The Olympic Games 393 AD-1896 AD

The Genealogy of an Idea in Literature, Music, and Dance [1]

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On November 12, 2003, at the Athens Concert Hall and performing under the baton of Nikos Tsouchlos, the Virtuosi di Praga presented excerpts chosen from several different versions of Pietro Metastasio's magnificent 18th century libretto, *L'Olympiade*[2] The performance itself was a pastiche of homonymous operas written by Vivaldi,[3] Pergolesi,[4] Paisiello, Jommelli, Traetta, Hasse, Myslivecek, and Caldara.[5] Interpreting the works were soprano Isabelle Poulenard, mezzo-soprano Claire Brua, tenor Jean Delescluse, and bass Gerome Correas. Soloist Markellos Chrysikopoulos played the harpsicord.[6] So beautiful is Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* that the eminent poet, Giosue Carducci once wrote that "all of the eighteenth century joined in acclaiming the divine *L'Olympiade,* in which the lyricism and the Italian songfulness joined in an unequalled and unattainable perfection"[7] and Jean-Jacques Rousseau chose "the beautiful and moving" aria, 'Nei giorni tuoi felici,' for his dictionary example of the ideal heroic duet.[8]

Despite the magnificence, fame, and beauty of Metastasio's *L'Olympiade,* the work even today remains largely unknown. None of the established histories of the modern Olympic games, including histories of the arts festivals or even histories of music in the Olympics,[9] acknowledge Metastasio's dramatic verse, a fact rendered even more surprising since there were in fact over one hundred settings of his famed libretto during the course of the 18th and early 19th centuries, and, according to Burney, "the settings and singings of Metastasio's verse rendered Pergolesi, Venci, Jommelli, Sacchinni, and Farinelli, Caffarelli, Pacchierortti, and Marchesi, as celebrated in all parts of Europe as Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire."[10] To his credit, in his book, *The First Modern Olympics,* Richard Mandel at least identifies Pergolesi's overture, although he erroneously reports the title of the piece as *L'Oympique.*[11]

Olympic historians have also failed to recognize a variety of classical dance pieces that have drawn their material from the ancient tradition of the Olympics. Dances performed in opera-ballets or as part of the tradition of the ballet heroique, have remained largely unidentified and untheorized as important historical dimensions in the survival of the

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Olympic idea during the 1500 year hiatus between the abolition of the ancient games in 393 A.D. and their modern revival in 1896, in Athens, Greece. Once again, Mandel remains the only historian to touch on work in this area, although he focuses on the music of dance rather than the dance itself and inaccurately, or rather, incompletely, identifies Jean-Joseph Mouret's ballet music by the title *Les jeux olympiques*[12] rather than by its full title of *Les Jeux Olympiques on le Prince malade.*[13] Where Mandel is to be commended is in his effort to survey the history of the word 'Olympia,' especially as it appears in literature.[14] But Mandel neither goes far enough in his quest nor does he attempt to theorize the ways in which literary references to the Olympic games have paved the way for Coubertin's particular Olympic construction.

What I would like to do in this paper, then, is identify, analyze, and theorize references to the ancient games as they appear in the world of European literature, music, and dance. As Mandel rightly notes, "the prestige of classical culture never died"[15] and the Olympic games, as a mythologized and ideologized concept, served as a common reference point in the European literary and arts tradition. Historians have identified a whole series of traditions and developments throughout the course of medieval, Enlightenment, and modern times that have contributed to the survival of the Olympics, including the English tradition of medieval peasant recreations and aristocratic tournaments, the "pseudo-Olympics," as Redmond calls them,[16] the professional records of historians, travelers, archeologists, cartographers, and palaeographists, the prominence of ancient Greek ideas in the works of educational theorists and philosophers, and the growth of international sport. But in all of this, little attention has been paid to either mention or use of the ancient games in the world of literature and the arts.

From a strictly theoretical perspective I would like to argue that repeated references to and uses of the ancient games in literary and arts genres, especially during the 18th century, ultimately served to rationalize and legitimize, in fact normalize, Coubertin's particular ideological and rhetoricized notion of Olympic games, one that during its conception may well have stood for a cosmopolitanism that promoted peace, international understanding, and educational sport but one that also served discrete class, race, and gendered ends. What I do not want to do is suggest a deep, continuous evolution of thought-in terms of the conscious production of a Coubertinesque tradition of Olympism. In other words, I do not want merely to contribute to what Foucault calls "the confused, under-structured, and ill-structured domain of the history of ideas"[17] and profess to uncover what Best and Kellner call "great chains of historical continuity and their teleological destinations."[18] Rather I wish to add to the complexity of the historical account that constitutes the Olympic story, particularly as the story unfolded during the years between the abolition of the ancient games and Coubertin's 'invention,' and re-examine the social and cultural field from the perspective of production in the humanities and arts, in the process historicizing the multiplicity of discourses that contributed to the survival of the Olympic games as an idea.

I want to employ a postmodern historiography, borrowing my theoretical orientation from Foucault who opposes a total history that "draws all phenomenon around a single center — a principle, a meaning, a spirit, a world-view, an overall shape" and proposes instead a general history that "on the contrary, would deploy the space of a dispersion"[19] whereby narrative totalizations are replaced by individualized discourses, complex interrelationships, and a shifting plurality of alignments and meanings, like Foucault, though, I do not want to dissolve all forms of structure, coherence, and intelligibility into an endless flux of signification but argue that there are some accessible regularities, relations, and continuities

that do exist, that there is, as Foucault avers, an archeology of knowledge that not only allows us "to attain a plurality of histories juxtaposed and independent of one another" but also permits us "to determine what form of relation may be legitimately described between . . . different series of things."[20] In other words, we can at least identify the conditions for the possibility of knowledge. Furthermore, I would argue that the local and historical discursivities that constitute the production of knowledge are themselves linked to the operations of power and that we can theorize literary and artistic references to the Olympic games as dimensions of normalizing practices that in the end constructed the social practices and power relations that defined Courbertin's notion of Olympism. In other words, I would like to theorize a genealogy of the Olympic idea since, as Foucault notes, genealogy politicizes all facets of culture and everyday life, including work in literature, music, and dance.[21]

Let me begin in the world of literature; here we can most readily find and identify the archeological contours of the Olympic idea through time. I will then turn to the world of music and then to the world of dance. Finally I would like to argue that the Olympic reference was the expression of a lived idea that shared a common heritage, a common bond within the work of literature and the arts.

The Olympic Euterpe

Although references to the Olympic games and Olympia appear frequently in Byzantine literature, ostensibly for the first time in the work of the Florentine poet and statesman, Mateo Palmieri, and subsequently in the work of European humanists, including Virgilius Polydorus and Hieronymus Mercurialis, the games are first mentioned in western European literature in the work of French dramatist Robert Garnier, specifically in his tragedy, *Cornelie.* Translated by Thomas Kyd, the tragedy was first performed in London in 1595 under the title, *Pompey the Great, his faire Cornelias Tragedie,* and with it the first allusion to the Olympic games in English literature.[22] Since then, references to the Olympic games have abounded in European literature including in the works of Gustave Flaubert, Thomas Hood, Alexander Pope, Voltaire, Johann Goethe, Frederick Holderlin, Jan Kochanowski, and John Milton. Even William Shakespeare was given to the Olympics reference: realizing that his forces are weakening, Henry IV uses the Olympic image, appropriately, as inspiration – "When that a ring of Greeks have hemm'd thee in,/Like an Olympian wrestling."[23]

So powerful and compelling is the Olympic legacy that in literature even time is measured in Olympiads: "If I had a few Olympiads less on my shoulders . . . ", Metastasio once wrote.[24] Reflecting a not uncommon polarity in literature, poets measure both love and war in similar style. On the one hand, Charles Cotton writes that "Have I lov'd my Fair so long/Six Olympiads at least,"[25] while on the other, George Gordon Byron asks "But when did Pallas teach, that one retreat/Retrieved three long Olympiads of defeat?"[26]

In numerous references, the ancient Olympic games are represented as the best of the athletic tradition, as instantiating the epitome of athletic accomplishment, and hence an institution appropriately due glory, reverence, and acclaim—a characterization on which Coubertin was more than willing to capitalize in order to rationalize his particular invention as the zenith of institutionalized, and in his case, international sport. As long ago as 1636, in his panegyric to Robert Dover, the founder of the Cotswold games, the poet, Michael Drayton, wrote:

Dover, to doe thee Right, who will not strive,
That dost in these dull iron Times revive

The golden ages glories; which poore Wee
Had not so much as dream't on but for Thee?
As those brave Grecians in their happy dayes,
On Mount Olympos to their Hercules
Ordain'd their games Olympick, and so nam'd
Of that great Mountaine; for those pastimes fam'd:
Where then their able Youth, Leapt, Wrestled, Ran,
Threw the arm'd dart; and honor'd was the man
That was the victor.[27]

In similar homage to Robert Dover, William Denny expresses the sublime lineage of the ancient Olympics:

Time long sleep, is now awak'd by thee
Fam'd Dover, who began'st the pedigree
Of Cotswold-sports, where each Olympick game,
Is parraleld and drawes, fresh breath from Fame.[28]

Shrouded in veneration for classicism, literary references invariably endow the games with religious, spiritual qualities that connote transcendence. In often hyperbolic verse, the games are in fact commonly reified as the direct product of divine intervention, as Nicholas Wallington writes:

Th' Olympicks first invented by great Jove;
When with the Titans, combating hee strove
For victory and got it, Or by Hercules
When he had vanquish't Auges king of Elie.[29]

As a result, the games are construed as pseudo and even real religious obsequies, a reverent participation in them bringing knowledge, vitality, power, and even enlightenment and immortality. In his 16th century poem, *On the Victory of Nicophontos,* Polish poet, Jan Kochonowski, praises the victory of an ancient pugilist who "won with fists armed with leather bands" and then "came to the front of the Olympia assembly" while Greek gods and demigods cowered in the face of his unusual power.[30] In romanticized verse, several centuries later, Lewis Morris claimed a more cerebral victory:

I have found—
I, who have striven, and prize more my crown
And blood-stained triumphs of successful war
The laurel of Olympia—a new height
Of knowledge; a new virtue unattained,
And yet attainable; a sacrifice,
A brotherhood; a self surrender, winged
To higher Heavan than the sensual Gods'
To whom the ignorant kneel.[31]

Even in the Homeric mockery of Milton[32] and Pope, the games are endowed with cosmic dimensions, heroic mortals striving from surcease from their ontological agonies, seeking freedom from the normal limitations of time and place, and joining together in shared ritual illusions that emulate and ultimately promise access, even if only for a moment,

to the carefree existence of divinities. In European verse, as in ancient cosmology, athletes can, as Pindar reminds us, resemble the gods.[33]

Writing in the same year as Lewis Morris, and sounding remarkably like Coubertin in his rhetorical appropriation of the games as a bulwark against the dehumanization of the modern age, Edmund Clarence Stedman invokes the divinities of Olympia as a salve for our more modern woes:

> Are they coming back in might,
> Olympia's gods, to claim their ancient right?
> Shall then the sacred majesty of old,
> The grace that holy was, the noble rage,
> Temper our strife, abate our greed for gold,
> Make fine the modern age.[34]

And in a predictable late 18th century secular vein, the poet also notes:

> Ah, let them come, the glorious Immortals,
> Rulers no more, but with mankind to dwell,
> The dear companions of our hearts and portals.[35]

Embraced by a fervent young Greek poet, the divine power of the Greek immortals became a rallying cry for the resurrection of the games in the service of a torrid patriotism. As Panagiotis Soutsos asks of his native land in 1833 in prescience of Coubertin's later Olympic revival: Where are your Olympic Games?/Where are your great theaters and marble statues?"[36]

The honour, nobility, and purity of the ancient Olympics are expressed in a variety of forms. For Renaissance dramatist, George Chapman, writing in 1608, the games instantiate the very model of fairness: ". . . the ancient Elians . . . That ever were the justest arbitrators."[37] For others, the Olympic illusion connotes heroism and chivalry, concepts that appealed as much to poets as to Coubertin himself, for whom the chivalric tradition provided an indispensable rhetorical source of appeal for his own Olympic conception of honourable competition. Writing some two centuries earlier about Dover's Olympics, Robert Griffin, provided the inevitable illusion to the chivalric model of King Arthur:

> Nere was the Famous Isle honor'd before,
> With such brave games, since that brave heroe dy'd
> The worlds chiefe worthy; and stout Brittons pryd,
> Arthur, with his rotund of Knights.[38]

But the Olympic wreath, the olive wreath, becomes the most pervasive poetic symbol of the purity, nobility, even the religious sanctity, of the athletic endeavor. Within the contours of the image of the wreath lay the historical justification for the later appeal to anti-materialism, not only in Coubertin's Olympic rhetoric but also in the more widespread narratives that touted amateurism and hence participation in the Olympics and other sporting institutions in the late 19th century as the rightful preserve of a social and economic elite. Renown, fame, even intrinsic gratification, not economic gain, became the reward for victory: "Where whoso conquered, gain'd besides renowne./An Olive Garland as his merits

Crowne," wrote William Denny.[39] Or, as Horace Smith, more blatantly writes in the early 19th century in the precedent cause of an anti-professionalism:

Men fight in these degenerate days,
For crowns of gold, not laurel fillets;
And bards who borrow fire from brays,
Must have them in the grate of billets.[40]

Encoded further in the symbol of the wreath is an ideology that rested at the very heart of Coubertin's conception of the modern Olympic games, an ideology of the Olympic games as an international peace movement. Dedicated to the principles of international communitas and cosmopolitan magnanimity, Coubertin embraced the pan-Hellenic vision that athletic competition could serve as a contribution toward amity and goodwill. Reiterating an idealized Hellenic ambition, the poet Ben Johnson eulogized Dover's Olympic games as a significant catalyst in the quest for community: "How they advance, true Love, and neighborhood,/And doe both Church, and Common-wealth the good."[41] In the same publication, William Basse more carefully articulates the ontological possibilities in sport of war and peace: Against the "Furies that Masque, in shapes of sport,/And sted of lengthening, cut life short," Basse espouses an epistemology of peace:

For Songs as sweet, as hallowes deepe,
Deserves the sport, whose harmlesse ends
Are to helpe Nature, life to keep,
And second I Love, in joing friends,
That neither breakes the loosers sleepe,
Nor winner home, Triumphing sends,
Where none, a little gold so spent,
Nor Time more precious, need repent.[42]

Several centuries later, Coubertin recognized the same tensions: "Athleticism can put into play the most noble as well as the most vile passions," he wrote, "it can be used to consolidate peace or to prepare for war."[43] Like other 19th century rationalists and progressivists, Coubertin sided with a wisdom to be accessed from the lofty mountain "whose spiritual grandeur," the American politician, Samuel Cox wrote in 1879, "brings peace, order, and civilization."[44]

In keeping with Coubertin's later formulation of eurythmy—the integration of the arts with athletics, the ennoblement of sport through an association with, indeed a proclaimed affinity for artistic expression, even an embodiment of the aesthetic itself—literary references also offer appeal to the ancient tradition and practice of the Olympics as hearth and succor not only to the athletic but also to the artistic. Common note was made of the integration of sports and the arts: "Wrestling, Running, Leaping," to borrow John Stratford's words, even "Coursing with Chariots," but also "Contention there, with Poetts and Musitions,/Great emulation'mongst the Rethoritions."[45] "In those noble times," Michael Drayton similarly proclaims,

There to their Harpes the Poets sang their Rimes,
That whilst Greece flourisht, and was onely then
Nurse of all Arts, and of all famous men.[46]

And in yet another rationalization of amateur sport, Horace Smith wrote:

For Bays did ancient bards compete,
Gathered on Pindus and Parnassus,
They by the leaf were paid, not sheet,
And that's the reason they surpass us.[47]

Writing in 1880, Vernon Lee argued that "the Olympic games, despite their choral processions and olive wreaths, retain something of the medieval tournament . . . Antiquity and chivalry, artists and Heroditus, are fused."[48] Even in Nero's denigration of the Olympic forum, we can find literary reverence for the sanctity of Olympic success. Written no doubt by Thomas May, the 17th century historian of the Long Parliament in England, the anonymous play, *The Tragedy of Nero,* parodies the "Eighteen hundred and eight Crownes" won by Nero "with singing and with stage-playing,"[49] and dutifully acknowledges the embarrassing inversion of Olympic standards:

But did you marke the Greek Musitians
Behind his Chariot, hanging downe their heads,
Sham'd and overcome in their professions?[50]

In reaction to the human proclivity toward excess, the marriage of muscle and mind—indeed of mind, body, and spirit—became an indelible feature of Coubertin's own Olympic moral cosmology. The same tripartite universal metaphysic was also evident in the literary world, especially in the 19th century and perhaps most interestingly in the writings of Edgar Allen Poe. Like Shakespeare before him, and like other of his contemporaries including Shelley, Coleridge, and Pushkin, Poe's was a solipsistic mind that embraced the world as an opaque mirror of itself. As a reflection of the universe, Poe, like Coubertin, envisioned that normal health was predicated on a delicate balance of mind, body, and spirit.[51] In one of his moral fantasies, *Epimanes,* re-titled *Four Beasts in One—The Homo-Camelopard,* Poe investigates the fragile human psyche and invokes the Olympic image to expose the human predilection for bestiality and mob hero-adulation. In Poe's farcical action, man becomes the destructive beast, while the animals become humane. Ultimately the crowd "well satisfied of the faith, valor, wisdom, and divinity of their king . . . do think it no more than their duty to invest his brows (in addition to the poetic crown) with the wreath of victory in the footrace—a wreath which it is evident he must obtain at the celebration of the next Olympiad, and which, therefore, they now give him in advance."[52] The satire leaves no doubt in the words of Horace Binny Wallace,[53] as it would in Coubertin's own ideology, that "man" is "in himself a Trinity," a delicate balance of mind, body, and spirit.

Of especial interest in all of these references is the default assumption, hardly surprising given the history and practice of the Olympics in antiquity, that athletic participation remained the exclusive domain of men. Even references to the fact that the Olympics expressly excluded women, a practice no doubt well understood, are largely absent from the world of literature, The same, however, cannot be said about the world of music.

The Olympic Polyhymnia

While not the only score that drew its inspiration from the ancient Olympics, Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* remains the most renowned and the most influential. If, as Neville argues, Metastasio's texts contained ideals and precepts that played a critical role in the "image of majesty" essential to the welfare of the Hapsburg monarchy, then Metastasio's

L'Olympiade certainly augmented the "image of majesty" that increasingly came to define the ancient Olympics.[54] The premiere for Metastasio's 11th *dramma per musica* with music by Antonio Caldara celebrated the birthday of Empress Elizabeth and was held in Vienna in 1733 in the outdoor Favorita Theater. Although Caldara's music was not heard again until the 21st century, the Vienna opening was the beginning of a long and illustrious career for *L'Olympiade.* As many as 47 composers are known to have produced a complete setting for Metastasio's libretto and it was performed throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe's most influential cities including Moscow, Lisbon, London, Stuttgart, Copenhagen, Prague, Paris, Rome, Venice, Naples, and Parma. Some *L'Olympiade's* most striking set pieces were also kept alive through attention from such creative talents as Gluck, Johann Sebastian Bach, and Beethoven. From the early 18th century on, at least in the world of music, *L'Olympiade* sustained the ancient Olympic games as an indelible dimension of an European historical consciousness.

Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* was a classic example of 18th century opera seria, or Neapolitan opera, an operatic style that swept throughout western Europe during the course of the 18th century.[55] Grounded in the lyric theater of the Greeks, opera seria patterned itself on the fundamental purity of a geometrical Greek universe in harmonious motion. No wonder Wilson could call Metastasio's work "a triumph of the Arcadian rationalistic spirit."[56] For librettists a return to antiquity pre-supposed an in-depth knowledge of the ancient philosophers and historians as well as the literary-dramatic commentaries that included Aristotle and Horace. It was from such knowledge that Metastasio and his contemporaries gleaned their general classical imagery, the plots for their dramas and occasional pieces, and for their prose works.[57]

Grounded in an Aristotelian rationalism, Metastasian drama became a drama of moral forces in which protagonists drawn from classical mythology, history, or established epics, personified particular noble virtues whose ultimate validation was incumbent upon their survival in the face of a variety of inner conflicts and external trials. The main theme of *L'Olympiade* is the conflict between honor and friendship, between love and loyalty. The scene is the country of Elis, close to the city of Olympia, on the banks of the river Alpheus. In fact, the greater part of Act I, Scene I is given to a descriptive evocation of the Olympic atmosphere, the religious rituals and obsequies, the mass excitement, the sports, and the prize—"These leaves which are the supreme ornament of the victor." The real prize of course is actually the hand of the presiding king's daughter, Aristea.[58]

In keeping with literary conventions, *L'Olympiade* is a chivalric story, in which noble values of patriotism, loyalty, filial love, and the claims of friendship are verified and re-affirmed. In the story's victory of virtue and the re-establishment of a state of perfect harmony the way is prepared for Coubertin's later progressive rationalistic morality in which the individual dramatic hero, in Coubertin's case the athlete, instantiates the "sentiment of honor" and personifies heroic qualities which speak to the "physical, moral, and social" role of sport in the quest to inculcate equilibrium in both the individual athlete as well as serving the greater good of society as a whole. Like Coubertin's individual athlete, Metastasio's hero, Megacles, too, is eulogized on the basis of the qualities of chivalry and modesty:

> Brave youth! who 'midst thy glory still retain'st
> Thy graceful modesty; permit me now
> To press thee thus with fondness to my bosom.[59]

Sounding remarkably Coubertinesque, Metastasio further valorizes the heroic quest of the noble protagonist in *Ezio,* where he notes that:

> It is a great test of courage
> To meet the deadly waves,
> To sail through the tempests
> And not lose one's way.[60]

Finally, it is worth noting that Metastasio's text remains one of the few direct references that actually acknowledge the ancient games as the sacred preserve of men. In fact, Metastasio specifically uses the gender specificity of the games to enervate his drama with even greater suspense as both Aristea and Argene wait for news of the games outside the arena: "No, beauteous Argene: the law that suffers not our sex to be spectators." In a prelude to the patronizing, and indeed inferiorizing attitudes that were to govern Coubertin's *fin de siecle* games, in which women were celebrated more as spectatorial accessories to cheer on men rather than as athletes themselves, Argene notes that: "Alas! 'twere greater pain, perhaps, to see/The man we love expos'd in such a conflict,/Nor have it in our power to give him succor."[61]

Beyond the verse, lies the music itself. Even in the hands of composers as diverse as Caldara and Cimarosa, Leo and Myslivecek, Brivio and Schwanenberger, the musical interpretations *L'Olympiade,* like the Olympic music of today,[62] appeal to noble passions and higher ideals through scores that feature wind, strings, and timpani in the production of martial processionals, heroic fanfares, and majestic anthems. Of all the stagings of *L'Olympiade,* Pergolesi's remains the most highly esteemed. Beyle, writing in 1841 under the name of Stendahl, describes Pergolesi's particular interpretation as "the unrivalled masterpiece of dramatic expression in the whole repertory of Italian music."[63] Some of the passages in Pergolesi's opera, such as the aria 'Se cerca, se dice,' were accorded equally high acclaim.[64] Numerous other composers, including Galuppi, Hasse, and Jommelli based their own settings of the text on Pergolesi's model; it was heard in numerous pasticcio versions throughout Europe, including the one given on April 20, 1742, at the King's Theater, London, as *Meraspe.*

Only one other opera drew its name from the ancient Olympics; but, written in 1788 by Pierre Joseph Candeille, the composer of *Castor et Pollux, Les jenx olympiques* remained unperformed. While other composers gleaned their inspiration and material from the ancient games, their work was largely performed in conjunction with the development of dance.

The Olympic Terpsichore

With the advent of the Renaissance, most notably in 15th century Italy and France, all of the arts, especially dance, drama, and music, enjoyed a resurgence of interest and artistic creativity, The same neo-classicism that inspired Metastasio also inspired poets, musicians, and dancers who banded together into Camerata, the fruits of whose work resulted in Italy in the proliferation of the opera and in France in the founding of the ballet, and, as Martin writes: "With the establishment of ballet as a theatrical art form, all those concerned were convinced that the choric drama of the Greeks had been restored."[65]

During the 18th century, the French passion for dancing provoked in opera what Kirstein calls as often "unbridled choreographic invention at the expense of song and

drama."[66] In other words, in France the ruptured equilibrium between poetry, music, and dance resulted in the formation of the opera-ballet, a genre where dancing and orchestral music predominated. Dramatic action was reduced to a minimum; plot became merely the pretext for music and dancing; everything tended towards ballet. It is, as Masson puts it, "the ballet that gives birth to the simulacrum of opera, destined to frame it."[67] The opera-ballet, and the related ballet-heroique and acte de ballet, became enormously popular in France, and increasingly throughout western Europe, especially in England, Austria, Italy, Russia, and Scandanavia. The opera-ballets were successful because they served not just as relaxation or as anodyne but as enchantment, the "peculiar magic of living in a lyric counterpart of personal lives which were predominantly tragic," as Kirstein writes.[68] For Anthony, the opera-ballet granted the Regency a medium through which it could observe, in ideal reflection, its own hedonistic pursuits.[69] But whatever the reason for its remarkable appeal, and even though it was relatively short lived, a mainstay only during the 18th century, the opera-ballet served as yet another artistic vehicle that permitted the Olympic games to reaffirm their elitist glamour and romantic charm within the historical consciousness of Europe.[70]

Eighteen operas-ballets were performed at the Academie Royale de Musique beginning in 1697 with *L'Europe galant,*[71] and ending in 1735 with *Les Indes galantes.*[72] The first opera-ballet to feature Olympic sports was *Les Fetes grecques et romaines,* performed on July 13, 1723. The composer was Collin de Blamont, the librettist, Fuzelier. *Les Fetes grecques et romaines* launched the career of the brilliant 15-year-old ballerina, Madamoiselle Richalet and featured Marianne Cochais in the celebrated role of Terpsichore. From its opening in Paris, the work was an immediate success and it was revived up until 1770. Fuzelier wrote in his preface that:

> *Les Fetes de grecqnes et romaines* is a completely new type of Ballet. . . France has up to now only used the Fable as subject matter appropriate for music. In a more daring manner, Italy has taken events from History for her operas. The Scarlattis and Bononcinis have already allowed their Heroes to sing that which Comeille and Racine would have declaimed. . .Brought together in this Ballet are the best known Festivals of Antiquity which appeared to be most adaptable to the stage and to music . . .[73]

Les Fetes grecques et romaines featured a prologue and three divertissements: *Les jenx olympiqnes, Les Bacchaneles, and Les Satnrnales. Les Jeux Olympiqnes* involved athletes who had won prizes in wrestling, boxing, and running, and included the famous *pas de deux lutteurs* which was performed in 1733 and later in 1741 by the famed Louis Dupre and Javillier *l'aine.* The wrestling match translated into dance was composed by the ballet master, Lami, and according to Louis de Cahusac it was the perfect example of the way in which action that was intrinsically violent and dubiously graceful could be rendered artistically palatable: "By defying one another on stage, the two Athletes presented the subject of the action very well, and their fight was the very knot of this handsome action."[74]

While the operas-ballets were the most successful in geographically transmitting the Olympics in stylized form throughout western Europe, other dances featured the Olympic games. Jean-Joseph Mouret, 'le musicien des graces' as he was posthumously known, composed a musical divertissement for *une comedie heroique* entitled *Les Jeux Olympiques on le Prince malade* which featured dancers and was first performed in November 1729 at the Theatre Italien.[75] The text for *Les Jeux Olympiques* was written by La Grange.[76] The prologue

was entitled 'les Guenieres et les Amazones' and the main divertissement, 'Les Athletes.' Of the three entrees, 'Les Athletes' was judged by the *Mercure,* in keeping with the heraldic virtuosity of operatic as well as contemporary Olympic music, as "the most striking, full of martial allure, and all the airs and instrumental music were accompanied by brilliant trumpet fanfares."[77]

Two other works are worthy of mention; first, and less importantly, Michel Blavet's vocal piece, *Les jeux olympiques,* written for the ballet-heroique, commissioned by Henri-Charles, Count de Senneterre, and performed, at least as music, at the Count's home at Chateau de Berny on November 19, 1753,[78] and second, and more significantly, Jean-Gcorges Noverre's heroic ballet, *La Mort d'Hercule,* a dance which specifically featured wrestlers competing for the Olympic prize. According to Uriot's description at the time:

> This *entrée* is authentically based on the knowledge which has been transmitted to us concerning ancient Gymnastics, particularly Wrestling, and the four wrestlers modeled their different attitudes on the Antique, so that one seemed to see those famous Athletes who disputed the prizes when the Olympic Games were celebrated.[79]

One of Noverre's great Stuttgart creations, *La Mort d'Hercule* featured some of the most prestigious names in European dance, including Gaeton Vestris, his brother, Angiolo Vestris, Lepy, Louisa Toscani, and Nancy Levier. Connecting 18th century ballet to the chivalric tradition of English aristocratic tournaments, the use of wrestlers, Olympic sports and athletes, may well have emerged from a concern with "the Ancients," but it was, as Winter writes, also the extension of a "speciality whose origins were in the knightly tournaments."[80] Like other choreographers such as Gaspare Angiolini and Salvatore Vigano, both of whom were widely acclaimed for their creativity in staging military combats, Noverre choreographed athletics with power and intrepidity. He composed the wrestlers' ensemble at Stuttgart not only for the first act of *La Mort d'Hercule* but also for the first act of *Alceste.* According to Noverre, himself, the *maitre de ballet* charged to compose an ensemble of twenty-four wrestlers had to:

> renounce any sort of symmetry in figures, movements, positions, attitudes, and groups: to give the stamp of authenticity twelve different *pas de deux* are necessary: this is the painstaking work of at least several days; when these *pas de deux* are composed and partially learned by the executants, they are all bought together in rehearsal to form the great ensemble.[81]

Combats and athleticism remained a significant element in the general dynamics and composition of numerous other 18th century ballets.[82] Even as the neo-classical era waned during the course of the 18th century, the most famous dance company of the era, Fillipo Taglioni's Stuttgart Company, which featured the most celebrated ballerina of the day, Fillipo's daughter, Maria—"Romanticism applied to dance," as Clarke and Crisp describe her[83]—performed *Les Jeux Olympiques* in several European cities.

Within the performing art of ballet the Olympics retained a celebrated place in yet another 18th century European arts genre, a place that I will now argue established for the games a cache and cultural legitimacy and preeminence that rendered the Zeitgeist of the *fin de siecle* particularly amenable to an international sports movement as conceived along the lines of Coubertin's creation.

An Olympic Gesamtkunstwerk

The musician, Richard Wagner, used the term Gesamtkunstwerk to describe a theater piece that fused all artistic elements into an organic whole.[84] I would like to use the term here, although certainly at the risk of bastardizing Wagner's meaning, to suggest that work in literature, music, and dance as it pertained to the ancient games, and especially during the 18th century, created a favorable and generally unified perception of the Olympic games that obtained across time and that influenced a European consciousness in such a way that Coubertin's ideas about an internationalized and indeed Hellenized form of the games did not seem at all alien or problematic. Clearly, Coubertin was not the first to conceive of a modernized version of the ancient games. As David Young has demonstrated,[85] fledgling Olympic movements had already taken hold in both England and Greece during the mid-19th century, the former under the auspices of Dr. William Penny Brookes and the latter as a result of the patriotic fervor and élan of the young Greek poet, Soutsos, but it fell to Coubertin with his influential aristocratic contacts, his mastery of public relations, and his powerful and persuasive rhetoric to ultimately establish the modern games as an indelible feature of the late 19th century social and political landscape. And while the Olympic Movement as engineered by Coubertin may have well been dedicated to the production of a noble and magnanimous humanity and to an ideology of unilinear progress, the games were also in the beginning masculinist, socially elitist, and steeped in a traditional Anglo-Saxon hegemony, a classic expression of what Gerrit Gong calls "the standard of civilization," a 19th century code of civilized behavior which was both an ethnocentric statement of European racial arrogance as well as a rationalization for colonial dominance at the same time as it demanded humanitarianism.[86]

Both the remarkable success as well as the form of Coubertin's creation can claim their justification, at least in part, from the literary and artistic precedents that defined the cultural milieu across the centuries that preceded the restoration of the Olympic games. I do not wish to suggest the gradual progress of an emergent, historical, Coubertinesque Olympic idea. But, as Foucault notes, we can conceive of a dialectic of continuity and discontinuity and the impact of the ancient games on references in literature and on the production of work in music and dance serve to show how history always includes what Foucault calls "overlapping, interaction, and echoes."[87] Or as Marx argues: "Men make their own history, but they do not make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past."[88]

From the moment in English literature in 1595 that the dramatist Thomas Kyd first proclaimed that athletes competed in the games in order "to grace themselves with honor,"[89] the Olympics have been eulogized in music, extolled in prose and verse, and celebrated on the stage as a dignified, noble, and indeed honorable form of sport, one that serves as the quintessential and most hallowed model of all, especially with an attendant moralism and enlightened, non-materialistic ideology. Whether co-opted by poets for patriotic reasons, choreographers for creative and entertainment reasons, or composers for economic gain, the games have endured history as instantiating excellence, grandeur, enlightenment, and transcendence, the most sublime expression of sport with connotations of *noblesse d'oblige.*

Nor did the games survive only in the minds of an elite European audience, There is no doubt that classicism in the arts first took root in the habits and consciousness of a social elite. The birth of opera in Florence at the beginning of the 17th century, for example, was the result of the efforts of groups of aristocratic amateurs, and in the early years the art

remained a much admired although exclusive princely spectacle. *L'Olympiade,* in particular, played to a royal audience: Traetta's original 1769 St. Petersburg setting celebrated the 40th birthday of Catherine II and Jommelli's staging in Lisbon, 1774, honored Queen Mariana Vittoria's birthday.[90] But by the mid-18th century the opera was far from being a reserved entertainment only for a ruling or privileged class. As Robinson points out,[91] opera served no distinctly high or low class group. Various features of opera reflected the taste of aristocratic and royal patrons, including lavish stage productions and superb singing, while other features reflected more popular influences, especially comedy and farce. In other words, opera appealed as much to princes as to gondoliers.[92]

Dance developed concomitantly with opera and also under the patronage of a patrician elite. After all, it was the young Louis XV who appeared as Augustus in *Les Fetes desgrecques and romaines* when it was staged in 1723 in the theatre at Louvre. Moreover, dance spread across Europe as outstanding dancers, mostly trained in Paris, traveled from court to court performing and developing their own ballet schools. But like opera, dance, too, increasingly appealed to a more diverse class audience, a trend that was further facilitated by the successful establishment of royal opera houses and theaters throughout Europe to which ballet companies became attached. Among the most famous theater and opera houses of the time were the Kings' Theater in Haymarket, London (1705), the National Theater in Copenhagen (1726), and the Royal Opera in Covent Garden, in London (1732).[93]

Likewise, literacy increasingly spread beyond the confines of a purely privileged elite. As Watt has so well documented,[94] the 18th and 19th centuries witnessed the gradual extension of a reading class in Europe, especially in England, a culture characterized somewhat hyperbolically by Samuel Johnson as "a nation of readers."[95] A burgeoning literacy in conjunction with an increasing distribution of both leisure and wealth bore testimony to the power and self-confidence of an emergent educated middle class.

Nor were the worlds of literature, music, and dance unconnected in both an historical, personal, and intellectual sense. The Olympic idea was a shared not isolated reference. Pindar served as inspiration to numerous poets throughout Europe who employed the Olympic allusion including Keats and Milton in England, Ronsard and Du Bellay in France, Kochanowski and Szymonowic in Poland, and Holderlin and Goethe in Germany. During the 18th and 19th centuries, in particular, musicians and dancers partook of common experiences, relationships, and even friendships, crisscrossing Europe in a constant traffic of creative energy. Among 18th century Italian composers of standing, almost all of them became active abroad, including those who set *L'Olympiade:* Jommelli, Paisiello, and Traetta went to Vienna and still more, including Hasse, Galuppi, Anfossi, Guglielmi, and Sacchini, traveled to London. Musicians and dancers shared residencies, worked on creative endeavors together, and even enjoyed a common training: Jommelli, for example, wrote ballet music and Guglielmi was a student at Noverre's Theatrical Dance School.

In other words, the Olympic reference and inspiration constituted a living heritage, and while works in which the Olympic reference resided—whether in literature, music, or dance—may well have initially bathed in the glory of an elite patronage, they ultimately accessed a more universal, popular audience. Audiences certainly overlapped and tastes were no doubt to some extent similar, but it is hard to believe that the Olympic reference was a not well-understood allusion which conjured up as well as created in the minds of an audience a particular conception of the games, one which will have well served not only Coubertin who was besotted with the ancient Hellenic model but also other commentators

and idealogues who during the late 19th century proselytized sport as a worthy institution in which to feature Anglo-Saxon, amateur, and generally male accomplishments.

Conclusion

Within the Olympic tradition, it is, of course, the Greek rather than the Roman sport model that is favored in the literary and artistic imagination. After all, as Mandel rightly notes, Greek athletics were preserved in Roman culture as mere theater not as the expression of an enlightened humanity. As the German poet, Schiller, once wrote: "If the peoples of Greece, in their athletic sports at Olympia, delighted in the bloodless combats of talent; and if the Roman people enjoyed the death throes of a vanquished gladiator or of his Libyan antagonist, we can comprehend from this single propensity of theirs why we have to look for the ideal forms of a Venus, a Juno or an Apollo not in Rome but in Greece."[96] Like Schiller, Coubertin, too, embraced the Greek model, preferring as Poe immortalized the words, "the glory that was Greece," rather than "the grandeur that was Rome.[97]

Karl Marx argued that just when men:

> seem engaged in revolutionizing themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle-cries, and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honored disguise and borrowed language.[98]

Clearly, Coubertin was a master at appealing to the past but he did so on the basis of a well-honed trail that was already well familiar to a wide Anglo-Saxon audience, and most especially to a social elite to whom both sport and Coubertin appealed the most.

Endnotes

[1] In the generation of this manuscript, I would like to acknowledge with deep gratitude the assistance and expertise of several colleagues at Skidmore College; namely, Isabel Brown, Steve Clark, Tom Denny, Reg Lilly, and Marc-Andre Wiesmann.

[2] The full text of Metastasio's *L'Olympiade,* and all his other librettos, are published in John Hoole (trans.), *Dramas and other poems of the Abbe Pietro Metasatasio* (2 Vols, London: Otridge, 1800). The text of *L'Olympiade* appears on pp. 81-158. For the best consideration of Metastasio's *L'Olympiade,* see J. K. Wilson, *L'Olympiade: Selected Eighteenth-Century Settings of Metastasio's Libretto,* Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1982.

[3] For a CD recording of Vivaldi's *L'Olympiade,* see *L'Olympiade,* by Antonio Vivaldi, Concerto Italiano, Director Rinaldo Alessandrini, 3 CDs, Opus 111, 2000 Regione Piedmonte.

[4] For a CD recording of Pergolesi's symphony, *Olympiad,* see *Pergolesi Symphonies,* Orchestra da Camera di Santa Cecilia, Conductor Alession Vlad, 1996 Arts Music, Track 1.

[5] I would like to offer here a very brief biography of each of the composers cited in this paper who set Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* to music as serious opera (opera seria). Guisseppe Ferdinando Brivio (?-1758), Italian composer, singing teacher and possibly also an impresario. He also composed symphonies and operas including among the latter, *Demofoonte, Artasere,* and *L'incostanza delusa.* His *Olympiade* was set in Turin in 1737. Antonio Caldara (1670-1736), an Italian composer, was one of the most prolific of his generation. Remembered, especially in the modern era, as the first composer to have set a substantial proportion of the librettos of Apostolo Zeno and Pietro Metastasio, Caldara is renowned for magnificent arias, lively carnival operas, and extensive and lavishly accompanied choral finales. Among his most well- known works may be included *Adriano in Siria* and *L'Anagilda.* His production of *Olympiade* was the first performed in 1733 in Vienna. Domenico Cimarosa (1749-1801), an Italian composer, was one of the most successful composers of his epoch. He created almost 60 stage works, mostly comic pieces, which were performed on all major European stages. Even the famed Haydn conducted performances of his operas. He spent several years as *maestro di cappella* in the St. Petersburg court of Catherine II. Among his most popular operas were *La trame deluse, Gli Orazi,ed I Curiazi* and *Il marito disperato.* His first production of *Olympiade* was staged in 1784 in Vinecnza. Baldasare Galuppi (1706-1785), Italian composer, was a central figure in the development of the *dramma giocoso* and a very popular composer of both serious and comic opera. He traveled throughout Europe including stays in London and St. Petersberg, the latter as part of the court of Catherine II. He is most well remembered for a revived, *Didone abbandonata,* as well as *Vologeso, Demetrio, and Amante di tutte. Olympiade* was performed in 1748 in Milan, Johann Adolf Hasse (1699-1783), was a German composer, whose opera seria were performed in all the leading opera houses in Italy and Germany for nearly half a century. Known as 'il caro Sassone' because of the choral restraint and lyric beauty of his music and melodies, he worked in Dresden, Naples, and Venice, becoming one of Metastasio's favorite composers and an important influence at the Vienna court. He earned a central place in the life of Italian opera. Best known for *Attilio Regolo, Ruggiero,* and *Siroe,* his version of *Olympiade* was first produced in Dresden in 1756. Niccolo Jommelli (1714-1774), was an Italian composer, whose greatest accomplishments

represented a combination of Italian brio, German complexity, and French decoration, all woven together by his prodigious gift for dramatic effectiveness. Considered by Schubart a musical genius, his most well-known works include *Armida abbandonata, Temistock, Fetonte, Achille in Sciro,* and V*ologosa.* His setting or *Olympiade* was first staged in Stuttgart in 1761. Leonardo Leo (1694-1744), an Italian composer, wrote numerous serious operas and oratorios and was considered one of the leading composers of comedy. From 1720 onwards, after the success of *Caio Gracco,* the list of his opera commissions extends throughout the rest of his life. One of the more dominant figures in Neapolitan musical life, he is remembered for the operas *Catone in Utica* and *L'Andromoca.* His first setting of *Olympiade* was in Naples in 1737. Joseph Myslivecek (1737-1781), Czech composer, whose first great operatic success was *Il Bellerofonte,* performed in Naples in 1767. The success of *Il Bellerofonte* led to commissions from all the leading operatic centers in Italy. As a composer of opera, he confined himself mostly to serious opera, but he was also an eminent composer of oratorios and instrumental music. He first staged *Olympiade* in Naples in 1778. Giovanni Paisiello (1740-1816), Italian composer, was one of the most successful and influential operas composers of the 18th century. While he spent most of his life in Naples, he, too, like Traetta, Cimarosa, and Galuppi, served in Russia in Catherine II's court in St. Petersberg. Producing over 80 works in his life, his first great success was *L'idolo cinese* in 1767, although his most enduring works were *Il barbiere di Siviglia, l'amor contrastato,* and *Nina.* His first production of *Olympiade* appeared in 1786 in Naples. Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710-1736), an Italian composer, despite a short career and life, became a leading figure in the rise of Italian comic opera in the 18th century. He also wrote church music, cantatas, and several opera seria. Among his most highly acclaimed works are *Flaminio, Salve regina,* and *Stabat mater.* His version of *Olympiade* remains one of the best loved and most influential and was first set in 1735 in Rome. Johann Schwanenberger (1740-1804), a German composer, studied in Venice with Hasse and as Kappellmeister at the court of the Duke of Brunswick made several settings of serious opera including *Ezio* and *La Didone abbandonata.* His version of *Olympiade* was performed in Brunswick in 1782. Tommaso Traetta (1727-1779), an Italian composer, trained in Naples, wrote both serious and comic operas but also composed dance music, sacred music, and oratorios. He also worked in London, and, like Cimarosa, Paisiello, and Galuppi, he served in St. Petersberg in the court of Catherine II. His most well- known, serious operas include *Ifigenia in Tauride, Armida, Sofonisba,* and *Antigona.* His *Olympiade* was first set in Verona in 1758. Antonio Lucio Vivaldi (1678-1741), Italian composer and violinist, set 80 opera productions from the highly acclaimed *Ottone in Villa* of 1713 in Vincenza to a revival of *Orlando furioso* in Bassomo in 1741, the year of his death. Although best known for his approximately 500 highly-acclaimed and loved concertos or sinfonias or sacred music, he was also in his time one of the most successful opera composers in Italy, and he is certainly the most well-known figure today to have set Metastasio's *Olympiade* which was first performed in Venice in 1734. For full biographies of these and other composers mentioned in this paper, see Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionaty of opera* (London: Macmillan, 1992).

[6] The idea behind the performance at the Dimitris Mitropoulos Hall belonged to Maria Gyparaki who, together with Mirella Giardelli, worked in the Music Department of the National Library in Paris researching musical scores, selecting aria and recitativi, and considering stage adaptations. Gyparaki's reconstructions were actually presented for the first time in Rhodes the year before, followed by a dress rehearsal in Prague where the work was recorded. A year before that, in 2001, the Cultural

Olympiad presented Vivaldi's particular version of *L'Olympiade* at the Volos Center of Musical Theater. Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* is closely tied to Greek culture not only because it was translated by revolutionary Rigas Feraios, but also because the story was set in ancient Olympia during the time of the ancient Olympic games. Hasse's 1756 Dresden production is actually rendered as *Das Olympische Spiel.* See Vassilis Angelikopoulos, "A patchwork of Metastasio's 'Olympiad,'" *Kathimerini* (November 7, 2003), p. 1.

[7] Giosue Carducci, "Pietro Metatstasio," in *Prose di Giosue Carducci MDCCCLIX-MCMIII,* 3rd edition (Bologna, 1907), pp. 903-904. Also quoted in Patrick Smith, *The 10th Muse: A historical study of the opera libretto* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), p. 85.

[8] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Dictionnaire de musique* (Paris, 1768), pp. 182-184.

[9] See, for example, Richard Stanton, *The forgotten Olympic arts competitions: The story of the Olympic art competitions of the 20th Century* (Victoria, B.C.: Trafford, 2000); William K. Guegold, *100 years of Olympic music: Music and musicians of the modern Olympic games, 1896-1996* (Mantua, OH: Golden Clef Publishing, 1996).

[10] Charles Burney, *Memoires of the life and writings of the Abate Metastasio* (3 Vols., London: G. C. and J. Robinson, 1796), Vol. 3, p. 301.

[11] Richard D. Mandel, *The first modern Olympics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), p. 178, fn. 9.

[12] Ibid.

[13] Renee Voillier, *Jean-Joseph Monret: Le Musicien des Graces 1682-1738* (Paris: Librairie Floury, 1950), p. 134.

[14] Mandel, pp. 29-32.

[15] Ibid., p. 27.

[16] Gerald Redmond, "Prologue and transition: The "pseudo-Olympics" of the nineteenth century," in Jeffrey O. Segrave and Donald Chu (Eds.), *Olympism* (Champaign, IL: Human Kinetics, 1980), pp. 7-22.

[17] Michel Foucault, *The birth of the clinic* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975), p. 195.

[18] Steven Best and Douglas Kellner, *Postmodern theory: Critical interrogations* (New York: Guildford Press, 1991), p. 46.

[19] Michel Foucault, *The archeology of knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), p. 10.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Michel Foucault, *Power/knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 81-83.

[22] Karl Lennartz, *Kenntnisse und Vorstellungen von Olympia mid den Olympischen Spiele in der Ziet von 393-1896* (Schorndorf: Verlag Karl Hofmann, 1974), pp. 17-33.

[23] *Henry VI*, 3, II, iii, 53-54. In *Troilas and Cressida,* a play in which even codes of chivalry and fair play are subject to mockery, the reference to the Olympics serves no doubt as ironic praise — "And if we thrive, promise them such rewards/As victors wear at the Olympian games" (IV, v, 194-195).

[24] Quoted in Burney, Vol. 2, p. 321. Later, in Vol. 3, pp. 2-3, Metastasio similarly writes: "unless you could remove a number of Olympiads from my shoulders...".

[25] Charles Cotton, "The Expostulation," in John Beresford (ed.), *Poems of Charles Cotton* (London: Richard Corben-Sanderson, 1923), p. 130.

[26] George Gordon Byron, "The Curse of Minerva," in *The poetic works of Lord Byron* (London: John Murray, 1873), p. 453.

[27] Quoted in Matthew Walbancke, *Annalia Dubrensia: Upon the yearly celebration of Mr. Robert Dover's Olympick Games upon Cotswold Hill* (Menston, Yorkshire, England: Scholar Press, 1973).

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Quoted in Wojciech Liponski, "The Olympia experience in Polish poetry," *Olympic Review,* 21, 1990, p. 200. For further information on the Olympics in Polish literature, see Wojciech Liponski, "The Polish Olympic Movement in cultural and historical perspective," *Stadion: International Journal of the History of Sport,* XXIX, 2003, pp. 263-286.

[31] Lewis Morris, "The true story of Damon and Pythias," in Lewis Morris, *The works of Sir Lewis Morris* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Trubner, 1902), p. 678.

[32] For a specific reference to the Olympics in John Milton, see *Paradise Lost,* Book II, line 530.

[33] Ironically, both Milton in *Paradise Lost* and Pope in *The Rape of the Lock* suggest that if games can bring mortals closer to the divine, then war may actually serve a corresponding function for gods obsessively preoccupied with mortals, or for mortals who are quasi divine. For the Olympians, war is play and they can only make of it what Milton calls "a civil game." See George Lord, *Classical presences in Seventeenth-century English poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 173-191; George Lord, *Heroic mockery: Variations on epic themes from Homer to Joyce* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1977).

[34] Edmund C. Stedman, "News from Olympia," *Atlantic Monthly,* 39, 1877, p. 160.

[35] Ibid., p. 161.

[36] Quoted in David C. Young, *The Modern Olympics: A struggle for survival* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 3.

[37] George Chapman, "The Conspiracy of Charles, Duke of Byon," in William Lyon Phelps (ed.), *George Chapman* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1895), p. 323.

[38] In Walbancke.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Horace Smith, "The poet among the trees," in Horace Smith, *Rejected addresses, and other poems by James Smith and Horace Smith* (New York: G. P. Putnams Sons, 1871), p. 98.

[41] In Walbancke.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Pierre de Coubertin, *Olympic memoires* (Lausanne: International Olympic Committee, 1979), p. 22.

[44] Samuel Sullivan Cox, "The sermon on the mount: Peroration of speech," in David Josiah Brewer (ed.), *The world's best orations: From the earliest period to the present time* (St. Louis: F. P. Kaiser, 1899), p. 1446.

[45] In Walbancke.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Smith, p. 11.

[45] Vernon Lee, *Studies of the eighteenth century in Italy* (London: W. W. Norton, 1887), p. 196.

[49] "The Tragedy of Nero," pp. 3-98, in A. H. Bullen (ed.), *A collection of old English plays,* 4 Vols. (New York: Benjamin Bloom, 1964), Vol. 1, p. 17.

[50] Ibid., p. 18.

[51] In *The Fall of the House of Usher,* for example, we witness the total disintegration of the self as the desperate result of the chaotic forces of the universe causing an imbalance in human nature. See Edgar Allen Poe, "The fall of the Mouse of Usher," in Thomas Ollive Mabbott (ed.), *Collected works of Edgar Allen Poe* (Cambridge: The Bellknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978), pp. 397-422.

[52] Edgar Allan Poe, "Four beasts in one: The Homo-Cameleopard," in Mabbott, p. 128.

[53] Horace Binny Wallace, "An opinion on dreams," *Burton's Gentleman's Magazine,* August 1839, p. 105.

[54] Don Neville, "Metastasio and the image of majesty in the Austrio-Italian baroque," in Shearer West (Ed.), *Italian culture in Northern Europe in the eighteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 140-158.

[55] For discussions of opera seria see Donald Jay Grout, *A short history of opera* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965); David Kimbell, *Italian opera* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Ethan Mordden, *The splendid art of opera: A concise history* (New York: Methuen, 1980); Michael F. Robinson, *Naples and Neapolitan opera* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); and Michael F. Robinson, *Opera before Mozart* (London: Hutchinson University Library, 1966).

[56] Wilson, p. 12.

[57] Don Neville, "Pietro Metastasio", in Stanley Sadie (ed.), *The new Grove dictionary of opera* (New York: Macmillan, 1992), pp. 351-361.

[58] Greek fathers often brought their unmarried daughters to the ancient games with the express purpose of arranging an appropriate wedding match, perhaps indeed with an Olympic champion. See Tony Perrottett, *The naked Olympics: The true story of the ancient games* (New York: Random House, 2004), p. 73.

[59] Hoole, p. 115.

[60] Pietro Metastasio, *Ezio,* I, xiii. See Hoole, p. 43.

[61] Hoole, p. 108.

[62] For examples of 20th century music inspired by the Olympics, see the CD, *Summon the Heroes,* Boston Pops Orchestra, Conductor John Williams, 2000 Sony Music Entertainment.

[63] Henri Beyle (Stendahl), *Haydn, Mozart, and Metastasio,* trans. by Richard N. Coe (New York: Grossman, 1972), p. 219. See also, Stendahl (Marie Henri Beyle), *Lettres escrites de Vienne en Autriche, sur le celebre compositeur Jh. Haydn, suivies d'une vie de Mozart, et de considerations sur Metastase* (Paris, 1814), pp. 375-376.

[64] See, for example, Johann Adam Hiller, *Uber Metastasion und seine Werks* (Leipzig, 1786), p. 10, in which he describes 'Se cerca, se dice' as "beautiful and moving."

[65] John Martin, *Introduction to the dance* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1939), p. 187.

[66] Lincoln Kirstein, *Dance: A short history of classic theatrical dancing* (New York: Dance Horizon Publication, 1974), p. 201.

[67] Paul Marie Masson, "Le "Ballet Heroique," *La Revue Musicale,* 8, 1928, p. 132.

[68] Kirstein, p. 148.

[69] James B. Anthony, "The French opera-ballet in the early eighteenth century: Problems of definition or classification," *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer, 1965), p. 206.

[70] For discussions of the opera-ballet see James B. Anthony, *The opera-ballets of Andre Campra: A study of the first period French opera-ballet* (Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1964). James B. Anthony, *French baroque music from Beaujoyeulx to Rameau* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974); Lionel de La Laurencie, "Andre Campra, musicien profane," *L'Annee Musicale,* III, 1913, pp. 153-205; Paul-Marie Masson, "Les Fetes venitiennes d'Andre Campra," *Reveu de Musicologie,* XIII, 1932, pp. 127-146, 214-226; Renee Voillier, "Un opera-ballet au XVIII Siecle," *Revue de Musicologie,* XVI, 1935, pp. 78-86.

[71] First performed on September 24th, the composer was Campra and the librettist was La Motte.

[72] First performed on August 23rd, the composer was Rameau and the librettist was Fuzelier.

[73] Quoted in Anthony, *French Baroque music,* p. 140.

[74] Loius de Cahusac, *La Danse ancienne et moderne ou Traite historique de la Danse* (Rais: La Haye, 1974), T. 3, p. 102. See also, pp. 137-138, 145, 158-161, 164-165. Reprinted in *Epitre sur les Dangers de la Poesie suivie de La Danse Ancienne et Moderne on Traite historique de la danse* (Geneve: Skatkine Reprints, 1971), T. 3, pp. 171-179.

[75] *Mercure,* November 1729. Cited in Renee Viollier, *Jean-Joseph Mouret: Le Musicien des Graces, 1682-1738* (Librairie Floury: Paris, 1950), p. 174.

[76] La Grange was Francois Joseph de la Grange Chancel (1676-1758). According to Julie Anne Sadie, La Grange has been described as a 'poete precoce et rimeur facile' who never realized his potential in serious genres. (Personal correspondence, February 16, 2004).

[77] *Mercure.* There are further divertissements for 'Les Magiciens' and for 'Les Medecins' (in the manner of Moliere), and a vaudeville finale. Mouret published a set of six

volumes entitled *Recueil des Divertissements du Nouveau Thetare Itilien, autmente de toutes les Symphonies, accompagnement, airs de violins et de flutes, de hautbois, de musettes, airs italiens et de plusiers Divertissement qui n'ont jamais paru;* 140 works are presented. He dedicated the undated set to Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans. 'Les Jeux Olympiques' is in Vol. V, beginning on p. 22. There is at least one set in Paris, at the Bibliotheque de l'Arsenal; the call mark ('cote') is: M. 220. I am indebted to Julie Anne Sadie for helping me locate this information.

[78] Neal Zaslaw, "Michel Blavet," in Sadie, pp. 787-788.

[79] Joseph Uriot, *Description des Fetes donnees pendant 14 jours a l'Occasion du Jour de naissance de Son Altesse Serenissime Monseigneur le Duc Regnant de Wurtemberge et Teck* (Stuttgart, 1763), pp. 69-70.

[80] Mariann Hannah Winter, *The pre-romantic ballet* (Brooklyn: Dance Horizons, 1974), p. 152.

[81] Jean-Georges Noverre, *Lettres sur les Arts Imitateurs en General et sur la Danse en Particulier,* 2 Vols. (Paris: La Have, 1807), Lettrer XII, Vol. 1.

[82] Winter, p. 153.

[83] Mary Clarke and Clement Crisp, *The history of dance* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1981), p. 146.

[84] See Mordden, p. 398.

[85] See Young.

[86] Gerrit W. Gong, *The standard of 'civilization' in international society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

[87] Michel Foucault, *The history of sexuality* (NewYork: Vintage Books, 1980), p. 149.

[88] Karl Marx, "The eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte" (1851), excerpted from David McLellan (ed.) *Karl Marx: Selected writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 300.

[89] Lennartz, p. 33.

[90] Brivio's performance (Turin, 1937) was staged for the wedding of King Carlo Emanuele III of Savoy and Princess Elisabetta Teresa of Lorraine; Leo's settting (Naples, 1737) has a prefatory address dated December 19, the birthday of Philip V; and Manfredini's production (Moscow, 1762) honored Catherine's coronation.

[91] Roboinson, *Opera before Mozart,* p. 38.

[92] Grout, p. 200.

[93] Many others were founded in Naples (1737), Vienna (1748), Stuttgart (1750), Munich (1752), Moscow (1776), Milan (1778), and St. Petersburg (1783).

[94] Ian Watt, *The rise of the novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

[95] Samuel Johnson, *Lives of the English poets,* ed. George Birbeck Hill (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1905), Vol. III, p. 19.

[96] Lennartz, p. 66.

[97] See the poem, "To Helen," in Edgar Allan Poe, *Poetry and tales* (New York: The Library of America, 1984), p. 62.

[98] Marx, p. 300.