

In Search Of the Artists of 1912

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The Art Competitions of the modern Olympic Games appeared for the first time in the Fifth Olympiad, celebrated in 1912, Stockholm. Under the umbrella of Art Competitions were five events, i.e., Architecture, Music, Literature, Painting and Sculpture. This research addresses one principal question regarding those competitions: "Who were the artists competing in these events?" This seemingly simple question has never before been addressed or answered.

The greatest obstacle impeding any inquiry into the subject of the Olympic Art Competitions in general is the paucity of literature on the topic. What little is available are tabular presentations of the event medallists,¹ simple acknowledgements and outlines of their existence² or complaints of their lack of interest.³ No comprehensive study of the Olympic Art Competitions has yet been published. The available literature on the specific subject of this research, however, beyond the official Olympiad reports and the discovery of Baron de Coubertin's surreptitious entry as a competitor, is nonexistent. Thus, the search for the identity of the competing artists must begin by examining the reports of the 1912 events. In these reports we find the following participant list:⁴

ARCHITECTURE:

Gold Medal - Eug. Monod et Laverriere,
Switzerland

"Building Plan for a Modern Stadium"

Silver Medal - None Awarded

Bronze Medal - None Awarded

MUSIC:

Gold Medal - Ricardo Barthelemy, Italy
"Olympic Triumphant March"

Silver Medal - None Awarded

Bronze Medal - None Awarded

LITERATURE:

Gold Medal - Georges Hohrod et M. Eschbach,
Germany

"Ode to Sport"

Silver Medal - None Awarded

Bronze Medal - None Awarded

PAINTING:

Gold Medal - G. Pelligrini, Italy
"Winter Sport"

Silver Medal - None Awarded

Bronze Medal - None Awarded

SCULPTURE:

Gold Medal - Walter Winans, USA
"An American Trotter"

Silver Medal - Georges Dubois, France

"Model of the entrance to a Modern Stadium"

Bronze Medal - None Awarded

As can be seen from the above, only the medallists in each of the art categories were listed. Even in this listing some of the medal-

list's names are incomplete and therefore do not provide a full identification of those individuals. Thus, this report begins by fully identifying the medallists of these events.

The first incomplete entry on the list is that of the architects "Eug. Monod et Laverriere." An examination of an Olympic Architectural Competition conducted earlier in Paris in 1910-11 identifies these individuals as the architects Eugene Monod and Alphonse Laverriere⁵ from Lausanne, Switzerland. Those identities are also confirmed in the discussion of the architectural events in the German report for the Games of 1912.⁶

The next incomplete entry is for the writers "Georges Hohrod et M. Eschbach." According to the listing of the results, these two individuals entered under the flag of Germany. However, in the German report we find them entered as Georges Hohrod (France) and M. Eschbach (Germany)⁷ without any comment as to the award of the Gold medal being credited solely to Germany. Subsequently the name, M. Eschbach, was expanded to Martin Eschbach by Erich Kamper.⁸ Several years later Professor Norbert Müller discovered the surnames were the names of two villages near the birthplace of Baron de Coubertin's wife, which Coubertin adopted as a pseudonym for his entry in the Literature competitions.⁹

The last incomplete entry is "G. Pelligrini" in the Painting competition. Similar to the case with Eschbach, Erich Kamper also expanded this name to "Giovanni Pelligrini."¹⁰ The Christian name of Giovanni is the currently accepted identification and completes the listing of medalists as it appears in the records. However, among the correspondence found in the archives of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in Lausanne, was a hand-written letter from "Pellegrini" to the Baron de Coubertin in which he discusses ideas for his proposed entry in the competitions. The letter is simply signed "Pellegrini" but it is written on

personal stationary imprinted with "C. Pelligrini."¹¹ The distinction between "C" and "G" was a simple curiosity. Subsequent information found in the "Hello from Vidy" column by Raymond Gafner of the *Olympic Review*¹² identified this artist as "Carlo Pellegrini." Comparison of the signature used by Carlo Pellegrini on his artwork with the signature on the letter to the Baron de Coubertin confirms his identity and the signature on the roster of artists confirms the correct spelling of the surname as "Pellegrini" and not "Pelligrini." It is paradoxical that all of the official reports erroneously listed the gold medalist in painting as "G. Pelligrini."

The German report describing these events also identifies one other competitor when it mentions a large medallion by the artist Tait Mckenzie¹³ (sic) of Philadelphia. A visit to the library produced a biographical volume identifying him as "R.Tait McKenzie," a Canadian living in Philadelphia, and also confirmed his participation in the art competitions of 1912.¹⁴

Thus, the official listing of the 1912 competitors in the arts now appears as follows.

ARCHITECTURE:

Gold Medal - Eugene Monod & Alphonse Laverriere, Switzerland

MUSIC:

Gold Medal - Ricardo Barthelemy, Italy

LITERATURE:

Gold Medal - Georges Hohrod & Martin Eschbach, France & Germany

(pseudonym of Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin)

PAINTING:

Gold Medal - Carlo Pellegrini, Italy

SCULPTURE:

Gold Medal - Walter Winans, USA

Silver Medal - Georges Dubois, France

No Award - R. Tait McKenzie, Canada

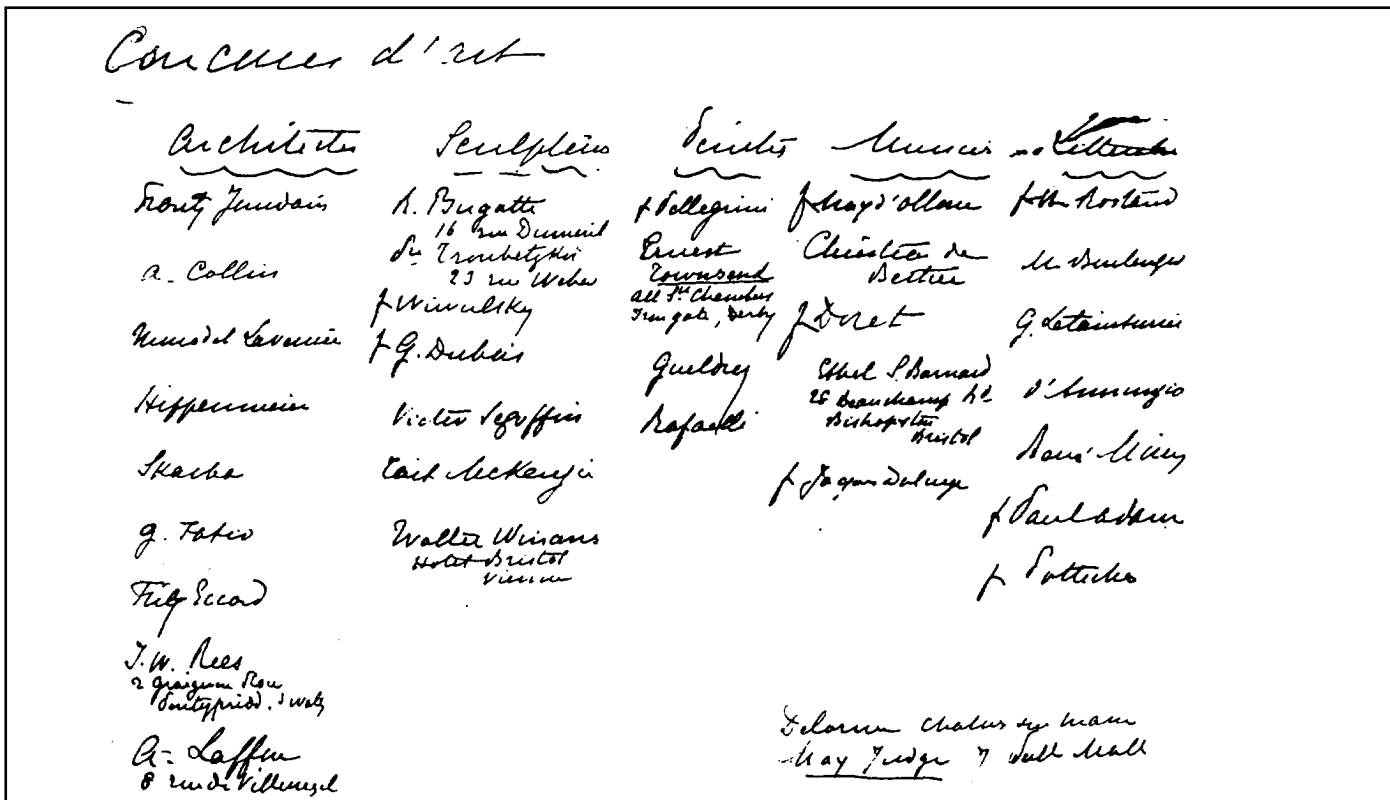
However, the above individuals surely were not the only artists entering these competitions as the official reviews in each of the categories stated none of the other entries merited awards. The simple statement there were other entries for consideration virtually demands the conclusion other artists besides McKenzie also competed in these events.

Among the correspondence in the IOC archives relating to preparations for the 1912 Olympic Games was a typewritten, signed letter from Dr. Jiri Guth, IOC Member from Bohemia¹⁵ asking where to send the submission by a Mr. O. Spaniel. The referenced letter does not ask where to send the submission when it is ready;

it asks where to send it without any conditional insinuation. This implies the artwork was ready to dispatch. Therefore, I tentatively conclude it was submitted.

This then presented the question, "who was O. Spaniel?" Fortunately a sculptor by the name of Spaniel from Czechoslovakia appeared in the Sculpture competitions at the Games of 1936 Berlin¹⁶, and was fully identified as Otakar Spaniel. A search of the Internet¹⁷ for this sculptor found only one such person. This was Otakar Spaniel (1881-1955), a famous Czech sculptor portraitist, creator of medallions, teacher of sculpture and he was originally from a region of the former Bohemia. A further search of several sets of biographical volumes¹⁸ also found only this one individual. As Mr. Spaniel at the time of the 1912 competitions was a young man climbing the ladder to fame in the world of sculpture, I concluded the identification of the O. Spaniel of the 1912 Games was now complete.

Also found among the miscellaneous materials in the IOC archives in Lausanne was the hand-written document below:



The date, purpose and authorship of the above document are unknown but it is clearly a record of some of the artists participating in the 1912 Games. The period to which it applies is verified from it being archived among the 1912 documents in Lausanne. Further, it also contains the names of some of the medallists in the 1912 art events written with acceptable legibility. The conclusion that it contains only “some” rather than “all” of the artists is that it does not include the name of Ricardo Barthelemy in the Music section and likewise does not include the names Hohrod & Eschbach in the Literature section, thus it must be concluded it is only a partial list.

A closer examination of the document indicates it was written largely, but not entirely, by one individual, a prerequisite to deciphering illegible handwriting.

The headings are written in French and from left to right are Architectes, Sculpteurs, Peintes, Musiciens, and Literature. No purpose or meaning for the small markings preceding Literature has been determined. The table below indicates the names deciphered through pattern-matching.

It is clear some of the names derived through pattern analysis matched the names of some of the medallists or other individuals mentioned in the available typewritten documents for the art events. Thus, it can be concluded those matches were accurate, the technique fundamentally valid and the document indeed related to the 1912 art events. It is also clear some of the names are not yet deciphered.

In order to evaluate if the other names were correct it was necessary to design an evaluation procedure. The first step in this procedure was to determine if actual artists during this period matched with the pattern derived names. For this purpose selected volumes of biographical dictionaries and encyclopaedias¹⁹ from the years of 1890 through 1950 and the Internet were the principal tools. Anticipating some candidates would be located and occasionally even conflicting candidates, it was necessary to create a probability spreadsheet to assist in evaluating the likelihood of any potential candidate being the correct individual.

Architectes	Sculpteurs	Peintes	Musiciens	Literature
Frantz Jourdain	R. Bugatti	** Pellegrini	** Max d'Ollone	** illegible
A. Collin	Pr. Troubetzkii	Ernest Townsend	Christien de (illegible)	M. Boulenger
Monod et Laverriere	** Winulsky	Gueldry	** Doret	G. Letainture
Hippenmeier	** G. Dubois	Rafaelli Ebbel	P. Barnard	d'Annunzio
Skarba	Victor Segoffin		** Jaques Dalcroze	Rene (illegible)
G. Fatio	Tait McKenzie			** Paul Adam
Fritz Eccord	Walter Winans			** Pottecher
J.W. Rees				
A. Laffen				

** (Represents the symbol that appears in front of several names. Its purpose is unknown.)

This required the establishment of some sort of measurable criteria that could be used in the probability spreadsheet. To keep the analysis impartial, effective and efficient, the following set of seven questions was developed. 1. How many artists of the period matched the proposed surname? 2. How many of those both matched the surname and either the Christian name or the initial if one was available? 3. How many artists fulfilling Items 1 and 2 were alive and old enough to have participated in the 1912 events? (The general parameter for this criterion was above the age of 16.) 4. How many of those were artists known in the art discipline under consideration? 5. How many were known to have produced artwork fulfilling the thematic criteria for

Olympic artwork. 6. How many were from a country involved with the Olympic movement. 7. How many had social or professional contacts with others involved in the Olympic art movement?

The maximum value obtainable under these guidelines was 99% probability. No item in the list of criteria was weighted with a greater value than any other. An example of this tool at work would be the case of Otakar Spaniel mentioned above. In each case of the seven criteria only one individual was found, giving Mr. Spaniel a rating of 99% probability for correct identification in the 1912 events. Using the aforementioned tools, we can now examine the roster of Architects.

Handwritten Registry

Of Architects Identifications

Frantz Jourdain

Frantz Jourdain - Probability. 99 % Well-known French architect. Participant in the 1906 Paris Consultative Conference on the Arts ²⁰. Judge in the 1924 Olympic Architecture Competitions. ²¹

A. Collin

(A.Collin) André Collin - Probability. 57.75% His name was on a list of architects invited to the Olympic Architecture Competitions ²² of 1910-11.

Emmond Laverrière

(Monod et Laverrière) Eugene Monod et Alphonse Laverrière - Probability 100% Gold Medallists in the Architecture Competitions. ²³

Hippenmeier

(Hippenmeier) Konrad Hippenmeier - Probability. 99 % Second place competitor in the Olympic Architecture Competitions ²⁴ of 1910-11. Although known to be a resident of Switzerland at the time, a newspaper columnist of the day said he was from Munich.

G. Fatio

(Skarba) Jules Skarba - Probability. 57.75% His name was on a list of architects invited to the Olympic Architecture Competitions ²⁵ of 1910-11.

Fritz Eccord

(G. Fatio) Guillaume Fatio - Probability. 82.5% Well-known Swiss essayist on Architecture. Brother of Edmond Fatio, famous Swiss Architect. Letter to Coubertin regarding the probable success of the Architecture Competitions. ²⁶

J. W. Rees
2 Graigum Row
Bontypriod, 1 waly

Fritz Eccord - As yet unidentified but legible.

A. Laffen
8 rue de Villeneuve

J. W. Rees - As yet unidentified but legible

A. Laffen - As yet unidentified but legible.

As can be seen from the above, the results are not only plausible but yield a high degree of probable accuracy. It is interesting to note that as more was discovered about each of these individuals their probability rating invariably increased.

The single curious entry in the Architecture events is that of G. (Guillaume) Fatio. Professionally he was a banker ²⁷, yet he was a widely published essayist on the subject of architecture and town planning and wrote to Coubertin regarding the Architecture Competitions. ²⁸ His brother, Edmond Fatio, was an acclaimed professional architect and classmate of Eugene Monod and Alphonse Laverriere. ²⁹ However, the roster entry is clearly "G" Fatio and it is speculated he also studied architecture as a young man and may have received some assistance from his brother for the indicated entry.

Following the sequence from the roster, we next examine the Sculptors.

The identifications of Bugatti and Troubetzkii were based on the following. The search for a sculptor "R. Bugatti" using

the techniques described earlier produced only one candidate, i.e. Rembrandt Bugatti. Research into Bugatti's background found that he was a client of Hébrard, a well known Parisian promoter of the arts, gallery owner and owner of a casting foundry which produced the bronzes, etc. for the more prominent sculptors of the period. Hébrard ³⁴ was very active in the artistic social circles of the day and would have been familiar with the Olympic art movement. It would be very difficult to believe Hébrard failed to inform the artists he promoted of the Olympic Art Competitions and the potential benefit to their careers, not to mention his sales of their work. Also, Bugatti always used the signature "R.Bugatti."

Ironically, the Olympic Museum in Lausanne has a replica of one of Bugatti's sculptures in their garden.

The identification of Troubetzkii was initially more problematic. Following the standard search techniques, the only candidate for a sculptor named Troubetzk (anything) was Prince Paolo Troubetzkoy. This left me somewhat confounded and thinking I had not locat-

Handwritten Registry of Sculptors
Identifications:

R. Bugatti
16 Rue Dumoulin
Pr. Troubetzkoy
23 rue Weber
J. Winulsky
J. G. Dubois

Victor Segoffin

Tait McKenzie

Walter Winans
Hotel Bristol
Vienna

(R.Bugatti) Rembrandt Bugatti- Probability. 99.% See following paragraphs.

(Pr. Troubetzkii) Pr. Paolo Troubetzkoy - Probability 99.% See following paragraphs.

Winulsky? - Unidentified

(G. Dubois) Georges Dubois- Probability 100% Silver medallist in the 1912 Sculpture events. ³⁰

Victor Segoffin - Probability 89% Well known Italian sculptor of plaques & medallions. ³¹

Tait McKenzie - Probability 100% Mentioned in the report of the results of these events. ³²

Walter Winans - Probability 100% Gold medallist in the 1912 Sculpture competitions. ³³

ed an acceptable candidate. Not mentioning this find, I was discussing the research with a friend who has a subspecialty in Russian history. Without comment I showed him the hand-written document and he instantly responded, "oh, that's Troubetzkii." I continued, "Yes, but I could not find a sculptor by that name." I then went on to disclose the closest match of Troubetzkoy. He responded by explaining that it was not uncommon for a Russian to write the name with the ending of a double "ii" instead of the "koy" or "koi." Voila! a candidate. But did he fit the other requirements? Research into Troubetzkoy's background found that he too was a client of Hébrard and personal friend of Rembrandt Bugatti.³⁵ It was also found his first wife, Elin, was Swedish and that during these early years after the turn of the century they

were travelling in Russia and Sweden.³⁶ Another curiosity was the discovery that there was also member of the International Olympic Committee named Prince Simon Troubetzkoi³⁷ (1908-1910). The spellings, Troubetzkoy and Troubetzkoi, being commonly interchanged. No relationship has yet been established, but it is nonetheless suggestive. Given these facts and all of the other criteria being fulfilled, I had a match.

The lone sculptor who continues to elude identification is Winulsky (if that is deciphered correctly). So far, searches for a sculptor named "Winul (anything)" have yet to produce leads or suggestions for this individual.

Next we examine the Painters.

Only one painter has thus far been located with the name, Ernest Townsend. He was born in New York on

Handwritten Registry of Painters

Identifications:

f. Pellegrini
Ernest
Townsend
all 3rd Chambers
Frigate, Derby

(Pellegrini) Carlo Pellegrini - Probability 100%
 Gold medallist in the 1912 Sculpture competitions.³⁸

Ernest Townsend - Probability 100%
 The name is entirely legible.
 One candidate has been located. See comment below.

Gueldry
Rafaelli

(Gueldry) Ferdinand Joseph Gueldry - Probability 58%
 or Charles Albert Gueldry - Probability 41%
 Both of the indicated artists meet all of the criteria but as yet only Ferdinand meets the Olympic genre requirement.³⁹ See comment below.

(Rafaelli) Jean François Rafaelli - Probability 99% The only Rafaelli located who was a painter during this period. He also meets all of the other criteria.⁴⁰

June 26, 1893, a member of the Salmagundi Club and the "Ligue Americaine des Artistes Professeurs."⁴¹ His Probability rating is 82 % as no evidence has yet been found of an association with others involved in the Olympic movement. Although the name Ernest Townsend is indisputable a consideration that gives pause to this being the correct Ernest Townsend is that he was from New York and would have been only 19 years old at the time of this competition. On the other hand, the age of 18 or 19 was not uncommon among the entrants in the Olympic Art Competitions during their brief history⁴² and he could have been abroad at this time.

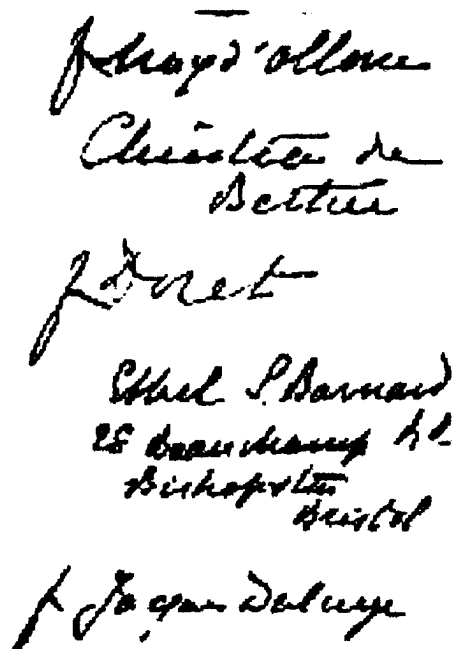
It is also clear in regard to Gueldry that further research into the candidates back-

grounds is in order. Both were born in France; Charles Albert (1884-1973) and Ferdinand Joseph (1858-1945). So far artwork meeting the Olympic requirements has only been located by Ferdinand, i.e., "Eights Racing at Putney." From the currently available, Ferdinand Joseph appears he was more active in the art mainstream of the time, enhancing his probable acquaintance with others familiar with the Olympic movement. Additionally, much of his artwork fits perfectly within the Olympic thematic requirement.

We now examine the Musicians.

Lastly we consider the Writers.

Handwritten Registry of Musicians



Max d'Ollone
Christian de
Be???
Doret
Ebbel P. Barnard
28 Broad Street
Bishopstoke
Bristol
Jaques Dalcroze

Identifications:

Max d'Ollone - Probability 99 %

Swiss music promoter / composer. Participated in 1906 Consultative Conference on the Arts.⁴³

Christien de Be??? - Unidentified.

Gustave Doret - Probability 99 %

Swiss composer. Participated in 1906 Consultative Conference on the Arts.⁴⁴

Ebbel P. Barnard - Probability 100 %

Legible but as yet unidentified. The middle initial may be "S" rather than "P."

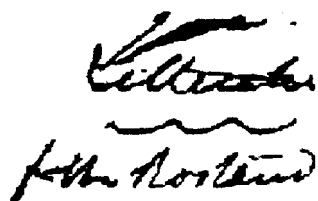
Jaques Dalcroze - Probability 99%.

Swiss composer and pianist and founder of Eurythmics as a teaching method.

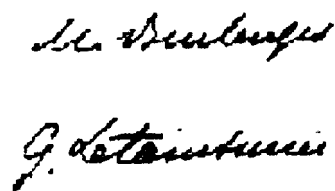
CONCLUSION

Handwritten Registry of Writers

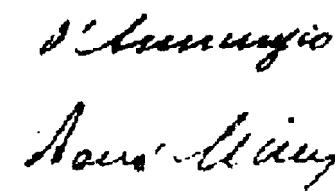
Identifications:



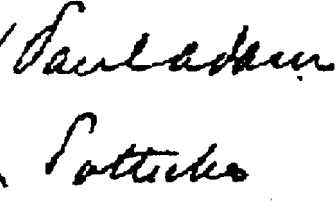
(Wm. Rost???) - Unidentified



(M. Boulenger) Marcel Boulenger - Probability 99 % French writer/critic. Participated in 1906 Consultative Conference on the Arts. ⁴⁵ Acquainted with other artists in the competitions.



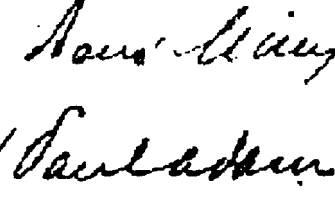
(G. Letainturier) Gabriel Letainturier Fradin - Probability 71 % French author of "Les joueurs d'épee a travers les siecles" and "La Maupin (1670-1707): sa vie, ses duels, ses aventures" (Paris, 1904) ⁴⁶



(d'Annunzio) Gabriele d'Annunzio - Probability 99 % Italian writer/poet cited by Baron de Coubertin ⁴⁷ Well known artist in Olympic art circles.



(René M???) - Unidentified



(Paul Adam) - Probability 71 % French writer/critic of the arts as symbolism. ⁴⁸



(Pottecher) Maurice Pottecher - Probability 99 Participated in 1906 Consultative Conference on the Arts. ⁴⁹ French playwright and close friend of Coubertin. ⁵⁰ Probably one of the strongest influences on Coubertin's ideas about art.

As a result of this current examination it is now possible to confirm the existence and identity of some of the artists other than the medallists who participated in the 1912 Olympic Art Competitions. Based on the conclusions drawn from this research, the identifications are as follows.

ARCHITECTURE:

- Gold Medal Eugene Monod & Alphonse Laverriere, Switzerland
- No award Frantz Jourdain, France
- " André Collin
- Konrad Hippenmeier, Germany
- Jules Skarba
- Guillaume Fatio, Switzerland
- Fritz Eccord
- J. W. Rees, Great Britain
- A. Laffen

MUSIC:



Gold Medal Ricardo Barthelemy, Italy
 No award Max d'Ollone, Switzerland
 Gustave Doret, Switzerland
 Ebbel P. Barnard, Great Britain
 Christien de (Unidentified)
 Jacques Dalcroze, France

LITERATURE:

Gold Medal Georges Hohrod & Martin Eschbach,
 France & Germany
 (Pierre de Frédy, Baron de Coubertin)
 No award Marcel Boulenger, France
 Gabriel Letainturier-Fradin, France
 Gabriele d'Annunzio, Italy
 Paul Adam, France
 Maurice Pottecher, France
 William (Unidentified)
 René (Unidentified)

PAINTING:

Gold Medal Carlo Pellegrini, Italy
 No award Ernest Townsend, Ireland
 Ferdinand Joseph Gueldry, France
 Jean François Rafaelli, France

SCULPTURE:

Gold Medal Walter Winans, USA
 Silver Medal Georges Dubois, France
 No Award R. Tait McKenzie, Canada
 Rembrandt Bugatti, Italy
 Prince Paolo Troubetzkoy, Russia
 Victor Segoffin, Italy
 Otakar Spaniel, Bohemia
 Winulsky (Unidentified)

As to the above yet unidentified artists on the roster

from these 1912 events, the quest for their identity continues. In the meanwhile, this is a first step in illuminating an otherwise elusive piece of the history of the modern Olympic Games.

End Notes

1. "Lexikon der 14000 Olympioniken" vom Erich Kamper
2. "The Olympic Celebration of the Arts" by Susan J. Bandy in "The Olympic Games in Transition" Human Kinetics, Champaign Ill. 1988
3. "Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic Exploration of modernism, 1894-1914: Aesthetics, ideology and the spectacle!" - Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, Washington, June 1996
4. "The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912" - Swedish Olympic Committee
5. "Rapport sur le Concours d'Architecture" - Revue Olympique - 1911
6. Ibid., 2.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid., 1
9. "One hundred Years of Olympic Congresses" by Norbert Müller
10. Ibid., 6
11. Letter - Pelligrini to Coubertin, 2-Feb-1911
12. Olympic Review, 1987, No. 233 -

- "Hello from Vidy" by Mr. Raymond Gafner
13. "Olympische Spiele Stockholm 1912 veranstaltet vom Internationalen Olympischen Komitee"
14. "R.Tait McKenzie - The Sculptor of Athletes" by Dr. Andrew Kozar
15. Letter - Dr. Jiri Guth, âesk? V?bor Olympijské V Praze to Coubertin, 22-Dec. 1911
16. "Olympischer Kunstwettbewerb - Katalog der Olympischen Kunstausstellung" - 1936
17. Web Page - "Czech Sculpture" URL: www.kumbal.vse.cz/~xsmat01/sochar.htm (Jun. 1998) and Web Page - "The Patron Saints of Prague University" URL: www.cuni.cz/forum/fukIIaII/historia.html (Jun. 1998)
18. "Who Was Who", Vols. I thru III, Adam & Charles Blach, London and "Dictionnaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs, et Graveurs", Vols. I thru X - Librairie Gründ, 1976
19. Ibid., 14.
20. "Seance de Commission, Compte rendu, 23,24,25 Mai 1906"
21. "Rapport Officiel - Les Jeux de la VIII' Olympiade - Paris 1924"
22. Numerous letters to Coubertin from leading architects suggesting candidates. IOC Archives
23. "Rapport sur les concours Artistiques et Littéraires de la Vme Olympiade", Revu Olympique - 1912
24. Ibid., 4.
25. Ibid., 18.
26. Handwritten Note - G. Fatio to Coubertin, 16Dec-1910
27. Web Page - URL: dawwww.epfl.ch/info/recherche/acm/expo.jardins/catalogue.intro.html (Jun. 1998)
28. Ibid., 22.
29. Web Page - URL: dawwww.epfl.ch/info/recherche/acm/expo.jardins/Guadet.html (Mar. 1998)
30. Ibid., 1.
31. Ibid., 14.
32. Ibid., 3.
33. Ibid., 1.
34. "The Bronzes of Rembrandt Bugatti - An Illustrated Catalogue and Biography". Harvey, Mary, Ascot. Palaquin Publishing. 1979.
35. Ibid., 30.
36. "Paolo Troubetzkoy - Scultore - Verbania, 1866-1938" - Alberti Libraio Editore - Intra
37. "Biographies Olympiques - Membres du C.I.O. décédés ou démissionnaires 1894-1986" - C.I.O. Lausanne
38. Ibid., 12.
39. Ibid., 14.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid.
42. "Exposition et Concours d'Art - Catalogue" - Paris, 1924
43. Ibid., 14.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Web Page - URL: www.ultranet.com/~brons/MoreMaupinSources.html and www.thebaca.com/reading2.htm (Jan. 1999).
47. "Pierre de Coubertin - Textes Choises" Ed. by Norbert Miller.
48. Ibid., 14
49. Ibid.
50. "Pierre de Coubertin's Olympic Exploration of Modernism, 1894-1914" - Douglas A. Brown - Research Quarterly for Exercise and Sport, June 1996.