOC had requested as their budget for

the athletic preparations and the Greek delegation⁶. The special care taken by the appointed Metaxas government for the Olympic Games is reflected in the decision to send all the members of the Gymnastics Academy to Berlin, as well as the Greek participation in the 'youth meeting', by sending thirty students and thirty pupils⁷... During the preparation for the particular delegation, emphasis was placed both on the selection of pupils most of whom were pupils of the German school in Thessaloniki as well as on their general appearance. The young men were given evzone uniforms to dance Greek traditional dances.

The members of the HOC and athletic personalities of the country did not seem to be at all concerned by the denunciation in the USA and Europe of the Nazi regime regarding the lack of respect shown towards the spirit of the Olympic Games and the legalisation of professionalism, with the fielding of a team made up of professional athletes. Furthermore, they were indifferent to the efforts of Jewish and liberal circles to persuade the American government not to participate in the Games as a protest against the atrocities committed against the Jews⁸, and did no more than verify that the German committee

had respected all the regulations⁹. Besides, the Americans themselves had attached credence to that. As one would expect, the HOC was hostile towards the Barcelona Olympic Games, the alternative proposal of the European Communist movements for sport, in their attempt to boycott the Nazi Olympic Games. It immediately asked SEGAS and the sports federations to forbid any association or athlete from participating in the



'Workers Olympic Games' and asked the police to carry out the investigations needed to suppress communist movements that, according to them, were secretly collecting money to send athletes to Barcelona. Also, they requested the police's intervention to prevent acts that would expose the country because, according to their information, the Greek communists were about to disrupt the transfer of the Olympic flame, even planning to eliminate the torch¹⁰. We cannot be sure to what extent they were rumours, which, in the heat of anti-Communist feeling in 1935, turned into acts foreseen by the Government. The Communist Party, at any rate, through its official mouthpiece, the *Radical* (*Rizospastis*), which was closed down by the Metaxas dictatorship, had sided against the 'Hitlerian Olympic Games', as it called the Berlin Olympics, urging athletes to follow the example of a Greek marathon runner, who opted to participate in the 'Workers Olympic Games'¹¹. Nor are we in a position to know to what extent Greek athletes as a whole participated or even wanted to participate. The HOC's concern about the question and the mobilisation of the athletic bureaucratic machinery to impose a ban is in itself an indication that there were serious implications for athletes, especially those in provincial associations or unions from neighbourhoods and towns that had a high percentage of Communist Party voters. The athletes who played a leading role, of course, either as members of big associations or as members of the national delegation, we can suppose, based on Archive data, showed no interest in participating in the Barcelona Olympic Games. The question of the general stand of athletes towards the 'other' Olympic Games is not easily answered. We must bear in mind, apart from the negative stand of the Greek athletic leadership and most probably that of the big associations, and the desire of the Communist Party, on the other hand, to use the Olympic Games for propaganda purposes, urging athletes to participate, a series of other factors, like the stand of the athletes themselves, who, even if they did want to

participate, had to consider the unpleasant consequences and loss of privileges, like permits and favourable transfers for those in the army, a position in the public services, for others, and the loss of prestige and recognition, because of their athletic abilities. Furthermore, we must also bear in mind the way in which someone at that time, who did not live in the capital, could be informed of such athletic initiatives, which were not supported or promoted by the HOC. In other words, how would the information about the announcement of the international games reach them? A few days before the start of the Barcelona Olympic Games, the athlete Stavros Kalafatidis, a swimmer from Alexandroupolis, in a letter to the HOC, asked to be allowed to participate in the Barcelona Olympic Games at his own cost¹²...

The enthusiasm of athletes and other Greek sports bodies about the Berlin Olympic Games cannot be explained, as we have noted, by the peculiar circumstances of the Greek political scene alone. Focusing their attention on the revival of the ancient Greek spirit, the Germans had brought modern Greece to the forefront. The Olympic exhibition, the brainchild of the President of the organizing committee, Carl Diem, stressed, through its exhibits, the origins and significance of the Olympic Games. Photographs of German athletes in action and plans of the grounds where the games would take place were complemented with murals of ancient Olympia. Statues of ancient Greek youths, the Attica amphora, a dedication to the games of the ancient Panathenaea, and, of course, the life-size replica of the statue of Zeus from the model in the Athens National Museum were the means by which they endeavoured to link German civilization with the birthplace of civilizations, ancient Greece¹³.

The culmination of the ambitious German plans was the international celebration of fire, the carrying of the flame from ancient Olympia to Berlin. The torch relay of 3,000 kilometres and 3,000 runners, meticulously organised by



the German diplomatic corps, passed through seven countries, in which different ceremonies were held in each and was represented to Hitler as being the revival of an ancient ceremony¹⁴.

Within the framework of this carefully planned propaganda revival of the ancient past, the Greeks saw that the Nazi regime had reserved a special place for them, both in the form of honours given to important personalities of the country and in the interest shown in the progress of Greek sport. The aging Spyros Louis, winner of the marathon in the 1896 Athens Olympic Games, had been officially invited. Dressed in national costume he handed Hitler a bouquet. Before and during the Games the German press frequently mentioned the Greek delegation and the performance of their athletes¹⁵.

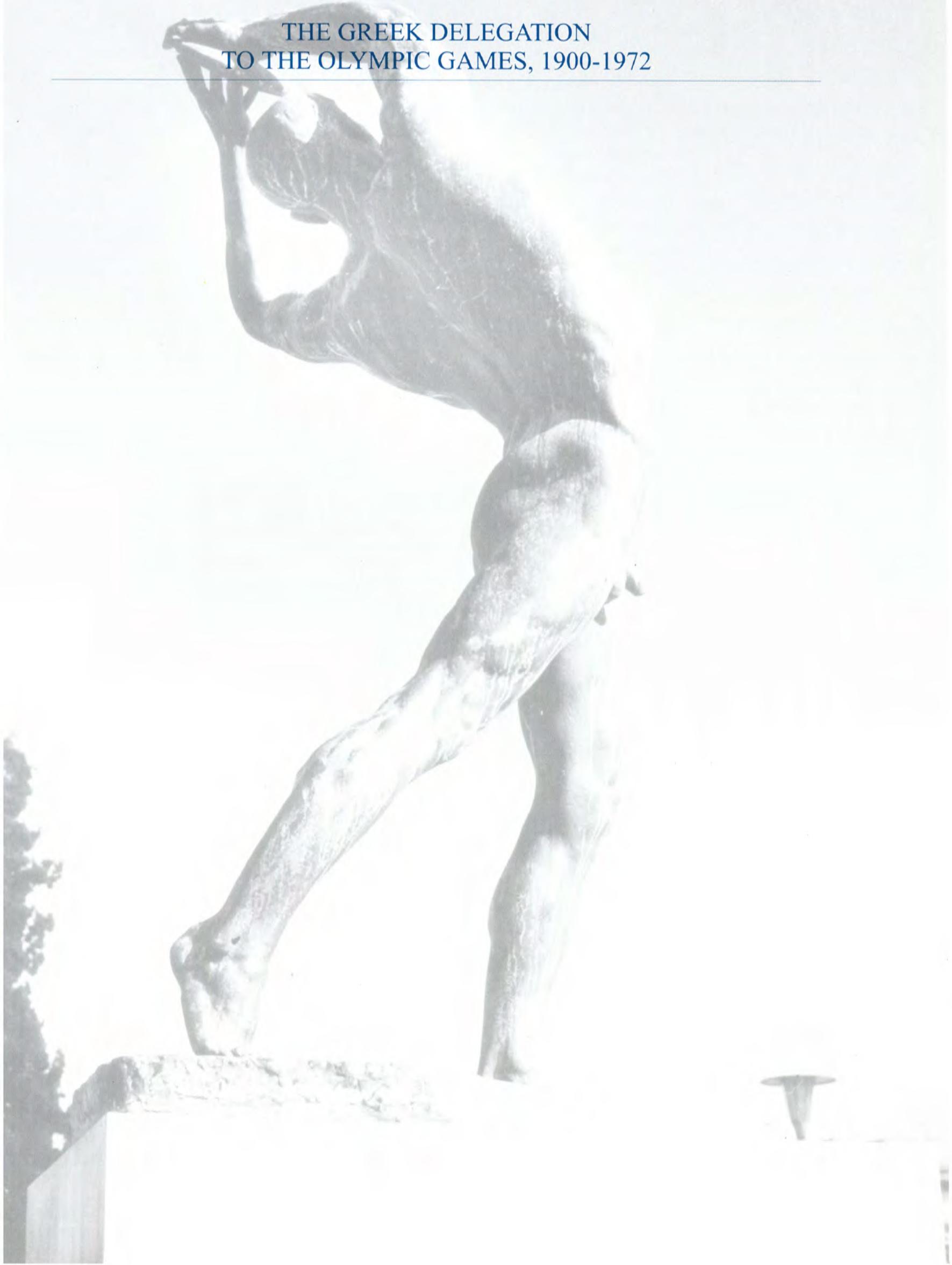
The Greek side, enchanted by the reception

and hospitality, decided to send honorary medals to members of the German organizing committee after the Games and to offer a prize through the Greek ambassador to the filmmaker of the Olympic Games and one of the protagonists of Nazi propaganda, Leni Riefenstahl¹⁶.

The Berlin Olympic Games, against the background of ancient Greece, renewed Greek interest in the holding of the Olympic Games permanently in Greece. Enthusiastic press reports quoted reliable sources, according to which the German government intended to recommend that the 1940 Olympic Games should take place in Athens. Furthermore, the Mayor of Athens, Constantinos Kotzias, entreated the Hellenic Olympic Committee to see to it that a new and bigger stadium was built and promised the full support of the Municipality, in the event that the city, 'the birthplace of athleticism' should host the next Olympic Games¹⁷.

The breakdown of democracy in Greece coincided with the completion of the Games and the beginning of a period during which Greek fascism recognized those who inspired it, Mussolini and Hitler. The 'Third Greek Civilization' proclaimed by Metaxas, in imitation of the 'Third Reich', placed youth and education at the heart of its ideology, in which physical exercise was paramount. Even though a caricature of fascism, the Metaxas dictatorship, which lasted only four years, until the country entered World War II in 1940, at least on an organisational level, borrowed many features from totalitarian regimes, like propaganda and advertising, athletic fiestas, military youth¹⁸. The Berlin Olympic Games and its heritage greatly contributed to the ideological profile of the Metaxas Regime.

THE GREEK DELEGATION
TO THE OLYMPIC GAMES, 1900-1972



1900-1912

THE CONFERENCE that took place in Paris in 1894 '...expressed the wish that the first Olympic games should take place in Athens in 1896, the second in Paris, during the world exhibition ...'¹. And although Greece wanted to have a monopoly over the permanent organisation of the games, it 'found itself' in 1900 'without even an Olympic Committee...'². After the grandiose finale to the 1896 Olympic Games in Athens, an avalanche of political events and military developments submerged the country into a state of economic misery and defeatism³.

The Olympic Games Committee, which was automatically dissolved after the 1896 Games, was re-appointed as a result of law 2621 passed in July 1899, 'concerning gymnastics and the gymnastic and athletic games', by the Minister of Education, Ath. Eftaxias. A Royal Decree 'concerning the Olympic Games Committee' followed the publication of this fundamental law at the beginning of the next year. A year after the relevant law had been passed, in 1901, the HOC acquired legal status. The Union of Greek Sports and Gymnastic Clubs, on the other hand, had only been in existence for two years.

It was blatantly clear that it was impossible for the country to send an official representation to the Paris Games of 1900, even 'though there was an undeniable athletic obligation to show solidarity with France, where modern international Olympism had its origins ...'⁴. Thus, the responsibility of sending athletes fell to the clubs from which they came, supported by the generosity of the Press⁵ for those Games. The athletes Versis and Paraskevopoulos took part in the discus throwing and the javelin throwing, without distinction, while the two fencers who made up the team were disqualified 'because of their extreme aggressiveness... and the ferocity of their hits'.⁶

The first steps taken by the HOC justifiably had to do with complete re-structuring and the securing of the necessary means to operate. The

Crown Prince Constantinos assumed the presidency. In this way, its socio-political role was established from the outset. The first meeting dealt with the Intermediary Olympics in 1906, a matter that was of particular concern. Besides, the HOC could not afford a costly delegation of athletes to America, and once again passed on the responsibility and confined itself to a symbolic financial contribution, as part of the collection carried out by the Panellinios G.A., in its attempt to raise money. Of the total sum of 3,225 drachmas, a supplementary credit of 500 drachmas was given by the HOC to send one athlete to the games in St Louis, in accordance with the Royal Decree concerning the regulations and control of its financial assets, following an order by the Crown Prince⁷.

The Gymnastics Society of Patras showed a similar interest in sending the weightlifter,

OLYMPIC GAMES, 1908.

SHEPHERD'S BUSH, LONDON, W.



Ceremony of Setting the First Stanchion
of the Great Stadium
to be erected for the Games.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 81st, at 4.30 P.M.



His Grace the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.T.,
In the Chair.



Order of Procedure.

1. Opening Address by the CHAIRMAN.
2. Remarks by the HON. SIR JOHN A. COCKBURN, K.C.M.G.
3. The Contractor of the Great Stadium, MR. ALEXANDER FINDLAY, M.P.
Address and Presentation of a miniature Silver Cup to the
RIGHT HON. LORD DESBOROUGH.
4. Reply by LORD DESBOROUGH.
5. Ceremony of RAISING THE FIRST STANCHION.
6. Vote of Thanks to the Chairman.

Tophalos, but the HOC was indifferent. It is worth noting that 1904 was a landmark in the athletic career of Dimitris Tophalos. Already in the 1st Panhellenic games in 1900 he had won second place lifting 115 kilos and 200 grams (90 *okes*). In the 2nd Panhellenic games, which took place between 6 and 9 May 1904, the twenty-year-old, by now champion, broke the world record, lifting a weight of 111 okes, or 142 kilos and 80 grams. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Gymnastics Society of Patras should endeavour to send such an athlete to international games. The association followed the tried practice of collecting money, and although they got together 3,500 drachmas, enough to get him there and back, Tophalos fell ill on the journey and could not take part. This unfortunate turn of events was also unfavourable for the Gymnastics Society of Patras, as it created an administrative and financial crisis in its ranks. Misfortune followed Tophalos in 1908 too, as on that occasion weightlifting was not included in the Olympic programme of events. In December of the same year he decided to abandon amateur athleticism and emigrate⁸.

Greek athletes who went to America came back with two medals, one bronze in discus throwing and one gold in weightlifting. Nikolaos Georgantas and Periklis Kakousis with their victories gained second place for Greece, after America, in the general rankings. 13 American Greeks took part in those games, ten in the marathon.

In view of the 1908 Games in London, the HOC campaigned on behalf of Greece to have the discus and javelin throwing performed in the Greek way, free style. In mid-1907 the HOC announced that the British Olympic Union had accepted its proposal⁹. SEGAS (SEAGS) in fact wanted stone throwing to be part of the Olympic programme. However, the British Olympic Union in a letter to the HOC said 'that it is out of the question to include stone-throwing in the London Games programme, and, anyway, Graeco-Roman wrestling had been added'¹⁰.



With regard to the Greek delegation to the Games in London¹¹.

a lot of thought is being given to the funds needed for the delegation ... all the equipment needed for the athletes, the games, the gymnastics team, the gymnasts accompanying the athletes and the Committee representatives. Roughly speaking ... 100,000 francs is needed. The Committee believes that this sum should not be taken from the annual funds of the Committee, nor from the regular funding of 125,000 francs per annum, but should be found elsewhere ... possibly by drawing the attention of Greeks in England to the cause of the Greek participation. For this purpose a preliminary working group is to be set up to take unofficial action in this regard¹².

However, the aims of the HOC were frustrated when the Greek ambassador in London said that his overtures to the Greek community had proved futile.

Consequently, it has been decided that the Government and the Parliament should be approached to provide general assistance to the HOC, on the occasion of the Greek participation

in the London games, recorded in the budget and passed by vote for the said fund application memorandum¹³.

At the beginning of 1908 the state announced that it would cover the cost of ensuring that the Greek delegation to England was well turned out. Based on the results of the Panhellenic Games the team was formed and this time was presented as 'the first systematic attempt to prepare ourselves for the Olympics'.

For the first time our Olympic team wore a single competition uniform, white breeches with two vertical turquoise stripes down the sides and a white vest with our undulating flag embroidered on the front, with a javelin, laces and tassels¹⁴.

The 20-member team took part in 22 of the 26 events of the programme.

'Small Greece'¹⁵ did quite well, as it came 6th out of the 17 states that took part in the games. Among those who stood out in these games were Tsiklitiras, with two silver medals in the long jump and the standing jump, and Michail

Dorizas, with a silver medal in javelin throwing. Anastasios Metaxas won third place in the clay discus throwing. The fine performance of the team aroused great enthusiasm and their arrival was celebrated with receptions and festivities. 1908 was marked by the death of Dimitrios Vikelas, whose loss threw Greeks everywhere into mourning.

For the next Games of 1912 Law 4705 was published 'To provide the delegation of athletes to the Olympic Games in Stockholm with credit of 25,000 drachmas, dated the 18th February 1912, to facilitate the participation of athletes in the games'. 'As for the events, in which Greece is unable to participate, it has been decided to send a small number of athletes, only the very best, of course, for the shooting team and the fencing team'¹⁶.

At the same time the HOC sent the regulations of the Stockholm Games and the proclamation of the Panhellenic games to the General Consulate in Thessalonica, the Consular Office



of the Royal Greek Embassy in Constantinople and the Consulate in Smyrna to choose the athletes who would go to Sweden, with instructions to make sure they were conveyed to gymnastics associations and clubs both at home and abroad¹⁷. Furthermore, it asked the consular authorities to deliver its relevant circular 'regarding the sponsorship of associations in the forthcoming Panhellenic games to all the clubs'¹⁸.

The results of the Panhellenic games, however, dampened the initial enthusiasm for a large participation, which was finally limited to 25 people. 'Our sport that year had experienced some regression, unlike that abroad, which had made great progress. This, in part, was due to their preparation for the Olympic Games'¹⁹.

Greek performance in Stockholm²⁰ was poor, with the exception of the double win of Tsiklitiras, with a gold and a silver medal in the

long jump and the standing jump respectively. When he returned to Athens, a warm welcome was waiting for him. Unfortunately, however, the start of the Balkan Wars demanded his presence on the front line. 'The worthy champion refused to use his titles to stay in Athens, like one of the great shirkers (would have done)', and fought on the front line, 'sharing all the dangers and deprivations of the common soldier'²¹. He contracted meningitis and died. The HOC decided at an extraordinary meeting 'to lay a wreath by his body and send the Committee's condolences to the father of the deceased, Hercules Tsiklitiras'²².

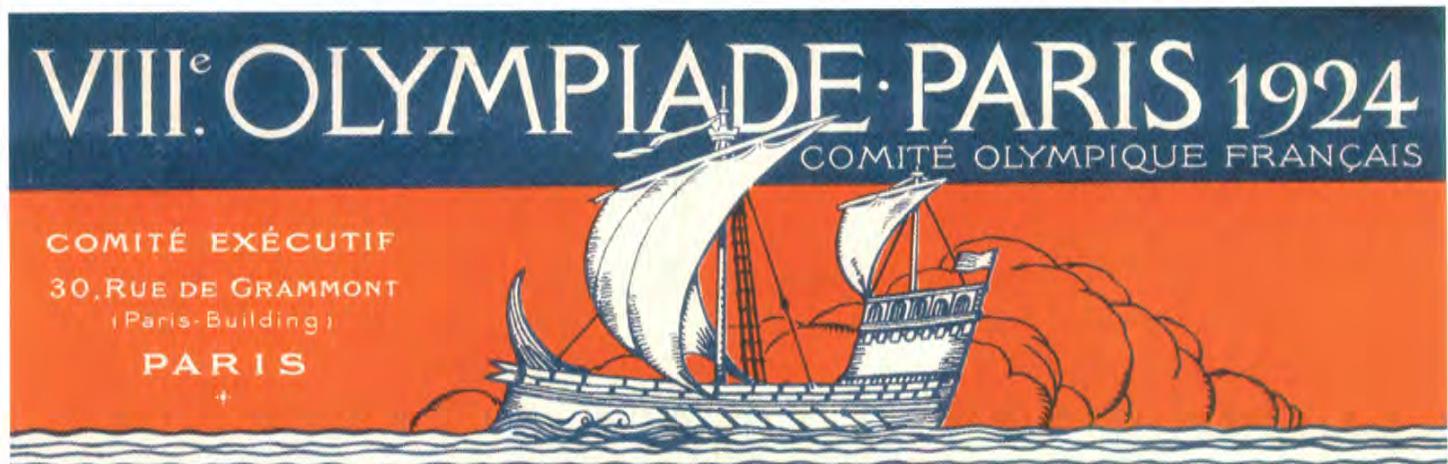
Later, the start of the first World War put off any interest in sport. Conscription and the premature enlisting of recruits emptied the schools of those of suitable age for training in sports and athletics.

1920-1936

THE HABITUALLY POOR state of the HOC finances clearly led to the decision not to meet the needs of the delegations to the Games from state funds but by means of sponsorships. Of course, one should point out here that Greece from 1912 up to 1922 was on a war footing. While critical diplomatic negotiations over a solution to the Eastern question were taking place, the main allies of the Entente believed that it was the right time to clash with the Bolsheviks, to overthrow the new Russian regime in its entirety. Greece²³ took part in this campaign, as the French Prime Minister, Georges Clemenceau, reassured Venizelos that Greece's participation would have a positive effect on the final decisions taken by the allies concerning Greece's territorial claims. The Greek army of 24,000 men fought in many battles against the Bolsheviks over the whole of southern Ukraine. The campaign, however, finally failed and the Greek forces, having regrouped, reached Romania with few losses. Greece's subsequent embroilment in

the war with Turkey from 1919 weakened the human resources of the country and disorientated it politically and economically. The consequences of the Asia Minor Catastrophe in 1922 at the end of the war were inestimable for the Greek people²⁴.

However, previous events resulting from an internal political crisis, which had already taken place in 1915 between the Liberal party of Eleftherios Venizelos and the Royalists led to the National Schism (1916-1917), resulting in the creation of two governments in Greece; one in Thessalonica (the government of National Defence under Venizelos), which oversaw the participation of Greece in the war, observing the policy of Entente, and the second in Athens, the government of the Royalists, who were campaigning for the political neutrality of the country, but in effect served the Central forces. The positions of these two factions were already clear from 1915. Greece, therefore, looked like a fragmented state, a fact that was of particular



concern to its allies. On 24 November 1916, Venizelos declared Constantinos deposed and, with coordinated political action on the part of the allies, on 13 June 1916 he formed a new government. Greece, united at last, came into World War I on the side of the Allies in 1917²⁵.

These political developments inevitably took their toll on the HOC, as the method of appointing the Committee, its composition and also its whole operation were closely connected to the palace. The HOC was not an elected authority, like SEGAS, but a legal entity, the members of which were appointed by Royal Decree. The President was the Crown Prince Constantinos, and it was he who nominated its members. The HOC's special relationship with the palace and the presence of personal friends and collaborators of Constantinos among the members determined its relationship with SEGAS, from the very moment that clouds of dissent began to appear among the various political trends in the rank and file of Greek society. Thus, while the administrative board of SEGAS remained unchanged, the composition of the HOC varied according to the political changes occurring in Greece, particularly during the years 1916-1921. With the de-thronement of Constantinos and the Venizelists in total control, changes in the field of sport were significant, chief among them being that of the composition of the HOC, which was now broadened and strengthened by members of SEGAS²⁶.

The Olympic Games Committee appointed

during the political reshuffling under Venizelos essentially managed to represent the whole Greek state as far as the Olympic participation in the Games was concerned, while at the same time courageous efforts were made to meet the technical and economic needs of the delegations, so that Greece could actively participate in international athletic developments. Towards the end of its period in office, a law was passed that, among other changes, made provision for state sponsorship, the hiring of gymnasts and the provision of funds for the participation of Greece in the Olympic games²⁷.

In view of the Anvers Olympic Games²⁸ 'it has been decided to participate, but, as before, the Olympic Games Committee has sent a letter to the Minister of Education asking him to intervene on our behalf with the Greek Government to secure sufficient funds to facilitate the work of the Committee so that it can send a good number of athletes, suitably trained'²⁹.

It was also decided 'that in order to arrange details of the games, the participation of athletes ... etc., an executive committee be formed consisting of ... and appear before the Minister of Education and ask him to submit a request to H.M. the King to be head of the said Executive Committee for the Anvers Games'³⁰.

Despite this, relative remiss regarding the preparations of the team was not avoided³¹. At the meeting of SEGAS, the Panhellenic games were announced. 'The decision was also announced to have a good representation at the 7th

Olympic Games at Anvers³². At the same time the Union of Amateur Athletes informed the HOC that 'it was going ahead with its decision to hold athletic displays at the Panathenean Stadium ... which will instil athletic zeal into the hearty youth of the country ... and form a team of those who will be worthy representatives ... of the gymnastic movement of the country at the international games at Anvers...' ³³.

Of course, there was no lack of complaints from athletes and clubs because of the delay in informing them of the Games, and other matters³⁴. 'About the Olympic Games in Anvers ... I hadn't a clue about it from anyone...' declared a surprised athlete from Alexandria and continued, 'the strange thing is that we down here don't have an inkling of all your efforts for the world games, which is a matter that doesn't do credit to the Greek Organising Committee. If I'd known about it before, I'd have been more careful with my life and with my training.

Now I want to know.³⁵

At the same time, the Maritime and Gymnastics Club Pelops of Smyrna said that: 'neither on time nor in the proper manner, as it should have been, was it informed of the forthcoming Panhellenic Games, nor did it receive an announcement of the heats to be held at Anvers, even though our Naval Club happens to be the only one in the East that has the ability to be among the top athletes ... decorated with the medals of their victories at different maritime games'³⁶.

The training of the athletes who would take part in the games was entrusted to the Director of the Y.M.C.A., Arthur Marriot³⁷, 'on condition that Mr. Marriot would always act in collaboration with Mr. I. Chryssafis³⁸, a member of the Committee. Mr. Marriot initially appeared to be keen and optimistic, as his report 'on the athletic situation' would indicate. He mentioned 'that Greece has every reason to be hopeful of success

VIII^e OLIMPIADE - PARIS 1924

RUGBY
Stade de Colombes

4 Mai, Réunion 25 : FRANCE contre ROUMANIE
11 Mai, Réunion 26 : ETATS-UNIS contre ROUMANIE
18 Mai, Réunion 27 : FRANCE contre ETATS-UNIS

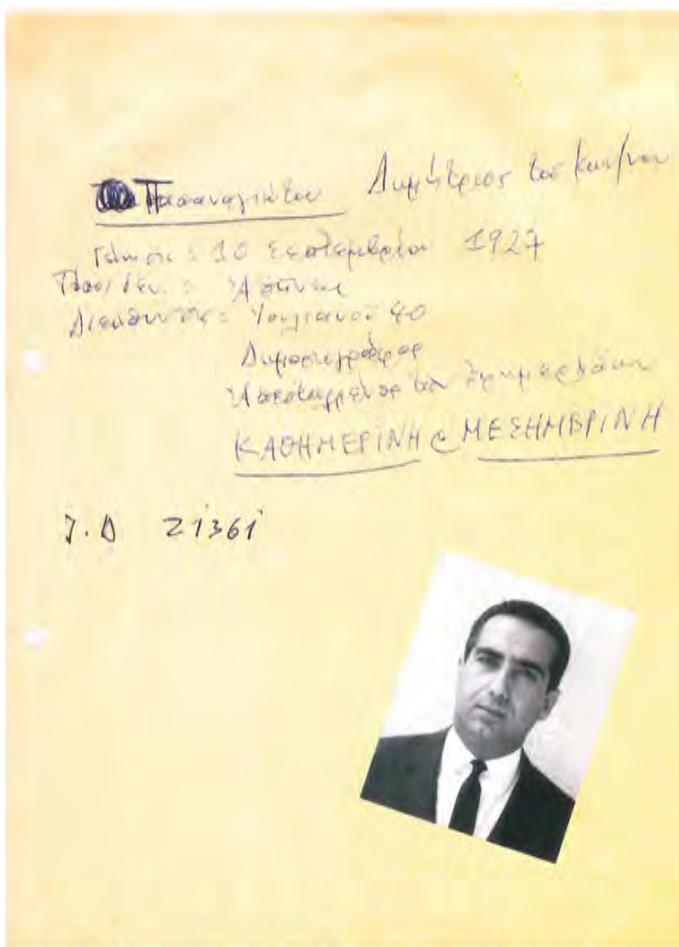
PRIX DES PLACES

RESERVATION DES PLACES	PRÉS POUR LA RÉUNION	ABONNEMENT POUR LES 3 RÉUNIONS
Tribune Loges la place	50	120
Tribune d'Honneur Places de Division 3 et 6	40	100
Tribune Loges Division 1, 2, 7, 8	20	50
Tribune Loges la place	30	75
Tribune Marathon Places de Divisions 19, 20, 21, 22, 23	20	50
Tribune Loges Division 17, 18, 24, 25	10	25
Premières	6	15
Secondes	4	10

Les demandes d'abonnement sont reçues au
COMITÉ OLYMPIQUE FRANÇAIS
30, Rue du Grammont, Paris-Boulogne

La location pour toutes les places sera ouverte à partir du 22 Avril 1924,
au Service Central de Location du C.O.F., SOCIÉTÉ GÉNÉRALE,
5, Rue Edouard-VII, Paris (IX).

PLAN DU STADE DE COLOMBES



in the games at Anvers, if the Olympic Games Committee (HOC) and the associations concerned make the necessary effort to promote athletics ... Greece has first class athletes, who nonetheless require rigorous exercise and training³⁹.

Two months after he had taken over his duties, however, in a lengthy letter to the HOC president, he related the difficulties he had encountered in doing his job:

Having been entrusted with the training of the athletes for the Olympic Games in Anvers from the Olympic Games Committee, in accordance with a YMCA proposal. I beseech you, Mr. President, not to misunderstand my words which are dictated by a sincere love for the people for whom the YMCA has been working these past two years ... Sport in Greece is not in accord with its great traditions and there is an urgent need to develop an athletic spirit on a much wider scale than exists at present. It is not possible to classify as sport the existence of a few dozen athletes, who for years now have been taking part in games, and whose physiques have begun to decline through age. I had hoped, when I took on

the weighty task of the training, that the Executive Committee would manage to give me young material (to work with) ... due to a lack of young material I tried out the Evzones of the Palace Guard, hoping to find material worthy of our attention.

Finally, he referred to the friction between himself and Chryssafis:

I am willing to accept any advice or opinion concerning local conditions, but I must be absolutely free to accept it or not. I would be grateful if the Executive Committee would help me in my task, facilitating whatever has to do with sport⁴⁰.

In a later report to the Executive Committee for the Anvers Games, however, while mentioning details of a technical nature, made more positive comments: 'the candidate athletes of the Olympic Team are progressing in a very pleasing way with their training'⁴¹.

Finally, Greece's performance was mediocre and no athlete excelled in the slightest⁴². The only consolation was second place in shooting. The leader of the shooting team said indicatively:

The Greek shooters under my leadership did their duty. Despite all our technical and other deficiencies and the very short time we had to train, they won second place ... In fact, the foreigners were extremely impressed and not only congratulated me warmly, but confessed to me that they were amazed that, despite years of war, Greece had managed to show such strength and skill in shooting and had competed successfully against opponents from great nations with a great deal of practice and experience, and at whose disposal these nations had put every material and technical means⁴³.

A memorandum of one of the executive committee for the games in Anvers gives a characteristic account of the state of Greek sport at that time. After making an analysis of the reasons for the decline of maritime sport, he points out that, 'maritime sport is in the same state as the rest of Greek sport, in other words, a state of decline'⁴⁴, and this observation combined with a similar comment in the same memorandum: 'worthy of note but also disheartening is that while so many

have recently gained wealth from the sea, very few have turned to maritime sport, which is such a pleasing area', thus pointing to Greece's inadequate athletic infrastructure for these sports.

The Olympic delegation to the Paris games of 1924 was organised by a Royalist HOC, as Venizelos had been defeated in the elections of 1920 and the royalist faction had gained a majority. Political issues, however, did not permit it to function properly and it merely dealt with matters requiring immediate attention. During its short time in office it was called upon to confront the question of the Greek delegation to Paris⁴⁵. The prevailing opinion was that only the best should go to the games, for financial reasons too, 'if one takes into account the extremely costly business of sending athletes, especially in today's circumstances'. Furthermore, athletes who had distinguished themselves in certain sports should participate and mention was made of the 'past irresponsible and biased way in which the Greek team had been formed and sent...'⁴⁶. However, the general opinion that prevailed was that while everybody 'was in a flurry of preparation for the Games, we are not even in the rearguard, because we have made no effort whatsoever'⁴⁷.

A new government reshuffle meant the return of the Venizelists to power. The new HOC under Averof had only two months to prepare the Greek delegation, with full government support

and coordinated actions. The brevity of its office allowed it to disclaim all responsibility for the poor showing of the Greek delegation, given that it had taken on the job at such a late stage, without having received any of the work done by the previous HOC.

The new HOC set a limit of 35 competitors for all the events,⁴⁸ 3 assistants, and estimated the expenses at 500,000 drachmas. In the end, the delegation consisted of 45 athletes. 300,000 drachmas was obtained from the state,⁴⁹ 50,000 from the HOC and 150,000 from collections⁵⁰. '15,000 was given to SEGAS at once to improve training facilities for the athletes and the expense of housing some Athenians here during their training'. It was quite clear, of course, 'that there was no question whatsoever of a foreign trainer being brought in, as the funds were paltry and the time inadequate, so yet another opportunity was lost'⁵¹.

SEAGS, in a letter to the HOC, in April 1923, said that it was putting itself as one body 'with all the member clubs, at its disposal, so that it can begin work at once'. Furthermore, aware that the work would not be easy, 'as our Fatherland had been at war for decades', and the best and ablest athletes were at the battle-front, asked the HOC 'to go ahead with the necessary announcements and take on the supervision and management of the whole proceedings'⁵².

Even though 'systematic training in the gym-



NATIONAL STEAM NAVIGATION C ^o L ^{td} OF GREECE																			
GENERAL AGENCY AT PIRAEUS KARAISEKI SQUARE				NO. 20.				GENERAL AGENCY AT NEW-YORK 44, WHITEHALL ST.											
NORTH AMERICA ITINERARY MARCH-DECEMBER 1932																			
SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE!																			
PALESTINE-SYRIE				WESTBOUND				EASTBOUND											
STEAMERS	FROM PIRAEUS	FROM JAFFA	FROM BEYROUTH	ARRIVAL AT PIRAEUS		FROM PIRAEUS	FROM PATRAS	ARRIVAL AT NEW-YORK		FROM NEW-YORK	ARRIVAL AT PIRAEUS	STEAMERS							
"BYRON..	11 Mar.	14 Mar.	15 Mar.	18 Mar.		19 Mar.	—	2 April		7 Apr.	21 Apr.	"BYRON..							
"EDISON..	2 Apr.	5 Apr.	6 Apr.	9 Apr.		10 Apr.	11 Apr.	25 Apr.		10 May	24 May	"EDISON..							
"BYRON..	6 May	9 May	10 May	14 May		14 May	—	28 May		3 June	16 June	"BYRON..							
"BYRON..	17 June	20 June	21 June	25 June		25 June	—	9 July		12 July	26 July	"BYRON..							
"EDISON..	8 July	11 July	12 July	16 July		17 July	18 July	1 Aug.		9 Aug.	28 Aug.	"EDISON..							
"BYRON..	28 July	3 Aug.	2 Aug.	6 Aug.		7 Aug.	8 Aug.	22 Aug.		1 Sep.	14 Sep.	"BYRON..							
"BYRON..	15 Sep.	18 Sep.	19 Sep.	21 Sep.		22 Sep.	23 Sep.	6 Oct.		15 Oct.	29 Oct.	"BYRON..							
"EDISON..	8 Oct.	12 Oct.	11 Oct.	15 Oct.		16 Oct.	17 Oct.	31 Oct.		9 Nov.	28 Nov.	"EDISON..							
"BYRON..	1 Nov.	4 Nov.	5 Nov.	8 Nov.		9 Nov.	10 Nov.	24 Nov.		1 Dec.	15 Dec.	"BYRON..							

nasiums had begun',⁵³ finally the Olympic heats⁵⁴ were not up to people's expectations. 'Apart from that, the HOC allowed three athletes to participate in the Olympic Games who were clearly inferior, as the Clubs themselves agreed to cover their costs'⁵⁵. At the same time Bamiero⁵⁶ in Paris received orders to make sure the athletes did not ask for more financial help, for reasons 'of national dignity'.

Your attention is needed to prevent any attempt, on behalf of the athletes, to apply for financial support; be it by addressing Greeks abroad or our Consular authority or any other local authority. It is a question of national dignity that no such impropriety should occur. The team leaders have been duly informed...⁵⁷.

The Greek team participated without distinction. However, it was noted that, compared to the Anvers Olympics, 'where our team was in a state of near disarray, the current participation was incomparably superior, as a result of good and systematic preparation, and including all types of events, often with 2 or 3 representatives in each. Out of twenty-six events, we participated in fifteen'.⁵⁸

However, even though the Greek athletes did not do particularly well in Paris, Greece won a gold medal for sculpture in the Fine Arts competition. Constantinos Dimitriadis was declared Olympic Champion for his work 'The Discus Thrower', a copy of which is now opposite the Panathenean Stadium⁵⁹.

For the next Olympic Games in 1928 Greek athletes received much better preparation, which had to do with the country's return to political stability and the signing of important legislation concerning physical education, as well as the HOC's contribution to the development of sport. The government voted to grant the HOC the sum of 1,500,000 drachmas⁶⁰, quite a large sum for the preparation and participation of the team in the games. 'For the participation of Greece in the Amsterdam Games, a vote was passed granting funds to the Committee, sufficient to meet our many needs, used with care...⁶¹'.

For the full training and preparation of the Greek team a German trainer, Hans Goldel⁶², was hired. 'A thoroughly specialised and qualified scientist', 'was 27 years old, tall, blond, like-

able, with a very athletic physique⁶³. He achieved satisfactory results. Nevertheless, his qualifications did not prevent his Greek colleagues from attacking him, as they could not come to terms with modern developments in sport. Nor did it stop him from leaving the team high and dry, shortly before it left for Amsterdam, when his contract ended. In Amsterdam, in fact, he avoided all contact.

A matter arose regarding the sending of a football team to the Games. From the archives it appears that initially Loundras's recommendation that Greek footballers should not take part in the Games, as he questioned their amateur status, was not accepted, because it might mean loss of prestige⁶⁴. In a long letter to the HOC, Loundras had expressed his objections in the following terms:

Will the Olympic Committee dare to confirm the amateur status of persons whose anti-athletic behaviour on repeated occasions has debased all athletic dignity?... (people) who hit the referee during a game... (people) who swear and punch each other? ... people whose official representative to the Olympic Committee suggested that they should only be given half the expenses of sending the team to Amsterdam as they would be able to raise the rest themselves by playing matches in the various European cities through which they would be passing?⁶⁵

At a later session, however, it was finally decided that the football team should not participate⁶⁶.

Even though the results of the heats allowed some hope of distinction, none of the competitors came first in the Games. Nevertheless, the Greek presence at the 9th Olympic Games was not insignificant⁶⁷. The technical adviser to the Greek delegation said:

With reference to the Greek participation I must say that altogether in terms of numbers the results were better than in previous Olympic Games. If in both freestyle and Graeco-Roman wrestling, boxing and fencing no progress was apparent, compared with previous post-war Olympic Games, in athletics manifest progress showed in the excellent results we achieved in each event...⁶⁸

'Specifically, we participated in 17 events, in 12 of which we achieved our best Olympic records, while 4 of those constituted Greek records and one equalled a Greek record. The Greek team deserved to be there.' Although the Greeks lacked 'nothing as a nation', they would be able to manage greater feats, 'if they were given the necessary means to prepare properly'⁶⁹.

A positive point in the 1928 Games was the Dutch organising committee's decision that the Greek team should lead the opening ceremony parade of the Games. This was made standard practice in 1949 by an IOC vote. The leader of the Greek delegation referred to the event saying: 'Putting Greek athletes and the Greek flag for the first time at the head of the world athletic parade has raised our national self-esteem and our athletes carried it off superbly'. He also mentioned that the Greek presence in Amsterdam 'was an opportunity to get to know many philhellenic Dutch and to hear many pleasant things said about our country'. At the athletic



conference, which took place within the context of the games, the Greek proposal to consider Greek discus throwing as an athletic event, 'which it is hoped will soon be part of the Olympic programme'⁷⁰, was unanimously accepted. This he also considered a significant Greek victory.

For the next Olympic Games in 1932, the HOC had great difficulty raising money to send a team to Los Angeles⁷¹. It was evident that 'it would not be constructive for Greek dignity to participate again in the Olympic Games ... under the same circumstances as in the previous two Olympic Games ... to achieve, however, a more dignified performance ... in Los Angeles ... a lengthy, scientific and painstaking and above all a costly preparation is required'⁷². Of vital and absolute importance was the need to engage trainers who would work in Athens and the provinces to find new athletic material and would improve the training conditions of the athletes, who also lacked places to train. The Greek participation relied mainly on sponsorship. In particular, Americans of Greek origin were approached, as well as the Archbishop Athinagora, who recommended 'the active cooperation of the Supreme Educational Council of the Archbishopric ...'⁷³.

Lack of funds was obvious. The HOC was compelled to see the matter in a realistic light.

Unfortunately, the recent economic recession, which has mainly hit the state economic sectors, does not allow the Government to give us financial support ... the Committee's funds, on the other hand, are barely enough to meet its ongoing needs ... for the above reasons the Committee has decided to approach the American Greeks for their contribution⁷⁴.

At the same time, a team 'of well-intentioned American Greeks in Washington, on the initiative of the Secretary of the Greek Embassy, Mr. Stephanos Kountouriotis, decided to make a collection' and sent a circular to that effect for publication in the New York daily newspapers. The following extract is characteristic:

We are not asking, Ladies and Gentlemen, for large sums. A postal order of one dollar or 50 cents is enough, as long as we all send our contribution ... in the final analysis we must remember that the Olympic Games will not be held in America again for another 50 years and it would be a very great discredit to our generation if the Greek People were not represented at these International Games, and the impression given to the Americans that, due to our indifference, we did not contribute a few thousand dollars, would be truly distressful for our nation⁷⁵.

The purpose of the collection was 'to meet the great costs, ... estimated at one and a half million drachmas'⁷⁶. The HOC found help in their endeavour from the Union of Editors, who 'aware of the importance of Greece appearing in the Games ... wishes to offer its assistance to the Olympic Games Committee to organise festivities⁷⁷ with athletic displays in the Stadium, to obtain the sum required to send the athletes to America'⁷⁸. With the right advertising and publicity and its general contribution to the festivi-



ties, the Union of Editors played a significant role in achieving their complete success⁷⁹. And the artistic community of the country were not unmoved by the invitation of the HOC to participate in the festivities. The contribution of two Piraeus clubs, Olympiakos and Ethnikos, was also impressive. Ekdotiki and the National Bank of Greece gave 75,000⁸⁰ and the Papastratos Brothers (Cigarette Manufacturers), 50,000 drachmas. The Ministry of Education also contributed 50,000 drachmas⁸¹.

In the end, Greece participated with 10 athletes, of whom 4 were from America⁸². The athletes in Graeco-Roman and freestyle wrestling won fourth place. The report made by the leader of the Greek delegation, Georgios Kitsos, is of particular interest. It contains a lot of information about what went on behind the scenes at the Olympics in America, as well as about the Greek Americans. He begins by asking in a slightly melancholic tone: 'Where are we head-

ing? With what funds? Towards what friends?' The internal squabbles among the Greek Americans of New York in particular reveal that they had to be handled diplomatically. In one phrase he sums up the particular nature of the Greek character: 'It is well known that in every part of the globe where Greeks have settled, as soon as they become two, they set up a community, and at once the infighting begins'. Among other news he has to offer is of an everyday kind, especially concerning how high the cost of living is. In a detailed report of expenses, he refers to some that today seem like ridiculous amounts: 'to give one an idea of how difficult life is and how substantial the costs: a shoeshine 20 cents, a shave 50 cents, a lemonade in the street 15-25 cents, the same in a train 30-50 cents. The ironing of clothes 1,25 dollars, one pair of trousers alone 50 cents, etc.' Of course, he did not fail to recognise the considerable help given by the Greeks in America and ended with some useful conclusions regarding the performance of the Greek athletes:

The Greeks were inferior in strength to their fellow competitors from other nations. On the other hand, from the point of view of technical backup, the track athletes at least were absolutely in order. The successful results in terms of performance during the Olympic Games were astonishing and better than predicted. The Greek records for most of the events were nothing out of the ordinary for the students of the American colleges and universities. The question of sport is a social matter of fundamental importance. The preparation of the athletes is a part of the whole matter of physical education there, which is the concern of many distinguished personalities. I am of the opinion that our country too must abandon the archaic idea of the distinction between gymnastics and sport and with all its strength it must quickly conform to what is happening there...,

otherwise Greece will be present at the Olympic meetings for historical reasons only⁸³.

In 1935 Greece was in political turmoil. After a referendum, a monarchical democracy⁸⁴ was introduced. The composition of the HOC adjusted to the present situation and came under the per-



THE XIVth OLYMPIAD, LONDON 1948

PLAN OF THE OLYMPIC ROAD COURSE,
WINDSOR GREAT PARK

manent presidency of the Crown Prince Pavlos II. The Greek delegation to the Berlin Olympic games,⁸⁵ despite the importance given to Greece internationally, because of the holding of the torch run, did not achieve satisfactory results. Mantikas was an outstanding presence, coming sixth in the 400 metres hurdle –the only European athlete to make it to the final of the event– and also N.Syllas in the discus throwing, who also came sixth. The unique female presence of the athlete Domnitsa Lanitou-Kavanidou was memorable. She took part in the 100 metres race, in which she finished third in the sixth-round heats and in the 80 metres hurdle race came third in the first-round heats and fifth in the 2nd round of the semi-final of the same event⁸⁶.

On her return to Greece she wrote about her impressions in an article in the newspaper

Athletic Youth, entitled 'How I saw the girls in the Olympic Games':

So many languages, so many faces, so many different attitudes. Girls from the East, happy Chinese girls with their long multi-coloured dresses, slit at the bottom, drew everybody's attention. Beautiful Hungarian girls over there chatting endlessly and Northern girls, rosy-cheeked Finnish girls trying to communicate with a black girl from America. Mexicans, Argentinians, Italians, all excited, speaking their sweet-sounding language as if they were singing. Thousands of different girls came together united in a common love, they came to communicate in the common language of sport, all full of vitality, they came from far-off lands to compete for the Olympic olive branch. White, black, yellow, blond, dark they came to show that a woman can compete and knows how to win and lose, they came to show the supremacy of their sex and to fulfil the hopes that their countries have put in them, in such a victory...⁸⁷

The report of the general secretary of the HOC and the overall leader of the delegation, I. Ketsas, about Greece's participation is revealing:

In conclusion, Greece's participation in the 11th Olympic Games in Berlin from a competitive point of view was better than previous Games. Unfortunately, I am unable to say the same about the general appearance of the team as far as athletic education and correct social behaviour are concerned. Of course, that is not mentioned in the album the members.

At the same time he stresses how weak the state was, pointing out that: 'The state paid no serious attention to the need for modern, free training and leisure areas, nor did the athletic organisations adequately support them in their effort...'⁸⁸. Other reports of leaders in other sports show the prevailing climate. Even though 'the Greek athletes performed better than even the most optimistic expected of them', their mediocre performance was mentioned, which was not 'of Olympic Games standard', according to the leader of field and track in his report⁸⁹.

As for the performances in wrestling, the leader of the wrestling team noted: 'The Greek wrestlers did their utmost, I can say, regarding

their technique and strength. Their opponents were undoubtedly superior in strength but mainly in technique⁹⁰. Finally, the comment of the leader of the swimming team shows clearly that again in these Olympic Games performances in this event were closely linked with infrastructure, which still did not exist in Greece. He points out that 'the efforts of the EKOF and those keen on swimming should be directed towards the urgent need to build swimming pools

and the engagement of a foreign specialist trainer, otherwise there is no point in cultivating swimming as a sport and spending even a minimal amount of money on holding games with such primitive means at our disposal...' ⁹¹.

After the Games, the dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas took over in Greece. Characteristic of the regime was the tutelage of anything that had to do with sport, while changes and innovations had a totalitarian character.

1948-1972

WITH THE END of WW II and the withdrawal of the German occupiers, Greece found itself in a disastrous financial state, and with buildings requisitioned. The German occupying armies left Athens on 12 October 1944. The Greek people greeted their liberation with enthusiasm throughout the country.

The radical political developments that followed, however, submerged the country into a civil war that lasted from 1946 until 1949. The differences between the National Liberation Front (EAM) left and their allied anti-communist opponents were exacerbated with acts of violence and inflammatory accusations. The culmination was armed conflict, known by the term *dekemvriana* (the December events), from 3/12/1944 to 5/1/1945. British soldiers took part in a military campaign to take over the EAM central offices in Athens. On 11/1/1945 a truce was signed between EAM and the British. The Treaty of Varkiza that followed was a form of temporary peace agreement, which, however, was exceptionally unfavourable for the Left. The result was confusion and despair for the majority of those on the Left, which was combined with an unprecedented wave of arrests, persecutions and trials against thousands of its members. In December 1945 the EAM leadership asked the Sophoulis government to grant a general amnesty and an end to persecutions against them,

while at the same time two impressive meetings in the Velodrome and the Panathenean Stadium took place. The three-year civil war that followed and the nine-year period of war transformed the country into a heap of ruins. While World War II had essentially ended for other states, Greece needed another three years to be free of war⁹². These events explain, among other things, the difficulty the country had in performing satisfactorily in international field and track, sport and world athletic meetings.

Political instability and the frequent turnover of those in positions in the HOC are the fundamental characteristics of this period, while the only funds remaining were those from state sponsorship. In a report made by the overall leader of the Greek delegation for the first post-war Olympic Games, looking back 'to the Olympic Games Committee's efforts right after the liberation to reorganise physical education in general and prepare Greece for a presentable presence at the London Olympic Games', he stresses the disastrous effects of the policies applied during the Occupation, which became apparent after the liberation⁹³.

The HOC, at its first meeting after the liberation, on 13 March 1945, put forward a schedule of work needed to reorganise Physical Education, which among other things included a study on how to prepare for Greece's participa-

tion in the London Olympic Games. It was obvious that private initiative and the paltry means at its disposal were not enough for Greece to send a representation. The voting of this law, protracted by the Ministry of Finance, unfortunately never came about. The Committee then, confronted with an impasse, was compelled to resort to private initiative, and fortunately got a response. The Union of Greek ship-owners in London and New York, individuals and other organisations, got together the sum of 268,000,000 drachmas.

Greece could not be absent from the London Olympic Games, and the reasons why it should participate are especially mentioned: because the Games were taking place in London, the capital of the British Empire, with which they were linked by old connections, because the modern games were the spiritual child of Greece, and because the Greek state could not be allowed to appear 'unable to participate with dignity in the Olympic Games because of internal instability'⁹⁴. The Greek participation in the first post-war Olympic Games was large in number (67 people). The athletes took part in field and track events, wrestling (Graeco-Roman and freestyle), fencing, shooting, rowing, sailing, water-polo and cycling. Finally, two architects participated in the Fine Arts contest, Aslanidis and Kardinos and the sculptor Constantinos Valsamis.

Even though performances worthy of mention were not achieved in those Olympic Games, with the exception of Petmezas, who came sixth in wrestling, 'the lessons learnt'⁹⁵ would prove to be a very useful beginning with the support of official athletic authorities for the promotion of sport. The pre-Olympic preparation was piecemeal and exceptionally difficult due to the lack of proper training grounds, the lack of athletic equipment (the situation was improved with the purchase of athletic equipment with money from a collection)⁹⁶, and with the repeated military obligations of the athletes. Due to lack of funds and in part because of the unstable circumstances, the Athenian Greek athletes in Egypt,

Cyprus, America and the provinces were automatically excluded from the Olympic preparation. The Greek athletes 'did their utmost and with fortitude and persistence fought for an honourable position and competed with dignity against opponents of recognised international ability'⁹⁷.

The report of the leader of the shooting team is also indicative of the post-war development in sport. Shooting was affected during the period 1940-1944 worse than any other sport, as the premises at the Skopeftirio (Rifle range) as well as shooting material were totally destroyed and looted. 'The economic recession combined with the costliness of the sport and the impossibility of finding bullets reduced the number of shooters and from 1936 and on decreased rather than increased'⁹⁸. A comment from the leader of the cycling team shows up the lack of organisation and discipline: 'On no account should athletes be



allowed to participate with their own funds', because the idea that they went by their own means makes them appear insolent and undisciplined and 'leaves them open to the argument that they went only because they paid their own way...'⁹⁹.

The lack of trainers was also a considerable disadvantage and every opportunity was taken to point this out, as in this case by the leader of the swimming team: 'It is essential that we find the means of engaging able trainers so that we can look to the future with confidence...'¹⁰⁰. And, of course, he did not consider it unwise to stress 'the need to begin the training of our swimmers in good time with a view to international games', while he considered a propaganda campaign essential to develop maritime sport among the young¹⁰¹. These views seem rather Utopian, given that in Greece in '48 the only swimming pool was that which belonged to the HOC.

In 1949 a new legislative decree was passed abolishing the decree regarding physical education issued during the Occupation and restoring the HOC to its primary role, when it was first formed. New members were appointed, with the King as president of the HOC. A new law was drawn up regarding the presidency of the HOC being given to the Crown Prince as before¹⁰².

For the 1952 games¹⁰³ in Helsinki, although 'financially the Committee had a large amount of the funds needed to create athletic facilities as well as send a Greek team to various international meetings', it was stressed that the 'athletes were not ready spiritually and mentally, which was of great importance to their physical preparation. And in that we are frequently lacking. So, it must be taken seriously...'¹⁰⁴. The Greek presence was minimal. The only recognisable success was the ninth place won by Syllas in the final of the discus throwing, sixth place of A. Georgoulis in Graeco-Roman wrestling and sixth of I. Koutsis in the clay plate shooting.

It appears from what went on behind the scenes that the inflexibility of Greek sport is not unconnected with the inactivity of the HOC. For that reason in February 1955, a law was passed making the HOC more flexible, as pre-War legislation created problems and inconsistencies. The HOC became a legal entity of public law and was made independent of the Ministry of Education. The King became an honorary member and the Crown Prince its president¹⁰⁵.

The report of the leader of the Greek delegation for the 1956 Games¹⁰⁶ was a new plea with regard to all the matters that had not yet been resolved. It ended with several general conclusions that showed the prevailing climate in sport and asked for changes to be made and new facts to be taken into consideration: 1. Athletes should not be sent to international games unless their performance has been monitored closely for at least a year from the time they are selected by the HOC and not on the basis of recommendations from the federations. 2. Participation in the national team requires good behaviour so that



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tional teams of serious games must attend trials and be selected two to three months at least before their departure. Otherwise, they will end up "nervous wrecks" and will not have the time to adapt to the demands of international competition¹⁰⁸. Despite all the problems, however, in those Olympic Games, in the field and track events, Greece had an Olympic winner in the pole vault. Georgios Roubanis came third clearing 4.50 meters. His win was important, as, after Tsiklitiras, he was the only Greek to win an Olympic medal.

About the 1960 Games¹⁰⁹ and the state of Greek sport, the comments made by the leader of the field and track events are revealing:

As a general conclusion, the level of Greek sport is low, so that one cannot hold out much hope of distinction of any importance in these international games...' Nevertheless, the whole situation regarding the level of our

sport, which has caused such anxiety and comments in journalistic and other circles, and which has also caused disappointment among sports fans, must be given special attention and care by all sports organisations...¹¹⁰.

We mention selected comments made in other reports that refer to problems and observations about the Rome Olympics. The report of the track and field trainer weighs up the causes that led to the poor showing of the athletes: 'The performance of the Greek Olympic team was mediocre...', 'insufficient training and undisciplined lifestyle'¹¹¹.

the HOC is not exposed to embarrassment. 3. The federations must understand that international games are not for training purposes and if their athletes are not up to international standard they should not insist on sending them. 4. No athlete should be allowed to form part of the Olympic team unless he has taken part in games outside Greece at least twice¹⁰⁷.

The leader of the shooting team records the complexities of organising teams for games at an international level in a report: 'The preparation in Athens was unsuccessful'. The athletes were badly 'trained'. 'The shooters members of na-

Correspondingly, in the report by the overall leader, the Greek character shows through, well intentioned, most likely, and realistic, one could say: 'The behaviour of the Greek athletes who stayed in the Olympic village was as expected, that is to say, Greek, very undisciplined in comparison with the other national teams...'¹¹². In his report about the performance of the shooters, the leader of the shooting team in a critical manner hints at the state of confusion into which some athletes fell as a result of certain personal choices: 'It was a mistake that some shooters followed their wives ... which resulted in their neglecting their duty to their training and their general attention to the games...'¹¹³.

The boxing report reflects the difficult life of the athletes, who fought like gladiators, having no state or other support:

It was my belief that Michael could not beat his opponent, (who was not very good and lost his next bout). His form, though, from the time (1959) when he came up against the Tunisian Santok, when he received ferocious blows, which he stood up to, had declined. His morale, too, as he is unemployed and has no other means of income, is very low ... both boxers fought without seconds in their corner¹¹⁴.

The leader of the swimming team, in a down-to-earth manner, makes a clear summing-up of events, saying: 'Of course, we did not expect any distinction in these Olympic Games, merely a dignified showing'¹¹⁵.

No women took part in the Rome Olympics, which received negative comments and was attributed to the poor standard of living, lack of knowledge and suitable sports grounds. Despite Greece's mediocre performance overall, which aroused certain guilt feelings, as can be ascertained from the above reports, Greece won first place in sailing. The Crown Prince Constantinos, skipper of the boat, a Dragon, crewed by G. Zaimis and D. Eskitzoglou, won the gold medal¹¹⁶.

The most subdued presence for a Greek delegation was that of the Tokyo games in 1964¹¹⁷. It received virulent Press criticism, which was at-

tributed to the bad luck of Greek sport¹¹⁸. Only the performance of the Greek wrestlers was reasonably satisfactory. 'The Greek wrestlers, though they did not distinguish themselves, proved that the standard of the sport has risen and in the years to come, with intense effort, they will be in a position to gain distinction in the future'¹¹⁹. From data it appears the legislation governing the HOC did not allow it the leeway to take effective measures, which was pointed out by the overall leader in his report: 'Generally, I believe that with stricter and more intensive training, starting at once and under the supervision of the HOC, it would be possible to ensure a good showing, even with a small number of athletes, in the next Olympic Games'¹²⁰.

In 1968 Greece was under a dictatorship and like all autocratic regimes it wished to control sport. For the 1968 Olympic Games it informally maintained the composition of the existing HOC. The Greek delegation was made up of 44 athletes¹²¹. The only distinction in the field and track events was that gained by the pole-vaulter Christos Papanikolaou, fourth with a jump of 5.34m. The comment by the leader of the field and track is significant: 'There was no doubt that, apart from Papanikolaou, no one else would excel, especially at an Olympic Games where records reached such an all-time high that they were considered fantastic'¹²². Also significant was the fifth place gained by P. Koulingas in sailing in a Finn.

In Graeco-Roman wrestling Galaktopoulos won a bronze medal, while O. Moschidis and N. Karypidis came fourth in freestyle. And so 'for the first time in the history of Olympic wres-



tling, three of our wrestlers gained a place among the first 6¹²³. A notable performance was also achieved in sailing with fifth place in the overall ratings. The positive showing of the Greek delegation in the Mexico Olympics helped to counteract the feeling of defeatism that coloured the previous games in Tokyo. However, there were still problems, like the absence of uniform and long-term planning and careful, intensive preparation of the pre-Olympic team, weaknesses that were stressed again in the reports of the delegation leaders. It was not enough, therefore, to rely on the enthusiasm and personal persistence of the athletes.

In the Munich Games in 1972 things were not much better. Georgis came sixth in the 400m hurdles, which Mantikas had managed to do in 1936. This place was considered a great achievement, given the training facilities of the time. Papageorgopoulos went through to the semi-finals of the 100m but was injured. Jesse Owens had seen his attempt and mentioned the ability of the Greek athlete. In wrestling Galaktopoulos won second place and Chatzipavlis also second place in sailing. In addition, Ch. Iakovou came fifth, lifting 475 kilos.

About the two medals won at the Munich Games, the two reports by the leaders of the cor-

responding sports give us relevant information. The freestyle wrestling trainer writes:

The freestyle wrestling games ended for the Greek team, the athletes had used all their strength ... Comments later by those who have nothing to do with sport that the wrestling team was not up to participating in the Olympic Games, I would like to say that our wrestlers got through the heats among the best, and with things as they are today, it was impossible to guarantee wins in advance, given that all the other countries had been preparing for the Olympic Games for four years and with abundant means at their disposal. We, on the other hand, barely managed to secure a rudimentary camp in Parnitha for our athletes and that for less than two months. Even with these paltry means, if we had not had the difficulties I mentioned above we would have had at least one win in freestyle wrestling¹²⁴.

While the federation sailing trainer writes in his report:

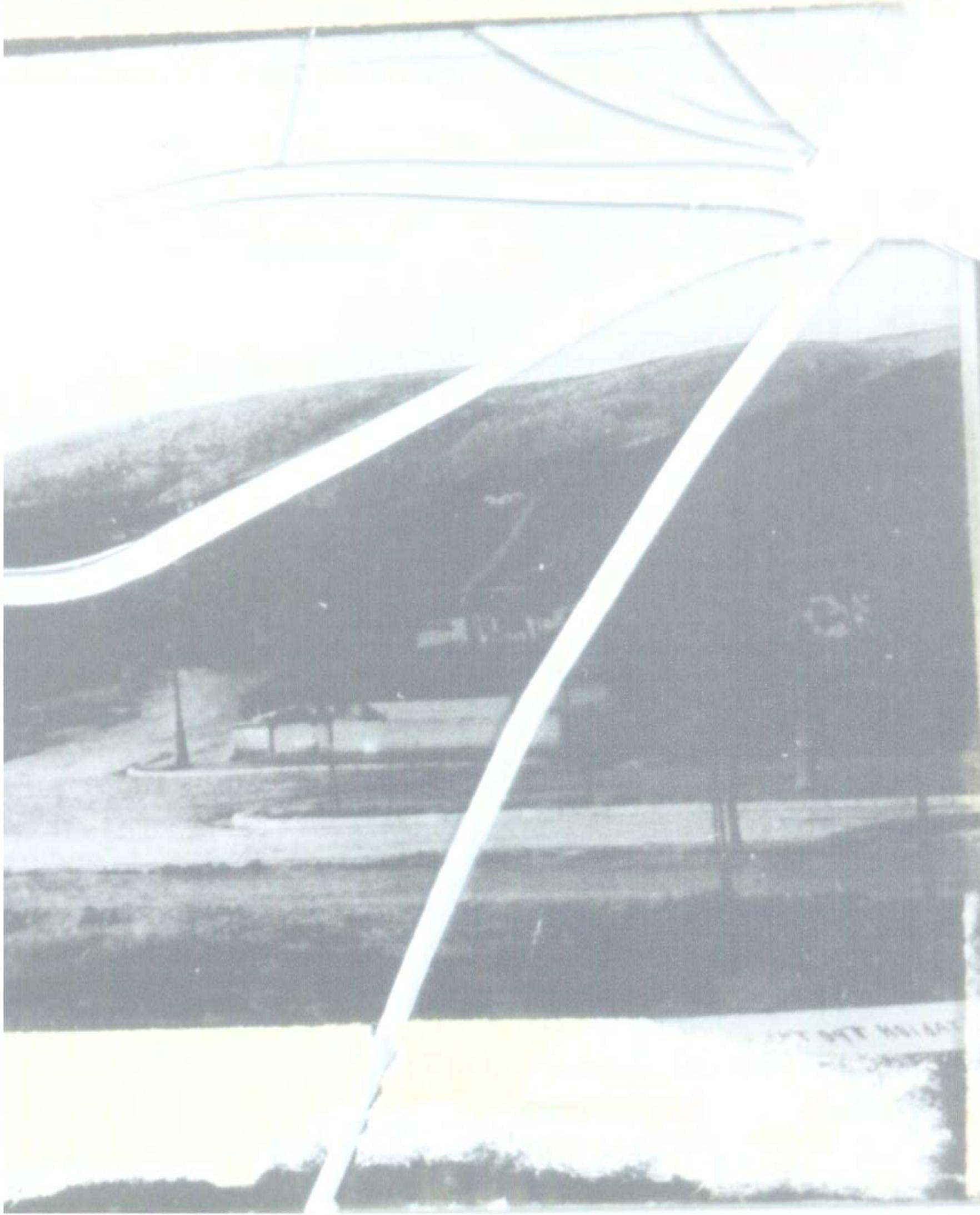
Greek sailing is at a very high level worldwide. Had it not been for the unexpected and unprecedented change in the weather, contrary to all logical predictions and scientific study, the results of the games would have vindicated the high level of our sailing with a gold medal...¹²⁵.

Summarising the general performance of the Greek delegation in international field and track, the reader may be overwhelmed by a mood of de-

featism, and in part guilt, because Greece did not gain the distinctions that other countries enjoyed in Olympic competitions. However, an assessment of Greece's performance must be weighed against the especially adverse political circumstances that Greece experienced in the 20th century. The Greek showing in the Olympic Games reflected the economic, social and political developments in Greece. These developments were not always smooth and, therefore, influenced, and ultimately determined, the place it



STORING, PRESERVATION AND CONSERVATION
OF THE ARCHIVES OF THE HELLENIC OLYMPIC COMMITTEE



Prologue: The need to preserve the HOC archives

THE HOC ARCHIVES include a large number of different items from various historical periods, which have been preserved, despite the brittle nature of the material and the inappropriate conditions in which they were stored.

After the archives were transferred to the new HOC building, the main concern was to preserve the information as well as the valuable material.

The term 'preservation' includes all actions which delay, stop or prevent attrition, and have to do with suitable storage conditions, the handling policy and use of archival material, the conservation methods for damaged or worn records and the transfer or conversion of the material into an alternative format. The purpose of this is to prolong the natural life of documents and the information contained within them.

The archival contents

The material contained in the archives is varied and includes the following:

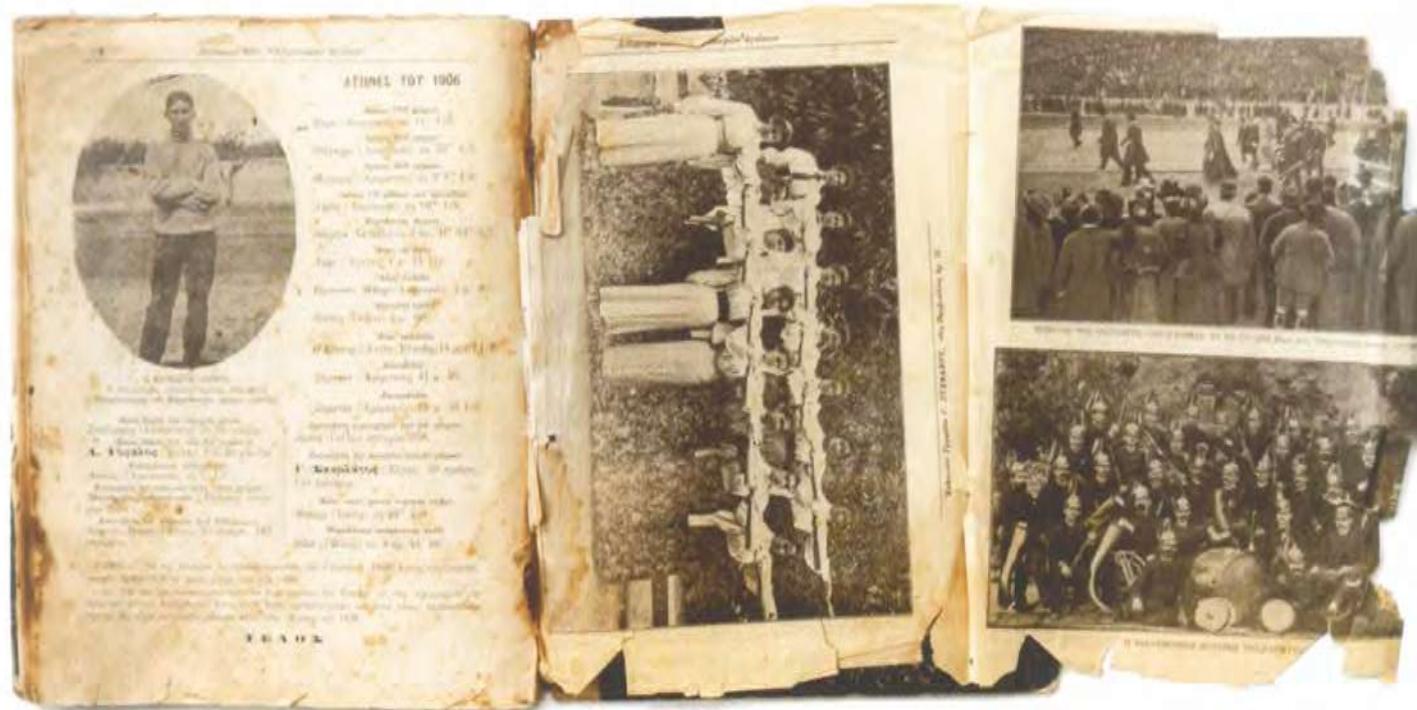
- Documents, manuscripts in ink and pencil, typed in black and blue ink
- Duplicated copies, carbon copies and photocopies
- Telegrams
- Invitations
- Cards (individual, federation, etc.)
- Letter envelopes
- Newspapers
- Journals
- Photographs
- Postcards (commemorative of games)
- Leaflets e.g. for the organisation of the games
- Architectural plans
- Tickets to games
- Admission cards to games
- Athletes' pass cards to games and events
- Athletes' files
- Printed material like the rules of games and programmes

- Guides and maps of competition areas, Olympic villages, the city where the games took place, etc.
- Advertising stickers for games
- Paper folders for material from the initial filing
- Text dividing sheets from the initial filing
- Bound volumes, like the minutes of meetings and copies of letters
- Albums

The condition of the archives

Most of the material has suffered multiple mechanical damage like holes, tears and loss, mainly due to the conditions in which the items were stored until recently, as well as their inappropriate handling. Part of the material, in which lightweight, semi-transparent paper was used, displayed greater susceptibility to mechanical damage. The material also exhibited damp stains, grease stains and severe surface dirt. In addition, accretions and damage from insects and small rodents were apparent.





The degree of deterioration of the paper support is limited, as the main bulk is of relatively good quality paper, which was beneficial for their preservation. Damage can principally be attributed to acid materials and fluctuations in the environmental storage conditions, which aggravated the condition of the material, promoting chemical reactions. Most of the damage is due to oxidation of the paper material. Oxidation is manifested in a brownish-yellow discoloration and is accompanied by a loss in the mechanical resistance of the material. This is more apparent in newspaper and journals, of which the raw material was chemically unprocessed wood pulp¹.

More severe problems are apparent in documents and books in which iron gall ink was used, which, due to its composition, has a tendency to gradually deteriorate, causing oxidation to the paper, finally resulting in losses across the handwritten areas. Typed material or copies in which blue ink was used are also vulnerable. Blue ink appears to be brittle, with little cohesion, resulting in ink offset on to the pages with which it came into contact. Similar problems appear in carbon copies and telegram duplicates. Finally, in early telegrams the text was written on strips of paper, which were adhered to the telegram pa-

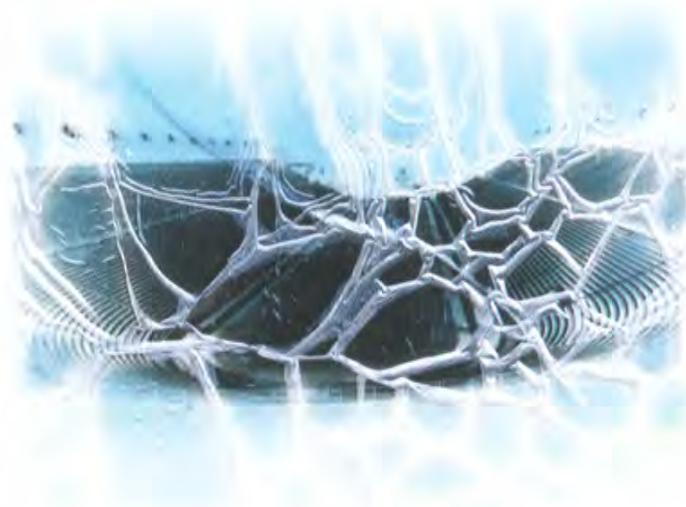
per. These strips have become partially or wholly detached, resulting in loss of information.

Furthermore, severe oxidation of paper is observed where metallic items (clips, pins, markers) have been used resulting in staining, embrittlement and minor loss. Oxidation has also occurred in papers that come into contact with the oxidised metal, intensifying the problem.

The use of self-adhesive tape, though limited, is a problem, as the adhesive layer severely deteriorates and loses its strength in time, with the result that the carrier recedes. In addition, the glue penetrates into the paper support, oxidising it and creating greasy, semi-transparent stains.

Bound material shows different forms of damage, like: loosening or damage to the binding, damage to covering material, the spine and the fabric of boards, mainly along the edges, loss or damage to the spine, complete or partial loss of the cover. In the book block, tears around the outer edges and occasionally to the main body can be seen. The type of damage is as a rule similar to that of the unbound documents.

Finally, the photographic material of the archives displays mainly mechanical damage like



holes, tears and distortions. There are also photographs that are cut into 2 or more pieces. A portion of the photographs shows fading, mainly in the colour prints, and severe discolouration (yellowing) due to their chemical deterioration.

The small number of negatives contained in the HOC archives mainly date from the end of the 19th century until the middle of the 20th, which present various problems depending on the type. Glass plates were found stored in paper envelopes with the result that many of them are cracked or in pieces. Cellulose nitrate and cellulose acetate film in particular have suffered degradation, which appears as fading, distortion of the support and the emission of a characteristic smell (nitrate and acetic acid respectively). Cellulose nitrate film is exceptionally volatile and inflammable.

The methodology behind the storing of the archive material

The primary concern in preservation of archival material is correct storage. The principal rule governing the methods of storage and the materials is prevention, and when that is not possible, the limitation of wear in order to preserve it as long as possible, while at the same time making it easily accessible. All the materials used in storage boxes, paper envelopes, polyester covers, cardboard and fabric for the construction of spe-

cial envelopes and boxes should be of archival quality². Choosing quality materials is a basic parameter for the preservation of book and archival material, as contact with acidic materials is the most significant cause of degradation³. The quality of the materials in combination with their correct use ensures the physical protection and longevity of the material.

Unbound archival documents were stored in the following way:

–All damaging fasteners, such as staples, paper clips and pins were carefully removed and replaced with plastic clips* only where absolutely necessary⁴.

–Documents were placed in white paper folders with two open sides (L type)*, by entry. All the folders are of the same size so as to conform to the dimensions of the box, thus limiting the movement of the folders and avoiding mechanical wear and tear due to the envelopes being of different sizes. Under these conditions the protection of the documents is assured and the usual wear at the edges is avoided. The quantity of documents contained in each envelope should be limited for their protection. Therefore, in certain cases the documents in classified envelopes were divided into two or more parts, on which the numbers of the documents they con-

* The asterisk (*) refers to the Appendix on materials, where the type and specifications of materials used are described.

tain were clearly marked. Classification details were noted on the envelopes in pencil.

-Very sensitive and maltreated documents contained in the envelopes were placed in L-type polyester sleeves* of melinex 75 micro. Documents with many attachments or those with photographs, visiting cards, commemorative cards etc. were also placed in polyester sleeves so that they were not separated when being removed from the folders.

-The folders were stored in boxes with attached lids made of blue corrugated acid-free cardboard*. The boxes were stored in an upright position, as were the paper folders contained in them.

-On the inside of each box space boards of corrugated acid-free cardboard* were placed either between the folders or in front to prevent slumping, thus limiting mechanical damage among the folders and, by extension, the documents contained within.

-The boxes should not be particularly full so as to avoid physical damage or destruction due to weight, as well as wear and tear to the material while being removed from or inserted into the envelopes. For that reason, the contents of some classified boxes were separated into two or more parts with a clear indication of the numbers of the envelopes contained within each box.

-For the storage of the archival material boxes sized (26.5 x 35 x 3.5cm) and folders sized (26 x 35cm) were chosen to accommodate the majority of the documents. The extra-large documents that could not be stored in the selected boxes were few. All these documents were transferred to envelopes with detailed notations in boxes of a larger size. In the envelopes from which they were removed, numbered pages, as well as a respective notation referring to the box it was transferred to, were placed inside in the corresponding position. The 'transfer' boxes were numbered in accordance with the classified boxes. These boxes are different in shape and

colour from the other boxes and are stored in a horizontal position, which ensures greater security for extra-large documents.

Books and newspapers

To safeguard bound items enclosures were constructed, according to their size. Archival quality cardboard was used, double-faced grey and white, one millimetre thick. The method of construction and the physico-chemical characteristics of the cardboard provide physical protection, as well as protection from atmospheric pollution and dust. Also, changes in atmospheric conditions (R.H.% and T°) are reduced and consequently limiting their effects, with the result that a beneficial micro-environment is created for the preservation of the volumes.

Similarly, enclosures were constructed for newspapers found together in boxes. The envelopes were cut according to the dimensions of the biggest sheet. Between the newspapers protective acid-free tissue was placed to avoid offsetting among the printed material due to the fragility of the inks.

The boxes and the envelope-boxes were stored on mobile stainless steel shelves used for archival material.

Photographs

The photographs will be stored in special polyester sleeves and then in boxes of archival quality with rings that ensure easy access to and use of the material. The negatives will be stored in paper sleeves or special envelopes and will be kept in boxes, divided according to type.

Storage of the archives in use

In a section of the archives, which is still in use, documents were filed in commercial folders with metal rings, of various sizes and types and had been kept in average to bad condition. One of the main drawbacks of folders is that they leave the archival material exposed to atmospheric pollution (like dust, soot, mould spores,



etc.) and allow it to accumulate. Atmospheric pollution is a damaging agent to archival material due to its acidic composition and hydroscopic nature. In addition, conditions of high temperature and relative humidity can encourage mould growth, the spread of which would be catastrophic for the archives as a whole. Apart from the degradation of the material, the accumulation of dust creates unhealthy conditions for the users of the archives.

In certain cases, the size of documents is greater than that of the folder, resulting in mechanical damage, such as folds, creases, tears and fragmentary occur. Apart from all the above, the materials used in the construction of commercial folders are unsuitable for the storage of archival material, as their acidic composition causes gradual damage.

As the material is still in use, it had to remain filed in folders with metal rings, so as to ensure easy access for the user. The solution was to make new folders, which are bigger, and of archival quality materials, that are protected by means of slipcases, to avoid dust getting in. Both the folders and the sleeves were fitted with hydrophobic, washable fabric for better protection and resistance in storage. The notation "HOC Archives" and the corresponding numbering of each volume is printed in gold letters on the spine of the folder.

Conservation treatment

The term 'conservation' includes all forms of treatments, the aim of which is to stabilise the item's chemical condition as well as to strengthen it physically. The bulk of the archival material, given the state in which it was kept, led to a homogeneous approach to conservation intervention. The aim was to remove all damaging elements and repair the damage in order to safely bring the material back into use and ensure its preservation over time. In only a few cases was a different process of conservation followed.

Unbound documents received the following treatment:

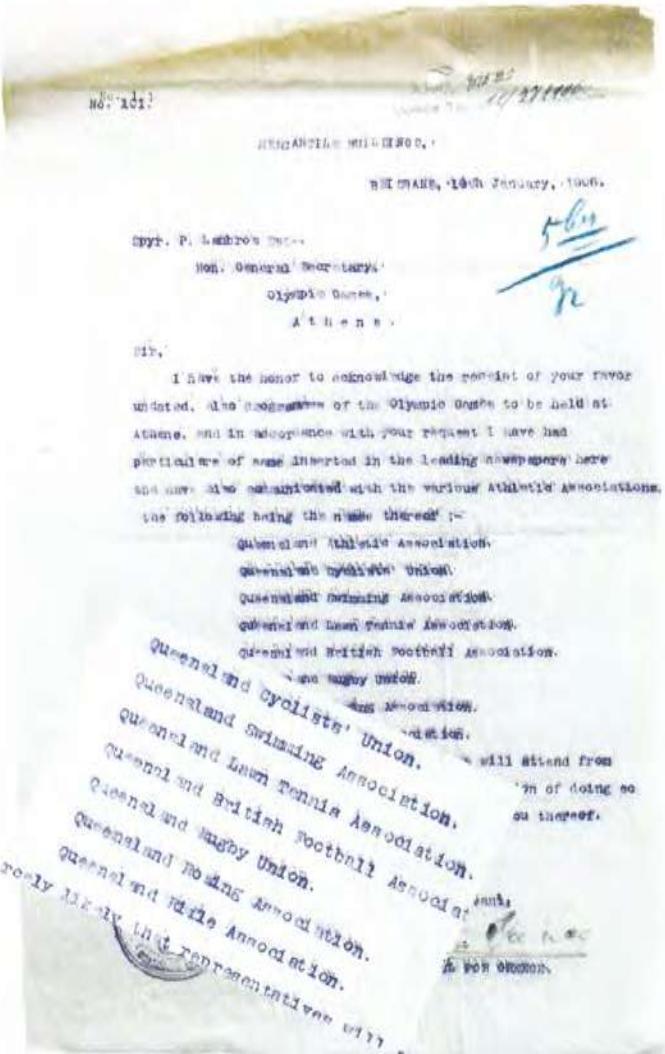
- Removal of metal fasteners, such as clips and pins, which had oxidised with time and the product of their erosion had been transferred to the paper support causing oxidation, which resulted in a reddish-brown discolouration, weakening, and losses.
- Surface or dry cleaning, which includes the removal of accretions, dust, surface dirt, and rust with a soft brush, rubber and scalpel. The mechanical cleaning is considered essential, as the acid composition and the hydroscopic nature of the various accretions and dirt can cause damage to the paper support.
- Chemical treatments, to remove adhesive

tape and reduce staining by local use of organic solvents.

-Repairs of tears, holes and partial losses, with Japanese paper (the choice of paper must correspond to the weight, colour and texture of the original) and cellulose derivative adhesives. The aim of the repairs is to restore the item to a state of safe handling, limiting the spread⁵ of existing damage.

-Flattening, only when it was absolutely necessary, due to the water-soluble nature of the inks used on the documents, with limited local or total humidification and pressing.

-Aqueous treatments, such as washing, or deacidification (in aqueous or non-aqueous solutions) was not applied, as the inks used in the bulk of the material were partially or totally water-soluble.



Bound material received the following treatment:

- Mechanical cleaning, as with loose documents.
- Removal of old intervention work, such as paper strips and adhesive tapes previously applied to reinforce the binding, worn areas or to hold split sections or pages, with the local application of water or organic solvents.
- Repairs to the book block, as with loose documents. In the case of re-bound books, the spine folds of certain folios were reinforced with strips of Japanese paper to resist damage from sewing and binding procedure.
- Repairs to or reinforcement of bookbinding.
- Repairs to damaged parts or losses to the cover.
- Creating a new cover, made from archival quality materials of which the colouring, texture and proportions were as close as possible to the original.

The conservation of photographs is specialised work and will be carried out when the job



of recording and classification of the photographic material has been completed.

Transfer of material to a new format

The archives include 3 volumes *Copie de lettres* (Copies of correspondance)⁶, of the years 1906-1909. The volumes consist of sheets onto which typed letters had been adhered. This resulted in an excessive increase in the bulk of the body of the volumes, which led to damage to the binding and the loss of their covers. The documents had been adhered to the pages of the volume with an adhesive (possibly animal glue), which has lost its adhesive capacity, resulting in detachment of the document with the slightest movement. The glue used in attaching the letters had caused severe brown discoloration in the areas of the pages where it had been applied. The body of the books was made of semi-transparent light-weight paper, which had suffered multiple damage along the outer edges. Also, a large number of pages exhibited large damp stains and were severely distorted due to unsuitable storage conditions.

Because of the above problems, whatever conservation intervention or repair was done to the volumes it would not provide lasting solutions. So, it was decided to transfer the letters to new guard books made of archival quality materials, to provide an ideal environment for their preservation. The books were made in the form of guard books, with archival quality paper of 120 gr. The spines of the books were suitably compensated so that the bulk of the volume after sticking on the letters would be the same as the spine and would not burden the binding structure. The new volumes were bigger in size than the originals, mainly along the width, so that the letters could be hinged at some distance from the spine, not creating tension while the pages were being turned, causing them to come unstuck. At the end of the new volumes the alphabetical index, which was at the end of each original volume⁷, was bound with the main body.

The volumes were also bound in archival quality materials (cardboard, fabric, thread and glue) and their covers were made in the same style as the original *Copie de lettres* to ensure

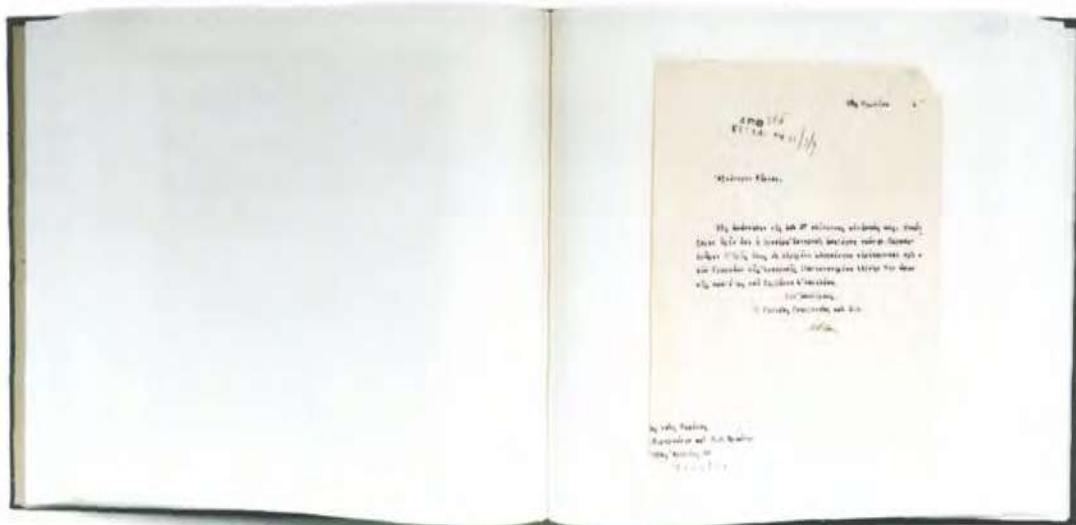
homogeneity. The title *Copie de lettres* was printed in gold type with a corresponding font on the front part of the cover. The number printed in the top right-hand corner of each page of the original volumes was noted in pencil in the new volumes. The letters were attached to the pages of the volumes

with hinges of Japanese paper and water-soluble cellulose derivative adhesive. Finally, the new volumes were stored in special enclosures like the other volumes.

Microfilming and digitalisation

To avoid the use of vulnerable authentic material and to ensure the preservation of the information contained in them microfilming and digitilisation of the material was carried out. Microfilming is a recognised way to preserve information and the microfilmed archives have the same legal validity as the original.

The microfilming of the material was carried out according to international standards of material preservation on a black and white role of sil-

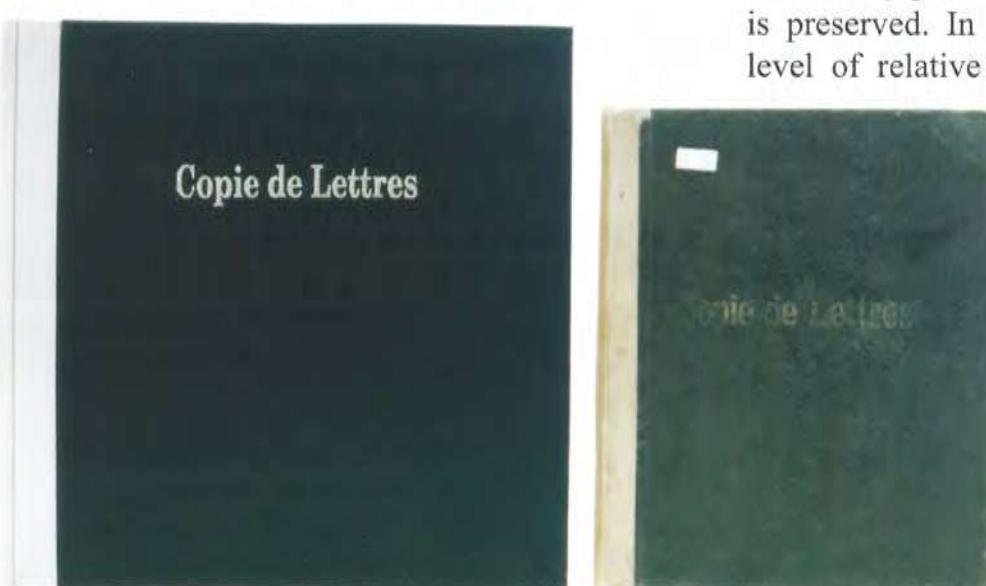


ver-gelatine microfilm 35mm with specially designed, heavy type standing camera and reduced in size to 7x-24x. This camera was chosen for its ability to microfilm original archival material that is difficult to read. Digitalisation of the microfilm to CD (ISO 9660) followed and the storage formatting of the digital archives was carried out, according to international models, in TIFF format.

Environmental control

The environmental conditions (relative humidity, temperature and light⁸) that prevail in the storage area of archives can constitute a damaging factor and cause very serious problems to the already poor condition in which the material is preserved. In general terms, changes to the level of relative humidity⁹ and temperature in

the storage areas result in changes in the moisture content of the paper. The constant expansion and contraction, which leads to loss of elasticity and mechanical resistance, is likely to cause a variety of mechanical damage. Conditions of high relative humidity and temperature encourage mould growth and insect activity, and in



combination with other factors, like acidity, promote the development of chemical reactions and degradation. Conditions of low relative humidity can lead to the paper drying, resulting in brittleness. Changes in temperature cause changes in the relative humidity of the environment¹⁰. High temperatures result in dry conditions, which make the paper emit moisture, causing shrinkage and weakening. Also, heat is a source of energy that accelerates all types of harmful chemical reaction that can occur to paper.

To prevent the above problems occurring, special equipment was placed in the storage area to monitor and record temperatures and relative humidity. A thermohydrograph, with a daily, weekly or monthly reading¹¹, and 4 electronic thermohygrometers were placed in different positions (inside and outside the storage cupboards) to record the prevailing conditions throughout the storage area. The results obtained from this

equipment give a clear picture of the conditions that prevail in every part of the storage area, and in the case of radical changes will indicate the proper steps to be taken (such as heating, humidification or dehydration) to keep the temperature and relative humidity at constant levels. In order to preserve the archival material properly, constant levels of humidity and temperature are essential on a twenty-four hour basis. The desired limits are: Temperature=18+/-1C, Relative humidity=45+/-5%. It is important to note that maintaining constant levels of RH% and T° is highly imperative even if it is slightly outside the above levels.

Although the storage area of the archives may appear to be kept within the desired limits, the measurements should be recorded and studied for at least one whole year. During that time seasonal changes in conditions will be observed so that a total picture of the environmental conditions prevailing in the archives can be formed.

Appendix: Materials and Equipment

THE CHOICE OF MATERIALS and equipment was made on the basis of specifications indicated by the manufacturers.

- Paper envelopes with an L type opening (*Stouls*)

An envelope made from natural white paper permanent CHRONOS 120gr/m². 100% bleached chemical pulp, lignin-free, no alum, acid-free with alkaline reserve and high alphacellulose content. PH 8,5. L type opening (two side open). Colour: natural white. Complies with ANSI IT 9.16 PAT and ISO 9706.

- "L"-seal polyester pocket (*Stouls*)

Pockets made of polyester film Mylar 75m. They have an L-shaped opening. The main features of the Mylar are: high transparency, exceptional mechanical resistance, chemically neutral,

no use of glue or adhesive material and joining is done by welding.

- Clips (*Stouls*)

Clips made from high quality lightweight polyester, chemically neutral and resistant.

- Cardboard storage box for documents (*Phibox COR type Stouls*)

The Phibox COR is acid-free corrugated cardboard box with the following qualities:

- Rigid cardboard made from joining three sheets of acid-free paper, 150gr/m². The 150gr.m² paper used is 100% chemical paper pulp, lignin-free, sulphur joints and chemically bleached. Made in a neutral environment with alkaline reserve of potassium carbonate.

- The joins of the corrugated paper with the

surface are carried out with pH neutral starch.

-Blue in colour, which is especially resistant to light.

- Document 'Transfer' boxes (Phibox duo type *Stouls*)

These boxes are made of compressed cardboard and fitted with large clasps that do not go through the interior. The cardboard used is DUO face grey/white, which has physico-chemical qualities suitable for the conservation of documents and photographs.

- Double-faced acid-free cardboard (DUO face 10/13e type *Stouls*)

The cardboard has two faces, grey and white, and has the following physico-chemical qualities:

- 100% bleached chemical pulp of high alphacellulose content
- lignin-free and no alum
- neutral glue-alkaline reserve 3% potassium carbonate
- no chemical bleaching
- pH 7,5-8,5
- complies with ANSI IT 9,16 of the photographic activity test specifications.

- Acid-free corrugated cardboard (*Stouls*)

Corrugated cardboard. Two outer sides of permanent paper, blue, 150gr/m², 100% bleached chemical pulp, acid-free, with alkaline reserve. Corrugations of Kraft paper, brown. Joined with starch glue. pH of outer sides 7,5. pH of corrugations: 8,7.

- Thermohydrograph

Thermohydrograph *Lufft*, model 9010, which measures and records at the same time, with a choice of daily, weekly or monthly readings.

- Thermohygrometer

Electronic thermohydrometers *Oregon Scientific*, model ETHG-889 with memory, and minimum and maximum rates of relative humidity and environmental temperature indicators between measurements.

- Materials for making boxes and bookbinding

- Library Buckram fabric (English), 100% cotton bookbinding cloth characterised by a very tough surface.

- Conservation Board (*Fabriano*). Manufactured of 100% cotton, without fluorescent brightening. Mould make, Fabriano conservation board is acid-free, with alkaline reserve, pH 7,2 and meets the highest conservation standards.

- Academia paper 100gr (*Fabriano*). Paper of 100% of cellulose, acid free, with alkaline reserve. It has a natural grain and offwhite colour.

- Archival PVA glue ST1 (*Stouls*). White adhesive with great flexibility of use because of its properties: neutral pH, extending drying time and odourless. Characteristics: polyvinyl acetate in aqueous emulsion, dry extract 60%, neutral pH, excellent resistance to fusty and bacterial alterations, very good ageing properties.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION - THE HELLENIC OLYMPIC COMMITTEE BEFORE HISTORY Pages 11-28

1. See Christina Koulouri, "Olympic Games with a 'historical fragrance'", newspaper *To Vima*, 19 August 2001, p. B45.
2. See Christina Koulouri, *Sport et Société Bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, pp. 21-25.
3. See *here*, pp. 145-156.
4. Formally, the Archives of the International Olympic Academy are part of the Archives of the Hellenic Olympic Committee. In reality however, the two Archives form two separate wholes and this is the reason why they have been registered in two separate databases with different research procedures.
5. In the category 'document' are included not only manuscripts, but typed, polygraphed copies and prints, data which is entered on a special area on the record.
6. In Greece, the monarchy was abolished from 1924 to 1936 and definitively in 1973.
7. Only in 1974 was there a hiatus in the operation of the IOA.
8. Christina Koulouri, "Olympic Games with a 'historical

- fragrance'", *op.cit.*
9. See *here*, pp. 29-38.
10. See *here*, pp. 69-77.
11. See *here*, pp. 99-104.
12. See *here*, pp. 87-98.
13. See *here*, pp. 123-144.
14. From 1896, Greece was involved in the following wars: Greek-Turkish war of 1897, the Balkan Wars (1912-13), the First World War (Greek participation: 1917-18), the Asia Minor War (1919-22), the Second World War (1940-44), the Civil War (1946-49), while it changed political regimes (monarchical democracy and presidential democracy) and dictatorships.
15. See *here*, pp. 53-62.
16. See *here*, pp. 63-68.
17. See *here*, pp. 105-116.
18. See *here*, pp. 117-122.
19. Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1987, p. 1.
20. See *here*, pp. 39-52.
21. See *here*, pp. 79-86.

THE FIRST MODERN OLYMPIC GAMES Pages 29-38

1. Nikolaos Yialouris, 'The sacred sites of Olympia and Delphi. The effect of the excavations on the revival of the Olympic Games', in *Αείκαμα της 36ης Συνόδου της ΔΟΑ* (Album of the 36th Meeting of the IOA), IOA-OGC, Athens 1997, pp. 47-53 (in Greek).
2. 'the impossible (dream) of recreating the Olympic Games as they were in antiquity is commonly accepted. In fact, the first paragraph of the programme of the international conference says categorically that it is about the recreation of the Olympic games ...', according to the demands of modern life. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 863, in K. Georgiadis, *Die ideengeschichtliche Grundlage der Erneuerung der Olympischen Spiele im 19. Jahrhundert in Griechenland und ihre Umsetzung 1896 in Athen*, Agon Sport-Verlag 2000, pp. 436-437.
3. 'According to Mr. Vikelas's proposal, Athens was chosen as the venue of the Games', Pierre de Coubertin, 'International Olympic Games in Athens 1896', in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.-1896 A.D.*, Charles Beck, Athens 1896, p.110.
4. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 863, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 438.
5. Katerina Gardika-Alexandropoulou, 'The two-party period (1881-1897)', in *Eκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* (Educational Greek Encyclopaedia) vol. 25, *Ελληνική Ιστορία* (Greek History), Ekdotiki Athinon, Athens 1992, pp. 329-334 (in Greek).
6. Dragoumis Archives, Gennadeios Library, doc. 235.1, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 456.

7. Dragoumis Archives, Gennadeios Library, doc. 235.1, *ibid.*, p. 453.
8. We should note here that the visit of the Baron to Athens, despite its positive hue, was commented on sceptically by Melas to Vikelas in another letter. 'When de Coubertin arrived I went at once to find him, enthralled as I was with him, and I offered some small help. But (...) I confess that I changed my mind about him, seeing that he was not as serious as I had thought, as I saw him accepting advice and being led by callow youths'. K1-Φ6-E1.
9. K1-Φ6-E3.
10. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 926, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 447.
11. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 930, *ibid.*, p. 445.
12. K1-Φ3-E1.
13. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 539.
14. K1-Φ8-E1.
15. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 930, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 469.
16. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, *ibid.*, p. 565.
17. Dragoumis Archives, Gennadeios Library, doc. 235.1, *ibid.*, p. 457.
18. K34-Φ3-E3.
19. K1-Φ6-E5.
20. K1-Φ6-E6.
21. K1-Φ6-E23.
22. K1-Φ6-E24.

23. K1-Φ6-E25.
24. Melas to Vikelas: 'it will be a fiasco if we do not organise something for those whom we have officially invited...'. K1-Φ6-E24.
25. K1-Φ1-E8, K1-Φ1-E9, K1-Φ1-E10, K1-Φ1-E11, K1-Φ1-E12.
26. 'The necessary changes to the statutes of gymnastic associations in general in Greece, to conform to the principles laid down at the international athletics conference...'. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 863, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 443.
27. 'To the special reception sub-committee ... falls the duty of organising the ceremonies, the torch-bearing and the decorating of the city of Athens ... To this sub-committee too will be due in large part the best impressions received of Greek hospitality by those foreigners who come to Athens...'. Timoleon I. Philemon, 'Written in Athens, during the month of August 1896', in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.-1896 A.D.*, *op.cit.*, p. 118.
28. Sub-committee for Naval Races, Sub-committee for Shooting, Sub-committee for the Preparation of the Greek Athletes, Sub-committee for Athletic Exercises and Gymnastics, Sub-committee for Fencing, Sub-committee for Cycling Races, Sub-committee for Sports (Lawn Tennis, Cricket, etc.), Sub-committee for the preparation and restoration of the Panathenean Stadium, Reception sub-committee. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
29. '...regarding the matter of accommodation for the visitors, the steamships will be of great help for excursions and for use as floating hotels'. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 931, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 612.
30. Valentini Tselika, *Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες 1896, Το φωτογραφικό λεύκωμα του Άλμπερτ Μάιερ* (Olympic Games 1896, The Photograph Album of Albert Mayer), Exantas-Benakis Museum, Athens 1995, pp. 13-14.
31. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 931, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 641.
32. HOC Archives, Copie de Lettres B1, p. 113.
33. 'The transport of the visitors I hope will be resolved satisfactorily thanks to the interest of Cook and another German businessman, with whom Rangavis got in contact at the request of the Emperor Frederic', Vikelas Archives EBE, doc. 931, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 612.
34. HOC Archives, Copie de Lettres B1, pp. 114-115.
35. Valentini Tselika, *op.cit.*, p. 14.
36. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 623.
37. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 930, *ibid.*, p. 628.
38. K1-Φ7-E19.
39. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 930, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 632.
40. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 930, *ibid.*, p. 629.
41. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 930, *ibid.*, p. 646.
42. Of course, beyond the consequences of the clash with de Coubertin, the German philosophy itself with regard to sport was an obstacle to their participation. In Germany modern sport was unknown. The Union of Gymnastics clubs in Germany had their own gymnastics festivals, which had been held since 1860 in different cities and were the greatest patriotic rallies in Pan-Germany. The Committee for the spread of sports considered this form of physical education above all a national institution. Consequently, they believed that modern peoples should create their own national Olympic Games, so as not to influence the national character of their physical education. See Ioannis Chryssafis, *Οι σύγχρονοι Διεθνεῖς Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες* (The Modern International Olympic Games), vol.1, Athens 1930, pp. 290-293.
43. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
44. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 927, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 468.
45. Participating countries: America, Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, France, Germany, Denmark, Switzerland, Greece, Great Britain, Hungary, Sweden, Chile. The number of athletes who took part in the games was according to some 311 and to others 285. The official version, however, of the International Olympic Committee was 245 athletes. See *Répertoire du Mouvement Olympique*, pub. IOC, Lausanne 2001. See also K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, pp. 348-349.
46. Konstantinos Manos, 'After the Games', in *Η Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896* (Greece during the 1896 Games), Estia, Athens 1896, p. 130 (in Greek).
47. Many Americans from New York, Boston and other cities in America attempted the long journey for the sake of the games. With them came young athletes, who with great zeal left their jobs, their studies to take part in the noble rivalry of the games. K. Anninos, 'The American Athletes', in *Η Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896*, *op.cit.*, p. 136 (in Greek).
48. Timoleon Philemon, 'Written in Athens, during the month of August 1896', in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.-1896 A.D.*, *op.cit.*, p. 119.
49. K1-Φ1-E5.
50. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 865, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 690.
51. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 927, *ibid.*, p. 581.
52. K1-Φ1-E6.
53. Moses Konstantinis, 'Το ιστορικό της έκδοσης των ολυμπιακών γραμματοσήμων του 1896 και 1906' (The history of the issuing of the Olympic stamps of 1896 and 1906), reprint from *Philately*, issue 28, Athens 1974.
54. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 577.
55. Spyros E. Dasios, 'The Marathon-Impressions of a Journalist', in *Η Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896*, *op.cit.*, p. 115 (in Greek).
56. Spyridon P. Lambros, 'The Athletic and Gymnastic events in the Stadium', *ibid.*, p. 107-108 (in Greek).
57. Christina Koulouri, *Sport et Société bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, p. 101.
58. Ch. Anninos, 'Description of the Games', in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.-1896 A.D.*, *op.cit.*, pp. 152-153.
59. Alexandros Philadelpheus, 'The day of the prize giving', in *Η Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896*, *op.cit.*, p. 128 (in Greek).
60. Ch. Tsountas, "The ancient and modern athletic spirit", *ibid.*, p. 97.
61. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 811.5, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 696.
62. I. Chryssafis, *op.cit.*, pp. 336-340.
63. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 931, in K. Georgiadis,

op.cit., p. 726.

64. 'in the days immediately after the games the whole of Greece's youth became to exercise physically...the previously deserted gymnasias were filled with athletes. New ones were set up throughout the Greek state. Young people in schools found

it a pleasant pastime...children in the streets began to do sport systematically...' G.Vokos, 'Modern Greek Sport', in *H Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896*, *op.cit.*, p. 99 (in Greek).

65. Ch. Koulouri, *op.cit.*, pp. 98-99,

III. PANATHENAEAN STADIUM
Pages 19-38

1. Timoleon Philemon, 'Written in Athens, during the month of August 1896' in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.-1896 A.D.*, Charles Beck, Athens 1896, p. 115.

2. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, in K. Georgiadis, *Die ideengeschichtliche Grundlage der Erneuerung der Olympischen Spiele im 19. Jahrhundert in Griechenland und ihre Umsetzung 1896 in Athen*, Agon Sport-Verlag 2000, p. 497.

3. K1-Φ6-E5.

4. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 927, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 496.

5. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, *ibid.*, p. 517.

6. HOC Archives, Copie de Lettres B1, p. 126.

7. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 890, in K. Georgiadis, *op.cit.*, p. 565.

8. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 931, *ibid.*, p. 612.

9. Ilias Economopoulos, *Λεύκωμα των Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων (776 π.Χ.-1906 A.D.)*, (Album of the Olympic Games, 776 B.C-1906 A.D.), Athens 1906, p. 9.

10. Spyridon P. Lambros, 'The athletic and gymnastic events in the Stadium', in *H Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896*, (Greece during the 1896 Games), Estia, Athens 1896, pp. 99-102 (in Greek).

11. HOC Archives, Copie de Lettres B1, p. 14.

12. S. P. Lambros, *op.cit.*, p. 102.

13. Newspaper *Ακρόπολις* (Acropolis), 30.3.1896.

14. S. P. Lambros, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

15. P. Richardson, 'The re-built Panathenean Stadium', in *H Ελλάς κατά τους Ολυμπιακούς Αγώνας του 1896*, *op.cit.*, pp. 131-133 (in Greek).

16. Newspaper *Αττικαί ημέραι και νύκτες* (Attica days and nights), 9.5.1906.

17. Christina Koulouri, *Sport et Société bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, pp. 99-100.

18. S. P. Lambros, *op.cit.*, p. 110.

19. Ch. Koulouri, *op.cit.*, pp. 102-106.

20. K4-Φ1-E2. 21. K2-Φ1-E2.

22. K35-Φ5-E1, K31-Φ15-E6, K4-Φ13-E2, K4-Φ12-E8, K3-Φ4-E7, E10, E10.a, E11, E12. K3-Φ2-E6, E3. K2-Φ3-E3. In K2-Φ1-E3 the HOC mentions characteristically: 'The Stadium belongs to the Nation, that is, to the Government, and only the Government has the right to decide about architectural changes'.

23. Leon Koukoulas, *Α' Πανελλήνιος Αθλητική Έκθεσις, Ελλάς-Αθλητισμός*, (First Pan-Hellenic Athletic Report, Greece-Athleticism), Athens 1938, p. 21.

24. The Regulations regarding the Allocation of the Stadium for celebrations, HOC Archives, Book of Minutes for the period 1918-1921, 10th Session, 9.5.1919, p. 35.

25. The Company 'Castillana and Co', in an official report to the HOC to acquire the Stadium and turn it into a bullring, presented the bullfight as a request for a cultural display: 'By proposing a bullfight in Greece for the first time, we wish above all to contribute to the strengthening of ties between the Greek and Spanish people. By presenting for the first time in Greece the main national sport of Spain, we believe that we are offering the highest service in the enhancing of relations between our brother countries. The support accorded to us by the Spanish Consul to Athens is abundant proof of the great importance the Spanish Government attaches to our initiative...'. K51-Φ2-E6.4.

26. K9-Φ1-E8.

27. K51-Φ3-E56.

28. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes III, 1.3.1907-15.9.1909, pp. 392, 401, 378, 367.

29. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes 1924-1933, 41th Session, 23.4.1927, pp. 101-102.

30. Othon Tsounakos, 'The Great Greece and the Asia Minor Campaign', pp. 378-389 and Thanos Veremis, 'Greece in the Interwar Period 1922-1940', pp. 389-396 in *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, (Educational Greek Encyclopaedia) vol. 25, *Ελληνική Ιστορία* (Greek History), Ekdotiki Athinon, Athens 1992, pp. 378-389 and 389-396 respectively (in Greek).

31. Alkis Rigos, *Η Β' Ελληνική Δημοκρατία 1924-1935, Κοινωνικές διαστάσεις της πολιτικής σκηνής*, (2nd Greek Republic 1924-1935, Social dimensions of the political scene), Themelio, Athens 1988, pp. 18, 122-123, 223-234.

32. K51-Φ2-E14.1.

33. K47-Φ2-E36.

34. K52-Φ5-E19.

35. K51-Φ3-E78.

36. Kostas I. Biris, *Αι Αθήναι από του 19ου εις τον 20όν αιώνα*, (Athens from the 19th to the 20th Century), Melissa, Athens 1999, pp. 271-273.

37. 'The area around the Stadium by law is expropriated and becomes the property of the State, (...) and so the appearance of the Stadium is made more attractive...'. K3-Φ4-E10.a.

38. The Ministry of Internal Affairs announced to the HOC 'that by order we agree to grant the use of Arditos to you, for the reasons mentioned in your documents 366 -23 January to the Olympian Committee'. K28-Φ6-E4.

39. 'Last year, during the Olympic Games, a Greek from Asia Minor, gave to the Association (for the propagation of books) twenty francs in gold, as an initial contribution towards the re-planting of the area around the Stadium with olive trees from Olympia. The idea of the anonymous donor has found imitators. As is clear from the attached list 1028:15 drachmas was received'. K23-Φ10-E4.

40. 'A burning balloon, made for fun and let into the air,

fell on the Arditos hill next the Stadium... by some miracle fire was avoided...' K41-Φ2-E60. 'Today... they set fire to the area outside the Stadium... men and women inside the wall managed to put out the fire after a great deal of anxiety... the police arrested the above arsonists'. K41-Φ2-E70. The Committee, to protect Arditos Hill from fire, from athletes jumping at night, has decided to build a brick wall behind the 'Metz' Restaurant... in accordance with the existing plan', HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, Period 1924-1933, 8th Session, 2.9.1927, p. 130.

41. K41-Φ2-E71.

42. K41-Φ2-E31.
43. K134-Φ8-E1.
44. K40-Φ14-E50.
45. K61-Φ1-E78.
46. HOC Archives, Book of minutes 1924-1933, 9th Session, 7.12.1933.
47. K61-Φ3-E129.
48. K58-Φ6-E4.
49. K166-Φ4-E1.
50. K129-Φ4-E4.
51. K129-Φ4-E6.

GYMNASIATIC AND SPORTS ASSOCIATIONS IN GREECE

Pages 53-62

1. Christina Koulouri, 'Athleticism and Antiquity: Symbols and Revivals in Nineteenth-century Greece', *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 15 (December 1998), pp. 142-149.

2. For the beginning of Greek athleticism, see Christina Koulouri, *Sport et société bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L' Harmattan, 2000.

3. Yannis Yannitsiotis, *H διαμόρφωση της αστικής τάξης του Πειραιά, 1860-1909* (The emergence of the middle class in Piraeus, 1860-1909), University of Athens, 2001, unpublished doctoral thesis, p. 234.

4. K1-Φ2-E4.

5. Christos Socr. Solomonidis Nikos Emm. Lorentis, *Tα 75 χρόνια του Πανιωνίου* (The 75 years of Panionios), Athens, pub. Panionios G.A., 1967, p. 32.

6. About the Philomuses Club and generally about athletic and other urban associations of Thessalonica at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, Meropi Anastasiadou, *Salonique, 1830-1912. Une ville ottomane l'âge des Réformes*, Leiden, Brill, 1997, pp. 367-375.

7. For more about the administration of sport, the appearance of new institutions and the relations between them, Koulouri, *Sport...*, op.cit., pp. 114-122.

8. K63-Φ4-E17.

9. Erevnitiki Omada KEPE, *Οικονομία και Αθλητισμός* (Economy and Sport), Bulletin 24, Athens, Kentro Programmatismou kai Oikonomikon Erevnon, 1996, p. 24.

10. K129-Φ2-E3.

11. Regarding the creation, the activity, social and ideological profile of the three associations, see Koulouri, *Sport...*, op.cit., pp. 169-223.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

14. K23-Φ5-E1 and K22-Φ6-E16.

15. See e.g. the application of the Edessa Club, K154-Φ11-E4. 16. K113-Φ17-E1.

17. Enrolled members were obliged to pay an annual fee of 30-150 drs., according to the statutes of 1897, which was reduced to 15-75 in 1900. The subscription rates depended on the population of the town in which the association belonged. See Koulouri, *Sport...*, op.cit., pp. 100-122 and K93-Φ12-E4.

18. Erevnitiki Omada..., op.cit., pp. 100-122.

19. Christina Koulouri, "Athleticism and sport" in Christos Hatziosif (ed.), *Ιστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα 1900-1922. Οι απαρχές* (History of Greece in the 20th Century 1900-1922. The first period), t.A2, Athens, Vivliorama, 2000, pp. 401-419 and specifically p. 415 (in Greek).

20. See e.g. for Constantinople, Charis Exertzoglou, *Εθνική ταυτότητα στην Κωνσταντινούπολη του 19^ο αιώνα. Ο Ελληνικός Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος Κωνσταντινούπολεως 1861-1912* (National identity in Constantinople in the 19th century. The Greek philological association of Constantinople 1861-1912), Athens, Nefeli, 1996.

21. At least ten football clubs of the Union of Piraeus Football Clubs supported the proposal to the HOC by Olympiakos, the biggest athletic club in the city, along with Ethnikos, to allow it to use the Velodrome in Neo Faliro, on condition that the Union could hold the local championship there. See HOC Archives, K56-Φ1-E2 and K55-Φ1-E45.

22. Vasilis Kardasis, *Ολυμπιακός, ένα αρχείο - μια ιστορία* (Olympiakos, the archives - a history), Alimos, Militos, undated, pp. 8-12. For more information about the regal attitude of Olympiakos and Ethnikos towards the other Piraeus clubs regarding the Velodrome and their reaction, see K56-Φ1-E18 and K56-Φ1-E18.σ3.

23. For more about the cosmopolitan character of the city see Gilles Venstein (dir.) *Salonique, 1850-1918. La 'ville des Juifs' et le réveil des Balkans*, Autrement 12, Edition Autrement, Série Mémoires, 1992. For more about the Greek community, Kirki Georgiadou, 'Les Grecs de Thessaloniki' in Venstein (dir.), op.cit., pp. 119-128.

24. K157-Φ12-E15.

THE ATHLETICS

Pages 63-68

1. In the fencing team for the Intermediary Olympics, we met two military men, athletes of Panellinios, HOC archives, K21-Φ1-E21. Besides, the members of the 1936 Olympic

shooting team are addressing a letter to the HOC to ask modern guns and free cartridges for their training while being ready to pay half the guns' price by monthly instalments. Among them

there are military men, industrialists and bank employees. See K64-Φ2-E17.σ2, σ3, K64-Φ2-E8 and K64-Φ2-E29.

2. Christina Koulouri, *Sport et Société Bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, pp.102-106.

3. K53-Φ4-E41.

4. Panos Makridis, *H ιστορία της AEK* (The History of AEK), Published by the Newspaper *Athlitiki Ichō*, 1952, p. 34.

5. The football player of Piraeus Olympiakos, Vasilis Lekkos, on his transfer from Piraeus Ethnikos to Piraeus Olympiakos, was given a position in the city municipality offices. See Vasilis Kardasis, *Ολυμπιακός. ἑνα αρχείο - μια ιστορία* (Olympiakos, the archives - a history), Alimos, Militos, undated, p. 31.

6. K64-Φ1-E2.

7. See the HOC's request of the General Military Head Quarters on behalf of the marathon runner I. Arvanitis so that he would not serve in Nafplio but stay in Athens for the 1906 Games. See K4-Φ3-E14.

8. K98-Φ7-E13.

9. Koulouri, *Sport...*, op.cit, p. 103.

10. Christina Koulouri, 'Athletics and Sport' in Christos

Hatziossif (ed.), *Iστορία της Ελλάδας του 20ού αιώνα 1900-1922. Οι απαρχές* (History of Greece in the 20th Century 1900-1922. The first period), Athens, Vivliorama 1999, t.A2, pp. 401-419 (in Greek).

11. See the regulations of the association, Christos Socr. Solomonidis - Nikos Emm. Lorentis, *Ta 75 χρόνια του Πανιωνίου* (The 75 years of Panionios), Athens, pub. Panionios G.A., 1967, p. 46.

12. Eleni Varika, *H εξέγερση των κυριάν. Η γένεση μιας φεμινιστικής συνείδησης στην Ελλάδα 1833-1907* (The Ladies' Uprising. The birth of a feminist awareness in Greece 1833-1907), Athens, Idryma Erevnas kai Paideias tis Emporikis Trapezas tis Elladas, 1987, pp. 97-103.

13. Koulouri, "Athletics...", op.cit., p.411.

14. Ibid, p. 412.

15. K54-Φ1-E121.

16. K54-Φ1-E201. 17. K55-Φ1-E206.

18. The daughters of the M. P. Nikolaos Lanitis proved the rule concerning the class character of female athletics. See the M. P.'s letter to the HOC, in which he asks that his two daughters be included in the Greek delegation to Berlin, agreeing to pay all the costs.

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ticularly low.

14. See the notification of financial help to the Hungarian committee, K8-Φ5-E7.

15. Denmark protested about the subsidy amounting to 10,000 francs to the Swedish committee. See K15-Φ6-E1.

16. K15-Φ2-E26. In the person of Lefebure the HOC had found a likely and unexpected ally, as he informed it systematically of de Coubertin's actions behind the scenes. See K15-Φ2-E11, K15-Φ2-E15, K15-Φ2-E15.σ1,

17. K15-Φ2-E9.

18. K11-Φ5-E4.σ1.

19. K17-Φ1-E12.

20. HOC Archives, Minutes of the HOC Meetings, 2nd Session, 27/11/1903.

21. Cyperus informed the HOC that its collaboration with Lefebure was impossible because the latter was unfavorably disposed towards the Fédération Belge de Gymnastique. See K18-Φ8-E7.

22. See for example the application for the dispatch of the rules of fencing from Great Britain, K16-Φ4-E11.

23. K17-Φ1-E17.

24. K15-Φ6-E1.

25. K16-Φ1-E16.

26. K7-Φ1-E1.

27. K16-Φ7-E1.

28. K16-Φ7-E16.

29. K17-Φ5-E5.

30. K6-Φ1-E5, K6-Φ1-E6, K6-Φ1-E8 and K6-Φ1-E13.

31. K14-Φ2-E11.

32. K6-Φ9-E1.

33. See the reply of Lambrós to the ambassador to Belgrade, K8-Φ9-E2.

1. I.E Chryssafis, *Οι σύγχρονοι διεθνείς Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες (συμβολή εις την ιστορίαν της νεωτέρας αγωνιστικής)* (The modern international Olympic Games-Contribution to the history of modern sport), Athens 1930, t.A, pp. 351-352.

2. Ibid, pp. 352-353.

3. Ibid., p. 339.

4. Ibid., p. 354.

5. Ibid., p. 355.

6. K7-Φ9-E1.

7. K8-Φ2-E3.σ3.

8. HOC Archives, Minutes of the HOC Meetings, 10th Session, 16/4/1905.

9. K15-Φ1-E1. The HOC, expressing its surprise about de Coubertin's intervention, replied that there was no commitment with regard to the person of the president. See K15-Φ1-E3.

10. K16-Φ3-E17.

11. K16-Φ3-E24.

12. The ambassador to Berlin, Rangavis, in a letter to the HOC mentioned the positive impression he gained from the willingness of important personalities in Germany to help in the formation of German support committees and to show its difference concerning the difficulties which the ambassador had come up against in forming a similar committee in 1896. See K6-Φ1-E1. In 1931, in return for the positive stand of Germany, Ioannis Chryssafis, Director of the Physical Education department of the Ministry of Education, asked the Greek ambassador in Paris to attend the meeting in Berlin and to support the German request to undertake the organisation of the 1936 Olympics. See K57-Φ1-E36.

13. See K8-Φ3-E2, where the ambassador to Rome, Mitsopoulos, disagrees with Lambros regarding the proposed fee of the Italian journalist Graziotti, which he considered par-

THE VELODROME

Pages 79-86

1. Christina Koulouri, *Sport et Société bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, pp. 260-261.
2. K1-Φ6-E6.
3. K1-Φ6-E6.
4. K1-Φ7-E4.
5. K1-Φ5-E8.
6. K1-Φ6-E12, E13.
7. K1-Φ6-E11.
8. K1-Φ6-E14, E15.
9. Ioannis Chryssafis, *Oι σύγχρονοι Διεθνεῖς Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες* (The Modern International Olympic Games), vol. 1, Athens 1930, pp. 286-287.
10. In the Book of the HOC minutes one frequently comes across 'the case of compensation awarded to Vellinis by the HOC, for the plans of the Velodrome, for which it seems that even up to 1912 had not been paid'. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes 19.9.1909 12.7.1914, 131st Session, 28/1/1912, p. 380.
11. Nikos E. Politis, *Οι Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες του 1896, Οπως τους έζησαν τότε οι Έλληνες και οι ξένοι* (The 1896 Olympic Games described by Greek and foreigners who lived them), Achaic Editions, Patras 1996, pp. 34-35.
12. HOC Archives, Copie de Lettres B1, p. 199.
13. HOC Archives, Copie de Lettres B1, p. 225.
14. Ch. Anninos, 'Description of the Games', in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.-1896 A.D.*, Charles Beck, Athens 1896, pp. 137-138, 147-149.
15. Chr. Koulouri, *op.cit.*, p. 260.
16. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes II, 2.3.19067.2.1907, 58th Session 8/1/1907, p. 100.
17. Chr. Koulouri, *op.cit.*, p. 141.
18. Indicative references to football matches with crews of foreign ships: The Piraeus Football Association 'Aris' against the crew of the French flagship 'Provence'), K38-Φ7-E27, Football matches between French soldiers and the athletes of 'Goudi', K39-Φ4-E12, E13. A match between the Piraeus Football Union and the English delegation, K44-Φ14-E15. A match between the N.Football team and the N.English team for the 'Sister of the Soldier', K40-Φ1-E1, E2. The Naval Football team and the French naval team, K40-Φ1-E4. The Football club of the naval marines and English marine football team, K40-Φ1-E5, E7, E9. The Panhellenic Football Club and the ship Ark Boejial's team, K40-Φ1-E10. Between the French association football team and the Piraeus team, K40-Φ9-E1. Between the French military team and the 9th Cretan Regiment, K40-Φ1-E1. The Piraeus Football Union and the English naval marines team, K40-Φ14-E18.
19. K29-Φ13-E12.
20. K24-Φ3-E1, K31-Φ5-E2, K31-Φ4-E7, K31-Φ4-E29, K31-Φ10-E34.
21. Norbert Elias-Eric Dunning, *Quest for Excitement. Sport and Leisure in the Civilizing Process*, Greek translation by Souzi Cheirdari-Giota Kakarouka, Dromeas, Athens 1998, pp. 227-263.
22. K43-Φ1-E34.
23. K31-Φ1-E34.
24. Vasilis Kardasis, *Ολυμπιακός, ένα αρχείο - μια ιστορία*. (Olympiakos, An archive - a history), Militos, Athens, undated, p.10.
25. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes 1924-1933, 13rd Session 27.2.1925, p. 42.
26. HOC Archives, ibid., 10th Session, 24/10/1927 p.134, and 18th Session, 23/1/1928, p. 151.
27. K52-Φ4-E74.
28. K55-Φ1-E34, E34.1. K55-Φ1-E35, K55-Φ1-E41.
29. K56-Φ1-E3, E4.
30. K56-Φ1-E7.
31. K58-Φ1-E101.
32. K55-Φ1-E45, K56-Φ1-E18, E18.2.
33. K56-Φ1-E13, E23, E28.1.
34. K56-Φ1-E43.
35. K56-Φ2-E10, E12, E16.
36. K58-Φ1-E60, E70. K58-Φ2-E24.
37. HOC Archives, op.cit., 14th Session 27/11/1931, p. 328. Also: HOC Archives, ibid., 1st Session 24/11/1932, p. 379. From 1931, however, when this action was taken, the HOC 'even towards the sellers of the ground have they fulfilled their obligations, nor have they broached the matter of the building of the Stadium in N.Faliro, even though an architectural competition had been proclaimed and the relative draft plans submitted because of the failure of the State to pay the compensation owing...'. The financial and bureaucratic difficulties encountered by the HOC in the completion of the work, brought it into conflict with ESAP. The limited liability company 'Greek Electric Railways' resorted to an extra-judicial protest to the HOC, in 1935, for a breach in the conditions of the contract, charging that no 'construction of the said work had been carried out'. K58-Φ5-E61, K63-Φ10-E10. The matter ended with the commencement of works on the stadium in 1936. The Karaïskakis stadium was the second, after the Panathenean stadium, to be owned by the HOC.
38. The name of the hero of the 1821 Revolution, Georgios Karaïskakis, was given to the Velodrome. The monument of the hero and the Velodrome were entirely linked as they were located in the same 'geographical' area. Plain inspiration and historical memory seemed to have come together to form the agent that led to the re-naming of the modern stadium. In 1972 at a plenary session of the HOC, the 87th session, the offer of the sculptor Petros N. Moraitis was accepted, 'concerning the creation of the bust of the hero Karaïskakis...and the placing of it on a pedestal in front of the main entrance to the Stadium of the same name', K194-Φ7-E65.
39. K73-Φ3-E7.
40. K194-Φ4-E14.
41. Georgos Arkoulis, *Από τον Δομάζο στον Ντέμη...Ο κόσμος των γηπέδων στο μικροσκόπιο* (From Domazos to Demis...A close look at the world of football grounds), Toumbis. Athens 2001, pp. 33-42.

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1. K132-Φ1-E14.
2. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes VII, 22.5.1921-15.10.1923, 3rd Session, 29/3/1922, p. 16.
3. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes 1924-1933, 7th Session, 14.07.1924, pp. 21-23.
4. Pavlos Manitakis, *100 Χρόνια Νεοελληνικού Αθλητισμού 1830-1930* (100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930), Athens 1962, pp. 442, 460.
5. K54-Φ2-E62.
6. Ch. S. Solomonidis - Nikolaos Emm. Lorentis, *Ta 75 χρόνια των Πανιώνιων* (75 Years of Panionios), Panionios, Athens 1967, p. 148.
7. P. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 488-491.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 539.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 542.
10. Thanos Veremis, 'Greece between the Wars (1922-1940)', in *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* (Educational Greek Encyclopaedia) vol. 25, *Ελληνική Ιστορία* (Greek History), Ekdotiki Athinon, Athens 1992, pp. 389-396 (in Greek).
11. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes 1924-1933, 38th Session, 29.10.1928, p. 207.
12. P. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 591-592.
13. K54-Φ1-E133.
14. K54-Φ1-E133.
15. K54-Φ2-E47.
16. K54-Φ2-E81.
17. K54-Φ2-E76.
18. K54-Φ1-E166, K54-Φ2-E92, K54-Φ2-E95.
19. K54-Φ1-E163, K54-Φ1-E220, K54-Φ1-E220.1.
20. P. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 620.
21. K55-Φ1-E194.
22. P. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 633.
23. Thanos Veremis, *op.cit.*, pp. 394-396.
24. Thomas Giannakis, 'Balkan Games 1929-1999', in *Αθληση και Κοινωνία* (Sport and Society, Journal of Athletic Science), 23, 1999, p. 28 (in Greek).
25. Thanos Veremis, *op.cit.*, p. 396.
26. K55-Φ1-E155.1.
27. K55-Φ1-E249.
28. K55-Φ1-E194.
29. K55-Φ1-E181.2.
30. 'direct meetings between the Balkan Sports Unions, having become quite frequent recently, in football athletics, cycling, motorcycling, tennis, fencing, etc, deserve full encouragement. No doubt, their logical outcome will inevitably lead to the organisation of inter-Balkan games...'. K55-Φ1-E-181.
31. K63-Φ3-E38, K63-Φ3-E49, K63-Φ3-E51.
32. K77-Φ10-E8.
33. K77-Φ10-E8.
34. K132-Φ1-E9.
35. K132-Φ1-E13.
36. K132-Φ1-E14.
37. K122-Φ3-E5, E6.
38. K167-Φ16-E8.
39. K167-Φ16-E24, E25.
40. K132-Φ1-E14.
41. K132-Φ1-E14.
42. K132-Φ1-E14.
43. Eric Hobsbawm, *The age of extremes. The short twentieth century 1914-1991*, Greek translation by Vassilis Kapetanyannis, Themelio, Athens 1999, pp. 290-327.

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1. K62-Φ6-E1, K62-Φ1-E2 and K62-Φ6-E2, K62-Φ1-E1.
2. K62-Φ3-E6.
3. *Ibid.*
4. K62-Φ3-E7.σ1.
5. K62-Φ3-E6.
6. K62-Φ1-E44 and K62-Φ4-E22.
7. K62-Φ1-E9.
8. In Greece the distinction between amateurs and professionals had already appeared in 1859 on the occasion of the Zappas Olympiads, where the competitors in the horse race were divided into two categories. The question, however, did not appear to concern those involved in sport before the Olympic Games of 1896. The first attempt by associations to make a distinction between 'amateur professional athletes' was expressed in 1895 by the Athens Athletic Club. The Club's constitution, whose members came from a higher urban class of the capital, made it a pre-requisite that members should be amateur sports people. That meant that any person who had competed in sport for financial reward, was a professional athlete or a gymnast, was banned from joining the association. In a corresponding series of articles in the press bodies like the Panellinios (Panhellenic) and the Ethnikos (National), who had

put forward gymnasts, were considered professional. The question assumed further dimensions and triggered strong reactions from the gymnasts, in view of the 1896 Games. The opinion of the IOC pacified the athletic associations of the gymnasts, as the term professionalism was restricted to associations and did not apply to individuals. See Christina Koulouri, *Sport et société bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L' Harmattan, 2000, pp. 95-98.

9. The English sporting newspaper *Sporting Life* had already taken the initiative and had published at eight-month intervals (from October 1908 to May 1909) the views of 150 personalities and partner institutions from all over the world related to the subject. See K30-Φ4-E38.

10. The proclamation was made by the German professor Leyhausen, on the orders of Goebbels, who represented the German government at the Orphic feasts of Angelos Sikelianos. See K62-Φ1-E8.σ1.

11. K62-Φ1-E8. For the HOC's conforming to the IOC's orders, See HOC Archives K62-Φ6-E21, where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes it known that it does not accept the application of Leyhausen to put on theatrical presentations within the framework of the Fortieth Anniversary.

12. K62-Φ1-E16 and K62-Φ1-E16.σ2.
13. K62-Φ1-E13α. 14. K62-Φ8-E18.
15. K62-Φ8-E29.
16. K62-Φ9-E45.
17. K62-Φ4-E6.
18. K62-Φ8-E21.
19. See the informative letter of the secretary of the HOC Rinopoulos to the absent de Coubertin, K62-Φ5-E86.
20. K62-Φ8-E24.
21. K62-Φ9-E44.
22. K62-Φ3-E8.
23. K62-Φ4-E12.
1. The organising committee of the XI Olympic Games, Berlin 1936, the general secretary, Diem, K67-Φ3-E1.
2. Pouret Henry, 'The Olympic Flame', in *Λεύκωμα της 15ης Συνόδου της Διεθνούς Ολυμπιακής Ακαδημίας* (Album of the 15th Meeting of the International Olympic Academy), IOA-HOC, Athens 1976, pp. 124-130 (in Greek).
3. Walters Borgers, 'The Olympic torch run, The link between the ancient and the modern Olympic Games', in *Λεύκωμα της 36ης Συνόδου της Διεθνούς Ολυμπιακής Ακαδημίας* (Album of the 36th Convention of the International Olympic Academy), IOA-HOC, Athens 1997, pp. 162-163.
4. Ch. Anninos, 'Description of the Games', in *The Olympic Games 776 B.C.- 1896 A.D.*, Charles Beck, Athens 1896, pp. 149-150.
5. El. G. Skiadas, *Ολυμπιακή Φλόγα. Η δάδα των αιώνων* (The Olympic Flame, the torch of the centuries), Mikros Romios, Athens 1997, pp. 20-21.
6. W. Borgers, *op.cit.*, p. 164.
7. Newspaper *Ελεύθερος Ανθρωπος* (Free Man): 13.8.1936, K69-Φ11-E5. The Olympic celebration in Tegea: 'In the picturesque area of the old Episcopacy of Tegea an Olympic celebration will take place under the auspices of the Tegea Association, at 4.00 p.m. next Monday, in commemoration of the event, that on 22nd May 1934 during a session of the International Olympic Committee, the decision was taken to organise a Olympic torch run from Olympia to Berlin. During the celebration a commemorative plaque will be placed and afterwards folk games will be carried out...' in honour of Athena and the goddess of Health, while 'throughout the celebration a torch run will take place from the Shrine of Athena to the ancient walls of the Old Episcopacy, where the celebration will be carried out'. The only mistake noted in the engraved text of the memorial plaque is that Tegea 22nd May is referred to as the place where the idea of the torch run was conceived, while the International Olympic Committee had in essence taken the decision a few days earlier, on 18 May.
8. K68-Φ2-E1.
9. K67-Φ1-E12.
10. K67-Φ44-E7.
11. K67-Φ4-E82.
12. K67-Φ1-E12.
13. K67-Φ1-E21.
14. K67-Φ1-E21.
15. K67-Φ1-E17.
16. K67-Φ3-E21.
17. The anti-Communist climate following the October revolution of the Bolsheviks in 1917 became a subject of national concern in Europe, and also in Greece. In the most recent appearance of the 'Communist danger' it filled the ideological void that was created after the collapse of the Great Idea. Alkis Rigos, *Η Β' Ελληνική Δημοκρατία 1924-1935. Κοινωνικές διαστάσεις της πολιτικής σκηνής*, (2nd Greek Republic 1924-1935, Social dimensions of the political scene), Themelio, Athens 1988, pp. 266-267.
18. K67-Φ4-E66.
19. K67-Φ11-E31.1.
20. K67-Φ9-E50.
21. K67-Φ9-E32.
22. K67-Φ9-E25.
23. K67-Φ4-E95.
24. K67-Φ1-E51.1.
25. K67-Φ1-E52.1.
26. K67-Φ1-E53.
27. K67-Φ1-E57.
28. K67-Φ4-E119.
29. K67-Φ1-E39.
30. 'Olympics, The dissonance of the bishop', newspaper *Νεολόγος Πατρών* (Neologos of Patras), 2.8.1936, K69-Φ2-E27: 'The "holy fire" of Olympia arrived in Berlin. In fact, it has been burning since yesterday afternoon in the Tower of Marathon, while we here are still discussing if it was right for a Christian bishop to bless the torch of the first runner or was his presence in the shrine of false gods and the symbolic pagan ceremony a discordant note...many considered the bishop as part of the official presentation and it never occurred to them to question whether he was right or not to go there, simply because the whole celebration had no other significance for the people than purely spectacular...!'
31. K67-Φ1-E38.
32. K67-Φ1-E2.
33. K67-Φ4-E132.
34. K67-Φ6-E27, E29.
35. K67-Φ1-E17.1.
36. K68-Φ9-E7.2.
37. K67-Φ10-E40.
38. K67-Φ1-E7.
39. K68-Φ9-E7.2.
40. The German Jew, Theodor Lewald, member of the IOC and member of the German Olympic committee, was a victim of the regime's anti-Semitism, as they tried to remove him from every position of responsibility during the Games. See Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1987, pp. 237-240.
41. K67-Φ11-E52.
42. K67-Φ11-E52.α.
43. Georgios A. Vlachos, *Ἄρθρα του πολέμου 1940-1941* (Articles written during the war 1940-41).
44. K67-Φ11-E9, E72.

45. Newspaper *Πρωία* (Morning), 2.8.1936, K69-Φ2-E15.
 46. Newspaper *Νέος Κόσμος* (Neos Kosmos), 2.8.1936, K69-Φ2-E18.
47. El.G.Skiadas, *op.cit.*, pp. 68-69. 48. K68-Φ9-E7.
 49. International Olympic Committee, *Olympic Charter*. Olympic flame, Olympic Torch, Lausanne 2000, p. 23.

1. To further the aims of the Third Reich, the structure of the ceremonial aspects of the holding of the Games and the new features such as the torch race, the Olympic village, the official filming of the event and the extensive radio network coverage and broadcasting of the Games, see Josef Schmidt, «Événement fasciste et spectacle mondial: Les Jeux Olympiques de Berlin en 1936» in Régine Robin (dir.), *Masses et culture de masse dans les années 30*, Paris, Les Éditions Ouvrières-Collection Mouvement Social, 1991, pp.163-179.

2. On the political situation and political crisis, as well as the important changes taking place in Greek society and the Greek economy during the period 1909-1936, that is to say, from the beginning of the Venizelist period until the Metaxas dictatorship, there is a rich bibliography, of which we mention just a few publications: George Th. Mavrogordatos, *Stillborn Republic: Social Coalitions and Party Strategies in Greece, 1922 - 1936*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1983, Thanos Veremis, Odysseas Dimitrakopoulos (dir.), *Μελετήματα γύρω από τον Βενιζέλο και την εποχή του* (Studies on Venizelos and his times), Athens, Philippotis, 1980, Giorgos Mavrokordatos, Christos Hatziossif (dir.), *Βενιζελισμός και αστικός περισυγχρονισμός* (Venizelism and modernization) Heraklio, University of Crete Publications, 1988, *Συμπόσιο για τον Ελευθέριο Βενιζέλο* (Acts of the Symposium about Eleftherios Venizelos), Athens, ELIA/Benaki Museum, 1988.

3. K57-Φ1-E36. 4. K66-Φ2-E14.
 5. K66-Φ2-E13.σ1 and K66-Φ2-E15.
 6. K66-Φ3-E10 and K66-Φ3-E16.
 7. K68-Φ8-E3 and K66-Φ4.
 8. K66-Φ2-E28.σ1.
 9. K66-Φ3-E4.
 10. K63-Φ3-E29, K63-Φ3-E30.σ1, K63-Φ3-E31, K63-Φ3-E29, K67-Φ4-E66, K67-Φ11-E31.σ1, K67-Φ11-E31.σ2.
 11. Newspaper *Rizospastis*, 29 June 1936.
 12. K63-Φ3-E30.σ1.
 13. Richard D. Mandell, *The Nazi Olympics*, Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1987, pp.122-123.
 14. *Ibid.*, pp.130-139.
 15. K65-Φ6-E32.σ1 and K65-Φ6-E35.
 16. K66-Φ1-E19, K66-Φ1-E20, K66-Φ1-E47.
 17. K61-Φ2-E92.σ2 and K66-Φ2-E16.
 18. Stavros Stavridis, "Advertising and public space in the city: the pre-history of their relationship with the Metaxas Dictatorship", in *Η πόλη στους νεότερους χρόνους. Μεσογειακές και Βαλκανικές όψεις 19^ο - 20^ο αι.* (The City in Modern and Contemporary Times, Mediterranean and Balkan aspects 19th - 20th c.), Athens, Etaireia Meletis Neou Ellinismou, 2000, pp. 221-233 (in Greek) and Eleni Machaira, *Η Νεολαία της 4^η Αυγούστου. Φωτογραφίες* (The 4th August Youth. Photographs), Athens, IAEN, 1987.

1. Vikelas Archives, EBE, doc. 865, in K. Georgiadis, *Die ideengeschichtliche Grundlage der Erneuerung der Olympischen Spiele im 19. Jahrhundert in Griechenland und ihre Umsetzung 1896 in Athen*, Agon Sport-Verlag 2000, p. 440.

2. P. N. Manitakis, *100 Χρόνια Νεοελληνικού Αθλητισμού 1830-1930* (100 Years of Modern Greek Sport 1830-1930), Athens 1962, p. 106.

3. The escalation of hostility in Greek-Turkish relations, caused by the delegation to Crete of a Greek military force in February 1897 and intransigence on both sides led to hostilities between the two countries. The Greek-Turkish War of 1897 broke out. Greece was totally unprepared for that war, in which it risked losing part of the few territories it had at that time. It came out of the war in 1897 nationally humiliated and economically bankrupt. The post-war decade (1898-1909) was characterised by intense popular dissatisfaction with the political parties and the king for their actions during the war, the attempts at economic recovery, the restructuring of the armed forces and the re-establishing of Greece's international relations. The only positive result for the Greek people that arose from the embroilment of 1897 was the recognition of the complete autonomy of Crete.

4. Ioannis Chryssafis, *Οι σύγχρονοι διεθνείς Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες* (The Modern International Olympic Games), vol. 1, Athens 1930, p. 388.

5. The newspaper *Εμπρός* (Embros) covered most of the cost of sending the athletes Versis and Paraskevopoulos to the Games. See El. G. Skiadas, *100 Χρόνια Νεώτερη Ελληνική Ολυμπιακή Ιστορία* (100 years of Modern Greek Olympic History), Nea Newspaper, Athens 1996, p.150.

6. I. Chryssafis, *op.cit.*, p. 390.
 7. K13-Φ1-E13.
 8. N. Politis, *Ο Πατραϊκός Αθλητισμός, Από την εποχή του Τόφαλον ως την ίδρυση της Παναχαϊκής, τ.Β'* (Sports in Patras. From Tofalos' times to the foundation of Panachaiki Club), Achaic Editions, Patras 1997, pp. 21-34, 70-82.

9. K23-Φ6-E68 and K24-Φ12-E1.
 10. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes III, 1.3.1907-15.9.1909, 76^η Session, 17.11.1907, p.184.
 11. The athletes took part in the track events, shooting and cycling.
 12. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes III, *op.cit.*, 68^η Session, 2.6.1907, pp. 152-153,

13. Ibid., 77th Session, 13/12/1907, p.188.
14. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 229.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 240.
16. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, 19.9.1909-12.07.1914, 133rd Session, 10.3.1912 and 134th Session, 18.4.1912, pp. 397, 399.
17. K34-Φ1-E1, E2, E3, E4, E5. K34-Φ2-E12, E14, E15, E16. K34-Φ3-E5, E6.
18. K34-Φ3-E8.
19. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 300.
20. The athletes took part in track events, shooting, fencing and swimming.
21. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 319.
22. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, 19.9.1909-12.07.1914, 142nd Session, 10.2.1913, p. 423.
23. The 5/42 Regiment of Evzones on 5/12/1919 mentioned to the HOC: 'for seven months now an athletic division has been in operation training the 24 athletes. The initial aim of this division, while the Regiment was still in Russia, was to provide those athletes of the Athenian Gymnastic Associations serving in the army with the means whereby they could train...'. Further on, the results of the games among the soldier-athletes are mentioned. Finally, the HOC was requested to send gymnastic instruments and complete details of the programme of events of the Anvers Games, so that it could take the necessary steps to train its athletes. K30-Φ11-E12.
24. Othon Tsounakos, 'The Great Greece and the Asia Minor Campaign', in *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια* (Educational Greek Encyclopaedia) vol. 25, *Ελληνική Ιστορία* (Greek History), Ekdotiki Athinon, 1992, pp. 378-379 (in Greek).
25. Rena Brisimi-Maraki, *Ένας αιώνας Ελλάδα, μια διαφορετική προσέγγιση στη σχολική Ιστορία* (A Century of Greece, a different approach to school history), Kastaniotis, Athens 2000, pp. 63-66. See also Eleni Gardika-Katsiadaki, 'Greece and the First World War', in *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, *op.cit.*, pp. 371-377 (in Greek).
26. Christina Koulouri, *Sport et Société bourgeoise. Les associations sportives en Grèce 1870-1922*, Paris, L'Harmattan, 2000, pp. 114-122.
27. El. G. Skiadas, *op.cit.*, pp. 213-215.
28. 'because, however, according to the relevant clauses (3 of article 44 of Law 2126), if Greece participates in the Games, our Committee is obliged to shoulder the full burden of sending the selected Greek athletes abroad... we have the honour, Mr. Minister, of letting you know, that the material means at the Committee's disposal are in no way sufficient to cover the costs of the delegation... for that reason the Committee hopes that the Ministry of Education will wish to propose to the Present Government that it should provide the funds required for the Committee to carry out its task...', K41-Φ1-E46.
29. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes VI, 1918-1921, 14th Session 14.11.1919, p.1. Finally, a special decree was passed to grant the sum of 250,000 drachmas. In the same, 20th Session, 11.4.1920, p. 2.
30. Ibid., 16th Session, 12.2.1920, p. 2.
31. The athletes took part in track events, wrestling, fencing, shooting, water-polo and football.
32. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 346.
33. K43-Φ1-E29.
34. 1) The Corfu Gymnastics Academy 'can put forward the famous cricket team, for that, our Club is proud to believe that it will have the required ability to win the olive branch of victory in the Stadium at Brussels...'. K43-Φ1-E47. The HOC, however, because of the cost of sending the team, and also recognising the obvious supremacy of the English, cancelled their entry. Sensibilities in the Corfu Club were bruised, however, who said that 'local games unfortunately confined within Corfu were not given due importance and recognition by athletic circles outside...'. K42-Φ1-E20. 2) The Union of Greek Athletes asked for an increase in financial sponsorship for the fencing, football and shooting teams. K42-Φ1-E21. 3) The Union of Greek Athletes protested to the Executive Games Committee of Anvers about the inefficient way the shooting training was carried out and the disqualification of the athletes. K42-Φ4-E18. 4) The Vourvoura Club commented that the preliminary shooting games took place without being announced and asked to be told how it would be possible for the Club's athletes, who had not taken part in the test heats, could compete. K42-Φ4-E22. 5) The footballers of the Greek team complained to the Executive Games Committee, regarding the delegation's budget, as it appeared that their participation might be cancelled due to lack of funds: 'allow us to express to you... our just complaints regarding the question of the football Team, which it had the honour of believing good enough to represent Greece at the International Games in Belgium...already we have been informed that due to inadequate funds the Honourable Committee is in doubt...I cannot imagine that it is possible to dampen the enthusiasm of ¼ of the Athletic World, those who are members of the football team, but also the truly great work that will send the football team...'. K42-Φ2-E116.
35. K42-Φ1-E9.
36. K42-Φ1-E7.
37. K43-Φ1-E45.
38. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes VI, 1918-1921, 17th Session, 22.2.1920, p. 2.
39. K42-Φ2-E1.
40. K42-Φ1-E2.
41. K42-Φ1-E6.
42. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 372.
43. K42-Φ3-E6.
44. K42-Φ3-E1.
45. 'we beg the Olympic Games Committee to reconsider the old rules of the events and to bring them in line with international' Letter of SEGAS to the HOC, 26.12.1923: K48-Φ6-E15.
46. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes VII, 22.5.1921-15.10.1923, 7th Session, 5.9.1923, pp. 46-47.
47. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 421.
48. The athletes took part in track events, shooting, lawn tennis, fencing, swimming, water polo, wrestling and boxing.
49. K48-Φ2-E2 and K48-Φ2-E2.1.
50. 'private initiative collected significant (amounts)...in supplementing state funding, as it is important for national and political reasons to ensure that Greece makes a dignified impression at the Paris Olympic Games...'. K48-Φ2-E10.
51. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 437.
52. K48-Φ6-E6.
53. K48-Φ6-E8.
54. I would like here to note a fact that hindered SEAGS's

and the HOC's efforts to select the Greek Olympic team. Egged on by the Union of Athletes, the athletes came out on strike against the holding of preliminary games to select the athletes for the Olympic Games. In other words, they demanded that no limits be set on their participation in the Games. In that way they managed to boycott the preliminary games in Athens, but not, however, in the areas outside. SEAGS took the strikers to court. The new HOC, however, organised their own preliminary games allowing anyone to participate, including the strikers, after lifting the ban on their participation. A relevant document from the HOC to SEAGS was found in the archives: 'our Committee... has the honour of asking that you show a measure of indulgence towards those Association strikers under punishment...as many of those who did not participate in the Panhellenic Games are distinguished Greek athletes'. K48-Φ2-E11.

55. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 441.

56. 'the gymnast resident in Paris, Mr. Bamieros, willingly accepts to run the office for the collection of information about Greek athletes', HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, 1924-1933, 6th Session, 12.6.1924, p. 18.

57. K48-Φ2-E55.

58. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 457.

59. The Committee Secretary "Arts et Relations Exterieures" informs the HOC about it: 'We are happy to inform you that the Judges of the Sculpture competition, in the session of May 27 awarded the Vermeil Olympic medal to Costas Dimitriadis for his work...', K48-Φ1-E28.

60. 1928-1929 Budget: in the extra expenses is included the 'state grant for the Amsterdam Olympic Games (...) etc' 1,500,000. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, 1924-1933, p. 134.

61. K53-Φ2-E60.

62. K53-Φ4-E2.

63. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, p. 546.

64. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, *op.cit.*, 24th Session, 9.4.1928, p. 166.

65. K53-Φ4-E41.

66. 'The Committee regrets that, because of the prolonged dispute between the football organisations, there has not been enough time to put together and train the National football team, Greece's participation in the Olympic Games has had to be cancelled'. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, *op.cit.*, 29th Session, 5.5.1928, p. 175.

67. Greek athletes participated in track events, boxing, wrestling and fencing.

68. K53-Φ2-E63.

69. P. N. Manitakis, *op.cit.*, pp. 588-589.

70. K53-Φ2-E60.

71. 'Greece, whatever the sacrifice, must be represented in these games by a small team, and also for historic reasons so as not to be deprived of the advantage of the Greek flag being first among all the flags of the participating nations in the Games during the parade of the athletes. For this purpose it is proposed that an appeal be published in the newspapers to those who are able to help this effort financially, so that we can raise the sum of 500,000 drachmas, which it is estimated will be needed to send at most four athletes...', HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, *op.cit.*, 18th Session, 13.5.1932, pp. 343-344.

72. K59-Φ1-E7.

73. K59-Φ3-E31.

74. K60-Φ3-E22.

75. (Balance sheets of the Hellenic Olympic Committee Contributions of Greek Americans and Clubs Expenses of the Olympic Committee). K60-Φ4-E62.A and K59-Φ3-E36.1.

76. K60-Φ3-20.

77. See the programme of festivities in: K59-Φ3-E3.

78. K60-Φ4-E39.

79. K60-Φ3-E37.

80. HOC Archives, Book of Minutes, *op.cit.*, 25th Session, 15.6.1932, p. 361.

81. 'To the Olympic Games Committee we grant the sum of fifty thousand drachmas (50,000) drachmas towards the expenses of sending the Greek National athletics team to the International Olympic Games in Los Angeles, California...'. K60-Φ4-E51.

82. The Greek delegation took part in Graeco-Roman wrestling and freestyle wrestling, shooting and boxing.

83. K59-Φ7-E1.

84. The monarchy had been abolished in Greece in 1924 and in 1935 George II was reinstated on the throne with a rigged referendum, immediately after the failure of the Venizelist-military movement.

85. The Greek athletes participated in track events, wrestling, swimming, shooting, fencing and boxing.

86. K68-Φ18-E9

87. K68-Φ9-E5.1,

88. K68-Φ9-E8,

89. K68-Φ9-E5,

90. K68-Φ9-E1.1,

91. K68-Φ9-E2.1.

92. Nikolaos Economou, 'From the liberation to the end of the Civil War (1944-1949)', in *Εκπαιδευτική Ελληνική Έγκυρος Κώδικας*, *op.cit.*, pp. 405-416 (in Greek).

93. K68-Φ2-E1.

94. The reference here to Britain is linked to its role in the 'Battle of Athens' against EAM (National Liberation Front), 'The December Events', as mentioned above. K86-Φ1-E3.

95. K86-Φ1-E3.

96. K86-Φ3-E1.

97. K86-Φ3-E8.1.

98. K86-Φ3-E10.

99. K86-Φ4-E16.

100. K86-Φ4-E15.

101. K86-Φ4-E15.

102. El. G. Skiadas, *op.cit.*, pp. 345-346.

103. The Greek athletes participated in track events, Graeco-Roman wrestling, shooting, rowing, basketball, football and sailing.

104. K99-Φ5-E1.

105. El. G. Skiadas, *op.cit.*, pp. 361-362.

106. The Greek athletes participated in Graeco-Roman wrestling, freestyle wrestling, track events, shooting, sailing and rowing.

107. K111-Φ1-E1.

108. K111-Φ5-E1.

109. The Greek athletes participated in wrestling, track events, shooting, boxing, weight-lifting and rowing.

110. K124-Φ3-E5.

111. K124-Φ3-E6.

112. K124-Φ3-E2.
 113. K124-Φ3-E3.
 114. K124-Φ2-E14.
 115. K124-Φ2-E15.
 116. Sailing report: 'during the social events our team...and on the yacht Christina of Mr.Onassis where they dined with various celebrities and members of the aristocracy of Rome and Naples the conduct of our athletes was perfect from every point of view.'. K124-Φ3-E4.
 117. The Greek athletes participated in wrestling, track events, shooting and sailing.
 118. El. G. Skiadas, op.cit., pp. 409-414.
 119. K147-Φ1-E1.
 120. K147-Φ1-E1.
 121. The Greek athletes participated in boxing, wrestling, track events, water-polo, shooting, weight-lifting and sailing.
 122. K175-Φ4-E14.
 123. K175-Φ4-E4.
 124. K205-Φ5-E1.1.
 125. K205-Φ5-E1.5.

ΣΤΗΛΙΑΚΟΙ ΠΡΙΣΜΑΤΙΚΟΙ ΚΩΝΙΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΣ

1. Woodpulp contains lignin in its composition, which accounts for the acidity in the paper.
2. The term 'archival quality' describes materials and constructions, whose particular specifications are for long term storage that endure over time and are suitable for the preservation of book and archival material. Each archival material (paper, cardboard, plastic) has different qualities, like chemical stability, alkaline reserve in the composition of paper, the absence of acidic components, plasticisers, metallic elements etc. These materials create a beneficial or at least stable environment, which is essential for the longevity of the material.
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4. Clips cause malformations and damage to the already mal-treated material, which is in such a state that it cannot hold the weight of another material.
5. After conservation, the natural risk integrity of the document depends on correct use and handling.
6. The volumes Copies of Correspondence are an early method of copying documents. The transfer of the texts to the volumes of this type were done with the use of iron gall inks specially formulated to the original text, which could be made into many copies when it came into contact with the dampened semi-transparent pages of the volumes.
7. The index is distinct from the remaining body of the volume as it is of different paper and decorated in red along the edges.
8. The light, as a factor of attrition, is not examined in the case of the HOC archives, as levels of light during the day are low, and the documents are stored in boxes.
9. Humidity is the value that expresses the amount of condensation found in the atmosphere. When we refer to the humidity of an area, we always bear in mind the prevalent temperature. The figure resulting from the combination of the above amounts, which determines the environmental conditions, is the *relative humidity*.
10. Under natural conditions, a rise in temperature causes a fall in the relative humidity and vice versa.
11. According to the season and on days with extreme weather conditions the daily and weekly reading shows the conditions of relative humidity and temperature that prevail in the storage area in much greater detail.

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