

"THE POPES ON SPORT"

by

**Raymond Michael Kardas
Faculty of Religious Studies
McGill University
Montreal**

May, 1992

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of
M.A.**

© Raymond Michael Kardas, 1992

Abstract

The Popes on Sport Raymond Michael Kardas

The socio-cultural reality of sport exerts a tremendous influence in the modern world. Sport is subject to a great deal of investigation and analysis by various segments of society. The thesis examines the teaching of the popes on sport against the background of the modern age. In order to effectively analyze and evaluate the papal reflections on sport Chapter One examines the critical literature dealing with sport thus revealing the characteristics of a conservative, liberal, and radical approach to sport. After establishing the significance of the ideological typology for the papal statements on sport Chapter Two of the study offers a review of the history of sport in Western civilization. This review argues that sport in the twentieth century is a social phenomenon *sui generis*, distinct from previous forms of sport while additionally reflecting the character of modernity. Therefore sport deserves new evaluative reflection.

The papal dialogue with sport began with a meeting between Pius X and Baron Pierre de Coubertin the founder of the modern Olympic Games. Relying on the interpretive concepts derived in the first two chapters the thesis examines the papal teaching on sport since this meeting in 1905 to the present. The various addresses and pronouncements on sport from Pius X to John Paul II demonstrate an evolution of papal reflections on sport from a rather cautious and conservative approval to a more affirmative and liberal approval. Even so, the final approbation of modern sport is accompanied by an ethical and religious critique that is a unique papal contribution to the analysis of modern sport. Coupled to this religious critique the thesis argues that the critical perspective of the popes concerning sport shares many insights with the radical secular critics of mass culture.

Abrégé

Les Papes et le Sport Raymond Michael Kardas

La réalité socioculturelle du sport exerce une influence énorme dans le monde actuel. Le sport subit grandement l'enquête et l'analyse de diverses sections de la société. La thèse présente examine les enseignements des Papes sur le sport dans le cadre de l'époque moderne. Afin d'analyser et d'évaluer d'une manière efficace les réflexions papales sur le sport, le Chapitre Un examine la littérature qui traite du sport, en révélant ainsi les caractéristiques d'une approche conservatrice, libérale et radicale envers le sport. Ayant établi la grande portée de la typologie idéologique des communiqués officiels des Papes sur le sport, le Chapitre Deux de l'étude fait la revue de l'histoire du sport dans la civilisation occidentale. Cette revue prétend que le sport au vingtième siècle est un phénomène social *sui generis*, séparé des formes antérieures de sport en reflétant par ailleurs le caractère de modernité. Le sport mérite donc une nouvelle réflexion évaluative.

Le dialogue entre les Papes et le sport commença avec une réunion entre Pius X et le Baron de Coubertin, fondateur des Jeux Olympiques modernes. Basée sur les concepts interprétatifs présentés dans les deux premiers chapitres, la thèse examine l'enseignement papal sur le sport dès la réunion de 1905 jusqu'à nos jours. Les divers communiqués sur le sport depuis Pius X jusqu'à John Paul II démontrent l'évolution des réflexions papales sur le sport, d'une approbation assez circonspecte et conservatrice à celle de plus affirmative et libérale. Malgré tout, l'approbation finale du sport moderne est accompagnée d'une critique éthique et religieuse qui est une contribution papale unique à l'analyse du sport moderne. En sus de cette critique religieuse, la thèse prétend que la perspective critique des Papes et celle des critiques radicaux laïques de la culture de masse se partagent maintes accords.

PREFACE

As far as I am able to determine the only thorough evaluation of papal statements on sport is in a study by Willi Schwank available in a German text, Sport und Religion. There are a few isolated papers in Catholic family magazines that note the papal approbation of sport but these are less than critical of the papal reflections. Therefore, Chapter Three of the thesis seems to be the first attempt at a scholarly analysis of the papal addresses and pronouncements on sport. This is to say that the Schwank study failed to collect some of the relevant documentation and to his credit he openly admits this to be the case. Appendix C of this study shows that I was able to obtain virtually every address made by the popes on the subject of sport and thus serves as a guideline for further academic research.

I am greatly indebted to a number of friends and acquaintances for their encouragement and support in getting me to this stage. They must be herein acknowledged for their contributions in this study.

After it became clear to me that the popes have said a great deal about sport, locating the documents in the various magazines and publications become the first task. I want to note the assistance of particularly Ms. Bernice Baranowski at the Canadian Center for Ecumenism in Montreal for her assistance, and for sending to me in Grande Prairie regular updates of the papal statements from L'Osservatore Romano. One of the addresses was only available in Italian and a number were only available in French. I thank the graduate student in the Department of Romance Languages at McGill who translated the Italian paper for me. I am sorry I do not remember her name. My thanks also extend to Ms. Nicole Baccus for providing rough translations of the French documents--they were of great assistance when I was able to sit down and refine these documents. Mr. Klaus Elzinga was very important for this study as he translated, in its entirety, Willi Schwank's article, from the German to the English. My thanks to Ms. Betty Watson for translating my English Abstract into French.

When I did not think I could go on any more my good friend Dr. Burk Strehlke and his wife Dr. Claudia Strehlke organized a series of seminars at their home that "forced" me to begin again. Attending this group were colleagues of mine from Grande Prairie Regional College who grilled me on the subject. Others in the group were Mr. John Langenbach, Dr. Vince Salvo, and Mr. Scott McAlpine of the Department of Humanities and Social Sciences. Mr. Terry Shewchuk of the Department of Science also provided valuable input on the Wednesday night sessions. Scott

McAlpine was particularly helpful to me after the sessions came to a close. Another colleague, Dr. Jerry Petryshyn, Instructor of History, was always there in the summer of 1989 and we had some great dialogues during our noon runs. I do not think I could have succeeded without the above individuals. I also cannot say enough about Nelie Rylaarsdam, my typist on the one hand but also an editor and friend. Mr. George Hanna read my final draft for syntactical errors and offered some helpful suggestions on clarity. Of course, once again he has been a close friend for years. I would be remiss if I failed to mention the support of my colleagues in the Department of Physical Education & Athletics at Grande Prairie Regional College, particularly my Chairman, Mr. Harry Stevens, who released me from coaching women's volleyball when I really did not want the job.

I know there is absolutely no way I would be at this stage without the help of a close friend Mr. David Seljak, Ph.D. Candidate in Religious Studies at McGill University. David read my first draft and saved me from submitting a totally unacceptable draft to my advisor, Dr. Baum. Finally to Dr. Gregory Baum, the closest I will probably come to a mentor. I learned a great deal from Professor Baum in the classes that I took from him and from his correspondence to me in Grande Prairie. I wish I had half of his ability to see clearly and communicate effectively.

Finally, a dedication. If this is the place, I dedicate this work to my loving wife Dale for her patience throughout my graduate experience. There is no end in the instances where our personal lives were affected by the struggle to create this work. I look forward to spending more time at home with Dale, our four year old son Nicholas, as well as our seven month old daughter Zoë.

May, 1992

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE - INTERPRETING MODERN SPORT THROUGH CULTURAL CRITICS .	4
The Cultural Critics of Sport	5
Huizinga, Caillois, et al: The Cultural Conservatives	6
Huizinga	6
Caillois	8
McIntosh, Jaspers, Mannheim: The Liberal Vision	11
McIntosh	11
Jaspers and Mannheim	13
Radical Disenchantment with Sport	14
Sport and Ideology	16
The Conservative Approach	17
The Liberal Approach	17
The Radical Approach	18
The Typology and the Popes	19
Endnotes	21
CHAPTER TWO - THE HISTORY THAT CREATED MODERN SPORT	26
Early Sport	26
Classical Period: Greece and Rome	27
Medieval Sport	30
Modern Sport	33
Puritanism	35
Muscular Christianity	37
Other Nineteenth Century Developments	38
The Olympic Movement	39
Sport for Educational, Social, and Moral Developments	41
Moral Development to Military Preparedness: The Example of Germany and France	42
A Watershed for Sport	45
Endnotes	47
CHAPTER THREE - THE POPES ON SPORT	51
The Papal Critique of Sport: The Negative	53
Exaltation of Sport	53
The Overexaltation of the Body	57

The Papal Approbation of Sport: The Positiva	64
Body and Soul Values of Sport	64
The Educational Value of Sport	70
Health Values: Physical and Psychological	76
Universal Brotherhood	78
Sport for Women and Sport for the Disabled	86
Endnotes	91

CHAPTER FOUR - CONCLUSION	104
---------------------------------	-----

BIBLIOGRAPHY	108
--------------------	-----

Primary Sources	108
Articles in Edited Books/Proceedings	108
Encyclopedias	108
Journal Articles	109
Papal Addresses on Sport	110
News Reports in Magazines	114
Single Volume Works	114
Secondary Sources	115
Encyclopedias	115
Journal Articles	115
Magazines/Newspapers	115
Single Volume Works	116

APPENDIX A - THE CLASSIFICATION OF GAMES (PLAY)

APPENDIX B - THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GAMES FROM PRIMITIVE SPORTS TO MODERN SPORTS

APPENDIX C - PAPAL ADDRESSES ON SPORT

APPENDIX D - BIBLICAL REFERENCES AND NON-BIBLICAL MAXIMS FOUND IN PAPAL ADDRESSES ON SPORT

APPENDIX E - REFERENCES TO A PREVIOUS POPE

INTRODUCTION

In 1976, as part of a Master's degree in Physical Education, I submitted to the Graduate School of the University of New Brunswick, a proposal for an independent study that sought to investigate the nexus between theology and sport. The proposal was acceptable and for a few years I proudly submitted proof through my transcript that the first university course on "Theology and Sport" originated--ironically enough--at an institution that refused transfer course credit for theology or courses in religious studies. My official U.N.B. transcript now reads "Independent Study" and has since 1978. However, I am unable to resist the need to explore the boundaries of this seemingly curious relationship between religion and sport.

Since graduation, my career in physical education followed the ebb and flow that one experiences within the boundaries of this life. Trained initially as an athletic therapist, I travelled extensively with sports teams pursuing the glory of victory while oft times experiencing the agony of defeat. Many of the athletes that I came to know, at both the amateur and professional levels, were deeply sensitive to religious questions yet they frequently exhibited a dark side when "playing" their sport. I, too, experience this dark side towards the opponent and this brings to question the influence of my religious beliefs and their relationship to sport. For I believe that sport has its positive aspects; its bright side, and in this I rarely waver.

If there is a God, then God must approve of the body's capacity for performance in sport. The great athlete must express, somehow and in some way a divine plan, and as such must mirror, for example, a God that enjoys a good basketball game.

At this writing, I teach courses in a Department of Physical Education and Athletics at a college that offers the first two years of an undergraduate physical education degree. Many of my students play sports and upon graduation they will more than likely coach and teach sport to young children. Does religion have something to say to these potential physical educators and

coaches of today's youth? Aside from an internal subjective feeling on my part, can it be demonstrated that religions take sport seriously and reflect on the questions surrounding sport? Is it possible to show that upon final consideration religious organizations view sport positively?

As an advocate of the importance for a religious dimension in one's life I thought that it was important to investigate the religious position on sport. As a Catholic I felt that it was even more important to investigate the Catholic teaching on and about sport. It was thus logical to focus on the teachings of the popes in regards to sport. What do they say, if anything, about sport? Is there a helpful "theology of sport" from the papal perspective?

In 1987, I took leave on a sabbatical to pursue some of these questions--and so many more--in the Faculty of Religious Studies at McGill University. This thesis is the result of the ongoing personal search for answers to questions on the perceived relationship of religion to sport that appeared to me in 1976.

I have organized the material that forms the thesis in the following manner. Chapter One investigates the interpretation of modern sport through various cultural critics: conservative, liberal, and radical. From these critics I derive an ideological typology against which one may interpret the papal addresses on sport. Chapter Two provides a brief outline of the history that created modern sport. In the final analysis, this chapter demonstrates that modern sport is characteristically different from its earliest antecedents. In addition, Chapter Two examines the historical relationship between religious themes and sport. The popes address modern sport and what sport has come to represent in the modern age. Chapter Three examines the "popes on sport." Most of the information in this chapter is available to the reader in various publications and in various languages. In so far as I can determine the material has never been collected in a single document and has never been examined, in English, in the form that is herein presented. I did find a reference to a German source that examines papal statements on sport. Upon having

this work translated I detected and corrected various errors. Following Chapter Three a short Conclusion summarizes the major findings of my research.

CHAPTER ONE

INTERPRETING MODERN SPORT THROUGH CULTURAL CRITICS

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it examines the phenomenon of modern sport with reference to selected cultural critics. The list of critics is not exhaustive but rather intends to highlight certain identifiable trends on the part of selected critics when they deliberate upon sport as a cultural category. None of these critics offer merely the unreflective praise of modern sport generally found among the masses either participating in or passively observing sport. The critics are pointedly more concerned with the emphasis placed on sport in modern society as well as with the use and abuse of sport, given its true nature as an extension of play. Above all the cultural critics purport an ethical concern in their speculation on sport and are highly critical of any corruptions or deviations from the true nature of sport.

The second purpose of the chapter is to outline a typology of the three major political perspectives representing different ideological positions dominant in the modern age of sport. Such a typology is important since it is evident that papal positions on sport suggest varying degrees of solidarity with these ideological positions. The dominant political ideologies of the modern age are in keeping with Robert A. Nisbet's analysis in The Sociological Tradition; that is conservatism, liberalism, and radicalism.¹ Even though the apologists of various political ideologies view sport differently, the bottom line is that sport, when set against the larger reality of politics, is rather subsumed by politics. In effect, sport becomes an instrument for political ends. The overall indication is that one's attitude towards the importance of sport within the socio-cultural context is more often than not a reflection of one's political allegiance. This is definitely a major thesis in the analysis of John M. Hoberman in his book Sport and Political Ideology² and in an earlier paper by Timothy M. Shaw.³

THE CULTURAL CRITICS OF SPORT

Academic and scholarly interest in sport is largely the sphere of interest in the fields of physical education, kinesiology, human kinetics, and other similar disciplines in which intellectual investigations seek an understanding of the need that human beings have for movement. However, the phenomenal growth of sport in societies and cultures invites a response to sport from areas of study with less of an inclination to attach meaning or significance to sport's socio-cultural impact. Scholars from seemingly diverse disciplines including history, philosophy, political science, economics, literature, religious studies, theology, and sociology have at one time or another been moved to comment on sport. Among those who deliberate on sport are certain cultural critics who view sport within, or as a component of the socio-cultural matrix. An important caveat, however, is that although these critics generally begin with an attempt to regard sport from a typological perspective, their own particular sociopolitico-cultural biases quickly reveal themselves.

The investigation of sport from a typological perspective seeks to define and/or classify sport in relation to other forms of activity of a ludic nature that one finds operative in a culture. There are various ways to view sport from this perspective. Huizinga⁴ attempts to place sport within the context of play while Caillois⁵ proceeds similarly but much more elaborately and with greater precision. McIntosh⁶ relies on the work of Caillois to proffer even more distinctly what types of physical activity constitute sport. Guttmann⁷ particularly is less elaborate than Caillois and begins with the understanding that sport is categorically different from other forms of play. Guttmann examines the characteristics of sport in detail but adds the historical dimension. In contrast to Huizinga, Caillois and others, Guttmann is "less intent on whether the sport appears than with how it appears,"⁸ (emphasis Guttmann).

Huizinga, Caillois, et al: The Cultural Conservatives

Huizinga

Virtually every scholar that advances a non-ideological definition of sport does so with the understanding that sport is an offshoot or a variant of the concept of play, and thus most scholars make initial reference to the Dutch philologist and historian Johan Huizinga who provides an in-depth consideration of "play" as a cultural phenomenon. Huizinga notes that "for many years the conviction has grown upon me that civilization arises and unfolds in and as play."⁹ Homo Ludens is the best known result of Huizinga's conviction about play and where one finds the first detailed examination of the play-concept. Huizinga himself summarizes the following with regard to play:

Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary" life as being "not serious", but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means.¹⁰

Huizinga's conception of play allows for the possibility that sport may be seen as a form of play and certainly in some quarters sport retains a great deal of the play element; notwithstanding, Huizinga's analysis of the evolution of modern sport leads him to believe that by the nineteenth century "with the increasing systematization and regimentation of sport, something of the pure play-quality is inevitably lost. We see this very clearly in the official distinction between amateurs and professionals . . ."¹¹ Huizinga concludes that as the elaboration and strictness of rules increased¹² and as the establishment of records¹³ dominates the spirit of play, sport "becomes a thing *sui generis*: neither play nor earnest."¹⁴ The condemnation of modern sport leads Huizinga to the following conclusion:

In modern social life sport occupies a place alongside and apart from the cultural process. The great competitions in archaic cultures had always formed part of the sacred festivals

and were indispensable as health and happiness-bringing activities. This ritual tie has now been completely severed; sport has become profane, "unholy" in every way and has no organic connection whatever with the structure of society, least of all when prescribed by the government. . . . The old play factor has undergone almost complete atrophy.¹⁵

Certainly sport is not pure play; however, it is possible to examine the relative purity of any given sport as it deviates from the essence of play. If one subscribes to Huizinga's analysis of play and his primarily conservative critique of modern sport, one may examine what one needs to change about sport to bring it closer to the essence of play.

With respect to Huizinga's socio-ideological bias, Cheyette concludes that Huizinga "was a cultural conservative, strongly elitist, and in later years deeply despondent over the future of European civilization."¹⁶ Nauert, Jr. notes that criticism of Huizinga "has hit at his indifference to politics and his "elitist" conception of culture."¹⁷ Such predispositions influence the interpretations of the significance of cultural phenomena such as sport and although one needs to be cautious when advancing such sweeping generalizations concerning Huizinga, the following conclusions are appropriate. There does not seem to be many instances wherein Huizinga approves of the notion of modern sport. Huizinga's obvious love of the play element as forming the basis of all forms of culture places him squarely against the modern forms of sport as sport increasingly adopts the characteristics of the modern age:

Ever since the last quarter of the 19th century games in the guise of sport, have been taken more and more seriously. The rules have become increasingly strict and elaborate. Records are established at a higher, or faster, or longer level than was ever conceivable before. . . .

Now, with the increasing systematization and regimentation of sport, something of the pure-play quality is inevitably lost. We see this very clearly in the official distinction between amateurs and professionals (or "gentlemen and players" as used pointedly to be said). . . . The spirit of the professional is no longer the true play-spirit; it is lacking in spontaneity and carelessness¹⁸

Proceeding from his general condemnation of the structure of modern sport, Huizinga concludes that sport manifests itself in, for example, the Olympics or "American" intercollegiate sport does

nothing in the way of raising sport "to the level of a culture-creating activity. However important it may be for the players or spectators, it remains sterile."¹⁹

Huizinga is conscious that his condemnation of modern sport moves against the stream of modern thinking about sport. He notes that "the popular feeling of today"²⁰ with regard to sport is that sport "is the apotheosis of the play element in our civilization"²¹ but concludes unremittingly that "popular feeling is wrong."²²

Caillois

Roger Caillois is Huizinga's first major critic, although the tone of his writings positions him in the ranks of the cultural conservatives. Caillois observes that Huizinga fails to account for a great many "explanations of play"²³ and pointedly asks "is play truly one?"²⁴ According to Caillois play becomes for Huizinga a runaway train, a kind of monster that subsumes all within which it comes into contact. Caillois denies the possibility that as a whole play can be so all-inclusive.²⁵ In Man, Play and Games, Caillois explores those facets of sport that Caillois feels Huizinga omits, and proceeds to identify "the intimate attitudes that give each activity its most precise meaning."²⁶ In this erudite text, Caillois defines play as free, separate, uncertain, unproductive, yet governed by rules, and essentially make-believe.²⁷ However, unlike Huizinga, Caillois seeks to classify and describe various kinds of play and games. Since Caillois believes that Huizinga's definition of play "is at the same time too broad and too narrow,"²⁸ he develops a taxonomy of games that belong to the realm of play.²⁹ Four major categories belong in this classification: AGON (competition); ALEA (chance); MIMICRY (simulation); and ILINX (vertigo). (The use of the spelling of AGON, ALEA, MIMICRY, and ILINX is in keeping with Caillois' original text.) The last category of ILINX comprises those types of games that "are based on the pursuit of vertigo and which consist of an attempt to momentarily destroy the stability of perception and inflict a kind of voluptuous panic upon

an otherwise lucid mind."³⁰ Within these four major categories Caillois places various types of game activities and determines that contests and sports generally belong within the AGON or competition category.³¹ All of the types of games in the four horizontal classifications allow for additional clarification in terms of a vertical component. This component ranges from PAIDA "an almost indivisible principle, common to diversion, turbulence, free improvisation . . . a kind of uncontrolled fantasy"³² to LUDUS which for Caillois represents "calculation, contrivance, and subordination to rules."³³ According to Caillois sports and contests are the highest form of ludic activity that belongs in the classification he has identified as AGON. Caillois emphasizes that PAIDA and LUDUS are not play "but ways of playing."³⁴ (See Appendix A.)

Two other considerations with respect to Caillois' analysis of games, of which sport is a kind, are particularly noteworthy; that is, that games have a social function³⁵ and that games have become corrupt.³⁶ In regards to the social function Caillois writes that "the different categories of games--AGON, ALEA, MIMICRY and ILINX--presuppose not solitude but company"³⁷ and in reference to AGON, "the socialized form is essentially sports, to which are added contests in which skill and chance are subtly blended, as in games and contests on radio and as part of advertising."³⁸ On the second point of the corruption of games Caillois contends that since the categories of play pervade society, influence and are influenced by society, it is possible to examine how the characteristics of play categories find their way into social life to corrupt the social fabric of which they are a part:

Any corruption of the principles of play means the abandonment of those precarious and doubtful conventions that it is always permissible, if not profitable, to deny, but the arduous adoption of which is a milestone in the development of civilization. If the principles of play in effect correspond to powerful instincts (competition, chance, simulation, vertigo), it is readily understood that they can be positively and creatively gratified only under ideal and circumscribed conditions, which in every case prevail in the rules of play. Left to themselves, destructive and frantic as are all instincts, these basic impulses can hardly lead to any but disastrous consequences.³⁹

Caillois contends that the category sport is evidently the most socio-cultural ludic example within the AGON (competition) classification. As such it fosters a competitive attitude that becomes manifest in social life in the form of economic competitions, or competitive examinations that some regard as positive. However, such an attitude is also subject to corruption, the forms of which are violence, will to power, and trickery.⁴⁰ This is yet another conservative as well as radical indictment of modern sport and modernity.

There are other examples of cultural conservatives who hold that modern sport is less organic than is desirable. This is especially the case if they believe that sport has a role in resisting the erosion of traditional society under the influence of others who savour the altering of society's fabric. One finds a conservative critique and imagination concerning sport from the writings of Max Scheler, Josef Pieper, Hugo Rahner, José Ortega y Gasset, and Pierre de Coubertin, to name only a few. These critics either lament or feel a strong ambivalence to the modern age and express their feelings when writing about sport.⁴¹ A chief concern of these critics is that the modern age interprets much of the traditionally organic society in terms of utility⁴² and rationality.⁴³

Integral to the present undertaking is the idea that with respect to the critique of sport as it evolves from the late nineteenth century onwards, sport becomes "a metaphorical representation of culture"⁴⁴ and "the critique of sport which emerges during this period is one facet of a general critique of bourgeois civilization."⁴⁵ As Hoberman points out, varying interpretations exist as to what is at heart the "bourgeois crisis of values" in the modern age. These interpretations constitute "an ideological middle ground, from the eccentric Marxism of Brecht on the left to the eccentric fascism of Drieu la Rochelle on the right."⁴⁶

McIntosh, Jaspers, Mannheim: The Liberal Vision

McIntosh

At the time of his writings on sport in society, Peter C. McIntosh was a Senior Inspector of Physical Education for the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA). He had established himself as Deputy Director of Physical Education at the University of Birmingham and subsequent to his appointment at the ILEA had been a Professor and Director of Physical Education at the University of Otago, as well as a visiting professor at various universities including the University of Calgary. McIntosh is one of the first professional physical educators to articulate sociological concerns within the specialization of physical education and sport studies. Previous to McIntosh physical educators pursuing studies in the sociological dimension of sport would necessarily have been obliged to refer to the primary sociological theories of the cultural critics previously acknowledged, as well as those (Veblen, Horkheimer, Mead, Berne, Goffman, Dumazedier) not yet mentioned.⁴⁷ In effect McIntosh draws on the work of Huizinga and Caillois to analyze sport within society. The result of his work Sport in Society is, in contrast to the conservatism of Huizinga and Caillois, a liberal vision of sport that is philosophically more in keeping with the work of Jaspers and Mannheim. McIntosh notes that sport "touches human life at many points--so many that it is difficult to define the concept or set limits to sporting activity."⁴⁸

McIntosh considers that Caillois should have given more attention to the diversity of sport within the category of AGON. He agrees that sport belongs to a general category labelled competition but argues that this does not say enough. McIntosh observes that both one's attitude and one's approach to sport needs consideration:

The essential feature of sport, as distinct from other realms in which the element of play is to be found--games of chance and dramatic or mimetic play--is the striving for superiority and this may take a personal or an impersonal form. The playful element in this striving means that victory is never complete and for all time and that defeat is never irreparable. The effort to conquer an opponent, the self or an environment in play and only in play gives to sport its peculiar satisfaction and its especial virtue in human life.⁴⁹

McIntosh develops a taxonomy of sport, arguing that "the desire for superiority in play . . . to prove oneself or one's team better than an opponent or an opposing team within prescribed limits is the aim and object of all competitive sport."⁵⁰ McIntosh identifies the first category of sport as comprising those contests in which the competitor exercises a superiority of physical skills demonstrating the competitor to be "better than" one's opponent.⁵¹ This is the case at "the running-track, the cricket field, the tennis court, the billiard table, the football pitch. . . . these activities comprise a broad category of sport."⁵² McIntosh classifies the second category of sport as combat sports in which "one opponent either directly through limb and body or indirectly through foil, blade or single stick . . ."⁵³ attempts to prove superiority over another. The third category, which McIntosh identifies as conquest sports, is often more impersonal. The environment or situation in which the sport's enthusiast finds himself/herself provides the challenge in these sports.⁵⁴ Examples of sports in this category are mountaineering, swimming, cycling, hiking, and non-competitive educational gymnastics.⁵⁵

McIntosh considers identifying a fourth category of physical activity that is not properly sport but has "an affinity" to sport.⁵⁶ This category is more aesthetic, not relating as closely to the concept of superiority but rather concerns itself with the ability and need "to express or communicate ideas and feelings using and enjoying the movements and sensations of the body in the process. Dance, dance drama, eurhythmics and some systems of gymnastics . . . fall into this category."⁵⁷

McIntosh encourages and praises sport for its liberating potential and/or as a training ground for the individual. Sport is an ideal preparation for the athlete who functions in the reality of the modern age and therefore sport finds its justification as a necessary constituent of the modern experiment. There is an underlying vitalistic element about which McIntosh does not express concern although Karl Jaspers exposes sport's potential danger to self-hood.

Jaspers and Mannheim

Jaspers addresses the phenomenon of sport in Man and the Modern Age.⁵⁸ As Hoberman indicates, Jaspers reduces his approval of sport to three functions: the impulse for self-preservation represents a variant of vitality; sport as a rule-structured activity becomes an outlet for otherwise damaging impulses--an opiate for the masses; and, finally sport facilitates a catharsis, a soaring and a refreshment that in the modern age "imposes its demands on everyone."⁵⁹ Coinciding with Jaspers' approval of sport is a critique of modern sport that is operative at the psychological and philosophical level. In the former instance Jaspers "invokes the Roman analogy to make the point that the appeal of sport is contrary to 'the clarity of rational thought'"⁶⁰ and in the latter case "sport 'lacks transcendent substantiality.'"⁶¹ Therefore, even though Jaspers believes that sport does impose "one of the limits upon the rationalized life-order, through sport alone man cannot win to freedom."⁶² As has been emphasized, freedom is one of the hall-marks of the modern liberal's *Zeitgeist*. Jaspers is positive about the advancement of sport in the accomplishment of the liberal dream but recognizes sport's limitations.

Hoberman demonstrates that Jaspers, a secular liberal, "is the cultural critic who exposes the threats to 'selfhood'--like spectator sport and the cinema--which occur in the public sphere" and also observes that in contrast to Karl Mannheim, Jaspers does not believe in social engineering.⁶³ That is, Jaspers does not hold to the belief that a sociological agenda is a guide for modern man whereas Hoberman maintains that such a belief is Mannheim's goal.⁶⁴ Hoberman posits that Mannheim, the "democratic liberal who is forced to announce, without pleasure, the passing of nineteenth-century liberalism as a viable doctrine for 'late liberal mass society'"⁶⁵ considers sport as an example of the individual's "craving for variety."⁶⁶ Mannheim's overall evaluation of sport from a critic's viewpoint "is one of clinical detachment."⁶⁷ Overall Mannheim concerns himself with the psychological influences that sport has on the individual as the individual

exists within society. Meanwhile, Mannheim recognizes that the modern age, particularly in the form of "liberal capitalism" encourages competition that evolves "from sheer self-centredness and very often from neurotic anxiety."⁶⁸ However, Mannheim believes that under a "democracy" sport finds its positive legitimation.⁶⁹

Radical Disenchantment with Sport

Radicalism--as Nisbet indicates--places its faith in "the redemptive possibilities which lie in political power."⁷⁰ Coupled with that power is an "almost limitless faith in reason in the fashioning of a new social order."⁷¹ Given such assumptions, few radicals are likely to become positive advocates of sport as interpreted and manifested in the modern age. Indeed this is the case, for as Hoberman believes, radical "disillusion" with sport relates to "the utter inability of sport to redeem a mediocre world and/or the allegedly vacuous character of sport as a particular kind of experience."⁷² Sport does not generally occupy a large concern with the radicals themselves though Allen Guttman, an inheritor of the radical perspective, approaches the historical rationale for the radical disenchantment with sport.

Prior to Guttman, Hoberman notes that both Lewis Mumford and Arnold Toynbee initiated comments on sport with which radicals agreed although these critics were not necessarily radicals themselves. Hoberman, for example, exposes Mumford's view of sport as "unrelievedly bleak"⁷³ and "as little more than a variation on the Roman spectacle."⁷⁴ Sport, Mumford holds, "has been corrupted by the civilization it is meant to improve"⁷⁵ and mass sport "has become one of the mass-duties of the machine age."⁷⁶ Similarly, Toynbee proposes that sport is "infected"⁷⁷ and fails to fulfil the "compensatory" function that its supporters advocate.⁷⁸

Other radical critics include the Austrian novelist Robert Musil, the Prague expressionist Paul Kornfield, and the German poet and essayist Gottfried Benn, all of whom stress the emptiness

of sport.⁷⁹ Finally one arrives at the radicals' cynicism and disenchantment with sport as captured by Martin Heidegger's critique of modernity through a pejorative metaphor on sport. Conceiving of sport as a "plunge into idiocy" Heidegger declared that "this is an age 'when a boxer [presumably Max Schmeling] is regarded as a nation's great man.'"⁸⁰

In his two books From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports and A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports,⁸¹ the Amherst College historian Allen Guttmann ascribes particular characteristics to modern sport. While recognizing sport's origins in play, Guttmann generally considers that sports are "playful" physical contests;⁸² however, his main purpose is to outline the characteristics of modern sport compared to its antecedents.⁸³ In contrast to primitive Greek, Roman, and medieval sport Guttmann attributes the following characteristics to modern sport:

- secularism*: despite their tendency to become ritualized and to arouse the deepest passions, modern sports are not related-as primitive and ancient sports were--to some transcendent realm of the sacred;
- equality*: modern sports require, at least in theory, that everyone be admitted to the game on the basis of his or her personal ability and that the rules be the same for all contestants;
- bureaucratization*: local, regional, national, and international bureaucracies now administer every level of modern sports from the Little Leagues to the Olympic Games;
- specialization*: many modern sports (rugby, soccer, and American football) have evolved from earlier, less differentiated games, and many (baseball, cricket, and football) have a gamut of specialized roles and playing positions;
- rationalization*: the rules of modern sports are constantly scrutinized and frequently revised from a means-ends point of view; athletes train scientifically, employ technologically advanced equipment, and strive for the most efficient use of their skills;
- quantification*: in modern sports, as in almost every other aspect of our lives, we live in a world of numbers;
- the obsession with records*: the unsurpassed quantified achievement, which is what we mean by "record" in this uniquely modern usage, is a constant challenge to all who hope to surpass it.⁸⁴

Even a brief glance at these characteristics clearly indicates that modern sport mirrors the modern age. Whether one attributes these characteristics to the modern sport's organizations or to particular sports, or recognizes them as characteristics of sport *per se* makes little difference.

Modern sport is qualitatively different from its historical antecedents though retaining selected traits of the antecedent forms of sport.

Baum and Coleman note Guttmann's reliance on Max Weber for his taxonomy of modern sports and determine that:

We should not imagine that there is a direct continuity between modern sports and the ancient Greek ideal and practice of sport. It is quite clear that the rise of our modern organized sports coincides with the rise of industrialism
In short, something of a Weberian disenchantment of sports has occurred in modernity.⁸⁵

In summary, cultural critics present a critique of modern sport. While these opinions have held varying degrees of importance within, at least, the intellectual milieu, the question remains as to the political impact of intellectual discourses about sport. To what extent does one's political bias influence one's attitudes about sport and its function within society and culture?

SPORT AND IDEOLOGY

The remainder of this chapter examines the place and importance of sport within competing political ideologies. Even though proponents of various political systems view sport differently, the bottom line is that sport becomes solely an instrument. That is, sport advances various socio-political agendas or alternately there are those who may use sport to advance certain other agendas. Within a socio-cultural context individual attitudes toward sport are more often than not a reflection of one's political allegiance.

Timothy M. Shaw quotes Andrew Strenk who declared that "as much as purists bemoan the fact, it is ever more evident that sports and politics cannot be separated."⁸⁶ Shaw outlines the approaches to sport associated with particular ideologies, and the following typology is a modified example of Shaw's original.⁸⁷

The Conservative Approach

Nisbet understands and proposes that conservatism defends the "social tradition" and emphasizes "values of community, kinship, hierarchy, authority, and religion."⁸⁸ The conservatives' suspicion in regard to modernity evolved in "its premonitions of social chaos surmounted by absolute power once individuals had become wrenched from the contexts of these values by the forces of liberalism and radicalism."⁸⁹ Conservatives identify with the concept of an inherent tradition and order in things while often deploring modernity with its rugged individualism and secular ideals. To the conservatives, the modern experiment resulted in a loss of values and leads to a decline in culture. Such a conservative approach was greatly in evidence throughout Europe, especially in those areas that were slow to industrialize or where industrialization was non-existent. The Romantic movement expressed the conservative ethos while conservatism found a scientific defense in the works of eminent sociologists such as Ferdinand Toennies and Max Weber. Until fairly recently the conservative approach was the dominant attitude of the Roman Catholic Church.

Huizinga, Caillois et al. as discussed previously (pp. 3-9) identified with the conservative critique of modernity. They are anxious about sport which they perceived as an agent of modernization. Detached from its organic roots in play, sport absorbs the ethos of modernity. Thus it is natural that for the conservative sport becomes a metaphor or symbol for all that is wrong with the modern age.

The Liberal Approach

In contrast to the respect for tradition that is the foundation of conservative belief, liberalism stresses the importance of the individual and most pointedly the individual's political, civil, and social rights.⁹⁰ As Nisbet argues, liberals agree on a certain "basic structure of state and economy"⁹¹ and "a belief that progress lay in the emancipation of man's mind and spirit from the

religious and traditional bonds of the old order."⁹² In short, the liberals welcome modernity and place a great deal of faith in its rationalism. They believe that the modern rational approach benefits humanity as this approach saves humanity from the prejudices generally handed on by religion and tradition. Liberals encourage and promote democracy and industrialization and greatly value individual freedom and enterprise. The liberal has a basic trust in human beings and when the liberal becomes socially concerned liberalism emphasizes dialogue and cooperation. The liberals place a great deal of trust in rational reform while envisaging a world eventually united in understanding and cooperation.

Understood thus, the liberal view of sport is that sport needs to serve the liberal vision of a cooperative world. The liberal critics such as McIntosh, Jaspers and Mannheim view sport as a form of release that benefits the individual by allowing him/her to participate more fully in the goals of the state. The liberal view of sport does have its concerns, as has been shown (pp.10-14) but overall the liberal view is positive in its emphasis on sport's emancipatory potential. Liberals generate a spontaneous sympathy for modern sport and imagine its good effects on the persons involved, on the community, and even on the world society. The Olympic Games correspond to a liberal dream. Sport, from the liberal point of view, has a redeeming value that is rarely expressed by either conservative or radical critics, especially if one considers that modern sport does in many ways mirror a liberal vision of modernity.

The Radical Approach

Radicals, like conservatives, are highly critical of modernity, although their reasons are very different. Whereas the conservatives lament any decline of the traditional organic society bestowed by history, the radicals worry that modernity has not gone far enough; in short, the radicals offer a critique of modernity that is seen against an ideological picture of the future. Nisbet

set apart the radical mindset from that of the liberals by emphasizing that radicals have a "sense of the redemptive possibilities which lie in political power . . . coupled with power is almost limitless faith in reason in the fashioning of a new social order."⁹³ Radicals are highly critical of a modern liberal ethos as they view the liberals as a major force behind the emergence of modern capitalism. Radicals examine the capitalist system underlying democracy and industrial development and focus on its harmful social and cultural impact. The radical laments the exploitation of workers, widening gaps between rich and poor, the spirit of individualism and competition and the loss of social solidarity. Radicals accuse modernity of undermining all human values while defending only the cash-value.

The radicals' indictment of modern sport is a protest against modern sport's empathy with the liberal vision. More fundamentally the radicals are anxious that modern sport detracts from the radicals' vision of an emancipated proletariat. Radicals recognize modern sport as the product of liberal society but the argument of the radical is difficult. On the one hand, radicals will demand that the benefits of sport also be extended to the working class, and on the other they utter warnings that the capitalist orientation of society will eventually colonize the sphere of sports and change its very nature.

As Guttman's characteristics of modern sport clearly emphasize, sport adopts modern values. In short, radicals rail against modern sport in so far as it exploits human beings and detracts from the person's emancipatory potential.

THE TYPOLOGY AND THE POPES

The above discussion of the cultural critics and the threefold typology of approaches to sport has significance for the subsequent analysis of papal responses and reactions to modern sport. Most of the popes of the past identify closely with the conservative tradition and, in fact,

some react zealously against modernity. In the twentieth-century, the popes open cautiously to modern liberal society praising the positive aspects of sport; however, accompanying the praise is an ever present critique of sport taken from both conservative and radical thinkers. What is the historical nature of modern sport to which the popes respond? The answer to this question becomes the subject matter of the next chapter.

CHAPTER ONE

ENDNOTES

¹Robert A. Nisbet, The Sociological Tradition (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1966) pp. 9-16.

²John M. Hoberman, Sport and Political Ideology (Austin: University of Texas P, 1984).

³Timothy M. Shaw, "Towards a Political Economy of International Sport: Interstate, Transnational and Neo-Marxist Perspectives," Arena Newsletter 3 (1979).

⁴Johan Huizinga, Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture, trans., unknown (Boston: Beacon P, 1955).

⁵The first major criticism of Huizinga's analysis of play and play's relationship to culture came from Roger Caillois in Man and the Sacred, the English translation of L'homme et le sacré, published in 1939. The second French edition of L'homme et le sacré was published in 1950 and contained the appendix entitled "Play and the Sacred" which was not available to English readers until the translation of 1959. See Roger Caillois, Man and the Sacred, trans. Meyer Barash (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1959). Caillois' detailed typology of play and games became available to English readers in 1961 with the translation of the 1958 French text entitled Les jeux et les hommes. See Roger Caillois, Man, Play, and Games, trans. Meyer Barash (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc., 1961).

⁶P.C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C.A. Watts and Co., 1968).

⁷Allen Guttmann, From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports (New York: Columbia UP, 1978).

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 11.

⁹Huizinga, Foreword.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹¹*Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹²*Ibid.*

¹³*Ibid.*

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 197-198

¹⁶Frederic Cheyette, "Huizinga," McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), V, p. 408.

¹⁷C.G. Nauert, Jr., "Huizinga, Johan," New Catholic Encyclopedia (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967), VII, p. 204.

¹⁸Huizinga, p. 199.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 200.

²⁰*Ibid.*

²¹*Ibid.*

²²*Ibid.*

²³Caillois, Man and the Sacred, pp. 152-153. Caillois lists these as "discharge of excess energy, tendency toward imitation, necessity for distraction, discipline for acquiring self-control, desire to enter into competition with others to prove one's superiority, innocuous sublimation of instincts forbidden direct satisfaction by society, etc.," pp. 152-153.

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 153.

²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 154.

²⁷Caillois, Man, Play, and Games, pp. 9-10, or p. 43.

²⁸*Ibid.*, p. 4.

²⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 11-36.

³⁰*Ibid.*, p. 23.

³¹*Ibid.*, p. 36.

³²*Ibid.*, p. 13.

³³*Ibid.*, p. viii.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 53.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 37-41.

³⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 43-45.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 40.

³⁸Ibid., p. 41.

³⁹Ibid., p. 55.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 54.

⁴¹For an in-depth analysis of the writings of these (with the exception of Hugo Rahner), other conservatives as well as liberal and radical concerns about sport the reader would do well to consult John M. Hoberman, Sport and Political Ideology, particularly pp. 23-52 and 122-161.

⁴²Hoberman, p. 38.

⁴³Ibid., p. 138.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 124.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷See John W. Loy, Jr., and Gerald S. Kenyon, "The Sociology of Sport: An Emerging Field," in John W. Loy, Jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon, eds., Sport, Culture, and Society: A Reader on the Sociology of Sport (New York: Macmillan, 1969), pp. 1-8.

⁴⁸P.C. McIntosh, pp. 10-11.

⁴⁹McIntosh, p. 126.

⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 126-127.

⁵¹Ibid., p. 127.

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid.

⁵⁶Ibid., pp. 127-128.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 128.

⁵⁸Karl Jaspers, Man and the Modern Age, trans. Eden and Cedac Paul (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), pp. 67-69.

⁵⁹Hoberman, p. 143.

⁶⁰Ibid.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 144.

⁶²Ibid. Or see Jaspers, p. 67.

⁶³Hoberman, p. 144.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid., p. 145.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸Ibid.

⁶⁹Ibid.

⁷⁰Nisbet, p. 10.

⁷¹Ibid.

⁷²Hoberman, p. 145.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Ibid., pp. 145-146.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 146.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., pp. 146-148.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 148.

⁸¹Allen Guttman, A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina P, 1988).

⁸²Guttmann, From Ritual to Record, p. 14.

⁸³Ibid., pp. 15-55.

⁸⁴Ibid., A Whole New Ball Game, pp. 5-6.

⁸⁵Gregory Baum and John Coleman, "Editorial: Sport, Society and Religion," Gregory Baum and John Coleman, eds., Sport: Concilium 205, 5 (1989), 6.

⁸⁶Timothy M. Shaw, p. 4.

⁸⁷Ibid., pp. 2-9. See particularly Table 1, p. 7.

⁸⁸Nisbet, p. 11.

⁸⁹Ibid.

⁹⁰Nisbet, p. 10.

⁹¹Ibid.

⁹²Ibid.

⁹³Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORY THAT CREATED MODERN SPORT

Modern sport, like the modern age, emerged from an ancient and medieval background. As Guttman suggests, modern sport is characteristically different from its historical antecedents. The difference between modern sport and its antecedents is sometimes one of degree and it is the sophistication and intensity of certain characteristics that create "modern" sport and not necessarily the outright rejection of a particular characteristic (see appendix B). The following is a brief outline of the history that created modern sport.

EARLY SPORT

Archaeological and anthropological evidence supports the assertion that sport was a phenomenon of early societies. There is also a great deal of research indicating that many primitive activities are precursors to the modern physical competitions that constitute the category sport.¹ A great many of the sports were instrumental in preparing these early peoples with the necessary skills and competencies necessary for day-to-day survival in a hostile environment. One expects to find games relating to throwing (knives, spears, rocks), catching, running (alone or with partners), jumping, and riding; these activities in some form or another are fundamental to most physical contests. From the very beginning, sport for the mere fun of it was less important than its value as a training ground for the real world. This is not to downplay the recreative aspect of primitive sports but there were very few who could be considered members of "a leisure class" in these early societies. Although there were indeed distinctions between the rich and the poor, between the rulers and the ruled, class distinctions were markedly clear in ancient civilizations, with

an individual's objectives for participation in sport directly related to his/her status. As an example, Kamal Saleh Abdou documents that:

Sports and games were influenced by the real progress which occurred in Egypt with the rise of the Pharaonic Dynasties...the society was divided into different social classes; some of the sports and games were practised by one class or another, while others were practised by all strata for the same or different purposes

Hunting, fowling, and fishing were among the sports practised by all strata; however, the objective of each stratum appeared to be different from that of the other. While the objective of the poor was the provision of food or protection of flocks, the objective of the rich was solely recreational. Both the poor and the rich practised rowing; however, the objective of the former class was earning a living while the latter's objective was recreational.²

Although there is a risk of making sweeping generalizations, there is evidence that primitive societies provided a foundation for the utilitarian use of sport as preparation for survival for at least the masses, and with opportunities for diversion from the responsibilities of office for the fortunate few. The road to modern sports was still in its infancy but certain trends are identifiable.

CLASSICAL PERIOD: GREECE AND ROME

The Greeks and Romans advanced the primitive model of sport and provided additional refinements that the modern age easily accepted. William J. Baker reflects that "the story of organized athletics in the ancient world is primarily the story of Greece"³ which in turn influenced Roman sports; he additionally emphasizes that "competitive games began primarily as religious rituals designed to win the favour of the gods or to honour the memories of heroic leaders."⁴

Notwithstanding the contributions of other civilizations to the rise of sport as a cultural phenomenon, the fact remains that sport or a philosophical rationale for the acceptance of a sporting ethos in Western Civilization is a product of Greek and Roman influence. As Stephen Hardy shows, the rise of sport in both Greece and Rome was due in part to the increasing politicization of sport and to the use of sport as a means of obtaining popularity by certain

promoters and politicians, particularly the tyrants.⁵ Hardy agrees that both in Greece and in Rome class status was a factor in the development and nurturing of organized sport:

In both Greece and Rome, organized sport was originally a province of aristocratic groups. These were the *gene* and the *gentes*, the extended families who dominated the earliest governments of Greece and Rome. While under their control agonistic activities were strictly regulated affairs that, in different forms, enhanced the cohesion and influence of these groups. In short, organized sport was initially significant for the upper-class family groups who controlled society

Yet as E.N. Gardiner and H.A. Harris have clearly shown and lamented, Greek athletics became professionalized and commercialized, dominated eventually by pot-hunters who travelled about the Hellenistic world in search of athletic profits and pensions. This change was long and gradual, nonetheless its beginnings stem from the seventh and sixth centuries B.C., when the control of sport and society started to swing from the hands of aristocratic families to the government of the city-states.⁶

That there were difficulties and controversies associated with sports and athletics in Greece and Rome is well documented. Three main problems include the increased professionalization and specialization of the competitors, the politicization of sport as a means of procuring favour among the general populace, as well as the use of sport to secure political power. It is also more clearly understood, as James G. Thompson notes, that a sampling of the great men of ancient Greece--Euripedes, Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle and Lucian--were highly critical of the professionally over-specialized athlete and only "favored athletics in theory, because, if practised in moderation, athletics could serve a useful purpose and ultimately benefit the state."⁷ It is also well-known that during the major athletic festivals, a general peace was proclaimed throughout the Greek city-states. Thompson cites Werner Jaeger who noted that "there could not have been a better atmosphere than athletic festivals to advocate national unity; for centuries athletic contests had been a clear example of panhellenism in the Greek world."⁸

In his examination of Roman sports, Hardy indicates that Roman politicians and promoters followed the same path as that of the Greeks "by four of [sic.] five centuries" so that "by 80 A.D." Roman sports were for the most part spectacles of entertainment designed to assuage

the masses.⁹ The tranquillizing of the Roman public was a deviation from the earliest version of Roman sport. As in ancient Greece, sport in Rome was a privilege of the aristocracy or a select few; however the foundations upon which sport was built were far more noble. Hardy defends that "Roman politicians and emperors propelled sport in a direction that deviated from its earliest course. They were the major reason behind the transition of Roman games from gentile, religious ritual to civic and secular spectacle."¹⁰

Once again, sport becomes an instrument of the aristocracy and various promoters to advance political aims and aspirations. It also becomes clear that the original relationship of sport to various sacred rituals did little to prevent its misuse by the aristocracy, especially if sport "strengthened their control over the Republic."¹¹ The degeneration of sport into gladiatorial combats, mock-war battles, and other such degrading activities was not without its critics. Lawrence W. Fielding proposes that Marcus Tullius Cicero was just such a critic of ancient sport.¹² Cicero contended that "arena sports were viewed only as a symptom of a far deeper problem; namely, the loss of ethical virtues by the society of Rome."¹³ Certainly the arena sports of Rome represent the greatest degradation of sport and are generally considered to symbolize the decline and fall of athletics.¹⁴

The collapse of the Roman Empire signalled the arrival of a certain peak for sport. The importance of sport became a function of the significance attributed to it by, on the one hand, the powers that controlled the state, and, on the other, by those who best exploited and manipulated sports' parameters within the civilizational construct. The latter included the sports' promoters, bureaucratic civil servants, and not insignificantly the athletes who were in every sense of the word professional and specialized. As sport entered its medieval period the foundation was solidified that made of sport (1) an instrument for the manipulation, tranquillization and control of the masses; (2) a means whereby pre-modern age professionals were able to seek fame and fortune through

sporting endeavours, contests, and spectacles; and (3) for all intents and purposes sport lost sight of its mythical and religious origins. In the ancient world the religious celebration of man's physical skills and competencies reached its zenith in the Panhellenic Games the most notable of which was the Olympic Games. Through their sporting efforts and games the Greeks worshipped the gods and in a certain sense they may be seen as constituting a deaconate for which they were well-rewarded. Sport did not entirely lose its religious significance in the medieval age, and in many respects it retains religious overtones in the modern age in ways yet to be fully explored. Nevertheless, very few medieval sporting participants, or for that matter modern athletes, participate in their sports with the intentions of worshipping a transcendent being.

MEDIEVAL SPORT

William J. Baker writes that the Middle Ages from the sixth through the fifteenth centuries is best described as "medieval people at play" and furthermore distinguishes between the play of the peasants and that of the aristocracy:

During the Middle Ages (c500-1400), Roman frontier games and Islamic cultic rituals combined with native European customs to produce a richly varied pattern of popular pastimes. The dominant institution of the period, the Catholic Church, adapted various "pagan" rites for Christian worships. . . . As the Church provided seasonal holidays and physical sites for play, ball games flourished in Medieval Europe. By the twelfth century, peasants enjoyed numerous types of handball, football, and stick-and-ball-games. No written rules existed; each game evolved differently from one place to another according to local custom and whim. But in the play of medieval peasants lay the roots of virtually every ball game known in the modern world.¹⁵

Just as sport in its early and classical periods was class-related, so was the case in the medieval period. Baker's analysis of medieval sport suggests that it is plausible to hold that sport in the Middle Ages bears a strong resemblance to Huizinga's notion of "play," at least as concerned the masses. Unlike classical or modern sport, medieval sport was usually less bureaucratically structured, less rule-bound and less subject to regional differences. However, the play of the

medieval masses was something that they entered into on special or specific occasions and when "time allowed." Whether it was part of a ritual observed on holidays and Holy Days or a regular component of Sundays, sport was an instrument for the revitalization of the person. The dominant church, the Roman Catholic Church, played no small role in legitimizing the playing of games after having coopted pagan customs and pastimes for its own particular ends:

Not only did the Church adopt and unintentionally popularize ball games, it also provided both time and place for the playing of games. For hard working medieval peasants, Sunday was a day set aside for worship, rest, and "re-creation" of strength. Yet no puritan pall hovered over Sundays. After the sermon and the sacraments in the morning, villagers lounged or played on Sunday afternoon. For youths, especially, re-creation meant recreation. Nor was recreation confined to Sunday afternoon. The church calendar of holidays, aligned with ancient seasonal patterns, granted festive occasions at Easter, during harvest season, and at Christmas. Throughout Europe this basic pattern was followed; in specific countries variations were added, such as numerous Saints' days in Italy, and Shrove Tuesday (before Lent) and May Day in England. Blessed by church leaders, accepted by landlords, and sanctified by tradition, some of these seasonal breaks in labor ran for several days. Wine or ale, music and dance accompanied the peasant games and frolic.¹⁶

For the masses the Middle Ages was a time of strife and hardships with few conveniences and little by way of luxuries--very limited time for "re-creation". Life at the top of the hierarchical scale was presumably less harsh, thus at the upper end of the class spectrum one might find evidence of the medieval concepts of "genteelism" or "chivalry."

A reference to the Middle Ages is incomplete without a discussion of the historical notion of chivalry. The literature abounds with descriptions of medieval jousts or tournaments in which the knight competes for the hand of the lady or for the master whom he served. Associated with the reality of the mock battles and chivalrous contests fought with deadly intent by the knights in shining armour was the continual need to be prepared for defending the vested interests of the masters or the power of the monarchical rulers. As Baker notes:

No sports or games epitomized the interests of the aristocracy in the Middle Ages as did the war games called tournaments. The nobility won and retained their privileged position through combat. They recruited and sometimes led their knights into battle on the side of (and occasionally against) their king. The entire . . . contract was a product of military

necessity, and it depended on martial strength for its stability. Originally tournaments were life-and-death engagements on the field of battle, between knights of opposing camps. . .

In time, however, tournaments became staged events, cloacked in colorful tournaments...¹⁷

At a certain time in the Middle Ages sport became a medium through which one better prepared for war. It is important to remember this since it was a foreshadowing of a similar use for sport in the modern age. By the dawn of the modern age in the fifteenth century the medieval tournaments lost their close relationships to military preparedness.¹⁸ In effect other sporting activities fulfilled the aristocracy's particular recreational necessities. Some of these, for example horseback riding or informal horse racing, were beyond the means of the peasantry,¹⁹ while others such as hunting and hawking on horseback for wild game--particularly "the finer wild game"²⁰--"was legally forbidden the masses."²¹ Sports of the court variety, such as tennis, were generally royal sports or confined to the cloister from which they originated.²²

Although the Roman Church did not particularly approve of the medieval tournaments²³ it did not proscribe them. This more than likely was due to the fact that the privileged few held the tournaments in very high esteem or because the Church itself was a temporal power that well understood the need for physical preparedness in defence of property. It is difficult to summarize the Middle Ages and sport more effectively than does Baker when he notes the following:

Sports in medieval Europe reflected a divided society. There were the masters with their sports and pastimes, and the masses with theirs. Seldom did the twain meet. Insulated by wealth, law, moated castles, and military might, the ruling classes largely ignored the leisure activities of the peasantry, and even encouraged fun on religious festival days as a safety valve against social unrest. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, however, Europe's masters decided that their interests were not best served by the sports and games that brought pleasure to the masses. Thus the Church, municipal officials, and monarchs, all for different reasons, began to prohibit popular pastimes.

The first move of assault came from the church, an ambivalent institution in which parish priests identified with the masses, while hierarchical heads had more in common with established authority.²⁴

Thus a case may be made that sport for sport's sake was a myth in the medieval age. It has, so it seems, always been a myth.

MODERN SPORT

There is a tremendous amount of data on the phenomenon of modern sport. The difference between sport in the modern age versus its pre-modern antecedents quite likely relates to sport assuming more blatantly the characteristics previously identified as belonging to the modern age. In the modern age "valueless" sport is only a romantic notion as our societies and cultures interjected the ideals and ethos of modernity into sport. Sport may in fact be one of the better barometers of the positive as well as the negative characteristics of the modern age.

There is no lack of agreement among sport's historians that "modern sports began in England."²⁵ Richard D. Mandell writes that:

Almost all of the sports we participate in and watch now evolved out of certain pastimes of upper and lower classes in England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The attempts to explain how modern sport became institutionalized in England and later in American society have, so far, only been partially successful.²⁶

Peter C. McIntosh concludes that modern sports have strong English roots and furthermore that "the majority of sports in current practice, and the very great majority of the more popular, were exported from Britain."²⁷ The export of English sport would most presumably be to the continent and thus it is possible to state that the roots of modern Western sport grew out of European soil. These roots experienced some dormancy early in the modern age but took hold in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries producing full fruit in the twentieth century:

Like many other aspects of modern civilization, sport as we know it today evolved chiefly in Europe and the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This was an age of scientific rationalism, national wars, the decline of royal and ecclesiastical power, the growth of industry, technology, transport, communication, literacy, big cities and labor unions and the gradual, occasionally violent, democratizing of political life.²⁸

The characteristics of the modern age as identified in the passage above and in Chapter One most assuredly mirror modern sport, which differs markedly from its pre-modern antecedents. Allen Guttman bases a great deal of his research on the qualitative relationships that exist between the characteristics of modernity and the fervour with which modern sport adopted the modern ethos (Appendix B). Erich Goldbach notes that modern sports have many identifiable characteristics stemming from an ascetic Protestantism which in turn favoured an emerging capitalism normally associated with industrialization:

Individualism, rationalization, measurement, record, time, professionalism with competition as a necessary component, and an ascetic like style - all of these factors that constitute modern sports are emerging within the Puritan system of values. To be sure, not all of the factors are equally forceful and apparent at the same time; but as a general tendency they begin to emerge.²⁹

Goldbach's list of characteristics omits only a few of the tendencies that influenced sport in the modern age. Notably absent was the obsession that the modern age has for the notion of "progress" as well as the proposal that sport is a modern symbol of the legitimization of capitalism. Furthermore Goldbach's association of Protestantism with the emergence of modern sport brings to the forefront an essential difference between Protestantism and Catholicism with regard to the phenomenon of sport. It is important to recognize that Protestantism embraced the ideals and ethos of the emerging modern liberal society much earlier than did Catholicism, allowing Protestants to struggle with the changes wrought by modern culture early in its religious history. Some of these changes included the emergence of modern sport as well as the growing influence of sport as a socio-cultural reality. Thus Protestantism was forced to accept a challenge posed by modern sport for "the hearts and minds" of the masses much earlier than Catholicism. This is best demonstrated in relation to two major historical events in the history of modern sport: the Puritan reaction to sport and the social movement known as "muscular Christianity".

It has been an underlying theme to this point that as civilization became more modern than medieval, various power groups--church officials, authorities, and monarchs--began to curtail the sporting activities of the masses. This curtailment of the "playing" of sports evident in the Middle Ages resulted in the provision of greater opportunities for a more utilitarian use for sport in the modern age. The sources examined for this study supported the notion that sport in the modern age was both "used and abused," and that in this there were examples of both a *positiva* and a *negativa*. Religion or a religious ethos played no small part in the emergence of modern sport.

Puritanism

The point of this discussion is that at the beginning of the modern age there was an active suppression of sport and games by a powerful group that advanced its religious ideals at the expense of among other things, sport. As John Coleman points out, the Puritans and the Puritan revulsion toward games, festivals and "folk sports" led to their "extirpation" until many sports "went underground, roughly in the period between 1640 and 1820."³⁰ The intent behind the suppression of sport was to reserve the Lord's Day for the Lord, while proscribing those sporting activities that could take place only on the Sabbath, due to the working demands of the masses.

Dennis Brailsford considers that the first critics of modern sports, the Puritans of seventeenth century England, were primarily responsible for initiating public debate on the social value of sports.³¹ As Brailsford indicates, English Puritanism was an offshoot of European Protestantism with characteristics that were essentially a British form of Calvinism. As such, Puritanism held strongly to the doctrines of salvation through faith in God and predestination, "the theory that God's selection was evidenced by a personal sense of the presence of God in themselves."³²

There are a number of research articles and discussions documenting the influence of Puritanism on the history of sport. Puritanism influenced societal trends in work, play, and worship. Baker contends that there were a number of interrelated factors that led to the condemnation and suppression of the various recreational activities prevalent in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. Football and other team sports received criticism as a useless form of recreation;³³ gambling was definitely anathema;³⁴ and festivals and celebrations were, according to Puritans, pagan or Catholic.³⁵

Guttmann agrees with Brailsford's view that "the Puritans saw their mission to erase all sport and play from men's lives."³⁶ J. Thomas Jable is less harsh than Baker or Guttman on the Puritans, arguing that Puritanism consisted of diverse factions of groups³⁷ with numerous attitudes toward life and hence toward sports:

There were various attitudes regarding sport, ranging from absolute suppression of all sports at one end of the spectrum to complete freedom at the other end. The majority of Puritans fell somewhere between the two extremes One of the ironies of the suppression of sports in England, whether in relation to the Sabbath or not, is that the Puritan regime feared men would become seditious if they had sports, while the Anglican government feared sedition would result if men were deprived of sports.

Historians, then, must exercise caution when discussing the Puritan attitude toward sport and amusement.³⁸

Thus in matters concerning sport the Puritan on one extreme condemns sport--or at least certain sports--if these sports took away from the religious observations belonging to the Sabbath. When these extreme Puritans held power, as they did in England (1649-1660), certain laws ensured the sporting pursuits of the masses did not hinder Sabbatarian practices. In so far as a certain sport found incorporation into the Puritan's Sunday observance, that sport experienced a measure of approval.

"Muscular Christianity"

Sports assumed a more utilitarian function in a latter nineteenth century ethos, a movement collectively termed "muscular Christianity". This movement may be seen as a reaction--slow at first--to the suppression of sport by the Puritans. The deliberate use of sport for particular ends as the modern age began to flower in the nineteenth century certainly introduces a number of interesting possibilities. These notwithstanding, as an educational tool sport was interwoven into the curricula of the English Public Schools. In spite of their name, these schools were essentially private schools available only to the upper classes of society. Essentially, "muscular Christianity" centred around the use of sport by English schoolmasters to instill a certain discipline and "manliness" into the male youth of the age. This movement, like the influence of Puritanism, is a subject of investigation by a number of cultural historians. John A. Lucas of Pennsylvania State University proposes that "muscular Christianity" was a prologue to the overriding philosophy of the Olympic Games, due to the influence of "muscular Christianity" on Pierre de Coubertin, the founder of the modern Olympics.³⁹ The novelist Charles Kingsley "preached a Christian moral earnestness within the frame of an athletic body,"⁴⁰ while Thomas Hughes, whose book Tom Brown's Schooldays (1857)--a testament to the ethical and religious ideals of Dr. Thomas Arnold--contributed further to the ideal of the "muscular Christian":

Dr. Arnold tacitly approved of sports as one effective device in furthering his aim of making "Christian gentlemen" of his beloved Rugby boys. Thus . . . it was to Theology that Arnold looked as the highest sphere of his exertions. All of Dr. Arnold's efforts were directed toward one goal--obedience to God, to school, and to himself. He was able, through instruction in the classics and history, theological sermons, and incidental athletics, to mold his students to an astonishing degree.⁴¹

Other schools adopted the model of Rugby (where Arnold was headmaster) but modified Arnold's teachings--as overromanticized by Hughes--to extraordinary heights of rigor that more closely resembled sadism than ascetic discipline. James A. Mangan concludes that the ideals of "muscular Christianity" within the public schools was a mask for other more secular intentions:

Life in the schools frequently owed little to the Christian Values and can be better understood by reference to a simplistically decoded Darwinian interpretation of existence which harmonised with wider social values of the time

Attitudes were often secular not spiritual, beliefs were often materialistic not idealistic, custom was often callous not Christian. It is questionable whether ideals changed simply from godliness and good learning to godliness and manliness; a prevalent secular precept was strength through struggle.⁴²

Malcolm Tozer proposes that "the athletic ethos in the schools in this period took place against a growing obsession for competitive sport."⁴³ Like Lucas, Tozer advocates that "muscular Christianity" was a prologue to something else; in Tozer's case to a certain "Esprit de Corps", that is, a sense of "team spirit" and "sportsmanship." Once again, sport becomes the medium through which this "esprit de corps" seeks concretization in the English youth; the potential soldiers and officers of the British Empire. The end product of this process is for Tozer, Lucas and Mangan the Modern Olympics:

As the belief in true Christianity declined, so the ideal of esprit de corps rose in its stead: on into the Edwardian years the standing of the ideal was unchallenged, and foreigners as eminent as Baron de Coubertin came to see it as the formula behind England's greatness. . . . Corporate spirit was identified with athletic warfare; extrovert "muscular Christianity" had become introvert "esprit de corps."⁴⁴

The ethos of "muscular Christianity" gradually spent itself, although it is plausible to suggest that its overall evangelical thrust is still evident today in the form of Athletes in Action, Pro Athletes Outreach or, at a less intensive level, Church Camps held during school summer vacations. By the turn of the century the advancements of industrialization coupled to the new economic, political, and social structures originating in the Democratic Revolution ushered in the era of modern sport. Modern sport invited a response from the popes.

Other Nineteenth Century Developments

Robert G. Glassford and Gerald Redmond suggest that the historical emergence of sport in the first half of the nineteenth century is best seen as a time of transition "when various activities

were being brought together in the shape of modern sport."⁴⁵ The tremendous diffusion of sport throughout Europe and the subsequent spread of sport to those lands colonized and controlled by European interests was, however, a phenomenon of the latter "three or four decades"⁴⁶ of the nineteenth century. It was at this time that Europe experienced "a sports explosion, described most often under the term 'rise in sports',"⁴⁷ with many important social consequences for sport. Three major developments originating in the latter part of the nineteenth century demonstrate and reflect the utilization of sport to further nationalistic ideals and social agendas: the Olympic movement; sport for educational, social, and moral development, primarily in France, Germany, and England; and, finally, sport for military preparedness.

The Olympic Movement

The ancient history and the era of the modern Olympics since its reinstatement in 1896 through the efforts of Baron de Coubertin receives extensive recognition. In its contemporary context the Olympics are an outlet for national passions. In dialectical terms, in spite of the negative consequences of nationalism, the Olympics nevertheless create a solidarity among the citizens of a nation whether they be townspeople, city-dwellers or rural inhabitants. In other words, the Olympics further the creation of community--nationalism being a logical development of the will to communities. Nationalism began to flower most predominantly in the latter stages of the nineteenth century and sport played no small part in its rise. The Olympics have many enthusiastic advocates and, of course, may be seen as a positive instrument for promoting world peace. However, some critics brand the Olympics as a form of Western cultural imperialism.

As noted with reference to "muscular Christianity", sport served to prepare the potential political leaders, administrative elite and military officers of England for their various roles in the ever expanding colonial power that was the England of the latter nineteenth century. The intense

nationalism evident in England resembled the nationalistic fervour found in France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, and other European countries. These nations were all expanding or seeking to expand well beyond their borders to include distant lands. Although each nation held its own interests as primary, collectively the European nations were advancing an economic/political/social imperialism as well as a European imperialism. Allen Guttman investigated the questions of the diffusion of sport as well as the Olympic movement as a form of cultural imperialism:

The modern games were founded by Pierre de Coubertin in 1894 and an International Olympic Committee that was composed almost exclusively of Europeans. That Coubertin's impulse had its origins in the classical tradition as well as in the game culture of the British public school was obvious in the very name, "Olympics", and in the decision to revive the games in the land from which they had originally sprung. Consciously Hellenizing, the IOC invented the marathon race and, afterwards the modern pentathlon. Coubertin was not an antiquarian and the games included numerous events unknown to the ancients--weightlifting, fencing, rowing, and cycling for instance--but the modern additions to the classic contests have almost invariably been European or American.⁴⁸

Such a system ensures Western domination of the Olympic movement, both bureaucratically and on the "playing field." By emphasizing Western sport at these "international" games, the modern Olympics validate, justify and hold up Western political and cultural systems as examples of Western hegemony for all the world to see. Thus proffered, sport served the interests of nationalism and, therefore, is encouraged and promoted as desirable and worthwhile. Although sport may hold intrinsic value it is debatable whether nation-states advance the interests of sport solely on the basis of the good that it offers the citizens. Sport at the international level, of which the Olympics are a symbol, is rife with socio-political agendas. Sport advances the interests of the state or the civilization and the Olympics are one form of this cultural imperialism:

The intense ritualism associated with the Olympic Games . . . has emphasized the European origins of the games and it has made it necessary for non-Western nations to participate in the Olympic movement on Western terms. In the terminology of Talcott Parsons, there has been a conflict between the universalistic ideals of the movement and its particularistic forms.⁴⁹

Sport For Educational, Social, And Moral Development

The "muscular Christianity" movement in England that was previously described, is a well documented and noteworthy social movement particularly as seen against a religious background. Stated otherwise, "muscular Christianity" stands out as an example of the possibilities that exist for the intermingling of sport and religion and/or the use of sport by both educators and religious leaders to further educational, social, moral, or ethical goals. It is a mistake to assume that these goals were English in origin. As McIntosh identifies "in the second half of the eighteenth century there were signs of a change in attitudes to sport and to physical education as moral education, but in France and Germany rather than in England."⁵⁰

In tracing the historical development of the ethics of "muscular Christianity", McIntosh considers that the British borrowed a great deal from the social and educational philosophy of Jean-Jacques Rousseau as expressed in his treatise Emile.⁵¹ In this and subsequent publications Rousseau advocated that "competitive sport is to be the instrument of physical education which in turn is to be social education. Equality and fraternity are to be reinforced by peer groups and adult approval."⁵² Rousseau's educational and social philosophy influenced many countries and, as McIntosh notes, Rousseau "visited England in 1776 and lodged with the philosopher, David Hume."⁵³ In regards to Rousseau's influence on the concept of physical education's importance for moral education in Germany, McIntosh wrote:

The idea of harnessing physical education to moral education appeared in the English translation of Guts Muths' book Gymnastik fuer die Jugend in 1800. Guts Muths had been a teacher of gymnastics at a school at Schnepfenthal in Germany, one of several which had been inspired by the theories of Rousseau. Physical fitness was in his view a prerequisite of moral goodness.⁵⁴

It was from these beginnings that the "muscular Christianity" movement evolved with its varying degrees of impact on the social fabric of Victorian England. Reduced to its most simplistic level, "muscular Christianity" contained two "new theories." The first was that competitive sport,

especially team games, had an ethical basis, and the second was that training in moral behaviour on the playing field was transferable to the world beyond."⁵⁵ The English were extremely adept at incorporating these theories into their schools. A further emanation--perhaps better known--of "muscular Christianity", is the widely advanced ethical dimension of sport known as the "fair play" ethos. In England, by the latter part of the nineteenth century, "churchmen of all denominations from Cardinal Newman to non-conformist theologians and even agnostics thought and wrote about sport from the standpoint of morals."⁵⁶

Moral Development To Military Preparedness: The Example Of Germany And France

Notwithstanding the preceding account there is no shortage of proof that an additional aim of sport and physical education in England was for military preparedness. McIntosh notes that "the military role of physical education has always figured prominently, sometimes specialised for a professional force, sometimes general to prepare whole populations, civilians as well as soldiers, sailors and airmen, for the rigours of warfare."⁵⁷

Even though physical education and sport made positive contributions to moral education in Germany there were dynamic tensions evident in German sport, physical education, and gymnastics. Since Guts Muths came under the influence of Rousseau, the influential Muths promoted physical education in the form of gymnastics "to create a harmony between mental and physical development."⁵⁸ Later Muths advanced the use of games, swimming, and gymnastics for military preparedness for German youth.⁵⁹

A significant turning point for an altered German consciousness with regard to physical training was the French defeat and subsequent dismemberment of Prussia in 1807.⁶⁰ The resulting humiliation produced a "revival of patriotic feeling in Germany, directed . . . towards something

which did not yet exist--a strong and united Germany capable of flinging off the French yoke."⁶¹
Enter the ideas and influence of Friedrich Jahn.

Under the guise of physical training and physical fitness grew the notion of military preparedness. The need for military preparedness is closely linked to the concept of nationalism since the nation-state depends on the physical condition of its citizens to advance its goals. The belief is that a physically fit population is a healthy population and is better prepared to defend the nation-state from external aggression. The German people of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries found another use for sport and athletics, as Wallace Irwin Jr. notes:

The German Turnverein (gymnastic union) movement was . . . inspired by nationalist fervour against Napoleon's imperial rule; it played a part in the rise of modern Germany. Similarly, in the Sokol movement that spread among the oppressed Czechs beginning in the 1880's, gymnastics went hand in hand with nationalist resistance to the rule of imperial Austria.⁶²

Glyn C. Roberts confirms the preceding account of the importance of gymnastics in the formation of a loyalty among the Germanic peoples. Admittedly, gymnastics may be alternately conceived of as a sport, or as a method of promoting a certain kind of physical education or discipline. Gymnastics is now a major sport in the Olympics; however, when Friedrich Jahn developed his "system" of gymnastics the modern Olympic movement did not yet exist. Political considerations for sport were nevertheless evident:

To Jahn, gymnastics were not merely the means of augmenting physical powers, but a tool for achieving political goals as well. German freedom and strength revolved upon the youth of the state and, therefore, the supreme aim of physical education was to develop a love of their homeland and the aggregate strength necessary to throw off the rule of the oppressor.⁶³

The oppressor alluded to by Irwin was France. Roberts contrasts the use of gymnastics in Germany with its importance in France where the rationale for gymnastics was decidedly more bellicose:

Following the shock of the Franco-Prussian War [1870]*, the French authorities revived interest in physical education. Leaders charged that a physical and moral degeneracy had undermined the vitality of the nation. A law requiring that gymnastics be taught in the

French schools was passed in 1872, making physical education compulsory for boys. The gymnastic system adopted was that of the Belgians, which was in turn based upon Jahn's system of gymnastics. The lesson of the Franco-Prussian War had been driven hard into the French breast; the failure of the French soldier had been partly attributed to his poorer physical condition.⁶⁴

By 1905, French laws made gymnastic exercise mandatory for girls⁶⁵ in the schools of France but on the whole the French placed no emphasis on the educational value of physical education.⁶⁶ In France the function of physical activity was to prepare the population for war:

After World War I, French gymnastic organizations exhorted youths to train for their military posts (remembering that when a citizen is born in France, he is born a soldier). National sport federations clearly defined patriotism, as well as cultivation of strength and vigor, as among their major objectives France always thought that physical activity's function was to prepare citizens for war.⁶⁷

Another point that was important from the German perspective was the distinction between "Turnen" and "Sport", a difference that was at least a moral conflict. Turnen was Jahn's preference as a term for gymnastics and this was decidedly different from the concept of sport.

The vogue of sport came much later in Germany than in England, where it was already a feature of life by the middle of the nineteenth century. In Germany the word did not appear in the language until 1828, when Duke Pueckler-Muskau introduced it. One reason may be the later industrialisation of Germany. Sport was largely a product of industrial society.⁶⁸

The 'Turner' was prejudiced against sport for a number of reasons, as McIntosh documents.⁶⁹ These reasons included the fact that (1) sport was not pursuing "educational or hygienic ends;" (2) it did not propose alternate forms of physical exercise but only "a new approach to traditional forms;" (3) sport "was not directed to political or patriotic ends" as was the desire of the 'Turner'; (4) sport "was English;" (5) the use of sport jargon and that "each sport required its own clothing;" (6) the fact that in Germany the "'Turner' was predominantly working class and lower middle class, whereas sport was up to the turn of the century . . . an educated middle class and

*My note.

aristocratic cult with a strong anglophile tinge;" and finally (7) it was annoying that "sport captured a much bigger public of spectators and readers [in the daily papers*] than 'Turnen' had ever done".

All of the preceding objections led eventually to a long series of moral indictments against sport that presage papal comments about sport. In his addresses on sport, Pope Pius XII echoes the distinctions of the 'Turners' between sport and gymnastics. McIntosh identifies three main objections to sport. First, "they pointed to the ill effects of concentration on a single event with the aim of breaking a record;" second, "in sport there was revealed a new world in which number and purpose dominated everything more ruthlessly than ever. The body became a machine from which one extorted measurable performance;" and third, "they saw sport as fostering narrow ambition, egoism and greed. Sports champions were a special caste, idolised, flattered and pampered."⁷⁰

A WATERSHED FOR SPORT

The purpose of this chapter is to trace briefly the historical emergence of "modern" sport from its primitive and ancient antecedents. The historical evolution of sport has been, like so much of evolution, uneven--subject to periods of expansion followed by contraction yet ever expanding into the socio-cultural fabric. The "use of sport" towards the latter half of the nineteenth century results in modern sport assuming uncritically the characteristics that Guttmann attributes to modern sport. Sport took on the characteristics of a runaway train to such extent that by the first half of the twentieth century modern sport and the modern age experienced a type of fusion. As John Coleman notes, the decades of the 1920's and 1930's were "a watershed period"⁷¹ in the history of modern sports. The acceleration of the characteristics of the modern age and the changes

*My note.

these brought to sport "changed the nature of an earlier, more innocent, sport."⁷² Coleman's observations suggest that this watershed period was of such proportions that it was impossible for rulers of nation-states, religious rulers, and the intelligentsia to ignore sport:

Most of the modern themes of sport: professionalization, the sport's star as hero, commercialisation, mass spectatorship and bureaucratic organisation of sport at a national and even, international level, the fusion of sport and nationalism, can be seen to have emerged by the end of the 1930's.⁷³

These characteristics represent possible parameters pregnant with potential for sociological investigation. Significantly enough, Coleman's depiction of the importance of the 1920's and 1930's coincide with Hoberman's finding that "Heinz Risse's Sociologie des Sports (1921) is the first systematic, deliberately "sociological" treatment of sport to appear in any language."⁷⁴ Hoberman compares Risse's Sociologie des Sports to an earlier work (1908) by Robert Hessen entitled Der Sport.⁷⁵ Risse's study--by no means a 'value neutral' piece of writing⁷⁶--at least emphasized "social science rather than encomiums to sport of schemes to achieve national rejuvenation through the body."⁷⁷ According to Hoberman's analysis Hessen "is a straightforward proponent of using sports to promote national vitality,"⁷⁸ incorporating the "mens sana in corpore sano ideal"⁷⁹ to promote "the conjunction of sport and nationalism."⁸⁰ In the latter work of Risse, sport undergoes "a socio-cultural diagnosis"⁸¹ that in the final analysis "confers upon sport unique curative powers."⁸² One may thus conclude that by 1921 sport made both an impact and an impression on sociologists.

CHAPTER TWO

ENDNOTES

¹See particularly Part I "Early Societies" in Earle F. Ziegler, ed. A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900 (Selected Topics) (Champaign: Stipes, 1973), pp. 11-112.

²Kamal Saleh Abdou, "Sports and Games in Ancient Egypt" in Earle F. Ziegler, p. 68.

³William J. Baker, Sports and the Western World (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982), p. 14.

⁴*Ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵Stephen Hardy, "Politicians, Promoters, and the Rise of Sport: The Case of Ancient Greece and Rome," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 8 (May 1977): 1-15.

⁶Hardy, pp. 1-2.

⁷James G. Thompson, "Ancient Greek Attitudes on Athletics," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 5 (December 1974): 59-60.

⁸*Ibid.*, 58.

⁹Hardy, pp. 6-7.

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹¹*Ibid.*

¹²Lawrence W. Fielding, "Marcus Tullius Cicero: A Social Critic of Sport," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 8 (May 1977): 16-27.

¹³*Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁴William J. Baker, pp. 28-42.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, p. 45.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, p. 50.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹⁹*Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid.

²²See Robert W. Henderson, Ball, Bat and Bishop (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1974), pp. 39-58.

²³Baker, p. 52.

²⁴Ibid., p. 53.

²⁵Allen Guttman, "English Sports Spectators: The Restoration to the Early Nineteenth Century," Journal of Sport History 12 (Summer 1985): 103.

²⁶Richard D. Mandell, "The Invention of the Sports Record," Stadion 2 (2, 1976): 252.

²⁷Peter C. McIntosh, p. 80.

²⁸Wallace Irwin Jr., The Politics of International Sport: Games of Power (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1988), p. 13.

²⁹Erich Goldbach, "Protestantism-Capitalism-Sports," Journal of Sport History 4 (Fall 1977): 291-292.

³⁰John Coleman, "Sport and the Contradictions of Society," in Gregory Baum and John Coleman, eds. Sport, pp. 24-25.

³¹Dennis Brailsford, "Puritanism and Sport in Seventeenth Century England," Stadion 1 (2, 1975): 316-330.

³²Ibid., 317.

³³Baker, p. 75.

³⁴Ibid., p. 76.

³⁵Ibid., p. 77.

³⁶Guttman, Ritual to Record, p. 84.

³⁷J. Thomas Jable, "The English Puritans: Suppressors of Sport and Amusement?," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 7 (May 1976): 33-40.

³⁸Ibid., 40.

³⁹John A. Lucas, "Victorian 'Muscular Christianity' - Prologue to the Olympic Games Philosophy," in ICHPER: 18 - Proceedings of the Eighteenth International Congress of the

International Council on Health, Physical Education and Recreation (Washington, D.C.: ICHPER, 1975), pp. 214-224.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 217.

⁴¹Ibid., pp. 217-218.

⁴²James A. Mangan, "Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education," Stadion 7 (1, 1981): 110-111.

⁴³Malcolm Tozer, "From 'Muscular Christianity' to 'Esprit de Corps': Games in the Victorian Public Schools of England," Stadion 7 (1, 1981): 123.

⁴⁴Ibid., 128.

⁴⁵Robert G. Glassford and Gerald Redmond, "Physical Education and Sport in Modern Times," in Earle F. Ziegler, ed. History of Physical Education and Sport (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1979), p. 140.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Allen Guttman, "'Our Former Colonial Masters': The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism," Stadion 14 (1, 1988): 57.

⁴⁹Ibid., 56.

⁵⁰Peter McIntosh, Fair Play: Ethics in Sport and Education (London: Heinemann, 1979), p. 24.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²Ibid., p. 25.

⁵³Ibid., p. 26.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 27.

⁵⁶Ibid., p. 31.

⁵⁷Ibid., p. 34.

⁵⁸Ibid., p. 45.

⁵⁹Ibid., pp. 46-47

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 47.

⁶¹Ibid.

⁶²Wallace Irwin, Jr., p. 14.

⁶³Glyn C. Roberts, "The Rise of European Nationalism and its Effect on the Pattern of Physical Education and Sport," in Earle F. Ziegler, p. 311.

⁶⁴Ibid.

⁶⁵Ibid.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 312.

⁶⁸McIntosh (1979), p. 50. See also p. 48 on the differences between "Turnen" and "Sport".

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 50-51.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 52.

⁷¹Coleman, p. 27.

⁷²Ibid.

⁷³Ibid.

⁷⁴Hoberman, p. 129.

⁷⁵Ibid.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid.

⁷⁸Ibid.

⁷⁹Ibid., p. 130.

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 129.

⁸¹Ibid.

⁸²Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE

THE POPES ON SPORT

INTRODUCTION

This chapter organizes and examines the various papal statements and attitudes on sport from Pope Pius X (pontificate: 1903-1914) through to Pope John Paul II (pontificate: 1978-). The popes say much more on sport than one may initially expect. Whether the popes choose to comment on sport willingly or not remains an open question. Reacting to the rise of modern sport, Pius XII (pontificate: 1939-1953) suggested that the Church could not ignore its new prominence:

With the beginning of the present century sport assumed such proportions, for the numbers of amateurs and professionals, for the crowds which gathered in the stadia, and for the interest aroused in it by means of the press, as to become one of the typical phenomena of modern society. The increased importance gave rise, in its turn, to new repercussions and problems in the field of education, of religious practice, of morality, and even in the social order, so that it could not be overlooked by the Church, always anxious to promote organizations corresponding to the new needs of the times.¹ (Emphasis mine.)

This excerpt from a 1955 address by Pius indicates quite succinctly some of the major themes on sport that receives attention from the popes: the place of sports in education, sports' relationship to religious practice and morality, and sports' functions in the social order. Additionally, Pius XII's reference to the modern age raises questions of papal reactions to the modern age in general, since the reactions by the popes to the modern age are decidedly negative until the pontificate of Pius XII. The reader must keep in mind from the beginning, that the papal addresses on sport very definitely refer to "modern sport," the sport that became sociologically significant in the 1920's and 1930's. This watershed period that concretizes the major themes of modern sport invites a religious and theological response from the Catholic Church. It is a credit to the popes that their addresses on sport identify the major themes that become the source for papal teaching on and about sport.

The reader must also remember that the Catholic Church as well as the pontiffs themselves were for the most part and until recently located securely within the conservative tradition. The popes identify with this sector of society and defend conservative ideals, while advancing the critique of the emerging liberal society. Although there is no proof that the popes studied the conservative critique of sport as promulgated by Huizinga, Caillois or other cultural conservatives, there remains little doubt that papal teaching on sport closely resemble the arguments of these critics. In short, the popes worry about sport and are cautiously concerned about the impact of sport on society and culture, especially the impact of sport on youth. Since the popes, particularly Pius XI (pontificate: 1922-1939), claim many rights (even at times the sole right) in regards to the education of its youth, it is not surprising to find an emphasis on ethical teaching with regard to sport. In keeping with the critiques of cultural conservatives, papal comments on sport rarely omit ethical concerns. In contrast to the critics, the popes introduce the religious and theological dimensions into the cultural debate on sport. There is a paucity of information available on pontifical reflections about sport in relation to these dimensions.

Among the choices available for an examination of the papal addresses on sport, my thesis proposes that one of the best ways to examine the teachings of the popes on sport is by way of a dialectic. There is both a critique of sport (a *negativa*) and a positive affirmation (a *positiva*). This research proposes the *negativa* as a departure point for the examination of papal teaching on sport since the popes are close allies to European conservatism. As conservatives, the popes advance a hesitant "yes" to sport with the attendant warnings. Even though the comments on sport since Paul VI become intensely more favourable to sport, the reflections on sport are accompanied by a detailed analysis of its destructive possibilities. From a historical perspective the popes were originally suspicious of the role of sport in education and society as a whole.

Overall then, the *negativa* and *positiva* are organizational devices that serve to highlight papal reflections about sport. The reader must see the dialectical nature of papal teaching and note that the *negativa* and *positiva* belong together and qualify one another. Thus, the one cannot be conceived without the other.

THE PAPAL CRITIQUE OF SPORT: THE *NEGATIVA*

Exaltation of Sport

The argument of this section is that in spite of overall papal approval, support, and encouragement of sport, the popes caution that sport in its modern form may be dangerously overexalted. This is a dominant theme of papal pronouncements on sport. Papal addresses on sport have a general tendency of warning the community of believers within the papal sphere of influence that sport has its dangers; moreover, these perceptions of danger are consistent throughout the papal pronouncements on sport.

This theme of the overexaltation of sport has a relationship to papal concerns about the adoption of technical-scientific advancements that detract from a purer sport as well as the trend towards specialization in sport. Quite obviously such an overemphasis on sport raises the possibility that enthusiasm for sport may become so pervasive that religious devotion might suffer. Such an anxiety is obvious from the first papal statements on sport and continues to the present day. The following declaration that emerged from a 1980 conference on "Le sport et l'ethique chretienne"² demonstrated the concern on the part of various church leaders that reflected similar papal attitudes:

Roman Catholic and Evangelical (United, Lutheran and Reformed) leaders here have warned that sport is becoming a substitute religion. A joint statement issued in Dortmund urges sports clubs to plan events so that club members may choose to worship on weekends. It says that the growth of Sunday sports activity is alarming. It also identifies as causes of concern politics in sport, exploitation, idolization, commercialism, violence and the use of sport to demonstrate superiority of social systems.³

The popes worry that sport may become overemphasized to the detriment of faith, most particularly that of the young. Critical of the state, Pius XI (pontificate: 1922-1939) attempted to define the parameters that the state should follow in the education of its youth. In his 1929 Encyclical "On Education," Pius XI notes:

It is not our intention however to condemn what is good in the spirit of discipline and legitimate bravery promoted by these methods; We condemn only what is excessive, as for example violence, which must not be confounded with courage nor with the noble sentiment of military valor in defence of country and public order; or again exaltation of athleticism which even in classic pagan times marked the decline and downfall of genuine physical training.⁴ (Emphasis mine.)

Through this remark Pius condemns both the "exaltation of athleticism" and the use of sport and athletics by the Fascists to create a fit and strong army to fulfil its expansionist policies. Additionally, by denouncing those who in "classic pagan times" overexalted athletics, Pius implied that the Italy of the 1930's had reverted to its pagan roots, since Mussolini often made mention of ancient Rome.

According to Pius XII sports must be put in a proper perspective as a means, never an end:

As such they must remain ordered to the end which consists in the perfect and balanced formation and education of the entire man for whom sports are an aid towards the ready and joyful fulfillment of his duties, whether they be duties of work or of family.

With a lamentable abandon of the natural order, some young people passionately place all their interests and all their activities into athletic gatherings and demonstrations, into training, into obtaining a "championship" but do not give but a distracted, flimsy attention to their necessary study and profession.⁵

The study of sport in its proper perspective returns again and again in the addresses of Pius XII and sets the tone for cautionary statements about sport in subsequent papal teaching. As Pius warns in his 1952 address on sport, success in sport as well as in other similar earthly pursuits "is not a sure guarantee of moral rectitude."⁶ Moreover, to elevate gymnastics, sport, rhythm, with all

their associations, to the supreme scope of life would in truth be too little for man, whose primary greatness consisted in much more elevated aspirations, tendencies and endowments."⁷

By 1956, Pius XII initiates a more critical evaluation of modern sport's potential for abuse. As early as 1945, Pius was anxious that the youth devoted too much time to the pursuit of athletic ends; at that time his comments were more genteel in nature; more often made "en passant." Eleven years later Pius is more piercing in his attacks on the "commercial" side of sports and on the overadoration of athletes. It is generally as sport becomes big business that Pius is condemnatory:

From many sides recently there has been invoked the return on the part of athletes to "pure" sport, that is to that finality and to those methods which have nothing in common with "commercialism" and the exaggerated cult attributed to so-called "stars," to which are sacrificed high ideals, justice, the health of the athletes and the good name of the nation being represented in the competitions.

If all this has any importance, there is nothing which can better serve to free sport from the deviations deplored than the Christian spirit and the virtues that derive from it.⁸

John XXIII (pontificate: 1958-1963), also addresses the concern that the overexaltation of sport is dangerous, particularly for the soul. In April of 1959 he exhorts athletes to "join the contest, in the stadiums and on the tracks, in the gymnasiums and on the playing fields; run, We repeat to you, not only to receive fragile trophies, but to obtain those incorruptible victories which are entered in the 'book of life'."⁹ The true value of athletics is thus not in its overexaltation on earth, but as preparation for the Kingdom.

Paul VI (pontificate: 1963-1978), rekindles Pius XII's critical attitude towards modern sport. Reacting to tragedies that occurred at international sporting events, Pope Paul urges Catholics to place sports in a proper perspective. His first address on sport encourages "friendly relationships . . . on the international level;"¹⁰ however, he may also be responding to a riot at a soccer match in Lima on May 24, 1964.¹¹ Paul VI counsels that in order for sports to achieve their lofty potential they must:

... be lifted up to a high level by principles and rules that instill vigor and nobility ... and that exclude any excesses of risk and of passion, either on the part of the athletes or in the public who watch them and who are stirred by their feats in competition. In this regard, how could we fail to recall with immense sadness the recent and doleful events in Lima? Let us see to it that they are never repeated in any part of the world at any kind of sports event.¹²

On the occasion of the Tokyo Olympics in 1964, Paul sent a telegram to the Archbishop of Tokyo to remind him that "The Church, We know it, is interested in sport: she encourages it and blesses it when it is not a mere manifestation of force, or an exaggerated rivalry, or manifestation of simple material interest."¹³ Not surprisingly, Paul desires that sport remain "pure"; and uncontaminated by the characteristics of the modern age.

John Paul II's pronouncements on sport continue this note of caution in keeping with "the Church's pastoral concern for the world of sport."¹⁴ (Emphasis John Paul II.) The following excerpt from John Paul's address on the occasion of the 1990 World Cup of Soccer held in Italy is one of his most recent addresses on sport:

Sport is certainly one of the most popular human activities and can greatly influence people's behaviour, especially that of the young. But it too is subject to risks and misunderstandings, and must therefore be directed, developed and guided so as to express its potential in a positive way. . . .

... It is therefore necessary to specify and overcome the dangers which threaten modern sport: from the obsessive preoccupation with gain to the commercialization of almost every aspect of sport, from the excessive emphasis on the spectacular to athletic and technical exhaustion, from the use of doping and other forms of fraud to violence.

It is only by effectively recovering its purpose and its educational and social potential that sport can play a significant role and make its own contribution to fostering the hopes which move people's hearts, especially the young, in this last part of the century which is leading us into the Third Christian Millennium.¹⁵ (Emphasis John Paul II.)

John Paul II's comments confirm the tendency of the papacy to cultivate a positive attitude toward sport with the caveat that there are still real dangers that threaten to ruin sport's potential. One finds references to these dangers scattered amidst the positive values attributed to sport. The following excerpt from a homily given to 80,000 young athletes from around the world at the Olympic Stadium in 1984 provides an illustration:

Sport is the joy of life, a game, a celebration. As such it must be properly used and perhaps, today, freed from excessive technical perfection and professionalism, through a recovery of its free nature, its ability to strengthen bonds of friendship, to foster dialogue and openness to others, as an expression of the richness of being, much more valid and to be prized than having, and hence far above the harsh laws of production and consumption and all other purely utilitarian and hedonistic considerations in life.¹⁶ (Emphasis John Paul II.)

The papal concern about the overexaltation of modern sport includes a continual disapproval of "specialization" and "excessive technical perfection." Since both of these aspects of modern sport enhance the prospect of winning, one could rightly conclude that the popes perceive the overemphasis of modern sport on winning as an illness. Pius XII was the first to address the excessive "commercialism" surrounding modern sport, a concern that John Paul II echoes a quarter century later. In conjunction with this negative aspect of sport is Pius' lament about the so-called "star" athletes, and John Paul's concern for "professionalism" in sport; however, another interesting problem remains unresolved. This is the problem of the professional athletes who make their living through sport. None of the popes ever condemn this type of "work" and it is only a speculation that it is precisely because it is "work" that the pontiffs say nothing about these sportsmen. It would not be too far to suggest that because the popes intimate both directly and indirectly in their comments on sport that work takes precedence over sport or that work has a primacy over play, that professional athletes may be somewhat exempt from the papal promulgations on sport. Papal comments on sport may have as their audience amateur athletes and the model ideals traditionally associated with amateurism.

The Overexaltation of the Body

Certainly the Roman Church always condemns the diverse forms of materialism that oppose biblical revelation. As the leaders of the Church, the popes consistently oppose materialist doctrines. However, sport offers a strong platform upon which to attack materialist conceptions of man as well as the day to day capitalistic enterprises that have materialistic origins. It is in this

context that Pius XII condemns materialism; that is, Pius utilizes his initial discourses on sport not only to warn against the overexaltation of sport but to condemn any teaching that promotes an overexaltation of the body. In expressing this concern about the overexaltation of the body, Pius XII follows the precedent set by Pius XI.

As previously noted, Pius XI worried that the Fascists paid too much attention to the concerns of the body that resulted in military training, physical fitness regimes and the underlying cult of the body favoured in Mussolini's Italy. Additionally, Pius XI was greatly upset over the fact that in Mussolini's fascist state women were also bound by decree to enter into the physical training exercises, raising therefore social, religious, and morality issues.

In the Italy of the 1920's, Mussolini advocated sport for women to assure strong and healthy youth for his armies.¹⁷ Such a turn from the traditional role of women in the home was socially destructive to the community of the family which the pope considered superior to that of the needs of the state to assure healthy progeny. Between 1923 and 1930, the Fascists developed a program of physical education for boys and girls and "sports for all" because "Fascism and Mussolini himself always supported the educational value of sports."¹⁸ The growth of physical education, physical training and the freedom from traditional family ties for girls and women caused women to acquire "a true passion for sports."¹⁹ As Rosella Frasca found, it was at this point that Pius XI brought into play the voice of the Church:

Such was the transformation of young women that it did not pass unnoticed, first within the family, then in society as a whole. The balance of forces in men-women relationships, which still favoured men, was being upset. This gave rise to a state of alarm, of suspicion and then condemnation of women's physical training. A crusade against it was aimed in the name of two assumptions which were both in bad faith:

- that physical training encouraged customs and attitudes against morality;
- that it injured women's genitals, preventing procreation.

The "crusaders" came from various ideological and social milieus. Even Pope Pius XI took a stand, using parish priests and the Catholic press to this end. In the Osservatore Romano you could read the following statements:

"Male public go to women's sports competitions more in order to admire women's figures than to admire form in a purely sporting sense." . . .

"All over the world sport for women has proved to be one of the most decisive causes of their abandoning the ideal of the family, thus causing a demographic decline and a loss of modesty [...] Sport for women is an important element of what is now called the ideal of nudity whose consequences for family morals and demographic trends are indisputable."²⁰

Pius XI did have an obsession with any public sporting event in which women were the sole participants. Frasca's uncovering of the pope's opinion of sport for women from a 1936 edition of the Osservatore Romano was in keeping with a 1928 Chirograph to the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, in which, Pius XI expressed anger and discontent at the fact that there would be held in Rome the "First Women's National Athletic Gymnastic Meet."²¹ Although Pius XI advocates sport for women within the context of a Christian Education, his theological religious critique of the overexaltation of the body also finds expression in a concern for the sporting activity of women. In the encyclical "On Christian Education" Pius warns that, once again even though women may participate in sport, educators must be aware that "in gymnastic exercises and department, special care must be had of Christian modesty in young women and girls, which is so gravely impaired by any kind of exhibition in public."²²

The overall bottom line for Pius XI was to maintain the traditional concept of the community and family that the Fascists disturbed through their policy of "sport for all." The Fascist's cult of the body was and still remains unacceptable to the popes.

In his 1945 address to youth Pius XII emphasizes that the Church's interest in sport relates primarily to sport as "a form of education of the body"²³ which in turn "has strong ties with morality."²⁴ From this perspective he attacks generally any teachings that emerge from materialism:

In reality, she [the Church] has always maintained toward the human body a care such as materialism, in its idolatrous cult, has never manifested. And it is only natural, since the latter does not see and does not know but the material flesh of the body, whose strength

and beauty are born and flourish only to deteriorate as the grass of the field, which ends up in the dust or mud.²⁵

Pius is the first to use addresses on sport to proscribe the philosophy of materialism that forms to a great extent the foundation underlying not only Marxist thought, but which also is integral to the basis of modern science, capitalism, consumerism, and industrialism. Although Pius eventually accepts democracy and the democratic process as preferable to particularly communism or fascism he condemns any form of materialism or any ideology that raises materialism to quasi-religious status, and his addresses on sport make particular reference to this.

From Pius XII onward, the popes consistently maintain that the body must never become "the whole man." There were undoubtedly a number of influences on Pius XII's interpretations on sport; one being the location of the Vatican, the other the events leading to World War II. Notwithstanding, Pius railed against any ideological interpretation of the body that favoured the strengthening of the body for any purpose other than spiritual ends:

Sound doctrine teaches respect for the body, but not an esteem that is more than just. The maxim is this: care of the body, strengthening of the body, yes; cult of the body, divinization of the body, no, nor likewise divinization of the race, or the blood, or of their somatic presuppositions and constitutive elements. The body does not occupy the first place in man, neither the earthly and moral body as it is now, nor the body glorified and spiritualized as it will be one day.²⁶ (Emphasis mine.)

Pius thus uses his pronouncements on sport to stress traditional Church teaching on the body. Additionally he extends his teachings on the body in the Catholic tradition versus that of materialism and he did this with his pronouncements on sport. In his last major address on sport in 1955, Pius urges athletes to be attentive to Christian principles that may derive "motives and norms which are capable of freeing sport from the bondage of material things."²⁷ Pius' final word on sport is in keeping with his caution, three years earlier, that "sport must be preserved from materialistic deviations which would debase its value and nobility."²⁸

Neither John XXIII nor Paul VI advance the theme of the overexaltation of the body and its relationship to sport beyond the thought of Pius XII. Rather they address athletes and organizers of sporting events in the tradition of Pius XII and his basic teachings. John XXIII stresses, in the tradition of Pius, that sport is not an end but a means and that to that end the sport trains the body in order to serve the soul, which always has primacy over the body. In his first address on sport to the Italian Athletic Union on April 20, 1959, John teaches the following:

We trust that you will never forget, beloved sons, that your athletic efforts are not an end in themselves; remember that the body which you train, whose agility and grace reflect a ray of the beauty and omnipotence of the Creator, is only an instrument which should become docile and accessible to the strong influence of the soul.

Your exercises, your competitions . . . ought to develop the spiritual and immortal side of your being. If they were to have a harmful influence, if your athletic life should prove to be not a safeguard but a danger to your souls or an obstacle to the fulfillment of your religious duties, then you would find yourselves off course, like runners who, because the true course is not well marked, do not arrive at the tape in good time.²⁹

Paul VI is adamant in his rejection of materialist conceptions of the body as well as any teaching that suggests a denial of the body. He advocates that Christians "reject the manichaeism which suggests a good soul in a bad body" and the idea of a "purely biological and hygienic concept of the body."³⁰ By the mid 1960's, however, the fitness "craze" emerged as a dominant trend, which at heart was the cultivation of a healthy body through training and sport. Papal condemnations of the overexaltation of the body, not unlike the condemnation directed by Pius XII at materialist conceptions of the body, emerge from Paul VI:

Not worship of the body, nor divinisation of the body; but physical exercise, gymnastics, training for endurance, for suppleness, for strength, with the seeded precautions and with respect of values superior to the physical order, what can be more consistent with a healthy wisdom, with the plans of the Creator, with the teaching of the Church?³¹

John Paul II eventually concerns himself more with developing the *positiva* on this question of the body than with condemning past heresies or problems. However, his earliest statements on sport and its importance for the Church's teachings on the body reflect the concern

of his predecessors. Early in his pontificate John Paul II is as determined as Paul VI at debunking any myth that the Church is opposed to the body "per se" and once again sport is the occasion to advance traditional teachings on the body. John Paul argues from history that:

. . . Already in the first centuries Christian thinkers resolutely opposed certain ideologies, then in fashion, which were characterized by a clear devaluation of the physical, carried out in the name of a mistaken exaltation of the spirit. On the basis of biblical data, they forcefully affirmed, on the contrary, a unified view of the human being.³²

This pronouncement on sport by John Paul II echoes the teachings of Pius XII and certainly the allusion to manichaeism parallels the thinking of Paul VI. In the early 1980's, John Paul II expresses deeper considerations of the moral temptations of contemporary society and these eventually lead him to a deeper questioning of sport apart from Roman Church apologetics; however, teachings about the body become a departure point for a critique of the modern age:

Today temptations sometimes become very strong to turn sport aside from its specifically human purpose, which is the optimum display of the gifts of the body and therefore of the person in a natural competition, beyond all discrimination; the loyal course of sports competitions may even be disturbed, or they may be used for other purposes, with the danger of corruption and decadence.³³

By the mid 1980's a new direction emerges on the use of sport as a means of examining society. Although John Paul II finds it impossible to completely refrain from references to the Church's teachings on the body, from time to time, he voices a new concern for the value of sport in society.

The *negativa* that emerges from the statements of the popes on sport is with regard to the dangers of the overexaltation of sport along with its cult of the body. Throughout this largely religious and theological critique of sport there are references to many of the critical issues that, as Coleman notes, haunt modern sport. Beginning most significantly with Pius XII, the popes express worry about sport's emphasis on professionalization and specialization. They criticize society's hero worship of sport's star performers, but stop short of condemning the pursuit of a career in sport. John Paul II, in particular, grants many audiences to professional soccer teams.

The concern of the popes most likely resides with overexaltation of the sport's star among Catholic youth. The popes are so definitely set against the overcommercialization of sport that it becomes an open question as to whether this *negativa* relates to a general distaste for the capitalistic enterprise in sport. Frequently the popes refer to the dangers of mass spectatorship and the overall bureaucratization involved with supporting and propping up sport. On this ethical level, the popes share the concerns of the cultural critics of sport, reflecting the sensitivity of most popes to the socio-cultural questions that surround modern sport.

Most importantly the popes advance a theological and religious critique of modern sport. As very few churches examine or even take on sport at a similar organizational level, the papal willingness to do so must be acknowledged as a positive development. The religious critique of society's undue emphasis on sport, as well as modern sport's overexaltation of the body, finds its origins in the papal abhorrence for "materialism." The papal concern is that modern sport adopts, with such intensity, the trappings of a modern materialistic culture. Thus sport may be seen as advancing the modern liberal experiment. Pius XI and subsequent popes are critical of materialism, and they see modern sport as a possible agent of a materialistic culture. When the popes speak against "materialism" they are referring to modern, utilitarian 'secularism,' the dominant culture of modern society. This culture understands human life in purely finite terms, relative and provisional, unrelated to a transcendent value or truth.

In effect, the popes elaborate a religious and theological critique of modern sport. Accordingly, the popes rail against the overexaltation of sport by modern secularists who interpret life in only finite terms; struggle to oppose any physical fitness regimens that are a covert attempt to advance nationalism; and proscribe as fascist any state that encourages a cult of the body.

THE PAPAL APPROBATION OF SPORT: THE *POSITIVA*

Although the research discloses a papal *negativa* about sport, there is, at the forefront, a correspondingly strong approbation of sport--a *positiva* with the ever present caveat that a proper perspective for sport is absolutely necessary. Sport, like all aspects of human life, is in need of redemption and so sport must be an instrument to this end.

The popes themselves must resolve a moral tension by keeping a solidarity with the past that says that the Roman Church is the centre for salvation. It is almost as if the popes wish to "baptize" a communal activity like sport but must do so without opening the flood-gates of secularization, an insidious force that the popes fight from the Enlightenment to the present. Sport may complement the teaching of the Church but the popes cannot be seen as advocating sport over religion or treating sport as an equal partner in elevating the person toward salvation. Therefore, there must be a demonstration of the imperfect side of sport from time to time. It is important to note that the word "baptism" does not mean an uncritical take-over, but in the case of sport an assimilation that included a critical perspective derived from biblical revelation. The popes recognize four central functions of sport: body and soul values; the educational value of sport; the health values of sport; and the role of sport as an instrument for achieving universal brotherhood.

Body and Soul Values of Sport

In this section I argue that a great deal of the reflections on sport by the popes emerges in relation to the teachings of the Catholic Church on the body. There is a continuing sophistication of Church teaching with regard to the body since Pius X (pontificate: 1903-1913), particularly about the body's relationship to the soul. However, the popes struggle to come to terms with conflicting ideas. On the one hand, the popes largely accept the increasingly modern philosophical trend to

regard the human person as ONE unified whole. Thus it is unacceptable to consider the person as a dichotomy--either body or soul; on the other hand, they uphold the pre-modern urge to emphasize Church teaching about the primacy of soul or spirit within the oneness of the person. There has been no resolution to the mind-body, spirit-body or soul-body problem; furthermore, the papal tendency to encourage the person's development in the sense of the oft quoted maxim "mens sana in corpore sano" introduces considerations of a dualistic conception of the individual. One must be cautious when discussing dualism as an inherent problem for papal teaching, so the reader must consider that devotions, popular piety, and spirituality tended to be dualistic in the Catholic church, but not the dominant philosophical tradition.

The dominant philosophical tradition in Christianity since Thomas Aquinas was the Thomistic adaptation of Aristotelianism in which the soul was the *forma corporis* or the vital principle of the body. Aristotle opposed Platonic dualism as well as Plato's contempt for the world of particulars. Notwithstanding, Catholic culture as distinct from Catholic theology, encouraged a dualistic world perception (nature and supernature) as well as of the human person (body and soul).

As the popes comment on sport, they apparently open up to a struggle with the mind-body problem. From this, they gain a fuller understanding of the unity of the person, a greater appreciation of the body and an ever expanding context with which to enter into a dialogue with sport. From the beginning, there is this dialectical tension evident in the relevant papal addresses on sport.

Since Pius X's evaluation of sport emerges from the traditional teaching of the Church on the primacy of the spiritual over the material, he has little problem positioning himself on the soul-body problem. Willi Schwank determines the following with reference to Pius X:

The evaluation of sports by the Pope is based on the reference to the effects of sports' activities on the spiritual realm. He notes:

- physical exercises have influence on spiritual exercises "in a wonderful way."
- they require effort and prevent idleness.
- in matches they build strong bodies and an emulation in strengthening virtue.³⁴

Thus, Pius X relates sports and physical exercise to the spiritual realm; however, he perceives their essential value in terms of their usefulness for the development of the soul, which is primary. Pius X's successor reinforces this teaching.

Very much in the tradition of Pius X,³⁵ Pius XI makes it explicitly clear in a 1926 address; that "the body is the instrument of the soul and, therefore, has to be cultivated and hardened, in order to assist it (the soul) in carrying out virtues."³⁶ Pius XI, however, does not struggle to clarify the rights of the body or otherwise to formulate and establish a foundation of teaching on the necessary relationship of the body to the soul from which to initiate a dialogue on sport. This formulation and foundation began with Pius XII and has yet to be definitively reconciled by the popes. Pius XII develops a great deal of his conceptions on the value of sport for the teachings of the Church from a continuing effort to convince and assure the people of the Church that Catholicism's teachings on sport reflect a true, correct, and Christian understanding of the body and the soul.

One finds Pius XII's pronouncements on the body-soul relationship in two addresses previously referred to: "Sports and Gymnastics" and "Physical Culture and Youth." In addressing the issue of the Church and physical culture in his 1945 address, Pius XII prefaces his address on sport with the Church teachings on the relationship between the body and the soul, exclaiming that:

Whoever would reprove the Church for being uninterested in the body and in physical culture in general is indeed both far from a knowledge of the truth, as well as would restrict its competency and action to things "purely religious" and "exclusively spiritual." As if the body, just as much a creature of God as the soul, should not have its share in rendering homage to the Creator! . . .

. . . The human body is in itself the masterpiece of God in the order of visible creation. The Lord destined it to flourish here below so that it might bloom immortal in heavenly glory. He united it to the soul in a unity of human nature, so that the soul might taste the enchantment of God's works, to help it see in this mirror a common Creator, to know Him, to adore and

love Him. God did not make the human body mortal, but sin did: but if, through sin, the human body taken from dust must one day return to dust (Gen., 3:9), the Lord will nevertheless draw it renovated to recall it to life. Even reduced to dust the Church respects and honors the human body, dead in order to live again.³⁷

According to Pius XII man's nature is a unity of body and soul and this theological teaching remains as a central teaching to the present day. Since, according to papal teaching, sport is always a means, never an end, sport clearly becomes one of the ways for the person, as a body, to perfect the soul. Quoting St. Paul and the Psalms³⁸ Pius concludes that "wholesomely and Christianly understood," the "duty and scope of sports" is to "cultivate the dignity and harmony of the body."³⁹

In his address to the Italian Congress on the Pedagogic and Hygienic Problems of Sports and Gymnastics in November 1952, published under the title "Sports and Gymnastics," Pius continues his teachings on the soul, the body, and sport. He emphasizes that the body is at the service of the soul so it follows that "sport which does not serve the soul is nothing more than a vain movement of the body's members, an ostentation of passing attractiveness, an ephemeral joy."⁴⁰

Pius considers, that as a category, gymnastics and sport are different but bear a relationship,⁴¹ and he is one of the only popes to go to great lengths to differentiate between the different sports⁴² in a matter not unlike that of McIntosh's classifications. Regardless of the classification, the popes conclude that the spirit and the soul, not the body, is the dominant element in gymnastics and sport:

... the moral and religious conscience requires that in estimating sport and gymnastics, in judging the person of athletes, in paying tribute of admiration of their achievements, the observance of this hierarchy of values should be regarded as a fundamental criterion, so that the greatest merit should not be attributed to him who has the strongest and most agile muscles, but rather to him who shows the most prompt capacity of subjecting them to the power of the spirit.⁴³ (Emphasis Pius XII.)

Thus sport becomes important in so far as it is capable of forwarding Catholic teaching on the proper relationship between body and soul. Through his pronouncements on sport, Pius XII encourages an asceticism of the body that, properly understood, culminates in the disciplining of the body as St. Paul teaches in his writings.

Neither John XXIII nor Paul VI advance the body-soul problem and its relationship to sport beyond the thought of Pius XII. Rather they address athletes and organizers of sporting events in the tradition of Pius XII and his basic teachings. John XXIII expresses the primacy of the soul over the body in an address to the Italian Athletic Union on April 20, 1959, when he notes that "the great value of athletics lies in its particular efficacy for interior perfection, consequent upon the exterior discipline with which you continually and seriously train your body."⁴⁴

Paul VI uses the platform of sport to deliver a message on the body-soul relationship that criticizes Platonic thought and Hinduism in order to advance the message of the Church on the body-soul question:

Contrary to Platonic thought, or to the Hinduist theory saying that the body is one of the successive places of the expiation of a guilty soul, Christian doctrine affirms that the body is not the prison of the soul. On the contrary, man, created by God in His image, is the unity of the one person, a body and a spiritual soul, closely connected to each other. The body, which has the soul for (as) a vital principle, is its instrument. It brings to the soul the sensitive knowledge of the external world and allows to express itself. This interdependence, whose existence is a given well established by experience, constitutes by itself a great problem and a topic which has interested researchers over the centuries. . .

. . . for the body is an indispensable companion despite the wounds of sin, the body must pass by destruction before finding itself, after the final resurrection, in the glory of the soul. . . .

. . . The body does not have an end in itself, it is tied to a destiny, tied to a soul, which transcends it and gives to it its plenitude in resurrection, beautifying . . . of the glory of the soul in the Lord Jesus.

That is the attitude of the Christian in regards to the body.⁴⁵ (Emphasis mine.)

The personal emphasis on Paul VI's demonstrates that the popes, no less than others who make the attempt, have a problem with the body-soul question. As the above passage indicates, Paul only furthers the essential mystery that is the person when he suggests that a person is both a duality and a unity.

Early in his pontificate, John Paul II affirms that the Magisterium's teaching on sport is a furtherance of its teachings on "the Christian concept of man"⁴⁶ and concludes that "neither the soul nor the body, taken separately, is man."⁴⁷ The pope agrees with the thought of Emanuel Mounier that man "is a body in the same way as he is a spirit: entirely body and entirely spirit."⁴⁸ He does not, however, remain consistent in the sense that if the situation warrants the use of sport to reinforce the traditional teaching on the primacy of the spirit, the body is secondary to the spirit. For example, in an address to the Council of the Italian National Olympic Committee, John Paul states:

Certainly, the value of the body must be supported and pursued in respect of the hierarchy of the higher moral and spiritual values, which, sometimes, require sacrifice of physical life itself, in order to affirm the absolute primacy of the spirit, of the soul, created in the likeness of God, reform to new life by the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Word, and called to the imperishable wreath, after the happy accomplishment of the earthly competition (cf. I Cor. 9: 24-25).⁴⁹

Approximately one and a half years later John Paul presumably sanctions the address of the Holy See to a European conference on sport that concludes the following:

As for the human person, not only can it be said that he "has" a body, but also that he "is" a body. For this reason sport must be considered--particularly in the age of development--as an expression of the whole person, since it is a constituent part of this important stage of his evolution as a complete being.⁵⁰ (Emphasis mine.)

From 1981 to basically 1990, John Paul makes only passing references to the body-soul question in his addresses and pronouncements on sport. During these years a new teaching thrust for sport evolves that relates to sport's other values for humanity. John Paul's current teachings on the body-soul problem are best reflected in the following address made to a General Audience

in 1986. His approach differs from that of his predecessors because he emphasizes both the unity AND the duality of man. John Paul concludes that:

1. Man, created in the image of God, is a being both corporeal and spiritual. On the one hand, he is bound to the external world, and on the other, he transcends it. As a spirit, besides being body, he is a person . . .
2. That man is an incarnate spirit, or if you wish, a body is formed by an immortal Spirit . . .
3. Man is a unity: he is one in himself. But in this unity there is contained a duality. Sacred Scripture presents both the unity (the person) and the duality (body and soul) . . .
4. . . . biblical tradition stresses especially the personal unity of man, by using the term "body" to designate the whole man The observation is exact . . .
5. Biblical sources authorize us to view man as a personal unity and at the same time as a duality of soul and body: a concept that found expression in the Church's entire Tradition and teaching . . .⁵¹ (Emphasis John Paul II.)

Various popes, particularly from the time of Pius XII to that of John Paul II, use their pronouncements on sport to advance the traditional teaching of the Church on the primacy of the spirit above the body. Although the popes create a dialectical tension between the body and the soul, in the end they privilege the soul. Initially sport is lost in the arguments but always reappears. Thus, in this case, the importance of sport is less important than the use of sport as a device for advocating and teaching traditional primacy of the soul. Thus the popes determine that sport becomes good for the person (the unity) in the person's duality (body and soul) when sport fits into God's diverse plan for the person.

The Educational Value of Sport

Historically, the Catholic Church assumed a major role in educating the people of the Church. In pre-modern times the priest was one of the few educated persons in the community of believers and references abound as to the role of the monasteries and medieval universities (often under the control of the Church) in advancing the educational process. With the modern age and the onset of secularism and individualism in thought and practice it became increasingly

difficult for the Church to maintain its hold on the educational process. This was especially the case when papal efforts to control education impacted against the ever emerging dominant power of the state and its need to control the educational process for its own particular ends. The earlier information on "muscular Christianity" is a relevant comparison. Sport became a pawn in the process whereby the natural inclination of youth for physical activity through sport found incorporation into the English public schools to prepare English youth for the building of the British Empire through overseas colonization.

In a 1976 pamphlet, A Christian View of Sports, the Pastoral Team for the 1976 Olympics notes that, "history teaches us that Christian thought first linked up with sporting activity through its concern for education, health and hygiene."⁵² Schwank posits that Pius X bases his concept of sports on their cathartic benefits as well as their efficacy as a "pedagogical instrument that serves personality development,"⁵³ noting that it is through the efforts of Pius X that "a far reaching integration of sports in the curriculum of Catholic youth work has come about."⁵⁴

In his 1929 Encyclical "On Education," Pius XI intends full well to establish the Church's rights in matters of education as Pius deems that God granted these rights to the Church. In so doing, Pius XI provides for an extension of these rights to physical culture, "nor may even physical culture, as it is called, be considered outside the range of her maternal supervisor, for the reason that it also is a means which may help or harm Christian education."⁵⁵

It is well to remember though, that the teaching function of the Church--the so-called Magisterium--concerns itself with matters of faith and morals and it directs attention to these matters. The subject of faith and sport is absent in the papal addresses on sport; however, the popes continually draw connections between sports and morality. The direct references to the importance of sports for the education of a proper Catholic morality number in the hundreds.

In this matter, the Church is in competition with the state in vying for the proper place of sport in the educational process. As J.J. Twomey notes in 1958:

There is not much point in discussing in the abstract the desirability of Physical Education and allied subjects. They are here to stay. Further, despite the occasional gibe one hears that modern schools seem to consist mainly of a few classrooms thrown round a gymnasium set in the midst of playing fields, it is a good thing that they are here to stay. Rightly handled, they are a powerful influence for good, spiritual as well as bodily and temporal. Wrongly handled, they can be destructive of all religion and morality. Priests, especially, should be prepared to give guidance on the right handling of these subjects, and be capable of counteracting the influence of the wrong handling of them on the children committed to their care . . .⁵⁶

A papal response to sport is absolutely necessary to offset the potential negative influence that sport may have on the ethical development of Catholic youth. Pius XII sets the tone for all subsequent papal teachings on the inculcation of virtue through sport:

Sports is a school for loyalty, courage, endurance, determination, universal brotherhood; all natural virtues, but which serve as a solid foundation for the supernatural virtues and prepare one to withstand without weakness the weight of more serious obligations.⁵⁷

From another major address on sport Pius states:

Education in sport aims also at developing in the young virtues proper to this activity. These are, among others, loyalty that excludes taking refuge in subterfuges, docility and obedience to the wise commands of the director charged with the training of the team, the spirit of self-renunciation when one has to fade into the background in order that the interests of the team may thereby be furthered, fidelity to obligations undertaken, modesty in victory, serenity in adverse fortune, patience towards spectators who are not always moderate, justice if the competitive sport is bound up with financial interests resultant from voluntary agreements, and in general chastity and temperance already recommended by the ancients themselves.⁵⁸

The above excerpts emphasize the potential educational value of sports for Catholic youth. In an address to gymnasts in 1954 Pius emphasizes again that "sports and gymnastics can contribute to the full development of the finest, moral qualities, on the condition that they keep within the limits of their proper aims."⁵⁹ The qualities and virtues that Pius XII speaks about are worthy of attention in light of the previous political typology offered in Chapter One. Loyalty, courage, determination and universal brotherhood are virtues and qualities pregnant with political

meaning. Loyalty is basically a conservative ideal. One's loyalty to the community or ideal has a value over and above one's own self-realization or concerns for personal success. Courage and determination fit both into a conservative and a liberal perspective. The individual struggling to succeed needs courage and determination in order to become upwardly mobile or culturally creative. These are liberal ideals as well as the concept of universal brotherhood which is neither derived from the Bible nor the conservative tradition. Universal brotherhood has its origins in the enlightenment, the Democratic Revolution, a basic trust in humans and a progressive modernity. Thus one needs to read and examine papal comments about the virtues promoted by sport in a wide context. Papal comments support the liberal project but they also recall humanity to the old values.

A further illustration of the educational value of sport, having its origins in the writings of Pius XII and gradually extending through the teaching of subsequent popes, is found in the notion of "fair play." In his 1945 address on sport Pius XII advocates that sport regain the British sense of "fair play" that Pius characterizes as a "gentlemanly and courteous emulation which elevated characters above pettiness, frauds and subterfuges of a dark and vindictive vanity."⁶⁰ Regardless of the dark side of "fair play," as an ideal it is a positive and noble concept for emulation through sport. Within the structure of a political typology, fair play is a liberal ideal that may well have encouraged a further consideration on the part of the papacy for extending the possibilities for sport in bringing peoples together.

Pius XII's reference to fair play is in many respects a clarion call for a new educational value for sport, a universal call for a more ethical approach to sport. However, the fair play ideal does not re-appear (in these terms) in papal pronouncements on sport until 1978 when Paul VI refers to it only in passing.⁶¹

Beginning with John XXIII a distinctly secular shift occurs with respect to an understanding of sport that demands a type of ethical teaching less emphatically religious if not completely devoid of religious connotations. This trend is more fully developed in the addresses of Paul VI whose pontificate is another landmark for the beginning of a serious dialogue with modern sport. Apart from any religious significance the papal statements accentuate during and since his pontificate, this dialogue recognizes sport as fundamentally secular and valuable in itself for humanity. Both John XXIII and Paul VI continue in the tradition of Pius XII in cautioning the young and those who care for the education of the youth to find the proper perspective for sport. This perspective realizes that, for the most part, sport serves mankind, not the opposite, and recognizes that in matters of education sport serves as preparation for more important spiritual matters. The following is a summary of John XXIII's position on the virtues and values of sports in education:

The rules of a healthy family education and of a good education of youth demands that we take care during athletic competition that one does not worry uniquely about the body considered as the supreme good of man and that passion for sport does not become an obstacle for the perfect accomplishments of one's duties. It is no less certain, however, that one must always appreciate and encourage honest physical exercise and the noble competitions of the stadium. The riches and qualities developed in man by sport are indeed many and precious: Qualities of the body: health, strength, agility of the limbs, grace, beauty; qualities of the soul: constancy, courage, habit of self-denial.⁶²

Paul VI begins his thoughts on the educational value of sports within the tradition of Pius XII but extends Pius' teaching to include the role that sport has for creating a brotherhood of man-- a subject for further discussion. Early in his pontificate, in a 1965 address, Paul summarily declares that sport "has in itself a moral and educational value of the first order."⁶³ A decade later Paul VI addresses the participants of the World Congress of National Olympic Committees in terms that indicated emphasis on the ethical teaching value for sport:

By means of the development of the physical possibilities of the individual, it is indeed to his moral fulfillment that it [sport] contributes, under multiple aspects: search for the human balance of the person, respect for partners, discovery of what the rule of the game is, loyal emulation.

But it also has a civil worth which is no less real, which, in a time as troubled as ours, it is right to recognize. We are talking about the contribution it can make, by its own ethics and by the meetings it encourages, talking about the calls for comprehension and peace among peoples.⁶⁴

In an address to the Presidents of the Italian Sports Federations shortly before his death in 1978, Paul further elaborates the use of sport for teaching "universally recognized ethical principles"⁶⁵ that could make "a valuable contribution to checking that process of the dehumanization of society."⁶⁶ Paul appeals for a kind of sport that emphasizes the importance of winning less than the "virtues of loyalty, fair play and mutual respect;"⁶⁷ values that are at least as secular as they are religious. Paul VI develops more fully the ethical ideals initiated by Pius XII while John Paul II continues in the tradition of Paul VI, extending this line of thought in a great many of his addresses on sport.

In most of his pronouncements on sport, John Paul II affirms the value of sport in promoting morality. The use of sport to teach virtue; to develop wholesome physical virtues; and to mollify potentially negative values as a consequence of one's participation in sport occupy a main current of thought. In at least fourteen of his addresses, from his first pronouncement on sport in 1979, to 1986, when his comments on sport are less frequent, John Paul II emphasizes this function for sport. The following titles speak for the content of the message: "The Discipline of Sports for Complete Human Formation;"⁶⁸ "Sport, A School of Human Virtue;"⁶⁹ "Sport as Training Ground for Virtue and Instrument of Union Among People;"⁷⁰ "Sport Exalts Human Virtue;"⁷¹ "Sport: A Training Ground for Life;"⁷² "Athletic Competition Draws from Human Person Noblest Qualities and Talents;"⁷³ "Sports Require Loyalty, Generosity, Optimism;"⁷⁴ "Sports Can and Must Contribute to Person's Integral Formation;"⁷⁵ "Infuse a Religious Spirit into Study and Other

Efforts;"⁷⁶ "Sport Offers Opportunity for Spiritual Elevation;"⁷⁷ "Sports Can Become an Instrument of Reconciliation and Peace;"⁷⁸ "Sports Can Help Spread Fraternity and Peace;"⁷⁹ "Integrate Physical Gifts with Spiritual Ones."⁸⁰

John Paul II's addresses on sport repeatedly demonstrate his belief that sport builds character and that sport "has a high moral and educational value: it is a school of strong virtues, a training also for the conquests and victories of the spirit."⁸¹ This statement echoes the words of Pius XII with respect to the teaching of virtue and traditional values through sport and in the education of youth. The situation within the Catholic Church remains basically true to the teaching of Pius X who viewed sport as a "pedagogical device."

Health Values: Physical and Psychological

The popes comment on the considerable value of sport for rest and relaxation; for recovering strength to pursue more important ends; and for diversion from other kinds of pressures that generally relate to work. Research in the disciplines of physical education, health, and recreation demonstrates that physical activity and exercise has tremendous mental health enhancing potential, and it is clear that the popes base their comments on the value of sport as a legitimate catharsis. However, most of the research on the cathartic value of physical activity revolves around the concepts of play and physical exercise with greater possible extension into the realm of recreational sports. The interpretation of the cathartic value of sport by the popes creates a problem for the popes that remains unresolved. Beginning with John XXIII and with increasing regularity, the popes address their comments to the elite amateur athletes of the Olympic Games or to various touring sports teams for which play and recreational approaches to sport are a distant memory of youth.

Schwank proposes that Pius X's concepts of sport indicate that "sports are mainly a possibility for entertainment and leisure."⁸² This, in addition to Pius X's belief that the value of sport is largely pedagogical and of great importance for the development of spiritual virtues suggests that Pius X does not concern himself with the competitive sport of elite amateurs or professional sportsmen. The proposition here is that Pius X's eventual legitimization of the Olympics through his meetings with Coubertin are in isolation from the value of sport for one's health.

Pius XI, the "alpine" Pope,⁸³ was an advocate of sport's value in strengthening the body. In his later pontificate, Pius XII develops this theme. Pius XI promotes the hygienic aspects of physical activity since both hygiene and strengthening of the body ("the obedient instrument") lead to "the growth of the spirit."⁸⁴

Pius XII sets a tone for a view of sport that none of his successors deny. In concluding his first address on the scope of sport for the Christian, he challenges the athletes to whom he is speaking with the following ideal of a true sportsman:

For the Christian sportsman, and also for you beloved sons, sports must not become the supreme ideal, the ultimate goal, but they must serve to tend toward that ideal, toward obtaining that goal. If sports serve you as a recreation and stimulus to accomplish your work and study with freshness and enthusiasm, then they can be said to be significant and worthwhile and accomplish what they should.⁸⁵

The role of sports here is clearly that of a catharsis. As much as Pius XII supports and encourages athletes to pursue the development of physical skills, bodily health, and physical strength,⁸⁶ the purpose of sport is ultimately to foster the soul and to direct one's attention to higher goals. When Pius XII developed his philosophy of sport, the modern notions of sport that would propel it into forms beyond which Pius could only begin to caution against were already irretrievably set in motion. The ideals of rest and relaxation for the pursuit of higher goals of family, Church or God soon gave way to the ideals of individual excellence, building of national pride, and the pursuit of earthly ends.

As far as can be determined, John XXIII did not speak of the mental health benefits of sport, but he would have had little difficulty in defending the pursuit of bodily health for spiritual ends. Paul VI returns to the ideal that sport needs to maintain the health of the individual since "today's working conditions tend to reinforce the necessity of sport."⁸⁷

John Paul II promotes the value of "physical exercise to maintain good health,"⁸⁸ and it is well-known that the Polish pontiff is (was?) an avid mountain-climber and soccer player and still maintains a swimming regimen when at the papal summer residence at Gandolfo. John Paul II, in the tradition of Pius XII, advances the possibility that "competitive" sports may offer "the motive of calm relaxation" but it is interesting that, unlike Pius XII, who addresses youth on this theme, John Paul makes similar comments to a truly professional soccer team.⁸⁹ Thus professional athletes have opportunities to achieve the ideal of catharsis, although once again, relevant research does not necessarily support catharsis as a high ideal of, or obvious derivative of professional sport. To the athletes of the Roman Athletic Association John Paul II advocates that sport's competition "offers a moment of serene relaxation."⁹⁰ If such is indeed the case, these moments in professional sport are rare.

Universal Brotherhood

This fourth positive point concerning sport is very much a liberal ideal. It is also a complex ideal since there are many interpretations as to the methods of achieving this brotherhood. This section of the *positiva* proposes that the fostering of universal brotherhood by the popes is a reaction to the realities and dangers of nationalism and the historical abominations that are a result of nationalist pride. That nationalism results in conflict between nations is to state the obvious but only Pius XI, Pius XII, and Paul VI express any anxieties about this when they talk about sport, and not insistently. With respect to both Pius XI and Pius XII, concerns about

nationalism were understandable since they served in their pontificates during the two World Wars.

Pius XI warns in his 1930 encyclical that:

In these days there is spreading a spirit of nationalism which is false and exaggerated as well as dangerous to true peace and prosperity. Under its influence various excesses are committed in giving a military turn to the so-called physical training of boys (sometimes even of girls, contrary to the very instincts of human nature).⁹¹

Pius XII's only significant condemnation of nationalism in his addresses on sport emanate from his discussion of the fair play ethic. It was Pius XII's belief that a return to such an ideal held the potential of diluting if not preventing "a stifling, intransigent nationalism."⁹²

While discussing the real meaning of sport in one of his final addresses on sport in 1973, Paul VI emphasizes that sport "takes place among the cultural demands of every civilization."⁹³ The true value of sport for Paul is not "the exaltation of neo-nationalism"⁹⁴ but rather "the taste for effort, for self-control, for the respect of others."⁹⁵ Ironically, during the 1970's there was a virtual explosion of "neo-nationalism" throughout Europe (Scotland, Brittany), Africa, and North America (Quebec).

None of the above popes, in their short references to the pitfalls of nationalism, could ever have hoped to stop the forces that drove nationalistic fervour. It is an argument thus that the papal response to nationalism is by way of appealing to the liberal ideal of universal brotherhood. The popes accomplish this task through their positive approval and papal legitimization of the Olympic Games, although once again it is not a completely uncritical approbation.

It was well-known by the popes⁹⁶ that in 1905, Pius X received in audience and encouraged the efforts⁹⁷ of the recognized founder of the modern Olympic Games, Baron Pierre de Coubertin.⁹⁸ This is most likely the first encounter between a pope and a secular representative from the world of sport. It is an important meeting in that it symbolizes a papal legitimization of the Olympic movement for one could surmise that Coubertin was in Rome to prepare for the 1908

Olympic Games. Little is known of this meeting as the official records remain in the Vatican archives.

John J. MacAloon makes the point that from the very beginning "the modern Olympic movement has been filled with religious terminology,"⁹⁹ noting also that Pierre de Coubertin "consciously and unambiguously regarded it as a religious phenomenon."¹⁰⁰ Coubertin's mature religion was a product of a "loose deism;" an idealization of "Hellenism;" and a search for a "cult of humanity based on Comte's search for a "religion of humanity."¹⁰¹

Whether or not Pius X's ultimate desire was to "Christianize" the Olympics can only be a speculation but it would fit his profile. Other popes, however, have little trouble advancing Coubertin's position on the Olympic ideal of peace and brotherhood, friendly games, and a world citizenry. Coubertin based these ideals on the ideas of a contemporary, Marcel Mauss, who distinguishes between the "nation" and the "state" as well as between "cosmopolitanism" and "internationalism."¹⁰² Coubertin espouses a type of nationalism that saw in the nation "the ensemble of all citizens and their traditions" and all that was their culture versus the state which was simply "le gouvernement."¹⁰³ With respect to the difference between a cosmopolitanism that argues for a "world citizenry" versus an "internationalism" that argues for a celebration of "cultural differences," Coubertin believed in and glorified the latter.¹⁰⁴ For Coubertin and for the popes who address the athletes of the Modern Olympics it might be said that "national patriotism and internationalism not only need not contradict one another, but were fundamentally interdependent."¹⁰⁵

When Pius XII delivered his address on "Sports in Christian Life" to the Italian Sports Federation in 1955, Rome had already been declared as the site of the 1960 Summer Olympic Games. The potential for spreading the Catholic Christian message on sport, or in keeping with the arguments of the thesis, the advancing of Catholic teaching through sport was not lost on Pius.

He made it quite clear that "the Universality of Christian Rome" would affect all who would attend the games, athletes, spectators or whomever. In his address Pius states:

Since, at the present time, it is very opportune to promote and favour meetings between different people so that love and brotherhood may result from their reciprocal acquaintanceship, a meeting between them in the Eternal City, which is the mother of peoples and Peacemaker par excellence, will more efficaciously strengthen in the ranks of youth the desire for peace and collaboration.¹⁰⁸

Pius did not receive the length of life to address the athletes of the Olympic Games in Rome. That honour belonged to John XXIII. After John XXIII's death, Paul VI addressed the athletes and teams bound for the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo;¹⁰⁷ competitors in the 1968 Games in Mexico City;¹⁰⁸ and participants in the 1972 Games in Munich which in itself was subject of more than one address.¹⁰⁹ Between the Olympiads Paul also addressed Associations with connections to the Olympic movement or directly addressed the International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.).¹¹⁰

Papal teaching on the Olympics thus emphasizes the idea that sport can lead to international understanding. John XXIII uses the Olympics as a platform for one of his favourite themes, Pacem in Terris. John XXIII's ideal was the unity of all Christians and, as this always remained his goal as well as that of future pontiffs, it was an initial step toward reaching out to all peoples. The central teaching, however, was that Rome was still the centre of Christianity from which would spread the "good news" of salvation. Sport, and especially the Olympics, was an ideal instrument for John's teaching as reflected in his 1960 address to athletes:

Before we leave you, We would like to draw your attention to the very important function that God has given Rome, as much in the realm of historical events as in that of religion.

It so happens that by an admirable fate of Divine Providence, this city has become the capital of an empire which has succeeded in grouping in the same civilization and same unity not only the peoples from around the Mediterranean, but also those from further regions. These circumstances, by creating a very developed web of communications and a common language, have allowed, by Divine disposition, for the city of Rome to become very happily the centre of Christian religion.

Keeping this very eminent dignity, it has tried with all its might and along the centuries to bring to all the peoples the supreme good of salvation by the Gospel, charity and peace.

With a glance towards Rome, we can discover a number of ancient monuments and places, witnesses of that history and whose voice is full of majesty and does not leave well born hearts insensitive.

I who speak to you, humble successor to Peter, wish that you listen carefully to this voice.¹¹¹

Early in the final year of his life, John XXIII addressed a congress "for a new athletic conscience in Italy."¹¹² This address is particularly important in that John initiates an ecumenical thrust through sport for the brotherhood of man. Sport from this point on becomes a valuable tool for a type of social teaching that gains even greater significance with the pontificates of Paul VI and John Paul II. In his January 1963 address John speaks of sport and the coming together of peoples:

Today, the barriers of distance have fallen, and brothers have come closer, have become more able to understand each other, to love each other, they are more willing to know each other, to help each other. In this providential meeting, sport also has a special place and it is well deserved. On the level of loyal competitions, in which the always new energies of the young from all the countries of the world take part, we have come to more frequent and happier meetings between peoples, thus promoting the movement of coming together in charity.¹¹³

In spite of this essentially universal embrace of humanity, John XXIII is not able to exorcise completely a traditional need to teach what is essentially the faith and morality of Christianity. He encourages the athletes to become witnesses for Christianity, or even evangelists of a more benign form of "muscular Christianity":

What weight can the athletes have when they know how to bring to this universal meeting besides the courage of their physical abilities, the grace of character, the coherence between intimate connections in life, the witness of souls which live happily and generously their Christianity.¹¹⁴ (Note John XXIII uses the now obsolete term Christianity) [sic].

Although Paul VI includes traditional Church teaching in his addresses on sport, there is a distinct change in tone from the traditional Church teaching about the value of sport. Paul VI begins a process that opens sport to modern humanistic possibilities; that is, his addresses suggest an emphatic consideration of the values of sport apart from the sacred. This signifies--although

Paul did not say so--an acceptance by Paul and thereby the Church of the secularization of sport that no amount of traditional Church teaching may obviate.

Paul VI delivers many addresses on the place of sport in the modern era to sporting groups, teams or associations that were fundamentally international in scope. This was in keeping with his interest in international peace, goodwill and brotherhood. Thus he addressed athletes and organizers at the Olympic Games, the International Olympic Committee (1966), and the Italian Sports Federation (1978). In short, Paul VI promoted universal values for which sport was a major instrument.

Paul's respect and admiration for the Olympic Games is obvious and his message is that Olympism brings people to a position of mutual understanding and friendship. Addressing participants at the 1964 Olympic Games in Tokyo, Paul hopes that they:

may . . . contribute to the mutual better knowledge of people and mutual appreciation of their qualities and virtues and unite them by the ties of durable friendship way beyond the border of space and time, those who rival against each other to obtain the prize of success, so that the athletes understanding that they are brothers, despite the differences of race or nation, can, in their professional lines, act in such a way as to contribute to the honour of behaviour, to social progress, to mutual understanding and to peace in the world; so that they bring to society the shining light of their example, whose Olympic flame, messenger of brotherhood and youth, is a perfect symbol.¹¹⁵

This passage may be seen as important as a prelude to Vatican II's "Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World" entitled Gaudium et Spes promulgated by Paul VI on December 7, 1965. With respect to the duties of Christians in the modern world and their responsibilities for fostering a "universal culture", the Council considered the proper use of leisure and sports:

May this leisure be used properly to relax, to fortify the health of soul and body . . . through sports activity which helps to preserve equilibrium of spirit even in the community, and to establish fraternal relations among men of all conditions, nations and races. Let Christians cooperate so that the cultural manifestations and collective activity characteristic of our time may be imbued with a human and a Christian spirit.¹¹⁶

John Paul II advances more forcefully the teachings of Paul VI. More so than ever with respect to the papacy, sport is an instrument for social teaching about universal brotherhood. John

Paul certainly recognizes that sport brings diverse peoples together. He continues to advance the themes of sport for the brotherhood of man;¹¹⁷ sport as a means for promoting peace;¹¹⁸ and sport as an "instrument" of union among people.¹¹⁹

In contrast to his predecessors John Paul II's language is more contemporary; while his use of the term "solidarity" in his many writings on sport attests to an identification with the "solidarity" movement in his native Poland. John Paul's contemporary message is essentially that "sports is a valid factor of socialization and growth in relations of friendship in an atmosphere of solidarity."¹²⁰ In the same address, John Paul confirms that with respect to Church teaching "it is legitimate to ask ourselves how sports can truly contribute to the improvement of modern society."¹²¹ In posing this question, John Paul establishes the utility of sports as an instrument of social teaching. This teaching is essentially that, for John Paul, sport must contribute to the establishment of a new world order or a "new society;"¹²² a new "civilization of love";¹²³ a "new civilization of peace."¹²⁴ Finally, John Paul indicated that the Church "sees in sport a potent factor in moral and social education, on a personal level and also on the national and international level."¹²⁴

From 1986 to 1990, there was a noticeable absence of addresses on sport by John Paul II as he made few, if any, remarks on sport between these years. When John Paul II once again turns to sport in 1990 on the occasion of the World Cup of Soccer, he approaches sport with the same appeals as previously described.

Summarily, all the popes from Pius X to John Paul II recognize sports' potential for promoting universal brotherhood. No mention has been made of Benedict XV (pontificate: 1913-1922). However, Schwank proposes that in meeting with a touring American sport's club in 1920, Benedict XV legitimates sport through the following:

1. By granting this audience Benedict XV makes known his interest in this club and underlines thus at the same time their activities.

2. The reception of "Cavalieri de Colombo" by the Pope shows a certain tradition in the sequence of Papal audiences for sports groups.¹²⁶

Pius XI did not advance the theme of universal brotherhood beyond that of Pius X who in reality only saw the potential in so far as he encouraged the Olympics. It was Pius XII who revived the concept of universal brotherhood from its comparative dormancy since 1905.

Although John XXIII's pontificate was largely subsumed in Vatican II, the few addresses that he made on sport were of a different tone from that of Pius XII. As the pope who proposed Pacem in Terris, John XXIII began a papal trend that charged sport with a responsibility in matters of international significance.

Paul VI clearly initiated, struggled with, and stood on the brink of forwarding the papal teaching toward sport that came to fulfillment with the social teaching of John Paul II. In this regard then my research runs contrary to that of Schwank who maintains in the course of his research that it is unnecessary to further investigate Paul VI's pronouncements on sport since "Paul VI in the fundamental evaluation of sports still more or less stands in the tradition of his predecessors so that additional aspects of his concept can hardly be expected in documents not consulted."¹²⁷

Paul VI elevates the social teaching on sport that John XXIII hints at. Furthermore, it was clear that although Paul VI and John Paul II continued to use sport for promoting the essential teaching of Catholic values and traditions, both popes elevate sport to a social level beyond that established by any of their predecessors. Sport is no longer just an instrument for Catholic teaching but is also a legitimate form of cultural expression. Therefore, the Church may observe sport to retrieve some of its positive aspects and, of course, emphasize those that confirm and highlight its traditional teachings.

As Schwank shrewdly observes, John Paul II's teaching on sport differs significantly from that of his predecessor: "sport as a human and social phenomenon has to John Paul II a great meaning and influence in contemporary thinking and living. Consequently it is not only a mirror

image of society but it has also developed a creating force of its own."¹²⁸ In the words of Schwank this teaching of John Paul II was "a new quality"¹²⁹ (eine neue Qualitaet) and "a new dimension,"¹³⁰ (eine neue Dimension); however it emerged from the foundation established by Paul VI.

My examination of the papal addresses on sport shows a gradual opening of the papacy to the values of modernity, particularly to those ideals of liberal secularism as represented by the Olympic Games. The popes strongly approve of and encourage the Olympic Games but a critique accompanies this overall approbation. Thus one may posit that such approval of the Olympics represents a significant opening of the church to liberal ideas and ideals. The papacy of the twentieth century generally supported those secular international organizations, like the League of Nations, that sought to promote peace and brotherhood. They continue to support the ideals of the United Nations and the Olympic Games.

The Pius-popes supported these liberal ideals on the basis of "natural-law" arguments that belonged, from their point of view, to the natural order. Later popes did not concern themselves with such a radical distinction between the two orders. Therefore they used theological words like love, derived from the scriptures to designate the joint project of humanity. This was indeed an innovation on the part of the popes.

Sport for Women and Sport for the Disabled

In the analysis of papal documents and addresses on sport there are two groups that are noticeable by their absences. It is unfair to say that absolutely no references to sport for women and/or sport for the disabled exist; however, they are few and far between.

As the first pope to comment on sport for women, Pius XI stressed sport's importance for a Christian education with the cautionary caveat:

None can believe that this [Christian education] would exclude or depreciate all the benefits it could bring to the body, noble instrument of the soul, such as agility and a solid grace,

health and real good strength; as long as it is done in a rightful way, time and place; as long as is avoided all that does not coincide with the reserve and the way of being that are such ornaments and necessities to virtue; as long as it does not bring forth an incentive to violence and vanity. If a woman must raise her hand, We hope and pray that it be only for the act of praying or for a beneficial action.¹³¹

In his 1930 encyclical, Pius XI formalised his teaching about women and sport and, as has been previously shown, worried that "in gymnastic exercises and deportment, special care must be had of Christian modesty in young women and girls." Additionally, Pius was no advocate of the co-education of women and men.¹³²

Papal attitudes towards women's participation in sport proceeded so slowly that even today the Church has yet to clarify its position. Neither Pius XII, John XXIII, Paul VI, or John Paul II say anything directly about the value of sport for women. Sport is basically a man's world. If women were to look to the popes for emancipatory statements in the realm of sport they would be disappointed.

Pius XII's addresses to athletes presumably included girls and boys, and women and men, but Pius confined his comments to the males. His pronouncement of 1945 was for the most part sexually neutral but there was an echo of Pius XI's warnings in Pius XII's address:

Just as there are gymnastics and sport which help by their austerity to refrain the instincts, so, too, there are other forms of sport which reawaken them, either by violent force or by sensual allurements. Even from the esthetic viewpoint, in the pleasure of beauty and admiration for rhythm in dance and gymnastics, instinct can insinuate its poison into the mind. There is, moreover, in sport and gymnastics, in rhythm and in dance, a certain nudism which is neither necessary nor proper. Not without reason did an impartial observer remark some decades ago: "What is of interest to the masses in this field is not the beauty of the nude but the nudity of beauty." The religious and moral sense places its veto on such a manner of practising gymnastics and sport.¹³³

Pius XII's concern with public sports in which women were participants lead me to believe the popes viewed sport as a male enterprise:

First, the young men should be convinced that the care of the body is not an end in itself but should be directed to the intellectual and moral perfecting of the soul; that the exercise of sport should not interfere with the duties of one's state--of student, worker or professional man--but rather be helpful towards their observance, at least indirectly, by the rebuilding of

energy; that no motive dispenses sportsmen from respecting the common moral law in its triple object: God, the family and society, and themselves.¹³⁴

Pius XII's thinking, as reflected in his addresses on sport, was patriarchal and consistent with the values of the pre-modern Church.

Since the papal tendencies are to support, reinforce or ignore the deficiencies of the thinking of their predecessors it is not surprising that the masculine tone of the papal addresses on sport continue to the present. The popes side-step the issues of women's rights to fulfillment by addressing women through their audiences with "youth" (male/female) or "athletes" and as far as can be determined not one single pope made an address to a group of women or a women's sport team. In an address by the Holy See (approved by the pope?) to the "European Conference on Sport" in 1981, one finds the most modern teaching on women and sport emanating from the Vatican.¹³⁵

In this report (all quotation marks refer to citation 149 in the endnotes) the Holy See affirms the "femininity (also) in sport and through sport" that must not be lost through a search for "non-sexualized" sport." The Holy See considers that there is a certain danger in sport for women during their formative and developmental years that demands a cautious approach. The Holy See concedes that as for sport during adolescence there should be no need to assist young women in the integration of their "athletic" versus their "feminine" identities. The overall conclusion may thus be that when the popes speak of men, mankind, brotherhood, or sportsmanship they do not necessarily exclude women.

Finally, in regard to social teaching the popes rarely comment on the oppressed minorities or the physically disabled and the liberating potential that sport has for these groups in society. This is somewhat surprising and one may legitimately surmise from an examination of the papal addresses on sport that the popes are for the most part speaking to and for a very privileged

elite--the athletes and the national organizations and bureaucracy that sustains them. Pius XII expressed a concern with sports for the needy in 1955 when he stated that:

First of all, as regards the organizational and technical viewpoint, the diffusion of healthy sport should be increased especially among needy youth If you are truly persuaded that sport tempers and strengthens the body, educates the spirit and trains it for higher victories, you cannot allow numerous groups of young people to be deprived of these benefits because of their poverty.¹³⁶

Three years before he took note of those who survived the two World Wars, and who were either sick or handicapped as a result. He reminded the Christian community that "it is the duty of all to devote a special and compassionate attention to those cases whose earthly destiny is diverse."¹³⁷

His address of 1952 contained one of the few papal pronouncements on sport that empathized with the downtrodden and oppressed:

Every man, although he be sick and therefore unable to participate in sport of any kind, is withal truly a man, who in his very physical defects is fulfilling a special and mysterious design of Almighty God. If he will embrace in the spirit of resignation this sorrowful mission, thus carrying out the divine Will and by the divine Will being in turn supported, he will be able more surely to travel life's way, which is for him a path strewn with stones and overgrown with thorns, among which not the least is the enforced renunciation of the joys of sport."¹³⁸

Notwithstanding, in contemporary society and due largely to technological advancements, very few physically handicapped must "renunciate . . . the joys of sport." No other pope after Pius XII referred to minority groups in their addresses on sport until 1985--thirty years after Pius XII--when John Paul II received an audience of blind athletes competing in the European Games for the Blind. John Paul II drew strength and hope from the athletes emphasizing that they are a symbol for those with sight. He notes:

. . . that within every man or woman suffering from some physical defect, there is always a human person; there is a human heart, with all the riches of an individuality which must not only be respected, but helped to develop itself according to its own gifts and inclinations, for the person's own good and to the advantage of the entire community.¹³⁹

Evidently the Church's teaching of a preferential option for the poor or handicapped has not fully reached its teaching on sport. Such a position demonstrates that John Paul II's pronouncements

on sport in relation to the minorities and oppressed do not reach the level of solidarity and compassion that John Paul II utilizes elsewhere.¹⁴⁰

CHAPTER THREE

ENDNOTES

¹Pius XII, "Sports in Christian Life," The Catholic Mind 54 (July, 1956): 410.

²Report in "Dans Le Monde," Service Oecumenique de Presse et d'Information, No. 21 (29 Juin 1990): 5.

³Report in "International Forum," The Mennonite Reporter, (30 July 1990): 2. This was an English summary of a more complete report available in No. 1 above.

⁴Pius XI, "Full Text of the Pope's Encyclical," (Divini Illius Magistri) Current History 31 (6) (March 1930): 1097.

⁵Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," in Vincent A. Yzerman, p. 62.

⁶Pius XII, "Sport and Gymnastics," The Catholic Mind 51 (September, 1953): 573.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Pius XII, "Sports in Christian Life," 416.

⁹John XXIII, "Spiritual Values from Athletics," The Pope Speaks 5 (4) (Autumn, 1959): 396.

¹⁰Paul VI, "Sports and the Contest of Life," The Pope Speaks 10 (1) (Autumn, 1964): 42.

¹¹See "300 Dead in Lima As Rioting Erupts at Soccer Match," Robert Lipsyte, ed., in Sports and Society, The Great Contemporary Issues: Articles from the New York Times (New York: Arno P, 1980), p. 289. At an Olympic qualifying soccer match between Argentina and Peru; in which a referee disallowed a potential tying goal by Peru in the last two minutes of the match, a riot erupted that resulted in over 300 dead, 500 injured and pandemonium in Lima during which the Peruvian Government proclaimed a state of emergency.

¹²Paul VI, "Sports and the Contest of Life," 41.

¹³Paul VI, "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Tokyo," in Gerard Bouchard, President: Le Comité des Publications, le Service de Pastorale des Jeux Olympiques, Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI (? : Les Editions Bellarmin, 1976), pp. 89-90.

Translation of: "L'Eglise, on le sait, ne se désintéresse pas du sport: elle l'encourage et le bénit lors qu'il n'est pas une simple manifestation de force, ou de rivalité exagérée, ou de purs intérêts matériels."

¹⁴John Paul II, "Pope Inaugurates 'Italia 90' Cup," L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 24 [], (11 June 1990): 3.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶John Paul II, "The Most Authentic Dimension of Sport: To Create a New Civilization of Love," L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 17 [831]), (24 April 1984): 4.

¹⁷Rosella Isidori Frasca, "Sports Gynaecology in Italy," Stadion: International Journal of the History of Sport, 12/13 (1986/87): 331-336.

¹⁸Ibid., 331.

¹⁹Ibid., 332.

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Pius XI, "Chirograph: To the Cardinal Vicar of Rome," Acta Apostolica Sedis 20: 5 (May 4, 1928): 135-137.

²²Pius XI, "Full Text of the Pope's Encyclical," 1100.

²³Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 60.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Pius XII, "Sport and Gymnastics," 571-572.

²⁷Pius XII, "Sport and Christian Life," 409.

²⁸Pius XII, "Sport and Gymnastics," 575.

²⁹John XXIII, "Spiritual Lessons from Athletics," 395.

³⁰Paul VI, "Corps Humaine et Sport," Valeurs du Sport, p. 93. Translation of: "les chrétiens ne sauraient faire leur une doctrine manichéenne d'un corps mauvais et d'une âme bonne."

³¹Paul VI, "Le Sport, Facteur d'Éducation Physique, Morale, Sociale, Internationale," in Valeurs du Sport, p. 100. Translation of:

Culte du corps, divinisation du corps, non, certes; mais exercice physique, gymnastique, entraînement à l'endurance, à la souplesse, à la vigueur, avec les précautions voulues et dans le respect des valeurs supérieures à l'ordre physique, quoi de plus conforme à la saine raison, aux desseins du Créateur, à l'enseignement de l'Eglise?

³²John Paul II, "The Discipline of Sports for Complete Human Formation," address to Italian and Argentine athletes on 25 May 1979, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 25 [5861]) (18 June 1979): 5.

³³John Paul II, "Human and Sporting Qualities Make Men Brothers," address to Representatives of European Football Federations on 20 June 1980, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 28 [641]) (14 July 1980): 12.

³⁴Willi Schwank, "Die Entwicklung des Sportverstaendnisses in paepstlichen Verlautbarungen," in Paul Jakobi/Heinz-Egon Roesch, eds. Sport und Religion (Mainz: Matthias-Gruenewald-Verlag, 1986), p. 258. Translation of:

Seine Wertschaetzung des Sports begruendet der Papst mit dem Hinweis auf die Auswirkungen sportlicher Betaetigung im Bereich des Geistigen. Er stellt fest:

- die koerperlichen Uebungen beeinflussen "in wunderbarer Weise" die geistigen Uebungen,
- sie verlangen Anstrengung und verhindern den Muessiggang,
- sie bewirken in Wettkampfen kraftvolle Ertuechtigung und sind ein Abbild der Nacheiferung in der Tugenduebung.

³⁵Ibid., 261.

³⁶Ibid. Translation of: "Der Koeper ist Werkzeug der Seele und muss deshalb "gepflegt und gestaeht" werden, "um ihr in der Ausuebung der Tugenden behiflich zu sein."

³⁷Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 60.

³⁸Ibid., 60-61.

But the Apostle Paul leads us on to an even higher notion: "Know you not," he says, "that your members are the temple of the Holy Ghost, Who is in you, Whom you have from God; and you are not your own? For you are bought with a great price. Glorify God in your body" (1 Cor., 6: 19-20). Glorify God in your body, temple of the Holy Spirit! Do you not recognize here, beloved sons, the wholesome words which skip through the Psalms so often? Praise God and glorify Him in His holy temple! Because of this, then, one must say also of the human body: "Holiness becometh thy house, O Lord" (Ps., 92: 5). We must love and cultivate the dignity, harmony and chaste beauty of this temple: *Domine, diligo habitaculum domus tuae et locum tabernaculi gloriae tuae* (Ps., 25: 8).

³⁹Ibid., 61.

⁴⁰Pius XII, "Sports and Gymnastics," 572.

⁴¹Ibid., 569.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid., 573.

⁴⁴John XXIII, "Spiritual Lessons from Athletics," 394.

⁴⁶Paul VI, "Corps Humaine et Sport," pp. 92-93. Translation of: Contrairement à la pensée platonicienne, ou encore à la théorie hindouiste professant que le corps est un des lieux successifs de l'expiation d'une âme coupable, la doctrine chrétienne affirme que le corps n'est pas la prison de l'âme. Bien au contraire, l'homme, créé par Dieu à son image, comprend, dans l'unité d'une même personne, un corps et une âme spirituelle, étroitement unis l'un à l'autre. Le corps, qui a l'âme pour principe vital, lui sert aussi d'instrument. Il apporte à celle-ci la connaissance sensible du monde extérieur et lui permet de s'exprimer. Ce jeu d'interdépendance, dont l'existence est une donnée bien établie par l'expérience, constitue à lui seul un grand problème et un sujet qui à passionné les chercheurs au cours des siècles.

... pour l'âme un indispensable compagnon malgré les blessures du péché, le corps doit passer par la destruction avant de se retrouver, après la résurrection finale, dans le rayonnement de la gloire de l'âme.

... Celui-ci n'a pas sa fin en lui-même, il est ordonné à une destinée, lié à l'âme, qui le dépasse et lui procure sa plénitude dans la résurrection, irradiation béatifiante de la gloire de l'âme dans le Seigneur Jésus.

⁴⁶John Paul II, "The Discipline of Sports for Complete Human Formation," 5.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸Ibid.

⁴⁹John Paul II, "Sport as Training Ground for Virtue and Instrument of Union Among People," address to the Council of the National Olympic Committee made up of Presidents of the Italian Sports Federations on 20 December 1979, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 2 [615]) (14 January 1980): 16.

⁵⁰Delegation of Holy See, "European Conference on Sport," Intervention by Holy See to the Conference, 8-10 April 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 27 [691]) (6 July 1981): 7.

⁵¹John Paul II, "Man, the Image of God, is a Spiritual and Corporeal Being," general audience on 16 April 1986, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 16 [933]) (21 April 1986): 1.

⁵²Joint Working Group of Canadian Catholic Conference and Canadian Council of Churches, A Christian View of Sports. Published on occasion of 1976 Montreal Olympics, No. 31 (unpaginated).

⁵³Schwank, p. 258. Translation of: "Er ist dabei zugleich ein pädagogisches Mittel, das der Persönlichkeitsbildung dient."

⁵⁴Ibid. Translation of: "Durch Pius X. ist eine weitgehende Integration des Sports in das Aufgabenfeld katholischer Jugendarbeit erfolgt."

⁵⁵Pius XI, "Full Text of Pope's Encyclical," 1093.

⁵⁶J.J. Twomey, "Mens Sano in Corpore Sano," The Clergy Review 43 (3) (March 1958): 150-151.

⁵⁷Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 61.

⁵⁸Pius XII, "Sports in Christian Life," 415.

⁵⁹Pius XII, "A Word to Gymnasts," The Pope Speaks (Third quarter, 1954), 265.

⁶⁰Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 61.

⁶¹Paul VI, "Pope Stresses Value of Sports in Formation of Youth Today," address to Presidents of the Italian Sports Federations on 23 February 1978, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 10 [519] (9 March 1978): 5.

⁶²John XXIII, Le Sport, Facteur de Formation et de Fraternité," Valeurs du Sport, p. 80. Translation of:

Les règles d'une saine éducation familiale et d'une bonne éducation de la jeunesse demandent de veiller à ce que, dans les compétitions sportives on ne se préoccupe pas uniquement du corps considéré comme le bien suprême de l'homme, et que la passion pour le sport n'en vienne pas à mettre obstacle au parfait accomplissement des devoirs de chacun. Il n'en est pas moins certain qu'il faut toujours apprécier et encourager vivement les exercices physiques honnêtes et les nobles compétitions du stade. Elles sont, en effet, nombreuses et précieuses les richesses et qualités développées dans l'homme par le sport. Qualités du corps: santé, vigueur, agilité des membres, grâce, beauté; qualités de l'âme: constance, courage, habitude de l'abnégation.

⁶³Paul VI, "Corps Humaine et Sport," 95. Translation of: "a en soi une valeur morale et éducative le premier ordre."

⁶⁴Paul VI, "Valeur Éducative Des Compétitions," Valeurs du Sport, p. 115. Translation of:

Par le biais du développement des possibilités physiques de l'individu, c'est en effet à son épanouissement moral qu'il concourt, sous de multiples aspects: recherche de l'équilibre humain de la personne, respect des partenaires, découverte de ce qu'est une règle du jeu, une émulation loyale.

Mais il offre également une valeur civile non moins réelle, à laquelle, en une période malheureusement troublée comme la nôtre, il est juste de rendre témoignage. Nous voulons parler de la contribution qu'il peut apporter, par son éthique propre et par les rencontres qu'il suscite, à la cause de la compréhension et de la paix entre les peuples.

⁶⁵Paul VI, "Pope Stresses Value of Sports in Formation of Youth Today," 5.

⁶⁶Ibid.

⁶⁷Ibid.

⁶⁸John Paul II, "The Discipline of Sports for Complete Human Formation," 15.

⁶⁹John Paul II, "Sport: A School of Human Virtue," address to participants in water-skiing competition on 31 August 1979, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 38 [599]) (17 September 1979): 5.

⁷⁰John Paul II, "Sport as Training Ground for Virtue and Instrument of Union Among People," 16.

⁷¹John Paul II, "Sport Exalts Human Virtue," address to International Pentathlon Meeting on 26 March 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 15 [679]) (13 April 1981): 4-5.

⁷²John Paul II, "Sport: A Training Ground for Life," address to the athletes and managers of the "SPAL" soccer society of Ferrara on 4 April 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 16 [680]) (21 April 1981): 5, 10.

⁷³John Paul II, "Athletic Competition Draws from Human Person Noblest Qualities and Talents," address to chief delegation of the International Federation of Athletics on 20 March 1982, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 14-15 [729]) (5-12 April 1982): 8.

⁷⁴John Paul II, "Sports Require Loyalty, Generosity, Optimism," address to participants in Youth Games on 9 October 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 44 [757]) (1 November 1982): 10-11.

⁷⁵John Paul II, "Sports Can and Must Contribute to Person's Integral Formation," address to International Ski Federation on 6 December 1983, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 1-2 [766]) (3-10 January 1983): 14.

⁷⁶John Paul II, "Infuse a Religious Spirit into Study and Other Efforts," address to participants in Catholic Schools Marathon on 13 May 1984, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 22 [836]) (28 May 1984): 11.

⁷⁷John Paul II, "Sport Offers Opportunity for Spiritual Elevation," address to Italians who participated in 1984 Olympics in Los Angeles, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 50 [864]) (10 December 1984): 4-5.

⁷⁸John Paul II, "Sports Can Become an Instrument of Reconciliation and Peace," address to executives of Italian National Olympic Committee on 17 January 1985, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 6 [872]) (11 February 1985).

⁷⁹John Paul II, "Sports Can Help Spread Fraternity and Peace," address to Federation of Sports and Physical Education on 3 April 1986, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 17 [934]) (28 April 1986).

⁸⁰John Paul II, "Integrate Physical Gifts with Spiritual Ones," address to participants in the XII Youth Games on 2 October 1980, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 44 [656]) (3 November 1980): 6-7.

⁸¹John Paul II, "Sport: A Training Ground for Life," 5.

⁸²Schwank, p. 258. Translation of: "Der Sport ist vorwiegend eine Moeglichkeit der Unterhaltung und des Zeitvertreibs."

⁸³See Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 61-62.

⁸⁴Schwank, p. 262:

Es ist Aufgabe der Jugenderzieher, in den katholischen Turn- und Sportverbaenden "sich (zu) bemuehen, eine schoene Harmonie zwischen der koerperlichen Ausbildung der Jugend und der geistigen, sittlichen, religioesen Erziehung herzustellen und unter Anwendung der vernuenftigen Mittel der Hygiene und der koerperlichen Staerkung und Entwicklung auch auf diesem Wege fuer die Foerderung des Geistes zu wirken, dessen Taetigkeit natuerlich angeregt wird, wenn er in den untergeordneten Faehigkeiten ein gesundes und gehorsames Werkzeug findet.

(It is the task of teachers of the young in the Catholic gymnastics and sports organizations to apply themselves to make sure to establish a beautiful harmony between the training of young bodies and the spiritual, moral, religious education and by the exploitation of sensible practices of hygiene and strengthening and development of the body also thus to effect the growth of the spirit, whose activity is, of course, motivated when it finds in the secondary abilities (talents) a healthy and obedient implement (tool, instrument).)

⁸⁵Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 64.

⁸⁶See Pius XII, "Sports and Gymnastics," 570-572, 574-575.

⁸⁷Paul VI, "Le Vrai Sens Du Sport," Valeurs du Sport, p. 112. Translation of: "Et les conditions de travail aujourd'hui sont plutôt de nature à renforcer la nécessité du sport."

⁸⁸John Paul II, "A Season of Preparation and Training in the Face of Future Responsibility," address to youth gathered in St. Peter's Basilica on 1 April 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 14 [678]) (6 April 1981): 3.

⁸⁹John Paul II, "Commitment to the "Match" of Life," address to managers and athletes of the "Cagliari" soccer team and entourage on 28 March 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 15 [679]) (13 April 1981): 4.

⁹⁰John Paul II, "Always be Worthy of the Fans' Esteem," address to athletes of Rome Athletic Association and entourage on 10 June 1983, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition; No. 32 [796]) (8 August 1983): 4.

⁹¹Pius XI, "Full Text of Pope's Encyclical," p. 1096.

⁹²Pius XII, "Physical Culture and Youth," 61.

⁹³Paul VI, "Le Vrai Sens du Sport," p. 113. Translation of: "il prend place parmi les exigences culturelles de toute civilisation."

⁹⁴Ibid. Translation of: "l'exaltation d'un néo-nationalisme."

⁹⁵Ibid. Translation of: "le goût de l'effort, la maîtrise de soi, le respect d'autrui."

⁹⁶See John XXIII, "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Rome: 1960," in Valeurs du Sport, pp. 70-71; Paul VI, "Le Sport, Facteur d'Education Physique, Morale, Sociale, Internationale," p. 97; John Paul II, "Holy Father's Address to International Olympic Committee in Rome," address to participants in the 85th session of the International Olympic Committee on 27 May 1982, L'Osservatore Romano, (English edition; No. 40 [753]) (4 October 1982): 10.

⁹⁷See Paul VI and John Paul II in ¹⁰¹ above.

⁹⁸Schwank, p. 259.

Coubertin, himself, reports in three different places this meeting in 1905 in Rome. Whether there exist parallel reports of the Pope re this meeting cannot be ascertained because of the difficult access to the Vatican archives. The report about this meeting although short and one-sided leads to the following conclusions:

1. The meeting of Pope Pius X with Baron de Coubertin represents in the history of modern gymnastics and sports a special significance. It is the beginning of a close relationship between Papacy and sports--even in 1960 Pope John XXIII reminds of the meeting of Pius X and Coubertin and gives with that and also by his later favorable words toward sports an unmistakable sign of Church approval of integration of sports activities into the organized work of the Church.
2. Pius X expresses his good will toward the newly organized and growing Olympic movement and expresses his keen interest in the efforts to stage the Olympic Games of 1908 in Rome.

Translation of:

Coubertin selbst berichtet an drei verschiedenen Stellen ueber dieses Treffen 1905 in Rom. Ob auch seitens des Papstes parallele Aeusserungen zu diesem Ereignis vorliegen, laesst sich wegen der erwaehten schwierigen Benutzungssituation des Vatikanischen Archivs nicht feststellen.

Der Bericht ueber diese Zusammenkunft laesst trotz seiner Kuerze und Einseitigkeit, d.h. ohne Wuerdigung moeglicher paepstlicher Unterlagen, folgende Feststellung zu:

1. Die Zusammenkunft Papst Piux X. mit Baron de Coubertin, dem Begruender der neuzeitlichen olympischen Bewegung, stellt innerhalb der modernen Turn- und Sportgeschichte eine Begegnung von besonderer Bedeutung dar. Sie bildet den Anfang eines engen Verhaeltnisses zwischen Papsttum und Sport - noch 1960 erinnert Papst Johannes XXIII, anlaesslich der Olympischen Spiele in Rom an das Zusammentreffen seines Vorgaengers Pius X. mit Coubertin - und setzt damit in gleicher Weise wie durch seine spaeteren wohlwollenden Bekundungen gegenueber dem Sport ein unmissverstaendliches Zeichen kirchlicher Zustimmung zur Integration sportlicher Betaetigung in die katholische Verbandsarbeit.

2. Pius X. auessert seine Wohlwollen gegenueber der neu sich entfaltenden olympischen Bewegung und bekundet sein reges Interesse an den Bemuehungen, die Olympischen Spiele 1908 in Rom zu veranstalten.

⁹⁹John J. MacAloon, "Religious Themes and Structures in the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games," in Fernand Landry and William A.R. Orban, eds. Philosophy, Theology and History of Sport and Physical Activity. Book 8 of a collection of the formal papers presented at the International Congress of Physical Activity Sciences, Quebec City, July 11-16, 1976 (Miami: Symposia Specialists, 1978), p. 161.

¹⁰⁰Ibid.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 162-163

¹⁰²MacAloon, pp. 164-165.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 164.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 165.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Pius XII, "Sports in Christian Life," p. 416.

¹⁰⁷Paul VI, "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Tokyo," pp. 88-91.

¹⁰⁸Paul VI, "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Mexico," pp. 103-106.

¹⁰⁹Paul VI, "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Munich," pp. 107-111.

¹¹⁰Paul VI, "Le Sport, Facteur d'Éducation Physique, Morale, Sociale, Internationale," address to I.O.C., pp. 96-102.

¹¹¹John XXIII, "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Rome: 1960," p. 72. Translation of:
Mais avant de prendre congé, Nous voudrions attirer votre attention sur la fonction très importante que Dieu a confiée à Rome, tant dans le domaine des événements historiques que dans celui de la religion.

Il se fait que par un dessein admirable de la Providence divine, cette ville est devenue la capitale d'un empire qui a réussi à grouper dans une même civilisation et une même unité non seulement les peuples des bords de la Méditerranée, mais également ceux qui habitaient les régions les plus lointaines. Ces circonstances, en créant un réseau de communications très développé et une langue commune, ont permis, par disposition divine, à la ville de Rome de devenir très heureusement le centre de la religion chrétienne. En réponse à cette éminente dignité, elle s'est efforcée de tout son pouvoir au cours des siècles de porter à tous les peuples les biens suprêmes du salut par l'Évangile, de la charité et de la paix.

Pour peu que l'on jette un regard sur Rome, on y découvre quantité de monuments et de lieux antiques, témoins de cette histoire et dont la voix pleine de majesté ne laisse pas insensibles les coeurs bien nés.

Celui qui vous parle, l'humble successeur de Pierre, souhaite vivement qu'à cette voix vous prêtiez une oreille attentive.

¹¹²John XXIII, "Le Sport, Facteur de Formation et de Fraternité," pp. 77-82.

¹¹³Ibid., p. 81. Translation of:

Aujourd'hui, les barrières de la distance sont tombées, et les frères, rapprochés entre eux, sont portés à une plus grande compréhension, à une estime réciproque, ils sont désireux de se connaître, de s'aider. Dans cette rencontre providentielle, le sport à lui aussi sa place de choix bien méritée. Sur le plan des compétitions loyales, auxquelles participent les énergies toujours nouvelles des jeunes de tous les pays du monde, on est parvenu à des rencontres plus fréquentes et plus sereines entre les peuples, favorisant ainsi grandement le mouvement de rapprochement dans la charité.

¹¹⁴Ibid. Translation of:

Quel poids peuvent avoir les athlètes qui savent apporter dans cette rencontre universelle, outre la bravoure de leurs capacités physiques, la grâce aimable du caractère, la cohérence entre les convictions intimes et la vie, le témoignage d'âmes qui vivent joyeusement et généreusement le christianisme!

¹¹⁵Paul VI, "Aux Olympiques de Tokyo," pp. 90-91. Translation of:

... puissent-ils contribuer à ce que les peuples connaissent mieux et apprécient les qualités et les vertus, les uns des autres, et unir par des liens d'amitié durable, bien au delà des frontières de l'espace et du temps, ceux qui rivalisent pour obtenir la palme du succès: de sorte que les athlètes, comprenant qu'ils sont frères, en dépit des différences de race ou de nation, puissent, dans leur vie professionnelle, agir de façon à contribuer à l'honneur de la conduite, au progrès social, à l'entente mutuelle et à la paix dans le monde: qu'ils apportent dans la société l'étincelante lumière de leur exemple convaincu, dont le flambeau olympique, messager de fraternité et de jeunesse, est un parfait symbole.

¹¹⁶Paul VI, Pastoral Constitution on the Church and the Modern World: "Gaudium et Spes" (Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, No date), p. 66.

¹¹⁷See for example John Paul II, "Human and Sporting Qualities Make Men Brothers," address to representatives of thirty-four European Football Federations, belonging to UEFA on 20 June 1980, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition, No. 28 [641]) (14 July 1980): 12.

¹¹⁸See for example, John Paul II, "Let the Practice of Sport Always Promote Peace," address to youth taking part in XIII Youth Games on 11 October 1981, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition, No. 42 [706]) (19 October 1981): 7.

¹¹⁹John Paul II, "Sport as Training Ground for Virtue and Instrument of Union Among People," 16.

¹²⁰John Paul II, "Sports can be Viewed as a Service to Mankind," address to an Italian Episcopal Conference on "Sports, Ethics and Faith for the Development of Italian Society" on 25 November 1989, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition, No. 2 []) (8 January 1990).

¹²¹Ibid.

¹²²John Paul II, "Sports Can Become an Instrument of Reconciliation and Peace," 9.

¹²³John Paul II, "The Most Authentic Dimension of Sport, To Create a New 'Civilization of Love'," homily to 80,000 athletes on the occasion of the "International Jubilee for Athletes" on 12 April 1984, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition, No. 17 [831]) (24 April 1984): 3-4.

¹²⁴John Paul II, "The Ideals of Sport Promote Peace," address to Directors of the Italian Tennis Federation and Players on 15 May 1986, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition, No. 21 [938]) (26 May 1986): 8.

¹²⁵John Paul II, "Holy Father's Address to International Olympic Committee Meeting in Rome," p. 10.

¹²⁶Schwank, p. 260. Translation of:

1. Benedikt XV. bekundet durch die Gewaehrung der Audienz sein Interesse an dieser Vereinigung und unterstreicht damit gleichzeitig seine Zustimmung zu deren sportlicher Betaetigung.
2. Der Empfang der 'Cavalieri di Columbo' durch den Papst laesst eine gewisse Tradition in der Reihe der paepstlichen Audienzen fuer Sportlergruppen erkennen.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 272. Translation of: ". . . dass Paul VI. in der grundsaeztlichen Wertung des Sports zum Teil noch in der Tradition seiner Vorgaenger steht, so dass diesbeziegliche zusaetzliche Aspekte seiner Auffassung in den nich beruecksichtigten Dokumenten kaum zu erwarten sind."

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 276. Translation of: "Der Sport als menschliches und soziales Phaenomen hat fuer Johannes Paul II. grosse Bedeutung und Auswirkung in der zeitgenoessischen Lebens- und Denkweise. Er ist somit nicht nur ein Spiegelbild der Gesellschaft, sondern er hat auch eine eigene, praegende Kraft fuer diese entwickelt."

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 275.

¹³⁰Ibid.

¹³¹Pius XI, "Chirograph: To the Cardinal Vicar of Rome," 136-137. Translation of: Nessuno può pensare che questa escluda o meno apprezzi tutto quello che può dare al corpo, nobilissimo strumento dell'anima, agilità e solida grazia, sanità e forza vera e buona; purchè sia nei debiti mode e tempi e luoghi; purchè si eviti tutto quello che male si accorda col riserbo e con la compostezza che sono tanto ornamento e presidio della virtù; purchè esuli ogni incentivo a vanità e violenze. Se mano di donna si deve alzare, Ci auguriamo e preghiamo che sia sempre e solo in atto di preghiera e di benefica azione.

¹³²Pius XI, "On Christian Education," 1100.

The Creator has ordained and disposed perfect union of the sexes only in matrimony, and, with varying degrees of contact, in the family and in society. Besides there is not in nature itself, which fashions the two quite different in organism, in temperament, in abilities, anything to suggest that there can be or ought to be promiscuity, and much less equality, in the training of the two sexes. These in keeping with the wonderful designs of the Creator are destined to complement each other in the family and in society, precisely because of their differences, which therefore ought to be maintained and encouraged during their years of formation, with the necessary distinction and corresponding separation, according to age and circumstances. These principles, with due regard to time and place, must, in accordance with Christian prudence, be applied to all schools, particularly in the most delicate and decisive period of formation, that, namely, of adolescence;

¹³³Pius XII, "Sport and Gymnastics," p. 572.

¹³⁴Pius XII, "Sports and Christian Life," p. 414.

¹³⁵Holy See, "European Conference on Sport," 7.

... it can be deduced that, in promoting sport for woman, it is opportune never to lose sight of what characterizes her as such. Unquestionably, it is indispensable to overcome all discrimination based on sex. On the other hand this must not mean the negation, but rather the affirmation of "femininity" also in sport and through sport.

2. Sport in mixed groups, therefore, must never lead to a loss of femininity, on the pretext of seeking "non-sexualized" sport. It must on the contrary promote the self-affirmation of the "feminine" since it is reciprocity with the "masculine". Especially during puberty, a sport that is not geared to this perspective would run the risk of new discriminations in actual fact, in view of the particular situation of girls compared with boys with regard to the correlation between "performance" and "results".

3. It is more than opportune, therefore, to refer to puberty as the period that requires particular attention. It means that particular care and commitment must be shown so that sport--precisely in this decisive period--may be geared to the harmonious development of the whole person. All manipulation that tends to force the rhythm or to have undue influence on the time of development in order to obtain determined results, cannot be considered truly sportsmanlike.

4. In this context, to limit oneself to saying that girls must be helped to overcome the conflict that might arise between their "feminine identity" and their "athletic identity" seems inadequate and suffers from a view of sport that does not respect the reality of adolescence, for which sport must be above all a game. The "athletic identity" has to be considered in terms of the complete "personal identity", that is, the concrete feminine identity of the young person.

5. The reference to the family would deserve a more ample development, not only in the sense of adequate information on puberty, but also for everything that regards girls' sporting activity itself. Although the family cannot be the one that constructs and organizes sporting structures, its intervention is indispensable in those distinct forms that better correspond to the various situations, if it is desired that adolescent girls should practise sport in a truly personal way.

6. Speaking of sport for girls; the values of communication, meeting and festive aspect that must characterize it, absolutely must not be neglected. When these values are really

present, it becomes easier to avoid the error of a sport in which the competitive aspect of results has the lion's share, relegating to the background the very personal reality of those who practise it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, as you have been able to note, I have confined my intervention to woman, girls and families. I intend to refer to all families, those in the country and those in the large cities; but especially those of emigrants or those who have in their midst underprivileged or disabled members. All men, in fact, have equal rights even in this field of sport, which is so decisive in the stage of growth and the development of the personality. (Emphasis: Holy See.)

¹³⁶Pius XII, "Sports and Christian Life," 412-413.

¹³⁷Pius XII, "Sports and Gymnastics," 574.

¹³⁸Ibid.

¹³⁹John Paul II, "With the Eyes of the Spirit We Look Upon One Another," address to track & field and swimming participants in European Games for the Blind on 14 September 1985, L'Osservatore Romano (English edition, No. 38 [904]) (23 September 1985): 12.

¹⁴⁰To this point I give credit to Dave Seljak, Ph.D. Candidate in Religious Studies at McGill University.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

When one takes a step back and views the papal comments on sport from a distance, it becomes obvious that the popes surmised very well the intricacies and nuances surrounding modern sport. They are not scholars of sport but are well informed and culturally aware of the symbolic and metaphorical significance of sport in modern society. The popes examined in this work, whatever one may believe about their ideologies or biases, were certainly no fools. By all appearances they are better informed than most on the major socio-political concerns of their pontificates and this includes their understanding and interpretation of modern sport.

Papal statements on sport began with Pius X before the "watershed" decades for sport--identified by Coleman as the 1920's and 1930's. Thus one may say that Pius X anticipates the emerging significance of sport. He definitely apprehends the value of the Olympic Games and in this fact alone the papacy turns to face the liberal ideal, although it is by all accounts a cautious turn. The phenomenon of the watershed and the appearance of sport in its particularly modern form invites a response from a number of cultural critics, some of whom contributed useful insights into sport. Historians, philosophers, and the intelligentsia expressed an interest about sport that was previously absent. Many of the critics oppose the uncritical acceptance of sport; furthermore, these critics--particularly the conservative and radical representatives--use comments on sport to oppose the dominant culture. There remains little doubt that the critics opposed the dominant culture as well as culture's unreflective approval of sport.

In addition to their concerns about play in general and the forms of ludic activity that cultures adopt for recreational purposes, the critics examine sport. From these critics emerges an ethical concern in their analysis and critique of modern sport. My thesis argues that the critical

analysis of modern sport varies with the ideological position of the critics. The conservative, liberal, or radical hold opposing views of society and opposing views of the value and importance of sport in society. Modern sport is a product of the modern ethos and, as more than one cultural critic proposes, sport may hold possibilities as an agent of modernization--a valuable ingredient in the socio-cultural matrix.

When sport began to attract the attention of virtually every level in society and as certain groups began to revere sport, the traditional bonds of religion, family, and community experienced an erosion of influence. In short, it became necessary for the churches to examine modern sport more critically. The presumption herein is that the ethical vision of a culture or a people finds expression through the churches and it remains for the leaders of the church communities to offer their critical reflections to the community of believers.

The research for the thesis shows that the popes, the acknowledged leaders of the Roman Catholic Church, examine sport and offer their critical reflections about sport to the people of the Church. In the papal literature one learns that the popes echo many of the concerns and themes of the cultural critics. The popes are predominantly culturally conservative with respect to their initial encounter with sport. Notwithstanding, evidence suggests that the popes gradually opened up to modern society and the cultural values of modernity, one of which is sport. The cautious and gradual opening of the popes to modernity finds expression in their gradual and cautious opening to the possibilities and potential for modern sport. The thesis proposes that the popes always reflect on sport in a critical fashion.

My thesis argues that this critical analysis of sport reveals itself in the *negativa* and *positiva*. There is a negative and a positive aspect to modern sport. In the tradition of the cultural conservatives the tone of many of the papal addresses on sport seem anxious and mirror a concern about sport's dark side, the negative aspects. In spite of the *negativa* it must be a

conclusion that overall the popes affirm and advance the positive aspects of sport. Papal critiques of sport may have their antecedents in the conservative and radical analysis of modern sport but, as the thesis argues, the gradual overall approval of sport owes a great deal to an acceptance of a liberal vision for sport.

A major shortfall in this liberal vision are the papal reflections on sport for women, for the disabled, and for minority groups. The popes fail to visualize sport's emancipatory potential for women and other socially disadvantaged groups. Quite possibly the popes do not consider or realize that their comments on sport may be interpreted as an opposition to the emancipation of women. In reality, they defend a dated concept of womanhood as if it defined the very nature of women.

An important and heretofore unrecognized contribution of the popes to the socio-cultural critique of sport was the advancement of a theological critique of sport. The popes worry that sport can promote the exaltation of the body at the expense of the spirit. The parameters of sport are so wide and immense that those who give themselves over to sport may become a servant to its power. Sport can become so all involving that it promotes a purely secular outlook on life, devoid of any relation to the divine.

In the teachings of the popes, sport is inherently ambiguous; that is, they recognize sport's value but insist on examining sport's dark side. In theological terms, sport as is the case for the rest of the world is in need of redemption. From the perspective of the popes and in line with the classical Catholic tradition, divine grace is offered to overcome the ambiguity of human life. The grace reveals the dark side, heals the wounds that the dark elements cause, and thus perfects the positive gifts of nature. Gratia non tollit sed perficit naturam.

Finally, my analysis of the papal announcements on sport demonstrate that the socio-cultural encounter with sport has taken place in an ever expanding context. Through the popes,

the Roman Church opens up to the myriad possibilities that sport has for civilization. Moreover, papal comments on sport provide a model for the ongoing dialectic between religion and sport.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

Articles in Edited Books/Proceedings

Abdou, Kamal Saleh. "Sports and Games in Ancient Egypt." In A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900: Selected Topics. Ed. Earle F. Ziegler. Champaign: Stipes Publishing, 1973, pp. 57-75.

Glassford, Robert G. and Gerald Redmond. "Physical Education and Sport in Modern Times." In History of Physical Education and Sport. Ed. Earle F. Ziegler. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1979, pp. 103-170.

Loy, John W., Jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon. "The Sociology of Sport: An Emerging Field." In Sport, Culture, and Society: A Reader on the Sociology of Sport. Eds. John W. Loy, Jr. and Gerald S. Kenyon. New York: Macmillan, 1969, pp. 1-8.

Lucas, John A. "Victorian 'Muscular Christianity' - Prologue to the Olympic Games Philosophy." In ICHPER 18: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Congress of the International Council on Health, Physical Education and Recreation: Rotterdam, The Netherlands (August 18-22, 1975). Eds. D. Schmuell, J. Groenman and J.W. de Vries. Zeist: Jan Luiting Foundation, 1975, pp. 214-224.

MacAloon, John J. "Religious Themes and Structures in the Olympic Movement and the Olympic Games." In Philosophy, Theology and History of Sport and of Physical Activity. Book 8 of the Proceedings of the International Congress of Physical Activity Sciences: Quebec, Canada (July 11-16, 1976). Eds. Fernand Landry and William A.R. Orban. Miami: Symposia Specialists, 1978, pp. 161-169.

Roberts, Glynn C. "The Rise of European Nationalism and its Effect on the Patterns of Physical Education and Sport." In A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900: Selected Topics. Ed. Earle F. Ziegler. Champaign: Stipes Publishing, 1973, pp. 109-317.

Schwank, Willi. "Die Entwicklung des Sportverstaendnisses in Paepstlichen Verlautbarungen." In Sport und Religion. Eds. Paul Jakobi and Heinz-Egon Roesch. Mainz: Matthias-Gruenewald - Verlag, 1986, pp. 254-280.

Encyclopedias

Cheyette, Frederic. "Huizinga." McGraw-Hill Encyclopedia of World Biography. New York: McGraw Hill, 1973. V, 407-408.

Nauert, C.G., Jr. "Huizinga, Johan." New Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967. VII, 204.

Journal Articles

Baum, Gregory and John Coleman. "Editorial: Sport, Society and Religion." In Sport: Concilium 205. Eds. Gregory Baum and John Coleman. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1989, pp. 3-8.

Brailsford, Dennis. "Puritanism and Sport in Seventeenth Century England." Stadion: Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 1 (2) (1975): 316-330.

Coleman, John. "Sport and the Contradictions of Society." In Sport: Concilium 205. Eds. Gregory Baum and John Coleman. Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1989, pp. 21-31.

Fielding, Lawrence W. "Marcus Tullius Cicero: A Social Critic of Sport." Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 8 (May 1977): 16-27.

Frasca, Rosella Isidori. "Sports Gynaecology in Italy." Stadion: Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 12/13 (1986/87): 331-336.

Goldbach, Erich. "Protestantism - Capitalism - Sports." Journal of Sport History 4 (3) (Fall 1977): 285-294.

Guttmann, Allen. "English Sports Spectators: The Restoration to the Early Nineteenth Century." Journal of Sport History 12 (2) (Summer 1985): 103-125.

_____. "'Our Former Colonial Masters': The Diffusion of Sports and the Question of Cultural Imperialism." Stadion: Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 14 (1) (1988): 49-63.

Hardy, Stephen. "Politicians, Promoters, and the Rise of Sport: The Case of Ancient Greece and Rome." Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 8 (May 1977): 1-15.

Jable, J. Thomas. "The English Puritans--Suppressors of Sport and Amusement?" Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 7 (May 1976): 33-40.

Mandell, Richard D. "The Invention of the Sports Record." Stadion: Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 2 (2) (1976): 250-264.

Mangan, James A. "Social Darwinism, Sport and English Upper Class Education." Stadion: Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 7 (1) (1981): 93-116.

Shaw, Timothy. "Towards a Political Economy of International Sport: Interstate, Transnational and Neo-Marxist Perspectives." Arena Newsletter 3 (1979): 2-9.

Thompson, James G. "Ancient Greek Attitudes on Athletics." Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education 5 (December 1974): 56-62.

Tozer, Malcolm. "From 'Muscular Christianity' to 'Esprit de Corps': Games in the Victorian Public Schools of England." Stadion: Journal of the History of Sport and Physical Education 7 (1) (1981): 117-130.

Twomey, J.J. "'Mens Sana in Corpore Sano'." The Clergy Review 43 (3) (March 1958): 150-160.

Papal Addresses on Sport

Holy See Delegation. "European Conference on Sport." L'Osservatore Romano, 6 July 1981, English ed.: 7.

John XXIII, Pope. "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Rome: 1960." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____: Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 70-76.

_____. "Spiritual Lessons from Athletics." The Pope Speaks 5 (4) (Autumn 1959): 394-397.

_____. "Le Sport, Facteur de Formation et de Fraternité." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____: Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 77-82.

_____. "The Sports Writer." The Pope Speaks 6 (3) (Summer 1960): 276-277.

John Paul II, Pope. "Always be Worthy of the Fans' Esteem." L'Osservatore Romano, 8 August 1983, English ed.: 4.

_____. "Athletic Competition Draws from Human Person Noblest Qualities and Talents." L'Osservatore Romano, 5-12 April 1982, English ed.: 8.

_____. "Commitment to the 'Match' of Life." L'Osservatore Romano, 13 April 1981, English ed.: 4.

_____. "The Discipline of Sports for Complete Human Formation." L'Osservatore Romano, 18 June 1979, English ed.: 5.

_____. "Holy Father's Address to Group of Athletes." L'Osservatore Romano, 17 May 1982, English ed.: 5,8.

_____. "Holy Father's Address to International Olympic Committee Meeting in Rome." L'Osservatore Romano, 4 October 1982, English ed.: 5, 10.

_____. "Holy Father's Meeting with a Soccer Team." L'Osservatore Romano, 26 January 1981, English ed.: 17-18.

- _____. "Human and Sporting Qualities Make Men Brothers." L'Osservatore Romano, 14 July 1980, English ed.: 12.
- _____. "The Ideals of Sport Promote Peace." L'Osservatore Romano, 26 May 1986, English ed.: 8.
- _____. "Infuse a Religious Spirit into Study and Other Efforts." L'Osservatore Romano, 28 May 1984, English ed.: 11.
- _____. "Integrate Physical Gifts with Spiritual Ones." L'Osservatore Romano, 3 November 1980, English ed.: 6-7.
- _____. "Let the Practice of Sports Always Promote Peace." L'Osservatore Romano, 19 October 1981, English ed.: 7.
- _____. "Man, the Image of God, is a Spiritual and Corporeal Being." L'Osservatore Romano, 21 April 1986, English ed.: 1-2.
- _____. "May the World Cup Soccer Finals Contribute to Universal Brotherhood." L'Osservatore Romano, 8 January 1990, English ed.: 5.
- _____. "The Most Authentic Dimension of Sport: Create a New 'Civilization of Love'." L'Osservatore Romano, 24 April 1984, English ed.: 4-5.
- _____. "Pope's Greeting to Cyclists." L'Osservatore Romano, 7 July 1980, English ed.: 14.
- _____. "Pope Inaugurates 'Italia 90'." L'Osservatore Romano, 11 June 1990, English ed.: 3-4.
- _____. "Pope John Paul II to Sportsmen." L'Osservatore Romano, 29 January 1979, English ed.: 2.
- _____. "Real Goal is the Father's House." L'Osservatore Romano, 16 November 1981, English ed.: 2.
- _____. "Relay Race for Love and Peace." L'Osservatore Romano, 8 August 1983, English ed.: 4-5.
- _____. "A Season of Preparation and Training in the Face of Future Responsibility." L'Osservatore Romano, 6 April 1981, English ed.: 3.
- _____. "Soccer Can Mean 'Solidarity'." L'Osservatore Romano, 11 June 1980, English ed.: 3.
- _____. "Sport, a School of Human Virtue." L'Osservatore Romano, 17 September 1979, English ed.: 5.

_____. "Sport, a Training Ground for Life." L'Osservatore Romano, 21 April 1981, English ed.: 5,10.

_____. "Sport as Gymnastics of the Body and the Spirit: Pope to Milan Football Team." L'Osservatore Romano, 28 May 1979, English ed.: 4.

_____. "Sport as Training Ground for Virtue and Instrument of Union among People." L'Osservatore Romano, 14 January 1980, English ed.: 15-16.

_____. "Sport Exalts Human Virtue." L'Osservatore Romano, 13 April 1981, English ed.: 4-5.

_____. "Sports Offers [sic.] Opportunity for Spiritual Elevation." L'Osservatore Romano, 10 December 1984, English ed.: 4-5.

_____. "Sports Can and Must Contribute to Person's Integral Formation." L'Osservatore Romano, 3-10 January 1983, English ed.: 14.

_____. "Sports Can Be Viewed as a Service to Mankind." L'Osservatore Romano, 8 January 1990, English ed.: 5.

_____. "Sports Can Become an Instrument of Reconciliation and Peace." L'Osservatore Romano, 11 February 1985, English ed.: 8-9.

_____. "Sports Can Help Spread Fraternity and Peace." L'Osservatore Romano, 28 April 1986, English ed.: 5.

_____. "Sports Require Loyalty, Generosity, Optimism." L'Osservatore Romano, 1 November 1982, English ed.: 10-11.

_____. "A True and Proper Education is Welcome." L'Osservatore Romano, 22 September 1986, English ed.: 5,9.

_____. "With the Eyes of the Spirit We Look upon One Another." L'Osservatore Romano, 23 September 1985, English ed.: 12.

Paul VI, Pope. "Corps Humain et Sport." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 92-95.

_____. "Aux Jeux Olympique de Mexico." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 103-106.

_____. "Aux Jeux Olympiques de Munich." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 107-111.

- _____. "Aux Jeux Olympique de Tokyo.: In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 88-91.
- _____. "Pope Stresses Value of Sports in Formation of Youth Today." L'Osservatore Romano, 9 March 1978, English ed.: 5.
- _____. "Le Sport, Facteur d'Éducation Physique, Morale, Sociale, Internationale." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 96-102.
- _____. "Sports and the Contest of Life." The Pope Speaks 10 (1) (Autumn 1964): 40-42.
- _____. "Valeur Éducative des Competitions." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 114-115.
- _____. "Le Vrai Sens du Sport." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 112-113.
- Pius XI, Pope. "Chirographus: Ad Emum P.D. Basilium, Episcopum Velitemum Card., Pompilj Vice Sacra in Urbe Antistitem." Acta Apostolicae Sedis, 4 May 1928: 135-137.
- _____. "Full Text of the Pope's Encyclical." Current History 31 (6) (March 1930): 1091-1104.
- Pius XII, Pope. "Athletics and the Home." The Pope Speaks 2 (2) (Summer 1955): 142-143.
- _____. "The Motor-Scooter." The Pope Speaks 2 (3) (Autumn 1955): 239-240.
- _____. "Physical Culture and Youth." In Major Addresses of Pope Pius XII. Vol. 1: Selected Addresses. Ed. Vincent A. Yzermans. St. Paul: The North Central Publishing Co., 1961, pp. 59-64.
- _____. "Sens Chrétien d'un Stade." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 45-49.
- _____. "Sports and Gymnastics." The Catholic Mind 51 (September 1953): 569-576.
- _____. "Sports and the Christian Life." The Pope Speaks 3 (Spring/Summer 1956): 35-43.
- _____. "Les Sports et la Presse." In Valeurs du Sport: Textes de Pie XII, Jean XXIII et Paul VI. Ed. Gerard Bouchard: SPAJO. _____. Les Éditions Ballarmin/Les Éditions Desport, 1976, pp. 27-31.
- _____. "Sports in Christian Life." The Catholic Mind 54 (July 1956): 409-417.

_____. "A Word to Gymnasts." The Pope Speaks 1 (July-August-September): 265-266.

News Reports in Magazines

News Report in "Dans Le Monde." Service Oecumenique de Presse et d'Information, 29 June 1990: 5.

News Report in "International Forum." The Mennonite Reporter, 30 July 1990: 2.

Single Volume Works

Baker, William J. Sports in the Western World. Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1982.

Cailliois, Roger. Man, Play, and Games. Trans. Meyer Barash. Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1961.

_____. Man and the Sacred. Trans. Meyer Barash. Glencoe: Free Press of Glencoe, Illinois, 1959.

Guttman, Allen. From Ritual to Record: The Nature of Modern Sports. New York: Columbia UP, 1978.

_____. A Whole New Ball Game: An Interpretation of American Sports. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1988.

Hoberman, John M. Sport and Political Ideology. Austin: U of Texas P, 1984.

Huizinga, Johan. Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play Element in Culture. Boston: Beacon P, 1950.

Irwin, Wallace. The Politics of International Sport: Games of Power. New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1988.

Jaspers, Karl. Man in the Modern Age. Trans. Eden and Paul Cedar. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951.

McIntosh, Peter. Fair Play: Ethics in Sport and Education. London: Heinemann, 1979.

_____. Sport in Society. London: C.A. Watts and Co., 1968.

Nisbet, Robert A. The Sociological Tradition. New York: Basic Books, 1966.

Ortega y Gasset, José. The Revolt of the Masses. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1932.

Paul VI, Pope. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World: GAUDIUM ET SPES. Boston: Daughters of St. Paul, ____.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Encyclopedias

Heaney, J.J. "Modernism." New Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967. IX, 991-995.

Hogan, W.F. "Syllabus of Errors." New Catholic Encyclopedia. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967. XIII, 854-856.

Journal Articles

Binchy, D.A. "The Modernist Movement." The Cambridge Journal 1 (1948): 220-232.

Gasling, S.J. "The Pope on Sport." The Sower 156 (July 1945): 5-6.

Lyng, Stephen G. and Lester R. Kurtz. "Bureaucratic Insurgency: The Vatican and the Crisis of Modernism." Social Forces 63 (4) (June 1985): 901-922.

Palumbo, Rev. Eugene. "The Pope Talks Sports." The Catholic School Journal 53 (December 1953): 310-311.

Secondary Education Notes. "The Place of Physical Education and Athletics." Catholic Educational Review 51 (January 1953): 50.

Woodlock, T.F. "'Liberalism' and the Church: The 'Syllabus Errorum' Justified." Month 167 (June 1936): 493-503.

_____, Thomas F. "Liberals and the Syllabus." The Catholic Mind ____ (January 1944): 12-20.

Magazines/Newspapers

"The Pope Writes on Sports." Family Digest 8 (January 1953): 42-43.

"Sport and Conscience." The Tablet, 15 November 1952: 405.

Single Volume Works

- Henderson, Robert W. Ball, Bat and Bishop: The Origin of Ball Games. Cetroit: Gale Research Co., 1974.
- Halecki, Oscar and James F. Murray, Jr. Pius XII: Eugenio Pacelli, Pope of Peace. New York: Lion Library Editions, 1954.
- Hales, E.E.Y. The Catholic Church in the Modern World: A Survey from the French Revolution to the Present. Garden City: Doubleday, 1958.
- Hughes, Philip. Pope Pius the Eleventh. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1937.
- Joint Working Group of Canadian Catholic Conference and Canadian Council of Churches. A Christian View of Sports. Montreal: CCC and CCC, 1976.
- Lipsyte, Robert, ed. Sports and Society, The Great Contemporary Issue: Articles from the New York Times. New York: Arno P, 1980.
- Pieper, Josef. Leisure: The Basis of Culture. Trans. Alexander Dru. New York: New American Library, 1963.
- _____. In Tune with the World: A Theory of Festivity. Trans. Richard and Clara Winston. Chicago: Franciscan Herald P, 1973.
- Rahner, Hugo. Man at Play. New York: Herder and Herder, 1972.
- Ziegler, Earle F. A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900: Selected Topics. Champaign: Stipes Publishing, 1973.

APPENDIX A

THE CLASSIFICATION OF GAMES (PLAY) ACCORDING TO ROGER CAILLOIS

	AGÔN (Competition)	ALEA (Chance)	MIMICRY (Simulation)	ILINX (Vertigo)
<p style="text-align: center;">PAIDIA</p> <p>Tumult Agitation</p> <p>Immoderate laughter</p> <p>Kite-flying Solitaire Patience Crossword puzzles</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LUDUS</p>	<p>Racing Wrestling Etc. Athletics</p> <p>Boxing, Billiards Fencing, Checkers Football, Chess</p> <p>Contests, Sports in general</p>	<p>Counting-Out rhymes Heads or tails</p> <p>Betting Roulette</p> <p>Simple, complex, and continuing lotteries*</p>	<p>Children's initiations Games of illusion Tag, Arms Masks, Disguises</p> <p>Theater Spectacles in general</p>	<p>Children "whirling" Horseback riding Swinging Waltzing</p> <p>Volador Traveling carnivals Skiing Mountain climbing Tightrope walking</p>

N.B. In each vertical column games are classified in such an order, that the *paidia* element is constantly decreasing while the *ludus* element is ever increasing.

* A simple lottery consists of the one basic drawing. In a complex lottery there are many possible combinations. A continuing lottery (e.g. Irish Sweepstakes) is one consisting of two or more stages, the winner of the first stage being granted the opportunity to participate in a second lottery. [From correspondence with Caillouis, M.B.]

APPENDIX B

THE CHARACTERISTICS OF GAMES FROM PRIMITIVE SPORTS TO MODERN SPORTS by Allen Guttman

	<i>Primitive Sports</i>	<i>Greek Sports</i>	<i>Roman Sports</i>	<i>Medieval Sports</i>	<i>Modern Sports</i>
Secularism	Yes & No	Yes & No	Yes & No	Yes & No	Yes
Equality	No	Yes & No	Yes & No	No	Yes
Specialization	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Rationalization	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes
Bureaucracy	No	Yes & No	Yes	No	Yes
Quantification	No	No	Yes & No	No	Yes
Records	No	No	No	No	Yes

APPENDIX C PAPAL ADDRESSES ON SPORT

The following information provides a chronological history of papal addresses on sport from Pius XI to John Paul II. It is as far as can be determined a complete listing including those marked * that were unobtainable for the research. The information provided in this appendix is meant to provide the title of the address as published; the date of the address; the audience to whom the address was delivered; and the source for the address in English, French, or other.

Abbreviations used:

AAS:	Acta Apostolicae Sedis
CH:	Current History
CM:	Catholic Mind
DC:	La Documentation Catholique
LED:	Les Éditions Desport
L'OR:	L'Osservatore Romano
ST:	Stadion XII/XIII
TPS:	The Pope Speaks
Y:	Vincent A. Yzermans

POPE	TITLE	DATE OF ADDRESS	AUDIENCE	SOURCE; DATE; PAGE(S)
PIUS XI	Chirographus: Ad Em̃um P.D. Basilium, Episcopum Velt̃ernum Card., Pompilj Vice Sacra in Urbe Antistitem	2 May 1928 (Feast of St. Athanasius)	Letter to Cardinal Vicar	AAS; 4 May 1928; 135-137 Original Italian
2	*Full Text of the Pope's Encyclical"	1 December 1929	Encyclical on Education to the Church	CH; March, 1930; 1091-1104
3	*(Unknown)	1936?	?	STXII/XIII (332, 335) that lists source as L'OR
Total of 3				

PIUS XII	"Physical Culture and Youth"	20 May 1945	10,000 Youth from diverse sporting backgrounds on invitation of Central Office of Italian Athletics	Y; 1961; 59-64
	"Les Sports et La Jeunesse"	20 May 1945	10,000 Youth from diverse sporting backgrounds on invitation of Central Office of Italian Athletics	LED; 1976; 17-26
2	*? (Influence on Athletics)	29 July 1945	?	?
3	*?	2 June 1946	To the cyclists of the 29th Tour of Italy	(John Paul II's address to cyclists on 21 June 1980) L'OR; 7 July 1980; 14
4	*Value of Sports in Education	26 June 1946	?	Y
5	*On Mountain Climbing	26 September 1948	?	Y
6	*?	13 October 1948	To cyclists of Italy	Y
7	"Les Sports et La Presse"	11 November 1951	Representatives of the International Association of Sports Writers	LED; 1976; 27-31
8	"Sports and Gymnastics"	8 November 1952	Italian Congress on the Pedagogical Hygienic Problems of Sports and Gymnastics	CM; September 1953; 569-576
9	"Sens Chrétien D'Un Stade" (The Christian Meaning of a Stadium)	16 May 1953	Representatives of the Italian National Olympic Committee	LED; 1976; 45-49
10	"A Word to Gymnasts"	30 June 1954	To a group of gymnasts	TPS; 1954; 265-266

11	"Athletics and the Home"	13 June 1955	To an Athletic Association of French Railwaymen	TPS; 1955; 142-143
12	"The Motor-Scooter"	2 September 1955	To Motor-Scooter Owners from Spain	Translation from Spanish in TPS; 1955; 239-240
13	"Sports in Christian Life" "Sports and the Christian Life" "Les Principes D'Une Éducation Sportive Chrétienne"	9 October 1955 9 October 1955 9 October 1955	Italian Sports Federation Italian Sports Federation Italian Sports Federation	CM; July 1956; 409-417 TPS; 1956; 35-43 LED; 1976; 50-63
14	"?"	5 July 1956	To a soccer team	Y
15	"?"	?	To athletes participating at Olympics in Melbourne, Australia	See John Paul II's comments in L'OR; 7 July 1980

Total of 15

JOHN XXIII	"Spiritual Lessons from Athletics"	26 April 1959	Italian Athletic Union and Italian Federation of Chronometrists	TPS; 1959; 394-397
2	"The Sports Writer"	3 April 1960	International Association of Sports Writers	TPS; 1960; 276-277
	"La Presse Sportive"	3 April 1960	International Association of Sports Writers	LED; 1976; 67-69
3-5	"Aux Jeux Olympiques de Rome: 1960"	24, 27, and 29 August 1960	To athletes, pilgrims, and members of IOC	LED; 1976; 70-76
3	"Aux Athlètes" (To the Athletes)	24 August 1960	To the athletes	LED; 1976; 70-72
4	"Aux Pèlerins" (To the Pilgrims)	27 August 1960	To the pilgrims	LED; 1976; 73-74

5	"Aux Membres du Comité Internationale Olympique (I.O.C.)"	29 August 1960	To the members of the IOC	LED; 1976; 74-76
6	"Le Sport, Facteur de Formation et de Fraternité" (Sport: Factor of Formation and Brotherhood)	25 January 1963	Participants to a congress on "A New Sports Conscience in Italy"	LED; 1976; 77-82
Total of 6				
PAUL VI	"Sports and the Contest of Life" "La Vie, Une Compétition"	30 May 1964 31 (30?) May 1964	Participants in the annual "Tour of Italy" Participants in the annual "Tour of Italy"	TPS; 1964; 40-42 LED; 1976; 85-87
2	"Aux Jeux Olympique de Tokyo"	3 September 1964	Telegram address to the Archbishop of Tokyo: Mons. Peter Tatsuo Doi	LED; 1976; 88-91
3-4	"Corps Humain et Sport"	25 and 31 May 1965	700 scientists from 40 different nations and a football (soccer) team	LED; 1976; 92-95
3	"Le Corps Humain"	25 May 1965	700 scientists from 40 different nations	LED; 1976; 92-94
4	"Le Sport"	31 May 1965	Soccer team	LED; 1976; 94-95
5	"Le Sport, Facteur d'Éducation Physique, Morale, Sociale, Internationale"	28 April 1966 International Olympic Committee (I.O.C.)	LED; 1976; 96-102	
6-7	"Aux Jeux Olympique de Mexico"	12-13 October 1968	Telegram to the organizers of the Olympic Games and to general audience	LED; 1976; 103-106

6	"Aux Dirigeants" (To the Organizers)	12 October 1968	To the organizers	LED; 1976; 103-105
7	"Au Moment de l'Angelus"	13 October 1968	To general audience at the Angelus	LED; 1976; 105-106
8	*?	?	To the Olympic organizers or teams at Grenoble (Winter Olympics 1963)	
9-11	"Aux Jeux Olympique de Munich"	26-27 August and 6 September 1972	Telegram to Cardinal of Munich; at the Angelus; at general audience	LED; 1976; 107-111
9	"Message au Cardinal Doepfner" (Message to Card. Doepfner)	26 August 1972	Cardinal Archbishop of Munich: to be read at Sunday Mass in Munich	LED; 1976; 107-108
10	"Au Moment de L'Angelus du 27 Août" (At the Angelus of 27 August)	27 August 1972	At the Angelus at Castel Gandolfo (the Pope's Summer Retreat)	LED; 1976; 108-109
11	"Audience Générale du 6 Septembre" (General Audience of 6 September)	6 September 1972	General audience	LED; 1976; 109-111
12	"Le Vrai Sens du Sport" (The Real Meaning of Sport)	26 April 1973	International Catholic Foundation of Physical Education and Sport	LED; 1976; 112-113
	"Une Fausse Conception du Sport"	26 April 1973	International Catholic Foundation of Physical Education and Sport	DC; May 1973; 457-458

13	"Valeur Éducative Des Compétitions" (Educational Worth of Competitions)	15 May 1975	Participants at the World Congress of National Olympic Committees	LED; 1976; 114-115
14	"Pope stresses Value of Sports in Formation of Youth Today"	23 February 1978	Presidents of the Italian Sports Federations (led by President of the Italian National Olympic Committee Dr. Giulio Onesti)	L'OR; 4 March 1978; 5
Total of 14				
JOHN PAUL II	"Pope John Paul II to Sportsmen"	20 January 1979	Motorists taking part in 47th Montecarlo Rally that started from St. Peter's Square	L'OR; 29 January 1979; 2
2	"Sport as Gymnastics of the Body and the Spirit: Pope to Milan Football Team"	12 May 1979	Directors and athletes of Milan football (soccer) team	L'OR; 28 May 1979; 4
3	"The Discipline of Sports for Complete Human Formation"	25 May 1979	Athletes, managers, technicians and families of Italian and Argentine football teams	L'OR; 18 June 1979; 5
4	"Sport, a School of Human Virtue"	31 August 1979	Participants in the 33rd Waterskiing Championships of Europe, Africa, and the Mediterranean (Lake Albano at Castel Gandolfo)	L'OR; 17 September 1979; 5
5	"Sport as Training Ground for Virtue and Instrument of Union among People"	20 December 1979	Council of the National Olympic Committee made up of Presidents of Italian Sports Federations (preparation for Lake Placid Olympics)	L'OR; 14 January 1980; 15-16

6	"Human and Sporting Qualities make Men Brothers"	20 June 1980	Representatives of 34 European Football Federations	L'OR; 14 July 1980; 12
7	"Pope's Greeting to Cyclists"	21 June 1980	(Pilgrim) Cyclists	L'OR; 7 July 1980; 14
8	"Integrate Physical Gifts with Spiritual Ones"	2 October 1980	Participants in the 12th Youth Games organized by Italian National Olympic Committee	L'OR; 3 November 1980; 6-7
9	"Holy Father's Meeting with a Soccer Team"	13 December 1980	Managers, technicians, players of Pisa Sports Club (Football)	L'OR; 26 January 1981; 17-18
10	"Sport exalts Human Virtue"	26 March 1981	Participants at International Pentathlon Meeting	L'OR; 13 April 1981; 4-5
11	"Commitment to the 'Match' of Life"	28 March 1981	Managers and athletes of Cagliari Soccer Team and Archbishop and Mayor of Cagliari	L'OR; 13 April 1981; 4
12	"A Season of Preparation and Training in the Face of Future Responsibility"	1 April 1981	Youth gathered in St. Peter's Basilica	L'OR; 6 April 1981; 3
13	"Sport a Training Ground for Life"	4 April 1981	Athletes and managers of SPAL Soccer Society of Ferrara	L'OR; 21 April 1981; 5, 10
Holy See Deleg. led by Archbishop A. Innocenti et al	"European Conference on Sport"	8-10 April 1981	3rd Conference of European Ministers for Sport within framework of Council of Europe	L'OR; 6 July 1981; 7
	"Let the Practice of Sports Always promote Peace"	11 October 1981	Youth taking part in Phase I of the 13th Youth Games	L'OR; 19 October 1981; 7

15	"Real Goal is the Father's House"	1 November 1981	3000 persons competing in 3rd Ecological Marathon setting out from St. Peter's Square	L'OR; 16 November 1981; 2
16	"Athletic Competition draws from Human Person Noblest Qualities and Talents"	20 March 1982	Chief delegations of 38 countries of International Federation of Athletics	L'OR; 5-12 April 1982; 8
17	"Holy Father's Address to Group of Athletes"	24 April 1982	Managers and players of "Reggiana" Soccer Team	L'OR; 17 May 1982; 5, 8
18	"Holy Father's Address to International Olympic Committee Meeting in Rome"	27 May 1982	Participants in 85th session of IOC. President Samaranch conferred upon Pope John Paul II the Olympic Order	L'OR; 4 October 1982; 5, 10
19	"Sports require Loyalty, Generosity, Optimism"	9 October 1982	5,000 final phase participants in 14th Youth Games	L'OR; 1 November 1982; 10-11
20	"Sports can and must Contribute to Person's Integral Formation"	6 December 1982	Members of the International Ski Federation	L'OR; 3-10 January 1983; 14
21	"Relay Race for Love and Peace"	4 June 1983	5,000 Children of Central Italy's Catholic Schools - athletic demonstration	L'OR; 8 August 1983; 4-5
22	"Always be Worthy of the Fans' Esteem"	10 June 1983	Managers and athletes of Roma Athletic Association, winner of Italy's soccer championship	L'OR; 8 August 1983; 4

23	"The Most Authentic Dimension of Sport: Create a New 'Civilization of Love'"	12 April 1984	Homily at the Olympic Stadium in Rome to 80,000 athletes from all over the world on the occasion of the International Jubilee of Sport	L'OR; 24 April 1984; 3-4
	"Le Sport, École D'Humanité et de Fraternité Mondiale"	12 April 1984	See above. (The French record says 100,000 athletes including handicapped athletes)	DC; 3 June 1984; 558-560
24	"Infuse a Religious Spirit into Study and Other Efforts"	13 May 1984	Participants in Catholic Schools Marathon	L'OR; 28 May 1984; 11
25	"Sports offers (sic.) Opportunity for Spiritual Elevation"	24 November 1984	140 Italians who had participated in 1984 Los Angeles Olympics	L'OR; 10 December 1984; 4-5
26	"Sports can become an Instrument of Reconciliation and Peace"	17 January 1985	Executives of Italian National Olympic Committee	L'OR; 11 February 1985; 8-9
27	"With the Eyes of the Spirit We look upon One Another"	14 September 1985	Track & field and swimming participants in European Games for the Blind	L'OR; 23 September 1985; 12
28	"Sports can help spread Fraternity and Peace"	3 April 1986	Participants in General Assembly of International Catholic Federation of Physical Education	L'OR; 28 April 1986; 5
29	"The Ideals of Sport Promote Peace"	26 May 1986	Directors of Italian Tennis Federation and participants in 43rd Italian International Tennis Championship	L'OR; 26 May 1986; 8

30	"A True and Proper Education is Welcome"	7 September 1986	Citizens of Courmayeur (on Alpine sports for tourist potential)	L'OR; 22 September 1986; 5
31	"Sports can be viewed as a Service to Mankind"	25 November 1989	Conference and seminar on Sports and Ethics sponsored by Italian Episcopal Conference	L'OR; 8 January 1990; 5
32	"May the World Cup Soccer Finals contribute to Universal Brotherhood"	9 December 1989	Directors of International Football Federation (FIFA) and delegations of teams competing in World Cup in Italy in June 1990	L'OR; 8 January 1990; 5
33	"Pope inaugurates 'Italia 90' Cup	31 May 1990	Inaugural ceremonies for World Cup at Olympic Stadium	L'OR; 11 June 1990; 3-4
34	"'Soccer' can mean 'Solidarity'"	4 June 1990	Referees for World Cup of Soccer	L'OR; 11 June 1990; 3

Total of 34

APPENDIX D

BIBLICAL REFERENCES AND NON-BIBLICAL MAXIMS FOUND IN PAPAL ADDRESSES ON SPORT

The following is a list of the Biblical passages cited by the popes in their pronouncements and addresses on sport. The X indicates reference to the particular passage. The (N) indicates the number of times, in the same or different addresses that the specific pope referred to that same passage. A number of the addresses were originally delivered in Italian and when the English translation provided the Biblical reference I have repeated it as found in the source. When only a reference to the quotation in the Bible was indicated in the source I have provided the English version from The Jerusalem Bible; as was the case when a translation from Latin or French is found.

PASSAGE	PIUS XI	PIUS XII	JOHN XXIII	PAUL VI	JOHN PAUL II
<u>Old Testament</u>					
Gn 2: 7 - [God breathes into the human body the] "breath of life" and "Man becomes a living being"					X (2)
Gn 3: 19 - [For, dust you are and to dust you shall return]		X (1)			
Ex 20: 2,3 - ["Thou shalt not have false gods before me"]		X (1)			
Ps 25 [26]: 8 - [Domino, diligo habitaculum domus tue et locum tabernaculi gloriæ tue: I love the house where you live, the place where your glory makes it home]		X (1)			
Ps 62 [61]: 2 - [(to the Lord) "our rock and our salvation"]					X (1)

PASSAGE	PIUS XI	PIUS XII	JOHN XXIII	PAUL VI	JOHN PAUL II
Ps 92 [93]: 5 - ("Holiness becometh thy house, O Lord")		X (1)			
Ws 4: 2 - [(on human virtue) "When it is present, men imitate it, and they long for it when it is gone; and throughout all time it marches crowned in triumph, victor in the contest for prizes that are undefiled"]					X (1)
Is 2: 4 - [(a new age in which Nation) "shall not lift up sword against nation"]					X (1)
Is 62: 1 - ["Propter Sion non tacebo it propter Jerusalem non quiescam" - "About Zion I will not be silent, about Jerusalem I will not grow weary"]	X (1)				
Is 62: 6 - [(the pope as guardian of the flock) "Total die et tota nocte in perpetuum non tacebunt" - "Day or night they must never be silent"]	X (1)				
<u>New Testament</u>					
Mt 19: 17-20 - [the pope exhorts conference participants that in order to act rightly in gymnastics and sport "Observe the commandments"]		X (1)			
Lk 12: 35-36 - ["Let your loins be girded and your lamps burning, and be like men waiting for their master"]					X (1)
A general reference to the importance of the Gospel of John as the Gospel of Love					X (1)

PASSAGE	PIUS XI	PIUS XII	JOHN XXIII	PAUL VI	JOHN PAUL II
Jn 5: 25 - ["L'heure vient, ou les morts entendent la voix du Fils de Dieu, et ceux qui l'auront entendue vivront" - "The hour will come, when the dead will hear the voice of the Son of God, and all who hear it will live"]				X (1)	
Jn 6: 63 - ["It is the spirit that gives life; the flesh profits nothing"]		X (1)			
Jn 11: 26 - ["Celui qui croit en moi, fut-il mort, vivra, et quiconque vit et croit en moi ne mourra jamais" - "if anyone believes in me, even though he dies he will live, and whoever lives and believes in me will never die"]				X (1)	
Jn 15: 9-17 - [(reference to) "This I command you, to love one another"]					X (1)
Jn 17: 21 - ["Que tous soient un" - "may there all be one"]			X (1)		
Rom 7: 23 - ["I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind and making me prisoner to the law of sin that is in my members"]			X (1)		
Rom 12: 15 - [(to a group of professional athletes) "Rejoice with those who rejoice"]					X (1)
I Cor 6: 13-20 [(see variations below)]				X (1)	
I Cor 6: 13, 15 - [13 - "But the body - this is not meant for fornication; it is for the Lord, and the Lord for the body." 15 - "You know surely, that your bodies are members making up the body of Christ; do you think I can take parts of Christ's body and join them to the body of a prostitute?"]		X (1)		I Cor 6: 15 X (2)	

PASSAGE

PIUS XI

PIUS XII

JOHN XXIII

PAUL VI

JOHN PAUL II

I Cor 6: 19-20 - ["Your body you know is the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you since you received him from God. You are not your own property; you have been bought and paid for. That is why you should use your body for the glory of God"]

X (1)

X (2)

or modified versions

["Glorify God in your body"]

X (6)

and

["Glory God in your body, temple of the Holy Spirit"]

X (2)

I Cor 9: 24-27 - ["All the runners at the stadium are trying to win, but only one of them gets the prize. You must run in the same way, meaning to win. All the fighters at the games go into strict training; they do this just to win a wreath that will wither away, but we do it for a wreath that will never wither. That is how I run, intent on winning; that is how I fight, not beating the air. I treat my body hard and make it obey me, for having been an announcer myself, I should not want to be disqualified."]

or

["I chastize my body and bring it into subjection"]

X (5)

or

I Cor 9: 24-25 - ["All the runners at the stadium . . . that will never wither"]

X (3)

X (1)

X (8)

PASSAGE	PIUS XI	PIUS XII	JOHN XXIII	PAUL VI	JOHN PAUL II
I Cor 10: 31 - ["Therefore, whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all to the glory of God"]		X (2)			
I Cor 12: 26 - ["And if one member suffers anything, all the members suffer with it; or if one member glories, all the members rejoice with it"]		X (1)			
I Cor 12: 31 - ["But earnestly desire the higher gifts"]					X (1)
I Cor 15: 42-43 - ["What is sown in corruption (the body) rises in incorruption; what is sown in dishonor rises in glory; what is sown in weakness rises in power; what is sown in a natural body rises in a spiritual body"]		X (1)			
Gal 6: 2 - [(in defense of sports for the handicapped) "Bear one another's burdens and so you will fulfill the law of Christ"]		X (1)			
Eph 4: 7 - [(to realize in our humanity) "the measure of Christ's gift"]					X (1)
Eph 4: 13 - ["In this way we are all to come to unity in our knowledge of the Son of God, until we become the perfect Man, fully mature with the fullness of Christ himself."]			X (1)		
Eph 4: 15 - ["Facientes veritatem in caritate" - "Live by the truth and in love"]			X (1)		
Phil 3: 14 - ["run towards the finish line to receive the prize to which God calls (you) on high"]					X (1)
I Tim 6: 12 - ["fight the good fight of faith"]					X (1)

PASSAGE

PIUS XI

PIUS XII

JOHN XXIII

PAUL VI

JOHN PAUL II

2 Tim 4: 7-8 - ["I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith. As for the rest there is laid up for me a crown of justice which the Lord, the just judge will render to me in that day; and not only to me, but to them also that love His coming."]

X (1)

X (1)

1 Pet 3: 4 - ["a living hope . . . an inheritance which is imperishable, undefiled, and unfading"]

X (1)

2 Pet 3: 13 - [(strive beyond the world of sport, for the salvation of modern man, for the coming of those) "new heavens" (and that) "new earth"]

X (1)

1 Jn 2: 14 - [" . . . you are strong"]

X (1)

X (1)

Non-Biblical Reference to the Maxim

Mens Sana in Corpore Sano (A sound mind in a sound body)

X (2)

X (1)

APPENDIX E

REFERENCES TO A PREVIOUS POPE

In this appendix I have listed the number of times that a pope has noted a previous pope's address on sport or meeting of Pius X with Coubertin.

- | | |
|--------------|--|
| PIUS XII | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Refers to Pius XI's mountaineering experience. |
| JOHN XXIII | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Refers to Saint Pius X's audience with Pierre de Coubertin in 1905.- Refers to Pius XII's address of 11 November 1951. |
| PAUL VI | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Refers--in two separate addresses--to Saint Pius X's audience with Coubertin in 1905.- Refers--in two separate addresses--to the numerous addresses on sport made by Pius XII.- Refers specifically to Pius XII's address on 20 May 1945.- Refers specifically to Pius XII's address on 8 November 1952.- Refers specifically to Pius XII's address to the 16th Olympiad in Melbourne, Australia. (Unavailable for this research.)- Refers--in two separate addresses--to John XXIII's reception of Olympic athletes on 24 August 1960. |
| JOHN PAUL II | <ul style="list-style-type: none">- Refers to Pius X's encouragement of Coubertin.- Refers to "clear teaching on sport" by Pius XII.- Refers to Pius XII's address on 2 June 1946. (Unavailable for this research.)- Refers to Pius XII's address of 8 November 1952.- Refers to John XXIII's address on 24 August 1960.- Refers--on three occasions--to the teachings of Paul VI on sport.- Refers to <u>Gaudium et Spes</u>. |