SOME METHODOLOGIES FOR THE STUDY OF CONCEPTIONS OF HOPE IN LATE ANTIQUITY: PRELIMINARY EXPLORATIONS

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ABSTRACT

Hope as a historical experience is a fascinating but understudied area of enquiry. Previous study has tended to focus on hope as an intellectual construct or theological doctrine. However, this thesis advocates an approach to the study of hope grounded in the history of emotions. It attempts to build on recent debates in this field in order to move beyond a dichotomy of intellect and emotion, and to engage with hope as a personal experience which combines elements of thought and feeling. This thesis develops and employs a number of methodologies in order to examine the historical phenomenon of hope from a range of angles. It involves analysis at the level of the word, the sentence, the text and the corpus. It is structured around the individual case study of Augustine of Hippo, and begins by applying qualitative and quantitative analysis to a wide range of texts from the first five centuries AD in order to situate the individual within the wider historical context. It then examines the works of Augustine from a number of angles, exploring the vocabulary and semantics of hope, hope as a theological virtue, hope in (and as) metaphor, and hope in communication. Hope is an area of study fertile with opportunity. This piece is intended to lay some groundwork for such study; to present a range of methodologies, highlight further potential avenues of enquiry, and demonstrate what can be learned from such techniques about the historical human experience of hope.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I, Rebecca Hemsley, declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

INTRODUCTION

Hope is a profound and fundamental feature of human existence. Subjective as this statement is, I suspect that there are few who would deny it outright. Hope has a resonance. Expressions and experiences of hope occupy our daily lives, from mundane tropes and civilities to aching expressions of the heart. Hope is also remarkably indefinable. In conversations with colleagues, friends and relations, I have heard hope described as an emotion, a feature of thought, a mood, a mentality, a semantic or grammatical tool, a state of being, an aspect of imagination, a projection towards the future, a judgement, a process, a conscious decision, and an uncontrollable feeling. Its seemingly unquantifiable nature does not seem to hold us back from employing hope as a term and a concept, both consciously and unconsciously, with remarkable ease and regularity; it is a challenge to speak to a friend, write a letter or indeed an academic article without expressing some form of hope. I think it is fair to say that in our culture, hope is a revered aspect of life. It has been described as 'a resource for life and restoration of being' in medical recovery, and several studies stress 'the contributory role of hope in the nursing process.'[1] Many who have experienced depression will vouch for the significance of hope and the ability to project oneself towards a positive future. Victoria McGeer even claims that 'to live a life devoid of hope is simply not to live a human life; it is not to function… as a human being.'[2]

If it is the ultimate role and project of the humanities to study what makes us human, the essence of our existence and experience, then the study of hope is well within our mandate. In terms of how to approach such a topic, there are a number of possible angles which we might take. Philosophers have occasionally attempted to unpick hope as a concept, but tend to address it in a 'timeless' fashion; presenting the *object* of hope as

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[1] Jari Kylma & Katri Vehvilainen-Julkunen, "Hope in Nursing Research: A Meta-Analysis of the Ontological and Epistemological Foundations of Research on Hope," *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 25 (1997): 365-366.

[2] Victoria McGeer, "The Art of Good Hope," *The Annals of the American Academy* 592 (March 2002): 101.

changeable, but hope itself as a human universal, rather than something with a history.[3] Theologians and others have explored hope as a matter of doctrine, again tending to focus on the objects or theory of hope rather than the phenomenon itself.[4] Psychologists and other scientists have also begun to analyse hope as a matter of cognition or emotion.[5] However, their source material is limited to the present; it is the task of the historian to look further afield. As a *historical* phenomenon, hope has had relatively little attention. Hope is absent from the indices of the great majority of works I have searched, both on the study of emotion in general, and on Augustine in particular.[6] In books where hope is

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[3] Richard Rorty, *Philosophy and Social Hope* (London: Penguin, 1999). Adrienne Martin, *How We Hope: A Moral Psychology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013). Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, trans. Neville Plaice, Stephen Plaice & Paul Knight (Cambridge: MIT Press, (1954-59) 1995). Philip Pettit, "Hope and its Place in Mind," *The Annals of the American Academy* 592 (March 2004): 152-165. McGeer, "The Art of Good Hope," 100-127.

[4] Jaques-Guy Bougerol, *La Théologie de L'Esperance aux XIIe et XIIIe Siècles* (Paris: Etudes Augustineiennes, 1985). Servais Pinckaers, "Les Origines de la Définition de L'Espérance dans les Sentences de Pierre Lombard," *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale* 22, (1955): 306-311. Brian Hebblethwaite, *The Christian Hope* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010). Tom Wright, *Surprised by Hope* (London: SPCK Publishing, 2011).

[5] Lisa A. Cavanaugh et al., "Hope, Pride, and Processing During Optimal and Nonoptimal Times of Day," *Emotion* 11, no. 1 (February 2011): 38-46. Tabitha Kirkland & William A. Cunningham, "Mapping Emotions Through Time: How Affective Trajectories Inform the Language of Emotion," Emotion 12, no. 2 (April 2012): 268-282. Eddie M. W. Tong, Barbara L. Fredrickson, Weining Chang & Zi Xing Lim, "Re-examining Hope: The Roles of Agency Thinking and Pathways Thinking," *Cognition & Emotion* 24, no. 7 (2010): 1207-1215. Arnaud Wisman & Nathan A. Heflick. "Hopelessly Mortal: The Role of Mortality Salience, Immortality and Trait Self-Esteem in Personal Hope." *Cognition & Emotion* (2015), accessed April 19, 2015, http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02699931.2015.1031643. C. R. Snyder, Anne B. LaPointe, J. Jeffrey Crowson & Shannon Early, "Preferences of High- and Low-Hope People for Self-referential Input," *Cognition & Emotion* 12, no. 6 (1998): 807-823. Marcus Roth & Philipp Hammelstein, "Hope as an Emotion of Expectancy: First Assessment Results," *GMS Psycho-Social-Medicine* 4 (2007): Doc05 1-9.

[6] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). Ute Frevert, et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-2000,* eds. Ute Frevert & Thomas Dixon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). John M. Cooper. *Reason and*

included in the index, there tend to be only one or two relevant pages, and the references are generally only in passing.[7] In my research I have encountered only one directed study

Emotion: Essays on Ancient Moral Psychology and Ethical Theory (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999). William Lyons, *Emotion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980). Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (New York: Cornell University Press, 2007). Eva T. H. Brann, *The World of the Imagination: Sum and Substance*, (Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1991). Gillian Bendelow & Simon J. Williams, ed. *Emotions in Social Life: Critical Themes and Contemporary Issues*, (London, Routledge: 1998). Norman K. Denzin, *On Understanding Emotion*, (New Jersey, Transaction Publishers: 2007). Dacher Keltner, Keith Oatley & Jennifer M. Jenkins, *Understanding Emotions (*Oxford: Blackwell, 2006). Monica Greco & Paul Henry Stenner, eds., *Emotions: A Social Science Reader* (London: Routledge, 2008). Jerome Kagan, *What Is Emotion? (*London: Yale University Press, 2007). Martha Nussbaum, *The Therapy of Desire: Theory and Practice in Hellenistic Ethics* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009). Robert A. Kaster *Emotion, Restraint, and Community in Ancient Rome*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005). Marcia L. Colish, *The Stoic Tradition From Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages - I: Stoicism in Classical Latin Literature*, (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1985). David Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks: Studies in Aristotle and Classical Literature*, (London: University of Toronto Press, 2006). Susanna Morton Braund & Christopher Gill, *The Passions in Roman Thought and Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). E. R. Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages* (Princeton University Press, 1953). Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). Allan D. Fitzgerald, ed., *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, (Cambridge: William B Eerdmans Publishing Co., 1999). Brian Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (London: Harvard University Press, 1996). Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1985). Peter Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972). Catherine Conybeare, *The Irrational Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). John J. O'Meara, *The Young Augustine: The Growth of St. Augustine's Mind Up to His Conversion* (New York: Alba House, 2010). Henry Chadwick, *Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986). Roy W. Battenhouse, *A Companion to the Study of St. Augustine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955). Donald X. Burt, *Friendship & Society: An Introduction to Augustine's Practical Philosophy* (Cambridge: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999).

[7] William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 52, 373. Jennifer A. Herdt, *Putting On Virtue: The Legacy of the Splendid Vices* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 84, 441. Ian

on a historical individual's conception of hope, in the *Journal of the History of Philosophy*.[8] In his article "Aristotle on Hope", G. Scott Gravlee examines hope as an intellectual construct in the work of Aristotle, investigating hope's interaction with fear and its relationship with courage. Clearly, there is scope for further and more directed study on hope as a matter of historical experience.

As we have seen, there has been some study on hope as a theological doctrine and as an intellectual construct. However, I believe that hope should also be studied as an aspect of human historical *lived* experience; as emotion as well as thought. Here the developing field of the history of emotions may help us. There has been a great deal of recent research in this area, and its scholars are attempting to grapple with some of the most challenging and seemingly unreachable aspects of human experience. We may build upon these recent developments in the study of emotion in order to study the historical experience of hope as a matter of more than mere intellect. If we are to take the history of emotions as a starting point from which to develop our methodology for the study of hope, it is worth taking a moment to sketch out some of the key debates in this field. It is, after all, a developing area and by no means free from controversy.

In the past few decades, the historical study of emotion has flourished. From the early groundwork laid by Norbert Elias in 1939, historians have recognised emotion as a viable area of study, and produced increasingly nuanced investigations of historical emotion.[9] An excellent starting point to the discussion is found in the AHR Conversation

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Burkitt, *Emotions and Social Relations* (London: Sage, 2014), 156-164, 190. Jan E. Stets & Jonathan H. Turner, ed. *Handbook of the Sociology of Emotions* (New York: Springer, 2007), 22, 646. Rom Harré, *The Social Construction of Emotions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986).

[8] G. Scott Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 38, no. 4 (Oct 2000): 461-477.

[9] Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process: The History of Manners*, (Oxford: Blackwell, (1939) 1994).

on "The Historical Study of Emotion".[10] Key works which have played a role in developing the history of emotions are *The Navigation of Feeling* by William Reddy, Rosenwein's work on the role of community in emotional experience, and Monique Scheer's pioneering work on emotions as practice, which will be discussed in further detail below.[11] Historians have been industrious in producing works examining particular emotions or emotion terms as case studies, including William Harris' work on rage, Joanna Bourke's work on fear, D. M. McMahon's work on happiness, Eiko Ikegami's work on shame, Peter Stearn's work on jealousy and sorrow, and William Ian Miller's works on

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[10] Nicole Eustace, Eugenia Lean, Julie Livingston, Jan Plampie, William M. Reddy, & Barbara Rosenwein, "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions," *American Historical Review* 117, no. 5 (2012): 1487-1531.

[11] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*. Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And Is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion," *History and Theory* 51 (May 2012): 193-220. For further discussions on methods for the history of emotion, see also: the debate on the history of emotion in *Early Medieval Europe* 10, no. 2 (2001); Barbara Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," Passions in Context 1 (2010): 1-33, accessed May 22, 2015, http://www.passionsincontext.de/uploads/media/01_Rosenwein.pdf; Susan J. Matt, "Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out," *Emotion Review* 3, no. 1 (Jan 2011): 117-124. Anna Wierzbicka, "The "History of Emotions" and the Future of Emotion Research," Emotion Review 2, no. 3 (July 2010): 269-273.

disgust, humiliation and courage, among others.[12] Some studies have even delved into the history of the concept of 'emotion' itself, challenging us to question our very understanding of the term.[13] An excellent example can be found in Ute Frevert et al.'s broad-reaching work *Emotional Lexicons*, which explores the history of emotion terms and the semantics of emotion over three centuries.[14]

This fascination with emotion as an aspect of human experience has also been developing in other disciplines. Archaeologists and anthropologists are beginning to explore the interaction between the material and the emotional, outlined in Sarah Tarlow's review article "The Archaeology of Emotion and Affect".[15] The study of emotions has become an important field in sociology, as outlined in Thoits' "The Sociology of Emotions", leading to works like Ian Burkitt's recent *Emotions and Social Relations*,

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[12] William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: The Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (London: Harvard University Press, 2004). Joanna Bourke, *Fear: A Cultural History* (Virago Press, 2005). D. M. McMahon, *Happiness: A History* (New York, Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006). Eiko Ikegami, "Shame and the Samurai: Institutions, Trusthworthiness, and Autonomy in the Elite Honor Culture," *Social Research: An International Quarterly* 70, no. 4 (2003): 1351-1378. Peter Stearns, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion* (New York: New York University Press, 1989). Peter Stearns, *Revolutions in Sorrow: The American Experience of Death in Global Perspective* (Paradigm, 2007). William Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Harvard University Press, 1997). William Ian Miller, *Humiliation* (Cornell University Press, 1993). William Ian Miller, *The Mystery of Courage* (Harvard University Press, 2000). See also: Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 1998). A. Potkay, *The Story of Joy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). Hans J. Rindisbacher, "A Cultural History of Disgust," *KulturPoetik* 5, no. 1 (2005): 119-127.

[13] Thomas Dixon, *From Passions to Emotions: The Creation of a Secular Psychological Category* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[14] Ute Frevert et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-2000*, eds. Ute Frevert & Thomas Dixon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[15] Sarah Tarlow, "The Archaeology of Emotion and Affect," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (Oct 2012): 169-185.

which explores emotions as embodied and embedded in patterns of relationship.[16] In psychology, the study of emotions has also expanded, and four new academic journals in the field have been launched in recent decades: *Motivation and Emotion* launched in 1977, *Cognition and Emotion* in 1987, in 2001 the American Psychological Association launched the journal *Emotion* and *Emotion Review* in 2009. In philosophy, one of the most original and searching inquiries into the nature of emotions of our time has emerged in Martha Nussbaum's work, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions*.[17] Indeed, scholars of emotion have been notable for their recourse to interdisciplinary approaches. Historians have employed approaches and evidence from a broad range of disciplines, encompassing the sciences as well as the arts. Admirable examples include Leslie Lockett in her *Anglo Saxon Psychologies*, Antonina Harbus' *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry*, and of course William Reddy himself in *The Navigation of Feeling*.[18] Academics from all disciplines are challenging themselves to question what emotion is, and how it relates to what it means to be human.

However, within all disciplines there are divergent views of what emotions are. In order to draw from this field for our study of hope, we must first understand the key debates which have shaped and come to define the topic. Jan Plamper suggests that the primary dichotomy dividing scholars of emotion is between social constructivism and universalism. This debate has been more eloquently outlined by others before me, and I would recommend Larrington's article on "The Psychology of Emotion", the AHR conversation mentioned above, Plamper's work on *The History of Emotions* and the Introduction to Rosenwein's *Emotional Communities* as starting places for the interested

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[16] Peggy A. Thoits, "The Sociology of Emotions," *Annual Review of Sociology* 15 (Aug 1989): 317-342. Ian Burkitt, *Emotions and Social Relations* (London: SAGE Publications, 2014).

[17] Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[18] Leslie Lockett, *Anglo-Saxon Psychologies in the Vernacular and Latin Traditions* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011). Antonina Harbus, *Cognitive Approaches to Old English Poetry* (D. S. Brewer, 2012). Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.

reader.[19] Put simply, some believe that emotions are primarily learned and have a history, emphasising the role of society and culture in forming emotional resources, while others believe that emotions are generally built into our physiology and are therefore unchanging over time and place.[20] Social constructivists tend to emphasise the role of cognition in the development of emotion, viewing emotions and feelings as responses to cognitive (although not necessarily conscious) evaluation or judgement. Universalists, on the other hand, advocate the concept of 'genetically-determined basic patterns' of emotions, and particularly emphasise those physiological pathways and responses that we appear to share with other animals.[21] It is important to stress that these stances were and are not mutually exclusive; many distinguish between types of emotion, such as primarily cognitive or primarily physiological emotions. There is much to be learned from both camps. Plamper seeks to overcome polarities between them by arguing that, while there may be universalities, 'what is universal amounts to a molehill when compared to the mountain of data on cultural differences.'[22]

One approach which may overcome this dichotomy between social construction and biological universalism is presented by cultural anthropologist and historian Monique Scheer in her pioneering essay "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice? A Bourdieulian Approach to Understanding Emotion".[23] Scheer argues for a view which incorporates embodiment (the physical and physiological capacities of the human body and brain) with the role of social relations and human behaviour in constructing the phenomena of emotions. This piece has been ground-breaking in the study of emotion, developing Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* to present a new and insightful analysis of emotion, thought,

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[19] Carolyne Larrington, "The Psychology of Emotion and Study of the Medieval Period," Early Medieval Europe 10, no. 2 (2001): 251-256. Eustace et al., "AHR Conversation: The Historical Study of Emotions." Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 1-33. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 1-31.

[20] Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1-9.

[21] Larrington, "The Psychology of Emotion", 256.

[22] Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 33.

[23] Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?", 193-220.

practice, society, the body and the brain. Scheer argues that 'the body is not a static, timeless, universal foundation that produces ahistorical emotional arousal, but is itself socially situated, adaptive, trained, plastic, and thus historical.'[24] She demonstrates that a dichotomy between mind/thought and body/emotion is especially problematic; it overlooks the role of the physical and physiological capacities of the human body in thought, and overlooks the role of cognition and value judgement in emotion.[25] Scheer argues instead for a more rounded conception of human experience, an approach which emphasises the embodied mind and the shared nature of thought and feeling. Alongside the philosopher Alva Noë, Scheer argues that cognition and consciousness lies not only in the brain, but also in the body and its environment; it is 'an achievement of the whole animal in its environmental context.'[26] This approach collapses distinctions between thought and emotion, while acknowledging both the social and the embodied nature of experience. In light of Scheer's work and its implications, I believe that we should challenge ourselves to avoid making unfounded distinctions between emotion and thought. This challenge is especially pertinent when we study hope, which does not sit comfortably as either 'emotion' or 'thought', but appears more intuitively to span the elements of human experience.

It is difficult to undertake the history of emotion whilst at the same time acknowledging that our category of 'emotion' may not exist as a distinct element of human experience. This is a possibility which we must come to terms with. I personally consider emotion to be a human categorisation or construct, although I recognise that others may disagree. However, it is important to find a way of approaching the history of emotions which does not depend on a definition of emotions as firmly delineated from each other and from other aspects of human experience. This approach has not always been reflected in historical case studies. Aside from those works which examine the history of conceptions of emotion in general, historians have struggled to think outside of our own cultural categories of emotions. When selecting a topic for study, there has been a tendency

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[24] Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?", 193.

[25] Further discussed in Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*.

[26] Alva Noë, *Out of Our Heads: Why You Are Not Your Brain, and Other Lessons from the Biology of Consciousness* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2009), 10.

to focus on the 'simpler' emotions, or those which, to us, are easily categorised *as* emotion.[27] These tend to be those experiences which we relate to tangible physical responses – 'observable properties' – such as facial movements or heart rate changes.[28] It seems that the historical study of emotion has so far tended to gravitate towards Ekman's concept of 'basic emotions'; happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise and disgust.[29]

While this categorisation of emotion holds sway in some fields, many scholars, particularly historians, have rejected it as universalising and inadequate, even 'bankrupt', because it overlooks emotional plasticity and social construction.[30] Nonetheless, historians have not yet begun to engage with the more (apparently) complex emotions or realms of human experience with the same energy they have directed towards those more 'basic' ones. We have not yet developed the study of those experiences which our cultural standpoint does not neatly define as either 'thought' or 'emotion'; those experiences which do not comfortably fit into a dichotomy of mind and body. This reluctance to study complex instances can lead us to bracket 'emotion' as a distinct aspect of experience, and overlook the interaction between cognition, feeling, body, agency and society. This is not to say that the existing historical studies are not profound, searching and meaningful. Indeed, without them, the study of emotion would have struggled to find its feet at all. However, in order to further understand the embodied experience of thought and emotion – '*embodied* history, internalized as a second nature and so forgotten as history' – I have challenged myself to study precisely those experiences which we struggle to categorise.[31]

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[27] Peter N. Stearns & Carol Z. Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards," *The American Historical Review* 90, no. 4 (Oct. 1985): 825, 834. See also n. 12 above for examples.

[28] Barrett, Lisa Feldman. "Are Emotions Natural Kinds?" *Perspectives on Psychological Science* 1, no. 1 (March 2006): 29.

[29] Paul Ekman & Wallace V. Friesen, "Constants across Cultures in the Face and Emotion," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 17, no. 2 (1971): 124–139.

[30] Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 158. Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", 1-33.

[31] Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 53-54.

In choosing to study hope, I aim to build upon the works of these pioneering historians of emotion in order to analyse an emotional concept which lies on the theoretical and conceptual borderline between thought and emotion. It is precisely these difficult, seemingly indefinable, aspects of existence which call for attention now: by grappling with them, I would hope to draw the study of emotion back into the study of human experience as a whole. Through this study, I have tried to challenge the dichotomy of 'emotion' and 'thought' as distinct and separate aspects of experience, the one encompassing what is 'bodily', irrational or uncontrollable, the other what is 'in the mind', conscious and rational. This entails thinking outside of the cultural dichotomies by which we inadvertently but fundamentally define our existence.[32] One might liken this to the study of gender; it is a challenge to write about gender without employing a gender binary which we have been trained all our lives to conform to. Yet while this is difficult, it is not impossible, and is certainly worthwhile. I believe that the study of historical hope will encourage us to reassess our own boxes of categorisation, building on emotion studies to look *beyond* emotion.

This piece is intended in part to serve as a manifesto for the interest and value of the study of hope. Because the topic is so new, it will also be an exploration of methodology, presenting and deploying some methods of broaching such a topic. I tend to view this topic through the allegory of the blind men and the elephant. The tale goes that a number of blind men encounter an elephant for the first time, and attempt to discover its nature. Each grasps a different part; he who holds the tail believes an elephant is like a rope, he who holds a leg believes it to be like a tree, and so on, but none understands its entirety. Hope is the elephant. Or more specifically, the experience of hope of past persons is the elephant. We seek to understand it, but we cannot comprehend it in its fullness, and we never will. All we are capable of is attempting to grasp the issue from a range of angles; we may handle the tusk, the leg, the tail. Through each approach, we learn something new. Our aim cannot be to see the whole elephant; that is beyond us. Likewise, we must not seek to fully comprehend one feature and claim it reflects the true nature of the whole; we must not say that the leg is like a tree, and therefore the elephant is like a tree. To quote Heisenberg, 'we

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[32] Plamper, *The History of Emotions*, 290-293.

have to remember that what we observe is not nature in itself, but nature exposed to our method of questioning'.[33]

This piece, then, will lay some groundwork and present some blueprints for the study of hope, employing a range of methods and assessing their utility and value. As a systematic analysis, my investigation will not necessarily be emotional or empathetic in itself; I will not aim to invoke empathy in the reader, but to challenge them to reassess their experience of emotion. I do not intend to present an apparently seamless and conclusive argument, wherein the reader must hunt to find the cracks. No method is ever perfect, and I want both the possibilities and limitations of each method herein to be acknowledged and visible, so that readers may further address and build on them. I aim to keep the scaffolding visible; not to present 'facts' and 'conclusions', but a preliminary foray, and directions for further lines of questioning. I will present the process, as opposed to the outcome, in the hope that this will inspire further interest and exploration into a fascinating and challenging topic.

This is, therefore, a kind of 'meta-' study, which explores the avenues of possibility for the study of hope. As such, this work will entail a number of approaches, combining attention to broad trends, thematic study, and the individual experience. It will involve analysis at the level of the word, the sentence, the text and the corpus. It requires selecting a particular time period (Late Antique to Early Medieval) and a particular individual (St. Augustine of Hippo) as an exemplary case study to which we may apply our methods. The methods demonstrated in the following chapters will address hope in theology, the vocabulary and semantics of hope, hope in metaphor, and hope in communication. The study's earlier chapters will take a broad-ranging approach, using qualitative and quantitative analyses to sketch out a background to our case study. It will then apply these methods, and more as required, to the specific case study of Augustine, in order to develop a deeper exploration. Each of these approaches will highlight certain features or characteristics of hope as expressed in the source material, and I will endeavour to demonstrate the possibilities and limits of each approach for expanding our understanding of the historical phenomenon of hope.

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[33] Werner Heisenberg, *Physics and Philosophy: The Revolution in Modern Science* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962), 58.

It may be traditional here to attempt some definition of the term that we are studying: perhaps I should define hope, citing the Oxford English Definition of hope as '*n.* expectation of something desired; desire combined with expectation… feeling of trust or confidence… a person or thing that gives hope or promise for the future, or in which hopes are centred', or '*v.* to entertain expectation of something desired; to look (mentally) with expectation… to trust, have confidence'.[34] However, this is problematic in more ways than one. Not only does the experience of hope verge on the indefinable, but pre-emptively characterising it involves closing off the prospect of discovery before I begin. By presuming, prior to all enquiry, to define the experience of hope, I would risk arbitrarily and anachronistically determining the outcome of our enquiry. This is a challenge faced by all historians of emotion and, indeed, perhaps all historians.[35] When it comes to emotion terms, we must be alert to the possibility that there is no controlled variable; neither the usage of the term nor the experience itself remain constant throughout human history. This will become clear as I come to an examination of individual writers' conceptions of hope, and find significant variations between individuals, and divergences from the O.E.D definition above. We should not assume that the term for hope (in Latin *spes* or *spero*) has the same definition as our term 'hope'. It would also be wrong to define a modern experience of hope, and assume that historical persons shared that same experience, albeit under a different name or phrase. The Oxford English Dictionary, as with any other attempt at concise definition, is not sufficient to express the nuances of a person's experiences of hope. It is better to allow each historical individual to define hope for themselves.

How, then, may I designate the terms of the study? I would argue that these emotion terms still hold value for our investigation, if handled carefully. The communication of emotion plays a significant role in shaping and defining its meaning, both for speaker and listener. This communication need not be verbal, but it is arguably the case that language

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[34] "hope, n.1.,"*OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June, 2015, accessed June 30, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88370?rskey=cJM6mO&result=1. "hope, v.," *OED Online,* Oxford University Press, June, 2015, accessed June 30, 2015, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/88372?rskey=cJM6mO&result=3&isAdvanced=false.

[35] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions," 13-14.

and words are particularly important for humans in defining and categorising emotions, and that naming an emotion can alter or colour the experience of that phenomenon.[36] Reddy employs the term and notion of emotives as 'translations into words' of experiences, and argues that they 'are influenced directly by, and alter, what they "refer" to.'[37] Being able to communicate using these emotives can allow individuals to create shared experiences, affirm their own experience or negate the experience of others, develop empathy, and solidify their community.[38] This affirmation or negation of emotional experiences may be part of what leads to continuity or change over time in emotions and emotion terms; a 'strateg[y] of naturalization and interiorization', which encourages the development of the 'overlearned habits' of emotions.[39]

In order to use such emotion terms as a historian, our aim should be to outline or convey how the persons we study may have conceptualized, defined and thereby experienced that emotion term. Of course, we should not limit ourselves to words, and it is equally important to examine image, gesture, and the material realm in order to develop a more thorough understanding of the historical phenomenon of hope. However, this is a task beyond my remit here. There remains ample scope for an investigation into emotives of hope even when limited to written sources. The focus in this dissertation will be on the occurrences of terms which we would translate as hope; particularly *spes* and *spero*, although acknowledging related terms such as *exspecto* and *exspectatio*. I aim to examine how the usage of these terms – the grammar, the verbal, conceptual and communicative context – may hint at their meaning as experienced and constructed by the individual who employed them.

History as a field is increasingly diverse in its methods, but there are two (among many) general approaches to the task of history which are relevant here; simply put, they involve examining trends (the broad approach) and examining individuals (the deep

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[36] Maria Gendron, Kristen A. Lindquist, Lawrence Barsalou & Lisa Feldman Barrett, "Emotion Words Shape Emotion Percepts," *Emotion* 12, no. 2 (2012): 314-325.

[37] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 105.

[38] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 20-31.

[39] Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?": 217. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 18.

approach). For a topic so understudied as hope, it is difficult to conduct meaningful broad studies without any underlying individual studies from which to draw the *human* aspect, without edging into the uncomfortably speculative. Yet individuals did not exist in a vacuum, and we should not ignore the context in which they lived and wrote. One approach should not come without the other; where neither has come before, I have chosen to do a little of both. It will be helpful, then, to explain the outline of this dissertation, describing how it will first sketch a rough map of the area of hope and then examine the details and features of an individual experience of hope. Each chapter deploys a certain methodology, aiming not only to increase our understanding of the phenomenon of hope across time and for the individual, but also to understand the value of such methodologies and to encourage their refinement.

The first two chapters of this dissertation, *'Faith, Hope and Charity': Classical and Patristic Background* and *Spes, Spero, Despero: A Statistical and Linguistic Approach* will offer background studies, in order to provide some groundwork for the more focussed individual study of Augustine which follows. The first chapter begins by presenting an overview of some approaches to hope in Classical Antiquity, focusing on the dichotomy of reason and emotion, and noting some key trends and changes. It then examines changes to the conception of hope in light of early Christian thought and experience, outlining the presentation of hope in the New Testament, paying particular attention to the concept of hope as one of the three theological virtues, alongside faith and charity. Taking two key passages (1 Corinthians 13:13 and Romans 8:24) as a starting point, the chapter then examines the work of a range of patristic exegetes on those passages. This study of a series of writers' interpretations of those passages will highlight particular characteristics of hope which arise from the texts, and compare the attitudes of each writer regarding these characteristics, noting changes or continuities over time. The characteristics of hope examined include: aspects of time and eternity, reason and emotion, the relationship between hope and God, universality or exclusivity, the object or ends of hope, certainty and uncertainty, connection with the other theological virtues, and associations with fear and suffering. Having examined the writings of a relatively broad range of individuals, the identification of these characteristics will serve as reference points with which to enhance our detailed study of the writings of Augustine.

The second chapter, *Spes, Spero, Despero: A Statistical and Linguistic Approach,* takes a very different methodological approach. While Chapter 1 lays out a background of thought regarding hope, focusing on intellectual, conceptual and theological approaches in writers of the second to fifth century as they reacted to two key biblical passages, this chapter covers an even wider range of sources and broader time period. In order to process sources and capture data at the scale required here, with the aim of identifying change through time, I have developed a method of statistical analysis of word frequencies. This chapter employs the word search facilities of two databases of Classical, Late Antique and Early Medieval texts: *The Library of Latin Texts* and *The Lewis and Short Latin Dictionary Perseus Digital Library*.[40] It examines the frequency of Latin terms for hope across eleven centuries, from 300 BC to 800 AD It then divides this information into more accessible formats and categories. The chapter begins by analysing the data from *The Library of Latin*

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[40] *Library of Latin Texts – Series A*, accessed June 13, 2015, http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/llta/pages/Search.aspx. This is an online searchable database, comprising of 3,689 Latin texts covering a period from pre-200 A.D. to 1965. It has a number of search features, including the 'Distribution of Word-forms', which allows the user to 'examine the distribution of word-forms through the entire database using each of the filters, i.e. the different periods of Latin, the individual authors and their works, and, consequently, to find out the exact number of their occurrences on each of these levels.' A full list of texts and further information can be found at: "Library of Latin Texts – Series A, Database for the Western Latin Tradition: User's Guide," ed. Paul Tombeur, *Library of Latin Texts – Series A*, accessed July 19, 2015, http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/llta/manuals/manual_en.pdf.

Perseus Digital Library, accessed 13 June 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/search. Description taken from their website: 'The Perseus Hopper is an open-source project providing a suite of services for interacting with textual collections. While as a whole it provides an integrated reading environment, its individual services are designed to be modular and can be grouped into three different classes... The Hopper itself is language independent, but the code includes native support for Greek, Latin and Arabic. Given a source text in any one of those three languages (either a text bundled with the code release or a TEI-compliant XML text of the user's own), it provides services for automatic lemmatization (linking inflected word forms to the dictionary entries from which they're derived) and morphological analysis (identifying, for instance, that the Latin word amor is a singular masculine nominative noun). At a broader level, it also enables corpus research by automatically generating word and lemma frequency information for the entire collection of texts supplied to it.'

Texts in terms of first, second or third person uses of hope across time, singular and plural uses, and the occurrences of verb or noun forms. The chapter continues by employing *The Perseus Digital Library* to conduct similar word frequency searches for terms related to hope, including terms for expectation and patience, faith and charity, and despair. Throughout these investigations, I attempt to identify any trends that emerge, and to explore how we may extract *human* meaning from such a wealth of data.

Chapters 1 and 2 therefore provide some element of context and foundation for our detailed studies. This is particularly important where there has been relatively little work done on this topic. These chapters will hopefully provide a springboard, from which the reader may choose to dive into the depths of an individual case (as here with Augustine), or use as a vantage point from which to survey the landscape of thought more extensively themselves.

I have chosen Augustine of Hippo as an individual case study. His interaction with both classical and Christian culture, and the range of extant texts which are available to us make him a useful candidate on which to trial some techniques for the study of early medieval hope. I will begin my detailed study of hope in the works of Augustine by using the earlier broad studies as starting points. The methodologies in the first two chapters are adjusted in order to be employed on a more specific scale in Chapter 3, entitled *Augustine: Situating the Individual*. This chapter takes as its starting point the word searches which were employed in Chapter 2, applying them to a number of Augustine's works, which will then be examined from different angles in the following chapters. Here I explore the statistical frequencies of hope-related word forms and inflections across the corpus of Augustine's work, and compare these to the broader trends that I explored earlier. Having examined this data on hope at a grammatical level, I begin to examine Augustine's directed thought regarding hope. The chapter continues by examining Augustine's conceptions of the characteristics of hope as explored earlier in the works of other patristic writers, specifically exploring hope as a theological virtue. This section takes as its source Augustine's *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, in which Augustine sets out the roles of the three theological virtues.[41] Within this text, Augustine examines hope in reference to

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[41] Saint Augustine, *Enchiridion: On Faith, Hope and Love*, trans. Albert C. Outler, (Westminster John Knox Press, 1955).

the biblical passages explored in Chapter 1: Romans 8:24 and 1 Corinthians 13:13. Therefore, I may use this work to look in more detail at Augustine's directed thought regarding hope, and directly compare his conceptions of hope to the other patristic writers explored earlier. This chapter takes a similar format to the final section of Chapter 1, examining certain characteristics of hope in turn, and noting any significant trends or differences.

Having begun my detailed study of Augustine using approaches based on the broader studies in Chapters 1 and 2, I begin here to formulate methodologies tailored more directly to the study of the individual. Chapters 4, *Hope and Metaphor*, and 5, *Incidental and Interpersonal Usage*, continue to recall the wider context of Augustine, but stray further from those methodologies which were formulated for broader explorations. The methodologies employed are more suited to focussed enquiry, and lead us further into the study of Augustine's personal conceptions of hope.

Hope, as an experience as well as an intellectual construct, is an abstract human concept. It is therefore interesting to examine techniques by which individuals attempt to express hope, particularly in non-abstract terms. One such technique is that of metaphor. This is a particularly pertinent topic, given recent studies into embodied cognition and the embodied role of metaphor in experience and emotion.[42] Chapter 4 examines the expression of hope through metaphor in Augustine's *Ennarationes in Psalmos*.[43] It explores the ways in which Augustine employs metaphors from his target text, the Psalms, and expands upon them to make them his own. It examines how Augustine derives and

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[42] Simone Schnall, "Are There Basic Metaphors?" in *Metaphorical Thought in Social Life*, ed. M. J. Landau, M. D. Robinson, & B. P. Meier (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, In Press). Draft available online, accessed October 9, 2014, http://www.dspace.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/244216; Andrew Ortony, Gerald L. Clore & Allan Collins, *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Brian P. Meier, Simone Schnall, Norbert Schwarz & John A. Bargh, "Embodiment in Social Psychology," in Topics in Cognitive Science 4 (2012): 705–716.

[43] Saint Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, trans. J.E. Tweed, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Vol. 8*, ed. Philip Schaff, revised Kevin Knight, (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1888).

constructs metaphors from a range of semantic fields, including: dimension, orientation and location; light and sight; nature; safety and danger. This chapter notes how Augustine uses a range of different metaphors to express similar characteristics of hope, and in particular how he employs metaphor to characterise the interaction between spirit and substance, hope and reality, the tangible and the intangible.

The final chapter, *Incidental and Interpersonal Usage*, concludes my study of Augustine by highlighting any particular areas of study which may have been insufficiently attended to in the methodologies thus far. The previous chapters examine contemplative thought on hope, particularly in a theological sense, but by doing so they risk overlooking hope as an incidental or unreflective experience. My general methodology must respond to this omission. This chapter, therefore, examines Augustine's *Epistolae*, drawing attention specifically to those expressions of hope which are incidental and areligious (indifferent or neutral towards religious matters).[44] It also addresses hope as a communicative experience, and as an element of day to day life. The chapter considers occurrences of these forms of hope within the letters and draws out features which are characteristic of Augustine's expressions of incidental hope. These include: hope as evaluation and reason for action; degrees of possibility and certainty of hope; and conveying, requesting and anticipating hope. By highlighting these unreflective expressions of hope, I may ensure that my methodology for the study of hope is more comprehensive and well-rounded.

I should note that I have not been especially concerned with changes or turning points in the experience and expression of hope across Augustine's life. Whether there are any such shifts, and particularly whether they relate to Peter Brown's theory of a dramatic change in Augustine's conception of grace in around 396 AD, may be interesting material for a later study.[45] However, the results of my methodologies here do not seem to indicate any particular turning points or moments of change in Augustine's experience or conception of hope. Instead, we find evidence for an ongoing flexibility within both the

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[44] Saint Augustine, *Letters*, trans. J.G. Cunningham, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Vol. 1.*, ed. Philip Schaff, revised Kevin Knight, (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887), accessed March, 13 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102.htm.

[45] Peter Brown, *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography, New Edition with an Epilogue*, (London: University of California Press, 2000), 490.

concept and the experience of hope. Therefore, it has made more sense to focus on hope within the moment, as opposed to hope across time.

1. 'FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY': CLASSICAL AND PATRISTIC BACKGROUND

Any attempt to study a subject of this type first requires an understanding of the topic's conceptual background, at least in outline. Since there is, as yet, no such outline of the history of hope available to us, we must begin our study with an exploration into the background of thought on emotion and hope; both classical approaches and the later shift brought about by Christian thought. This chapter will outline the trends of classical conceptions of emotion and hope as presented by recent historical scholarship. It will then explore the impact of Christianity on conceptions of emotion, and particularly the role of 1 Corinthians 13 and the 'three theological virtues' on changing attitudes towards hope.

Finally, this chapter will examine a number of biblical exegetes and their works on Romans 8:24 and 1 Corinthians 13:13 from a relatively broad time-range. These passages from the Pauline epistles pertain strongly to early Christian characterisations of hope; the first presents hope as a force for salvation ('For we are saved by hope. But hope that is seen, is not hope. For what a man seeth, why doth he hope for?'), while the second introduces the three theological virtues ('And now there remain faith, hope, and charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity.').[46] By examining a range of expositions on these passages, we may attempt to further understand the role Christianity played on the conceptions and experiences of hope, and appreciate some patristic conceptions and characterisations of hope.

1. CLASSICAL AND CHRISTIAN BACKGROUND

I will first sketch out the background of classical and ancient thought on hope. There is, unfortunately, limited secondary material in this area. David Konstan's wide-ranging study demonstrates some ways in which other ancient emotions varied significantly from our own, although unfortunately he affords no exploration of hope as an emotion.[47] Barabara Rosenwein's study on emotion terms from classical to late antique provides slightly more

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[46] Romans 8:24. 1 Corinthians 13:13.

[47] Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks*.

insight into classical concepts of hope.[48] We can see from her study that hope, even in ancient Western thought, occupied an ambiguous space, neither certainly emotion nor certainly not.

For example, Rosenwein does not find a direct translation of 'hope' within the 'Stoic Emotional Grid', yet states that the Stoics dedicated a category entirely to the anticipation of future good (what some might define as hope), expressed in terms of desire, lust and greed (*epithumia, libido, appetitus, cupiditas*).[49] This makes for an interesting comparison to Aristotle's thought on hope, which Gravlee has explored directly. He finds Aristotle's conception of hope to be based primarily in terms of courage, confidence, fear and deliberation; aspects of experience which we might perhaps consider fundamentally different from lust or greed.[50] Aristotle tended to use the usual Greek term for hope, *elpis*, to mean neutral expectation or anticipation, and when he wished to imply a positive aspect, used the adjective form *euelpis*; 'hopeful'.[51] This reflects his apparent view of 'hopefulness' as a state of being rather than an emotion; one which can cause confidence or even fear (he states that fear without hope is merely resignation), and which is the source of deliberation.[52] Cicero, on the other hand, directly included the noun hope (*spes*) in his list of Stoic emotions (alongside *libido, cupiditas* and various terms for fear or dread, but none for courage or confidence), in keeping with his general preferment of nouns to verbs when referring to emotions.[53] Interestingly, Francesca Tataranni finds that 'by the time of Seneca, the word *spes* could be used as a synonym for *cupido* [desire] and therefore condemned as a reprehensible emotion.'[54]

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[48] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities,* 32-56.

[49] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 39.

[50] Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," 461-477.

[51] Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," 462.

[52] Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," 468-471.

[53] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 40.

[54] Francesca Tataranni, "Hope and Leadership in Ancient Rome," *Teoria: Rivista di filosofia fondata da Vittorio Sainati* 33, no. 2 (2013): 66.

Much of the ambiguity in ancient thought on emotion, and hope as part of an emotional realm, was centred on the role (or not) of cognition. David Konstan suggests that the Greeks viewed emotions, not as 'internal states of exitation', but as 'elicited by our interpretations.'[55] This attitude was not unanimous or unambiguous however. Emotion discussions related strongly to the perceived dichotomy of mind and body; whether emotions consisted of 'reasonless sensation' based below the neck as Plato believed, 'cognitive responses' as Aristotle felt, part of a process of pre-emotion and response as the Stoics felt, or assented to by the 'will' (*voluntas*) as Seneca felt.[56] As an aside, it is interesting to note the parallel here with the modern scholarly debates discussed in our *Introduction* surrounding social constructivist and universalist approaches to emotion.

One area which is worth mentioning, and which could inspire some fascinating and productive further study, is the personification of hope in the form of a goddess; *Elpis* (ἐλπίς) in the Greek, or *Spes* in the Latin. Mark Edward Clark and Francesca Tataranni have both produced interesting studies on the goddess *Spes* as a component in Roman structures, particularly as an element of the imperial cult.[57] We know that a temple was erected for the goddess in the Forum Holitorium in 285 BC[58] She was often known as Good Hope, *Bona Spes*, but the author of the poem *De Spe* refers to her as the 'sum of all evils'.[59] She was occasionally invoked in connection with farming or with youth, both of which arguably involve the anticipation of an uncertain future.[60] This personification or deification of hope is important, and suggests that hope (alongside other elements of

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[55] Konstan, *The Emotions of the Ancient Greeks*, xii.

[56] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 34, 35, 38-39.

[57] Mark Edward Clark, "Spes in the Early Imperial Cult: 'The Hope of Augustus'," *Numen* 30, no. 1 (July 1983): 80-105. Tataranni, "Hope and Leadership in Ancient Rome," 65-78.

[58] H. L. Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas in Roman Literature and Inscriptions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1907), 18.

[59] Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas*, 18. Pseudo-Seneca, *De Spe*, trans. Michael S. Armstrong, (Georg Olms Verlag AG: 1998): 1.

[60] Axtell, *The Deification of Abstract Ideas*, 19-20.

emotion, thought and experience) was given a theological dimension, and indeed granted agency in itself; hope could be bestowed or withheld by an external divine source.[61]

With Christianity came a new dimension for examining emotions and their origins, particularly hope. The personification of hope as the goddess *Spes* demonstrates a precedent for a theological dimension to hope. However, both the Roman and Greek religions allowed that hope itself remained optional, uncertain, and potentially negative. In Christian doctrine, hope became instead an essential keystone of religious existence. Hope, as one of the three theological virtues set out in 1 Corinthians 13:13, became a ground for thought on God's interaction with people, and the intersection between the mind, the impulsive human body, and God.[62] Newly formulated as a force for salvation (as expressed in Romans 8:24), hope took on an explicitly eschatological dimension.[63] Hope in Christianity became a fundamental element in the ultimate fate of humanity.

These new attributes of hope are found, in the first instance, in the scriptures. Thought on hope was now communicated through a new medium; it was enshrined in increasingly venerated 'text', explicitly linked to the experience of Christianity, and in a form that was able to be quoted and encouraged to be spread. This change in the form as well as the content of communication on hope inevitably shaped individuals' thought on it. Whereas previously hope was one of the more 'uncertain' emotions – thinkers were unsure of whether to include it as an emotion, and whether it was a primary impulse or an act of cognition – it was now firmly positioned in the realm of religious experience and relationship with God. Hope's inclusion as a theological virtue (a virtue granted by God through grace, and potentially only granted to believers), with a new supernatural, restricted (yet certain for some) object (the afterlife), radically shifted thought around it

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[61] Harold Mattingly, "The Roman 'Virtues'," *The Harvard Theological Review* 30, no. 2 (Apr. 1937): 109.

[62] 1 Corinthians 13:13

[63] Romans 8:24.

into a different spectrum.[64] Following this shift, *directed* thought by Christian writers regarding hope rarely considered it as an emotion; certainly not as something solely based in 'human' experience. Instead, it was discussed as at least partially a religious experience, innately linked with a relationship and future with God. So while Rosenwein finds that Jerome includes *spes* in his vocabulary, it cannot be certain that he actively considered it an 'emotion term'; but rather, perhaps, a theological term, part of human interaction with God.[65] It must be noted that this does not preclude a legacy of language and experience of hope as 'secular' human emotion, but merely applies to deliberate and directed thought and discussion on hope.

The privileged position granted to hope in 1 Corinthians 13 played another role in changing conceptualisations. Through its inclusion as a 'theological virtue' as they came to be known, hope was freed from the other impact that Christianity had on thought about emotions. Concerns that the Desert Fathers and others began to hold about emotions - that they were sinful impulses of 'man's corrupt and fallible nature' - were not applied to hope.[66] Hope was not destined to be rejected as a vice; indeed despair was instead to be condemned as sin.[67] Considering earlier inclinations to equate hope to greed and condemn it as 'a reprehensible emotion', this is remarkable.[68] Christian doctrine therefore reinforced hope's removal from the lens of 'emotion'. Hope was reaffirmed as an 'other', not wholly emotion and not wholly thought, connected to faith and charity but in a category of its own.

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[64] Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Part I-II (Pars Prima Secundae)*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, (Project Gutenberg, March 2006), Q. 62, Art. 1, accessed September 27, 2014, http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/17897/pg17897.html.

[65] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 42-46, 52-53.

[66] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 46, 49.

[67] Saint Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica, Part II-II (Pars Secunda Secundae)*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, (Project Gutenberg, July 2006), Q. 20, Art. 1-3, accessed April 27, 2015, http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/18755/pg18755.html.

[68] Tataranni, "Hope and Leadership in Ancient Rome," 66.

As an aside, the current paucity of references to hope in discussions of emotion could well reflect this inherited sense of hope being something broader and more ambiguous than a personal emotion-instant. In secular discussion we are uncomfortable attributing hope to a perceived divine influence, yet hope has for hundreds of years been considered 'in the hands of God', and we perhaps retain a lingering feeling that it falls into a different category.

Yet even considering this changed landscape, the legacy of classical and pre-Christian attitudes towards hope could not have been wholly erased.[69] We must not allow ourselves to underestimate the resilience of the 'overlearned habits' of thought and experience when it comes to emotion.[70] While the texts of Aristotle and other writers had been lost, and were not to be rediscovered until much later, the legacy of the culture and the society remained and shaped what was to come. It should therefore be no surprise that Augustine should have actively engaged with the Stoic thoughts on emotion, and issue of 'the cognitive cause of 'preliminary passions' (*propatheiai*)'.[71] Individuals were influenced by both Christian and pagan approaches; hope could hold an inherently theological meaning, but also retain some of the personal, 'human' meanings, relating to both mind/cognition and body/impulse. Exploring late antique or early medieval writers' conceptions of hope is therefore made all the more interesting and challenging given its changeable and ambiguous past, and the multiplicity of influences which shaped such thought.

2.   HOPE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

At this point, it will be useful to outline the forms and presentations of hope in the New Testament, both grammatical and conceptual. This will then allow us to take an

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[69] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 42.

[70] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 21.s

[71] Sarah C. Byers, "Augustine and the Cognitive Cause of Stoic 'Preliminary Passions' (*Propatheiai*)," Journal of the History of Philosophy 41, no. 4 (Oct 2003): 433-448.

informed eye to some later responses to and exegeses on the New Testament teachings. Here I will rely on the thorough work of the *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible*.[72] What must be emphasised once again is the primarily religious meaning given to hope; 'fewer than one fourth of occurrences' refer to 'human situation quite apart from any religious context'.[73] Paul declares that there is *one* hope – that which is in the 'God of hope' – and that hope is a fundamental part of the relationship between God and man.[74] Hope takes on an eschatological form, and is 'intricately involved in the total pattern of divine action and human response', and granted and sustained by God.[75] Hope is not presented as uncertain anticipation of something in the future which may or may not come to pass, but a present state of being, 'a reality within which men may dwell'.[76] It is presented as less of an internal subjective feeling or emotion, but something more external, which relates to the whole environment and 'the objective alignment of forces determining the human situation.'[77]

When 'hope' in the New Testament *is* used incidentally or in common speech without religious context, it 'denotes expectation of future usually according with a person's desire'.[78] Also interesting to note is that the accent is 'so much on *expectation* rather than *desire* that one can lose hope but retain desire'.[79] This provides an interesting contrast with Aristotle, who claimed that it was not possible to fear without hope, as hope represented a desire for a safe future; for him, all that remained without hope was

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[72] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5: Supplementary Volume*, ed. George Arthur Buttrick (New York: Abingdon Press, 1962), 638-643.

[73] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641.

[74] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641-642. Ephesians 4:4; Romans 15:13.

[75] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 640.

[76] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641.

[77] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641.

[78] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641.

[79] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641. Acts 16:19. Acts 27:20.

resignation.[80] Again, the New Testament concept of hope is a state of certainty; Christian hope could not fail or be thwarted or in vain, and could not be fulfilled except in the afterlife.

As regards the grammar of New Testament occurrences of hope, the term is only ever found as a noun or verb, never in adverbial or adjectival form.[81] This once again makes an interesting comparison with Aristotle, who Gravlee finds primarily used the adjectival form 'hopeful'.[82] In New Testament usage, hope rarely (although occasionally) has adjective modifiers (e.g. 'good hopes'); the connotation of positive ends was generally implied in the term, again contrasting with Aristotle's usage.[83] Other terms which surround the expression of hope include expectation, faith, confidence, patience, endurance and eagerness.[84]

3.   PATRISTIC EXEGESIS

Having sketched out the biblical conception of hope, in order to further understand the influences of Christian thought on Late Antique and Early Medieval conceptions of hope it is useful to follow a few key passages (namely 1 Corinthians 13:13 and Romans 8:42) through a selection of homilies and biblical exegeses. The interpretations I will analyse range from the early second century to the early fifth century, and emerge from various schools of thought. These texts, while the work of a select theological few, will have reflected as well as influenced the culture that surrounded them and their 'emotional community'.[85] In later chapters we will look into indirect or incidental usage of hope-

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[80] Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope", 485-471.

[81] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641.

[82] Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," 462.

[83] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 641. Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," 461. 1 Thessalonians 2:16.

[84] *The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Volume 5*, 638-643.

[85] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 21-25.

terms, as well as the metaphors and semantic fields which were attached to hope, and how they reflected (as well as shaped) individuals' experiences and conceptions of hope. For now, exploring directed thought on hope is an important point of enquiry, as it can help us understand how individuals consciously and deliberately understood the concept.

The thought of these exegetes provides a solid starting point. Some present more extended discussions on hope, while others allot the concept only a few lines. However, each has value in contributing to our understanding of late antique and early medieval responses to New Testament hope. Examining thought on 1 Corinthians 13:13 in particular provides an interesting insight into the ways in which writers delineated and made comparisons between experiences; it allows us to explore their comparison and contrast of hope with the other 'virtues' of faith and love. Through this study we can attempt to identify some trends and tendencies, and postulate areas in which these kinds of directed religious thought reflected and shaped the terms for discussing and communicating hope, and altered cultural conceptions.

The texts examined are: *On Heresies* by Iranaeus, Bishop of Lugdunum in Gaul, from the mid-second century; the *Stromata* and the treatise *Salvation of the Rich Man* by Clement of Alexandria, mid-to-late second century; the treatise *On the Advantage of Patience* by Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, early third century; *Homilies on First Corinthians* by John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople, late fourth century; *Commentaries on Romans and 1-2 Corinthians* by 'Ambrosiaster', of the late fourth century; the *Commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans* by the British-born Pelagius, late fourth to early fifth century.[86] While not every source is part of an explicit biblical commentary, all are relevant; they were chosen for their reference to and exploration of the passages 1 Corinthians 13:13 and Romans 8:24, their spread across a broad time period, and (due to limitation on my part) their availability in English translation. It will be noted that I do not address the works of Gregory the Great, from the late sixth century. As an individual who was keenly interested in eschatology and lived in anticipation of end times,

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[86] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 399-400. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata*, 416-419. Clement of Alexandria, *Salvation of the Rich Man*, 591-604. Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience*, 484-491. John Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*. Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries on Romans and 1-2 Corinthians*. Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*.

Gregory the Great would pose a fascinating case study for investigation into the experience of hope within the context of the Parousia.[87] However, the eschatological side of the study of hope is so broad and rich in itself that it is unfortunately beyond the scope of this dissertation. As I intend to focus on the case study of Augustine, Gregory's thought and experience of hope is less relevant, although future study into Gregory the Great's experience would be aided by the groundwork laid here.

The structure of the following analysis is based around a number of central aspects or features attributed to hope, specifically chosen for their occurrence within the texts. It explores the texts thematically according to these aspects, and chronologically within these sections, noting continuity and change between different individuals. It is important to note the context of the quotes which follow; each arises from a direct exegesis of one of the two biblical passages (Romans 8:24 and 1 Corinthians 13:13), and therefore each consists of the writers' response or reaction to those passages in particular.

This section is designed as a reference work or foundation for further study. The aim here is to lay out some groundwork, identify specific features of hope within the texts, explore how those features related to other aspects of Christian belief, and present those findings clearly and within a structure which will aid in our examination of hope. Later when we examine the work of a specific writer (Augustine) in detail, there will be more scope to explore individual and personal experiences.

<u>Time and Eternity</u>

It may seem simple to state that hope is something experienced in the present but which is about the future. However, this is an assumption that needs to be examined. Here I explore how the exegetes related hope to time, whether the focus was the present or the future, and whether the writers conceived of hope as something that could be satisfied and would therefore cease, or something eternal.

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[87] R. A. Markus, *Gregory the Great and His World*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 51-54.

Irenaeus states that 'we hope ever'; hope is presented as eternal, and unceasing.[88] Irenaeus ties hope to phrases like 'boundless riches', a 'kingdom without end', and 'instruction that can never be exhausted'.[89] He states that we hope 'to be receiving more and more', which suggests the continuation of hope beyond the satisfaction of specific objects.[90] He also emphasises a state of endurance, which ties together present and future reality; there is not, to him, a distinct break between the present state of hoping and the future state of hopes satisfied. Interestingly, none of the later writers studied here present hope as specifically eternal.

Clement, in contrast to Irenaeus, states clearly that 'hope vanishes when the things hoped for come'.[91] For Clement, hope implies the longing for something which is not present. However, he also speaks of 'speeding on to hope', which denotes hope as a future event which a person may travel towards, and contrasts with the sufferings of 'this present time'.[92] Here Clement is perhaps employing two different meanings of the term hope; the present action undertaken by the individual, and the future object, towards which the individual hopes.

Cyprian does not specify directly whether hope continues or ends, but does seem to suggest that hope is part of a process begun in the present, which is ultimately fulfilled; 'that we may fulfil that which we have begun to be'.[93] He also speaks of 'the increase of our hope', again presenting hope as something which can change over time.[94] He emphasises that 'we are not following after present glory, but future' and speaks of

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[88] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 399-400.

[89] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 400.

[90] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 400.

[91] Clement of Alexandria, *Salvation of the Rich Man*, 602.

[92] Clement of Alexandria, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 417.

[93] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 487.

[94] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 491.

'rewards', which ties future things with present actions.[95] However, hope itself, alongside other virtues, is presented as something which must be a present, lived, reality. He talks about 'the consciousness… of virtues', and exhorts his listeners not to 'speak great things, but live them'.[96]

John Chrysostom, as with Clement, states that 'for faith indeed and hope, when the good things believed and hoped for have come, cease'.[97] This is repeated a number of times, lending even greater emphasis; 'those pass away', 'these cease when those appear'.[98] It is interesting to note that Chrysostom uses Romans 8:24 within his homily on 1 Corinthian 13:13 to support this point. As regards hope in the present, he uses medical metaphors to suggest that hope is a 'medicine' which can heal the 'wounds' of despairing; it plays a role in altering the present state of the individual.[99]

Ambrosiaster, as with Cyprian, he does not explicitly state whether hope continues or ends, but treats it as part of a process, specifically of preparation; 'those who hope are made ready for their rewards'.[100] He states that the key feature of hope as opposed to faith and love is that it 'pertains to the future life'.[101] But he also treats it as a present state of being; individuals are 'set free in the hope', and it is something undertaken 'daily'.[102]

Pelagius also does not specify whether hope is either eternal or finite. However, he states that 'hope does not know how to exist without patience', which implies a current

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[95] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484, 487.

[96] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[97] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians.*

[98] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians.*

[99] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians.*

[100] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[101] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 184.

[102] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

state of being which (as with patience) looks to 'things future'.[103] The implication may be that when there is no need for patience, hope will not exist. However, this may be extrapolating too far from the text.

Relationship with God

Given that I am examining biblical exegesis, and exploring the role of Christianity on conceptions of hope, this section is vital. Here I explore how hope interacted with God for the writers and what role God played; whether hope was born directly from God, whether God was a helper in the process, or whether hope itself was a process that helped them relate to God. All writers situate hope in the context of relationship with God. However, some of the earlier authors emphasise hope as a gift from God, while later writers seem to frame hope as more of an aid or helper in relationship with God.

Irenaeus does not state that hope comes *from* God. He does state that 'He alone is our Father; while we hope', specifying the uniqueness of God's role within the act of hoping, and prioritising the personal relationship of Father as part of the state of hope.[104]

Clement states that hope, like other 'intellectual objects', is 'a conception of God'; that is, a way of conceiving of God, as opposed to something conceived by God [105]. He states that God is the 'God of Hope'.[106] He also notes that part of the aim or end of hope is to be 'a kingly friend of God', suggesting that hope itself was a process which aided in an individual's relationship with God.[107]

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[103] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[104] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 399-400.

[105] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

[106] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418.

[107] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418.

Cyprian does not directly comment on the origin of hope, but states that the 'origin and greatness' of patience (which he ties to hope throughout) 'proceed from God'.[108] He also distinguishes the patience which is not of God and is 'false', from that which is of God; 'whence can he be either wise or patient, who has neither known the wisdom nor the patience of God?'[109]

John Chrysostom does not specify as regards hope, but places an emphasis on 'spiritual gifts' within his text, implying that hope, as with the other virtues, was a 'gift'. When speaking of love, Chrysostom states that God 'implant[ed] her in us'.[110] It could be inferred that Chrysostom believed that hope, as an associated theological virtue, also originated from God.

Ambrosiaster does not seem to suggest that hope comes from God, but instead indicates that it is something undertaken by people, a 'daily' undertaking, which is 'approved of by God'.[111] He indicates that hope is, however, focussed on what 'God has promised'.[112]

Pelagius, likewise, does not suggest that hope is gifted by God, but that it is something which ensures aid from God; 'He helps us in accordance with this hope'.[113] Hope is a human capacity, not a divine gift. This is in keeping with his broader teachings, considered so heretical by Augustine, regarding the ultimate capacity of the human will, in opposition to more orthodox concepts of divine grace.[114] For Pelagius, as with

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[108] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[109] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[110] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*.

[111] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[112] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[113] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[114] W. J. Sparrow-Simpson, *The Letters of Saint Augustine*, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1919), 126-136.

Ambrosiaster, the focus of hope is on things 'promised' by God.[115]

Universality or Exclusivity

Closely related to the above issue of whether hope comes from God, is the issue of whether hope was considered a universal or exclusive phenomenon; whether only believers could have hope, or all people have hope, and whether there are distinctions between the hopes of believers and non-believers. Given that the texts are primarily addressed to a Christian audience, often the message regarding who has or can hope is not explicit. My interpretation must therefore be relatively imprecise.

Irenaeus implicitly only refers to people of faith, stating that 'we hope'.[116] However, he does not explicitly comment on the exclusion (or not) of non-believers from the experience of hope.

Clement seems to emphasise hope's exclusivity. He states that virtue is not 'visible to the eyes of all mortals', that knowledge (which leads on to hope) 'is not in all', and that 'all men have not faith' (which again is a step towards hope).[117] However, it is notable that he deliberately and consciously uses works from 'barbarian philosophers' such as Socrates, Parmenides, Epicharmus and Empedocles, and speaks as though they did have virtue and understanding.[118] It seems that for Clement, the line between those who have hope and those who do not is not simply a matter of Christian/non-Christian, but relates more to the state of the person themselves.

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[115] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[116] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 399-400.

[117] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418. Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

[118] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter II*, 447. Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 417. Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

Cyprian appears to lean more towards exclusivity; he states that 'that very fact that we are Christians is the substance of faith and hope', and that only Christians are 'admitted to the hope of truth and liberty'.[119] We might, however, note that he describes a specific hope as the Christian hope; that of 'truth and liberty'. Perhaps, then, there are other hopes (those which do not pertain to truth or liberty), which non-believers can partake of.

John Chrysostom does not mention or distinguish either universality or exclusivity. His text refers solely to a spiritual context, but does not specify for other contexts.

Ambrosiaster also does not specify either way, although he states that Christians are 'set free in the hope', which might relate more to Cyprian's approach above of a *specific* Christian hope.[120]

Pelagius is relatively ambiguous here. However, he does state that 'Christians, therefore have no hope in the things that can be seen', perhaps implying that *non-Christians did* place their hope in such things.[121]

The Object or Ends of Hope

An obvious point, but easily overlooked, it is important to consider what these writers felt they were hoping 'for' – if indeed there was a specific 'end', or whether they felt hope was more generic, simply a desire for a positive future. This section considers whether they specified the 'ends' or object of their hope, and if so, what they consisted of; whether in the present, future (and whether future on earth or post-apocalypse), tangible, intangible, divine, earthly, or any other form. The writers are often ambiguous when describing the ends of hope, merely speaking of 'things'. Most direct their hopes into the future, primarily the next life, and consider the ends to be intangible, unseen rewards.

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[119] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 487.

[120] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[121] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

Irenaeus specifies that the ends of hope are 'to be receiving more and more' and also 'to learn'; a specifically personal intellectual (as opposed to physical) aim.[122] The ends that can be received from God are (spiritual) 'riches', part of his 'kingdom', and 'instruction'.[123] This focus on learning and instruction is interesting, as it represents processes rather than finite ends. This relates to Irenaeus' attitude regarding the continual nature of hope, outlined above. He also emphasises why those ends are worth hoping for; they are 'good' and 'boundless'.[124]

Clement deliberately disconnects hope from any ends 'placed in life', and states that individuals should not expect 'recompense from without'.[125] Interestingly, Clement also presents hope as its own end; 'itself as the reward of its toils'.[126]

Cyprian states that hope is 'directed to the attainment of' future rewards, specifically 'divine rewards'.[127] These rewards are a matter of glory; not 'present glory, but future'.[128] Implied here, but not explicitly stated, is the glory of the *next* life.

John Chrysostom is relatively vague regarding the ends of hope; he merely speaks of 'the things hoped for'.[129]

Ambrosiaster, in a similar way to Clement, presents hope as its own end; 'those who hope are made ready for their rewards'.[130] He implies that the rewards are not merely

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[122] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 400.

[123] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 400.

[124] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 400.

[125] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418-419.

[126] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 419.

[127] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[128] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 487.

[129] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*.

[130] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

things hoped for, but rewards for the hoping; without hope Christians would not get the rewards, with hope the rewards are inevitable. He uses the term hope almost synonymously with what is hoped for; he states that 'hope is… what is unseen', but also 'what is hoped for is not yet seen'.[131] This also reflects Clement's two meanings of hope, stated above.

Pelagius also speaks of 'rewards' *for* faith and hope. He specifies that the ends of hope are 'things future'.[132] He distinguishes between 'earthly' things and 'heavenly' things, and suggests that one *could* request earthly things, but *should not*.[133] Instead, one should request heavenly things as they are 'in accordance with this hope'.[134] This perhaps implies that for a future desire to truly amount to 'hope', its ends must be heavenly, otherwise it is merely a 'request'.

Certainty or Uncertainty

Following on from my examination of the ends of hope, it is pertinent to explore whether these writers considered those ends to be certain or uncertain; whether hope could be in vain. As Gravlee notes, Aristotle claims that the future must be *uncertain* for a person to be hopeful.[135] However, it would appear that the introduction of a divine authority into the matter allowed for a distinct shift towards certainty. None of the texts explicitly define hope as something always uncertain; some suggest that hope can be false for those who hope wrongly, but the consensus appears to be that Christian hope is certain.

Irenaeus does not mention either certainty or uncertainty regarding hope.

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[131] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[132] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[133] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[134] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[135] Gravlee, "Aristotle on Hope," 467-469.

Clement deliberately connects hope with knowledge, expressing them as part of the same process; 'an ignorant man has sought, and having sought, he finds the teacher; and finding has believed, and believing has hoped'.[136] Therefore for Clement, hope entails the same certainty as truth and knowledge. He says that God 'must be believed', that we 'acknowledge our hope… filled with all knowledge'.[137] He also quotes Parmenides stating 'look with the mind certainly'.[138]

Cyprian, when referring to patience, explicitly states that it can be 'false'.[139] Later he also suggests that hope does not *necessarily* 'attain to [its] result', but requires true patience in order to do so.[140] This suggests that he feels hope does not necessarily entail certainty, but can be in vain, if not undertaken correctly.

John Chrysostom suggests a degree of certainty in hope, when it is connected with faith. He chooses to quote from elsewhere in the scriptures (Hebrews 11:1), confirming that 'faith is the assurance of things hoped for' and 'the proving of things not seen'.[141]

Ambrosiaster presents hope as strongly certain; it is synonymous with expectation.[142] He regularly refers to God's 'promise', and states that hope 'does not doubt'.[143]

Pelagius, too, presents hope as firmly certain; it allows the individual to be 'as sure of what has not yet been received as if one has already received it'.[144]

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[136] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

[137] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418-419.

[138] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter II*, 447.

[139] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[140] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 487.

[141] Hebrews 11:1. Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*.

[142] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[143] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

Connection with Faith and Love

Hope's inclusion in 1 Corinthians 13:13 as one of the three theological virtues allows us to examine how patristic writers characterised its relationship with the other 'virtues' of faith and charity. In particular I will consider whether they emphasised similarities or differences between the three. I found both approaches within the texts, but the most common approach is to describe the connection of hope and faith, but emphasise their distinction from love.

Irenaeus emphasises the mutual features of the three virtues; specifically that all are eternal. He also presents the virtues as interlinked; he characterises hope as equally as unquestioning as faith, and also a part of love.[145]

Clement, unlike Irenaeus, presents faith and hope as similar concepts (both entail 'seeing intellectual objects'), but presents love as categorically different.[146] All three virtues are presented as stages in a process; 'believing has hoped: and henceforward having loved, is assimilated to what was loved.'[147] Hope follows belief, 'but love, as is fitting, perfects'.[148]

Cyprian, perhaps unsurprisingly given his subject matter, *The Advantages of Patience*, relates all three virtues to the concept of patience. Within this context, he emphasises their interconnections. He presents patience as a fundamental part of charity; 'joined to it', that which gives it 'roots'.[149] He also states that in order for faith and hope to

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[144] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[145] Irenaeus, *Against Heresies, Book II: Chapter XXVIII*, 399.

[146] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

[147] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

[148] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418.

[149] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 488.

'attain to their result, there is need of patience', implying that there is also need of charity.[150]

John Chrysostom primarily focuses on love throughout his text, and in fact barely mentions the virtues of hope and faith. Where he connects them together, he presents love as categorically different; something which itself 'hopes'.[151] He presents faith and hope as relatively equal – faith is 'the assurance of things hoped for' – whereas hope is *part of* (and seemingly subordinate to) love.[152]

Ambrosiaster emphasises the specific differences between the three virtues. He presents faith as something interpersonal and outward-looking, which 'is preached'.[153] Hope solely regards 'the future life', and is something of an internal, personal virtue.[154] Love 'reigns'; it is part of the present, but also ongoing, regards all people, and is above the other virtues.[155] He also presents love as a catalyst; it is the cause of humanity's renewal, while hope is the effect.[156]

Pelagius explicitly combines hope and faith; both are 'what one does not see', and hope is defined as 'faith with patience'.[157]

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[150] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 487.

[151] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*.

[152] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*.

[153] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[154] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69, 184.

[155] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 184.

[156] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 184.

[157] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

Reason and Emotion

Given the ambiguities of classical thought on hope, and whether they chose to classify it as emotion or part of reasoned thought, this is a particularly pertinent aspect of hope to consider. I have postulated earlier that Christianity did away with this ambiguity by presenting hope in terms of spiritual experience and relationship with God, and discouraged characterisation of hope as an 'emotion'. It is worthwhile, therefore, to examine whether these texts and biblical exegeses support such a hypothesis; whether the writers discussed hope in terms of reason and emotion at all, and if so, which bore prominence. I found that, while there are variations in expression, none of the writers present hope as an emotion; some present it in terms of reason, but it is primarily considered in terms of action.

Irenaeus does not mention reason, the mind, thought, feeling, or emotion in connection with hope.

Clement, in contrast to Irenaeus, strongly and explicitly relates hope to reason and thought. He presents it in terms of 'intellectual objects', and the process of looking 'with the mind'.[158] He speaks in terms of reason – 'hope, by reason of which we desire the best things' – and describes the trio of faith, hope and charity as the 'rational gnosis'.[159]

Cyprian speaks about the 'consciousness… of virtues', suggesting that he may have considered hope to lie in the realm of thought and conscious decisions.[160] He also speaks of 'deeds' not 'words', and implies that hope and patience together have more to do with actions chosen or undertaken.[161] However, he makes very little other reference to either thought or emotion.

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[158] Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter II*, 447. Clement, *Stromata, Book 5: Chapter III*, 448.

[159] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418-419.

[160] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[161] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484-485.

John Chrysostom makes no reference, direct or indirect, to reason, the mind, thought, feeling, or emotion in connection with hope.

Ambrosiaster does not speak of hope as specifically part of thought or feeling, but, in a similar sense to Cyprian, presents it as an action undertaken; 'we have made ourselves worthy by hoping'.[162]

Pelagius, like Ambrosiaster, presents hope as neither reasoned thought nor felt emotion, but action; a matter of 'ability'.[163]

Fear and Suffering

If hope is generally considered (as the writers suggest) to pertain to positive future things, it is worthwhile considering whether they felt it related to more negative experiences of suffering, as well as the anticipation of negative future things, termed fear. Interestingly, half of the authors (Clement, Cyprian and Chrysostom) directly link and contrast hope with 'negative' feelings of suffering and despair, while half of the authors do not mention these, but focus solely on the 'positive'. The stances of Clement and Cyprian may perhaps be connected to the persecution of Christians in the Roman Empire during that time, the 'Age of Martyrs'. By the time of Chrysostom, following the reign of Constantine I, such institutionalised persecution had come to an end, which may explain why Chrysostom speaks less of suffering, and Ambrosiaster and Pelagius not at all.

Irenaeus no mention of fear, suffering, or despair.

Clement very strongly connects hope with current suffering, specifically persecution. He speaks about suffering 'for righteousness sake', and the 'sufferings of this present time'.[164] He presents the object of hope as the time when suffering ends, but also as

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[162] Ambrosiaster, *Commentaries*, 69.

[163] Pelagius, *Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle*.

[164] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 417.

the *result* of suffering; it is the 'reward' for such 'toils'. [165] When he speaks of fear, he also presents it as an earlier stage of a process leading towards hope; the 'first step to salvation is the instruction accompanied by fear'. [166]

Cyprian links hope with suffering, stating that 'we labour here with afflictions and contests'. [167] However, unlike Clement who presents hope as a future reward, Cyprian presents it as a present 'helper and ally', allowing individuals to 'bear all mischievous things'. [168] Like Clement, he speaks of 'obedience with fear' as part of the process of salvation. [169] Interestingly, he describes patience as somewhere in between fear and hope; it is 'equality', the anticipation of the future, either good or bad. [170]

John Chrysostom does not speak of suffering or fear, so much as despair. He is the only one to explicitly mention despair, and states that it is a 'wound' or 'disorder', and hope is the 'medicine'. [171]

Ambrosiaster makes no mention of fear, suffering or despair.

Pelagius also makes no mention of fear, suffering or despair.

4.   CONCLUSION

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[165] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 419.

[166] Clement, *Stromata, Book 4: Chapter VII*, 418.

[167] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 488.

[168] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 487.

[169] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 484.

[170] Cyprian, *On the Advantages of Patience,* 485.

[171] Chrysostom, *Homily 34 on First Corinthians*.

There are, of course, problems with a methodology which involves the historian selecting specific areas to focus on, and the temptation may be to choose focal points based on our own conception of hope. However, these issues are somewhat inevitable due to the nature of this type of enquiry. As long as we maintain an awareness of our own preconceived notions of hope, we may then attempt to lay them aside. This is an important process to undertake before reading the sources initially. One may then select those aspects or elements of hope which emerge from and were addressed in the sources. By employing a methodology which isolates particular characteristics or aspects of hope, we may compare like for like between the authors. This enables us to note areas of silence or absence which we otherwise would not have recognised; for example, the fact that Irenaeus, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius do not discuss fear or despair in relationship with hope, while other authors do.

It will be clear to the reader that no aspect or feature of hope examined here is viewed in the same way by every writer, but each shows variation across texts and across centuries. In some cases, such as the object or end of hope, most of the writers are in broad agreement; that it entails some kind of future reward. However, even in these cases, there are distinctions and nuances between the texts. In terms of change over time, we may tentatively suggest one or two trends. For example, Clement and Cyprian from the second and third centuries speak as though hope were a matter of reason, while the later writers Ambrosiaster and Pelagius present it more as a matter of action. Yet we must be wary of assuming there to be paths of progress or clear directions of thought to chart across centuries; in fact, there seems to be a distinct lack of clear trends. More often than not, thought around each aspect of hope appears to vary to and fro across centuries and between writers. For example, regarding the issue of whether hope continues into eternity or ceases, Irenaeus states that it is eternal, Clement that it ceases, Cyprian is ambiguous, Chrysostom agrees with Clement that it ceases, Ambrosiaster presents it as an ongoing process, and Pelagius is ambiguous.

Hope was (and is) evidently not set in stone, but an aspect of experience rich in ambiguities and with a wide scope for re-examination and alteration. The variety of thought on hope in these works reaffirms the variety of human experience and human culture. Each text, as something read, shared and communicated, also participated in the construction of cultural interpretations, expressions and experiences of hope. I will use this

qualitative theological and theoretical groundwork, combined with a quantitative linguistic analysis in the following chapter, to aid in my later explorations into Augustine's conceptions of hope.

2. *SPES*, *SPERO*, *DESPERO*: A STATISTICAL AND LINGUISTIC APPROACH

The outline developed in the previous chapter on the classical, early Christian and patristic background of hope is useful. However, it only examines a limited number of texts, and if I am to place Augustine in context, it would be helpful to gain an even broader picture. It is also useful to be able to quantitatively compare the works of Augustine with wider trends from the period. Therefore, this chapter will involve a quantitative statistical and linguistic analysis of the occurrences of terms for hope and related terms across a much broader selection of sources. A wider-ranging study like this presents a new angle from which to explore emotion and hope, which can incorporate hundreds of texts over hundreds of years. It enables me to identify changes and trends which by reading through such a huge corpus (even were the time available) the individual reader may not pick up on. Exploring these elements of language and linguistic changes can aid our understanding of human changes and experiences.

I have employed two main databases of texts for my analysis, the *Library of Latin Texts Online* and the *Perseus Digital Library*.[172] Each has its own virtues, which will be discussed below, and which allows us to focus on different elements of hope. This chapter will introduce these databases, outline the method I have employed, the terms of my searches and the reasoning behind my choices. It will present some of the findings that the methodology returned, while appreciating the limitations of the methodology and suggesting directions for expansion in order to return fuller, more comprehensive results. It will discuss the implications of these findings for understanding changing conceptions of hope in the Early Middle Ages.

The charts which follow do cover a huge range of material, and give some indication of trends in word usage across the centuries. However, I am aware that statistics and charts can sometimes be held in a reverence they do not deserve, and may be presented as faceless, objective 'truth'. It is important to be aware of the limitations of the methodology. I have attempted to be as open as possible about my methodology and my

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[172] *Library of Latin Texts – Series A*, accessed June 13, 2015, http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/llta/pages/Search.aspx. *Perseus Digital Library*, accessed 13 June 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/search.

conclusions, and not to make claims which are unwarranted from the data. It must also be noted that the word-search tools I have employed are limited, and there are certain elements which cannot be investigated through the tools available; for example, they do not allow us to search for phrases, such as 'without hope' or *sine spes* as a synonym for despair. The number of texts available in transcription online is also limited, and any increase on the number of texts analysed would increase the reliability of these charts. It would also be interesting to categorise the sources for further analysis; for example, by geographical location, religious background, social class or gender. However, a historian will never have as many sources as they desire. For now, an explanation of the methodology and some initial searches will begin to shed light on Late Antique and Early Medieval expressions of hope, and highlight some areas which might be interesting to explore. Having produced and discussed these charts, we will then be able to compare the results to those of an individual writer (in our case, Augustine), using the word-search statistical analysis as a common reference point.

1. THE LIBRARY OF LATIN TEXTS: GRAMMATICAL DETAILS

The *BREPOLiS Library of Latin Texts Online* provides our first broad source of searchable Latin texts. [173] The database contained at the time of study 832 texts from 243 authors in the period c. 200 AD to c. 500 AD, and 399 from 143 authors in the period c. 501 AD to c. 735 AD, making a total of 1231 Late Antique and Early Medieval texts and 386 authors to search across. It includes patristic works from Augustine, Ausonius, Cassian, Cyprian, Gregory the Great, Jerome, Marius Victorinus, Novatian, Paulinus of Nola, Prudentius, and Tertulliant, as well as works by Cassiodorus, Isidore and Bede, and non-Christian texts such as Ammianus Marcellinus, the Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Claudian, Macrobius, and Martianus Capella.**[174]**

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[173] *Library of Latin Texts – Series A*, accessed June 13, 2015, http://clt.brepolis.net.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/llta/pages/Search.aspx.

[174] "Library of Latin Texts," *BREPOLiS* , accessed June 13, 2015, http://www.brepols.net/publishers/pdf/Brepolis_LLT_EN.pdf.

I used the 'Distribution of Word Forms' search feature to compare occurrences of forms of *spes* and *spero* across these texts. These searches allowed me to find occurrences of all oblique cases of nouns and all conjugated forms of verbs. In turn, this allowed me to analyse certain grammatical details of the occurrences of hope-terms. Working with such broad and admittedly arbitrary time spans does mean that any comparison between the two periods (c. 200 AD to c. 500 AD and c. 501 AD to c. 735 AD), unless there are drastic shifts, should be avoided. However, I have been able to use these searches to find general trends in overall usages; for example, whether hope tended to be used as a verb or noun across the period. Later on, this will allow me to compare the trends of specific individuals' texts to the typical usage across the period.

Methodology: *Spes* and *Spero*

I will first explain the process of analysis for *spes* and *spero*, in order to demonstrate the method. I searched in turn for each individual form of *spes* as a noun within each of the two time periods, and noted the number of occurrences. I then worked out what percentage of the total occurrences of the word (in every form) each inflection took; for example, out of all occurrences of hope as a noun (all forms of *spes*) from c. 200-c. 500, the specific form *spem* formed 32.21% of those occurrences (Table 1 and Figure 1). Unfortunately it was not within my scope to distinguish between different cases where the spelling is identical (e.g. singular and plural nominative and vocative, and plural accusative forms, all written *spes*).

Table 1. Occurrences and Percentages of Forms of spes *in* Library of Latin Texts

	Occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
spes	1887	30.83%	600	25.56%
spei	586	9.58%	276	11.76%
spem	1971	32.21%	827	35.24%
spe	1644	26.86%	642	27.35%
sperum	1	0.02%	0	0.00%
spebus	31	0.51%	2	0.09%
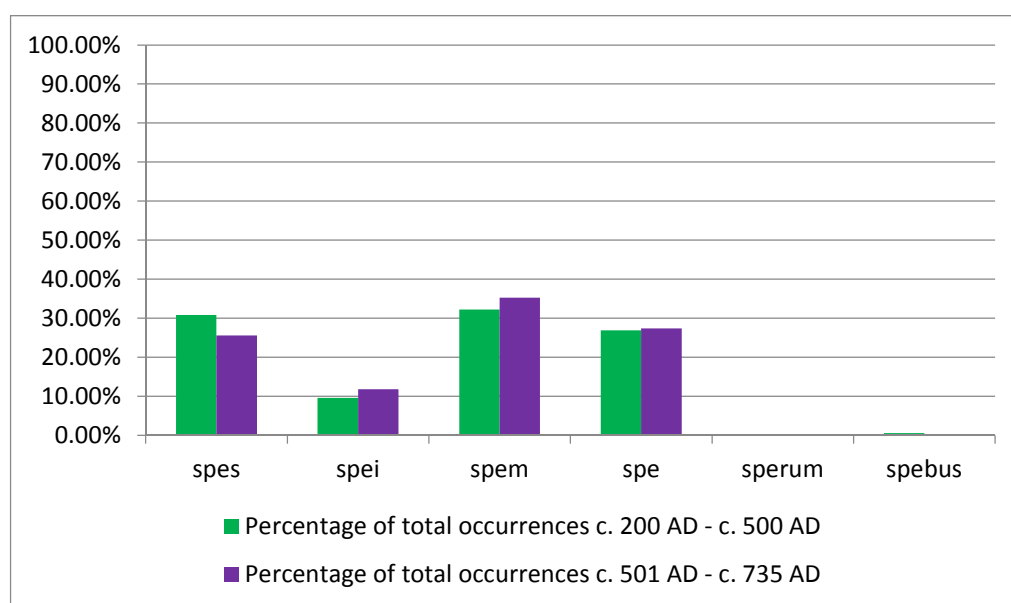
Figure 1. Percentages of Forms of spes *in* Library of Latin Texts

I repeated the process for the different conjugated forms of the verb *spero*. This naturally yielded a significant amount of data. Some spellings occurred twice in different forms and therefore could only be considered once when it came to analysis. Also, those that involved two words (i.e. those beginning *speratus* or *sperati*) could not be searched for separately. The search could therefore only consider occurrences of *speratus* and *sperati* as a whole group. This was then formed into a complex table, which I then simplified by grouping the occurrences by tense. This table can be found in Appendix A below for reference. However, for our purposes this data requires further simplification, as it is difficult to engage with or extract meaning from. In order to make this data more

meaningful, it is best to organise the data into various categories and explore certain grammatical details of interest. These can then help us to form an understanding of the uses of and thoughts around terms for hope, which in turn helps us to understand conceptions and experiences of 'hope'.

Noun or Verb

Following on from our notes in Chapter 1, it is worth exploring the ratio of the verb and noun forms of hope. To do this, I examined the data from both the *spes* search and the *spero* search and compared them. I found the sum of each form, verb or noun, within each time period (c. 200 AD – c. 500 AD and c. 501 AD – c. 735 AD). I then found what percentage of occurrences of hope were in the form of a verb, and what percentage were in the form of a noun (Table 2 and Figure 2).

Table 2. Occurrences and Percentages of Noun and Verb Forms of spes*/*spero *in* Library of Latin Texts

	Occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
Noun	6120	63.66%	2347	68.41%
Verb	3493	36.34%	1084	31.59%
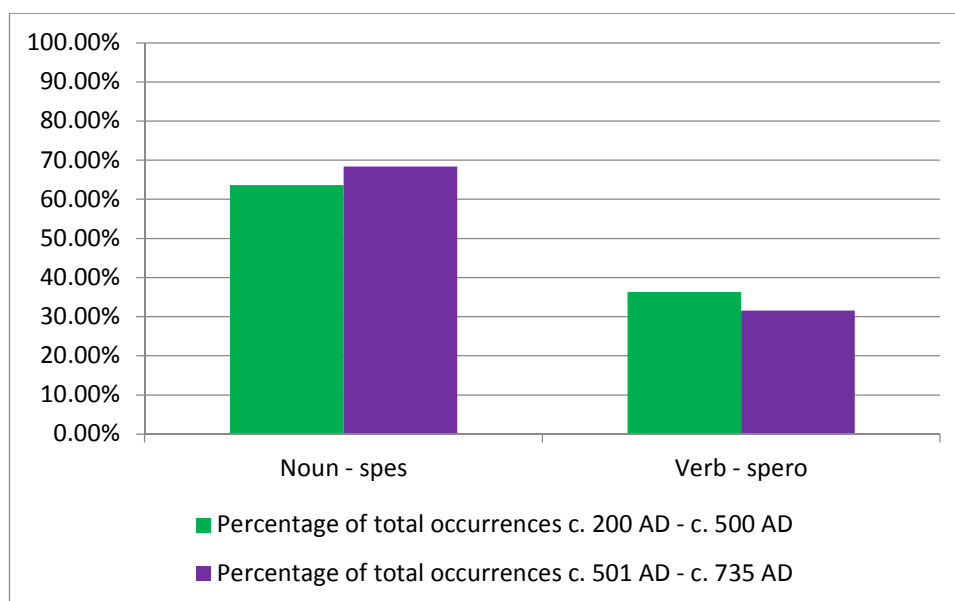
Figure 2. Percentages of Noun and Verb forms of spes/spero *in* Library of Latin Texts

From this chart we can see that, as in the patristic works of Chapter 1, the noun form of hope occurs much more often across both time periods; almost twice as frequently as the verb form. There appears to be a slight increase in the use of the noun form *spes* in the later period, although not by a significant enough margin for us to confidently interpret this as a real shift. The general tendency to use hope as a noun may suggest that it was considered less as an activity or undertaking, and more as a state of being, an aim or a gift.

First, Second or Third Person

Another way to present the data from the verb search in a more accessible and readable form is to examine the occurrences of the first, second and third person (including both singular and plural forms). This help us to understand conceptions of hope, and whether it was something generally expressed about oneself, something that could be projected onto others (directly or indirectly), or something that could be recognised in others. I found the sum of all occurrences within each grouping (first, second, or third person). I then worked out what percentage of all occurrences (including those that did not designate any person) each grouping – first, second or third person – formed (Table 3 and Figure 3).

Table 3. Occurrences and Percentages of First, Second and Third Person Forms of spero
in Library of Latin Texts

	Occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
1st person (Sing. & Plural)	901	25.79%	322	29.70%
2nd person (Sing. & Plural)	239	6.84%	23	2.12%
3rd person (Sing. & Plural)	1402	40.14%	384	35.42%
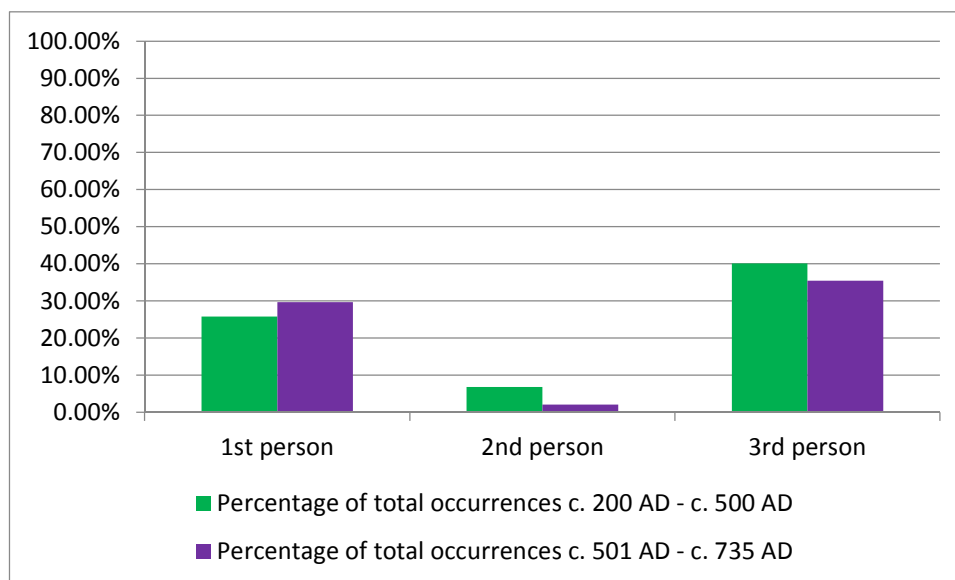
Figure 3. Percentages of First, Second and Third Person Forms of spero *in* Library of
Latin Texts

We find that the term for hope occurs most often when referring to the third person,
although both the first and third person occur relatively often. The use of hope in relation

to the second person occurs much less often; less than 10% of occurrences in either time period. Writers were seemingly more comfortable speaking of their own experiences of hope, and indirectly speaking of and recognising what they considered to be the hope of others, than they were speaking about what they considered to be the hope of the person or person directly addressed. However, it must be remembered that many of these texts would avoid using the second person singular form, as they were aimed at a wider audience than one individual.

Singular or Plural

Finally, I will use the *Library of Latin Texts* to explore the singular or plural uses of hope. There are two aspects to study here: when examining the noun form we can ask whether they referred to hope singular or hopes plural; when examining the verb form we can ask whether the subject who hoped was singular (I, you, it) or plural (we, us, they). These relate in turn to two different questions; the first explores whether hope was conceived of as a singular state of being, the totality of all things hoped for, or whether 'a' hope was a specific hoped-for event, which could then cumulate to form 'hopes'. The second asks whether the act or action of hoping was conceived of as something solely individual and personal, or whether it was expressed more often as a communal project, something which could be shared. Unfortunately, given that some declensions of the term share an inflection – specifically the form *spes*, which can represent both the singular and the plural – I am unable to use these tools to perform a word search to separate the nouns into singular and plural usage. Given more time or a different search mechanism this could be explored in future study, but this would be a vast task. For the present we must focus our attention on the singular and plural forms of the verb. I followed the method as above, taking the occurrences of *spero* in forms which specifically denoted either singular or plural usage (Table 4 and Figure 4).

Table 4. Occurrences and Percentages of Singular and Plural Forms of spero *in* Library of Latin Texts

	Occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
Singular	1614	46%	503	46%
Plural	946	27%	230	21%
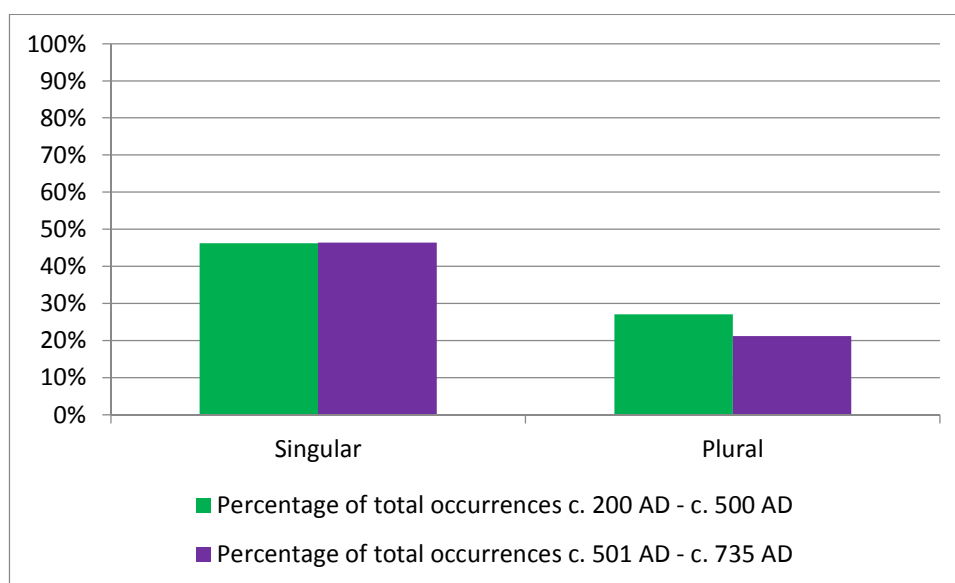
Figure 4. Percentages of Singular and Plural Forms of spero *in* Library of Latin Texts

As can be seen, across both centuries the use of a singular subject when speaking of the verb 'to hope' is much more common. For the period c. 501 AD – c. 735 AD, the occurrences of the singular form are just over twice as common as those denoting a plural subject. In Latin, as in French, the plural form can also be employed as a more formal singular form. These word search tools unfortunately cannot take this into account, but this means that there was probably an even greater preference for singular expressions of hope. It seems that hope as an act was generally conceived of as something undertaken by an individual, although not exclusively. Given that around a third of uses denote a plural subject, it was certainly not a rarity to refer to hope as undertaken by more than one person. Conceptions of hope evidently allowed for hope that was shared or communal, as well as the hope of the individual.

2. PERSEUS DIGITAL LIBRARY: COMPARATIVE TERMS

Another excellent and powerful tool for searching a broad range of texts is that of the *Perseus Digital Library*.[175] It allows us to search across 281 texts from the classical to early medieval period.[176] The *Perseus Digital Library* dictionary separates its search results by text, which allows for separation into centuries, which, while still covering significant stretches of time, presents shorter spans than the *Library of Latin Texts*. This allows us to analyse trends in pre-Christian texts, whereas the previous searches focussed on texts from c. 200 AD onwards. The *Perseus Digital Library* also implements an incredibly useful tool for analysis of word-frequency, which I will employ here to explore the occurrences of various terms relating to hope.[177] It did not, however, allow for the easy separation of terms into specific declensions or conjugations; when it searched for *spes*, it searched for every declension. This produced a slightly more simplified data set for each term. I cannot, therefore, use it to analyse certain grammatical details as above; for example, changes in the uses of singular and plural forms. I can, however, compare changes in usage of various different terms across a range of centuries.

I have used this data to find how often various terms occurred within texts across the time period compared to other terms; the average number of occurrences of a specific word per 10,000 words. I will describe this process in detail for *spes* and *spero* as an example before analysing the results. It will be noted that when looking at each individual term, the scale of the charts are different. This allows us to analyse the usage of each word on its own terms, before comparing it to other words. Following this, however, I compare each word to the charts for hope (*spes* and *spero*), thus bringing them back to a common reference point. At the end of the chapter I present charts containing all terms searched for, in order to show broader trends and allow for an appreciation of scale.

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[175] *Perseus Digital Library*, accessed 13 June 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/search.

[176] The hopper search tool itself returns texts for an even broader time period, up to the 16th century. However, I was able to mark each text by century and remove those which were irrelevant, resulting in a selection of 281 texts.

[177] "Word Frequency Information", *Perseus Digital Library*, accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/wordfreq?.

Methodology: *Spes* **and** *Spero*

Unfortunately, there was not a simple method to find the total number of texts and words within the *Perseus Digital Library* search. Therefore, I first searched for the term *et*, on the assumption that every text of a length worth examining would contain the term. Taking only the results which fell within the range of late antique or early medieval, I noted the century of composition for each text (estimated where necessary) and grouped them according to century. I then found the sum of words for each century and produced the following graph (Figure 5). This gives an indication of how much source material was available from the *Perseus Digital Library* to analyse for each century.
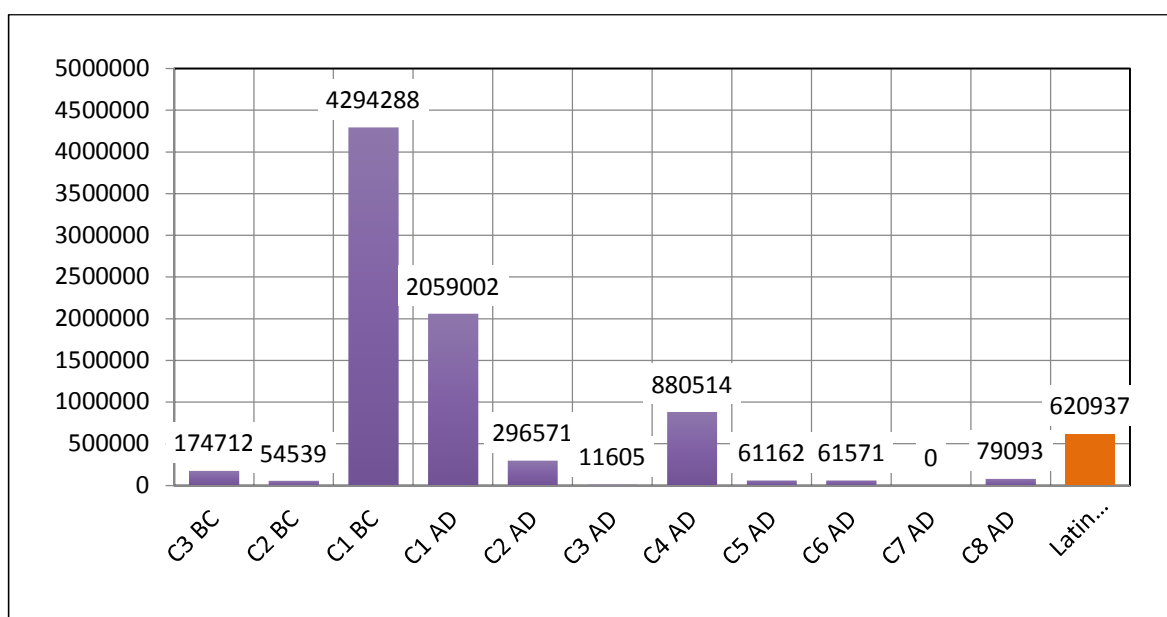
Figure 5. Total Words per Century Analysed in Perseus Digital Library

I placed the Latin Vulgate in a group on its own, in order to use it as a control group against which to compare uses and occurrences of various terms in different centuries.[178] Unfortunately, the search feature in the *Perseus Digital Library* did not allow

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[178] Jerome, *Vulgate Bible* (Bible Foundation and On-Line Book Initiative), accessed 14 June 2015 http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/collection?collection=Perseus%3Acorpus%3Aperseus%2Cauthor%2CVulgate.

me to separate the Vulgate into Old and New Testament, which would have provided a further layer through which to analyse word trends and to add to our understanding of the impact of the New Testament on conceptions of hope. As can be seen, there were vastly more words available for analysis from the first century BC than compared to, say, the third century AD, and the seventh century AD had no texts at all. This must be remembered when viewing the following charts; the drop to zero in the seventh century must generally be disregarded, and we unfortunately cannot trace trends through this century without study of further texts. The centuries with more words are likely to contain a fairer and more accurate representation of the occurrences of terms than those with fewer. Unfortunately this lack of source material is something which the early medievalist must always face, and we must come to terms with it and accommodate where we can.

Having found the number of words per century, I then performed a search for *spes* in all its forms/declensions, and another for *spero* in all its forms/conjugations. I grouped these by century as above. I then used the feature of the *Perseus Digital Library* search results which showed the occurrence of the term per 10,000 words within each corpus.[179] This allowed me to find the average occurrences of *spes* and *spero* respectively per 10,000 words for each century by simply summing the total 'averages per 10,000' of the texts within each century grouping and dividing by the number of texts in the century. However, this only took into account those texts containing the searched-for-word (*spes*/*spero*). I therefore took the total words per century as found in the above search for *et*, and adjusted by average to take this into account (as below).

(average occurences per 10,000 words in texts containing term × total words in texts containing term) ÷ total words in all texts = average occurrences of term per 10,000 words across all texts

I also added the figures for *spes* and *spero* together to find the averages for all forms of hope (both verb and noun). For comparison, I added a dotted line representing the average occurrences of each term or terms in the Latin Vulgate. This produced the following chart, presented as a line graph form for clarity of comparison (Figure 6).

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[179] "Word Frequency Information", *Perseus Digital Library*, accessed 14 June 2015 http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/wordfreq?.
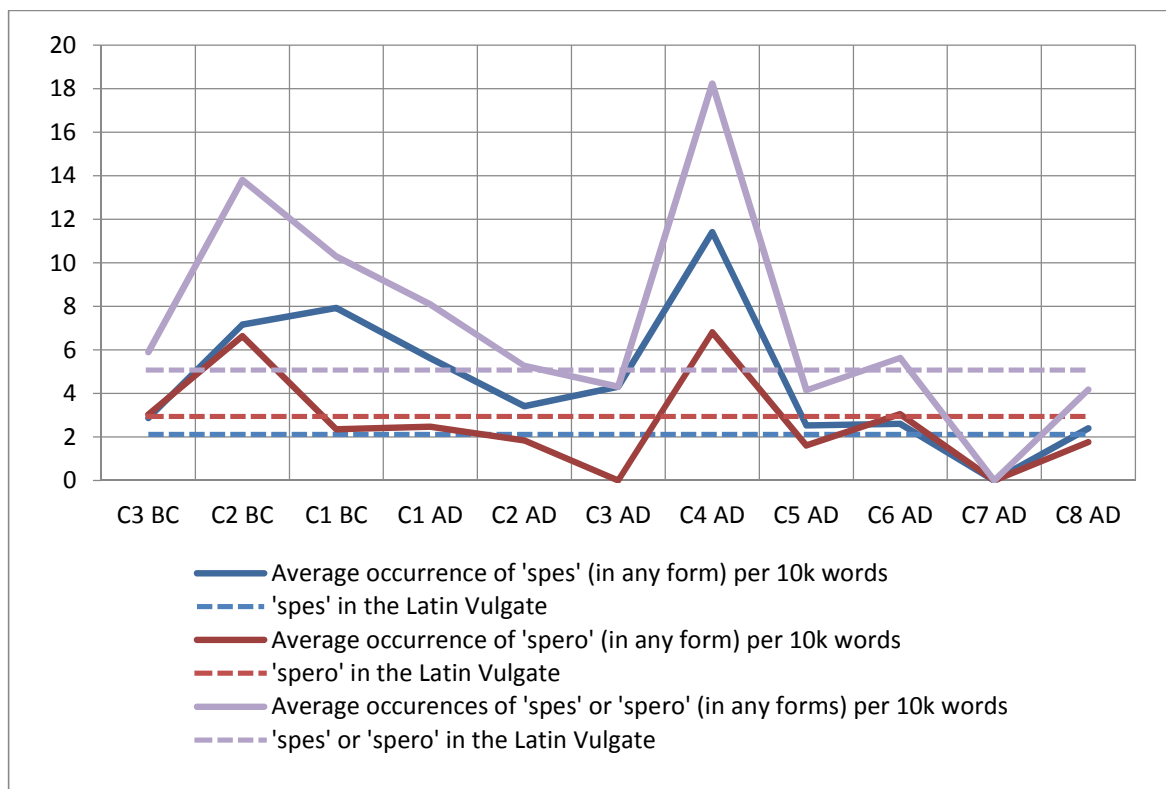
Figure 6. Average Occurrences of spes *and* spero *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

I also wished to find how many of the total number of texts contained the terms searched for. Therefore I found the number of texts which the *et* search revealed (assumed to be the total number of texts analysed), and the number which the *spero* and *spes* searches revealed. I then found what percentage of the total number contained *spero* and what percentage contained *spes* (Table 5). This whole process was repeated for the other terms searched for.

Table 5. Percentage of Total Texts Containing spero *and* spes *in* Perseus Digital Library

	Number	Percentage
Texts	281	100%
With *spero*	199	70.82%
With *spes*	233	82.92%

Before I analyse these charts, it is pertinent to undertake a search to try and represent the background or context of these sources; in particular the influence of the Christian religion. It is important not to assume that the range of sources accurately and

fairly represents all viewpoints and approaches. Likewise, it seems wrong to assume that texts in certain centuries were more likely (or not) to represent a specific viewpoint, particularly in terms of religion. Therefore, I produced the following chart (Figure 7), showing the average occurrences of references to *christus*, in an attempt to broadly indicate the levels of Christianity represented in each century. As is to be expected, there are no references before the first century AD. Also, we can note that the texts from the fourth and eighth century refer to *christus* significantly more often than in other centuries. If we look at Table 6, we find that only around 10% of the total texts analysed include the term *christus*. It is worth bearing this in mind as we explore occurrences of other terms.
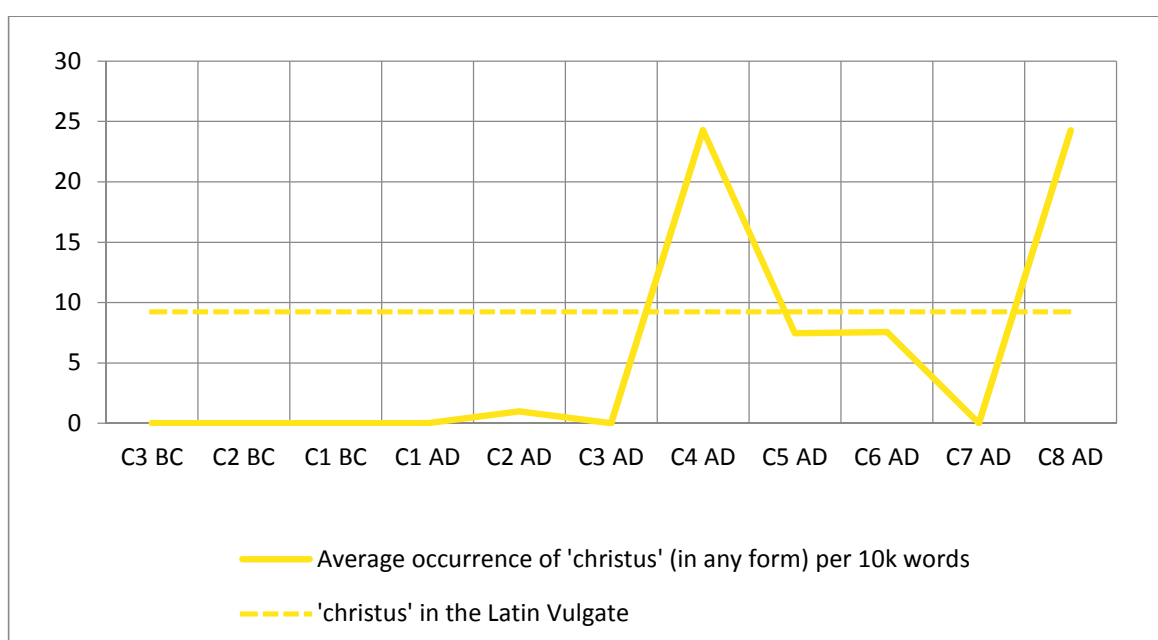
Figure 7. Average Occurrences of christus *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

Table 6. Percentage of Total Texts Containing christus *in* Perseus Digital Library

	Number	Percentage
Texts	281	100.00%
With c*hristus*	28	9.96%

Returning, then, to Figure 6 and Table 5, we can begin to think once again about hope. The data on these charts allows us to further analyse the balance between noun and verb in uses of the terms for hope in these ancient and early medieval texts. The fact that 71% of texts contained *spero*, and 83% contained *spes* indicates that hope was a very common term or concept, employed within most texts (if not necessarily very regularly

within those texts) (Table 5). It was rarely completely absent from the mind and work of a writer.

Occurrences of *spes* generally remain higher than Latin Vulgate usage, while occurrences of *spero* tend to be slightly fewer. From the second century BC to the third century AD, we find a general downward trend in occurrences of the terms for hope. However, an interesting and significant feature of this chart occurs in the fourth century AD, where we see a distinct spike in the average occurrences of both *spes* and *spero*, rising higher than even second century BC uses. This spike in the fourth century AD coincides with a similar spike in the references to *christus*. This seems to affirm my suggestions in the previous chapter regarding the connection between Christianity and hope. At this stage it is daring to make such a claim. There are likely many coinciding factors that influenced this fourth century increase, which the charts cannot express. The roles, for example, of the Constantinian settlement and the adoption of the Nicene Creed, would be worth investigating.[180] Perhaps the new security and conviction which they afforded Christians at that time allowed for an expanse in the expressions and experience of hope. This methodology and the findings in these charts can highlight areas of significance such as this, allowing us to focus further enquiry.

We can also see that, as in the *Library of Latin Texts* searches, hope as a noun was generally more common than as a verb across the period; the only century where this was not the case is the sixth, where *spero* very slightly overtook *spes*. This search seems to show that verb and noun occurred in relatively equal proportions in the third and second century BC, but a disparity develops from the first century BC to the fourth century AD. Interestingly, while in the *Library of Latin Texts* search the sixth to eight centuries saw an *increase* in the difference between noun and verb uses (noun becomes even more common compared to verb), this chart finds the opposite. Indeed, in the fifth to eight centuries, uses of *spes* and *spero* seem to balance out and become relatively equal. Evidently, the texts and sources used play a significant role in determining the results of these searches, and this is a limitation which must be acknowledged. Ideally, continuation of these studies in the

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[180] Peter Brown, *The Rise of Western Christendom: Triumph and Diversity, A.D. 200-1000* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 71-80. Joseph F. Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A History* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2009), 17-25.

future would involve a more thorough categorisation of texts and selection of sources, and an increase in the words analysed, to allow for a clearer and more accurate representation.

Related Terms: *Exspecto*, *Exspectatio* and *Patientia*

Having examined occurrences of *spes* and *spero*, it seems wise to repeat the word searches with other related terms, to allow for comparison and an increased understanding. By taking the previous chapter's findings of terms which occurred in the context of hope, as well as those terms which the *Lewis and Short Latin Dictionary* finds to be related, I can explore whether *spes* or *spero* were relatively common terms, and see if certain trends in thought can be traced by exploring terms which might be considered to encompass similar concepts.[181] *Lewis and Short* state that *exspectatio* and *exspecto* are related terms to *spes* and *spero*.[182] In my previous chapter I found that the terms for patience and expectation occurred in the context of hope in both the exegeses and in the New Testament. Here, then, I will analyse the average occurrences of *exspectatio*, *exspecto* and *patientia* within the texts.

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[181] Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1879) accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus:text:1999.04.0059.

[182] Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1879), *spes*, accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dspes. Charlton T. Lewis & Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, Clarendon Press: 1879), *spero*, accessed June 14, 2015, http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.04.0059%3Aentry%3Dspero.
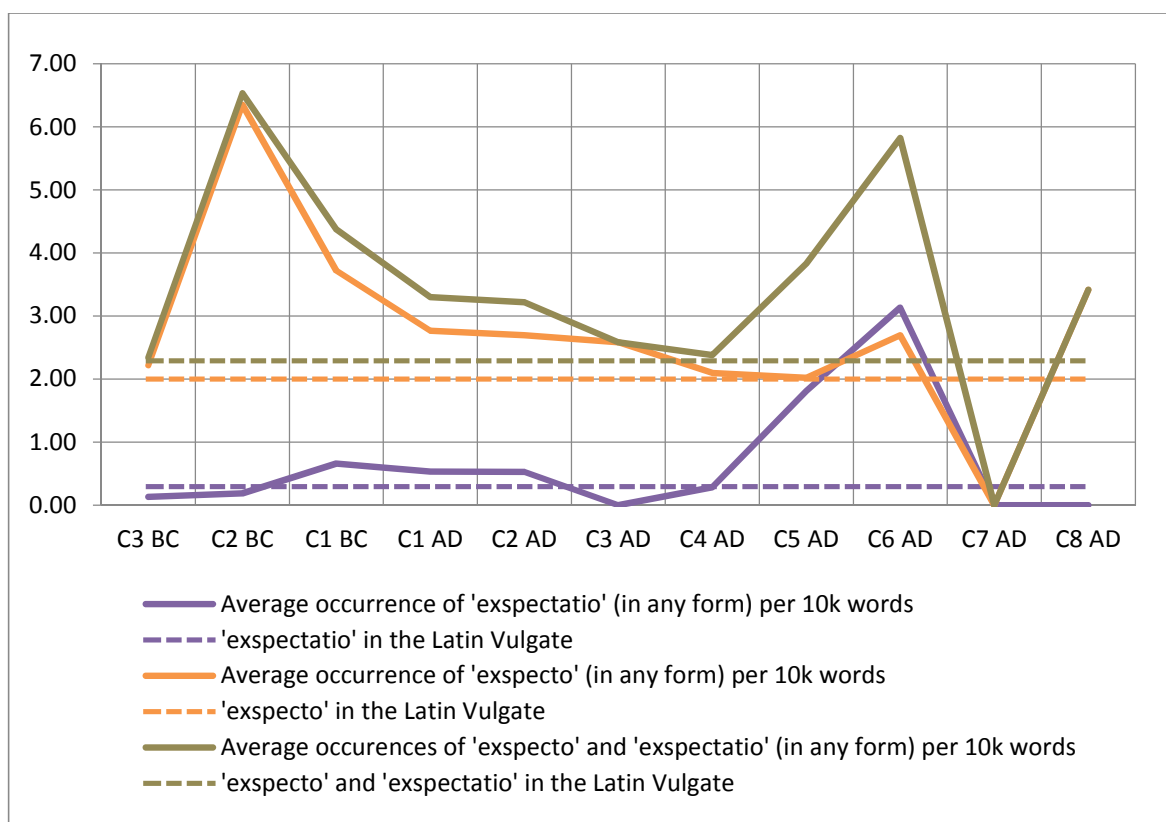
Figure 8. Average Occurrences of exspectatio *and* exspecto *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

Figure 8 shows the findings for both verb and noun forms of 'expectation'. We can see that *exspectatio*, the noun expectation, occurs very rarely from the third century BC to the fourth century AD, but then increases significantly in usage in the fifth and sixth centuries, before declining again in the eighth (remembering that the lack of data to analyse for the seventh century means that it must be discounted). The verb 'to expect', *exspecto*, on the other hand, peaks significantly in the second century BC before declining in the first century BC, then remaining relatively stable until a total decline in the eighth. In terms of comparison with the Latin Vulgate, following the life of Christ, occurrences of *exspecto* are only slightly greater, while occurrences of *exspectatio* remain similar to the Latin Vulgate, with the notable exception of the fifth and sixth centuries, where they shoot higher.

Occurrences of *patientia* (patience or endurance) form a very different chart (Figure 9). Here we see a general low-lying trend, with generally fewer occurrences than in the Latin Vulgate. However, there are two notable spikes, in the first century AD and the third to fourth centuries AD.
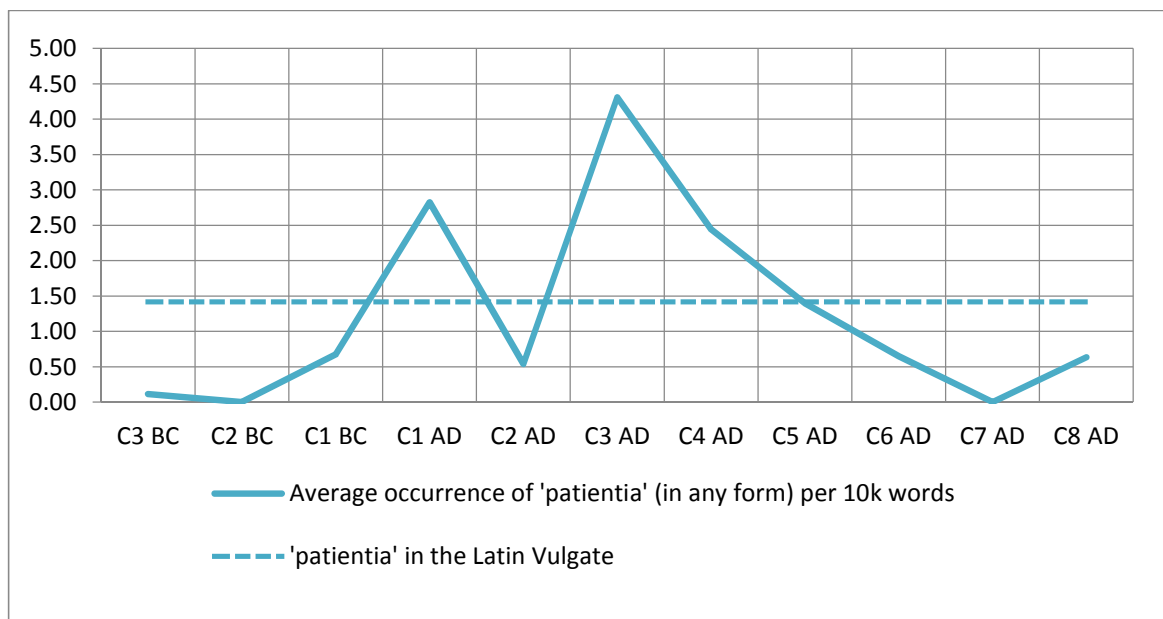
Figure 9. Average Occurrences of patientia *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

If we compare these terms with the terms for hope, we find an interesting picture (Figure 10). The general trend of occurrences of *exspecto* and *exspectatio* follows a similar shape to that for *spero* and *spes*; there is a slight peak in the second century BC, and again in the sixth century. Indeed, occurrences of terms for hope and for expectation from the fifth century onwards are remarkably similar. However, our attention is again drawn to the significant spike in the *spero/spes* chart in the fourth century, which is notably absent from the *exspecto/exspectatio* chart. It is also interesting to note that while 'hope' occurred more often in the noun form *spes*, 'expectation' occurred more often in the verb form *exspecto*. We also can note from Table 7 that while *spes*, *spero* and *exspecto* occurred in a similar percentage of texts (around 70-80%), *exspectatio* occurred in around half that number (36%), and was evidently the rarer term. Perhaps this reflects a balance of usage; it could be that individuals tended to expect their hope rather than hope for their expectation.

In contrast, average occurrences of *patientia* seem to follow a wholly different trend; they peak in the first and third centuries AD, and seem to bear no relation to occurrences of either terms for hope or expectation. It also tended to be a rarer concept, occurring in only 37% of texts. I might postulate from this that hope and expectation in general occupied a closer conceptual space, while trends in thought regarding patience did not tend to coincide with those regarding hope.
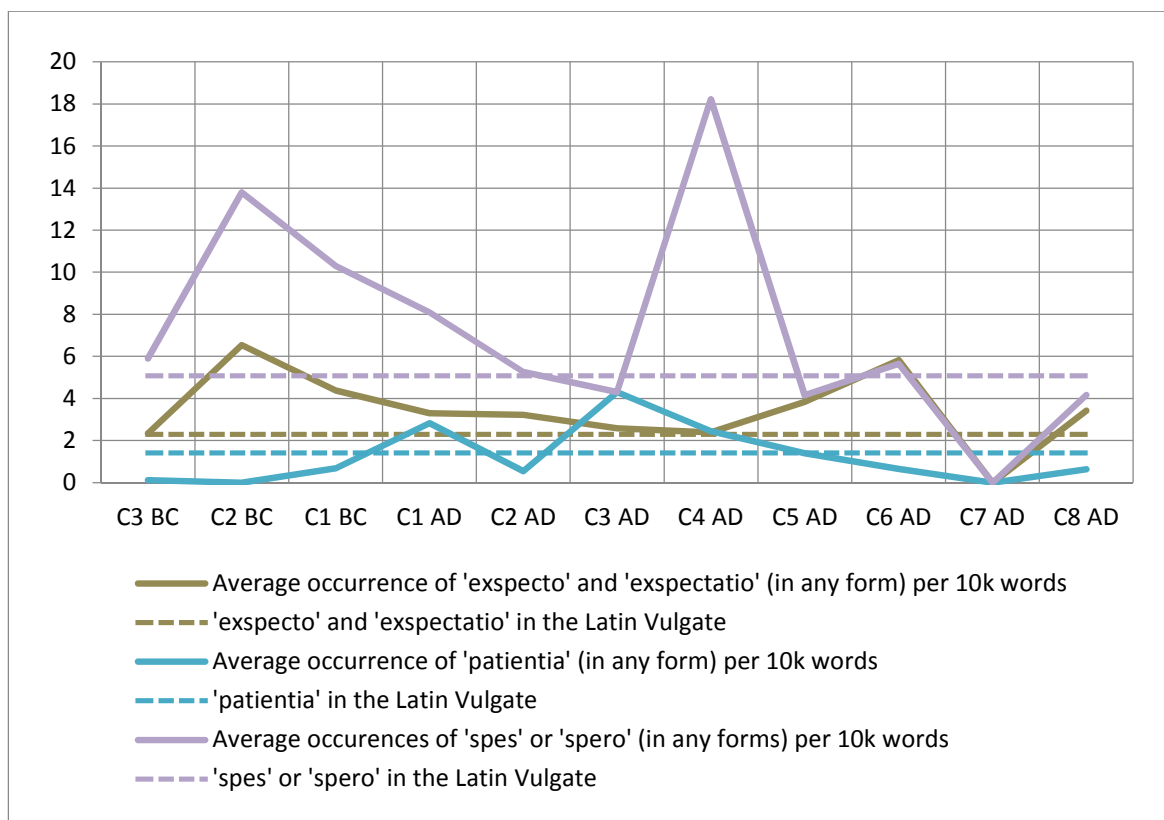
Figure 10. Average Occurrences of spes, spero, exspectatio, exspecto *and* patientia *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

Table 7. Percentage of Total Texts Containing spes, spero, exspectatio, exspecto *and* patientia *in* Perseus Digital Library

	Number	Percentage
Texts	281	100%
With *spero*	199	70.82%
With *spes*	233	82.92%
With *exspecto*	207	73.67%
With *exspectatio*	101	35.94%
With *patientia*	105	37.37%

Theological Virtues: ***Fides*** **and** ***Caritas***

Taking the background work done in Chapter 1 as a basis for my searches, I find that the role of hope as one of the three theological virtues is a key point for enquiry. It is

therefore worth exploring these three virtues across our broader spectrum of texts. This may help us understand whether they tended to be considered together or related to each other as concepts, whether an increase in thought focussing on one virtue also correlated with an increase in thought regarding the others, or indeed whether they became prevalent at different times as different concepts became more 'fashionable' or relevant. The following searches examine trends in the occurrence of the other virtues (faith, *fides* and charity, *caritas*), examining them first on their own terms, and then comparing these trends with the occurrences of hope.
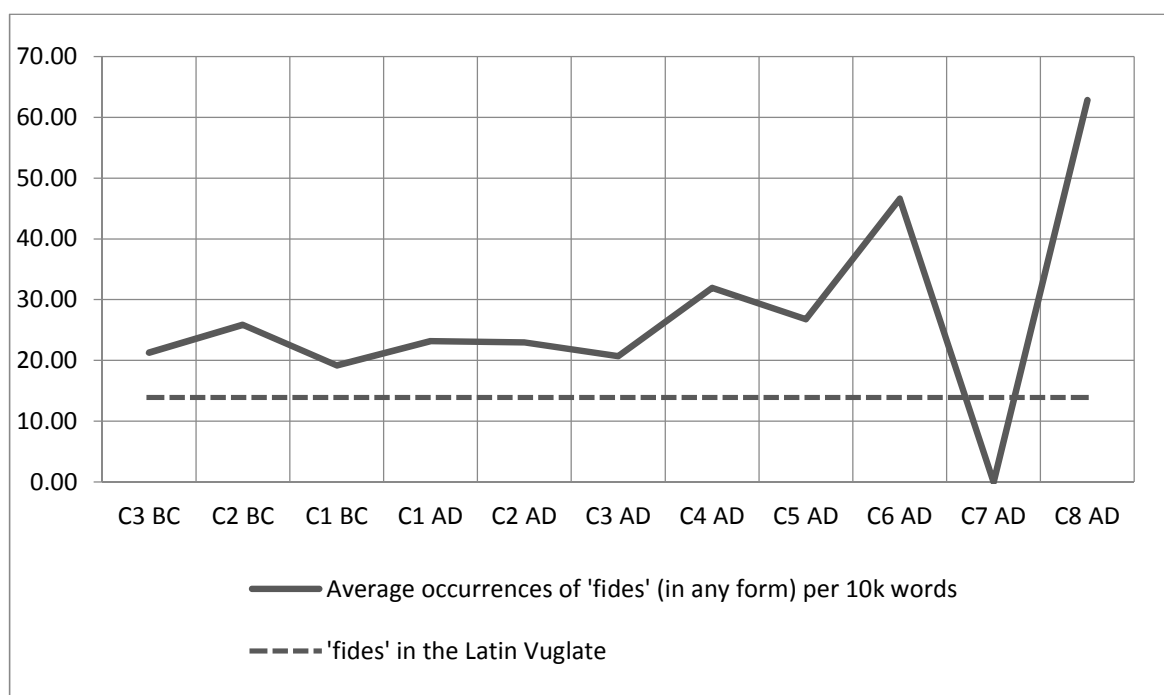
Figure 11. Average Occurrences of fides *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

Figure 11 shows the findings for *fides* per 10,000 words across the centuries. The first thing to note is that while occurrences remain relatively stable across the pre-Christian period, and indeed up to the third century AD, there is a distinct trend upwards from the fourth century onwards (remembering the lack of source material means that we must discount the seventh century). This is perhaps to be expected; while faith is not a Christian-specific term, and therefore occurred steadily in the centuries BC, Christianity certainly seems to have increased discussion regarding faith in these texts. Indeed, if we compare to the *christus* chart (Figure 7), we find that the fourth century (when *fides* begins to be more common) is also the period when the source material for this search begins to reflect a distinctly Christian feel. It is also interesting to note that in every century, *fides* occurs

more regularly in these sources than in the Latin Vulgate. This perhaps reflects its use as a non-Christian (secular or otherwise) term, which continued alongside its Christian usage.
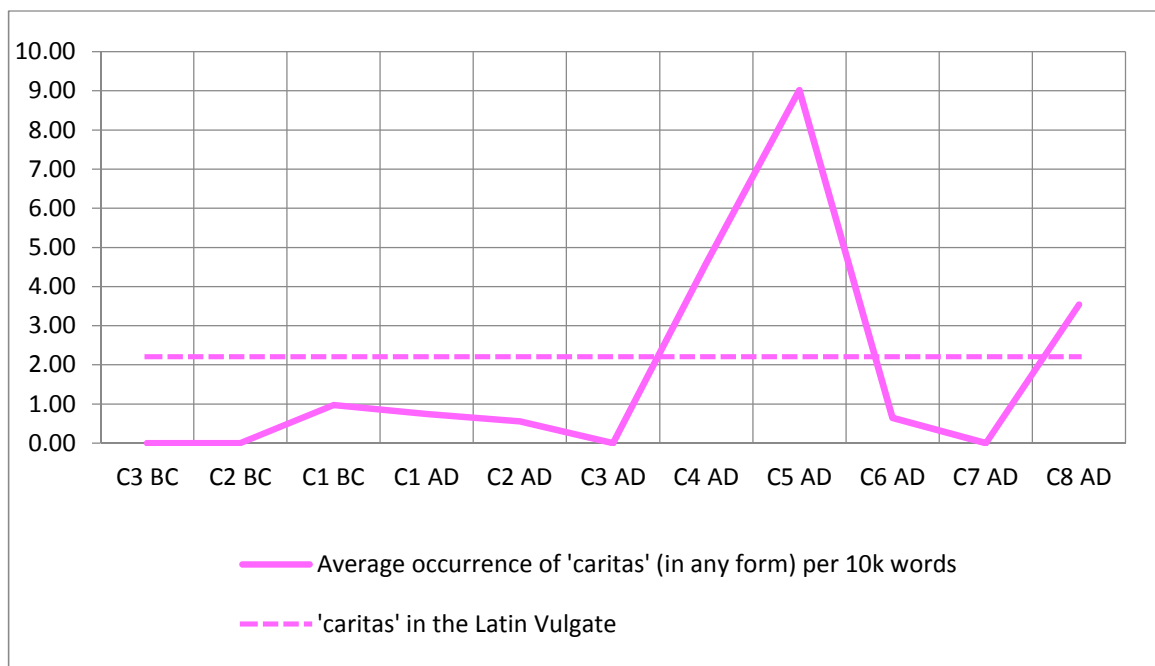
Figure 12. Average Occurrences of caritas *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

The chart for *caritas* is interesting, as it seems to present a distinctly different picture (Figure 12). Here we see some occurrences pre-Christ, in the first century BC, but generally fewer occurrences than in the Latin Vulgate until the third century AD. From there, however, into the fourth and in particular fifth century we see a marked spike in usage. The eighth century also sees an increase, rising higher than Latin Vulgate usage. If we compare this to the *christus* chart (Figure 7), we find that the centuries with high occurrences of *caritas* generally correlate with the centuries with high occurrences of *christus*. This might indicate that it was generally a term which was closely tied to conceptions of Christianity. Interestingly, the fifth century, with the highest occurrence of *caritas*, does not have a particularly high occurrence of *christus*. This might indicate an area for further enquiry; why the fifth century in particular saw an increase in discussion of love/charity.
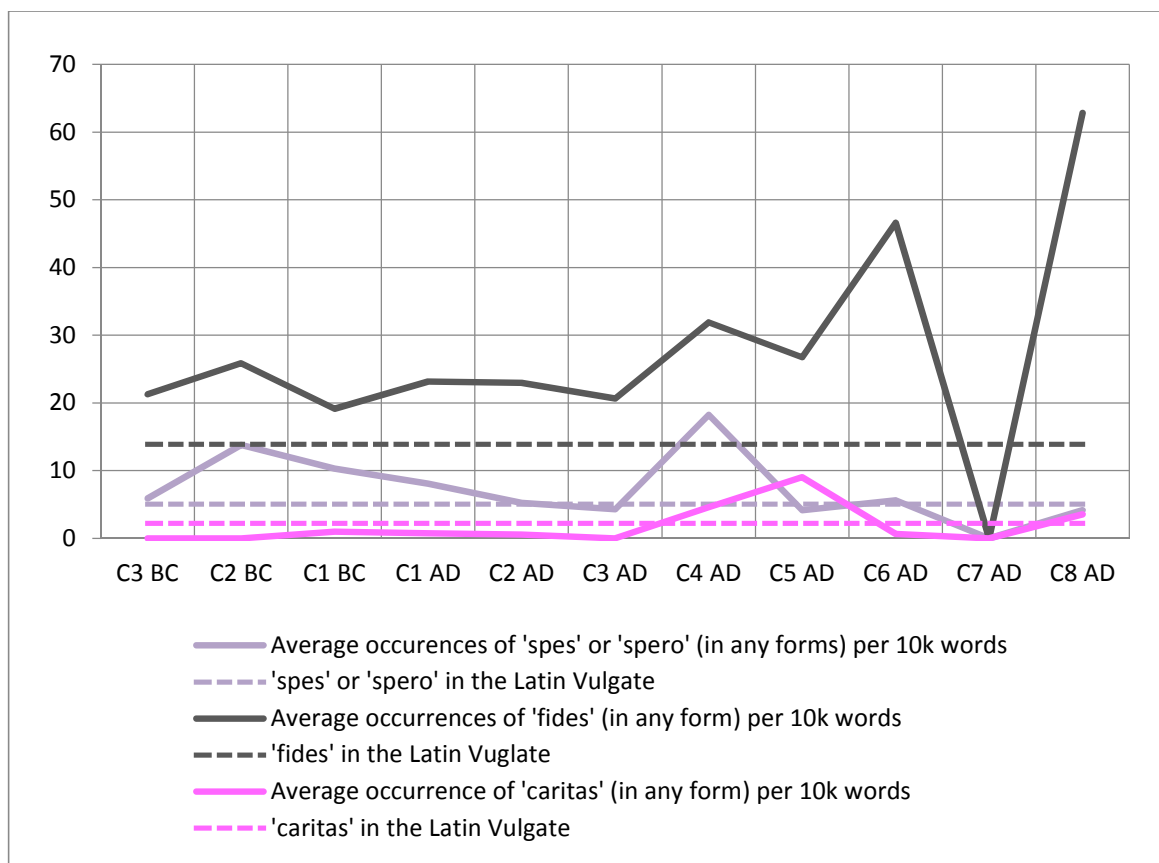
Figure 13. Average Occurrences of fides*,* caritas*,* spes *and* spero *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

Figure 13 allows us to compare the occurrences of all three virtues, and make some comparisons between them. The first thing to note is the lack of any immediately striking correlation. *Fides* and *spes*/*spero* both show a spike in the fourth century AD, but while *spes*/*spero* then reverts to a lower, more steady trend, *fides* continues to considerably increase in usage. The fourth century also marks an increase in occurrences of *caritas*, but it is in the fifth century that *caritas* peaks, while both *fides* and *spes*/*spero* show a decline.

It is also important to note that the general usages of each term are not on the same scale; occurrences of *fides* across the period are significantly more common than either of the other two, and occurrences of *caritas* are relatively less common. This high occurrence of *fides* bears relevance across all the terms searched for; no other term within this chapter reaches occurrences of 20 or more per 10,000 words, let alone over 60 occurrences per 10,000 words. When we look at the number of texts containing the terms (Table 8), we again find the prevalence of *fides* (88% of texts), and the relative lack of *caritas* (30%).

Table 8. Percentage of Total Texts Containing spero, spes, fides *and* caritas *in* Perseus Digital Library

	Number	Percentage
Texts	281	100%
With *spero*	199	70.82%
With *spes*	233	82.92%
With *fides*	246	87.54%
With *caritas*	86	30.60%

Hope's Foil: *Despero*

The final set of searches will involve exploring a term closely tied to hope, both conceptually and morphologically; despair. The Latin terms, *despero* and *desperatio*, directly represent the negation of *spero*, or hope. Arguably we cannot seek to understand conceptions of the one, hope, without understanding conceptions of its lack or negation, despair. As the relationship between hope and despair is a particularly challenging and important area of study, and one which we will explore in the following chapters, it is worthwhile conducting our statistical analysis to find occurrences of *despero* and *desperatio*, to which we can compare the expressions and conceptions of individuals. The following graph shows the findings from a search for all inflections of *despero* and *desperatio* (Figure 14).
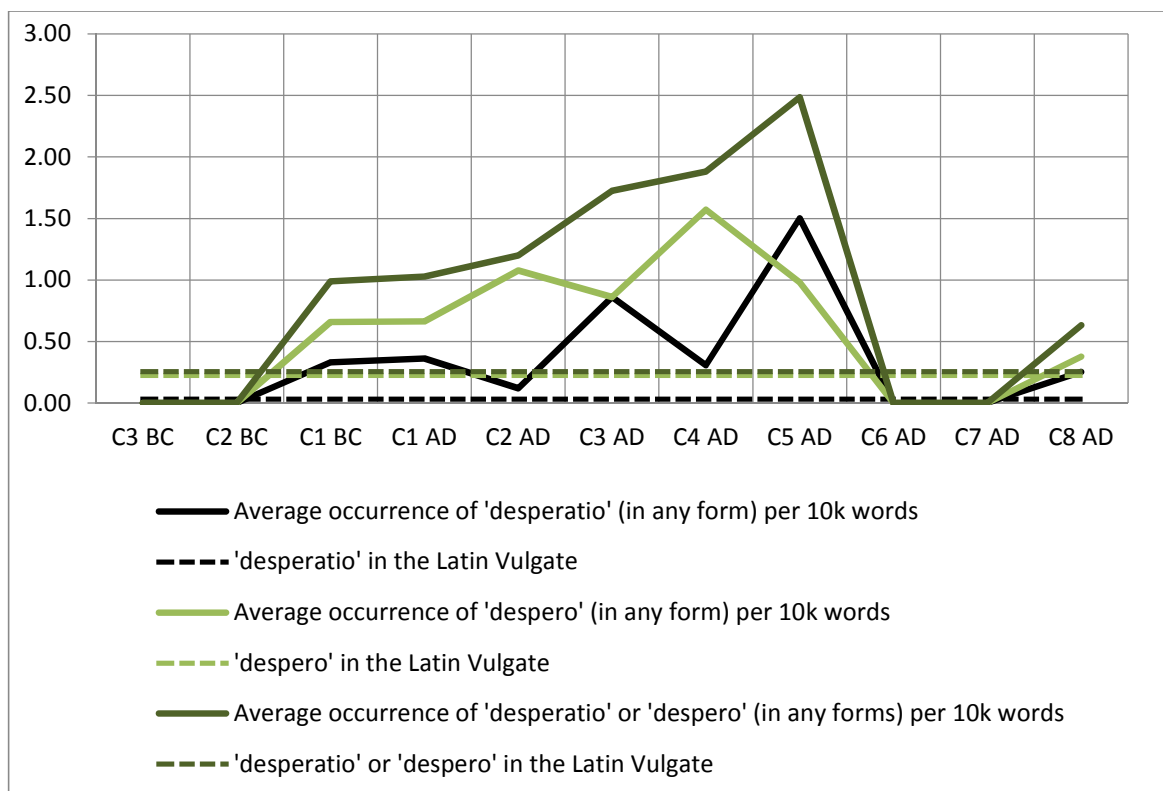
Figure 14. Average Occurrences of desperatio *and* despero *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

Firstly, we note that neither term occurs in texts from the second and third centuries BC, or the sixth century AD. There is a general climb towards the fifth century AD, followed by a decline towards the eighth century AD. If we note the scale, however, we see that overall the occurrences are very low compared to other terms we have searched for. Therefore, these variations across the centuries are relatively negligible. This low level of occurrence is in keeping with occurrences in the Latin Vulgate however; if we chart the occurrences of all our search terms in the Latin Vulgate (Figure 15), we see that while *spes/spero* occur relatively often, *desperatio* and *despero* occur the least often.
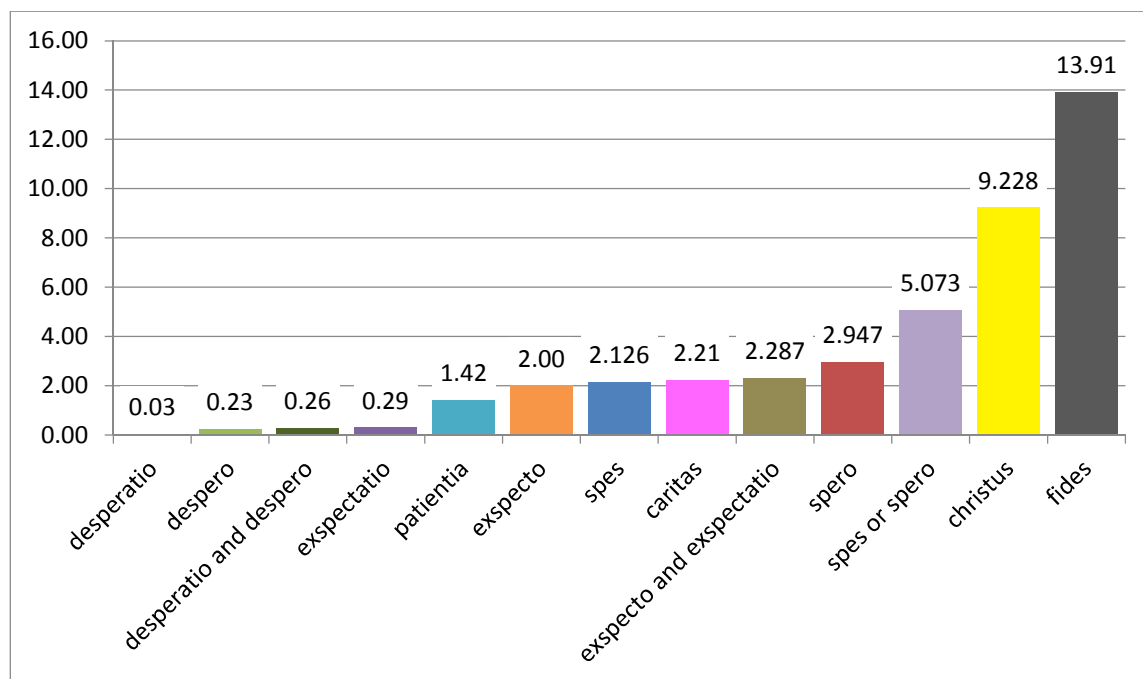
Figure 15. Average Occurrences per 10,000 words in the Latin Vulgate

If we compare the chart for *desperatio/despero* with the findings for *spes/spero*, Figure 16, we see that the variations in occurrences of *desperatio /despero* appear relatively insignificant compared to variations in the occurrences of the hope terms.
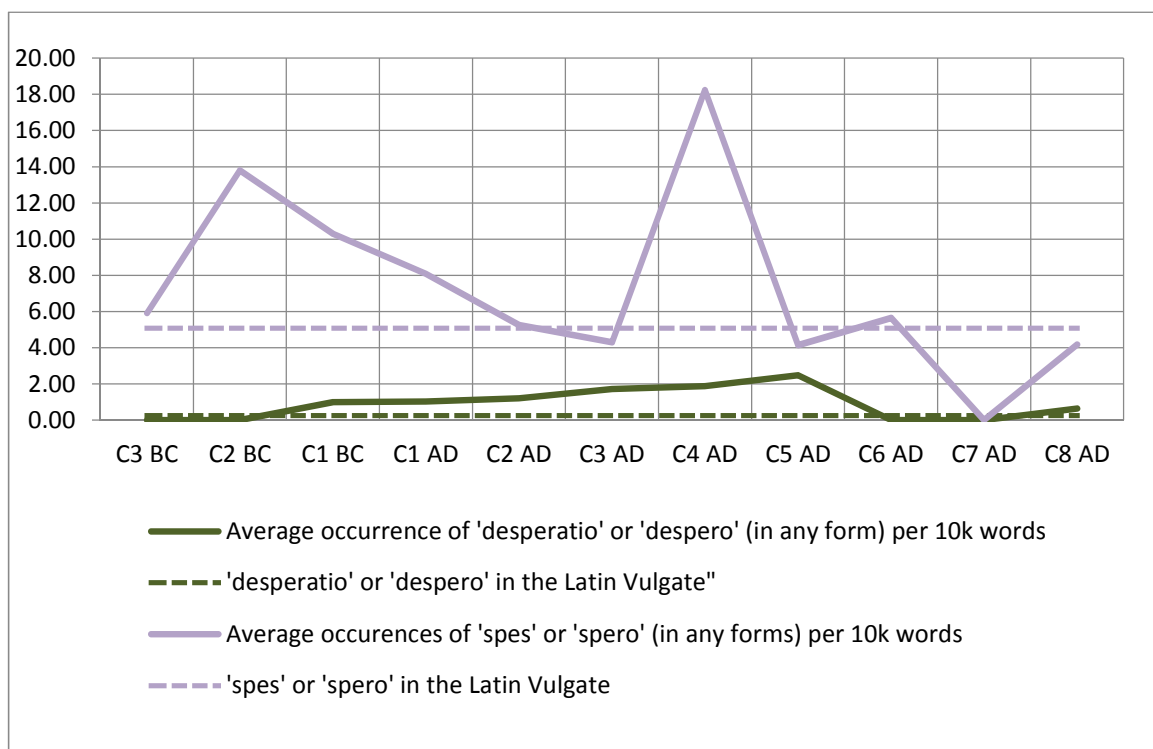
Figure 16. Average Occurrences of spes, spero, desperatio *and* despero *per 10,000 words in* Perseus Digital Library

However, when we examine the number of *texts* containing the term *despero*, we find that it is employed by more individuals then some other more frequently occurring terms (Table 9). While *despero* occurs the most rarely out of all the terms when looking at total words, it occurs in more texts than the more common terms *christus, patientia, exspectatio* and *caritas* (Table 9). *Desperatio*, however, is employed by relatively few writers. It seems that, while a fair proportion of individuals employed a term for despair (either *desperatio* or *despero*), those who *did* employed it relatively few times or repeated it less often than other terms. In fact, if we find the average number of times each of our search terms appears in a text when it *does* appear, we find that *desperatio* is repeated the least often out of all the terms, followed closely by *despero* (Table 10). F*ides* is repeated the most often when it is used, as well as occurring in the most texts. *Christus,* while occurring in the fewest number of texts, is repeated the second most often when it does occur.

Table 9. Percentage of Total Texts Containing Search Terms in Perseus Digital Library

	Number	Percentage
Texts	281	100.00%
With *fides*	246	87.54%
With *spes*	233	82.92%
With *exspecto*	207	73.67%
With *spero*	199	70.82%
With *despero*	113	40.21%
With *patientia*	105	37.37%
With *exspectatio*	101	35.94%
With *caritas*	86	30.60%
With *desperatio*	77	27.40%
With *christus*	28	9.96%

Table 10. Average Occurrences of Search Terms per text in Perseus Digital Library

	Number of texts with term	Total occurrences of term	Average of occurrences of term per text
With *fides*	246	15238	61.94
With *spes*	233	5161	22.15
With *exspecto*	207	2318	11.20
With *spero*	199	1947	9.78
With *despero*	113	398	3.52
With *patientia*	105	665	6.33
With *exspectatio*	101	392	3.88
With *caritas*	86	798	9.28
With *desperatio*	77	230	2.99
With *christus*	28	1593	56.89

Finally I present a graph containing all terms searched for. There is little here to note that has not already been mentioned, but it is worthwhile presenting all terms on one axis in order to appreciate the different scales, before we begin to relate this data to an individual case study.
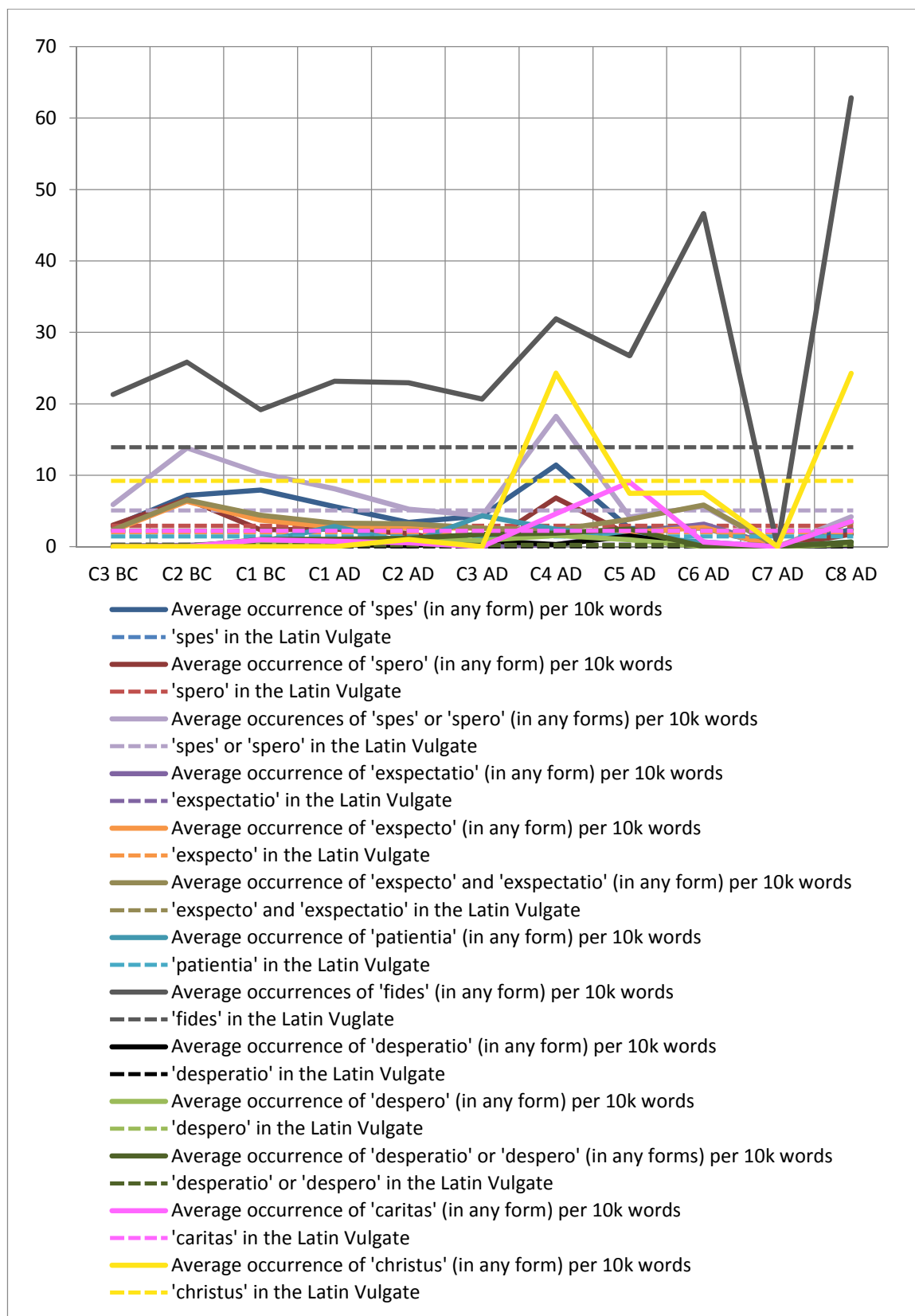
Figure 17. Average Occurrences of Search Terms per 10,000 words in Perseus Digital Library

3. AUGUSTINE: SITUATING THE INDIVIDUAL

Having laid some groundwork, we may now begin to conduct a more in-depth analysis of a specific individual's experience of hope. These individual case studies are incredibly important, particularly when examining such a personal and phenomenological concept as hope. They allow us to minimise speculation by examining the possible; we may investigate one person's experience as an example of a conception of hope which was actually possible in a given time and culture. For my case study, I have decided to examine Augustine of Hippo. My statistical studies indicate that the fourth century AD may be a particularly interesting period to study in relation to conceptions of hope. It therefore seemed pertinent to select an individual, such as Augustine, who lived through both the late fourth and early fifth centuries. His links to both Classical culture and the Christian church also make him an interesting case study, considering the changes in conceptions of hope brought about by the latter, as explored in Chapter 1. There are also a relatively wide range of extant sources through which to explore Augustine's thought and experience. This allows me to apply a wider range of techniques than might be possible for a less prolific individual.

I have selected three specific works of Augustine to examine from different angles. The first is the *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Love*, a text written by Augustine in sometime after 420 AD at the request of an individual named Laurentius.[183] It is one of the later sources of our selection, written towards the end of Augustine's life. The *Enchiridion* was a handbook outlining 'the proper mode of worshipping God', and was intended for regular consultation; 'a work of mine which should never be out of his hands'.[184] It is divided into sections based on the three theological virtues of 1 Corinthians 13:13, first outlining the distinctions between them, and then devoting a portion to the question of faith, a portion to hope, and a portion to love.

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[183] Augustine, *Enchiridion*. Ernest Evans, "Introduction," in *Saint Augustine's Enchiridion or Manual to Laurentius Concerning Faith, Hope and Charity* (London: SPCK Publishing, 1953), xxiv. Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages*, 296-297.

[184] Augustine, *Retractations*, in *Fathers of the Church, Volume 60*, trans. Sister M. Inez Bogan, R.S.M. (The Catholic University of America Press, 1968), Book 2, Chapter 89, 262.

The second source is Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, which consists of a series of homilies by Augustine on the book of Psalms, produced over the course of around 20 to 30 years. They cover the early and middle periods of his bishopric, from around 392 AD to 418 AD, which allows us to examine Augustine's conceptions of hope over a relatively broad period.[185] This work or corpus is the only source examined here which was originally intended to be received in a specifically oral format, primarily preached as sermons.[186]

Finally, I have selected Augustine's *Epistolae*, or letters, which consist of correspondence with over 90 recipients, including individuals and groups, covering a wide range of topics, including the Donatist and Pelagian controversies, matters of biblical doctrine, diocesan affairs and personal situations.[187] These letters cover the broadest time period of our sources, with the earliest letter written in 386 AD and the latest in 429/430 AD[188]

These sources were chosen, not for their convenient alliteration I assure you, but for their range, both in time period and in style, and because each source allows us to demonstrate a unique methodology and a unique aspect of the phenomenon of hope. I have taken the decision to focus on a different source for each methodology, rather than apply each methodology to all of Augustine's works, primarily for the sake of clarity; each methodology can be demonstrated much more clearly when applied to one source. The *Enchiridion* allows us to compare Augustine's conception of hope with the other theological virtues of faith and charity, as well as to compare his analysis of specific biblical passages on hope with the exegesis of other patristic writers. The *Enarrationes* allows us to examine Augustine's use of hope within metaphor, as metaphors surrounding hope occur much more often within this source than within his other works, due to the source material (the Psalms) which he explores. Finally, the *Epistolae* allow us to direct

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[185] Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages*, 290.

[186] Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages*, 290.

[187] Augustine, *Letters*. Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages*, 306-310. Sparrow-Simpson, *The Letters of Saint Augustine*, 7-23.

[188] Fitzgerald, *Augustine Through the Ages*, 298-305.

our focus to communicative aspects of Augustine's conception of hope, as well as occasions when he speaks of hope in a more incidental or indirect fashion. Another advantage of examining the sources or texts separately is that it allows us to note the differences between genres, and the effect of genre on the expression of hope. All three sources are by the same individual, yet they show a remarkable degree of variety when it comes to expressing the phenomenon of hope.

However, before we can examine Augustine as an individual, it is worth situating his thought and his works within the wider historical background which we have already outlined. Therefore, before delving deeper into these three specific sources, I have repeated the statistical analyses introduced in Chapter 2: Spes, Spero and Despero, applying them to Augustine's works as a whole. As much of the reasoning and explanation behind these charts has been detailed in Chapter 2, I intend to be relatively brief here. I will present the charts that I have produced and outline what they reveal, before comparing Augustine's conception of hope to the patristic authors discussed above.

1. STATISTICS FOR AUGUSTINE

Following the methodology outlined in Chapter 2, I produced charts to compare the occurrences of hope in Augustine's works as a noun or verb, in singular or plural form, and in first, second or third person form (Table 11 and Figure 18, Table 12 and Figure 19, Table 13 and Figure 20).

Table 11. Percentages of Noun and Verb Forms of spes/spero *in Augustine's Works*

	Percentage of total occurrences in Augustine's works	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
Noun	58.91%	63.66%	68.41%
Verb	41.09%	36.34%	31.59%
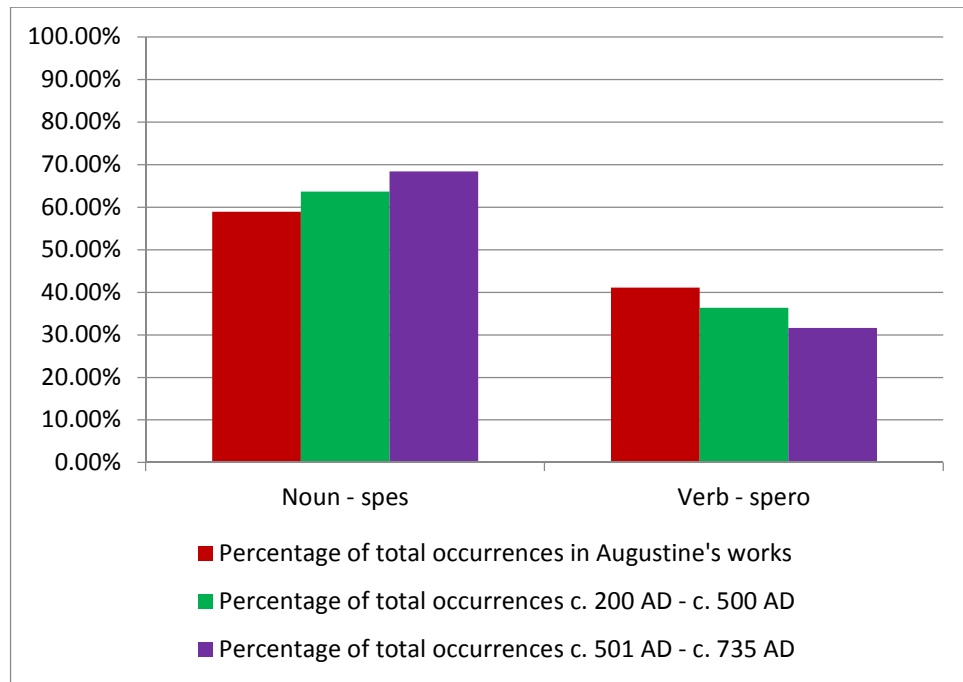
Figure 18. Occurrences and Percentages of Noun and Verb Forms of spes/spero *in*

Augustine's Works

Table 12 . Percentages of First, Second and Third Person Forms of spes/spero *in*

Augustine's Works

	Percentage of total occurrences in Augustine's works	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
1st person (Sing. & Plural)	27.61%	25.79%	29.70%
2nd person (Sing. & Plural)	8.76%	6.84%	2.12%
3rd person (Sing. & Plural)	37.24%	40.14%	35.42%
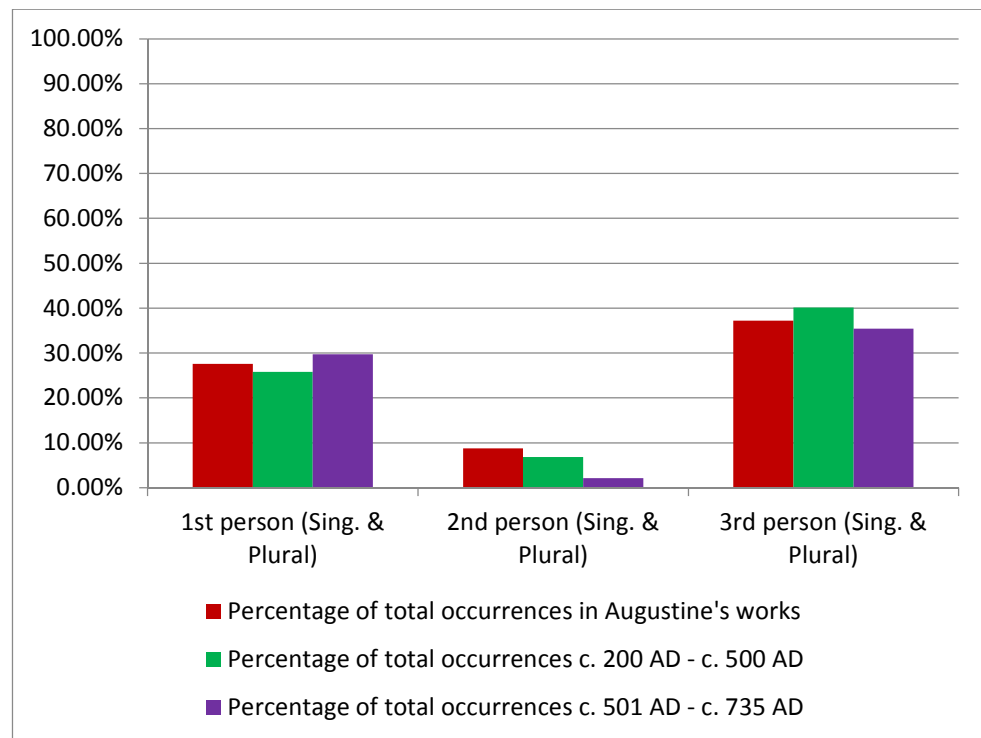
Figure 19. Occurrences and Percentages of First, Second and Third Person Forms of spes/spero *in Augustine's Works*

Table 13. Percentages of Singular and Plural Forms of spes/spero *in Augustine's Works*

	Percentage of total occurrences in Augustine's works	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
Singular	42.03%	46%	46%
Plural	31.58%	27%	21%
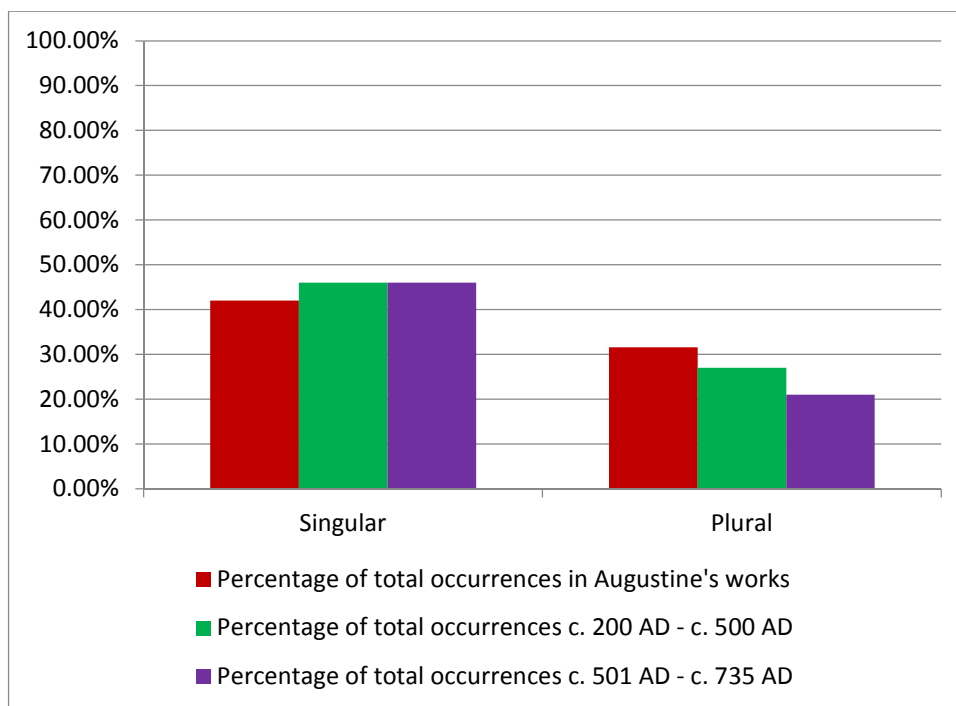
Figure 20. Occurrences and Percentages of Singular and Plural Forms of spes/spero *in Augustine's Works*

Using these charts, we are able to compare Augustine's usage of terms for hope to the broader trends in the third to eight centuries AD. It appears that the Augustine's usage follows a very similar distribution to the broader trends. He employs hope as a noun slightly more often than as a verb (Figure 18), speaks of hope in the third person most and the second person least (Figure 19), and is slightly more likely to use a singular form than a plural form (Figure 20). In general, as one may expect, his usage aligns more with the third to fifth century data than with the sixth to eight century data. We should note that in all cases Augustine appears to be slightly more balanced in his usage of each form. He employs verb and noun forms more equally than in the data for either broader time period; the same with singular and plural forms and first, second and third person forms.

These comparisons allow us to begin to develop a study of Augustine as an individual, and are interesting for a number of reasons. Firstly, these charts affirm the data produced in Chapter 2; we can feel more confident that these broad-trend charts do reflect the usage of individuals, and are not obscuring individual variation too much. These comparisons also emphasise the degree to which Augustine and his expressions of hope are intrinsically part of a broader development of language; his conception of and discussion of the experience do not occur in a vacuum. This data allows us to direct our study of hope

in Augustine's works according to the trends found here. That is, because we know that Augustine regularly employed hope as both a noun and a verb across his works, we are able to comfortably discuss occurrences of both forms of hope without fear of over-emphasising one over the other. We are also made aware of those forms of hope which are more unusual for Augustine. For example, the fact that he employs hope in the second person relatively rarely compared to his use of the first or third person. However, there is evidence of individual variance here; the fact that Augustine is slightly more balanced in his usage of each form is also relevant. So while his use of the second person form of hope is rare, it is more common than in other contemporary works. This alerts us to the possibility that Augustine felt particularly comfortable directing or anticipating hope in the individuals whom he addressed.

I have also repeated the statistical analysis as in the second half of Chapter 2, where we compared the occurrences of terms for hope with other related terms. I compared Augustine's usage of the same terms (*spes*, *spero*, *exspectatio*, *exspecto*, *patientia*, *fides*, *caritas*, *desperatio*, *despero*) across his works. The findings are presented below (Table 14 and Figure 21), alongside the general trends for the fourth and fifth centuries. While it would be fascinating to further subdivide Augustine's works by time period, and compare trends across his lifetime, this has not been feasible with the data available and is perhaps a space for further study.

Table 14. Occurrences of Terms per 10,000 words in Augustine's Works compared to the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

	Fourth Century	Fifth Century	Augustine's Works
spes	11.42	2.54	4.81
spero	6.81	1.61	3.35
exspectatio	0.28	1.81	0.12
exspecto	2.10	2.02	1.18
patientia	0.28	1.81	2.59
fides	31.91	26.74	15.62
caritas	4.60	9.02	7.80
desperatio	0.31	1.50	0.27
despero	1.57	0.98	0.68
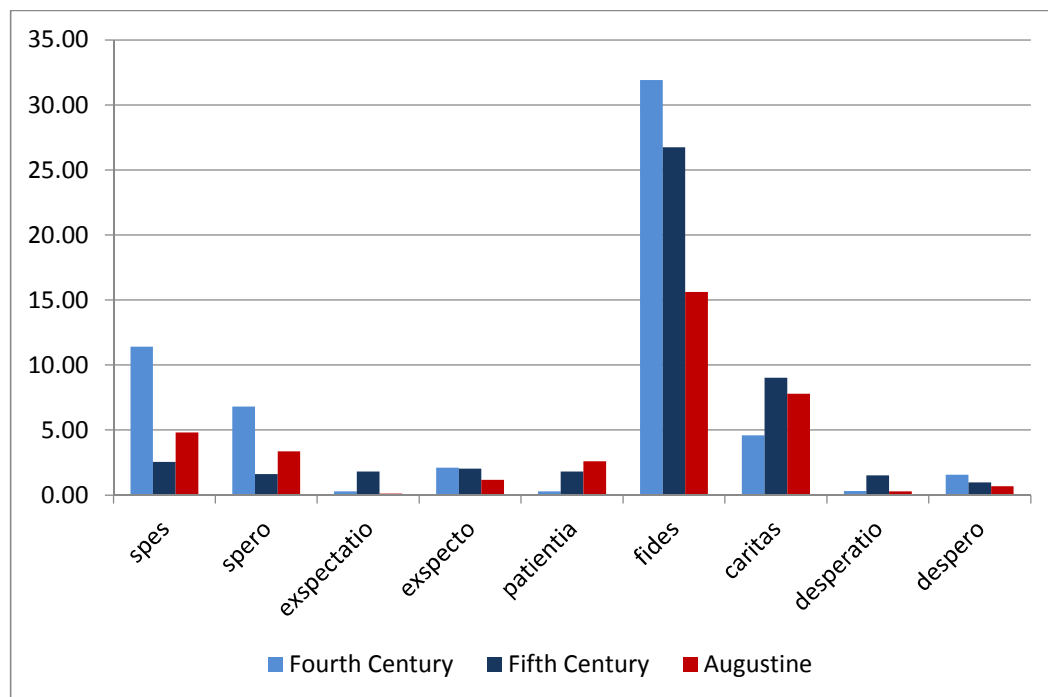
Figure 21. Occurrences of Terms per 10,000 words in Augustine's Works compared to the Fourth and Fifth Centuries

From this chart we can see that Augustine's usage of both *spes* and *spero* was relatively high compared to other terms such as *exspectatio* or *exspecto*. Interestingly, his usage of both *spes* and *spero* fall about halfway between the fourth and fifth century averages for these terms. This emphasises that Augustine was living in a period when the usage of hope as a term had spiked dramatically, although was heading towards a decline to more 'typical' levels in the fifth century. It seems that Augustine was 'of his time' in his usage of terms for hope within his texts.

We can also note that Augustine's usage of terms for despair – *desperatio* and *despero* – are both very low. Indeed, they are lower than both fourth and fifth century averages. Despair does not appear to have been as relevant a concept for Augustine as hope, love or faith, just as in the broader trends across the centuries.

The final feature to emphasise in this chart, leading into our discussion of Augustine's conception of hope as one of the three theological virtues, are his usages of the terms for love (*caritas*) and faith (*fides*) as compared to hope. While *fides* is the most common of the terms searched for in Augustine's works (which is in keeping with the

broader trends), his usage of the term for faith is significantly lower than the averages for either the fourth or fifth century. Indeed, the number of occurrences per 10,000 words is much closer to the occurrences of *caritas* than in any of the century averages. His usage of terms for the three theological virtues is therefore much more balanced than in the broader averages. He employs terms for both hope and love around 8 times per 10,000 words, and terms for faith around 15 times per 10,000 words. Perhaps Augustine gave each of these virtues more equal value, both in thought and experience, than other contemporary writers. This data is certainly worth remembering as we move on to examining Augustine's discussion of faith, hope and charity in his *Enchiridion.*

2. THE ENCHIRIDION ON FAITH, HOPE AND CHARITY

While these statistics have allowed me to examine some of the grammatical nuances of Augustine's expressions of hope, and compare these to the wider trends of the period, they can be somewhat dry and abstract. They must be supplemented with a more qualitative analysis of the sentences and phrasings which surround these terms for hope, and with comparison between Augustine and other specific individuals. This comparison is made easier and more meaningful if we are able to compare like for like; examining texts which address hope within the same overall context. Depending on the case study in question, this is not always possible. I have chosen Augustine as a case study partially due to the fact that such a comparison is possible. I have explored a number of patristic texts from the second to the fifth centuries AD, each of which addresses the concept of hope as a theological virtue, alongside faith and charity, referring to the passages Romans 8:24 and 1 Corinthians 13:13. Augustine also wrote on this topic extensively in his *Enchiridion on Faith, Hope and Charity*, addressing each of the theological virtues in turn, and their role in the 'proper worship' of God.[189] This *Enchiridion*, or handbook, written to a layman named Laurentius sometime after 420 AD, is a valuable resource; in it, Augustine directly contemplates the nature of hope, as well as situating this hope within the broader realities of life.[190] I will address the text in reference to the categories outlined in Chapter 1, Section 3, allowing for comparison to other contemporary or earlier writers. All references to the

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[189] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter I, 2.

[190] Evans, "Introduction", xxiv.

works of these writers – Irenaeus, Clement, Cyprian, John Chrysostom, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius – refer to the discussions and passages quoted in Chapter 1, Section 3.

Time and Eternity

Regarding the matter of hope as either eternal or transient, there is unfortunately relatively little that can be remarked upon in the *Enchiridion*. Augustine avoids commenting on whether hope as an experience or virtue will continue into 'the world to come', stating neither that it is satisfied, nor that it continues.[191] His comments regarding hope and eternity tend to focus on the things hoped for; he emphasises that the hope of the faithful should pertain to 'eternal goods', and only those temporal goods which are 'necessary for obtaining the eternal goods'.[192] These will be 'retained forever', 'possessed forever', in 'life eternal – where we all hope to be'.[193] While the objects of hope may be eternal, we cannot comment on whether Augustine conceived of hope itself as something either eternal or transient.

This reflects the approaches of Cyprian, Ambrosiaster and Pelaguis, all of whom do not state decidedly whether hope continues or ceases. Augustine's ambiguity on this matter contrasts with the works of Clement and John Chrysosotem, who state explicitly that hope ends, and that of Ireneaus, who suggests that hope is eternal.

Relationship with God

Augustine declares in his summary statement that 'God should be worshipped in faith, hope, love'.[194] This indicates that, for Augustine, hope was part of man's actions in worshipping God. Later again, Augustine implies that the role of God is to be the

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[191] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXIV, 39.

[192] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXX, 48.

[193] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXX, 48.

[194] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter I, 2.

placeholder of hope, as opposed to the source of it; 'all who are God's should cast their hopes on him', 'we should seek from none other than the Lord God whatever it is that we hope'.[195] This somewhat contrasts with, for example, John Chrysosotem's text, which indicates that God is the source of man's ability to hope, and that he gifts hope to believers. Augustine, instead, places the action or decision to hope in the hands of man, while stating that only God can fulfil their hopes. This aligns more with the expressions of Ambrosiaster and Pelagius; surprising indeed when we consider the heresies of the latter author, and Augustine's refutation of them.

However, there are certain complexities here. Augustine does speak of the origin of hope, and states that 'from our confession of *faith*… there is born the good *hope* of the faithful'.[196] Hope, specifically the good hope of the faithful - note the significant adjective modifier - is born, not explicitly from God, but from faith. Yet where does faith arise from? Augustine's answer is grace, to which he dedicates a significant section of his *Enchiridion*. This text was written relatively late in Augustine's life, long after the radical shift in thought which Brown claims occurred in around 396 AD, wherein Augustine came to believe in mankind's 'complete dependence on an efficious and internal grace'.[197] Speaking of the restoration of man, Augustine asks, 'could he do this by the determination of his free will? Of course not! For it was in the evil use of his free will that man destroyed himself and his will at the same time.'[198] While Augustine does not explicitly state that hope is a gift from God, in his writings on grace he speaks of 'divine gift[s]', and quotes Paul; 'by grace you have been saved by faith'.[199] Here, then, is where Augustine and Pelagius differ. Underlying all of Augustine's discussions of hope is his certainty of 'the necessity of grace'.[200] Without grace, man has not faith, which itself gives birth to 'the

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[195] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XVI, 26; Chapter XXX, 48.

[196] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXX, 47.

[197] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 154. Anthony Dupont, "Continuity or Discontinuity in Augustine?," *Ars Disputandi* 8, no. 1 (2008), 68.

[198] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter IX, 14.

[199] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter IX, 14.

[200] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter IX, 13.

good hope of the faithful'.[201] This distinction between hope in general and the hope of the faithful is significant. It appears that, for Augustine, all men have the capacity for hope, but that the specific theological virtue of hope is an entirely different matter, granted only by God through grace. For Augustine, while man can hope without God, the only hope that is good or right (the theological virtue specifically) is that which is gifted by God.

As mentioned before, this contrasts with Pelagius' approach, where he suggests that hope is not so much *gifted* from God, but aided by God; a view seemingly shared by Ambrosiaster. John Chrysosotem and Cyprian share Augustine's approach, speaking of as hope undertaken by man, but proceeding from and implanted by God.

Universality or Exclusivity

While Augustine is the first of the patristic writers studied here to use the phrase 'theological virtues', he does not specify that hope is exclusively for believers.[202] True, he states that 'without faith nothing else is possible', and includes in this statement the theological virtue of hope.[203] Later, however, he states that 'when we ask whether someone is a good man, we are not asking what he believes, or hopes, but what he loves.'[204] This implies that it is possible for any man, be he 'good' or not, to hope for different things, just as it is possible for man to believe different things. Therefore hope in general is available universally. Augustine continues 'he who loves aright believes and hopes rightly', indicating that there is such thing as right hope and wrong hope, but even right hope does not necessarily produce a good man.[205] These lines reinforce the distinction between two types of hope, with qualitative differences. Here, once more, Augustine indicates that hope

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[201] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXX, 47.

[202] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 3.

[203] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 3.

[204] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[205] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

in a general form is available to all, but that the hope which is 'right', the specific hope which is a theological virtue, is only available to he who loves and believes aright.

In another passage, Augustine states that man 'cannot hope without love', which places parameters on hope's availability.[206] However, 'love' here seems to indicate a more general desire or appreciation as opposed to the theological virtue of love, as Augustine goes on to state that unless man loves something in particular, the example being righteousness, 'he cannot realise the object of his hopes'.[207]

Comparing Augustine's thoughts to the other patristic writers studied here, we find that most similarly conceive of hope, in a general sense, as potentially available to all. Some also make a distinction between types of hope; Cyprian, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius all indicate that they believe in a qualitatively different form of hope available exclusively to Christians.

The Object or Ends of Hope

Augustine, when describing the object or ends of hope, takes a thorough and quite specifically grammatical approach. He generally presents hope as 'for' something in particular, as opposed to a more general, abstract hoping for nothing in particular; indeed, he sets out to answer the question 'what should be hoped for'.[208] He states that hope refers to 'what is not seen', but deliberately distinguishes it from faith – also 'what is not seen' – by stating that hope only pertains to the future, while faith pertains to past, present and future.[209] He also states that belief in something negative is not hope, stating that we may believe in the 'punishment of the impious' but may not hope for it.[210]

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[206] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[207] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[208] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter I, 2.

[209] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[210] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

His definition is unambiguously stated thus; 'hope deals only with good things, and only with those which lie in the future, and which pertain to the man who cherishes the hope'.[211] This final layer of specification, that the ends of hope must pertain to he who hopes, is particularly interesting, and Augustine is quite unique in addressing this angle. Unfortunately, he does not expand upon this particular point much further, and we are left to question why he chose to emphasise this point, and how it relates to his conception of hope. This passage appears to emphasise the personal nature of hope; it seems that, for Augustine, hope was not a detached, anonymous or objective experience, but one which was fundamentally tied to the person who hoped. By specifying that hope may only pertain to the hoper, Augustine seems to reflect Martha Nussbaum's conception of emotions as part of judgements of value towards the flourishing of the individual experience.[212] Or perhaps he merely chooses to emphasise a grammatical nuance, that hope cannot be hope without a person hoping. That is, a good thing in the future (for example, sunshine tomorrow) cannot be a matter of hope unless there is a person to whom that good thing pertains who may hope for it. Yet he appears to contrast this element of hope with faith, about which he states 'faith has to do with our own affairs and with those of others', and can even be 'about things as well'.[213]

If faith can involve belief in the affairs of others and of things, but hope must only relate to the person, then perhaps the ends of hope, in Augustine's eyes, cannot be matters which regard *external* things or people, but must be to do with the internal state of being of the hoper. Indeed, later he speaks of the ends of hope 'pertain[ing] to true happiness', which suggests that he conceives of the ends of hope as a state of being.[214] He also speaks of hoping 'to do well', again a matter of individual personhood.[215] Indeed, the one hope which Augustine claims is not 'in vain' is the hope for 'the gift of love'; once again, an

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[211] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[212] Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 1, 7.

[213] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[214] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[215] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXX, 48.

individual, internal experience.[216] True, when speaking of the Lord's Prayer Augustine states that hope can pertain to 'temporal goods'.[217] Yet this is only when they are 'necessary for obtaining... eternal goods'.[218] These future, eternal goods must then, in Augustine's mind, relate only to the individual who hopes; they cannot hope for the eternal goods of others.

Certainty or Uncertainty

Here we ask whether Augustine conceives of hope as something inherently certain, or something which contains within itself uncertainties. If we examine his analysis of the differences between hope, fear and faith, we see that he defines hope as a matter of belief; 'when, therefore, our good is believed to be future, that is the same thing as hoping for it.'[219] This amounts then, not to an objective certainty, but to a form of subjective certainty. Hope entails believing something will happen, but it is still 'hope' even when that thing will not actually come to pass. Augustine explicitly states that it is possible to hope 'in vain', and speaks of occasions when man 'cannot realise the object of his hopes'.[220] He counsels people against hoping in specific ways, which he believes will not come to fruition; 'let no one hope to obtain any merit with God after he is dead', 'no man should rest his hopes in himself, nor one man in another'.[221] This indicates that his conception of hope allowed for uncertainties; indeed, he believed that all but one hope – the theological virtue which hopes in God – would never be realised.

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[216] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[217] Augustine, *Enchidirion*, Chapter XXX, 48.

[218] Augustine, *Enchidirion*, Chapter XXX, 48.

[219] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[220] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48-49.

[221] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXIX, 46; Chapter XVI, 26.

This view is shared with Cyprian, but many of the other patristic writers tend to present hope as firmly a matter of certainty. Clement, John Chrysosotem, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius all emphasise the certainty of hope, as opposed to any elements of uncertainty.

Connection with Faith and Love

The very fact that Augustine has chosen to devote his handbook on 'the proper mode of worshipping' to the three theological virtues and their interactions demonstrates the significance he places on them as elements of the Christian life.[222] Despite not directly quoting 1 Corinthians 13:13, he is evidently strongly influenced by its message and frames his entire discussion of the method of Christian worship around the terms of faith, hope and love. That Augustine's most in depth analysis of hope should come within this context demonstrates the conceptual link held between hope and the other two 'virtues'.

Augustine does not focus solely on the shared features of the three virtues, as in Irenaeus' and Cyprian's works. He also does not solely emphasise the differences between the three, as in Ambrosiaster's text. Instead, Augustine takes care to note both the similarities and connections between the concepts, and the specific elements of difference between them. He is characteristically thorough in noting both the mutual and the distinguishing features of each virtue. He states that all entail prayer, whether directly or indirectly; 'hope and love pray. Yet without faith nothing else is possible; thus faith prays too.'[223] Later, however, he explores the distinctions between faith and hope, stating that hope is a more specific term than faith. Although both 'refer to what is not seen', they are 'different terms and likewise different concepts'.[224] We have noted this distinction earlier. Faith, he states, refers to past, present and future, entails good and bad things, and can refer to ourselves, other people, and things. Hope refers only to the future, to good things, and to ourselves.

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[222] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter I, 2.

[223] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 3.

[224] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

Key for Augustine is the interconnected nature of the three virtues; he states definitively that each relies on the other for its existence, and they cannot exist separately. He states that 'without faith nothing else is possible', that 'there can be no true hope without love', that faith 'works by love' and 'cannot exist without hope', and that 'love is not without hope, hope is not without love, and neither hope nor love are without faith'.[225] In a number of passages he seems to place the emphasis on faith as the key binding feature, implying that the other virtues spring from it; 'from our confession of *faith*... there is born the good *hope* of the faithful, accompanied by a holy *love*'.[226] Yet later he shifts his emphasis to love as the key factor, stating that 'he who loves aright believes and hopes rightly'.[227] Later, again, he states that man must hope to 'obtain the gift of love', implying again that love springs from hope.[228] This suggests a cyclical conception of the virtues, in some way analogous to the concept of the Trinity; he believes that while each cannot exist without the others, each also feeds into and reinforces the others.

It is clear, however, that these interconnections specifically apply to *Christian* faith, hope and love. Augustine states that it is possible for a man to believe and hope without love, yet 'he who does not love believes in vain, even if what he believes is true; he hopes in vain'.[229] Perhaps for Augustine, each can exist without the other, but in doing so would not constitute proper worship or true Christian virtue. Only when each coincides and reinforces the others can they be 'true', and entail the correct mode of worship.

Reason and Emotion

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[225] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 3.

[226] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXX, 47.

[227] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[228] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

[229] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XXXI, 48.

The role of mind, body, emotion and reason in Augustine's conception of hope is an area where we have relatively few direct references upon which to comment or draw conclusions. We can note that Augustine does not refer to hope as an emotion or feeling. He does, however, appear to represent it as a part of reason, a rational conscious decision. For example, when discussing the concepts of grace, mercy and free will, Augustine states that 'a man who is old enough to exercise his reason cannot believe, hope, or love unless he wills it'.[230] This implicitly connects hope with reason, suggesting that Augustine's conceived of hope as a matter pertaining to thought and active decision. He also tends to frame hope as an action or undertaking, suggesting that to hope in certain things is a choice made by man. This is similar to the approaches taken by Cyprian and Ambrosiaster, as explored in our earlier chapter.

Fear and Suffering

Augustine is very clear in elucidating the relationship between fear and hope, and their differences. Hope, to Augustine, is not equivalent to more neutral terms such as expectation or foresight. He speaks of situations where one may believe in something, for example 'the punishment of the impious', without hoping for it.[231] He states that in those situations, one is 'more rightly said to fear than to hope'.[232] Speaking of a quote from Virgil's *Aeneid* - 'if I could have hoped for... such a grievous blow' - Augustine states that this is an example of 'inaccurate language', explicitly delineating fear as towards negative things and hope as towards only 'good things'.[233] However, by speaking of fear and hope within the same context, Augustine demonstrates that they belong to similar categories within his conception of experience; both entail belief in a future.

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[230] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter IX, 15.

[231] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[232] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[233] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

When looking at other patristic exegesis, we have found conceptions of hope as something which counteracts suffering and fear; some writers, such as Clement, frame hope as the future relief from suffering in the afterlife, whereas others, such as Cyprian, frame hope as a present aid to relieve present suffering. Augustine, however, does not appear to present hope as an experience which in itself benefits the individual, or counteracts fear or suffering. When he relates hope to fear, it is primarily to emphasise the differences between the two, rather than to discuss their interactions with each other.

In one case, he speaks of a situation where an individual chooses to 'suffer the loss of [earthly] things rather than losing Christ, and does not desert Christ from fear of losing such things--even though he may grieve over his loss'.[234] Here we find that the man continues to experience the negative emotions of loss, fear, and grief, despite (or even as a result of) having hope and faith in Christ. Yet he is not 'consum[ed]' by these experiences, 'secured as he is by the stability and the indestructibility of his foundation'.[235] This suggests that Augustine conceives of hope as something which does not wholly counteract negative experiences of fear and suffering, but which does have a present impact, in that it prevents the individual being overwhelmed by such negative emotions or experiences.

Conclusion

These focal points allow us to summarise some elements of Augustine's experience of hope. When directly contemplating the nature of hope, Augustine concludes that hope is only ever good, only based in the future, and only ever personal. He makes a distinction between the hope which is by and for God (the theological virtue), and the more general hope of mankind within the world. The former hope is for eternal ends, while the latter is for temporal ends. The former is inextricably tied to faith and charity. He presents hope in general as part of man's natural capacity, and as a matter of choice, reason and action, rather than uncontrollable emotion. Because of this, hope, for Augustine, does not preclude or negate fear, suffering or negative emotions. He believes that the 'good hope of the faithful' is not innate in man, but gifted by God through grace. In general, Augustine

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[234] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XVIII, 30.

[235] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XVIII, 30.

suggests that hope is not necessarily objectively certain, but that it is always subjectively certain; that is, the individual who hopes also believes that what they hope for will occur. However, this is another example of the distinction between hope in God and more general hopes, as for Augustine, hope in God is objectively certain.

If we compare these findings with those works by other patristic authors which also address hope in the context of faith and charity, we find that Augustine's conception of hope aligns most closely with that of Cyprian. Both are ambiguous as to whether hope is eternal or transient; both express a distinction between Christian hope and hope more generally; both consider hope to be undertaken by man, but proceeding from God; both allow for objective uncertainties within hope; both frame hope as a matter of choice and action, rather than feeling. Perhaps there is a geographical link here, as Augustine and Cyprian lived in greatest proximity to each other out of all the writers, exercising authority in Hippo and Carthage respectively. Of the other writers, Ambrosiaster and Pelagius were closest to Hippo; both preached across the Mediterranean Sea in Rome, although Pelagius originally came from Britain. Ireneaus, Clement and Chrysostom lived further afield, in Lugdunum, Alexandria and Constantinople respectively. These three were also the furthest from Augustine in their conceptions of hope in these texts. There may be a significance to these groupings; indeed, this may reflect Rosenwein's concept of emotional 'communities', and there may have been shared emotional traditions within these different provinces.[236] However, comparisons such as these can also highlight the differences between individuals. That none of these authors shared precisely the same understanding of the nature of hope serves to emphasise how unique and nuanced the phenomenon of historical hope was. There is still a great deal more to explore regarding Augustine's personal experiences, and the following chapters will demonstrate some techniques for examining further elements of Augustine's conception of hope.

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[236] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 20-31.

4. HOPE AND METAPHOR

In her article on *Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions*, Barbara Rosenwein entreats historians to be alert to the metaphors surrounding emotions.[237] Metaphors are used to relate abstract concepts to tangible things, in order to ground those abstract phenomena in the physical world. This is particularly relevant when studying the experience of emotional phenomena. Hope, along with other thoughts and emotional concepts, is both abstract and personal; the use of metaphor to relate such an internal experience to the external world then allows for the communication of that experience using a common frame of reference. Metaphors are tools for communication, and therefore by studying them, we can perhaps gain an increased understanding of an individual's conception of an abstract concept such as hope.

Metaphors themselves have been analysed in many ways, but the simplest definition for our enquiry is as follows: metaphors involve the conceptual mapping of certain features from a source domain to a target domain.[238] For example, in the metaphor 'Christ is as stable as a rock', the 'rock' is the source domain, 'Christ' is the target domain, and stability is the mapped feature. These mapped features may not be explicitly stated within the metaphor; in the sentence 'Christ is a rock', we may choose to interpret the mapped feature as stability. The domains will also be part of a semantic field, and metaphors within these fields are often highly interrelated; the connotations of the domains are significant. That is to say, there is a difference between 'your smile is as bright as the sun' and 'your smile is as bright as a nuclear explosion'. While the stated mapped feature (brightness) remains constant, the connotations surrounding the source domains (sun or nuclear explosion) are very different. One may be positive, the other negative. One evokes a steady experience, which brings a pleasant degree of warmth and encourages growth and life; the other evokes a sudden, rare, dramatic, uncontrollable event, which can be devastating. One is also more 'comfortable' or common, and therefore somewhat more accessible.

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[237] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", 18.

[238] Francisco José Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Lorena Pérez Hernández, "The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor: Myths, Developments and Challenges," *Metaphor and Symbol 26* (2011): 162-165.

The features or characteristics invoked in metaphor have a tangible relevance to the individual's experience of the world. Recent research into the concept of embodied cognition the interaction between language, imagery and our experience of the world.[239] For example, in a recent experiment, individuals were given objects with various qualities (rough or smooth, heavy or light, hard or soft) to handle whilst making decisions regarding various situations.[240] The researchers found that 'among other effects, heavy objects made job candidates appear more important, rough objects made social interactions appear more difficult, and hard objects increased rigidity in negotiations', indicating a link between physical embodied interactions with the world and cognitive processing.[241] The implication is that scientists confirm what the humanities have believed; that metaphors reflect the lived experience of the individual, and also play a role in constructing that experience. By

[239] Samuel McNerney, "A Brief Guide to Embodied Cognition: Why You Are Not Your Brain," *Scientific American,* November 4, 2011, accessed August 19, 2015, http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/guest-blog/a-brief-guide-to-embodied-cognition-why-you-are-not-your-brain/. George Lakoff & Mark Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*. (London: University of Chicago Press, 2003). George Lakoff & Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh: The Embodied Mind and Its Challenge to Western Thought* (Basic Books; 1999). Michael L. Anderson, "Embodied Cognition: A Field Guide," *Artificial Intelligence* 149, no. 1 (Sep. 2003): 91–130. Schnall, "Are There Basic Metaphors?". Ortony et al., *The Cognitive Structure of Emotions*. Meier et al., "Embodiment in Social Psychology", 705–716. Lynden K. Miles, Louise K. Nind & C. Neil Macrae, "Moving Through Time," Psychological Science 21, no. 2 (2010): 222–223.

[240] Joshua M. Ackerman, Christopher C. Nocera & John A. Bargh, "Incidental Haptic Sensations Influence Social Judgments and Decisions," *Science* 328, no. 5986 (25 June 2010): 1712-1715. Other recent studies with related findings include: N. B. Jostmann, D Lakens & T. W. Schubert, "Weight as an Embodiment of Importance," *Psychological Science* 20, no. 9 (Sep. 2009): 1169-1174; Leah M. Kaufman & Sarah Allen, "Adding Weight to Judgments: The Role of Stimulus Focality on Weight-Related Embodied Cognition," *Sensoria: A Journal of Mind, Brain & Culture* 10, no. 1 (2014): 41-47; Michael W. Alban & Colleen M. Kelley, "Embodiment Meets Metamemory: Weight as a Cue for Metacognitive Judgments," *Journal of Experimental Psychology: Learning, Memory, and Cognition* 39, no. 5 (2013): 1628 –1634; Iris K. Schneider et al., "Weighty Matters: Importance Literally Feels Heavy," *Social Psychological and Personality Science* 2, no. 5 (2011): 474-478.

[241] Ackerman et al., "Incidental Haptic Sensations", 1712.

examining the metaphorical constructions which Augustine chooses to employ when discussing hope, we may gain some indication of those 'mapped features' which characterised his conception of hope. We may also note the semantic fields which were considered appropriate for the description of the phenomenon, and come to an increased understanding of his experience of hope.

This chapter will involve the detailed examination of a work by Augustine in order to highlight the metaphors which he employs when discussing hope. I have chosen to focus on Augustine's *Ennarationes in Psalmos*.[242] This source consists of a series of sermons given by Augustine across a period of over 20 years. In these sermons, Augustine directly analysed the text of the Psalms of the Old Testament text, attempting to explain them for an audience. Therefore we find that Augustine actively employs and engages with the metaphors within the Psalms themselves. Some of the metaphors addressed in this Chapter are ones which Augustine lifted directly from the Psalms themselves; on other occasions Augustine takes a passage on a tangible object or event and converts it into a metaphor for hope, and sometimes Augustine constructs the metaphor himself. I will endeavour to note those occasions when Augustine employs a metaphor directly from the Psalms, and also to note the ways in which he expands upon, minimises, or redirects it. All of these examples show us how Augustine employed metaphors to express his conception of hope, and how his conception of hope fitted into these metaphorical contexts. It is also interesting to note the wide variety of metaphors which Augustine engages with; the number of categories and subcategories set out below demonstrates the range of metaphorical contexts through which Augustine could express his experience of hope. This variety emphasises the flexibility of metaphor to express an abstract concept; their use allowed Augustine to discuss many different aspects of hope, and to relate these aspects to his audience in a more tangible and accessible way.

To medieval historians, many of the metaphors and images highlighted in this chapter may feel familiar. It must be remembered that these metaphors and symbols derive from a rich and historical language and culture. They will have wider connotations and associations, which will shape their use and their meaning. Certain images such as the anchor, the light, or the bird will have developed a 'symbolic life' through their use in a general biblical context, in the parables of Jesus, and in the writings of other

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[242] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*.

theologians.[243] However, while we should be aware of this background, I will deliberately avoid drawing attention to the wider connotations of particular metaphors within the body of this chapter. This is because I feel it is important to give each metaphorical construction an equal weighting; I do not wish to highlight some images at the expense of others, or present some metaphors as more pertinent or meaningful. I aim to explore the experience of an individual, rather than a culture; the way in which every metaphor is employed in the text was deliberately chosen by Augustine because it related in some way to his conception or experience of hope. Therefore, each metaphor is worth considering on its own terms.

This chapter is intended to be thorough; to extract and address each and every instance where Augustine employs a metaphor to describe or discuss hope. Therefore, it is somewhat extensive. In order to present these findings in an accessible fashion, I have chosen to structure the chapter using certain categories and subcategories. Each metaphor is addressed within a subcategory under one of four broader headings: *Dimension*; *Light and Sight*; *Nature*; and *Safety and Danger*. Of course these categories are not perfect; no categorisation could be. They inevitably involve creating our own comparisons. For example, I choose to place the subsections on *Snares and Traps* and *Sickness and Health* under the section headed *Safety and Danger*; the decision to tie these characteristics together arises from my own assumptions surrounding the nature of the fields. I have selected my categories and subcategories based on the metaphors found within the work itself. I have also attempted to use groupings which I consider to be relatively intuitive, and

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[243] Herbert Thurston, "Symbolism," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 14* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), accessed August 23, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/14373b.htm. Paul Cret, "Animals in Christian Art," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed August 23, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01515b.htm. Charles Souvay, "Animals in the Bible," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), accessed August 23, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01517a.htm. Charles Souvay, "Plants in the Bible," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 12* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed August 23, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01515b.htm. Maurice Hassett, "The Anchor (as Symbol)," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 1* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed August 23, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01462a.htm. Caryl Coleman, "Birds (In Symbolism)," *The Catholic Encyclopedia, Vol. 2* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed August 23, 2015, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02576b.htm.

which acknowledge the interrelated nature of the metaphors. Where a metaphor evokes features from multiple fields or categories, I endeavour to address it from each of those angles. Finally, I will attempt to draw these studies together to explore one specific aspect of Augustine's conception of hope which emerged consistently across a range of metaphors: the concept of hope as an echo of a future reality, the future made present in spirit but not yet in substance. This is a particularly fascinating construction of hope, and one which challenges us to reconsider the very concept of abstract thought and its relation to the physical world. With that to look forward to, let us begin to pick apart some of Augustine's metaphorical constructions of hope; in his own words, 'let those entanglements begin to be unrolled'.[244]

1.   **DIMENSION**

<u>Height, Mountains and Pits</u>

Within the *Enarrationes*, Augustine uses 'depths' to represent the frustration at remaining on earth, in contrast to heaven; 'by the body we are depressed to the lowest depths', 'we are weighed down by our sins'.[245] Because he conceives of heaven as infinitely higher, earth is effectively as deep or as low as hell; each constitutes a place of sin, and hope unfulfilled or incomplete. As Augustine writes, 'I suppose that all this [earthly] part cannot be compared with that heaven... the one is above, the other below.'[246] However, while remaining on earth constitutes remaining in the 'depths', Augustine also allows that a person can be 'brought up' whilst on earth. Indeed, hope in salvation constitutes just such a raising-up. While a sinner cries 'from the deep', he is given hope by 'He who came to absolve from sins', and 'has been brought out of the horrible pit'.[247] For

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[244] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 147, Section 24.

[245] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 69, Section 25.

[246] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 86, Section 16.

[247] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 130, Section 2; Psalm 40, Section 2.

Augustine, Christians remain on earth and thus in the 'depths', yet through salvation they are also 'brought up'. They are simultaneously in a state of below and above, both down and up.

This apparent ambivalence is solved by hope. From Augustine's use of metaphor, we can see that hope is for and of the heights; 'we hope for the prize. His holy Hill is His holy Church… Let no one of those that are without that mountain, hope to be heard unto eternal life'.[248] For Augustine, hope constitutes the intangible but certain raising-up of the individual whilst still in the depths, the state of man being below and above simultaneously; 'one after the Spirit in hope, the other after the body in substance'.[249] Indeed, he states that 'we *have been* brought back therefore again from the bottomless places in hope... we *shall* rise again in substance' [my emphasis].[250] While for Augustine, those who hope in God have been brought from the deep spiritually, they are yet to 'rise again' physically. This contrast between hope and substance will be explored further in the section *Substance, Spirit and Body* below.

Hope, for Augustine, constitutes the certainty of future 'heights' made present in spirit; those who hope correctly are said to 'over-leap' those who remain 'bowed down to the ground'.[251] The one 'looks for the hope laid up for him in Heaven', while the other 'perceive[s] not the hope of future life... they think of things below'.[252] However, Augustine also describes how many who 'hope' will 'fall', and many have already 'fallen from that hope'.[253] Hope itself is presented as a raised place, but the loss of such hope entails a return to the deep, a 'fall' from spiritual heights.

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[248] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 43, Section 4.

[249] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 28.

[250] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 27.

[251] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 39, Section 1; Psalm 39 Section 13; Psalm 62, Section 9.

[252] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 69, Section 25.

[253] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 69, Section 29; Psalm 91, Section 10.

Dwellings

Augustine occasionally speaks of hope in the context of metaphors of home or dwellings. In one passage, he describes the heart as a 'house' which contains hope; 'for his house is his heart; where... he lives in greater riches with the hope of eternal life, than with men flattering, in palaces of marble...'[254] This metaphorical house is occupied by God, hope, and the individual themselves. He states that God 'dwell[s] in' the individual who has hope; having hope enables a person to become 'the house of God'.[255] However, this internal 'home' is not merely home to God, but a place where an individual may find shelter themselves; just as 'the sparrow has found herself a home' so 'my heart has found itself a home' through hope.[256] On more than one occasion Augustine speaks of 'dwell[ing] in hope'.[257] This connotes both a dwelling *place*, but also an ongoing state of being; to 'dwell' invokes both time and place. Hope, for Augustine, allows individuals to 'dwell' together with God.

Augustine also employs other tangible locations as metaphors through which to understand hope, including land, the nation or the kingdom. These are often characterised as a matter of inheritance, employing imagery directly from the Psalms; 'You are my hope, my portion in the land of the living', 'the hoped-for inheritance', 'our patrimony let Him be, our hope let Him be'. [258] Here we must be aware that Augustine may not consider these constructions of hope to constitute 'metaphor', but instead may be directly describing the 'Kingdom of God' itself.[259] Often these boundaries are blurred, and genuine source

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[254] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 112, Section 3.

[255] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Sections 16-18.

[256] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 85, Sections 7.

[257] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 4, Sections 10; Psalm 42, Section 9.

[258] Psalms 141:6. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 1; Psalm 18, Section 31; Psalm 37 [2], Section 11; Psalm 56, Section 18.

[259] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Sections 29.

domains can be constructed into metaphors. That is, when Augustine speaks of sending hope 'into that land… lest in this sea being tossed we suffer shipwreck', or of 'our hope being grounded in that city Jerusalem', he speaks of the land or city of God as a genuine location, but constructs a metaphor around it.[260] Through these metaphors, we find that hope can metaphorically (and indeed spiritually for Augustine) 'bring' a person 'to' a place; when we hope 'we are in mind translated into the Kingdom of God… we are led home in hope'.[261] Hope, for Augustine, may also constitute a connection between the individual and the location in which they hope to be; 'by the anchor of hope, fixed in that country, which is rightly called God's earth'.[262]

Journey and Distance

Hope, for Augustine, constitutes an anticipation of the future; it is inherently a matter of time. Time is often presented using metaphors of dimension; the past or future may be conceived of as distant, far away, or close by. Augustine employs these metaphors, describing how a man 'hoped for the coming of his salvation at a time far remote', and that 'his hopes rested on an object far remote'.[263] This near/far dimension is often further developed into metaphors of journeys and travels; a person journeys through life towards the future. Augustine often draws such language from biblical passages which speak of 'walk[ing] by faith', or 'walk[ing] in Christ'.[264] For Augustine, this journey through time can take different routes to different ends. It is hope which 'guides' the believer to the correct 'destination'; they are 'led home in hope'.[265] With the assistance of hope, a person

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[260] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 65, Sections 3.

[261] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Sections 29.

[262] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 16, Sections 3.

[263] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Sections 15.

[264] 2 Corinthians 5:7. Colossians 2:6. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 18, Section 12; Psalm 40, Sections 5.

[265] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Sections 7; Psalm 37 [2], Section 7; Psalm 78, Section 29.

may 'walk in the way which the Lord has given'.[266] In this sense, Augustine conceives of hope as having an active presence within the person's life. It is revelatory, providing wisdom and support. It acts as a guide, helping to 'make known' the 'way wherein I must walk'.[267]

2.   LIGHT AND SIGHT

Sight

Augustine occasionally invokes metaphors of sight and vision when discussing hope. He states that 'the eyes of all hope upon You'.[268] Often, however, he decidedly denies that hope alters or offers physical sight; 'he does not see what he desires, and yet does not cease to hope', and later, 'do perhaps spiritual persons... already see, and is that already to them reality which to the lower is hope? It is not so'.[269] Indeed, in this text the passage which Augustine quotes most often in relation to hope is that of Romans 8:25; 'we hope for that which we see not'.[270] He fundamentally denies any change in present vision brought about by hope.

Yet Augustine is comfortable using metaphors of sight and blindness to describe those with and without hope; 'he looks for the hope laid up for him in Heaven... But, on the other hand, they perceive not the hope of future life; already being blinded...'[271] Through these metaphors Augustine deliberately invokes an alternate 'sight'; it is expressly *not*

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[266] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 86, Sections 23.

[267] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 143, Sections 10.

[268] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 145, Section 14.

[269] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 4; Psalm 115, Section 8.

[270] Romans 8:25.

[271] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 69, Section 25.

physical tangible vision, but a matter of knowledge or understanding. Those with this 'interior sight' are 'shown' what to hope for; hope allows people to see in a different, spiritual way.[272] Hope (both the object and the experience) is, for Augustine a matter beyond the physical and tangible realm, which cannot be seen with human eyes. Yet he chooses to employ the metaphor of sight and eyes on a number of occasions. Arguably, embodied vision is one of the primary senses through which many humans (including Augustine himself) experience and come to understand the physical world. Therefore it may have been an accessible and convenient way to describe the experience and understanding of the spiritual world. This distinction between physical and spiritual present realities is an important one, which we will revisit in the section *Substance, Spirit and Body* below.

Light and Darkness

Closely related to metaphors of sight are metaphors of light and darkness. Light allows one to see; it is revelatory in that respect. Darkness, on the other hand, prevents vision. In an embodied sense, light is essentially positive; anyone who has experienced Seasonal Affective Disorder will vouch for the deep physical importance of light in the functioning of the human body, and its role in overall happiness.[273] As diurnal creatures, being in light is our most natural state of being when we are awake and conscious. Without light we are unable to see, and for many humans (including Augustine) this constitutes a fundamental decrease in sensation. Light is therefore generally invoked in metaphor as a positive and revelatory source domain.

Augustine employs a number of direct and indirect metaphors to describe hope and God as sources of light; 'hope... that the truth, in which you have believed, may shine upon you', and later, 'we did rejoice, in hope. For we shall be in that City, where God... is our

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[272] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 4, Section 8.

[273] N. E. Rosenthal et al., "Antidepressant Effects of Light in Seasonal Affective Disorder," *The American Journal of Psychiatry* 142, no. 2 (Feb 1985): 163-170.

Light'.[274] He also speaks of the soul being 'illumined and stamped with the light of His countenance', which then reveals what is to be 'hoped for'.[275] Yet he also describes how all people on earth walk 'in darkness amidst the storms of this world'.[276] For Augustine, those that do not have hope are under the control of the darkness; 'the matter that walks in darkness has found and seized them.'[277] They are 'in dark places, as the dead of the world.'[278] On the other hand, those who hope in God are 'delivered from the power of darkness… in mind translated into the Kingdom of God'.[279] Augustine states this is 'a more inward thing'; while they remain in the darkness of the world externally, they are delivered from darkness inwardly.[280]

Day and Night

Hope, for Augustine, is the state of being inwardly translated to this bright future reality, whilst remaining in a darker present. Although 'the night is not yet past', hope is, in the words of Peter, a 'light that shines in a dark place, until the day dawns', a 'lamp of future things predicted'.[281] By expanding these metaphors of light and darkness into metaphors of day and night, Augustine adds a temporal and cyclical aspect to hope. In his exposition on the passage Psalm 130, ('my soul has trusted in the Lord, from the morning watch even unto night'), Augustine interprets the 'morning watch' as the time when Christ

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[274] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 4, Section 7; Psalm 38, Section 27.

[275] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 4, Section 8.

[276] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 4.

[277] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 7.

[278] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 143, Section 4.

[279] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Section 29.

[280] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Section 29.

[281] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 4; Psalm 143, Section 10. 2 Peter 1:19.

'arose from the dead'.[282] This, he states, was in order 'that we may hope that what went before in the Lord will take place in us.'[283] Just as the morning comes after night in cycles, so too will these events repeat themselves through hope; 'What you have seen in Me, hope for in yourselves; that is, because I have risen from the dead, you also shall rise again.'[284] Thus a believer hopes through the cycle of life, just as through the cycle of a day; their hope begins in the morning, when Christ rose again, and ends when they die, or 'sleep in hope of the resurrection'.[285] Augustine uses the metaphor of day and night to indicate a temporal aspect of hope; it has a span, a beginning and an end.

3.   NATURE

Land, Earth and Rock

In Augustine's *Enarrationes*, the metaphors drawn from the source domain of land and earth tend to either emphasise stability or, contrarily, transience. In one passage, Augustine speaks of the wicked being 'puffed up with pride… hurried along from firm and unshaken hope, and as it were from the earth's solidity and stability.'[286] That is, they are disconnected from the firm earth, they have no grounding, and therefore no firm hope. However, later Augustine states that hope will rot if left 'upon the earth', and that it should be 'lifted up'.[287] The apparently contrary nature of these metaphors can be resolved by a further examination of the meaning of 'earth'. In the first example, the 'earth' referred to is wholly metaphorical. That is, Augustine does not speak of a literal earth above which the

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[282] Psalms 130:5-6. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 130, Section 4.

[283] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 130, Section 4.

[284] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 130, Section 4.

[285] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 130, Section 6; Psalm 16, Section 3.

[286] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 18, Section 43.

[287] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 20.

individuals float, but uses the image to emphasise certain features of the earth and map them onto hope; those of 'solidity' and 'stability'.[288] As embodied beings, the human lifespan is much more fleeting than the apparently unchanging (and unchange*able*) earth. In the second example, however, Augustine is speaking of the *actual* earth in contrast to heaven or the life beyond. The earth must be fleeting when compared to the infinity of God. In this sense, despite its apparent solidity and stability, he considers the earth to be strictly transitory. Thus hope which remains 'upon the earth' will be equally transitory.[289] Hope, for Augustine, may take different forms depending on one's perspective; it may be as stable as the earth in the short term, or as transitory as the earth in the long term.

With regards to other earthly and natural forms, Augustine often chooses to characterise hope as a rock: 'he has hope, which he was before without... For on that account it is that he says, He has set my feet upon a rock'; 'on great hope we have been set: On the Rock You have exalted me'; 'that we might learn to hope for that of which we heretofore despaired, and might henceforth have our feet upon the rock'.[290] In each of these passages, Augustine adopts the metaphor directly from the Psalm which he is discussing (Psalms 40 and 61 respectively). He also draws reference to the parable of the house on the rock in Matthew 7:24.[291] These metaphors highlight the stability and safety of the rock in the face of a storm (particularly in contrast to the shifting sand), indicating that Augustine considers hope itself to be an experience which implies safety and stability.

Each of the above examples employs an element of orientation. The second quote, 'on great hope we have been set', is interesting, in that it positions the hope itself *beneath* the individual, while the passages examined earlier have tended to present hope as above or within the individual.[292] This can be attributed to the features mapped from the rock

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[288] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 18, Section 43.

[289] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 20.

[290] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Section 2; Psalm 40, Section 5; Psalm 61, Sections 3-4.

[291] Matthew 7:24.

[292] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 61, Sections 3-4.

itself; a firm, stable position on which to stand, whereupon the individual is raised up or 'exalted' from the 'deep'.[293] This metaphor is also linked to a metaphor of journey; being 'upon the rock' allows the individual to begin 'walk[ing] in Christ'. It is a starting position from which God has 'established my goings'.[294] Interestingly, Augustine also references 1 Corinthians 10:4; 'the Rock was Christ'.[295] This suggests that he conceived both of hope as a platform from which to 'walk in Christ', and of Christ himself as hope.[296]

Plants, Growth, Harvest and Seasons

As embodied beings, humans rely on plants for nourishment. Metaphors of nature therefore generally invoke the positive, life-giving properties of the plants, fruits, and harvest. Yet when a plant withers or dies, it is unable to provide such bodily benefits, and as such may constitute a more negative image. When describing hope, Augustine employs these metaphors of nature in two broad categories; those representing hope itself a plant, a root or seed which may either grow or rot; and those presenting hope as part of the process of the seasons and harvest.

In one passage, referencing John 12:24, Augustine describes Christ as a 'seed' which is imbued with hope.[297] Later, Augustine presents hope as a 'root' within a person, which prevents them from 'wither[ing]', and promises a future when 'the honour of foliage' will clothe them.[298] He develops this image from Psalm 36:1, where evil-doers will 'soon wither like grass'; Augustine describes these people as men who have 'no depth

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[293] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Section 2; Psalm 61, Sections 3-4.

[294] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Section 2; Psalm 40, Section 5.

[295] 1 Corinthians 10:4. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 61, Sections 3-4.

[296] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Section 5.

[297] John 12:24. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 41, Section 1.

[298] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 37 [1], Section 3.

of root', or no firm hope.[299] Later he speaks of a man 'rooted… in the hope of everlasting felicity'.[300] By speaking of 'root' and 'seed', Augustine invokes a sense of potential. In another passage, Augustine uses grapes and their conversion into wine as a metaphor for hope; 'Evidently he has trodden down, evidently has troubled; but what to me shall he do? A grape I was, wine I shall be: In God I have hoped, I will not fear what flesh does to me'.[301] Just as grapes through being crushed produce something even better, so too, he suggests, will man's suffering result in a positive future if he has hope. Hope is presented as the inbuilt potential for a positive future, despite present difficulties. However, later Augustine indicates that it is possible for hope to fail, and 'rot upon the earth'.[302] It seems that the metaphor of the plant, as with the metaphor of the earth, allowed Augustine the flexibility to express hope as either stable and flourishing or transient and rotting.

In other cases, Augustine uses metaphors of the harvest to present hope as part of the process of growth and seasons. He often uses such metaphors not to describe hope *itself*, but rather to describe *situations* where hope comes into play. In one case, he references Psalm 144:15, speaking of the 'hope' that God would 'give them food in due season'.[303] Later he speaks of hope as a stage which follows (and is a response to) the 'first fruits' offered by God.[304] In another metaphor, Augustine presents hope as the stage 'in the midst of the threshing', which looks 'forward' to a time 'after threshings and winnowings placed in the garner'.[305] In this sense, Augustine's metaphors of harvest express a sense of the incompleteness of hope alongside its potential.

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[299] Psalm 36:1. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 37 [1], Section 3.

[300] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 52, Section 11.

[301] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 56, Section 7.

[302] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 20.

[303] Psalms 144:15. Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 145, Section 14.

[304] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 130, Section 5.

[305] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 147, Section 17.

Storms and Oceans

The weather is another feature of the natural world which Augustine uses to formulate metaphors regarding hope. While he rarely uses metaphors regarding traditionally pleasant weather, on a number of occasions Augustine presents life as a dark storm; 'being in darkness amidst the storms of this world… does not cease to hope'.[306] Later he describes hope (and faith and charity) as 'consolations of the miserable' in this 'stormy and troublesome life'.[307] These metaphors do not present hope as something which actively alters or calms these 'storms', but as something which can withstand and endure them, as well as offer consolation through difficulty. The use of the weather as metaphor allows Augustine to emphasise the uncontrollable nature of life, and to present hope as one of the few spaces which allow for individual agency and control.

These metaphors of storms and weather are often formulated around the sea and nautical references. Augustine at times uses the ocean to refer to the general state of humanity; 'for the sea by a figure is spoken of this world, with saltness bitter, with storms troubled; where men of perverse and depraved appetites have become like fishes devouring one another.'[308] As regards hope, Augustine primarily uses the metaphor of an anchor; 'the anchor of hope', 'already hope into that land, as it were an anchor, we have sent before', 'you are wavering, cast forward an anchor to the land… cleave fast by hope'.[309] Here Augustine invokes a number of features which map from the concept of the anchor to the concept of hope; stable certainty, which contrasts with the 'wavering' individual; anticipation, looking 'forward' towards the future; and safety, which prevents metaphorical 'shipwreck' or disaster.[310] This metaphor of the anchor has a further layer. Augustine speaks of the anchor as a sort of land-that-is-not-yet-land; 'of a ship which is at anchor, we

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[306] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 4.

[307] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 119, Section 76.

[308] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 65, Section 3.

[309] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 16, Section 3; Psalm 65, Section 3; Psalm 73, Section 26.

[310] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 73, Section 26; Psalm 65, Section 3.

rightly say that already she has come to land'.[311] For Augustine, an anchor is itself a metaphor for land. When Augustine then relates this to hope, he implies that, just as an anchor represents the future of land in the present, hope represents (or is in itself) the future kingdom present-but-not-yet-present. Just as an anchor is a metaphor for land, hope itself is a metaphor for the hoped-for future. This aspect of Augustine's conception of hope is a particularly interesting one, and will be explored in greater depth in the *Substance, Spirit and Body* section below.

Animals and Beasts

It is relatively rare in this text for Augustine to formulate a metaphor around hope which uses animals or beasts as the source domain. There are three references to birds or flight. The first and second speaks of wings as features of God, and emphasises the protective element of hope: 'I know under the coverings of whose wings I should hope'.[312] This evokes the metaphor found in Psalm 90:4; 'He shall defend you between His shoulders, and you shall hope under His wings'.[313] Augustine emphasises God as the origin of this defence; 'you may not imagine that you can defend yourself; He will defend you'.[314] This correlates with Augustine's understanding of hope as something undertaken by man, but unattainable without God. Augustine also issues a warning using this metaphor; 'only be thou careful never to leave that spot, where no foe dares approach'.[315] The fact that he uses the terms of the metaphor in this way to exhort his readers to a specific task suggests that Augustine considered this a particularly accessible and relatable metaphor. The third passage refers to Psalm 83:3; 'the sparrow has found her a house, and the turtle-dove a nest, where she may lay her young'.[316] Augustine states that the sparrow

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[311] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 65, Section 3.

[312] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 62, Section 1; Psalm 91, Section 5.

[313] Psalm 90:4.

[314] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 5.

[315] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 5.

[316] Psalm 83:3.

'tries her wings in the virtues of this life, in faith, and hope, and charity, by which she may fly unto her home'.[317] Augustine presents hope through the metaphor of flight as the means by which a person may achieve their 'home', that is, the kingdom of God.

In contrast to these more accessible images of birds, we find the metaphor of the unicorn. This reference comes directly from the passage in Psalms; 'he built his sanctuary as of unicorns'.[318] Augustine chooses to meticulously explain what the unicorn is 'rightly understood to be'.[319] This may indicate that such a metaphor would not have been widely understood or connected with hope, or perhaps that he would not naturally choose to employ it. Augustine states that the unicorn represents those 'whose firm hope is uplifted unto that one thing'.[320] In order to decode this metaphor, Augustine takes the unique feature of the unicorn – the singular, firm, upward horn – as the feature which the metaphor must refer to. He then finds an experience relating to the passage which correlates with that feature; in this case, he chooses hope. We can conclude that Augustine's conceived of hope as of something singular, firm and uplifted. That Augustine was able to take such an unusual metaphor and formulate it into a conception of hope indicates his ingenuity of mind, as well as the flexibility of his conception of hope and its ability to be mapped onto a variety of metaphorical forms.

4.   SAFETY AND DANGER

Warfare and Enemies

Augustine employs military terms quite extensively in the context of hope. The concept of warfare as metaphor is a difficult one, as such expressions could be considered

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[317] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 85, Section 7.

[318] Psalms 77:69.

[319] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Section 35.

[320] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Section 35.

either metaphorical, or, to those who believe in genuine spiritual warfare against the forces of Satan, a description of reality. Since, in either sense, martial language invokes the physical realities of warfare to explain or describe an abstract or intangible concept, I will examine these examples in the same way as other metaphors. Augustine writes 'in all my toil, in all my battles, in all my difficulties, in Him have I hoped'.[321] Hope is constructed as a 'weapon' or tool in overcoming such difficulties. Augustine writes that Christians 'conquer the present, and hope for the future'.[322] An extensive example of Augustine's martial metaphors for hope may be found in his exposition of Psalm 71, which is worth quoting at length:

> For before in You I was not hoping, though You were my Protector, that led me safe unto the time, when I learned to hope in You. But from my youth I began in You to hope, from the time when You armed me against the Devil, so that in the girding of Your host being armed with Your faith, love, hope, and the rest of Your gifts, I waged conflict against Your invisible enemies, and heard from the Apostle, 'There is not for us a wrestling against flesh and blood, but against principalities, and powers,' etc. [Ephesians 5:12] There a young man it is that does fight against these things: but though he be a young man, he falls, unless He be the hope of Him to whom he cries, 'O Lord, my hope from my youth.' [Psalms 71:5][323]

This passage suggests that, just as a child can be too young to fight in a battle, a person can be too young to hope, and that they must 'learn'. This suggests that, for Augustine, hope was a matter of either practice or reason. The passage also presents hope as a weapon, something which can be employed and used by the individual, but which must be given ('armed') by God. The 'host' can be interpreted as the Church, which conveys a communal aspect of hope; each member is 'girded' with the same hope. Augustine also states that without hope, the young man must 'fall', denoting death in battle. This is both metaphorical and literal; for Augustine, the person who does not have hope in God will die on earth and will not be resurrected or have eternal life.

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[321] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 144, Section 3.

[322] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 7.

[323] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 7.

Other martial metaphors which Augustine employs revolve around the concept of defensive or fortified positions, in particular the 'tower'.[324] One passage speaks of hope being actively 'fortifie[d]' by the Psalmist.[325] Elsewhere, Augustine describes hope as 'the fortified place', a 'tower of strength in the face of the enemy', and 'your refuge'.[326] These metaphors develop further the concept of warfare, and hope as a defensive mechanism. In one passage, Augustine highlights the aspect of height; 'You have set Your house of defence very high. What do the words very high mean? For many make their house of defence in God a mere refuge from temporal persecution; but the defence of God is on high.'[327] This height, therefore, represents a realm above or beyond the 'temporal', a realm of spirit as opposed to substance. As well as strength and stability, these source domains imply a constancy or permanence; just as strong towers are symbolically ever-present, hope is presented as a constant option or source of 'refuge'.[328] Yet the tower or fortified place has both an internal and external domain; the individual may choose to leave the place of hope. Augustine presents hope as a guaranteed *option,* but not guaranteed in itself; the individual must *choose* it.

Snares and Traps

On a number of occasions Augustine relates hope to the concept of snares and traps, generally characterising hope as protection from such dangers. He speaks of a man 'with his hopes set upon God, that he falls into no snare', indicating that he conceived of hope as protection against fears and uncertainties which might ensnare a person.[329] Later

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[324] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 61, Section 4; Psalm 62, Section 14.

[325] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 42, Section 18.

[326] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 61, Section 4; Psalm 62, Section 14.

[327] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 12.

[328] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 62, Section 14.

[329] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 3.

again he describes that when an individual 'hope[s] under His wings', God will 'deliver [them] from the hunters snare'.[330] On one occasion, however, Augustine presents hope itself as a potential trap; 'there is another snare to be feared, lest through this very hope he sin the more...'[331] Here Augustine warns against an over-reliance on the hope of forgiveness, which may lead a person to say 'whenever I turn, God will forgive me all; I will do whatsoever I will'.[332] The metaphor of the snare is apparently more flexible than other military metaphors; Augustine did not represent hope as an enemy in battle, but did choose to represent it as a potentially dangerous snare. This may be explained by the fact that the image of the 'snare' is relatively inactive; it does not actively seek to inflict damage. Arguably in the case of a snare, the error of the individual causes themselves to be trapped. Therefore, Augustine is able to construct hope itself as inherently good and not an active threat, whilst at the same time allowing for negative consequences of incorrect hope as a result of human error.

Prison and Freedom

In a number of passages, Augustine employs metaphors of captivity and imprisonment to describe the occasions in which man must hope; 'let him endure captivity, hope for liberty', 'abiding yet in captivity… they send forward their joy of hope'.[333] He states that mankind is 'here in time of hope, in time of groaning, in time of humiliation, in time of sorrow, in time of infirmity, in time of the voice from the fetters'.[334] In this sense, the prison or captivity represents the present holding-back from possibility, while hope represents the anticipation of a potential future. Augustine speaks of mankind being delivered 'out of captivity... still however in hope, not yet in substance.'[335] Until free in

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[330] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 91, Section 5.

[331] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 145, Section 7.

[332] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 145, Section 7.

[333] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 65, Section 2; Psalm 147, Section 17.

[334] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 8.

[335] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 9.

substance, man may be free 'in hope'; free-but-not-yet-free. For Augustine, the time of captivity is the 'time of hope'. That is, captivity represents the current bodily and earthly situation which withholds the individual from the realisation and conclusion of hope. Hope is the future unable to realise itself in the present, but looking towards a time of 'liberty'.[336] Hope does not exist when there is liberty, because then hope is realised and made 'substance'.[337] This is part of a wider understanding of hope as the future present-but-not-present, an echo of a future reality, which underpins a great deal of Augustine's metaphorical conception of hope. This will be explored to a greater extent towards the end of this chapter.

Sickness and Health

The passage quoted above also speaks of the time of hope as the 'time of infirmity'.[338] On a number of occasions, Augustine uses metaphors of sickness and health to speak about the state of man and their decisions regarding hope, invoking both change and degrees of certainty. He states that penitent men are 'writhing under the instruments of the surgeon; but still in hope'.[339] Sickness entails a time of present difficulty, a negative time. However, it also entails inevitable change; the situation will either improve or worsen. In Augustine's eyes, this reflects the state of mankind; each person will either fall into the pit and be lost, or be saved and come into eternal life. While change itself is certain, Augustine's metaphors for sickness invoke a great deal of uncertainty regarding the outcome.

However, when mapping these characteristics onto hope, Augustine does not necessarily imply that hope involves uncertainty. In fact, Augustine uses metaphors of physical health to contrast the uncertainty of the physician's work with the certainty of

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[336] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 65, Section 2.

[337] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 8; Psalm 71, Section 19.

[338] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 8.

[339] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Section 22.

hope in God; 'Seest thou not how much men suffer under the hands of physicians, when a man promises them an uncertain hope? You will be cured, says the physician: you will be cured, if I cut. It is a man who speaks, and to a man that he speaks: neither is he sure who speaks, not he who hears... But to whom has God promised anything, and deceived him?'[340] Hope in the human physician is uncertain, but hope in God is certain. For Augustine, when a person hopes in God, then God will, with an absolute certainty unlimited by physical constraints, 'heal' them from 'infirmity' and be their 'saving health'.[341]

Substance, Spirit and Body

There is one feature of Augustine's conception of hope in particular which emerges from many of these metaphors, and which I have drawn attention to on a number of occasions. That is, the relationship between hope and the realm of the tangible, and between present hope and future reality; the juxtaposition of spirit and substance.

Augustine does not express this aspect of hope solely through metaphor; on occasion he is more straightforward. For example, in one passage he states that 'then will come the substance whereof there is now the hope', a sentiment which is repeated elsewhere: 'only in hope, not yet in substance,' 'already new in hope; then in reality', 'one after the Spirit in hope, the other after the body in substance', 'not yet do you cleave by presence, cleave fast by hope', 'while we await the redemption of our body, we are saved by hope', 'not as yet in reality, but in hope'.[342] Augustine employs the concept of hope in order to contrast spiritual and physical realities; for example, he states that a man may 'be calm in hope, even if he is troubled in fact.'[343]

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[340] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 86, Section 8.

[341] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 145, Section 14; Psalm 86, Section 7; Psalm 42, Section 10.

[342] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 71, Section 7; Psalm 71, Sections 19-20; Psalm 39, Section 9; Psalm 71, Section 28; Psalm 146, Section 1; Psalm 119, Section 115.

[343] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 55, Section 12.

This is a construct which has emerged across many of Augustine's metaphors, based on source domains as varied as wine, roots, the anchor and land, prison, darkness, heights and depths, and sight.[344] It is perhaps best illustrated by the anchor metaphor, whereby Augustine states that hope like an anchor, because an anchor is like the land while the ship is not in land.[345] In this sense, just as the anchor serves as a metaphor for land, hope serves as a metaphor for the future; features of the tangible source domain of future are mapped onto the conceptual target domain of the present experience of hope. For Augustine, hope, like metaphor, entailed a deliberate decision to abstract away from the fact of the present, and reassess the situation from a different angle. Augustine states 'in the nature of God nothing will be, as if it were not yet; or has been, as if it were no longer: but there is only that which is, and this is eternity. Let them cease then to hope in and love things temporal, and let them apply themselves to hope eternal.'[346] Hope is, for Augustine, the echo of a future reality made present in the experience of the individual. It allows the individual to defy the 'flow' of 'time's quick revolution', and move beyond a purely temporal experience.[347] Just as 'we with Him are in heaven through hope, Himself is with us on earth through love'; for Augustine, hope allows the individual to exist, just as God exists, beyond time.

5. CONCLUSION

The sheer range of examples here indicates something of Augustine's varied conceptions and experiences of hope. Many of these metaphors arise originally from the Psalms themselves, but in each case Augustine makes a decision in how he will express or

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[344] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 4, Section 8; Psalm 37 [1], Section 3; Psalm 56, Section 7; Psalm 65, Section 3; Psalm 71, Section 27; Psalm 73, Section 26; Psalm 78, Section 29.

[345] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 65, Section 3.

[346] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 9, Section 11.

[347] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 145, Section 14; Psalm 86, Section 7; Psalm 9, Section 11.

engage with that metaphor, which reveals his own experiences with hope. In some cases, for example when speaking of hope as part of the cycle of day and night, or in his extensive martial metaphors, Augustine expands and develops the metaphor further than his source material.[348] These metaphors seem to be the ones which most captured his interest or imagination, and which perhaps related more closely to his lived experience of hope. In others, he adds very little to the original formulation, allowing the metaphor to speak for itself, for example when speaking of hope as 'my portion in the land of the living', describing hope as 'lifted up', or stating that 'on great hope we have been set'.[349] Perhaps in these cases the metaphor is well-known and understood, or has achieved the status of a trope. However, this is not to say that the metaphor does not reflect a tangible element of the experience of hope. Other metaphors seem to sit rather uncomfortably with Augustine, as in the case of the metaphor of the unicorn, where he meticulously outlines the features of hope which it represents.[350] In these cases, Augustine employs more complex reasoning or logic in order to rationalise the choices of the Psalmist, which indicates that the original metaphor did not emotionally correlate with Augustine's own experience of hope.

From the collection of metaphors as a whole, we are able to draw out certain features of Augustine's experience of hope, such as stability, protection, certainty, revelation and potential. There is also significance in each individual choice of metaphor. For example, the shadow of the bird's wings and the anchor may both express hope as a matter of safety and stability, but the first evokes comfort while the second evokes weight.[351] As we have seen in the work of psychologists researching embodied cognition, the concept of weight

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[348] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 4; Psalm 71, Section 7; Psalm 130, Section 4; Psalm 143, Section 10.

[349] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 5, Section 1; Psalm 18, Section 31; Psalm 37 [2], Section 11; Psalm 56, Section 18; Psalm 61, Sections 3-4; Psalm 91, Section 20.

[350] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 78, Section 35.

[351] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 16, Section 3; Psalm 65, Section 3; Psalm 62, Section 1; Psalm 73, Section 26; Psalm 91, Section 5.

can have a close correlation with concepts of importance or significance.[352] Perhaps, when Augustine spoke of the anchor, he keenly felt the deep importance of hope, whereas when he spoke of the bird's home, he experienced hope as a matter of warmth and comfort. Likewise, when Augustine spoke of hope as a weapon, it may be that he experienced it as something related to courage which gave him energy and inspired him to act, whereas when he spoke of hope as a tower of refuge he felt hope to be a place of protection and rest.[353]

That Augustine's hope so comfortably lent itself to metaphor emphasises its abstract and flexible nature. Augustine's engagement with so many metaphors from such varied source domains and semantic fields is itself significant. It seems that, for Augustine, there were many ways of understanding hope, such that it could not be expressed simply or singly. The range of metaphors also indicates that, for Augustine, hope was applicable in many situations and could evoke many different feelings. Hope could at one time be a matter of peace and rest, while at another it was a trap to be wary of. It could be the promise of a bright future or a matter of present freedom. These metaphors contain elements of both feeling and judgement. For Augustine, hope could be experienced as intense emotions such as joy, but can also be felt (or at least chosen) when in discomfort or pain through shackles or illness.[354] By studying the discourse of hope through metaphor in this way, we are able to gain an insight into the cognitive background or scaffolding behind the lived experience.

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[352] Ackerman, Nocera & Bargh, "Incidental Haptic Sensations", 1712-1715. Jostmann, Lakens & Schubert, "Weight as an Embodiment of Importance", 1169-1174. Kaufman & Allen, "Adding Weight to Judgments", 41-47. Schneider et al., "Weighty Matters: Importance Literally Feels Heavy", 474-478.

[353] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 40, Section 22; Psalm 61, Section 4; Psalm 62, Section 14; Psalm 71, Section 7.

[354] Augustine, *Expositions on the Psalms*, Psalm 38, Section 27; Psalm 65, Section 2; Psalm 147, Section 17.

5. INCIDENTAL AND INTERPERSONAL USAGE

Thus far I have subdivided the topic of hope into specific focal points – hope as a theological virtue, grammatical formations of hope, hope in metaphor – in order to draw out meaning and understanding, and to avoid being overwhelmed with an amorphous mass of information. This has allowed me to remain alert to details which may otherwise have been overlooked. Continuing with this technique, I have one final (within this study at least) aspect of hope to explore in detail.

Much of my previous enquiry has tended to focus on theological and religious conceptions of hope. This emphasis has emerged quite naturally, as our case study Augustine was a devout theologian and his religion was an inextricable part of his life. Yet Augustine himself (as seen earlier) distinguished between hope as a theological virtue and the mainstream everyday hope of man within the world. This latter form of non-theological hope has been relatively neglected in previous chapters. Indeed, from our study thus far, one might mistakenly emerge with the impression that Augustine himself never hoped *within* the world; that he did not hope for earthly events, or regarding earthly people. However, this is not the case. Augustine did indeed hope within the world, and expressed hope in scenarios which involved temporal events and human actions. It is therefore worthwhile spending some time drawing particular attention to these passages, both to expand our methodology for studying hope, and in order to construct a more thorough and rounded understanding of Augustine's conceptions of hope and the complexities therein.

It would not be possible to extract a purely secular conception of hope from the works of Augustine, just as it would be difficult to extract a purely theological one. Following his conversion, his Christianity was a fundamental feature of his 'self', his identity or *habitus*, underlying his lived experience. However, when examining other case studies and individuals – secular, pagan or otherwise – the historian may encounter entirely areligious forms of hope. It is therefore worthwhile to spend some time directing our focus away from theological conceptions of hope, and towards secular or worldly conceptions. It is also important to confirm that our methodology can address such areligious formulations of hope.

Another distinction will be made in this chapter; that is, between those expressions of hope which constitute contemplative and directed analysis of the nature of hope itself, and those incidental expressions of hope which occur in the flow of speech. This is, to use a simple example, the difference between stating 'I believe that hope is *x*...', and stating 'I hope that *y*...' Generally, theological constructions of hope have fallen into the former category, while these areligious constructions fall into the latter category. Here I make something of a Husserlian distinction between hope as the intentional *content*, where the mental act is directed towards hope, and hope as part of the intentional *act*, where the terms of hope are used to direct the mental act towards another object.[355] The previous chapters have tended to focus on the former; Augustine's directed thought regarding hope and those occasions where he actively and mindfully reflects on the nature of hope. These have been strongly coloured by his religious perspective. However, while it is revealing to explore these reflective thoughts, it is also worthwhile to examine the latter; incidental unreflective usage of a term or expression of an experience. Therefore, it is worthwhile examining Augustine's expressions of hope within a less contemplative context. Such expressions may help us to understand the concept of hope in a practical sense, as lived experience.[356]

To explore and analyse secular and unreflective uses of hope, I have chosen to examine Augustine's *Epistolae*. This is not to say that I believe letters directly reflect the innate, genuine life experiences of our subject. However, they are arguably the closest thing we have to expressions of day to day experience across a long period of time. Also, having looked at hope within two different genres, it is worth expanding our study further to encompass another genre, as this allows us to engage with and encounter the greatest variety of language and expressions surrounding hope. In selecting my source for this

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[355] Andrew D. Spear, "Edmund Husserl: Intentionality and Intentional Content," *Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, accessed March, 13 2015, http://www.iep.utm.edu/huss-int/; Ronald McIntyre & David Woodruff Smith, "Theory of Intentionality," in *Husserl's Phenomenology: A Textbook*, eds. J. N. Mohanty & William R. McKenna (Washington D.C.: Center for Advanced Research in Phenomenology and University Press of America, 1989), 147-157.

[356] I should note that this distinction between intentional and incidental is convenient rather than necessarily entirely accurate, but here is not the place to engage in an extended debate on Husserl's concepts of intentionality. It is enough to have explained the reasoning behind the focus of this chapter, and to employ these categories of thought as an aid to our understanding.

methodology I faced a difficult decision. I could have selected the *Confessions* as my source; they are more biographical, and relate to Augustine's experiences and emotions outside of his religion.[357] However, I felt that, while certainly worthy of study, the expressions of hope in the *Confessions* were overly self-reflective for my purpose here. I wanted to find references to hope in its 'natural habitat'; unreflective or incidental occurrences of hope, hope as expressed when it is felt in the day-to-day. I also wanted to explore these expressions across a broad time span. Furthermore, the study of letters allows me to draw my attention more directly to the interpersonal and communicative elements of hope and emotion. It must be acknowledged that our modern delineations between books, letters and treatises does not apply here, and that our other sources were also communicative in form: the *Enchiridion* was written to and for Laurentius, and the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* were originally composed and presented as orations.[358] However, the study of letters does reap certain unique benefits. Firstly, the variety of audience; I am able to compare expressions of hope to multiple different recipients within a single genre. Secondly, the potential for and anticipation of response; letters are generally part of a conversation, and encourage a mutual dialogue of thoughts and feelings between persons.

This interpersonal aspect of experience and emotion is important. Scheer argues that 'emotion-as-practice is learned, meaning that feelings are transferred between people intergenerationally or through socialising processes between adults.'[359] Given the degree to which human experience and emotion is shaped by communication with others, whether deliberately or not, study of this social and communicative aspect of hope is essential. It is through communication that individuals learn the meaning of language itself, and through that language come to express their own experiences; cyclically absorbing and expressing mutable meanings. If we are to understand an Augustinian or medieval conception of hope as different from our own, we should also seek to understand the mechanism through which such conceptions change over time and place: communication.

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[357] Saint Augustine, *Confessions*, trans. F. J. Sheed (Hackett Publishing Company, 2006).

[358] Augustine, *Enchiridion.*

[359] Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice?"; 218.

Having established the potential of this methodology, I may now apply it to the *Epistolae*, isolating and examining those expressions of hope which are unreflective, areligious and incidental, relating to specific 'historical' circumstances, events and expectations.

1.   OCCURRENCES WITHIN THE LETTERS

With this theoretical groundwork in place, I may begin to apply some of this thought to the case of Augustine. Before diving into an exploration at word and sentence level, I will first present some broad surveys of the *Epistolae* as a corpus, to examine where and when hope occurs in an incidental, temporal sense. I have primarily employed J.G. Cunningham's translation in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*.[360] This translation precedes the discovery of the Divjak series of letters, and these are therefore excluded from the analysis.[361] Where I categorise occurrences of hope as 'incidental', I apply my own interpretation based on a subjective reading of the context of the quote and the situation given in the letter. A list of these letters may be found in Appendix B below.

Beginning my enquiry, then, I find that 118 out of the whole corpus of 298 letters in the original Latin (39.6%), and 60 out of the 160 letters translated into English by Cunningham (37.5%), contain reference to hope in any sense, theological or otherwise. These constitute a substantial proportion of the letters (over one third), although not a majority. When we look at the proportion of Augustine's letters which contain incidental instances of hope, we find that a smaller proportion, 27 out of the 160 letters in English translation, contain reference to or use of hope in an incidental sense (16.9%). Thus, of the 60 letters which contain any reference to hope, 27 (45%) contain it as an incidental occurrence. This indicates that Augustine employed non-theological forms of hope almost as frequently as theological forms. He was almost as likely to write a letter containing

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[360] Augustine, *Letters*.

[361] W. H. C. Frend, "The Divjak Letters: New Light on St Augustine's Problems, 416– 428," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 34, no. 4 (Oct 1983): 497-512.

incidental, areligious expressions of hope as he was to write a letter containing solely Christian expressions of hope.

It is worth considering whether Augustine was more likely to employ such incidental expressions of hope during particular periods of his life. For example, we might expect to see a decrease in these temporal expressions of hope following 396 AD, when Brown argues Augustine 'came to see man as wholly dependent on God'.[362] However, there do not seem to be any notable shifts or changes in Augustine's expressions of incidental hope across his life. Having examined the dates on which Augustine employed these incidental expressions of hope, I have found that they seem to be evenly distributed across his life (Figure 22). No period of time stands out as particularly favoured and there are not generally gaps of more than a couple of years between the occurrences. The one exception is the period 416-426 AD, when the number of extant letters decreases, and incidental usage is absent altogether, before returning in 427 AD. For most years, the total number of letters is much higher than the number of those with incidental forms of hope, in keeping with the general ratios described above. However, I do find that in the years 391 AD-393 AD and 427 AD-428 AD, every letter that Augustine wrote contained at least one incidental expression of hope. It may be of interest to note that these periods correspond with the years following his ordination, and those preceding his death.

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[362] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 154.
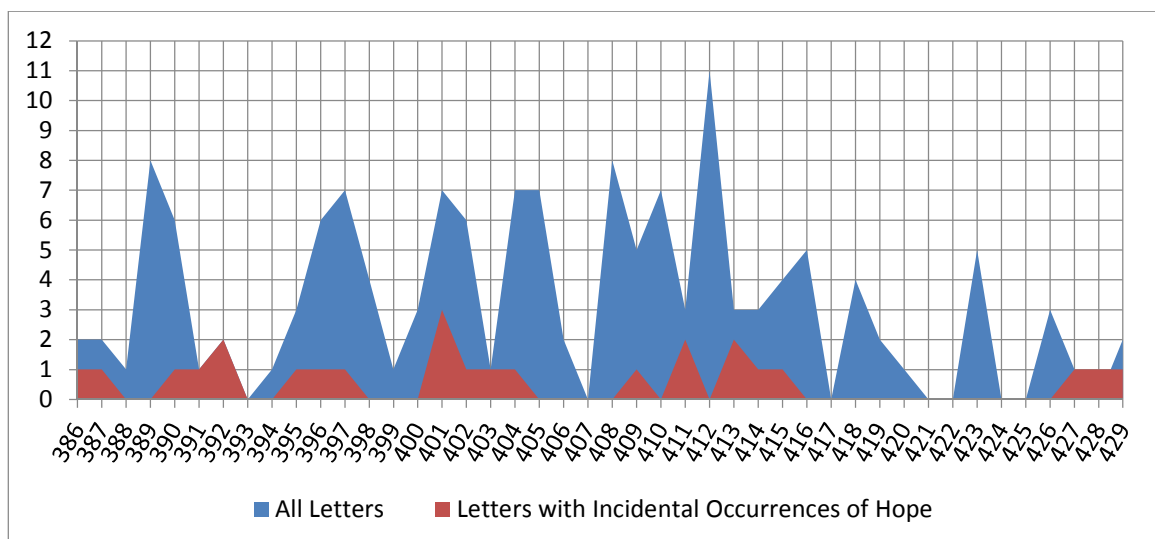
Figure 22. Occurrences of Augustine's Letters per Year in Cunningham's English Translation

It is also possible to analyse the occurrences of incidental forms of hope according to recipient, in order to explore whether Augustine altered his usage according to his audience. The following figures show the proportion of all Augustine's letters by gender, number of recipients, and religion, and compare these to the corresponding proportions for those letters which contain incidental forms of hope (Table 15, Table 16, Table 17). These charts appear to show a surprising degree of similarity between the spread of recipients for the whole corpus, and the spread of recipients of letters with incidental forms of hope. Table 15 and Table 16, the charts examining the gender of recipients and the number of recipients, show no striking differences between all letters and those with incidental forms of hope. He appears slightly less likely to express such forms of hope to female recipients, but not considerably so. This indicates that Augustine's expression of these forms of hope followed fairly regular patterns, and coincides with his broader approaches of communication towards each group.

Table 15. Proportion of Augustine's Letters to Recipients by Gender in Cunningham's English Translation

	Percentage of All Letters	Percentage of Letters with Incidental Occurrences of Hope
To Male Recipient/s	82.22%	81.82%
To Female Recipient/s	7.78%	4.55%
To a Mix of Recipients	10.00%	13.64%

Table 16. Proportion of Augustine's Letters to Individual or Multiple Recipients in Cunningham's English Translation

	Percentage of All Letters	Percentage of Letters with Incidental Occurrences of Hope
To an Individual Recipient	83.33%	81.82%
To Multiple Recipients	16.67%	18.18%

In Table 17, which shows the proportion of letters to recipients of various religions, we find a little more variation. Here I note that Augustine never employs incidental occurrences of hope to pagan recipients, and infrequently to Donatists. I can also note that just over 50% of his letters were sent to members of the Catholic clergy, while just under 70% of those letters containing incidental references to hope were sent to such individuals. This appears to indicate that Augustine was more comfortable or more inclined to use the language of hope in a temporal or areligious sense to individuals of his own religion and peer group. Why this should be is unclear; perhaps he felt more comfortable expressing his hopes to those who would have a greater understanding of his own experiences, or would not misinterpret these temporal hopes as sinful. As we saw earlier, Augustine believed that hope dealt only with those things 'which pertain to the man who cherishes the hope'.[363]

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[363] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

Table 17. Proportion of Augustine's Letters to Recipients by Religion in Cunningham's English Translation

	Percentage of All Letters	Percentage of Letters with Incidental Occurrences of Hope
To Catholic Clergy	52.22%	68.18%
To Catholic Laity	32.22%	27.27%
To Pagan Recipient/s	7.78%	0.00%
To Donatist Recipient/s	7.78%	4.55%

It is also worth investigating where these incidental forms of hope occur within each individual letter, in case there are any noteworthy trends. In the *Epistolae*, I found that 11 occurrences of out of 27 (40%) appear in the first paragraph of the letter. 8 occurrences out of 27 (30%) appear in the final paragraph. 14 occurrences out of 27 (51%) appear in a middle paragraph. This spread does not appear to indicate a conclusive trend; the majority of instances occur somewhere within the body of the letter, but it is also fairly likely to find instances of incidental hope in the opening and closing passages.

Finally, in light of my previous chapters' investigation into hope within metaphor, I have examined the letters to find whether any of these incidental occurrences of hope occur within a metaphorical framework. In fact, I have found very few metaphorical formulations of incidental hope within the *Epistolae*. I found the occasional metaphor of orientation; for example, being 'brought back to the hope of', or being 'elevated with such… hope'.[364] In one passage, Augustine speaks of Pinianus 'overcoming and treading underfoot' his 'great hopes'.[365] These represent the limit of Augustine's metaphorical constructions of incidental hope within the letters. This scarcity may be due to the nature of these incidental occurrences of hope; they tend to be employed in fairly pragmatic senses and situations, based in the tangible as opposed to the abstract.

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[364] Augustine, *Letters*, Letters 1, 1; 232, 2.

[365] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 126, 6.

Having outlined a few points of interest across the whole corpus of letters, I can examine these expressions of incidental hope in context. In the following sections I will discuss some specific features found in these expressions of hope, noting areas of difference between incidental, areligious hope and hope in a theological context. To choose which features to examine, I followed a similar procedure to the previous analyses of hope as a theological virtue; I first examined each occurrence of hope within the *Epistloae*, and then extracted those key features which the passages seemed to express.

2.   HOPE AS EVALUATION

The first quality or aspect of hope which is particularly evident in these passages is that of hope as an evaluation of 'cause and effect'. This is a tendency which is not found in Augsutine's theological constructions of hope. Where Augustine employs hope in an incidental sense, it often constitutes an evaluation of the likelihood of a particular outcome, following a given input or event. That is, such hope tends to indicate the belief that 'if *A* happens then maybe *B* will happen'. For example, Augustine writes to Albina in 411 AD, 'they hoped that if he [Pinianus] remained amongst us, there might be produced in him a willingness to consent to ordination'.[366] Here *A* represents what one 'hopes in', while *B* represents the 'ends' of hope, or what one 'hopes for'.

On occasion, the expression of hope does not include any anticipated input, any *A*. For example, in 396 AD Augustine writes to Paulinus and Therasia simply that he 'hopes for a reply'.[367] In these cases, the input can be understood as the current state of affairs. That is, this hope represents the belief that, '*given the current state of affairs*, maybe *B* will happen'.

Interestingly, Augustine seems to construct fear according to the same evaluative process, the difference being that while hope anticipates a positive outcome, fear

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[366] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 126, 6.

[367] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 31, 1.

anticipates a negative one. When *B* is evaluated as positive, the expression is of hope. When *B* is evaluated as negative, the expression is of fear. I also found that in some circumstances, the absence of fear is equated to an inherent hope. For example, in his letter to Boniface in 427 AD, Augustine indicates that none 'would have feared' the encroachment of the barbarian tribes in Africa, but that when this event did in fact occur, their 'hopes' were 'reversed'.[368] This reflects what Augustine wrote in his *Enchiridion* regarding hope and fear; that, while they are similar, fear is directed towards negative things while hope is directed towards only 'good things'.[369] This also calls to mind Martha Nussbaum's theory of emotions (in which she explicitly includes fear and hope) as 'intelligent responses to the perception of value'.[370]

This evaluative construction can help us understand the differences between Augustine's conception of the theological virtue hope, and of temporal hope. For Augustine, when the desired outcome, *B*, was eternal salvation, only one input, or *A*, would guarantee this outcome; the forgiveness of God granted by grace to Christian believers. This formulation – hope *in* God *for* salvation – constituted, for Augustine, the theological virtue of hope. Any input or event which replaced God in this equation, any other *A*, constituted vain worldly hope. However, his expressions of incidental hope are directed towards other outcomes than salvation; the 'hoped for' events, the *B*, are worldly circumstances. In these situations Augustine allows that, unlike in the case of salvation, mankind cannot be certain about such hopes. The future is uncertain, and therefore each cause and effect is uncertain. Thus, Augustine grants that humans may place their hope in worldly events or individuals' actions, but only when the 'ends' of such hope are also temporal, and only with an acknowledgement that such ends are not guaranteed.

However, I found that Augustine does not entirely exclude religion from these expressions of hope. As noted earlier, we cannot distil his experience into a purely secular form, and many of these expressions of hope retain a theological dimension. Often, the input, or *A*, which Augustine hopes will produce the outcome is phrased as an undertaking

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[368] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 220, 7.

[369] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter II, 4.

[370] Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought*, 1, 7.

by God. That is, he believed that if God acted or willed in a certain way, the anticipated outcome would occur. For example, Augustine writes to Jerome in 384/385 AD that he 'hopes' his message-bearer will return 'by God's blessing'.[371] In another letter he writes 'I hope, however, that, assisted by your [Albina, Pinianus and Melania] prayers I may be permitted… to come to you'.[372] Even in these situations, where the anticipated outcome is temporal or worldly, Augustine appeals to God for the fulfilment of his hope.

Another distinctive feature of these incidental or temporal expressions of hope is their role in decision-making strategies. Given the uncertainty of action and outcome, hope is often presented as part of a process of reasoning by which an individual decides upon an action. In his letter to Evodius in 415 AD, Augustine states that he wishes to pay more attention to certain writings because they 'may, as [he] hope[s], be useful to very many'.[373] In another letter, Augustine states that if the situation is as he 'confidently hope[s]' it to be, then his 'duty is to study with diligence all the remedies which the Scriptures contain'.[374] In both of these cases we find a situation where an individual's decision to act in a certain way is motivated by a specific hope, and rests upon the reasoning and evaluation of that hope.

3. DEGREES OF POSSIBILITY

This process of reasoning generates further nuances in the expression of hope. One such nuance is the evaluation of how far it is possible to hope; whether hope is possible in certain situations. In a number of passages, Augustine evaluates a given situation and asks whether it offers any possibility of hope. For example, in 390 AD he writes to Cœlestinus, 'I do not know whether anything like complete exemption from care is to be hoped for in

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[371] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 28, 6.

[372] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 124, 2.

[373] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 169, 2.

[374] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 21, 3.

this world'.[375] In another letter Augustine questions whether hope was possible in a given situation, asking 'could this have been hoped or expected by us…?'[376] In other passages, Augustine expresses hope *despite* the circumstances, further implying that certain situations offer less opportunity to hope than others; 'I confidently hope even now'.[377] This seems to indicate that for Augustine, there are degrees of possibility regarding when hope is available to an individual, based on their capacity to anticipate events.

4.   THE QUANTIFICATION OF HOPE

Given that, for Augustine, incidental hope entailed varying degrees of certainty, it is perhaps unsurprising that I found an increased tendency to quantify such hopes. While I found that Augustine's expressions of the theological virtue rarely employed terms of quantification or adverbial modifiers, he appears to have been comfortable using such terms when expressing incidental hope. He applies such quantification to both verb and noun forms of hope; '[I] cherish lively hope', 'I confidently hope', 'I sensibly hope', 'I have greater hope', 'hopes so great', 'such hope'. [378] Each of these terms serves to quantify the hope described, indicating that these incidental forms of hope can be greater or lesser depending on the likelihood of their outcomes.

Augustine occasionally employs hope as a grammatical tool to qualify statements which would otherwise imply certainty. For example, Augustine writes 'he will, I hope, do what he knows to be enjoined on him', or 'you have, I hope, read…'[379] Without 'I hope', these sentences convey a statement of fact. Augustine employs the concept of hope to qualify this fact, to decrease the implied certainty, and to reaffirm his own uncertainty in the situation.

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[375] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 18, 1.

[376] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 42, 1.

[377] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 21, 3.

[378] Augustine, *Letters*, Letters 22, 2; 21, 3; 60, 2; 101, 3; 126, 7; 232, 2.

[379] Augustine, *Letters*, Letters 148, 5; 31, 7.

We might say that for Augustine, theological hope constituted a binary, whereas other forms of hope lay on an analogue spectrum. Certainly, my investigation thus far has suggested that Augustine conceived of temporal, areligious and incidental hope as a much more flexible and uncertain experience than the theological virtue.

5.   CONVEYING AND ANTICIPATING HOPE

Finally, as I anticipated when selecting the *Epistolae* to study, I found that these occurrences of hope often take a communicative form. There are a number of occasions where the expression of hope takes a particularly interpersonal form; for example, where Augustine anticipates hope in or projects hope onto others, or where he conveys the hopes of others to his recipients.

In 386 AD, Augustine writes to Hermogenianus, 'it seems to me that men… should be brought back to the hope of discovering the truth'.[380] Here Augustine anticipates the possibility of causing hope to occur in others, or projecting it upon them. In another passage, he writes that Caecilianus 'gave us hope such as you had never before given', implying that hope can be given or conveyed from one person to another.[381] Augustine writes to Darius in 429 AD that 'we hope to have letters from you; and you hope for letters from us as long as we are able'.[382] In this passage, Augustine not only conveys his own experiences of hope, but requests or anticipates that they be mirrored in the experiences of his correspondent.

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[380] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 1, 1.

[381] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 151, 5.

[382] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 231, 7.

Table 18. Percentages of First, Second and Third Person forms of spero *in Augustine's*
Epistolae

	Percentage of Incidental Occurrences of Hope	Percentage of All Other Expressions of Hope
1st Person	72.22%	36.17%
2nd Person	5.56%	9.57%
3rd Person	22.22%	54.26%

While the majority of incidental expressions of hope within the *Epistolae* occur in the first person (Table 18), especially when compared to all other expressions of hope, I did find occasions within the letters where Augustine expresses the incidental hopes of others. To Albina, Augustine acts as a mediator between the people of Hippo and herself, attempting on a number of occasions to convey their experiences of hope to her; 'because they hoped that…', 'because of their hope'.[383] Indeed, in one passage he writes that 'it is perfectly manifest what they hoped for', implying that, at times, reading or interpreting hope in other people can be done with ease.[384]

6. CONCLUSION

Examining these incidental expressions of hope has revealed a number of interesting elements of the phenomenon in Augustine's life, which otherwise may have been overlooked. In particular, these instances have highlighted the social role of Augustine's hope. In the *Epistolae* we find expressions of hope employed as a tool for communication, to express desires and to describe degrees of possibility or certainty. We also find that the experience of hope was something which Augustine and his correspondences felt able to convey through others and to predict or anticipate in others. By analysing the number of occurrences per year, I was able to find evidence for a certain consistency throughout Augustine's life in how regularly he expressed areligious hope. In Chapter 3 Section 2, I found that Augustine conceived of two distinct types of hope;

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[383] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 126, 6; 126, 12.

[384] Augustine, *Letters*, Letter 126, 6.

temporal and eternal, earthly and divine. Here I find that, despite condemning hope in worldly things, Augustine continued to express temporal hope throughout his life.[385] However, it is interesting to note that these expressions of incidental hope have certain features, such as the use of adverbial modifiers, which are not generally found in Augustine's theological expressions of hope. This appears to indicate that Augustine's dual notion of hope was reflected in his day to day language and experience; his temporal expressions of hope are qualitatively different from his expressions of hope in God. Yet we also find that Augustine is more likely to express incidental or temporal hope to other members of the Catholic clergy than to Pagans or Donatists. Perhaps, for Augustine, even these expressions of areligious hope retained a religious element, or perhaps he felt the need to set an example to non-Catholics by only expressing hope in relation to God.

This chapter has served to add another layer to my enquiry and to outline a selection of further techniques for the study of hope. The findings here do not serve to complete or finalise our understanding of Augustine's experience of hope, or to resolve the ambiguities uncovered in earlier chapters; we still cannot 'see the elephant'.[386] However, these techniques offer another angle from which to explore hope; we may begin to feel the shape and texture of the elephants' tail or ear. In doing so, we are once again confronted with the complex and multifaceted nature of hope in lived experience.

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[385] Augustine, *Enchiridion*, Chapter XVI, 26; Chapter XXX, 48.

[386] See *Introduction.*

CONCLUSION AND PROSPECTS

I started this project with hope.

It was a straightforward hope, the sort with clarity, which looks towards a future moment without seeing those moments which must come before it; like seeing the distant mountain-top without noticing the woods, valleys and rivers which lie between. Perhaps it was a naive sort of hope. Perhaps most are. My journey towards that end – that 'hope' – began without a map, and there were many times when I lost sight of the mountain-top or became lost in the woods. Those were the moments when I most deeply questioned my own definition and experience of hope. Perhaps there were times that I lost hope, both intellectually and personally. I struggled to see the mountain-top or even believe in its existence. Perhaps the very fact that I still stumbled onwards meant that hope remained, embedded in my decisions if not present in my experience. Now that I am reaching the end of that journey, the destination is not quite as it appeared from that distant past. The mountain-top is rougher, wilder, broader. It is many-layered and ambiguous; it lacks the comfortable simplicity of theory, the clarity in which hope framed it. Perhaps it is not a destination at all. Perhaps this dissertation is simply a landmark to leave behind as I continue on.

It may seem strange to express this kind of self-reflection in an academic essay. Often scholarship attempts to obscure the author and invoke an anonymous objectivity, a sense of universality. However, I feel that it is important to be open about my own experiences, because such a project as this, such a journey, is inevitably self-reflective. Indeed, this self-reflection is what gives the project (and history as a discipline) meaning and purpose. Academia is never anonymous. It is only as a human with an embodied experience of the world, with emotions and thoughts of my own, as a 'someone' who has experienced a phenomenon which I call hope, that I can study the phenomenon of hope in other people. History is about, by and for *people*; call it what you will – qualia, consciousness, transcendence, life – history cannot exist without that element which allows humans to experience the world.[387]

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[387] Frank Jackson, "Ephiphenomenal Qualia," *The Philosophical Quarterly* 32, no. 127 (April 1982): 127-136. Jean-Paul Sartre, *Being and Nothingness*, trans. Hazel E. Barnes, (London: Routledge, 2003), 655.

As a 'someone', then, I started this project with a deep interest in the history of emotion, a respect for those who undertook it, and a desire to follow in their footsteps. More than this, I wanted to use history to help understand the nature of emotion itself. I considered experiences which lie on the borderline between classifications of emotion and thought, and I felt that these grey areas might hold some clue to understanding where such classifications come from. I searched for previous studies in these areas, particularly relating to hope, which I increasingly felt had a resonance worth investigating. I was surprised and even disappointed to find very little work on hope as a lived experience. Such a crucial aspect of our existence (as I felt it) could not be fully represented as a matter of detached intellectual reasoning, and should be acknowledged as having strong emotional elements. However, I was also aware that this omission would be in part due to the challenge that such a topic presented; the task itself was daunting and complex. With this in mind, I set about attempting to develop some methodologies which might be employed to face the challenge.

How to access the experiences of an individual who has been dead for hundreds of years is a question which historians of emotion have puzzled long and hard over. This question is made all the more trying when the experience is one (such as hope) which we struggle to define even in our own lives. The matter of how to approach this topic was something which I had to grapple with extensively. I was acutely aware of the difficulties in writing about emotional experience; in finding a balance between appearing subjective and appearing objective, between blandly stating 'facts' and poetically weaving 'stories'. It was a challenge not to remain paralyzed by the dilemma and end up saying nothing at all. Perhaps, in the end, I have leant more towards 'analysis' than 'interpretation'; I have not woven many stories. Indeed, I confess that I have been frustrated not to have reached closer to Augustine's *experience*, his 'emotion'. However, I remind myself that this is not what I set out to achieve. Instead, I aimed to reassess hope, drawing it into the study of emotion and setting out some methodologies for the purpose. Hopefully, through overcoming my own difficulties in approaching the study of hope, I have made the topic less amorphous and unapproachable for others. I have conducted the first forays into the jungle; these methodologies will serve as a rough guide from which future explorers may delve deeper. Anything that I have learnt along the way regarding the historical experience of hope itself is a bonus.

I did not want to produce a study which was so bespoke to the individual that it could not be developed or employed in other situations. I also did not set out to construct a comprehensive biographical overview of an individual's experience of hope, and nor have I managed to. I wanted instead to create some methodological frameworks which could be made applicable to many different case studies, and would allow for some degree of methodical comparison of individuals across time periods and cultures. Naturally, these methodologies would also need to allow for flexibility according to the specific circumstances of the individual studied and the sources available. I have been attempting to systematically study and compartmentalise a topic which is by no means systematic. Indeed, from the body of this thesis it is clear that hope is often quite the reverse; flexible and elusive of classification. While ambitious, I believe that this approach is useful, and I feel that I have come some way to achieving this aim. If this work has come across as relatively dry or 'unemotional' as a result, I would argue that this is not necessarily a flaw. Indeed, I did not intend to deliberately invoke empathy, as I did not want to trigger the reader's own emotions and project them back onto my case study. I aimed not to use 'unfocused' emotion talk or to create an 'emotional' history, rather than the history of an emotion.[388]

Not wanting to address an individual in isolation, without paying heed to their specific social and historical context, I spent my first chapter, *'Faith, Hope and Charity': Classical and Patristic Background*, exploring the evolutions and developments in the phenomenon of hope, or *spes*, from Classical Antiquity through to the Church Fathers. In Section 1, I found that hope was at the centre of a debate regarding reason or emotion which still surrounds hope to this day. I also found that hope's history has been strongly coloured by religion and spirituality, which may relate to its status today as a particularly profound experience. Hope (*Elpis* or *Spes*) was personified as a goddess in both Greek and Roman religion. I also found that early Christianity resolved much of the ambiguity surrounding hope by inscribing it as a virtue gifted by God; neither solely reason nor solely emotion, but a divine element of existence. This radically altered the thought, discussion and experience of hope in those cultures which were transformed by Christianity.

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[388] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 1.

These finds highlighted the importance of taking into account an individual's belief system or worldview when studying their experience of hope. Given that I had chosen a patristic writer (Augustine) as a case study, I accordingly explored some specifically Christian elements of hope as discussed by his predecessors and contemporaries in the Late Antique church, in Section 2 of Chapter 1. I attempted to make this comparison systematic by selecting specific biblical passages (Romans 8:24 and 1 Corinthians 13:13) which had played a role in the radical alteration of thought around hope, and studying the writers' exegesis on those passages. This meant that I was able to compare like for like, and to begin narrowing my work down towards the individual's experience. I found a number of different axes by which to examine hope and certain characteristics or features across which hope varied between individuals. This work reaffirmed the importance of the individual as the locus of experience; each individual experienced and expressed hope in a unique way. It also provided me with some context against which to compare my case study of Augustine, and allowed me to conduct a fuller and more systematic analysis of the phenomenon of hope in Augustine's work.

I conducted these same studies in Section 2 of Chapter 3, *Augustine: Situating the Individual*, examining Augustine's *Enchiridion of Faith, Hope and Love*, which also considers the passages in Romans and Corinthians, examining his discursive reflection on hope. This section mainly focussed on Augustine's notion of hope as a part of doctrine, but in doing so revealed elements of his experience of hope. As I have argued in my introduction, one cannot (and would be unwise to attempt to) entirely separate the 'emotion' of hope from the intellectual construction that surrounds it. They are intertwined; both the feeling and the doctrine altered and fed into each other to construct the total phenomenon of hope in Augustine's life. I found in this chapter that Augustine conceived of hope as personal, towards positive things, based in the future, a capacity of man, a matter of choice, and subjectively (but not objectively) certain. His conception of hope differed in some way from each of the other patristic writers I looked at, but he aligned most closely with Cyprian. Augustine was very thorough in distinguishing between hope and other experiences such as fear or belief. However, his conception of hope did not preclude negative emotions such as fear or suffering; for Augustine, the experience of hope could co-exist with negative emotions. My investigation also drew attention to the significance of Augustine's doctrines of faith, love, and especially grace, in his conception

of hope. It also appeared that Augustine conceived of two 'types' of hope, with very different natures; the theological virtue of hope in God, and the more general hope of mankind within the world. This distinction was significant, and, having spent some time exploring the former, I felt it important to explore the latter further in a later chapter.

In the course of my research on patristic writers, I came across the searchable text corpora at *Perseus Digital Library* and *The Library of Latin Texts*, and I was struck by their potential to systematically cover a broad time-span, using the word-search tools described in Chapter 2, Sections 1 and 2. If language and 'emotives' play a significant role in shaping and reflecting emotional experiences and categorisations, then exploring the nuances of lexical trends for emotion terms would be a useful and fascinating endeavour.[389] As laid out in Chapter 2, *Spes, Spero, Despero: A Statistical and Linguistic Approach*, I set about developing a technique to statistically analyse the frequency of occurrences of different forms and cases of hope-terms, and to interpret the relationship between these trends and the lived phenomenon of hope. I was aware of the risk inherent in statistical studies such as this to obscure some of the nuances of the real-life situation. I attempted to address possible limitations of the method, rather than taking the results at face value; for example, I repeated the analyses on a whole range of words, in order to construct a frame of reference against which to compare the charts for hope-terms. However, I was also aware of the great benefits that could be gained from analysing such a huge number of texts and instances of hope-terms. When combined with more qualitative and subjective methodologies, these statistics revealed other nuances which would not be picked up by a straightforward reading of the texts. The charts revealed a number of interesting things, not least a dramatic increase in the frequency of the occurrences of hope-terms (both noun and verb) in the fourth century texts. I have suggested a few potential reasons for this increase, including the potential relationship between increased usage of *christus* in the same period, but I am disinclined to make generalised claims at this stage. Suffice to say that this is an area which deserves further investigation. The discovery of this increase vindicates, I feel, both the statistical methodology itself and the focus on the late antique and early medieval period for the study of hope.

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[389] Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 105.

My statistical studies are not only useful for highlighting broad trends, but can be applied to individual case studies, bridging the gap between personal and general. By conducting the same word-search analysis on the works of Augustine in Section 1 of Chapter 3, I was able to examine his uses of hope-terms and compare trends in his works to the trends detected across more authors in the era in which he wrote. Perhaps the most notable finding was the similarity between Augustine's individual usage and the broader averages. The spread of Augustine's usage of noun and verb, singular and plural, and first, second and third person forms of hope was strikingly similar to the averages across a five-hundred year period. In some respects this is encouraging, as it suggests that the broader statistics are not obscuring wild variance between outliers. However, there was still evidence of individual idiosyncrasy. In the case of Augustine; he was relatively balanced in his usage of the various forms of hope, and was therefore slightly more likely to employ hope as a noun, in the plural, or in the second person than the general trends. I also found that Augustine's use of *spes* and *spero* fell about halfway between fourth and fifth century averages, suggesting that he lay on the borderline between the increased expression of hope in the fourth century AD and the following decrease in the fifth century AD.

Having explored Augustine's general thought about hope, and the specific grammatical nuances of his expressions of hope, the next stage was to examine expressions of hope at sentence- or phrase-level. Rosenwein, among others, has noted the importance of studying metaphors as techniques for expressing emotions.[390] By comparing source and target domains in metaphors in Chapter 4, *Hope and Metaphor*, I was able to extrapolate certain elements of hope that were not stated explicitly. Systematically examining each metaphor that Augustine employed in relation to hope indicated those contexts or semantic fields which he felt most relevant to hope; for example warfare, the growth of plants, and the cycle of day and night. Through studying these metaphors, I uncovered a defining feature of Augustine's hope, which I personally found most fascinating: the concept of hope as the adumbration of a future reality made present in the experience of the individual, described in Section 0, *Substance, Spirit and Body*. The sheer range of metaphors indicated the complexity of hope in Augustine's experience, and that it had many features which could be emphasised in turn according to his need.

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[390] Rosenwein, "Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions", 18.

Finally, looking back over my work thus far, I felt that my methodologies had tended to obscure hope in its 'natural habitat'; occasions when hope was not being analysed and considered directly, but those expressions of hope which occurred in the flow of life. Therefore in Chapter 5, *Incidental and Interpersonal Usage*, I used Augustine's *Epistolae* to focus solely on expressions of hope which were not discussions of doctrine, but corresponded to Augustine's second 'type' of hope; temporal, not theological, hope. The *Confessions* could also have been a worthy choice for this methodology. However, I chose for clarity's sake to focus on a single type of source, and I selected the *Epistloae* as they were produced across the course of Augustine's life and written to various audiences, therefore offering a greater scope. I found that these incidental forms of hope often involved techniques for evaluation of cause and effect, and that they could be quantified or qualified as 'great' or 'sensible'. I also found that expressions of hope served as a communicative tool, and that through this communication, Augustine felt able to anticipate and request hope in others, as well as convey his own experience of hope.

What this work has shown is that there are no elegantly formed, entirely consistent conclusions to be drawn about hope. There is, however, much to be learnt; not least that the topic of hope is beautifully messy, and that the experience of hope is often inconsistent and paradoxical. This study has reaffirmed my belief that the experience of emotion, particularly hope, is not universal and unchanging. It has shown that hope can be subject to broad shifts and patterns; that external elements such as changes in the religion of a society can radically alter the individual's experience, and that even trends and shifts in the language surrounding hope can be charted across time. This study has also shown hope to be subject to great variation between individuals. While the statistics have shown there to be some common ground, individuals can express very different experiences of hope. Finally, this study has shown that the experience or phenomenon of hope is not necessarily consistent or coherent within each moment that it is experienced. The experience of hope is not 'rational', but multi-faceted and at times paradoxical.

I started this project with hope and I end it with hope. While I cannot say what lies further down the path or where the journey may lead, I can suggest some prospects for the future. There are many directions this study can point to; the benefit of these methodologies is that they are both systematic and flexible, and can therefore be employed on other individuals from other time periods, and used for comparison across cases. There

are also a number of specific developments which the methodologies themselves may benefit from.

Firstly, I would like to see an expanded use of the word-search tools available, both for the history of hope and the history of emotion more generally. There is huge potential here: to analyse more words and expressions, and for those searches to be broken down further, for example by region, genre or religion, in order to allow for more thorough comparison and analysis. I have had not had as much opportunity to explore the findings of my searches as I would like. However, they point to the fourth century as interesting ground for further study on hope. The dramatic fourth century spike in expressions of hope is certainly worth exploring in greater depth, to investigate causes and effects. I also think it would be of great interest to employ these techniques for texts in other languages, to compare the findings, and to investigate how language affects the experience of emotion and hope. Secondly, I feel that there is a lot of scope for further study into the role of metaphor in relation to hope and the significance of embodiment in particular. That is, how choices of metaphors such as light, earth or medicine relate to the human's embodied experience of emotion and hope; whether, and how, they reflect or construct that experience. Finally, I think it would be fascinating to employ these methodologies towards other emotions – particularly despair, the absence of hope – in order to compare and construct a more rounded representation of human experience.

I started this project with hope. I have had to redefine and reconstruct the terms of that hope, and I have not fulfilled that hope entirely. However, as Maya Angelou once said, 'fortunately there is that about hope: it is never satisfied. It is met, sometimes, but never satisfied. If it was satisfied, you'd be hopeless.'[391]

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[391] Gary Younge, "Maya Angelou: A Titan Who Lived as Though There Were No Tomorrow," *The Guardian*, May 29, 2014, accessed August 8, 2015,

http://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/may/28/maya-angelou-american-titan-died-86-appreciation

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Table 19. Occurrences and Percentages of Forms of spero *in* Library of Latin Texts

	Occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 200 AD - c. 500 AD	Occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD	Percentage of total occurrences c. 501 AD - c. 735 AD
Infinitive (Active/Passive)	494	14%	210	19%
Present Participle	135	4%	51	5%
Future Participle	3	0%	0	0%
Gerund	83	2%	31	3%
Gerundive	5	0%	4	0%
Active Indicative Present	990	28%	317	29%
Active Indicative Imperfect	203	6%	62	6%
Active I Future	231	7%	67	6%
Active Conjunctive Perfect	415	12%	128	12%
Active Indicative Pluperfect	28	1%	2	0%
Active Indicative II Future/Active Conjunctive Perfect	39	1%	5	0%
Active Conjunctive Present	319	9%	72	7%
Active Conjunctive Imperfect	110	3%	21	2%
Active Conjunctive Pluperfect	0	0%	0	0%
Imperative	198	6%	51	5%
Perfect Participle	15	0%	4	0%
Passive Indicative Present	120	3%	36	3%
Passive Indicative Imperfect	30	1%	7	1%
Passive Indicative I Future	4	0%	1	0%

Passive Indicative Perfect/Passive Indicative Pluperfect/Passive Indicative II Future/Passive Conjunctive Perfect/Passive Conjunctive Pluperfect	18	1%	4	0%
Passive Conjunctive Present	33	1%	9	1%
Passive Conjunctive Imperfect	20	1%	2	0%

Appendix B

Table 20. Letters from Augustine's Epistolae *(Cunningham's English Translation) which*
Contain Incidental Occurrences of Terms for Hope

Letter Number	Date	Recipient	Sender
I	386	Hermogenianus	Augustine
IX	389	Nebridius	Augustine
XVIII	390	Caelestinus	Augustine
XXI	391	Valerius	Augustine
XXIII	392	Maximin	Augustine
XXVII	395	Paulinus	Augustine
XXXIII	396	Proculeianus	Augustine
XLII	397	Paulinus and Therasia	Augustine
XLIII	397	Glorius, Eleusius, 2 Felixes, Grammaticus, etc.	Augustine
LX	401	Aurelius	Augustine
LXII	401	Severus	Alypius, Augustine, Samsucius
LXIII	401	Severus	Augustine and brethren
LXXIII	404	Jerome	Augustine
LXXXVIII	406	Janaurius	Augustine and clergy of Hippo
XCVI	408	Olympius	Augustine
CI	409	Memor	Augustine
CXXVI	411	Albina	Augustine
CXLIII	412	Marcellinus	Augustine
CXLVIII	413	Fortunatianus	Augustine
CLI	413/414	Caecilianus	Augustine
CLIX	415	Evodius	Augustine
CLXVI	415	Jerome	Augustine
CLXIX	415	Evodius	Augustine
CCXX	427	Boniface	Augustine

CCXXVIII	428/429	Honoratus	Augustine
CCXXXI	429	Darius	Augustine
CCXXXII	unknown	People of Madaura	Augustine

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