Sport and Physical Education in the Middle Ages

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SPORT & PHYSICAL EDUCATION
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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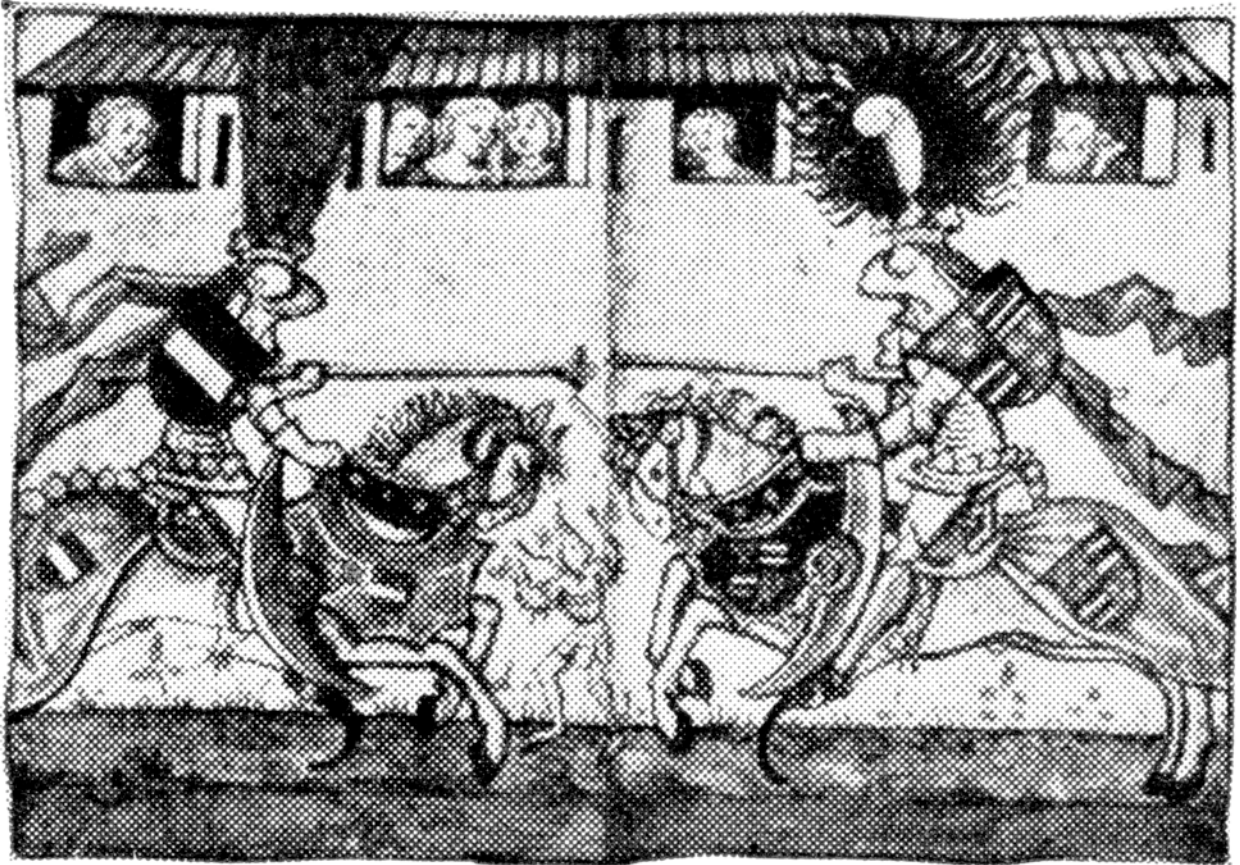and The University of Michigan)

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DEDICATION

To the Memory of
Dr. Ludwig H. Joseph

*"A PIONEER WITH HIS SCHOLARLY WORK
IN THIS AREA OF INVESTIGATION"*

Fig. 1

**Tournament between Duke Frederick of Austria
and the Count Hermann of Cilli.**
(The clown animates the two opponents.)
Codex St. George of the Chronicle of Ulrich of Richtental,
15th Century

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PREFACE

An editor (and author) should justify the need for a new text and/or source book related to the history of physical education and related sporting activities. In this instance it can be argued that this material fills an existing gap in the field's history between ancient times and what is generally called the modern period in the history of physical training and sport *in that part of the world which today would be called Europe*. In the so-called "Dark Ages," this geographical area was truly an outpost of civilization.

To place this period in broader perspective, it is necessary to understand that Greek culture known as Hellenism--i.e., the Hellenic Civilization--was soon brought to a halt as Rome faltered. During this period "the ebb and flow of the frontiers between Middle Eastern, Indian, and Hellenic civilizations threatened to upset the fourfold cultural balance of Eurasia" (McNeill, p. 250). Somehow, as each culture achieved a level of dynamism, it was never actually able to destroy such "cultural balance," even though certain elements of each civilization were sequentially introduced into one or the other of the leading cultures of the time. Also, probably due to their peripheral geographical locations in relation to this "Eurasian cultural balance," China, Japan, Russia, and western Europe managed not to become integrally involved with these major cultural centers as each continued along its individual way.

Referring to the status of physical education and sport *history* in 1964 at the the Big Ten Body-of-Knowledge Project sessions, I said. "We have not come very far; we have a long way to go; and we ought to be about our business (Zeigler, 1968. pp. 3-7). Momentous change has occurred since then, and the quality and quantity of historical studies in sport and physical education has increased greatly. However, this development was characterized gradually and increasingly by the holding of symposia, the introduction of scholarly journals, and the establishment of professional societies devoted primarily to sport *history*--not physical education. During this period, also, the field of professional preparation for physical education at the college and university level changed significantly as well mainly because of the so-called "disciplinary approach." With this innovative research emphasis brought on largely because of social change (e.g., the launching of Sputnik in 1958 and criticism of graduate education from without), professors in higher-education circles began a search for a departmental name that reflected this increased scientific and scholarly emphasis. The term "physical education"—introduced as a

corrective to physical *training* at the end of the 19th century--always did bespeak a tripartite organism that the discipline of psychology early in the 20th century challenged successfully. At present the term "kinesiology," of Greek derivation, is highly regarded by many in North America and often has either supplanted or supplemented the term "physical education." The well-considered "exercise and sport science" runs a distant second. "Physical education" still holds sway at the primary and secondary educational levels, however, although it would seem that now "physical activity education" is more appropriate (Zeigler, 2002).

Adlai Stevenson, the late Illinois Governor who ran unsuccessfully for the presidency of the United States twice in the 1950s, said: "A funny thing happened on the way to the White House!" This was a take-off, of course, of what some comedian attributed to Julius Caesar before his assassination in the Roman Forum on the Ides of March in ancient times. This jest bears repeating here because "a funny thing" happened to physical education *history* on the way to the turn of the 21st century! Because of the emphasis on *sport history* by members of the North American Society for Sport History, and because of the *denigration* of the term "physical education" and its elimination to a large extent at the university level in "select" university circles, the *history* of what came to be called "physical education" has suffered greatly. It's a sort of a "double whammy" against the field, to use the vernacular, because neither sport history groups nor advocates of the name change to "kinesiology" have wanted to have the "opprobrium of lowly physical education rub off on them" as they strove for academic acceptance at the university level. And yet, oddly enough, it's the vicissitudes and excesses of much university sport that largely kept these professors from true academic acceptance in the first place! It's a strange fate that has befallen the field of physical education just at the time that the physical fitness of the populace of all ages has been decried and the health benefits of regular exercises are being extolled from all sides even including the heretofore recalcitrant medical profession.

So, as editor of this volume, I confess that this recent historical scenario was in the back of my mind as I sought to work with others to produce a work describing the history of physical training especially, as well as that of related sporting and recreational activities during the Middle Ages. To put it bluntly, if you don't know "where you've been"--as most physical educators don't-- it's a high hurdle that confronts you on the way to where you "need to go." This matter of providing the necessary physical and health education for people of all ages is the anachronistic situation that the field of physical (activity) education and truly educational sport faces at the start of a new century. Herbert Spencer saw the

situation more clearly almost 150 years ago (!) than people in the "developed" world have been able to do today. Spencer stated that the large majority of people have "seared physical consciences," a condition brought on by "disobedience" to their "physical consciences" in earlier life (1949, p. 177). They believe their *present* state of being (or "physical conscience") is how it should be for them and thus how they *should* feel as they confront their daily lives! However, it is only the minority who have been wise enough to learn to enjoy and maintain the health and fitness benefits available to them.

In this present volume, therefore, one that seeks to bridge an existing lack of historical material in English about the period between "ancient times" and the "modern period" in far-west Europe, the objective is to show where the various categories of people in the Middle Ages stood in regard to what Spencer called their health and their "physical consciences." What sort of "physical training," if any, was part of the lives of the nobles and knights, the clergy, the farmers, and the burghers? What sort of a "physical conscience" did these people have? To what extent were they better or worse than people are today in regard to their daily physical activity and health status?

In the organization of this volume, I decided first in the preamble to set the stage by calling on the work of D. B. Van Dalen, Ph.D., the late professor of physical education, University of California, Berkeley. Here he contrasts the ideas about history's function as viewed by "Medieval Man" as opposed to that of "Renaissance," Then he concludes with an explanation of Vico's unique, 18th century interpretation of history.

The book itself is divided into three parts. Part One is called "The Early Middle Ages"; Part Two is designated as "The Later Middle Ages; and Part Three is titled "Social Forces Influencing Physical Education and Sport." Although such terms as "the Dark Ages," "the Medieval Age" ("high" and "low"), the "Age of Chivalry," "the Renaissance," "the Reformation," and the "Early Modern Period" do inescapably appear appropriately in the various essays and historical analyses, it was felt that the "early" and "late" approach followed here would be more understandable overall. A further effort to help the reader to truly comprehend what took place was then carried out in Part Three ("Social Forces Influencing Physical Education and Sport"). Here I veered away from the more "horizontal" or "chronological" treatments of Parts One and Two employed in the introductory essays to each part by introducing what I have called an "analytical" approach to

doing history. Each of five major social forces (e.g., values, economics) is reviewed separately for the period under discussion.

There are five selections included in Part One, each seeking to explain how "developmental physical activity" was used in the Early Middle Ages to prepare men for their role in the life of that period. The first selection was titled "Physical Education in the Early Middle Ages." It defines gymnastics and discusses its foundation and place in society. Written by the late Dr. Ludwig. H. Joseph, permission was given for its use from company archives by Novartis AG (CIBA Symposia). This is the first of three excellent selections by him included here.

The second selection included in Part One is by Dr. Ralph B. Ballou, Jr. of Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro. Named "An Analysis of the Writings of Selected Church Fathers to A. D. 394 to Reveal Attitudes Regarding Physical Activity," this excellent study was unique when researched in that it resulted with a correction in a then-prevailing belief about the position of the Roman Catholic Church. Ballou argued cogently that The Church was not against the "right kinds" of physical activity for people, only that which was characterized by the excesses of the Roman Empire.

This is followed by Selection #3 titled "Chivalric Education in the Middle Ages. Written by the late Dr. Jan Broekhoff of the University of Oregon, it was the first article that appeared in the physical education literature of North America that offered a penetrating analysis of chivalric education. Broekhoff believed that "the chivalric ideals of physical prowess, loyalty, generosity, courtesy, and glory have not lost their significance for modern society, but they are no longer the ideals of of a social élite." As one observes the sporting patterns of a great deal of modern sport, it is often difficult to see where these ideals are being preserved in competitive sport.

Selection #4 is titled "Sport in the Bayeux Tapestry" and was written by Dr. John Marshall Carter. This fascinating material discusses the noble and peasant sport and pastimes in this fabulous creation. It indicates clearly , also, that sport was used as a preparation for war. Dr. Carter shows the serious political nature of the Tapestry as well.

> (**Note**: I refer the reader, also, to the significant, overall contribution of John Marshall Carter on the subject of the sporting and recreational pastimes in the Middle Ages. See the listings for him in this volume's bibliography.)

The final selection (#5) of Part One was written by this volume's editor. It also treats the subject of chivalry, but from a similar but slightly different perspective. It is titled "Chivalry's Influence on Sport and Physical Training in Medieval Europe." Stating that "it is not yet possible to predict a world environment in which a country will not need a military establishment of greater or lesser strength," it is argued that the military person should strive for the highest levels of skill, strength, and endurance, but that also "a fine code of ethics should be developed and maintained to the highest degree possible."

Part Two includes selections that explain what is here called The Later Middle Ages. Again there is an introductory essay by the editor with the progression starting with the social life of the period. This is followed first by a brief analysis of the educational institutions and followed by one of the prevalent physical training, sport, and leisure practices.

The first selection (#1) included in Part Two returns to the work of Dr. L. H. Joseph and is titled "Gymnastics during the Renaissance as a Part of the Humanistic Educational Program." After he paying tribute to Petrarch for his significant 14th century "awakening call," Joseph discusses the contribution of Vittorino da Feltre at some length. Then he explains briefly the efforts of four others who may be considered notable contributors to the return to humanism.

Next the interesting, well-documented work of the late Peter McIntosh of the Inner London Education Authority is presented as Selection #2. Titled "Physical Education in Renaissance Italy and Tudor England, this historical essay first appeared in the 1957 book titled *Landmarks in the history of physical education* published by Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. It makes an interesting comparison between what was taking place in Italy and England during the Renaissance.

In Selection #3, Dr. Hugh M. Lee, of the University of Maryland, offers the reader a fascinating short study explaining the little-known background to "Ligorio's contribution to Mercuriale's *De Arte Gymnastica*.

Then, in Selection #4 of Part Two, Dr. Jeffrey O. Segrave of Skidmore College, takes the reader in a different, but highly interesting, direction that is pertinent to the times and its return to the earlier Classical experience. It is titled "The Influence of the Middle Ages on Pierre de Coubertin, and the Survival of the Olympic Idea.

Finally, the article "Our Legacy from the Middle Ages (Selection #5) by the late Dr. Nicolaas J. Moolenijzer of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, serves to summarize the experiences and contributions of four classes in the society of the period: (1) the farmers, (2) the clergy, (3) the knights, and (4) the burghers.

As an "added starter" to Part Two, one further selection (#6) was included. This was done because it serves to provide a *bridge,* or a *transition*--especially in regard to what Dr. Joseph termed medical gymnastics--from the Middle Ages to what may be called the "Early Modern Period." This selection is titled: "Medical Gymnastics in the 16th and 17th Centuries."

Part Three includes one analytic essay only. It is titled "Social Forces Influencing Physical Education and Sport in the Middle Ages: A "Vertical" Approach to Historical Analysis." This unique approach came to the attention of the editor in the 1940s through his involvement with Dr. John S. Brubacher, the eminent professor of the history and philosophy of education at Yale University. It involves an historical analysis of each of the major social forces of a society separately. In addition, as a "prelude," to give the reader still further insight into the period, the elements of Parsons' theoretical explanation of the "general action system" of society is presented. Finally, the question is considered as to whether progress had been made during this period of history and whether this far-western European civilization called the Middle Ages had any unique characteristics.

In conclusion, as editor, I wish to express my deep appreciation to Hugh Lee, Jeffrey Segrave, John Marshall Carter, and Ralph Ballou for their most welcome and insightful contributions to this effort. This feeling extends to the memories of the other friends and colleagues whose work was included included in an earlier volume and is repeated here: D. B. Van Dalen, Jan Broekhoff, Peter McIntosh, and Nicolaas Moolenijzer. I did not have the pleasure of knowing the late Dr. L. H. Joseph to whom this volume is dedicated.

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PREAMBLE

THE IDEA OF HISTORY
OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

(the late) D. B. Van Dalen
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(Editor's Note: "Van" made a strong contribution to the history of the field of physical education and educational sport. Ever thoughtful and reflective, he also contributed to the origins of physical education and sport philosophy in the early 1960s.)

As this preamble is being written, our era as earthlings is about to end. We are being catapulted from our world vantage point into interplanetary space. As a consequence, because all humans are products of their time and place, the ideas we now have about history and physical education may change. What we called Medieval Man, Renaissance Man, and Modern Man cannot be localized in watertight compartments of time, place, and purpose. Nevertheless a Medieval Man existed who viewed the universe, history, and the human mind and body differently than Greco-Roman Man, and a Renaissance Man, who stood on the threshold of today's world, modified the medieval view of life accordingly.

MEDIEVAL MAN'S IDEA OF HISTORY

Medieval man rejected the Greco-Roman view that human events and achievements were a product of man's will and intellect. To him, the historical process was not the working out of the plans of man, but the unfolding of a plan that God had constructed and no man could alter. Man could serve as an instrument that would further the development of the Divine Plan, but if he chose to work against God's will he could not change the Divine Plan--he would merely secure his own eternal damnation.

Medieval Man viewed history from a universalistic point of view. Because all men were equal in the sight of God and were engaged in working out His purposes, history could not be confined to a study of Greece, or Rome, or a chosen people.; it has to embrace all mankind. The medieval historian went back to the beginning, traced how various people came into being, and sought to detect God's purposes

for human life and to trace the long unfolding of God's will. His narrative was crystallized around the birth of Christ, because all earlier events led up to that event, and all subsequent events developed the consequences of that event.

Because Medieval scholars were not so concerned about giving an accurate account of temporal conditions, they were weak in critical method. Their objective was to give an account of spiritual progress from the obscure days in "the Book of Genesis to a redemptive eschatological goal in or beyond history" (Meyerhoff, p. 2). They held that those to whom God's plan had been revealed trough faith could determine what God had done in the past and what he would do in the future. History was viewed by them as a progressive process guided by the transcendent design of the Divine intellect, but their concept of progress did not imply a movement toward better things on earth, or progressive excellence was considered to be possible only in the City of God.

In a world where fear of death and dread of the last judgment were omnipresent, men were more concerned about their spiritual well-being than their physical well-being. They looked upon their bodies as instruments of sin and hence impediments to the attainment of eternal salvation. St. Bernard advised men that "the spirit flourishes more strongly and more actively in an infirm and weakly body." Most church fathers opposed sports and dances because of the debased character of Roman sports and the close association of these activities with pagan religious ceremonies and emperor worship. Feudal society did promote a strong but narrow military training program that prepared men to fight for the cause of the Church and to fulfill their feudal obligations. Knights were expected to possess, strength, endurance, and military prowess; to have seen blood flow; and to have felt their teeth crack under the blow of adversaries, but they were not expected to be concerned about the health, cleanliness, grace, or beauty of their bodies.

With the passage of time, the fairly crystallized body of beliefs and values constructed by Medieval Man began to crack. The religious crusades. the contact with the Moslems and the rediscovery of Greco-Roman thought, the exploits of explorers and the quickening of trade,and the emerging power of national states and the revival of civic patriotism, changed man's view of himself and his world. He no longer thought of himself as an insignificant bag of bones cowering he in the vestibule of eternity, but rather as a unique creation with the divine faculty of reason and the power to gain knowledge about the beauties and wonders of the world in which he lived.

RENAISSANCE MAN'S INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY

During the Renaissance, life on earth in the West assumed a dignity and importance that had been unknown for centuries. Many men opted to deal with secular and immediate problems rather than eternal ones. The growth of towns and of the guilds that nurtured the the economic interests and social cohesion of the new merchant class created conditions that were conducive to the development of sports. competitions, dances, gala festivals, and communal military training.

When men achieved an earthly identity, interest in the human body was revived. The stylized figures of medieval art forms were abandoned for flesh and blood humans as the nude body was dynamically rendered. Artists and physicians daringly dissected corpses and studies the muscles and organs of the skinned cadavers. Leonardo da Vinci's anatomical drawings were amazingly accurate. Andreas Vesalius undertook a systematic study of the body that undermined the previous hallowed concept of the human body and provided the foundation for modern anatomy. Mercurialis, in his tract, *De Arte Gymnastica*, described the ancient gymnasium and gymnastics while urging men to employ physical exercises for their hygienic value.

The early humanists and the realists of the late Renaissance reaffirmed the Athenian ideal of the harmonious development of mind and body. Montaigne cautioned in his *Essays*, "It is not a mind, it is not a body that we are training; it is a man, and he ought not be divided into two parts. . . ." (1934, Vol. 1, p. 145). "We must command the soul not to draw aside and entertain herself apart, not to desire and abandon the body. . . ." (Vol. 2, p. 303). Francis Bacon (Wright, 1900, p. 216) noted that "there seemeth to be a relation of conformity between the good of the mind and the good of the body."

During the Renaissance, striving for perfection beyond life gave way to the striving for the full, all-around life in this world. Etiquette books on courtly behavior advised youths to acquire a universal learning and proficiency in many arts, to give due attention to hygiene and physical exercise, to acquire skill in arms and every manly exercise, and to develop a graceful carriage and a beautifully proportioned body rather than mere strength. Dancing and fencing masters were employed in court schools and lavish balls, masquerades, ballets, and tournaments were fashionable. Tennis, archery, fencing, bowling, hunting, and many rugged warlike activities were popular. Because men engaged in sports with great zeal and few

rules or regulations governed many activities, religious leaders made some efforts to curb forms of recreation that led to riots or the destruction of life or property.

In the intellectual and social climate of the Renaissance, the theocentric view of history which had dominated human thought for more than a thousand years ceased to command universal assent. After becoming acquainted with the highly secular Greco-Roman thought, some scholars began to shift to a humanistic view of history. Instead of attributing historical events to Divine Providence, they sought to establish human deeds and motives in history. Instead of writing a universal history of man's sins and God's will and judgment, they wrote about the political fortunes, military events, economic life, and human personalities in the worldly City of Man. Instead of viewing all events as a continuum from Genesis to their own day, they began to discern periods of history as separate secular entities.

One of the revelations of the Renaissance was the rediscovery of the works of Herodotus. Livy, and Polybius which a new breed of historian began to use as their models. The works of Machiavelli and Guicciardini in the 15th and 16th centuries exemplify the effort that was made to liberate history from theology and to create a dynamic secular view of history. Machiavelli, who ignored religious issues, wrote a rationalistic and realistic political history and investigated the cause of the decline of states in the context of the cyclical theories of Polybius.

LATE RENAISSANCE PERIOD

In the early Renaissance, history was still considered a branch of grammar. However, between the middle of the 16th and 18th centuries, some men began to give consideration to the implications of history as a field of knowledge. In the 17th century Bacon divided his map of knowledge into poetry, philosophy, and history. In his plan for *The Advancement of Learning*, he outlined a series of historical works and advised scholars to abandon the subtle pursuit of words and concepts of the intellect for the study of the nature of things. What man should study, he argued, is not moral philosophy, but the application of its principles. Thus, "poets and writers of history are the best doctors of this knowledge." Bacon's contention that history was ruled over by the faculty of memory implied that the work of the historian was to recall and record the facts of the past which negated the medieval claim that historians could foreknow the future and that their main function was to detect a divine plan running through facts (Collingwood, p. 58).

The mainstream of intellectual thought in the 17th century, however, was

directed away from history by Descartes who was dissatisfied with the practice of citing authorities to solve problems. Descartes decided that the only way to obtain reliable and certain knowledge was trough the systematic reasoning procedures employed by mathematicians. He contended that to know something of history was useful, but insisted that history could not claim to be true knowledge, since events never actually happened as historians described them. But when Descartes pointed out weaknesses in historical method that he implied could not be eliminated, he may have unwittingly challenged historians (1) to give deeper consideration to the work they were doing, (2) to define the purpose and scope of their discipline, (3) to prove that history was a discipline that could produce reliable knowledge, and (4) to improve their investigative methods so as to qualify as a discipline.

Perhaps we can better understand what we are trying to do today, both as historians and as physical educators who are engaged in establishing the theoretical foundations of our discipline, if we examine the logical and speculative inquiries into the nature of history that were initiated during the late Renaissance.

VICO'S INTERPRETATIONS

During the 18th century, Giambattista Vico of Naples, who was far ahead of his time, sought to formulate principles for historical method similar to Bacon's effort to establish principles for scientific method. In his great work, *New science*, Vico attacked the Cartesian contention that no other knowledge was possible but that which was reached by philosophical-mathematical methods of thinking. Vico denounced the narrowness of the Cartesian philosophy while demanding a broader basis for a theory of knowledge. He argued that the methods of obtaining true knowledge will vary according to the nature of what is being investigated. He pointed out that the Cartesian criterion of true knowledge--the clear and distinct idea that is reached by defining terms and reasoning carefully--is a subjective criterion. The fact that one establishes ideas that he thinks are clear, distinct, and reasonable simply indicates that he believes them--but does not prove that the are true!

Vico then decided that a principle was needed to distinguish what man can know and what he cannot know. To demonstrate that historical knowledge was a valid type of knowledge, he constructed the following argument: (1) What man can know, not merely perceive but understand truly, is what he has created; (2) Since God made nature, He alone can truly understand it; (3) Since man created the world of civil society, he can gain a knowledge of human history and the principles

that govern it. According to Gardiner (p. 17), Vico marveled that philosophers had "bent all their energies to the study of the world of nature. . . .[and had] neglected the study of the world of nations or civil world, which, since men had made it, men could hope to know."

A few of Vico's predecessors who had become concerned about the quality of historical scholarship had begun (1) to study the best sources of each century, (2) to compare and reconcile the statements of different authorities, (3) to make use of archival sources and nonliterary sources such as coins, (4) to apply the methods of textual criticism that the humanists had evolved to study literary works, and (5) to write in eloquent but restrained language. Vico extended the advances these men had made in clearing away old legends concerning the origins of cities, purging exaggerated and miraculous elements from historical works, and laying the foundation for a more critical historical method.

Vico warned scholars about the common error of exaggerating the achievements of antiquity and the biases that cause a historian to present the history of his own country in the most favorable light. The belief that human nature had remained status throughout time was also rejected by Vico. Men, in remote ages, he pointed out, did not have the same scale of values, interests, and intellectual outlook as the men who write about them. Therefore, he argued, a contemporary yardstick could could not be employed to interpret what had been done in the past. The fallacy of assuming that, when two nations have had similar ideas or institutions, one must have learned it from the other was another error Vico sought to erase. He did that by demonstrating the *possibility of original creation* by the people of each nation of what they needed at a particular stage of development.

By advising historians not to assume that ancient authorities were always better informed than present-day man about events that were close to them, Vico delivered historians from complete dependence on written "authorities." He also provided a basis for the possible reconstruction of "unremembered" history by scientific methods. In doing this, he was one of the first men to suggest that by making a comparative and evolutionary study of the laws, language, and literature--that which had emanated from human minds--historians could reconstruct the ideas, beliefs, attitudes, and ways of the life of people in the past. In his opinion, mythology and traditions could not be accepted as statements of facts, but they could be "weighty witnesses" concerning the customs of the past. He believed that such myths and traditions invented these communication media to convey some concept of their social structure or some meaning that they thought to be

important. To interpret mythology and traditions. Vico advised historians to study how modern savages or children think, people whose minds are in the same stage of development as the minds of people in antiquity.

Some Renaissance historians, including Vico, revived the pagan cyclical theory which depicted history as a vast Ferris wheel on which all nations pass through the same stages of development in the same order from their birth to their rise, apogee, and decline. This theory had been rejected centuries before by Augustine. He proclaimed that pagans might go around and around in a circle throughout time, but for Christians the world had a beginning and was proceeding toward a fixed end. The Renaissance historians did not make a direct attack on Augustine's City of God. Rather, they produced a rich variety of examples of societies that had had similar patterns of government, law, literature, and religion during similar stages of their development. Also, they often combined their explanations for the cyclical nature of history with the concept of "Providential supervision."

In blaming the decline of nations on (1) policies of territorial over-expansion, (2) the disparate growth of the population and the food supply, (3) the moral; decay of leaders, (4) the corrupting influence of wealth and power, or (5) the effect of astrological or numerological forces, Renaissance historians began to unravel the tapestry of the Church and State. However, they did not snip all of the threads. Some of them suggested that God had introduced these cycles to remind men "from whence grace proceedeth," or to make vivid the contrast between vice and virtue. Vico used "Providence" in such a way that "nothing remains of the transcendent and miraculous operation of Providence. . . ." (Loewith, p. 123).

The men who embraced the cyclical theory were not attacking the idea of progress; indeed, the possibility of secular progress--of evolutionary tendencies in historical change--did not come into existence until much later. The late Renaissance historians were revolting against the idea of regression, the thought that the Greeks and Romans had reached the pinnacle of excellence--and that the subsequent decay was absolute and irreversible. Renaissance historians simply used the cyclical theory to point out that, after a fallow period such as the Middle Ages, a cycle of renewal would occur.

In the words of Hamlet, Renaissance man rediscovered "What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason! how infinite in faculty! In form and moving how expressive and admirable! in action how like an Angel" (Shakespeare, *Hamlet*

Act II, Scene 2). Renaissance man was a transitional man who synthesized Christian morality and Hellenic individualism, reconciled the man of action with the contemplative man, and complemented courage with courtesy and strength and endurance with grace and beauty. He was the man who initiated the deliverance of history from theology, who grappled with the problem of whether there was such a thing as reliable historical knowledge, who sought to explain the historical process, who improved upon the scholarship of his craft, and who ran interference "for the idea of progress [in history] by humbling the pretensions of the ancients to absolute superiority in all things" (Manuel, p. 68)

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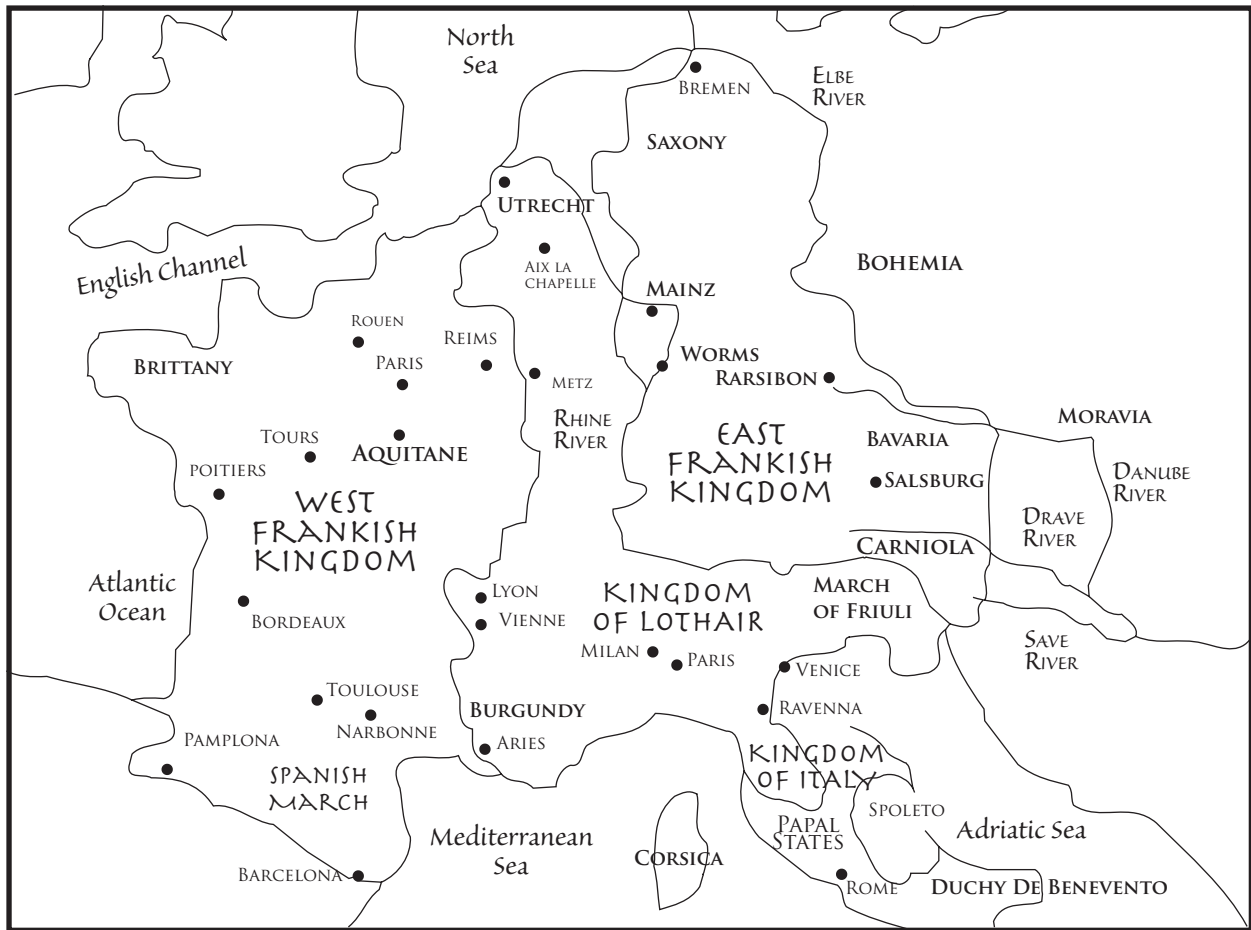
Map #1
Pre-Europe or the "Far West" (in mid-9th century)
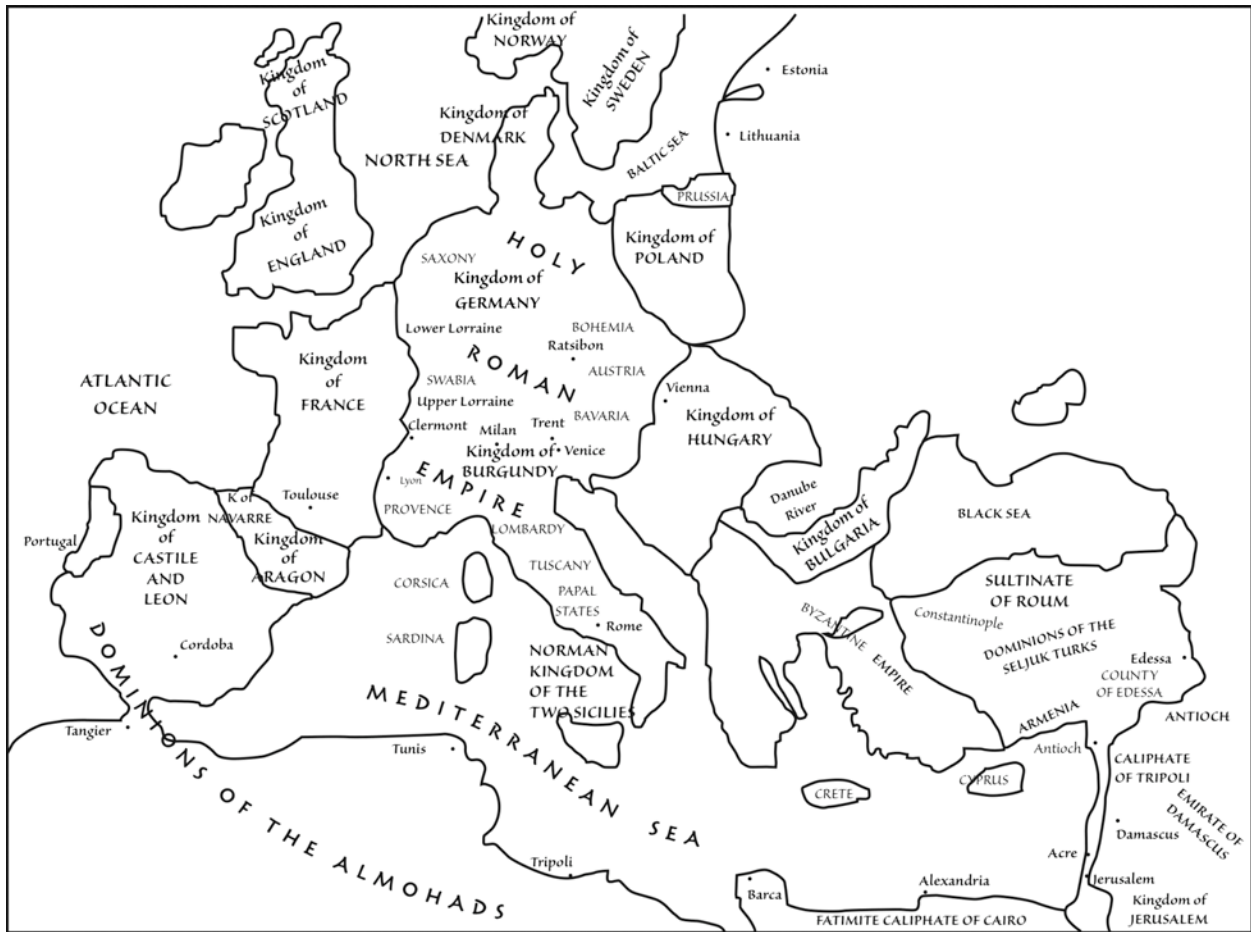
Map #2
Pre-Europe or the "Far West" (in mid-12th century)

Oslo • Upsala

NORWAY SWEDEN

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS RUSSIA

SCOTLAND • Aalborg BALTIC SEA Polotsk •

NORTH SEA DENMARK Copenhagen Danzig Hamburg • • Minsk

IRELAND • Carlisle Schleswig PRUSSIA LITHUANIA

• Dublin York VISTULA Pinsk •

• Limerick ENGLAND Hamburg ELBE RIVER Warsaw • DNIEPER RIVER Kiev •

WALES • Bremen Frankfurt Posen •

• Bristol • London • Utrecht • Erfurt Wittenburg POLAND Lemberg •

ATLANTIC OCEAN Plymouth Antwerp Cologne Breslau Karkow • DNIESTER RIVER

ENGLISH CHANNEL RHINE RIVER • Mainz HOLY Prague •

Cherbourg • Rouen ROMAN Brunn • MOLDAVIA

Reirns Paris • Vienna • DANUBE RIVER

• Brest Rennes • LOIRE RIVER • Strasbourg • Basel EMPIRE Budapest HUNGARY

Nantes Orleans • • Basel • Innsbruck

Tours • FRANCE Dijon • SWISS CONFEDERATION DRAVA RIVER Belgrade Bucharest •

• Angouleme Lyons VENETIAN REPUBLIC WALLACHIA

• Bordeaux RHONE RIVER Milan • Venice • Varna •

• Santiago Turin PO RIVER ADRIATIC SEA

Oporto NAVARRE Toulouse • Avignon • Genoa • • Sofia MONTENEGRO Constantinople •

DOURO RIVER Narbonne Marseilles Florence • PAPAL STATES OTTOMAN EMPIRE

PORTUGAL • Saragossa Rome • Benevento • RAGUSA AEGEAN SEA

Lisbon TAGUS RIVER SPAIN ARAGON • Barcelona CORSICA Naples • Taranto • Janina • Smyrna •

• Madrid BALEARIC ISLANDS SARDINIA NAPLES Athens •

CASTILE • Cordoba • Valencia SPAIN TYRRHENIAN SEA IONIAN SEA DUCHY OF NAXOS (VENICE)

Seville • • Granada MEDITERRANEAN Messina •

Tangir • Ceuta Algiers • Palermo SICILY SEA CRETE (VENICE)

Fez Oran • Tunis MALTA

SULTINATE OF FEZ SULTINATE OF ALGIERS SULTINATE OF TUNIS

Map #3
Early Europe or the "Far West" (circa 1500)

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PART ONE
INTRODUCTION

THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES:
LIFE, EDUCATION, AND SPORT
& PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Earle F. Zeigler, Editor
The University of Western Ontario

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The period following the fall of Rome has been commonly called--but perhaps somewhat incorrectly--the "Dark Ages." It now appears that the larger period may well be called "The Middle Ages," but specific subdivisions of time should be understood better. We might therefore speak of the "Early" Middle Ages and the "Later" Middle Ages. Sometimes we read also about "Medieval Europe" or "Feudal Society" as names for what happened during the middle years of the Middle Ages. Whatever the case may be, this time period that we designate here as "The Early Middle Ages" was indeed the dawn of a new civilization on the Western world, a development that was an outgrowth of antiquity as Rome "declined" more than it "fell." For our purpose here in Part One, two subdivisions will be offered for the reader's consideration: (1) The "Dark" Ages, and (2) Feudal Europe. (The Later Middle Ages (i.e., the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginning of the Early Modern Period will be discussed in Part Two.)

THE "DARK" AGES

McNeill (1963, pp. 249-294) insightfully designated the Middle Ages as the period of "Eurasian Cultural Balance," a phase of humans' development that began about 500 B.C.E. and extended to approximately 1500. To keep this period in perspective, it is necessary to understand that Hellenism, the Hellenic Civilization, was soon brought to a halt as Rome faltered. During this period "the ebb and flow of the frontiers between Middle Eastern, Indian, and Hellenic civilizations threatened to upset the fourfold cultural balance of Eurasia" (p. 250). Somehow, as each culture achieved a level of dynamism, it never actually was able to destroy such cultural balance, even though certain elements of each were sequentially introduced into one or the other of the leading cultures of the time.

Also, probably due to their peripheral geographical locations in relation to

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this Eurasian cultural balance, China, Japan, Russia, and western Europe managed not to become integrally involved with these major cultural centers as each continued along its individual way. *The geographical area of concern in this discussion in relation to physical activity through the medium of exercise, sport, and leisure physical recreation activities, however, is western Europe.* It "moved eastward across the Elbe, northward to Scandinavia, westward to the Celtic fringes of Atlantic Europe, and southward into Spain and Italy (p. 251).

The political affairs of Greece and the eastern Mediterranean became quite separate from that of western Europe after Constantinople became the center of the Holy Roman Empire. Concern here will center primarily around what happened in the West. Italy, for example, became a perennial battleground as various kings of the northern Germanic tribes invaded this territory successfully in the sixth century. For several centuries, therefore, political authority in Italy was vested in many hands such as the Ostrogoths, the Eastern Empire and the Papacy, the Franks, and the Lombards.

Social Institutions. In western Europe the political power then gradually moved northward to the area of the Frankish kingdoms (modern France and Germany). Clovis, whose kingdom was eventually divided in 511 was a famous Merovingian (Frankish) king. Later, when the mayors of the palace assumed political power, the name of Charles Martel became well known. Under his leadership the Franks defeated the Arabs at Tours in 732.

This was a time when most literature and learning came to a standstill. It might have even been lost completely save for the newly organized monasteries. As the immoral society of the declining Romans became a mere memory, Christianity continued to spread because of the energy, enthusiasm, and high moral standards of its followers. The Church managed to survive the invasion of the barbarians and gradually became an important influence in the culture. Its continued growth seemed a certainty. Although the historic Jesus Christ in many ways was said to be anything but an ascetic, the early Christians perverted history to a degree as they envisioned the individual's moral regeneration as the highest goal. They became most concerned with their souls and the question of eternal happiness. To Christians of these times, matters of the body were presumed to be of this world, and consequently of Satan. However, affairs of the soul were of God. This way of life has been given the name of asceticism, the main idea being to subdue the desires of the flesh--even by torture if necessary.

The important facts to remember are, however, that there was a remarkable unity within Catholicism during this time, and that such important modern institutions as the structure of our cities. our universities, and our representative government developed from these origins. And yet there were many basic contradictions in this age in which the Roman Church and the Germanic peoples united to bring about the rise of the West.

> (**Note:** It should be pointed out that, while these developments were taking place in western Europe, the Byzantine Empire to the south and east flourished greatly. Constantinople, Baghdad, and Alexandria (in Africa) were great cities, and the names of such emperors as Constantine, Justinian, Leo, and Mauritius have gone down in history.)

After the Franks under Martel had defeated the Arabs at Tours in 732, there was a significant period of political and religious consolidation. Charlemagne became king in the late eighth century, extended the boundaries of his territory in all directions except the west, and was crowned as Roman emperor by the Pope in 800. Thereafter he became the most important political figure of this entire period. Through his leadership, significant advancement was made in the political, economic, religious, social, and educational institutions of the time.

In the ninth century after Charlemagne's death, a number of civil wars weakened the empire. As a result the origins of modern Germany, France, and Italy became evident. Attacks from almost all directions--the north, the east, and the south--and eventual decentralized political authority left the feudal lords in charge of localized territories. The current kings exercised relatively weak, nominal control. Thus, in both the eastern and western Frankish kingdoms, conflict and strife between the monarchs and their nobles brought about the breakdown of Charlemagne;s Empire into a variety of feudal duchies and estates. Then Otto I (or Otto the Great), who took control and consolidated what was later to become Germany, responded to an urgent appeal from Pope John XII, conquered Italy bad thereby linked the future of Germany and Italy. He became the Holy Roman Emperor of the West in 962.

In England meanwhile, invasions from the northeast by the Danes weakened most of the Saxon kingdom greatly. Then Alfred the Great was able to consolidate the defense against the invaders, gained a treaty, and permitted them to settle

northeast of the Thames River. After his death, however, struggles erupted again, and eventually they were all defeated by the Norman, William the Conqueror, in 1066. In this way the English came considerably closer to the type of monarchy they finally achieved.

Thus, as men and women turned to the monasteries and convents of the Christian Church, respectively, it was logical that the prevailing attitudes towards dancing, games, and sporting activities other than manual labor would be reflected in their daily life patterns. The guidelines of daily manual labor resulted in the maintenance and development of farming, animal husbandry, elementary building construction, crafts, and rudimentary hospitals. The time spent on reading and copying resulted in the preservation of some of the learning of the past, along with an opportunity to master the basic fundamentals of education. Physical education was not included in the curriculum embodying what was called the Seven Liberal Arts (the *trivium* and the *quadrivium*) offered to the monks or nuns, or indeed in the programs of study for the younger students aspiring to higher learning eventually. This was evidently true, also, for the curriculum of the occasional "palace school" that appeared (e.g., that developed by the English monk, Alcuin, for children of the nobles during the reign of Charlemagne). Fortunately, the irrepressible urges and instincts for play and movement could not be denied or totally eradicated. As appears to be the case--even today--the educational pendulum had swung too far in one direction.

To gain some perspective on physical training and sporting activities in the early Middle Ages, it is important to understand how the people of this time viewed their world. As Van Dalen (1973, p. 217) explained, "Medieval Man rejected the Greco-Roman view that events and achievements were a product of man's will and intellect. To him, the historical process was not the working out of the plans of man, but the unfolding of a plan that God had constructed and no man could alter. . . ." Thus, world history was viewed from a universalistic point of view because God viewed all people as equals. Their task was to work out the purposes that HE envisioned for what HE had created. So it is no wonder but that people lived in fear of the Deity's final judgment about them. They were consequently much more concerned about their spiritual welfare than they were about affairs of a sinful body.

Early Christians, therefore, envisioned the individual's moral regeneration as the highest goal, even though Jesus Christ himself seems to have been in many ways anything but an ascetic. Thus, affairs of the soul were of God, so to speak,

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but matters of the body were felt to be of this world, and consequently of Satan. Often carried to the extreme by fanatics, this way of life was given the name of asceticism, the main idea being to subdue the desires of the flesh--even by means of torture if absolutely necessary.

The belief has prevailed that these early churchmen were opposed to the idea of physical education or training. The phrase "most churchmen were strongly opposed to physical education" during the early Christian period period (Van Dalen *et al.*, 1953, p. 98). Marrou (1964, p. 185) makes it quite clear that, in his opinion, physical education "simply died of old age," He maintains, also, that it was the "passion for athletics" that was criticized so sharply. And he explains this by the fact that the Roman so-called games and sports had led to to so many terrible evils and excesses. as well as being often associated with earlier pagan religions.

However, this belief that churchmen had opposed physical education has been called "The Great Protestant Legend" by Ballou (1968). In a quotation from Tertullian that he asserts could well "reflect the Christian approach to sport and physical activity," Tertullian wrote:

> Next let us consider the arts displayed in the circus games, In times past equestrian skill was simply a matter of riding on horseback, and certainly no guilt was involved in the ordinary use of the horse. But when this skill was pressed into the service of the games, it was changed from a gift of God into an instrument of the demons (Tertullian, as quoted by Ballou, 1968, p. 162).

On balance it seems more logical that these Christians would not be opposed to the idea of hard work and strenuous physical activity, but that they would indeed be violently opposed to all types of games and athletic festivals associated with earlier pagan religions and the excesses of the Roman arena and hippodrome. As Ballou (p. 164) concluded, Christianity attempted to bring the relationship of it [physical activity] to sport into a more positive perspective compatible with a reverence for God, the dignity of man and the integrity of activity." This considered position was borne out by Bottomley (1979, p. 6) when he asserted that there was a developing idea of the "goodness of the whole of creation and its hierarchical continuity in a 'great chain of being' would tend to blur any obvious dualism of body and spirit."

And yet for hundreds of years during the period here called the Early Middle

Ages, physical education, as it is known today, found almost no place within the meager educational pattern that prevailed. It was a very sterile period indeed for the few who might have been interested in the promulgation of physical education and sport of the finest type. Eventually even much of the physical labor in the fields and around the grounds of the monasteries was transferred to non-clerics. Thus, even this basic physical fitness was lost to this group as more intellectual pursuits became the rule. As is so often the case, the pendulum had simply swung too far in the other direction.

Any discussion of education in the Early Middle Ages should include, however, at least a brief discussion of the education of young nobles within the system of feudalism that prevailed. Almost all young knights were trained in chivalry, a system of customs (or ethics or usage) relating to manners, religion, and warfare. Such a young man had to learn to fight boldly and skillfully while on horseback, and yet he had to be able to display a variety of social graces to show that he was a gentleman. In addition, such a man lived at a time when the Christian Church exerted an extremely strong influence and, accordingly, he was expected to be an example insofar as possession of the Christian virtues were concerned (i.e., loyalty, honor, mercy, and concern for the weak).

Such an education encompassed a period of about 15 years that was typically divided into three periods: (1) from the age of eight to 15, he served as a page, was indentured to the ladies of the court, and learned language rudiments and the ways of courtly life; (2) from 15 to 21 years he became a squire, served as an attendant to a knight, learned the warfare arts, and improved his social graces to a degree; and from 21 to 22 years on, a period in which he was inducted into knighthood after his merit and valor had been proved, he began his service as a vassal to his liege. Thus did these young men become part of the upper class and enter into the established system of feudal aristocracy.

And so it was that the Greek ideal had been forgotten, and the physical education of the young noble served a most practical objective: to produce a well-trained individual in the art of hand-to-hand combat with all of the necessary physical attributes such as strength, endurance, agility, and coordination. Subsequently, with the invention of machinery of war, the enemy was not always met at close range. As a result, death in battle became to a larger extent accidental and was not necessarily the result of physical weakness and ineptitude in warfare techniques. Naturally, some divergence took place in the aims and methods of military training and allied physical training.

It may be postulated that the basic problem of the Middle Ages was actually an intellectual one--i.e., how to reconcile medieval religious belief with the developing secular interests of a vigorous, young, and impressionable people, The material world, a world of human beings with sense experiences, were told that they were definitely subordinate to the spiritual realm of one God. During the 12th and 13th centuries when the influence of Aristotle and his fund of scientific knowledge was made available to the Christian world, it remained for St. Thomas Aquinas to develop a synthesis between natural and supernatural theology. This "synthesis" still today provides the foundation for the Roman Catholic faith. The universal truths presumed (i.e., revealed through faith and revelation) were, according to St. Thomas, based on the word and deed of God. Thomism, as it has been called, provided a solid core for the intellectual framework of the Church. It wasn't until scholars such as Roger Bacon, William of Occam, Duns Scotus, and the resultant humanism of the 14th and 15th centuries had an impact that the Church's intellectual position was challenged.

> (**Note**: With the Greeks it was a mind--or *soul* as it was called--and body dichotomy that first appeared through the "mixed message" promulgated by the Greek philosopher, Plato. It was St. Thomas Aquinas who later added the dimension of soul (or spirit!) to the earlier mind and body dichotomy. This "made" the human a tripartite creature, confusing nomenclature that still prevails in many quarters.)

Educational Institutions. Meager evidence about the quality and quantity of the educational enterprise throughout the Early Middle Ages has meant that the treatment of this era by educational historians has been insufficient in the past. However, a great deal more of solid research about this period has become available steadily. These data may well provide us with a number of corrections regarding earlier estimates of medieval education. Certainly it does now appear that there was a continuity in the process, and that the "educational lights" didn't suddenly extinguish in "the so-called West." It is true, of course, that the Church was far and away the most important agency involved. However, other royal and secular agencies did still take part, albeit on a lesser scale.

In Italy, for example, secular education provided both by towns and by private tutors continued from the 5th century on throughout this entire period

despite the inroads made by the invaders from the north. In fact, Lombard and Ostrogoth leaders seemed to have encouraged such programs as soon as possible. Rhetoric, grammar, classics, law, and medicine are subjects that were mentioned in the curricula of various types of schools. The evidence about similar efforts in northern Europe is slight, but there was probably more formal education available than has been realized previously.

Charlemagne has received well-deserved recognition for his unrivaled efforts to promote educational opportunities. He stimulated the clergy to establish schools in all towns and on the many feudal manors. He also decreed that the palace school in his own court be started again and engaged Alcuin to come from England to administer the program. In this way a pattern for subsequent rulers was established. Similar efforts were made in the German part of the empire, although here the main effort was to educate the children of the upper classes. Alfred the Great is credited with the promotion of education for future leaders in England, an effort Frederick the Second also made in his court at Sicily in the later Middle Ages.

The Church, of course, played a major role in formal education throughout the entire Middle Ages from the sixth through the eleventh century by the inauguration of what have been called "monastic schools." The programs were designed primarily to prepare priests, but later instruction was provided for secular priests, non-clerics, and monks. This type of school was later superseded by the cathedral schools in the larger towns beginning in the 11th and 12th centuries. The various church councils and the extant pope made this a definite obligation. Thus, in this way eventually education was provided to meet a wide range of needs.

There were private educational efforts as well, especially in the later years of the Early Middle Ages. A number of chantry schools were initiated by the wealthy and, as guilds grew stronger and more important in the larger communities, their leaders began schools in which priests were engaged to teach Latin to sons of the guild members. In the early Middle Ages, the monastic schools, and then the cathedral schools, were *the* agencies for so-called higher education, but their function was eventually supplanted by the early type of university organizations. These groupings developed as the teachers felt the need to organize guilds for their protection against secular or church rulers. The students felt the need to organize similarly to gain rights against both teachers as well as townspeople. The typical teaching faculties were theology, arts, medicine, and law. The University of Paris is generally considered to have been the leading such institution of the time, but was

rivaled subsequently in Italy at Bologna and by the universities at Oxford and Cambridge in England. It should be pointed out that the status of the teaching profession was generally quite low, especially at the elementary and secondary levels where the Church exerted such a strong influence. The status of university teachers gradually increased, however, until it ranked fairly close to that of the political and church leaders except for the amount of money earned. This stature remained only as long as the university teachers were involved with the great issues of the day that held import for the public.

Physical Training and Sporting Activities. As explained earlier, the people in the early Middle Ages had rejected the Greco-Roman view that events and achievements were a product of man's will and intellect. To them, the historical process the unfolding of God's plan. They were consequently much more concerned about their spiritual welfare than they were about affairs of a sinful body.

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And so for hundreds of years during the period called the Early Middle Ages here, physical education and sport, as it is known today, found almost no place within the meager educational pattern that prevailed. It was a very sterile period indeed for the few who might have been interested in the promulgation of physical education and sport of the finest type. Eventually even much of the physical labor in the fields and around the grounds of the monasteries was transferred to non-clerics. Thus, even this basic physical fitness was lost to this group as more intellectual pursuits became the rule. As is so often the case, the pendulum had simply swung too far in the other direction.

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page, was indentured to the ladies of the court, and learned language rudiments and the ways of courtly life; (2) from 15 to 21 years he became a squire, served as an attendant to a knight, learned the warfare arts, and improved his social graces to a degree; and from 21 to 22 years on, a period in which he was inducted into knighthood after his merit and valor had been proved, he began his service as a vassal to his liege. Thus did these young men become part of the upper class and enter into the established system of feudal aristocracy.

It may be said. therefore, that physical training was revived to a degree in Medieval Europe during the period also known as the Age of Chivalry. Feudal society was divided into three classes: (1) the masses, who had to work to support the other classes and to eke out a bare subsistence for themselves; (2) the clergy, who carried on the affairs of the Church; and (3) the nobles, who were responsible for the government of certain lands and territories under a king, and who performed military duties. During this time a physical and military education of a most strenuous type was necessary along with a required training in social conduct for the knight who was pledged to serve his feudal lord, the Church, and, presumably, all women as well as his own lady in particular. Such an ideal was undoubtedly better in theory than in practice, but it did serve to set standards higher than those which existed previously. The aim of physical training was certainly narrow according to today's ideal, and understandably health standards were typically very poor.

FEUDAL EUROPE

In this period extending approximately from the eleventh through the thirteenth century, some European countries made greater progress than others in the development of centralized governments. England and France fit in the former category, whereas Germany and Italy were scenes of continued struggles among the emperors, the nobility, and the papacy. For this reason France and England became highly centralized, but such unification was not realized by Germany and Italy until the nineteen and twentieth centuries.

The Crusades. Characteristic of the later Middle Ages were what have been called the Crusades, a series of "armed adventures" started by the urging of Pope Urban II in 1095. The Turks were endangering profitable trade between Europe and Asia, and they threatened Constantinople, the center of the Byzantine Empire ruled by Alexius. Because some Christian pilgrims were persecuted, the Pope called upon European countries for assistance. The First Crusade was much more

successful than the later ones, but the zeal for crusading eventually died out after about 150 years. All together there were nine Crusades. The last Latin city-state was recaptured by the Muslims in 1291. It is difficult to assess the effects of the major and minor Crusades as social influences of the time. The power of the Church did increase, but the power of the nobility most certainly declined. Those identified as "middle class" could not help but prosper.

An interesting insight into some of the changes that occurred in the 11th century was offered by Horatio Smith (1831). He explained that the Norman Conquest of 1066 had indeed brought about several marked changes in the sports and pastimes extant at the end of the Saxon era:

> By restricting the privileges of the chase, and first establishing those barbarous game laws, the imposition of which was one of the great insults of tyranny, while their maintenance, in scarcely mitigated severity, as the present enlightened era, cannot be otherwise designated than as a monstrous oppression upon the lower orders, and a flagrant outrage offered to the spirit of the times. . . . (pp. 114-115).

The second "marked change," conversely, was deemed interesting and constructive. It involved the introduction of tournaments and jousts. This innovation brought with it the several characteristic elements of the "Age of Chivalry": pomp and gallantries that improved civilization and some felt were actually ennobling generally.

Educational Institutions. The educational curriculum during this period could be classified as training for social efficiency. Although an ideal may be unattainable, the emphasis on manners and social etiquette was greater than ever before. Thus, the emphasis shifted markedly in favor of a curriculum characterized by a variety of activities, rather than one with extreme emphasis upon the person's intellectual development. As explained by Wilds (1936), "at the earlier levels, the content consisted of health instruction, religious instruction, training in etiquette and obedience to superiors, playing the harp, singing, chess, and the development of skills in riding, jousting, boxing, and wrestling" (p. 194). Included as well were the elements of reading and writing, Subsequently. the Seven Free Arts of the advanced curriculum involved strenuous physical activity in jousting, falconing, swimming, horsemanship, and boxing. all this along with the playing of chess

during the quiet, more relaxing time of the usual day.

The ideal of social service was undoubtedly considerably better in theory than in practice, but it did serve to set the standards higher than that which existed previously. Dorsey (1931) reported, for example, that what was "a rich and cultured world lay helpless at the feet of warlike savages." Referring to the entire period of some 500 years. he concluded that "Take it or leave it, the fact remains that the five centuries which saw Europe converted to Christianity also saw a string of murders, parricides, fratricides, and poisonings, and such bestial, brutal, drunken licentiousness as cannot be found in five thousand years of Egyptian history. . . . (p. 576).

No matter what one may think of this period finally in "the Western world," many of the ideals of chivalry still hold a fascination for many people. Broekhoff (1975) explained that "brute physical force was elevated to a higher level by the principle of courtesy, which revealed itself not only as politeness in social living, but also in the knight's attitude during battle" (p. 226). Interestingly, in these days before the practical application of gunpowder had been discovered, the bow and arrow were naturally most important weapons. Yet, Broekhoff reported from both Jusserand and Painter that French nobles found it distasteful to kill and enemy from a distance. They wanted the opportunity to display their knightly skills and competencies (p. 226). How can one "live on in memory" if he slays his enemy from a distance of 150 yards with a well-placed arrow?

Carrying this point a bit further, Broekhoff concluded that a "look at modern programs of physical education would only confirm the absence of a societal ideal" or "set of ideals." Yet he also concluded that "the activities in our modern arenas seem to lie closest to the ideals of chivalry" (p. 232). (One wonders whether he would draw the same conclusion at the beginning of the 21st century in regard a relationship between the ideals of chivalry and professional sport in the arenas. In other words, is commercialized competitive sport serving humankind as a socially useful servant?)

The active physical role of the knight has been discussed, but what about that of those in the other social classes? The physical activity patterns of these people was explained by Moolenijzer (1975) with some distinct characterizations of these groups who, along with kings, nobles, and itinerant workers made up this transitional society. A farmer's life was difficult and lowly, one in which "many lost their independence completely and sank to the level of domestic animals dependent

on the whims of their masters (p. 236). They were forbidden the use of arms, such regulations serving to curtail uprisings while preserving the game for the hunting pleasure of the owner of the land (i.e., the lord of the manor). The usual indigenous games enjoyed in almost all cultures were present, however. Paintings and etchings of the period depicted such activities as wrestling, jumping, ball playing, stone casting, and running. An interesting finding from the *Annales Lamberti*, a chronicle of 1075, complains about the typical lack of physical fitness among many farmers, a fact that discouraged the nobility from pressing them into service as foot soldiers in battle.

There were also the seemingly ageless contests that appeared at festivals and fairs such as foot racing, tug-of-war matches, sack races, quarter-staff throwing, archery, caber tossing, and bowling, the latter with its many variations. Further, there was also an inexpensive version of a device for quintaining, a mechanism used by knights and squires in training for combat, This consisted of a dummy with a shield attached that was placed on a swivel in such a way that the charging knight would be hit with a club if he didn't hit the dummy' shield dead center. Mention is also made of the popularity of dancing of all types (individual, dual, and group) including dance that can be classified as religious, esthetic, and competitive. At times dancing became so frenzied and frenetic that people's health was endangered (e.g., St. Vitus Dance, or the "Dance of Death").

Contrary to an impression often held, Moolenijzer (1975) reported further that the Christian Church, although officially violently opposed to sporting events and base games, only "frowned on wasteful, non-utilitarian physical activity," but "the clergy did not always enforce the rules and quite often interpreted them to their own liking" (p. 237). It is understandable that monks and other clerics living apart from the populace might well preach strictures against certain types of physical recreation, while priests with active parishes might agree with the need for such activity and occasionally actually get involved themselves to a reasonable extent.

Lastly, since the burghers "were able to erect their own burhs (or walls)" and, because of the service and money they could provide to both the rulers and the Church, they were permitted to develop a living pattern of their own. Certain traditional games and activities were preserved, of course, but many of both the old and some of the more recent activities had to be modified for lack of space in the developing cities. Such physical recreation of an informal nature contributed to the social and recreational goals of the townspeople at festivals and fairs, religious

holidays (which were numerous!), and during everyday life. As discussed above, the educational system did not provide for regular physical education that could have served as a "physical fitness device" for subsequent military service (p. 243).

 SUMMARY

To summarize the educational system of the Early Middle Ages prior to the Renaissance period of the later Middle Ages, it can be stated that there were four approaches designated as (1) monasticism, (2) scholasticism, (3) chivalry, and (4) the guild system. Monasticism was a type of moral-religion training including both literary and manual training. Scholasticism was a natural extension of monasticism, a religious-intellectual education which at the university level involved arts, medicine, law, and theology. Chivalry can be classified as social education of an aristocratic nature (as opposed to democratic) nature that included military, physical, and religious-moral training. The guild system of education was vocational in nature. In it either commercial training or trade training was stressed. In both cases, the intellectual aspect was elementary, but religious instruction was not neglected.

Insofar as training in sporting, military, and basic physical activity was concerned, the following points may be made:

1. The presumed negative outlook of the Church against *all* physical activity has been overemphasized. The Church was strongly against the violent excesses of later Roman games and so-called sport. There was some evidence that priests with active parishes might agree with the need for physical activity--and might even get involved themselves to a reasonable extent.

2. There is some evidence that physical fitness was maintained in Western monasteries through manual labor. Physical education was not included in the Seven Liberal Arts of what was called higher education.

3. Physical training was revived strongly during the Age of Chivalry. A complex physical and military education of the most strenuous type was required of all who aspired to become knights. The aim of physical education at this time was narrow, and health standards were very low.

4. Interestingly, the physical fitness of farmers (according to the military standards of the time at any rate) was not very high, and their physical

recreation patterns were inadequate because of their low social status. Certain types of play and indigenous games could not be repressed at village fairs and festivals, not to mention at home.

5. The educational system of the burghers in the developing towns and cities did not provide regular physical training, but did develop a pattern of modified physical recreation--characterized by space limitations--that contributed to overall social goals of the time.

Just before the Renaissance a transitional period occurred in which here was a decline of feudalism and a rise in nationalism. With more vigorous trade and community growth, a stronger middle class gradually arose, with a resultant demand for an improved educational system designed to prepare the young male for his lifetime occupation. Some informal physical exercise and games contributed to the social and recreational goals of the young townspeople. Such physical activity also enhanced military training, and it is interesting to note that games and informal sports were accompanying features of the frequent religious holidays.

Note: Bibliographical data for this chapter's references may be found in the Appendix .

PART ONE
SELECTION 1

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

Dr. Ludwig H. Joseph (deceased)

GYMNASTICS DEFINED

Since its origin in Antiquity, the concept of gymnastics has not been uniform. Educational and medical gymnastics were already known to the Greeks. Generally speaking, all definitions of gymnastics can be reduced to two. First, that every intensified movement is gymnastics. This definition may be traced back to Paulus Aegineta (625-690 C.E.) and Oribasius of Pergamon (326-403 C.E.), two Greco-Roman physicians, and in the 17th century only Quercetanus (DuChesne) agreed with it. In contrast, the second definition introduced in each exercise the idea of active volition. This definition was transmitted to the Middle Ages by Galen and Avicenna, and almost all authors until modern times accepted it.

The concept of medical gymnastics included all healthful and health-furthering exercises. For this reason physicians at all times advised the avoidance of any exaggerated activity, particularly professional athletics. The concept includes both preventive and therapeutic gymnastics, the latter including gymnastics for the sick, weak, and elderly. To introduced medical gymnastics, medieval authors referred to two classic authorities, Asclepiades (128-68 B.C.E.) and Herodicus (5th century B.C.E.). The former used gymnastics in connection with massage and dietetics. Herodicus was a scholar and contemporary of Hippocrates. He applied therapeutic gymnastics excessively, and was reproached by Hippocrates for training fever patients by gymnastics.

FOUNDATION OF GYMNASTICS

The foundation of our modern gymnastics. including medical gymnastics, was established during the period from the Middle Ages to the 18th century, although the ideas upon which it was based had been in general use since Antiquity.

During the early Middle Ages, the gymnastic practices of the classic Greco-Roman era were forgotten together with so many other things. It is frequently said, that the strongly ascetic sentiment of early Christianity had no feeling for bodily exercise. But there were also economic motives which forbade the continuance of the classic gymnastics. The Middle Ages and even the Renaissance did not have as much available money as Greeks and Romans invested in palestras, thermae, theaters, and circuses.

Among the monastic orders, the rule of Saint Benedict specifically mandated physical work into the monastic life. (Note: This point is amplified in the following paper in this book by Dr. Ralph Ballou in his important contribution to our knowledge on this topic.)

The idea of curative gymnastics was not entirely lost, however, at least in medieval circles. Thus, the first medieval health book and the only expression of Greek medical tradition in the early Middle Ages, the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*, twice mentioned exercises as therapeutic measures: at first, after dinner, "If din'd, to stand or walk will do no harm," and, secondly, "Use exercise that vapours ill consumes." However, the medical school of Salerno had no influence on general education.

PHYSICAL TRAINING FOR KNIGHTHOOD

Monastic education could not satisfy the governing feudal class and its military mentality. This class was obliged to care for the physical education of its members who, for the most part, were soldiers. At the age of seven a boy was already attached as a page to the court of a prince or to the castle of a nobleman. There he was taught to read and write, often by the ladies of the household. For the rest, the most important thing for the future knight was to imitate adults in all things. His physical education began at the age of fourteen with vigorous sports and exercises, including music and dancing. One of the most important of these exercises was the chase. A good hunter had to be well trained in hawking with the falcon, riding, running, jumping, climbing, hurling stones, casting the spear, shooting with the bow, and wielding the battle-axe.

Of course, the most important pre-military exercise was horsemanship. The boy had to be able to leap into the saddle without the help of stirrups. This exercise was of special importance. In the old Saxon law it was a proof of the ability of a prince to be able to govern independently and to prove his individual worth.

Furthermore, he had to be able to leap down quickly, from the running horse to pick up objects with agility. When he had learned all that, he followed his master in the field as a squire. Naturally, great bodily strength and agility were necessary for these exercises. Tournaments were introduced expressly to strengthen the vigor of the nobleman. Even in this sport the doctrines of Antiquity were not forgotten. It is interesting to note that George Ruexner in the introduction to his *Book of Tournaments* published in 1532, says: "The Emperor Henry I of Germany remembered that the wise Roman Cato in his book, *Of human life*, said: 'Human life may be compared to iron which when used may be glittering and handsome; unused, on the contrary, becomes corroded by rust'." Certainly, we cannot consider the tournaments a healthy sport. The heavy lance, the cuirass, and the helmet with the visor pulled down were not conducive to good health, and even dangerous. Often enough there were fatalities on the course due to suffocation by the heat and lack of air.

PUBLIC SPECTACLES

The other social classes were also interested in exercise, particularly in acrobatics but rather from the point of view of spectators. The performances of jugglers and rope-dancers, the latter complicating their difficult task by playing music or by exhibiting trained animals, were very popular. It is not by chance that the performance of hand-balance is represented not only in a French manuscript of the 11th century, but even in a representation of the dance of Salome on the Cathedral of Rouen.

EXERCISE FOR THE MASSES

The citizens of the town and the craftsmen exercised on Sunday and holidays during the summer months. In an allegoric poem of Hans Sachs, the shoemaker poet of Nürnberg, Spring boasts to Winter. that during his season people were "Fencing, pushing the stone and wrestling, hunting, shooting, running, and jumping." In all guild festivals gymnastics were always part of the entertainment. There were also obstacle races and prizes. In a chronicle of 1511, Heinrich Deichsler reported on a race between a horseman and a pedestrian. The pedestrian won without great effort, although he had to swim across a river and to jump over several trenches. Later, fencing fraternities were attached to the universities, for instance, in 1386 at Heidelberg. The first license for fencing was given by the Emperor Frederic III, in 1487, in Nürnberg.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In conclusion, we can say that the exercises of the medieval nobleman were the seven mentioned in the *Mirror of Knights*: (1) riding with rapid mounting and dismounting; (2) swimming and diving; (3) shooting with the bow and crossbow; (4) climbing on ropes, poles and ladders; (5) fencing, wrestling, pushing stones, and jumping; (6) dancing; and (7) tournaments. The citizens and craftsmen applied themselves to the first six varieties. The chief object of these exercises was military preparation. Consequently, they were bound to decline with increasing use of firearms.

Fig. 2

Suit of armor for tournament and battle.
(Castle Erbach 15th to 16th century)
The knight is completely covered with armor,
the visor pulled down so that little air can enter.
The horse is likewise covered with armor except
for the legs (left free for movement) .

Fig. 3

**Rope dancers showing their skill
Manuscript of the 11th to 13th Century
National Library of Paris**

Fig. 4

**Dance of Salome before Herod
Rouen, France
(Tympanum
of
St. John's Cathedral)
13th Century**
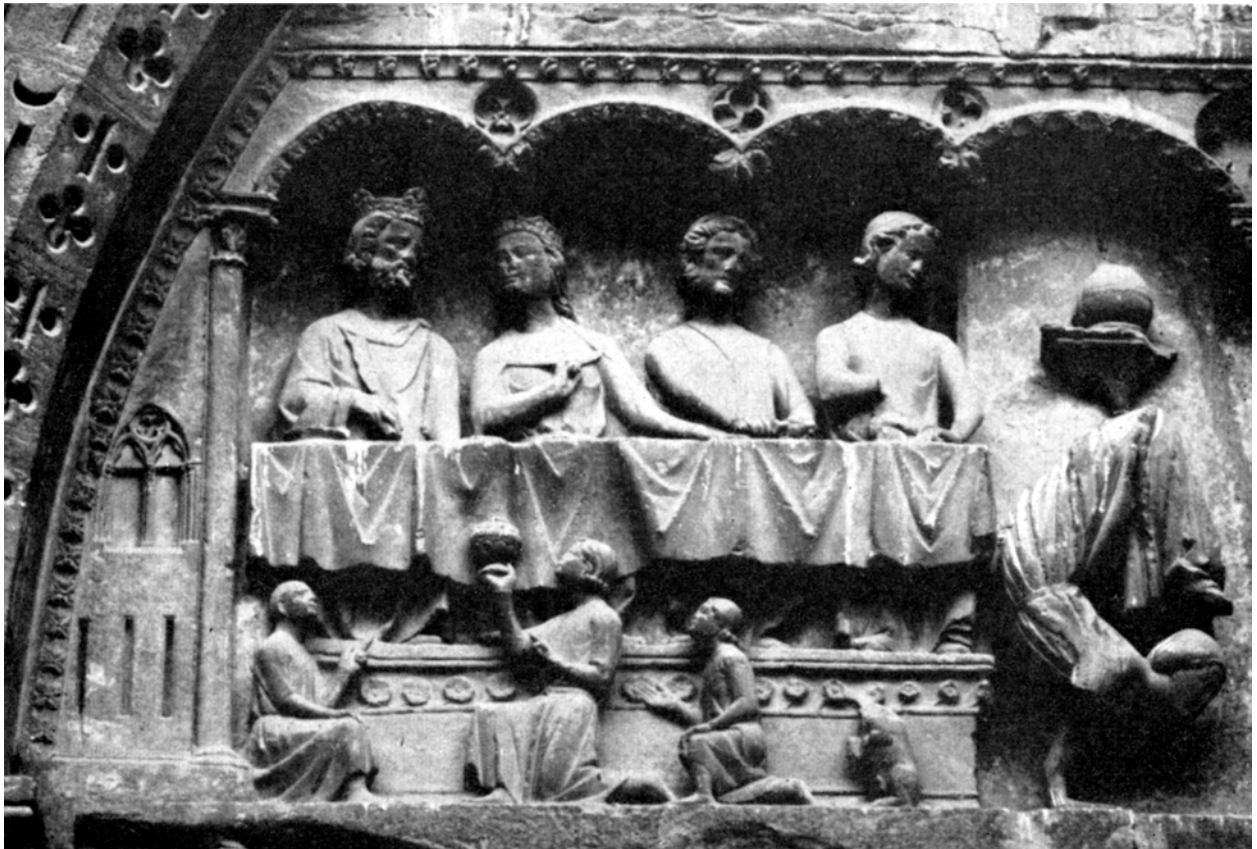
Fig. 5

**Fencing
from
The Art of Using the Sword Well
by
Francesco Alfieri
17th Century**
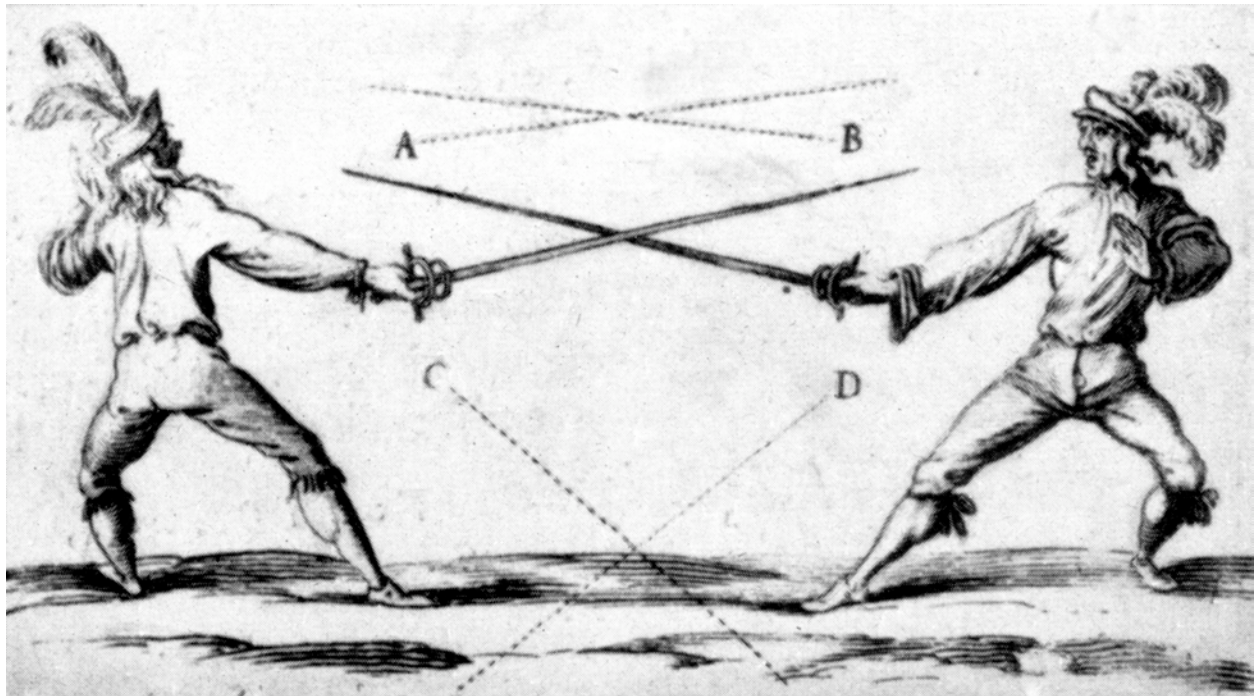
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PART ONE
SELECTION 2

AN ANALYSIS OF THE WRITINGS
OF SELECTED CHURCH FATHERS
TO A.D. 394 TO REVEAL ATTITUDES
REGARDING PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

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INTRODUCTION

Traditionally much physical education literature has suggested that in Christian society there was no place for physical activity, especially those forms representative of contemporary culture. Yet, an extensive, but not exhaustive, search of bibliographies in physical education texts fails to reveal entries pertaining to the literature of the early Church.

Thus is the question posed--what *does* the literature of the early Church say about man, physical activity, and its use? In searching for answers to this question, the following terms and interpretations were used:

> Man: the distinguishing characteristics of man as a human being; specifically, is man evil or good in the Father's view?

> Physical activity: activity in which man engages beyond the sphere of utilitarian necessity. Basically this refers to the sports, games and contests. and activities included in contemporaneous festivals.

> Asceticism: living a disciplined life based upon the

Christian ethic and applicable to all Christians--persons individually committed to the fellowship of Christ.

In the development of this theme, three main phases will be discussed: the background, the nature of man as viewed by the Church Fathers, and the Fathers' theory of physical activity and its use.

THE BACKGROUND

An adequate assessment of the influence of Christianity upon physical education from an historical perspective depends upon a meaningful understanding of that era. One should attempt, there, to develop a "mind of the time" to better understand the complex social, religious, and civil climate in which Christianity had its genesis. Perhaps an analogy will help to illustrate.

A mosaic composed of the major influential elements in society immediately prior to the advent of Christianity would contain three major components: Greek culture of Hellenism, Roman government, and Jewish theology housing the nucleus of Christianity.

For us the legacy of Hellenistic culture consists of philosophy and education. Although Greek culture was essentially polytheistic, there was among the philosophers a "developing consciousness of one God" (Hatch, 1957, p. 171). It was through this philosophical approach to the theological question that the associated problems of man's relation to God, of God's role in the universe, and of man's nature began to be answered. The concept and role of the soul, made visible for the first time by Plato (Jaeger, 1961, p. 46), seemingly the patron of physical education, became an important element in Christian thought. Interpretations and implications of the significance of the soul and the resulting influence of Christianity upon physical education have affected it through past centuries.

Developing also was the concept of the mind. As this concept evolved, two lines of thought, *Monism* and *Dualism*, diverge and flow through all the subsequent Greek philosophy (Hatch, 1957, p. 175). Although in both theories the human soul is nearest to the purest essence of God, they differ in their relationship to the body. Monism views the body as of God while Dualism sees the body as outside the sphere of God's work. Thus it is the Dualistic theory, expressed chiefly through Platonism. that the concept of man as a dichotomy had its beginning. Plato took the position that mind and body are separate with mind acting upon matter making

a distinction between God and the world with God regarded as being outside the world (Hatch, p. 178). Plato's thoughts about creation as related to Christianity are summarized as follows:

> The distinction between the two spheres of creation, that of a world in which nothing was imperfect since it was the work of a Perfect Being, and that of a world which was full of imperfections as being the work of created beings, ..., came to be of importance in some phases of Christian thought (Hatch, 1957, pp. 179-180).

For Christianity, however, the real influence concerning God and the world came from Judaism.

In ancient Greece, education was aristocratic, involved the total person, had a high moral tone, and attempted to mold a person of high character. Education in ancient Greece was directed towards:

> An harmonious development of the parts of man--moral, mental and physical--and a rational adjustment of these toward the outer world were considered of more importance than much knowledge (Walden, 1909, p. 344).

Music and physical education (Gardiner, 1930, p. 72) were in the education curriculum and, according to Plato, should begin in early life. Entrusting the care of the body to a well-trained mind and believing that a good soul can, to a degree, improve the body, Plato indicates that the training should be simple because "simplicity in music was the parent of temperance in the soul; and simplicity in gymnastic of health in the body" (Plato, trans. by Jowett, 1946, pp. 111-113). There is much similarity between these phrases and those of Christian writers. The difference lies in the views of God's relationship to the world and man's relationship to God.

With the loss of aristocratic exclusiveness, education became important for all. Simultaneously education became purely intellectual, eliminating physical education from its program. Education had also lost its moral perspective, an emphasis Plato attempted to revive.

Constituting a thread of continuity during these times were the athletic

festivals, a part of education and a cohesive element for migrating Greek people. An opinion exists that cities in Asia Minor "developed far earlier than those of the mainland. There, probably athletics first became part of education and the athletic festival arose" (Gardiner, 1930, p. 29). The zenith of all the festivals was the Olympiad begun in 776 B.C. (Gardiner, 1930, pp. 33-34) and later joined by the Nemean, Isthmian and Pythian games to comprise the major festivals. Such festivals continued well into the Christian era. In the beginning these games existed for the competitor and the joy of competition with excellence as a virtue rather than material rewards.

Gradually attractive prizes, professionalism, and false declarations of citizenship, as well as the loss of the concept of the total individual, were catalysts bringing about a loss of esteem to the games. With the loss of much of their splendor, many people desired to return to the old education in which the goal was the complete man.

Extension of Roman rule brought about another metamorphosis in the games and festivals. Romans found the games uninteresting and believed the gymnasia and palastrae to be sources of moral decay. This is not to suggest that Roman officials were contrary to amusement. Extravagant amusements were sponsored by public officials; great amphitheaters and coliseums were constructed. In places where Rome controlled foreign people, those intent upon maintaining friendly relations with Rome were instrumental in developing places of amusement. Two Jewish leaders (Josephus, p. 496) were responsible for new places of amusement and the institution of new festivals in Jerusalem, the center of the Jewish religion.

Within the sphere of Greek and Roman intellectual, cultural, and political control, a theological event occurred that would profoundly influence all mankind. Jewish theology, centered in Jerusalem, had a monotheistic concept recognizing "Elohim" or "Jahweh" as the supreme deity. These people looked for a coming Messiah, and believed in God's Law and the moral requirements of religion. The Law gave the requirements for salvation, but man--by not living according to this Law--caused sin and evil to enter the world.

Some migrating Jews, taking with them the Torah, the Scriptures, and a representative Ark of the Covenant but not their God, conformed to the language and manners of the Greeks (Edersheim, 1950, p. 17), causing translation of Hebrew scriptures into Greek, Greek words reflecting Greek thought, rather than

Hebrew, brought new meaning to old texts.

For the Christian, Jesus' birth fulfilled the Scriptures. It was hoped that He was the Messiah, but when He began his ministry this expected role was not assumed. Presumably He wrote nothing but taught people a new approach to salvation.

For the Christian, the New Testament is the definitive work concerning eternal life. It is not a definitive book on all subjects. Its message summarized states:

> The New Testament, generally speaking, is concerned with but one central subject, Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah. All matters which are not, from the point of view of the New Testament authors, directly related in some way to that central subject, should be regarded by the historian as background material--sometimes detailed, generally reliable, but inevitably selective and highly fragmentary (Farmer, 1956, p. 127).

New Testament teaching puts the focus of salvation on man's relationship to God and to man, the latter a concept important to physical educators.

Concepts concerning man in the New Testament relate to the whole man as illustrated by Paul's query:

> Do you not know that your body is a temple of the Holy Spirit within you, which you have from God? You are not your own; you were bought with a price. So glorify God in your body (I Corinthians, 6:19-20).

The term "body" (soma) in the above passage is perhaps equivalent to the word "self" or personality (Short, 1953, p. 74). The body is not "meant for immortality, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body" (I Corinthians, 6:13). Exegetically, it is written that:

> For the moment Paul disregards the complete difference between the resurrected body and the earthly body. . . . Apparently he assumes that the defiling of one affects the

other. Man is not an immortal and imprisoned in material substance until death. Paul writes not from the Greek point of view but from the Hebraic, according to which the person is looked upon as a psychosomatic entity. And the whole person belongs to the Lord (Craig, 1953, p. 74).

Paul attempts to show that the Christian's whole life is founded in Christ; all non-Christian behavior is to be avoided.

The subject of eschatology sheds some light here. This is another difference between Greek and Roman religions. It is the belief in resurrection of the dead at a final time and distinguishes the pre-Christ or "soulish" man of the Old Testament from the post-Christ or "spiritual" new man in Christ, made possible through God's grace, who would participate in the resurrection when the eschatological hopes were fulfilled. As far as Christian thought is concerned, man is totality and, thus far, not evil.

ON THE NATURE OF MAN

If any characteristic stands out beyond all others in Christian literature, it is the positiveness of those who lead in their belief. They did not equivocate; they knew what they believed and completely accepted the Old Testament as the basis for their beliefs.

Recall now that when God had completed His work, He looked upon His creation--including man the epitome of God's creation--and it was good (Genesis 1:31). Whereas the primary elements were created by command, man was fashioned by "His own direct action and breathed into him something proper to Himself" (Clement of Alexander in Deferrari, 1950, p. 9), thus making man higher than the rest of God's handiwork. Another evidence of man's celestial origin is that he was created able to stand erect (Basil in Deferrari, 1950, 1950, p. 445).

Few passages in the Fathers' discussion about man emphasize a dualistic tendency. Where the "language" might seem to pursue a dichotomous or trichotomous course, the concept is concerned with man's unity. This thought is underscored by the following statement,

For the flesh which has been moulded is not a perfect

man in itself, but the body of a man, and a part of a man. Neither is the spirit a man, for it is called the spirit, and not a man; but the commingling and union of all of these constitutes the perfect man (Irenaeus in Roberts and Donaldson, 1885, p. 532).

A similar point of view is expressed in *On the making of man* in which man is viewed as a blend of several types of soul--vegetative, sensitive and intellectual--the latter two having a certain alliance and commixture. Continuing, the vegetative soul is denoted by either 'body' or 'heart'; the sensitive soul by the term 'soul'; and the intellectual soul by 'spirit' or 'mind'. The spiritual nature is accorded the position of greatest value (Gregory of Nyssa in Wace and Schaff, 1893, p. 394) as the idea of mind, or intellect, rises above all other existences. Further on one reads". . .the soul finds its perfection in that which is intellectual and rational . . . ." (Gregory of Nyssa, p. 403). It is impossible to ascertain whether Gregory had a change of opinion or something entirely different in mind when he wrote the latter statement.

Introduced here is a new concept--the rationality of man. Viewing man as a *rational* animal represents to the Fathers another way man became superior to other animals and closer to God. One description states,

The fact that God made man according to His image and likeness, that He deemed him worthy of knowledge of Himself, that in preference to all animals He adorned him with rationality. . . . (Basil in Deferrari, 1950, p. 237)

Associating the rational powers of man with either the soul or the spirit seems irrelevant. The Fathers are not consistent for the importance of the concept lies in the implications arising from an acceptance of man's rationality.

Perhaps the most important concept relating to the soul is that of *free will*. Credit for the development of this concept is given to Origen and is a natural outcome of the Genesis story (Genesis 1:15:3-7) in which man is given his choice to follow God or note. The possession of free will is a part of every rational soul and the doctrine that all men have free will is clearly defined in the teaching of the Church (Origen in Roberts and Donaldson, 1885, p. 240).

Implications of this doctrine become apparent when related to man and evil. Although physical education theorists suggest that the body was composed of

matter and therefore evil, the father would not concur in that indictment. The importance of the body to the Fathers was less than that of the soul because the body was an agent, a vehicle, or a house for the soul.

Accepting a role of lesser importance, the body still corresponds to the soul's nobility and is fitted to execute the soul's commands (Chrysostom in Schaff, 1889, p. 416), while another Father views the body as fitting and serviceable (Basil in Deferrari, 1950, p. 494). These excerpts show that the Fathers did not regard the body as evil.

As a material substance, evil neither existed nor inhered in matter. Its status is summed up succinctly in the statement, "evil . . . .strange as it may seem to say. . . .possesses an existence in not existing at all" (Gregory of Nyssa. in Wace and Schaff, 1893, p. 450). Yet, evil exists; the responsibility for it rests with man and his free will "for every one directs his course according to his will, and either, under the pilotage of the Word, he enters into rest, or, laid hold by pleasure, he suffers shipwreck, and is in peril by storm" (Athanasias in Wace and Schaff, , 1892, p. 547). God wishes man to be obedient but man's salvation rests upon voluntary, not coercive, obedience. From these writings it can be concluded that man is viewed by the Fathers as *not* inherently evil but, rather, does evil due the the weakness and possible corruption of his will.

Another factor indicating God's concern with the body is the hope of all Christians in the resurrection of the body re-uniting the body and soul in eternal life (Ambrose in Wace and Schaff, 1896, pp. 181-182). It seems quite improbable that God would resurrect the body if it were evil. This topic can be concluded with the following quotation,

> But, in truth, He has even called the flesh to the resurrection, and promises to it everlasting life. For where He promises to save man, there he gives the promise to the flesh. . .and God has called *man* to life and resurrection; he has not called a part, but the whole, which is the soul and the body (Justin Martyr in Roberts and Donaldson, 1885, pp. 297-298).

ON PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

Numerous athletic metaphors appear in the Scriptures. It is evident that the

use of such metaphors would only have meaning for those quite familiar with the sporting activities, sports attitudes, and sports procedures used in this era. It must be concluded therefore that, since all Christians were converts, most were acquainted with the practices of the day. This thesis gains support when one recalls that pagan festivals existed in major Christian centers.

To assume that people with a lifetime of experience with the festivals and who, perhaps, had been active participants as well would, upon conversion, forego all physical activity is to assume the improbable. The important question is *how would* physical activity or sport *relate to*--and not be *amenable with*--the new way of life? Some answers are suggested in the literature of the Church Fathers.

A reference to one's commitment must be made to set the stage for this discussion. Becoming a Christian by profession of faith in Jesus as Saviour puts a new perspective on all facets of one's life. In that sense all Christians were ascetics. Asceticism was practiced in the desert in communal groups, and also in everyday society where the aspiration was to transform society itself. The Christian's degree of commitment dictated how much his life has assumed a new perspective as he turned away from the old life.

The contest of the day was between paganism and Christianity. In the only extant manuscript concerning pagan festivals is a discussion of the development of the amusements--the circus, amphitheater, theater, and stadium--that enticed the masses. Idolatry is the basic issue and, since idolatry related to paganism, it was in sharp contrast to Christianity.

Even pagan writers censured the spectacles for they distracted the people from philosophical and other intellectual pursuits. Christian writers were oriented toward God and so,

> Unlike the pagan authors, the Christian writers, beginning with the early Greek apologists, are uncompromising in their attitude toward the spectacles. They do not content themselves with merely censuring the brutalizing effects of the circus, theater, athletic contests, and gladiatorial encounters on the minds and souls of the spectators. They rather attack the very nature of these amusements and find them incompatible with the idea of God as Creator of the world and with man's right and dignity.

Accordingly they assert that it is the stern duty of all men to absent themselves from such pastimes (Tertullian in Deferrari, 1959, p. 34).

Absenting themselves from these pastimes was more easily advocated than accomplished.

After becoming Christian, many desired to attend the spectacles. Arguments used to justify their actions seem quite modern. Tertullian recognizes the cleverness of people in finding excuses favorable to their desires. For example:

(1) *Argument*: Since all things have been created by God and handed over to man--just as we Christians teach--they are undoubtedly good as coming from a good creator; and among them we must count all the various components that make up the spectacle, the horse, . . . , and the lion, the strength of the body and the sweetness of voice. Accordingly, they say that a thing which by God's creation cannot be considered wither foreign or opposed to God, nor must a thing which is not opposed to God, because it is not foreign to Him, be considered opposed to God's worshipper.

Answer: Tertullian does not deny that all things come from God. But "more people," he wrote, "[have been] turned away from our [Christian] religion b y the danger to their pleasures than by the danger to their lives." (Tertullian in Deferrari, 1959, p. 50).

This is a most significant statement when it is remembered that the government was not yet Christian, and that somewhat concerted attempts were made to destroy the Christians.

Tertullian discussed the arts displayed in the circus games including equestrianship. In this text is a suggested concept that could demonstrate the "integrity of activity." He wrote,

In times past, equestrian skill was simply a matter of riding on horseback, and certainly no guilt was involved in

the ordinary use of the horse. But when this skill was pressed into the service of the games it was changed from a gift of God into an instrument of the demons (Tertullian in Deferrari, 1959, p. 70).

This passage suggests an integrity inherent in activity which, if pursued for enjoyment of the maintenance of health, would be compatible with the attitudes of Christianity. Employment of these skills in pagan festivals destroyed that integrity and compatibility with the Christian viewpoint. Shows free of idolatry would not be included in this ban (Tertullian in Roberts and Donaldson, 1953, p. 81).

> (2) *Argument*: The Christians argued that there is no specific Scriptural enjoinder concerning these festivals, therefore the question about attending them is an open one.
>
> *Answer*: Tertullian answers that what you say is true, for "nowhere do we find it laid down with the same precision as. . . . [in the Commandments] clearly declared:
> 'Thou shalt not go to the circus,' . . . 'the theater,' . . . [or] 'watch a contest or show of gladiators'" (Tertullian, in Deferrari, 1959, p. 53).

Tertullian continues by paraphrasing Psalm 1:1 comparing the "gathering of the ungodly" to the crowds of heathen people, the "ways of sinners" to the ways in the theater buildings and the "chair of pestilence" to the chair of the spectator. The theme of a contest between paganism and Christianity winds throughout all Tertullian's work. Pagan gods were worshipped; therefore, Christians should avoid them.

Contemporary with Tertullian writing in the West was Clement of Alexandria writing in the East. Whether one influences the other is unknown, but a thread of similarity exists in their work. Clement is credited with being the one Father attempting to blend Hellenism and Christianity into a cohesive whole (Van Dalen, Mitchell, and Bennett, 1953, p. 98). His topic was "Christ, the Educator," who molds the character of all who commit themselves to His care. Clement exhorts Christians to emulate Christ as best they can.

Clement ("Christ, the Educator" in Deferrari, 1954, pp. 239-241) admits the need for physical activity in one's life; that gymnastic exercises may benefit one's health and aid in developing a wholesome character; that one should select exercises carefully as each person has different needs; and finally that one can participate in physical activity without distracting oneself from more worthwhile deeds.

After noting these points, Clement infers that man has a particular and peculiar dignity that should not be violated by participating in certain forms of activity. The works of Tertullian and Clement show some agreement between West and East while other fathers speak in comparable terms. Health, correct use of talents, and the right attitude in relationship to God are of utmost importance to the Christian. The following quotation will summarize the discussion:

> He [man] is to be taught, too, in what measure to love his body, so as to care for it wisely and within due limits. For it is equally manifest that he loves his body also, and desires to keep it safe and sound. And yet a man may have something that he loves better than the safety and soundness of his body . . . But no one is to be told not to desire the safety and health of his body because there is something he desires more (Augustine in Schaff, 1956, p. 529).

To conclude, the examination of the literature of the Fathers provides us with an indication that the relationship of Christianity to physical activity and sport was not as negative as physical education literature would have one believe. The Fathers found evil neither inherent in man nor in activity. Whatever evil existed relative to attendance at, or participation in, the forms of sport or athletics as they existed in contemporary society. Christianity attempted to bring the relationship of itself to activity and sport into a more positive perspective compatible with a reverence for God, the dignity of man, and the integrity of activity.

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SELECTION 3
CHIVALRIC EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES

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Physical education has always been held in high esteem at times when a society recognizes the need for physical action. In militant societies physical education has often been reduced to physical training for the purpose of military expansion. When the need for action forms part of a more inclusive ethical ideal, however, physical education represents more than preparation for war; it becomes an integrative force in the development of the ideal man.

As the French historian Marrou (1958, p. 17) indicates, the technical progress of a society as well as the ideals and values are normally reflected by the way in which older generations educate the young. In a sense, then, education presents a capsule form of society as a whole and reflects the everlasting tension between ethical ideal and everyday reality. For example, when old king Peleus exhorts his son Achilles "always to strive for the first place and to be superior to his peers," he expresses the quintessence of the chivalrous society of nobles described by Homer (1950, XI-784). Such a competitive spirit, guided by *arete,* the ineffable combination of physical prowess and courtly morality, pervaded classical Greek civilization and lay at the origin of the *kalokagathia,* the ideal of the 5th century B.C. there. This ideal, "to be beautiful as well as good," was no longer the ideal of only the noble warrior, but was a part of the literature, art, and philosophy of the common people as well. In education it was reflected by a period, however short, in which there was harmony between "music for the soul" and "gymnastics for the body."

In contrast to the era of classical Greece, the Middle Ages have seldom evoked the enthusiasm of historians of physical education. The dominant position of the Church, with its emphasis on spiritual values and the life hereafter, seemed to contradict the cultivation of physical ideals. Yet there is a curious parallel between medieval and classical times in that both produced ideals with a strong acclaim for physical prowess in an aristocratic setting. In the following sections of this analysis

we shall first trace the development of the chivalric ideal of the Middle Ages and secondly indicate how this ideal was reflected in the education of the knight. Then we shall outline the influence of the chivalric ideal upon later periods of history.

THE IDEAL OF CHIVALRY

The precise origin of the chivalric practices of the Middle Ages remains rather obscure. Several authors trace it to the Germanic tribes that moved across the Rhine into Roman territory and developed a system of land ownership. Undoubtedly many of the chivalric principles were well established during the reign of Charlemagne, although the rise of chivalry in France is generally placed after the 10th century. After a culmination of the chivalric order during the time of the Crusades. historians have noted signs of its decline in the 14th and 15th centuries (Kilgour, 1937). Despite this decay of chivalric practices, the ideal of the nobility continued to influence society long after feudalism and the nobility had lost their importance for the structure of society (Huizinga, 1957, p. 57).

In a time in which warfare was the order of the day, the knight's most valued characteristic was physical prowess. It was natural for the chevalier to risk his life in battle as well as in the tournament, so that it was hard to distinguish between game and reality. The chivalric code was rooted in the feudal relations which tied the knight to his lord and to those who needed his protection. To his lord the vassal owed undivided loyalty, and his *largesse* was determined in large part by the way he treated his serfs. Brute physical force was elevated to a higher level by the principle of courtesy which revealed itself, not only as politeness in social relations, but also in the knight's attitude during battle. The French nobles showed disdain for archers. because they deemed it below their dignity to kill and enemy from a distance. "This," they said, "would rob the chevaliers of any means to show their prowess" (Jusserand, 1901, p. 13). Whereas feudal strife was caused mainly by the desire for domination and material profit, the chivalric code demanded that the knight wage battle for the nobler motive of glory: the wish to live on in memory (Painter, 1940, p. 38).

The feudal ideals of knighthood were at all times strongly influence by the teachings of the Church. The clergy never rested in its efforts to bring the unruly nobility into the fold of religion. From the blending of feudal and religious ideals developed the kind of chivalry which found its poetic expression in the *chansons de geste.* On the basis of these poems, Léon Gautier wrote his monumental book *La Chevalerie,* in which chivalry is defined as "the Christian form of the military

condition," and the chevalier as "the Christian soldier" (Gautier, 1960, p. 27). The knight is cast in the role of virtuous "Defender of the Faith," who answers the call of the Church to crusade against the infidels.

There is no reason to doubt that the Church exerted a profound influence upon the ideals of the medieval aristocracy. Yet, even in the idealized *chansons*, the more secular concerns of men at arms are hardly disguised. When a virtuous knight is so absorbed in his prayers that he forgets about the tournament he has entered, his impatient squire can no longer restrain himself and says:

> Sire, par la sainte chair de Dieu
> **Sir, by the holy flesh of God**
> L'heure passe de tournoyer,
> **The hour of the tournament goes by,**
> Et vous, que demeurez ici?
> **And you, why do you linger here?**
> Venez-vous-en, je vous en pri;
> **Come along, I beg you;**
> Voulez-vous devenir hermite?
> **Do you want to be a hermit?**
> Allons-en à notre metier
> **Let us go about our business.**
> (Jusserand, 1901, p. 47).

The emancipation of the woman of holy descent added still another dimension to the ideal of chivalry, because it led to acceptance of the idea that love could enhance the prowess of the chevalier. By the 13th century the idea of courtly love had affected the behavior of the nobleman. The good knight knew how to entertain a lady and how to make his own poetry. The poets of courtly love glorified heroic deeds in defense of a lady's honor and revived a mythical past by their tales of King Arthur and the Round Table. The new status of the woman lent an erotic character to the tournaments and undoubtedly contributed to their fierceness. As Painter (1940) indicates, "Woman had edged her way into the mind of the feudal male and had elevated and enlarged her place in society as he recognized it" (p. 143).

In his excellent analysis of chivalric ideas and practices in medieval France, Palmer concludes that the feudal, religious, and courtly ideas of chivalry were in fact incompatible. The Church, on the one hand, violently opposed the more extreme doctrines of courtly love, because they led of necessity to extramarital

relations. The chronicles of the late medieval period, on the other hand, give ample evidence that the feudal lords hardly ever conformed to the ideals of the Church or to the doctrines of courtly love. It is apparent that there was a real tension between real and ideal. As an ideal of the beautiful life, chivalry could also assume the appearance of an ethical ideal by combining physical prowess with religious piety and virtue. Even at the core of the ideal, however, there remained, as Huizinga (1957) expressed it, a great deal of "heroic fancy and romantic sentiment" (p. 67).

CHIVALRIC EDUCATION

Public education, if one can speak of such education in the Middle Ages, was a function of the Church. In the monasteries and cathedral schools, the curriculum consisted of the *septem artes liberales* (seven liberal arts), which were divided into the *trivium* of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic, and the *quadrivium* of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. In this curriculum there was no place for physical education, although the following lines from a "student's rule book" give evidence of some concern for the physical well-being of the students:

> Das nicht die Schüler allzusehre
> **So students are not too much**
> Beschweert werden mit der Lehre.
> **Burdened with teaching.**
> So lässt man sie stät zu voran
> **They are always permitted**
> All heilige Tag spielen gahn.
> **To go play on holy days.**
> (Alt, 1966, p. 2)

In its attempt to shape the nobility according to the ideals of the Church, the clergy emphasized the importance of the *artes liberales in* the education of the young pages and squires. Such efforts are reflected in the *Miroirs aux Princes* (*Mirrors for Princes*), in which famous clergymen presented an ideal education for the prince as a model for all noblemen. In his treatise *De Eruditione Filiorum Nobilium*, for example, Vincent de Beauvais (in Bell, 1962, p. 48) stresses humility, discipline, and obedience as desirable characteristics of the young nobleman, but he also points out that human movement reveals the style of the body.

If ideally the young nobleman should be well versed in the *artes liberales,* the practical situation left much to be desired. From all evidence, the illiteracy among the medieval aristocracy was widespread. It is said, for example, that the illustrious

Bertrand de Guesclin, constable of France during the Hundred Years War (approx. 1337-1429), hardly knew how to write his own name. The long and arduous training to prepare the knight for his physical duties was obviously not conducive to intellectual pursuits. Eustache Deschamps, the 14th century poet and chronicler, bewailed the fact that in his search for physical prowess the knight does everything for his body but nothing for his soul (Jusserand, 1901, p. 179). Even during the late Middle Ages many amorous knights needed a clerk to record their poetry (Alt, 1966, p. 147).

The education of the young knight was in reality for the most part physical education. Petrus Alfonsus (1062-1140) was probably the first to define the aristocratic curriculum by introducing the *septem probitates* as the knightly equivalent of the *septem artes liberales* (Schoelen, 1965, p. 208). These *probitates*, or knightly arts, which formed a compendium of the nobleman's education, are admirably described in Johannes Rothe's (1936) *Der Ritterspiegel* (*Knight's Mirror)* near the beginning of the 15th century:

So sint dir di sibin behendikeit
di do werden zcu allin gezeitin
an eynen vollinkommen man
geleid: her sal konne wol geritin,
snel uf und abe gesitzcin,
wol gedraben und gerinnen,
ummegerkerin und mit witzcin
von der erdin etzwaz gewinnen

The arts all seven
which certainly at all times
a perfect man will love
are: he must ride well,
be fast in and out of the saddle,
trot well and canter,
and turn around and know how to
pick something up from the ground.

Dy andir daz her kan geswimme
und in dem wassir getuche,
sich gewende und gecrimme
uf dem rucke und uf dem buche.

The other, that he knows how to
swim and dive into the water,
knows how to turn and twist
on his back and on his belly.

Di derte daz her kan geschissin
mit armborstin, bushsin und
bogin; dez mag her danne wol
genissin kegen forstin und den
herzcogin.

The third, that he shoots well
with crossbows, arm, and hand-
bows; these he may well use
against princes and dukes.

Dy ferde daz her kan gestigin
ane leitern ab dez nod tud,

The fourth, that he can climb
fast on ladders when necessary,

daz werdit wol nutzce in den	that will be of use in war,
crigin, an stangin, an sellin,	in poles and ropes it is also good.
daz ist ouch gud.	
Dy funfte behenikeit mag ich	The fifth art I shall speak of
sprechin ist daz her kunne wol	is that he is good in tournament,
tornirin, gestritin, und ouch	that he fights and tilts well,
gestechin und redelichin und	and is honest and good in
recht geschustirin.	the joust.
Dy sechste behendikeit: mit dem	The sixth art is wrestling,
ringin beide geschermen und	also both fencing and fighting,
gevechtin, vor andirn luthin wit	beat others in the long jump
gespringin, mit der linkin hant	from the left as well as from
also mit der rechtin.	the right.
Dy sibinde: wol gedinen zu tische,	The seventh art: he serves well
getanczin ouch und gehofiren,	at the table, knows how to dance,
das bredspel em nicht lassen	has courtly manners, does not shy
entwische und alliz daz en mag	away from board games or other
gezcirin.	things that are proper for him.
	(Rothe, 1936, pp. 72-73).

It is not difficult to see in this program of knightly education the reflection of the feudal ideals of chivalry in which physical prowess played a major role. From a practical point of view, the nobleman's life depended on his physical skills and endurance. As Jusserand (1901) remarks, the dressing in a harness in these days was a physical exercise in itself. The reports of the chroniclers leave little doubt that the medieval knights were indeed in excellent physical condition. According to his biographer, Boucicaut, famous chevalier and Maréchal of France, could in his youth turn a somersault in full armor, except for his helmet, and scale the inside of a ladder equipped in harness by pulling himself up by the arms (Painter, 1940, p. 39).

The education of the knight, however, went far beyond the immediate objectives of the development of skill and physical fitness. The knightly art provided, above all, an opportunity for the development of the knightly character and the traits that were admired in the true nobleman. In this respect, the educational setting was of utmost importance. Until his seventh year. a son of the nobility

remained home under the care of his mother. After this, he was often sent away from home to start his knightly education at the court of a powerful baron or sometimes of even the king. For seven years he served his lord as a page, and during this time he was initiated in the knightly arts and customs. At 14 years of age, the young noble was promoted to the more prestigious position of squire. As such, he took care of his knight's horse and served as a shield bearer in battle. Some of the sons of the poorer nobility remained squires for their entire lives, because they lacked the money to equip themselves properly. Ideally, however, the squire was dubbed a knight at 21 years of age, after another seven-year period of service (Cordish, 1901).

The division of the time of education into seven-year periods, the seven liberal and knightly arts, form an expression of the medieval tendency to regulate everything according to certain ideals. The spirit of casuistry, in which everything is isolated and referred to an ideal solution, was highly developed in the Middle Ages. All things had their proper places, and all forms of behavior were governed by definite rules. As Huizinga indicates, the strict casuistry and the establishment of formal rules were the only means of creating a semblance of harmony between warfare and the chivalric ideal (Huizinga, 1947, p. 246). The seven-year periods, however, remained an ideal classification from which there was frequent deviation. For example, Gautier (1960, p. 125)) sets the average age of admittance to knighthood before the 13th century at 15 instead of twenty-one!

The custom of barons, suzerains, and kings to educate the sons of their vassals dates back to the beginnings of chivalry and certainly enhanced the bonds of friendship and loyalty among the nobility. When Charlemagne slaps his nephew Roland in his face with a glover, the ultimate affront among knights, Roland jumps furiously forward to avenge this insult. At the last moment, however, he restrains himself, remembering that Charlemagne "l'a nourri petit enfant" (nourished him as a child). When Roland dies, his last thoughts are of his royal uncle, who educated him (Gautier, 1960, p. 106).

The education of the chevalier was an education through example. The initiation into knighthood via the stages of page and squire was hard but never out of touch with reality. The young nobles witness the tournaments and battles firsthand and continuously imitated the heroic feats of their lords. The competitive spirit among them was fierce, and it was not uncommon for a squire to lose his life in a duel in which he tested the methods of his fencing instructor with too much abandon. But there were always the lighter sides of courtly life in the less dangerous

pastime of hunting with falcons and playing the board games of chess and checkers. Pages and squires frequently mixed with the ladies and learned courtly manners by serving at table. The presence of women ameliorated the sober atmosphere of physical training and yielded the cultural forms expressed in the courtly ideals of chivalry.

FROM CHEVALIER TO MODERN GENTLEMAN

The chivalric ideals that put such a heavy stamp on medieval society were clearly reflected in the education of the knight. Throughout the upbringing of the young nobleman, physical education formed the integrative force which worked beyond the acquisition of physical skills and endurance to develop in him the characteristics of a true chevalier. The historical significance of this aristocratic education, according to Adamson (1951, p. 282) is that it paved the way for the humanism of the classic revival. The courtier of Castiglione, for example, was a world apart from the medieval chevalier; yet, chivalric ideals and the knightly arts were at the core of his education (Carrell, 1935).

Far beyond the *gentil homme* of the Renaissance, the chivalric code as a "doctrine of courtesy" kept influencing the educational ideas of the socially prominent of Europe. The knightly arts featured prominently in the curriculum at the German *Ritterakademien* and found their way in the *Philanthropina* of the 18th century, announcing the advent of a renewal of physical education (cf. Bernett, 1967 and Cornish, 1901). Similar lines could be drawn to the English public schools and the emergence of the modern ideal of the gentleman. From a cultural-historical point of view, these developments show an interesting parallel with the ideals that arose in the chivalrich Homeric society extending to the *kalokagathia* ideal in the fifth century B.C., even if only the bare outlines are visible.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The chivalric ideals of physical prowess, loyalty, generosity, courtesy, and glory have not lost their significance for modern society, but they are no longer the integrated ideal of a social élite. The disappearance of a distinct social group comparable to the medieval chevaliers coincided with the diffusion of chivalric principles.

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SELECTION 4
SPORT IN THE BAYEUX TAPESTRY

John Marshall Carter, Ph.D.

Note: Dr. John Marshall Carter has made notable contributions to our understanding about sport, games, and recreation in the Middle Ages. The Brentwood University Edition of his monograph (1984) was reprinted with a new preface in 1988 by University Press of America (now Rowman) in Lanham, MD. After contacting Rowman, we finally concluded that Dr. Carter would like to have this selection include with this effort.

The Bayeux Tapestry never sleeps. Just pick up almost any textbook on Western civilization, a history of the Middle Ages, or a history of English literature. Somewhere in there you'll find a plate from the tapestry illustrating this or that. And, rightly so! It is truly a unique document for for medieval English history. The combination of soft reads, greens, and blues on a tan background, containing 79 different scenes, was executed in the 1070s by English women supervised by William the Conqueror's half-brother, the warlike Bishop Odo of Bayeux. It has provided primary information for political, social, economic, religious, and military history--a source of medieval wonderment for the modern student. Possibly no other document or work of art has told modern scholars more about the way medieval people dressed, ate, fought, and lived. Urban T. Holmes, for example, pointed out the significant medieval architecture in the tapestry.[1] Some scholars have even labored to count the various figures: men, women, cows, horses, ships--a truly Herculean task.

The upper and lower borders, approximately one-seventh of the height of the tapestry, have a literature themselves. It has been asserted that many of the scenes in the borders are mythical takes commonly known in the eleventh century. The borders, which also form scenes supplementary to the central part of the tapestry, contain great numbers of animals and flying creatures of many kinds. Boars, which were symbols of power, are repeated frequently. Bishop Odo, who fought at Hastings alongside his more famous half-brother, was responsible for inserting creatures which would lend a kingly air to the project.

It is not surprising, then, that a careful search of the Bayeux tapestry should add to our meager store of information about sports. Unquestionably, the social history boom of this century has not to this point included a thorough investigation of sport in medieval life.[2] Indeed the numerous pictorial references to sport in the Bayeux Tapestry make us realize that the common man's

existence was not "all work and no play." It is the purpose of this essay, then, to comment upon the various about the various sports contained in the Bayeux Tapestry. While much attention will be given to servile sports, aristocratic sports will also be given consideration. Finally, in order to write about about sport, a working definition should be given at the outset and adhered to throughout the essay. Therefore, the famed Dutch medievalist's, Johan Huizinga, definition can be used effectively--any activity which allows a person "to get outside" of his daily working routine.[3]

NOBLE AND PEASANT SPORTS AND PASTIMES

In the beginning, sport was a religious cult and a preparation for life. Its roots were in man's desire to gain victory, over seen and unseen. . . ."[4] Undoubtedly, the history of the Normans and Angle-Saxons in the eleventh century was a story of conquest. The sporting "scenes" in the Bayeux Tapestry emphasize victory and a Norman perspective of noble and peasant sports and pastimes. Judging from the sports of the tapestry, the Norman and Anglo-Saxon elites had at least one thing in common with the servile classes, the desire for sport and conquest.

Our first confrontation with sport appears early in the great tapestry (Scene No. 2) in the Stenton Edition). Harold Godwinson, the Earl of Wessex, is pictured riding a horse, holding a hawk on his free wrist and fronted with yelping hounds. Here, in a single scene, we are introduced to three medieval sports: hunting, hawking, and riding. The Anglo-Saxons, like other peoples of the eleventh century, must have surely enjoyed hunting of many varieties. Both Bede and *Beowolf* provide us with the Anglo-Saxon hunting spirit of an earlier age.[5]

Dogs were quite often used in hunting: ". . . the cry of the dog while hunting is considered quite musical." Even churchmen loved the playful sound of hounds at the chase. Abbot Samson, twelfth-century abbot of the abbey of Bury Saint Edmunds, ". . .would sit at times with his monks in some woodland glade and watch the hounds run . . ."[6] Even though the non-noble elements emulated the noble class, hunting was dominated by the chivalric segment of society. A century and a half after the execution of the Bayeux Tapestry, Gottfried von Strassburg painted the hero's painful lesson of the hunt in *Tristan*. Later still, the Gawain poet's alliterative verse aptly described the noble hunting maxims. "They harmed not the harts, with their high heads / Let the bucks go by, with their broad antlers / For it was counted a crime, in the close season / If a man of

that demesne should molest the male deer."[7] In the lower border of scene No. 8, there appear to be two club-wielding peasants following the chase of a pack of hounds. A wolf is the apparent object of their labors. More than likely, the peasants were hunting independently or flushing the game for their lord. The Gawain poet wrote, "Deer dashed through the dale, dazed with dread. . . Turned back by the beaters."[8]

Whereas the nobleman was noble because of *proudome* (fighting prowess) and his economic ability to acquire the expensive tools of the trade (hauberk, conical helmet, the various weapons, and charger), the servile classes had to make do with improvisation, For example, there is a slinger in the border of scene No. 12. The peasant had the manual missile weapons (sling and bow), whereas the noble had the automatic--the hawk or falcon.

The horn was an important part of the hunting *accoutrement* of both nobleman and peasant alike. The Bayeux Tapestry demonstrates one of the particular uses of the horn in scene No. 14. "To blow a morte. . .", which is what is happening, was the horn signal used when a deer or boar had been killed. And, like other sporting devices and rules, the horn found a useful place in warfare. Roland's haunting blast on the trumpet at Roncevaux cannot be forgotten. There are other examples, such as the Gawain poet, of the military uses of the hunting horn: "Blew upon their bugles bold blasts three."

Hunting wild boars or wolves was surely a surrogate for engaging in combat and winning the respect of peers and ladies. Edgar the Pacific (959-975), after falling madly in love with Lady Elstruet, ". . .hunted in the forest in that country, and sent her the stags he took."[10] To the churlish class, hunting was a necessity, but to the nobleman hunting was a relief from the primary business of the day--fighting.[11]

Horses fulfilled the medieval warrior and distinguished him from the priestly and servile classes (although a number of ecclesiastics brought with them to the priesthood or cloister a knowledge of horsemanship). Hunting was more often than not done on horseback. In Normandy, hunting on horseback, horse racing, and simulated combat occupied the idle hours, few as they were, of the chevalier. Even in Anglo-Saxon England, where horses were not as much a symbol of the aristocracy. they were still valued highly. In 926, Aethelstan sent ". . . . many fleet horses with their trappings . . ." as a gift to Hugh Capet, the *dux Francorum.*[13]

Hawking, known also as the art of falconry, was a type of early missile weapon--or, a substitute for one. Certainly by the eleventh century, hawking was symbolic of aristocratic prestige. The *Song of Roland* illustrates the value of hawks and falcons--birds of prey--in the following passage: "Now of his wealth he would send you in sooth/Lions and bears, leashed greyhounds not a few/Sev'n hundred camels, a thousand falcons mewed . . ."[13] On the Bayeux Tapestry, there is even an interesting connection between hawking and fishing. According to one tradition, one of the most important events leading up to the Norman invasion was provoked by Earl Harold's desire for fishing. This has been refuted by many scholars, but no successful substitute for a fishing trip has been established:

> Harold being at his country seat Boseham, sent for recreation on board a fishing boat, and for the purpose of prolonging his sport, put out to sea . . .[14]

The tapestry implies a trip of peaceful nature; no armor is taken off the ship at Ponthieu. The fishing trip appears to be as good a motive as any for being in the Channel in 1064. And, the hawk or falcon that has snared a fish in the border scene of No. 7 indicates that birds of prey were not only used on land and that hook, line, and nets had competition. The Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, confirmed this in his famous treatise on falconry.[15]

Fishing and hunting, and other medieval sports and pastimes, oftentimes provided more sport than the sportsman bargained for. Such seems to be the case in the border scene No. 23: a man without armor, while attempting to subdue an eel with a knife, is, in turn, being mauled by a beast. Boar and bear hunting could rove equally as hazardous, particularly to the unarmored, servile class.[16]

Archery was a medieval art for sport and war. it was used throughout the medieval epoch, but it was surely incorporated into Oriental and Byzantine warfare before penetrating Europe. It has been claimed that the bow was a non-noble weapon, yet, in the tapestry there is a thoroughly armored soldier, scene No. 61, letting fly an arrow. Both the nobility and servile classes used the bow--particularly in hunting.[17] Alfred the Great used the bow and so did William II in the New Forest in 1100.[18] Undoubtedly, for lord and commoner alike, the arrow was much more effective in bagging large game, such as bear or boar. It is symbolic that an alleged commoner's weapon may have brought down King Harold, scenes 71-72 in the tapestry, in 1066 and the chivalry of France in 1346, 1356, and 1415.

SPORT AS PREPARATION FOR WAR

When the eleventh-century lord was not fighting--which was rare--he was preparing to fight through sport. The sporting life and warfare were inseparably linked: the former was a preparation for the latter, however unconscious. When today. when we go to a football game to "get away from it all," we end up by engaging in our primary occupation--competition. When the Norman knight met the Anglo-Saxon *thegn*, scene No. 64, their respective sports were transferred into business. In this age, more than any other, business and pleasure were mixed. The Normans who transported the war materials o the ships, scene No. 40, must have amused themselves with spirited competition to ease the burden of carrying heavy loads. Such company or battalion competition has certainly remained healthy in modern armies. In addition, the two argumentative, spade-crossing Normans in scene No. 50 were continuing their preparation for war by engaging in simulated combat, a sporting release of pre-battle anxiety (or, an improvised, sure-to-draw-blood game of single-stick).

Noble and commoner alike were intrigued with nature. The very existence of the imaginative flying creatures in the borders of the Bayeux Tapestry testify to this. Lynn Thorndike went so far as to say that the medieval imagination surpassed its ancient and modern counterparts.[19] And so it was with sports. If a man was not fighting a man, he was fighting an animal or nature or some phantasmagoric demon. *Beowulf* is filled with man's gloomy struggle against the unknown.

Bear-baiting, see scene No. 13, surely fits this man versus nature motif. Unquestionably cruel. yet it emphasized the symbolic struggle of mankind in a hostile environment.

Bull-baiting was also popular (an improvised bull-baiting contest may be occurring in scene No. 47), although hypotheses to the contrary have been suggested for this sport. Again, while foraging the countryside during the anxious days between September 28 and October 14, the Normans invented new sports or improvised upon old themes. From the tapestry we can infer that the eleventh-century version of bull-baiting pitted man against bear or bull as often as it pitted a pack of dogs against the bull or bear.[20]

The existence of cock fighting is apparent from the weathercock atop Westminster Abbey in scene No. 36. The weathercock indicated that the building was not completed, and also that evil spirits would have to do battle with the most

rugged fighter.[22]

The action in scenes Nos. 71 and 72 provoke a thought of tournaments. During the eleventh century, the tournament was, at best, local practice for war and usually real. William the Conqueror had little time for simulated action because his whole life was spent engaged in the real thing. Yet, because of a need for ritualized aggression and a training institution for nobles, Richard I introduced the idea of tournament into England in the late twelfth century.[21]

Scene No. 49 sows a Norman feast at the Norman encampment near Hastings, which must have taken place out of doors or under a temporary shelter. Is the man carrying what appears to be a platter merely a servant, or is he also a juggler or magician providing dinner entertainment? King Edward the Martyr (975-978) " . . . had a dwarf, Wolstanet, who knew how to dance and bound, how to leap and tumble, and play several other games."[23] (It was told that King John of England preferred a hanging to enhance his dining pleasures.)

THE TAPESTRY'S SERIOUS POLITICAL NATURE

The main theme of the Bayeux Tapestry is one of a serious political nature. Yet, the very inclusion of sport in the body and the borders of the tapestry indicates to the modern student how important sport was to the people of the eleventh century. These sports serve as an index to the entire age. Sports in England and Normandy in the eleventh century were inseparably linked with man's occupations and with man's physical and spiritual survival. Sports, such as falconry and hunting, tended to be monopolized by the nobility, but n ot in the extreme that some moderns have concluded. The servile classes mimicked their superiors and, in many cases, improvised games which, without fail, "carried them away" (from *desporto*) from their daily drudgery.

The blending of sport and war in the Bayeux tapestry indicates that the creator of the tapestry, Odo, saw sport and war as inseparably linked institutions. Luckily, for us, in the Bayeux Tapestry, we not only have firsthand evidence of what nobles and serfs diverted themselves with. we also have a secular view of sport from the most powerful member of the Anglo-Norman ecclesiastical aristocracy and a perception of both noble and servile pastimes.

NOTES

1. Urban T. Holmes, "Houses of the Bayeux Tapestry," *Speculum* (October, 1959).
2. Famous social histories such as *Bloch's Feudal Society* contain allusions to sport but, for the most part, a history of medieval sport is yet to be written. (Ed. Note: This assertion was made in 1984. See Carter, J. M. [1992]. *Medieval games; Sports and recreations in feudal society*. Westport, CT: Greenwood.)
3. Huizinga, J. *Homo Ludens*, 89.
4. R. Brasch, How Did Sports Begin?, 1.
5. Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes*.
6. Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle*, 28.
7. *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, ed. Borrof, 24.
8. *Ibid.*, 24-25.
9. Hackwood, *Old English Sports*, 34; *The Song of Roland*, 119; *Sir Gawain*, 234-25; there is also mention of horns in Froissart, *Chronicles*, 243, and Ordericus Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History*, II, iii, 297, col.1.
10. Gaimar, 125
11. William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis*, I, 150.
12. *Ibid.*, 214.
13. *Song of Roland*, 56.
14. William of Malmesbury, 214.
15. *Art of Falconry*, 227.
16. *Coroners' Rolls*, 1265-1413, 59.
17. *CLR*, 5 vols.
18. Asser, *Exploits of Alfred*, 457; William of Malmesbury, 214.
19. Thorndike, "Renaissance or Prenaissance?", 65-74.
20. Hackwood, 296-356.
21. Denholm-Young, "The Tournament in the Thirteenth Century," 240-268.
22. Cockfighting is explained by William Fitzstephen in his *Descriptio Londoniae*, 2-13.
23. Gaimar, 777.
24. Roger of Wendover, *Flores historiarum*, ed. H.G. Hewlett, 3 Vols. (Rolls Series) (London, 1886-1889).

SELECTION 5

CHIVALRY'S INFLUENCE
ON SPORT AND PHYSICAL TRAINING
IN MEDIEVAL EUROPE

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The subject of chivalry's influence on sport and physical training in the Middle Ages is conceived here as both a social force and a professional concern, The focus, limited to what today are designated loosely as far-Western European countries, will treat the period typically known as Feudal Society. We will first trace briefly the social and political affairs of this period. Then the pattern of education will be discussed. Finally, a survey analysis of sport and physical training during this era will considered.

EARLY FORMATION OF THE WEST

With the fall (or decline?) of the Roman Empire in 496 C.E., it is necessary to understand how in the "formation of the West" the so-called "Dark Ages" gradually merged into the feudal society of Medieval Europe.[1] McNeill actually called the emerging feudal society "the European Wild West."[2] Rome and the West had gradually sunk under continuing pressure from barbarians *without*, and from political, social, and economic decay *within*. During this period as the Church struggled both inside and outside of what was called the Holy Roman Empire, the Church viewed itself as embodying St. Augustine's heavenly city which, by its very nature, was superior to any earthly city. Following from this belief, the State necessarily should be a subject of the Church.

To accommodate the personnel associated with the new authority of the Church, monasteries were constructed to house the many monks who worked physically in the maintenance of the self-sustaining living units. Monasticism

actually had its roots in Egypt where ascetics, inspired by St. Anthony, lived in the desert either as hermits or in planned religious communities. In Syria and Palestine, for example, some went to the extremes of austerity. Whereas on the one hand, St. Simeon Stylites lived for 37 years (presumably) on top of a pillar, St. Basil of Caesarea opposed practices of this type and organized a communal form of living in which monks prayed seven times a day, took their meals in common, and labored together in the field.[3]

The concern here, then, will be with what is now known as Western Europe. Italy, for example, became a perennial battleground as various kings of the northern Germanic tribes invaded the peninsula in the sixth century. For several centuries, political authority in Italy was vested in many hands such as the Ostrogoths (i.e., the Goths from the east); the Visigoths (the Goths from the west who were situated largely in the area known today as Spain and Portugal). the Eastern Empire and the Papacy, the Franks, and the Lombards.

In western Europe the political power gradually moved northward to the area of the Frankish kingdoms (modern France and Germany). Clovis, whose kingdom was eventually divided in 511 C.E. upon his death was a famous Merovingian (Frankish) king. His descendants ruled until 751, but became increasingly ineffective after 638. The Frankish state was reunited in 687 by Pepin (II) of Heristal. In 732, as the leader of an army of cataphracts (knights!), Charles Martel, Pepin's eldest son and successor, the Franks defeated the Arabs at Tours. Then in 751, Martel's son, Pepin (III) the Short (714?-768) was able to convince Pope Stephen to declare him king of the Frankish territory. Part of the agreement was evidently a promise to protect the pope from the Germanic tribe known as the Lombards (who controlled Italy). King Pepin III also created what has been called the Carolingian line that succeeded the Merovingian line. Another noteworthy occurrence was Pepin III's gift of conquered land to create the Papal States (called the "Donation of Pepin" in Church history). Following this, a significant period of political and religious consolidation took place.

Pepin (II) of Heristal's eldest (as mentioned above) was Charles, who lived from 742 to 814 C.E. He was a most successful person and became known as Charles the Great (or Charlemagne). He completed the conquests began by his father by devastating the Lombard kingdom (the Merovingian line), and then forced the Muslims back to Spain. Through still further conquest he compelled the pagan Germans to become Christians. The booty and plunder from his many conquests made his ceaseless warfare profitable, profits used to pay off his vassals. On

Christmas Day in 800, Charles Augustus, Charles the Great or Charlemagne, a Frank, became the first Roman emperor in the West for more than 300 years. Western history has anglicized his name as Charles the Great, but his name--as Charlemagne--has lived on in epics and romantic poetry.

In summary, the early military successes of the Germanic tribes (i.e., Ostrogoths and Visigoths) were superseded by the Franks in the eighth and ninth centuries. They did this by trampling down their centuries-old borders and slaughtering old and new enemies alike. Charlemagne and his predecessors actually brought all the Germanic peoples of Europe (except Scandinavia) into the Christian realm. The territory was called the Holy Roman Empire because it was formed and carried on under Pope Leo III's authority. Beyond the Frisian and Saxons in this general milieu, however, loomed the pagan Danes and Slavs, and beyond Bavaria ranged the Avars. The Avars were nomadic Mongolian horsemen of the Asiatic steppes who had surged into Europe in the seventh century. They were finally crushed by Charlemagne's army in 795.

In the ninth century after Charlemagne's death, his three grandsons fought with each other incessantly, each from a different region within the empire. Attacks from every direction and eventual decentralization of political authority left the feudal lords in charge of local territories. This meant that the kings exercised only nominal control that was relatively weak. Hence, in both the eastern and western Frankish kingdoms--eventually to become France and Germany respectively--conflict and strife between the monarchs and their nobles brought about the breakdown of Charlemagne's Empire into a variety of feudal duchies and estates. These entities in the resultant weakened empire were finally able to agree in 843 to what has become known as the Treaty of Verdun, a contract that split up the former empire forever. Subsequently Otto I (Otto the Great) consolidated what was later to become Germany. Additionally, he also responded to an urgent appeal from Pope John XII by conquering Italy, a moved that thereby linked the future of Germany and Italy. In 962 C.E., Otto the Great became the Holy Roman Emperor (of the West).

MEDIEVAL EUROPE (OR FEUDAL SOCIETY)

The period designated as Medieval Europe in this study extended from the mid-10th through the mid-14th century. Some countries--if they may be called that--made greater progress than others in the development of centralized governments. England and France fitted in the former category, whereas Germany and Italy (as

they are known today) were the scene of continued struggles among the emperors, the nobility, and the papacy. Slowly but steadily during this period--also called feudal society interchangeably with Medieval Europe here--a type of governmental order extended throughout Western Europe. The society or culture was divided into three classes: (1) the masses (serfs and slaves), who had to work very hard to support the other classes and eke out a bare existence for themselves; (2) the clergy, who carried on the affairs of the Church, and (3) the nobles, who were responsible for the government of certain lands and territories under a king, and who performed the necessary military duties. (Gradually, so-called burghers became those freemen forming a middle class in later Medieval Europe.)

Typical practice of kings and emperors was to exchange royal gifts of loot and land for military service, thereby creating a hierarchy of powerful nobles. The code of chivalry that was developed required the knights (or nobles) to fight in private or feudal wars. As these nobles (knights) swore fealty to the king, so did their subordinates render homage to the nobles. Landholders not only had to join campaigns, but they also had to equip themselves for battle. Each man had to have a lord; he became the lord's "man," technically free, but yet under an oath of fealty. Gradually, in this way, a new society emerged, a feudal system in which ultimate protection at key times consisted of the protection offered by a fortified castle. Early castles were actually modest structures as compared with the elaborate masonry complexes of the late feudal period.[4]

At this point, it is noteworthy that some women assumed strong leadership roles during the first two periods of the Middle Ages as described here. For example, Ethelfleda (d. 918), daughter of King Alfred the Great, ruled the semi-independent Mercia after the death of her husband in 911. She campaigned with her brother to regain the Danish-held lands south of the Humber River. After her death Mercia was fully incorporated into the kingdom of Wessex in England. Another noteworthy example was Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122?-1204), daughter and heiress of of William X, Duke of Aquitaine, who accompanied her husband, Louis VII of France, on the Second Crusade. Subsequently she was active in political encounters and armed struggles of the time.[5]

The Britain, Saxon heptarchy (i.e., a government by seven political units) had extended for 300 years when Egbert became the sole monarch and formed the Kingdom of England in 827 C.E. Moving to the 11th century, past England's harrowing 10th century marked by struggles with the Vikings, there was a period of some stability when the Dane, Cnut (Canute), became king and reigned from 1016

to 1035. After his death, Edward "the Confessor" (1042-1066), Saxon son of Ethelred II, was elected king in 1042 after very short reigns by Harold and Harthacnut (sons of Cnut). All in all, Edward probably inherited as strong a government as there was in Europe of the 11th century.[6] Although he was forced to live with the ever-present power of strong earldoms encouraged when King Cnut reigned, they did nevertheless provide stability to the kingdom. Additionally, he also inherited the assistance of a new set of officials known as "shire-reeves," subsequently shortened to the title of sheriffs. These worthies and their shire courts ultimately made a significant contribution to the medieval governmental establish (1) by the keeping of records, (2) by the levying and collection of taxes, and (3) by the capture of criminals (e.g., the mythical tale of Robin Hood's escapades with the Sheriff of Nottingham emanates from this era).

Anglo-Saxon history was drawing to a close at this time. This final period--as it turned out to be--was dominated by the Godwin family, which in the 1030s was the wealthiest and most powerful family under the king of England. Earle Godwin was the governor of Wessex, and King Edward married his daughter, Edith. Godwin, through alliances forged by the marriages of several family members both at home and abroad, became the strongest man in northern Europe. However. Edward's Norman friend saw Godwin as a threat and therefore King Edward subsequently deposed him. Godwin and his son, Harold, seeking retribution invaded England in 1051 and conquered the king's troops with the result that Godwin's property and political power was returned to him the following year. However, the fatigue and stress of this period were evidently sufficient to bring about his death in the next year. His son, Harold, became the new Earl of Wessex. Harold was a fierce combatant who helped consolidate England's earldoms and also conquered Wales for England in 1063.

When King Edward died early in the fateful year of 1066, the assembled representatives (known as the Witenagemot) elected Harold his successor. However, Duke William on Normandy (from the term "Norseman"), a capable ruler to whom Harold had sworn allegiance, claimed the throne as his right. Evidently Edward had promised the title to him earlier in gratitude for protection over a period of three decades! Nevertheless, because Harold had been freely chosen by the nation's representatives, the new king (Harold) decided to go to war to protect his throne. William in turn appealed to Pope Alexander II, who after consultation condemned Harold, excommunicated him, and even blessed William's proposed invasion. The end result of the famous Battle of Hastings in 1066 favored William over Harold, the latter evidently having made several tactical errors during the

battle. When crowned he became William I, and down to this day British monarchs are descended from him. This battle has been immortalized in the famous Bayeux Tapestry (preserved in the city of that name).[7]

This period was also characterized by the Crusades, a series of eight adventures the first of which was started by the urging of Pope Urban II in 1095 when the Byzantine Empire was threatened. Some Christian pilgrims were also being persecuted in Asia Minor; so, the Pope called upon the developing European countries for assistance. Another inciting cause was the endangerment by the Turks of a profitable trade between Europe and Asia. They also threatened Constantinople, an important city ruled by Alexius as the center of the (*orthodox Christian*) Byzantine Empire. The First Crusade was much more successful than the later ones, the zeal for crusading eventually dying out after about 150 years. The "enemy" finally recaptured Jerusalem in 1244; so, it is difficult to assess the effects of the major and minor Crusades from the standpoint of the various social influences of the time. Politically, however, the power of the Church was increased during this period, while the power of the nobility most certainly declined as a developing middle class began to prosper in the more populated centers. A more important result than who won the battles could well have been the exposure of the Crusaders themselves to what was then a more advanced culture.

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL FORCES
ON MEDIEVAL EUROPE

With these historical data as backdrop, this investigation sought to examine what may be called "the code of chivalry as a social forces in Medieval Europe based on the values and norms of the time." The term "social force" will be used to mean specifically such societal influences or institutions as (1) values and norms, (2) political state, (3) nationalism, (4) economics, and (5) religion.[8] First, the values and norms of a culture are an extremely strong social influence and affect literally everything in the society. The chivalric code was a set of commandments based on medieval society's espoused value system (for nobles!). It literally influenced all aspects of the development of Medieval Europe.

Another example of a social influence would be the political structure of the feudal organization with its division into freemen, serfs, and slaves that resulted in class distinction throughout society even down to the various forms of sport and physical activity. This conception of government, or system of political control, was in direct opposition to the chronologically earlier theory described by Tacitus when

he portrayed how the Germanic tribes elected their leaders through the employment of the popular assembly. Ullman called this the "ascending theory of government" as opposed to a descending one."[9] In the latter,

> original power was located in a supreme being which, because of the prevailing Christian ideas, came to be seen as divinity itself. St. Augustine in the fifth century had said that God distributed the laws to mankind through the medium of kings. . . .[10]

A third example of a social force is nationalism, an influence that has prevailed historically in many societies to a greater or lesser extent to the present. Nationalism may be defined as patriotism or love of country, an attitude or feeling that has been present in citizens of a definable political entity throughout recorded history. (Some thought it might decline in the late 20th century with the arrival of the "global village" concept, but such a change hasn't taken hold yet--and it seems less apt to do so daily.) During the period of medieval history, for example, the rulers and their related nobles struggled with the established Church for control, while also gradually beginning to think of themselves as French or English, for example. Nationalism came much later for the Germans and Italians. Accordingly, this inevitably had a powerful influence on physical training and sport. If a vigorous state, or political unit is desired, the need for a strong, healthy, fit population is obviously paramount.[11]

A fourth example would be the influence of economics on society. For example, education and leisure had prospered when there was a surplus economy, but declined considerable when the economic structure weakened. This meant that those powerful and wealthy enough were in a position to choose those sports, physical activities, and recreations that met their fancy regardless of the expense or the time needed for the experience itself. These, then, were representative of the social forces that should be examined to explain their influence on sport and physical activity.

Finally, the impact of the social force of religion on medieval thought was enormous. Van Dalen explained this impact as follows:

> Medieval Man rejected the Greco-Roman view that human events and achievements were a product of man's will and intellect. To him, the historical process was not

the working out of the plans of man, but the unfolding of a plan that God had constructed and no man could alter. . . . Medieval Man viewed history from a universalistic point of view. Because all men were equal in the sight of God and were engaged in working out His purposes, history could not be confined to a study of Greece, or Rome, or a chosen people, it had to embrace all mankind. . . .[13]

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON ETHICS

Throughout history the term "ethics" has developed so that today it may typically be employed in three ways: (1) as a way of life (e.g., Christian or Muslim ethics); (2) as a listing of the rules of conduct or a moral code (e.g., the code of ethics of a physician); and (3) an inquiry about ways of life or rules of conduct (i.e., that subdivision of philosophy now known as meta-ethics). The first two of these definitions apply here.

Something about the concepts of "good" and "bad" in historical perspective should be explained before an approach to the understanding of the origin and development of the code of chivalry makes sense. For example, can their be right standards for use in judging actions or things to be good or bad? If such value judgments are made, how do they differ--if at all--from value judgments that are value free (or value neutral)? Even a cursory examination of the history of ethics substantiates that it has been a description of "irregular progress toward complete clarification of each type of ethical judgment."[14] Indeed, keeping the entire world situation in mind down to the present, it is difficult to state that significant progress has been made since the development of Greek ethics starting with the 5th century B.C.E. contributions of Socrates. It can be argued that, with each era, the changing political, economic, and other social influences required the development of a new code of ethics, a new way of living.

Very briefly historically, Socrates began the development of standards for the qualities of goodness, justice, and virtue. Plato gave an early spiritual orientation to such thought as he believed that these timeless qualities or idea(l)s had been defined in a world beyond the ken of humans. Conversely, Aristotle, Plato's pupil, sought his answers typically in what now have been designated as the natural sciences and the social sciences. Plato's approach to goodness was through comparison with universal idea(l)s, while Aristotle's happiness resulted from the accomplishment of

more natural goals. Individual good was related to social good, but the ideas of moral responsibility and free will were not viewed with the same importance as they were later in Christian thought.

The insight into ethical matters displayed by these select, early Greeks was not exceeded during the Hellenistic period nor that of the Roman Empire. However, it was during the latter period that the seedbed of later, all-encompassing Christian philosophy was established. Also, during this long period, philosophy and early Christianity were most closely interwoven--that is, one basic system developed in which man's reason and God's purpose for humans were combined to produce one *ultimate* purpose for the human being on this planet--that is, ultimate "union" with the Creator.

During this period of Medieval Europe under discussion, St. Thomas Aquinas brought together Aristotle's scientific and philosophic thought with the theology of St. Augustine. A highly significant and fundamental concept of the ethical system established by St. Thomas was his doctrine of natural law. In this way he was able to accomplish an accommodation of two different ethical systems so that there was a "natural domain" and a "theological realm." Reason and conscience were somehow fused inherently in the human's nature. Natural law contained God's ethical standards to which the human could elevate himself by the application of God-given reason. Religious dogmas at this point were considered infallible; there could thereby negate what some might deem to be valid scientific advances. In summary, after the impact of St. Thomas was felt, the human being in Medieval Europe was conceived as a tri-partite creature made up of body, mind, and spirit. Thus, Plato had been the first to split mind and body, but then it was St. Thomas Aquinas who added the third dimension of spirit.[15]

THE VALUES AND NORMS
OF CHIVALRY
AS A SOCIAL FORCE

Chivalry, as a gradually ingrained code of ethics for one of the two leading classes, will be treated here as a very important aspect of the major, and arguably most important, social force of values and norms in the medieval European culture. In discussing values according to Parsonsian terminology, they represent the highest echelon of the social-system level of the entire general action system theorized by Parsons. These values may be categorized, for example, into such "entities" as social values and educational values, both being values of "personalities."[16] The

social values of a particular social system, in this case of Medieval Europe, were those values that were conceived as representative of the ideal general character that was desired by those who ultimately held the power (i.e., popes, kings, and nobles).[16] The social values of a particular social system, in this case of medieval Europe, were those values that were conceived as representative of the ideal general character that was desired by those who ultimately held the power (i.e., popes, kings, and nobles). In this investigation, in addition to briefly discussing the impact of chivalry on this period as a whole, more specifically the relationship between chivalry and the pattern of sport, games, physical recreation and physical training will be examined. For example, as a result of the practice of the code of chivalry, bravery, fighting skills, and endurance were valued highly, as were commitments to God and preservation of the knight's honor.

To arrive at the truth about the extent of influence occasioned by the code of chivalry on medieval society is not a simple matter. In all historical periods the gap between prevailing theory and actual practice exists; the question is how far apart were these two points in Medieval Europe. Tuchman believed that it is necessary to gather "history by the ounce rather than in gallon jugs." What she meant is that the gradual accretion of "corroborative detail is the great corrective" of invalid history. Such detail, she stated, "will not produce a generalization every time but it will often reveal a historical truth, besides keeping one grounded in historical reality."[17] Following this advice, the approach here on an "ounce by ounce" basis will be to start with a most idealistic (realistic, philosophically) conception of chivalry and subsequently this conception will be countered with greater or lesser severity by other historians and critics.

Gautier explained that chivalry didn't appear suddenly in history through promulgation by a pope or king. He stated,

> It was born everywhere at once, and has been everywhere at the same time the natural effect of the same aspirations and the same needs. There was a moment when the Christians in the East experiences the necessity of sheltering themselves at prayers in churches built of stone which could not be burned. . . .[18]

It arose also when people in the Germanic tribes decided to create an ideal for their conduct. Chivalry "arose from a German custom which has been idealized by the Church . . . It is less an institution than an ideal . . . Chivalry is the Christian form

of the military profession: the knight is the Christian soldier."[19]

That this moral position, if it may be called that, became increasingly acceptable is accepted by Gautier when he concluded,

> The idea of the legitimacy of certain wars and the glorification of the Christian soldier, and the idea which had aroused the soul of a Tertullian and that of an Origen, made very decided progress in the Western world between the fourth and the tenth centuries, during which period it was full of invasions, barbarity, and mortal struggles between religions and races.[20]

Even St. Thomas Aquinas, the renowned early theologian of the Catholic Church, is quoted as having written that "it is certain that all crimes shall be punished and this is precisely why according to God's ordinance, of by legitimate authority, good people are sometimes compelled to undertake wars."[21] And so, during the centuries between the times of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas (the 4th and the 13th centuries, respectively) the Church officially condemned war and irs horrors, while in many of the writings of its leading teachers, warriors and knights were encouraged if they were really Christians who were righting perceived wrongs.

What then were the commandments of the code of chivalry that existed in the 12th century, commandments which were likened by some to those handed to Moses by the Creator as the Decalogue on Sinai? Gautier lists the 10 commandments of the code that is relatively unknown today.:

> 1. Thou shalt believe all that the Church teaches and shalt observe all its directions.
> 2. Thou shalt defend the Church.
> 3. Thou shalt respect all weaknesses, and shall constitute thyself the defender of them.
> 4. Thou shalt love the country in which thou was born.
> 5. Thou shalt not recoil before thine enemy.
> 6. Thou shalt make war against the infidel without cessation, and without mercy.
> 7. Thou shalt perform scrupulously they feudal duties, if they be not contrary to the laws of God.

8. Thou shalt never lie, and shall remain faithful to thy
    pledged word.
9. Thou shalt be generous, and give largesse to everyone.
10. Thou shalt be everywhere and always the champion
    of the Right and the Good against injustice and Evil.

On the basis of these strictures, it is obvious, Gautier stated that
" . . . chivalry has never been, is not, and never will be anything but armed force in
the service of unarmed truth. . . "[23] The stark chauvinism of our narrator in favor
of Christianity, France, and Europe is most obvious in the following words:

> We also know that this scourge of Chivalry has delivered
> the world by protecting it against the ascendancy of
> Mahomet. We have seen--we can see to what depths the
> Mussulman races can descend, and the rapidity with
> which they lose all moral sense, all honour of existence,
> all social vitality. Without Chivalry, the West, vanquished
> by fatalism and sensuality, might today have been so
> decomposed and as rotten as the East![24]

Finally, chivalry is epitomized by Gautier's vision of Sir Godfrey de Bouillon,
a leader of the first of eight Crusades (1095-1099). He and his fellow knights
successfully stormed the walls of Jerusalem as they conquered the pagan
occupants. Then their followers held off the enemy for a period of 45 years until
finally a resurgent Islam regained control of Edessa in 1144.

> But if I contemplate him in battle beneath the walls of
> Jerusalem; if I am a spectator of his entry into the Holy
> City; if I see him ardent and brave; powerful and pure;
> valiant and gentle; humble and proud, refusing to wear
> the golden crown in the city where Jesus wore the crown
> of thorns, I am not then anxious--I am not curious--to
> learn from whom he holds his fief, or to know the names
> of his vassals; and I exclaim, 'There is the knight!'[25]

However, even so ardent an advocate of chivalry recognized that its apogee
was during the 12th century, and it was during the 13th century that the symptoms
of decay appears. The "Christian and German flavor" was tarnished by the
"Romance of the Round Table" of definitely Celtic origin:

> Sensual and light, witty and delicate, descriptive and
> charming, these pleasing romances were never masculine,
> and become too often effeminate and effeminating. They
> sing always, or almost always, the same theme. By lovely
> pasturages clothed with beautiful flowers, the air full of
> birds, a young knight proceeds in search of the unknown,
> and through a series of adventures whose only fault is
> that they resemble one another somewhat too closely.[26]

Even though Gautier admits that "symptoms of decay" were appearing, he nevertheless praises the institutions of chivalry and Church in the most glowing terms. To put the institution of chivalry in proper perspective, therefore, the opinions of others should be considered.

Johan Huizinga discusses the "idea" of chivalry in *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.[27] Explaining that the "illusion of society based on chivalry curiously clashed with the reality of things," he states that the chroniclers of the time "tell us far more of covetousness, of cruelty, of cool calculation, or well-understood self-interest, and of diplomatic subtlety, than of chivalry."[28] Despite this anachronism, the idea of chivalry was something that leaders of the time accepted as a "format" for their political thought. Thus,

> By this traditional fiction they succeeded in explaining to
> themselves, as well as they could, the motives and the
> course of history, which thus was reduced to a spectacle
> of the honour of princes and the virtue of knights, to a
> noble game with edifying and heroic rules.[29]

With these words Huizinga was theorizing that chivalry thus conceived was an "aesthetic ideal assuming the appearance of an ethical ideal." With romantic sentiment and heroic fancy, coupled with religious piety and virtue as its essence, the code of chivalry represented an unattainable ideal because of human nature and the ever-present evils of the time.[30] Even earlier than Huizinga, Dorsey in 1931 made an even more strong condemnation. He too believed that that idea of social service within chivalry was undoubtedly considerable better in theory than in practice, but he also argued that it did serve to set standards higher than those that existed previously--faint praise to be sure! He reported, for example, that what was "a rich and cultured world lay helpless at the feet of warlike savages" and, referring

to the entire era spanning some 500 years, he concluded:

> Take it or leave it, the fact remains that the five centuries
> which saw Europe converted to Christianity also saw such
> a string of murders, parricides, fratricides, and
> poisonings, and such bestial, brutal, drunken
> licentiousness as cannot be found in 5000 years of
> Egyptian history; nor anywhere, says Gibbons, more vice
> and less virtue in the same space of time. . . .[31]

Muller, whose concern was with the historical development of the concept of freedom on the world, also lamented "the invariable contradictions between the ideal and the actuality" in the so-called :Age of Faith."[32] The power generated by the faith of these Christians was enormous; yet, he stated the concurrent "pride, greed, lust, hate, and cruelty that ran through the whole society" ended by corrupting even the Church itself. Muller theorized that,

> the contradictions stemmed from the dual traditions of
> Christianity and heroic barbarism, symbolized by the two
> main forms of medieval architecture: the cathedral and
> the castle. . . . For out of the dual tradition had come two
> equally popular types: the saint and the knight. The knight
> was by definition valiant, loyal, and chivalrous, but his
> profession was fighting, his primary allegiance was to a
> warrior overlord, and his chivalry only extended to fellow
> knights , not to such fellow Christian as peasants. . . .
> The saint and the knight came together in the soldier of
> the Cross, the Crusader; and then atrocity was blessed. . .
> .[33]

Durant concurred with many of the beliefs and opinions of Huizinga--and then added a few of his own. "Theoretically," he stated, "the knight was required to be a hero, a gentleman, and a saint."[34] He concluded, however, that this was chivalric theory only. "A few knights lives up to it, as a few Christians rose to the arduous heights of Christian selflessness. But human nature, born of jungle and beast, sullied the one ideal like the other."[35] Durant conjecture also that this was a case of the Latin *virus* (or manliness) being "reincarnated" in accord with "the Roman masculine sense after a thousand years of Christian emphasis on feminine virtues."[36] Thus, he concluded that "Chivalry, despite its religious aura, represented

a victory of Germanic, pagan, and Arab conceptions over Christianity."[36] He maintained further that the development of martial virtues was absolutely essential for what McNeill had called "wild West Europe" (see Endnote 2 below).

> (**Note**: A momentary digression is in order to clarify what is meant by the use of the terms "work," "play," and "sport" in the present context. The position taken by Brubacher is educational philosophy possibly makes the best sense as the training of the knight is discussed. Instead of aligning himself with the traditional dualistic theory of work and play, Brubacher envisions these types of activity as being on a continuum with the concepts of frivolity and drudgery. The movement, then, is from frivolity on "the left" to play, to work, and--finally--to drudgery on "the right."[37] The approach seems consistent with the analysis and explanation offered of this terminological problem by Carter--and perhaps clarifies it further.[38] In other words, the training and later experiences of the knight could undoubtedly be characterized by each of these four terms at various times.)

In Tuchman's *A distant mirror: The calamitous 14th century*, she discussed the "hazards" of her enterprise: (1) uncertain and contradictory data," (2) the "changing color" of the Middle Ages depending on who is writing about them, (3) the tendency of recorded history to provide an "overload" of the negative, and (4) the "difficulty of empathy, of genuinely entering into the mental and emotional values of the Middle Ages."[39] She explained that "The gap between medieval Christianity's ruling principle and everyday life is the greatest pitfall of the Middle Ages."[40] Nevertheless, she strives not to be malicious with her criticism about "hypocrisy of the Christian ideal,"[41] by pointing out that men formulated such an impossible ideal and then tried to emulate it in theory and practice for more than 1,000 years. Even though Tuchman herself couldn't identify with such a set of principles or commandments, she nevertheless expressed some grudging admiration for those lofty goals. Finally, therefore, as Medieval Europe (feudal society) was drawing to a close in the 14th century, she concluded that,

> Chivalry, the dominant political ideal of the ruling class,
> left as great a gap between ideal and practice as religion.

The ideal was a vision of order maintained b the warrior class and formulated in the image of the Round Table, nature's perfect shape. King Arthur's knights adventured for the right against dragons, enchanters, and wicked men, establishing order in a wild world. So their living counterparts were supposed, in theory, to serve as defenders of the Faith, upholders of justice, champions of the oppressed. In practice, they were themselves the oppressors, and by the 14th century the violence and lawlessness of men of the sword had become a major agency of disorder. When the gap between ideal and real becomes too wide, the system breaks down. Legend and story have always reflected this; in the Arthurian romances the Round table is shattered from within. The sword is returned to the lake; the effort begins anew. Violent, destructive, greedy, fallible as he may be, man retains his vision of order and resumes his search.[42]

SPORT AND PHYSICAL TRAINING IN LATER MEDIEVAL EUROPE

"Early" Medieval Europe. Before discussing sport and physical training in later medieval Europe--specifically the main objective of this investigation--keep in mind that the period designated here as "The Early Formation of the West" created some disagreement in physical training and sport history. The early Church's revulsion toward the athletic and other entertainment excesses of the later Roman period inevitably brought a sharp reaction after Rome's decline. With moral regeneration as he highest goal, matters of the body sunk to perhaps its lowest point in human history (in the eyes of churchmen at least). Leonard and Affleck devoted short treatises to the subject of asceticism in the early Christian church and to the subject of monastery and cathedral schools, respectively.[45] Leonard decried the damage to personal health of such a self-destructive routine and claimed that "among the people at large the physical consequences of the prevailing doctrine were hardly less pernicious."[44] Also, he maintained that "the present world was deemed unworthy of attention. So long as the spirit of asceticism remained in the ascendant there could be no such thing as physical training in schools conducted by the Church."[45]

The phrase "most churchmen were strongly opposed to physical education"

during the early Christian period offered by Van Dalen, Mitchell, and Bennett has subsequently been called part of the "great Protestant legend," intimating that the Church has been unjustly maligned in this respect.[46] Marrou, however, believed that physical education "simply died of old age," that it was the "passion of athletics" that the church fathers condemned.[47] Ballou tended to agree with Marrou. He argued that a quotation from Tertullian probably reflects accurately the Christian approach to sport, games, and physical activity of the period:

> Next let us consider the arts displayed in the circus games. In times past equestrian skill was simply a matter of riding on horseback, and certainly no guilt was involved in the ordinary use of a horse. But when this skill was pressed into the service of the games, it was changed from a gift of God into an instrument of demons[48]

Moolenijzer concurred with Marrou and Ballou on this point when he reported that, contrary to the impression of many, the Christian Church only "frowned on wasteful nonutilitarian physical activity," and also "the clergy did not always enforce the rules and quite often interpreted them to their own liking."[49] Thus, it may have been that the presumed negative outlook of the Church has been somewhat overemphasized.

Assuming that the early formation of Western Europe was forged through a blending of the efforts of the Christian Church, the Germanic tribes, and the Franks, a few comments about the status of physical activity with these latter two groups will be made as well. For information about the Germanic tribes and the Franks, we turn first to Tacitus' *Germania and Agricola*. Writing about the Germanic tribes, he stressed that physical fitness was an absolute necessity for these powerful, warlike people. A man's ability to use arms had therefore to be approved in a formal investiture ceremony with a spear and a javelin. Both boys and girls were evidently raised in a hardy fashion. Interestingly, women's counsel was sought regularly, and they attended their husbands and sons in battle (occasionally getting involved themselves when absolutely necessary for survival). Warfare and hunting were, respectively the favorite vocations and avocations of these people.

The Franks in the eighth and ninth centuries were also extremely warlike. The Frankish army consisted of peasant foot-soldiers and a strong professional calvary conducting campaigns of conquest on an almost annual basis. Christendom's position was strengthened through the victories of Charlemagne and

accompanying conversions to Christianity, as well as by the penetration of Byzantine through the medium of trade. The hierarchical, authoritarian patterns of the church organization and of the political situation with a ruling king brought about a significantly different social structure than life in the tribes.

Although learning typically depended on monastic schools at that time, there were some enlightened monarchs, such as Charlemagne, who sponsored palace schools. In this instance he invited the English monk, Alcuin, to direct his palace school, a program in which many of the next generation's clergy were trained, and which became a model for others established by this far-sighted monarch. In these schools children learned the Psalms, simple reckoning, elementary Latin grammar, and the chanting of the liturgy. These palace schools were designed primarily, of course, to prepare sons of nobility for high office and academic careers. Also, no one could become a priest unless he had some familiarity with the creed, the Gospels, certain devotions, and could write. As with the church schools, very little if any provisions were made for physical activity and play, much less organized instruction in what is called physical education today.

As can be understood, a type of early feudalism developed from 600 C.E. on when the cities of Italy and Gaul became unsafe places because of the Germanic invasions. The aristocrats moved to their estates and attached dependents to them who could either till the land and/or give protection against attack. Grants of land (fiefs) awarded to commanders and administrators became hereditary and also semi-independent. (There were, of course, sectors throughout Europe where the peasantry remained "imfeudalized"--e.g., the vine growers of western Germany and southern France.) In this way society consisted of freemen, serfs, and slaves, each group with its own pattern of sport, games, and recreations, and each with a great deal of regular physical activity but for different reasons and purposes. The Church spared the peasant his or her drudgery-like exertions on Sundays and holy days. After Mass there were opportunities for song and dance. Such sports as weight-throwing, hockey, football, and wrestling were engaged in by individuals and at times by village against village.[50] After their training as youths in all of the arts of war as preparation for future battle, the lords of the manors as adults were busy people--administrators!--who broke their daily routines by hunting, hawking, the occasional tournament, and at times by war.

Medieval Europe. After considering briefly the period when the origins of feudalism were becoming apparent, what now about the period designated for the present study--from the mid-10th to the mid-14th century? What impact did

chivalry have on sport and physical training during these 400 years? As a starting point, consider the "Middle-Ages' approach" followed by Van Dalen, Mitchell, and Bennett earlier for their analysis of "physical education for the medieval disciplines" as they titled the chapter in their earlier standard world history.[51] They divided the entire medieval period of the Middle Ages into four chronologically overlapping "approaches" to physical education.

Physical education for early Christian education. This was the period when the advocates of Christianity were struggling with pagan influences of secular schools that were finally closed by Emperor Justinian of the Greek Eastern domain in 529. Although the large majority of churchmen reacted violently to the excesses of the arena, as well as seeing no need for physical education in the curriculum, the early theologian and pope, Clement of Alexandria (d.. 215) sought to establish a compromise between Christian educational philosophy and that espoused by Hellenistic philosophy. He saw "some health value in exercises, games, and sport."[52]

Physical education for moral discipline. The second approach suggested by Van Dalen, *et al*. postulated "physical education for moral discipline." This was a time when "the monastic attitude toward the body, games, sports, and dancing adversely influenced pedagogical thinking for generations."[53] At this point catechetical schools were established under the auspices of the monasteries affiliated with the early Christian church.

Physical education for social discipline. The third approach called "physical education for social discipline" applies to the period called Medieval Europe or feudal society in the present investigation will be discussed immediately below.

Physical education for vocational discipline. The fourth, and final, approach, as they assessed it, occurred during the latter years of the Middle Ages--from approximately 1100-1350 C.E.--became necessary when "a new middle class arose to share a gradually more important place in society along with the nobleman and the clergy."[54] It involved vocational or guild training to prepare young men for life in a steadily growing commercial and industrial life and will not be discussed further here.)

Physical education for social discipline might better be called "physical education for social efficiency" since it included exercises, sports, and competitive games designed to meet the needs of boys and young men, sons of nobles, who

would some day become knights in the service of the Church, the king, or the nobles who owned the manors. Society's goal was simply young men who:

> were to acquire military prowess, social graces, and sport skills. Yet the objectives of physical education were quite narrow in that they were largely concerned with self-preservation. Unlike the Greek, the noble medieval warrior was not concerned with developing a beautifully proportioned, graceful body; nor was he driven by the type of patriotic impulse that inspired the early Roman.[55]

In his analysis of the curriculum of the time, Wilds had explained that "At the earlier levels the content consisted of health instruction, religious instruction, training in etiquette and obedience to superiors, playing the harp, singing, chess, and the development of sills in riding, jousting, boxing, and wrestling."[56] The elements of reading and writing were included as well. Subsequently, what came to be called the Seven Free Arts of the advanced curriculum involved strenuous physical involvement (1) jousting, (2) falconing, (3) swimming, (4) horsemanship, and (5) boxing--with time for (6) the writing and singing of verse, along with (7) the playing of chess during the quiet times of the day.

In 1831--a century before Wilds' analysis (!)--Horatio Smith had offered some interesting insight into some of the changes that occurred in the 11th century when he explained that,

> The Norman conquest (i.e., the victory at Hastings in 1066) effected two marked changes in the sports and pastimes prevalent at the close of the Saxon era, by restricting the privileges of the chase, and first establishing those barbarous game laws the imposition of which was one of the greatest insults of tyranny, while their maintenance, in scarcely mitigated severity, at the present enlightened era, cannot be designated than as a monstrous oppression upon the lower orders, and a flagrant outrage offered to the spirit of the times. . . .[57]

Any suppression of the "hunting experience" must have indeed caused great anguish. In his analysis of sporting activity in the Bayeux Tapestry, Carter explains how hunting of wild animals and hawking (e.g., for fish), for example, was so basic

to the nobility in the mid-11th century. He discusses the evident joy experienced by the hunters when the horn signal of victory ("to blowe a Morte") over the boar, wolf, or bear is given.[58]

The second of certain marked changes was reported by Smith much more enthusiastically:

> The second notable change in our pastimes, occasioned by the advent of the Normans, was the introduction of tournaments and jousts, together with all the pomps, gallantries, and observances of chivalry. which, although they bore the visible impress of war, were decidedly civilizing and even ennobling in their general tendency.[59]

Insight into the training for the arts of chivalry (riding, fencing, dancing) of the late 10th and 11th centuries has been provided by Olivova.[60] The knights (i.e., "armed horsemen," as she called them) had even greater demands forced upon them as a result of the Crusades starting in the late 11th century. A specialized organization was needed for these long-term adventures, as well as new battle tactics in which smaller groups of knights formed compact groups to attack others (presumably also in compact groups). The knight himself needed to be stronger to cope with heavier, more complete body armor, as well as with a large shield, a strong sword, and a durable lance. It was indeed close knight-to-knight combat on horseback. Also, the feet and legs had to be able to control and guide the mount so that the hands and arms would be free for combat. Training experiences on horseback were practiced extensively at the castle, while the hunt indirectly provided a pastime that also served to develop the relationship between man and horse. When tournaments were first held in the mid-11th century, they were primarily military sports. Later other types of sporting elements were introduced (e.g., for entertainment, for individual conflict resolution, for "the honor" of a lady).[61]

In summary, what may be concluded as to the impact of chivalry on the physical activity of the warrior noble? The future knight was a male of aristocratic birth who was eligible to try to succeed as a feudal warrior at maturity. To achieve this status in society, he began a long, arduous training period at about eight years of age. After four or five years he was eligible for squire status that gave him the privilege of serving an apprenticeship to a lord. During this time muscles had to be strengthened greatly; endurance had to be developed significantly; the skills of hand-to-hand combat had to be learned; the level of horsemanship had to be

improved; and social skills and graces had to be acquired--each and all together no mean feats! If the maturing squire finished this difficult period of service successfully, he was ready for the induction ceremony established for the knight-to-be that involved an elaborate sacramental ritual that ended with the phrase, "In the name of God, St. Michael, and St. George I make thee knight." Then, having "won his spurs," (of gold!) and with all his equipment and a faithful mount, the new knight was now privileged to start on a life--and to risk it bravely!--as a professional warrior battling for his lord when needed and continue his training in tournaments. The plan was that this participation would develop him further in, and help him to maintain, the qualities, abilities, and competencies required for victory and survival in the years that followed before injuries or possible death in battle or old age and infirmity set in.

DISCUSSION

Before ending this study, the professional ethics of the knight will be considered briefly. Initially, it should be recalled that during the period known as Medieval Europe, philosophy and Christianity were most closely interwoven--i.e., there was basically one system in which humans' reason and God's purpose for humans were combined to produce one ultimate purpose for them--ultimate union with the Creator. According to St. Thomas' doctrine, reason and conscience were somehow fused inherently in the individual's nature.

Proceeding from this philosophic/religious stance, the knight was "required to be a hero, a gentleman, and a saint."[62] He had a creed and a code of ethics laid down first by the Church and, second, by his lord. This was the ethical theory, and selected critics have described how far the theory may have deviated from the practice of the time. The knight was, of course. often on the horns of a dilemma; should he follow the stricture of his God, his lord, or his human nature? To be fair, and to place this discussion in perspective, the investigator is forced to ask whether, everything considered, the "social contract" agreed to by the taking of the sacramental oath (i.e., the code of ethics for the military person) is that much different today.

Witness today's code of ethics. It should include (1) obligations in regard to availability of services; (2) obligations to the "client" (the enemy); (3) obligations to third parties (to God and to lord), (4) obligations to his profession (to "knighthood"). and (5) obligation to ensure that all knights were in compliance with the code of chivalry.[63] Keeping the historical era "differential" in mind (i.e., Medieval Europe as

opposed to the early 21st century), how did the knight live up to these obligations within the five categories listed above?

Gautier's "Commandments." Succinctly put, and keeping the "ten commandments" spelled out by Gautier[64] for the knight functioning under the code of chivalry, there is some "good news' and some "bad news":

Category #1 (see immediately above). The knight obviously made his services fully available to his lord to whom he had sworn fealty. By fighting to protect his own manor, he was also protecting the serfs and slaves living within these premises. (Whether the knight always "respected all weaknesses and constituted himself the defender of them" [i.e., Commandment II] undoubtedly raises many questions.)

Category #2. The knight's obligations here must be interpreted. His "clients" were his enemies. In this instance, therefore, he was not "to recoil before his enemy." Additionally, he was committed to "show no mercy to the infidel." Also, he was "never to lie," and he was pledged to "remain faithful to his word." Beyond that, all that can be reported is that "the knight had a job to do."

Category #3. The knight's obligations to God and to his lord (i.e., "third parties" in this context) were obvious: He theoretically "believed all that the Church taught"; he observed all of Her directions; he defended Her; he performed all his duties to his lord; and, finally, in addition to loving his country, he ostensibly "strove everywhere and always to be the champion of the Right."

Category #4. The knight's obligations to his colleagues within his profession (those on his side or the enemy's) obviously conflicted on occasion. For example, discoveries and secrets attached to more effective military performance might be shared with those with whom he was allied, but never with the enemy! Presumably the knight would never lie either to his fellow knights nor even to the enemy. Also, he would be expect to be "generous" in victory, even to the point of permitting defeated knights to reside in relative comfort while provisions were made for their ransom.

Category #5. The knight's obligations to enforce compliance with the code of chivalry presented some interesting conflicts as well. For example, a knight who broke any commandments of the code could either be reprimanded by the Church or actually excommunicated. He could also be driven off by the lord for

infractions of the code. Further, only being human, a knight would be tempted to report any other knight who flagrantly disregarded his obligations, duties, and responsibilities.

In concluding this section in which the knight's conformity to the commandments of the code of chivalry is assessed, how would his actions as a professional warrior be viewed on the basis of 21st century knowledge about human nature and conduct? The stance of The Roman Catholic Church would be approximately the same as it was in medieval times. In other words, the Church has always been against war, except when it was necessary to "preserve the Right." The Church recognized human nature and its weaknesses; so, it set high ideals for Christian then as it does now.

Conversely, there is the pragmatic, humanistic position spelled out by Dewey.[65] He argued that past moralities, some of which still prevail today in various quarters, were deficient because they were grounded in arbitrary standards, principles, and rules (e.g., commandments) rather than on ethical principles that can be supported by a scientific understanding of human nature as it has evolved in a social environment. Viewed in this light, human nature is simply continuous with all of nature. Ethical principles, personal or professional, are therefore derived from knowledge emanating from the humanities, social sciences, and the natural sciences. Vice and virtues, viewed in this context, are habits that have been developed over time through the human's interaction with others in a social environment. Human impulses, as possible reactions to problem-solving ethical situations, are often incompatible. When an ethical problem is considered reflectively in the light of past similar problems and the current social environment, a way of action or problem resolution is arrived at in a way that brings satisfaction.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

Keeping in mind that historical periods do not end at a precise moment, the Middle Ages have been considered here as containing three relatively discrete periods: (1) Early Formation of the West, (2) Medieval Europe or Feudal Society, and (3) The Renaissance (including the Reformation). The first period was discussed briefly in sequential fashion, but the primary emphasis was placed on the second period known generally as Medieval Europe (from 950-1350 C.E.). Toward the end of the first period, Christianity and its theology--the human's relationship with the Creator--were dominant and ever-present in all aspects of life. However, starting in the 14th century, people began to introduce a type of humanism based on earlier

so-called Classical Civilization. This movement came to be known as the Renaissance (French for "rebirth"). The belief on the part of many shifted to the opinion that the Middle Ages were indeed an intermediate period between Greek humanism and modern humanism of the new era (The Renaissance). The strong Catholic Church was subsequently challenged by the Reformation Movement during this period when the Renaissance was occurring largely in Italy, but the Counter Reformation of the early 16th century strengthened the traditional institution. The struggle between Catholics and Protestants has continued to the present.

The discordance among numerous variations of theism, deism, pluralism, humanism, etc. has persisted to the present day, as has the need for professional warriors trained to serve on the basis of their countries' political decisions conceived to resolve a variety of social influences and accompanying problems. Due to rapidly advancing science and technology, the need for the military person to be trained "physically" through exercise, sport, and physical recreation has varied depending on the specific duties involved at the rank held. Nevertheless, an irreducible minimum of physical training and conditioning is an absolute requirement. A more desirable state in a still highly contentious world environment is one in which the military person strives for the highest levels of skill, strength, and endurance. Additionally, in all of the best professions within civilized society, a fine code of ethics should be developed and maintained to the highest degree possible. This is true whether the knight of medieval times is being assessed, or whether the career military person of the 21st century is being evaluated. It is not yet possible to predict a world environment in which a country will not need a military establishment of greater or lesser strength[66]

ENDNOTES

[1]W. H. McNeill, *The Rise of the West* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1963). (See also: K.O. Morgan [Ed.], *Oxford History of Britain, The* [NY: Oxford, 1988] who envisions the early Middle Ages as beginning in 1066 C.E. [p. 120 et ff.].)

[2]*Ibid.*, 538.

[3]It is important to note here that it was primarily the pagan sporting events and excesses of the amphitheater that the early Christians denounced and not the place of vigorous physical activity in one's life. R. B. Ballou, Jr., in "An Analysis of the Writings of Selected Church Fathers to A.D. 394 to Reveal Attitudes Regarding Physical Activity," in E. F. Zeigler (Ed. & Au.), *A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900* (pp. 187-189) (Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1973), after examination of the literature of the early Fathers, pointed out that Christianity's attitude toward physical activity and sport was not as negative as physical education literature would have people believe. He concluded that early "Christianity attempted to bring the relationship of itself to physical activity and sport into a more positive perspective compatible with a reverence for God, the dignity of man, and the integrity of activity" (p. 196).

[4]For example, see two pictures of Coucy-le-Chateau immediately following p. 74 in B. W. Tuchman's *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*. (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978); see also a verbal description of the castle on pp. 3-5.

[5]*New Columbia Encyclopedia, The* (W. H. Harvey & J. S. Levy, Eds.). (NY: Columbia University Press, 1975).

[6]K. O. Morgan (Ed.), *Oxford History of Britain, The.* (NY: Oxford, 1988).

[7]National Geographic Society (M. Severy, Ed.), *The Age of Chivalry.* (Washington, DC: The Society, 1969).

[8]J. S. Brubacher, *A History of the Problems of Education.* (2nd Ed.). (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1966).

[9]*Ibid.,* 12-13.

[10]*Ibid.,* 13.

[11]E. F. Zeigler (Ed. & Au.), *History of Physical Education and Sport.* (Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1988).

[12]*Ibid.*, 296-297.

[13]D. B. Van Dalen, "The Idea of History of Physical Education During the Middle Ages and Renaissance," in *A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900*,

Ed. & Au. E. F. Zeigler (Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1973), 217.

[14]*Encyclopedia of Philosophy, The* (P. Edwards, Ed.). (NY: Macmillan & Free Press, 1967). (8 Vols.).

[15]E. F. Zeigler, *Ethics and Morality in Sport and Physical Education.* (Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1984), 14-21.

[16]H. M. Johnson, "The Relevance of the Theory of Action to Historians," *Social Science Quarterly*, No. 2 (1969): 46-58.

[17]*Ibid.*, 66, 75.

[18]L. Gautier, *Chivalry*. (London: Bracken, 1989). (This book was originally published as *La Chevalrie* in Paris in 1893.)

[19]*Ibid*, 2.

[20]*Ibid*, 7.

[21]*Ibid*.

[22]*Ibid.*, 24-75.

[23]*Ibid.*, 38.

[24]*Ibid.*, 60.

[25]*Ibid.*, 16.

[26]*Ibid.*, 76.

[27]J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages. (*Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956).

[28]*Ibid.*, 67.

[29]*Ibid.*

[30]*Ibid.*, 69.

[31]G. A. Dorsey, *Man's Own Show: Civilization.* (NY: Blue Ribbon, 1931), 576.

[32]H. J. Muller, *Freedom in the Western World.* (NY: Harper & Row, 1963), 47.

[33]*Ibid.*, 40.

[34]W. Durant, *The Age of Faith* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1950), 574

[35]*Ibid.*, 575.

[36]*Ibid.*

[37]J. S. Brubacher, *Modern Philosophies of Education.* (4th ed.). (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1969), 37.

[38]J. M. Carter, *Sports and Pastimes of the Middle Ages*. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America,1988), 11.

[39]B. W. Tuchman, *A Distant Mirror: The Calamitous 14th Century*. (NY: Alfred A.

Knopf, 1978), xv-xix.

[40]*Ibid.*, xix.

[41]*Ibid.*

[42]*Ibid.*, xix-xx.

[43]F. E. Leonard and G. B. Affleck, *The History of Physical Education.* (3rd ed.). (Philadelphia: Lea & Febiger, 1947), 37-40, 41-42.

[44]*Ibid.*, 39.

[45]*Ibid.*, 45.

[46]D. B. Van Dalen, E. D. Mitchell, and B. L. Bennett, *A World History of Physical Education.* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1953), 98.

[47]H. I. Marrou, *A History of Physical Education in Antiquity*. (G. Lamb, Tr.). (NY: New American Library, 1964), 185.

[48]R. B. Ballou, Jr., "An Analysis of the Writings of Selected Church Fathers to A.D. 394 to Reveal Attitudes Regarding Physical Activity," in *A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900*, Ed. & Au. E. F. Zeigler (Champaign, IL: Stipes), 162.

[49]N. J. Moolenijzer, "The Legacy of the Middle Ages," in *A History of Sport and Physical Education to 1900*, Ed. & Au. E. F. Zeigler (Champaign, IL: Stipes, 1973), 237.

[50]Durant 559.

[51]Van Dalen, Mitchell, and Bennett 95-132.

[52]*Ibid.*, 98.

[53]*Ibid.*, 101.

[54]*Ibid.*, 115.

[55]*Ibid.*, 107.

[56]E. H. Wilds, *The Foundations of Modern Education. (*NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938), 174.

[57]H. Smith, *Festivals, Games, and Amusements, Ancient and Modern.* (London: H. Colburn & R. Bentley, 1831), 114-115.

[58]J. M. Carter, "Sport in the Bayeux Tapestry," *Canadian Journal of Sport History*, XI, 1 (1980), 37-48.

[59]Smith 115.

[60]V. Olivova, "From the Arts of Chivalry to Gymnastics," *Canadian Journal of Sport History*, XII, 2 (1980), 29-55.

[61]*Ibid.*, 29-37.

[62]Durant 574.

[63]M. Bayles, *Professional Ethics.* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1981).

[64]Gautier; see Note 18.

[65]J. Dewey, *Human Nature and Conduct.* (NY: Modern Library, 1930). (Originally published in 1922).

[66]Additional bibliographical references are in the Appendix of this 2006 publication..

PART TWO
INTRODUCTION

THE LATER MIDDLE AGES
(AND EARLY MODERN PERIOD):
LIFE, EDUCATION, AND
SPORT & PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

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THE RENAISSANCE

The 14th. 15th, and early 16th centuries have become known as the Renaissance Period of the Middle Ages in Europe--and in world history, also. The word means "rebirth" in French. It did actually develop that way in the sense that the rebirth or "awakening" really took place--but not overnight. The roots of this development were indeed planned and nourished in the later Middle Ages. It now is evident, also, that they came to fruition rapidly in this period characterized by considerable intellectual and commercial advancement. A secularism that began to take hold in the latter years of the Middle Ages became a powerful and then dominating influence in this extremely interesting period of world history.

Social Institutions. During this period the political development of France and England may be contrasted with that of the German, Slavic, and Italian states of central, southern, and southern Europe. Through the employment of political monarchies, the growth of the former was characterized by strong, centralized political authority. This early advantage enable these countries to seek and obtain vast colonial empires. In France, for example, Philip IV (the Fair) achieved supremacy over both the nobles and the pope. Despite the long struggle with Edward I of England, known today as the Hundred Years' War (1337-1453), each king was able to consolidate his own realm. Thus, Louis XI in France found at the end of this taxing struggle that he could assess taxes directly upon the nobles and the middle class. This helped France to become a powerful force during this period. In England the speed of development within the political monarchy was perhaps even more rapid. Edward I was able to establish his own courts of law, and then these early feudal laws soon gave way to early English common law. During this

period the English parliament made rapid strides as well by forcing the king and various rulers to pay considerable attention to the legislative power of a group destined to serve the welfare of the middle and lower classes of the country.

The developments that took place in the German, Slavic, and Italian states, as part of what was called the Holy Roman Empire, can hardly be compared with that of France and England. The so-called "Empire" wasn't really an empire in the strict sense of the word. It was simply a collection of states controlled by family dynasties. The emperor was chosen by a "college of electors" composed of three church and four secular rulers and, understandably, the various coalitions and intrigues kept him relatively weak. The Germans, for example, sought to expand to the east in the 13th century, but were stalled by a coalition of other peoples. They regrouped through political maneuvering, however, and then Maximillian I, of the Austrian Hapsburgs, helped Emperor Charles the V to reach a position of great power in Europe. His power was subsequently weakened, however, by attacks from various directions, as well as from significant internal dissension created by the Lutheran Reformation in the 16th century. (This challenge to the Church, now known as The Reformation, will be discussed below.)

The fortunes of various other states rose and fell during the Renaissance. For example, Poland was quite powerful in the 15th century, while Sweden, Norway, and Denmark were united under the Danes for a period in the late 1400s. The Russian Slavs, after bitter struggles with the Tartars, laid the groundwork for modern Russia about 1400. The Ottoman Turks overran Constantinople in 1453 and toppled the Byzantine Empire when they also invaded Europe proper. Spain, also, became a powerful state in European affairs in the late 15th century.

During the Renaissance, Italy was a heterogeneous mixture of independent city-states. After these cities won their independence from the landed nobles, the rise of the mercantile class through the formation of guilds was quite rapid. In some cities where the nobles were able to retain their power (e.g., Milan and Naples), the merchants were relatively weak, and efforts at more democratic or republican governments made little headway. When France invaded these Italian city-states, they found political units that were very strong in only cultural and economic affairs. Also, the papacy had great political influence at the time, but this too eventually declined.

Concurrently all sorts of new commerce and trade developed on both land and sea. The middle classes were gaining more political power, especially in

England, France, and certain Italian city-states. There were also many peasants' revolts in all parts of Europe accompanied by a very high death rate caused by wanton killing, disease, and famine. Eventually the national churches obtained enough influence to bring about the wars of the Protestant Reformation (to be discussed below). A number of different questions were being asked. What rights did the State have in the struggle with the Church? Should the people have the right to determine their own regulations of governance? What rights does an individual have as over against the rights of the Church and the State? Do the people have the right to determine nature's moral order in relation to the religious moral code established by the Church? These questions, and more, were raised as avowed humanists gradually brought about a revival of classical learning during the period of the Renaissance.

Educational Institutions. A serious struggle for the control of education took place during the Renaissance. Further inroads were made into the monopoly that the Church had had in this sphere for a number of centuries. This occurred because an awareness developed steadily and increasingly that a strong relationship existed between political control and the control of education of the future leaders. The rise of a middle class occasioned largely through commercial growth meant that these citizens demanded better all-round education for their children. Such improved education, they believed, would assuredly promote their intellectual, business, and social advancement. In this way the foundation was gradually being laid for elementary and secondary schools that would later be part of national educational systems.

The efforts of the various secular authorities to play a greater part in the education of children and youth can be noted in many countries such as Italy, Germany, Scotland, and England. But the Church, understandably, did not relinquish its control readily, Students of history of education can appreciate how difficult it is to break with tradition--especially in this sphere of activity. As inroads were gradually made, however, community governments, kings and nobles, voluntary endowed foundations, and private teachers' guilds were determined not to be denied. While this struggle was going on, the relatively newly established universities sought to stay free from both secular and Church control. On occasion also, some rulers, such as Louis XI of France in the 15th century, issued decrees and had laws passed to regulate educational subject-matter.

Certain trends could be noted during this period that deserve mention. A visible democratization of education began to take place, although it didn't

characterize the entire educational effort by any means. Teachers, especially those at the upper levels, did gain increased status. Those who taught at the lower levels were not so fortunate, a distinction that has continued down to the present. The trend toward apprenticeship systems promoted by the guilds for children of the middle and lower classes was significant in the history of education as well.

Another significant advancement in the eyes of many was the restoration of the ideal that there should be a balance among the various aspects of the educational curriculum. The Renaissance world eventually realized that the world had indeed known a much better type of education at the height of the Greek and Roman civilizations. To glean the best from the literature of these cultures, however, meant that scholars had to comprehend purer Latin and a knowledge of Greek as well. Thus began a most diligent effort to regain these "fabled treasures," an enterprise that very soon gave Latin and Greek, the classics, a central place in a largely humanities curriculum. Interestingly, the growth of a leisure class at this point meant that there would be increased time for an increased number to benefit from such knowledge and skills. Also, the interests of many of these people were of this world, not of some intangible realm.

This new *humanistic* curriculum included intellectual, esthetic, moral, and physical-activity aspects. Humans were once again presented with the ideal of a well-balanced education that even included the etiquette of the former era. It must be noted, however, that there was a variety of emphases with this "new" approach. The esthetic aspects were stressed more in southern Europe, while moral education received greater attention in the north. Stylistic elegance counted for more in Italy than in Germany, educators in the latter instance stressed what they felt was a more "discriminating" mind.

One famous humanist school in Italy was led by Vittorino da Feltre at the court of the Duke of Mantua. The Dutch humanist, Erasmus, sought change from within the Catholic church and had a strong influence on European education after 1500. Although the humanistic ideal was eventually debased, it did have an enormous influence on the education of the elite during the Renaissance period. The classics became firmly entrenched in the school curriculum and had to be mastered prior to university education. Further, to a degree, the educational aim was broadened to the extent that preparation for service in life, whether as a nobleman, priest, merchant, or politician, received due emphasis.

Physical education, sport, and games. In retrospect, it was natural that learned

people during the Renaissance should begin to look back to the periods in history that were characterized by even roughly similar societies. The Church was still solidly entrenched, of course, and there was much enthusiasm for scholarship in the fields of law, theology, and medicine. Understandably this scholasticism with its emphasis on intellectual discipline found little if any room for physical education. Unorganized sports and games were the only activities of this nature in the cathedral schools and in the universities that had been established relatively recently.

In the late fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, however, when humanistic educators developed stressing the worth of the individual, once again the "physical side" of the person was considered. Most of the humanistic educators appreciated the earlier Greek ideal and emphasized the care and proper development of the body. Vittorino da Feltre set an example for others in his school at the court of the Prince of Mantua in northern Italy. One of his aims of Vittorino da Feltre (mentioned above) was to discipline the body so hardship might be endured with the least possible hazard. His pupils were some day to bear arms and had to know the art of warfare. Individual and group sports and games were included because of the recreative nature of such activity. Da Feltre believed that the ability of a youth to learn in the classroom depended to a considerable extent upon the physical condition of the individual, a belief for which there is some evidence today.

THE REFORMATION
& EARLY MODERN PERIOD:
A TIME OF TRANSITION

The period known as the Reformation is a fascinating one to study. Various social forces were at work, forces that often divided people's loyalties to great degrees. The Catholic church was being attacked from many quarters. Governments were centralizing their authority and becoming ever stronger. Mercantilism was reaching unheard-of heights. The varieties of humanism remained strong and wielded significant influence. Scholars, including scientists, were employing scientific method often shattering beliefs that had been held for centuries. It may be called "A Time of Transition."

Social Institutions. Most significant in the late 16th and the 17th centuries were the various alliances between kings and the rising business class against both the Catholic church and the nobles. The merchants and the bankers had the necessary money and supplied it in numerous instances to the kings to hire mercenaries

needed to fight wars. The split within the Church itself further weakened it, as did the plundering of the wealth it had amassed. Royal power was centralized most effectively in England, France, and Spain; Germany and Italy for various reasons did not enjoy comparable developments. The concept of universal Christendom propounded so vigorously earlier in the Middle Ages now seemed destined to failure. Thus, the power of the national states continued to grow, and soon the cultural phenomenon of nationalism was well on its way, It has since become a political forces of great magnitude that the world of the 21st century may have to outgrow before it destroys itself.

A concomitant of this struggle for power was an enormous rise in all types of commerce and trade. This development was especially notable in the countries fronting on the Atlantic Ocean, principally England, France, Spain, and Portugal, and the Netherlands a bit later in the 17th century. The "New World" to the west was opened up, and the major trade routes were no longer those in the Mediterranean. As a result the economy was changed at its very roots. Towns grew into cities, and inflation set in when the precious metals and materials from the New World were converted into hard money. In this way the foundations of early capitalistic society were laid based on the strength of commerce and banking. The various nations, therefore, had to pursue the acquisition of new colonies vigorously. They also had to regulate and encourage the interests of their business enterprises to maintain their newly found economic prosperity. Thus, the kings and merchants became ever stronger, while the Church and nobles--with all their land!--steadily became poorer and weaker. The end result was a completely altered class structure. The nobles became landed "country gentlemen" with much less influence, and the rural gentry with their large parcels of land became stronger because the city dwellers had to eat. Also, the merchants and bankers of the middle class became infinitely more wealthy, and hence much more powerful. Finally, the clergy, especially those of higher rank, still claimed great respect, but basically became much less powerful as their treasuries lessened and their holdings became smaller.

Then came the religious revolts against the Catholic church that developed gradually after the obscure friar, Martin Luther, posted 95 theses on the door of the castle church at Wittenberg in 1517. These radical views spread rapidly, not only throughout Germany but also extended into northern Europe. The Catholic church itself, however, did not pay significant attention to these challenges for several decades. Viewed superficially it might be thought that the religious attitudes of the people were changing, but this was not necessarily the case. In fact, this development could be classified as a type of "internecine warfare." It was simply the

case that many Protestants rejected the authority of the pope as the divine interpreter of God's word. They felt almost unanimously that it was the Bible that was God's instrument whereby He revealed His truth to humankind. If a man or woman "had the faith," so to speak, that person could be "saved" without involvement in the Catholic church's complex ritual. Also, many of these dissenters were discouraged by what they felt to be the increasing secularism of the Church.

Friar Martin Luther's name has been the one most closely associated with the Reformation. He stated the tenets of the "Protestant position," refused on several occasions to recant, and was promptly excommunicated by the pope. He then received "protective custody" from the elector of Saxony and continued his religious endeavors at the Wartburg Castle where he translated the New Testament into the current vernacular of the Germans. All of this took place in the third decade of the 16th century. The Protestant position of Lutheranism became identified with the civil authorities, and the struggle between church and state went on. It wasn't until 1555 at Augsburg that the states won the right to decide what religion their subjects would follow. It can't be said, however, that the terms of the peace treaty represented any great advancement for individual freedom. The Reformation notwithstanding,by law the rule of a specific state could then decide whether its subjects would be Catholic or Lutheran. During this period there were a number of uprisings among the peasants for various reasons including religion.

Equally significant developments were taking place in other countries. In Switzerland, Zwingli and Calvin led the forces of religious revolt. What was eventually called Calvinism was adjudged to be the sharpest break with the Catholic church. In Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, written in 1536, he placed great stress on retaining only those concepts for which the Bible gave authority. Actually John Calvin's theocracy restored the political supremacy of the church. If they wish to be saved, his religious subjects were forced to adopt his theory of predestination. Interestingly, they couldn't know whether God had predestined them to be saints or sinners either; so, there wasn't much choice but to live a life that be considered correct in His eyes. This movement developed great power gradually and spread from Switzerland to Germany, to France, to the Netherlands, to England and Scotland--and eventually to North America.

In passing, some mention should be made of the beginnings of the Reformation in England where John Wycliffe, from 1370 on, made strong attacks against orthodox Church doctrine. In the 16th century a succession of rulers, beginning with Henry the VIII, took turns at efforts to strengthen or weaken the

power of the Church. The Church of England, established in 1534, really did not make any significant doctrinal changes to the historical Roman Catholic effort, but later contested with the Calvinist Puritans on the subject of reform away from established Roman Catholicism.

Finally, in Germany, the devastating Thirty Years' War (1618 to 1648) broke out when the Bohemian Calvins strove to wrest themselves away from the control of the Catholic church. Before the struggle ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the Swedes. the Danes, and the French became embroiled as well. The end result was that the states all became sovereign and no longer subject to the Holy Roman Empire. It has become thought generally that the 1648 Treaty was extremely important in the final analysis, but that it also had a great deal to do with the nationalistic struggles waged in Europe ever since.

Although there is no doubt but that the Catholic church gradually became less of an influence during these centuries, the blows struck by the various reformers were not mortal. There was what can be called the Counter Reformation, and the Church certainly remained stronger than any other single religious group. Numerous reforms were made to correct a number of the abuses that tended to bring about the original Protestant Movement. The Inquisition and various council meetings helped to maintain the status of the traditional doctrines within the Church. Also, the establishment of a number of educational agencies was most effective. An example of such an agency was the Society of Jesus under Ignatius de Loyola.

It can be concluded that the religious influence on the Renaissance was great indeed. However, we cannot underestimate the subsequent influence of the nationalistic seeds that were being sown during this period of some two centuries. Nevertheless, despite the authority of religion and religious leaders--who functioned with the firm belief that their particular one was fixed and revealed truth--some of the very foundations of "established knowledge" were being established by a small group of brilliant individuals. Scientists such as Francis Bacon, Galileo, Kepler, Copernicus, and others were gradually altering rational humans' conception of themselves and their place in the universe. These early scientists were confronted, also, with the position taken by certain rulers that they too were endowed with certain knowledge and power from their Creator. Thus, these early scholars and scientists with their radical beliefs were being rebuffed on two fronts, the Church and the reigning political authority, Bruno, a 16th century Italian philosopher, was actually burned at the stake for supporting the views of Copernicus about the

nature of the universe.

Nevertheless, a type of materialism did develop that was in sharp contrast to the metaphysical positions held by both the Catholic and Protestant theologians. As happens often, a compromise develops between the two hostile positions. In this case the dualistic position postulated by Descartes represented a way to bring about reasonable compatibility. He theorized that the universe was actually composed of matter *and* mind, and that these two substances were separate and distinct. Theologians were quick to seize upon the concept of an independent mind as their domain, and matter was left for scientists to investigate almost at will. This type of dualism left the human divided in two, so to speak. As a result, educators--and especially physical educators!--have been plagued in their work ever since. Even today, when the unity of the organism is accepted by scientists, the remnants of this dualistic position still cause great difficulty for the educator attempting to function according to established scientific principle.

Educational Institutions. The various cultural influences in this period of turmoil affected the existing educational organizations greatly. Although a few educators saw the need for education to join forces with the prevailing social institutions to shape the world to come, it was the church, the state, the developing economic structure, and a growing scientific humanism that exerted the strongest influences. Somehow educators rarely seem to be in a position to take the lead on vital societal issues.

As might be expected, the religious wars wreaked great havoc on the educational system extant. However, although some progress was made during sporadic periods of peace, it wasn't until after 1648 that any new outline of educational organization emerged. Some efforts were made to extend educational opportunities downward, but the traditional class structure of Europe was so strong that the end result was merely to distinguish between one type of basic education and a vastly superior system of classically humanistic education for those who had the wealth and power to obtain it. Essentially, then, the educational reformers were presenting various theories about universal and democratic educational systems, but these theories were a long way from realization, Nevertheless, there was even some organized effort to educate girls and young women.

Most significant during the period of the Reformation was the increasing amount of civil control of education at a time when there was strife between the warring religious groups. In Germany, to cite an instance, the Protestant religious

leaders allied themselves with the Protestant heads of state. In this way the schools were transformed along with the churches. Civil codes for schools were developed that provided elementary education for all in the villages and towns. In Switzerland and and the Netherlands, where Calvinism prevailed, the Protestant church was even stronger and brought about free education including religious instruction for all. The situation in France differed because of the power of the Catholic church there. In this case, with the exception of the efforts of the Huguenots, the state asked the Church to organize compulsory education for all. Actually it was only at the university level that Louis the XIV superimposed any educational requirements. The Huguenots did win the right through the Edict of Nantes (1598) to conduct their own schools and received some financial support for this purpose.

In the British Isles, the Church of England retained its control over education, but difficulty arose because the Protestant rulers claimed they were the technical heads of the church and often acted accordingly. The Puritans attempted to establish a separate system of schools under the state, but their plans were thwarted by the "Restoration" of Charles II in 1660 to a weakened monarchy. Thus, it may be concluded that educational control continued to be vested with the church in France, Italy, England, and Spain despite intermittent efforts to place it under civil control. Greater civil control was achieved in those countries where the influence of Luther and Calvin was the greatest (notably Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands).

Certain other aspects of educational change may be noted during this period. The status of teachers was elevated to a degree because of improved professional preparation in some instances that resulted in early efforts at standardization and certification. With the greatly increased number of vernacular schools, as well as secondary schools, the illiteracy rate decreased markedly. The opportunity to develop personal libraries because of the availability of printed books represented a significant educational advancement for the wealthier classes especially. In this connection, especially with Protestants, the family was urged to play a greater role. Of course, the overarching influence of the church still dominated, but scientific and humanistic educational theory was gradually broadening and deepening educational aims. In summery, vernacular curricula were developing all over Europe; the classical curriculum prevailed generally for the preparation of future leaders; vocational training was introduced in many quarters for children of the poor; improved academies were started for upper-class children whose parents desired a more practical education for them; and the universities, by and large, retained their emphasis on theology and the classics.

Physical Training, Sport, and Leisure Occupations. During this period, called the "Early Modern Period" by some and a "Transitional Period" by others, there was a decline of liberal education. The schools lost their original aim and began the exclusive study of the languages of Greece and Rome while neglecting the other aspects of these civilizations. The importance of physical training for youth again declined, as preparation for life work was crowded out by preparation for university education. Thus, while the spirit of Italian humanistic education reached into Europe, the Greek ideal of physical culture was realized by only a relatively few individuals. Those involved with the Protestant Reformation did nothing to encourage physical education activities with the possible exception of Martin Luther himself, who evidently realized a need for the physical training of youths. Some educators rebelled against the narrow type of education that came into vogue, but they were the exception rather than the rule.

Rebels satirized the education of his time in his depiction of the poor results of the typical Latin grammar school graduate. His Gargantuan was a "dolt and blockhead," but subsequently became a worthwhile person when his education became more well-rounded. Michael de Minting, the great French essayist of the 16th century, believed the education of man should *not* be dichotomized into the mind-body approach. Other educators such as Locke, Mulcaster, and Comenius recognized the value of exercise and physical attainments. Some educational leaders in the seventeenth century stressed character development as the primary aim, but a number of them believed in the underlying need for health and physical fitness. John Locke, for example, even stressed the importance of recreation for youths. However, his ideas were far from being accepted as the ideal for all in this society characterized by a variety of social classes.

What followed--*not the subject of this book*--has been called "The Enlightenment" of 18th Century Europe.

> **Note:** Bibliographic data about this chapter's references
> may be found in the Appendix .

GYMNASTICS DURING THE RENAISSANCE
AS A PART OF
THE HUMANISTIC EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM

Ludwig H. Joseph (deceased)

THE REVIVAL OF CLASSIC GYMNASTICS

Classic gymnastics revived with the Renaissance and the rediscovery of Greek and Roman literature. With their increasing study, educational theory tried to achieve the aim of classical education: the man of vigor and wisdom. For this reason, the great teachers of humanism consciously introduced gymnastics into their educational programs.

Petrarch. Petrarch (1304-1374), the courageous fighter against the scholastic system, energetically took up educational matters. With his healthy everyday life, he himself have a fine example to youth. He despised city life with its weakening tendencies. Therefore, he left Avignon and retired to rural solitude (Vaucluse). There he took care of his garden as a counterpoise to intellectual work; he drank water instead of wine, and preferred coarse food. In his pamphlet, *Against a certain physician,* he expressed the idea of substituting a natural therapy such as exercise for medical remedies that poison the body.

Vittorino da Feltre. The first and perhaps the most significant teacher of the humanistic epoch, Vittorino da Feltre (Rambaldoni, ca. 1378-1446), made gymnastics obligatory in his educational program. Vittorino studies medicine in Padua from 1396 to 1420 under the direction of the famous Jacopo della Torre, who was highly esteemed as a teacher and well know as a severe examiner. Vittorino retained his interest in medicine, often visiting the sick poor, arranging for their medical treatment and paying for the necessary remedies. Besides studying medicine, he acquired an enormous general knowledge in science and mathematics,

as well as in philosophy. He was also able to read and to speak Latin and Greek fluently.

The turning point in the life of Vittorino came with his call by Gian Francesco II of Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua (1395-1444) to his court to educate the young princes. Vittorino considered the frivolous life of the court as well as city life in general unfit for a healthy physical and intellectual development. The Duke therefore placed at his [Vittorino's] disposal the "Casa giocasa," one of his villas, situated several miles from Mantua on a charming lake and provided with large playgrounds. Here he founded a famous institute not unlike our country colleges. Vittorino dedicated the rest of his life to this educational work.

In order to be constantly present, Vittorino did not marry and renounced every diversion. His disciple, Vespasiano di Bisticci, Vittorino as a short, meager man, full of optimism and humor. Although he never compromised his dignity, he admitted to his institute not only children of the nobility, but also those of the poorer classes, if they were especially talented. The parents of the latter did not pay. Before admission, there was an examination of the personal qualifications and the family history of the future student. The children entered the school at the age of four or five. Physical education preceded intellectual training, so that it was possible to recognize innate deficiencies at an early date.

In contrast to the uniformity of contemporary education, Vittorino attached great importance to individualization. At first, the children were tested for their capacity. Thus, he selected for each student a type of exercise especially suited for his body, his age, the season and the time of day. He was especially proud of the fact that he succeeded in changing the bodily constitution completely by means of special exercises in connection with dietetics. The second son of his protector, Gian Fresco II of Mantua, was obese, sleepy, inclined to gluttony, but through Vittorino's educational plan he became a slender, active, and vivacious youth. In general, the exercises employed were riding, fencing, swimming, and dancing under the direction of special teachers; moreover, [there were such activities as] wrestling, running, jumping, archery, throwing the discus, ball games, hunting and fishing, and mock battles between two parties. He distributed prizes for the best performances in order to create competition.

Fig. 6

THE REVERSE
of the da Feltre medal:
Inscription: Mathematicus Et Omnis
Humanitatis Pater Opus Pisani Pictoris.

THE FRONT
of Vittorino da Feltre Medal.
by Antonio Pisano (Pisanello),
(1395-1450) With the inscription:
Victorinus S. Feltrensis Summus

Fig. 7 (a & b)

**Facade of an educational institution,
from the Tract of Architecture.
Manuscript, 16th Century.
Biblioteca Nazionale Firenze**

(Below is the refectory of the educational institute)
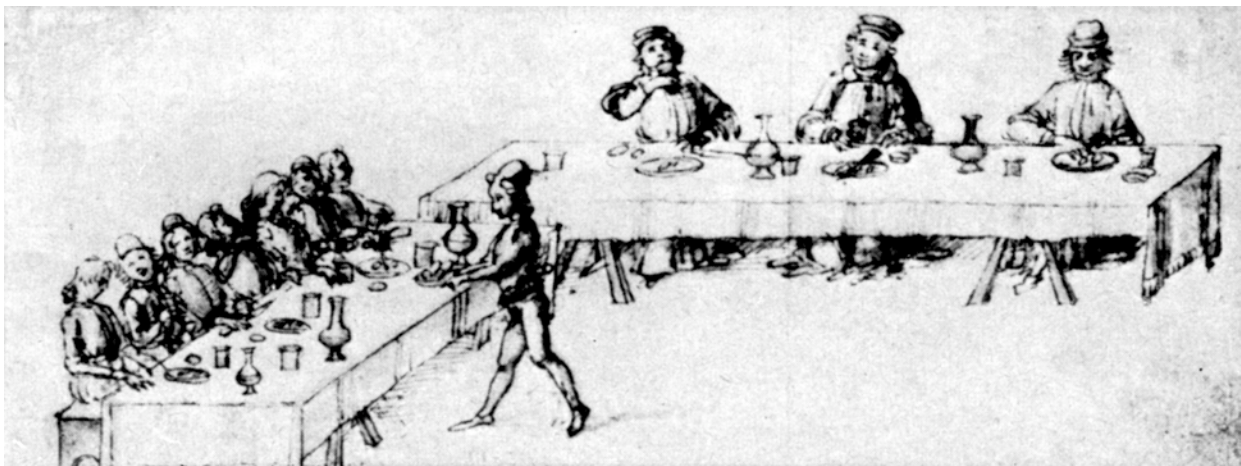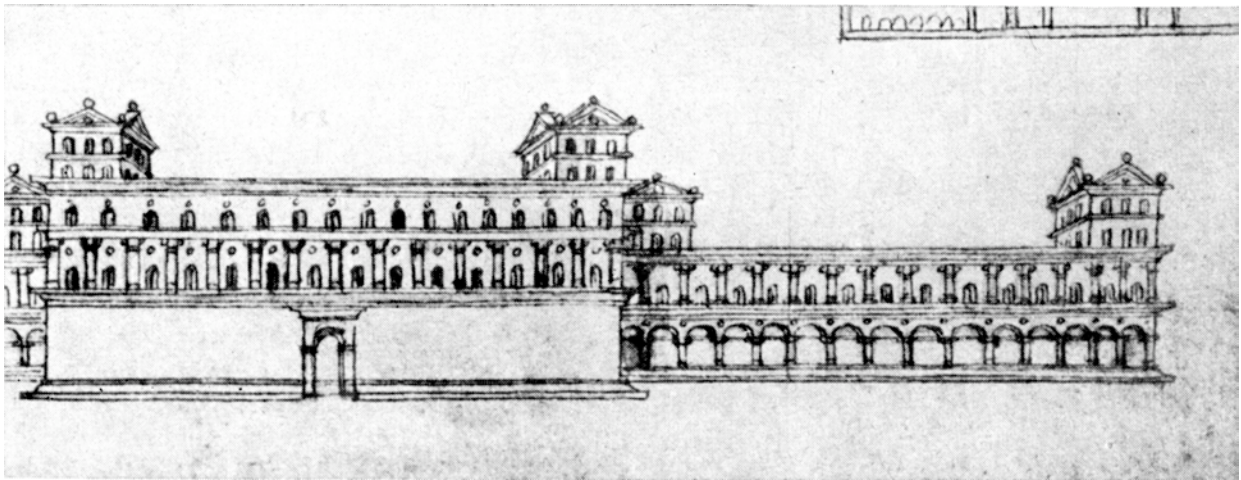
All the games were played out-of-doors both in summer and winter. He rejected excessively heavy clothes and sitting by the fire during the winter months as weakening the body. Vittorino considered this to be the origin of various diseases of the eyes, the lungs, and the skin. Also during the winter the young man had to be outdoors the major part of the day. But the body also had to be accustomed to heat "as coldness and heat are equal gifts of mother earth." Vittorino based the necessity of hardening the body and accustoming it to a simple form of living on the philosophical opinion "that nobody could foresee how and where he would be obliged to live."

Vittorino left no writings, his school decayed soon after his death, but his doctrine changed completely the spirit of all later education. This doctrine had the purpose of bringing to the highest perfection the three essential elements of man: body, mind, and soul. The introduction of gymnastics into the educational program was not a matter of secondary importance or even a casual hobby; it was considered by Vittorino an indispensable preliminary condition for educational success. Therefore, gymnastics became an obligatory principal subject. Furthermore, the revival of gymnastics was considered an integral part of the Renaissance of classic culture, because in Antiquity physical and intellectual education had been indissolubly linked.

OTHER NOTABLE CONTRIBUTORS

A great number of humanistic educators appeared within a brief period. The most important of these were Apneas Sylvius (Piccolomini) (1404-1464), Maffeus Vegius (1407-1458), Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), and Petrus Paulus Vergerius (1370-1444) Other contributors in this age were Philelphus (1398-14-85), (1405-1475), Actuarius (14th Century), and Gazio (1450-1530). The theory of physical education became more and more important. Its sphere of activity was considerably expanded by these humanistic pedagogues, taking in the period of infancy and even the prenatal period through special educational influences on the expectant mother.

Apneas Sylvius (Piccolomini). The highly educated humanistic scientist and writer, Cardinal Apneas Sylvius Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II (1404-1464), thoroughly expressed his opinion on physical education in his work *The education of children* which was dedicated to King Ladislaus of Bohemia and Hungary. The special background out of which this developed was an attempt to raise a crusade

against the Turks for the salvation of the Holy Land. This attempt failed and the disappointment led Piccolomini, in his book, to inveigh against the decay of physical training which ought to precede spiritual education. "An effeminate education, called indulgence, breaks the nerves of the spirit of the body." He objects to every kind of effeminacy, including the use of silk garments, though he wants young people to be careful of their clothes and appearance. Alcoholic drinks are strictly prohibited. For hardening purposes he recommends life in the country from time to time, physical work in the open air and plain food. Characteristically for the Renaissance, he refers to a classical educator, Virgil. Like him, he considers hunting a sport especially suitable for physical education, since it is connected with a considerable number of exercises, such as riding, climbing, swimming, shooting with the bow, and hurling the spear, as well as hardening against the effects of the weather. It is interesting, that he mentions in his work Magister Joannes Kinderbach as the inventor of the exercise of throwing a wooden spear, which he calls a part of German gymnastics.

Maffeus Vegius. Maffeus Vegius (1407-1458), the secretary of Pope Eugene IV, in his book, *The education of children and their good habits*, expressly dedicated a chapter to the behavior of parents before and after the birth of a child with regard to the maintenance of its good health. He distinguished strictly two sorts of exercises: those which serve as recreation from intellectual work, and those whose purpose is the strengthening of the body. The former should be of a lighter nature; the others, including military exercises, require greater efforts. He understood particularly well the troubles of young men during the period of puberty. He wished to avoid heavy athletics, suggested moderation in all actions, and rejected exaggerated exercises, as well as extravagance in clothing or vehemence in speaking.

One of the most amusing documents of this kind is a book by Francesco Barbaro (1395-1440), a Venetian nobleman, which he dedicated to Lorenzo Medici the Magnificent, and which is entitled Prudent and important documents for the choice of a wife. He considered not only the spiritual but also the physical condition of both parents as highly important and therefore recommended physical exercise for young women too. Here we may add that Vittorino da Feltre gave advice to young couples before marriage so as to ensure intellectually orieneted as well as physically healthy descendants.

In order to develop in the baby a healthy and strong body, medical writers such as Pace di Castaldo and a high clerical dignitary, Cardinal Sadoletus (1477-1547), advocated breast-feeding by the mother herself and rejected feeding by wet

nurses or milk of animals.

Parents were also interested in play for their children so as to attain a healthy development of the body. An illustration in the *Regimen of health for young children* (1473), by the Germans Bartholomeus Metlinger and Heinrich von Louffenburg shows us a child riding on a kind of kiddie-car. (See p. 103 below).

Leon Battista Alberti. The famous Renaissance architect, Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), in his educational work, *Of the family*, calls special attention to physical exercise as of the highest importance even in early infancy. The muscles are strengthened, the nerves become accustomed to strain, the blood circulates more quickly, in short, the whole physical being becomes more lively. With increasing age, exercise becomes of still greater importance. Matteo Palmieri (1406-1475) also recommends a strict and careful physical education for young men. Games and lighter gymnastics are not sufficient. Tournaments, hunting, even of big game--at this time there were still many bears in the forests--and particularly mountain-climbing are useful for strengthening the body.

How seriously even the artists took the problem of education is proved by Chapter 17 of the *Tract on architecture* by Filarete (1400-1465), the architect of the General Hospital of Milan. He proposed to the Duke of Milan the construction of a luxurious educational establishment, which unfortunately was never executed. He planned it as a richly endowed charity institution for all social classes with opportunities for studying law, medicine, and other subjects. Children were to be allowed to enter this boarding-school at the age of 6 years; the upper age limit was to be 24. A special section for girls was planned as an annex. Grounds for games and gymnastics were provided, and a sound distribution of intellectual and physical work was to be established.

Fig. 8

Mother with a child in a kiddie-car
From B. Metlinger, *Regiment für die jungen Kinder*
Frankfurt, a.M., 1549

Generally, the educational writings of the humanistic teachers did not originate as spontaneous or independent essays. They were written in the form of letters or short reports at the request of princes for the education of their own children. So, the *Instruction of good living*, of Philelphus, a peripatetic teacher, is written under the influence and by the order of Mathias Treviranus and the Duchess Maria Bonna of Milan for the education of Duke Philibert of Savoy. This book was supposed to be the basis of the Duke's upbringing. His military education was based entirely on that of the pages of the Middle Ages. The author inserts in the daily plan of studies two hours for gymnastics and games. Besides running and softball, football "à la Florentina" (Calcio) is recommended, the latter a game which was already very popular.

Petrus Paulus Vergerius. Petrus Paulus Vergerius (1370-1444), the Elder, was a famous "Polyhistor," master of philosophy, law, and medicine of various universities, and a member of the court of Emperor Sigismund in Vienna. He dedicated his tract, *Customs and study of youth* (Rome, 1471), to Umberto of Carrara for the education and training of his sons. He, too, asserts that intellectual studies are successful only if they alternate with physical exercises, including pre-military training.

Even conservative medical tendencies could not entirely avoid the new educational hygiene. A century earlier, Tommaso del Garbo, in his *Tract against pestilence*, published soon after the first outbreaks of the pestilence of 1348, had recommended daily exercises with open windows or even in the open air. In his work, *The physician or the art of healing*, Joannes Actuarius (14th century), a Greek physician, considered the therapeutic aim of gymnastics to be the stimulation of the body and not that of driving it to exhaustion. He therefore preferred easier exercises such as running, throwing the discus, hurling the spear, and as the severest exercise allows only boxing, which, oddly enough, is supposed to be favorable to digestion. People, who for special reasons do not move about much, must satisfy themselves with the lightest exercises such as walking, bathing, and riding. The work of Antonius Gazius (1450-1530) extended into the 16th century. But he, too, looked upon gymnastics as did *Regimen sanitatis salernitanum*, as something passive, related to massage and a digestive help. He refers to Hippocrates, Galen, and Avicenna, especially in recommending massage for general stimulation and opening the pores of the skin. In this way, "gymnastics preserves health and produces long life" by removing the troubles of the digestive tract.

Here, in the company of humanistic teachers, we may mention the great Spanish educator, Juan Luis Vives (1491-1540). His educational writings, under the influence of the Protestant theologian, Huldreich Zwingli (1484-1531), were of great authority in the following centuries. In the fourth book of his work, *On instruction and on Christian education*, Vives stressed exercise as indispensable for young students. He proposed long rapid walks, running, jumping, throwing the discus. But he emphasized expressly that all exercises must be executed not in a military but rather in an educational manner. They are not to be carried on to such a degree as to produce intellectual fatigue; on the contrary, they should refresh the young men and stimulate to new intellectual power.

SUMMARY STATEMENT

Generally, it is characteristic of the position of medicine during the Renaissance, that it did little to advance gymnastics, recommending only the lightest exercise. On the other hand, the humanistic teachers were deeply convinced that the physical education of youth had an important share in the progress and establishment of *public health*. And, as a matter of fact, only those with strong bodies, well trained in their youth, were able to accomplish the immense achievements, always associated with tremendous physical effort, of the greatest artists of the Renaissance.

Fig. 9

**A football game on the square of Santa Maria Novella
Fresco by Giovanni Stradano (Jan van der Straet, 1536-1605)
in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence. Sala di Gualdrada**

Fig. 10

**"Inanzi" (Forwards) tackling a "Sconiatore" (Sides)
from W.B. Heard, "Medieval Football."**
***Badminton Magazine*, Vol. 14/1902**

Fig. 11

**The "Pallaio" about to start the football game
(from W.B. Heard)**

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PART TWO
SELECTION 2

PHYSICAL EDUCATION
IN RENAISSANCE ITALY AND TUDOR ENGLAND

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INTRODUCTION

In 1396 Chrysoloras was appointed Professor of Greek at the University of Florence. At the end of the fourteenth century Greek was almost an unknown language in Italy. Vergerius, writing at the time, was complaining that,

> it is hard that no slight portion of the history of Rome is only to be known through the labours of one writing in the Greek language; it is still worse that this same noble tongue once well nigh the daily speech of our race, as familiar as the Latin language itself, is on the point of perishing even amongst its own sons, and to us Italians is already utterly lost unless we accept one or two in out time are tardily trying to rescue something--if it only be a mere echo of it--from oblivion (Vergerius in Woodward, 1897, p. 106).

The appointment of Chrysoloras as professor of Greek at Florence was significant of a new interest in the language, literature and life of classical Greece, which in turn led to a new appreciation of the practice and theory of physical education in the Greek City State.

The preceding centuries had not been barren of knowledge of Greek life and thought. If the Greek language was not widely known, yet the works of many Greek

authors had been available in Latin translations. The revival of Roman Law in the 12th century was succeeded by an Aristotelian renaissance in the thirteenth, The views of Aristotle cannot have been unknown in the monasteries, schools, and universities of the 12th, 13th, or 14th centuries. Plato's philosophy was also known at second hand (Young in Hunt *et al.*, 1948, p. 249). Some of the ancient theories upon the cult of the body were undoubtedly rejected and others were adapted to the monastic and ascetic life. What was new in the 15th century was not the actual study of the classics but rather the attitude and approach of "humanists" to them.

Nor were the Middle Ages devoid of culture. The tournament, which by the 15th century had become stylized and decorative, in earlier centuries was a war-game between teams. Young has shown that in the 13th century, the tournament, in spite of opposition from the Church, had a real function to perform--training for war (Young in Hunt, *et al.*, 1948, p. 249). The ideals of knighthood certainly embraced an ideal of physical prowess manifested particularly in skills at arms, and just as in later centuries the exercise of physical prowess was governed by an ideal of behaviour, "gratia" in 15th century Italy and "sportsmanship" in 19th century England; so, in the 14th century physical prowess was associated with "loyauté" and its attendant qualities of "largesse," "franchise" and "cortaysie" (Gervase in Hunt *et al.*, 1948, pp. 358-360). Indeed the doctrine of "courtesy" which was developed in the courts of Italian princes in the 15th and 16th centuries owed much to the Age of Chivalry.

In the 15th-century Italy, the Age of Chivalry was passing away. The new interest in antiquity, characterized by the appointment of a professor of Greek at Florence, was itself dependent on changing social and economic conditions. Throughout Europe the Renaissance was preceded by an urban development; the burghers of the towns had steadily increased in wealth and political power. In 1265 in England, Simon de Montfort had summoned two citizens from every borough to sit beside two knights from every county together with the barons and the ecclesiastics in parliament at Westminster; but, whereas in France and Spain and England the towns were incorporated in a unified monarchy, in Italy a different situation had arisen. In that country there was a multitude of political units, republics and despotisms, whose existence depended solely on their power to maintain it. As in Greece in the 5th-century B.C., so in Italy of the 14th and 15th centuries A.D., the states had different constitutions and different political forms: Florence and Venice were republics; Milan, Mantua, and Ferrerra were despotisms. Nevertheless, the vitality of all states depended on the the growth of an economy based on money, the possibility of amassing great wealth, and the

existence of a class of "property and intellect."

In this situation the worth of an individual as distinct from the rank to which he had been born, tended to count for more than it previously had done. Apneas Sylvius wrote in the 15th century that, "In our change-loving Italy, where nothing stands firm, and where no ancient dynasty exists, a servant can easily become king." The old order of States was superseded, but the passing of the old nobility did not leave a vacuum. A new privileged class emerged, deriving its power from wealth and business ability.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN ITALY
FOR THE "NEW" NOBILITY

As the new nobility emerged, the idea that gentility depended solely upon birth was forced to give ground and, during the 15th century and later, treatises were written which tried to reconcile the idea of a gentleman and of gentle birth with the claims of the new aristocracy (Reed in Prestage, 1928, Chapter IX).

Characteristic of the new social organization was a new conception of physical education and physical virtuosity. but it was a conception of virtuosity for the privileged ruling class. Just as in Athens physical education was exclusive of slaves, of women, and even of some of the male citizen body, so in the Italian city state it was in the education of the nobility that a new conception of physical education took shape.

Tournaments. At first the new nobility sought prestige by associating itself with the practices of the old nobility. Tournaments, now formalized, continued to be popular.

> It was in vain that from the time of Petrarch downwards the tournament was denounced as dangerous folly. No one was converted by the pathetic appeal of the poets. 'In what book do we read that Scipio or Caesar were skilled at the joust?' The practice became more and more popular in Florence. Every honest citizen came to consider the tournament--now no doubt less dangerous than formerly--as a fashionable sport . . . It may be mentioned that a passionate interest in this sport was displayed by the Medici, as if they wished to show, private

citizens as they were, without noble blood in their veins, that the society which surrounded them was in no respect inferior to a Court (Burckhardt, 1945).

Calcio. Other opportunities for physical virtuosity were provided by the game of Calcio. This was a highly organized form of football which was popular in the Italian states ofd the 15th century, and it appears to have been socially exclusive. An account of the game as played at Florence included the following regulation:

> Moreover, even as every kind of man was not admitted to the Olympic Games, but only men of standing in their native cities and kingdoms, so, in the Calcio, all kinds of rapscallions are not to be tolerated, neither artificers, servants nor low-born fellows, but honorable soldiers, gentlemen, lords and princes (Bardi, in Heywood, 1904, p. 165).

(Ed. Note: See page 106-108.)

This is a foretaste of the distinction between "gentlemen" and "players," and of the 19th century British definition of an amateur in rowing and athletics as one who is not, among other things, "by trade and employment a mechanic, artisan, or labourer." In Florence and other Italian states virtuosity at football was confined to the new nobility of soldiers, gentlemen, lords and princes.

Presence of a Social Distinction. It was not only in Florentine football that a social distinction was to be found; it was also exhibited in the general pattern of physical recreation. Educational writers of the time in general agreed that some physical activities were worthy of pursuit by the aristocracy and that others were not. They by no means always agreed which particular activities should be eschewed, One would have excluded the "tourney" from physical education on the grounds that it was merely ostentatious. Another maintained that "tumbling" and gymnastic tricks were unworthy of pursuit and should be left to the professional entertainers; yet, "Civettino," a handy pandy game, was played in the streets of Florence by young men of birth and manners. A third writer thought that dancing should not be indulged in. Nevertheless the principle of distinguishing between acceptable and unacceptable physical accomplishments was generally upheld.

Appearance of the New Humanistic Conception of Physical Education. It was among

the aristocracy and at the Courts of the Italian Princes rather than at the universities that the new humanistic conception of education in general and physical education in particular grew up. Many of the educational tracts of the time were written in the form of letters to princes. Apneas Sylvius, for example, wrote *De Liberorum Educatione* for Ladislas, King of Bohemia and Hungary. Such works contained constant reference to what was necessary for the training of a prince or a courtier. In 1528 Castiglione published *Il Cortegiano*, which was translated into many languages and became a textbook for the education of the aristocracy in Europe. Vittorino da Feltre, one of the most prominent of humanistic educators, taught for some years at Padua University and suffered under a sense of frustration there. It was not until he accepted, in 1423, an invitation from the Marquis Gonzaga to go to his court at Mantua that he was able to develop his own scheme of education, a scheme in which physical education figured prominently. It is, indeed, to these Courts that we have to look for the development of physical education. In Mantua and in the courts of other Italian states, wealthy rulers like the Gonzaga family and apostles of the New Learning like Vittorino, developed the education of "L'uomo universale"--the whole man, the all-sided man. It was there that "humanism" developed. In this humanist conception of education, physical education held an important place.

   Continuing Need for Proficiency at Arms. At first the ideal of physical development was little more than the projection into a new social order of the old conception of a knight at arms. At a time when inter-state feuds were frequent and violent, and when power passed into the hands of those who could seize it by whatever means they had at their disposal, the need for personal ability in the arts of war was obvious. P.P. Vergerius, called by Woodward (1906), "the true founder of the new education," writing about the year 1404, apparently recognized little other purpose for physical education than to serve military needs.,

> so that if we be involved in arms we may be found ready to defend our rights or to strike a blow for honour or power. Especially must the education of a Prince accord a high place to instruction in the art of war, not less than to the training in the arts of peace (Vergerius in Woodward, 1897, p. 103, et ff.*).*

Vergerius took Sparta as his model. He recognized that the means of fighting war had changed, and that training had to be adapted to the warfare of his own day in which calvary played an important part. Nevertheless, war still involved physical endurance as well as skill and tactics and *manoeuvre* and therefore boys should be

gradually inured to privations and grave exertions so that they might be able to bear strain and hardship when they became men. It was for military efficiency that Vergerius would have boys learn the Greek pentathlon: swimming, horsemanship, use of the shield, spear, sword, and club. Apneas Sylvius (Apneas in Woodward, 1897, p. 138) too, maintained that children should be taught to use the bow, the sling, and the spear--and also to drive, to ride, to leap, and to swim, because it would be their destiny to defend Christendom against the Turk.

Vives' Plea for Peace among Christians. Military necessity has been pleaded in support of physical education in many countries and in many eras, and especially in times of turbulence and war. One Renaissance scholar, J. L. Vives, resisted this argument strongly. Vives, born in Spain in 1492 and educated in France, at one time was University Reader in Humanity at Oxford. He was deeply moved by the violence of his time and wrote a pamphlet titled "*De Concordia et Disconcordia in Humano Genare*" that was a plea for universal peace among Christians. His fervent desire for peace influenced his whole educational theory. Realizing that many games and sports could be used for military training, he denied this function to physical education. Games, he said, must not be used to make boys wild and ferocious; their aim should be to promote the growth of the body. However, in arguing that the function of physical education should not be to equip Christians to fight each other, Vives has evidently not commanded much support.

Waning Importance of Military Training. In Italy in the 15th and 16th centuries, the importance attached to the military training of the aristocracy from state to state and also from time to time. At Urbino military distinction was a necessity and therefore held in high esteem. At Venice, on the other hand, it was naval service that was held as most important. Yet even naval service was subordinate in esteem to civic and diplomatic ability. Finally, at Florence skill in arms was rated less highly than the techniques of finance, commerce, and political organization. Moreover, as time went on, the discovery of gunpowder, the use of artillery, the application of engineering to warfare, and the employment of mercenary troops reduced the importance of physical endurance of the Spartan pattern for the aristocracy (Oman, 1924. Vol. II, p. 291). The power of money and technical knowledge were found to contribute more to the successful prosecution of war than skill with the bow and spear or the ability to stand up to grave exertion.

Castiglione, whose book *The Courier* was published over 100 years after Vergerius' *De Ingenibus Moribus,* did not attach nearly so much importance to military training. He still rated it highly, and this is not surprising since he himself

accompanied the Marquis of Mantua in a war against the Spaniards for the Kingdom of Naples. Nevertheless his book shows signs of the decline in importance of proficiency in arms when he stated, "Now the French set a wrong standard in their choice of the interests of the Courtier. They have a mean opinion of all qualifications but that of arms." Castiglione also recounts a conversation between a pseudo-courtier and a gentlewoman in which she invited him to dance. He refused to dance and to hear music and other entertainment "always affirming such trifles not to be in his profession."

> What then is your profession?" "To fight." Then said the gentlewoman, "Seeing you are not now at war nor in place to fight I would think it best for you to be well besmeared and set up in an armory till time that you should be occupied, lest you wax more rustier than you are" (Castiglione in Hoby, 1944, p. 37).

It is true that the courtier must be possessed of skill in arms, but he was not to be a professed soldier, for a fighting career was a very limited one. He would on the other hand devote himself to nonmilitary sports and exercises. It was in fact the existence of professional soldiers that helped to make it possible for the aristocracy to develop their physical virtuosity in nonmilitary ways.

At first, physical education, apart from its military value, was allowed a place in total education chiefly as a means of relaxation "because we are not so constituted that we are able to bestow ourselves all day long upon our ordered tasks" (Vergerius in Woodward, 1897, p. 116). It was soon realized that physical education could also make a positive contribution to the development of the whole man. It was realized that physical skills could be used to express the personality and could add to the dignity of those who possessed them. Much of the credit for developing these ideas in theory and practice must go to two practising schoolmasters, Guarino da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre.

Guarino da Verona. Guarino was invited by the Marquis Nicolo d"Este to Ferrara in 1429 as tutor to his heir Leonello. He remained as tutor until 1435. He then founded a school which later became a full university. Military training bulked large in the curriculum devised for Leonello. As well as specifically military exercises, riding, hunting, and even snowballing were taught for their value in warfare, but the inclusion of swimming and ball games had a different justification. Swimming was both healthy and useful in saving one's life, but it also provided for

the aesthetic enjoyment of the gleam of light upon the blue water, of the green banks of the stream, and of the brilliance of the sky (Woodward, 1906, p, 37). Dancing was commended by Guarino as an aid to grace of carriage, but this view was a long way from that of Vergerius who maintained "whilst to watch dancing girls, or to dance ourselves to music is altogether unworthy; though some may defend the latter as a form of exercise in spite of its tendency to lasciviousness and vain conceit" (Vergerius in Woodward, 1897, p. 117). However, he did admit that dancing might have a use as training, and as a means to an end, if not worthy of pursuit for its own sake.

Vittorino da Feltre.. Vittorino da Feltre was the contemporary and friend of Guarino and his career was somewhat similar. Vittorino went as family tutor to the Marquis of Mantua. He was placed in charged of the education of Gonzaga's children, four boys and one girl, together with the sons of Mantuan nobles and of his own friends. Not all were wealthy, but Vittorino was allowed by Gonzaga to educate the poor at the expense of the rich. The inclusion of a girl and of poor scholars in Vittorino's school necessitated, or perhaps was the result of, a liberal view of education. A purely military conception of physical education was clearly out of place and in fact military education played little part in the scheme.

Vittorino believed that the highest level of humanist culture could only be attained if the full personality were developed along three channels, mental, physical and spiritual. To a large extent Vittorino's scheme for the physical development of his pupils reflected his own personality and way of life. Slight and frail of build, he had yet subjected himself to a rigorous self-discipline and to strenuous activity to develop his physical endurance. He thus became careless of cold and believed that artificial heat was the source of many "humours." He prescribed for his pupils a vigorous outdoor life and regular daily exercise in all weathers. In the hot weather he took them to Lake Garda or the Alps for a simple open-air life in order to induce habits of hardiness and the ability to bear fatigue.

Stamina may have been the primary objective of physical education, but skill was not overlooked, and Vittorino gave special attention to ball games, jumping activities, and fencing. He regarded games and sports too as a sound corrective to self-indulgence, effeminacy, and unsociability. Thus it was evident that he recognized the part that physical education could play in developing socially valuable qualities and in training "character." It is not without interest that by taking part himself in physical activities with his pupils he established a new relationship between pupils and teacher.

The view that the whole man had a physical side to develop, as well as a mental and spiritual side gained ground steadily among the new nobility in Italy. Moreover, physical education was thought to embrace not merely the teaching of certain accomplishments. Everything that a nobleman did, whether intellectual or physical, must be done with ease, even with disdain (*sprezzatura*). He must be better than other men, but on no account must he vaunt or display his excellence. We have already noticed that Alberti advised against the "tourney" because of its ostentation; public performance of any skill was decried for the same reason. In dancing, movements which were merely spectacular were to be avoided. It was for the dancing master, not for the educated man "to jump in the air and make lightnings with his feet."

Palmieri and Natural Grace. Ease and grace of movement were required in everyday activities as well as in games and sports, for every human activity was thought of as a means of expressing the personality. The contribution of physical education to the development of the whole man was not therefore confined to the teaching of specific social accomplishments. No writer was more emphatic on this than Matteo Palmieri,

> Every motion or attribute of the body which is out of harmony with the grace and freedom of natural activity must be avoided. . . . Think how much is revealed through the hands; they help our expression; they are a language in themselves. . . . And right training should imply always that the hands be used with grace conforming to our intention (Palmieri in Woodward, 1906, p. 247).

Castiglione's Conception of the Courtier. The education of the whole man became formulated in the doctrine of "courtesy" and found its most complete expression in the work of Castiglione. *Il Cortegiano* was widely read both in Italy and throughout Europe. The conception of the courtier portrayed therein is an ideal one and was recognized as such by the author. It nevertheless provided a model for the education of the ruling class wherever social, political, and economic conditions in Europe permitted. Castiglione considered the physical education of the courtier very important, and he expressed most of the ideas which had been put forward already by other humanist educators during the 15th century. The courtier was to undergo military training and also training in activities which were "not directly dependent

on arms but akin to them, such as hunting, swimming, leaping, running and casting the stone." The distinction was made between worthy pursuits such as "tenyse" and "vautyng," which he said was painful and hard but made a man lighter and quicker than anything else, and unworthy pursuits such as tumbling and rope climbing which were fit only for jugglers. The courtier too was to be better than other men at his skills, but must not be ostentatious. Also, gracefulness must mark every activity in which he indulged. Castiglione even required his courtier to have certain physical qualities which could not be produced by training (e.g., medium stature). Tall men, he thought, were of a dull wit and inept at those exercises of nimbleness which he desired his courtier to have.

Women, too, were to share in the physical education of the courtier. They were not to join in hunting parties, but they would enjoy riding, and they would learn dancing which would enhance their carriage. As for games of skill, women would not apparently take part, but they should watch so that they might understand them, judge skill, and converse intelligently about them.

Castiglione's book and other educational works of the 15th and 16th centuries show that physical education of the privileged and ruling class was both accepted and systematized and that much of its inspiration, if little of its programme of activities, were derived from ancient Rome and the city states of classical Greece.

Some Acceptance by The Church. Although the development of humanist education in Italy was primarily the work of laymen, two books written by cardinals of the Church in the 16th century show the extent to which humanist views of physical education were accepted by some leaders of the counter-reformation. Cardinal Sadoleto wrote *De Liberte Recte Instituendis* in 1530, two years after the publication of *Il Cortegiano*. Although he rejected the narrow asceticism of the Middle Ages, he did not favour the development of specialized skills and physical accomplishments so much as the spontaneous, energetic, and open-air exercise to be had in running, riding, javelin throwing and ball play. Cardinal Antoniano, in *Dell' Educatione Christiana del Figliuoli* published in 1584, advocated physical recreation for young and old, and argued that games could be used to train grace of body as well as qualities of character. There are, however, traces of an ascetic outlook, most noticeable in his absolute condemnation of dancing.

Medical Gymnastics. It is not yet possible to leave the study of physical education in Italy during the Renaissance. The revival of learning led to a renewed

interest in the original Greek and Roman sources of medical theory and practice, particularly the works of Galen. Among these, few received greater attention than the six books titled De *Sanitate Tuenda* in which Galen has discussed the contribution of exercise to health and had classified particular activities and exercises by their effects upon the body. This was the first of Galen's works to be translated by Linacre from Greek into Latin. His translation dedicated to Henry VIII was published in Paris in 1517.

Cardano's Recognition of Galen's Work. Indeed, during the latter part of the 16th century, at least 12 books were published on medical gymnastics (Cyriax, 1909). Two of these, by Italian doctors, deserve special mention because they ran into several editions and undoubtedly had an influence upon therapeutic physical education throughout Europe. The first was written by Girolamo Cardano (1501-1575) and bore the same title as the translation of Galen's work, *De Sanitate Tuenda*. In fact, Cardano owed more than the title to Galen. His treatment of the hygiene of exercise and the classification of exercises into violent or light, rapid and slow, continuous and interrupted, and the particular effects of special forms were closely modeled upon his ancient authority.

The Contribution of Hieronymus Mercurialis. The second work was by Hieronymus Mercurialis entitled *De Arte Gymnastica* and included six books. Mercurialis was known throughout Europe as an authority on medicine and editions of his work on gymnastics (first published in 1569) continued to appear at intervals during the next hundred years. While Mercurialis drew extensively upon Galen, the marginal references throughout the work show an extraordinarily wide range of reading--the third edition contained a list of 105 Greek and Latin authors whose work he had consulted. The first three books of this work were in the main descriptive of gymnasia and gymnasts and various games, sports, and exercises both ancient and contemporary. Book four contained a general discussion of the physiological value of exercise and a refutation of the arguments against the health value of exercise, while books five and six dealt in detail with the particular effects of dancing, of ball games, of swimming, and of erect standing and other physical activities. Precise recommendations were made by the author. Exercises were not only prescribed for those suffering from general or particular disability, but they were even prescribed for pathological conditions such as stones in the kidneys and varicose veins. More often, however, the suggestions for such cases specified the exercises that should not be taken rather than those that should. According to the title page, the work was intended for others beside physicians, and there is no doubt that this intention was fulfilled.

Vittorino da Feltre and Therapeutic Physical Education. By the time this work was published, many of the humanist educators had already noted in general terms the therapeutic value of physical education. Vittorino da Feltre at Mantua devised special exercises for Allessandro, the delicate child of the Gonzaga family, when he was ill, and many general educational works stated that exercise was necessary to maintain health. Unfortunately, contemporary ignorance of physiology and anatomy made many of the precise statements about the exercise erroneous; they must be put on a par with recommendations to preserve health by wearing a scarlet nightcap and not sleeping on the stomach. Nevertheless, a physiological basis for physical education was recognized, and the therapeutic value of physical education was never afterwards lost sight of.

Italy, then, was the origin and fount of ideas and practices in physical education during the Renaissance. While the small republics and despotisms, where humanism grew up, were not reproduced elsewhere in Europe, the growth of a money economy, the breakdown of feudalism, and the rise of a new privileged class of property and intellect were features of European development; so, too, was the permeation of humanism and humanist educational ideals.

THE "NEW LEARNING" IN ENGLAND

In England, the new learning was slow to make itself felt in the 15th century. Chrysoloras visited London in 1409 and searched for texts in Salisbury Cathedral. However, this was a diplomatic, not a teaching mission (Weiss, 1941, p. 11). In 1418 Poggio Bracciolini, the Florentine humanist, set out for England at the invitation of the Bishop of Winchester and spent four years in the country. They were disappointing years, however, as far as finding opportunities to further the new learning. It was after Poggio returned to Italy that English humanism began. The patronage of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, enriched Oxford both with manuscripts and buildings and, in the process, did much to foster the early enthusiasm for this new emphasis in learning. He attached humanist scholars to his household and commissioned new translations of the classics from Italy. Also, groups of scholars, including Grey, Free, Fleming, and Tiptoft (Earl of Worcester), began to visit Italy and returned with valuable manuscripts for college libraries at Oxford.

In spite of this enthusiasm of these early disciples, the new learning made little impression upon English life until the very end of the 15th century and the

beginning of the 16th century. At that time a group of scholars, including Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer, visited Italy and on their return settled down to teach at Oxford. The Renaissance in England as in Italy coincided with similar and important changes in the older structure of feudalism. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that Italian humanism, together with its educational ideals and doctrine of courtesy, before long profoundly influenced the way of life of the ruling class in England, and that the Italian concepts of physical education also found a home in England.

The Influence of Erasmus. The therapeutic value of exercise and physical education was appreciated as a result of the work of Linacre, the distinguished translator of Galen. Books on health published in England emphasized the necessity of exercise if health was to be maintained (Boorde, 1542; Salusbury, 1603). While Linacre doubtless carried weight with the medical profession, the general educational system was much more strongly influenced by Erasmus and Colet. Here was a distinct contrast with the development of education in England. In that country the writers on education and the founders of schools such as Guariino da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre were laymen; in England the lead was taken by ecclesiastic, especially by Erasmus, and this seems to have restricted the influence of Italian views on physical education. In the new schools, except Merchant Taylors, there seems to have been little physical education, and certainly no systematic physical education such as was advocated in Italy by Palmieri and put into practice by Vittorino. This is understandable if the life and educational views of Erasmus are examined, since he was associated with Dean Colet in founding St. Paul's School in 1510, a development that influence education throughout the country. Erasmus had been brought up in the Low Countries, and at the age of 20 became a monk in a monastery at Steyn. There he wrote an essay "On the Contempt of the World" in which these words decry the body and place it in antagonism to the soul:

> The monks he says do not choose to become like cattle; they know that there is something sublime and divine within man which they prefer to develop rather than cater for the body. Man's nature is more dignified than that of the beast. Our body, except for a few details, differs not from an animal's body but our soul reaches out after things divine and eternal. The body if earthly, wild, slow, mortal, diseased, ignoble; the soul on the other hand is heavenly, subtle, divine, immortal, noble. Who is so blind that he cannot tell the difference between body and soul?

And so the happiness of the soul surpasses that of the body (Hyma, p. 178).

Later in life Erasmus came to despise the monastic life, but his views on education and physical education were still colored by asceticism. He found no place for physical education for a child beyond the age of six. Also, the intellectual demands he made were so severe that he found it necessary to defend them often, as well as to defend his omission of physical activities from the curriculum. "We have to meet an argument against early training drawn from the superior importance of health. Personally I venture to regard the mental advantages gained as outweighing some slight risks in the matter of physical vigour" (Erasmus, 503 B). In the *Colloquies* there is a thumbnail sketch of a schoolmaster whose attitude to recreation was hardly one of encouragement. His boys chose one of their number to ask him for a holiday for games. The request was reluctantly granted with the words "they that labour hard had need of some relaxation, but you that study idly and play laboriously had more need of a curb than a snaffle." Erasmus was thus somewhat out of sympathy with the humanist conception of the physical education of "*L'uomo universale*." Erasmus may have been acquainted with the cult of the body in Germany which meant not the grace of Apollo or of the *Epheboi* at Athens, but a warlike ferocity of unparalleled coarseness. Whatever the environment that determined Erasmus's views, there is no doubt that, once formed, they were partly responsible for the neglect of physical education in schools and colleges that were founded during the 16th century in England.

At the Court of the Tudor Monarchs, asceticism had little influence, however, the conception of the whole man and the doctrine of courtesy were readily accepted. In time these ideas came to be appreciated outside the court as well. Shakespeare in *As You Like It* revealed that he was fully alive to the need for the aristocracy to have certain physical accomplishments and to perform them with ease and without ostentation. In the opening scenes of the play. Orlando, the dispossessed son of the late Sir Rowland de Boyes, was required to reveal his nobility in an unmistakable manner and to enlist the sympathy of the audience. Shakespeare pitted him in a wrestling match against Charles, the Duke's wrestler, a professional thug, whom Orlando's brother Oliver had instructed to make away with his younger brother. Both the wrestling match, and Touchstone's discourse on lies later in the book, were taken from an Italian book, *Aviolo's Practice on the Art of Dueling and Behaviour of a Gentleman*. Not only books, but teachers as well, were imported from Italy, and both monarchs and courtiers in Tudor England went to Italian masters for instruction in riding, fencing, falconry and hunting, and other

accomplishments which an educated man needed in society.

Elyot on Education for the Ruling Class. Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* was translated by Sir Thomas Hoby and was published in England in 1561, but Sir Thomas Elyot had already written a comparable work in 1531 entitled *The Governour*, a treatise on the education of the ruling class. Several chapters in it were devoted to physical education (Book I, Chapter 16: 23, 26, 27) and showed the influence of Italian ideas and the use of Greek and Roman authorities to justify the recommendations that were made. The games and sports that were prescribed for the governour were taken from the English usage of Elyot's day, but has the classical authority to support them. Running was a favourite sport of Epaminondas and Achilles; swimming was popular with the Romans especially Horatius and Julius Caesar; and Greeks and Romans from Xenophon to Pompey enjoyed hunting. These sports were worthy of pursuit and Elyot, like the Italian humanists, made a clear distinction between what was and what was not fit for a gentleman:

> Some men would say that in mediocrity, which I have so much praised in shooting, why should not bowling, claisshe, pynnes, and koytyng be as much commended? Verily as for the two last they are to be utterly abjected of all noble men, in like wise football wherein is nothing but beastly fury and extreme violence; whereof proceedeth hurt and consequently rancour and malice do remain with them that be wounded; wherefore it is to be put into perpetual silence.

The difference in attitude to physical education between the court and the church is well illustrated in Elyot's discussion of dancing. He was a strong advocate of dancing, but the opposition of the Church could not be ignored, and Elyot was at some pains to show that the condemnation of the Church was based on a misunderstanding of a saying of St. Augustine that it was better to dig or plough on Sunday than dance. St. Augustine was not condemning dancing out of hand, but only dancing associated with idolatry and fornication. Eliot, conversely, would have dancing as a part of liberal education from the age of seven to the age of twenty.

Education of "the Courtier" versus that of "the Governour." Perhaps the chief difference between the education of "the Courtier" and that of "the Governour" is that the latter was concerned not only with the training of character and the production of qualities which would be socially valuable, but also with the

physiological effects of exercise. Elyot seems to have been familiar both with Galen's works and the latest medical teaching. He claimed six specific physiological benefits that derive from exercise: exercise (1) aided digestion, (2) promoted long life, (3) increased body heat, (4) quickened the appetite, (5) caused a more ready metabolism, and (6) cleansed the conduits of the body. He also classified exercises according to their effect on the body, or to be more precise he made a fivefold classification in which the first four categories were physiological. They were (1) exercises that aided digestion, (2) exercises that produce strength and hardness of the body, (3) exercises that produce agility and nimbleness, and (4) exercises for celerity and speediness. The fifth category embraced all those exercises which he considered necessary in war and peace. Elyot was, in fact, concerned with three man objectives of physical education: (1) enrichment of the personality, (2) social success, and (3) physiological efficiency. His was the first book in English to pay equal attention to each of these objectives.

The interest of the upper classes in physical education in 16th-century England was general, and Sir Thomas Elyot's book was not an isolated work. *The Schoolmaster*, by Roger Ascham, at one time tutor of Queen Elizabeth, was concerned with teaching methods in physical education. Three other works that have survived, *The Institution of a Gentleman* by an unknown author, published in 1555; *Queen Elizabeth's Academy* by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, 1572; and *The Institution of a Nobleman* by Cleland, 1607, all found a place in their systems for physical education.

The Attitude of Schools and Colleges. All the writers on physical education in England noted so far have been closely associated with the life of the Court, and none were practising schoolmasters in the existing and newly founded schools and colleges. Nor was physical recreation encouraged in the older universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Football was forbidden in Cambridge in 1574, while at Oxford in 1584 any "minister or deacon" convicted of this offense was to be banished and reported to his bishop. Scholars under 18 were to be imprisoned and fined, and those under 18 were to be flogged in St. Mary's (Mulcaster, Chap. 4). The curriculum in universities and schools appears to have been strongly influenced by an ascetic view of life, and the education of scholars included little if any physical education except at Merchant Taylors. The headmaster of that school from 1560 to 1586, Richard Mulcaster, was perhaps the most enlightened schoolmaster of that day. It is Communes who is commonly given credit (1) for pioneer work in the use of the vernacular, (2) in teaching first those subjects which give scope for activity, and (3) in teaching examples before rules; yet these doctrines had been

formulated and expounded half a century earlier by Mulcaster. The tragedy is that his two books on education, *Positions* published in 1581 and *Elementarie* in 1582, soon went out of print and remained out of print for 300 years. *Positions* was first reprinted in 1888, and *Elementarie* did not reappear until 1925. In *Positions*, 25 out of the 49 chapters were devoted to physical education and, in this field, the neglect of his writings was particularly unfortunate.

Richard Mulcaster and Merchant Taylors. Mulcaster was inevitably influenced by the Courtier conception of physical education. He eagerly subscribed to the view that the mind and body, being partners, must not be severed in training. However, he departed somewhat from the Courtier tradition in making a definite attempt to related physical education to school life rather than to the life of the court. The argument that children would look after their own exercise was answered in no uncertain terms:

> Neither is it enough to say that children will be stirring always themselves and that therefore they need not any s great care for exercising their bodies. For if by causing them to learn so and sitting still in schools we did not force them from ingenerate heate, and natural stirring to an unnatural stillness, then their own stirring without more ado. Wherefore as stillness has her direction by order in schools, so must stirring be directed by well appointed exercise (Mulcaster, Chap. 4).

Physical education therefore must be ordered to a definite purpose and counteract the effects of school life. It was not to consist of merely playing games at random.

Like Sir Thomas Elyot, Richard Mulcaster was interested in the classifications. The first was purely *administrative*, and activities were divided into those that were suitable for indoor performance (1) such as dancing, wrestling, and fencing as well as laughing and weeping (how these latter activities were initiated Mulcaster did not say), and (2) those that needed to be done outdoors such as shooting, swimming, ball playing, and hunting. The second classification was according to *social purpose*. Activities were either athletic, or martial, or physical--that is, "medical." In Mulcaster's view too much attention has been paid to athletic exercises indulged in as pastimes and like Galen he deplored over specialization in such activities. Martial exercises were designed to produce strength and stamina for the rigours of campaigning. Physical or medical activities had a threefold purpose:

(1) to confirm a person's natural gifts; (2) to produce skill that had not been imposed by nature; and (3) to enable a person to recover what had been lost by illness or neglect, that is "rehabilitation." It was in physical or medical exercise that Mulcaster was primarily interested, and this third classification concerned this sphere of education only. He classified exercises as (1) exercises for muscles and joints, (2) exercises for the circulation, and (3) exercises for respiration. He then gave examples of the effects of specific exercises. Dancing would produce warmth and strengthen the lower limbs and would help to prevent numbness and palsies. Riding was "healthful for hips and stomach, thickeneth loose shanks, and stayeth loose bellies." Loud speaking was valuable in exercising the vocal cords and opening the lungs.

Much of Mulcaster's applied physiology was primitive not to say inaccurate. but in one particular at least he anticipated modern theories. After defining exercise as "a vehement and voluntary stirring of the body, which altereth the breathing, whose end is to maintain health and bring the body to a very good habit," he then stated that it should begin with gentle or "preparative" exercise. go on to gymnastics, and end with postparative exercise "to reduce the body by gentle degrees to the same quietness in constitution where it was before it was so moved." The same doctrine, put forward by Swedish medical gymnasts some 400 years later, came to be known in the world of physical education as "The Swedish Curve."

Mulcaster's interest in physiology did not lead him to think that the teacher should abdicate in favor of the doctor. He stated, in fact, that there was a vast field of human welfare which was not covered by priest or doctor and which should be covered by the educationist. He was equally insistent that the same person should be concerned with physical as with academic education. In this idea, as in so much else, Mulcaster was ahead of his age. His views were not accepted by schools and colleges; the close of the century witnessed a growing rift in England between the education of gentlemen, strongly influenced by the courtier tradition, and the education of scholars influenced by a monastic tradition and finding no place for physical education.

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PART TWO
SELECTION 3

LIGORIO'S CONTRIBUTION
TO
MERCURIALIS' DE ARTE GYMNASTICA

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The first comprehensive scholarly study of Greek physical education and athletics appeared late in the Italian Renaissance. It was a treatise published in Venice: the first (1569) edition of *De Arte Gymnastica* by Girolamo Mercuriale (Hieronymus Mercurialis). Written in Latin, this work was dedicated to the author's illustrious patron, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. Earlier Renaissance humanists such as Pietro Paolo Vergerio (1349-1428), Vittorino da Feltre (1378-1446), Maffeo Vegio (1407-1458), Eneo Silvio Piccolomini (1405-1464), Jacopo Sadoleto (1477-1547) and Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), all influenced by the classical authors, had called for the restoration of a physical component to education, but their exhortations for exercise do not really constitute *scholarly* research on the subject.

The second edition of *DAG* soon followed in 1573. This time the dedicatee was someone even more powerful and prestigious, the Emperor Maximillian II, whom Mercuriale enjoins to emulate the rulers of antiquity who patronized the gymnastic art. An even more substantial change, however, one which rendered the second edition and all subsequent ones more attractive and compelling, was the inclusion of illustrations supplied by the noted antiquarian Pirro Ligorio (Pyrrhus Ligorius), who alleged that they were based on ancient monuments, including sculpture, coins, and gems or seals (1587:44, 56, 103, 105, 111, 119, 154, 166). Demand for the work resulted in the Venetian editions of 1587, 1601, and 1644, as well as a printing in Paris in 1577 and in Amsterdam in 1672, clear testimony to its popularity and success.

> (**Note**: A sampling of Ligorio's work may be seen in
> several of the figures included in the following selection by
> Dr. P. D. Joseph in the present volume.)

Mercuriale clearly respected and accepted the word of his elder colleague, whom he praises as being "an antiquarian of the highest authority" *maximae auctoritatis antiquarius* (1587:53) and "most expert" *peritissimus* (1587:111). In contrast, another lengthy Latin treatise on Greek gymnastics, the *Agonisticon* of Pierre du Favre de St. Jorry (Petrus Faber), which appeared in 1592, contained no illustrations. Indeed, it would not be until the Nineteenth Century with Johann Heinrich Krause's *Die Gymnastik und Athletik der Hellenen* (1841) that a comprehensive and authoritative work on Greek athletics will be illustrated comparably.

Mercuriale (1530-1606) initially met the older Ligorio (1511/2-1583) in Rome in the 1560s. Each of these men departed from the Eternal City near the end of that decade. Thanks to a recent definitive study of Ligorio, we are now in a better position to assess their relationship.

Ligorio arrived first from his native Naples in 1534, and would spend most of his career in Rome until departing for Ferrara in 1569 (Coffin 5, 108). His arrival coincided with the ascendancy of Paul III Farnese to the Papacy (1534-49). In his early Roman years, Ligorio worked as a painter for the Farnese family (Coffin 7-8).

Ligorio was more than an artist, however--actually a true Renaissance polymath. During the 1540s, he had already begun work on an encyclopedia of antiquities (Coffin 19-20), a project which engaged all of his multiple interests: painting, archaeology, numismatics, epigraphy, architecture, and topography. He had also found another prominent aristocratic patron, Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este, whose family ruled the city of Ferrara in northeastern Italy. Under his aegis Ligorio worked during the 1550s on the excavations of Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli and designed the Villa d'Este (Coffin 83-105). Ligorio also produced maps of Rome in 1552 and 1553, in which the ancient monuments like the Pantheon, Colosseum, and the circuses are shown in reconstructions, but the culmination of his endeavors in this area was the large map of 1561. (Coffin, pp.16-18, 25 and figures 8, 9, and 15; Burns; Ligorio 1553). Consisting of twelve sheets of paper and measuring four by five feet, it depicted the ancient city block by block with all the streets and buildings represented, even where no archaeological evidence existed. In other words, he practiced creative reconstruction, no doubt basing the unattested buildings on structures or architectural motifs which he knew from surviving monuments or artistic representations from ancient art. Ligorio was also an architect for the Popes. Most notably, in the reign of Pius IV, he designed the lovely Casino in the Vatican Gardens (completed 1562; Coffin 36) and the Belvedere courtyard (1561-5; Coffin 53-62). In 1564 he succeeded Michelangelo as

architect of St. Peter's. (Coffin 67-9).

Ligorio was thus firmly established in the elite cultural and artistic circles in Rome when Mercuriale arrived in Rome in 1562 as a member of a diplomatic mission from his home city of Forli. As happened with Ligorio, Mercuriale formed an attachment with the Farnese family, in this case Cardinal Alessandro Farnese. It is inconceivable that over the remaining decade their paths did not cross.

One specific collaboration may well have been architectural. In 1561, for the renovation of the building housing La Sapienza, the university of Rome, Pope Pius IV desired a structure fashioned along the lines of an ancient gymnasium. This was a project for which Ligorio provided a design. During the 1560s Mercuriale was teaching a course at the same university on female diseases. He had also been reading he works of the Roman architectural author, Vitruvius, in the course of writing his treatise. It seems reasonable therefore to conclude that the two may have worked together on the plan for the new building: a rectangular structure with two stories of porticoes on the long sides, and semicircular exedrae on the short. The university occupied the future site of St. Ivo, the Baroque masterpiece of Francesco Borromini (1643). In the rectangular shape and porticoes of the courtyard and in the concave façade of the church, the modern visitor can still view evidence of the earlier plan of the university building. (Coffin 69-70; Stalla 1996, pp. 19-22, and 1992, pp. 119-20).

Whence the interest in Greek gymnastics on the part of the physician Mercuriale? As it happened, he held a more expansive concept of a medical doctor, one which he inherited from the physicians of antiquity like Galen, of whose prolific oeuvre a good number of treatises have survived. Galen not only composed numerous works on more narrow medical topics such as diseases, but also wrote on physical exercise, of which athletics was classified as a branch. Medicine was viewed not only as an art whose aim is to cure the sick or injured, but also to maintain or improve the health of the body.

It is clear that Mercuriale saw himself as a neo-Galen. On the title page, he calls himself a *Medicus Philosophus*, a "Physician Philosopher." Furthermore, after he left Rome, his intellectual and spiritual kinship to Galen (129-?199/266 AD)must have been reinforced by a remarkable coincidence of history. In 1573, Mercuriale was called to Vienna to the bedside of the ailing Emperor Maximillian II, just as, more than a millennium earlier, Galen had been summoned to attend to the Emperor Marcus Aurelius.

Mercuriale's lengthy sojourn in Rome seems to have afforded him ample leisure to finish his research on Greek gymnastics and to write his treatise. No doubt he had access to the libraries in Rome. Reflecting his diligence, he lists at the beginning of his work the 105 Greek and Roman authors whom he has consulted. Ligorio, on the contrary, may not have read Greek, and he also made grammatical mistakes in his written Latin. (Coffin 20). And whereas Mercuriale, to judge from his appreciative comments concerning the illustrations, was not as knowledgeable about the monuments--the archaeological evidence was Ligorio's forte! Each, realizing his own deficiencies, could well appreciate the complementary strengths of the other. A collaboration would have seemed most attractive.

Given the likelihood that the two knew each other, the question arises why the 1569 edition of *De Arte Gymnastica* did *not* contain the numerous illustrations, whereas the second edition, published a mere four years later, *did*.

The question, "Why 1573?" is easier to answer than the "Why not 1569?" inquiry. When Ligorio, exploiting his connections with the d'Este family, departed Rome for Ferrara in 1569, he went to serve as a kind of artistic advisor in residence at the court of the reigning prince, Duke Alfonso II. Soon thereafter, an earthquake in 1570 caused extensive damage to the d'Este castle. In the renovation of the royal apartments, Ligorio planned for the inclusion of vaulted frescoed ceilings similar to those to be seen in the palazzo of the Villa d'Este (Coffin pp. 93-7 and figures 77, 84). Befitting the Duke's interest in sports, two of the rooms, the Salone dei Giochi (Large Chamber of the Games) and the Saletta dei Giochi (Small Chamber of the Games), featured frescoes on athletic subjects, for which Ligorio had made the designs but did not himself do the actual painting. There are numerous similarities both in design and in details between the frescoes and the illustrations in *De Arte Gymnastica*. They clearly originate from one mind, that of Ligorio. In both we observe boxing with metal-studded gloves, wrestling, pankration (pancratium), exercises with weights, the discus thrown like a frisbee by clothed men in the setting of a Roman circus, swimming, the game with the small ball, the game with the large ball, the pyrrhic dance, and a game for women with a swing or balance. The chambers were completed in time for the visit of Henry III, King of France and Poland, in July 27-31, 1574.

Which came first, the design for the frescoes or the illustrations for the second edition of *De Arte Gymnastica*? Did the need to make the drawings for the frescoes suggest to Ligorio that his younger colleague might well enjoy having a

similar set? Did the arrival of the drawings then help to spur Mercuriale to publish a second edition, or was Mercuriale already planning a new edition when, by a fortuitous coincidence, the drawings arrived from Ligorio? Or, on the other hand, was Ligorio already working on a set of drawings for Mercuriale when the earthquake presented the opportunity to adapt them for the frescoes? Perhaps further study of Ligorio's abundant notes will one day provide an answer.

Ligorio was the leading antiquarian of his day, one whom the younger Mercuriale clearly esteemed and trusted. Yet over the centuries, his reputation has ebbed. He has been assailed as an unscrupulous forger, especially of inscriptions. Only recently have his fabrications been viewed in a more kindly light as the product of an age when classical scholarship and archaeology were still in their infancy, and when creative reconstructions were generally practiced. (Coffin 21-2). Nevertheless, whether one views Ligorio more or less generously, questions arise concerning the illustrations in *DAG*. For example, no representation of the discus throw such as Ligorio drew ever existed. Did Mercuriale gullibly accept it as truly a copy of an existing monument? It would seem far more likely that this reconstruction would have arisen from conversations between the two, especially since Mercuriale knew the literary evidence (Lee 2004 pp. 16-19).

If the Mercuriale-Ligorio collaboration marks a major step in sport history and scholarship, it remains to place it in perspective. Judged by the present state of our knowledge, *De Arte Gymnastica* is replete with errors and misconceptions. Furthermore, we must realize that the view of Greek athletics and civilization presented therein is both pre-Winckelmann and pre-Coubertin. In the second half of the sixteenth century, ancient history, archaeology and art history were still new disciplines. Classical antiquity was viewed as Greco-Roman, and no clear idea of Greek art existed. Ligorio's understanding and knowledge of the artifacts was based primarily upon objects found and seen in Italy--and especially in Rome. The concept of the transcendence of the Greeks in Western civilization, a commonplace idea today, would not arise until the late eighteenth century.

The founding of the modern Olympic Games grew out of this Greek revival. We in the twenty-first century regard the ancient Olympics in a positive light, as one of the glories of our Hellenic legacy. It is shocking therefore to read that Mercuriale, while he advocates physical exercise, is hostile to competitive athletics. In this opposition he follows his model Galen, and divides the gymnastic art into three categories. First is the *ars gymnastica medica* or *legitima*, the "medical" or "legitimate" art, which consists of exercises for bodily health. The second is the *ars*

gymnastica bellica, or the "military art," which involves exercises designed to produce soldiers fit for war. The third is the *ars gymnastica athletica*, "the athletic gymnastic art," which he qualifies as being the *ars gymnastica vitiosa*, "the evil gymnastic art." This hostility to competitive athletics would be followed by later advocates of physical education. For example, Johann Christoph Friedrich Guts Muths, not only had read Mercuriale, but expresses kindred sentiments: "Pursue gymnastic exercises to lengthen life, but do not live solely to pursue gymnastic exercises. The latter was done by athletes..." (Guts Muths,193; also 112-3, 191).

In the scholarly realm as well as on the playing fields, this hostility to agonistic competitions will be transformed into the myth of Greek amateur athletics espoused above all by E. N. Gardiner and the modern Olympic movement (Lee, forthcoming). Only recently have we begun to set aside the idea of an athletic golden age of amateur athletes and recognize that ancient athletes were fallible human beings and that the agonistic culture of Greece had both virtues and defects almost from the beginning (Young 1984, 2003; Kyle). The fact, however, that *De Arte Gymnastica* cannot be used as a reliable text for Greek gymnastics does not diminish its importance in the history of such scholarship. It is also an important document about late Renaissance views of antiquity. Finally, in Ligorio's drawings and Mercuriale's text, we can sense a profound curiosity and enthusiasm for the study of the ancient gymnastic art. That spirit is still worthy of emulation.

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My references to Mercuriale's *De Arte Gymnastica* are to the 1587 edition. Unfortunately, both Mercuriale's treatise and photographs of the frescoes in Ferrara are not readily accessible. A useful English translation of *DAG is not* available either. That of Blundell (1864) inserts too many of his own opinions and ideas, thus making it is impossible for the reader to distinguish them from the text of Mercuriale. There is a recent Italian translation of selections, together with Mercuriale's drawings; see the reference below to Stalla (1996). The definitive study of Ligorio's life and work is Coffin's book, which discusses (pp. 122-5) the collaboration with Mercuriale and provides illustrations of the pankration (fig. 120-1) and discus throw (fig. 122-3). Ligorio's reconstructions of ancient circuses, theaters, and amphitheaters, as well as his maps of Rome can be found in D. Negri's edition of Ligorio's *Delle Antichita di Roma* (1553). In my 2004 essay, I also discuss the Mercuriale-Ligorio collaboration, focusing on the athletic aspect. Other recent treatments of the subject include Arcangeli (pp. 23-9), Vagenheim, and Caporossi. For the frescoes in the Castello d'Este, see the volumes edited by

Bentini which include many color illustrations. The attribution of the frescoes had long been mistaken. Thanks to the admirable research of Bentini and her colleagues over the past two decades, we know of Ligorio's central role as designer as well as the identification of the local artists who did the actual painting, including Sebastiano Filippi ("Il Bastianino"), Ludovico Settevecchi, and Leonardo da Brescia. While Coffin looks more generously at Ligorio's scholarly shortcomings, more common are negative critiques (Gaston pp. 7-18; Ashby 170-1). For the Renaissance view of classical antiquity, see Weiss, *passim*; for the state of understanding of the Greek world, see his chapter on the subject, pp. 131-44. For Mercuriale's influence on the scholarship of Greek athletics, see my papers (forthcoming, 2004, 2003); for Gardiner's place in the scholarship, see Young (2003, 1984), and Kyle (1990); for the path from Mercuriale to Gardiner, see my forthcoming paper.

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PART TWO
SELECTION 5

MEDICAL GYMNASTICS IN THE SIXTEENTH
AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Dr. Ludwig H. Joseph (deceased)

HUMAN PROGRESS IN THE 17TH CENTURY

The great changes in culture and mode of life toward the end of the 15th century and throughout the 16th century marked the definitive end of the Middle Ages. To some extent, the new era had been anticipated centuries before; but, in part, the new period came up suddenly and in a revolutionary manner. Although the original Greek documents on medical subjects were brought to light in the 15th century, the results of their study appeared only gradually. On the other hand, such inventions as gunpowder and the art of printing produced an effect on the people of that period as revolutionary as the discovery of atomic energy today. Moreover, the discovery of new worlds, of North and South America, and the great expeditions of the Dutch, Portuguese, and Spanish explorers enlarged intellectual horizons and stimulated people's minds. This was the background of the unprecedented progress in human civilization that took place during the 17th century.

The humanistic educators had linked gymnastics so closely with with education in general, that it was no longer possible to eliminate it from the educational program. But their doctrines did not fructify the medical discipline because medicine was still highly dogmatic and scholastic during this period. Physicians in the 15th century were skeptical about the use of gymnastics. Although many prominent physicians were on friendly terms with humanists and admired their educational activities, they did not use gymnastics for the benefit of their patients. The only use they made of gymnastics was in case of indigestion, as indicated in the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum.*

In the first place, the sciences, astronomy, botany, and zoology were affected by the new discoveries; of course, the results of new experiences in the natural

sciences could affect medicine only by degree. Medicine shared in the general cultural enlightenment. The art of printing made possible criticism and interpretation of the classical writings in a new sense and facilitated the propagation of such knowledge in larger scientific circles than ever before. Progress in philology made possible the correction of the writings of the ancients due to ignorance of the Greek language and dependence on Latin translations. Moreover a general fever of inquiry seized many physicians. As a result many lost manuscripts of Antiquity were rediscovered and the authentic separated from the false. Only on the basis of these researches by philologist physicians could the seed of independent observation be sown and its fruits arise. In the history of medicine, this period is eternally connected with such names as Linacre, Leoniceno, Vesalius, Cardano, Pare, Fernel, and Paracelsius.

Hieronymus Mercurialis. To these stars belongs also Hieronymus Mercurialis (1530-1606), who, with his *Six Books on the Art of Gymnastics*, stood sponsor to medical gymnastics. It was printed for the first time in 1569 by the Giunta Press in Venice. A second edition appeared in 1573, and the book was reprinted in 1587, 1600, and 1614. A later reprint was issued at Amsterdam in 1672. Cardinal Allessandro Farnese was a patron of the young physician Hieronymus Mercurialis. By 1573 he had acquired such a reputation that he was called to Vienna to attend the Emperor Maximilian II. The Emperor made Mercurialis a knight in recompense for his cure. However, the year 1576 was an unfortunate one for Mercurialis; in his position as municipal physician, he neglected the beginning of a pestilence, and was compelled to flee the fury of the people. But already in 1578 he had become a teacher at the University of Bologna, and by 1592 he was teaching at Pisa. His posthumous glory was so great that the community of Forli, his birthplace, erected a monument in his memory. His masterpiece remained the *Gymnastic Art*.

Characteristic of this work is the fact that every exercise is considered from the viewpoint of its usefulness to health, since Mercurialis considered all gymnastics only of medical value. In contrast to other medical works of the time, it is written in a popular style, not only for physicians, but also "for all people interested in health." Therefore we find under the authorities quoted not only physicians, but also philosophers, poets, theologians, historians, and pedagogues. No earlier definition of gymnastics satisfied Mercurialis. Consequently he tried to find a compromise between the definition of Paulus Aegineta and those of Hippocrates and Herodicus. For him, the only exercises of interests to physicians are those characterized by introduction of the conscious will, and particularly by

Fig. 12

A ball game.
From Hieronymus Mercurialis,
DE ARTE GYMNASTICA, Venezia, 1569

strenuous breathing and vehement movement. Vehemence characterized gymnastics in contrast to natural movements. Corresponding to medicine, Mercurialis classified gymnastics into two kinds, preventive (or conservative) and therapeutic gymnastics. Conservative gymnastics is for the healthy, therapeutic gymnastics for the sick.

In the first place, the quality and the quantity of exercise should be accommodated to each constitution. Preventive as well as curative gymnastics makes use of a purely physiological remedy--movement. On the contrary, drugs, especially the medieval medications, poisoned and weakened the body. Based on the Hippocratic definition of health as harmony of the humours, the aim of every exercise is to maintain this harmony. Strenuous military exercises are therefore not always suitable even for physiologically health bodies. Athletics is indirectly injurious to health. These injuries arise from defective nutrition associated with training, namely, excessive meat-eating, from suppression of the normal sexual life and the effect on the lungs of the dust inhaled in the arena.

Principles for Medical Gymnastics. Mercurialis set up the following principles for medical gymnastics: (1) Each exercise should preserve the existent normal healthy state; (2) Exercise should not disturb the harmony between the principal humours; (3) Each exercise should be suited to certain fixed parts of the body; (4) All healthy people must be interested in gymnastics and regular exercise; (5) Sick people are permitted only such exercises as do not exacerbate the existing condition of the patient; (6) Exact diagnosis must be the basis for such individualized treatment; Convalescents, weak and older patients should have special exercises; (7) Persons who lead a sedentary life, as well as scientists and prisoners, urgently need gymnastics.

For medical gymnastics spring and autumn are particularly suitable; the winter even more for vigorous exercises. In the summer months the early morning, in the winter the later hours of the morning are to be preferred for exercise. Such activity should always be carried on in the open air in a place sheltered from the wind. It is good to clean the body thoroughly, even to take a purge before exercise, but exercise on an empty stomach is to be avoided. Gymnastics should strengthen not only the muscles, but also the nerves, and should further sleep.

The most popular exercise of the time was to play ball, not only with light balls containing feathers or air, but also with heavy ones filled with sand. Francis I of France was the famous master of *jeu de paume.* Football, particularly in Florence,

Fig. 13
Arm throwing the discus and showing the movements
of the muscles. From Mercurialis.
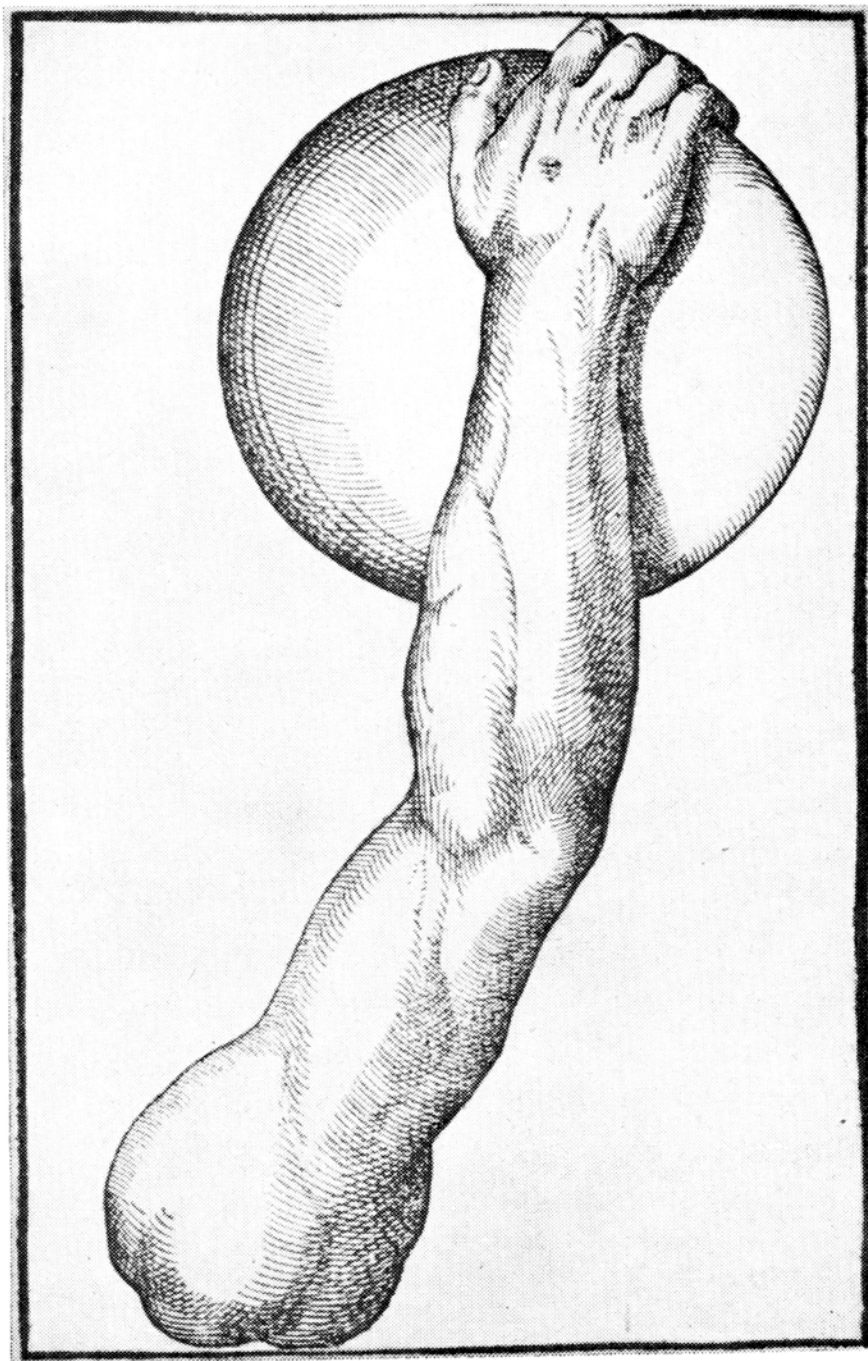
Fig. 14
Athletes climbing ropes.
(Two tightrope performers are seen in the background.)
After Mercurialis.
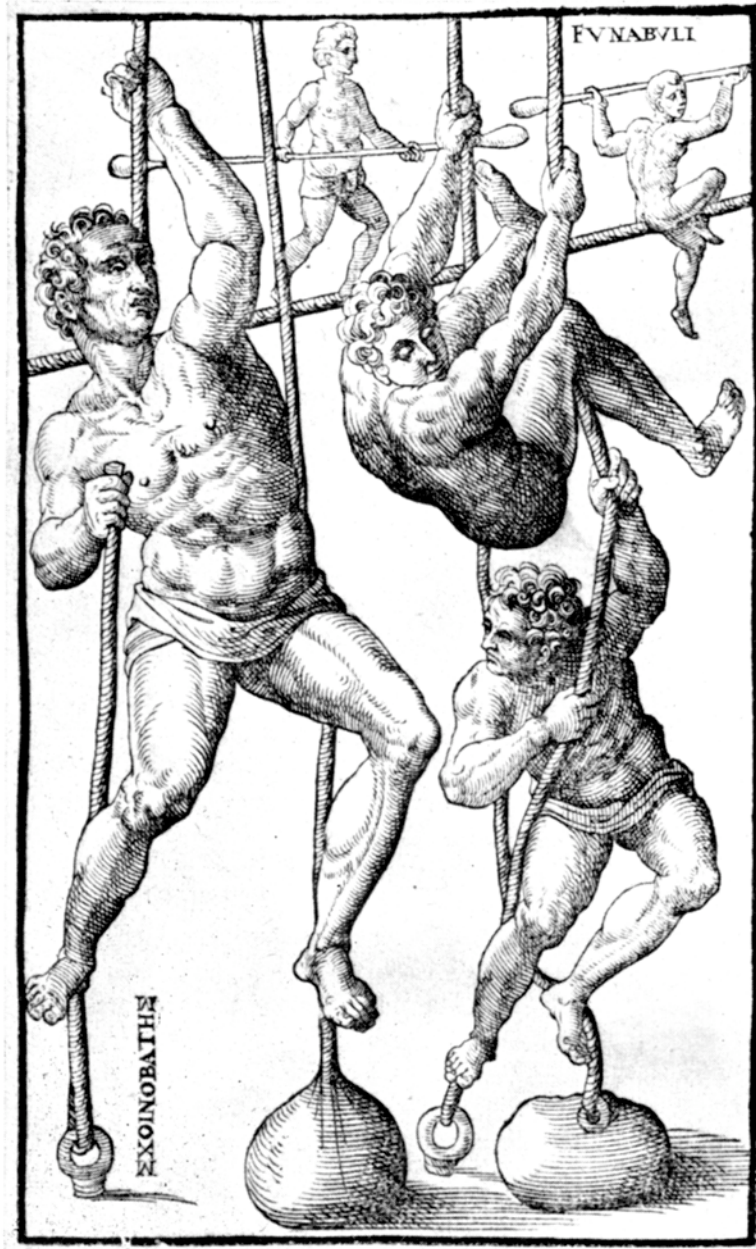
and punch ball were already known. According to Mercurialis, ball games strengthened the arms, the back, and the intercostal muscles and, therefore, are fit for convalescents, weak persons, and even for wet-nurses and epileptics.

Mercurialis on Walking. Mercurialis discusses other kinds of exercise. Thus he distinguishes three kinds of walking--walking to and fro, in the sense of the Greek peripatetic, in order to stimulate intellectual conversation; then, more intensive walking, to aid digestion or to work up an appetite; finally mountain climbing, because it is diaphoretic, is recommended especially for paralysis of the legs. Running is a very healthy exercise, when performed without carrying a burden and not over hurdles. Mercurialis considered running at night particularly healthy, because the body does not suffer the heat of the sun. This exercise strengthens the muscles and also the digestion. By the contemporaries of Mercurialis throwing the discus was generally considered only as an elegant exercise like dancing. He recommended it especially for the wrists of arthritic patients, and for strengthening of the muscles of the legs, arms, hips, and back. Riding and hunting are strictly counter indicated for patients with chronic headaches, epilepsy; kidney, bladder and abdominal diseases; and increasing deficiency of hearing. Jumping, Mercurialis considered suitable for both sexes, though counter indicated for patients with pulmonary disease and pregnant women. Jumping with dumbbells to increase the swing, Mercurialis considered unhealthy. He pointed to the Greek vases, where the pictures showed this exercise performed in such a manner that the soles of the feet reach the seat of the performer. Accompanied by music, gymnastics has a calming effect on the nerves.

Athletic exercises, including hand springs, are to be rejected as these push the intestines against the diaphragm, Only rope climbing and wrestling are wholesome. Very interesting, from the medical viewpoint, is the recommendation of passive gymnastics for patients confined to bed for a long time. This was to be achieved through the use of swinging beds, like hammocks. Like some modern physicians, he included in his work exercises of the voice, respiration, and even the eyes. Passive movements of the body on board ship, connected with the psychological effect of changing surroundings, Mercurialis considered wholesome for various diseases, such as those of the lungs and larynx, headaches, and skin diseases.

It is evident that a work written in this detailed and careful manner could not help but have a great influence on the author's contemporaries, but also on all

Fig. 15
Pancratium
--that is, wrestling--
combined with boxing.
After Mercurialis

PANCRATIVM VOLVTATORIVM
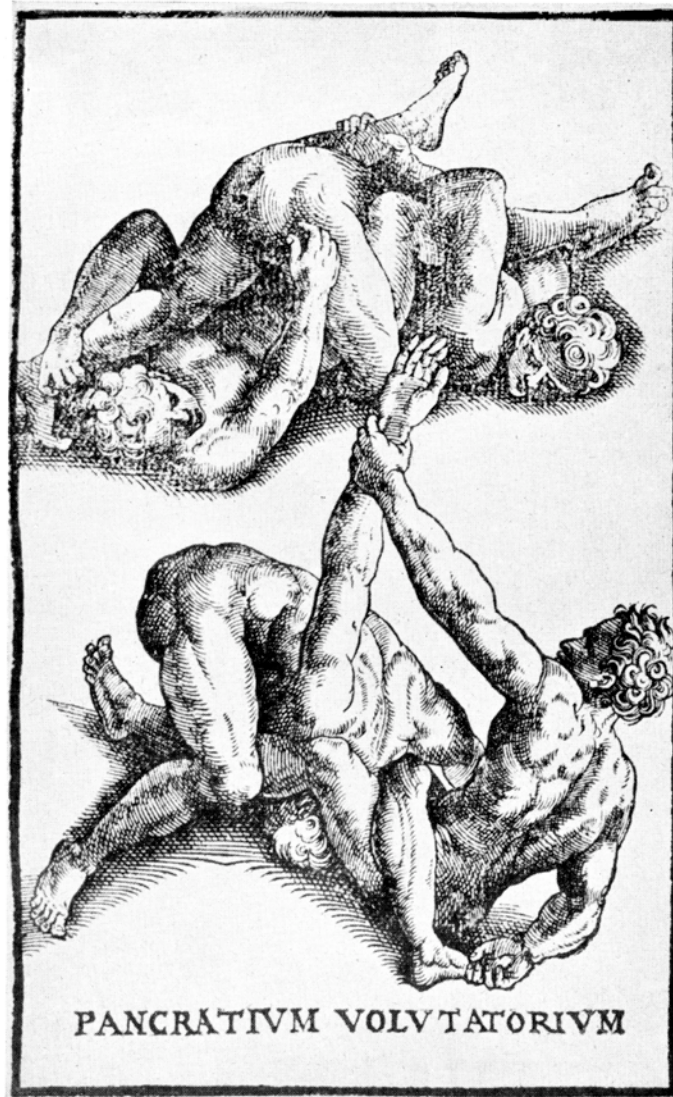
future readers interested in medical gymnastics. In reality, all the books on gymnastics of the next centuries are based on this standard work of Mercurialis.

Tuccaro on Jumping. The most original work after Mercurialis in the field of gymnastics is devoted specifically to a single exercise, jumping. This book, entitled *Three Dialogues in the Acrobatics of Jumping* was composed by Saint Archange Tuccaro (born ca. 1535 in Aquila, Italy), Saltarin du Roi de France (Charles IX and Henry III). This book which was often reprinted is profusely illustrated. Tuccaro himself exhibited his art in 1570 on the occasion of the nuptials of Charles IX of France and the Archduchess Isabella of Spain. He mentions 53 varieties of jumping. Tuccaro tried to make the body flexible in youth. Although not a physician, he pointed out the medical benefit to be derived from this exercise, mentioning Mercurialis and his work. "This robust and strong exercise has a tendency to expel excrements and to calm all sorts of humours." Of course, this exercise was a good pre-military one, particularly in view of the conditions of war at the time. Many courtiers despised this "rope-dancing" as a waste of time; only a few understood its value.

Attitudes toward Exercise. In this respect, it is very interesting to observe how different exercises were esteemed in different countries. We saw above that football in Italy was a sport only of the upper classes, and part of the official festive programs. In England the attitude toward various exercises in manifested in a set of rules drawn up by James I of England (1567-1612), and addressed to his eldest son Henry, Prince of Wales, who died in 1612. He gives the following instructions respecting exercise and recreation:

> From this court I debarre all rough and violent exercises;
> as the *foot-ball*, meeter for laming, then making able the
> users thereof; as likewise such tumbling trickes as only
> serve for commedians and balladines to win their bread
> with; but with the exercises that I would have you to use,
> although but moderately, not making a craft of them, are
> running, leaping, wrestling, fencing, dancing, and playing
> at the caitch or tennise, archerie, palle-malle, and such are
> most recommendable games that yee can use on
> horseback, especially, such as the tilt, the ring and low
> riding for handling your sword. I cannot omit here the
> hunting, namely, with running houndes, which is the most
> honourable and noblest sort thereof; for it is a thievous

Fig. 16

A demonstration of the use of swinging as a passive gymnastic exercise. After Mercurialis.

OSCELLAE VEL PETAVRŪ
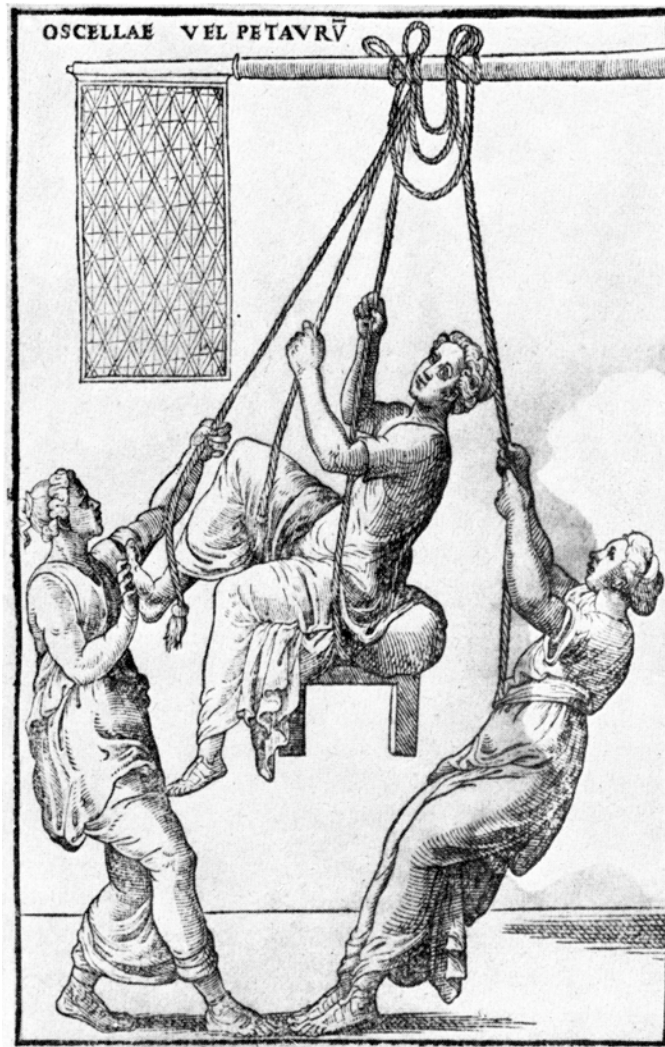
form of hunting, to shoote with gunnes & bowes, and
greyhound-hunting is not so martial a game. As for
hawking, I condem it not; but I must praise it more
sparingly, because it neither resembleth the wars so neere
as hunting; and is more uncertain and subject to
mischances; and which is worst of all, is there through an
extreme stirrer up of the passions.

Generally, pre-military gymnastics were highly esteemed at the court of
James I; likewise, hunting is still the favorite sport of the upper class in England.
The American colonists brought with them a predilection for this sport. Probably
the first picture depicting the sports of American colonists is an engraving giving an
account of the diversions of Virginia. It illustrates a passage in a Latin translation
of Captain John Smith's description of New England, printed in 1619. (See below.)
It shows a planter on a horse, accompanied by a dog and chasing a stag, another
colonist fishing, and another with a gun for fowling. Most astonishing is that
several planters are engaged in falconry, which was generally forbidden.

Ambroise Paré. The famous surgeon, Ambroise Paré (1510-1590), was court
physician to the same two kings of France whom Tuccaro also served. In the
introduction to his *Surgery*, he dealt in detail with movement and repose. He referred
to the doctrine of Galen, that the body needs exercise for health. In accordance
with the theory of the humours he reserves heavy exercise for the large, cold-
humoured persons, lighter exercise for thin and temperate ones. As did Mercurialis,
he included breathing exercises and massage in gymnastics. Moderate exercise was
to be taken before meals to help the digestion. Oddly enough, Paré added carrying
of burdens to the usual exercises, such as running, riding and so on. He considered
gymnastics not only a part of general hygiene, but as a surgeon he felt that exercise
of the limbs, especially after fractures was indispensable. He suggested light
exercises for diseases of the kidney and bladder, and gout.

Joseph Duchesne. Duchesne and Joubert devote considerable space to
gymnastics. Joseph Duchesne (called Quercetanus), who was born in 1544, and
was physician to the court of Henry IV of France, wrote on exercise in his *Ars
Medica Hermetica*: "The essential purpose of gymnastics for the body is its
deliverance from superfluous humours, the regulation of the digestion, the
strengthening of the heart and joints, the opening of the pores of the skin, and the
stronger circulation of the blood in the lungs by strenuous breathing." In his
opinion three points are decisive in the choice of exercises: "which are the limbs for

Fig. 17

How the thigh of a young child is to be bent and the spine made
flexible. From Saint Archange Tuccaro, *Three Dialogues on the Art of
Jumping and Tumbling in the Air*, Paris, 1589.

which the exercises are indicated, what time of day is appropriate for them, where are they to be carried out, that is on the ground or in water."

Introduction of Swimming. Here, for the first time, we find swimming included on an equal basis with other exercises. It is counter indicated in cases of melancholy and diseases of the lungs. Swimming is considered generally as strengthening the body and is recommended especially for the prevention of hydrophobia. The author also mentions the importance of swimming from the standpoint of the saving of lives. Paulus Aegineta, Celsus (sic?), Galen, and Oribasius are the authorities for the medical use of swimming. As light exercises Duchesne designates not only singing but also the playing of instrumental music, reading and even card playing; these are considered especially fit for children, women, and old men. Walking is recommended particularly for those old persons who were formerly accustomed to more strenuous exercises. Duchesne considered the carrying of heavy loads and digging as the most strenuous exercises. Moderate exercise such as games of ball or running, he recommended for all young men and particularly for intellectual workers. Light exercises he wished to reserve for children, women, and older men.

Laurent Joubert. In his *Gymnastic Exercises*, Laurent Joubert (1529-1583), wrote on gymnastics in a more detailed fashion, but with less originality. As professor of medicine of the University of Montpelier, he was occupied particularly with the problem of introducing gymnastics and its uses into the medical course. Furthermore, he attached great importance to daily exercises, if possible in the open air. He considered physicians the only one capable of prescribing gymnastics, rather than teachers and educators whom he regarded as insufficiently educated.

Other Contributors. The physician and philosopher, Jacobus Trunconius, born in 1529 at Valence (France) in his work *On preserving the health of youth*, published in 1593, suggested the first light gymnastics for infants and young children.

Pierre du Faure was a magistrate of Toulouse; his *Agnosticon* of 1590 is a purely retrospective historical essay without any reference to the use of gymnastics in the writer's time. Nevertheless it shows that the interest in gymnastics reached many circles.

The so-called Baillif du Chule was likewise a state official. His work, *On Thermae and Gymnasia*, was suggested by the restoration of the castle of

Fig. 18
An illustration from Tuccaro's treatise
on jumping and tumbling in the air
demonstrating the act of hand balancing,
and the geometric relations involved.
From Tuccaro, 1589.
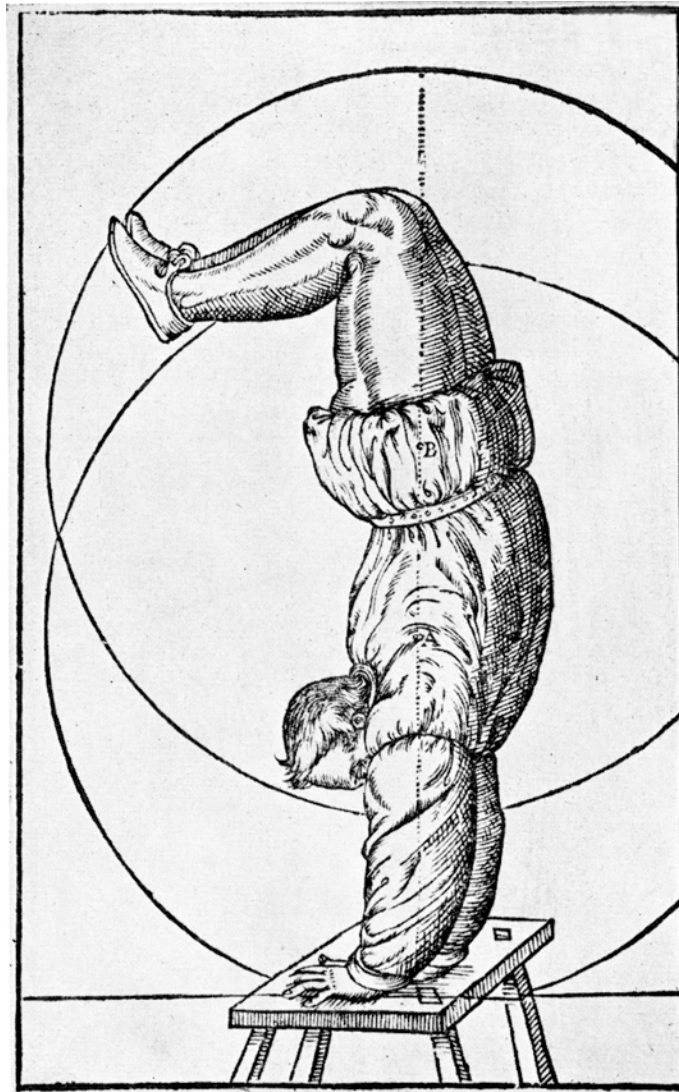
Fig. 19

**Another illustration from Tuccaro's book
depicting one form of tumbling in the air.
This is but one among many described in his work**

Fig. 20

Jumping through ten hoops.
After Tuccaro, 1589
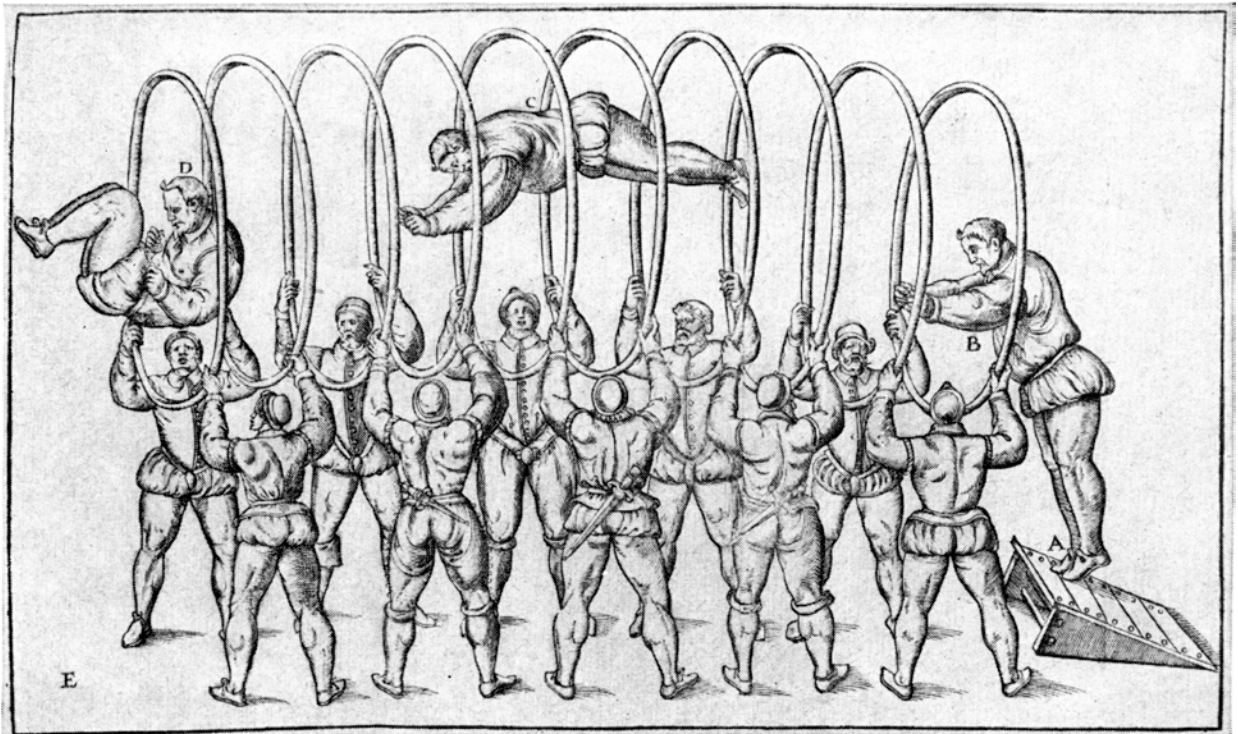
Fontainebleau by Francis I of France (1514-1547). The new promenades, covered walks, and basins stimulated the author to this slight sketch on the baths and palaestras of Antiquity. Moreover, he insisted that alteration between country and city life was just as necessary to life as alternating movement and repose.

Marcilius Cagnatus, a physician of Verona, dedicated the second book of his *Preservation of Health*, published at Padua, in 1605, to medical gymnastics. Unfortunately this work is written in such a verbose manner that it is very difficult to pick out the important ideas. Cagnatus, like Joubert, wished to introduce gymnastics into the medical curriculum of the University. He insisted that the middle-aged need regular exercise because in this period many ailments may be latent, which appear later and shorten life. On the other hand, old age requires and desires repose. Young people do not need any particular incitement to exercise; they do so spontaneously and sufficiently. Oddly enough, Cagnatus included as exercises the expression of the emotions, such as laughing and weeping. He asked for specially educated physicians to superintend the games. Here, for the first time, rowing is introduced into medical gymnastics.

Sanctorius Sanctorius (1561-1636), physician of Padua, was the first to study scientifically the body during perspiration. All these writings were expressions of the Renaissance and its desire to create anew the Greek ideal of man.

Contributions from Study of Physiology. Further revitalization of gymnastics came from an entirely different direction--from physiology. Physiology gave gymnastics a scientific basis, liberating it from empiricism. Attendant upon the progress of mechanics, there developed an increasing interest in human and animal movement. The literature on this subject began with Jean Canappe's short essay, The *Movements of the Muscles*, published in 1546. The great progress in the physiology of muscles continued into the 17th century. Many medical works covered this subject, for instance, Claude Perrault's *Mechanics of Animals* (1680), Ulisse Aldrovandi's *On Quadrupeds*, Fabricius ab Acquapendente's *Movement of Animals* (1614), and the book on animal movements by Antoine Deusing (1612-1666), a Dutch physician.

Girolamo Cardano. But the first great representative of this scientific tendency was Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576) who, characteristically, was a mathematician before he became a physician. Interested especially in geometry, he had a fine sense for the proportions and the size of the human body. His theory of the movement of the muscles is conceived entirely from a mathematical-mechanical standpoint. A practical proof of his positive attitude toward gymnastics is given in

Fig. 21

Probably the first picture of the sports of America, etc.
After Manchester, 1931

his autobiography. There he tells about his personal practice of riding, and in later years walking when visiting patients; moreover, he himself practiced gymnastics daily. He recommended light exercise for pregnant women, swimming, particularly in cold sea-water for skin diseases, but no exercise for older men. Moreover, Cardano insisted on strict individualization as to the quantity and quality of exercise, with special cautioning about warm weather. Then he preferred swimming above all other forms of exercise.

Exercise during Pregnancy. The 16th and 17th centuries developed a particular interest in embryology. Two interesting documents in the field which mention the influence of movement and exercise on the embryo, are the moralistic, didactic poems, *Paedotrophia, or the art of nursing and rearing children*, by Scevole de Sainte-Marthe (1536-1623), and *Callipaedia, or the art of getting beautiful children*, by Claude Quillet (1602-1661), both French poets. Both poems are very similar: they arise from the same idea: to better the habits of pregnant women which threaten to injure the embryo. Thus, in the preface to Quillet's *Callipaedia*, the English translator emphasizes its highly moral purpose: "The subject is certainly very noble, and of great importance to mankind, and the poet handles it in a way not at all offensive to decency and good manners." He dedicated the work to Cardinal Mazarin. The poem of Sainte-Marthe was translated at London in 1797 by H. W. Tytler (sic?), and that of Quillet by N. Rowe in 1733 in London. The former poem has been analyzed by G. Kasten Talmadge, in the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* (Vol. 7, 1938). Typical are the following passages from these poems referring to exercise for pregnant women.

Sainte-Marthe comments in the second book of the Paedotrophia:

> For sleep too much indulg'd, brings in disease,
> And many mischiefs flow from sloth and ease,
> Hence vitiated blood obstructs the veins,
> Hence wat'ry humours breed new woes and pains,
> O'erflow the body with their chilling weight,
> And dull the mind, and lessen vital heat,
> Have you not seen, from lakes and marshy ground,
> The stagnant wave spread noxious vapors round,
> But running water, from the sparkling rill,
> Shines in the glass, and you with pleasure fill?
> The body thus, from EXERCISE, *acquires*
> New health, new strength, and brisker vital fires.

MOTION, and heat produced by motion, prove
The cure of all obstructed paths, remove
Whate'er, of heavy or of useless, fills
The sluggish veins, or stop the vital rills,
And make the pains of childbirth glide away.
When the young foetus pushes into day;
Nor can o'erflowing humour then detain
The ling'ring child, or render labour vain;
But sleep and MOTION make the body pure,
Clear ev'ry passage, bring him forth mature,
Set open all his prison-doors with ease
And free the mother from her long disease.

But gentle be your toil, your MOTION light;
Else this, like sleep indulg'd, may break your might,
Hence you must be the sprightly dance forbid,
For which the fair of France so oft are chid.

From Claude Quillet's poem, *Callipaedia*, we quote the following passage:

How too much MOTION, and too violent Speed,
Had kill'd the Product of th'enliven'd Seed,
When the Formation was but just begun,
And the thin thread of Life but newly spun,
So if a Matron, eight months gone with child,
Dance, like a Bachanalian (sic), loose and wild,
She surely brings the Birth before the Time,
And dearly suffers for her foolish Crime.
From these diversions which her Sex delight,
She should not therefore to INACTION lean,
But follow reason, and her Golden Mean,
For both Extremities alike displease,
IMMOD'RATE MOTION, or immod'rate Ease.
Sloth with gross Humours loads the racy-Blood.
And choaks the Passage of the vital Flood;
That sprightly Vertue and ingenit Heat,
Which the Foetus in just Form complete,
Oppress'd by Inactivity, retire,
Unable to exert their gen'rous Fire.

But well us'd EXERCISE will clear the Mind,
And free the Spirits, which have slept confin'd
Beneath a sluggish Heap of misty Formes
Till the Soul wakes, and all her native Warmth resumes;
Hence the young Pris'ner in the Womb transpires
With greater Freedom, and sound Health acquires,
Well limb'd and hale, when Stranger to the Day,
On the World's Stage he makes life's first Essay.

Johann Amos Comenius. The great Moravian theologian, philologist, and educator, Johann Amos Comenius (1592-1670), also considered the behavior of the parents, and particularly the moral behavior and bodily activity of the pregnant mother necessary for the creation of a sound mind in a sound body. "Above all things it should be the parents' first care to guarantee the health of the offspring; since they cannot be brought up successfully unless they are lively and vigorous. In respect of external actions, the mother should be careful not to indulge in excessive sleep, indolence or torpor, but should go on actively with her usual employments," He also permitted light exercises. Physicians, nursers, and experienced elder matrons he considered suitable persons to give advice to pregnant women.

Pierre Jean Burette. Finally, we may mention still another author who undertook to write on the history of gymnastics. Pierre Jean Burette (1665-1747), a surgeon, wrote a history of ball games in Antiquity, a dissertation on the discus, and memoirs to serve for a history of athletics. In his practice Burette used gymnastics to a great extent; moreover, he considered it an indispensable part of general hygiene. These three works of Burette, however, have only an historical value.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The 16th and 17th centuries made two important contributions to the history of gymnastics: one was the introduction of the concept of medical gymnastics, the other the creation of a scientific basis for gymnastics, namely, an exact physiology of the muscles.

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PART TWO
SELECTION 5

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES
ON PIERRE DE COUBERTIN
AND THE SURVIVAL OF THE OLYMPIC IDEA

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The modern Olympic Games, as Guttmann rightly notes, "are more than just games" (1992, p. 1). In fact, from the very beginning, the Games have always been distinguishable from all other sporting institutions. As their founder, Coubertin, wrote, while "world championships do form part of the Olympic Games: Nevertheless the Olympic Games are "something else" as well, and it is just this "something else" that matters, as it is not to be found in any other variety of athletic competition" (Coubertin, 1908, p. 111). The "something else" was primarily an ideology, what Coubertin called Olympism, a complex admixture of ethics, world-view, metaphysics, and mythology that Coubertin elicited from a variety of contemporary and historical sources. But the Games were also distinguished by an increasingly elaborate and provocative system of ceremonies, rituals, and symbols that sanctified the Games as pseudo-religious festivals. As Coubertin presciently realized, "It is primarily through the ceremonies that the Olympiad must distinguish itself from a mere series of world championships" (1967, p. 34). The Olympic Games were indeed "not simply world championships;" they were, in Coubertin's terms, "a festival of human unity," a complex adumbration of an ambiguous and yet highly compelling "philosophico-religious doctrine" (von Kortzfleisch, 1970, p. 231) that embraced sport as a broad-based humanitarian project of salience in the pursuit of international harmony, peace, and goodwill.

But not only were the Games distinguished by an ideology and an emergent ritualization; they were also distinguished by an illustrious history. A derivative of an ancient Greek project that located competitive athletics at the heart of Hellenic culture, the ancient games were first held in 776 BC at Olympia and remained a significant feature of the ancient Greek calendar until their abolition in 393 AD by the Holy Roman Emperor, Theodosius I. One of a series of Pan-Hellenic games,

the games at Olympia were the oldest, most prestigious, and most celebrated of all the sporting festivals of antiquity. Although the precise origins of the Games remain shrouded in pre-history, the Olympics began as religious ceremonies and developed into cultural celebrations whose influence was felt throughout the ancient Greek world. A combination of forces, including civil war, military conquest, and Christian asceticism, brought the classic tradition to a close, but various forms of Olympics were held sporadically throughout Enlightenment and modern times, most especially in England and Greece during the 19th century. Despite the success of many of these "pseudo-Olympics," as Redmond calls them (1980, p. 7), only Coubertin's modern creation attained significant institutionalized permanence.

Numerous historical forces conspired to produce a 19th century *Zeitgeist* receptive to the renovation of the Olympic Games, including the Greek War of Independence, the excavation of Olympia, the Philhellenic Movement in Europe, the French socio-political climate of the day, the emergence of national programs in physical education and international contests in sport, and the Olympic revivalist movement nurtured in England by Dr. W. P. Brookes and in Greece by the patriotic romanticism of the poet, Panagiotis Soutsos. Coubertin himself drew his ideological inspiration primarily from philosophical idealizations of ancient Hellenism and English Muscular Christianity, as well as from European and French liberal educational theorists and cosmopolitan and internationalist doctrines.

But while Coubertin may well have been most heavily influenced by classical Hellenism and English Arnoldian educational theory and praxis, he also owed a large debt of thanks to the Middle Ages. As Lucas notes, Coubertin's Olympian was "a kind of Greek reincarnation, a modern-day medieval knight, a slightly modified aristocratic English gentleman-athlete" (1976, p. 35). In several other ways the practices and concepts of medievalism infused Coubertin's ideological formulation, perhaps most conspicuously in the form of the early Olympic oath with its direct reference to chivalry. Likewise, while the most powerful, and certainly the most commonly addressed, historical precedents for Coubertin's games emanated both from classical Greece and modern Europe, the Middle Ages were not without profound significance in the transcenturial Olympic narrative. In fact, just as revisionist historians have more recently dismissed the judgment that Medieval Europe was "an historical disaster," nothing more than "a long aimless detour in the march of human progress" (Hollister, 1990, p. 1), and argued rather that the Middle Ages were profoundly creative, a necessarily protean, even Promethean, transitory epoch, so also did the Middle Ages give life and word to the classic Olympic tradition, one that not only impressed the *renovateur* but one that

contributed to the survival of the classic Olympic tradition and ultimately served to rationalize and legitimize Coubertin's particular ideological and "rhetoricized" notion of Olympic games.

The purpose of this essay is to delineate the influence of the Middle Ages on both Coubertin's practical and doctrinal version of the Olympic Games as well as on the survival of the Olympic idea itself, most especially as the idea survived within the world of literature, music, and dance. What I do not want to do is suggest a deep, continuous evolution of thought in terms of the conscious production of a "Coubertinesque" tradition of Olympism. In other words, I do not want merely to contribute to what Foucault calls "the confused, under-structured, and ill-structured domain of the history of ideas" (1975, p. 195) and profess to uncover what Best and Kellner call "great chains of historical continuity and their teleological destinations" (1991, p. 46). Rather I wish to add to the complexity of the historical account that constitutes the Olympic story, particularly as that story unfolded during the early and late Middle Ages and particularly as it is revealed in production in the humanities and arts.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MIDDLE AGES ON COUBERTIN

Given Coubertin's adherence to what he called *le pedagogie sportive*, with its inherent emphasis on the role of sport in social and moral education, it is hardly surprising that he rejected the ascetic dualism that dominated and defined feudal Christian philosophical orthodoxy. "The Middle Ages made a gross error in treating the body as a pile of rags and in teaching man to despise life," he wrote in 1894 (Quoted in Müller, 2000, p. 535). To Coubertin, the antidote to the "alleged opposition between the muscles and the mind" required the "athletic instinct," one distinctly Hellenic in origin, and one, he wrote, that "must be surrounded by esthetic and moral concerns" and "must invite philosophy to arbitrate its challenges" (p. 218). In Coubertin's ideations, educational sport never took hold in the Middle Ages because "it was never a matter of state or a matter of education, as ancient Olympism had been" (p. 218). The manifestation of Olympism required that "in some way the national religion, whether a lay religion or not, must act as a backdrop," a natural religion that was not ascendant in an era, according to Courbertin, "so deeply marked by such sincere and naïve absolutism" (p. 218). Predictably, Coubertin condemned feudalism for suppressing the sporting spirit, but ever seeking the etiology of his Olympic vision and for ever in search of historical precedents and indeed an historical rationalization for his late 19th century athletic agenda, he idealized chivalry as the forerunner, even the precedent for his Olympic

ambitions: "While ascetic tendencies predominated in the Middle Ages," he wrote in 1929, "it was nonetheless in the midst of feudal society that a clearly defined Olympic restoration proceeded: chivalry" (p. 570). To Coubertin, medieval knights, at least in so far as they evinced the intrinsic love of the struggle and embraced the dictates of mutual respect, courtesy, and amity, became the feudal personification of his celebrated Olympic athlete:

> Knights, above all else, are "brothers in arms," brave, energetic men united by a bond that is stronger than that of mere camaraderie, which is powerful enough in itself. In chivalry, the idea of competition, of effort opposing effort for the love of the effort itself, of courteous yet violent struggle, is superimposed on the notion of mutual assistance, the basis of camaraderie (p. 581).

To Coubertin, the chivalric code became an embryonic feudal Olympic moment, an historical reawakening of Hellenic proportions that were of significance in his own interpretative historical synthesis. Although "chivalry became scattered and dissipated," nonetheless in Coubertin's historicism, "a few bits of the ideal, twice blessed by the prestige of success, continued to shine in the thought of Ling de Jahn and of Thomas Arnold" and "a few traces of it, too, in the tentative work of Amoros" (p. 218).

So enamored was Coubertin of chivalry that it indelibly infused the doctrinal manifestation of his Olympic formulation. In 1894 he wrote:

> Athletics can bring into play both the noblest and basest passions; they can develop the qualities of unselfishness and honor just as much as the love of gain; they can be chivalrous or corrupt, virile or bestial; finally they can be used to strengthen peace or to prepare for war. Now, nobility of sentiments, high regard for the virtues of unselfishness and honor, a spirit of chivalry, virile an energy and peace are the prime needs of modern democracies, whether republican or monarchic (p. 322).

Even as late as 1918, he was to proclaim that Olympism advocates "a broad-based athletic education accessible to all, trimmed with manly courage and the spirit of chivalry" (p. 548), and in 1928 he specifically made an impassioned

appeal for a "modern chivalry" that he hoped to see displayed by the athletes at the Amsterdam games, a chivalry characterized by "its high ideals, its healthy roughness, its generous zeal" that to him represented "the culminating point and the supreme goal of athletic activity" (p. 514). In his zealousness, Coubertin even equated medieval chivalry with the modern Anglo-Saxon concepts of sportsmanship, fair play, and honor: "The Olympic idea," he wrote, "is the concept of strong physical culture based in part on the spirit of chivalry—what you here so pleasantly call "fair play"—and in part on the esthetic idea of the cult of what is beautiful and graceful" (p. 588).

As the quintessential expression of Olympic morality and honor, the Olympic oath of the early 20th century included the chivalric ethos: "We swear that we are taking part in the Olympic Games as loyal competitors, observing the rules governing the Games, and anxious to show the spirit of chivalry, for the honor of our countries and for the glory of sport" (p. 482). Interestingly, chivalry may have equally informed Coubertin's ideas about spectator, not just, athlete behavior: "More and more," he argued, "modern crowds lack the chivalrous spirit that thrived in the middle ages among those attending tournaments and popular jousts" (p. 562).

Recapitulating his educational philosophy, Coubertin argued that two roles befell the world of modern sport, "the role of agent of human equilibrium inherited from the athletics of antiquity and the role of social educator inherited from medieval chivalry" (p. 448). Of particular importance in the transmogrification of physical exercise from mere exercise to moral and social force was the medieval tournament. "We must look not only towards the Olympic gymnasium," he proclaimed in 1912, "but also towards those much neglected and much misunderstood tournaments of the middle ages, whose only fault was sometimes to push beyond reason the elegant cult of honor, stoicism and generosity" (p. 448). The transformative quest in the medieval ages was homologous to Coubertin's own quest in the late 19th century. As MacAloon (1981) notes, at the very moment Coubertin seized upon the image of Francis I, a lover of "violent exercises . . . tournaments, masquerades, and amusements of all kinds . . . Coubertin was trying to transform sports and physical exercises from the idle pastimes of the bejeweled and gallant rich and from mere amusements to forms of moral training available to all" (p. 283). Consequently, the medieval tournament was indeed one of the potent strands of adolescent inspiration that lay behind Coubertin's revivalist ambitions (MacAloon, 1981, p. 283).

Coubertin's notion of chivalry impelled his Olympic project in several other notable respects. During his visit to the Wenlock Games, Coubertin witnessed titling at the ring, an event which reenacted the practices of medieval knights at their jousting tournaments, and an event which, according to Young (1996), so impressed Coubertin that ever after he conflated medieval chivalry with Greek athletics as he sought to define and rhetoricize his Olympic idea. As he penned in 1896: "Cette veillée des armes qui précédait la fête toute de joie et d'activité physiques par laquelle le jeune chevalier inaugurait sa vie nouvelle, c'est peut-être ce qui, depuis quinze cents ans, a le plus ressemblé aux jeux olympiques" (Coubertin, 1896, p. 153).

Coubertin also effused about the pageantry and gallantry he saw at Brookes' games. In "some ways antiquity was not enough for Dr. Brookes," Coubertin wrote. "It did not know of gallantry" (Quoted in Müller, 2000, p. 284). Not only did the processionals and costumes impress the young Coubertin but he was also taken with the medieval practice of women crowning the tournament winner, a charming syncretism that may well have presented him with the whole idea of the victory ceremonial but that may well have also reinforced his own particular traditional views about women's participation in the Olympics, a perspective that further evidenced his conflated notions about Hellenic and medieval sport. The practice he endorsed celebrated "the solemn and periodic exaltation of male athleticism, based on internationalism, by means of fairness, in an artistic setting, with the applause of women as reward. This combination of the ancient ideal and the traditions of chivalry, is the only healthy and satisfactory one" (p. 713).

Lest we be too hard on Coubertin and his idealized romanticism, it is worth remembering that he was indoctrinated not by a view of the Middle Ages as barbaric, ignorant, and superstitious, but by the dictates of a revisionist retro-medievalism that endowed the Middle Ages with the unsullied image of a Gothic culture steeped in idealism, spiritualism, community, and heroism. While both the Renaissance denigration as well as the romantic acclamation of medieval culture may well have been almost exclusively grounded in mere ideological projections, the romantics that shaped Coubertin's historical consciousness—John Keats, Sir Walter Scott, Jules Michelet, and Caspar David Friedrich—were impressed by a medieval epoch that stood in stark contrast with the cold rationalism of the Enlightenment, the impersonal mechanism of industrialization, and the centralized and dehumanizing bureaucracy of the emergent nation state. As Cantor puts it: "The violence and cruelty of the Middle Ages, the messiness and disorder, the romantics were vaguely aware of but played down or transmogrified into the

magical effects of truth and beauty of a special kind" (1991, p. 414).

As a result, Coubertin was exposed to a romanticized, idealized perspective of the Middle Ages and chivalry, a perspective filtered through the literature and popular culture of the 19th century. Knights in armor infested the era and were described in literature, depicted in painting, sculpture and stained glass, and appeared in tournaments from England to Hungary. Chivalry and the chivalric code inspired architecture, heraldry, and dress, permeated the language of the European court, enlivened the theater, and played a profound role in creating ideals of social behavior, especially the ideal of the chivalrous gentleman of the Victorian and Edwardian era. Historically popularized in such works as the *Chanson de Roland*, the *Niebelungenlied*, the poems of the troubadours and the minnesingers, the heroic stories of Parsifal, Gawain, Tristam and Iseult, and the epic narratives about King Arthur and his Knights, the chivalric code ultimately served as one of the rhetorical and ideological cornerstones of English public school education and elided into the moral philosophy of Muscular Christianity (Girouard, 1981).

Ironically, despite Coubertin's reverence for the Arnoldian tradition at Rugby, Thomas Arnold actually eschewed the idea of chivalry with its emphasis on honor rather than justice, personal allegiances rather than Christian faith. But by the *fin de siècle*, the modern concept of chivalry had become an ascendant moral code and its values infused notions of sportsmanship and fair play, celebrated amateur sport as the pursuit of virtue and honor rather than money, rationalized the Muscular Christian doctrine that character was more important than intellect, that sport was a worthy moral and social exercise which gave credence to the prodigious public school athletic tradition, all of which enamored Coubertin and helped cement the constituent admixture that comprised his notion of Olympism. In the late 19th century, chivalry, with its attendant concept of courtly love and purity, also informed traditional Victorian attitudes towards women, and towards women's participation in sport, and rationalized the Christian Socialist concern for the welfare of the working class. Like Maurice, Carlyle, and Ruskin, although Coubertin was passionate about the education of manual workers, he was far from being a democrat; he believed in a ruling class and so he remained all his life beholden to the chivalric virtues of nobility, honor, disinterestedness, magnanimity and altruism that energized the *fin de siècle* and that inspired his own quest for *prouesse*, a quest which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the modern Olympic Games Movement.

THE SURVIVAL OF THE OLYMPIC IDEA
IN LITERATURE, MUSIC, AND DANCE

Not only did the Middle Ages impact directly on Coubertin, especially in the form of a transmuted conception of chivalry, but the Middle Ages, especially the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance era, nurtured the survival of the Games through repeated references in literature and the arts. As Mandel rightly notes, "the prestige of classical culture never died" (1976, p. 27) and the Olympic games, as a mythologized and "ideologized" concept, served as a common reference point in the European literary and arts tradition. Although historians have identified references to the ancient games in the professional records of medieval historians, travelers, archeologists, cartographers, and palaeographists (See Lennartz, 1974), and have acknowledged that the classic educational formula of *mens sana in corpore sano* obtained in the thinking of humanist educational theorists and philosophers like Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Vittorio de Feltre, Guarino de Verona, and Matteo Palmieri (See Zeigler, 1979, pp. 80-91), little if any attention has been paid to either mention or use of the ancient games in the world of literature and the arts. Yet references in literature, music, and dance, created a favorable and generally unified perception of the Olympic games that obtained across time and that impacted upon a European consciousness in such a way that Coubertin's ideas about an internationalized and indeed Hellenized form of the games did not seem at all alien or problematic.

As Mandel (1984) has cogently pointed out, on the basis of climate, economic bases, class structure, and culture, feudal European sports and games demonstrated little continuity with the refined ancient Pan-Hellenic sports tradition, and especially the contests at Olympia. Incipient sport cultures in medieval villages and hamlets comprised informal athletic pastimes and contests that were typically associated with religious celebrations and local fairs. Among the feudal nobility, the sporting ethos emerged from hunting and practice for combat. In fact, as Mandel (1976) points out, the sports of the feudal nobility retained a remarkable similarity in both practice and style across Western Europe and the ascendance of the knightly tradition and a distinctive paramilitary sport culture became the conspicuous expression of the power, privilege, and prestige of European nobles. But while the sports of the feudal aristocracy—the hunt, the joust, the tournament—showed little resemblance to the ancient Olympics, nonetheless among the well-educated elite, a curiosity about and allegiance to the classical Greek athletic model never died and aristocrats and nobles throughout western Europe remained the patrons of courtly poetry, formal music, and the prestigious arts, much of which paid allegiance to the

ancient Olympic tradition.

Although references to the Olympic games and Olympia appear frequently in Latin texts from the early Middle Ages as well as in Byzantine literature-- ostensibly for the first time in the work of the Florentine poet and statesman, Mateo Palmieri, and subsequently in the work of European humanists, including Virgilius Polydorus and Hieronymus Mercurialis--the games are first mentioned in western European literature in the work of French dramatist, Robert Garnier, specifically in his tragedy, *Cornelie*. Translated by Thomas Kyd, the tragedy was first performed in London in 1595 under the title, *Pompey the Great, his faire Cornelias Tragedie*, and with it the first allusion to the Olympic games in English literature. Since then, references to the Olympic games have abounded in European literature including in the works of Gustave Flaubert, Thomas Hood, Alexander Pope, William Shakespeare, Voltaire, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Frederick Hölderlin, Jan Kochanowski, and John Milton.

In numerous literary references, the ancient Olympic games are represented as the best of the athletic tradition, as instantiating the epitome of athletic accomplishment, the expression of a sublime, heroic lineage, and hence an institution worthy of glory, reverence, and acclaim. In often hyperbolic verse, the games are memorialized as the reification of divine intervention and hence endowed with religious, spiritual qualities that connote transcendence. As Nicholas Wallington wrote:

> Th' Olympicks first invented by great Jove;
> When with the Titans, combating hee strove
> For victory and got it, Or by Hercules
> When he had vanquish't Auges king of Elie
> (Quoted in Walbancke, 1973).

Invariably, the games are construed as pseudo and even real religious obsequies, a reverent participation in them bringing knowledge, vitality, power and even enlightenment and immortality. In his 16th century poem, *On the Victory of Nicophontos*, the Polish poet, Jan Kochanowski, praises the victory of an ancient pugilist who "won with fists armed with leather bands" and then "came to the front of the Olympia assembly" while Greek gods and demigods cowered in the face of his unusual power (Quoted in Lipoñski, 1990, p. 200). Even in the Homeric mockery of Milton and Pope, the games are endowed with cosmic dimensions and we read of heroic mortals striving from surcease from their ontological agonies,

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seeking freedom from the normal limitations of time and place, and joining together in shared ritual illusions that emulate and ultimately promise access, even if only for a moment, to the carefree existence of divinities.

The honor, nobility, and purity of the ancient Olympics are expressed in a variety of forms. For Renaissance dramatist, George Chapman, writing in 1608, the games instantiate the very model of fairness: ". . . the ancient Elians . . . That ever were the justest arbitrators" (1895, p. 323). For others, the Olympic wreath, the olive wreath, becomes the most pervasive poetic symbol of the purity, nobility, even the religious sanctity, of the athletic endeavor. Renown, fame, and intrinsic gratification, not economic gain, became the reward for victory: "Where whoso conquered, gain'd besides renowne./An Olive Garland as his merits Crowne," wrote William Denny (Quoted in Walbancke, 1973).

Encoded further in the symbol of the wreath is an ideology that lay at the very heart of Coubertin's conception of the modern Olympic games, an ideology of the Olympic games as an international peace movement. Dedicated to the principles of communitas and cosmopolitan magnanimity, Coubertin embraced the pan-Hellenic vision that athletic competition could serve as a contribution toward amity and goodwill. Reiterating an idealized Hellenic ambition, the poet Ben Johnson eulogized Dover's Olympic games as a significant catalyst in the quest for community: "How they advance, true Love, and neighborhood,/And doe both Church, and Common-wealth the good" (Quoted in Walbancke, 1973). In the same publication, William Basse more carefully articulates the ontological possibilities in sport of war and peace: Against the "Furies that Masque, in shapes of sport,/And sted of lengthening, cut life short," Basse espouses an epistemology of peace:

> For Songs as sweet, as hallowes deepe,
> Deserves the sport, whose harmlesse ends
> Are to helpe Nature, life to keep,
> And second Love, in joing friends,
> That neither breakes the loosers sleepe,
> Nor winner home, Triumphing sends,
> Where none,a little gold so spent,
> Nor Time more precious, need repent.
> (Quoted in Walbancke, 1973)

In keeping with Coubertin's later formulation of eurythmy—the integration

of the arts with athletics—literary references also offer appeal to the ancient tradition and practice of the Olympics as hearth and succor not only to the athletic but also to the artistic. Common note was made of the integration of sports and the arts; "Wrestling, Running, Leaping", to borrow John Stratford's words, even "Coursing with Chariots", but also "Contention there, with Poetts and Musitions,/Great emulation'mongst the Rethoritions" (Quoted in Walbancke, 1973). "In those noble times," Michael Drayton similarly proclaims,

> There to their Harpes the Poets sang their Rimes,
> That whilst Greece flourisht, and was onely then
> Nurse of all Arts, and of all famous men.
> (Quoted in Walbancke, 1973)

References to the Olympic games in music emerged from the matrix of innumerable academies that formed the core of the intellectual life of Renaissance Italy. Groups of literati dedicated to ancient learning, their names included the Transformed (*Transformati*) of Milan, the Frozen Ones (*Gelidi*) of Bologna, the Crazed Ones (*Intronati*) of Siena, the Phlegmatics, Frigids, Fervids, Drunkards, and the Olympics. While most of the academies were local, the most important one, the Arcadian Academy, was national in its scope and influence. Although not specifically athletic, the competitive Olympic spirit infused the intellectual life and practices of the Arcadians. The Academy in fact reckoned by Olympiads and at the beginning of each Olympiad, Olympic Games were celebrated in the form of literary competitions in which "the clumsiness and sloth of literary racers and wrestlers were displayed in honor of some illustrious stranger" (Lee, 1978, p. 18). The Italian historian of literature and poet Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni chronicled the meetings of the Academy of Arcadia, *Conversatione di belle lettere*, and published octavo volumes adorned by the chosen emblem of the Academy, the sphinx surrounded by pine and laurel branches. The Olympic competitions were generally of five types: theoretical discussions, eclogues, canzoni, sonnets, and madrigals and epigrams.

While not the only score that drew its inspiration from the ancient Olympics, Pietro Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* remains the most renowned and the most influential. If, as Neville argues, Metastasio's texts contained ideals and precepts that played a critical role in the "image of majesty" essential to the welfare of the Hapsburg monarchy, then Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* certainly augmented the "image of majesty" that increasingly came to define the ancient Olympics (1999, p. 140). The premiere for Metastasio's 11th *dramma per musica* with music by Antonio

Caldara celebrated the birthday of Empress Elizabeth and was held in Vienna in 1733 in the outdoor Favorita theater. As many as 47 composers are known to have produced a complete setting for Metastasio's libretto and it was performed throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries in Europe's most influential cities. Some of *L'Olympiade's* most striking set pieces were also kept alive through attention from such creative talents as Gluck, Johann Sebastian Bach, and Beethoven. From the early 18th century on, at least in the world of music, *L'Olympiade* sustained the ancient Olympic games as an indelible dimension of an European historical consciousness.

Metastasio's *L'Olympiade* was a classic example of 18th century opera seria, or Neapolitan opera, an operatic style that swept throughout western Europe during the course of the 18th century. The scene is the country of Elis, close to the city of Olympia, on the banks of the river Alpheus. In fact, the greater part of Act I, Scene I is given to a descriptive evocation of the Olympic atmosphere, the religious rituals and obsequies, the mass excitement, the sports, and the prize. In keeping with literary conventions, *L'Olympiade* is a chivalric story, in which noble values of patriotism, loyalty, filial love, and the claims of friendship are verified and re-affirmed.

It is worth noting that Metastasio's text remains one of the few direct references that actually acknowledge the ancient games as the sacred preserve of men. In fact, Metastasio specifically uses the gender specificity of the games to enervate his drama with even greater suspense as both Aristea and Argene wait for news of the games outside the arena: "No, beauteous Argene: the law that suffers not our sex to be spectators" (Hoole, 1800, p. 108). In a prelude to the attitudes that were to govern Coubertin's fin de siècle games, in which women were celebrated more as spectatorial accessories to cheer on men rather than as athletes themselves, Argene notes that: "Alas! 'twere greater pain, perhaps, to see/The man we love expos'd in such a conflict,/Nor have it in our power to give him succor" (Hoole, 1800, p. 108).

Of all the stagings of *L'Olympiade*, Pergolesi's remains the most highly esteemed. Beyle, writing under the name of Stendahl, describes Pergolesi's particular interpretation as "the unrivalled masterpiece of dramatic expression in the whole repertory of Italian music" (1972, p. 219). Numerous other composers, including Galuppi, Hasse, and Jommelli based their own settings of the text on Pergolesi's model; it was heard in numerous pasticcio versions throughout Europe, including the one given on April 20, 1742, at the King's Theater, London, as

Meraspe. Only one other opera drew its name from the ancient Olympics; but, written in 1788 by Pierre Joseph Candeille, the composer of *Castor et Pollux*, *Les jeux olympiques* remained unperformed.

With the advent of the Renaissance, most notably in 15th century Italy and France, all of the arts, especially dance, drama, and music, enjoyed a resurgence of interest and artistic creativity. The same neo-classicism that inspired Metastasio also inspired poets, musicians, and dancers who banded together into Camerata, the fruits of whose work resulted in Italy in the proliferation of the opera and in France in the founding of the ballet, and, as Martin writes: "With the establishment of ballet as a theatrical art form, all those concerned were convinced that the choric drama of the Greeks had been restored" (1939, p. 187). As a result, the opera-ballet, and the related *ballet-héroique* and *acte de ballet*, became enormously popular in France, and increasingly throughout western Europe, especially in England, Austria, Italy, Russia and Scandinavia. The opera-ballet served as yet another artistic vehicle that permitted the Olympic games to reaffirm their elitist glamour and romantic charm within the historical consciousness of Europe.

Eighteen operas-ballets were performed at the Academie Royale de Musique beginning in 1697 with *L'Europe galant*, and ending in 1735 with *Les Indes galantes*. The first opera-ballet to feature Olympic sports was *Les Fêtes grecques et romaines*, performed on July 13, 1723. From its opening in Paris, the work was an immediate success and it was revived up until 1770. Fuzelier wrote in his preface that:

> *Les Fêtes de grecques et romaines* is a completely new type of Ballet . . . France has up to now only used the Fable as subject matter appropriate for music. In a more daring manner, Italy has taken events from History for her operas. The Scarlattis and Bononcinis have already allowed their Heroes to sing that which Corneille and Racine would have declaimed. . . Brought together in this Ballet are the best known Festivals of Antiquity which appeared to be most adaptable to the stage and to music . . . (Quoted in Anthony, 1978, p. 140)

Les Fêtes grecques et romaines featured a prologue and three divertissements; *Les jeux olympiques*, *Les Bacchanales*, and *Les Saturnales*.

Les jeux olympiques involved athletes who had won prizes in wrestling, boxing, and

running, and also included the famous *pas de deux lutteurs* which was performed in 1733 and later in 1741 by the famed Louis Dupré and Javillier *l'aine*.

While the operas-ballets were the most successful in geographically transmitting the Olympics in stylized form throughout Western Europe, other dances featured the Olympic games. Jean-Joseph Mouret, *le musicien des grâces* as he was posthumously known, composed a musical divertissement for *une comédie héroique* entitled *Les Jeux Olympiques ou le Prince malade* that featured dancers and was first performed in November 1729 at the Théâtre Italien. The text for *Les Jeux Olympiques* was written by La Grange and the prologue was entitled *les Guerrieres et les Amazones* and the main divertissement, *Les Athlètes*. Of the three entrees, *Les Athlètes* was judged by the *Mercure*, in keeping with the heraldic virtuosity of operatic as well as contemporary Olympic music, as "the most striking, full of martial allure, and all the airs and instrumental music were accompanied by brilliant trumpet fanfares" (Quoted in Viollier, 1950, p. 174).

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

> This *entrée* is authentically based on the knowledge which has been transmitted to us concerning ancient Gymnastics, particularly Wrestling, and the four wrestlers modeled their different attitudes on the Antique, so that one seemed to see those famous Athletes who disputed the prizes when the Olympic Games were celebrated (1763, pp. 69-70).

One of Noverre's great Stuttgart creations, *La Mort d'Hercule* featured some of the most prestigious names in European dance, including Gaeton Vestris, his brother, Angiolo Vestris, Lepy, Louisa Toscani, and Nancy Levier. Connecting 18th century ballet to the chivalric tradition of English aristocratic tournaments, the use of wrestlers, Olympic sports and athletes, may well have emerged from a concern with "the Ancients", but it was, as Winter writes, also the extension of a "specialty whose origins were in the knightly tournaments" (1974, p. 152). Like other

choreographers, such as Gaspare Angiolini and Salvatore Vigano, both of whom were widely acclaimed for their creativity in staging military combats, Noverre choreographed athletics with power and intrepidity. He composed the wrestlers' ensemble at Stuttgart not only for the first act of *La Mort d'Hercule* but also for the first act of *Alceste*.

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

Both the remarkable success as well as the form of Coubertin's creation can, in part, claim justification from the literary and artistic precedents that defined the cultural milieu across the centuries that preceded the restoration of the Olympic games. From the moment in English literature in 1595 that the dramatist Thomas Kyd first proclaimed that athletes competed in the games in order "to grace themselves with honor" (Quoted in Lennartz, 1974, p. 33), the Olympics have been eulogized in music, extolled in prose and verse, and celebrated on the stage as a dignified, noble, and indeed honorable form of sport, one that serves as the quintessential and most hallowed model of all sport models, especially with the attendant moralism and enlightened, non-materialistic ideology that helped define the games. Whether co-opted by poets for patriotic reasons, choreographers for creative and entertainment reasons, or composers for economic gain, the games have endured history as instantiating excellence, grandeur, enlightenment, and transcendence, the most sublime expression of sport with connotations of *noblesse oblige*.

CONCLUSION

While Olympic historians have rightly tended to emphasize the influence of ancient Greece and the culture in 19th century Europe on both Coubertin's conception of the Olympic Movement as well as on the very survival of the ancient Olympic athletic tradition, we should not ignore the impact that the Middle Ages had on the Olympic narrative. No longer simply consigned to the dust heap of history as "the one enormous hiccup in human progress" (Hollister, 1990, p. 1), the Middle Ages, as Backman concisely puts it, "really do matter" (2003, p. 1). And they really do matter in the unfolding of the Olympic Games story.

Coubertin, himself, was in a sense a romantic medievalist. He may well have been most deeply persuaded by the sentiments of ancient PanHellenism and the tradition of pedagogical anglophilia, but both by genealogy, education, and intellectual proclivity, he was in some measure defined by the Middle Ages. Of course, Coubertin's perception of the feudal epoch entailed the imposition of 19th century concepts and formulations, such as evolutionary organicism and the very notion of Progress, that are no longer compelling or persuasive in the 21st century. Rather than focus on "the transcendent triumph of good over evil and the incarnate absorption of the material into the ideal" as medieval intellectuals did, we have been taught to value "ambiguity and ambivalence, the fragmentary and discordant, the narcotic gifts of modernism," as Cantor writes (1991, p. 415). Coubertin, though, forever embraced the triumph of honorable and noble virtues and practices, and, at least as far as the Middle Ages were concerned, his historical consciousness, indeed his ideology of athleticism, was defined by what Southern has called the "movement of 'chivalry and learning'—all that we comprehend in the word 'civilization'" (1964, p. 13-14).

Likewise, the Middle Ages, and most especially the late Middle Ages, encompassing the period of the Renaissance, witnessed a resurrection of the ancient Olympic *mythos* in a wide variety of the literary and perforative arts. Preserved in Latin and Greek texts, relayed in the Byzantine histories of Kedrenos, Zonoras, and Malalas (Lennartz, 1974), popularized in the writings of Italian humanists (Lee, 2004), and incorporated into the discourse of a European *literati*, the Olympic theme percolated into numerous texts and artistic performances, such that the idea of the Olympics as a noble and venerable model of sport infiltrated the cultural consciousness and indeed the language of Western Europe well into the late 19th century (Segrave, 2004).

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PART TWO
SELECTION 6

OUR LEGACY FROM THE MIDDLE AGES

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Most of the civilized Western world was illiterate in the Dark Ages and the early Middle Ages, Thus, accurate sources of information about physical education, or even physical activities, are quite scarce. The relatively few who could read and write were affiliated with the Church. Save for the view of a few Church fathers, such as Clement of Alexandria, who recommended walking, wrestling, and ball playing, the general attitude of the Church was negative to anything that might result in the glorification of the body. The moral decay which followed the Roman hyper-civilization had been interpreted by the Christians as a result of paganism. Glorification of the body was also seen as a form of paganism. It should not be surprising, therefore, that the Church pressured Emperor Theodosius into abolishing the Olympic Games in 394 C.E. For physical education and its related activities, the Dark Ages had already begun.

The affiliation of Roman activities with pagan religion, the excesses of the spectacles staged by the Romans, and the Christians' experiences in the arenas may understandably justify this reaction. In its attempts to give the poor and oppressed something to look forward to, Christianity sanctified poverty and the denial of all that was of the flesh. Preaching that life on earth was only a preparation for life hereafter and was, therefore, of inferior value, the education of the soul and spirit was the only kind that mattered, the Church encouraged neglect and even abuse of the body. However, although not encouraged by the Church, nor taught in the schools, play and games continued to exist among the people, as is evidenced by frescoes, miniatures, and poetry.

From literature it appears that the Dark Ages were a time of strife and famine, of disease and servitude. of cruelty and misery/ Continual invasions and pillages by barbarians caused people to flee their land and seek the protection of those better equipped to offer resistance. In the process they often relinquished their

freedom and lived in servitude, gradually becoming chattels of the domain.

With the settling down of the invaders and with the reorganization of the political structure, Europe arrived at a situation from where, be it slowly and irregularly, it could progress to a higher cultural level. By the eleventh century, feudal reign had been firmly established, religious laws dominated, agriculture improved, trades and guilds had developed, commerce had begun to expand, and cities had been born. A sharp division of the representative groups or classes was characteristic of the feudal system. Aside from the itinerant workers, society was made up of knights, farmers, burghers, and clergy. Because of their varying occupations, attitudes, and traditions, the training, education, and recreation of these segments of the population followed individual, although not completely different, patterns.

THE FARMERS

Although the Middle Ages were predominantly agricultural, the farmers were the least organized and least esteemed class. They neither formed a unit as the nobility or clergy did, nor did they show the independence and quest for individual freedom demonstrated by the inhabitants of the cities. Tied to the land, but insecure, as their existence was continually threatened by the pillages of roaming bands, the farmers sought the protection of the more powerful knights. In this process many lost their independence completely and sank to the level of domestic animals. dependent on the whims o their masters. The lack of class-consciousness may have contributed much to the slow development of the farmers as a whole and to their educational aspirations in particular. The more adventurous escaped to the cities, among them many serfs who would earn their freedom by keeping out of their masters' hands for a year and a day.

Since in most instances the farmers were not allowed to bear arms for fear of uprisings, and since hunting and fishing were the prerogative of the lord of the manor, these skills gradually faded out of the farmers' existence. A chronicle of 1075, the *Annales Lamberti*, decries the decay and lack of physical fitness among the farmers which made them unsuitable for military duty. However, indigenous games that had been passed down through the ages continued to be popular with them. Paintings and etchings by artists of the later Middle Ages (e.g., Dürer, Burgher), depict a great variety of these activities. Running, jumping, stone casting, wrestling, and ball playing were very popular competitive activities. Most festivities and celebrations included such competitive events as foot races, sack races, and tug-of-

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war contests. Both men and women competed vigorously for cash prizes. The foot races in which men wore bells round their legs were particularly popular, for they provided an opportunity for one to become a professional runner or messenger. The once warlike javelin throw gradually was replaced by feats of greater strength, such as throwing the quarter-staff and tossing the caber. The latter is still popular in Scotland. Various forms of jumping, such as the standing and running long jump, various forms of the hop-step-and-jump, and the pole vault are still practiced today. In addition to handball, many ball games were played with implements like sticks, hammers, or bats. In the later Middle Ages various forms of bowling were introduced. Depending on the geographical area, bowling, nine-pins, bowls, skittles, closh, loggats, and similar activities became popular.

Dancing remained a celebrated activity among the farmers despite the fact that it often ended up in big brawls. Serpentine dances and round dances, accompanied by singing or by the music of the fiddle, bagpipe, flute, or drums, differed greatly from the stately dances of the nobility. Wild jumping and stomping often resulted in a kind of marathon dance from one village to the next. Occasionally whipped into frenzy, it became infected with a fanatical religious craze which, one started, would sweep a countryside, sucking in new victims and leaving behind a trail of prostrate physical wrecks. Its participants singing and begging, the St. Vitus Dance, or dance of death as it later became known, would sustain itself, covering such distances as from the Rhine to the Belgian coast before it lost its momentum. At farm festivals and on religious holidays, the dance played an important role, not only as a reminder of earlier religious dances and folk dances such as the sword dance, but also in the form of competitive dances when the wildest steps and the most complicated jumps and strangest postures would vie for the prize.

THE CLERGY

Although the Christian Church had clearly expressed its disapproval of sportive events, the clergy did not always enforce the rules and quite often interpreted them to their own liking. As the clergy were recruited from various layers of the population and represented different locales and nationalities, it is not strange that they did not present a united front. The great variety of orders, ranging from the "beggar orders" to the "knightly orders," offered one an opportunity to serve the Church in many capacities.

It is true that the Church frowned on wasteful, non-utilitarian physical

activity and that consequently most games were discouraged. However, military preparations were definitely utilitarian and therefore not wasteful. Orders such as the Hospitalers and the Templars, which were organized for the defense of the Church, might account for the different attitudes that the clergy had to physical activities. In 1342 the *Chronicle of Constance* made mention of the fact that the monks of Reichenau maintained battle horses to participate in tournaments. Members of the order were probably born nobility and therefore reared in the tradition.

Indications are that the monks were less tolerant toward physical recreation than were the priests who lived in closer contact with the population. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (1404-1463), later Pope Pius II, proposed in his *Essay on the Education of Children* a program of natural education that included activities in archery, hammer and spear throwing, horseback riding, swimming, hunting, ball playing, and other simple games. He insisted that children should not be overloaded with work, stating that "Plants do well even if they are only watered sparingly; too much watering kills them." Despite this admonishment the *Schola Exterior (*and, of course, the *Schola Interior*) continued their practices of neglecting the physical needs of their pupils for a long time. It was not until much later that occasionally play days would be permitted to enable the pupils to give vent to their exuberance in such competitive activities as stone casting, jumping, foot racing, and wrestling.

As dancing was considered an expressive instrument to profess religion, its practice in Christian churches was maintained for a long time. It was a part of all official functions--from wedding to wakes--and was practiced in cemeteries, church portals, and even the choirs of the churches themselves.

In many instances members of the clergy seem to have taken an active part in various physical activities. It has been reported that monks and priests took part in various ball games and in bowling. Their participation n the latter was not regarded as a sportive endeavor, but rather as a ritual representing a symbolic destruction of the heathen. When the rage of playing *soul* hit France, the clergy were known to have joined in the game immediately after serving Mass. In England particularly the Church seems to have played a rather active part in the organization of games. Church accounts indicate that the clergy advanced funds to meet the operating costs of competitive events and were engaged in a rental service which provided complete outfits (costumes, bells, hobby horses, and all the other trappings) for the performance of the famous Morris dances.

THE KNIGHTS

Knighthood gradually grew into a tightly woven international fraternity which observed strict regulations in order that it could survive as a ruling minority. Its official code of operation to which all the entering knighthood had to pledge themselves sounded almost ideal, for it bound the knight to be true to God and to his feudal lord; to act as a protector of the weak and oppressed; and to dedicate his life as a crusader for justice. In reality, however, knights turned out to be materialistic and concerned with their own interests. Often poorly educated, the knights were mainly concerned with the show and pomp that accompanied their predominantly military calling. Mental power became equated with physical, so that the aim of the time was not to be wise but to be strong. Tales describing great feats of strength emphasized the importance of this aspect of the knights' education. Pepin the Short, King of France (752-768) earned the respect of the nobles by severing the head of a lion with one blow of his sword, a feat of strength which made up for his lack of stature. Lifting an opponent in full armor above one's head; chinning oneself in full armor, and his horse as well, as a Dutch noble is reported to have done; slicing an adversary and his horse in half, which Godfrey of Bouillon is said to have done during the Crusades, were other examples of strength with which minstrels and troubadours kindled the vanity of the knights and thus perpetuated the myth of the ascendancy of physical power. In order to gain the trust and respect of his men, a commander had to be able in full armor to mount his horse without the aid of stirrups. Lame persons or invalids were excluded from official functions, and cripples could not hold the office of judge. This fetich of physical power influenced the lower classes to such an extent that a man was no longer allowed to manage his own affairs without his wife's permission if he were not able to ride a horse or walk three steps without assistance.

Although the nobility did not make it a practice to socialize with the lower classes, the nobles, including kings, did not hesitate to match their prowess with that of the common people to reaffirm their superiority. The progress of craftsmanship resulted in stronger but heavier armor. Consequently, dexterity and agility had to make way for even greater strength and stamina, and it was only much later, after gunpowder had made armor obsolete, that sword fighting made way for fencing.

Education was generally in the hands of the clergy, who conducted boarding schools, the *Schola Exterior*, where the children of the nobility were introduced to the seven *Artes Liberalis*. Depending on the administration and location, there were at

times opportunities for pupils to let off steam in various forms of recreation. However, the Church's condemnation of useless play precluded any planned physical activities that might be construed as a program of physical education. As this curriculum did not meet the needs of the warrior class, the knights developed their own program, which was highly specialized and aimed at the utilitarian goal of military preparedness. It included some familiarity with the social graces, poetry, religion music, and dance; but these subjects were usually regarded as frills. From the age of seven the young page received instruction in the gentle arts of horsemanship, swordsmanship, and hunting. Other activities were running, jumping, climbing, wrestling, stone casting, swimming, diving, and ball playing. When reaching his fourteenth birthday, the youth, now a squire, would seek an apprenticeship with a strange knight to begin his preparation for the seven *Probiates* which made him eligible for knighthood. Described in the chevalier's manual, the *Mirror of the Knight* (ca. 1400), these included proficiency in:

1. Horseback riding with rapid mounting and dismounting;
2. Swimming and diving;
3. Archery with long- and crossbow;
4. Climbing with the help of ropes, poles, or ladders and scaling walls;

> (**Note**: As preparation for storming the walls of besieged castles, the knights practiced a variety of climbing skills. Boards, poles, and ropes in perpendicular or inclined position and even a human tower (formed by standing on each other's shoulders) were used as apparatus. One method was to drive spikes in the ramparts in a manner similar to the alternating pattern on power-line poles. A short sprint and a jump would enable the knight to place his foot on the first spike. After this he had to mount the spikes in a spread-legged position, facing the wall and not using his hands.)

5. Sword fighting, wrestling, casting stones, and jumping;
6. Dancing; and
7. Engaging in tournaments, which included the joust and *bouhourt*.

Aside from this, the novice had to render many personal services and menial tasks, such as assisting in the hunt; handing his knight lances during the battle or

tournament; caring for the horses and arms; carving meat; serving wine; and performing as a dancing partner for ladies of the manor. Upon becoming of age (twenty-one), or sometimes earlier if he distinguished himself in battle, the squire would be admitted to knighthood. Like many of the athletic events which formed part of the preparation, the knighting ceremony itself showed certain analogies with the rites of the Greeks and Romans.

Ultimately the aim of the physical program of the knight was a preparation for participation in the tournament. The naturalness that at one time had been part of the knightly exercises was lost completely and was replaced by a very formalized set of rules which placed emphasis on adherence to manner, on courtliness, *hauteur*, show, pomp, and pride, all of which tended to accentuate the intense rivalry and the erotic nature of the knight's existence. Huizinga (p. 80) notes:

> Sportive struggles always and everywhere contain a strong dramatic element and an erotic element. In the medieval tournament these two elements had so much got the upper-hand, that its character of a contest of force and courage had been almost obliterated by its romantic purport.

As a result of the specialization of the activities and the increased weight of the protective gear, many activities such as running, jumping, swimming, and throwing were neglected.

Although the institution of the tournament as a regulated activity in the second half of the eleventh century had been credited to the Frenchman Geoffrey de Pruilly, there are various indications that the activity had already existed long before. Emperor Theodoric is said to have organized a combat in a fashion of Roman formations as early as 534. The Saxon King Henry the Fowler has been credited with having organized the tournament as a means for the expression of chivalry after defeating the Hungarian invaders in 933. From various sources it may be concluded that the Romans participated in a similar activity which was later expanded as the Teutonic tribes joined their armies. The single combat or duel seems to have been a result of an element in Teutonic justice which provided for trial by battle. Deprived of its religious connotations by the universal adoption of Christian law, the activity remained in use but took on a more sportive character, exchanging the sharp weapons for blunt ones. Rather informal in the beginning, this duel on horseback, tjost or joust, was fought with blunt lances. It

was a natural result for the jousts to become organized on a larger scale in which duels were fought on a group basis, thus portraying the characteristics of the battle more dramatically. This still rather informal and spontaneous activity was called the *bouhourt*. As the *bouhourt* grew in popularity, it became more formalized, adopted stricter rules, and introduced a more rigorous screening of the participants' knightly credentials. These well-organized and supervised mock battles which, next to the real battlefield, were practically the only stage where the knights could prove their skill, power, stamina, manliness, and honor, became known as tournaments.

The *bouhourt* was not considered dangerous, for both combatants and horses were well padded and blunt weapons were used. The aim of a combatant was to develop stamina and to force his opponent to surrender by wearing him out. It was not until halfway into the thirteenth century that abuses slipped in when French and German knights reintroduced the sharp sword. To heighten the sportive risk even more, the participants wore only shields and helmets for protection.

The joust originally was conducted in an open field where the combatants had an opportunity to rush each other, each attempting to lift his opponent out of the saddle with the aid of a blunt lance. In situations where the lance did not prove successful, the sword had to decide the outcome. At a later date the joust became more formalized. The combat area was enclosed, and a wooden barrier was erected to keep the opponents separated. The purpose of the contest became not so much to unseat one's opponent as to see how many lances one could break before doing so. Sine honor, ideals, and ladies often were the cause of the joust, the saying to "to break a lance" became a common expression to indicate a person's valiant efforts for a good cause. The jousting list was covered with sand to provide some protection for the armored knights when they tumbled from the saddle and had "to bite the dust." Despite this precaution, accidents were numerous, many fatal. Traveling from joust to joust, and from tournament to tournament, were groups of orthopedic practitioners who specialized in the treatment of the occupational hazards of the jousts, prescribing medicine, "physiotherapy," and crude machinery for traction. The appearance of "jousting bums," who traveled the circuit not only to prove their superiority in skills but also to collect the prize money, lowered the idealistic standards considerably. The situation became even worse when professional jousters made their entrance, and the losers not only lost their horses and armor but also had to pay ransoms to gain their freedom. Unlike the victor of the Olympic contest, the champion of the joust or tournament set out to prove he was invincible.

Despite the many fatal accidents, the malpractices, the opposition of the Church (which refused to bury the victims in hallowed ground), and the repeated ordinances of kings, the Gallic Games hardly changed their rules and procedures during the half millennium of their existence. Finally, in the first half of the sixteenth century the tourneys came to an end, partly as a result of royal decrees and a papal anathema, but probably more because of the futility of their cause and the danger of their becoming an anachronism with the invention of gunpowder.

Although the personal danger of man-to-man combat was eliminated, the jousting spirit was not yet dead. It found a release in the various forms of tilting: at the ring, at the quintain, and at the Saracen. In tilting at the Saracen, a doll representing the hated Turk was fastened to a pole. The contraption was rigged in such a manner that, if not hit squarely on target, it would swing around and hit the assailant. A popular pastime was the carrousel, an equestrian obstacle course which featured pattern riding, jumping, various forms of tilting, and the beheading of the Saracen. To heighten the festivities, parades with flags and banners, allegories, and even dancing were added to the program.

Since in almost all parts of Europe ball games had been an indigenous activity, it is not surprising that they were incorporated into the knightly exercises. Long *paume*, *jeu de paume*, handball, rackets, tennis, and similar games were enthusiastically played by nobles and by the common people alike. On the continent ball games often seem to have been affiliated with dancing. The dances of the nobility, often accompanied by song and simple music, consisted mainly of slow, contained, stately movements--probably a result of the tight-fitting clothes and the restraint required by the dignity of their class. Since in the beginning the castles were not very sumptuous, dancing took place in the same hall where the ball games were practiced. Etymologically this could explain the usage of the word "ball" to mean a dance party and the word "ballroom" for a dance hall.

THE BURGHERS

Largely as a result of charters and privileges obtained from the "ever-money-needing" ruler, free merchants and craftsmen were able to erect their own *burhs* or walls. Within their confines the burghers soon developed a feeling of independence, insisting on freedom to manage their own affairs. Since nobles and clergy were excluded, the burghers' son became a class of their own, enjoying much personal free and almost equal rights. Not tied down to the land like farmers, nor restricted by the traditional behavior of the chivalrous caste, the burghers had an opportunity

to explore new avenues in practically every direction of their existence.

Since most burghers still had close ties with the countryside, many traditional activities were perpetuated. However, because of small living quarters, poor lighting, and little open space, many existing games were modified. Many city governments passed regulations as to where sports events were allowed to take place and often provided recreational facilities at the cities' expense. This went even so far as to utilize the cemeteries to keep the children off the streets. Quite often land outside the city walls was obtained to furnish the burghers a playground for their Sunday and holiday athletic endeavors. Later when affluence increased, the guilds and some rich citizens were able to afford malls and ball houses which allowed them to enjoy their recreation without concern for the weather.

Still popular were many indigenous exercises. such as running, jumping, throwing, stone- and quarter staff casting, wrestling, and ball playing. For a long time they remained the prime attraction of the competitive events scheduled at the folk festivals. It was on these occasions that the burghers could measure their skills against one another's and even against those of visiting farmers and sometimes of a chance noble who dared risk his superior status. Foot races, sack races, tug-of-war contests, and similar activities attracted many participants among women as well as men. Medieval chronicles testify to the active part that city fathers took in the organization and administration of these athletic events. Records referring to prize moneys, results, victors, and notices about equipment appear among the minutes of regular civic business.

Partly as a result of the mass attention focused on them at these occasions, the games gradually lost their spontaneity and turned into spectator sports. That this did not always benefit the activity may be demonstrated by the degeneration of wrestling, which turned into a kind of judo. Roughness and viciousness, aimed at maiming one's opponent, replaced the original contest of strength and skill. Although the practice of simple games (many of which have been preserved in our children's games today) remained popular, the sophistication of the burghers expressed itself in the development of various ball games and in the refinement of equipment and facilities. The rough stone once used in target practice evolved into a wooden ball employed in bowling. The roughhewn tree became a polished quarter staff. The straw-packed animal skin made places for the inflated ball. Gloves, paddles, and rackets gradually replaced bare hands, and nets were substituted for barriers.

That sophistication did not always go hand in hand with refinement is evident in the people's conduct at sports events which required mass participation. Wrestling matches between the men of London and of Westminster on Lammas Day ended up in a free-for-all that lasted for days. In football games with more than 200 players on each side, fierce battles were fought from city gate to city gate. At times the goal was represented by the bank of a river, which offered an opportunity for reciprocal dunking parties. The physical and material damage caused by these bouts resulted in many ordinances and decrees restricting or completely abolishing the games.

The game of *soule* was a French version of football. (The word *soule* was derived from the medieval French word *sole* that meant hoof or foot. In Dutch soccer terminology "to take a ball of the hoof" still describes a technique in which the heel is used to kick a ball from behind one's back.) It resembled rugby, for there were few or no rules restricting the manner in which the teams fought for possession of the stuffed leather ball. Competition raged between guilds, villages, and castles. Apparently this game was one of the first examples of the democratizing influence of sport, for burghers, villeins, clergymen, and even nobles took part in it, often sharing a communal meal when the game was over. Frequently associated with celebrations of the Church, but nevertheless often banned by the country's rulers, it remained popular until the late 1700s. Games of a similar nature were to be found in most countries of Europe.

In order to safeguard the security of their cities and to protect their commerce, the burghers were forced to organize a military body. Drawing on the manpower of their own class, they created a militia. The training of this burghers' army might be considered as the first program of public physical education. Part of the military training consisted of archery. Soon the various guilds organized competitions which grew into regular festivals. Limited at first to competitions among the guilds of one city, this practice soon culminated in to competition between cities. Skeet-, bird-, and target shooting were part of the program. Targets were affixed to trees or standards by nails. The best marksman, able to hit the target in the center of the bull's eye, would "hit the nail on the head." Soon, in imitation of the knightly games, the archery festivals developed into great pageantries, boasting parades, heralds on horseback, and jesters who drove in dog carts. In the course of the sportive merriment a jester would present the booby prize to the competitor with the poorest showing.

Eager to imitate the practices of the nobility, the burghers organized

tournaments of their own in which they approximated all the knightly traditions. First limited to archery, fencing, and indigenous exercises, they soon adopted other knightly exercises such as tilting and riding the quintain. Still later these cherished activities of the nobles became a form of entertainment when commoners dressed up as knights of different nationalities gave performances. A byproduct of these sideshows was the carrousel. This arrangement of wooden horses and gondolas offered a quasi-tilting event and provided the burghers with the same amusement that our merry-go-round provides children today (e.g., the Tuileries in Paris where children using a lance can tilt at the ring)

Another aspect of military training was the preparation for close combat. Instruction in sword fighting included the manipulation of a variety of hand weapons (sword, knife, dagger, dusack, pike, and halbert) as well as wrestling. Fencing or sword fighting became so popular that professional fencing guilds readily developed to provide the needed coaches. Soon their graduates, the master fencers, opened private schools where the burghers could practice the noble art. The exhilaration of bearing arms, fortifying the burghers' self-esteem, led to the formation of social fencing guilds. The fencing schools became recreation centers and the first public schools for "physical education." Dominated by the social fencing guilds, they were not truly public, for the burghers this time adopted a discriminatory policy of barring the nobility. The fencing guilds of St. Mark (Marksbrothers) and St. Veith (Vitusbrothers), whose festivals, parties, and rowdy behavior often became a source of irritation, were the most widely known. Sanctioned by royal charters these fraternities were able to maintain themselves into the nineteenth century, particularly after they had become established in various universities.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In reviewing the literature describing daily life in the Middle Ages, it proves very difficult to assess which original contributions this period made to our heritage. If one excludes the experiments of the Humanists which already heralded the beginnings of a new era, there is not much left that ties in with the convictions that we now hold. True, Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), philosophizing about the naturalness of man, recommended physical education as medicine for the soul and proposed wholesome recreation as a means to regenerate the fatigued mind. Claiming that the "hot blood" of youth required activity, Cardinal Giovanni di Domenici (1357-1419) pointed out the vitality of play to maintain vitality. However, although spontaneous recreation "unconsciously" put these principles into action,

purposeful physical training was mainly concerned with the utilitarian approach. The knights and later the burghers most of all wanted to prepare able bodies for military service. It is only natural that to make it bearable the participants adopted procedures that added some flavor to the hard physical labor.

Of course we see some similarities in various games and exercises practiced then and now. And, although it might be possible to identify some games tat originated in this period, it must be realized that most activities were not original in medieval times but were adaptations or refinements of earlier games. However, more important than the skills are the concepts that underlie the conduct of activities. Neither the Dark Ages nor the Middle Ages presented us with such lofty ideals as the Greek "harmony of mind and body" or with such noble aspirations as those of the Olympic Games. Not until Guts Muths wrote the first manual for physical education (1793) were these objectives reintroduced into physical education.

The glorification of knighthood seems to rest more on romantic sentiment than on historical facts, which indicate that treachery and violence made a mockery of so-called chivalry. The characteristic of fairness, which one generally associates with sportive events, appears to have had its roots in England. Part of this may be due to the fact that tournaments were not introduced in England until the end of the twelfth century and never really gained a strong foothold there.

In his struggle for recognition as an individual, man discovered in sports a meeting ground where he could prove himself under fair conditions. The respect for democratic practices and the self-esteem of the burgher combined with the desire for fair-play may well be one of the most important contributions that the Middle Ages made to our heritage.

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PART THREE

SOCIAL FORCES INFLUENCING SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES: A *"VERTICAL"* APPROACH TO HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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In just about every sport and physical education history book available, the reader will find a "unilateral" historical narrative in which the reader is led through a chronological treatment of the subject with relatively little, if any, effort at broader interpretation. Here, in Part Three, instead of attempting to summarize the preceding chapters about the history of the Middle Ages in sport and physical education in this way, I have followed a more analytic approach--one that may provide a fuller understanding of the field's history during this period--by placing the subject in a socio-cultural perspective. Thus, the typical unilateral historical narrative has been recast into a "vertical" review of sport and physical education history in the Middle Ages that delineates *the persistent, recurring problems* (i.e., the social forces that have influenced sport, exercise, and related physical activity throughout this period in the West in sufficient quantity for intelligible *qualitative* analysis). This approach should prove to be interesting and, hopefully, it will be more insightful and interpretive for a person studying the socio-cultural foundations of the physical activity of humans in physical education, sport, and physical recreation at this time.

A "*VERTICAL*" APPROACH TO HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

It can be argued that the major social institutions of any culture--whether pivotal or sub-pivotal--are those that relate to the economic, political, familial, ethical, educational, and recreational aspects of that social environment. If each is analyzed with this more pragmatic approach , the results becomes a type of sociological history. For example, an inquiry is conducted here to ascertain what influence a type of political system in a culture had on the structure and function of the culture's formal and/or informal program of sport and physical education. In this manner, all history could be viewed with an eye to the persistent or perennial problems (i.e., *social forces*) that reveal themselves as a result of a more in-depth examination. Interestingly, a similar approach can be followed with the persistent

or perennial *professional concerns* of professional groups within society.

In a sense, this historical technique is similar to the descriptive research method and accompanying technique in the well-known *Megatrends* volumes where societal issues that appeared more regularly in the literature were carefully assembled over a period of years. I have actually employed this approach with sport and physical education literature in all of my historical endeavor. (Here, of course, it has been applied to the Middle Ages.) Thus, no matter which of a number of historical theories or approaches is employed, such a "persistent problems" approach directs one to (1) search for the interpretive criterion, (2) seek out underlying hypotheses, (3) ask how a particular historical approach aids in the analysis of past problems, and (4) inquire whether new insight has been afforded in the search for solutions to the core perennial problems that people will perhaps always face to a greater or lesser extent--until they learn how to cope with one or all of them permanently!

Delineation and description of these problems as they relate to this field has been one of my more important investigative goals in my career. How this approach to historical research became interesting to me may be traced to my early period of study at Yale University with the late John S. Brubacher, eminent professor of the history and philosophy of education there (and later at Michigan) to whom the credit for this unique approach in educational history must go. I have simply adapted Brubacher's approach to sport and physical education in regard to how the *pivotal social forces* of a society (e.g., values, economics, political system) influenced the subject-matter at hand (Brubacher, 1966; Zeigler, 1979 through 2003). However, many of the ideas for the *specific* persistent problems (e.g., curriculum, methods of instruction, role of women) in the field of sport and physical education--those not covered here--originated with me (and occasionally with some of my colleagues and graduate students).

Such an approach as this does not really represent a radically different approach to the use of historical method of research. The typical major processes were involved in applying historical method to investigation relating to sport and physical education as follows: (1) the data are collected from primary and secondary sources; (2) the collected data are criticized and analyzed; and (3) an integrated narrative is presented, with every effort made to present the material interestingly and yet based solidly upon tentative hypotheses established at the outset.

Organization of the Collected Data. This approach does differ markedly, however, in the *organization* of the collected data. It is based completely on a presentation of individual problem areas--*persistent (perennial or recurring) problems of the era under consideration*--that have been of concern to people in previous centuries. The idea in this instance, of course, is to illuminate these problems for the student specializing in physical (activity) education and sport. In this way a conscious effort is made to keep the reader from thinking that history is of antiquarian interest only. The reader finds himself or herself in an excellent position to move back and forth from early times to the particular era being considered as different aspects of a particular subject (or persistent problem) are treated. A problem used in this sense (based on its early Greek derivation) would be "something thrown forward" for people to understand or resolve. This technique of "doing" history may be called a "vertical" approach as opposed to the traditional *"horizontal"* approach--or a *"longitudinal"* treatment of history in contradistinction to a strictly *chronological* one.

These persistent problems (or influences) of the past, and the present as well, will in all probability continue to occur in the future either as *social forces* that influence all aspects of the society or as different sets of *professional concerns* that have a strong effect on a specific profession in that culture. Here we have been concerned with influences that have affected the developmental physical activity of humans in sport, dance, exercise, and play in the Middle Ages in the West. (Further, we should keep in mind that there are other persistent problems that may appear in a society or culture from time to time [e.g., the environmental crisis that stimulated the development of a science of ecology beginning in the 1960s, or the striving of humans for world peace that slowly gaining momentum as well].)

Specifically, and ideally, a step-by-step approach is recommended for the description, explanation, and evaluation of the historical role of sport and physical education in the Middle Ages. Although such a comprehensive undertaking was not possible here, such an ideal approach should be multi-disciplinary in nature and should rest upon findings that are available from all research methods and techniques known. The following steps are recommended:

1. Review the best evidence available concerning the *social* foundations of the society, culture, or social system being considered (e.g., values, norms, type of political structure, economic system, leading religion).

(**Note:** Occasionally helpful, ground-breaking books such as that of Samuel P. Huntington [1996] appear to

provide insight as to how the world order is being "remade" by the "clash of civilizations" that is occurring.)

2. Assess the available evidence in regard to the *educational* foundations of the society (e.g., educational values in some hierarchical order; the curriculum and the process of education, and the relationship among school, society, and the individual).

3. Describe, interpret, and assess tentatively--based on tentative hypotheses--the sport and physical education practices of the society available through historical sources of both a primary and secondary nature. Categorize such practice according to (1) aims and objectives; (2) methods of instruction; and (3) possible strengths and weaknesses.

4. Based on the literature of sociology, including available analyses of the society being investigated, seek to discover whether the functionally necessary process of the social system--e.g., whether the functional interchanges are taking change to maintain equilibrium or promote social change (Parsons' theory of action). (In this instance it would be helpful to learn whether there has been a realization--to a certain extent at least--of the society's value system; and the extent to which the social institution of sport and physical training has facilitated the achievement of the society's values.)

> (**Note**: In the present essay, an analysis of the institutionalization of sport in pre-industrial England by Thomas S. Henricks (1989; see, also, 1991) provided significant insight on this topic.)

5. Based on the literature of anthropology and available theories of the culture being examined, attempt to discover to what extent games and sporting patterns have been assessed as dynamic processes within the culture at hand. If careful ethnographical descriptions have been carried out, it is possible that an *ad hoc* theory may be applied.

6. Based on the literature of social psychology and closely related aspects of the other behavioral sciences, seek to discover if currently tenable theories about social behavior may have been applicable in the social system being investigated. Further, inquire if sport and physical training were influenced markedly by the society's value system as leaders sought to employ sport and physical activity as a

means to developing the desired individual and social values.

7. Based on the literature of the history of philosophy, it should be possible for the historian to correlate further any earlier findings relative to the values considered important in the particular social system involved at present. Any such "value determinations" can then be related to those that may have been postulated in the other disciplines of the social sciences involved the concerns ("persistent" problems) of the particular society being analyzed at present. In this way a type of "normative philosophizing" might be carried out (i.e., that the dominant philosophy, including its application to education could be postulated and perhaps substantiated through "verification" with that evident from the related disciplines).

8. At that point--and it is quite probable that knowledge from still other disciplines and/or professions will become available--the historian may be emboldened to "proclaim the 'validity and reliability'" of any earlier tentative hypotheses about the historical role of sport and physical education at a much higher "level of confidence" than previously.

9. Finally, at least one more possibility is available, this time for the cross-cultural comparison of the role of sport and physical education in society. This has been called "comparative" method as developed originally by Bereday as a research technique of broader descriptive investigation. Here the stages or steps are (1) *description*, in which descriptive data will be obtained about the plan of sport and physical education in each of the countries being studied; (2) *explanation*, in which an attempt is made to explain the theory and practice in sport and physical education based on the prevailing educational philosophy in each of the countries being compared; (3) *juxtaposition*, in which the patterns of sport and physical education in the countries being compared cross-culturally will be related on the basis of the implications for sport and physical education from the hierarchy of values existing in each of the countries; and (4) *comparison*, in which the findings and some reasonable conclusions will be presented based on the similarities and differences, with the final comparison taking into consideration the economic and educational status of the countries being considered.

To conclude this discussion about historical methodology, I can only express the hope that it has now become possible for the insightful, diligent sport and physical activity historian to become ever more sophisticated in the endeavor being undertaken. The historian is being urged to become increasingly aware of the literature and the evidence that is being provided steadily by sociology, cultural

anthropology, social psychology, philosophy, and comparative education. Still further, the historian should consider the advisability of adopting at least certain of the research techniques available through the other disciplines. Much sport and physical education history has been written on the basis of common sense and simple description that are both necessary, of course, in the early development of any disciplines. The time has come, however, for the researcher to postulate his or her own theory of history including an ad hoc theory applied to sport's history. Are "theories of the middle range" possible for the sport historian? Only time and insight will tell. . . .

THE GENERAL (EXTERNAL) ENVIRONMENT
OF THE MIDDLE AGES

To understand the Middle Ages in Western civilization fully, it is necessary to comprehend both the external and internal environments of that society. It is not always possible to state definitively where the general (external) environment begins and the immediate (internal) environment leaves off in a given society. All known societies involve a variety of sub-groups within their geographical boundaries. Careful definition of a particular society is a highly complex task, each one having certain unique qualities while undoubtedly possessing many similarities with other societies. The components of societies are usually described as subsystems (e.g., the economy, the government). In a very real sense these subsystems have developed to "divide up the work," and it is with the interweaving of these systems that the remainder of this summarizing essay will be concerned. Initially, we must keep in mind here that the larger society, which is discussed first, was infinitely more complex than any "organization" that exists within it. However, it is important to be reminded at this point that many of the concepts and group roles of the society can be transferred from one societal level to the other (and vice versa).

General Action System Has Four Subsystems. Before considering a more general discussion of the external environment from the standpoint of resources, the various social organizations, the power structure, and the value structure, there will be a relatively brief presentation of 20th-century Parsonsian "Action Theory." (A significant debt is owed at this point to the late Professor Harry M. Johnson who earlier so freely shared his interpretation of Parsons' theory.) Parsons' (grand) theory has a long tradition in the field of sociology. It was described by Johnson (1969) as being "a type of empirical system" that actually applies to an extremely wide range of systems from relationships between two people to that of total societies. (See Johnson, 1994, as well.) It cannot be regarded as totally concerned with economic

theory; it is more "a generalization of economics." It seeks to analyze both structure *and* process.

Initially, to understand this complex social theory, a person should appreciate that the general action system is viewed as being composed of four subsystems: (1) the cultural system, (2) the social system, (3) the psychological system, and (4) the behavioral-organic system. What this means, viewed from a different perspective, is that *explicit human behavior* is comprised of four aspects: cultural, social, psychological, and organic. These four subsystems together compose *a hierarchy of control and conditioning* that operates in both directions (i.e., both up and down).

The first of the subsystems is "culture," which according to Johnson "provides the figure in the carpet-the structure and, in a sense, the 'programming' for the action system as a whole" (p. 46). The structure of this type of system is typically geared to the functional problems of that level which arise--and so on down the scale, respectively. Thus it is the subsystem of culture that legitimates and also influences the level below it (the social system). *Typically, there is a definite strain toward consistency*. However, the influence works both upward and downward within the action system, thereby creating a hierarchy of influence or conditioning (as mentioned above).

Social life being what it has been--and still is today--it is almost inevitable that strain will develop within the system. Johnson explains this as "dissatisfaction with the level of effectiveness on the functioning of the system in which the strain is felt" (p. 47). Such dissatisfaction may, for example, have to do with particular aspects of a social system as follows: (1) the level of effectiveness of resource procurement; (2) the success of goal attainment; (3) the justice or appropriateness of allocation of rewards or facilities; or (4) the degree to which units of the system are committed to realizing (or maintaining) the values of the system.

Strain may arise at the personality (or psychological) system level, and the resultant pressure could actually change the structure of the system above (the social system). This is not an inevitable process, however, because such strain might well be resolved satisfactorily at its own level (so to speak). Usually the pattern consistency of the action system displays a reasonable degree of flexibility, and this is especially true at the lower levels. For example, strain might be expressed by deviant behavior or in other ways such as by reduced identification with the social system by the person or group concerned.

Thus, it is *the hierarchy of control and conditioning* that comes into play when the sources of change (e.g., new religious or scientific ideas) begin to cause strain in the larger social systems, whereas the smaller social systems tend to be "strained" by the change that often develops at the personality or psychological system level. In addition, it is quite apparent that social systems are often influenced considerably by contact with bordering social systems.

   Levels of Structure within the Social System. Just as there were four subsystems within the *total* action system defined by Parsons and others, there appear also to be four levels within that subsystem that has been identified as the *social* system or structure. These levels, proceeding from "highest" to "lowest," are (1) values, (2) norms, (3) the structure of collectivities, and (4) the structure of roles. Typically the higher levels are more general than the lower ones, with the latter group giving quite specific guidance to those segments or units of the particular system to which they apply. The following "units" or "segments" are either collectivities or individuals in their capacity as role occupants.

   1. **Values** represent *the highest echelon* of the social system level of the entire general action system. These values may be categorized into such "entities" as artistic values, educational values, social values, etc. Of course, all types or categories of values must be values *of* personalities. The social values of a particular social system are those values that are conceived of as *representative of the ideal general character that is desired by those who ultimately hold the power in the system* being described. The most important social values in North America, for example, have been (1) the rule of law, (2) the socio-structural facilitation of individual achievement, and (3) the equality of opportunity (p. 48). (An immediate comparison can be made, of course, with the social values of the kingdom or duchy of the Middle Ages.)

   2. **Norms** are the shared, sanctioned rules which govern the second level of the social structure. The average person finds it difficult to separate in his or her mind the concepts of values and norms. Keeping in mind the examples of values offered immediately above for North America, some examples of norms are (1) the institution of private property, (2) private enterprise, (3) the monogamous, conjugal family, and (4) the separation of church and state. (Here again witness the stark contrast with Middle Age society!)

   3. **Collectivities** are interaction systems that may be distinguished by their goals, their composition, and their size. A collectivity is characterized by conforming acts and by deviant acts, which are both classes of members' action

which relate to the structure of the system. Interestingly (and oddly) enough, each collectivity has a structure that consists of *four* levels also. In a pluralistic society one finds an extremely large variety of collectivities which are held together to a varying extent by an overlapping membership constituency. Thus, members of one collectivity can and do exert greater or lesser amounts of influence upon the members of the other collectivities to which they belong.

4. **Roles** refer to the behavioral organisms (*the actual humans!*) who interact within each collectivity. Each role has a current normative structure specific to it, even though such a role may be gradually changing. (For example, the role of an instructor or trainer in the Middle Ages could be seen as being in a transitory state in that certain second-level norms were changing. Nevertheless, each *specific* instructor or trainer still had definite normative obligations that would be possible to delineate more specifically than the more generalized second-level norms.)

Finally, and most importantly, *these four levels of social structure themselves also compose a hierarchy of control and conditioning.* As Johnson (p. 49) explains, the higher levels "legitimate, guide, and control" the lower levels, and pressure of both a direct and indirect nature can be--and generally is--employed when the infraction or violation occurs and is known.

Functional Interchanges. A society is the most nearly self-subsistent type of social system. Interestingly enough *again*, societies typically have four basic types of functional problems (each with its appropriate value principle) as follows:

> 1. A pattern-maintenance problem that has to do with the inculcation of the value system and the maintenance of the social system's commitment to it,
> 2. An integration problem that is at work to implement the value of solidarity expressed through norms that accordingly regulate the great variety of processes,
> 3. A goal-attainment problem that implements the value of effectiveness of group or collective action on behalf of the social system toward this aim, and
> 4. An adaptation problem whereby the economy implements the value of utility (i.e., the investment-capitalization unit). (See Part One, Fig. 1 below.}

Figure 22
The Functional Problems of Social Systems*

Instrumental	Consummatory
(L)	**(I)**
LATENT PATTERN MAINTENANCE & TENSION MANAGEMENT	INTEGRATION
INTERNAL	
(Involves Stability & Continuity in Relations Among Units)	(Involves Success & Satisfaction in Inter- Unit Relationships)
(A)	**(G)**
.. ADAPTATION	GOAL-ATTAINMENT
EXTERNAL	
(Involves Stability & Continuity in Relation to External Environment)	(Involves Success & Satisfaction in Relation to External Environment)

*Adapted from Johnson, H. M. (1994). Modern organizations in the Parsonsian theory of action. In A. Farazmand (Ed.), *Modern organizations: Administrative theory in contemporary society (*p. 59). Westport, CT: Praeger; and Hills, R.J. (1968). *Toward a science of organization* (p. 21). Eugene, OR: Center for Advanced Study of Administration.

The economy of a society is its *adaptive* subsystem, while the society's form of government (polity) has become known as its *goal-attainment* subsystem. The integrative subsystem and the pattern-maintenance subsystem do not have names that can be used in everyday speech easily. They consist actually of a set or series of processes by which a society's production factors are related, combined, and transformed with *utility*-the value principle of the adaptive system-as the interim product. These products "packaged" as various forms of "utility" are employed in and by other functional subsystems of the society.

The interrelationship of these subsystems is undoubtedly most complex. Each subsystem (1) exchanges factors and products, (2) becomes involved as pairs, and (3) engages in what has been called a "double interchange." It is theorized that each subsystem contributes one factor and one product (i.e., one category or aggregate of factors and one category or aggregate of products) to *each* of the other three functional subsystems. Considered from the standpoint of all the pairs possible to be involved in the interchange, there are therefore *six* double-interchange systems. Factors and products are both involved in the transformational processes, each being functional for the larger social system. Factors are *general* and therefore more remote, while products are *specific* and therefore more directly functional. The performance of these functional requirements has been described as a *"circular flow of interchanges,"* with the factors and products being continuously used up and continuously replaced.

An example of interchange process taking place will help us get an idea as to how this complex circular flow of interchanges occurs. Johnson explains how one of the six interchange systems functions typically *to create the political support system in a society*. This is how the functional problem of goal-attainment is resolved through the operation of the society's form of government (polity)--that is, the interchange between the polity and the integrative subsystems. "The political process is the set of structured activities that results in the choice of goals and the mobilization of societal resources for the attainment of these goals" (p. 51). First, the integrative system contributes to political accomplishment by achieving a certain degree of consensus and "solidarity." Today--in the Western world at least--these "solidarity or consensus qualities" are typically "registered" and "delivered" in the form of votes and interest demands. These are, in fact, forms of political support-that is, support from the integrative system *to* the polity (the government). Conversely, in return, the government (polity) bolsters (integrative) solidarity through political leadership that, in turn, produces binding decisions. Thus, this leadership and the

binding decisions can also be considered as "political support"--support from the polity or government to the integrative system (one of the two systems that "produces utility"--i.e., implements one of the four values of which utility is one.) (The situation in the Middle Ages was, of course, fundamentally different in that the "interest demands" were present, but those making the demands weren't able to vote thereby imposing a mandate on those in power.)

The Social Significance of Interchange Analysis. Based on the example given above, it can be seen that the interchange analysis has tremendous social significance. The interchange of factors and products identifies the *types* of processes that somehow *must* take place in any social system. This scheme specifies also their functional significance and further indicates relations between these processes that are broad but yet basically important. As was stated earlier, the functional subsystems compose a hierarchy of control and conditioning; thus, the processes involved are influenced, conditioned, and controlled. *These same interchange processes must be going on in any functioning social system, but it should be understood that their specific forms vary greatly from one social system to another.* The four levels of a particular social system (e.g., collectivities) provide the forms and channels by which any unique social system carries on its functionally necessary processes. Fundamental social *change* means that some basic transformation has taken, or is taking, place in one or more levels of the social system (structure). Obviously, basic change must inevitably affect the operation of the system in some distinct, measurable way.

The social change that may take place within a social system can be viewed as one of three types--i.e., one of three levels of analysis that may be distinguished as follows:

> (1) the analysis of *"circular flow,"* which explains the pattern of interchange process occurring within a stable social system;
> (2) the analysis of *"growth patterns,"* which determines the growth or decline of particular attributes or products of the system (e.g., power, wealth); and
> (3) the analysis of *"structural change,"* which is the determination of whether a level or levels of the system undergo any substantive change due to strong lower-level strain.

> **Note: *Critics of Parsonsian theory typically overlook the fact that it makes definite allowance for equilibrium and change. In fact, radical social change, with or without an actual revolution, does institute a new hierarchy of***

> ***control and conditioning. This occurs, for example,
> when the strain at the three lower levels forces a different
> set of priorities in the value subsystem. These new
> values resultantly become the basic source of
> legitimization, guidance, and control for the levels below.***

Parsons' general action system is then actually an "equilibrium model," but this does not mean that it is necessarily conservative and/or static. As explained above, social systems may, or may not, be in a state of equilibrium, and change is certainly most possible within this theory's framework. This theory is a reasonable, theoretical explanation of how social change can and does take place. Social systems are conceived of as having a normative structure, which may or may not be stable. To understand how to achieve equilibrium within a social system, it is at least theoretically necessary to learn to distinguish between processes that will maintain or change a given social structure. Finally, it is important to understand that sometimes the higher levels of social structure may be maintained (if this is *desired* and *desirable)* by understanding how to change one or more of its lower levels.

The above discussion of some of the basic elements of developing Parsonsian theory of action has necessarily been explained in largely outline form. For example, the concepts of economic theory involved in the adaptive subsystem of a society (i.e., money, utility, products, and factors of production) were not presented. Such presentation would help the reader to appreciate their close counterparts in the theory of the other three functional problems of social systems (e.g., goal-attainment).

Nor has there been any discussion of the idea, presented by Parsons, also. that any analysis of the structure of complex societies demands careful differentiation of *four* levels of organizations (not considered as an entity). These levels have been called the *technical, managerial, institutional,* and *societal* levels. It is obvious that these four primary-level outputs are closely related to the four *functional* problems described above. Technical-level systems involving small groups of people using facilities and making decisions must be coordinated with the managerial level of organizations--and so on up the scale through the regulation of institutionalized norms until the societal level is reached where the "single focus" of first-order values is brought to bear on the operation.

Still further, the symbolic media of society have not been introduced *(generalized commitments, influence, power,* and *money).* They are fundamentally important to the understanding and operation of the four basic types of subsystems within a

social system as explained through the functional problems that have been technically identified as (1) pattern-maintenance, (2) integration, (3) goal-attainment, and (4) adaptation. (Check Figure 1 above again.)

These actions and others of an even more technical nature would have to be mastered by someone who truly wished to specialize in what might be called the general or external environment, but it was felt that what has been presented is sufficient to introduce the reader generally to a basic outline of the general environment of any society.

Concluding Observation. The major thrust of this section was to point out to readers that they can't neglect either the general or external environment, or the immediate or internal environment, if they hope to understand any period of history. This is why the decision was made to offer the readers an approach by which they could obtain a better *social* perspective of the Middle Ages.

THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL FORCES ON THE MIDDLE AGES

As mentioned previously, here I sought to examine what we may call the social forces in Middle Ages. The term "social force" was used to mean specifically such societal influences or institutions as (1) values and norms, (2) political state (polity), (3) nationalism, (4) economics, and (5) religion.

The values and norms of a culture (1) are an extremely strong social influence and affect literally everything in the society. For example, the chivalric code was a set of commandments based on medieval society's espoused value system (for nobles!). It literally influenced all aspects of the development of Medieval Europe.

Another example of a social influence would be (2) the political structure of the feudal organization with its division into freemen, serfs, and slaves that resulted in class distinction throughout society even down to the various forms of sport and physical activity. This conception of government, or system of political control, or polity was in direct opposition to the chronologically earlier theory described by Tacitus when he portrayed how the Germanic tribes elected their leaders through the employment of the popular assembly. Ullman (1965) called this the "ascending theory of government" as opposed to a descending one:

> In the latter, original power was located in a supreme
> being which, because of the prevailing Christian ideas,
> came to be seen as divinity itself. St. Augustine in the fifth
> century had said that God distributed the laws to
> mankind through the medium of kings. . . .

A third example of a social force is (3) nationalism, an influence that has prevailed historically in many societies to a greater or lesser extent down to the present. Nationalism may be defined as patriotism or love of country, an attitude or feeling that has been present in citizens of a definable political entity throughout recorded history. (Some thought it might decline in the late 20th century with the arrival of the "global village" concept, but such a change hasn't taken hold yet--and it seems less apt to do so daily.) During the period of medieval history, for example, the rulers and their related nobles struggled with the established Church for control, while also gradually beginning to think of themselves as French or English, for example. Nationalism came much later for the Germans and Italians. Accordingly, this inevitably had a powerful influence on physical training and sport. If a vigorous state, or political unit is desired, the need for a strong, healthy, fit population is obviously paramount.

A fourth example would be (4) the influence of economics on society, the adaptation problem of Parsonsian social interchange. For example, education and leisure had prospered when there was a surplus economy, but declined considerable when the economic structure weakened. This meant--thinking of this book's theme-- that those powerful and wealthy enough were in a position to choose those sports, physical activities, and recreations that met their fancy regardless of the expense or the time needed for the experience itself. These, then, were representative of the social forces that should be examined to explain their influence on sport and physical activity.

Finally, as an example again, the impact of (5) the social force of religion on medieval thought was enormous. Van Dalen (see p. vi of Preamble to the present book) explained this impact as follows:

> Medieval Man rejected the Greco-Roman view that
> human events and achievements were a product of man's
> will and intellect. To him, the historical process was not
> the working out of the plans of man, but the unfolding of
> a plan that God had constructed and no man could alter.

> . . . Medieval Man viewed history from a universalistic point of view. Because all men were equal in the sight of God and were engaged in working out His purposes, history could not be confined to a study of Greece, or Rome, or a chosen people, it had to embrace all mankind. . . .

With this brief introduction to the five probably most significant social forces of the Middle Ages, starting the subject of values, each will now be considered in greater detail.

Values and Norms. Perhaps the least understood, yet most persistent problem, that any enlightened citizen faces in life, is the necessity for the ongoing determination (or reaffirmation) of his or her personal values. These values necessarily have a relationship to the prevailing values of the society in which a person lives. All people hold such values implicitly as part of their background experience. Eventually, as they become professionals in some field of endeavor, typically they also determine their value orientation more or less clearly as a fundamental aspect of their relationship as practitioners to the clients that they serve. In the case of the teacher in education, for example, he or she should be fully cognizant of how such a decision possibly contributes to the achievement and possible inculcation of these values in the lives of students or people with whom he or she works.

This is not a simple matter to resolve. Soon after I became involved with this aspect of the teaching profession, it became evident that people were confused and uncertain in this regard. They simply had not worked out a coherent, consistent, and reasonably logical approach to the values that they held in life. I knew that each one of us had a "built-in" set of values, but most people simply couldn't express what it was they were working toward in their lives. In most instances the values that they held had been achieved *implicitly* along the way, or perhaps they had simply been "handed" someone's or some organization's position, creed, or purpose. Only in rare instances had an opportunity been provided to think this subject through carefully and systematically so an *explicitly* determined set of values was the result.

There has been much confusion also as to the possible impact of anyone's set of values on his or her life or professional practice. It can't be claimed, of course,

that it is possible to *logically deduce* desired life conduct or educational practice directly from a person's set of values. Nevertheless, it is ridiculous to argue conversely that these values, these presuppositions if you will, do not have a very strong influence on all aspects of a person's life. You, the reader, should keep this distinction firmly in mind as you proceed.

If certain "life values" are available through instruction in some phase of education, then sincere teachers should obviously aim to bring about the realization of these values in the lives of their charges. Such values should accordingly become a significant part of the long-range aims of the instructor's personal and professional life. Accordingly, they will presumably also belong to the broader aims of formal and informal education.

Recall that axiology (the study of values in the discipline of philosophy) itself has various domains. First and foremost, we should consider ethics that has to do with conduct, morality, good and evil, and ultimate objectives in life. There are several approaches to the problem of whether life, as we know it, is worthwhile. A person who goes around with a smile and who looks hopefully toward the future is, of course, an optimist (*optimism*). Some people become easily discouraged and decide that life is probably not worth the struggle (*pessimism*). In between these two extremes we find the golden mean, *meliorism* (from the Latin word meaning "better"), which implies that an individual constantly strives to improve his or her situation. This position assumes that the individual cannot make any final decisions about whether good or evil will prevail in the world.

Perhaps the key question to be considered in ethics is, "What is the purpose of *my* existence?" Under this heading we encounter the belief that pleasure is the highest good (*hedonism*). One approach that has developed in modern history from hedonistic doctrine is *utilitarianism*. Here society, not the individual, is the focus, since the basic idea is to promote the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people in the community or world. Although the utilitarian recognizes the existence of various types of pleasure (ranging from intense, momentary emotional pleasure to the pleasure reflected in a placid life based on long-range contentment), he or she believes that seeking this type of pleasure will fulfill the moral duty of life. Another important way of looking at the *summum bonum* (or highest good) in life is called *perfectionism*. Here the individual is aiming for complete self-realization and accordingly envisions someday a society of self-fulfilled people.

A logical outcome of an individual's decision about the greatest good in life is

the standard of personal conduct that person sets for himself or herself. Certain interests are apt to guide our conduct. If we are too self-centered, people will say that we are egotistical (*egoism*). Some people go to the other extreme; they feel that a person is best fulfilled by playing down the realization of self-interest in order to serve society or some social group therein (*altruism*). Once again, Aristotle's concept of the golden mean comes to the fore as a workable solution to this question.

One of the other areas of value under axiology deals with the "feeling" aspects of a person's conscious life (*aesthetics*). Aesthetics, the philosophy of taste, asks whether there are principles that govern the search for the beautiful in life. Because there has been a need to define still further values in human life, we now have departmental (specialized) philosophies of religion, education, sport and physical education, etc. Further, we often refer to a person's social philosophy, which simply means that people make decisions about values intrinsic to various institutions. Having considered the topic of values as it relates to the person both individually and in social situations, it is now appropriate to relate the question of values and norms to the sphere of sport and related physical activity.

One way to learn what was considered valuable in sport and physical activity in the history of the Middle Ages is to review the topic chronologically. Backtracking momentarily to the period just before then, consider the Roman Empire. The Romans were much more utilitarian in their attitude toward physical training; they simply did not grasp the concept of the Greek ideal. They valued physical training for very basic reasons: it developed a man's knowledge in the skills of war, and it kept him healthy because of the strict regimen required. It helped to give a man strength and endurance and made him courageous in the process. Later in Roman history as the army became more specialized, the value of physical training for all became less apparent, although it was still practiced by most citizens to a degree for the maintenance of health and for recreational pursuits. Athletic festivals and fierce games in the arena, often of a highly barbaric nature, were held regularly for the entertainment of the masses in order to gain political support for the various, extant office holders.

The Visigoths ("visi" means east) began their successful invasions to the south about 376 C.E.; the end of the Roman Empire subsequently has usually been designated as 100 years later (476 C.E..). The period following has been commonly called, but now seemingly incorrectly thought of as, the "Dark Ages," a time when most literature and learning came to a standstill and might have been completely lost save for the newly organized monasteries. "Ill blows the wind that profits

nobody" is a proverb that applies to this era. The Visigoths did possess abundant energy and splendid bodies, however, and are presumed to have helped the virility of the civilized world of the West at that time. Subsequently, the Moslem leader Tarik ended the Visigothic kingdom in 711 C.E. in the battle at Guadalete.

As the immoral society of the declining Romans became a mere memory, Christianity continued to spread because of the energy, enthusiasm, and high moral standards of its followers. The Church managed to survive the invasion of the barbarians and gradually became an important influence in the culture. Its continued growth seemed a certainty. Although the historic Jesus Christ in many ways was said to be anything but an ascetic, the early Christians who followed perverted history to a degree as they envisioned the individual's moral regeneration as the highest goal. They became most concerned with their souls and the question of eternal happiness. (It should be pointed out that, with the Greeks. there was a mind [soul] and body dichotomy, but then St. Thomas Aquinas later added the dimension of soul or spirit to the mind and body dichotomy and made the human a tripartite creature.) Matters of the body were presumed to be of this world, and consequently of Satan; affairs of the soul were of God.

The belief has prevailed that most churchmen were opposed to the idea of physical education or training, but this was subsequently called "The Great Protestant Legend" (Ballou, 1965). On balance it seems more logical that these Christians would not be opposed to the idea of hard work and strenuous physical activity, but that they would indeed be violently opposed to all types of sports, games, and athletic festivals associated with earlier pagan religions and the horrible excesses of the Roman arena and hippodrome.

And so it was that for hundreds of years during the period known as the Early Middle Ages, physical education, as known today, found almost no place within the meager educational pattern that prevailed. It was a very sterile period indeed for those interested in the promulgation of physical education and sport of the finest type. Eventually even much of the physical labor in the fields and around the grounds of the monasteries was transferred to non-clerics. Thus, even this basic physical fitness was lost to this group as more intellectual pursuits became the rule. As is so often the case, the pendulum had swung too far in the other direction.

Feudalism (Age of Chivalry). Physical training was revived to a degree in the period often called the Age of Chivalry. Feudal society was divided into three classes: (1) the masses, who had to work to support the other classes and to eke out

a bare subsistence for themselves; (2) the clergy, who carried on the affairs of the Church; and (3) the nobles, who were responsible for the government of certain lands and territories under a king, and who also performed military duties.

During this time a physical and military education of a most strenuous type was necessary along with a required training in social conduct for the knight who was pledged to serve (1) his feudal lord, (2) the Church, and, presumably, (3) all women as well as his own lady in particular. Such an ideal was undoubtedly "better in theory than in practice," but it did serve to set standards higher than those which existed previously. The aim of physical training was certainly narrow according to today's ideal. Also, understandably, health standards were typically very poor. The Greek ideal had been forgotten, and physical education once again served a most practical objective: to produce a well-trained individual in the art of hand-to-hand combat with all of the necessary physical attributes such as strength, endurance, agility, and coordination. Much later, with the invention of machinery of war, the enemy was not always met at close range. As a result, death in battle became to a larger extent accidental and was not necessarily the result of physical weakness and ineptitude in warfare techniques. Naturally, some divergence accordingly took place in the aims and methods of military training and allied physical training.

Just before the Renaissance a transitional period occurred, accompanied by a decline of feudalism and a rise in nationalism. With more vigorous trade and community growth, a stronger middle class gradually arose, with a resultant demand for an improved educational system designed to prepare the young male for his lifetime occupation. Some informal physical exercise and games contributed to the social and recreational goals of the young townspeople. Such physical activity also enhanced military training. It is interesting to note that games and informal sports were accompanying features of the frequent religious holidays.

The Renaissance. The period that followed feudalism was known as the Renaissance. At this time it became natural for learned people to look back to the periods in history that were characterized by similar societies. The Church was solidly entrenched, and there was much enthusiasm for scholarship in the fields of law, theology, and medicine. Understandably this scholasticism and emphasis on intellectual discipline found little if any room for physical education. Unorganized sports and games were the only activities of this nature in the cathedral schools and in the universities that had been established relatively recently.

In the late 14th and on into the 15th century, as we have seen, a type of

humanism developed that stressed the worth of the individual--and once again the physical side of the person was considered. Most of the humanistic educators appreciated the earlier Greek ideal and emphasized the care and proper development of the body. Vittorino da Feltre set an example for others in his school at the court of the Prince of Mantua in northern Italy. One of his aims was to discipline the body so hardship might be endured with the least possible hazard. His pupils were some day to bear arms and therefore had to learn the art of warfare. Individual and group sports and games were included because of the recreative nature of such activity. Da Feltre believed that the ability of a youth to learn in the classroom depended to a considerable extent upon the physical condition of the individual, a belief for which there is some evidence today.

Early Modern Period in the West. As the so-called Middle Ages gradually merged with what in now called the Early Modern Period, there followed a decline in liberal education as the schools lost their original aim and began the study of the languages of Greece and Rome exclusively while unfortunately neglecting the other aspects of these civilizations. The importance of physical training for youth again declined, even as preparation for life work was crowded out for many by preparation for university education. Thus, when the spirit of Italian humanistic education reached into Europe, the Greek ideal of physical education and sporting activity was realized by only a relatively few individuals. Those involved with the Protestant Reformation did practically nothing to encourage physical education activities with the possible exception of Martin Luther himself, who had an interest in wrestling and who evidently realized a need for the physical training of youth. Some educators rebelled against the narrow type of education that had come into vogue, but they were the exception rather than the rule.

For example, Rabelais satirized the education of the time in his depiction of the poor results of the typical Latin grammar school graduate. His Gargantua was a "dolt and blockhead," but subsequently became a worthwhile person when his education became more well-rounded. Also, Michel de Montaigne, the great French essayist of the 16th century, believed that the education of the person should not be dichotomized into the typical mind-body approach. Further, other educators such as Mulcaster, Locke, and Comenius recognized the value of physical exercise. Some educational leaders in the 17th century stressed character development as the primary educational aim, but a number of them believed in the underlying need for health and physical fitness. John Locke, for example, even stressed the importance of recreation for youth. However, his ideas were far from being accepted as the ideal for all in a society characterized by a variety of social classes.

Values: Objective or Subjective? Now that we have had a brief historical overview of the question of values in relation to sport, exercise, dance, and play, we should next ask ourselves whether we believe values are objective or subjective. Do values exist whether a person is present to realize them or not? (This is *not* the same question as whether a falling tree in a forest makes a noise when no one is there to hear it!) Or is it people who ascribe value to their various relationships with others-- and possibly also with their physical environment as well? Thus. the following question seems appropriate at this point: "If the physical education and sport program fulfills objectives leading to long-range aim--and is thus inherently valuable to people--should it then should be included even beyond formal education on into the informal education offerings available throughout people's lives-- *perhaps whether people of all ages recognize this value or not*?"

Another facet of the question of values refers to the qualitative aspects of values. Some things in life are desired by the individual, whereas others may be desirable mainly because society has indicated its approval of them. Actually, a continuous appraisal of values and norms occurs.

> (**Note**: Keep in mind what sociology tells us about the difference between values and norms. Norms relate to values, but they also result in the establishment of laws. For example, in a democracy personal security is valued very highly. So the norm established is that the individual shall be protected from harm, and laws are created to see to it that such laws are upheld.)

If a value exists in and for itself, it is said to be an *intrinsic* value. Such values serves as a means to an end, however, and has become known as an *instrumental* value. For example, physical training has been used instrumentally throughout history to get (largely) men prepared for war. When intense emotion and appreciation are involved, the gradation of values is called *aesthetic*. It can be argued that sport, exercise, dance, and related physical activities offer many opportunities to realize aesthetic values. Unfortunately, many well-educated people--according to our society's *norms*--view such activity far too narrowly and thereby confine aesthetic values to experiences in the fine arts and literature. Every culture seeks to develop its own hierarchy of values. The profession of physical activity education's responsibility, along with its related disciplines, is to discover through scholarly endeavor and research quite precisely what it has to offer society. If the profession

is able to truly prove its worth based on sound practice with a scientific base, it will also have to work assiduously to help in the development of people's affirmative attitudes toward the inclusion of developmental physical activities in their life pattern.

Summary Statement. In a world with an uncertain future, there has been an ever-present demand for an improved level of physical fitness for citizens of all ages and conditions. The North American interest in all types of competitive sport has continued to grow unabated, and such interest is now being matched worldwide. However, the almost inherent excesses that appear when competitive sport is unduly stressed are forcing physical activity educators to take stock at the beginning of the 21st century. The health and fitness of *all people* must be the highest goal of the profession. Despite financial stringencies, overemphasis in certain areas, and deficiencies in others, there is some room for optimism. There is obviously a value struggle going on that may well increase unless a continuing search for consensus is carried out. Such understanding at home and abroad will come only through greater understanding and wisdom applied in an atmosphere of international goodwill. Both science and philosophy will have to make their contributions. It is absolutely essential that there be careful study and analysis of the question of values as they relate to developmental physical activity in sport, exercise, and related expressive activities, a program that should be readily available to citizens of all ages and conditions across the world.

The Influence of Politics. The second social force or influence to be considered is that of politics in the Middle Ages. The word "politics" is used in its best sense-as the theory and practice of managing public affairs (the polity). When a politician is being described, therefore, the intent is to describe a person interested in politics as a most important profession, and not one who through maneuverings might attempt to amass personal power, influence, and possessions.

Political Government. Political government may be defined as a form of social organization in which the politician functions. This organization became necessary as a means of social control to regulate the actions of individuals and groups. Throughout history, every known society has developed some measure of formal control. The group as a whole has been termed the state, and the members known as citizens. Thus, the state is made up of territory, people, and government. If the people eventually unified through common cultural tradition, their social unit was classified as a nation. The pattern of living they developed was called its social structure. Of course, political organization was but one phase of this structure, but

it exercised a powerful influence upon the other phases. It is true historically a governmental form has usually been a conservative force that is slow to change. Inextricably related to the rest of the social structure, the political regime found it necessary to adapt to changing social organization; if it didn't, anarchy resulted. The three major types of political state in the history of the various world civilizations have been defined as (1) the monarchy, (2) the aristocratic oligarchy, and (3) the democracy or republic.

This classification of the three types of political states mentioned above was devised by Aristotle. Interestingly, it still holds today largely as it did then. The kind and amount of education offered to young people has accordingly varied throughout history depending upon the type of political state in existence. For example, if one person rules in a society, it would seem logical to assume that he or she should have the best education so as to rule wisely. The difficulty with this situation is that there is no guarantee that a hereditary ruler is the best-equipped person in the entire society to fulfill this purpose. Where the few ruled, *they* usually received the best education. These people normally rose to power by demonstrating various types of ability. That they were clever cannot be doubted. It is doubtful, however, that the wisest and most ethical people always became rulers in this type of state known as an oligarchy.

If the many rule through the power of their votes in democratic elections, as has been the case in some states in the past few hundred years, it is imperative that the general level of education be raised to the highest degree possible. It soon becomes part of the societal ethic, to a greater or lesser extent, to consider the worth of human personality and to give each individual the opportunity to develop his or her potential to the fullest (more or less). In return, to ensure relatively smooth functioning of the democracy, the individual is asked to subjugate extraordinary personal interests to the common good. (Witness the struggle against world terrorism going on at the beginning of the 21st century.) Since democratic states are relative newcomers on the world scene, achieving harmony between these two antithetical ideals undoubtedly require a delicate balance to be achieved time and again in the years ahead.

The Institutionalization of Sport. Significant help leading to an explanation of the institutionalization of sport in pre-industrial England, for example, comes from social analysis of this period by Thomas S. Henricks (1989, and also 1991). He explains that "institutionalization refers to the process by which some cultural pattern--i.e., some set of related ideas, values, skills, customs, or material elements--

becomes established and accepted in society" (p. 1). When this occurs with sport, it is a matter of social and cultural support systems undergirding the "behavioral forms" of sporting activity. The sport organizations, as social support systems, "may gather teams, create and enforce rules, report the game to others, furnish play spaces, or otherwise lubricate interaction" (p. 3). The cultural support system provide largely the "established set of symbolic and material resources that facilitate or justify the particular sporting activity."

From this generalized statement, Henricks moves forward to explain that his analysis included five different contexts in which sporting activities were sponsored in the Middle Ages: (1) "Hosted" sport; (2) Religiously sanctioned sport; (3) Government-regulated sport; (4) Sports of communities and guilds; and (5) Commercial establishments offering sport (p. 6). On this basis the "influence of politics" may be linked categories (or contexts) one and three above--i.e. "hosted" sport and government-regulated sport.

In the first instance (i.e., "hosted" sport), as hierarchies developed in the Middle Ages, certain obligations became attached to the duties and responsibilities of those who became the leaders at the various levels of society. These leaders were expected to provide hospitality for their underlings in the form of entertainment that came to involve sport. For example, sport at the royal court in the Tudor era was well established. We often read about the hunting and hawking of the period, with the ruling monarch also sponsoring warlike contests, wrestling, and what might be called "court sport" (e.g., horse racing, bowls, cards) (p. 7).

The other instance that may be related to the "influence of politics" (where there is overlap that's explained immediately above) is the matter of what can be termed government-regulated sport. In this case, Henricks explains, "the record of pre-industrial sport is simply the history of government prohibitions and permissions" (p. 10). If a sporting activity were to become too dangerous, the king might step in and ban the activity. For example, feudal tournaments were often deadly, as were the ball games of the masses. However, tournaments were at times sponsored by the government itself. Gambling was approved for those who could afford it, but banned for those who couldn't. [This might be an idea to implement for today's lotteries and casinos!]

Control of the Educational System. All of this raises a very interesting question: Which agency--the school, the family, or the church--should have control of the educational system in vogue? In a totalitarian state there is but one

philosophy of education permitted, whereas other types of government, once again to a greater or lesser degree, allow pluralistic philosophies of education to flourish. Under the latter arrangement, the state could conceivably exercise no control of education whatsoever, or it could take a greater or lesser interest in the education of its citizens. When the state does take an interest, the question arises as to whether the state (through its agency the school), or the family, or the church shall exert the greatest amount of influence on the child. When the leaders of the church feel strongly that the central purpose of education is religious, they may decide to take over the education of the child themselves. In the increasingly multi-ethnic societies of the world where there are many different religious affiliations, it is now more evident than ever before that the ideal arrangement is for the church and the state to remain completely separate. (The matter of the role of the church in general education is discussed more fully below where religion is itself considered as a social force.)

The implications deriving from state involvement in education concerns both the person who would call himself an educational progressivist, as well as the person who could be classified as an educational essentialist. The progressivist has typically been concerned with social reform. This person has favored a democratically oriented state in which the individual could choose social goals on a trial-and-error basis. The basic question mentioned above has remained. Which agency--the school, the family, or the church--should exert the greatest amount of influence on the child? In a totalitarian state the answer is obvious because the government automatically exerts the strongest influence. Thus physical training is often an important part of the curriculum up to and including the university level (e.g., Russia when within the Soviet Union).

When the church has been able to educate the child--and has decided to do so because it believed the central purpose of education was primarily religious--the role of physical education, sport, health education, and dance has tended to decline for both philosophic and economic reasons. Matters of the spirit and the mind take precedence over the body and, where funding is limited, money is spent for that which is deemed essential. In a totalitarian state, the church has typically been restrained in the achievement of its objective--except that in modern times the role of competitive sport has not been denied. In societies where pluralistic philosophies existed, and where the federal government has perhaps adopted a laissez-faire attitude, the resultant educational product in our specialized area has tended to be quite uneven.

The Influence of Nationalism. In the English language the word "nation" is generally used synonymously with country or state, and we think of human beings who are united with a type of governmental rule. These individuals, members of a political community, are usually considered to possess a certain "nationality" within a definable period of time. The word "people," having a broader and somewhat more ambiguous connotation, normally refers to the inhabitants of several nations or states as an ethnological unit.

The word "nationalism" itself might apply to a feeling, attitude, or consciousness that persons might have as citizens of a nation-citizens who hold a strong attitude about the welfare of their nation, about its status in regard to strength or prosperity. Carlton J. Hayes in *Nationalism: A Religion* (1961) refers to patriotism as "love of country," and nationalism as a "fusion of patriotism with a consciousness of nationality." Nationalism might be defined as a political philosophy in which the good of the nation is supreme. The word is often used incorrectly as a synonym for chauvinism.

Thus defined, nationalism (the third social force discussed in this essay) has been evident throughout the history of civilization from the relatively simple organization of the tribe to the complex nation-states of the modern world. Some scholars regard nationalism as a term of relatively recent origin (i.e., since the French and American revolutions). They argue that until the modern period no nations were sufficiently unified to permit the existence of such a feeling. However, it could also be argued that the European heritage reveals many examples of "nationalism." We have only to think of the Greek and Roman cultures with their ideals of citizenship and their desire to perpetuate their culture, respectively. Then, too, (1) the Hebrews believed that they were a people selected by God for a unique role in history, and (2) the Roman Catholic Church developed great power within certain states over a significant period of time, often creating far-reaching loyalties.

At various times throughout history, "city-statism" (e.g., ancient Sparta) and/or nationalism (e.g., Hitler's Germany) have undoubtedly had a strong influence on the developmental physical activity pattern of the citizens, and especially on the young people who were eligible to fight in the many wars and battles. In the United States and Canada, we find a "mixed bag," so to speak. As VanderZwaag (1965) pointed out, for example, in examining the historical background in the United States, people did eventually call for and accept an "American system" of physical education and sport. From an overall standpoint, he came to the conclusion, however, that physical education had not been

cultivated as greatly for nationalistic purposes in the United States as it has been in many other countries.

The Influence of Economics. Broadly interpreted, economics as a field is concerned with what people produce and the formal and informal arrangements that are made concerning the usage of these products. Economists want to know about the consumption of the goods that are produced and who takes part in the actual process of production. They ask where the power lies, whether the goods are used fully, and to what ends a society's resources are brought to bear on the matter at hand.

For thousands of years people lived in small, relatively isolated groups, and their survival depended on a subsistence economy. Early civilizations had to learn how to create surplus economies before any class within the society could have leisure for formal education or anything else that might be related to "the good life."

Educational aims tended to vary depending upon how people made their money and created surplus economies. There was not much time for "schooling" in the typical agrarian society. When commerce was added to the agrarian base, education advanced as people asked more from it to meet the needs of the various classes of society involved. Modern industrial economy has made still further demands on education and has produced the monies whereby it might be obtained.

In summary, therefore, education has prospered when there was a surplus economy and declined when the economic structure weakened. Thus, it may be said that "educational cycles" of rise and decline seemed to have coincided with economic cycles. Despite these developments, formal education has traditionally regarded vocational areas of study with less esteem than the liberal arts or humanities. However, in recent years the esteem in which these two aspects of the educational system are held seems to have completely reversed in the eyes of the general public at least.

Professionals in physical education and sport rarely give much consideration to the influence of economics until they begin to feel the pinch of "economy moves" at certain times. Then they find--and have found in the past--that some segments of the society considered their subject matter area to be less important than others. When people in positions of power decide that school physical education, or varsity athletics, should be eliminated or at least sharply curtailed, such a move often

comes as a distinct shock. Interestingly, even though athletics is typically regarded as being extracurricular, this aspect of our program is often used as a lever to force more funds from a pleasure-seeking public that tends to view competitive sport as a cultural maximizer. Also, people do not wish to see their "spectacles" discontinued!

Physical education, especially as it connotes education *of* the physical--as opposed to the concept of education *through* the physical--has a good chance for recognition and improvement under any type of economic system. In largely agrarian societies of the past, physical fitness resulted automatically through hard work. An industrial society, on the other hand, has often had to prescribe programs to ensure a minimum level of physical fitness for all, either through manual labor or some other type of recommended physical activity. When the distribution of wealth has been markedly uneven, the more prosperous groups have achieved their desired level of physical fitness through a variety of means, artificial or natural. In a welfare state, where people typically enjoy a relatively longer period of educational opportunity, society has had to decide to what extent it can or should demand physical fitness of all its citizens and how to achieve this end. Thus the value structure of the society dictates what rank is accorded to physical education and sport within the educational hierarchy.

One of the five types of sport and physical recreation activities in the Middle Ages included by Henricks (1989, 1991) in his insightful analysis was what he designated as "sports of communities and guilds." He explained that the many villages and similar communities had a variety of quite complex economic arrangements that were established before the subsequent feudal period. Even though a type of obeisance was evident vis-à-vis the relationship with royalty in the region, many villages became towns with their own customs and approaches to commerce. In this way they were able to "purchase" freedom from feudal impositions. The resultant guilds or companies established over time "featured fraternal as well as paternal (i.e., master-apprentice) responsibilities" (p. 13). These economic arrangements aided the overall material welfare of the community.

Sporting and physical recreation activities became one way that people, as a member of a community and/or guild could enjoy the activity, "identify" themselves, and--hopefully--get some healthful physical activity. Some of the group matches were said to have ended in rowdy-like behavior and brawls. Old records show, also, fields for hurling matches were carefully lined, and there were specific contest rules (Carew, 1502, pp. 73-75). Writing in regard to social theory, Henricks states these "mass games of communities and guilds are perhaps the best examples

of sport being used to express horizontal distance" (p. 14). By that he meant that expressed "the separation between social units of a more or less equivalent status." Here, as in other times and places, the presence of team sports played by members of the working class is evident. Such activity obviously preceded inter-school team sport by hundreds of years.

Last, but conceivably not least in the list of five types of sport extant in pre-industrial England, is his category of "commercial establishments offering sport" (p. 14 et ff.). From at least Tudor times, he mentions a variety of profit-oriented offerings such as gaming rooms, bowling alleys, tennis courts, pits for animal fighting, taverns, theatres, and even instructional schools (e.g., the teaching of swordsmanship). This could involve the long-sword and the back-sword, not to mention combat with the long staff, dagger, and pike (p. 14). As is the situation today, "money talked," but typically social distinctions prevailed in regard to inclusion in competition or sections for seating.

The Influence of Religion. Religion, the fifth social force to be discussed, may be defined very broadly as "the pursuit of whatever a man [person] considers to be most worthy or demanding of his devotion" (Williams, 1952). To be completely religious, therefore, a person would have to devote himself or herself completely to the attainment of that person's highest aim in life. The more usual definition of religion in the Western world explains it as a belief in a Supreme Creator who has imparted a spiritual nature and a soul to a person--and who may possibly guard and guide that person's destiny. Because there are so many types of religion in the world, and these are in various stages of development, it is well nigh impossible to present a definition that would be meaningful and acceptable to all.

In all probability the nature of the universe has not changed at any time in the conceivable past and will not change in the predictable future. Nevertheless, people's attitudes toward the world in which they live have changed, albeit gradually, a number of times. Theology has occasionally forged somewhat ahead of the political institutions, however, and we may theorize that there is a definite relationship between these two sets of phenomena. Originally, the primitives were filled with fear and apprehension about the world. They could not understand adverse natural phenomena and attributed their misfortunes to devils and evil spirits. Somewhat later, people looked upon God as a type of all-powerful king, potentially benevolent, but certainly a power to be feared. Approximately 3,000 years ago the concept of "God, The Heavenly Father, looking after his children" began to develop. We were to obey His laws, or else we would be punished.

Certain orthodox religions today hold this position.

Now we find that a fourth position has emerged clearly. People look at reality (which they may call God) and conceive that some sort of partnership is in process. Some consider God to be a friendly partner, if we proceed according to His physical laws. As a result of this belief, many churchmen, and some scientists, too, are expressing a relatively new theological approach, offering us the concept of a democratic, cooperative God as a foundation for a new and improved world order. Religious liberals are finding considerable difficulty reaching common agreement on this fourth position. While recognizing--in the Western world--their debt to Judaism and Christianity, they appear to be uniting on a "free-mind principle" instead of any common creed. The ideal of the religious liberal is, therefore, a free spirit who gives allegiance to the truth as he or she sees it.

Certain others have taken another interesting position, an existential approach, which has emerged as a somewhat significant force during the past 100 years or so. Kierkegaard, prior to 1850, had become concerned about the number of influences within society that were taking away one's individuality. Originally, existentialism probably started as a revolt against Hegel's idealism, a philosophy affirming that ethical and spiritual realities were accessible to one through reason. Kierkegaard decided that religion would be next to useless if one could simply reason one's way back to God. Then along came Nietzsche who wished to discard Christianity since science had presumably shown that the transcendent ideals of the Church were nonsense. A person's task was, therefore, to create his or her own ideals and values. After all, in the final analysis, one was only responsible to oneself. Twentieth-century existentialists, such as Sartre, furthered such individuality, and these efforts have met with some acceptance both abroad and in North America.

The Christian contribution to the history of education in the Western world has been most significant. Actually, the basis for universal education was laid with the promulgation of Christian principles emphasizing the worth of the individual. The all-powerful position of the Catholic Church was challenged successfully by the Protestant Reformation in that the authority of the Bible was substituted for that of the Church. Accordingly, individual judgment was to be used in the interpretation of the Scriptures and Christian duty. This outlook required the education of the many for the purposes of reading and interpreting God's word. Thus the groundwork was paid for democratic universal education. In the mid-19th century in the United States, as the educational ladder extended upward, religious education was removed from school curricula because of many conflicts. Catholics

began their own system of education, whereas Protestants went along with the secularization of the schools. This was a great boon for the country if not for the Protestant religion. The home has done reasonably well in the inculcation of morals, but with ever-rising materialism and the recent decline of the traditional family as an institution, a number of problems have arisen. And so discussion continues to revolve around two questions: (1) which agency shall educate the individual--the home, the church, the state, or some private agency; and (2) whether any agency is capable of performing the task alone. An argument can be made that in a democracy each of the agencies mentioned above has a specific function to perform in completing the entire task.

Although the historical influence of religion on physical education and sport (or developmental physical activity in sport, exercise, and related expressive activities such as dance) has been significant, relatively few studies have been conducted within our field relative to this matter. It is true that in the early cultures the so-called physical and mental education of the people could not really have been viewed separately. For example, many ancient rituals and ceremonies included various types of dance and physical exercise that may well have contributed to physical endurance and skill.

However, a number of early religions placed great stress on a life of quiet contemplation, and this philosophy appears to have contributed to the denigration of certain bodily activities. Continuing emphasis on intellectual attainment for certain classes in various societies must have strengthened this attitude. Yet the harmonious ideal of the Athenians had aesthetic and religious connotations that cannot be denied, and physical education and highly competitive sport ranked high in this scheme. The same cannot be said for the Romans, however, whose "sound mind in a sound body" concept attributed to Seneca meant that the body was to be well-trained for warlike pursuits and similar activities.

Many have argued that the Christian church was responsible historically for the low status of physical education and sport in the Western world, but further evidence has indicated that the church's criticism applied more to the pagan sporting rituals and the barbarity of the arena in early times. The fact still remains, however, that physical culture and "the physical" generally did fall into disrepute until certain humanistic educators strove to revive the earlier Greek ideal during the Renaissance. Once again, though, this improvement was not general, and in most cases was short-lived. Considering everything up to the present, it seems reasonable to say that Christianity had undoubtedly hampered the fullest development of sport,

exercise, and related expressive movement in the past, but it appears that the situation has changed to a considerable degree. There has been some revamping of earlier positions as church leaders belatedly realized the potential of these activities as educational forces in our lives. Many church leaders now envision the family both "praying *and* playing together!" However, I think it is safe to say that the idea of professional sport serving as a "substitute religion" on Sundays is met with disfavor unanimously.

> **Note:** Above I have traced the Western human's religious experience in broad outline. No conscious attempt was made to indoctrinate the reader. The premise here is that each person should work out the matter of religion individually. A person's final decision in this regard will undoubtedly have an influence on his or her development as an individual and as a professional person.

The Influence of Religion on Education. In the Western world, the contribution of the Christian religion has been significant. For the first time, the ideas of a universal God and of brotherhood took hold. In addition, the Christian emphasis on an afterlife entailed a strict moral preparation. Actually, it can be argued that the basis for universal education was laid with the promulgation of Christian principles emphasizing the worth of the individual.

The early church was concerned with moral reformation. The previous, strongly pagan centuries of the Roman Empire had introduced vices that were difficult to obliterate. The Christians set up many types of schools to accomplish this purpose, and for a long period the main concerns of monastic life including its accompanying education were asceticism, chastity, poverty, and obedience. It wasn't until much later that the monastic school became interested in the expansion of knowledge and accordingly became more tolerant of inquiry. Scholasticism aimed (1) to develop faith and (2) to discover truth through the method of logical analysis. St. Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274), like Aristotle, shared the spirit of the realist. After deep reflection, he stated his belief in the reality of matter as the creation of God. He saw God as the first cause--an Absolute with eternal and infinite qualities.

The Protestant Reformation influenced education greatly while lessening to a considerable degree the all-powerful position of the Catholic Church. The authority of the Bible was substituted for that of the Church, and individual judgment was to

be used in the interpretation of the Scriptures and Christian duty. This outlook required the education of the many for the purposes of reading and interpreting God's word. Thus the groundwork was laid for democratic universal education in place of the education of the few for leadership.

Discussion often arises concerning (1) which agency shall educate the individual--the home, the church, the state, or some private agency; and (2) whether or not any agency is capable of performing the task alone. In a democracy, each agency would appear to have a specific function to perform in completing the entire task. In Nazi Germany the state attempted to handle the majority of the responsibility. In the United States and Canada, the Catholic Church combines with the home to perform this all-important function and has succeeded to a considerable degree. Educational progressivists (people with a pragmatic orientation) would certainly not agree with much of Catholic methodology and curriculum content. They would tend to place the major responsibility on the home and the school, whether this school was sponsored by the local community and the state or province, or by some private institution. Some Protestant Christian idealists consider themselves to be progressivists because they place so much weight on the individual's desires and interests; nevertheless, they still believe that the church has a definite task to fulfill in educating the spiritual nature of the individual. However, an "educational progressivist" can only visualize this function being carried out successfully by the combined efforts of family and school. In public elementary and secondary education in the United States and Canada, parents--by the influence they are able to exert on the schools--should decide for their own children whether religious values, broadly or narrowly conceived, will be inculcated, and, if so, in what way.

History has shown that public education has not been hostile to religious and values instruction as such. However, sectarianism in the 20th century made it next to impossible to teach comparative religion in the public schools. Prospects for the 21st century are not any better. Thus, despite the fact that separation of church and state has been legislated in the United States, for example, it simply has not been possible to teach about moral values and comparative religion in the curriculum. With at least 11 major religions, more or less, in the world today, and with children from families subscribing to each of these religions in our culture, it does seem that some sort of *comparative* religious education should be taught. That has happened only rarely, because it is next to impossible to find an instructor who would be acceptable to the various factions concerned.

In recent years, also, some have charged that United States society is based wholly on materialism, not religious principle. This is true to a degree, and yet at the beginning of the 21st century there is an evident rise in Christian fundamentalism. Further, it is the government and people of the United States who react almost instantaneously to world tragedies wherever they may occur. However, the communications media are becoming so effective in their professional endeavor that it is easy to exploit what often appears to be (1) a low level of public morals, (2) considerable political corruption, (3) many dishonest business people, (4) a large amount of income tax evasion, (5) increasing juvenile delinquency, poverty and accompanying malnutrition, (6) an increase in all sorts of crimes including rape, and (7) hundreds of thousands killed annually by readily available handguns and on the highways (often by drivers under some legal or illegal drug influence).

This appears to be a harsh indictment of American life, but life does seems worse than it really is because of the free press that exists. Nevertheless, we must ask ourselves how we can improve the core value system of the country to meet these urgent problems now and in the future. What role has religion to play? Can it accomplish what seem to be the impossible? Clearly, if organized religion is to survive, it must become more interested in problems of social change--and quickly too. *Our society urgently needs a unique type of social institution that is flexible and capable of a high level of intelligent self-direction on the part of its adherents.* Can the church meet this challenge? Can the school gradually become the social organization that will bring about beneficial social change? Or how will such vitally needed change be made to happen?

The Influence of Religion on Sport and Physical Education. In early cultures the so-called physical and mental education of the people was evidently not viewed separately. Many ancient rituals and ceremonies included a variety of types of dance and expressive physical activities that undoubtedly contributed to physical endurance and skill. The development of these attributes may have been incidental, or it may have been by actual design on the part of the priests and elders. Various early religions placed great stress on a life of quiet contemplation, and this possibly contributed to the denigration of certain bodily activities. Continuing emphasis on intellectual attainment for certain classes in various societies must have strengthened this attitude. Yet the harmonious idea of the Athenians, for example, had aesthetic and religious connotations that cannot be denied, and competitive sport and physical education ranked high in this scheme. The same cannot be said for the practical-minded Romans, however, where the "sound mind in a sound body" concept meant that the body was well-trained for warlike pursuits and other

activities of a similar nature.

Despite considerable writing in our field to the effect that the Church was responsible for the low status of physical education, physical recreation, and competitive athletics in the Western world, some evidence to the contrary has appeared. It is probably true that Christian philosophic idealism furthered the dualism of mind and body--a concept whose effects have been detrimental to developmental physical activity ever since. Furthermore, the doctrine of original sin, with the possibility of ultimate salvation if asceticism were practiced evidently negated the fostering of the earlier Greek ideal for well over a thousand years. H. I, Marrou is of the opinion, however, that "physical education was quite dead in the Christian era and that its death had been a natural one, unaccompanied by any violent revolution--history would have told if there had been anything of this kind" (1964, pp. 185-86). He believed that the Church fathers limited their harsh criticism to professional sport and the excesses of the arena, not to amateur sport and games or physical training.

This thesis is borne out by Ballou (1965), who came to the conclusion that "early Christianity taught that God cared about bodies as well as souls in contrast to a position suggested by physical education literature that God only cared about souls." He explained further that the "body is evil" approach was generated by proponents of heretical movements later rejected by the Church. Ballou concluded, however, that the Church "failed to exert leadership in the area of the games by not reorienting them to a Christian perspective." For the moment, then, we may tentatively conclude that the earlier blame placed upon the Church itself will have to be tempered somewhat.

The fact still remains, however, that physical education and the idea of "the physical" did fall into disrepute until certain humanistic educators revived the Greek ideal during the Renaissance. The mind-body (and then *spirit*) dichotomy or trichotomy has therefore long plagued the field of physical education and educational sport, as well as the entire theory of education for that matter.

However, the human is characterized by his or her physical movement. So, somehow opportunities appeared for people to get involved in game, sport, and physical recreation. As we recall, according to the terms of feudalism with its manorial economy, private wealth during this period was that held by several thousand people who owned the land. Thus those who would organize any special events, including church activities, had to turn to these people for financial support.

This is not the same as was described as "hosted" sport above. Using McLean (1983) as a source, Henricks tells us that churchyard and holiday sport served to release people from many of the responsibilities and obligations of the days as they enjoyed special days and holidays (p. 9). These sports evidently included archery, running, wrestling, slinging the stone, not to mention the bear-baiting of winter holidays and the ball games and cockfights held on Shrove Tuesday (McLean, 1983).

Summary Statement. It appears that various religious leaders at different stages in the world's history have exerted a variety of influences on physical (activity) education. It is a fact that the more traditional, or essentialistic, educational philosophies have typically established a hierarchy of values almost ignoring the importance of what we in the field of physical education and sport would call a well-rounded education. There were exceptions, of course. Nevertheless, insofar as organized religion is concerned, it seems reasonable to say that Christianity and Judaism have hampered the fullest development of physical education and sport as an educational influence. This statement applies as well to what are now the field's allied professions (e.g., dance, health education)..

THE CONCEPT OF PROGRESS

A Definition of Progress. Any study of history inevitably forces a person to conjecture about human progress. I first became very interested in the concept of progress in the middle of the 20th century through the work of the world-famous paleontologist, George Gaylord Simpson (1949, pp. 240-262). After 25 years of research, Simpson offered us his assessment of the vital question as to whether evolution represented progress. His study convinced him to reject "the over-simple and metaphysical concept of a pervasive perfection principle" in the universe [on Earth to be specific]. That there had been progression he agreed, but he inquired whether this could really viewed as *progress*. The difficulty arises, Simpson argued, when we seek to maintain that change *is* progress; we must ask ourselves if we can recommend a criterion by which progress may be judged.

We are warned that it may be shortsighted for us to be our own "judge and jury" in this connection. It may well be an acceptable *human* criterion of progress to say that we are coming closer to approximating what we think we ought to be and to achieving what we hold to be good. It is not wise, according to Simpson, however, to automatically assume that this is "the *only* criterion of progress and that it has a *general* validity in evolution." Thus, throughout the history of life there have

been examples of progress and examples of retrogression, and progress is "certainly not a basic property of life common to all its manifestations." If it is truly a materialistic world, as Simpson would have us believe, a particular species can progress and regress. There is "a tendency for life to expand, to fill in all the space in the livable environments," but such expansion has not necessarily been constant, although it is true that human beings are now "the most rapidly growing organism in the world."

It is true also that humans made progress in adaptability and developed their "ability to cope with a greater variety of environments." This too is progress considered from the human vantage point. However, he concluded, also, that the various evolutionary phenomena among the many species do not show "a vital principle common to all forms of life," and "they are certainly inconsistent with the existence of a supernal perfecting principle." Thus, Simpson concludes, human progress is actually relative and not general, and "does not warrant choice of the line of man's ancestry as the central line of evolution as a whole." Yet it is safe to say that "man is among the highest products of evolution . . . and that man is, on the whole but not in every single respect, the pinnacle so far of evolutionary progress" *on this planet we call Earth*.

With the realization that evolution of human (and not to forget) other organisms is going on and will probably continue for millions of years (indefinitely?), we can realize how futile it is to attempt to predict any outcome for the ceaseless change so evident in life and its environment. We can say that we must be extremely careful about the possible extinction of the species (humankind) on Earth. Ostensibly it is improbable, though not absolutely impossible, that this development would be repeated in the same way here or on any other planet. Some other mammal might develop in a similar way, but this will not happen so long as humans have control of the environment and do not encourage such development. The task, therefore, is to attempt to modify and perhaps to control the direction of human evolution according to the highest goals that can be determined. It may be possible through the agency of education, and the development of a moral sense throughout the world, to ensure the future of the human species. One way to accomplish this would be to place a much greater emphasis on the social sciences and humanities while working for an ethically sound world-state at the same time.

Progress in Education. Throughout the course of history until the golden age of Greece, a good education had been based on the transmission of the cultural heritage and the society's particular methods of survival. The Greeks became so

prosperous, however, that for the first time it was possible for a relatively few--the citizens!--, at least, to depart from previous educational norms. Plato proposed an educational scheme in *The Republic* in which the Greeks might look forward to an ideal society. But the populace was not ready to try to put this utopian scheme into practice, or even to accept Socrates' critical approach to current educational practice. Plato's best-known pupil, the great Aristotle, took sides against his earlier master in this respect, also. In his *Politics* he called for an educational pattern conforming to the actual political state in existence.

During the subsequent Roman Empire and the Middle Ages**,** inadequate practices--by today's standards, of course--continued, despite the fact that from time to time certain educational theorists offered proposals of greater or lesser radical quality. Thus, when a society declined--as did the far West in the early Middle Ages--those involved in the educational system had no idea about societal rejuvenation and were in no position to be of significant assistance. During the Renaissance, however, new ideas and practices did develop outside what had become the traditional educational pattern. Then, later, after humanism had made itself a strong force and had brought about the introduction of a special school to foster its spirit, the introduction of science into the curriculum faced the same barriers all over again.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

In bringing this volume to a close, the reader will recall that typically in the editor's sections comprising the introduction of Parts One and Two, as well as in this concluding Part Three, my approach was to describe the historical setting generally followed by a brief description of what was occurring in formal education. Then the discussion in each case turned to the main subject of this volume: the physical training, sport, and physical recreation of the period.

However, it does not seem appropriate at this point to attempt either a general historical summary of the Middle Ages or a repetition of what transpired in educational circles. Nevertheless, because the main subject has been the physical training or education, the sport, and the physical recreation of the period, a summary of those topics will be carried out.

A Brief Summary. Insofar as training in sporting, military, and basic physical activity was concerned, I have concluded that the presumed negative outlook of the Church against *all* physical activity has been overemphasized. The Church was

actually strongly against the violent excesses of the later Roman games and so-called sport. There is some evidence that physical fitness was maintained in far Western monasteries through manual labor. There was also some evidence that some priests with active parishes agreed with the need for physical activity--and even have gotten involved themselves to a reasonable extent.

Physical training (education?) was revived strongly during what has been called the Age of Chivalry. It was a narrow, complex physical and military education of the most strenuous type, and it was mandatory for all who aspired to become knights. The health standards were very low. Interestingly, the physical fitness of farmers, according to the military standards of the time at any rate, was not very high. This was discovered when at certain times they were drafted for service. Also, their physical recreation patterns were inadequate because of their low social status. Certain types of play and indigenous games could not be repressed, however, and were included at village fairs and festivals, not to mention in people's home environment.

The educational system of the "burgeoning burghers" in the developing towns and cities did not provide regular physical training either, but a pattern of modified physical recreation developed, one characterized by space limitations, and it did contribute to the overall social goals of the time. It should be mentioned further, although it hardly needs mentioning, that physical education was *not* included in the Seven Liberal Arts of what was called higher education.

Just before the Renaissance a transitional period occurred in which there was a decline of feudalism and a rise in nationalism. With more vigorous trade and community growth, a stronger middle class gradually arose, with a resultant demand for an improved educational system designed to prepare the young male for his lifetime occupation. Informal physical exercise and games contributed to the social and recreational goals of the young townspeople. Such physical activity was also enhanced by military training when required, and it is interesting to note that games and informal sports were accompanying features of the frequent religious holidays.

In retrospect, it was natural that learned people during the Renaissance should begin to look back to the periods in history that were characterized by even roughly similar societies. The Church was still solidly entrenched, of course, and there was much enthusiasm for scholarship in the fields of law, theology, and medicine. Understandably this scholasticism with its emphasis on intellectual

discipline found little if any room for physical education. Unorganized sports and games were the only activities of this nature in the cathedral schools and in the universities that had been established relatively recently.

In the late fourteenth and in the fifteenth century, however, when humanistic educators developed stressing the worth of the individual, once again the "physical side" of the person was considered. Most of the humanistic educators appreciated the earlier Greek ideal and emphasized the care and proper development of the body. Vittorino da Feltre set an example for others in his school at the court of the Prince of Mantua in northern Italy. One of his aims of Vittorino (mentioned above) was to discipline the body so hardship might be endured with the least possible hazard. His pupils were some day to bear arms and had to know the art of warfare. Individual and group sports and games were included because of the recreative nature of such activity. Da Feltre believed that the ability of a youth to learn in the classroom depended to a considerable extent upon the physical condition of the individual, a belief for which there is evidence today.

A fine study of the contributions of the Renaissance to physical education was carried out by Carmelo Bazzano (1973). In his excellent summary he stressed that certain specific contributions from the Renaissance were "channeled into the common heritage of the Western World." Explaining that "the concept of physical education reintroduced by the Italian Renaissance had deep roots in the Greco-Roman past," he explained that "harmony was the guiding principle of physical education, especially in the cultivation in the physical, mental, and spiritual dimensions of man." Although such theory was put into practice for only a small number of children and young people at the time, in this way the belief was re-established that a fine physical education program did indeed make a contribution to the "total individual." This position held by selected educational theorists and teachers of the time (e.g., Vittorino) carried on subsequently into other European countries, especially England.

During the following period, called the "Early Modern Period" by some, and a "Transitional Period" by others, there was a decline of the liberal-education approach that had been instituted. The schools lost their original aim and began the exclusive study of the languages of Greece and Rome while neglecting the other aspects of these civilizations. The importance of physical training for youth again declined, as preparation for university education was intensified. (History is repeating itself again!) Thus, while the spirit of Italian humanistic education reached into Europe, the Greek ideal of physical culture was realized by only a relatively few

individuals. Those involved with the Protestant Reformation did nothing to encourage physical education activities with the possible exception of Martin Luther himself, who evidently realized a need for the physical training of youths. Some educators rebelled against the narrow type of education that came into vogue, but they were the exception rather than the rule.

Rabelais satirized the education of his time in his depiction of the poor results of the typical Latin grammar school graduate. His Gargantua was a "dolt and blockhead," but subsequently became a worthwhile person when his education became more well-rounded. Michel de Montaigne, the great French essayist of the 16th century, believed the education of man should *not* be dichotomized into the mind-body approach. Other educators such as Locke, Mulcaster, and Comenius recognized the value of exercise and physical attainments. Some educational leaders in the seventeenth century stressed character development as the primary aim, but a number of them believed in the underlying need for health and physical fitness. John Locke, for example, even stressed the importance of recreation for youths. However, his ideas were far from being accepted as the ideal for all in this society characterized by a variety of social classes.

Unique Characteristics of West European Civilization. At this point those of us living today know *what* happened in the "far West" as characterized and explained by William H. McNeill. the great American (midwest) historian of the University of Chicago just after mid-20th century (1963). With the prescience of hindsight, we understand that what is now known as "the West," despite its tumultuous state after the fall of Rome, gradually, but steadily, surged ahead of the other far-older world civilizations. However, we are not certain *how* or *why* medieval Europe differed in this respect. McNeill comes to our rescue by suggesting two reasons for its rapid advancement.

First, he believes that these peoples "entered upon the inheritance of classical, Moslem, and Byzantine worlds relatively unhindered by their past" (p. 558). He believes that their use and adaptation of these "alien inheritances" is perhaps unmatched in world history. Somehow they "rationalized the human effort" better than their contemporaries.

Second, and this seems incredible in light of the ongoing union of the all-powerful Church and the ruling classes, a greater number of people gradually managed to get involved in the cultural, political, and economic life of the prevailing monarchies of the countryside and the oligarchies of the towns than in

the older Asian civilizations. Greater numbers were involved in the advancing economic environment, also, and thus became consumers of a great variety of goods. Further, additional numbers took part in the various military campaigns, as well as in the political life of the societies. Still further, a number of representative governing institutions were created that included men from various social levels (e.g., the English Parliament and the French Estates General).

Some Concluding Thoughts. Those of us who have written the various parts and selections in this volume on physical education, sport, and physical recreation in the Middle Ages undoubtedly became involved with the subject because we felt that it was interesting, had a place in society, and deserved careful description and analysis. What we found was often interesting, at times dull, and characterized basically by the "rises and falls" of changing times. It's easy to be smug about the excesses of the Middle Ages from beginning to end.

Lest we be too overconfident about the "great improvements" in the "state of culture" made since the Middle Ages, we should keep the following facts in mind. Intelligent, concerned people in the 21st century say that they want people of all ages to be healthy, in good physical condition, and able to take part in wholesome physical recreation. Also, these same people give lip service to the need for fine programs of health, physical education, recreation, sport, and dance in the elementary, secondary, and higher-education institutions. Further, this same verbiage applies to the need for the provision of excellent, publicly sponsored community recreation programs serving all ages of the population. Without mentioning how "wildly, astronomically impossible" the realization of these thoughts is--if applied to all but a percentage of the technologically developed world today, it can only be stated that--even in what we choose to call the "developed" world--such a halcyon state has not been achieved. It is also completely out of the reach of "the masses."

Children and young people, except in rare instances, are not profiting from regular programs of health, physical education, recreation, sport, and dance. A large percentage of them are becoming unhealthily fat, a condition that will continue into their lives as adults with possible devastating effects on their health. There have even been predictions that young people of this generation will not live as long as their parents. Professional sport--a misnomer except for the presence of money--is in this culture akin to the "circus of the ancient Romans." Emerging so-called extreme sport is for "mental midgets" and eventually places a burden on the public purse for health services when personal anatomy is damaged temporarily or

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permanently--or destroyed! A large percentage of universities in the United States prostitutes themselves for "athletic glory." This description could be amplified as our involvement--or lack of same--with developmental physical activity reflects society's inadequate values and norms. We can do so much better . . . .

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APPENDIX
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Editor's Note: This general bibliography of the life and times of the Middle Ages is not intended to be all-inclusive. The attention of readers is called to an outstanding, multi-lingual bibliography of selected publications about physical education and sport in the Middle Ages that was assembled in the 1984 publication (see below) by Professors Arnd Krüger and John McClelland,

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A dual citizen of Canada and the United States, **Dr. Zeigler** has taught, researched, and administered programs at four universities. (Western Ontario [twice], Illinois, Michigan, and Yale.) He has published 39 books and monographs and 406 articles. The top five awards in his field in North America have been bestowed on him. He has also received two honorary doctorates and is listed in *Who's Who in Canada, Who's Who in America, and Who's Who in the World.*

In *Sport and Physical Education in the Middle Ages*, Dr. Zeigler (ed. & au.) divides the then-world's "far West" into Early Middle Ages (including Feudal Society) and Later Middle Ages (including the Renaissance). Nine qualified scholars provide 14 different historical analyses. In a final section, Zeigler provides a "vertical analysis" of the social forces influencing the times.

The theology of The Church prevailed generally during this era, but there was discordance present also among the exisiting variations of theism, deism, pluralism, and humanism, a state that has persisted to the present. Thus there was a continuing need for professional warriors trained to help resolve their countries' political problems, discords often linked to underlying religious dicta.

To be a knight then, an "irreducible maximum" of physical training and conditioning was an absolute requirement. Even today, in a still highly contentious world environment, the military person would be wise to strive for the highest levels of skill, strength, and endurance as did the male counterpart of the Middle Ages. Due to advancing science and technology, the need for the military person to be trained "physically" through exercise, sport, and physical recreation has varied gradually to a degree depending on the specific duties of the rank or service held.

As in the best professions in what we call civilized society today, a fine code of ethics (e.g., The Chivalric Code) was developed and espoused--albeit an unrealizable dream. This standard was invoked when the knight of medieval times was assessed, as it should be today when the career military person of the 21st century is being evaluated. Sadly, it is not yet possible to predict a world environment in which a country will not need a military establishment of greater or lesser strength.

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