

# Nikolai Kolomenkin did not consider "Panin" to be so great

By Volker Kluge



"Circle of Lovers of Sport", Alexei Lebedyev, who called a meeting of 17 St. Petersburg clubs.<sup>2</sup> That meeting decided on 20 November 1898 in the "Victoria" restaurant to take part in the 1900 Olympic Games in Paris.<sup>3</sup> Yet in the end Russia was officially neither in Paris (apart from two aristocratic four-in-hand drivers and fencing masters, who happened to be staying there) nor in St. Louis in 1904.

All the more is the figure skater Nikolai Panin held in esteem, who in 1908 in London was the first Russian sportsman to win an Olympic gold medal. Panin, whose real name was Kolomenkin, is *the* Russian sports icon, which, in view of the modest successes of the backward Tsarist empire at that time, is hard to comprehend. Apart from Panin, only one athlete and four wrestlers competed, of whom however two returned home with silver medals.

Although Panin is still highly esteemed today and his biography well researched, it is surprising that there is still a lack of clarity about his year of birth, which is given either as 1871 or 1872 (and mostly with the 8 January as his birthday). An error which however cannot be justified by the fact that the Julian calendar, which had a difference of 13 days from the Gregorian computation of time, was obligatory in Russia until 1918.<sup>4</sup>

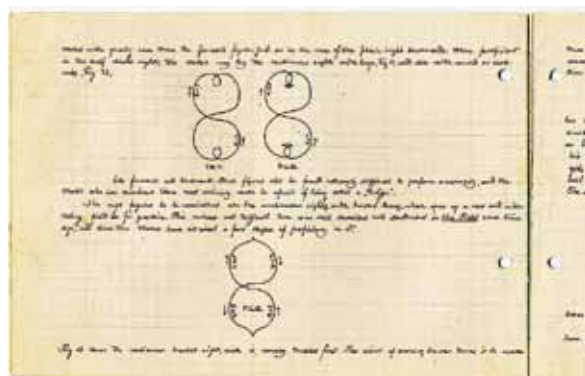
From the letter on page 20, in which Panin gives his sporting mentor Lebedyev information about his life, it can be learned that Russia's first Olympic champion was born on 1 January 1874 on his father's estate in the Gouvernement of Voronezh. His date of birth in thus, according to the Gregorian calendar, the 14 January 1874.<sup>5</sup>

In regard to the letter, whose original the author of this article received a few years ago from St. Petersburg,

The bust of Nikolai Panin-Kolomenkin, which stood during the 2014 Winter Games in front of the "Russian House" in the Olympic Park and then more permanently in the skating arena. It is part of the project "Alley of Russian Glory", which hopes to create 700 busts and memorials in five countries – including in the USA and Germany. As can be seen on the plinth, the dates for Russia's first Olympic champion make him two years older.

Russia is one of the nations that was late in joining the Olympic Movement. It is true that the French general Alexei Butovski, who in France in 1892 had studied their education system and also met Pierre de Coubertin, was one of the 13 founder members of the IOC, but at the Games of the 1<sup>st</sup> Olympiad in 1896 he remained the only Russian representative.<sup>1</sup> His efforts to send a team to Athens came to grief because of the lack of interest of the Tsarist government and the narrow sporting basis.

The next time everything was going to be different. It was the St. Petersburg lawyer and chairman of the



In this school notebook the young Nikolai collected clippings from sports newspapers and noted ice-skating figures

Photo: Volker Kluge and VK Archive

Training in Yusupov Garden: the perfect figure of an 'Eight'.

the modesty of its language is remarkable. The sender of the letter does not consider the "figure skater Panin" to be so great that he would wish his biography to be published in the newspaper. On the other hand, he was not so impolite as to turn down Lebedyev's request. And thus he left it to him to pass on the information to a Mr. Magnus<sup>6</sup>, who had probably asked for this information. Moreover, he did not sign the letter with his pseudonym but with his birth name "N. Kolomenkin".<sup>7</sup>

### Learning skating on one skate

Nikolai came into the world as the third child of Evgeniya and Alexander Kolomenkin in the village of Khrenovoye in Bobrovsky District. A few years later the family moved to Voronezh, where the father became manager of an agricultural machinery works, while the mother looked after the education and raising up of the children. Nikolai received piano instruction, and blew the cornet. The closeness of the Don tempted him to bathe and row.

Among Kolomenkin's childhood dreams was to own skates. To fulfil his dearest wish, his mother made a special trip to Moscow, about 500 kilometres away, but there was only enough money for one pair, so that the boy had to share with his one-and-a-half year older sister Elena. She got the right skate, he took the left, which was to have a long-lasting effect on his later sporting life. He carried out difficult figures normally with his left leg.<sup>8</sup>

In the late summer of 1885 the Kolomenkins divorced. The mother moved with the children to St. Petersburg, where she married a certain Sergey Silin, who from then



on was to play an important part in Nikolai's life. He was allowed to attend the Gymnasium (grammar school), where he demonstrated his talent in physics and Greek. Homer became his favourite author. Laertes, the father of Odysseus, was the hero of his childhood.

Silin encouraged the gifts of his adoptive son as best he could. As he himself was a passionate shot and huntsman, that had to rub off some time or other. Shooting soon became Nikolai's first sport.<sup>9</sup>

In 1890 he transferred to another Gymnasium, where by his own admission he experienced his happiest period. He met classmates who motivated him and encountered him again later on as historians,

## Kolomenkin on the "skater Panin"

Dear Alexei Pavlovich,

As I do not think the skater Panin is so great that his autobiography should be published in the press, I cannot fulfil Mr. Magnus's wish.

But if you think it might be interesting for someone to read something inter alia about Panin, then I will have no objection to your informing Mr. Magnus of everything you think necessary. I am ready to give you any support required.

My sporting adventures you certainly know no worse than I do. About the rest I can inform you – as far as that is required – that I was born on 1 January 1874 on my father's estate in the Gouvernement of Voronezh. I received my education in the Mathematical Faculty of St. Petersburg University, which I concluded with a 1<sup>st</sup> class diploma. I started skating at the age of 17. On 12 January 1897 I took part in competitions for the first time, on the ice rink of Yusupov Garden, the last time – on 17 October 1908 in London.

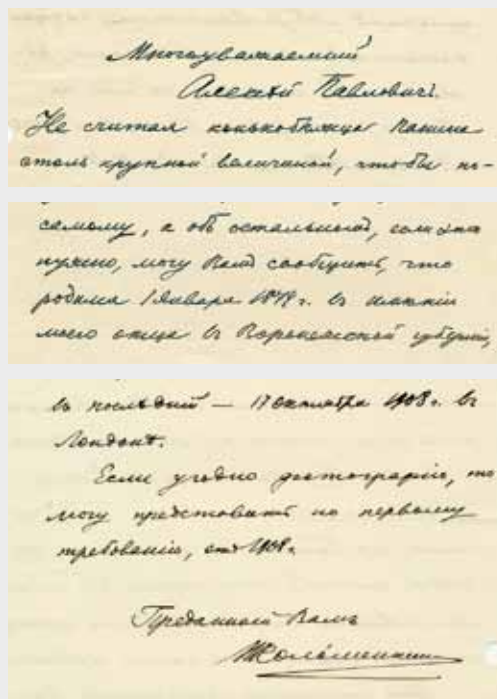
If you wish a photo, I can on request supply one from 1908.

Yours faithfully

N. Kolomenkin

16 October 1910

A handwritten CV, in which Panin clearly states "I was born on 1 January 1874 ..."



engineers, biologists, lecturers and even as Pushkin researchers. At this Gymnasium it was usual to lay out a temporary ice rink. Spurred on by this, Nikolai saved up eight roubles, for which he bought a pair of real figure skating skates at the pawnbrokers. Together with two friends he ventured on to one of the privately run rinks in Yusupov Garden, which, the artistic-minded Prince Yusupov had once had laid out and which at the command of Tsar Alexander II, had been opened to the public in 1863. This landscape park became the first great sport and leisure centre of St. Petersburg.

One of the greatest winter attractions was the ice rink of the "Society of the Friends of Skating", as whose chairman university lecturer Vyacheslav Sreznevsky functioned.<sup>10</sup> Especially at weekends and the carnival period, the beautifully decorated park was completely full. The high points were the evening processions, which climaxed at 21.30 in a splendid firework display.

Longingly, the Gymnasium student hoped for membership of this club. But, to be accepted, one needed the recommendation of prominent club member, as well-known as possible, which is why Nikolai's stepfather, in late 1891, established contact with an author of Russian textbooks who was known to him. This man put in a good word with Sreznevsky, so that at the end of 1891 Nikolai's figure-skating career could begin. He proudly wore the silver-winged skates on the blue and white ribbon, a badge that marked him out as a member of an elite club.

After his leaving certificate exams Kolomenkin began his studies in 1893 at the physical-mathematical faculty of St. Petersburg University. In addition, he listened to lectures by the biologist Peter Lesgaft, considered the founder of Russian sports science.<sup>11</sup> In his free time he played tennis and football and took lessons in foil fencing. In winter skating took over.

At this time cycling gained popularity even in Russia. In 1895 the student bought a used bicycle with a chain and joined the "Cyclists' Circle of Tsarskoye Selo (ZKB)"<sup>12</sup>. In the "Tsar's Village", the summer residence of the Romanov family and the favourites excursion destination of St. Petersburg society, a few years before the first Russian velodrome, a cement track 183 metres long and with very high bends, had been erected.

In Kolomenkin's estate there was a racing cyclist's licence for the year 1898, but significant successes have not been passed down.<sup>13</sup> It looks as if there were none, and he probably restricted himself to looking after his teammates, of whom Mikhail Dyakov was the first Russian to compete abroad, including in the English championships.

In a photo of that period we see Kolomenkin next to a certain Sergei Krupsky, who was to have a special meaning in his life. Since his father, a chemistry professor hostile to sport, had forbidden him to take part in cycle

races, Krupsky competed under the pseudonym "Panin". But when he was injured in a fall at a race on Kamenny Island in the Neva Delta, his cover was blown. His father prohibited him from any sort of sporting activity. But before the young man took his leave of cycling, he asked his friend Kolomenkin, while he was still in hospital, to bear his "sports name" in future.<sup>14</sup>

### How Kolomenkin turned into Nikolai Panin

The International Skating Union, founded in 1892, resolved after three years to abandon organising the European Figure Skating Championships which they done till then, and after the reorganisation of the rules to carry out the first World Championships in St. Petersburg in 1896.<sup>15</sup> The championship, to which at that time only gentlemen were admitted, began on 9 February in Yusupov Garden with only four competitors, who beside compulsory and freestyle routines had also to show special figures. The first title holder was the Munich forestry student Gilbert Fuchs<sup>16</sup>, followed by the Austrian Gustav Hugel. For the representatives of the hosts, Georg Sanders and Nikolai Poduskov, there only remained places three and four.

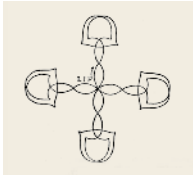
Kolomenkin was disappointed, even annoyed, at this result. At the same time it became a great motivation for him to train harder, for which he found a good entourage. In the training squad looked after by Lebeyev there was a relaxed atmosphere. And after a year, to be exact on 12 January 1897, he was at the stage of presenting himself to the judges – for the first time under the name "Nikolai Panin".



The participants in the Figure Skating World Championships of 1903 in St. Petersburg: far left Ulrich Salchow, second right Nikolai Panin.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

The same year Russian championships were held for the first time in St. Petersburg, at which Panin achieved the second place. First was the outstanding skater of the Tsarist Empire, who bore a similar-sounding name: Alexander Panshin. He was 34 at the time and had in 1889 taken part in the speed skating "World Championships" organised by the Amsterdam IJclub, at which he was victorious over two of the three distances. But since the third distance – over two miles – was won by



One of the "gems" cut by Panin in the London ice and which brought him the Olympic gold medal in the "special figures" event.

Right: Panin in the hussar costume he designed himself, next to him his Swedish adversary Ulrich Salchow.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive, Official Report London 1908



the approximately nine year younger American Joseph Donoghue, the title could not, according to the rules in force at the time, be awarded. Later on – from 1890 – Panshin concentrated on figure skating, in which he won the Russian championship from 1898 to 1900, while Panin had to be content with the junior title.

Panin had finished his university studies in 1899 with the "1<sup>st</sup> class diploma", the best grade. However, he rejected the offer to stay on at university and work as a badly paid scientist. Instead, he married his girlfriend Lidiya, whom he had met at the "Prudki" ice rink. He applied to the St. Petersburg tax authorities, and took the post of a tax inspector for the region of Tsarskoye Selo after a year's probation as an assistant.

To be sure, this job was hard to reconcile with his sporting plans, but in 1901 Panin felt sufficiently equipped to measure himself against Panshin. The old champion was, however, not prepared to meet him. Three years later he had a fatal accident, whereupon his club, the "Friends of Skating" in his honour donated a silver "Panshin Cup". The first holder in 1906 was called Nikolai Panin.

The leading figure skater of that time was the Copenhagen-born Ulrich Salchow. His father was Danish, his mother Norwegian. But when the family

in 1888 moved to Stockholm, he became by his own admission "a Swede cubed".<sup>17</sup> After Salchow had been three times runner-up to Gustav Hugel, he achieved in 1901 in Stockholm the first of what were to be ten World Championships titles.<sup>18</sup>

When he later stayed in Helsinki, he was visited by Sreznevsky and Panin, who wanted to study the methods of the world champion. At the same time they invited Salchow and Fuchs, who had been defeated in Stockholm, to a competition on 18 February 1901 in St. Petersburg, which followed the same sequence as at the World Championship. Behind the two followed at a distance of more than 130 points Panin in third place. There was still a lot to make up to reach international class.

### Salchow's first defeat in seven years

Among the characteristics of Russian politics at that time was a large number of jubilee festivals and memorial days, with which the government wished to appeal to the pride of the people and make use of their extensive war experiences. All festivities were exceeded, however, in 1903 by the 200 year jubilee of St. Petersburg, which was spread in several stages – with a principal memorial

day on 16 May – over the whole year. The talk was of “jubilee fever”. In connection with these ceremonies, two World Championships in skating took place in St. Petersburg on 20/21 February 1903. Panin felt optimistic about his first participation in figure skating. To look good, he designed a new skating costume. He wore a jacket tailored on the model of a hussar uniform.

While the racers were fighting for victory on the Neva<sup>19</sup>, the figure skaters in Yusupov Garden presented themselves to the six judges, who unanimously recognised Ulrich Salchow as the first placed with the best possible grade. However, Panin did achieve a first international success. He became World Championship runner-up in front of the Austrian Max Bohatsch, while the demotivated Fuchs gave up because he felt disadvantaged.

Although Panin, in 1904 in Davos third in the European Championships behind Salchow and Bohatsch, was now unarguably one of world elite, it is noticeable that the Swede in his discussions about figure skating persistently ignored the Russian.<sup>20</sup>

Perhaps it was differing views, for Salchow preferred the sporting style, while finding the “Viennese School” with its poses “absolutely awful”.<sup>21</sup> He did not lack self-confidence, especially when there was a danger of drawing the short straw. Thus in 1906 he abandoned his chance to participate in the World Championships in Munich, because he feared that the judges, who he suspected of favouring Fuchs, would disadvantage him in the “lion’s cave”.

All the more may Salchow, who liked to rail against the “tricks of certain god-gifted ice skaters” and called judges he disliked “despicable individuals”<sup>22</sup>, have regretted accepting in February 1906 the invitation of the St. Petersburg Friends of Skating to take part in the “Panshin Cup”. The first time in seven years he had to accept defeat in the Yusupov Garden. His conqueror was Nikolai Panin, who had vainly hoped for a competition against Salchow at European Championships in January. He regarded this success later as his “most deserved victory”.<sup>23</sup>

### The skating mathematician and the crocodile

At the founding Olympic Congress of 1894 the IOC had accepted skating on to the list of possible sports. But his promise was not fulfilled until London 1908, the programme for which envisaged “Winter Games” in October.<sup>24</sup> By this, the British understood sports like football, hockey and boxing, to which was added figure skating as the only “genuine” winter sport. This premiere was made possible by the existence of the Prince’s Skating Club Rink, erected in 1895, which the Duchess of Bedford had already opened on 9 October 1908, so that the competitors could prepare properly.

Several of them stayed before that to train in Berlin, where on 2 September the “Ice Palace” in the Lutherstrasse had been inaugurated.

After his victory series, Salchow was the clear favourite for the first Olympic victory. From the *Times* could however be deduced that Panin’s “arrival is eagerly expected as he took upon himself to defeat no less a person than Mr. Salchow ... last winter”.<sup>25</sup> The renewed meeting thus promised tension, confirmed by the obligation of the nine skaters of the starting sequence to draw seven figures on the ice. Thereafter, three of the five judges placed Salchow in first place, while two thought Panin was the best.<sup>26</sup> The Russian was so disappointed by this 2:3 that he retired from the competition. While official version was that Panin was “feeling unwell”<sup>27</sup>, he in fact argued with the judges, the majority of whom were close to Salchow.<sup>28</sup>

Also, he felt himself to be a victim of the psychological warfare with which the world champion had tried to unsettle the Russian. From the edge of the track Salchow commented in a loud voice on the offerings of his competitor with shouts like, “That’s supposed to have been an ‘Eight’. But it was all squint.”<sup>29</sup> By Panin’s own admission, however, he made the tactical error of continually moving about in the three-and-a-half hours the compulsory section lasted, instead of waiting in peace and quiet to be called up.

But on the next forenoon the “not feeling well” had disappeared. In the event called “Gentlemen’s Special Figure Skating”, in which each skater had to present four figures of his own choice, Panin was in his element. In the Official Report it said: “... he cut in the ice a series of the most perfect intaglios with almost mathematical precisions”.<sup>30</sup> The gold medal, which at that time really was still made of gold, he won convincingly.

After his return home, the Olympic champion was summoned by the director of the tax office, who



When he took part in the Olympic Games for a second time at Stockholm in 1912 he did so under the name of his birth: Nikolai Kolomenkin (in the white pullover) was eighth in the pistol shooting. With his team he narrowly missed a medal, coming fourth.

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive



One of the figure-skating books written by Panin-Kolomenkin.

had only found out about his stay in London through newspaper reports. He forbade him to take part in such competitions and transferred him to Tsarskoye Selo. A state employee who danced around the ice like a "clown"<sup>31</sup>, that was, in his view, completely intolerable. With that ended the career of the figure skater Panin, but not that of teacher and judge.

Kolomenkin, as he now called himself again, published in 1910 the first Russian training manual about figure skating<sup>32</sup>, which was to be succeeded by others. He passed on his practical knowledge to the younger skaters. His pupils Karl Ollo<sup>33</sup> (1911) and Ivan Malinin (1912) became European Championship silver medallists. At the 1914 World Championships in St. Moritz Ksenia Tsezar, trained by him, achieved a seventh place. At the same event Kolomenkin acted as a judge of the men's competition.

He shifted his own ambitions however to pistol and revolver shooting, which suited him well because that he, like all Russians, venerated Alexander Pushkin, who in his story "The Shot" had more or less anticipated his own end.<sup>34</sup> In the figure of Silvio, who was so put off his stride by the equanimity of his cherry-eating opponent, so that he postponed the duel, he thought he recognised himself.

Through his acquaintance with a captain Kolomenkin had the chance from 1904 of dedicating himself intensively to training on the battalion firing range, which was on a veranda. After only two years he won the first of what were to be twelve Russian titles. Since in his own country there was soon no competitor who was a match for him, he acquired the nickname of "crocodile".

His ambition was starting to wane when he was spurred on again by the preparations for the 1912 Olympic Games in Stockholm. The government had finally grasped that it was high time to despatch a worthy representative team. But first they had to call into being an Olympic Committee (ROC). It was constituted on 16 March 1911 in St. Petersburg. Sreznevsky was elected President; patronage was undertaken by Tsar Nikolai II, who also donated a Challenge Cup for the Olympic decathlon champion.<sup>35</sup>

It was a large delegation which set sail for Stockholm on the 12 June 1912 on the steamer "Birma", which two months earlier had been one of the first to receive the radio messages from the sinking "Titanic". The team, led by the commandant of the Garde Hussar Regiment, Vladimir Voeikov<sup>36</sup>, contained no fewer than 178 athletes and 40 officials, among whom – on an honorary basis – was Alfred Nobel's nephew Emanuel, who had erected a factory in St. Petersburg for the diesel engine developed by him.<sup>37</sup> The shooting team alone consisted of 26 members, who were all but one members of the military. This exception was Nikolai Kolomenkin.

In view of the size of the team, the rewards were however modest. The Russians won only two silver and bronze medals, one of each in shooting.<sup>38</sup> Kolomenkin in eighth place was the best Russian in the revolver or pistol shooting, 50 m; with his team he missed bronze by only three rings. A real catastrophe on the other hand was the football team, who lost in the first round 1–2 to Finland, which had been annexed by Russia, and then had to accept a 0–16 defeat against Germany.

### At the age of 54 Spartakiad champion

In the following years the increased state interest was shown by the introduction of the "Russian Olympiads", which took place in 1913 in Kiev and in 1914 in Riga.<sup>39</sup> And in St. Petersburg, where in 1912 the first artificial ice rink had been built in the "Aquarium", consideration was already being given to applying for the 1920 Olympic Games. With the First World War breaking out shortly after, all illusions were shattered. St. Petersburg became Petrograd and, after the two revolutions of 1917 and the civil war, Leningrad.<sup>40</sup>

It is not known how Kolomenkin, who had worked as secretary of the ROC from 1915 to 1917, survived the turbulence of the upheaval. But obviously the Soviet power, which had created in 1920 a Supreme Council for



The heavily decorated old champion of the 1950s.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

Physical Culture and from 1923 also regional sport committees, could not do without the representatives of the old elites.

To begin with Kolomenkin gave lessons in foil fencing at end of 1919 in the local section for premilitary training, also in 1920 in the sports club in Detskoye Selo – “Children’s Village” – as the former summer residence of the Tsar was now called. In 1922 he instructed unpaid in shooting and fencing in the command of the 46<sup>th</sup> Rifle Brigade.<sup>41</sup>

His efforts to find a job in the Agricultural Institute nonetheless failed. Instead, he was sent at tax inspector to Gatchina, a small town south of Petrograd. As his work however did not fill his time, he founded a shooting circle there. He dedicated himself to clay pigeon shooting and the training of dogs, in which by 1926 he had won no fewer than 16 gold diplomas.

To separate himself from the Socialist Workers Sport Internationale (SASI), based in Lucerne, which was close to European social democracy, a “Red Sport Internationale” (RSI) had been formed in 1921 in Moscow during the founding congress of the Communist Internationale. Its aim was the physical education of working class sportspeople, “so that they can ... take part in the class struggle of the proletariat”.<sup>42</sup>

Even more than the SASI, the RSI kept its distance from the aristocratic–bourgeoisie IOC, of which in addition Prince Léon Ouroussoff, who had emigrated to Paris, was the Russian representative.<sup>43</sup> The former diplomat demanded at the IOC Session in 1923 in Rome the participation of a team of Russian émigrés in the 1924 Games, the number of whom he gave as three million.<sup>44</sup> At the same time he could imagine also a Soviet Russian representation. However, none of his proposals were accepted, since the IOC did not wish to get mixed up in high politics.

While the SASI from 1925 to the annoyance of the IOC organised “International Workers’ Olympiads”, the RSI conducted “International Spartakiads”. The first Winter Spartakiad took place in in February 1928 in Oslo with Kolomenkin as a judge in the figure skating.

On the other hand, he took part as a participant in the 1<sup>st</sup> Summer Spartakiad in Moscow from 12 to 22 August 1928 in sports shooting. Since the 54–year–old felt himself to be in bad shape, he did not even wait for the announcement of the results. But after his return to Leningrad he was summoned some days later to the Party central office in the Smolny Institute, where he was handed a silver cigarette case as winner of the pistol–shooting.

In 1930 Kolomenkin’s merits in figure skating were remembered and he was appointed seminar director for the training of instructors. Three years later he was called to the state sports academy, which had been given the name of its founder, Peter Lesgaft, in 1919. There Kolomenkin directed trainer formation in figure



Gold for the golden son: 50 rouble coin from the year 1993. The Russian post office issued a special stamp in honour of Panin-Kolomenkin in 2000.

Photos: Volker Kluge Archive

skating and produced under his sports name a new book, which was accepted in 1938 as a dissertation.<sup>45</sup> At the start of the summer 1941, when Hitler’s Germany attacked the Soviet Union, nobody had further interest in sports science research. The institute was transformed into a military training centre, in which Dr. Kolomenkin gathered the remaining Lesgaft students around him to train them in steeplechase, boxing and throwing of hand grenades and “Molotov cocktails”. The ski training began with the first snow.<sup>46</sup>

On 8 September 1941 Leningrad was cut off and a 900–day blockade began. In early 1941 the German troops had given up their attempts at a laborious capture of the city; instead they pursued the goal of starving the population. According to estimates, more than 1.1 million civilians fell victim to this war crime.

The only possibility of getting out of the city was the Ladoga Lake. On a narrow path across the ice, Kolomenkin was evacuated in the first winter of the blockade and sent to Moscow, where he trained the students at the Central Institute for Physical Culture in fencing and bayonet drill. In the following period he trained sports officers in distant Sverdlovsk.

After the victory – Leningrad was liberated on 27 January 1944 – Kolomenkin could continue his work as trainer and scientist. Among his best–known pupils were the married couple Nina and Stanislav Shuk, Igor Moskvina, who later looked after Belousova/Protopopov, as well as Tatyana Tarasova, who trained Rodnina/Zaytsev. Among his protégés was Tatyana Tolmatcheva (Granatkina), who in her turn produced Elena Chaikovskaya, who after her active career led ice dancers Pakhomova/Gorshkov and Linichuk/Karponosov to Olympic gold. Many names and successors could be listed. Thus the dynasty of Nikolai Panin–Kolomenkin, who died on 19 January 1956, continues into the present day. ■

1 Cf. Alexander Sunik, “The first IOC Member for Russia”, in: *Olympic Panorama*, Moscow 1984, pp. 38–40.  
 2 Invitation of the St. Petersburg Circle of Lovers of Sport, 13 November 1898, Volker Kluge Archive.  
 3 Minutes of the general meeting of the representatives of the St. Petersburg Clubs of Lovers of Sport about the question of participation in the Olympic Games of 1900 in Paris, 20 November 1898, Volker Kluge Archive.  
 4 Cf. Anatoli Chaikovski, *Bolshaja Vosmerka, Fiskultura i sport*, Moscow 1978, p. 214. Svetlana Myagkova/Evgeniy Stebletsov, *Zolotyie yzory Rosyi*, Imidzh, Voronezh 1998, p. 8.



**The interment of the Olympic champion on 26 January 1956 in the Serafimov cemetery in Leningrad (as it was then known). Far left: his daughter Natalya Strovskaya.**

Photo: Volker Kluge Archive

- 5 This date has until now only been found on sports-reference.com.
- 6 It obviously concerned the French figure skater and judge Louis Magnus (1881–1950), who in 1908 in Paris at the foundation of the International Ice Hockey Federation (IIHF/IIHG) was elected as its first President.
- 7 Letter Nikolai Kolomenkin to Alexei Lebedyev, 16 October 1910, Volker Kluge Archive.
- 8 Manfred Hönel, “Der ‘Clown’ vom Jussupow-Park”, in: *Junge Welt*, 19 January 1976. Hönel had the chance in 1975 to talk with Panin’s daughter Natalya Nikolayevna Strovskaya.
- 9 Myagkova/Stebletsov, pp. 10–12.
- 10 Sreznevsky (1849–1937) is considered as one of the most important fathers of Russian sport. As early as 1897 he had concerned himself with setting up a participation committee for the 1900 Paris Olympic Games, which however only came into being in 1898, and in which he occupied the post of secretary. He also published in 1883 the first Russian handbook of photography. In the mid-1890s he was director of the Alexandrinski Women Trade School in St. Petersburg. Cf. Svetlana Myagkova, “Founding Years of the Russian Olympic Movement and its Links with the IOC”, in: Roland Naul/Manfred Lämmer (Ed.), *Die Männer um Willibald Gebhardt. Anfänge der Olympischen Bewegung in Europa*, Schriftenreihe des Willibald Gebhardt Instituts, Vol. 7, Meyer & Meyer Verlag, Aachen 2002, pp. 165–173.
- 11 Peter Franzevich Lesgaft (1837–1909) was the founder of Russian anatomy. After a study trip to Western Europe, especially to Great Britain, paid for by the Russian War Ministry, he was the first to introduce courses to train physical education instructors at the military academy.
- 12 The Tsar’s residence with the Catharina Palace, in which was the legendary amber room, removed in 1941 by German troops, received after the 1917 revolution the name “Detskoye Selo” (Children’s Village). In 1937 it was renamed as Pushkin.
- 13 Chaikovski, p. 17. In the picture caption Kolomenkin is described as a “trainer”, with the author clearly relying on a formulation of the magazine *Petersburg Life* of 1896.
- 14 Myagkova/Stebletsov, pp. 48–49.
- 15 Benjamin Wright, *Skating around the World*, ISU, Davos 1992, p. 23. After a two year pause the ISU continued to hold the European Championships in 1898 in Trondheim.
- 16 Fuchs was born in 1871 in Graz, Austria, but since he belonged to the the Munich Ice Skating Club, he is considered German. The main area forestry research was finding out about the bark beetle, about which he wrote several books.
- 17 Interview with his wife, Dr. Anna Salchow, Gothenburg, March 1976.
- 18 Ulrich Salchow (1877–1949) was ten times world champion, as well as nine times European champion between 1898 and 1913. However one should not compare the participation with today’s standards. In 1900 and 1901 there were only two competitors.
- 19 As there were different winners on all four distances, the overall title could not be awarded according to the prevalent ISU rules.
- 20 That is particularly noticeable in Salchow’s short book “Das Kunstlaufen auf dem Eise”, Grethlein, Leipzig n.d. In it he present a large number of special figures and their creators, but without mentioning Panin, who was unarguably a master of that skill.
- 21 Ulrich Salchow, “Die Größen des modernen Eislaufsports”, in: *Sport im Bild-Jahrbuch 1909*, Scherl Verlag, pp. 116–122.
- 22 Ibid, p. 118.
- 23 Myagkova/Stebletsov, p. 76. The result was: 1. Panin 5/344.4, 2. Salchow 12/328.2, 3. Ollo (Russia) 13/327.2.
- 24 *Bulletin du Comité International des Jeux Olympiques*, Paris, July 1894.
- 25 *The Times*, 24 October 1908, p. 18.
- 26 Theodore Andrea Cook, *The Fourth Olympiad. The Official Report of the Olympic Games of 1908*, The British Olympic Association (Ed.), London (1909), p. 288.
- 27 Ibid, p. 293.
- 28 The nomination was in fact unfortunate. The former world champions Henning Grenander and Edvard Hörle, at that resident in London, were Salchow’s compatriots. Judge No. 3, Gustav Hügel, was among Salchow’s circle of friends. Then came the Russian Georg Sanders, who as expected thought Panin was in front. Thus the only real neutral was the Berlin manufacturer Hermann Wendt, who placed Panin with 233 points in its place in front of Salchow (231.5).
- 29 Myagkova/Stebletsov, p. 90.
- 30 Official Report, p. 292.
- 31 Interview with Natalya Nikolayevna Strovskaya.
- 32 N. A. Panin-Kolomenkin, *Figurnaya katanie na konkakh (mezhdunarodnoye stil)*, Figure Skating (International Style), St. Petersburg Society of the Friends of Skating, 1910.
- 33 Ollo died in the First World War during the crossing of the river San in Galicia.
- 34 Alexander Pushkin, “The Shot”, in: *The Tales of Ivan Belkin*, St. Petersburg 1831.
- 35 Cf. Karl Lennartz/Andreas Höfer/Walter Borgers, *Olympische Siege. Medaillen – Diplome – Ehrungen*, Sportverlag, Berlin 2000, p. 155–156. The trophy was a splendid silver ship, inlaid with topaz and moonstone, created by the court jeweller Carl Fabergé. It was won by the American of Indian origin James Thorpe. After his disqualification it was awarded to the second-placed Swede Hugo Wieslander. Intended as a Challenge Cup, the ship was withdrawn from use after the end of the Russian monarchy. Today it is in the Olympic Museum in Lausanne.
- 36 Vladimir Voeikov (1868–1947) commanded the Garde Hussar Regiment from 1907 to 1913. After that he was until the February Revolution of 1917 as a Major-General the Commandant of the Winter Palace. In 1919 he left Russia via Rumania and emigrated to Finland.
- 37 Erik Bergvall, *The Fifth Olympiad. The Official Report of the Olympic Games of Stockholm 1912*, issued by the Swedish Olympic Committee, Stockholm 1913, p. 970.
- 38 The second silver medal was won by wrestler Martin Klein, a native Estonian. Bronze medals went to the clay pigeon marksman Harry Blau and the crew of the 10-m-yacht “Gallia II”.
- 39 Cf. Maria Bulatova/Sergey Bubka, *Kyiv. The First Russian Olympiad 1913*, *Olimpiskaya literatura*, Kyiv 2013.
- 40 As Russia was at war with Germany from 1914, by this logic the capital could no longer bear the name in the language of a hostile country. After the death of Vladimir I. Lenin, Petrograd received the name of the revolutionary leader and founder of the Soviet Union. In 1991 there followed the renaming as St. Petersburg.
- 41 Myagkova/Stebletsov, p. 122.
- 42 André Gounot, *Die Rote Sportinternationale 1921–1937: Kommunistische Massenpolitik im europäischen Arbeitersport*, Lit Verlag, Münster, Hamburg, London 2002, pp. 36–44.
- 43 Prince Ourousoff (1877–1933), also transcribed as Lev Urusov, was a Member of the IOC from 1910. The diplomat led the Russian Mission in Bulgaria from 1910 to 1912 and from 1912 to 1917 was 1<sup>st</sup> Secretary of the Embassy in Japan.
- 44 Minutes, 22<sup>nd</sup> IOC Session, 7–12 April 1923 Rome, p. 27. The Session regretted “that in the present state of affairs the Olympic rules prevent Russian participation in the Games”. The application of a not more exactly defined “Fédération Sportive Russe” was refused by the IOC at the 1936 Session in Berlin “despite its sympathy these unfortunate stateless people”.
- 45 N. A. Panin, *Iskusstvo katania na konkakh, Fiskultura i sport*, Moscow, Leningrad, 1938.
- 46 500 students had immediately after the outbreak of war volunteered for the front, where they were formed into 13 partisan units.