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## Catholics and Sport in a Global Context

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### 4. Paradigms of Sport

#### Indian-Catholic Reflections

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#### Abstract

Catholic reflections on sport in India need to proceed in a comparatively interreligious way with Hinduism, which is the major and most diffused religion in India. In this dialogical approach, which is very much in keeping with the missionary method of Pope Francis, various themes that are relevant to Hinduism and to the Indian milieu in general are treated within specific paradigms, namely the mythical, theological, spiritual, anthropo-socio-cultural, and the commercial paradigm. The advantage of this kind of an approach employed for our reflections is that it is able to offer a wide range of insights that otherwise would have remained hidden and unknown to global Catholic and interreligious research in sport.

Keywords: sport, Hinduism, *lila*, action, liberation

## Introduction

In this age of interreligious interaction, the Catholic Church places a high priority on dialogue with other religions, especially when there are common values to be appreciated and upheld. This is the commitment of the Second Vatican Council, which met from 1962 to 1965 (Flannery 1996; see *Nostra Aetate*: par. 2; *Lumen Gentium*: par. 16), and of Pope Francis who appealed to all Catholics to engage in interreligious dialogue. (*Evangelii Gaudium*: par. 250-54) The pope clearly states that:

An attitude of openness in truth and in love must characterize the dialogue with the followers of non-Christian religions, in spite of various obstacles and difficulties . . . Interreligious dialogue is a necessary condition for peace in the world, and so it is a duty for Christians as well as other religious communities. This dialogue is in first place a conversation about human existence or simply, as the bishops of India have put it, a matter of “being open to them sharing their joys and sorrows. In this way we learn to accept others and their different ways of living, thinking and speaking . . . A dialogue which seeks social peace and justice is in itself, beyond all merely practical considerations, an ethical commitment which brings about a new social situation (*Evangelii Gaudium*: 250).

The dialogical interchange with Hinduism within the overarching theme of Catholicism and sport upholds the intentionality of Pope Francis to arrive at an “ethical commitment” through understanding the other that brings about a new social order within the religiously plural reality of our world. For our purpose, to think about sports and Catholicism in a land of many religions like India, it is best to start with Hinduism, the religion of the majority according to the Indian Constitution. It would also be, perchance, the first step towards speculation on sports and a non-Christian religion. Such speculation, with the already existing literature in sports and Christianity, is indeed essential. To my knowledge, there has been no reflective or theological study done on the topic “sports and Hinduism.” We would therefore have to be plotting virgin territory bearing in mind, as it is clear from what we have stated above, that this paper is not thematically and exclusively limited to sports and Hinduism. Nonetheless, elements from Hinduism will form a major part of our reflections.

To acquire a better understanding of any reality, it must be perceived from various perspectives. The methodology I will use in this paper is to take a specific perspective of sport and place it within a specified paradigm to present my reflections.

## The Mythical Paradigm

Taking cue from the two most popular epics of India, Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, it can be argued that sport is at the very heart of these epics. The ongoing competition between good and evil that is fundamental to these epics and the various mythologies of India is characteristic of the competition that is generally found in sports. Some do not consider competition to be intrinsic to sport because it supposedly degrades the liberative understanding of sport. Furthermore, competition leads very easily to the commercialization of sports with consequences that could turn beneficial to some but harmful to others. In the context of such competition, the words of George Orwell appear true that sport is in many

ways conflict or “war without guns.” Lincoln Harvey does not agree with the approach of Orwell because in it appears a misunderstanding of the nature of war and of sport. (72 n. 1). However, taking the *via media* here and not calling sport war of a different kind, one cannot deny that the dynamic of victory and loss or seeking ways of defeating the opponent form part of both war and competitive sport. Competition today is virtually synonymous with sport at many levels. Without competition, sport would not remain sport in the true sense of the term. The struggle involved in competition is definitive of sport.<sup>1</sup> The following reflections within this paradigm are offered taking “competition” as one of the major characteristics of sport.

Mythologies do not contain information that is historically sustainable, but certainly enter the mythical mode of truth that forms the basis of understanding itself because human psychological categories are at work in the hermeneutics of the “Unknown” presented through myths. These inherent human categories are at the very foundation of our actions. Myth, as Raimundo Panikkar defines it, is the “expression of a *sui generis* form of consciousness” (4), the unconscious that guides human social behavior and action. In many of these actions the dynamic of victory and loss are involved where the opponent needs to be defeated. The defeat of the opponent in the case of the aforementioned mythologies is associated with the goal of liberation from evil, servitude and bondage, injustice and unrighteousness. The struggle that goes on between the cosmic opposites of positive and negative (good and evil) is the mythical paradigm of sport. It is true that in any sport one party does not necessarily look at the opponent as an evil individual or group. However, the other needs to be defeated and victory needs to be achieved. Furthermore, the other as evil in Indian mythologies is a judgement made from a relative standpoint that becomes evident in their narration.

In the narration of the Rāmāyaṇa, the protagonist Rāma, who is in fact the incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu, is the rightful heir to the throne of his father Daśratha. When the time comes to invite Rāma to sit on the throne, Daśratha’s second wife Kaikeyi, aroused by jealousy and instigated by her wicked maidservant, asks for two boons her husband had earlier promised her. Namely, that her own son Bharat and not Rāma sit on the throne and that Rāma be sent on a fourteen-year exile in the forest. Rāma is joined in exile by his wife Sīta and brother Laxman. While in exile, Rāma’s wife Sīta is abducted by Rāvaṇa, the so-called demon Asura king of Lanka. Rāvaṇa was actually seeking revenge because Laxman had humiliated his sister. Rāma marches against Rāvaṇa and kills him. The struggle between Rāma and Rāvaṇa is portrayed as the struggle between good and evil.

This story is the author Vālmiki’s original version of the Rāmāyaṇa and presents one interpretation of the event in which Rāma is extolled for his righteousness. Nonetheless, it is

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<sup>1</sup> While seeking for a definition of sport, Robert Higgs sees sport as a species of *agon* (struggle). He defines sport, “as competitive games that are bound by rules in space and time, thus differing from other forms of play in this regard, and requiring strain or agony, both mental and physical, on the part of the contestants” (quoted in Coleman: 21).

noteworthy that Rāvaṇa (the villain in the story) is praised through Hanumān,<sup>2</sup> a great devotee of Rāma, in the following words:

O what a rare and wondrous sight! What beauty, majesty, and might!  
All regal pomp combines to grace  
This ruler of the Rākshas race [demons].  
He, if he scorned not right and law,  
Might guide the world with tempered awe:  
Yea, Indra and the Gods on high  
Might on his saving power rely (Rāmāyaṇa 5.49; brackets mine).

There are other interpretations in which Rāvaṇa is presented as good. He is portrayed as devout, scholarly, and a great ruler. Anand Neelakantan writes his own version of the Rāmāyaṇa depicting Rāvaṇa in a positive light. The major critique of the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki lies in the fact that Rāma is symbolic of the Brahminical group's superiority over the non-Brahminical groups, presenting the former as good and the latter as evil. Therefore, the good-evil combination need not be strictly followed here to help us use this mythology for our reflections on sport in which the opposite party is not considered as evil.

One can see the fight or, to put it in common parlance, the war between Rāma and Rāvaṇa as a competition for personal interests. The competition in itself is reminiscent of sporting activity and such sporting activity is inherently wrought with personal interests, be they victory, popularity, honor, or mere pastime. There are many events in the Rāmāyaṇa into which we cannot enter here, but that portray the struggle or the competitive aspect of sport. The primary sport around which the epic revolves is archery. On the whole this epic, which has had such a profound influence on the Indian psyche, is thematically founded on sport. It should therefore go to the credit of sport that one of the most influential stories of the Indian ethos depends on it as one of its principal and topical foundations.

In the Mahābhārata, the two groups that are pitched against each other are in fact relatives who lived together. The families of the Pāṇdavas and Kauravas get into feuds because of the evil designs of some members of the Kauravas, causing the Pāṇdavas to fight against them. In the meanwhile, within this larger plot, there are other subplots having contest as the fundamental theme in which the opponent needs to be defeated to earn the prize among other contenders. We cannot enter here into a detailed analysis of the various events of the Mahābhārata. However, one event could briefly be analyzed within this context and that is Draupadi's Swayamvara<sup>3</sup> in which a competition was organized by the father of Draupadi – King Drupada of Panchaal. The task was to shoot the arrow into the eye of the wooden fish that moved in a circle above by looking at its image in a container of water

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<sup>2</sup> Hanumān the monkey-man is one of the central figures in the Rāmāyaṇa. With his divine powers he helps Rāma to fight Rāvaṇa and bring back Sita. For more on Hanumān, see Lutgendorf.

<sup>3</sup> Swayamvara comes from the Sanskrit *swayamvar* which literally signifies "self-groom" (swayam: "self"; vara: "groom"). Traditionally a competition would be announced by a king to choose a husband for his daughter. The competition was called a swayamvara in which a difficult task was given to the suitors coming from other kingdoms. The one who completed the task would be garlanded and accepted by the king's daughter as her husband.

placed exactly below the fish. Among all the warriors, it was Arjun the ace archer of the Pāndava clan who succeeded in shooting the arrow into the eye of the fish, passing the test to win the hand of Draupadi. It is evident that sport, in its competitive character, is once again the backdrop against which this event and a majority of the other events of the Mahābhārata are written.

As the central characteristic of the narration in the epics, sport remains within the focus of the imagination of the writers, acquiring thereby its own mythical significance. Sport and myth remain inseparable in these mythologies since competition is involved. Sport is ingrained in human beings and therefore, in most cases if not all, leaves an indelible mark on most if not all human activity. Even in individual activity where there may not be another involved there is a tendency to better one's level or previous achievement. There is a certain élan in every human being (if not suppressed by external or internal factors) to do better, whether it is to defeat the opponent or surpass one's own standard. It is this élan that is at the root of competition that is seen here as central to sport and mythology.

To connect the above reflections of the two great Hindu epics on sport within the context of achieving victory, to the imagery of sport within a similar context used in Christian scriptures, would be perhaps beneficial for our main theme of Indian-Catholic reflections on sport. A few passages could be relevant from Paul's letters to defend a positive Christian attitude towards sport, but the most pertinent among them for our reflections would be 1 Corinthians 9:24-27, in which Paul places the intention of victory as a common denominator in the self-control exercised by athletes and Christians. The former exercises self-control to compete and achieve a this-worldly prize which is perishable and the latter to achieve the eternal imperishable prize. The word "self-control" or "enkrateia" used by the philosophers of that time for sportspersons would be a mind-body control for optimum performance. But for Paul and the early Christians it was used more to signify the avoidance of evil by serving God and doing his will (Koch). The active and rather strenuous participation in the salvific will and activity of God for humankind calls for a sportive imagery to drive home the idea of the spiritual battle in which the Christian needs to "compete" or fight to overcome the enemy of human nature.<sup>4</sup> Sports, then, evidently appears as a great metaphor for both Hinduism and Christianity to explain the dynamics of the spiritual life.

### **The Theological Paradigm**

In the earlier mythical paradigm, it was competition; in the theological paradigm it is "play" as the inherent characteristic of sport that becomes the nucleus around which our Hinduism reflections will revolve. We already have sport defined and discussed as "play" by Lincoln Harvey within the Christian context (see 62ff.). We shall enter into a Hindu-Christian discussion with Harvey a little later after perceiving how "play" enters into the discourse of creation in the Advaita (non-dualism) school of Hinduism and of divine enactment in creation in some other schools of Hinduism.

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<sup>4</sup> A favorite term of Ignatius of Loyola to refer to Satan.

If sport is “play,” then Hindu theology has something very profound to offer us in this regard through the concept of *līlā*. *Līlā*, a Sanskrit noun that cannot be comprehended fully through its translations in English, loosely denotes “play” but is also translated as “sport” or “pastime.” Among the major traditions in Hinduism, the concept of *līlā* is important precisely because it is at the heart of divine activity in relation to creation.

In Hindu cosmologies, *līlā* refers to the “cosmic play” of the divine in the periodic creation and dissolution of the universe, and in the unending perpetuation of the cycle of the two. In Hindu theologies, it refers to the “dramas” of the divine as described in sacred narratives in which various forms of “play” between the divinity and divine personages take place. In Indian poetics, the meanings of “grace,” “charm,” “beauty,” or “loveliness” are intended, meanings that also aptly describe something of either the cosmic or theological senses of the word. The word also refers to the pilgrimage dramas in which *līlās* are reenacted, performed, and celebrated in holy places and meditated upon deeply by devout bhaktas [devotees]. In more abstract terms, *līlā* refers to the ultimate and intimate revelation of the unlimitedly playful character and beautiful movements of the infinite within the finite in order to spontaneously express and freely expand its unlimitedly blissful essence yet without limiting the unlimited nature of the infinite (Schweig: 793; brackets mine).

From the above quote, it is clear that in the interaction between God and creation, “play” or “sport” becomes the quintessential quality of activity. In the school of Advaita, *līlā* refers to the creative act of God (Brahman). While in the schools of dualism (Dvaita), especially in Vaśnavism and Śaivism, *līlā* connotes the playful activities of God and his devotees in creation.

One wonders as to why in the Advaita school the creative act of God is called “play” or “sport.” Playfulness could best be described as uncoerced activity. One cannot be forced to be playful. There is no necessary condition controlling the activity of playfulness. In this, the supremacy of God is maintained. God creates out of his freewill making the act of creation thereby “purposeless” and “unnecessary.” This act is defined as *līlā* or “play” (Vedānta Sūtra 2.1.33).<sup>5</sup> It is within this divine dimension of affirming God’s purposeless creative activity as *līlā* or play, that sport is considered as intrinsically unnecessary and does not necessarily lose this characteristic even when understood in the creaturely dimension, because creation is symbolic of divinity. The liberation and the sacredness of sport lies in not losing the divine characteristic of playfulness, because through this characteristic selflessness is manifested. It then becomes joyful and full of fun and thereby relaxing, energizing, and “liberating.” It is in this perspective that the purpose of sport becomes clear. The purposelessness of sport has purpose which is then more concretely understood in the other schools of Hinduism within the context of the divine-human activity.

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<sup>5</sup> The Vedānta Sūtras, attributed to Bādrāyaṇa, are collections of aphorisms of the final section of the Vedas. The word *līlā* appears for the first time in the Vedānta Sūtras in the number quoted above. It reads: “The motive which prompts Brahman (the Supreme God) . . . to the creation of the world . . . is nothing else but sport, play.”

The Dvaita (dualism) schools of Hinduism do not lose sight of the purpose in the concept of *līlā*. The gods Viṣṇu (his *Avatāras* – creaturely manifestations) and Śiva, of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva schools respectively, act freely but efficaciously to lead human beings to liberation and to establish *dharmā* (righteousness, justice). In the purposeless activity of Kṛṣṇa, the purpose becomes clear when he tells Arjuna:

Whenever there is a decline of righteousness and a rise of unrighteousness O Bhārata (Arjuna), then I send forth (create, incarnate) Myself. For the protection of the good, for the destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of righteousness, I come into being from age to age (Bhagavad Gītā 4.7-8).<sup>6</sup>

The purposeful action makes sense expressly because creation is a contingent reality depending on God, and thereby needs God for its salvation. Sport, in this context, is purposeful. Contemplation on the divine sport (activity) leads to salvation because it purifies the devotee. *Līlāsmaraṇa*, remembrance or meditation, on Kṛṣṇa's acts leads the devotee to forget oneself and get absorbed in Kṛṣṇa. We find many Hindu saints and mystics who have experienced such absorption. The most famous among them is Mirā Bāi (see further, Lobo). In this absorption it is not only the devotee but Kṛṣṇa as well who unites himself intimately to the devotee. In this union, the concept of *līlā* or sport attains a mystical dimension in which divinity and humanity come together expressing the true playful nature of both human and divine personhood. The glory of God is a human being at play and the glory of a human being is God at play.<sup>7</sup> In this case, sport becomes graced activity with the presence of God; a presence that is pro-life and pro-liberation.<sup>8</sup>

We shall now briefly allow our aforementioned reflections to interact with the thoughts of Lincoln Harvey about the definition of sport and its intrinsic connection with the Christian theology of creation from nothing. In chapter six of his book, *A Brief Theology of Sport*, Harvey offers arguments from his study of various authors towards arriving at an operative definition of sport, which is in fact the main scope of the book. Within a broad category, he offers a working definition of sport as “play” (62). Play is natural to us and is good for our bodies, but it is not instinctual and necessary as eating and sleeping; therefore, play expresses freedom and not necessity, recreation (enjoyment) and not work. Play perhaps may seem absurd, but in reality it is not; it may appear at the end of the day “sterile” and

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<sup>6</sup> Henceforth the abbreviated form B.Gītā will be used for Bhagavad Gītā. All the translations from the B.Gītā are taken from Radhakrishnan.

<sup>7</sup> In the West, there are theologians who have proposed the idea of a *Deus ludens* (a God who plays) (Rahner: 25; Moltmann: 40ff; see also Harvey: 90-92). It must be noted, however, that the imagery of *Deus ludens* need not be considered as an invention of these authors. We see the playful nature of Divine Wisdom already highlighted in the Proverbs 8:30-31. The word *ludens* is consistently used in the Latin translations.

<sup>8</sup> As a young Jesuit I had heard of a senior Jesuit who had received his vocation on the playground while playing cricket. I was not able to personally speak to this Jesuit about his profound experience of God on the field but from what we have mentioned above, it would come as no surprise to him if we interpret that moment of Kairos in his life as occurring because while he was totally absorbed in playing cricket, God was able to “play” his part in him. His absorption in playing cricket on that day had perhaps freed him from those blocks that would have otherwise hindered the free and liberating interaction of the divine.

“useless,” but in fact it is not, because it is full of meaning and has a scope of its own. It is radically superfluous but internally significant. Applying these reflections to sport in general, whether spontaneous or planned, the aspects of liberty, non-necessity, and significance become fundamental to any definition of sport. These aspects are further seen by Harvey as foundational to the act of creation by God in Christian theology. Nothing existed outside God, therefore *nothing* outside God could determine his creative act. Similarly, *nothing* within God, namely the desire for love and companionship, could force God to create because God is complete within himself from all eternity in his Triuneness. However, God creates out of overflowing, abundant love, an act that is further fulfilled in the redemption won through the Paschal mystery of Jesus Christ in whom the eschatological hope of all humanity to share in the glory of God is manifested. Christ therefore becomes the alpha and omega of all creation. We therefore are created from *nothing* in freedom for *something*; to share in the immense love of the Creator in Jesus Christ (see Harvey: chaps. 6-7).

At the very outset, it appears clearly that “purposelessness and purpose” are the underlying characteristics of divine activity for creation and in creation in Hinduism and Christianity. The arguments for purposelessness remain theoretically the same while the arguments for purpose that entail divine activity for our salvation differ in their concrete expressions and worldly operations.

A subtle difference that perhaps cannot go unnoticed is that the creative act of God within Advaita Hinduism is specifically termed as “sport” or *līlā*, which is not so in Christianity. Therefore, Harvey needs to find similarities between the creative act of God and sport in the three aspects of superfluity, freedom, and significance, but does not pointedly affirm the creative activity of God as “sport” or “play.” Further, however, Harvey cites Hugo Rahner, who calls the creative act of God the “playing of God” (91).<sup>9</sup> At the same time, against such an assertion, Harvey cautions us to an inverse import of meaning that would perhaps lead to a “cultic” hermeneutic of human play lauding it as a participation in the divine “play” and therefore believing it as a kind of a liturgical communion with God – “confusing play with worship.” We are also aware that it could even be cumbersome to speak of the creative act of God as “sport” keeping in mind the semantic complication and constant need for clarification that would ensue as to the correct understanding of “sport” in this instance. In any case, by calling the creative act of God as *līlā*, Hinduism is freely using mystical language to pronounce a profound truth to understand God in a perchance “sportive” way to avoid philosophical problems on the one hand and to appeal to the human spirit on the other. The implication of this affirmation, recognized by Rahner, Moltmann and others in the previous century, but many centuries before Christ by the Hindu sages, is that creation coming from God, a “sportive-person,” should naturally be imbued with the quality of “play” or “sport” because it issues forth through play or a playful God. In this context therefore, the caution of Harvey appears a bit exaggerated precisely because if God’s

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<sup>9</sup> Harvey goes on to quote Hugo Rahner as stating: “Since God is a God who plays [*Deus ludens*], man too must be a creature that plays: a *Homo ludens*” (92; brackets mine). Taking this point a little further, if we have a God who plays and if God has created the world then play or sport is introduced into creation itself. As creatures we cannot avoid play. To use a modern expression, it is in our DNA to play.



creative act is not pointedly seen as “play,” it may “seriously” and absolutely be presumed and expressed as “work” as it is done in the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*:

The truth that God is at *work* in all the actions of his creatures is inseparable from faith in God the Creator. God is the first cause who operates in and through secondary causes: For God is at *work* in you, both to will and to work for his good pleasure. Far from diminishing the creature’s dignity, this truth enhances it. Drawn from nothingness by God’s power, wisdom and goodness, it can do nothing if it is cut off from its origin, for without a Creator the creature vanishes. Still less can a creature attain its ultimate end without the help of God’s grace (308; emphasis mine).

Within the context of our paper, to fill the lacunae and to give a more holistic picture of the creative act of God, we could very well conceive the “work” of God as *līlā*. Going beyond Harvey then, we need not hesitate to affirm that the creative act of God in Christianity is in fact *līlā*, because furthermore, in affirming the purposelessness of the creative act of God, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (CCC) very clearly states that the world which is created by God in his wisdom is not a “product of any necessity whatever, nor of blind fate or chance” (295). “God creates freely” (CCC 296). In this context then, the act of creation in Christianity can be seen as the *līlā* of God. But together with this purposelessness there is also a “purpose” in the *līlā* of God, an aspect that we have seen belonging to the dvaita schools of Hinduism. More so in Christianity, God enacts freely by bestowing his grace to lead humanity towards its ultimate end, which is God or Christ himself. We could therefore finally come to a consensus through our Hindu-Christian reflections on this topic that the word “*līlā*” could very well be placed beside the word “work” used in the Christian act of creation and moreover in the Christian act of salvation in Jesus Christ to show how the purposeful divine-human activity, or “work,” happening for the sake of salvation is in fact *līlā* or play, rather an “interplay” between God and human beings for that ultimate end to which every creature is called. God and humans play together to “score” the final goal of salvation.

### The Spiritual Paradigm

In Hinduism, in pursuit of the spiritual goal of *mokṣa* (liberation), renunciation is required. However, there are other goals proposed for human living, such as *dharma* (duty), *artha* (wealth) and *kāma* (love, pleasure, desire), which require action. Strictly speaking, it did not therefore mean that renunciation meant non-action. However, the tension between action and renunciation led to the development of the integrated concept *niskāmakarma*, which simply means to act with renunciation of the fruits of action. In other words, there is action but no craving for the results of action leading thereby to a harmony between action and renunciation. Around this concept of *niskāmakarma* we shall develop our Hindu-Catholic reflections on the spiritual paradigm of sport.

Can sport be *niskāmakarma*? Can sport be action without the desire for the fruits of the action? In the previous paradigm we spoke about the purposeless activity of the divine to show the unconditional character of God’s creative activity capable of influencing human activity as well towards unconditionality. In this paradigm, we investigate further as to see

whether human activity, especially sport, could be unconditional or purposeless or desireless. To clarify this point we have to reflect a bit more on the term *niskāmakarma* first.

*Niskāmakarma*, a concept that comes to light in the B.Gītā during the colloquy between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna,<sup>10</sup> signifies action to fulfill one's duty and avoid desire or craving for the fruits of the action. This concept is portrayed at times with a complete emphasis on fruitless action leaving the idea of "duty" in the background. In the following quotes, which made the concept of *niskāmakarma* popular, it is clear that rather than mere action, it is "dutiful-action" that is held in perspective.

Kṛṣṇa tells Arjuna: "To action alone has thou a right and never at all to its fruits, let not the fruits of action be thy motive; neither let there be in thee attachment to inaction" (B.Gītā 2:47). Kṛṣṇa continues: "Fixed in yoga, do thy work, O Winner of wealth (Arjuna), abandoning attachment, with an even mind in success and failure, for evenness of mind is called yoga" (B.Gita 2:48). Before these discourses on non-attachment, Kṛṣṇa had reminded Arjuna of allowing his actions to be guided by his duty (dharma) to fight as a Kṣatriya: "Further, having regard for thine own duty, thou shouldst not falter, there exists no greater good for a Kṣatriya than a battle enjoined by duty" (B.Gītā 2:31).

The point to be considered here is that in *niskāmakarma* the cause is duty itself; one must act to fulfill one's duty and not to crave for the fruits of the actions. There are, therefore, not one but two causes of action here, and *niskāmakarma* is telling us to give up the second cause – fruits of the action – to attain equanimity. In other words, desire is intrinsic to action and *niskāmakarma* is in fact telling us to uphold the desire for duty in action and not for the fruits of action.

With the above complexity addressed, sport could very well be an activity like *niskāmakarma* where duty is fulfilled while victory or losses remain consequences to be renounced. To play in such a way would be to play with a certain "detached-involvement." Otherwise, play or sport could get caught in the wheel of inordinate attachment. If sport is caught in such a wheel it becomes violent, it leads to stress and cheating, it does not become playful. For sport to become playful it must become *niskāmakarma*.<sup>11</sup> In being playful the sportsperson does not play recklessly but plays well with a commitment to duty, a duty to do one's best arriving at a high level of concentration that is finally effortless. Coupled with intense yet effortless concentration, there is a certain facility of action done without coercion or "flirting passion." A flow is experienced that gives the sense of non-limitation where the player is not limited by his attachment for victory. The player also experiences freedom, eternity or "tempeternity" (a state where the person living in time experiences eternity). The

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<sup>10</sup> The two central characters in the B.Gītā are Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna. As mentioned earlier Arjuna was the ace archer of the Pāṇdavas while Kṛṣṇa was his charioteer. The B.Gītā was composed in the form of a dialogue that took place between Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna before the actual war commenced. Having his relatives as his opponents, Arjuna was finding it difficult to kill them in war. This major dilemma was resolved by Kṛṣṇa's counselling where he tells Arjuna to concentrate on his duty (dharma) and not on his emotional and familial ties.

<sup>11</sup> Paul Weiss, hinting at *niskāmakarma* states: "As the Bhagavad-Gita long ago affirmed, the man of action, once he has detached himself from the pragmatic import of his efforts, achieves what the contemplative does, once he has turned his mind away from contingencies to dwell on that which is forever. By a distinct route the athlete, too, can arrive at the result the yogi seeks" (244; see also Baum and Coleman: 7).

subtle joy experienced in such activity is the reward itself. It is in such a reward that the divine is discovered, making sport in this manner spiritual activity – an activity that, within the divine dimension, could very well be an end in itself.<sup>12</sup>

Within the spiritual paradigm, in dialogue with the various reflections on Zen and sports (see Herrigel; Lenk; Rohé; Ryan), we could venture forth into placing very briefly our reflection on *yoga* and sports specific to the Hindu context. As mentioned above in the B.Gītā 2:48, the *niṣkāmakarma* advocated by Kṛṣṇa was for equanimity of self, which is *yoga*. In our age, benefits of *yoga*<sup>13</sup> are experienced by sportspersons all over the world. The yogic positions or “*āsanas* have been evolved over the centuries so as to exercise every muscle, nerve and gland in the body. *Āsanas* help in developing a fine physique with all fitness components. Today its role in the achievement of physical fitness, mental stability, and emotional balance has been recognized by eminent coaches in many countries” (Singh: 438). Meditation, concentration, and breath control correctly practiced in *yoga* lead the sportspersons to a realm in which action itself becomes contemplation. The final step of *yoga* is *samādhi*, which can be interpreted as “one-pointedness of mind,” or “total awareness of the present moment.” It is that presence of mind that Thomas Ryan, in his reflections on the spirituality of sports, writes is “charged with spiritual awareness, intuitive awareness and is an essential quality for prayerful living. In other words, Mindfulness makes for wholehearted living which is prayerful living” (113). *Samādhi* is also sometimes called “superconsciousness.” It is the final state of ecstasy and supreme bliss. In the complete integration of sport and *yoga* such bliss is possible.

In the Catholic spiritual and mystical tradition, “detachment” and “mindfulness” are both fundamental prerequisites for spiritual growth. Detachment or non-attachment is the striking feature in Jesus’s incarnation, life, and preaching. The self-kenosis that is implied in the incarnation is that the second person of the Trinity detaches himself from the divine glory that was his from all eternity. In his life he detaches himself from his family to preach the good news of the Kingdom of God to all. In his preaching one finds many instances of detachment, such as Matthew 6:24 (“you cannot love both God and mammon”), 19:16-30 (in which Jesus warns against attachment to riches and material possessions), and 10:37 (in which Jesus preaches detachment from family). In this kind of an attitude Jesus is not advocating an in-human or superhuman practice, rather, he is leading us to being “mindful” of the divine in us, which is the essential and most fundamental reality of ourselves and is often obscured by our attachment to material things and our quest for power, security, and esteem. This detachment is not a denial of the world, on the contrary, it is a duty towards

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<sup>12</sup> Hans Lenk, in his reflections on sport between Zen and self, inquires towards the end of his article: “Can sporting activity such as Japanese sword fighting or the art of archery communicate intensive experiences which give these activities the joy of the extraordinary? ‘Beyond boredom and fear,’ as Csikszentmihalyi entitled his book – and also beyond preoccupation and outward reward? For their adepts, all such activities that are ends in themselves are their own reward. In this way sporting activity, self-motivated and free from external goals can find its deeper meaning in the process and the experience, in full commitment” (130).

<sup>13</sup> Here *yoga* must be understood as a mind-body discipline and not as a religious affiliation. Furthermore, there is no intention here to propagate a “Christian yoga.” In fact in the Mahābhārata, where the B.Gītā is situated, the term *yoga* is used both in the sense of discipline and specialized techniques. However, it must be noted that *yoga* is often associated with the Sāṃkhya school of thought in the Mahābhārata (see Jacobsen: 752).

recognizing and being “mindful” of the fundamental principle of the world that is divine. Many Christian saints have lived in such divine mindfulness or spiritual awareness. It was only in such spiritual awareness that St. Ignatius could express from the depths of his heart the *Suscipe* prayer asking God to “take and receive” everything.

It is in such spiritual awareness that sport as play could become the medium of a divine experience in the Catholic-Hindu spiritual scenario. To offer Indian sports this spiritual perspective would be going to the very roots of the Indian-Hindu spiritual longing for *mokṣa*, or liberation, that was traditionally sought through ascetical practices. The activity of sport was perhaps considered an obstacle to spiritual progress in India within the worldview of rigid yogic postures, breath control, and mental concentration. But from what we have said above, sport need not necessarily go against this worldview. Rather, it belongs to this worldview in various ways because it makes one alert and aware leading to spiritual growth.

### The Anthro-Socio-Cultural Paradigm

Treating three fields of study in one paradigm may seem too ambitious. This is done on purpose to present our reflections in a more concise and cohesive manner with some chance of possibly connecting particular fields of study with Catholic points of view. This does not mean that each field of research cannot be treated separately in the study of sports. However, one cannot deny that there is an intrinsic link between these three fields of research and this section would like to capitalize on that link for its own intentions.

At the very outset, it must be affirmed that in ancient India games and sports were part of the socio-cultural reality. In the Indus Valley civilization (2500-1550 BCE) sport was played with bow and arrow, javelin (*toran*), and discus (*chakra*). *Chaturanga*, a game played with dice, was apparently considered as the precursor of chess. Wrestling, swimming, sword fighting, polo, and ball games were quite popular among the people (Sen: 18-19), and most specially in educational institutions like the universities of Nalanda and Taxila.<sup>14</sup> In a balanced view put forward by the prominent historian Arthur Basham we read:

A form of Polo, introduced from Central Asia, became popular among warriors in the Middle Ages, though it is little mentioned in literature, and a kind of hockey was also played. But, in general, ancient India did not put as much stress on athletics as the Mediterranean world. Chariot racing is mentioned in the Rig Veda, and bullock racing was popular in the late medieval period. Boxing and Wrestling are often referred to, but were not generally the hobbies of respectable young men, but the preserve of low-caste pugilists, who performed for the amusement of an audience. The archer contest, however, was a much-loved amusement of the warrior class, and vivid descriptions of such contests occur in the Epics (210-11).

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<sup>14</sup> The Nalanda University was a great center of learning that flourished during the Gupta Empire (fifth and sixth centuries CE) and was situated in the present-day Bihar state of India. Scholars and pilgrim monks like Xuanzang and Yijing from east Asia spoke highly of this university after having visited it. Taxila was another great center of learning in the present-day northern Pakistan much older than the Nalanda University.

The anthropological aspect of this paradigm is highlighted in the martial arts of ancient and medieval India that developed mainly in the context of war and required a healthy mind-body-spirit training and application. The earliest practice of martial arts could be dated back to the fourth century BCE in the Tamil regions of south India, which later spread to other regions like Kerala and Karnataka. It is also believed that martial arts were transported to the Far East from South India.

The mind-body-spirit training that is required in martial arts is evident in the practice of *kalarippayattu* of the eleventh and twelfth century Kerala,<sup>15</sup> an offshoot of the martial arts practiced in the socio-cultural context of ancient India, containing within it the anthropological dimensions necessary for our explorations in this field. The practice of *kalarippayattu* required the repetition of mantras for spiritual prowess, breath-control exercises to gain higher energy levels, and long-term practice with a one-point focus with weapons and tools used in combat for mental power and body discipline. With constant practice of these techniques the final power is achieved in the form of *kundalinī śakti* (the divine power within each human being symbolized in the rising serpent) obtained through workshops, ritual practices like *pūjā* (worship), personal meditation, and devotion. Zarrilli, quoting one Muslim master, opines that gaining mastery of such powers was meant to lead a person to “possess complete knowledge of the body” (622). The powers achieved are meant not only for the benefit of the self but for society as well.

We are aware that a holistic approach is proclaimed of the human person through reflections on sport, especially in the Christian context in which sport helps towards a complete formation of the human being.<sup>16</sup> Pope Benedict XVI affirms that “when sports initiatives aim at the integral development of the person and are managed by qualified and competent personnel, they provide a useful opportunity . . . to become true and proper educators and teachers of life for the young” (Clemens 2009b: 5). Furthermore, the former pope thinks that to foster basic virtues and values, sports could be helpful because they could instill “perseverance, determination, spirit of sacrifice, internal and external discipline, attention to others, team work, solidarity, justice, courtesy, and the recognition of one’s own limits, and others” (Benedict XVI). In such a scenario of an all-round education through sports for greater personal harmony and growth, *kalarippayattu* cannot be ignored.

The India of our times, which is and will always be socially and culturally pluralistic in many senses, favors an interreligious, inter-communitarian, and inter-ethnic exchange. There are many factors that help such exchange and sport is no exception. In the socio-cultural paradigm we could enter into a vast array of socio-cultural factors like local games, communication, violence, nepotism, gambling, national glory, etc., which are found in the field of sport in most, if not all, countries. However, in this section, we would like to allow

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<sup>15</sup> “*Kalarippayattu* is an idiomatic, compound Malayalam term referring to Kerala’s indigenous regional martial arts . . . In Malayalam *kalarī* means place, open space, threshing floor, battlefield and idiomatically refers to the unique type of architectural space in which martial exercises are taught. The Malayalam *payattu* is derived from the Tamil root *payil* – to become trained accustomed to practice.” (Zarrilli: 619).

<sup>16</sup> We have already spoken of the mind-body control for optimum performance towards the end of the “mythical paradigm” above in the imagery used by Paul for eternal life. For more reflections on the Christian perspective mention could be made of some important articles (Kelly; Koch; Barrajon; Lixey; Hübenthal).

our reflections to revolve around sport and socio-cultural pluralism as an Indian phenomenon and their reciprocal influences.

The groups that play sport for India at the international level are mostly built up of individuals coming from different religious and cultural backgrounds. The richness that this fact brings to the sporting fields is enormous. Due to the religious diversity, individuals of one sporting group would be praying for victory or good luck to their own gods, whether Hindu, Muslim, or Christian. Among the Hindus, furthermore, each one would be praying to one's own deity among the plethora of deities that form the Hindu pantheon. When victory is achieved, each individual believes that his or her god has granted the wish. Looking at this aspect from a neutral point of view, one could imagine that the different gods conceded to a single wish. In this case, there is no clash of gods, rather a unity is perceived among them within the ambit of the famous phrase of the Rg Veda: "Truth is One, Sages call it by various names" (*ekam sad vipra bahuda vadhanti*; Rg Veda 1.164.46). The tendency of perceiving one's God as being more powerful than the other gods may exist among the players, but it is not openly manifested, allowing perhaps a theocentric reality to prevail helping interreligious harmony. For a country like India, which is torn apart at times by communal riots and interreligious hatred, interreligious harmony is the only social antidote to banish mutual hatred and create friendship. Sport helps towards this end in many ways. From the players to the viewers, the great pluralism that exists among individuals and groups is unified with one goal, and that is victory for the Indian team. In other words, victory becomes the criteria to unite the theological and religious divides. Interreligious differences are not allowed to interfere in the healthy rapport of the players that is crucial for victory. Sport in India not only brings religions together, but the whole nation as well. This phenomenon is strongly evident in cricket matches when India plays against another nation. There are Hindu fundamentalists and even others who complain that Muslims do not support India, especially when India plays against Pakistan. However, there is no statistical or objective data to prove this assertion and therefore we cannot fully depend on such conclusions. In a multi-faceted country like India, the contribution of sports to society is very significant.

The phenomenon of pluralism correspondingly exists within Indian sports as well. Cricket, hockey, football, basketball, swimming, wrestling, boxing, archery, and others are played in India but the most popular among them is cricket. After becoming the world champions twice in cricket – in 1983 and 2011 – India's love for cricket has grown in leaps and bounds. This has affected other games leading to their under-development. Having won six consecutive gold medals at the Olympics between 1928 and 1956 in field hockey, India had commonly accepted hockey to be the national game, but in recent years the government (Union Ministry of Youth Affairs) has stated that hockey is not the national game. This confusion is perhaps created because of the growing popularity of cricket. Such popularity has also affected regional games. One among them is kabaddi which is considered as a state game in important states like Tamil Nadu, Andhra Pradesh, Punjab, Maharashtra, Bihar, and Telangana. Kabaddi was included in the 1990 Asian games at Beijing and seven teams participated. In recent times after the Pro-Kabaddi League organized at the national level, its popularity has been growing. Regional games in India may not be commonly popular, but they are rooted and grounded in the ethos of the people. They maintain the age-old

traditions of the people with their unicity and particularity that give identity to individual regions or localities.

Gender pluralism is a common phenomenon in sports and with it comes gender discrimination. Practically all the games of India are played both by men and women, but by and large a majority of women find it very difficult to play certain games either because of religious or cultural factors or due to gender prejudices and parental pressures. A survey conducted by Saroj Kumar Panda to find out how the socio-cultural, political, and religious factors influence sports in India revealed many interesting responses that were collated and conclusively presented to readers. One conclusion was on the parents' response in regards to the participation of girls in sports. The report states: "Parents did not favour the girls wearing sports kits while participating in sports publicly. They had also expressed that participation in sports by females may have harmful effects on child bearing, menstruation and similar physiological problems" (126). Many Indian women, especially the Hindu women wear the *purdah*.<sup>17</sup> Muslim women wear the popular *burkha* or *hijab*. These cultural practices are a hindrance for women to participate or perform openly in sports. Among the various questionnaires sent by Panda, one questionnaire wanted the respondents to answer the question whether or not the *purdah* system permits girls to perform openly. According to Panda, "71.19 percent of the respondents were of the opinion that the *purdah* system does not permit girls to perform openly, whereas 17.14 percent of the respondents were against the statement and 11.06 percent of the respondents did not express their opinion in favor or against the statement" (83).

Even though a majority would be against the *purdah* system, it has not created strong public opinion to bring significant changes in this area. Girls who are forced to follow the *purdah* system may at the very initial stage find a block to venture forth into participating in sports. Panda concludes:

In India women and girls have been deprived of participation in sports by direct or indirect social inhibition. The social handicaps are *purdah*, early marriage, inferiority complex, inconvenient dress and parental attitude. All these social factors restrict women's involvement in sports . . . most of these beliefs are deep rooted in our socio-cultural attitudes. Women are discouraged [from being involved] in sports not on the basis of their physiological weakness but because of social disapproval (29; brackets mine).

Therefore, education of women in regard to sports is a necessity in India. Panda, in his list of recommendations for the betterment of sports in India, has made two recommendations for women. He writes:

Efforts should be made to make women more conscious regarding the positive influence of sports participation and also educating them with regard to physiological effects of sports participation on them. A survey may also be undertaken to enumerate the distinct features of social beliefs especially for

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<sup>17</sup> The *purdah* is the practice, especially of Muslim and Hindu women, to cover their heads in public or among the male relatives of the family. Among Hindus the word *ghoonghat* is more prevalent than *purdha*. The *ghoonghat* is rigidly practiced by rural north-Indian Hindu women.

the tribal women regarding their status, their rights and other related factors. This will enable them to be more conversant about their role and rights in the existing society (127-28).

Furthermore, a feminist critique of sexism in sport is also required because such a critique, according to Nancy Shinabargar, “reflects a new vision of the social construction of gender in which sport as a social institution can be reclaimed to function as a human good” (51). Indian sports have a lot to benefit from such a vision because it indirectly demands a “human liberation of sport in which sport as a social institution is transformed to reflect an inclusive complementarity of gender which respects and values the feminine and masculine in sport and society” (Shinabargar: 51). We, nevertheless, cannot ignore the fact that India is proud of her sportswomen who have excelled, such as P. T. Usha, Shiny Abraham, Sania Mirza, Saina Nehwal, Mary Kom, Geeta and Babita Phogat, P. V. Sindhu, and others.

One cannot definitely say that Christianity has helped in the emancipation of women in India. It however remains a fact that the western colonizers of India were primarily Christians and the western women, in their different dress-code and openness to sports and other social and cultural factors, allowed for a rethinking of the common woman’s role in the society, which led to more education and other facilities allotted for the development of women, leading to a greater participation of women in Indian sports.

### **The Commercial Paradigm**

In this paradigm we shall present our reflections primarily on the commercialization of sports in India. Dietmar Mieth, while discussing the “Ethical problems of the commercialization of sport” begins with a description of the term “commercialization” linking it to sport. He states:

The collective term ‘commercialisation’ comprises quite different phenomena and developments, which ultimately result in a progressive interaction of economy and sport as leisure and achievement behavior. That includes the industry of sports equipment and clothing and the construction of sports locations and the financing of sporting events, the establishment and maintenance of sport organisations and divisions, and the use of sport industry for financing or promotions, premiums, compensatory payments, retainers and prize money, and the economic administration of sports manufacturers and their means of production (86).

The commercialization of sport, as seen in the above quote, is intrinsically linked to economy. In such a situation, there is a tendency to look at the commercialization of sport as harmful to sport. It is true that the core values of freedom and playfulness may be lost by the financial benefits offered to the players and the demands that those benefits entail, coupled with the profit made by others who in turn need to put pressure on the players to up their performance for better economic returns. Nonetheless, the financial benefits are important, especially for players who give their whole lives to a particular sport playing for their country or local regions. In India if a particular sport is not able to reap financial benefits it runs the risk of dying out. However, the harmful effects of commercialization cannot be ignored and



it is a glaring reality staring right into our faces. This reality is made clear in Panda's words as he tellingly states:

Today one plays to earn and one can earn more only if one keeps on winning. It is all for the good, therefore, that the prize system is slowly being introduced in India in games like Tennis, Badminton, Football, and Table Tennis. The board of Cricket Control has been making handsome provisions for its cricketers. The action program has also suggested the identification of priority of funds, rewards, incentives and concession to top sportsmen to recognize them socially and financially. . . . Sports has become a money hunting ground for the opportunity of seekers. This growth and trend is likely to continue unless serious thought is given to the whole cause of the phenomena and its effects on the individual and society (19-20).

Having in mind the deleterious effects of commercialization or "commercialism" in sports, Benedict XVI feels that the "goodness of the game can easily be spoiled by commercialism, which casts the grim pall of money over everything, and changes sport into an industry which can produce an unreal world of horrifying dimensions" (Clemens 2009a: 4).

Commercialization of sports always runs the risk of reducing sports to a commodity. This commodity then proves beneficial to politicians, businessmen, and criminals. For the criminals, betting during sport matches is big business. In India, with regard to sports all kinds of betting are prohibited except for horse racing. This does not mean that betting is totally avoided by cricket fans. Betting goes on incognito. Commercialization of sports has looped in investors, sponsors and businessmen. There is big money involved and people hanker for it legally or illegally. Interference of politicians in sports is therefore understandable.

Anguished over "political interference" into the game [cricket], John Wright, one of the most successful coaches, said "Nothing caused my blood pressure to rise more than the times when the players were besieged in the dressing room by a chief minister and his entourage, or by a powerful businessman asserting his rights." Wright, who was appointed India's first foreign coach in 2000, said the board [of Control for Cricket in India] does not seem to be serious about nurturing new talent (Rediff; brackets mine).

The danger of having a politician or a businessman at the helm of affairs in sports is that vested interests would take precedence to the enhancement of sports. India had some bitter experiences in this regard especially when the president of the BCCI (Board of Control for Cricket in India) was a politician – Anurag Thakur. Being the president of the BCCI is very prestigious because of the popularity of the game and the financial clout of the organization. This does not mean that the interference of politics would always be hazardous to sports. Still, in today's India, politics is synonymous to corruption. In such circumstances one wonders as to how far politicians can keep the sports field clean. It is a common feeling that, "The politicisation of Indian sports is the root cause for the country not being able to create world class athletes. People are also tired of the political interference in sports" (News18). But is it really possible to completely separate sport and politics? Not likely, because as John Hoberman rightly states:

Sport is a latently political issue in any society, since the cultural themes which inhere in a sport culture are potentially ideological in a political sense. This latent political content becomes more evident when one considers some major polarities which bear on sport and the political world: amateurism vs. professionalism, individualism vs. collectivism, male supremacy vs. feminism, nationalism vs. internationalism, sensationalism vs. hygienism. All of these thematic conflicts belong to the world of sport, and all are of ideological significance in the larger sense (20).

At the same time, sports in India cannot totally rule out the help of politicians. Today, if league tournaments in cricket, hockey, football, and even kabaddi are organized all over the country, it is because of political support. The league tournament in cricket, namely the very popular IPL (Indian Premier League) cricket matches, has led to a great boom of new cricketing talent. The country has discovered new cricketers of high standard who would have gone unnoticed if there was no such tournament. Yes, there is a lot of money involved in these matches, but tournaments at this level must offer incentives to pull top-class players to the cricketing field and even financiers to own the teams. I believe that the move towards the commercialization of sport in India is indispensable for the growth of sport in India. With a massive population, India does not lack sportspersons, but rather financial backing to its sportspersons. Poverty is still rampant in India. It is no wonder then that most of the sportspersons come from poor backgrounds.

Recently, NDTV news published an article entitled “Gujarat Driver Uses Daughter’s Wedding Funds To Buy Her Rifle.” It stated:

Mr. Gohil has always been supportive of his daughter’s dream. Four years ago, when Mittal (Gohil’s daughter) had first expressed her desire to learn shooting, considered as an expensive sport, he enrolled his daughter at a club where she practiced shooting with a rented rifle. “Mittal has been taking part in various championships ever since she took on shooting as a hobby in 2012. Since we could not afford a rifle, she used to borrow it from other shooters or from the Rifle Club. But I realised that she needed a top-class rifle of her own to fetch medals in national and international championships” . . . Her talent soon fetched her several awards including a bronze in nationals. The time had now come for Mittal to train and participate in international competitions. So her father and her brother Jainit took on the task of arranging funds to get her the 50-meter-range rifle she needed . . . For Mittal, however, the arduous journey to success is far from over. Each bullet for the rifle costs Rs. 31 and she needs to buy at least 1,000 rounds for every tournament. Add to it, travel and other miscellaneous expenditure (Paniker).

If, in India, sportspersons are not given financial support, then India as a country stands to lose. In the recent Olympics at Rio (2016), India, with a population of 1.2 billion, was able to win only two medals (one silver and one bronze) having sent by far its largest ever delegation of one hundred seventeen contestants. Among the many factors responsible for the dismal performance of India at the Olympics the financial factor is a major one. If commercialization of sport in India could lead to financial and other incentives for our

sportspersons leading to a greater development and commitment on their part, then Indian sport stands to gain in the near future.

In conclusion it must be said that there could be other paradigms added to the above list or perhaps a certain paradigm could be sub-divided into other paradigms. As reflections proceed in this direction in Indian sports, these paradigms could be further developed. However, it appears evident that the richness of sport lies in its paradigmatic diversity. In India and elsewhere, it may perhaps not occur to the common person that a simple and popular word like “sport” could contain potential for reflection that touches on such important aspects of human life. As Indian sports interacts with Catholicism, there could be reciprocal learning that could contribute to bringing about in Indian society the *reign of God* – a desire that is cherished by Hinduism as well in its symbol of *Rāmarājya*.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> *Rāma*: “God”; *rājya*: “reign.”

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