

# Puzzle Solving: German Sport Historiography of the Eighties\*

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“When one turns to Germany there has been so much good history written that one hardly knows where to begin a discussion: (Allen Guttmann (1983))<sup>1</sup>

In recent past months, as I planned this review essay, I have asked as many German sports historians as I could a very simple question: “Please name the ten most important works of German sport historiography of the past ten years!” It became obvious that my own impression was quite correct: There is a basic interest in the history of sport, and in a wide variety of themes and standards; but the golden age of German sport historiography, when Germany seemed to have had the edge over other countries, has passed. We are in the general stage of “solving puzzles.” This may have its advantages, as new aspects of sport history are covered and we acquire more and more information, while in the past a lot of theory was erected on a somewhat inadequate research base.

In the history of science Kuhn<sup>2</sup> differentiates between normal science, when everyone accepts the same paradigm and solves problems accordingly, and the fascinating period when a paradigm is changing. Such a change of paradigm did take place in German sport historiography in the early 1970s. Until that time sport was generally considered apolitical,<sup>3</sup> by historians, often referred to as the most important of the unimportant matters of the world.

German scholars were among the first to accept the political role of sport. This shift of paradigm prompted them to create a new and interesting sport historiography, dealing in particular with the Nazi era, but also with the socialist workers’ sport movement, the sport culture of the GDR, and the sport movement in general.<sup>4</sup> Today this political interpretation of sport is generally accepted. There is not much atypical sport history being written today, so—

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\* This paper was written before the opening of The Wall, but as far as the historiography of sport is concerned it will not make much of a difference in the short run.

1. Allen Guttmann, “Recent Work in European Sport History,” *Journal of Sport History* 10 (Spring 1983), 35-52.

2. Thomas S. Kuhn, *Die Entstehung des Neuen. Studien zur Struktur der Wissenschaftsgeschichte*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1988; idem, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1987.

3. For an apolitical view cf. Hajo Bernett, *Grundformen der Leibeserziehung*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1965; Ommo Grube, *Grundlagen der Sportpädagogik*. München: Piper; Carl Diem, *Weltgeschichte des Sports*. Stuttgart: Cotta 1960 (1971 3rd edition).

4. Gerhard Vinnai, *Fußballsport als Ideologie*, Frankfurt: Europä-ische Verlagsanstalt 1970; Winfried Ioch, *Theorie einer politischen Pädagogik*. Frankfurt: Lang 1971; Arnd Krüger, *Sport und Politik. Vom Turnvater Jahr zum Staatsumateur*. Hannover: Fackelträger 1975; for further titles see Guttmann (1983) and below.

according to Kuhn—the next shift of paradigm is not close at hand. The kinds of research that are being done are the subject of this essay.

I will first analyse the situation of sport historiography in the German language area (the Federal Republic, the German Democratic Republic, Austria, and the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland) and then present a fairly complete overview of the books in particular which have been published in the past ten years. I will limit myself here to the history of sport in Germany, although there are fine German and Austrian historians working on ancient sport history and other topics relating to other countries.

The historiography of *Turnen* and other sport has a very long tradition in Germany. There are also several essays on the whole or parts of it.<sup>5</sup> Nineteenth-century classical scholars often dealt with retrospective *gymnastics* and *agonistics* in their research and publications. Many of Johan Hermann Krause's publications still meet today's standards.<sup>6</sup> When Ernst Curtius, then a professor of classics at Göttingen, made his famous speech in Berlin in 1852 on behalf of excavating ancient Olympia,<sup>7</sup> he hit a resonant chord, since there was at this time a general interest in the historiography of ancient sport. Some of the better known historians of antiquity have maintained this interest in physical culture up to the present time.

Jahn, the father of German gymnastics (*Turnen*) based his new physical culture on his studies of the past and recommended the study of history.<sup>8</sup> It is therefore not surprising that the courses to prepare *gymnastics* teachers included classes on the history of physical exercises. From the middle of the nineteenth century, the number of these teachers increased as more and more were needed in the school system, where physical education, i.e., Jahn's gymnastics, became a regular subject. Soon it developed its own historiography. There was a lively popular interest in history in the nineteenth century, and so there was a market for *Turner* historiography, as well. The *Deutsche*

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5. Hajo Bernett, "Der Beitrag der Sportgeschichte zur Bewußtseinsbildung von Sportpädagogen," *Sportunterricht* 30 (1981), 9, 337-44; Wolfgang Buss, "Hajo Bernett und die Entwicklung der Zeitgeschichte des Sports," in Giselher Spitzer, Dieter Schmidt (eds.), *Sport zwischen Eigenständigkeit und Fremdbestimmung*, Bonn: Wegener 1986, pp. 263-17; idem, Franz Nitsch, "Thesen zur Situation der Sportgeschichte in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 3 (1989), 1, 75-80; Arnd Krüger, "Zum Problem der Wertfreiheit in der Sporthistoriographie am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus," in *HISPA 7th International Congress*, Paris: INSEP 1978, pp. 769-79; idem, "Die Entwicklung der neuzeitlichen deutschen Sporthistoriographie am Beispiel der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Nationalsozialismus," in Werner Heistetmann (ed.), *Abhandlungen aus der Pädagogischen Hochschule Berlin*, vol. 5, Berlin: Colloquium 1979, pp. 22-47; idem, "Review Article. The Historiography of Sport in Germany," *Physical Education Review* 10 (Autumn 1987), 145-51; Hans Simon, "Arbeitssport und DDR-Sport in der bürgerlichen Sporthistoriographie," *Wiss. Zeitschrift der DHfK Leipzig* 25 (1984), 11-24; Günter Wonneberger, "Zu einigen ideologischen Tendenzen und zur sportpolitischen Funktion der westdeutschen Sportgeschichtsschreibung unter aktueller Sicht," *ibid.* 10 (1968), 1.5-12; idem, "Zu einigen ideologischen Tendenzen der westdeutschen Sportgeschichtsschreibung," *Theorie und Praxis der Körperkultur* 17 (1968), 2, 113-20; idem, "Gedanken zur Sportwissenschaft und ihrer Geschichte," in ETS Magglingen (ed.): *2. Internationales Seminar zur Geschichte der Sportwissenschaft*, Magglingen: ETS 1982, pp. 25-46.

6. Cf. Johann Heinrich Krause, *Die Gymnastik und Agonistik der Hellenen*. Leipzig: Joh Arbr. Barth 1841; idem, *Olympia oder Darstellung der großen olympischen Spiele und der damit verbundenen Festlichkeiten*. Wien 1838 (reprint Hildesheim: Olms 1972).

7. Ernst Curtius, "Olympia. Vortrag im Wissenschaftlichen Verein zu Berlin. Berlin 1852," in Georg Hirth (ed.), *Das gesamte Turnwesen*. Vol. 1, Hof: Rudolf Lion 1893, pp. 46-61; idem, *Olympia*, Berlin: Atlantis 1935.

8. Cf. Friedrich Ludwig Jahn, *Deutsches Volkstum*. Lübeck: Niemann & Comp. 1810, chapter "Vaterländische Geschichte," pp. 217-23.

*Turnzeitung* and *Der Turner* provided a forum for shorter papers, and many longer monographs were also published. From the 1890s the *Turner* teachers' courses became more extensive, and after World War I they were included in the university courses for grammar school (*gymnasium*) teachers. But some of the better known historians of *Turnen* and physical exercise, like Euler, Gasch, Hirth, and Wassmannsdorff,<sup>9</sup> provided a solid foundation during the nineteenth century on which future generations could build.

This link between physical education teachers' training and the history of *Turnen* and sport was even more evident later on. When university departments for physical education were formed in the 1920s (e.g., 1924 in Göttingen, the first in Prussia), there was a need for qualified personnel holding doctorates in appropriate fields. Given the strong emphasis on *Turnen* and little on Swedish gymnastics, this field was generally not medicine but the teaching profession. History departments were willing to accept doctoral work dealing with the history of physical exercise, and sports historians came to dominate departmental chairmanships in the field of physical education. In 1925, 12 out of the 34 chairmen of physical education departments in Germany held doctorates, almost all in history or with historical topics in philology.<sup>10</sup> In 1930, 22 of the 40 chairmen had doctorates and two already held professorships. The percentage of historians among them remained constant. In the same year, 102 books were published in physical education of which 62 were of a practical and 40 of a theoretical nature, while 17 dealt with sports history (and only 7 with medicine).<sup>11</sup>

This was also a period which produced some notable surveys of the history of physical exercise. The most widely used text was that of Cotta,<sup>12</sup> an influential book from 1902 to the present day, as it went through 8 editions before being revised by Saurbier and Stahr (1931) and then by Saurbier (1939). His book has dominated the textbook field since that time (1976, 9th edition).<sup>13</sup> It is surprising how few changes such a book requires from one edition to the next in or out of the Nazi era. Even the current book by Bohus (1986) fills the same traditional position<sup>14</sup> in the textbook market.

Apart from these brief attempts to write an approved history for physical education instruction, there are also longer texts which aim at a complete sport history. Bogeng (1926) compiled the first and possibly most modern book by including in his cultural history of sport (783 pp.) "of all people and all times"

9. Cf. Carl Euler (ed.), *Encyklopädisches Handbuch des gesamten Turnwesens und der verwandten Gebiete*. Wien/Leipzig: A. Pichler 1894-5 (3 vol.); idem, *Geschichte des Turnunterrichts*. (= vol. 5, *Geschichte der Methodik des deutschen Volksschulunterrichts*). Gotha: Thienemann 1881; Rudolf Gasch (ed.), *Handbuch des gesamten Turnwesens*. Wien/Leipzig: Pichler 1928 (2 vol.); cf. Georg Hirth (ed.), *Das Gesamte Turnwesen. Ein Lesebuch für deutsche Turner*. Hof: Lion 1865 (3 vol.); cf. Wolfgang Pahncke, *Geschichte der Körperkultur. Eine Auswahlbibliographie deutschsprachiger Veröffentlichungen*. Leipzig: DHFK 1967, p. 233 lists 84 papers by Wassmannsdorff mainly in the *Deutsche Turnzeitung*. He did not, however, write a monograph.

10. Rufol Gasch (ed.), *Jahrbuch der Turnkunst*. Dresden: Limpert 1926, pp. 206-7.

11. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 132ff., 145ff.

12. Carl Cotta, *Leitfaden für den Unterricht in der Turngeschichte*. Leipzig: R. Voigtländer 1902. This in itself follows the lead by Eduard F. Angerstein, *Geschichte der Leibesübungen in den Grundzügen*. Wien/Leipzig: Pichler 1897 (2nd ed.), 6th ed. revised by Otto Kurth 1926.

13. Bruno Saurbier, E. Stahr, *Geschichte der Leibesübungen. Eine kurzgefaßte Darstellung*. Leipzig: Voigtländer 1939; Bruno Saurbier, *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*. Frankfurt/M: Limpert 1976 (9th ed.).

14. Julius Bohus, *Sportgeschichte*. München: BLV 1986.

anthropological data as well as links between the history of medicine and the history of sport.<sup>15</sup> Edmund Neundorff (1930-34) put together over 2000 pages on the development of *Turnen* and physical education in Germany to show that all of German history, and particularly that of *Turnen*, culminated in the Third Reich.<sup>16</sup> After the war, Carl Diem (1960) profited from all of the previous works for his own world history of sport (1223 pp.).<sup>17</sup> Horst Ueberhorst's current monumental task of compiling a genuine world history, which now includes six volumes of global coverage (1972-89) and 3667 pp., also falls within this tradition.<sup>18</sup> More than one hundred scholars from all over the world have participated in this impressive project. For some countries in Africa, Asia, or Latin America, this was the first time that the history of their sport had ever been written, while for such other fields as Germany (vol. 3, 1144 pp.) or the Olympic Games, it is the most up-to-date account in the German language.

During the Nazi period, the links between the physical education departments and other segments of the universities were cut by putting all of sports—including the academic departments—directly under the leadership of the government and thus beyond the relative autonomy of the universities.<sup>19</sup> There was little room for such “useless” activities as innovative sport historical research. More emphasis was placed on the practical and ideological dimensions of sport.<sup>20</sup> With the abbreviation of teachers' training, eventually the teaching of sport history reverted to its status at the beginning of the century. Given the relatively little turnover in the university personnel in the Federal Republic and Austria after the war,<sup>21</sup> there was not much sport history being done in the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s. But this was when sport history in East Germany was at its peak. Skorning,<sup>22</sup> Schröder,<sup>23</sup> Schuster,<sup>24</sup> Eichel,<sup>25</sup>

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15. G A E. Bogeng, *Geschichte des Sports aller Völker und Zeiten*. Leipzig: E. A. Seemann 1926.

16. Edmund Neundorff, *Geschichte der neueren deutschen Leibesübung vom Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts bis zur Gegenwart*. In 4 Bänden. Dresden: Limpert 1930-34.

17. Diem, *Weltgeschichte des Sports*.

18. Horst Ueberhorst (ed.), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*. 6 vols. Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1972-89. At the beginning Ueberhorst had a public discussion with Saubier, cf. Horst Ueberhorst, “Plädoyer für eine ‘Neue Geschichte der Leibesübungen,’” *Die Leibeserziehung* 15 (1966), 12, 429-33; Bruno Saubier, “Antwort auf kritische Betrachtungen zu einem Kapitel aus Saubiers ‘Geschichte der Leibesübungen,’” *Die Leibeserziehung* 16 (1967), 2, 62-4; Ernst Hartwig, “‘Fair Play’ Eine Entgegnung,” *Die Leibeserziehung* 16 (1967), 2, 60-2; idem; “Abschließende Betrachtungen zu einem Plädoyer für eine neue ‘Geschichte der Leibesübungen,’” *Die Leibeserziehung* 16 (1967), 5 148-9; H. U. Klose, “Entgegnung auf ‘Plädoyer für eine neue Geschichte der Leibesübungen,’” *Die Leibeserziehung* 16 (1967), 3, 86-8.

19. Horst Ueberhorst, *Carl Krümmel und die nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung*. Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1976.

20. Hajo Bernett, “Wissenschaft und Weltanschauung—Sportlehrerausbildung im Dritten Reich,” in Arnd Krüger, Dieter Niedlich (eds.), *Ursachen der Schulsportmisere in Deutschland*. London: Arena 1979, pp. 32-44.

21. Wolfgang Buss, “‘Arbeitsgemeinschaft der Institutsdirektoren’ (AID) und die Entwicklung der Sportwissenschaft in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,” in Wolfgang Buss, Arnd Krüger (eds.), *Sportgeschichte: Traditionspflege und Wertewandel*. Duderstadt: Mecke 1985, pp. 35-51.

22. Cf Lothar Skorning, “Über die Schwerpunkte bei der Forschungsarbeit in der Geschichte der Körperkultur,” *Theorie und Praxis der Körperkultur* (1952). 1, 59-65; idem (ed.), *Kurzer Abriss einer Geschichte der Körperkultur in Deutschland seit 1800*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1952; idem, *Der Kampf der Revolutionären Arbeitersportler für die Durchsetzung der proletarischen Klassenpolitik im Arbeiter-Turn-und-Sportbund (ATSB) in den ersten Jahren der Priode der relativen Stabilisierung des Kapitalismus 1923-24 bis 1926/27*. Diss. DHfK Leipzig 1963.

23. Willi Schröder, *Das Jahnbild in der deutschen Turn und Sportbewegung*. Diss. Leipzig 1958; idem, *Burschenturner im Kampf um Einheit und Freiheit*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1967.

24. Hans Schuster, *Arbeitersportler im Kampf um dir Jugend. Zur Geschichte des revolutionären Ar-*

Wonneberger,<sup>26</sup> and Lukas<sup>27</sup> rewrote German sport history from a Marxist-Leninist standpoint. They also attempted to outdo Diem and Neuendorff with their own *Geschichte der Körperkultur in Deutschland* (1288 pp.). It has recently been revised with a large illustrated edition (1983) (524 pp.) which tries to demonstrate that GDR sports is in the best German tradition.<sup>28</sup>

From the late 1960s onward, West German sport historiography started to catch up again. It is here that Guttmann's quote seems to be correct. Why was the late 1960s to the mid 1970s the most productive era? If one compares the situation then with the situation today, there was not only the change of paradigm, but another pattern becomes evident: It was a time when the physical education departments were expanding. They were just being granted the right to grant their own doctoral degrees, so they needed qualified personnel who had earned doctorates elsewhere. Young scholars with an interest in sport and a good preparation in other fields as well were writing Ph.D. theses in fields like history on topics in the history of sport to qualify for a university career in physical education. It was basically the same situation as in the 1920s. History departments were more inclined to accept an "exotic" subject like sport more willingly than most others. Since a German high-school teacher has to study two fields up to the MA level or teaching credential, anyway, a solid preparation for political historiography with special emphasis on modern times was available. As history teachers need less specialization than academic historians, there is little emphasis on the Middle Ages or antiquity, so the political history of the modern period is stressed. This may have something to do with the source material; with the invention of the typewriter sources become easier to handle, particularly as it does take some time to be able to read German gothic handwriting. A combination of two academic majors did not always provide a logical basis for a responsible dissertation in a field such as history. The solid methodological preparation for doing modern political history, the definite interest in sports, and the motivation to embark upon an academic career in sport made possible the extraordinary development of German sport historiography then, just as it hindered progress in the 1980s. Now a Ph.D. thesis can be written in most physical education departments. This serves as a "better" qualification for what is left of the job market than an exterior qualification. The teaching credentials have abolished the combination of history and physical education, since neither is considered a core subject of the school system and a teacher has to study at least one core subject now, i.e., German, English,

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*beitersports 1893-1914*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1962.

25. Wolfgang Eichel (ed.), *Geschichte der Körperkultur in Deutschland*. 4 vols. Berlin: Sportverlag 1964-67; idem, *Die Entstehung des modernen Olympismus*. Diss. Berlin 1954; idem, *Vom "Allgemeinen deutschen Turnerbund" zur "Deutschen Turnerschaft" —eine entscheidende Wende in der Geschichte der deutschen Körperkultur. (1849-1871)*. Habil. DHK Leipzig 1965.

26. Günter Wonneberger, *Arbeitssportler gegen Faschisten und Militaristen. 1929-1933. Zur historischen Bedeutung des revolutionären Arbeitersports*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1959; idem (ed.), *Geschichte der Körperkultur in Deutschland 1945-1961*. vol. 4, Berlin: Sportverlag 1967.

27. Gerhard Lukas, *Ein kritischer Beitrag zur Olympischen Idee*. Habil. Halle 1951; idem, *Die Körperkultur in den frühen Epochen der Menschheitsentwicklung*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1969.

28. Wolfgang Eichel (ed.), *Illustrierte Geschichte der Körperkultur*. 2 vols. Berlin: Sportverlag 1983.

French, Latin or Mathematics. The university job market for physical education no longer exists for all practical purposes and—let's face it—physical education is a professional field which requires the study of its own history as much as medicine or any other science. Of the 55 physical education departments in the Federal Republic, sport history is taught in 34<sup>29</sup>, in all of Austria's 5, in all of the GDR's and in all of Switzerland's three. But there are fewer specialized positions available today than in the past; of the 6 professorships in sport science held by sports historians in West Germany which have become vacant in the past years only one has been filled by a sports historian, while the others were filled by sport educators or biomechanics specialists. The same applies to Austria and Switzerland, where there are currently no professorships filled by a sports historian. Therefore, sport history is represented on a professional level in the physical education schools or departments in Berlin, Bremen, Düsseldorf, Essen, Freiburg, Göttingen, Hamburg, Köln (two), Mainz, Münster, Siegen—so the North clearly predominates over the South of Germany. Very few of the departments are large enough to provide a full time teaching opportunity for the history of physical education and sport only, so it is doubtful whether this trend to reduce the number of full positions in the field will be reversed in the near future. I leave out here the GDR (it is not part of this trend) and the non-professorial teaching positions, although some of the most productive minds currently hold such positions. But according to German university rules, only a professorship makes a field unreplaceable—while the professorship is filled.

This localization of sport history in the physical education departments has had considerable influence on the research done on sport outside these departments. In the 19th century, of course, everything was being written outside the field, but there is very little left today, with the notable exceptions of ancient sport history, with Aigner, Weiler and Ebert, and medieval history, which occupies many scholars. This is also reflected in the professional organization of sports historians and their main publication outlets. In West Germany sports historians have organized themselves as a section of the sport science association (*Deutsche Vereinigung für Sportwissenschaft*), along with all of the other employees of the physical education departments and not with the historians or independently.

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What, then, are the major publications of the years since Allen Guttmann completed his review? One series of publications has investigated the history of workers' sport. This started with the early works of Ueberhorst, Timmermann, and Wonneberger<sup>30</sup> and was taken up by Teichler,<sup>31</sup> Teichler/Hauk,<sup>32</sup> Krüger/

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29. Klaus Fischer (ed.), *Das Studium der Sportwissenschaft. Sommersemester 1987* vol. 40. Wetzlar: DSLV 1987; Hermann Rieder, Heinz Widmaier, Torsten Petersen, *Bedingungen Sportwissenschaftlicher Forschung an den Hochschulen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*. Köln: Strauß 1987.

30. Heinz Timmermann, *Geschichte und Struktur der Arbeitersportbewegung. 1893-1933*. Ahrensburg: Czwalina 1973; Horst Ueberhorst, *Frisch, Frei, Stark und Treu. Die Arbeitersportbewegung in Deutschland. 1893-1933*. Düsseldorf: Droste 1973; G. Wonneberger, *Arbeitersportler gegen Faschisten*.

31. Hans Joachin Teichler, "Arbeitersport—Körperkultur—Arbeiterkultur, Kritische Anmerkungen zu einem längst überfälligen Aufarbeitungsprozeß," *Sportwissenschaft* 14 (1984), 4. 325-47; idem, "Eine Literaturzusammenstellung zum Thelma 'Arbeitersport—Körperkultur—Arbeiterkultur,'" *ibid.* 15 (1985), 1, 83-94;

Riordan,<sup>33</sup> Nitsch/Fischer/Stock<sup>34</sup> in edited books dealing with many different themes. The workers' sports movement which was very strong in Germany during the period 1891-1933 before it was suppressed by the Nazis, has always fascinated academic youth as a possible alternative to "bourgeois sport." It also provided an identification with a sports movement which for many was so difficult to find in the bourgeois world of *Turnen* and sports so closely linked to the Nazi movement.<sup>35</sup> This applies especially to the role of women in the workers' sport movement. Sigrid Block<sup>36</sup> and other modern sports feminists have looked to this part of the past and hoped to find a better sports culture for women there. Yet despite all of its progressive elements, a strong polarization of the sexes could be found there as well. Women accepted the principle of "separate but equal," with all its limitations, in workers' sport even more readily than in "bourgeois sport."

Two recent dissertations show the current state of scholarship in this area. Viola Denecke<sup>37</sup> tries to show the "brotherly" spirit prevailing in the workers' sports clubs in the city of Braunschweig. This is an extremely difficult task, since it requires showing a difference in attitude between worker-sportsmen in a workers' sports club and worker-sportsmen in bourgeois clubs, where they represented a large part of the membership. Such studies in the history of "mentalities" and everyday life require oral history methods along with those of social and political history. The source material for Braunschweig is quite rich, but as Denecke is looking almost exclusively at workers' sports clubs, much of her analysis might just as well be true for a sports "comrade" in a bourgeois club. It is obvious from the above that this fascinating dissertation was not written at a physical education but a social science department.

Herbert Diercker has written a political study of the largest German workers' sport club, Fichte Berlin.<sup>38</sup> This was an important club where the quarrels between communists and social democrats which eventually ruined the unity of the workers' sports movement took place at close quarters. At one time or another, the major personalities of the Communist Red Sport International and the Social Democratic Socialist Workers' Sports International were members of Fichte Berlin.<sup>39</sup> The thesis is viewed in the context of the political history of the

idem (ed.), *Arbeiterkultur und Arbeitersport*. Clausthal: DVS 1985; special developments can be seen in Ralf Beduhn, *Chronik der Solidarität. 1896-1977*. Offenbach: RKB 1978; Jochen Zimmer (ed.), *Mit uns zieht die neue Zeit, Die Naturfreunde*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein 1984; Reinhard Krammer, *Arbeitersport in Österreich. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiterkultur in Österreich bis 1938*. Wien: Europaverlag 1981.

32. Hans Joachim Teichler, Gerhard Hauk (eds.), *Illustrierte Geschichte des Arbeitersports*. Bonn: J. H. W. Dietz 1987.

33. Arnd Krüger, James Riordan (eds.), *Der internationale Arbeitersport. Schlüssel zum Arbeitersport in 10 Ländern*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein 1985.

34. Frank Nitsch, Jürgen Fischer, Klaus Stock (eds.), *90 Jahre Arbeitersport*. Münster: Lit 1985.

35. Arnd Krüger, "'Sieg Heil' to the Most Glorious Era of German Sports: Continuity and Change in the Modern German Spats Movement," *Int. J. Hist. Sp.* 4 (1987). 1, 5-20.

36. Sigrid Block, *Frauen und Mädchen in der Arbeitersportbewegung*. Münster: Lit 1987.

37. Viola Denecke, *Die Arbeitersportgemeinschaft. Eine kulturhistorische Studie über die Braunschweiger Arbeitersportbewegung in den zwanziger Jahren*. Diss. Göttingen 1988.

38. Herbert Diercker, *Arbeitersport im Spannungsfeld von Sozialismus und Kommunismus. Die Beziehungen zwischen sozialdemokratischen und kommunistischen Organisationen in der Arbeitersportbewegungs auf internationaler, nationaler und regional-lokaler Ebene (1918/19-1928/29)*. Diss. FU Berlin 1988.

39. Franz Nitsch, "Die internationalen Arbeitersportbewegungen," in A. Krüger, J. Riordan, *Der Interna-*

Weimar Republic and is richly documented. This in itself is a difficult task, since the possession of material from any socialist organization was illegal after 1933, so that many of the archival sources can only be found outside of Germany.

The other question which absorbed much energy was formulated by Franz Nitsch: Why was the workers' sports movement not revived after 1945?<sup>40</sup> There is in fact a major sport-historical project under way which will study the history of sport in West Germany during the period 1945-52. On the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the German sports federation next year, a two volume publication is to be issued in which about twenty-five amateur and professional sport historians will reconstruct this early phase of sport after the war. A specialized study on track and field during this period by Jost-Hardt<sup>41</sup> and one on the North of Germany by Nitsch<sup>42</sup> have already been published. They show that it did not really take very long after the war for sports to be reorganized. In fact, west of the Rhine sports were already under way even before Berlin had signed the document of surrender. These activities largely depended on how the war turned out for a particular town or region. There were differences among the local sports officers of the occupation forces, and the local conditions also differed due to the destruction of the war and differences in the availability of athletes, coaches, officials, and traditions.

We may note that the facts regarding this period can produce completely different interpretations depending on the current political position of the author, which is projected onto the past. The history of the founding of the German College of Sport (*Deutsche Sporthochschule*) in Cologne is a case in point. Körbs, who was the sports historian of the old Berlin Sports College and the author of a fine study of sports during the Renaissance,<sup>43</sup> wrote the history of his institution<sup>44</sup> from within, while Buss and Nitsche<sup>45</sup> wrote about what the British had planned to achieve with the College in their Zone. For Körbs, Carl Diem was the giant who could preserve the tradition of the bourgeois sport of Weimar Germany after 1945 while for the others he is the old Nazi, half-heartedly denazified, who was able to step up only after Bernhard Zimmermann (the emigrated former chairman of the Göttingen Physical Education Department) declined to return to Germany.

Personally, I find the autobiographies of sport figures fascinating, and a

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*tionale Arbeitersport*, pp. 174-209.

40. Franz Nitsch, "Warum entstand nach 1945 keine Arbeitersportbewegung? Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zur Organization des Sports nach dem 2. Weltkrieg," *Sportwissenschaft* 6 (1976), 172-200.

41. Kristina Jost-Hardt, *Die Reorganization der Leichtathletik in den westlichen Besatzungszonen Deutschlands nach dem zweiten Weltkrieg*. Diss. Göttingen 1987.

42. Franz Nitsch, "Die Situation im Sport in der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit in Norddeutschland 1945-1947," in Wolfgang Buss (ed), *Die Entwicklung des Sports in Nordwestdeutschland 1945-1949*. Duderstadt: Mecke 1984, pp. 45-164.

43. Werner Körbs, *Vom Sinn der Leibübungen zur Zeit der italienischen Renaissance*. Berlin: Weidmann 1938 (2nd ed. Hildesheim: Weidmann 1988).

44. Werner Körbs, *Vorgeschichte und Gründung der Sporthochschule Köln (1946-1948)*. St. Augustin: Richarz 1986.

45. Wolfgang Buss. Franz Nitsch, *Am Anfang war nicht Carl Diem-die Gründungsphase der Sporthochschule Köln 1945-1947*. Mecke: Duderstadt 1986.

surprising number have been published. Hans Fritsch,<sup>46</sup> the flag bearer of the German team in the 1936 Olympics and a night fighter pilot in the war, became an impresario and theater agent in Oldenburg, the city he had just helped to save from British and Canadian bombardment, and continued his athletic career as a decathlon man and discus thrower. The effect of the *Währungsreform* (the introduction of the new currency) on sport and the theater was significant, and this helps to explain why 1948 was such a turning point for the sports movement. Before, there was very little to purchase, so a lot of money went into entertainment, including sports, while after the *Währungsreform* money was scarce but could at least buy commodities. Liselott Diem,<sup>47</sup> wife of the “nestor” of German sport studies and a prominent sport scholar herself, described the last days of Berlin before it fell to the Soviets, a deeply moving account of friendship and neighborly cooperation. Konrad Paschen,<sup>48</sup> chairman of the Physical Education Department of the University of Hamburg and one of the leading personalities in sport studies after the war, and a man without a Nazi past, was taken prisoner during street fighting in Marseilles before he was brought to a camp in North Africa where, together with others, he started his own POW high school and even had his diplomas accepted by the German authorities. In addition, leadership qualities acquired in the German Youth Movement made themselves felt. Otto Peltzer,<sup>49</sup> the German track star of the 20s, was a man who could not accept unjust authority. This landed him in a Nazi concentration camp, and the same sort of integrity led to many conflicts with the new sports authorities of the postwar Federal Republic. Hajo Bernett, the most productive writer on the Nazi period, edited the autobiography of his father, Nikolaus,<sup>50</sup> who was a *Turner* leader in Oldenburg. The liberal father adapted as well to the Nazi system as he did to any other. We learn much about his motives and possibly those of his son. The most fascinating biography is not yet written, though: that of Carl Diem. As long as only bits and pieces of his diaries<sup>51</sup> are available to scholars, it is not possible to write a true biography of the most influential German sport personality of this century.

All of the biographies show how difficult it is for young scholars to imagine

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46. Hans Fritsch, *Zeuge der Kapitulation und des kulturellen Neubeginns im Oldenburger Land. 1945–1948*. Oldenburg: Heinz Holzberg 1987.

47. Liselott Diem, *Fliehen oder bleiben? Dramatisches Kriegsende in Berlin*. Freiburg: Herder 1982; cf. eadem, *Leben als Herausforderung* 3 vols., (particularly vol. 1, “Autobiographic 1906–1986”). St. Augustin: Richarz 1986.

48. Konrad Paschen, *Mein Weg zur Sportwissenschaft*. Barnberg: Schadel 1978; idem, *Auf unsicherem Terrain. 1940–47*. Frankfurt: Haag & Herchen 1981.

49. Otto Peltzer, *Umkämpftes Leben. Sportjahre zwischen Nurmi und Zatopek*. Berlin: Verlag der Nation 1955; cf. Hajo Bernett, “Dr. Otto Peltzer—der ‘totale Athlet,’” *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 2 (1988), 3: 31–56.

50. Hajo Bernett (ed.), *Nikolaus Bernett—Ein Turnerleben in Niedersachsen*. Duderstadt: Mecke 1988.

51. Carl Diem, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, 3 vols. St. Augustin: Richarz 1982, cf. vol. 3 “Reiseberichte” contains 17 of his 264 (*ibidem*, p. 7) travel reports. There is a long discussion about Diem. Most recently cf.: Hajo Bernett, “Carl Diem und sein Werk als Gegenstand der sporthistorischen Forschung,” *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 1 (1987), 1: 7–41; Hans Joachim Teichler, “Der Weg Carl Diems vom DRA-Generalsekretär zum kommissarischen Führer des Gaus Ausland im NSRL.” *ibidem*, 42–91; Lorenz Peiffer, “Carl Diem und der Sport in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus,” *ibidem*, 92–104; Arnd Krüger, “Wer war dieser Carl Diem?” *Die Zeit* (March 18, 1983).

what *Turnen* and sport, with their *Turnbrüder* and *Sportkameraden*, meant to those who found this closeness in a training or living group. It helped many to continue life after the war as if nothing had happened, denazified by the affidavits of persons who knew better, but who accepted uncritically the behavior of their friends of long standing. Relatively little has actually been published so far on the post war era,<sup>52</sup> and it will be interesting to see what the major project will reveal.

The scholarly generation gap is probably most evident in the works on the Nazi past.<sup>53</sup> Once a scarcely researched field in the late 60s, and it is now the most studied period of German sports history. Yet do we really have much more than an enormous number of facts? Bernett was the first after the war to break the taboo and start publishing on the Nazi period,<sup>54</sup> and he has been the most productive ever since. His importance was acknowledged by his colleagues with a *Festschrift*<sup>55</sup> at the time of his retirement. This volume in itself is an important collection of sport-historical papers. Teichler, at one time his assistant, went over an enormous amount of material and provided much detailed information about the political aspects of sport-related decisions. But whether we look at the school system,<sup>56</sup> sports journalism,<sup>57</sup> the clubs,<sup>58</sup> or functionaries,<sup>59</sup> a great deal cannot be explained by political paperwork alone. Just as general historiography has moved away from an overreliance on political historiography, so sport historiography should take into account that, particularly under the conditions of a totalitarian regime, one cannot rely entirely on written statements to portray reality. But this new paradigm shift will take some time to sink in.

There are also local and regional studies. The best, perhaps is Siegfried Gehrman's book on soccer in the Ruhr industrial area from 1900 through 1940.<sup>60</sup> This book by a professional historian is comparable to the work of Tony

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52. The bibliography of the project (Becker/Dascher/Grupe/Gieseler/Kirsh/Uebrehorst) contains so far (4/25/89) 418 titles, but most of them are primary sources.

53. Arnd Krüger, "Das Problem der Wertfreiheit," differentiates between "active" and "passive" (*Mitläufer*) participants in Nazi sporting activities who wrote about them after the war. These include "first" and "second generation post-war" and "GDR" authors.

54. Hajo Bernett, *Nationalsozialistische Leibeserziehung. Eine Dokumentation ihrer Theorie und Organisation*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1966.

55. Giseler Spitzer, Dieter Schmidts (eds.), *Sport zwischen Eigenständigkeit und Fremdbestimmung*.

56. Hajo Bernett, *Sportunterricht an der nationalsozialistischen Schule. Der Schulsport an den höheren Schulen Preußens 1933–1940*. St. Augustin: Richarz 1985; idem, Hans Georg John (eds), *Schulsport und Sportlehrerbildung in der NS-Zeit. Methodologische Probleme der Zeitgeschichtsforschung*. Clausthal: DVS 1982; Lorenz Peiffer, *Turnunterricht im Dritten Reich. Erziehung für den Krieg?* Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein 1987.

57. Hajo Bernett, "Sportpublizistik im totalitären Staat. 1933–1945" *Stadion* 11 (1985), 2, 263-95.

58. Hajo Bernett, *Der Weg des Sports in die nationalsozialistische Diktatur*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1983; idem, "Die Zerschlagung des deutschen Arbeitersports durch die nationalsozialistische Revolution." *Sportwissenschaft* 13 (1983), 4, 141-65.

59. Horst Ueberhorst, *Edmund Neuenhoeff. Turnführer ins Dritte Reich*. Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1970; idem, *Carl Krümmel op. cit.*; Hajo Bernett, *Guido von Mengden. "Generalstabschef" des deutschen Sports*. Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1976; Dieter Steinhöfer, *Hans von Tschammer und Osten. Reichssportführer im Dritten Reich*. Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1973; Arnd Krüger, *Theodor Lewald. Sportführer ins Dritte Reich*. Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1975; idem, "Heute gehört uns Deutschland und morgen. . .? Das Ringen um den Sinn der Gleichschaltung in der ersten Jahreshälfte 1933," in W. Buss, A. Krüger (eds.) *Sportgeschichte*, pp. 175–96.

60. Siegfried Gehrman, *Fußball—Vereine—Politik. Zur Sportgeschichte des Reviers. 1900-1940*. Essen: Hobbings 1988; for different aspects of the same soccermania cf. Hans Dieter Baroth, 'Jungens, Euch gehört der Himmel!' *Die Geschichte der Oberliga West. 1947–1963*. Essen: Klartext 1988; Karl Mintenbeck, *Es begann*

Mason on soccer in England<sup>61</sup> during the same time period, the main difference being that in Germany amateurism was formally maintained, meaning all sorts of compromises, in contrast to England where professionalism was readily accepted. While a professional historian usually shows what can be done, there are hundreds of amateurs who write each year the histories of their sports clubs. There are currently about 64,000 sports clubs in Germany. Certain rifle clubs are 700 years old, so there are opportunities for scholarship which are, however, seldom noted.<sup>62</sup> National sports federations for track & field,<sup>63</sup> swimming,<sup>64</sup> rowing,<sup>65</sup> rifle shooting,<sup>66</sup> bobsledding,<sup>67</sup> and the academic *Turners*<sup>68</sup> all have produced publications of considerable value. In the mid-1930s there was already a boom in regional studies of the Turner movement. This field has now been taken up again,<sup>69</sup> just as there is a trend to start regional sport museums and halls of fame<sup>70</sup> and to describe the regional traditions of uncommon sports like *Boßeln* and *Klootschießen* (traditional forms of road bowling) in Friesland,<sup>71</sup> and *Rangeln* and *Hakeln* (traditional forms of free style wrestling and finger-pulling) in East Bavaria.<sup>72</sup>

1848. *Der Ruhrgebietsport im Spiegel der Presse*. Essen: P. Pomp 1988.

61. Tony Mason, *Association Football & English Society, 1863–1915* Brighton: Harvester 1980.

62. The NISH (Niedersächsisches Institut für Sportgeschichte Hoya) organises a bi-annual competition for the best jubilee books in Lower Saxony. and is receiving annually about 100 different books of that nature. This includes also state associations, counties, etc., e.g., Karl Heinz Niemeier, *70 Jahre Fußball . . . und kein Ende. Die Geschichte des Fußballsports im Kreise Peine*. Hannover: Madsack 1982; Kurt Hoffmeister, *150 Jahre Sport in Braunschweig*. Braunschweig: Waisenhaus 1982. Herbert Willecke, *Osnabrücker Sport. Turnen und Sport in zwei Jahrhunderten*. Osnabrück: Bücher Acker 1980; K. Wilhelm Köster, *Turn- und Sportverein Sulingen. 100 Jahre und mehr*. Sulingen: Plenge 1980; E. Weithoener, *Festschrift zum 100 jährigen Bestehen des M.T.V. Tostedt*. Tostedt: Eigenverlag 1979.

63. Hajo Bernett, *Leichtathletik in historischen Bilddokumenten*. München: Copress 1986; idem, *Leichtathletik im geschichtlichen Wandel*. Schorndorf: Hofman 1987: for the GDR view cf. Lothar Skorning (ed.), *Leichtathletik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. 2 vols. Berlin, Sportverlag 1973.

64. Karl Adolf Scherer (ed.), *100 Jahre Deutscher Schwimmverband. Eine Dokumentation*. München: prospert 1986: for the GDR view cf. Wolfgang Pahncke (ed.), *Schwimmen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*. 2 vols. Berlin: Sportverlag 1979.

65. Horst Ueberhorst, *Hundert Jahre Deutscher Ruderverband*. Minden: Philler 1983.

66. Hermann Tallau (ed.), *Wir Schützen-heute. Sport und Tradition 125 Jahre Deutscher Schützenbund*. Wiesbaden: Wiesbadener Graphik 1987.

67. Karl Hermann Zobel, *75 Jahre Deutscher Bob und Schlittenverband*. Berchtesgaden: Berchtesgadener Anzeiger 1986.

68. Reinhard Bremer (ed.), *1883-1883. Akademischer Turnbund*. Melsungen: Bernecker 1983; other sports and sports federations which were covered without a concrete occasion included Wolfgang Gronen, Walter Lemke, *Geschichte des Radsports und des Fahrrades*. Eupen: Doeppen 1978; Heiner Gillmeister, *Aufschlag für Walter von der Vogehweide. Tennis seit dem Mittelalter*. München: Knaur 1986; Josef Recla, *Die Christliche Turnbewegung* (Austria's). Niedernhausen: Schors 1982.

69. Cf. e.g., Wilhelm Braungardt, *Geschichte der deutschen Turnerschaft in Niedersachsen*. Oldenburg 1938 (reprint Duderstadt: Mecke 1985); Bernhard Engelhardt, *Geschichtliches über den 7. Deutschen Turnkreis*. Bad Hersfeld: Mohn 1938; Wolfgang Meyer, *Geschichte des Turnwesens im Gau Nordmark der deutschen Turnerschaft*. 2 vols., Hamburg: Hans Christians 1936–38; for Germany cf. Edmund Neuendorf, *Die Deutsche Turnerschaft. 1860–1936*. Berlin: Limpert 1936; for the new time cf. Herald Braun, *Geschichte des Turnens in Rheinhessen. Ein Beitrag zur wechselseitigen Beeinflussung von Politik und Turnen*. vol. 1, 1818–1850; vol. 2, 1850–1918. Alzey: Rheinhesische 1986-7; Christiane Zakrzewski, *Geschichte des Turnens am Mittelrhein*. vol. 1, 1818–1850. Koblenz: Görres 1987; for the GDR view cf. Wolfgang Pahncke (ed.), *Gerätturnen einst und jetzt*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1983.

70. The first one is by the NISH in Hoya, cf. Kurt Hoffmeister, *Ehregalerie—Persönlichkeiten und Meister des Sports in Niedersachsen*. Duderstadt: Mecke 1988.

71. Ihno Alberts, Harm Wiemann, Ursula Basse-Soltau, *Das alte Friesenspiel ist jung. Klootschießen und Boßeln einst und jetzt*. Norden: Solau Kurier 1988.

72. Ilka Peter, *Das Rangeln im Pinzgau und verwandte Kampfformen in anderen Alpenländern*. Salzburg: Salzburger Druckerei 1981.

With the heavy emphasis on teacher training in the physical education departments, it is not surprising that a group of scholars is working on the history of this field. The problem here is that Germany has always been—with the exception of the Nazi era—a federal system with the cultural authority vested in the various states. Thus, much of what is written applies only to Prussia, which covered more than half the Empire. But there were still large differences among pay scales and, therefore recruitment, in the different cities and counties. There are three studies which concern other states, i.e., Württemberg,<sup>73</sup> Bavaria,<sup>74</sup> and the Swiss canton of Zürich.<sup>75</sup> But the working group headed by Naul<sup>76</sup> and Geßmann<sup>77</sup> is particularly interested in the late Empire and the Weimar Republic. There are also some studies on physical education and sport at universities like Marburg,<sup>78</sup> Zürich,<sup>79</sup> Göttingen,<sup>80</sup> and some in Switzerland.<sup>81</sup>

There is another group of scholars working on the history of women in sports. Block has already been mentioned.<sup>82</sup> Much is based on the richly documented work of Gertrud Pfister.<sup>83</sup> At the same time, Landschoof/Hüls<sup>84</sup> (the Nazi era) and particularly de Ras (for the Girl Guides: *Wandervogel* and *Bündische Jugend*)<sup>85</sup> have shown that there are many aspects of women sports yet to be researched. The girls' and women's organizations caught on very rapidly in the Weimar period and sought their own path to emancipation. It is not surprising that the Nazi era, with its cult of the strong Aryan male, did not have room for strong women; and yet the war effort gave women opportunities for emancipation they had not had before. One area of activity was the gymnastics and nudist movements, as the followers of Mensendieck, Duncan, and the Loheland

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73. Christa Kleindienst Cachay, *Die Verschulung des Turnens*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1980.

74. Gertrude Krombholz, *Die Entwicklung des Schulsports und der Sportlehrerausbildung in Bayern von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des zweiten Weltkrieges*. München: Uni-Druck 1982.

75. Heini Herter, *Turnen und Sport an der Zürcher Volksschule. Zum 125 jährigen Bestehen des obligatorischen Schulturnens im Kanton Zürich*. Zürich: Lehrmittelverlag 1984.

76. Roland Naul (ed.), *Körperlichkeit und Schulturnen im Kaiserreich*. Wuppertal: Putty 1985; idem, "Von Potsdam nach Weimar—Schulsportwirklichkeit zwischen pädagogischer Reform und politischer Indienstnahme," in Hans-Georg John, Roland Naul (eds.), *Jugend sport im ersten Drittel des 20. Jahrhunderts*. Clausthal: DVS 1988, pp. 84-130; for teachers' training cf. Harmut Becker, "Die Ausbildung der Turnlehrer im 19. Jahrhundert," in ETS (ed.), 2. *Internationales Seminar*, pp. 246-51.

77. Rolf Geßmann, *Schulische Leibesübungen zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik*. Köln: Strauß 1987; cf. Arnd Krüger, "Gesinnungsbildung durch Turnunterricht oder: 'Pro patria est dum ludere videmur,'" in Reinhard Dithmar, Jörg Willer (eds.), *Schule zwischen Kaiserreich und Faschismus. Zur Entwicklung des Schulwesens in der Weimarer Republik*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche 1981, pp. 102-24.

78. Walter Bernsdorff (ed.), *Siebzig Jahre Turn- und Sportlehrerausbildung in Marburg*. Gladenbach: Kempkes 1977.

79. Paul Gygax, Arturo Hotz, *50 Jahre Turnen und Sport an der ETH Zürich*. Zürich: ETH 1986.

80. Wolfgang Buss, "Der allgemeine Hochschulsport und das Institut für Leibesübungen der Universität Göttingen in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus," in Heinrich Becker, Hans-Joachim Dahms, Cornelia Wegeler (eds.), *Die Universität Göttingen unter dem Nationalsozialismus*, München: Saur 1987, pp. 437-63; Arnd Krüger, "Valentin Trichters Erben. Das Theorie-Praxis-Problem in den Leibesübungen an der Georg-August-Universität (1734-1987), Georgia Augusta (November 1987), pp. 69-75.

81. Arturo Hotz (ed.), *125 Jahre im Dienste des Schulturnens*. Stäfa: Th. Gut 1983.

82. S. Block, *Frauen und Mädchen in der Arbeitersportbewegung*. Münster: Lit 1987.

83. Gertrud Pfister (ed.), *Frühe Texte—Frau und Sport*. Frankfurt: Fischer 1980; idem (ed.), *Zurück zur Mädchenschule? Beiträge zur Koedukation*. Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus 1988.

84. Regina Lanschoofs, Karin Hüls, *Frauensport im Faschismus*. Hamburg: Ergebnisse 1985.

85. Marion E. De Ras, *Körper, Eros und weibliche Kultur. Mädchen im Wandervogel und in der Bündischen Jugend. 1900-1933*. Pfaffenweiler: Centaurus. 1988.

school cultivated gymnastics in the nude to get rid of the old inhibitions. Spitzer's<sup>86</sup> work on the male nudist (Hitler was an ardent Surén fan—the German counterpart to Macfadden), and Loges<sup>87</sup> work on his father's gymnastics show that there was a considerable amount of ambiguity regarding women's liberation on the part of colleagues—males who often came from the more conservative side of the German *Turner* movement.<sup>88</sup>

Bernett has also worked on the Jewish sport movement during the Nazi era in Germany.<sup>89</sup> There is now also a detailed study of the Jewish sports club *Hoppauf Hakoah* in Austria,<sup>90</sup> which is far less bitter than the German studies on Jewish sports. After the work of Becker on anti-Semitism in the German *Turner* movement,<sup>91</sup> this book shows normal coexistence in a multi-ethnic society. There are also fine studies which have focused on other minorities: Blecking on the Polish Sokol in Germany,<sup>92</sup> Luh<sup>93</sup> on the German *Turner* in Czechoslovakia (1919-39), Ueberhorst and Wieser<sup>94</sup> on the German *Turner* clubs in the Americas, Schulte on East-Prussia.<sup>95</sup> Rummelt<sup>96</sup> analyses the role of sport in the German colonies. It is a pity that he could not have taken into account the work of Tony Mangan and athleticism in the British colonies as this would have helped to explain phenomena other than straight forward imperialism.<sup>97</sup> It is, however, the first study of the German colonies and a well-researched study on the spirit of imperialism in sports. These books teach us a lot about the use of physical exercise to build unity and national identity for which Jahn actually developed it.

Jahn, the "Turner father," seems out-of-date today. A Jahn symposium on the occasion of his 200th birthday was the most recent to look at various aspects of

86. Giseler Spitzer, *Der deutsche Naturismus. Idee und Entwicklung einer volkerzerieherischen Bewegung im Schnittfeld von Lebensreform, Sport und Politik*. Ahrensburg: Czwalina 1983.

87. Helmut Loges, *Freiheit und Form der menschlichen Bewegung*. Carl Loges—1887—1987. Duderstadt: Mecke 1987.

88. Cf. Klaus-Jürgen Gutsche, *Ellen Cleve Schule. 1933-1983. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte der Gymnastik*. Flintbek: Pflesser 1984; Lisa Scheller, Harald Eimermacher, Gisela Bentz, *Bewegung. Entwicklungen in der Turnerjugend. 1921-1934 und 1947-1962*. Celle: Pohl 1984.

89. Hajo Bernett, *Der jüdische Sport im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland. 1933-1938*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1978.

90. John Bunzl (ed.), *Hoppauf Hakoah, Jüdischer Sport in Österreich von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart*. Wien: Junius 1987.

91. Hartmut Becker, *Antisemitismus in der Deutschen Turnerschaft*. St. Augustin: Richarz 1980.

92. Diethelm Blecking, *Die Geschichte der nationalpolnischen Turnorganisation 'Sokol' im Deutschen Reich. 1884-1939*. Münster: Lit 1987.

93. Andreas Luh, *Der Deutsche Turnverband in der Ersten Tschechoslowakischen Republik. Vom völkischen Vereinsbetrieb zur volkspolitischen Bewegung*. München: Oldenbourg 1988.

94. Horst Ueberhorst, *Turner unterm Sternenbanner. Kampf der deutsche-amerikanischen Turner für Einheit, Freiheit und sozial Gerechtigkeit*. München: Moos 1978; Arnd Krüger, "Der amerikanische Sport zwischen Isolationismus und Internationalismus," *Leistungssport* 18 (1988), 1, 43-7; 2, 47-50; Lothar Wieser, "Zur Geschichte des Turnens in Südamerika mit besonderer Berücksichtigung Brasiliens," in Horst Ueberhorst (ed.), *Geschichte der Leibesübungen*, vol. 6, Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz 1989, pp. 954-75; idem, "Zur Sozialgeschichte des Turnens in Südamerika," *Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte des Sports* 2 (1988), 2, 7-32.

95. Ernst Schulte, *Getrennt vom Reich* —Die Instrumentalisierung des Sports in Ostpreußen zur Zeit der Weimarer Republik. Bochum: Brockmeyer 1987.

96. Peter Rummelt, *Sport im Kolonialismus—Kolonialismus im Sport. Zur Genese und Funktion des Sports in Kolonial-Afrika von 1870 bis 1918*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein 1986.

97. James A. Mangan, *The Games Ethic and Imperialism. Aspects of the Diffusion of an Ideal*. New York: Viking 1986; William J. Baker, James A. Mangan (eds.), *Sport in Africa. Essays in Social History*. New York: Holmes & Meier 1987.

his life,<sup>98</sup> while Sprenger<sup>99</sup> wrote a fine history of the reception of Jahn, showing that every time period has used the founder of German gymnastics to suit its own purpose.

As the Cold War has cooled off, the flow of publications dealing with sport in the GDR has also decreased. While Holzweißig<sup>100</sup> continues in the old vein, Lutz has provided a detailed account of the development of sport sociology in the GDR.<sup>101</sup> This is a fascinating book in that it combines the history of a social science with the history of a state ideology. Sport sociology was initiated at the German College of Physical Culture in Leipzig because it was supposed to help improve the performance of elite athletes. It is doubtful, however, whether it really accomplished this end. The working conditions and interpretations of interview data in the context of a totalitarian state—where nobody trusts you if you come from an official authority and start to ask questions—affords us insight into the development of sport, sport science, and the society of the GDR. Of course, there is also an official GDR version of the development of its sport culture.<sup>102</sup>

The Cold War mentality is also evident in one of the studies dealing with the boycott of the 1980 Olympic Games in which Germany took part. Willi Knecht, a former employee of the CIA-sponsored RIAS radio station in Berlin, wrote a very detailed account of the 1980 boycott<sup>103</sup> in the Cold War vein, while Pfeiffer<sup>104</sup> puts the 1980 boycott into the history of Olympic boycott threats (1936) and former boycotts (1976, 1980, 1984). On the borderline of historiography and political science there is the voluminous monograph of Sven Gülденpfennig on sport and the peace movement.<sup>105</sup> While Germany has a long history of combining sport with war, there have been several attempts<sup>106</sup> to show that it should actually be the other way round, and that athletes have a moral responsibility, particularly in Germany, to make sure that sport is not misused for the wrong purposes. The German group “Athletes for Peace” has been

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98. Hartmut Becker, Hajo Bernett (eds.), *Internationales Symposium aus Anlaß des 200. Geburtstages von Friedrich Ludwig Jahn in Berlin (West). Berichtsband*. Leiden: E. J. Brill 1978.

99. Reinhard K. Sprenger, *Die Jahnrezeption in Deutschland. 1871-1933. Nationale Identität und Modernisierung*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1985.

100. Gunter Holzweißig, *Diplomatie im Trainingsanzug. Sport als politisches Instrument der DDR*. München: Oldenbourg 1981; idem, *Sport und Politik in der DDR*. Berlin: Holzapel 1988; a mixture of scholarship is visible in the special issue of *Sportwissenschaft* 13 (1983), 2, 113-236 dealing with the CDR.

101. Willi Lutz, *Ideologie und Wissenschaft in der Sportsoziologie der DDR*. Bochum: Brockmeyer 1988.

102. Günter Wonneberger (ed.), *Körperkultur und Sport in der DDR. Gesellschaftswissenschaftliches Lehrmaterial*. Berlin: Sportverlage 1982; H. -G. Herrmann, “Die Entwicklung der sportwissenschaftlichen Institutionen in der DDR.” *Geschichte der Sportwissenschaft. Internationales Seminar*. (Berlin 1979). Leipzig: DHK 1980, vol. 1, pp. 174-83; the shift in attitude becomes visible when one compares older publications about olympism with Klaus Ullrich, *Coubertin, Leben, Denken und Schaffen eines Humanisten*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1982.

103. Willi Ph. Knecht, *Der Boykott. Moskaus mißbrauchte Olympiade*. Köln: Wissenschaft und Politik 1980.

104. Röll Pfeiffer, *Sport und Politik: Die Boykottdiskussion um die Olympischen Spiele von Mexico City bis Moskau 1980. (Mit einem Exkurs zu den Spielen von Los Angeles 1984)*. Frankfurt: P. Lang 1987.

105. Sven Gülденpfennig, *Frieden-Herausforderungen an den Sport. Ansätze sportbezogener Friedensforschung*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein 1989.

106. Sven Gülденpfennig, Horst Meyer (eds.), *Sportler für den Frieden. Argumente und Dokumente für eine sportpolitische Bewußtseinsbildung*. Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein 1983; Maaret Ilmarinen (ed.), *Sport und Internationale Understanding*. Berlin: Springer 1984; Hartmut Becker (ed.), *Sport im Spannungsfeld von Krieg und Frieden*. Clausthal: DVS 1985.

particularly active in this field. Gldenpfennig's study puts the peace initiatives in Germany in political perspectives and thus is writing good contemporary history. Much of it could also be labeled as participating observation, since Gldenpfennig himself was quite active in the socialist wing of the peace movement. The movement received a particular impetus around the 1980 Olympics, not only because of the boycott, but on account of the general political tension of this period.

There are also other publications dealing with this history of the Olympic Games: Mller<sup>107</sup> is becoming more and more the official historian of the National Olympic Committee, while Lennartz<sup>108</sup> has narrated the story of German participation in the Olympic Games from 1896-1908. The most useful publications for general reference are, however, those of two journalists: Erich Kamper's<sup>109</sup> encyclopedia of the Olympians and of the results of the Games are still the best, and K. A. Scherer's book on the IOC and its members<sup>110</sup> is also unsurpassed.

The situation of physical education and sport in Germany is quite different from that in the other European countries as can be shown by an international comparison.<sup>111</sup> But why is there a special German way? I think that the *Barrenstreit* [gymnastics controversy] of 1860-1862 and the *Spielbewegung* [games movement] of 1879-1890 have been most influential in determining the special German way, in that *Turnen* diminished the influence of Swedish gymnastics with the help of parliament and the medical profession in the first case and retarded the sport movement in the second. It is amazing that it took so long for the *Spielbewegung* to find its historian, but the dissertation by Eerke Hamer<sup>112</sup> succeeds in putting it into the context of the last political attempt of the liberals to show that a social democracy was not necessary; it also describes the hygiene movement in medicine and educational reform. This voluminous work preserves a fine balance between political, intellectual, and medical history in its analysis of a sport topic. It is certainly one of the best researched pieces of sport history written in the past ten years. It is also apparent here that the dominance of *Turner* history has distorted the tradition, since in the quarrel between *Turnen* and sport the historians before Hamer either came from the Turner field or did not bother to look at the original sources. An equivalent book for the *Barrenstreit* is not in sight, but there are

107. Norbert Mller, *Von Paris bis Baden-Baden. Die Olympischen Kongresse 1894-1981*. Niedernhausen: Schors 1983 (2nd ed.); idem (ed.), *The Relevance of Pierre de Coubertin Today*, Niedernhausen: Schors 1987.

108. Karl Lennartz, *Die Beteiligung Deutschlands an den Olympischen Spielen 1896 in Athen*. Bonn: Wegener 1981; idem, *Die Beteiligung Deutschlands an den Olympischen Spielen 1900 in Paris und 1904 in St. Louis*. Bonn: Wegener 1983; idem, *Die Beteiligung Deutschlands an den Olympischen Spielen 1906 in Athen und 1908 in London*. Bonn: Wegener 1985.

109. Erich Kamper, *Enzyklopdie der Olympischen Spiele*. Dortmund: Harenberg 1972; idem, *Lexikon der 1200 Olympioniken. Who's Who at the Olympics*. Garz: Leykam 1975.

110. Karl Adolf Scherer, *Der Mnnerorden. Die Geschichte des Internationalen Olympischen Komitees*. Frankfurt: Limpert 1974.

111. Arnd Krger (ed.), *Leibesbungen in Europe I. Die Europische Gemeinschaft*. London: Arena 1985; Arnd Krger, James Riordan (eds.), *Der internationale Arbeitersport*.

112. Eerke U. Hamer, *Die Anfnge der Spielbewegung in Deutschland*. London: Arena 1959; cf. Gerd Steins (ed.), *Spielbewegung—Bewegungsspiel*. Berlin: Forum fr Sportgeschichte 1982.

some attempts to show the beginning of the sport movement in the Empire.<sup>113</sup>

There is also a book which offers a neat theory to explain the whole situation of sport history and historiography in Germany. Klaus Cachay's *Sport und Gesellschaft*<sup>114</sup> [Sport and Society] puts the whole development of sport history in the past 150 years in Germany into the context of Niklas Luhmann's general systems theory. For Luhmann a dynamic system forms by breaking away from the other social systems and then taking over certain responsibilities independently. If this is the case, the rest of society accepts after some time such a role differentiation of the subsystems and no longer deals with issues which arise in such a system. Cachay shows that sport has been developing into a system of its own (my case of sport historiography would be an example of such a split in the systems followed by role differentiation) following, in particular, the impact of sport on public health. At first, everyone was concerned about public health and preventive medicine, e.g., with physical education. When the sport system had been fully developed, only from within the system did one continue to hear demands for physical education as a kind of public health therapy. Although some details may not quite fit the theory, it is nevertheless one of the few attempts to put all the facts into a theoretical framework.

Allen Guttman has praised the work of Henning Eichberg<sup>115</sup> whose historical behavior research emphasizes social discourse and combines seemingly incongruous themes into a vivid picture of social functioning. Unfortunately, this most creative German scholar has not found a place at a German university, but is working in Denmark. Eichberg's analysis of the invention of the sports record which deals with Guttman's *From Ritual to Record*, is still going on and will be dealt with again in a forthcoming study.<sup>116</sup> Rituals seem to be as evident in modern sport as they were in ancient sport. On the other hand, the quest for quantification seems to be much older than Guttman assumes. The surprising development is that, while at the beginning Guttman and Eichberg seemed to be in agreement, there now are distinct differences<sup>117</sup> in that Eichberg takes all

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113. Cf. Hans Langenfeld, "Die Entwicklung der deutschen Turn- und Sportvereine im 19. Jahrhundert," in Arnd Krüger (ed.), *Die Entwicklung der Turn- und Sportvereine*. Berlin: Forum für Sportgeschichte 1984, pp. 15-50; idem, "Aristokratischer Sport im wilhelminischen Deutschland, in W. Buss/A. Krüger, *Sportgeschichte, op. cit.*, pp. 63-84; idem, "Von der Turngemeinde zum modernen Sportverein," in Gunter A. Pilz (ed.), *Sport und Verein*. Reinbek: Rowohlt 1986, pp. 15-42; Kurt Hoffmeister, "Ein Braunschweiger Lehrer als Begründer der Schulsportspiele in Deutschland. Professor Dr. phil. Konrad Koch (1846-1911), in Arnd Krüger (ed.), *Beiträge zur niedersächsischen Sportgeschichte*. Duderstadt: Mecke 1986, pp. 14-67; Hans-Georg John (ed.), *Vom Verein zum Verband. Die Gründerzeit des Sports in Deutschland*. Clausthal: DVS 1987.

114. Klaus Cachay, *Sport und Gesellschaft, Zur Ausdifferenzierung und ihrer Folgen*. Schorndorf: Hofmann 1988; cf. Niklas Luhmann, *Soziales System, Gesellschaft, Organisation*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1981; idem, *Grundriß einer allgemeinen Theorie*, Frankfurt: Suhrkamp 1984; idem (ed.), *Soziale Differenzierung: Zur Geschichte einer Idee*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1985; idem, *Beiträge zur funktionalen Differenzierung der Gesellschaft*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag 1987.

115. Allen Guttman, *JSH, op. cit.*, p. 43ff., for a most recent introduction to his work cf. Henning Eichberg, *Die Veränderung des Sports ist gesellschaftlich*. Münster: Lit 1986.

116. John M. Carter, Arnd Krüger (eds.), *Ritual and Record Sports Quantification in Preindustrial Societies*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood (in press).

117. Cf. Wilhelm Hopf, *Fußball. Soziologie und Sozialgeschichte einer populären Sportart*. Bensheim: Beltz 1979; idem, *Soziale Zeit und Körperkultur*. Münster: Lit 1981; Wolfgang Dreßen (ed.), *Selbstbeherrschte Körper*. Berlin: Ästhetik & Kommunikation 1986; Günter Gebauer (ed.), *Körper- und Einbildungskraft. Inszenierungen des Helden im Sport*. Berlin: Reimer 1988.

of modern sport as one gigantic ritual in an historical period otherwise so poor in ritualistic expression,<sup>118</sup> while Guttman has not really changed his position.

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I have not mentioned the ancient sport history of Egypt, where Wolfgang Decker is one of the most prolific researchers,<sup>119</sup> Greece,<sup>120</sup> Rome,<sup>121</sup> England,<sup>122</sup> or Italy<sup>123</sup> or non-European cultures,<sup>124</sup> as I have been concentrating on German historiography as it relates to Germany. There is a very fine volume on the history of the tournament in all of its European differentiations.<sup>125</sup> It may be that one can only deal with the Middle Ages and the Renaissance in a truly international manner.<sup>126</sup> The best material relating to Germany in early modern times has been published by Hannes Stohmeyer.<sup>127</sup> With the untimely passing of Louis Burgener the main bridge between German and French sport historiography is now gone. This means not only that his *Sport and Culture*<sup>128</sup> series will not be continued, but that the fascinating approaches evident in recent French sport historiography will have little impact in Germany.

It is difficult to predict the future of sport historiography. I think it will no longer deal so much with the big decisions and the general political impact of sport, but rather with sport seen on a smaller scale and therefore closer to what actually took place. With more local and regional studies and the center of gravity shifting away from physical education departments to the regional societies, there are fine long-term possibilities in spite of the limitations within the universities. Or, if we look at it in Luhmann's and Cachay's terms, as vivid a system as sport cannot afford to be ahistorical. But it remains likely that sports historians and "amateurs" will continue to dominate sport historiography.

118. The notion was first developed by his collaborator Ove Korsgaard "Sport som religiøs praksis. Rekord som ritual," in E. Jespersen (ed.), *Religion og sport*. Special edition of *Centring* 7 (1986). 1, 57-67 (a translation will be in Carter, Krüger, *Ritual and Record*).

119. Wolfgang Decker, *Sport und Spiel im alten Ägypten*. München: Beck 1987.

120. Ingomar Weiler, *Sport bei den Völkern der Alten Welt*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche 1988 (2nd ed.).

121. Gerhard Lukas, *Der Sport im Alten Rom*. Berlin: Sportverlag 1982.

122. Joachim K. Rühl, "William Penny Brooks and the Much Wenlock Games," in J. A. Mangan (ed.), *Proceedings of the XI HISPANA International Congress*. Glasgow: Jordanhill 1985, pp. 89-91; Heiner Gillmeister, "Early English Games in the Poetry of Francis Quarles," *ibidem*, pp. 40-45.

123. Arnd Krüger, "The Influence of the State Sport of Fascist Italy on Nazi Germany. 1928-1936," in James A. Mangan, Roy B. Small (eds.), *Sport, Culture, Society, International Historical and Sociological Perspectives*. London: Spon 1986, pp. 145-65; idem, "Der Einfluß des faschistischen Sportmodells Italiens auf den national-sozialistischen Sport," in A. Morgan Olsen (ed.), *Sport und Politik*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget 1986, pp. 226-32; idem, "Sport im faschistischen Italien (1922-1933)," in Spitzer/Schmidt, *Sport zwischen Eigenständigkeit, op. cit.*, pp. 213-26.

124. Cf. Gundolf Krüger, "*Sportlicher Wettkampf*" auf Hawaii. *Eine Konfiguration und ihr Wandel als Gegenstand ethnohistorischer Forschung*. Göttingen: Herodot 1986.

125. Josef Fleckenstein (ed.), *Das ritterliche Turnier im Mittelalter*. Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht 1985; cf. Joachim K. Rühl, "Methodological. Technical and Organizational Aspects of Research in Medieval Sport," *Stadion* 11 (1985) 1, 41-8.

126. Heiner Gillmeister, "Linguistics and Sport Historiography," *ibidem*, 31-40; idem, "The origin of European Ball Games. A Re-Evaluation and Linguistic Analysis," *ibidem* 7 (1981), 1, 19-52; idem, "Die mittelalterlichen Ballspiele: Eine Chronologie ihrer Entwicklung," *ibidem* 10 (1984), 77-94; Berno Wischmann, Ake Svahn, *Leibesübungen und Sport bei den Germanen*. Niedernhausen: Schors 1980; Arnd Krüger, John McClelland (eds.), *Die Anfänge des modernen Sports in der Renaissance*. London: Arena 1984.

127. Hannes Stohmeyer, *Beiträge zu Leibeserziehung und Sport in Österreich*. Wien: Wiss. Gesellschaft für Leibeserziehung und Sport 1980; idem, "Zur historischen Beziehung zwischen Gesundheitslehre und Leibeserziehung," in Elmar Kornelx (ed.), *Spektrum der Sportwissenschaften*. Wien: Bundesverlag 1987, pp. 30-42.

128. Louis Burgener (ed.), *Sport und Kultur. Sports et civilisations*. 10 vols. Bern: P. Lang 1980-6.