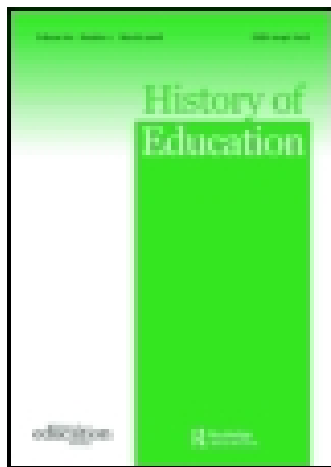


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The rationalisation of the body: physical education in Hungary in the nineteenth century

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This article highlights how *turnen*, the modernised form of earlier gymnastic exercises, emerged in Hungary in the second part of the nineteenth century. It is argued that although the advocates of the *turnen* movement are gradually squeezed from the spheres of modern competitive sports, their strategies of expansion are successful: earlier gymnastic exercises turn into compulsory *turnen* lessons in state schools. Due to the success of the movement, an intricate web of forces emerges, i.e. the field of *turnen* is born. As part of the expansion of modernity the obedient, disciplined, adaptable, publicly displayed rational young body becomes the precondition of a planned future.

Keywords: modernity; gymnastics; field of *turnen*; sports; disciplined bodies; Hungary; nineteenth century

The historical context

Although Hungary was more archaic and ‘backward’ in several respects in the nineteenth century than the majority of Western European societies, social changes moved in the same direction: towards modernisation. Michael Grant’s formulation, namely that European civilisations are interrelated and ‘no European can be a complete exile in any part of Europe’,¹ holds true as far as the Hungarian Kingdom is concerned in this period. Eric Hobsbawm might also be quoted in this context: ‘the educational highway seemed more attractive than the business highway... In a sense education represented individualist competition, the “career open to talent” and the triumph of merit over birth and connection quite as effectively as business, and this through the device of the competitive examination’.² Needless to say: physical education based on an ‘optimistic view of men’s perfectibility’³ together with the institutionalisation of a rational and rationalised *body politics* was also part of this educational highway in different parts of Europe – including Hungary.

The events of 1848 and 1849 were the product of mounting social and political tensions after the Congress of Vienna of 1815. During the ‘Pre-March’ period, the Austrian Empire moved away from Enlightenment ideas, restricted freedom of the press, and limited many university activities, including banning fraternities. The crescendo of discontent of the various ethnic groups inside not only Hungary but the whole Habsburg Empire would

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¹ Michael Grant, *The Civilizations of Europe* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965), 3–4.

² Eric J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution: Europe 1789–1848* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1962), 190–91.

³ Richard D. Mandell, *Sport: a Cultural History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 160–61.

climax in the March 1848 revolution. In Hungary, a new national cabinet took power and the Diet (parliament) approved a sweeping reform package that changed almost every aspect of Hungary's economic, social and political life, giving the Magyar nobility and lower gentry in the parliament control over its own military, its budget and foreign policy that essentially created an autonomous national kingdom of Hungary with the Habsburg Emperor as its king. To suppress the Hungarian forces, the Empire asked for Russian intervention. Austria and Russia successfully defeated Hungarian insurgents by August 1849, bringing the revolutions of 1848 to an end.

After the revolution, the emperor revoked Hungary's constitution and assumed absolute control. German became the language of administration and higher education. The first crack in Franz Joseph's neo-absolutist rule developed in 1859, when the forces of Sardinia and France defeated Austria at Solferno. The defeat convinced Franz Joseph that national and social opposition to his government was too strong to be managed by decree from Vienna. Gradually he recognised the necessity of concessions toward Hungary, and Austria and Hungary thus moved toward a compromise. Negotiations resulted in the '*Ausgleich*' (Compromise) of 1867, which created, on the same territory, the Dual Monarchy of Austria-Hungary, the successor to the Austrian Empire (1804–1867).

Under the new arrangement the Magyar-dominated government of Hungary gained near equal status to the Austrian government based in Vienna. The Habsburg dynasty ruled as Emperors of Austria over the western and northern half of the country and as Kings of Hungary over the Kingdom of Hungary, which enjoyed a significant degree of self-government and representation in joint affairs (principally foreign relations and defence). Periodically, every 10 years, details of the compromise were renegotiated, invariably resulting in internal crisis as the Hungarian side escalated its demands. The Dual Monarchy established by the *Ausgleich* was intended as an interim solution, but it lasted for 50 years after 1867, and was destroyed in 1918 by the fallout from the First World War. As a multinational empire and great power in an era of national awakening, it found its political life dominated by disputes among the 11 principal national groups. Its economic and social life was marked by rapid economic growth through the age of industrialisation and social modernisation through many liberal and democratic reforms. Austria-Hungary was geographically the second largest country in Europe (after the Russian Empire) and the third most populous (after Russia and the German Empire).

The beginning of physical education in Hungary

Each *turnen* lesson develops the ability to struggle. Each exercise is an obstacle which must be overcome. And this struggle is a worthy one. It does not mean the use of easier or more difficult sports apparatus, but a struggle with the whole body. It is *the body that has to be controlled and overcome* and promoted to being able, together with the soul, to stand its ground in all circumstances of life. *Turnen* is not to educate competitors but to raise worthy Hungarian people, ... *not so much for the sake of sport or entertainment as for work and struggle*. And not for the short period of youth but for the whole human life. *Turnen ... do not hold competitions week by week*, as they do not want to distract one's attention from study, work and duty. (emphasis added)⁴

Although Maria Theresa's *Ratio Educationis*, issued in 1777, declared that 'maintenance of the learning youth's health' was important, it mentioned 'game' only as a 'necessary good

⁴ János Kmetykó, 'Torna [Turnen]' in *A sport enciklopédiája* [Encyclopaedia of sports] (Budapest: Enciklopédia R.T., 1928), 75–105.

based on everyday practice'. In 1806 the *II. Ratio* ruled this chapter out with other extra subjects – such as Greek language, geometry, local customs and journalism – to end students' overload.⁵ The credit for the introduction of organised gymnastic exercises into Hungary is due to a Frenchman, Ignác Clair, a former captain of Napoleon's guard who arrived in Pest in the mid-1820s.⁶ In this period, there was only one similar institution in Hungary: the Fencing School, founded in 1824. In the early 1830s Clair held gymnastic lessons in his own *Gymnastic Institute* for both genders. The institute was converted into the *Gymnastic Society* in 1839. Between 1839 and 1851 the number of boys and girls who attended the training sessions were 1326 and 497 respectively, and 53 people were trained to become instructors.⁷

The defining role in the introduction of physical education in Hungary was played by Protestant church schools and organisations. József Kraitske, judge of Lőcse, a city in Northern Hungary, in charge of gymnastic education in the educational committee of the 1825 diet, suggested in his proposal that 'since during the past 25 years bodily education improved a lot not only in Europe but in the Habsburg Monarchy as well, bodily exercises should be given more space in the system of modern bodily education and it should also be introduced to schools'.⁸ The continuation of Kraitske's concept was the plan by Károly Zay issued in 1841 (*The school system of Lutherans of the Augustan confession in Hungary*), in which the author underlines the importance of 'body training' at schools and employing trainers, and also suggests the construction of sports halls.⁹ In 1842 his plan was accepted at the general meeting of the Lutherans of the Augustan Confession.¹⁰ Similar decisions were made by the Calvinist College of Debrecen in 1845 and by the Tállya Calvinist synod with reference to 'physical exercises' in the College of Sárospatak in 1858.

At the beginning of the 1850s, after the end of the 1848–1849 War of Independence, the Emperor's court considered it important that healthy and able-bodied youth appear before the recruiting committees. They urged the *gutgesinnt* cities of the Monarchy to found gymnastic societies substituting for physical education at schools. In 1850 the *Organisations Entwurf* of Hungarian secondary schools deemed 'gymnastics' an extra subject (together with writing, drawing and singing) 'to be introduced when need and possibility are available', stipulating that 'when it is advisable and feasible, the National Education Board may declare it compulsory in one or more classes in one or more secondary schools of the crown lands, in agreement with the teaching staffs'.¹¹

In the freer atmosphere at the beginning of the 1860s there were those who were not satisfied with training their children only; they wanted to do exercises themselves. The reasoning of these young men was based on professionalism, rationalism and technical

⁵ Miklós Bély, *A gimnáziumi testnevelés múltja* [The past of physical education in secondary schools] (Budapest: no publisher named, 1940), 19–21.

⁶ Siklóssy, László, *Széchenyi-Wesselényi és még egy nemzedék* [Széchenyi-Wesselényi and another generation] (Budapest: Országos Testnevelési Tanács, 1928), 440.

⁷ Miklós Hadas, 'Gymnastic exercises, or work wrapped in the gown of youthful joy. Masculinities and the Civilizing Process in 19th century Hungary' *Journal of Social History* June (2007).

⁸ László Siklóssy, *A modern sport előkészítése* [Preparation for Modern Sport] (Budapest: Országos Testnevelési Tanács, 1929), 12. Though the committee refused the proposal, Kraitske did not leave it at that; he begged to differ, and published his diverging opinion. It was the same Kraitske who first proposed to train teachers of 'bodily education' at Pest University.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Bély, *A gimnáziumi testnevelés múltja*, 21.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

knowledge. Their leader was medical doctor Tivadar Bakody, who, after graduating from the University of Vienna, became a *private dozent* at Lemberg. Here he set up a *gymnastic hall* according to Swedish principles. Later he travelled all round Europe. After returning to Pest he published his programme, entitled *Nationwide Gymnastic Exercise* in the *Orvosi Hetilap (Medical Weekly)* (!) in 1861, arguing for the state's role in gymnastic education:

The integration and harmonisation of gymnastics with the school curriculum would have the best possible impact on the education, manners and character of the youth. However, it can only be achieved if, besides individuals, the state itself supported the idea and secured its status and progress. In order to make it possible all material problems it incurs must be solved in the simplest way, and it can only be done gradually. First and foremost, the country should have a central institute for body exercise gymnastics, which is available all year long. This institute would be the centre for body exercises for the youth of the capital, and it would become the central school in which gymnastic instructors could be trained for major towns and later, if the state deemed the idea worth spreading, for smaller localities and villages as well'.¹²

Bakody and his companions' endeavour proved to be successful. In 1866, on the eve of the Austro-Hungarian Compromise, the *NTTE (Nemzeti Torna és Tűzoltó Egylet [National Union of Turners and Firemen])* was formed in the Pest Lutheran School. Although at the beginning there was some confusion over the union's name,¹³ from the mid 1860s onwards, Bakody and his followers used the modern term of German origin, *Turnen* – translated into Hungarian as *torna*¹⁴ – instead of the more archaic 'gymnastic'. According to its constitution, the aim of the *NTTE* was

(a) to practise and spread *turnen*, (b) to exercise boys and girls, (c) to train *turnen* instructors and practising firemen, (d) fire-fighting.... To make the body skilful, strong and enduring, to inspire courage and self-confidence in the students and to get pleasure, recreation and good spirits via physical work... Each year, at least one *turnen* competition and parade will be held. In these competitions only those who have been members of the Union for at least three months can participate.¹⁵

According to Siklóssy, the eminent Hungarian sports historian of the interwar period, there were some 80–85 people in 'Bakody's company'. The occupations of the members clearly prove that the *NTTE* was founded by lower and middle-class citizens and salaried intellectuals. Among the main occupations were 24 lawyers/solicitors; 22 merchants; 14 artisans (hairdresser, painter, upholsterer, glacier, coffee-man, goldsmith, etc.); 12 other professionals (physician, engineer, teacher, writer, librarian, freelance); five officials; three trainers' assistants. A mere two aristocrats (Baron Géza Puteany and Count Ödön Széchenyi) and one manufacturer (Mihály Gschwind) were included in this company.¹⁶

¹² Quoted in Siklóssy, *Széchenyi-Wesselényi*, 495.

¹³ The name of *PTE – Pesti Tornaegylet* [Pest Turnen Union] – was also in use but the generally accepted later name, *NTE – Nemzeti Tornaegylet* [National Turnen Union] – also cropped up.

¹⁴ *Turnen* in German means exercise. A *Turnplatz* is a place to exercise, *Turnkunst* is the art of exercise, *Turnhalle* is a gym, *Turnfest* is a gymnastic festival. In the following I will use the German term *turnen* as it is widely accepted in the English literature of sport history.

¹⁵ Elek Matolay, *Tornazsebkönyv. A tornászok német-magyar műszótárával* [Turnen Almanac. With a German-Hungarian glossary of technical terms] (Pest: Rudnyánszky Béla nyomdája, 1869), 43–75. In the first few years, gymnasts or *turners* exercised together with firemen but in 1871 the firemen separated and founded the Budapest Voluntary Fire-fighters' Union.

¹⁶ Siklóssy, *Széchenyi-Wesselényi*, 510, 515.

Despite most of the names of the members being of German origin¹⁷ the introduction of the *Turnen Union* took place among glorious Hungarian national symbols. The first *turnen* parade, during which free and prescribed exercises were performed, was held in the year of the historical Austro-Hungarian Compromise (as a result of which the dualist Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was founded), on 2 February 1867, in the National Riding Hall, in front of 1200 spectators. According to contemporary accounts, at the end of the show a formation, called ‘apotheosis’, i.e. a ‘pyramid three people high’ was formed, ‘illuminated by coloured lights and the choir sang Kölcsey’s *National Anthem*’.¹⁸

In the same year, Minister of Education Baron József Eötvös was convinced by the protagonists of the *turnen* movement that physical education should be a compulsory subject in the re-forming *secondary* schools. The ministerial order, referring to the ‘eternal truth stressed for decades’, i.e. that ‘a sound mind can only exist in a sound body’, emphasised that ‘especially with regard to recent social conditions it is necessary that maintaining a healthy body and improving bodily strength be given prime importance’. The order spelled out: ‘Educational gymnastics as an ordinary subject must be introduced to each class as soon as possible, the costs to be covered by the maintainers of the schools. If no other way is possible, initially, at first it must be instructed in the summer months’.¹⁹

The considerations underlying this decision were in part the same as those that prompted the lower house in 1848, and the officials at the Emperor’s Court issuing the *Organisations Entwurf* two years later. In other words, in each consecutive new Hungarian political regime, the military-physical education act was one of the first to be passed²⁰ (as it was to be after 1920, too). In 1868 the new Hungarian government ordered the compulsory introduction of gymnastic education in *elementary* schools, too, typically enough, ‘with special regard to military exercises’.²¹ The same order prescribed ‘bodily and armed exercises’ in *higher elementary* schools.²² In accord with this was the minister’s promise to finance the *Turnen Union* from educational funds. He kept his promise: in 1870, the *National Turnen Hall*, the home of the *Turnen Union*, was opened, supported partly by ministerial assistance and partly by private aid.²³

¹⁷ Exemplary in this respect is the career of assimilation of German-turned-Hungarian *Ernő* Bokelberg, the protagonist of the ‘*turnen* scandal of Dresden’. He was born *Ernst* Bokelberg in Hanover in 1839 and was brought up in a military spirit, but, as a zealous admirer of German *turnen*, he did not feel like having a military career. After settling down in Pest he became *turnen* instructor of the *NTE*. The *turnen* scandal broke out in 1885 because as a member of the Hungarian delegation at the *Turnfest* in Dresden he placed a wreath adorned with the Hungarian national tricolour on the pulpit. When some fanatic *schulvereïnists* removed it, Bokelberg, his Hungarian national sentiments deeply hurt, challenged them to a duel. The duel was forbidden and Bokelberg – to quote a contemporary Hungarian journal – ‘felt compelled to leave his native German land’. The case was blown up into a huge scandal: a Hungarian MP demanded diplomatic retaliation but Prime Minister Tisza refused. Siklóssy, *A modern sport előkészítése*, 85–87.

¹⁸ Siklóssy, *Széchenyi-Wesselényi*, 508.

¹⁹ Bély, *A gimnáziumi testnevelés múltja*, 27. In Austria physical education was introduced as a compulsory subject in 1849 in the secondary schools and in 1868 in the elementary schools. C. W. Hackensmith, *History of Physical Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 153.

²⁰ In August 1848, during the War of Independence, the House of Representatives passed the resolution, after a one-month debate, that physical education be a compulsory subject in elementary schools, ‘with special regard to military service’. However, the upper house turned down the bill. Bély, *A gimnáziumi testnevelés múltja*, 26.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² Siklóssy, *Széchenyi-Wesselényi*, 536.

²³ *Ibid.*, 512.

In this situation the importance of Bakody and his colleagues increased, and as there was no other appropriate place the *National Turnen Hall* and its parent (paternal, rather than maternal) organisation, the *NT(T)E* were able to monopolise not only the training of the students of the Pest schools but also of *turnen* instructors. Between 1868 and 1875, 449 candidates acquired certificates as *turnen* instructors in courses run by the Union, and in 1872 the Hall was used by 1125 students of eight educational institutions in Pest.²⁴

The success of the *turnen* movement²⁵ initiated by Bakody and his friends can be illustrated by the fact that similar unions were set up in other towns in Hungary. The *Sopron Turners' and Firemen's Union* was formed, and a new *turnen hall* was built in 1866. The *Debrecen Turnen Union* and the *Nagykanizsa Turnen Union* were established in 1867, and in 1868 the *Nyitra county Fencers' and Turners' Union*, the *Kassa Turnen Union*, the *Selmecbánya Turnen Union* and the *Sátoraljaújhely Turnen Union*. In the next decade dozens of other *turnen unions* were formed in the country.²⁶

Strategies of expansion

Last Sunday I arrived at the 'beauteous shepherdess', the place of the excursion, at 10 in the morning. The sight of the glaring red shirts, visible from far away, indicated that I was at the right spot as the *turners* I wished to see were there.... About 50 *turners* wearing uniforms were ordered to come forward in an orderly formation onto the prepared ground, in front of which a good number of people were seated. They began with the so-called 'free exercises'. Then, ranged into teams by their strength and physical development, each group went to their own apparatus (e.g. horizontal bar, horse, vaulting buck, jumping rope etc.) and following their instructor, they did the exercises they usually do in their training sessions at school.... Finally came the competition. The competitors had to throw forward a 33-pound stone with their right hand and then make a long jump. The results of the shot put and the long jump were added up, showing who would win the prize. The winners were: a young man named Winter and the two Gutman brothers. The deserved wreaths were given to them by a lady of high rank.²⁷

Both early gymnastic exercises and *turnen* implied considerable delaying and modernising potentiality; in the course of their practice repetition, exercise and a certain ability to tolerate monotony were of outstanding importance. Both were communal activities under the control of a 'foreman' (or instructor/teacher) which required self-discipline and adaptation. That is, the dispositions needed to practise them were more or less the same. A further common characteristic, similar to the other two contemporary new sports, fencing and rowing, was that their risk factor was low, hence their level of control over violence was high. Both were umbrella sports in the interest of physical investment for the future, which excluded not only fighting but later competition too. A lesson of gymnastics or *turnen* can be interpreted as the embodiment of disciplinary techniques, an area par excellence where, as Foucault would say, the 'microphysics of power' prevails. On reading '50 young

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 538.

²⁵ The Hungarian *turnen* movement was modelled on the *Turnbewegung* initiated by Jahn (see the section on German and Swedish *Turnen*) aiming to establish a nationwide network of *Turnplatze* (exercise fields) and *turnen* unions.

²⁶ It is worth mentioning that the first provincial *turnen union* was formed in 1861 (before Bakody's enterprise) in Brassó, Transylvania, by the members of the local Saxon community with a subsidy from the Schmerling government. Siklóssy, *Széchenyi-Wesselényi*, 525–35.

²⁷ 'Public *turnen* by the Pest *Turnen Union* in Zugliget', *Vasárnapi Ujság* [Sunday Journal], July 4, 1869 (signed: a supporter).

men in a long line doing exercises with their arms or legs on command' we do not think, presumably, that what happened was something essentially different from gymnastic exercises of the 1830s and '40s. Similarly, it can be supposed that the children doing exercises at Clair's institute were also 'ranged into teams by their strength and physical development'.

When, however, this 'supporter' wrote that 'each group went to its own apparatus (e.g. horizontal bar, horse, vaulting buck, jumping rope etc.)', he recorded the signs of a differentiating process introducing radically new elements as compared with earlier gymnastic exercises. One of these features is that towards the end of the 1860s, during the reorganisation of the *turnen* movement, the practitioners were not children but adults. Furthermore, the horizontal bar, the horse, the buck and the jumping rope were the typical apparatus of German *turnen*. Another novelty in comparison with earlier exercises was that 'some of the *turners* from Buda wearing blue shirts joined the *Pest gymnasts in red shirts* and they performed difficult exercises in noble rivalry'.

It was apparent, then, that – similarly to rowing clubs²⁸ – *turnen* unions expressed, both symbolically and institutionally, relevant social distinctions and differences (blue shirts/red shirts, Buda/Pest, city-centre/suburbs, middle-class/aristocracy, white collar/blue collar etc.). *Turners* from Buda and Pest not only competed in performing the exercises in the most organised and elegant way, but also vied in certain jumping and throwing events. (Note that the competition was between individuals and not clubs. Characteristically, the author mentioned the winners' names but not their clubs.²⁹)

At the end of the 1860s, when Bakody and his friends marched to the 'beauteous shepherdess' (as the *Vasárnapi Ujság* reported concerning their Sunday excursion), their plans were rational and concrete: while they tried to monopolise the expertise needed for the training of gymnastic (or rather) *turnen* instructors, they also tried to engineer their union into the most influential position possible. Thus, their apparently aimless, recreational Sunday excursions could be interpreted as organised manoeuvres of an avant-garde group to establish a nationwide institutional network. Thus, the article in *Vasárnapi Ujság* could be taken as a – far from innocent³⁰ – strategic act. (It should be noted that Eötvös, the minister of education, had made his decision on introducing 'bodily exercises' in state schools a year before, and the *Turnen Hall* would be finished a year later.)

In this context we could attribute strategic importance to passages from the *Turnen Almanac*, issued in 1869, the first official yearbook of the *NTTE*. It contained the Union's statutes and a German-Hungarian glossary of the main technical terms written by one of Bakody's fellows, Elek Matolay. After defining the activity, the author distinguished between three kinds of *turnen*:

Turnen is a regular exercising of the body, a consistent system of all kinds of bodily exercises which aim at the adequate development of the body, making it strong, skilful and hardened, at maintaining health and, indirectly, contributing to a sane and sound, lively and firm soul.... According to the effect the training has on the individual, we can distinguish between (a) pedagogical, (b) health and (c) military *turnen*.... *Pedagogical turnen* is characterised by aesthetics, as it purports to give the appropriate bodily education of the youth, both girls and boys,

²⁸ By then the *Pest Rowing and Sailing Club* and the *Buda Yachting Club* had already been active for some years.

²⁹ A meaningful indicator is that all winners had German names.

³⁰ The signature 'supporter' also suggests that the writer was not an outsider. This is also confirmed by some deliberately propagandistic, apparently strategic phrases, especially in the closing section.

and instead of developing bodily strength it deals with exercises which render the body proportionately and aesthetically agreeable when stationary or in motion. *Health turnen* (not physiotherapy) or *public turnen* (*Volksturnen*) which is practised in adults' unions involves the full scope of *turnen* and it focuses on training and muscular exertion.... The specific purpose of *military turnen* is to strengthen the fighter, to train him to bear fatigue and pain, to enable him to carry out tactical movements skillfully and quickly.³¹

Presumably, Matolay did not make his list in a random order, as pedagogical *turnen* was the movement's most urgent, actual and feasible strategic objective. It is also obvious that the protagonists of the *turnen* movement did not want to abandon the remaining two types, but they saw clearly that, in the long run, both could better be achieved through the mediation of schools. (Remember: the ministerial decree issued in 1868 described compulsory gymnastic education as *bodily and armed exercises*!) Declaring these three types of *turnen* as desirable could be taken, then, as manifestation of a deliberate *strategy of inclusion*.

In the second half of the 1860s *turnen* (similarly to the other emerging new sports) appeared in a much more complex social setting than in the 1830s; more and more participants were interested in activities and organisations in connection with different bodily exercises. This way, citizens doing *turnen* had to distinguish themselves from the *pursuers of other sports* and from *turners doing turnen in a different way*. That is, in addition to defining the boundaries of their domain and defending it in a constantly differentiating social scene, they had to take care that different interests and aspirations did not squeeze them out of their recently acquired positions. Consequently, Bakody's union were compelled to apply conscious *strategies of exclusion*.

In this period, the practitioners of other sports did not appear threatening as they were relatively few; moreover, these sports were practised by the *turners* themselves. As the above account reveals, at the end of the 1860s jumping and throwing competitions, later branches of athletics, were considered as parts of *turnen*. (Typically, Matolay set apart *turnen* only from fencing and swimming,³² not suspecting that some years later they were to compete with the athletes for the inclusion and legitimate definition of a particular sport.) Of all strategies of exclusion, distinguishing themselves from other kinds of *turners* was the most important. They kept a distance from – mainly orthopaedic – home exercises³³ but it was, first of all, *Swedish turnen* that irritated them:

I must touch on the so-called Swedish body-exercise. Its aim is practically the same as *ours*, that is, the *German turnen*, but it has different tools. It uses less apparatus and lacks the variety and liveliness of *German turnen* in general. The fundament of the Swedish system is passive movement carried out by another person on the turner, as well as the so-called duplicated movements which can only be performed with the help of a partner. These types of movements, however, have greater importance in therapeutic exercises than in the training of healthy people. (emphasis added)³⁴

³¹ Matolay, *Tornazsebkönyv*, 8, 9, 13.

³² 'We do not call work implying bodily fatigue, or movement for sheer entertainment, *turnen*, and neither are certain exercises of the body such as fencing, swimming, etc. called *turnen*.' Ibid., 13.

³³ 'Finally, let me mention home exercises. One can also train one's body at home, with little apparatus such as dumb-bells.... It is, however, a deviation from the right road, which is no match to *turnen* pursued in company. Let us leave it to old gentlemen who are ashamed to show up among the youth, and to those who have no chance to do regular *turnen*.' Ibid., 14–15.

³⁴ Ibid., 13.

German vs. Swedish *turnen*

The founder of the German *turnen*, Friedrich Jahn,³⁵ proceeding from Pestalozzi's gymnastic exercises, the philanthropists' work³⁶ and Fichte's national idea, aimed at creating a physically well-trained, modest youth with body obeying the mind, educated in an ancient German way and who can be called to arms at any time. Accordingly, they did military exercises in the open air. Jahn and his followers, aiming to build a paradisiacal democracy on a patriotic-nationalist basis, freed *turnen* from the cosmopolitanism of philanthropists. They substituted steep boards for hills, horizontal bars for oak branches, hanging bars for trunks and climbing poles and ropes for living trees. In October 1813 at the Leipzig 'Battle of the Nations' Jahn commanded a battalion of 2000 *turners*, from which the first *Burschenschaft* in Jena in 1815, and the first German *turnen union* in Hamburg in 1816 were formed.³⁷

Turnen was developed by the Swiss Adolf Spiess to satisfy the needs of school education. He supplemented free exercises with manual apparatus, compulsory figures, hanging and leaning exercises; he applied jumping events later belonging to athletics, and considered practically all kinds of bodily exercises as part of *turnen*. According to Spiess:

... [the] aim of *turnen* is to let people freely use their physical power, to build the body proportionately by exercising all parts of it in a naturally appropriate and competent way, and to gain mental control over it. But first and foremost, the *turnen hall* must become the *school of order and discipline*, where the active power develops in an orderly manner getting rid of wayward action, where *citizens* are trained to be ready to undertake *work in peace and fight in war*. (emphasis added)³⁸

It is not surprising, then, that from 1842, after cancelling the 'turnen ban', the German government ordered the introduction of *turnen* in schools.³⁹

The origins of the Swedish *turnen*, its frame of reference and its whole philosophy are slightly different from the German one. The foundations of a 'rational' gymnastic system 'harmonised with the individuals' biological functions' were created by the Swede Per Henrik Ling (1776–1839), a follower of the Dane Franz Naechtegal and the German Guth-Muths. He claimed that bodily exercises should be based on knowledge verified by anatomy and biology instead of arbitrary exercises and fashionable trends. According to Ling gymnastic instructors acted correctly when they concentrated on certain muscle groups which contribute to proper posture and assist the proper functioning of body organs. For instance, instead of trying to achieve better results, he applied high jump to develop the muscles of the *turner's* lower limbs required by the technique of jumping. Similarly,

³⁵ A devoted political agitator, poet and German patriot, 'Turnvater' Friedrich Jahn (1778–1752) arranged his work around four catchwords: *frisch, frei, fröhlich, fromm* [alert, free, merry, godly]. The four 'f's', i.e. the initials of his catchwords, decorated its badges and diplomas. His chef d'oeuvre is *Deutsche Turnkunst* (1816). John Goodbody, *The Illustrated History of Gymnastics* (London: Stanley Paul, 1982), 14.

³⁶ 'Philanthropists invented so-called games with elaborate rankings of the "players" in which children were required to respond quickly to their superiors. The games could be seen as models, perhaps mirror images, of the order, sobriety, and constructiveness that were the bases of the success of the bourgeois class from which almost all the pupils and teachers came.' Mandell, *Sport*, 160.

³⁷ Jahn was imprisoned for seven years in 1819 for his political involvement and all the *turnen unions* were banned.

³⁸ Kmetykó, 'Torna', 78.

³⁹ Prior to the First World War there were 9000 *turnen unions* in Germany. Kmetykó, 'Torna', *ibid.*, Mandell, *Sport*, 158–67. C. W. Hackensmith, *History of Physical Education* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966), 133–37.

artificial situations were created for running and walking in which the toes had to touch the ground first.⁴⁰

German *turnen* consisted of prescribed and free exercises, manual apparatus (dumbbell, wood, iron rod, club), floor and apparatus exercises. These latter exercises required horizontal and parallel bars, horse, buck, table, box, stool, board, springboard, rings, climbing pole, rope, ladder, wall bars, and horizontal bar. In contrast to German practice, Swedish *turnen* did not use instruments but grouped the exercises by the targeted muscles: exercises to develop leg, neck, arm, side muscles, abdominal muscles, back muscles or trunk, hanging, balancing, walking, jumping and breathing exercises complemented by light athletic exercises, target shooting, military drills and games. Apparatus known as 'Swedish' (wall bars, horizontal bar, box, bench) were developed by Ling's son, Hjalmar, and his pupils.⁴¹

These particular features of the German and Swedish traditions make it clear why in the 1860s the apostles of the Hungarian *turnen* movement preferred and promoted the former. In addition to the geopolitical endowment that the shorter distances and historical relations made German and Swiss initiatives more easily accessible for Hungarian specialists (for example, Bakody studied in Vienna and taught in Lemberg), the basic reasons for this preference lay in the nationalistic ideological tuning of German *turnen*. By a simple act of substitution, replacing German national features by Hungarian ones, German *turnen* became suitable for redefining body politics as a Hungarian national issue. There is no need to explain why in the newly formed dualist Austria-Hungary the liberal Hungarian ruling elite was responsive to such politics. (Typically enough, after his return to Hungary Bakody, who had equipped a gymnastic hall in Lemberg according to Swedish principles, realised that in order to play a leading role in an emerging movement he needed to join the majority and opt for German *turnen* instead of the Swedish model.)

Without being interested in the inside of the box the protagonists of German *turnen* saw the body as a *black box* which could be adapted to higher goals together with other boxes. This view conceived of the national community as a *union of many small boxes*. In this context it is worth referring back to the *NTE*'s parade in 1868, during which *turners* displayed a metaphor of the nation, a pyramidal formation of human bodies rising towards the sky, to the tune of the Hungarian National Anthem. Body by body, shoulder by shoulder, body over body, shoulder over shoulder; more at the bottom, fewer in the middle, the fewest on the top. A hierarchy that would be inconceivable without intricate intertwining, interdependence and reliance. A hierarchy that is harmonious, organic, built from below.

As against this view, Swedish *turnen* was interested in the inside of the box. When arranging bodily exercises by muscle groups it was preoccupied by the microstructures, the smallest units. Hence, Swedish *turnen* looked at the body as a *machine* consisting of rationally organised and smoothly running parts.⁴² Nevertheless, the *body machine* is like a drop in the ocean: though its functions are inside, it models the larger whole. Hence, while

⁴⁰ Hackensmith, *History of Physical Education*, 143. László Kun, *Egyetemes testnevelés- és sporttörténet* [A general history of physical education and sports] (Budapest: Nemzeti Tankönyvkiadó, 1988), 191–95.

⁴¹ Kmetykó, 'Torna', 79–89. Kun, *Egyetemes testnevelés- és sporttörténet*, 195.

⁴² In this context, an article in *Herkules*, the leading Hungarian sport journal, entitled 'Man as machine' is significant: 'Chemists have found in strict chemical examinations that a person on a regular diet consumes 0.2514 kg coal without being aware of it. This coal is burnt.... If you burn 1 kg of coal, you produce 7050 calories and if you burn 1 kg hydrogen, you produce 34.500 calories.... Man is the best caloric machine in the world! Man is the crown of creation!' *Herkules*, 15 January 1888.

German *turnen* conceives of society as a holistic unity, *deducing* the part from the whole and using the part to reproduce the whole again, the followers of the Swedish system go in the opposite direction: they focus on microscopic components from which they *induce* the whole.

The two views, however, were not irreconcilable because the protagonists of both conceived of the body as a rational instrument that is part of an overwhelmingly rational world; consequently the protagonists of both German and Swedish *turnen* thought that the improvement of the individual's physical capacities by systematic training was a legitimate aim in itself. Both had their ideological roots in a romantic educational messianism based on militant nationalism. Furthermore, both systems required strict obedience, promptness of action and mental alertness from *turners*. It is not surprising, then, that from the mid-1870s onwards when the *turnen* movement had to confront other forces, the rivalry between the two factions become less important,⁴³ as they focused on the appropriate strategy to face the threatening power – emerging in the form of athleticism.

Turnen vs. athleticism

With the establishment of the *Hungarian Athletic Club (MAC)* in 1875, a major rival to the *turnen* movement entered the arena. There was significant overlap between the two umbrella sports. At first, it was up to the belief and intention of the practitioners to decide if a long-jumping or fencing contest held at a *turnen* union excursion or at an 'athletic tournament' was considered as part of *turnen* or athletics. The two decades after the appearance of athletics were characterised by conflicts between athletes and *turners* in the course of which both sides applied scores of exclusive and inclusive strategies against each other. What was at stake was the question of whether individual sports would belong to the competence of athletics or *turnen*.

The circumstances of the foundation of the MAC reflected the ambitions of the founders to mark themselves out in an elitist manner from the social groups of lower rank and prestige, as well as from the (sports) clubs rallying the members of these groups. Compared with middle-class *turnen*, athletics undoubtedly aimed to serve as the pastime of the aristocracy and the noble gentlemen. The logic of the MAC recruitment and running resembled that of the exclusive gentlemen's casinos: the select few could practically automatically be members on the basis of corporate criteria. This *aristocratic individualism* was sharply different from the *plebeian collectivism* of *turnen* unions.⁴⁴

In the introduction of early gymnastic exercises in the 1830s ideological references were first of all made to the *pedagogy* and *moral philosophy* of the Enlightenment as well as modern *medical science* (with an emphasis on Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Hufeland and contemporaneous German physicians);⁴⁵ in the second part of the century, as is known, the basic literature of the institutionalising *turnen* were the German and Scandinavian variants

⁴³ From the late nineteenth century it holds true that they were equally included in the school curricula in Hungary. The *New Curriculum of Boys Physical Education in Secondary Schools* published in 1916 used both German apparatus exercises and exercises for groups of muscles in the Swedish system, allowing for the school use of games and other sports (skating, running, jumping, rowing, tracking) as well. In his cited work János Kmetykó gave practically equal weight to both, and spoke of a '*Hungarian turnen*' as the synthesis of the two.

⁴⁴ A good indicator of this plebeian attitude is that – similarly to Germany – all *turners*, regardless of social position, addressed one another with the informal '*Du*' instead of the formal '*Sie*'. Mandell, *Sport*, 164.

⁴⁵ Hadas, *Journal of Social History*.

of *practical pedagogy*, as well as *medicine*. The protagonists of athleticism, however, referred to the most recent social science of the latter half of the nineteenth century, *sociology*, particularly its materialist-evolutionist trends, by quoting such names as John Stuart Mill or Herbert Spencer.

One of the most decisive differences between athletes and *turners* lay in their attitude to competition. *Turners* plainly rejected competition, citing as the ‘vocation’ of their sport ‘to help everyone to the free use of their physical power’ in the gymnasia, which are ‘schools of order and discipline’ so that their ‘bodies be proportionately built’ and ‘put under the control of the mind’. Or, to quote another passage: ‘It is not good competitors but good Hungarian citizens that *turnen* wishes to rear.... Not so much for sport and entertainment as for work and struggle’.⁴⁶ At the same time, the advocates of athletics set competition as the aim not only of their own sport but of every human activity claiming that ‘competition is the main driving force and it is the most effective lever of every undertaking’.⁴⁷

In *turnen*, the nameless, subordinated *mass person* within a community wishes to develop and strengthen his body in the interest of his long-term goals. These goals are not designed by him but imposed upon him by a superior will (this will may be of the parents, teachers or, indirectly, of the state or church). Athletics, by contrast, is the sport of *free individuals* each obliged to render an account of himself only, each pursuing the competition at his own risk and for his own success. In this regard, it is the continuation of hunting, duelling and horse-racing, that is, the pre-sports based on the aristocratic ethics of individual responsibility. At the same time, it is no longer a fight but a competition pursued by self-conscious gentlemen of their own free will, to earn the glory of winning the contest. In metaphoric terms, the freedom of the athlete is also manifested in the pursuit of his activity outdoors, in *free* (potentially unlimited) space as against the *turner* confined indoors, to the closed gymnasium. It is no accident that instead of athletics the term *outdoor sport* is often used in the contemporary press. In Hungary in the late nineteenth century, on the basis of the logic of relevant opposition (and the set of symbolic meanings attributed to it), *turnen* implies the social connotations of *inside, closed, fixed and low*, while athletics implies those of *outside, open, free and high*.

These differences were at the forefront in the arsenal of arguments and applied strategies of the athletes in confrontation with the *turners*. The desire to monopolise the market of leisure-time sports was paired with strategies of expropriation, which simply aimed to reduce *turnen* to a part of athletics, stressing its ‘too soldierly’ character, ‘the quenching of the joy of playing’, the ‘rigid adoption’ of German models, and the lack of Hungarian and English ball games. What is more, they compared *turnen* to the ‘dead languages’, defining its role simply as ‘preparation’ for athletics.⁴⁸

Turners took up any of four strategies in response to the threatening moves of the athletes. First, they tried to exclude the athletes with administrative rules.⁴⁹ Second, they

⁴⁶ Kmetykó, ‘Torna’, 103.

⁴⁷ ‘Athletics, part V’, *Vadász- és Versenylap* [Hunting and Racing Magazine], May 28, 1874.

⁴⁸ Miklós Hadas, ‘Gentlemen in competition: Athletics and Masculinities in Nineteenth-century Hungary’, *International Journal of the History of Sport* 24, no. 4 (April 2007): 478–98, 490–91.

⁴⁹ ‘The athletic clubs form a separate caste, professing a system that is contrary to the *turner* unions. It would be desirable that only perfectly trained and acknowledged *turners* went in for athletics or for various branches of sport. So long as our athletes are not produced in this way, by distillation, and so long as our regular *turners* are not united and ennobled by more extensively fostering the games and the singing of patriotic songs, there will be no real unity among the Hungarian practitioners of bodily exercises and *there will be no athlete* among the members of the *Federation of Hungarian Turnen Unions!*’ Ernő Bokelberg, in an 1885 issue of *Tornaügy*.

regarded athletics as backward, inferior, 'barbarous' as compared with *turnen*.⁵⁰ Third, they created new institutions such as national associations, federations and journals: for example in 1881, in the fencing room of NTE, the *Hungarian Turnen Teachers' Association (MOTTE)* was founded, with 700 teachers nationwide. *MOTTE* demanded that 'turnen teachers be regarded as proper teachers, and the youth at secondary schools get regular *turnen* education three times a week'.⁵¹ From 1883 they published the periodical *Tornaügy*⁵² (*Turnen Issues*), and in 1885 (again in the NTE's hall) they established the *Federation of Hungarian Turnen Associations (MOTESZ)*.⁵³ These organisations constantly echoed their objectives, and criticised the deficiencies in the education of *turnen*. Their most important aim was the promotion of physical education, mainly in its quantitative aspect:

A report by the minister of education dated 1884/5 reveals that in 6477 of the 14,235 educational institutions obliged to instruct *turnen* there is no instruction at all, in 490 institutions teaching is not in line with pedagogical rules; *turnen* is properly instructed only in 7268 schools. That is, in nearly half the schools there are no body exercises! Where the teaching of body exercises would be perhaps most imperative – in teacher training institutions – it is the most neglected, as only 26 of the 70 teacher training colleges have adequate gymnasiums.... A mere 90 of 177 secondary schools of Hungary have gymnasiums. There is free space for gymnastics in 143 secondary schools, but, as the minister's report says, only 122 are equipped.⁵⁴

Fourth, they were also ambitious to be seen in prestigious public areas featuring as vehicles of legitimate national connotations, as opposed to the other camp depicted as illegitimate because it was alien to the nation. This may be one reason why increasing weight was placed from the early 1880s on national (and regional) *turnen* festivals. In 1885 *NTE* 'summoned' its first national *turnen* festival on the precincts of the *National Exposition*, where members of a dozen *turnen* unions marched onto the *turnen* ground, displaying free and apparatus exercises as well as pole vault, rope climbing and obstacle course exercises under the baton of Ernő Bokelberg, the hero of the '*turnen* scandal of Dresden', to an audience of the commander-in-chief, lord mayor and other notables. The next national *turnen* festival took place two years later in Arad, and the third in 1889 in Budapest at Heroes Square, a location of distinguished symbolic importance. In the latter 2800 students from 95 secondary schools participated. In the first part of the 1890s, territorial *turnen* competitions were organised in different towns, with the participation of 3–4000 students.⁵⁵ In

⁵⁰ 'The uniform and rapid spread of *turnen* is also hindered in our country by a new institution which is a pathological excess of *turnen* and is based on human vanity and frailty: this is athleticism, which threatens truly educative *turnen* in the same way as the barbarous fight of pancrators suppressed pentathlon in ancient Greece.' János Maurer and Ernő Bokelberg, 'Defects and hindrances of teaching *turnen*', *Tornaügy* (1890).

⁵¹ Siklóssy, *A modern sport előkészítése*, 127.

⁵² *Tornaügy*, launched in Budapest, existed from 1883 to 1922. It was monthly until 1910 and fortnightly later. Its publisher was *MOTTE*, then *MOTESZ*, then the *Federation of Hungarian Turnen Unions* and finally the *Association of Turnen Teachers*.

⁵³ Siklóssy, *A modern sport előkészítése*: 126–27.

⁵⁴ *Herkules*, 14 March 1886. Although the instructors were complaining, their complaint also reveals that in the mid-1880s in the larger part of Hungarian schools there was regular physical education and in the majority of schools there was adequate room for *turnen*, and in more than half the schools there were gymnasiums as well. It is a most momentous achievement in 15 years! Of course, it is quite understandable that *turnen* instructors wanted more in terms of equipment, prestige and payment.

⁵⁵ Siklóssy, *A modern sport előkészítése*, 140.

1896, on the occasion of the millennial festivals, the organisers tried to surpass all previous events:

The climax of the three-day contests was June 2, the day of the king's visit. That day, 4811 students representing 122 institutions gathered in the courtyard of Charles barracks at 2.30 p.m., marching from there in military order to their own drumming and trumpeting and accompanied by three military bands to the venue of the competition.... When all teams were positioned, first they sang Kölcsey's Anthem, then gave the king three cheers, which appeared to move His Majesty. Then the teams began the so-called free exercises, performing various standing, posturing and dashing movements.... After the free exercises, one team did apparatus work, another played games, the third did shot put, the fourth presented high jump, etc. In short, each tried to demonstrate a branch of *turnen* in which they excelled.⁵⁶

By appropriating symbolic urban spaces, *turners* tried to appear to be the carriers of Hungarian national identity, and all that means, compared with the 'English-maniac' gentlemen. In this regard, they acted in the same way as the athletes who claimed that 'by rigidly adopting German models' the *turners* failed to take into account 'the Hungarian spirit' and 'put an alien plant into Hungarian soil'. The appropriation of national attributes on both sides is therefore rightly regarded as *mirror strategies*.

Conclusion

Apparently, the *turnen* movement had partial success in achieving its purposes: although it was squeezed from the fields of modern competitive sports within a generation, its strategies to conquer school education were successful. By the mid-1880s the division line between the two umbrella sports more or less crystallised: the activity pursued within the school was principally categorised as *turnen*, what was practised outside the school was *mostly* – not always and not necessarily – considered as athletics. By achieving that, and *turnen* became a compulsory subject in state schools, *turners* created the *conditions for nationalising the human body*. This process could be taken for part of the expansion of modernity in the course of which the institutional framework of self-control, self-discipline and the disposition to obey superiors was consolidated.

Due to the partial success of the movement, an intricate web of forces evolved in which the accumulated expertise became legitimately reproducible, and where the allied and rival positions were crystallised. Briefly, in a few years the *field of turnen* was born.⁵⁷ It was a completely novel phenomenon in the sphere of organised sports in that period. Earlier activities such as horse-racing, fencing, rowing or gymnastic exercises had not reached this level of institutionalisation and differentiation as they had a relatively peripheral significance in their practitioners' lives. In this way, the comparison of earlier sports and *turnen* shows at a micro-level how modern society developed via differentiating and separating strategies.

In an earlier discussion, examining the dispositional rivalry between the men of the aristocracy and the middle classes, I have argued that the dispositional features of the rowing race supported the bourgeoisie.⁵⁸ In nationalised *turnen*, carrying on the tendencies of earlier gymnastic exercises, the obedient, disciplined, adaptable, publicly displayed young

⁵⁶ *Vasárnapi Ujság*, 14 June 1896.

⁵⁷ I use here Bourdieu's concept of *field*. As is known, fields, in a Bourdieusian sense, are social microcosms in which there is a symbolic struggle for the monopoly of the reproduction of professional knowledge, defined as capital, among experts. See Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992).

⁵⁸ Hadas (June 2007).

body becomes – as a kind precondition of a planned future – the subject of state policies turned into educational curricula. The scene of dispositional competition shifts from the racing field into the gymnasium, and from adults to children. From the last third of the nineteenth century, however, adult males became less and less willing to give up the libidinous experience of free and direct competition. That explains why from the 1870s the movement of the followers of a new collective sport, athletics, positioning themselves primarily against *turnen*, gains momentum; among them there are not only aristocrats but also representatives of the middle classes open to novelty. But that is another episode.

Notes on Contributor

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Appendix: Characteristics of turnon and athletics

	<i>Turnen</i>	Athletics
<i>Sociocultural background</i>		
Social basis of practitioners	Middle classes of mainly German origin	Hungarian aristocracy
Cultivation – promotion	Directly involved in activity	Carried out directly and personally
Reference	German, Swedish	English
Organisational form	Unions, schools	Clubs
Accessibility	Open for the protagonists of <i>turnen</i> , athletes excluded	Closed, only for aristocrats and Christian gentlemen
Sport socialisation	Learning it as children, practising it as adults	For young men, by training
Financing	Donations by union members, later by the state via schools	Donation by club members, state subsidy
Attitude to nation	At first nationalist, later variable	National character patterned on English models
Political orientation	At first radical liberals, later conservative	Conservative liberals
Audience	At first many, later negligible	Rarely
Collectiveness	Collective organisation, collective exercises	Individuals in a corporate context, later more emphasis on the community
Beginning/end of activity	From 1860s in unions, from 1868 in schools to this day	From 1875 to this day
Spread, frequency	Weekly, later daily	Annually, later more frequently
Ideology, scientific references	Medicine, pedagogy, didactics	Philosophy, evolutionist sociology, pedagogy
Gender roles	Men in <i>turnen</i> unions, boys and girls in schools	Only men with emphasised ideology of manliness
Reproduction of competences	Journals, field of <i>turnen</i>	Books, articles, lack of professional field
Basic disposition	Disciplined, obedient, goal- and future-oriented, looking for harmony	Rivalry, prowess, virtue, sense of mission, sense of responsibility
Characteristics of manliness	Collective spirit, obedience, solidarity	Competitive, victorious, individual, hard, honest, liberal, democratic
Body politics	Own body exposed to future-oriented efforts, regular training, body-as-machine, discovery of corporeality	‘Sound mind in a healthy body’, seasonal training, unity of the body, individual and national body in harmony
<i>Specificities of sport activity</i>		
Venue of cultivation	Mainly in closed gymnasia	Outdoors
Sport field	Towards standardisation, public is not important	Towards standardisation, no need to accommodate towards standardisation (see note 6)
Competition time	Not fixed	Towards standardisation, commensurability

Appendix: (continued)

	<i>Turnen</i>	Athletics
Need for instruments	Increasingly important, toward standardisation	Increasingly important
Means/function/aims	Individual as part of the community	The select few may compete freely, the best should win
Collectiveness / individuality	Individual as part of the community	Virtual community is the frame of individual competition
Rules/measuring	Learning, repetition, exercises	Increasingly sophisticated, standardisation, principle of fair play, more and more accurate measuring
Supervisory body	Instructors'/educators' authority	Competition committee
Degree of risk	Low	Low
Physical contact of competitors	No direct contact, working side by side	No direct contact, starting side by side
Professionalism/amateurism	Not to be taken into account	Club amateurs as individuals
Qualities required	Discipline, concentration, obedience, endurance, perseverance	Endurance, strength, persistence, competitive spirit
Betting	No	Exceptionally
Degree of violence	Low, no direct fight	None, pure competition under identical conditions
Character of sporting activity	Obedient and disciplined individual as part of the (school) community,	Individual rivalry (running, jumping, walking – sometimes with instruments) outdoors, on sports field
Direct aim of activity	Overcoming own weaknesses, preserving health, strengthening the body	Overcoming the other, glory of victory
Source of pleasure	Training of will, successful exercises	Overcoming the other, glory of victory
Weight of activity in way of life	At first minimal, later growing importance	At first minimal, later competitor must train
Physical/mental/moral character	Physical qualities are important; moral of self-discipline, 'sound mind in a sound body'	Importance of physical goals, dressed up in social scientific and evolutionist ideology
Required costs	Moderate, growing with the construction of gymnasia	Initially small, growing with the construction of sports fields