

Notes and Commentary

The Origins of Pierre de Coubertin's *Religio Athletae* ¹

Arnd Krüger*

What is the *difference* between the Olympic Games and World Championships? What is the *connection* between the ancient Olympic Games and the modern? Pierre de Coubertin, the acknowledged founder of the modern Olympic Games, pointed out in a radio address in 1935 that the difference and the connection are ones underscored by the concept of *religio athletae*:

The ancient as well as the modern Olympic Games have one most important feature in common: They are a religion. When working on his body with the help of physical education and sport-like the sculpturer at a statue—the athlete in antiquity honoured the gods. By doing the same today, the modern athlete honours his homeland, his race,² and his flag.³ I think, I was right, therefore, when reconstituting the Olympic Games to have connected them with a religious feeling from the beginning. It is transformed and even elevated by internationalism and democracy—the features of our time—but basically it is still the same as in antiquity when it encouraged the young Greek to employ all of their strength for the highest triumph at the feet of the statue of Zeus . . . The religious idea of sport, the *religio athletae*, has entered very slowly into the consciousness of the athlete, and many of them act accordingly only by instinct.⁴

Coubertin's words for the occasion were partially mistranslated into German to be used for general Nazi propaganda within Germany, but the French and English version, on which I rely here, have not been changed.⁵ Since Coubertin's radio address, there have been several attempts to explain the phenomenon of *religio athletae*. All such attempts, however, have been centered around Coubertin's quote noted above, broadcast by the Baron just two years before his death. Indeed, such analyses have been rendered without examining Coubertin's own references to *religio athletae*, or its connotation in its contemporary use by others⁶ In his *Mémoires Olympiques* he explained that for him sports were "a religion with church, dogmas, and ritual . . . but most of all with religious feelings."⁷ The idea

* Arnd Krüger is Professor in the Institut für Sportwissenschaften at Georg-August Universität, Göttingen, Germany.

was later adopted by Avery Brundage, who proclaimed to his colleagues in the IOC that Olympism was a twentieth-century religion, "a religion with universal appeal which incorporates all the basic values of other religions, a modern, exciting, virile, dynamic religion."⁸

When Coubertin retired from the Olympic movement in 1925, he did not cease his interest in sport or education, which can be seen through his leading roles in the *Union Pédagogique Universelle* (1925-29) and the *Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportive* (1928-34).⁹ The term *religio athletae*, though studied in relationship to the Olympic Games,¹⁰ has not been examined within the context of the late work of Coubertin. The French nobleman wrote a 600 word paper in English under the title *Religio Athletae* in the very first issue of the *Bulletin du Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportive*, explaining the term and clarifying the difference between Olympic Games and world championships:

But we may be asked what difference do you make between the Olympic games and what are nowadays called world-championships? We agree that world championships do form a 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. . . . For centuries athleticism, its home in Olympia, remained pure and magnificent. There states and cities met in the persons of their young men, who, imbued with a sense of the moral grandeur of the games went to them in a spirit of almost *religious reverence*.¹¹

I will not venture into speculation as to why authors have focussed on Coubertin's writing during the formative years of the Olympic movement, rather than his late work, thus overlooking this important essay on the essence of the Olympic Games.

Coubertin's notion of the way national representation is manifested is also obviously stated in his *Religio Athletae* text: "states and cities" meet at Olympic Games "in the persons of their young men." Although the IOC had decided in 1914 (against the wishes of Coubertin, the French, American, Japanese, and Turkish delegates) that medals won by women should count as much as those won by men in scoring points to determine an overall Olympic Games champion nation,¹² the founder of the modern Olympic Games refers above only to *men*, as according to him women should not actively participate.¹³

In the years just prior to World War I, it became evident that the governments and opinion leaders of various countries commenced action to do something about stronger national representation at the Olympic Games. Such interest in sport by national leaders, of course, was prodded in part by the fact that the phenomenon of specialty sport journals evolved rapidly in Europe near the turn of the century.¹⁴ Veracity for the fact that national government interest in Olympic Games affairs mounted significantly before World War I, is substantiated by the following notations:

- 1) President Theodore Roosevelt personally came to the defense of American athletes in response to the way in which the protocol

and competition rules were interpreted by host-country England in the London Olympic Games of 1908;¹⁵

2) Sweden was considerably involved financially in preparing its athletes for the Olympic Games in 1912;¹⁶

3) the American president and two of his predecessors joined together in New York to celebrate the arrival home of the American Olympic team of 1912;¹⁷

4) the British Olympic Committee was encouraged by the King to collect money to hire a national coach for track and field in order to perform better in 1916 than in 1912;¹⁸

5) the German *Reichs*-parliament debated national representation at the Olympic Games at length in 1914 and provided money to prepare the athletes with the help of professional coaches, training camps and scientific research, all for their intended hosting of the Games in 1916;¹⁹

6) the French brought their athletes together in long-term central training camps.²⁰

In the midst of rising public discourse on the issue of the state and Social Darwinism,²¹ Olympic Games seemed to be a more productive way to compare oneself physically than fighting a war. The *Times* (London) editorialized:

There is also the consideration that the national reputation is more deeply involved than perhaps we care to recognize in the demonstration of our ability to hold our own against other nations in the Olympic contests... Whether we took the results very seriously ourselves or not it was widely advertised in other countries as evidence of England's "decadence."²²

The beginning of state amateurism, the active attempt of governments to do well in international comparison of their athletes, as they were identified by a country's masses, is closely connected with the rise of the nationalistic fervor prior to World War I.

The spirit of religious reverence is closely linked to the notion that here men as athletes are performing a superb service for their fatherland, short only to fighting for it on the battle field. Coubertin referred to this point in 1913:

. . . Sport with its youthful *élan* which we witness today . . . can be seen as an indirect preparation for war. In sports all the same qualities flourish which serve for warfare: indifference towards one's own well being, courage, readiness for the unforeseen . . . The young sportsman is certainly better prepared for war than his untrained brothers.²³

Martin Berner, a German journalist who had been sent on a fact finding tour to

America in an attempt to find out more of how the United States achieved its athletic success, amplified Coubertin's thinking even more directly:

The Olympic Games are a war, a real war. You can be sure that many participants are willing to offer—without hesitation—several years of their life for a victory of the fatherland . . . The Olympic idea of the modern era has given us a symbol of world war, which does not show its military character very openly, but—for those who can read sports statistics—it gives enough insight into world ranking.²⁴

If it took but a short essay to explain *religio athletae* as a philosophical basis for the Olympic Games, one can reasonably assume that the notion of *religio athletae* was self-evident for Coubertin and many of his contemporaries. If that was the case, where does the term and the notion come from?

The Irish Connection

The only monograph ever published on *Religio Athletae* is by Alfred Arthur Lynch, who wrote a volume of poems, ninety six octavo pages,²⁵ after he had originally introduced the term one year before.²⁶ After Coubertin's death, his library was auctioned. At that time, when the inventory was established, there were no works by Lynch to be found among the assembled books.²⁷ Further, no Lynch/Coubertin correspondence has yet been found. Nevertheless, Coubertin and the Irishman Lynch may well have known of each other. A textual comparison will show the close parallel between the two men's ideas.

First, a word about Lynch. Alfred Arthur Lynch was born on October 16, 1861 in Smythesdale, Victoria, Australia, the son of an Irish father and a Scottish mother. His father, John, was the leader of a miner's strike which resulted in greater Australian independence from the authority of the British crown.²⁸ Alfred Lynch went to school in Ballarat, where his father was exalted as a champion of liberty. Subsequently, he studied civil engineering at the University of Melbourne, from which he received his M.A. in 1887. He continued his studies in Berlin, where he studied physics and psychology. Later, in Paris, Lynch took courses in medicine. From 1889-1895 he worked as a journalist and author in London, where he also stood for parliament, but was not elected. For his political defeat, he blamed the influence of the Catholic church, which had supported a resident London candidate. This made him even more reserved towards Catholicism in general.²⁹ In 1896 Lynch went to Africa to cover the Ashanti Campaign as a war correspondent for the *Evening News*. After his return, he became the Paris correspondent of the *Daily Mail* (1896-99). The French *Le Journal* sent him to South Africa in 1899 to report on the Boer War. Lynch wrote little about the campaign. Instead, he enlisted in the Boer forces, became a colonel, and led a troop of Irish volunteers against the British. Because of his anti-British posture, Lynch became popular in Ireland. At the 1899 by-elections, the Irish Nationalists in County Galway elected him as their representative to the British House of Commons. Upon his arrival in London, he was tried for high treason and sentenced to death. Through the intervention of influential friends, Lynch was released and exiled. For three years he worked on the

staff of several newspapers in Paris. Finally, he was pardoned. Returning to London, he qualified as a doctor and practiced medicine in North London until his death on March 25, 1934. From 1908-1918 he represented the Irish County West Clare in the British House of Commons, retiring because of his antagonism to Germany, a political stance in strong contrast to the official Irish position. He spoke out vehemently against the enemy of Britain; eventually he was made a Colonel to raise an army of Irish volunteers for the British war effort. His troops did not see any active duty as the war ended before they could be used on the Western Front.³⁰

Lynch often spent parliamentary holidays in Paris where he eventually received yet another university diploma, this time at the *Ecole Supérieure d'Electricité*. He was a prolific writer, publishing books on such diverse subjects as geometry, physics, psychology, ethics, sports, and literature. He also published works on Ireland, wrote books of poems, and jointly produced a work on the Lord Byron Memorial Fund. Finally, he completed his autobiography.³¹

He was an accomplished track and field athlete in his younger days; a notation in his autobiography emphasizes the sporting element and demonstrates his affinity for sport in religious context:

My adoration of the Greek ideal had already formed one strain of my religion. I liked the athletic mind in the athletic frame, and I always had a hankering to know, when I heard of some great man, as to the time in which he could do a hundred. Eleven seconds seemed to be a possible limit of admission into the circle of manhood.³²

I was unsuccessful in discovering a trace in Lynch's writing which might show that he was influenced by the *Aenach Tailteann*, the ancient Irish games, sport festivals which evolved in pre-Christian time and were continued until 1169. Although those festivals have long served for national identification and have been linked with four days of religious celebration, thus connecting them with ritual context,³³ it seems that such a legacy did not inspire Lynch. *The Tailteann Games* were not revived until 1924,³⁴ when they served as Ireland's own national Olympic Games.³⁵ In the interim between 1169 and 1924, no Olympic-like festivals appeared to have taken place in Ireland. The Irish influence during the formative years of the Olympic movement,³⁶ can only be seen indirectly, e.g. by the influence of the ideas of Lynch on Coubertin.

There are strong similarities between Coubertin and Lynch. Lynch fits the Baron's ideal of a man characterized by the Latin motto *mens fervida in corpore lacertoso* (an overflowing spirit in a muscular body).³⁷ The two men shared a love for sport.³⁸ They also shared an interest in psychology, a scientific field in which both published. Coubertin, it will be remembered, staged the first-ever international congress for sport psychology in Lausanne in 1913.³⁹ Each knew of the Olympic Games of antiquity and the influence of them in the education and sporting life of British college and Public School students.⁴⁰ Both worked for Paris and London papers at the same time,⁴¹ gave lecture in the same organizations,⁴² worked on the same phenomena, such as kinaesthetics,⁴³ indeed, had many personal acquaintances in common. Thus, it is most likely that the two, who were of similar age (Coubertin

was one year older), may well have known each other, or at least knew of each other's work. In their autobiographies, however, neither mentioned the other. As has been shown elsewhere, Coubertin did not always extend credit to those from whom he borrowed ideas with the intention of committing them to practice.⁴⁴

Coubertin was sympathetic to the Irish course for independence from Great Britain.⁴⁵ Then, too, his philosophy embraced the moral integrity of using sports for national identification. In Ireland this ethic was underscored by the creation of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) in 1884.⁴⁶ While Finland and Bohemia had the chance to appear in the Olympic Games with their own flag, at a time when they were not yet independent but rather parts of Russia and Austria, respectively, Ireland did not. Irish athletes and sport functionaries had sought official national status at the interim Olympic Games of 1906 in Athens, but their arguments were rejected by the Greek organizing committee. The official reasoning of the committee was that Ireland did not have its own parliament. But, from the evidence, it seems more likely that the strong British influence in international sport hindered independent Irish representation. When Irishman Peter O'Connor finished second in the broad jump and the British flag was raised, "O'Connor, who had been quite good at gymnastics, scaled the twenty foot flagpole and held aloft a green flag while Con Leahy (three days later a winner in the high jump)⁴⁷ waved another from the ground beneath. This symbolic protest caused a sensation, engendering spirited comment in the British press, most of it generally unfavourable."⁴⁸ On the other hand, through the British-based Irish Amateur Athletic Association (IAAA), Ireland fielded its own national teams in competitions with sports aggregations representing England, Wales and Scotland, and, as well, competed independently in broader international cross-country competitions, as did the national teams of the other countries in the United Kingdom. It appears, though, that Lynch was neither involved nor associated with the GAA and IAAA. Considering how little time he actually spent in Ireland, this is quite understandable.

It seems that Lynch often turned to writings about Greek antiquity for his inspiration. For Lynch, like Coubertin, the Olympic Games were the holy mass of the concept *religio athletae*.⁴⁹ The perfection of physical movement was equalled by the harmony of the human body, making the athlete both poet and sculptor of his own shape.⁵⁰ The Olympic Games of antiquity were the holy days of ancient Greek religion; Olympia, the Mecca for the athletes.⁵¹ The performances of modern athletes were superimposed on those of antiquity to demonstrate that *religio athletae* remained alive.⁵² While only a limited number of sports were practiced by the ancient Greeks, modern sports developed differently, influenced greatly by national character.⁵³ While Plato wrote much about dance, indeed, included it in the *religio athletae* of his time, Modern sports require the element of competition.⁵⁴ The concept of *religio athletae* includes the classical ideal of beauty, the unity of the muscular body, the pure movement vividly reflected in a Greek statue.⁵⁵ In his *Koran of Love* verses, Lynch expressed this sincere relationship between sport and culture:⁵⁶

I thought upon a time to keep a book
Of Beauty wherein might recorded be
Some hint, some flash, some quick impassioned look
Of every form of Beauty I should see;

And soon the work some round containment took,
 Religio Athletae, such its blazonry -
 A fine idea that both haunt me still,
 Nor yet escapes the compass of my will.
 An Athlete, that's to say, a poet, too,
 A soul of strength and grace and plastic ease,
 That in the body's bulk shines fervent through,
 Whose every motion with its own agrees.
 Perhaps in Greece the type were nearer true
 Of soul and body cast in just degrees,
 As witness, dancing, naked, Sophocles
 Or Athens' flower, great Alcibiades.
 So I had hoped within this modern day
 To find the tone of that athletic mould,
 Not merely in the form but in each trait
 And bent a character and thought enrolled;
 But meaner aims have driven the type away,
 And if within my mind I still enfold
 That former dream of life's accomplishment,
 'Tis but a dream, to mine own solace sent.
 And so within my brain the picture lie
 Of that dear smitten beauty that I love,
 A narrow casket that does open fly
 When some true word its sesame doth prove;
 And endless fairy-land swims in my eye
 And soft the sky of hazy blue above,
 Or in a bower of simple, chaste delight
 I find 'mid deeper thoughts an hour's respite.

For Lynch, as for Coubertin, the individual strove for perfection of performance; the spirit of competition and fair play were considered the most important dimensions of *religio athletae*. *Religio athletae* expressed the harmony between physical and intellectual courage. For Coubertin this was reflected in the brief formula, *mens fervida in corpore lacertoso*, which contradicted the *mens sana in corpore sano* notion, a Latin prescription which he identified with Swedish gymnastics and the maintenance of the *status quo*.⁵⁷

Coubertin saw his own notion as the basis for science, industry, the arts, and sport, embodying a voluntary striving for the highest possible perfection. *Religio athletae* can therefore be considered as a philosophical basis for the athlete to achieve an ever improving record.⁵⁸

In summary, the coincidence between the parallel notions of Lynch and Coubertin lead to the conclusion that Coubertin used Lynch's penetrating thoughts on *religio athletae* as the Baron came to know and understand them. Although Coubertin never mentioned Lynch in his work, the Irish connection to the philosophical basis of the modern Olympic Games seems to be obvious. One need not be surprised about this. Coubertin read widely and spent hours discussing issues with his friends, but, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, he also put his

ideas into action, never worrying too much about where the ideas originally came from.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was delivered at Trinity College, Dublin, Ireland on December 11, 1992 as the Second E.T. Cootes Lecture. The author is indebted to Michael McDonough and the audience at Trinity College for their valuable questions and insights. Translations are my own. Edited for OLYMPIKA by Robert K. Barney.
2. For Coubertin's racism, see J.M. Brohm, "Zum Verhältnis von Olympismus und Nationalsozialismus," in T. Alkemeyer, et al. (eds.), *Olympia—Berlin: Gewalt und Mythos in den Olympischen Spielen von Berlin 1936*, Berlin: Zentrale Universitätsdruckerei der FU, 1986, pp. 190-205.
3. For a discussion of the amount of time, effort, and money the Nazis invested in Coubertin with the intent to use him in an effort to counteract the international boycott movement against the Olympic Games, see A. Krüger, *Die Olympischen Spiele 1936 und die Weltmeinung*, Berlin: Bartels & Wernitz, 1972; H.J. Teichler, "Coubertin und das Dritte Reich," in *Sportwissenschaft* 12 (1982), 1, 18-55; and W.J. Murray, "France, Coubertin and the Nazi Olympics: The Response," in *Olympika* 1 (1992), pp. 46-69.
4. Pierre de Coubertin, "Les assises philosophique de l'Olympisme moderne," in *Le Sport Suisse* (Vol. 31, No. 7–Aug. 1935), p. 1. See, also, Organisationskomitee für die XI. Olympiade (ed.), *Pax Olympica: Weltsendung des Reichssenders Berlin am Sonntag, dem 4 August 1935 mittags* (Berlin, 1935); and Pierre de Coubertin: *Textes Choisis* (Vol. 2) *Olympisme*, Zurich: Weidmann, 1986, pp. 435ff (my translation).
5. The first unabridged German translation of Coubertin's original French was done by the author of this paper for the German journal *Leistungssport*. See A. Krüger, "Pierre de Coubertin: Die philosophischen Grundlagen des modernen Olympismus," *Leistungssport* 2 (1972) 4, 239-241.
6. See H. Lenk, *Werte, Ziele, Wirklichkeit der modernen Olympischen Spiele*, Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1964, pp. 18ff.; *ibid.*, "Towards a Social Philosophy of the Olympics," in P.J. Graham & H. Ueberhorst (eds.), *The Modern Olympics*, West Point: Leisure Press, 1976, pp. 117ff.; R. Malter, *Der "Olympismus" Pierre de Coubertin: Eine kritische Studie zu Idee und Ideologie der modernen Olympischen Spiele und des Sports*, Köln: Barz & Beienburg, 1969; J.A. Lucas, *Baron Pierre de Coubertin and the Formative Years of the Modern Olympic Movement*, Dissertation, Univ. Maryland 1962, pp. 141ff.; N. Nissiotis, "Olympism and Religion," in: International Olympic Academy (ed.), *Proceedings: 16th Session*, Athens: IOA, 1976, pp. 59-70; A. Kruger, "Ursprung und Bedeutung von Coubertin's Religio Athletae," in *Proceedings IX International HISPA Congress: Sport and Religion*, Lisbon: INDD, 1982, pp. 185-192; H. Langenfeld, "Die Religion des Sports," in *ibid.*, pp. 193-201; Y.P. Boulogne, *La vie et l'oeuvre pédagogique de Pierre de Coubertin*, Ottawa: Leméac, 1976, pp. 336ff.; and L. Callebat, *Pierre de Coubertin*, Paris: Fayard, 1988, pp. 206ff.
7. Pierre de Coubertin, *Mémoires Olympiques*, Lausanne: Payot, 1931, p. 102; for the use of sport as religion in the twentieth century, see Ove Korsgaard, "The Record as a Practice of Religion: The Record as Ritual," in J.M. Carter & A.

- Kruger (eds.), *Ritual and Record*, Westport, Conn.: Westwood, 1990, pp. 115-122.
8. Quoted by A. Guttmann, *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*, Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1992, p. 3.
9. See Boulogne, *op.cit.*, pp. 376ff.
10. The most comprehensive study seems to have been H. Lenk, *Werte-Ziele-Wirklichkeit der Olympischen Spiele*, Schorndorf: Hofmann, 1964, pp. 18-29.
11. Pierre de Coubertin, "Religio Athletae," in *Bulletin du Bureau International de Pédagogie Sportive* 1 (1928), 1, pp. 5-6.
12. See *New York Times*, June 16, 1914.
13. See S. Mitchell, "Women's Participation in the Olympic Games," in *Journal of Sport History* 4 (1977), 2, 208-228.
14. See A. Kruger, "Cui bono?" in A. Krüger & S. Scharenberg (eds.), *Wie die Medien den Sport aufbereiten: Ausgewählte Aspekte der Sportpublizistik*, Berlin: Tischler, 1993, pp. 24-63. For instance, 1890 *Corriere dello Sport* (Milano), 1892 *La Tripletta* (Torino), 1896 *Gazzetta dello Sport* (Milano), 1897 *L'Auto* (Paris), 1900 *L'Auto-Vélo* (Paris).
15. See J. A. Lucas, "Theodore Roosevelt and Baron Pierre de Coubertin: Entangling Olympic Games Involvement, 1901-1918," in *Stadion*, Vol. 8/9, 1982/3, pp. 137-150; J. A. Lucas, "Early Olympic Antagonists: Pierre de Coubertin versus James E. Sullivan," in *Stadion*, Vol. 3, 1977, pp. 258-272.
16. J. Lindroth, *Idrottens väg till folkörelse: Studier in svensk idrottsrörelse till 1915*. Uppsala Textgruppen, 1974, *Studia Historica Upsaliensia* vol. 60, pp. 190ff. Victor Balck, a founding member of the IOC, stressed the possibilities of sports in the context of national propaganda.
17. S. W. Pope, "American Muscles and Minds: Public Discourse and the Shaping of National Identity During Early Olympiads, 1896-1920," in R.K. Barney & K.V. Meier (eds.), *Proceedings: First International Symposium for Olympic Research*, London, Ontario, Centre for Olympic Studies, 1992, pp. 105-124.
18. A. Krüger, "Buying Victories is Positively Degrading: The Beginning of Government Intervention to Achieve National Prestige Through Elite Sports," in J.A. Mangan (ed.), *The Cultural Bond: Sport, Empire, Society*, London: Cass, 1993 (in press).
19. A. Krüger, "On The Origin Of The Notion That Sports Serves As A Means Of National Representation," in *History of European Ideas* 16 (1993), 4-6, 863-869.
20. *The Collège d'athlètes* was founded at Reims, financed by IOC member Marquis de Polignac, and operated by the foremost French theoretician in physical education and training, Georges Hébert. It was visited by prime minister Poincaré on October 19, 1913. See, for instance, *Le Figaro*, October 20, 1913. For the discussion in France, see M. Spivak, "Prestige national et sport: cheminement d'un concept, 1890-1936," in *Relations Internationales* (Summer 1984), No. 38, pp. 175-191.
21. See Richard Holt, *Sport and the British: A Modern History*, Oxford: UP 1989, pp. 274ff.

22. Editorial, *The Times*, August 18, 1913.
23. Pierre de Coubertin, *Essais de psychologie sportive*, Lausanne: Payot, 1913, p. 260.
24. M. Berner, "Der Olympische Gedanke in der Welt," in *Fußball unde Leichtathletik*, Vol. 14, 1913, pp. 495 f.
25. London: Remington, 1895. The copy at the British Museum records its acquisition date as May 11, 1895.
26. A. A. Lynch, *A Koran of Love*, London: Remington 1894.
27. L. Meylan (ed.), *Catalogue de la bibliothèque du Baron Pierre de Coubertin*, Lausanne: Payot, 1944. The library contained 24 volumes of various religious themes. As none of the authors investigating Coubertin's religious notions examined his library, we shall probably never know for certain whether the philosophers which are said to have influenced him were those which he read. See H. Pouret, "The Men who influenced Coubertin's thoughts," in International Olympic Academy (ed.), *Proceedings: 13th Session*, Athens: IOA, 1973, pp. 79-86; L. Diem, "Intellectual Influences to the Work of Coubertin," in *Ibid.*, pp. 87-100; Y.P. Boulogne, "Keys for Coubertin," in *Proceedings: 16th Session*, Athens: 1976, pp. 106-120.
28. A. A. Lynch, *Ireland: Vital Hour*, London: Stanley Paul, 1915, p. 49.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 58
30. D. O'Sullivan, "Arthur Alfred Lynch," in L.G.W. Legg (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography: Supplement 1931-1940*, London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1949, p. 551.
31. The catalogue of the British Museum contains 28 of Lynch's books, totaling about 5000 pages. Included, are two books on Ireland, three novels, six works on psychology, six on philosophy, six on biography and literature critique, four on his poetry, one on mathematics, and one written jointly with Squire John Collins on the Lord Byron International Memorial Fund.
32. A.A. Lynch, *My Life Story*, London: John Long, 1924, p. 38.
33. P. Griffin, *The Politics of Irish Athletics: 1850-1990*, Ballinamore, County Leitrim: Marathon, 1990, p. 3.
34. M. McDonough, "Olympism: A Historical Study," *Proceedings of the Sports Studies Seminar on Olympism*, Brittany 20-24, August 1991, s. 1., s.p.
35. For the influence of national Olympic games on those of international nature, see R. Naul (ed.), *National Olympic Games around the World*, Frankfurt/M: Lang, 1993 (in press).
36. For the German influence which was highly influential upon the current Olympic ritual, see A. Krüger, "Dann veranstalten wir eben rein deutsche Olympische Spiele: Die Olympischen Spiele von 1936 als deutsches Nationalfest," in Naul, *ibid.*
37. Pierre de Coubertin, "Une campagne de 35 ans," in *La Revue de Paris* 30 (1923), 1.6, pp. 690ff; A. Krüger, "Mens sana in corpore lacertoso oder Coubertins Ablehnung der Schwedischen Gymnastik," in *8th International Congress for the History of Sport and Physical Education*, Uppsala: SVIF, 1979, pp.

145-153. Coubertin used this motto, for instance, on the cover of the *Bulletin du Bureau de Pédagogie Sportive*. It was also used by his friends on the cover of the anthology of his works which they published on the occasion of his 70th birthday (Lausanne: Payot, 1934). It is also the subtitle of the second edition of his *Pédagogie sportive*.

38. Wherever Lynch went, he joined the local athletics scene, e.g. Berlin, *My Life Story*, *op. cit.*, p. 77. Coubertin, too, was closely linked to the Paris athletics scene as former secretary of the French athletics federation. See, for instance, J. MacAloon, *This Great Symbol. Pierre de Coubertin and the Origins of the Modern Olympic Games*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981, pp. 154-164.

39. A. A. Lynch, *Psychology: A New System*, London: Stephen Sheift & Co., 1912; A. A. Lynch, *Principles of Psychology*, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1923; Pierre de Coubertin, *Essais de Psychologie sportive*, *op. cit.*, 1913.

40. A.A. Lynch, *Approaches: The Poor Scholar's Quest for a Mecca*, London: Eden & Co., 1892.

41. The most complete itinerary of Coubertin is in M.T. Eyquem, *Pierre de Coubertin. L'Épopée Olympique*, Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1966. The best chronological bibliography of his newspaper articles is in Boulogne, *La vie*, *op. cit.*, pp. 395-438.

42. E.g. at the *Association française pour l'avancement des sciences*. But they never lectured at the same sessions.

43. A.A. Lynch, *Principles of Psychology*, pp. 62ff, Pierre de Coubertin, "La mémoire des muscles," in *Le Figaro* August 8, 1902.

44. A. Krüger, "War John Astley Cooper der Erfinder der Olympischen Spiele?" in Louis Burgener, et al. (eds.), *Sport und Kultur: Sports et civilisations* (Vol. 6), Bern: P. Lang, 1986, pp. 72-81; Boulogne, *Lu Vie*, pp. 140ff; M. Dauvilier & G. Andrieu, et al., "Un coté méconnu de Pierre de Coubertin," in ENSEP (ed.), *Histoire de l'éducation physique et du sport* (Vol. 3), Paris: ENSEP, 1972, pp. 19.

45. See Pierre de Coubertin, *Histoire Universelle*, Aix-en-Provence: Société de l'Histoire Universelle, 1926, Vol. 4, p. 182; Vol. 3, p. 129, "L'Irlande continue à parler celte et son àme qu'on nà pas su conquérir se rétracte. Elle rêve et chante."

46. H. Smulders, "Sport and Politics: The Irish Scene," in *Geschichte und Strukturen des Sports an den Universitiäten*, HISPA 5th Int. Congress, Mainz Universität, 1976, pp. 510-526; Smulders, "Irish Representation in International Sport Events—1922-1932, and The Dialectics of Autonomy and Internationalism in Sport," in *Proceedings: HISPA 6th Int. Congress*, Dartford: Kent County Council, 1977, pp. 555-570.

47. E. Kamper, *Encyclopedia of the Olympic Games*, Dortmund: Harenberg 1972, pp. 18-20.

48. Griffin, *Irish Athletics*, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

49. Lynch, *Religio*, *op. cit.* p. 31.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 1; see, also, Lynch, *Koran*, *op. cit.* p. 31.

51. *Religio*, *op. cit.* p. 42.

52. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-60.

53. Ibid., p. 65.

54. Ibid., p. 73; see, too, Pierre de Coubertin, "Plato on dancing," in *Bull. Bureau Int. Pédagogie Sportive* 2 (1929), 3, pp. 13f.

55. Lynch, *Religio*, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

56. Lynch, *Koran*, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

57. Krüger, "Mens fervida," *op. cit.*

58. O. Korsgaard, "Sport as a Practice of Religion: The Record as Ritual," in J.M. Carter & A. Krüger (eds.), *Ritual and Record*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1990, pp. 115-122.