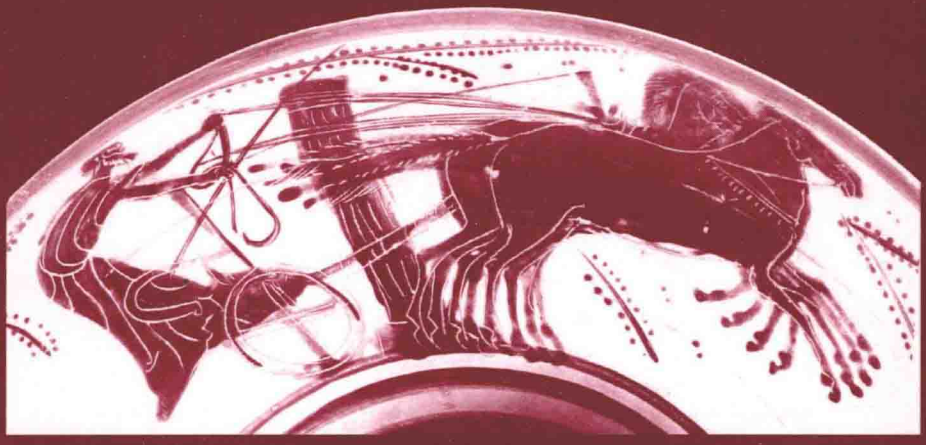
Sport and Festival in the Ancient Greek World



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and

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The Classical Press of Wales, an independent venture, was founded in 1993, initially to support the work of classicists and ancient historians in Wales and their collaborators from further afield. More recently it has published work initiated by scholars internationally. While retaining a special loyalty to Wales and the Celtic countries, the Press welcomes scholarly contributions from all parts of the world.

The symbol of the Press is the Red Kite. This bird, once widespread in Britain, was reduced by 1905 to some five individuals confined to a small area known as 'The Desert of Wales' – the upper Tywi valley. Geneticists report that the stock was saved from terminal inbreeding by the arrival of one stray female bird from Germany. After much careful protection, the Red Kite now thrives – in Wales and beyond.

SPORT AND FESTIVAL IN THE ANCIENT GREEK WORLD

Dedicated to the memory of Kevin Lee

INTRODUCTION

David J. Phillips and *David Pritchard**

I. From ancient Greece to the Antipodes: a convergence of sporting and cultural traditions: Sydney 2000

Australia is an island
And whoever sets sail to her
Easy it is to cross
Difficult to return.[1]
Castellorizian folk song

In 1766 an Englishman, William Chandler, rediscovered the site of ancient Olympia.[2] At about the same time other Englishmen, John Callendar (1766–68) and Alexander Dalrymple (1767, 1769), were urging their fellow countrymen in print to push for the discovery of *Terra Australis*, with Dalrymple pronouncing that the economy of its inhabitants 'would be sufficient to maintain the power, dominion, and sovereignty of *Britain*, by employing all its manufactures and ships'.[3] *Terra Australis* had been the subject of speculation since antiquity when the astronomer, mathematician and geographer of the second century AD, Ptolemy of Alexandria, coined the designation for a projected land mass 'connecting the east coast of Africa with China and converting the Indian Ocean into a great lake'.[4] In the sixteenth century several European naval powers, eager for trade and resources, began the quest to map and claim the uncharted territories of the Southern Hemisphere. The Portuguese who may have mapped part of the southern continent as early as 1542 were quickly followed by the Spanish and the Dutch who made many landfalls on the west and north of the continent in the early decades of the seventeenth century. However, it was the British, who had begun to explore the Pacific in the 1760s, who were to succeed. In Captain James Cook they had found not only a brilliant navigator but one who demonstrated the qualities of '*dauntless* and *perseverant* resolution' which Dalrymple had stated would be necessary for such success.[5] On 19 April 1770 Cook and his crew first sighted the east coast

*David Phillips has been responsible for sections I and II and David Pritchard for sections III and IV.

of what was later to be called Australia, reaching Botany Bay on 29 April and claiming New South Wales for the crown on 22 August. It was to take another sixteen years before a decision was made by the British Parliament, on 19 August 1786, to establish a penal colony in this new crown territory. On 26 January 1788 Captain Arthur Philip, leader of the First Fleet and Governor of the new colony, raised the British flag at Sydney Cove on Port Jackson.[6] On that day began the European chapter of Australian history. Sydney, the future host of the Modern Games of the XXVIIth Olympiad, had been born. Olympia itself was not to see excavations begin until 1829 – less than two years after the combined British, Russian and French fleets, under the command of the British Admiral Sir Edward Codrington had defeated the Ottoman navy at Navarino Bay on 20 October 1827, thereby paving the way for the birth of the modern Greek nation.[7]

In its infancy the new Greek state was to turn repeatedly to the glories and culture of its classical past and in 1859 Athens witnessed the first revival of games patterned after those held at the ancient festival of Zeus at Olympia. Further Olympic-style games were to be held in 1870, 1875 and 1889.[8] It was in 1869–70 that excavations of the Panathenaic stadium were begun, with a fully restored stadium being constructed in time to be used for the staging of the first modern Olympics in 1896.[9] Even then the first international Olympic Games – the inspiration and drive for which are credited to the Frenchman Baron Pierre de Coubertin – were still largely a Greek affair with 230 of the 311 athletes being Greek as were the majority of the spectators.[10] Australia was represented by a single athlete, Edwin Flack, a former Melbourne Grammar schoolboy and student of classical Greek, who won the gold medal for both the 800 and 1500 metre footraces.[11]

With the return of the Modern Games of the XXVIIIth Olympiad to Athens in 2004, Greece and Australia will continue to share not only the distinction of being two of the few nations to have participated in all Olympics of the modern era but also the honour of hosting them twice.[12] Both nations also share rich and ancient cultural traditions and a common heritage established by over a century and a half of Greek immigration to Australia that has drawn the country within the folds of the Greek diaspora.[13] According to ancient tradition, the first Olympics were celebrated in 776 BC.[14] By this time Greek speakers had been settled in Greece for more than a thousand years, building upon and integrating with the earlier neolithic and bronze age cultures of Greece and the Aegean.[15] However, the earliest evidence for human occupation in Epirus, in the north-west of Greece, goes back to the middle palaeolithic period, that is, about 40,000 BC.[16] In Australia human settlement also dates back at least 40,000 years, with some evidence even suggesting human occupation as

early as 50,000 years ago.[17] There have been remarkable continuities in the traditions and beliefs of the aboriginal peoples of Australia who managed, in some regions, to survive the European occupation. The richness and diversity of Aboriginal culture was celebrated during the opening ceremony of the Sydney 2000 Olympics and is now a matter of pride for Australians.[18] In the modern Olympic Games two ancient cultures replete with myth and tradition have come together.

As well as bringing together the ancient and diverse cultures of two nations, the Sydney 2000 Olympics also combined two important traditions in Australian life, one widely recognized, the other much less so. Australia identifies itself as a sporting nation – a nation which competes successfully not only in the Olympics but on the international stage in a diverse range of non-Olympic sports from cricket, tennis, rugby and golf to netball, squash, motor sports and surfing.[19] Less well known is the Classical Tradition which has played and continues to play a modest but important part in the educational and cultural life of Australia. When the University of Sydney, Australia's first institution of higher education, began teaching in 1852, it began with a solitary Faculty of Arts in which all students took Greek, Latin, mathematics and science for a three-year bachelor degree.[20] The first Professor of Classics, John Woolley, was also the first Principal of the University.[21] Since then the teaching of one or more of Greek, Latin, Classical Archaeology, Classical Civilization and Ancient History has had a presence in most of the universities established in Australia up to and including the 1960s. Indeed this decade of university expansion saw the creation of a Department of Classical Studies at Monash University in 1965 and of Ancient History, now a Department in its own right, within the Department of History at Macquarie University in 1967. The same decade also saw the establishment in 1965–6 of the Australian Society for Classical Studies (ASCS), which commenced publishing its annual journal, *Antichthon*, in 1967. Classical art and Greek have since been established at La Trobe University and 2003 sees the appointment of the first ancient historian in the School of History at the University of New South Wales. Although Latin and especially Greek are taken by relatively small numbers at secondary school level, the number of high school students studying Ancient History is substantial with the total taking it for the Higher School Certificate in New South Wales very close to surpassing the numbers of students taking Modern History.[22]

Another enduring link with the Classical Tradition is that of specialist museums devoted to the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean and in particular those of Greece, Rome and Egypt which have been established at universities throughout Australia.[23] The oldest is the Nicholson Museum

at the University of Sydney, which was founded in 1860. Of more recent establishments the Museum of Ancient Cultures at Macquarie University, established in 1974, has established an innovative schools programme. This museum holds the most extensive collection of papyri in Australia and displays some of the extensive coin holdings of the Australian Centre for Ancient Numismatic Study (ACANS). The Centre was established in 1999 and is home to the Gale Collection of over two and a half thousand coins from the Greek cities of southern Italy and Republican and Imperial Rome.[24] These, along with other university-based collections of antiquities, have full- or part-time curators, managers or directors and many casual employees and volunteers. They play a significant role in community outreach and as educational resources not only for university departments but also for school groups who gain exposure to the cultures of the ancient world through visits to such collections. Given that little attention is paid to the cultures of the ancient Mediterranean world in major public museums and art galleries of Australia, this role is vital to the dissemination of the knowledge of such cultures to a wider public.[25]

Apart from the Olympic Games that were celebrated from 15 September to 1 October 2000, Sydney was home to two official events of the Sydney Olympic Arts Festival which drew upon the traditions of ancient Greece. The first of these was the Powerhouse Museum exhibition *1000 Years of the Olympic Games: Treasures of Ancient Greece* that was made possible by the generous loan of important artefacts by the Greek Ministry of Culture.[26] The second was the performance of *Mythologia* – a major work choreographed by Australia's leading choreographer, Graeme Murphy, and performed by his internationally acclaimed Sydney Dance Company and the Sydney Gay and Lesbian Choir. The score was by the Australian composer Carl Vine. The work drew on the myths associated with Herakles as the traditional founder of the Olympic Games and other mythical figures with whom this famous athlete interacted.[27] The choir sang texts, in classical Greek, ranging from Sappho (fr. 31 LP) and the *Homeric Hymn to Zeus* (23) to the Olympian victory songs of Pindar and the *Bacchai* by Euripides.[28] They were translated for the programme by Suzanne MacAlister of the Department of Classics at the University of Sydney, who also played an important role in development of Carl Vine's score.

It was at Sancta Sophia College, also at the University of Sydney, that the conference 'Olympia and the Olympics: Festival and Identity in the Ancient World' was held from 6 to 9 July 2000 as part of the cultural lead-up to the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. The conference served as the genesis for this book.[29]

II. Sport and festival in the ancient Greek world

Although the summer festival for Zeus at Olympia in Elis in the western Peloponnesos – which served as the inspiration for the modern Olympic Games and has attracted the majority of scholarly and popular interest – was the first and the greatest of the ancient Panhellenic festivals, it was but one of four such festivals with the others being the Pythia, the Isthmia and the Nemea.[30] These made up the *periodos* or four-yearly cycle of games that was settled upon at some time during the first three decades of the sixth century BC.[31] These 'big four' Panhellenic festivals were also known as the crown games (*stephanitai*) after the vegetative crowns which were awarded to the victors: at Olympia a crown of wild olive from the sacred grove of Zeus in the Altis, at Delphi for the Pythia a crown from the leaves of the laurel sacred to Apollo, at Corinth for the Isthmia in honour of Poseidon a crown of pine, and at Nemea in the games for Nemean Zeus a crown of wild celery.[32] To win the same event at all four *stephanitai* was to earn the title of *periodonikēs*.[33] With the growth of Athenian power, during the fifth century BC, an unofficial 'fifth' Panhellenic agonistic festival could be said to have been added to the *periodos*: the Great Panathenaia at Athens (see TABLE 1 below).[34] Religious festivals, with or without *agōnes*, were characteristic of the *polis* (city-state) throughout the Greek world and were an integral and defining part of its public life.[35] In essence, a festival, for which the Greeks had several different terms, was a sequence of ritual acts which usually included a *pompē* (procession), prayers, libations, the singing of hymns and an animal sacrifice that was followed by the sharing

TABLE 1. The Four Panhellenic Agonistic Festivals + One[36]

Festival	*Location*	*Deity*	*Date*	*Frequency*
OLYMPIA	Olympia (Elis)	Olympian Zeus	776 BC (traditional foundation date)	Every four years in mid-summer (July–August)
PYTHIA	Delphi	Apollo Pythios	582 BC (re-organization)	Third year of each Olympiad in late summer (August–September)
ISTHMIA	Corinth	Poseidon	582–70 BC (re-organization)	Every second year of each Olympiad in spring (April–May *or* June–July)
NEMEA	Nemea	Nemean Zeus	573 BC (traditional foundation date)	Every second year of each Olympiad in late summer (September)
THE GREAT PANATHENAIA	Athens	Athena	566/5 BC (foundation date)	Third year of each Olympiad in summer (June–July)

and eating of food.[37] Festivals could take anything from a part or whole of a day to two or more days and some, perhaps many, also had *agōnes* or contests for prizes.[38]

The *agōn* or contest was a fundamental feature of Greek society and its social relations and was manifested not only in the multiplicity of *agōnes* linked with festivals but also in warfare, politics, law and oratory. It was also characteristic of the behaviour of the Greek gods and heroes.[39] At Athens it was to be seen in the assembly, lawcourts, dramatic competitions and even in the Athenian fondness for cockfighting, with a pair of fighting cocks serving as a symbol for *agōn* itself.[40] While having a number of local peculiarities, Spartan culture too was agonistic, as Stephen Hodkinson has recently demonstrated.[41] Greek festival *agōnes* included not just what we might today call sport – however that term is to be defined.[42] In addition to athletics (running, jumping and throwing the discus and the javelin), equestrian events (horse and especially chariot racing) and combat sports, such as boxing, wrestling and the 'no holds barred' *pankration*, there could also be contests in music; choral singing and dancing; poetry, including recitations of Homeric verse by trained rhapsodes; drama; painting (at the Isthmia) and even male 'beauty' contests like the *euandria* and the *euexia*.[43] However, one event, the marathon, which has been a feature of the modern Olympics since their inception in 1896, was never a part of any ancient agonistic festival, although trained long-distance runners, called *hēmerodromoi* or day-runners, who served as messengers, are well attested.[44] Nor is it likely that the first marathon was run by Pheidippides (or Philippides) who, according to tradition, died happily as he uttered the words, 'Be happy! We have won!', after running back from Marathon to Athens to report the Athenian victory over the Persians in 490 BC.[45] In the days before the battle he had actually run about two hundred and twenty kilometres to Sparta to request help in the defence against the Persians who had reached Eretria on the nearby island of Euboea. When help was not immediately forthcoming, he ran the same distance back to Athens (Herodotus 6.105–6).

Athletics or track and field events, which have remained the core of the modern Olympics, take their name from the ancient Greek term *athlos* meaning effort, contest, struggle or deed, and were, from the first Olympic Games, a central feature of festival *agōnes*.[46] Just as the key athletic events today are the men's and women's 100, 200 and 400 metre sprints, so at the ancient festivals the key event was the men's *stadion*: a sprint covering the length of the *stadion* or stadium. At Olympia the *stadion* was 192 m in length, those at Nemea and Delphi were around 178 m.[47] It was not the time taken or the distance thrown that was important, for the Greeks took little interest in such sporting records, it was winning that mattered

and it was the victory that was recorded and remembered.[48] The winner of the *stadion* at Olympia, amongst other honours, became the *Olympionikos*: the victor by whose name the Olympiad would be known in perpetuity. Thus we read, for example, in Diodorus of Sicily (13.41.1) of '...the ninety-second Olympiad [in 412 BC] in which Exainetos of Akragas won the *stadion*'. Diodorus (13.82.7) also gives us some indication of the honours accorded Exainetos when he returned to his home city: '...he was conducted into the city in a chariot and in the procession there were, not to speak of other things, three-hundred chariots, each drawn by two white horses, all the chariots belonging to the citizens of Akragas'. But these were not the only honours and rewards that a victor in the *stephanitai* might expect to receive. At Athens, in a decree of the 430s BC, we read that 'for as many as have won at Olympia or Delphi or Isthmia or Nemea or may win hereafter, shall receive *sitēsis* (meals) in the Prytaneion and the other gifts in addition to *sitēsis*...' (*IG* I^3 131.11–18).[49] The decree continues to outline the same privilege of *sitēsis* for victors in the chariot race or the *kelēs* (horse race) at the same festivals. Other honours could include the setting up of statues with victory epigrams at either the sanctuary in which the victory was won or in the victor's home city and the commissioning of *epinikia* or victory songs.[50] The most complete set of *epinikia* are the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean and Isthmian odes of the Theban poet Pindar (518–438 BC).[51] It is through these and other *epinikia* by Bacchylides and Simonides that many of the aetiological and other myths associated with agonistic festivals have been transmitted.[52] Victors also frequently dedicated prizes, tripods, gold crowns, statues, figurines and items of athletic equipment, such as the discus, as thank offerings to the gods.[53] A victor might in some instances be heroized and so become the recipient of religious cult.[54] All of these *agōnes* and their associated activities and honours were almost exclusively for men and boys. Our evidence for the participation of women and girls in festival *agōnes* is very limited and has attracted relatively little scholarly attention.[55]

Greek festivals have received increasing scholarly attention over the past few decades, with an important theme of research being the roles of festivals in the formation of the Greek *polis* and the development and articulation of *polis* identity. Agonistic festivals in particular were an integral part of the *polis*, its discourses and its social relations, and Panhellenic festivals were fundamental to the notion of 'Greekness' – an identity based especially upon language and religion.[56] Although our extant literary and epigraphical evidence abounds with references to, and details about, Greek festivals, one passage in particular highlights the centrality of festival to *polis* identity and the reinforcement of community. Its context is the violent *stasis* (civil war

or strife) between the democrats and oligarchs during the reign of the so-called Thirty Tyrants at Athens in 404 and 403 BC. Kleokritos, the herald of the famous Mysteries for Demeter and Persephone at Eleusis in Attica, is addressing the supporters of the Thirty Tyrants after a battle between their supporters and the democrats in the Piraeus:

> Fellow citizens, why are you driving us out of the city? Why do you want to kill us? We have never done you any harm. We have shared with you in the most holy religious services, in sacrifices and in splendid festivals (*heortai*); we have joined in dances with you, gone to school with you and fought in the army with you, braving together with you the dangers of land and sea in defence of our common safety and freedom. In the name of the gods of our fathers and mothers, of the bonds of kinship and marriage and friendship, which are shared by so many of us on both sides, I beg you to feel some shame in front of the gods and men and to give up this sin against your fatherland (Xenophon *Hellenica* 2.4.20–1; transl. Warner).

Another revealing event from the period soon after the restoration of the democracy at Athens in 403 BC was the decision to build the Pompeion or assembly hall for the marshalling of festival processions (*pompai*) and in particular for the Panathenaia. Constructed just within the city walls between the Sacred and Dipylon gates in the north-west of the city, it was one of the first public buildings undertaken by the restored democracy and it demonstrates that reconciliation and community rebuilding through festival were major priorities for a *polis* which had just been through the destructive and disruptive experience of not only a prolonged war in which it had suffered defeat but also of nearly a decade of political turmoil at home in which the very survival of the democracy was at stake.[57]

III. *The Sydney Olympics book*

This edited book is a scholarly commemoration of the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. Most of its chapters began as papers at the conference 'Olympia and the Olympics: Festival and Identity in the Ancient World' that was held in Sydney from 6 to 9 July 2000 in the lead-up to the city's hosting of the Modern Games of the XXVIIth Olympiad. The conference was conceived and convened by David Phillips and the late Kevin Lee and hosted by Macquarie University and the University of Sydney. Its chief aims were to explore the Graeco-Roman traditions behind the Olympic Movement and to reinforce the importance of the study of antiquity for understanding the modern world. The conference brought together scholars from Australia, New Zealand, North America and Europe and had as its keynote speaker Mark Golden of the University of Winnipeg.[58] The chapters by Stephen Miller, Helmut Kyrieleis, Nigel Crowther, Harold

Tarrant, Paul Donnelly and Kevin Fewster, and Carol Scott were commissioned after the conference to fill out the book's treatment of key topics and themes.

This book explores in detail the cultural, religious, political and social import of sport and festival in the Greek world of the archaic and classical periods. It investigates how athletics bore out and reinforced central aspects of ancient Greek culture such as *aretē* (manly excellence and bravery) and *agōn* (publicly adjudicated contest) and ideals like male beauty. The book also studies how the Greek *polis* (city-state) staged religious festivals not just to ensure the *kharis* (gratitude) of its city-protecting deities and heroes, but also as a way to articulate and broadcast civic ideology and the communal identity of its citizens and as a means to legitimate its political institutions and social structures. In particular it reveals how festivals and sporting and musical *agōnes* led the way, throughout the archaic period, in the crystallization and development of the *polis* and in the creation of its juridical and political practices. The book itself bears witness to the mainly positive relationship between the Olympic Movement and scholarship whereby successive games of the modern era have served as impetuses for research, exhibitions and publications on the ancient Olympics.[59] Yet it also illustrates how the changing agendas of the Olympic Movement have moulded and, at times, compromised historiography on ancient Greek sport and how research on the ancient Olympic Games has in the past been motivated by questionable political interests. The book contributes as well to important debates and practices of the New Museology.

Part I of the book focuses on Olympia and the Olympics. Stephen Miller gives a richly illustrated and well-documented reconstruction of the sporting and religious events of the Olympics of 300 BC, and considers the preparations that took place before the Games and the religious and political personnel responsible for their organization (ch. 1). Helmut Kyrieleis outlines the major phases and discoveries of the German excavations at Olympia, over the last century and a quarter, and the leading role these excavations have played in the development of Classical Archaeology and in the writing of the history of early Greek art (ch. 2). Nigel Crowther demonstrates that, in spite of their Panhellenic status, the Olympic Games were actually controlled by the local city-state of Elis which used this festival to consolidate its political institutions and regional standing and the sanctuary of Olympia as its main religious and civic centre (ch. 3).

Part II considers the poems athletes commissioned to broadcast their victories and mythology closely linked with the site of the ancient Olympics. Patrick O'Sullivan explains that Pindar belittled sculpture, the medium rivalling his sung poetry for commemorating athletic victory, by

characterizing it as lifeless and static and his own victory songs as dynamic and analogous to the body of the athlete (ch. 4). O'Sullivan also illustrates how this poetical polemic reappears, outside athletics, in the writings of the new intellectuals and philosophers who likewise employed it to build up, at the expense of their rivals, the specific verbal medium or discipline they were marketing. John Davidson considers how the myth of Pelops and his winning of a bride in a chariot-race at Olympia was rendered in different literary and artistic contexts, and the ways in which its protagonists became linked with the sporting and religious structures of Olympia itself (ch. 5). He also explores how the different contexts in which the myth was rehearsed affected its treatment and development.

Part III concerns the origins of athletic and musical competitions. Ben Brown demonstrates that the sporting contests honouring the dead hero Patroklos in book 23 of Homer's *Iliad* constitute a resolution of the intra-elite crisis beginning in book 1 and are, along with the historically attested funerary games of the archaic period, the first manifestation of the evaluative practices and modes of thought of the archaic city (ch. 6). Peter Wilson suggests that dithyrambs were originally performed by choruses as an attempt to harness the religious power of Dionysos to combat *stasis* (civil war or strife) and that dithyrambic competitions were introduced to foster the solidarity of the civic community and to underwrite political reforms and structures.

Part IV studies Athens and its festivals. David Phillips turns our attention to correlations between milestones in the political history of sixth- and fifth-century Athens and celebrations of the Great Panathenaia (ch. 8). Phillips illustrates how an appreciation of festival context enriches our understanding of political events and how aspects of festivals were drawn upon to support the city and its institutions during times of military or political crisis. Tom Stevenson argues on the basis of detailed analysis that the Parthenon frieze represents an idealized celebration of the Great Panathenaia during the mid-fifth century (ch. 9). Ian Storey illustrates how the dismissive comments the poets of old comedy made about the plays of rivals in a dramatic competition constitute important clues for the programmes of specific dramatic festivals and the plots of non-extant plays (ch. 10).

Part V investigates the interconnections between athletics, education and philosophy in classical Athens. David Pritchard shows how classical Athenian athletics consisted of two closely integrated activities: competitions at festivals and the traditional classes of the athletics teacher (ch. 11). Pritchard also argues that these school classes provided the only opportunity for technical instruction in the standard events of track and

field and that athletics remained, even in the most prosperous and democratic city of classical Greece, an exclusive pursuit of the elite. Harold Tarrant explains that while new intellectuals and philosophers commended physical education and competition, they appropriated the language and values of athletics in the course of developing and promoting their own new disciplines (ch. 12).

Part VI discusses the Powerhouse Museum exhibition *1000 Years of the Olympic Games: Treasures of Ancient Greece*, which was an official event in the Sydney 2000 Olympic Arts Festival. Paul Donnelly and Kevin Fewster outline the negotiations and cultural considerations behind the Greek government's loan of a substantial collection of antiquities to the Museum and the curatorial and design decisions taken concerning their exhibition in an institution otherwise known for its showcasing of new technology, science and design (ch. 13). Kate da Costa, Sarah Kenderdine, Cliff Ogleby and John Ristevski detail the academic and technical challenges of making a three-dimensional digital model of ancient Olympia and an animated three-dimensional tour of the site based on the model and shown at the exhibition (ch. 14). Finally, Carol Scott analyses the audience evaluation of the exhibition and how it raises interesting questions for further research about the potential of museums to stimulate new learning (ch. 15).

IV. Acknowledgements

David Phillips came up with the idea to publish a work of classical studies as a more permanent legacy to the Sydney Olympics. He made the original approach to the Classical Press of Wales and gave scholarly and administrative advice throughout the production of the book. David Pritchard was employed as a research fellow by Macquarie University to co-edit the book and manage the Sydney Olympics Book Project and was responsible for bringing the book to fruition. He commissioned the extra chapters in the book, wrote the editorial reports on and edited each chapter, facilitated the applications for university grants and organized the other grants, donations and contributions needed to finalize the book. The editors together worked out the book's key themes and the final selection of chapters and were each responsible for two sections of the Introduction.

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