THE WORDS FOR THE SEVEN DEADLY SINS

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A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Department of English

University of Houston

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In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

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by

Mary S. Hetherington

June 1966

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ABSTRACT

The earliest known Christian list of a group of sins to be avoided grew out of the teachings of one of the "desert fathers" in Egypt in the late fourth century. This thesis traces the development of this concept through the outstanding medieval writers and indicates its prominence in the Middle English period, during which the concept became a popular subject for clerical and secular writers of England.

The names of three of the Seven Deadly Sins, lust, sloth, and pride, came from Old English words, but pryto, "pride," is said to be derived from Old French. This thesis suggests that while proud comes from the French prud, the noun pride may come from an Indo-European root through Primitive Germanic. Gluttony, envy, and avarice came into English from French, with their ultimate sources in Latin. Anger is said to be the only one of the seven that came into our language from Old Norse or Icelandic, but beside the Old Norse word is an Old English root that undoubtedly

contributed to the development of our modern word anger.
Various changes in the forms of these seven words and their
pronunciation have been traced in detail in this thesis.

One of the seven, lust, has undergone a marked
change in meaning since the Middle Ages. The word has lost
its significance as an expression of simple pleasure, de-
light, wish, or desire, and has acquired connotations that
generally limit its interpretation to that of sexual desire
and sexual excess. Sloth has retained two very different
definitions, one relating to spiritual health and the other,
to the layman's world. Pride, envy, and anger have dropped
several meanings which were employed by Middle English
authors but which now are considered archaic or obsolete.
Only avarice and gluttony still retain all the definitions
that they had in the Middle Ages and show little appreciable
change in meaning during nearly eight centuries of use in
the English language.

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INTRODUCTION

It is the purpose of this thesis to study the meaning
of the words that compose the list of the Seven Deadly Sins.
We will scan the development of the words through the Middle
English period and will consider their meaning from the
point of view of both the churchman and the layman. It will
be appropriate in some cases to consider the circumstances
that gave rise to the use of a particular word rather than
some equivalent of it. It will be helpful to know something
of the background of the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins
and something of the extent of their influence upon the
literature of medieval England.

It will be impossible within the scope of this thesis,
however, to make a complete study of the concept itself,
which has been dealt with thoroughly elsewhere. The limi-
tations imposed by time and the length of this work prohibit
the making of a general survey of continental literature
and of the expression of the concept of the Deadly Sins
in art. Also, to list every instance of the use or mention
of the sins in the literature of medieval England would in

large measure duplicate the presentation already available in Wells' <u>Manual</u> <u>of</u> <u>the</u> <u>Writings</u> <u>in</u> <u>Middle</u> <u>English</u> and Bloomfield's <u>The</u> <u>Seven</u> <u>Deadly</u> <u>Sins</u>. Therefore, this study will emphasize the considerations involved in word study and will touch upon but will not attempt to be exhaustive in the related areas.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE CONCEPT

The lands of Greece, Egypt, Italy, and Spain pro-
vide the settings for early stages in the development of
the concept of the Seven Deadly Sins, a concept that in-
spired a number of medieval English writers. We will first
examine the history of this idea and then show examples
of the attitude of Biblical authors toward the individual
sins. The idea of a group of seven sins has been traced
back into pagan as well as Hebrew tradition. Morton W.
Bloomfield, one of the scholars interested in this subject,
says that Gnostic belief in a soul journey merged with
Hebreo-Christian teachings in the early Christian centuries
to give rise to the concept.[1] Gnosticism came into prom-
inence in the eastern Mediterranean area early in the second
century and reached its height in the third quarter of that
century, after which it began to wane. Among the majority
of its followers "Gnosis" was understood to mean "revelation."

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[1] Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins (East
Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952, p. 12.

Little groups of Gnostics believed that they possessed
secret knowledge that assured them of salvation. The soul,
after leaving the body, had to pass through seven spheres dur-
ing its ascent to the highest heaven. Each sphere was
guarded by a deity or demon whose name the soul must know
if it were to be allowed to pass. The Gnostic had to learn
the names of the demons and equip himself with knowledge of
certain sacred formulas and symbols in order to be sure of
his destiny after death. Later, perhaps through association
with other similar credos, these demons became sins. The
soul had to prove or achieve mastery over these sins before
it could pass on to other spheres. More familiar, however,
to the modern reader, is the Judeo-Christian tradition of
laws to be observed--which goes back to the Ten Commandments--
and of sin which consists of failure to obey the laws.

According to Bloomfield, both traditions were famil-
iar to the early Christian fathers who followed the example
of St. Anthony, a gentle ascetic who went into the desert
to live, in 285. Soon, Bloomfield says, "hosts of hermits"
settled in both Lower and Upper Egypt. Evagrius of Pontus
in Asia Minor went into the desert in 383 and before long

became a teacher of others in the area. He made the sins
a basic part of his teaching and became the first Christian
leader to employ the scheme of the cardinal sins in his
writings. Bloomfield says that the names of the sins
listed by Evagrius have been translated from Greek into
Latin as gula, luxuria, avaritia, tristitia, ira, acedia,
vana gloria, and superbia. Evagrius said that acedia,
vana gloria, superbia, avaritia, and tristitia were es-
pecially dangerous to hermits and that the other three
sins concerned cenobites in particular. Bloomfield
explains that in early days the number seven "along with
forty and a few others, was considered not exact but
representative." Thus he accounts for the total of eight
instead of seven sins. He also suggests that the upper
world of God, added to the seven stages of the Gnostic
soul journey, makes eight the logical number for the
writer to use.

It is obvious that the sins listed by Evagrius are

2
Ibid., p. 39.

not identical with those that would be involved with the breaking of the Ten Commandments. We may ask how Evagrius happened to choose those that he named. Bloomfield believes that the list, or something similar, already was current among the Gnostics of the eastern Mediterranean area and was known to Evagrius, who purged it of its pagan and unorthodox associations and included it in his Christian writings. We should note here that the moral philosophers of both the ancient Greek and Roman civilizations warned their hearers and followers of the unhappy results attendant upon or resulting from anger, avarice, and others of the various Deadly Sins. But we know of no one earlier than Evagrius who made an actual list of Christian sins.

A contemporary of this "desert father" was Aurelius Prudentius Clemens (348-410?), born in Spain of a noble family and given a liberal education. Prudentius became a public official of the Roman Empire under Emperor Theodosius, but he is better known today as a Christian poet. At the age of 57 he published a complete edition of his works and in the same year entered a monastery, but died

shortly afterwards. In Psychomachia, his most influential

work, he depicted a "battle" between seven vices and seven

virtues, all personified, thus becoming the first Christian

writer to use the total of seven in connection with a list

of sins that struggled for possession of the human soul.

The seven of Prudentius, however, include only five of those

that are part of the group later more or less stabilized by

other writers. They were lust, pride, gluttony, avarice,

and a rather inclusive one, "Indulgence," which seems to

embrace sloth. His other two are "Deceit" and "Worship-of-

the-Old-Gods."

Another contemporary of Evagrius and Prudentius was

Augustine (354-430), bishop of Hippo in North Africa, who

brought forth the list of the seven Christian virtues.

These he subdivided into two groups, the four cardinal

virtues, prudence, temperance, courage, and justice, as

Plato listed them and as Ambrose (340?-397), bishop of

Milan, adapted them to Christian theology, and the three

Christian graces, faith, hope, and charity. This list of

virtues inspired many other writers to deal with lists of

seven sins, according to the Encyclopedia Britannica. It
also helped establish the preference for the number seven.
It was more than accidental that Augustine and Prudentius
numbered the virtues and vices, respectively, as seven in
toto. That number traditionally held an attraction for
followers of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The Bible had
numerous references to the number, from Joseph's seven lean
and seven fat kine, seven good ears and seven thin ones, to
the Book of Revelations (or Apocalypse) lamb with seven horns
and seven eyes representing the spirits of God. There were
seven churches of Asia, the use of seven candlesticks, and,
in the Roman church, seven sacraments.

The compiling of lists of things was irresistibly
attractive to writers of the early Middle Ages. Some, how-
ever, followed Evagrius' example and used eight sins, in spite
of the pattern of Prudentius and of the tradition attached to
the number seven. Among these was John Cassian (360?-435),
another member of the generation of writers who, although
scattered in different Mediterranean lands, brought forth
the beginnings of the concept of the deadly seven. Cassian

spent twenty of his early years in Egypt. After his con-
secration in Constantinople in 403 he settled in the south
of France and instituted monastic life in Provence. Bloom-
field says that he brought with him from Egypt the scheme
of the eight cardinal sins, but it is not known whether he
received it directly from Evagrius.[3] Cassian's writing em-
phasized the dangers of _gula_, _fornicatio_ (lust), and _acedia_,
all "especially monastic vices." Bloomfield adds that
Cassian's work "had great influence in Gaul, whence it spread
to the Celtic Church, which established in the British Isles
a persistent tradition of an eight-fold scheme of sins." We
note that Alciun (735-804) is among the later English
writers who used a scheme of eight sins. Cassian's list,
which served as the model for other writers in France
and the British Isles, includes: _gastrimargia_ [_gula_], _for-
nicatio_ [_luxuria_], _filargyria_ [_avaritia_], _ira_, _tristitia_,
acedia, _cenodoxia_ [_vana gloria_], and _superbia_. (The names
in brackets are the Latin terms more commonly used by
succeeding writers.)

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[3]
Bloomfield, _op. cit._, p. 69.

On the continent of Europe, according to Bloomfield, the number of seven for the cardinal sins was stabilized by Gregory the Great, and eventually his figure prevailed. Gregory listed the seven in his Moralium Liber, xxxi. 45, as inanis gloria (pride), invidia (envy), ira (anger), tristitia (sadness), avaritia (avarice), ventris ingluvies (gluttony), and luxuria (lust). Other writers used superbia for pride and acedia instead of tristitia, as sloth. Gregory's listing divides the sins into a group of spiritual offenses, pride, envy, wrath, sloth, and avarice, and then the carnal offenses, lust and gluttony. Various writers also differed in the selection of the vices, although they agreed on four of the number and sometimes five, pride or vain glory, avarice, anger, and gluttony. Some of the others included were unchastity, envy, gloominess (tristitia), and indifference (acedia or accidia, from the Greek).

Before proceeding further with a discussion of the sins we should follow Bloomfield's example in pointing out that the real deadly sins--first so-called by Tertullian (160?-230), ecclesiastical writer of Carthage and Rome, in his De pudicitia XIX 4--are those that involve breaking

the Ten Commandments. The group that we now call the

Seven Deadly Sins was considered originally the seven

cardinal or capital sins, and it was not until the twelfth

century that the terms became confused in England through

the association of the two concepts in the "penitentials"

that the priests used in conducting confessions. At that

time the name "deadly" began to be applied to the seven
4
cardinal sins. The sins concerning the Commandments

never have been standardized--perhaps because there was no

need to do so. That explains why the thirteenth century

Italian philosopher, St. Thomas Aquinas, applies the term

"capital" instead of "deadly" to the vices discussed in

his Summa Theologiae, which is still the basis of much

Roman Catholic thinking and doctrine on the subject of

the Deadly Sins.

According to St. Thomas, "a capital vice is that

which has an exceedingly desirable end so that in his

desire for it a man goes on to the commission of many

4
Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 51.

5
Ibid., p. 44.

sins, all of which are said to originate in that vice as
their chief source." [6] Thus the gravity of the vice itself
is not what makes it a capital sin, but the fact that it
gives rise to other sins. [7]

Both Old and New Testaments provide testimony against
the seven sins termed "deadly" and the effect of commission
of those sins. Pride has been inveighed against by many of
the scripture writers. In Psalms 10:2 we find, "The wicked
in his pride doth persecute the poor" and in 10:4, "The
wicked through the pride of his countenance will not seek
after God." In Psalms 73:6 is "Therefore pride compasseth
them [the wicked] about as a chain." The latter quotation

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[6]
A. C. O'Neil, "Sin," Catholic Encyclopedia (New
York: The Encyclopedia Press, Inc., 1913), XIV, p. 5.

[7]
Although we have been intent upon the Christian
interpretation of the concept of sin, it may be of interest
to note that the idea of different classes of sin is paral-
leled in the work of Moses Maimonides, twelfth century Jew-
ish philosopher. In his Guide for the Perplexed he divided
transgressions into four classes: involuntary transgressions;
sins committed in ignorance; sins done knowingly; and sins
done spitefully. M. Friedlander (trans.), Moses Maimonides:
the Guide for the Perplexed (New York: Dover Publications,
Inc., 1956), p. 347.

is interpreted by the <u>Abingdon</u> <u>Bible</u> <u>Commentary</u> as meaning

that pride adorns the wicked as a necklace.[8]   In Proverbs

16:18 is the familiar quotation: "Pride goeth before de-

struction, and a haughty spirit before a fall," while in

29:23 is, "A man's pride shall bring him low: but honour

shall uphold the humble in spirit." Outstanding in the New

Testament is a quotation from St. Mark 7:22-23: "Thefts,

covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil

eye, blasphemy, pride, foolishness: All these evil things

come from within, and defile man."

The sin of avarice draws a comment from the <u>Abingdon</u>

<u>Bible</u> <u>Commentary</u> that "The Christian must be free from

avarice--another injunction which is often emphasized in

the New Testament. In Hebrews, Chapter 13, avarice is

described as idolatry. The Christian need not fear that by

obeying this precept [to avoid avarice] he is running the

8
F. C. Eiselen, Edwin Lewis, and D. G. Downey, eds.,
<u>The</u> <u>Abingdon</u> <u>Bible</u> <u>Commentary</u> (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury
Press, 1929), p. 555.

risk of poverty."[9]

Gluttony is mentioned in Deuteronomy 21:20: "This
our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our
voice; he is a glutton, and a drunkard," as complained by
hypothetical parents to the elders of the city. Their
answer is contained in verse 21: "And all the men of his
city shall stone him with stones, that he die: so shalt
thou put evil away from among you; and all Israel shall
hear, and fear." Another fate, less drastic but still se-
vere, is shown in Proverbs 23:21, "For the drunkard and the
glutton shall come to poverty."

Lust is discussed in Romans 7:7 as follows: "For I
had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt
not covet." The Douay Version gives the verse as, "For I
had not known lust unless the Law had said, 'Thou shalt not
lust.'"[10] In Galatians 5:16 is, "Walk in the spirit, and ye

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[9]
Ibid., p. 1324.

[10]
Douay Version quotations come from The Holy Bible,
The Old Testament Douay Version and The New Testament Con-
fraternity Version (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1961).

shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh," and verse 17 con-
tinues, "For the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the
Spirit against the flesh." James 1:15-16 says,

> But every man is tempted, when he is drawn
> away of his own lust, and enticed.
> Then when lust hath conceived, it bringeth
> forth sin: and sin, when it is finished,
> bringeth forth death.

Ephesians 4:22 advises, "Put off...the old man [the old self],
which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts." I Timothy
6:9-10 states:

> But they that will be rich fall into
> temptation and a snare, and into many
> foolish and hurtful lusts...
> For the love of money is the root of all evil.

The Douay Version substitutes the word covetousness for
the King James Version's "love of money" in the quotation
from Timothy. Titus 2:12 has, "Denying ungodliness and
worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and
godly."

The book of Proverbs rewards the investigator with
the following advice on sloth: Chapter 15:19, "The way
of the slothful man is as an hedge of thorns"; 18:9, "He
also that is slothful in his work is brother to him that

is a great waster"; 19:24, "A slothful man hideth his hand

in his bosom"; 21:25, "The desire of the slothful killeth

him; for his hands refuse to labor"; and 26:14, "As the

door turneth upon his hinges, so doth the slothful upon

his bed." The New Testament contains the familiar quota-

tion from the parable in St. Matthew 2:26, "His lord

answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant."

The sin of envy brings forth numerous warnings from

scripture. Job 5:2 contains, "For wrath killeth the foolish

man, and envy slayeth the silly one." Proverbs offers, in

14:30, "A sound heart is the life of the flesh, but envy

the rottenness of the bones," and in 27:4, "Wrath is cruel,

and anger is outrageous; but who is able to stand before

envy?" Ecclesiastes 4:4-6 has:

> Again, I considered all travail, and every
>   right work, that for this a man is envied
>   of his neighbour. This is also vanity and
>   vexation of spirit.
> The fool foldeth his hands together, and eateth
>   his own flesh.
> Better is an handful with quietness, than
>   both the hands full with travail and
>   vexation of spirit.

Isaiah 26:11 says, "But they shall see and be ashamed for

their envy at the people." _Douay Version_ interprets this
as, "Let the envious people see, and be confounded."
Matthew 27:18 reports, "For he knew that for envy they had
delivered him."

The sin of anger is cited frequently in the Old
Testament, many more times than one would care to quote ex-
cept in a treatise on that subject alone. However, a few
of the quotations should be mentioned. Genesis 49:6 shows
one of the results of anger: "for in their anger they slew
a man," and in 49:7 continues with its punishment, "Cursed
be their anger, for it was fierce." Exodus tells us that:
"Moses' anger waxed hot, and he cast the tables out of his
hands." The _Douay Version_ reports from Job 5:2, "Anger
indeed killeth the foolish," while the _King James Version_
offers from Job 18:4, "He teareth himself in his anger" and
from 21:17, "God distributeth sorrows in his anger."
Ecclesiastes 7:9 bids, "Be not hasty in thy spirit to be
angry: for anger resteth in the bosom of fools." Isaiah
48:9 tells us, "For my name's sake will I defer mine anger,"
and Jeremiah 10:24 has, "O Lord correct me, but with judg-
ment; not in thine anger, lest thou bring me to nothing."

Ephesians 4:26 states, "Be ye angry, and sin not: let not
the sun go down upon your wrath." The Douay Version has
anger instead of wrath in the quotation. The Abingdon Bible
Commentary explains, "The first half of the clause is
concessive, in accordance with Hebrew idiom. Therefore
read Though you be angry, do not sin. The meaning is that
an instinctive impulse to anger is natural and not neces-
sarily sinful; to brood over it is to 'give the devil his
chance'...The advice not to cherish anger after sunset
goes back to the Pythagoreans."[11] Ephesians 4:31 exhorts,
"Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and
evil speaking, be put away from you, with all malice."
Colossians 4:8 similarly admonishes, "But now ye also put
off all these: anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy
communication out of your mouth."[12]

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[11]
    F. C. Eiselen, op. cit., p. 1234.

[12]
    All quotations from scripture, unless otherwise
specified, come from the King James Version.

CHAPTER II

THE SINS IN MIDDLE ENGLISH LITERATURE

England of the Middle Ages offered its literate

population many opportunities to read of the Seven Deadly

Sins. For the sake of continuity we shall survey the

materials generally by centuries, not attempting, however,

to keep strict chronological order within the centuries

and noting that the dates of many of the works are approx-

imate or are subject to speculation. In the latter part

of this chapter there will be a few divisions made on the

basis of subject matter in order to provide for special

areas that cross time lines or that for some other reason

deserve to be set apart.

PRINCIPAL NON-DRAMATIC WORKS TO 1500

In the ninth century Alcuin's Liber de vertutibus

et vitiis was translated into English, as were two Capitula

for priests by Theodulf of Orleans (d. 821). Other early

references to the Sins are found in the Vercelli homilies

and Blickling homilies. Aelfric, abbot of Eynsham (not the

archbishop of Canterbury or York), mentioned or discussed

the Sins in his Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church, 990,

Lives of Saints, and Pastoral Letters of the tenth and

early eleventh centuries. The monk Byrhtferth (c. 980),

who lived at Canterbury for a time, wrote a Handboc or

Enchiridion which includes a tract, "The Seven Sins," in

1011. Wulfstan's homilies are dated generally in the

eleventh century, the Lambeth homilies, in 1175, and the

Sarum Prymer in the late twelfth or early thirteenth cen-

tury. The work Vices and Virtues was written in Kent or

elsewhere in southeast England around 1200. The prose

Ancren Riwle was composed around 1225 for three young women

who wished to set themselves apart from the world and lead

lives of piety. The fourth section of this work is devoted

to an elaborate discussion of the sins, which are divided

into two groups, carnal and spiritual sins. The author

also discusses the sins of the world (covetousness), the

flesh (luxury, ease, and self-indulgence), and the devil

(pride, haughtiness, envy, and wrath). One of the earliest

Middle English poems dealing with the Seven Sins is The Owl

and the Nightingale, probably written about 1217, which takes

the form of a debate between the two creatures named in the

title. It mentions only six of the sins, leaving out sloth,

but scholars agree that the author had the group of Deadly

Sins in mind although he felt no compulsion to complete the

list. Other thirteenth century works include the poems,

Saws of St. Bede, said by scholars to be obviously not

written by Bede, who lived in the late seventh and early

eighth centuries, and Speculum Gy de Warewyke, in which Guy

goes to a priest named Alcuin for advice and receives ad-

monition concerning the Seven Sins and others as well.

The fourteenth century gives us a far greater number

of works on the Sins, including several outstanding ones such

as the Ayenbite of Inwit, Handlyng Synne, Piers Plowman,

Confessio Amantis, and The Parson's Tale of Canterbury Tales.

The Ayenbite of Inwit, dated 1340, the work of Dan Michel

of Northgate in Kent, "was written in English for the sake

of ignorant men, to guard them against sin."[1] It was a

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[1] A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (eds.), From the
Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance (Vol. I of Cambridge
History of English Literature. New York: The Macmillan
Company, 1939), p. 395.

translation of a popular French treatise, the <u>Somme</u> <u>le</u> <u>roy</u>

or <u>Somme</u> <u>des</u> <u>Vices</u> <u>et</u> <u>des</u> <u>Vertues,</u> compiled by a Dominican

friar, Lorens or Laurent, in 1279. The <u>Somme</u> was taken from

the works of still other writers. It contained various

homilies on the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the Seven Deadly

Sins, the knowledge of good and evil, the seven petitions of

the Paternoster, the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, the seven

cardinal virtues, and confession. The author of <u>Handlyng</u>

<u>Synne</u> identified himself as Robert Mannyng of Brunne, which

is the present Bourne in Lincolnshire. The parent house of

the Gilbertine order was located there, where Mannyng in

1303 translated into his native tongue "two poems written in

poor French by English clerks..." These were William of

Wadington's <u>Manuel</u> <u>des</u> <u>Pechiez</u> or <u>Péchés,</u> probably written

for Norman settlers in Yorkshire, and a chronicle by Peter

of Langtoft. Mannyng dedicated his <u>Handlyng</u> <u>Synne</u> to the

fellowship of Sempringham. It is a poem of more than twelve

thousand lines containing sixty-five tales that illustrate

the Sins and other materials. "The popularity of <u>Manuel</u> <u>des</u>

<u>Pechiez</u> is attested by the number of manuscripts, fourteen

in all, which have survived," according to the <u>Cambridge</u>

History. Mannyng, like Dan Michel of the _Ayenbite of Inwit_,
wrote "for the benefit of ignorant men."[2] He treated of
the Ten Commandments for nearly three thousand lines, then
entered upon the theme of the Deadly Sins. He threw much
light on the social conditions of his time. "Tournaments,"
he said, "are the occasion of all the Seven Deadly Sins,
and if every knight loved his brother, they would never
take place, for they encourage pride, envy, anger, idleness,
covetousness, gluttony, and lust. Furthermore, mystery
plays...are also occasions of sin...One of the best stories
in the book, the tale of Piers, illustrates the wickedness
and repentance of one of the hated tribe of usurers. In
respect to the sin of Gluttony, not only the rich are to
be blamed; two meals a day are quite sufficient, except for
children, and they should be fed only at regular hours.
Late suppers, too, are to be avoided, especially by serving
men, who often sit up and feast till cockcrow. People

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[2]
A. W. Ward, _op. cit._, p. 385.

should not break their fast before partaking of the 'holy bread,' or dine before they hear mass."[3] In William Langland's <u>Vision of Piers Plowman</u>, a poem of over twenty-five hundred lines, are two passages on the sins, one of which is a confession. Chaucer's <u>Parson's Tale</u> is a long sermon that concludes the <u>Canterbury Tales.</u> The <u>Cursor Mundi,</u> written between 1300 and 1325, is termed an "encyclopedic" work that contains a long general discussion of the Sins, followed by a scene in which individuals confess each of the Sins in detail. There also is a treatment of the Sins in the <u>Disputison Bitwene a God Man and the Deuel</u>, written in 1350. R. Englyssh's <u>Manual of Sin</u> is a treatise on the Ten Commandments, sacrilege, the Seven Sins, and so on. The <u>Mirror of St. Edmund</u> teaches what are the Deadly Sins and includes other didactic material. William of Shoreham's <u>Poems</u> has a piece, the fourth of the group, that ends with an exposition of the Deadly Sins. <u>A Form of Confession</u>, in prose, "is in the Southern MS Vernon f. 366 (1370-80). First is a detailed confession item by item of

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[3]
<u>Ibid</u>., p 386.

guilt of each of the Seven Sins, of breaking of each Com-

mandment...This is followed by a catechism with questions

and answers, on the Commandments, the Deadly Sins, the
                                                        4
Senses, the Works of Mercy, and the Cardinal Virtues."

Part IV of The Pricke of Conscience is on "Purgatory, its

location, its torments, the causes for its existence, the

sins that send to Hell, the venial sins and their reme-
        5
dies..."   In The Scale of Perfection (Scala Perfectionis)

by Walter Hilton (d. 1395-96) are discussions of the kinds

of contemplation, prayer, meditation, the soul, the Seven

Sins and their remedies, and other doctrine.   Another

piece, Of Deadly and Venial Sin, which attempts to

"distinguish for an inquiring brother the difference be-

tween the two classes of sin" also has Hilton as its
                        6
suggested author.   A minor work of Hilton's that mentions

4
    John Edwin Wells, Manual of the Writings in Middle
English 1050-1400 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916),
p. 360.

5
    Ibid., p. 448.

6
    Ibid., p. 463.

the Sins is *Qui Habitat*. A *Comment on the Deadly Sins* in
MSS Bodley 647 (West Midland), Douce 273, and Trinity
College Dublin CV 6, formerly attributed to Wyclif but
now to Nicholas Hereford, Lollard writer, deals "elabor-
ately with each Sin in its several forms, with application
to contemporary conditions and various orders of society."[7]
Other fourteenth century works dealing with or touching
on the Sins include: *De festo corporis Christi*, a poem in
Vernon MS; *A lytyll tretys* in MS Harley 2383[70]; *The Seven
Deedly Synnes* in MS Bodley 549; *St. Brendan's Confession*;
Le Bone Florence of Rome; Richard Rolle's *Form of living*
and *Ego dormio et cor meum vigilat*; *The Cloud of Unknowing*;
The Book of Vices and Virtues, a translation of *Somme le
roy*; John Gaytryge's Sermon in Thornton MS 1350; *Clensyng
of Mannes Sowle* in MS Bodley 923; *Speculum christiani*;
John Gaytrik's *The Lay Folks Catechism*; and two Latin works
of John Wyclif, *Trialogus* and *Tractatus de Civili dominio*.
The *Vox Clamantis* of John Gower has seven books of Latin

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[7]
    Ibid., p. 471.

elegaic verses, of which the seventh book presents "the

doctrine of Man the Microcosm, affected with all the Seven

Sins, debasing the world..."[8] His French work, _Mirour de_

l'omme also includes the Sins. The largest part of _Con-_

fessio Amantis, an English work of some thirty-four thous-

and lines written by Gower near the end of the fourteenth

century, is the treatment of the Seven Deadly Sins, illus-

trated by a large collection of stories. It contains about

one hundred twenty-five narratives and references to or

resumes of classical and Biblical tales. "Book I, line

575 to the end, deals with Pride...Book II is given to Envy

...Book III deals with Wrath...Book IV ostensibly deals

with Sloth...Book V is supposedly devoted to Avarice...

Book VI is on Gluttony."[9] Nero's lusts of all kinds also

are included in illustrations in Book VI, making seven

sins in all. The matter of the Sins appears in several

shorter lyric poems of the same century. In "As I Wandered

Her Bi Weste" the poet heard a man alternately "asking God

8
  Ibid , p. 589.

9
  Ibid.

for mercy, and giving him thanks...He asked mercy for ·
commission of the Seven Sins..."[10]   A piece, "Swete Jhesu

Crist, to þe," consists of 49 short couplets in which the

poet confesses guilt of all the Seven Sins and of breaking

the commandments. Other poems dealing with the subject

include "The Wounds of Christ as Remedies Against the

Seven Deadly Sins," "The vij vertwys Agyn the vij dedley

Synys," and "Augustinus de peccatis venialibus."

Fifteenth century works that deal with or include

some account of the Seven Deadly Sins include: "General

Confession of Sins," a poem of 11 stanzas, dated 1450 and

included in MS Rawlinson B 408; Mirror of the Periods of

Man's Life, before 1430; The Seven Deadly Sins or Gyf Me

Lysens to Lyve in Ease or Medicines to Cure the Deadly

Sins; "Why I Can't Be a Nun," a satirical poem of the

middle of the century; "A Treatise of a Galaunt," a

nationalistic poem; a 460-line verse-sermon in Laud MS

463; John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests and

Festial; Speculum sacerdotale; Reply of Friar Daw Thopias,

1401 or 1402; "The Lanterne of Li3t," a Lollard tract, 1409

10
    Ibid., p. 511.

or 1410; Richard Lavynham's _Tractatus de septem peccatis mortalibus;_ Christine de Pisan's _Epistle of Othea to Hector,_ around 1400; the Scottish _Ratis Raving_ in MS Cambridge University Library Kk I. 5, No. 6; _A Song Called the Devils' Parliament,_ around 1430, MS Lambeth 853; _Jacob's Well_ of the first quarter of the century; John Audelay's poems; Richard Pecock's _Donet,_ a shortened version of _The Reule of Crysten Religioun; The Assembly of Gods,_ formerly but no longer considered to be John Lydgate's; _Court of Sapience,_ attributed to Lydgate; Lydgate's translation of Guillaume de Deguileville's _Pélerinage de la vie humaine; Templum domini_ from MS British Museum Additional 32,578; and William Dunbar's _Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins,_ which actually belongs to the next century, being dated 1507.

CANTERBURY TALES THEORY

In making our survey of non-dramatic literature dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins, we should take note of a suggested theory that the overall structure of the _Canterbury Tales_ may be based upon the Sins. The plan of the _Tales,_ according to Wells, until recently "has been

regarded as unique among the works of this...class in Eng-
lish of our period...But emphasis on the Marriage Group has
led the way...to the suggestion that the Tales was intended
more or less, and must have been recognized by Chaucer's
contemporaries as a curious blending of the motif of Love
with that of the Seven Deadly Sins."[11]   There is, for example,
the Pardoner's attack upon avarice and gluttony, the Second
Nun's prologue on idleness, and sentiment against pride in
the Wife's Tale, wrath in the Manciple's Tale, and envy in
the Man of Law's Tale. Frederick Tupper has stated that
the discourse on the seven sins is especially prominent in
the Parson's Tale. The parson, it is pointed out, delivers
a lengthy discourse on penitence and introduces a treat-
ment of the Seven Deadly Sins longer than the main piece.
"In 1901 Miss Peterson showed...that the Sins matter is
from an untraced version of Guilelmus Peraldus' Summa
seu Tractatus de Viciis...It has been shown that the Sins
bulk large in various summae and penitentials, and

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[11]
    Wells, op. cit., p. 672.

that Confession of the Deadly Sins is one of the great
                              12
mediaeval divisions of Penance." Tupper argues that

four stories used by Gower as exempla of Deadly Sins are

used by Chaucer as exempla of the same sins. He states

that Chaucer's comment at the end of the Physician's Tale

of Appius and Virginia makes the story proper an exemplum

of lechery, and that in the Confessio, Book VII, Gower

tells the story as an exemplum of lust. Tupper notes

"that in the Parson's Tale Inobedience is the first divi-

sion of pride; and he regards the prologue and tale of the

Wife as an exemplum or as illustrative of Inobedience...

The [Friar's] tale is an exemplum of the cursing phase of

Wrath, and...the quarrel of the Friar and the Summoner

illustrates Wrath in general...The whole story [The Man-

ciple's Tale] is itself declared by Tupper (opposed by

J. L. Lowes) to be an 'ensample' against Jangling, which
                                   13
is a phase of Wrath." Not only Lowes but some other

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12
   Ibid., p. 745.

13
   Ibid., pp. 720, 723, and 743.

scholars have rejected this theory. Bloomfield also feels that Tupper forced the matter into a preconceived pattern as result of enthusiasm for the Seven Deadly Sins.[14]

MANUSCRIPTS MENTIONING THE SINS

The Seven Deadly Sins are discussed, together with the Pater Noster or other articles of devotion or instruction, in a number of manuscripts listed by Wells' Manual of the Writings in Middle English. Exclusive of the works already discussed, they include: Auchinleck f. 70 r (1330-1340); Laud 463 f 157 (beginning fifteenth century), account of Sins in 230 short couplets and paraphrase of the Commandments; Cathedral Library Sarum 126 f. 5, perhaps by Thomas Cyrcetur (c. 1452), a prose creed with two couplets on Sins and five couplets epitomizing the Commandments; Arundel 20 f. 43 (late fifteenth century), expositions of Commandments and Sins; Laud 416 (fifteenth century), verse paraphrase of Commandments and Sins; Harley 1706 (fifteenth century), verse Commandments, Sins, works of mercy,

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[14] Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 10C, 193.

cardinal virtues, beatitudes; Garrett in Princeton University
Library (fifteenth century). The Seven Sins alone are
treated in the following manuscripts: Harley 957 f. 27
(thirteenth century), with twelve four-stress lines for-
bidding commission of the first three sins; Cotton Ves-
pasian A III, 229 short couplets with an elaborately
developed presentation and exposition of the Seven
Sins; Harley 913 f. 48 ff. (1308-1318, before 1325), 60
short couplets of "Pride, Covetise, Onde"; Cotton Tiberius
E VII (c. 1400); Laud 363 (i.e. L 70; early fifteenth cen-
tury), 232 short couplets; Jesus College, Cambridge Q, G, 3
(fifteenth century) and Balliol College Oxford 354 (six-
teenth century), 15 and 14 couplets respectively; and
MS Cambridge University Library Ff I 6 f. 56 v (fifteenth
century).[15]

THE SINS IN DRAMA

The Seven Deadly Sins also were very popular subjects
for the morality and miracle plays of medieval England,

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[15]
    Ibid., pp. 350-52.

according to Bloomfield. The strife or struggle theme,

with both vices and virtues seeking possession of man's soul,

became one of the principal motifs of the moralities in the

late medieval period, he says. [16] The plays concentrated on

topics that provided dramatic material, and several of

these, such as the pilgrimage theme, the attack on man or

on an allegorical castle, and the procession of vices,

dealt with the Seven Deadly Sins. A favorite figure in the

miracle plays was Mary Magdalene, who was particularly

associated with the Sins because "the seven devils driven

out of her had, at least from the time of Gregory the Great,

been linked with the sins." [17] But in connection with

medieval English drama we will limit our survey to the

consideration of two illustrations of instances of the Sins

in plays. In the Towneley Play of the Last Judgment,

attributed to the Wakefield Master, two devils gloat over

the wealth of sins that they have gathered in the world

for the aggrandisement of Hell. The Seven Deadly Sins are

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[16]
   Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 82.

[17]
   Ibid., p 227.

presented as "monstrous caricatures" described in a

monologue spoken by the devil, Tutivillus, as "the grand

climax of the first dialogue of demons."[18]   The Sins were

represented in a Paternoster play given by the crafts in

Beverley in 1469 They appeared at seven stations at which

eight pageants (wagons) were presented.   The sins were

Superbia, Luxuria, Accidia, Gula, Invidia, Avaricia, Ira,

and Vitiosa.   The latter represented the corruption of

humanity That the Seven Deadly Sins should be included

in a Paternoster play is explained by the fact that the

seven petitions contained in the Lord's Prayer (the first

of the seven being "Hallowed by thy Name") were seen as

remedies for the Seven Sins.[19]

THE DIVINE COMEDY

Before concluding our survey of medieval literature

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[18]
    John Speirs, Medieval English Poetry, the Non-
Chaucerian Tradition (London: Faber and Faber, 1958), p. 369.

[19]
    E. K Chambers, English Literature at the Close of
the Middle Ages (Vol. II, Part 2 of Oxford History of English
Literature, ed. F. P. Wilson and Bonamy Dobree. 12 vols.
planned; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 51.

we should not fail to take notice of the continent's out-
standing work of the fourteenth century which deals with
the Seven Deadly Sins, Dante's _Divine Comedy._ Its second
part, _Purgatory_, completed in 1308, describes a mountain
which souls ascend as they do penance and receive absolution
for sin. Terraces on the mountainside are stages where each
sin is dealt with in turn, and the top of the mountain is
the terrestrial paradise where Dante meets Beatrice. His
guides on this part of the journey are the poets Virgil and
Statius.

LATER ENGLISH LITERATURE

Since this work proposes to deal with the Middle
English period, except for considering also the earlier
background material that is necessary to the history of the
development of the Seven Deadly Sins concept, we do not
attempt to investigate the great amount of writing pro-
duced in England after 1500 and usually described as
Renaissance literature. As Bloomfield states, "In the
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries...there were many

treatments of our concept which show an elaborateness and
originality appropriate to the new Renaissance emphasis
upon originality."[20] These included, for instance, works
on the proper upbringing of young people of both the
nobility and the merchant class. An example of this genre
from the fifteenth century is Peter Idley's (or Idle's)
Instructions to His Son, which is based upon or condensed
from Mannyng's Handlyng Synne. However, we will mention
briefly Spenser's Faerie Queene, which Bloomfield terms
the "last great treatment of the Sins in English literature."[21]
The main presentation of the Sins is found in Canto IV of
Book I, which was completed in 1590. The passage depicts
a procession of the Sins, a familiar motif in both the drama
and the non-dramatic literature of the medieval period.
Lucifera or Pride rules by policy rather than by law and
guides her realm following the advice of "six wisards old."
Her coach is drawn by six beasts which her six counsellors
ride. Idleness mounts an ass, the guide animal, beside

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[20]
    Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 108.

[21]
    Ibid., p. 243.

Gluttony riding on a filthy swine. Next comes Lechery on

a goat, teamed with Avarice on a camel. Finally, Envy

rides a wolf beside Wrath on a lion. Satan rides on the

wagon beam and lashes "the lasie teme." After The Faerie

Queene (which was completed in full in 1611), Bloomfield

says, "The concept [of the Seven Sins] was not dead, nor

is it dead yet, but it was never again to occupy an im-
                                22
portant part in life and culture."

Having discussed the subject of this thesis from

the viewpoints of its overall history and its handling in

literature, we turn now to a study of the meaning of the

words that name the Sins. An attempt has been made to

enliven the proceedings by varying slightly the treatment

of the individual sins in the following chapters.

22
    Ibid.,

CHAPTER III

PRIDE

Pride heads the lists of Seven Deadly Sins compiled by many of the medieval writers, and the choice is deliberate rather than coincidental. Pride is considered to be the origin or inspiration of the other vices. This notion even predates the Christian church's philosophy of sin, for it is found in the concept of _hubris_ in the dramas of Aeschylus and of other early Greek tragedians.

CLASSICAL CONCEPTS

Hubris in Greek drama is pride, but it is more than that, just as in medieval Christian writing pride is viewed as more than a single or simple vice. _Hubris_ implies an excess in man's thoughts or emotions. When man claims more than his _Moira_, his due portion of life's material goods, honors, joys and sorrows, or other elements of mortal existence, he commits _hubris_. In due time he will face

judgment for the sin.[1] For instance, in Euripides'

Antigone, Creon, king of Thebes, is driven by fear of over-

throw and by pride to commit a great wrong. In Aeschylus'

Persians there is repetition of the fundamental conception

that too great prosperity (koros, "satiety") brings on

boastfulness or wanton insolence (hybris), which in the end

results in ruin (ate).[2] The theme of Sophocles' Ajax is

found in the moral which Athena in the prelude draws from

the fate of Ajax: "Let no man wax insolent over superior

strength or wealth; a single day suffices to exalt or to

overthrow the fortune of any mortal man. This is the old

moral that insolence (hybris) and pride come before a fall,

perhaps the most frequent moral idea in Greek tragedy."[3]

Another pre-Christian writer, Cicero, warned his

fellow Romans, in Book I, Chapter 26, of De Officiis,

"During our prosperity...we ought with great care to avoid

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[1]
Gilbert Murray, Aeschylus, the Creator of Tragedy,
(Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 83.

[2]
Philip Whaley Harsh, Handbook of Classical Drama
(Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1948), p. 46.

[3]
Ibid., p. 97

pride and arrogance."[4]

CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

Among early Christian writers was Augustine, who in his *Confessions* cautioned that pride imitates exaltedness, whereas God alone is exalted over all. The medieval scholar, St. Thomas Aquinas, "endorsing the appreciation of St. Gregory, considers it [pride] the queen of all vices, and puts vainglory in its place as one of the deadly sins... He understands it to be that frame of mind in which a man, through the love of his own worth, aims to withdraw himself from subjection to Almighty God, and sets at naught the commands of superiors...A less atrocious kind of pride is that which impels one to make much of oneself unduly and without sufficient warrant, without however any disposition to cast off the dominion of the Creator...Vainglory, ambition, and presumption are commonly enumerated as the offspring vices

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[4] Walter Miller (trans.), *Cicero: De Officiis* (in *Loeb Classical Library*, ed. T. E Page, E. Capps, and W. H. D. Rouse. London: William Heinemann Ltd., 1938).

of pride." In the <u>Ayenbite of Inwit</u>, "The sins are first [5] compared with the seven heads of the beast which St. John saw in the Apocalypse; then by a change in metaphor, pride becomes the root of all the rest..." Chaucer in <u>The Par-</u> [6] <u>son's Tale</u> lets the parson tell us: "Of the roote of thise sevene sinnes thanne is Prȳde, the general rōte of alle harmes; for of this rōte springen certein braunches, as Ire, Envȳe, Accidie or Slewthe, Avarīce or Coveteise (to commune understondinge), Glotonie and Lecherȳe. And everich of thise chief sinnes hath hise braunches and hise twigges..." [7] And echoing the idea of excess inherent in the interpretation of the Greek <u>hubris</u> is Joseph F. Delany's definition of pride as the excessive love of one's own excellence. [8]

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[5]
    Joseph F. Delany, "Pride," <u>Catholic Encyclopedia</u>, XII, p. 405.

[6]
    Ward, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 395.

[7]
    W. W. Skeat (ed.), <u>The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer</u> Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1940), p. 591.

[8]
    Delany, <u>op. cit.</u>

MEDIEVAL USAGE

Similar to the churchman's definition of pride is

that of the Oxford English Dictionary: "A high or over-

weening opinion of one's own qualities, attainments, or

estate, which gives rise to a feeling and attitude of

superiority over and contempt for others; inordinate self-

esteem."[9] This is the explanation of the word when it is

used as signifying one of the Deadly Sins. It is illus-

trated by a quotation from Aelfric's Homilies, II, circa

1000, "Of ydelum ȝylpe biϸ acenned pryte and ꝛbiliȝnys."

Other examples are: ante 1050, Polity in Thorpe's Ancient

Laws, II, "Ne ȝerisaϸ heom prita ne idele rᴧnca"; ante 1225,

Ancrene Riwle, "Lucifer...leop into prude, and becom of

engel atelich deouel"; 1340, Hampole's Prayer of Consecration,

"ϸir er ϸa here syns ϸet er dedely; Pride, hatreden, and

envȳ"; circa 1380, Wyclif, Selected Works, "By stynkynge

prȳde holdyng ous self worϸyer to God ϸa oϸer trewe men";

1382, Mark vii, "Fro withynne, of the herte of men comen

forth yuele thou tis...pride, folȳe"; circa 1440,

Prompterium Parvulorum, "Prȳde, superbia, fastus, elacio,

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James A. H. Murray, Henry Bradley, W. A. Craigie
et al., (eds.), The Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: The
Clarendon Press, 1933), VIII, p. 1350.

ambicio." Gower's Confessio Amantis (1390), Book I, has:

> Pride is the heved of alle Sinne
> Which wasteth al and mai noght winne;
> Pride is of every mis the pricke,
> Pride is the werste of alle wicke.

Pride personified, especially as the first of the
Seven Deadly Sins, is illustrated by a quotation from the
Assembly of Gods, "Pryde was the furst þat next hym roode,
God woote, On a roryng lyon." Pride appears in various
proverbs: 1382, Wyclif, Proverbs xvi, "Pride goth befor
contricioun; an befor falling the spirit shal ben enhauncid";
circa 1425, MS Digby, "Pees makith Plente, Plente makith
Pride; Pride makith Plee, Plee makith Pouert, Pouert makith
Pees"; 1440, Jacob's Well, "Pride goth beforn, and schame
folwyth after." In Book I of Confessio Amantis is:

> The ferst of hem thou schalt believe
> Is Pride, which is principal,
> And hath with him in special
> Ministres five ful diverse
> Of which, as I the schal reherce...

The five ministers of Pride that Gower lists after the
quotation just cited are Hypocrisy, Inobedience, Presumption,
Avantance, and Vain Glory.

Pride as the exhibition of the quality stated above,

in attitude, bearing, conduct, or treatment of others, as
arrogance or haughtiness, is illustrated by: _circa_ 1205,
Layamon, <u>Brut</u>, "Bruttes hafden muchel mode and vnimete
pruto"; <u>ante</u> 1300, <u>Cursor Mundi</u>, "He [pharoan went wit
mikel prfd and bost"; <u>circa</u> 1330, Robert Brunne, <u>Chronicle</u>
<u>of Wace</u>, "þey preied him [Constantine] he wolde make defens,
and abate þe pruyde of Mayens"; 1483, <u>Catholicon Anglicum</u>,
Prÿde, <u>arrogancia</u>." In Chaucer's <u>Pardoner's Tale</u>, 1386, we
find, "And othes grete of usãge and of pride."

Pride as "a consciousness or feeling of what is
befitting or due to oneself or one's position, which pre-
vents a person from doing what he considers to be beneath
him or unworthy of him; as a good quality, legitimate,
'honest,' or 'proper pride,' self respect; also as a mis-
taken or misapplied feeling, 'false pride,'" is illustrated
by a quotation from Robert of Gloucester, 1297, "Vor þe
brutons nolde uor prute after þe erl dõ, Vor he nas
no3t king and þeruore þe worse hom com tõ."[10]

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10
    <u>Ibid</u>., p. 1351.

With the fourteenth century comes the idea of pride
as "that which causes a feeling of pride in those to whom it
belongs, as the pride of a class, group, or country." This
is illustrated in Wyclif's Ezekiel, 1382: "Y shol defoule my
seyntuarie, the prȳde of ȝour empyre, and desyrable thing
of ȝour ēyen." From the fifteenth century's England's Con-
quest of Ireland, 1425, comes: "Her þe prȳd of waterford
felle; her all hys myght went tᴏ noght."

Pride in a different sense, as "a thing of magnifi-
cence, splendor, pomp, ostentation, and display," came into
use in the thirteenth century as we see from the following:
circa 1205, Layamon, "He hēo lette scruden mid vnimete
prude"; 1297, R. Gloucester, "þe sixte day of Iul he deide
and mid gret onour and prute At founte ebraud he was ibured";
circa 1400, Laud Troy Book, "For Theman dyed in that stede
And beryed he was with mochel pride"; ante 1450, Le Morte
Arthur, "They reseyved him with grete prīde." Gower used
pride thus in Confessio Amantis, Book II:

> In thilke time it so befel
> This newe king of newe Prīde
> With strengthe schop him fortᴏ rīde.

Pride as "pride of life, pride of the world, worldly ostentation and vainglory" is shown by Wyclif's I John, 1382, "Coueytise of flesch, and coueytise of ʒen, and pride of lIjf," and by Hampole's Prayer of Consecration,

Al þat in world men tel can
Es outher yhernyng of þe flesshe of man
Or yhernyng of ēghe, þat may luke
Or pride of lyfe, als says þe buke.

Pride as "a magnificent, splendid, or ostentatious adornment or ornamentation," now archaic, is shown in the following: Cursor Mundi, ante 1300, "He wroght, O grauel bi þe sē side Stanes precius o pride"; Guy of Warwick, "He ʒat him armes and rīche stēde And diʒt him þer alle wiþ prede"; 1390, Confessio Amantis, "The Sadles were of such a Prīde,...So rīche syh schē never non." Another obsolete meaning of the word pride is found in the sense of an exalted or proud position or estate in the quotation from Laud Troy Book, around 1400, "For ther were, In that on side, Sixti kynges and dukes of pride." In the obsolete sense of honor or glory, pride is found in Guy of Warwick as follows: "þerfore, on euerich a sīde, On him was leyd al e pride."

WORD ORIGIN

Passing from the meaning to the form of the word, we find that pride is, with lust and sloth, one of only three of the Seven Deadly Sins that have Old English words as their origin. The early forms are prȳto or prȳtu, a strong feminine substantive, and prȳte, a weak feminine substantive, as they are given in J. R. Clark Hall's Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary. The OED gives, in addition, the forms prȳdo and prȳde. The latter was pronounced /príˑdǝ/. The word is said by OED to be abstracted from the adjective prūt, prūd, proud, to be compared with the Old Norse form prȳ͑i meaning gallantry, bravery, or ornamentation, from prȳ͑r, gallant, brave, stately. Both forms are considered to have been adopted around 1000 from the Old French prut, prud. Clark Hall says that prȳte or prȳto appears in Aelfric's works, the Anglo-Saxon Laws, the Old English Glosses, and Wulfstan's Homilies. Some of the laws are earlier than 900 and some of Aelfric's work is dated 990, while the Old English Glosses are thought to have been

written around 1000, but these do not furnish certain proof
that prȳte existed in English before the entrance of the
French prut into contact with the English language. The
adjective proud and the noun pride are unique in the English
language as the only pair of adjective and noun having the
ou-i vowel variation. This is attributed to umlauting "by
analogy," because umlauting in Old English occurred in the
seventh and the early part of the eighth centuries and is
often considered to have ceased well before the date of
1000. According to Godefroy, the Old French substantive
prut was one of several variant forms of preu, defined as
"profit, avantage, chose utile." An example is:

>   Creance dunt ore n'i at nul prut
>   (Alexis, str. 1, xi^e s., Stengel)

Prud was a variant of the adjective preu, defined "sage,
vaillant," as shown in the example:

>   Il n'est que de hanter les pruds et bons
>   (Gabr. Meurier, Tres. de sentences, ed. 1568)

Finally, both prud and prut appear as forms of the adverb
preu, meaning "assez, beaucoup," as in the following lines:

Qui tant ne set ne l'ad prud entendut
    (Rol., 2098, Muller)

N'est prut serviz ne honoreiz
    (Brut MS Munich, 3154 Vollm.)[11]

William James' Dictionary of the English and German
Languages includes two feminine nouns, Bricke and Pract,
after the English entry pride. There is enough evidence
here to indicate a common background, such as Indo-European,
for the Old English, French, and German words. The i of the
German Bricke, is, in later Old English, interchangeable
with y for all practical purposes. The b is a voicing of
the initial p. The only real difference exists in the
consonant ending the stem, and more than one change would
have to have occurred there to explain the difference, the
k being fronted to the Old English t and the c being dropped
to arrive at the form pryte. With the other word, Pracht,
the initial and final consonants present no problem; the
change must have occurred in the middle vowel, the German a
having to have moved back in the mouth and then having been

11
    Frédéric Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne
Langue Francaise (Paris: 1889; New York: Scientific
Periodicals Establishment, 1961), VI, 399-400.

raised to come eventually to the umlauted form of the

English word. This suggests that the words pride and proud

might possibly have come from Indo-European to English by

different routes: pride through German and proud through

French. This paper offers that as an explanation of the

i-ou variation in addition to the previously-stated

umlauting-by-analogy theory.

The Old English word appears before 1000 in the

Aldhelm Glossary of A. Napier's Old English Glosses in the

form prȳte. Wulfstan's Sermo ad Anglos of 1014 in the

Homilies edited by Napier had the following, "ȝēlice þam

dwesan, þe for heora prytan lēwe nellað beorȝan." Another

line from the Homilies goes: "Selȝe for his prȳdan gōde

nele hyran." Other instances from Old English and from

Southern Middle English are: circa 1175, Lambeth Homilies,

"Ne wē ne beoð iboren for to habbene nāne prudu ne forðe

nāne ōðre rencas; the same þe angles of heouene uolle for

heore prude in to helle"; circa 1200, Vices and Virtues,

"Of mōdinesse and priede"; circa 1290, South English

Legendary I, "And pruyte he louede lest"; circa 1297,

Robert of Gloucester, "Such pruyd hym hath ynōme"; <u>circa</u> 1300, Bekst, "Forto...ãlegge his prūte"; 1362, William Lang-Land's <u>Piers Plowman</u>, "A Prologue," "Summe putten hem to pruide"; <u>circa</u> 1400, <u>Romance of the Rose</u>, "Devoyde of pruyde she was." Examples from the Kentish dialect are: <u>ante</u> 1175, Cotton <u>Homilies</u>, "þe hām ȝearcod was fer hare prede"; <u>circa</u> 1250, Old Kentish Sermons in <u>Old English Miscellany</u>, "þurch senne, þurch prede oþer þurch an-vīe"; and 1340, <u>Ayenbite of Inwit</u>, "þe þridde boȝ of prede is arrogance." Examples of the middle and northern dialects sometimes show the <u>i</u> form instead of the <u>y</u> vowel of the Old English and the <u>e</u> of the Kentish examples: <u>Cursor Mundi</u>, "þe warlaw, swernes, wreþe, and prid"; <u>circa</u> 1330, Robert Mannyng of Brunne's <u>Chronicles</u>, "Priue pride in pes es nettille in herbere"; <u>Early English Alliterative Poems</u>, B, 179, "For bobaunce bost and bolnande priyde"; the same source, "Wyth bost and wyth pryde"; <u>circa</u> 1375, <u>Scottish Legends of Saints</u> xxvii (Machor), "Thru priyd and awaris grēdy" and from xxx (Theodera), "Na ogart na pryd is þe with-in."

CHAPTER IV

AVARICE

Avarice evokes reactions of horror from many writers who consider it even more insidious than pride. Some point out the treachery of avarice in masking itself as a virtue such as thrift or provision for one's children.

CLASSICAL CONCEPTS

Aristotle had avarice in mind when he stated in Book 7, Chapter 4 of his Ethics, "Men are not to be blamed for liking or desiring money (a naturally desirable thing) but for doing this to excess."[1] That thoughtful Romans following in the footsteps of the Greek thinkers were aware of the properties of avarice is apparent from Cicero's essay on "Friendship," which states, "There is no greater enemy to friendship than covetousness of money."[2] In De Officiis, Book 1, Chapter 7, Cicero points out that avarice causes its host to commit wrong: "The great incentive

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[1] J. A. K. Thompson (trans.), The Ethics of Aristotle New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1953), p. 181

[2] Miller, op. cit.

to doing wrong is to obtain what one desires, and in this

crime avarice is the most pervading motive." Again, in

Book 2, Chapter 22, we read, "No vice, then, is more

foul...than avarice, especially in great men and such as

administer the republic."[3] In the same book he writes,

"And so the oracle, the Pythian Apollo, uttered that

'Sparta should not fall from any other cause than avarice'...

[This] seems to be a prophecy...to all wealthy nations as

well."[4] In Book 3, Chapter 8, avarice due to delusion of

expediency is cited as the origin of the "assassin's dagger,

the poisoned cup, the forged wills; this gives rise to

theft, embezzlement of public funds, exploitation and

plundering of provincials and citizens; this engenders also

the lust for excessive wealth."[5] His emphasis upon the evil

of avarice in high places led Cicero to cite as an example

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[3]
    Cyrus R. Edmonds (trans.), Cicero's Three Books of
Offices (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1916).

[4]
    Walter Miller, op. cit., p. 253.

[5]
    Ibid., p. 303

in Book 3, Chapter 18, certain persons who brought from Greece to Rome a forged will of Lucius Minucius Basilus. It made two rogues joint heirs, together with two of the most influential men of the day, Marcus Crassus and Quintus Hortensius. The two leading citizens suspected a forgery, but felt no personal guilt in the matter, and because of their own avarice they did not spurn "the miserable boon procured through the crime of others."[6]

CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

In early Christian writing, the most emphatic statement of New Testament authors concerning avarice is considered to be that of I Timothy 6:10, "For the love of money is the root of all evil." We already have cited other Biblical writers on the subject of avarice in Chapter I. Prudentius also pictured greedy Avarice as a vice accompanied by many other wrongs. In his allegory of the battle between the virtues and vices in *Psycho-machia* he said, "Care, Hunger, Fear, Anguish, Perjuries,

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[6]
Ibid., pp. 343-45.

Pallor, Corruption, Treachery, Falsehood, Sleeplessness, Meanness, diverse fiends, go in attendance on the monster. There is no more furious vice in the world to envelop the life of the people of the world in such disaster, con-demning them to hellfire."[7] The Spanish writer also revealed the trickiness of Avarice by declaring that when her weapons fail to prevail she puts on the disguise of Thrift to fool men.

The concept of avarice as root of a host of other sins persisted through succeeding centuries of the Middle Ages. The idea no doubt traveled to England in the Latin manuscripts carefully gathered and copied by English monks. It appeared eventually in the work of an English layman, John Gower, who wrote in Confessio Amantis in 1390 the warning that avarice has more branches than any other vice. He enumerated its eight off-shoots as Coveteise, with its counselors False Witness and Perjury, Usury, Parsimony or Scarceness, Ingratitude or Unkindness, Ravine, Robbery,

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H. J. Thomson (trans.), Prudentius I (in Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 311-13.

Stealth, and Sacrilege.[8]

Joseph Delany, writing in the Catholic Encyclopedia, stated that avarice qualifies as a capital vice because many other sins may be committed in the process of getting or holding the item that is the object of the avarice. He noted that the word comes from the Latin avārus, "greedy," and the verb avēre meaning "to crave." He defined it as the inordinate love for riches, which makes the getting and keeping of money, possessions, and such a purpose for life in itself. "It does not see that these things are valuable only as instruments for the conduct of a rational and harmonious life, due regard being paid...to the special social condition in which one is placed...It often cloaks itself as a virtue, or insinuates itself under the pretext of making a decent provision for the future. In so far as avarice is an incentive to injustice in the acquiring and retaining of wealth, it is frequently a grievous sin."[9]

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[8]
    G. C. Macaulay (ed.), The Complete Works of John Gower (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1901), Vol. III, p. 160.

[9]
    Joseph F. Delany, "Avarice," Catholic Encyclopedia, II, p. 148.

It is not, however, commonly regarded by the Roman Catholic church as a mortal sin in that it implies, in itself, simply an excessive desire of or pleasure in riches. Thus Delany makes the distinction between the capital sins and those that involve damnation in themselves. The sin of avarice also is dealt with under the term of covetousness in the sense of being "an unreasonable desire for what we do not possess." It is distinguished from concupiscence in the notion of non-possession; thus it may cover all things which are sought inordinately. John H. Stapleton points out in an article in the same encyclopedia that there is covetousness of honors or pride, of the flesh or concupiscence, and of riches, or covetousness proper as distinguished from the Latin avāritia. When covetousness of the flesh or of wealth has the possession of another as its object, it falls under the ban of the Commandments. Stapleton adds that we are told in Matthew, Chapter 5, that such desires, wilfully indulged, partake in their malice of the nature of the external acts themselves. He who desires deliberately the possession

of another man's lawful wife or goods already has committed

the sin of adultery or theft in his heart. Covetousness

looks to riches in themselves, of money or of property,

whether one possesses them or not, and does not pertain to

acquiring them so much as to possessing or accumulating them.

Stapleton says, "Thus defined, it is numbered among the sins

which are called capital, because it is, as St. Paul says

(Timothy, VI) a _radix omnium peccatorum_. The capital sin of

covetousness is...rather a vice or inclination to sin, which

is sinful...because it leads us into sin...Even when in-

dulged, covetousness is not a grievous sin, except in certain

conditions which involve offence of God or the neighbour...

Nourished and developed into an unrestricted habit, it becomes

the fruitful mother of all manner of perfidy, heartlessness

and unrest."[10]   Stapleton's mention of covetousness in con-

nection with the Commandments suggests the curious factor

of which Morton Bloomfield reminds us. The vices called the

Seven Deadly Sins actually are the cardinal or _capital_ sins

of the Roman Catholic church. The real _deadly_ sins composed

another set, ancient in Hebrew tradition and familiar in

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[10]
    John H. Stapleton, "Covetousness," _Catholic Encyclo-
pedia_, IV, p. 462.

early Christian tradition, those sins that were said to
lead to damnation and that usually were based on the Ten
Commandments.[11] They included idolatry, adultery, fornica-
tion, murder, blasphemy, and so on. The real deadly sins
were not standardized, however, as the cardinal or capital
sins were during the early centuries of Christianity. At
first the two sets were distinct in the minds of Hebrew and
Christian writers, but during the Middle Ages the capital
sins came to be called the deadly sins. The fact remains
that the Catholic Encyclopedia refers one looking up avarice
to the article on covetousness as well. And thus we have a
Jekyll and Hyde sin, one that may disguise itself as a virtue,
that may be a mild, "not grievous" sin, one that may lead to
many other sins including murder and that may bridge the gap
between the capital and the real deadly sins that condemn
one's soul to damnation, for the Tenth Commandment states:
"Thou shalt not covet..."

MEDIEVAL MEANING

The dual nature of avarice is not confined to the properties

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[11]
     Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 44.

of the sin itself; it extends to the meaning of the word

as well, and this dualism may be found in both Middle and

Modern English. The Oxford English Dictionary defines

avarice as: "inordinate desire of acquiring and hoarding

wealth; greediness of gain, cupidity." Among the early

examples of the word in Middle English writings are those

of: Cursor Mundi, written before 1300, " þe world has

tuynne to his ascyse, þat es avāris, and couaytise";

Person's [Parson's] Tale, "Coveitīse is for to coveit

swiche thinges as thou hast not, and avarice is to withōlde

and kepe swiche things as thou hast, without rightful here";

Wyntoun's Chronicle, VI, around 1425, "Prȳd, Falshud, and

Covatys He held at wndyr, and Awārys." The quotation from

the Parson's Tale illustrates a nice distinction between

avarice and covetousness; the other two excerpts show the

interchangeable nature of the words.

The figurative meaning of the word is given by the

OED as follows: "eager desire to get or keep for oneself."

Chaucer in the Pardoner's Tale wrote: "And wāre yōw fro

the synne of avarice." In the Parson's Tale again there

is: "Avarice ne stont not oonly in lond ne in catel, but

some tӯme in science and in glōrie."

The Middle English Dictionary defines avarice as

"greed, both in acquiring and withholding, or acquisitive-

ness," illustrating the idea of covetousness with the word

acquiring.[12]   It cites an example from the Speculum Guy de

Warewyke, 1300 or 1330: "þis worldes blisse...bringeþ man

to...Auarice and glotonӯe." Here we see a blurring of the

distinction between the two words defined in the quotation

from the Parson's Tale on the preceding page.

Some additional quotations show avarice used in what

one might term its proper sense, that of keeping what one

already has:

> The stronge coffre hath al devoured
> Under the keye of avarice
> The tresōr of the benefice
> Whereof the pōvere schulden clothe
> And ete and drinke and house bothe.
>   (Prologue, Gower's Confessio Amantis, 1390)

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[12]
    Sherman M. Kuhn (ed.), Middle English Dictionary
(Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957).

Whereof men maden dyches dēpe
And hyhe walles fortō kēpe
The gōld which Avarĭce encloseth
   (Confessio Amantis, Book V)

For pōuerte hath but pokes to putten in
   his gōdis
There Auarĭce hath almaries and .
   yren-bounde coffres
   (Langland's Piers Plowman, Passus XIV)

Avarice is seen, on the other hand, in the sense of

covetousness or of acquiring what one does not have, in the

following:

Let al such Avarĭce go
And tak thi part of that thou hast
   (Confessio Amantis, Book V)

If Coueitĭse wolde cacche the pōre thei
   may nouʒt come tōgideres
And by the nekke nāmelў her none may hente
   other.
For men knoweth wel that coueitĭse is of
   a kēne wille,
And hath hondes and armes of a longe
   lengthe
And pōuerte nis but a petit thinge
   (Piers Plowman, Passus XIV)

The latter quotation demonstrates the fact that in Middle

English literature the very terms, avarĭce and coueitĭse

or covetousness are used interchangeably, for the author

is speaking of the Deadly Sin personified.

Other examples of the word <u>avarice</u> used to express both meanings at the same time include:

> Bot Avarīce natheles,
> If he mai geten his encress
> Of gõld, that wole he serve and kēpe,
> For he takth of noght elles kēpe.
>
> And riht in such a maner plit
> Stant Avarīce and ever stõd;
> The more he hath of worldes good
> The more he wolde it kēpe streyte
> And evere mor and mor coveite.
>
> And riht as Avarīce is Sinne
> That wolde his tresõr kēpe and winne
>   (<u>Confessio</u> <u>Amantis,</u> Book V)
>
> Thanne cam Coveitīse
> And caste how he myghte
> Overcome Conscience
> And cardinale vertues,
> And armed hym in avarīce
> And hungriliche lyvede
>   (<u>Piers</u> <u>Plowman,</u> Passus XX)

Avarice personified may be seen again in the following examples:

> Dame Avarīce is noght soleine
> Which is of gõld the Capiteine
>
> Upon the bench sittende on hih
> With Avarīce Usure I sih.

Blinde AvarÍce of his lignage
For cÓnseil and for cousinage
To be withholde ayein largess,
Hath on, whŌs nāme is seid Skarsnesse
(<u>Confessio Amantis</u>, Book V)

MODERN INTERPRETATION

The persistence of the dual use of the word <u>avarice</u>

through centuries of English usage is reflected in the

definitions given in the <u>Webster's Second</u> (1952) and <u>Third</u>

(1961) <u>New International Dictionary</u>. The second edition

offers: "excessive or inordinate desire of gain; greediness

after wealth, material or figurative; covetousness; cupidity,"

and gives examples from Johnson, "Rich beyond the dreams

of avarice," and from Dryden, "This avarice of praise in

times to come..."[13] The <u>Third</u> edition omitted <u>covetousness</u>

as a part of the definition but kept cupidity: "excessive or

insatiable desire for wealth or gain: greediness, cupidity."

However, its definition for <u>covetous</u> gives <u>avaricious</u> as a

synonym.

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[13]
  <u>Webster's New International Dictionary, Second
Edition</u> (Springfield, Mass.: G. and C. Merriam Company, 1952).

FORM OF THE WORD

In our consideration of the history of avarice we turn now from the record of evidences of its meaning to the matter of its form. The Modern English word as we use it today is identical with the Old French avarice from which it came. The Middle English pronunciation was /a.va.rí.sə/ or /a.və.rí.sə/. The Old French form of the word is similar to but not the same as its predecessor, the Latin avāritia. The latter is derived from the adjective avārus, greedy. In the quotations already cited we have noticed that in some instances a u occurs instead of the v. The variant forms of the word in Middle English writings include: auaris, auarise, averyce, averys, awarys, awerys, and auereis.[14] It is not to be expected that the Old French avarice appeared in Middle English manuscripts immediately following the Norman invasion and that its form alone was to be seen thereafter in the written language. However, one would expect churchmen's

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14
   James A. H. Murray, op. cit., I, p. 579.

manuscripts and penitentials (books intended for the use of the priest in the confessional) to favor the Latin-based word since, originally, clerical writing in England was executed in the language of the learned, Latin. It would be natural for materials dealing with the Seven Deadly Sins to show Latin influence since they come directly from religious sources. Yet the Deadly Sins were such popular material that when laymen began to write they used the sins as subjects, so we see Gower writing about them, not to mention his even more famous contemporary, Chaucer. Even before their works, however, we see secular tones in materials dealing with the sins, and an example of the persistence of the vernacular in the language. A final quotation shows a variation of the Old English gitsunq, equivalent of avarice, in a concise couplet from MS Emmanuel College 27, fol. 162 r:

Prute · ʒisscinge · slevþe · wrethe · and onde:
Glotonīe · and lecherīe· God bring hom vt of londe.[15]

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15
    Henry A. Person (ed.), Cambridge Middle English Lyrics (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962).

CHAPTER V

GLUTTONY

"Gluttony is the only one of the Deadly Seven which

is visited by physical retribution this side of the tomb,"

Patrick Leigh-Fermor wrote in a modern commentary on the sins

that are the subject of this thesis.[1]   Conceivably Leigh-

Fermor would be contradicted by the spirit of Gregory the

Great, were they to meet, for Gregory set apart not one but

two of the seven as carnal sins. The other is lust, which

also might possibly visit obvious physical degeneration

upon the offender who was guilty of excess. The remaining

five are the spiritual sins, according to Gregory.

EARLY CONCEPTS

Gluttony can be seen as a link between the two sins

of lust and avarice, the latter being one of the spiritual

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[1]
Angus Wilson, Edith Sitwell, Cyril Connolly et al.,
The Seven Deadly Sins (New York: William Morrow and Company,
1962), p. 45. Some parts of this work are more useful than
others to the student.

sins from the church's point of view. Several instances of
the association of the ideas of gluttony and avarice come
to light in a survey of dictionary definitions, but this
paper will consider first the relationship of gluttony and
lust as exemplified by the battle between the virtues and
vices in Prudentius' Psychomachia. Although many of the
writers of the early Middle Ages, particularly those of the
Roman church, assigned the Latin word gula (which also had
the meaning of throat or gullet) to the expression of the
idea of gluttony and used luxuria for lust, Prudentius em-
ployed the term libido to represent the excess of sexual
indulgence and used Luxuria as the name of the gluttonous
female in his array of vices.[2] The fact that he could extend
the meaning of luxuria to include gluttony while the others
used it as a more general term of pleasure or desire indi-
cates the relationship between gluttony and lust. Luxuria,
incidentally, is defined as: "1, rankness of trees and

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[2] Libido is defined in Webster's Third New Inter-
national Dictionary as: "emotional or psychic energy derived
from primitive biological urges and usually goal-directed;
lustful desire or striving."

plants; 2, riotous living, extravagant profusion, luxury.*

Prudentius' description of his vice, Luxuria, proves without

doubt that she is Gluttony, or as his translator, H. J.

Thomson, chose to express it, Indulgence.[4]

> From the western bounds of the world
> had come their foe Indulgence, one that had
> long lost her repute and so cared not to save
> it; her locks perfumed, her eyes shifting,
> her voice listless, abandoned in voluptous-
> ness...languidly belching after a night-long
> feast; for as it chanced dawn was coming in
> and she was still reclining by the table when
> she heard the hoarse trumpets, and she left
> the lukewarm cups, her foot slipping as she
> stepped through pools of wine and perfumes,
> and trampling on the flowers, and was making
> her drunken way to war. Yet it was not on
> foot, but riding in a beauteous chariot that
> she struck and won the hearts of the admiring
> fighters.[5]

With this fourth century picture of the sin of

gluttony before our eyes we begin to realize that gluttony

was regarded then as a more serious offense than we consider

3

E. A. Andrews, Latin-English Lexicon (New York:
Harper and Brothers, 1852).

4

H. J. Thomson, op. cit., p. 301.

5

Ibid., pp. 301-303.

it in the twentieth century. Our life now is based upon a stable, year-around food supply, one that seems never failing although it may be dependent upon the preservation of food in cans and freezers. In the Middle Ages if the family killed an ox because there was not enough feed to keep it over the winter, the meat had to be eaten before it spoiled. One had to feast or waste. On the other hand, when food was in short supply, the man who stuffed himself at one meal might be viewed as consuming what would feed a family for a week. The scarcity of food was demonstrated by the strong attraction of the king's forests to poachers; the forests offered extra meat if deer could be caught without knowledge, honey, if it could be found and concealed, dead wood for fires, and acorns for the pigs.[6]

EARLY ENGLISH USAGE

Having examined the link between gluttony and lust, as it was revealed by Prudentius, we now take up consideration

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[6] Doris Mary Stenton, _English Society in the Early Middle Ages_ (London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1962), p. 106.

of the connection between gluttony and avarice. In the British Isles we find the Old English word that expresses the idea of gluttony, gīfernes. Clark Hall defines this feminine noun as "greediness, gluttony, avarice."[7] It is to be found in King Alfred's translations of Boethius and of Gregory's Pastoral Care, in Aelfric's works and in the Blickling Homilies. Related words are gīfer, glutton, the adverb gīferlīce, greedily, and the adjective gīfre, greedy, rapacious, ravenous. These are to be found in the Poem of the Soul, the Anglo-Saxon version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History, and in Beowulf, respectively. The Bosworth-Toller dictionary defines gīvernes as "greediness, avarice, voracity, gluttony; aviditas, gula."[8] In the Homilies of Aelfric edited by B. Thorpe is the explanation: "Gīfernys biᵹ ꝥ se man ꝥrtīman hine gereordige oððe ꝥ his mꝇle to micel þicge mid oferflōwendnysse ꝥtes oððe wꝣtes." (Greediness is

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[7]
John R. Clark Hall, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (Cambridge: The University Press, 1962).

[8]
Joseph Bosworth and T. Northcote Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (London: Oxford University Press, 1954).

a man's eating before the time, or taking too much at his
meal with superfluity of meat or drink.) In the Blickling
Homilies is, "þæt rice ðæt ða æ restan men forworhtan þurh
heora gīfernesse," (the kingdom that the first persons for-
feited through their greediness). Toller's Supplement adds
to the definition: "I. greediness for food, gluttony." This
is illustrated by a quotation from Aelfric's Metrical Lives
of the Saints, edited by W. W. Skeat, "Syndon eahta hēafod-
leahtras...An is gecwæden gula, þ is gȳfernyss on Englisc
(There are eight principal sins. One is called gula, that is
gyfernyss in English) ; seo dēð þ man yt ǣr tīman and
drincð oððe hē tō micel nimð on ǣte oððe on wǣete." (It is
that one eats and drinks ahead of time or that he takes too
much in eating or in drinking.) The Anglo-Saxon version of
Boethius has: "Tantalus ðe on þisse worulde ungemetlīce gīfre
wæs (Tantalus who in this world was excessively gluttonous)
and him þær (and to him there) þe ilce yfel fyligde þæs
gīfernesse" (the same evil of gluttony followed). In the
Pastoral Care is, "Sio wamb bið āðened mid fylle for

giefernesse (venter ingluvie extenditur)." Toller's

Supplement also has as part of its definition: "II. greed

of money, cupidity, covetousness, avarice." A quotation to

illustrate this is "Gīfernesse philargiria" (cf. gitsunge

philargiria, the third of the deadly sins)" from Aldhelm's

Works.

MEDIEVAL INTERPRETATION

The Middle English Dictionary gives no entries under

gīfer or gīfernes for gluttony, but it does refer the in-

quirer on gifer (a derivative of yeven, give) to the entry

yevere. This reminds us that Clark Hall put the form

yeverness in brackets in his definition of gīfernes, indica-

ting that the spelling of the word with y also existed in

Old English manuscripts and continued to be used in Middle

English.

The source of the English word gluttony is the Old

French glutunie, glutonie, or glo(u)tenie, "the vice of

excessive eating," according to the Oxford English Diction-

ary.[9] Glutonie or glotonie was pronounced /glə·tə·nī⁻ə /.

9
James A. H. Murray, op. cit., IV, p. 242.

It is found in the _Ancren Riwle_, written around 1225, "þe
inre uondunge is twouold...fleslîche ase of lecherîe and
of glutunîe, and of slouhðe" (The inner temptation is two-
fold, fleshly as of lechery and gluttony, and of slouth).
In the _Debate of the Body and the Soul_, written in the
second half of the thirteenth century, is "With glotonȳe
me bigete"; in Robert of Gloucester's _Chronicle_, _circa_ 1298,
we find, "And spēnde al þe niȝt in glotonîe and in
drinkinge"; in Wyclif's _Sermons_, _circa_ 1380 appears "þe
fēnd began to tempte first Crist at prȳde and glotonȳe";
and _Jacob's Well_ of 1440, edited by the Early English Text
Society, has, "Glotonȳe is, þat þe bely louyth, and it
wastyth bothe body and soule, and a mannys good."

Following the _OED's_ narrow definition of gluttony,
we find in the _Middle English Dictionary_ that in the Middle
Ages the word was understood to include excessive drinking
as well as eating. The entry _glotonî_ is followed by the
variant spellings _glotone_, _glotani_, _gloteni(e)_, _glotenei_,
glotini, _glotine_, _glotouni(e)_, _clotoni_, and _glutoni(e)_.
The four definitions given are: "(a) Intemperate or special

appetite for food and/or drink; indulgence of this appe-

tite; the vice of gluttony, the sixth of the seven deadly

sins [There are many variations in the order of the listing

of the sins]; (b) fig., gluttony personified; (c) an act of

gluttony; to indulge in gluttony; and (d) surfeit from

gluttony; drunkenness." The quotation from the Ancrene

Riwle on the preceding page is the earliest example found to

illustrate (a) above. Another is, "Si lepre be tokned þo

grete sennen...þefte, Glutunie, drunkenesse, and alle þo

sennen þurch wiche me liest [is denied] þo luue of gode

almichti," from the Kentish Sermons, circa 1275. The Southern

Legendary, circa 1300, has "Ich fondi þe dēdes þere of

glotonie for-to a-rere; Ich makie freres to muchel ete, and

to drink al-so." Robert Mannyng wrote in Handlyng Synne, 1303:

> And ouþer spyces haþ glotonȳe;
> To ete þy mete ouer brennynglye
> And lustly, whan þou hyt getyst,
> And takest noun hede what þou etyst.

Other examples include: "þe englisse...uaste bigonne to

singe, and spēnde al þe niȝt in glotonie" from the Metrical

Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester, 1325; "Uerst zigge we of

þe zenne of glotounÿe þet is a vice þet þe dyuel is moche

myde ypayd [first we speak of the sin of gluttony that is a

vice that the devil is much satisfied with] and moche onpaȝ

god [and God much unsatisfied] " from Dan Michel of North-

gate's Ayenbite of Inwit, 1340; "Glotonÿe is vnmesurable

appetit to ete or to drynke" from Chaucer's Parson's Tale,

1390, and "Galba and Vitellus...bothe were...of o condicion

After the disposicion Of glotonïe and drunkeschipe" from

Gower's Confessio Amantis, 1390. Gluttony also is used thus

in a quotation from Godefroy, "Glotonnie, qui est en boivre
10
et en mengier," (Laurent, Somme le roy).

<div align="center">EXAMPLES IN LITERATURE</div>

Middle English writers who helped popularize the

popular Seven Deadly Sins often personified them. Examples

include: "Whil mi liff was luther ant lees, Glotonïe mi

glemon wes" from Wright's Lyric Poems, 1310; "Glotonïe mi

glemon wes; wiþ me he wonede a whïle" from Heȝe louerd,

10
    Godefroy, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 295.

circa 1325; "The hote cormeraunt of glotenʒe" from Chaucer's

Parliament of Fowls, around 1380; "After whom rood Glotony,

with hys fat berde" from Lydgate's Assembly of Gods, circa

1475; "That is annexed unto glotonʒe" from Chaucer's Tale Of

the Pardoner, 1386, and, from John Myrc's Instructions for

Parish Priests, circa 1400:

> Dronkelec and glotonʒe,
> Prūyde and slouþe and enuʒe
> Alle þow moste putten away
> ₃ef þow wolt serve God to pay.

The fourth definition of the Middle English Diction-

ary, "surfeit from gluttony, drunkenness," is illustrated by

the following:

> Lo! loth in hus lyue þorw lecherouse drynke
> Wikkydluch wroghte...In hus glotonīe by-gat
> [gerleʒ þat wereren churles

from Langland's Piers Plowman, and "þay þat suffre after þair

wombe crapulam i glotonʒe or indigestioun," from an anonymous

translation of Guy de Chauliac's Grande Chirurgie.

The French themselves, who brought the word to England,

seem to have understood it to include both eating and drinking,

as is illustrated by the quotation from Godefroy's dictionary

on the preceding page and by the following additional ones:

"La glotornie vos a tost alumee," <u>Aleschans</u>, Jonck,

<u>Guillaume</u> <u>d'Orange</u>; "Pechie d'orgueil et d'avarisce/ De

luxure et de gloutrenie," Al. du Pont, <u>Mahomhet</u>; and "Et

pour la folie; K'Adans fist par glouternie," J. Baillehaut,

<u>Chanson</u>. The French word <u>glotonie</u> comes from the Latin

glūto or glutto, "a glutton or gormandizer," and is related

to the verb glūtio or gluttio, "to swallow or gulp down."

This word is kindred with the Sanskrit <u>glri</u>, hence also

<u>gula</u>.

The Roman Catholic Church defines gluttony simply as

excessive indulgence in food and drink, according to Joseph

Delany in the <u>Catholic</u> <u>Encyclopedia</u>. He states that the

moral deformity of the vice of gluttony lies in its defiance

of the order postulated by reason prescribing necessity as a

measure of indulgence in eating and drinking. The person

who uses food or drink to such excess that he injures his

health or impairs the mental equipment he needs to discharge

his duties is guilty of the sin of gluttony, Delany says.

To eat or drink for the mere pleasure of the experience and

for that exclusively also is to commit gluttony. Gluttony

is viewed as a venial sin in that it implies undue indul-

gence in a thing that in itself is neither good nor bad. A

different estimate, however, would be given of "one so

wedded to the pleasures of the table as to...live merely to

eat and drink...of the number of those described by the

Apostle St. Paul, 'whose god is their belly' (Philippians

3:19). Such a person would be guilty of mortal sin."[11]

The quotation of Paul reminds us that Aristotle discussed

the sin thus: "Gluttons are called 'belly-gods' because

they stuff their bellies to excess. The vice is one to

which akolasia, our word for 'intemperance' has literal

meaning." Thus comes from Book 3, Chapter 11, of his Ethics.[12]

Returning to the consideration of gluttony's components as

seen in Middle English literature, we find that Gower stated

in his Confessio Amantis that he would mention only two of

them, drunkenness and delicacy. He says, in Book VI:

11
    Joseph F. Delany, "Gluttony," Catholic Encyclopedia,
VI, p. 590.

12
    J. A. K. Thompson, op. cit.

> This vice, which so out of rule
> Hath sette ōūs alle, is cleped <u>Gule</u>
>
> Whereof this lusti vice is hote
> Of Gule the Delicacie.
>
> That for no such delicacie
> I trowe I dō no glotonie
>
> And natheles for glotonie
> Of bodili Delicacie
> To knowe his stomak hōū it ferde,
> Of that noman tofore herde.

The <u>Middle English Dictionary</u> defines <u>delicacie</u> as:

"(1) delightfulness, luxuriousness, sumptuousness, (2) love of luxury, gluttony, fastidiousness, and (3) pleasure, gratification."

Finally, we consider the modern definitions of the word <u>gluttony</u>, and find that the Second Edition of <u>Webster's New International Dictionary</u> gives "excess in eating; extravagant indulgence of the appetite; voraciousness" but that the Third Edition adds drinking in its definition, "excess in eating and drinking, especially when habitual; greedy or excessive indulgence of any desire or faculty." The last phrase embraces indulgence of a general nature and brings us full-circle to Prudentius, who used <u>luxuria</u> to describe the perfumed vice who rode in a golden chariot.

CHAPTER VI

LUST

The meaning of _lust_ has lost its element of innocent pleasure in recent centuries, although the form of the word has not changed since the earliest examples of recorded Old English. _Lust_ as we spell it today was used identically in Anglo-Saxon or Old English The spelling was the same, with the noun using the vowel _u_ consistently in contrast to the verb form _lystan_, "to please, cause pleasure or desire, provoke longing." _Lust_ in Middle English was pronounced / lʊst/. _Lust_ no doubt was very similar if not identical to its Teutonic and also its hypothetical Indo-European parent, for we see that the German, Dutch, and Swedish languages also have the word _lust_, Gothic used _lustus_, the Icelandic is _lyst_, _losti_, and the Danish, _lyst_. The Sanskrit word for it is _lash_.[1] Even now, _lust_ in German means: "pleasure, joy, delight; fancy, inclination, desire, wish,

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[1]
W. W. Skeat, _An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language_ (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1946), p. 352.

longing; lust, carnal pleasure; mirth, fun," according to
Cassell's dictionary. But the first thought of a modern
American hearing or reading the word is likely to be "sex,"
and the church's interpretation of the word is that of
inordinate sexual desire.

MODERN MEANING

The first definitions given by Webster's Third New
International Dictionary, 1 (a), (b), and (c), are the ob-
solete ones, which will be considered later in this section.
Following is: "2, sexual desire, especially of a violent,
self-indulgent character, lechery, lasciviousness."[2] An
example is Shakespeare's "Love comforteth, like sunshine
after rain,/ But lust's effect is tempest after sun."
Another modern use of the word is: "3, an intense longing,
craving," as in B. I. Bell's "an unquenchable lust to
dominate" and P. W. Gates' "an insatiable lust for land."
But as a verb, lust means: "to have an intense desire or

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[2]
Webster's Third New International Dictionary.
(Springfield, Mass.: G. and C. Merricm Company, 1961).

need; have a desire as a ruling passion: to have a sexual urge." The transitive form of the verb is listed as obsolete with the meaning "to make a choice of: please." The definitions given in the Second Edition of the same dictionary are similar but worth noting. After the obsolete meanings are: "2, sensuous desire; bodily appetite; specifically and most commonly, sexual desire, as a violent or degrading passion. 3, longing or intense desire; eagerness to enjoy." The definition for the intransitive verb includes: "2, to have an eager, passionate, and especially an inordinate or sinful desire, as for the gratification of the sexual appetite or of covetousness;--often with after."

The emphasis upon sex in the interpretation of the word is noted in the Catholic Encyclopedia definition of lust as "the inordinate craving for, or indulgence of, the carnal pleasure which is experienced in the human organs of generation..." The author of the article, Joseph F. Delany, states that lust is termed a capital sin because it may lead man to the commission of disorders in the pursuit of the pleasure which the vice has as its object, one both

attractive and connatural to human nature. Theologians distinguish the various forms of lust when it is a consummated external sin as being fornication, adultery, incest, criminal assault, abduction, and sodomy. The wrongfulness of lust is said to be that venereal satisfaction is sought for either outside of wedlock or in a manner contrary to the laws that govern marital intercourse. Every such indulgence is said to be a mortal sin if it is both voluntary in itself and deliberate. Delany's article cites the testimony of St. Paul in the Epistle to the Galatians, 5:19, "Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication, uncleanness, immodesty, luxury,...of the which I fortell you, as I have foretold to you, that they who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God." If the gravity of the offences, moreover, is measured by the harm they cause to the individual or to the community, then lust has a gravity all its own, the commentator states.[3]

Thus we can understand why it is hard for a person

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[3]
Joseph F. Delany, "Lust," Catholic Encyclopedia, IX, p. 438.

who is unaware of the history of this word to remove from

his mind the connotation of sex and of sin when he reads

examples of the word from early writings. Not only the

Roman Catholic but the Protestant as well thinks of sin in

connection with it. The dictionary definitions give con-

clusive proof of the universality of that idea.

ANCIENT CONCEPT

Shifting from the word <u>lust</u> itself to the idea it

conveys, one finds the word used also in a much larger

sense, meaning the wish for any kind of self-aggrandizement

or self-gratification, as in Plato's "Lust has long since

been called a tyrant"; "Appetites lead man to rob to

satisfy when a master passion [lust] is enthroned over

the soul...He becomes ready to shed blood or do any

dreadful deed"; "Nowhere else will there be such

lamentation, groaning, and anguish as in a soul maddened

by the tyranny of passion and lust"; and "The nature of the

despot is infested with all manner of fears and lusts."[4]

The translator of Aristotle used <u>lust</u> in a similar sense in

Book 7, Chapter 3 of <u>Ethics</u>: "The intemperate man follows

his lusts from a belief that he ought always pursue the

pleasure of the moment. The incontinent man pursues it

too but has no such belief." "Rage and lust and some other

passions actually produce physiological changes and in some

cases even insanity."[5]

EARLY CHRISTIAN TERMINOLOGY

During the early centuries of the Christian church,

writers on moral, theological, or philosophical subjects

used Latin, of course, as their language. This custom con-

tinued into the Middle Ages because practically all the

writers whose work survives were churchmen, monks, or

church-educated men. These writers, for the most part, used

the word <u>luxuria</u> to express the idea of lust. <u>Luxuria</u> has

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[4]
Francis M. Cornford (trans.), <u>The Republic of Plato</u>
(New York: Oxford University Press, 1951).

[5]
J. A. K. Thompson, <u>op. cit.</u>

been defined in a preceding section of this thesis as "rank-
ness of vegetative growth," or "riotous living, extravagance,
profusion, luxury, or excess." One may speculate on the
possibility that the agreement of medieval writers in their
choice of the word led to emphasis upon the sexual and sin-
ful connotations of it. In England, when _luxuria_ came to
be translated _lust_ as Latin writings were rendered into Old
English under the direction of Alfred, the sexual and
"excessive" or sinful connotation apparently began to attach
itself in turn to the Old English word. Again, the fact
that churchmen made the earliest translations and that
they devoted their time and their precious materials to
works of a moral nature may have caused the written word
lust to be used more times in the sense of a sinful sexual
desire than in any other of its original meanings. The
pattern of usage apparently was not the same in Germany,
however, where the word _Wollust_ became the one that cor-
responds more closely to our modern interpretation of _lust_,
while the German _Lust_ retained the principal interpretation
of pleasure, and so on.

The element of wishing or desiring also was under-
stood to be a part of the meaning of the word <u>lust</u>, as is
illustrated by Matthew 5:28, "Whosoever shall look on a
woman to lust after her, hath already committed adultery
with her in his heart." The <u>Oxford English Dictionary</u> points
out that <u>lust</u> is used in a special Biblical and theological
sense to mean a sensuous appetite or desire, considered as
sinful or leading to sin. It often appears in the plural,
as "fleshly lusts." Instances are: "Him sylfum selle
þynceð leahtras tō fremman ofer lof gōdes līces lustas" from
<u>Juliana</u>, <u>ante</u> 1000; "Dre þing beð þat mankin heuieð. On is
þe selue lust, aþer is iuel lehtres. De þridde fleshlīche
lustes" From <u>Trinity College Homilies</u>, <u>circa</u> 1200; "Pricunges
of fleshlīche fulðen to līcomlīche lustes" from <u>Hali Meiden-
had</u>, <u>circa</u> 1230, and "Fasting and gude bisines gers a man
flē lustes of fless," from <u>Cursor Mundi</u>, <u>circa</u> 1400.

LUST EXCLUDING SEX

However, in the ninth through the fourteenth-century
literature of England one can find examples of <u>lust</u> used in

the sense of pleasure or delight, quite excluding the sexual

connotation. In Beowulf, probably written about the end of

the eighth century, are the following: "ac he lust wigeð,"

(but he has pleasure, or joy); "hē on lust geþeah/ symbel

on seleful," (he receives in pleasure, feast and hall-cup);

and "lustum brohton; tires to tācne," (with joy brought glory

to evidence). In 888 Alfred used the word in the same sense

in his translation of Boethius: "þa sæde hē [Epicurus] þ sē

lust wære þ hehste gōd." It appears in "Luue Ron" in the Old

English Miscellany, circa 1273, "He [Jesus] is feyr and bryht

on heowe...of lufsum lost of truste treowe." In The Fox and

the Wolf is found "Wo worþe, quaþ þe vox, lust and wille

þat ne can meþ to his mete!/ Nedde lust i-ben of mine mouþe."

Dan Michel of Northgate used it in Ayenbite of Inwit, 1340,

"þise byeþ proprelīche lechurs þet ne zecheþ bote þet lost

of hare zuel3." John Gower used the word in this way in

Confessio Amantis, 1390. In the Prologue we find:

> I wolde go tō the middel weie
> And wryte a bōk betwen the tweie
> Somwhat of lust, somewhat of lore,
> That of the lasse or of the more
> Som man mai lȳke of that I wryte.

> Whereof the people ensample tŏk
> Her lust was al upon the bŏk,
> Or fortŏ preche or fortŏ preie
> To wisse men the ryhte weie.

In Book VI of this work are the illustrations:

> And with the lust of here histoire
> Sometīme I drawe into memoire
> Hou sorwe mai noght evere laste;
> And so comth hope in ate laste.

> And thei unto here ese entenden
> And in here lust her līf despenden,
> And every man dŏ what him list.

The last quotation also has an example of the related verb,

list.

The word lust is used in the plural in the sense of

pleasures in: Anglo-Saxon Gospels, circa 1000, Luke 8:14,

"þaᵹe...ofcarum...and of lustum þiss līfes synt for-þrysmede";

Ayenbite of Inwit, 1340, "þer hy habbeþ...hire solas, hire

blisse, and hire confort, and alle hire lostes"; Chaucer's

Dethe Blaunche, 1369, "My lȳf, my lustes bē mē lothe";

Confessio Amantis, Book I, "And thus thei casten care aweie/

And token lustes upon honde"; Book IV, "When god schal his

accompte hiere, / For hē [Adam] hath had his lustes hiere,"

and in Book VI, "He was so drunke in al his wit/ Thurgh

sondri lustes which he tōk."

In "the quasi-concrete sense of a source of pleasure
or delight," and in the idea of "an attraction or charm," now
also an obsolete usage of the word, we find the following
examples: <u>Confessio</u> <u>Amantis</u>,

> This wīf, which in hire lustes grēne
> Was fair and freissh and tendre of āge
>
> With alle lustes that schē knew
> They were enbrouded overal
>
> That thōu for Slouthe of eny love
> Schalt so thi lustes sette above
> And leve of armes the knyhthode,
> Which is the prīs of thi manhode.

and "O Venus...Thou līf, thou lust, thou mannes hele." Dan
Michel of Northgate has "and hōu hȳ moȝe maki of one mete
vele mes desgysed vor hare voule lost."

The use of the word <u>lust</u> as "a desire, appetite, relish,
or inclination for something," another obsolete use of the
word, is found in the following: Bede's <u>Ecclesiastical</u>
<u>History</u>, <u>ante</u> 900, "Mid unȝ es wencedlīce luste heofon licra
gōde"; Richard Rolle, <u>Treatises</u>, around 1335, "þe fylthe of
syne and unclene lust"; Aelfric's <u>Homilies</u>, <u>circa</u> 1000,
"Him wæs metes micel lust"; <u>Ancrene</u> <u>Riwle</u>, <u>ante</u> 1225,

"þeo hwule þæt te lust is not toward eni sunne"; <u>Ayenbite</u>
<u>of Inwit</u>, "þe oðer stape is þet me zette mesure ine þe loste
and mid þe likinge of þe wille," also "þer hỹ habbeth hyre...
alle hire lostes," and <u>Sir John Maundeville</u>, circa 1400,
"I hadde no lust tō gō tō tho parties."

In the sense of "one's desire, wish, or good pleasure,"
the word <u>lust</u> is found in the following: <u>Lindisfarne Gospels</u>,
<u>circa</u> 950, <u>John</u> I:13, "Daƶe ne of blodum ne of uillo vel of
lust lichomæs ne from uillo vel lust [wereʃ] ah Gode
ƺecened sint"; Dedication of <u>Ormulum</u>, <u>circa</u> 1200, "To gifenn
hemm god lusst"; <u>Cursor Mundi</u>, "Sua ferr your lust yee foln
noght, þat yee forgete him þat yow wroght"; Robert Mannyng
of Brunne, <u>Leyr Rex fecit Leycestre</u>, "ƺys, fader, þou lyst
and here"; <u>First Petition to Parliament in English</u>, 1386,
"the leest officer that hym lust meynteigne"; Gower's
<u>Confessio Amantis</u>, Book VI,

> What lust it is that he ordeigneth
> Ther is no mannes night restreigneth.
>
> Of Nero whilom mai be told
> Which ayein kinde manyfold
> Hise lustes tōk, til ate laste
> That god him wolde al overcaste

In Book I we find:

> Bot if he wel his ȳhe kẽpe
> And take of fõl delit no kẽpe,
> That he with lust nys ofte nome
> Thurgh strengthe of love and overcome
>
> Bot in deceipte if that thou feignest
> And therupon thi lust atteignest
> That thou hast wonne with thi wyle
> Thogh it thee like for a whyle,
> Thou schalt it afterward repente.

Chaucer's Knight's Tale has "Weepe now no more, I wol thy lust fulfille," and the Destruction of Troy, circa 1400, has "All the pepull to pȳne put and dethe at pure lust." The word is used in the sense of wish or persuasion in Gower's Confessio Amantis thus:

> Bot for no lust ne for no rage
> Schẽ tolde hem nevere what schẽ was.

Under the fourth meaning gifen for lust in the Oxford English Dictionary we come to that of "sexual appetite or desire; chiefly and now exclusively implying intense moral reprobation; libidinous desire, degrading animal passion."[6] Examples of this meaning, from the Middle Ages, are: "Weres

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[6] James A. H. Murray, op. cit., Vol. VI.

wylla to ӡefremmanne nime bares geallan and smyre mid þone

teors and þa hæ rþ an þonne hafaӡ he mycelne lust," from

Saxon Leechdoms, circa 1000; "Ueneris lustes" from Vocabu-

lary, ante 1000; "Man þat menges him wit best for his flexs

lust to fulfill," Cursor Mundi; "Ne stren may nōū encressy

Wyþ-oute flesches loste," Shoreham's Poems, circa 1315,

and from Confessio Amantis,

> This knyht withoute felashipe
> Hath take a bōt and cam to Schipe
> And thoghte of hire his lust to tāke.

> And schē, [Venus] which thoghte hire lustes fonde,
> Diverse loves tōk in honde.
>   (Book II)

> Schē was to every man felawe
> And hild the lust of thilke lawe
> Which Venus of hirself began
>   (Book V)

Finally, from Sir John Maundeville comes, "The grete lust

that he had to hire." Robert Mannyng listed seven kinds of

"leccherye" (lust) in Handlyng Synne as follows: fornication,

adultery, incest, lechery on the part of religious folk,

rape of virgins, rape of other men's wives, and lying with

common women.

Finally we come to the obsolete definitions listed in _Webster's Third New International Dictionary_: "1. a pleasure, gratification, delight" as in Shakespeare's "gazing upon the Greeks with little lust" from the _Rape of Lucrece;_ "b. a personal inclination, wish, whim," as in Shakespeare's "when I am hence, I'll answer to my lust," in _Troilus and Cressida,_ IV, 4; "c. vigor or fertility" as Francis Bacon expressed it in "the increasing lust of the earth or of the plant."

So we see that as late as Shakespeare's time _lust_ could express ideas other than sexual ones, and Milton still could say, "Peeling their Provinces, exhausted all/ By lust and rapine" in _Paradise Regained._ But examples are not as prolific as in the Middle Ages, and the _lust_ of Modern English was changing into a very different word from the _lust_ that may once have been the Indo-European word for "pleasure."

CHAPTER VII

SLOTH

"The demon that walks at noon" may seem an unneces-
sarily fierce representation of sloth to the layman who
looks upon this vice as mere laziness or indolence--unless
he has attended a series of lenten lectures on the Seven
Deadly Sins. For _sloth_ has a particular meaning for the
churchman which is not ordinarily considered by the layman.
Evelyn Waugh explained: "Sloth is the condition in which a
man is fully aware of the proper means of his salvation and
refuses to take them because the whole apparatus of salva-
tion fills him with tedium and disgust."[1] Raymond Mortimer
stated, in his introduction to the work just cited, that
the English word _sloth_ does not carry the sense of the Latin
accidia (or _acedia_)--spiritual torpor and refusal of joy.

The layman's difficulty may lie in the fact that
the concept of the spiritual sin existed for several

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[1]
Wilson, _op. cit._, p. 58.

centuries, expressed by Greek and Latin words, before it came to be represented, in the late tenth century, by the English word <u>sloth</u>, which was already in use to express a physical characteristic. Its meaning then was extended to include the idea of a remiss spiritual attitude. <u>Sloth</u> did not fully translate the other expressions, <u>tristitia</u> and <u>acedia</u>, or reveal the history of the development of the concept.

EARLY CHRISTIAN CONCEPT

To explain the role of the demon we go back to the fourth century, when Evagrius of Pontus lived as a hermit and taught other hermits and cenobites in the Egyptian deserts. The churchman of that part of the world still thought of sins as being represented by demons or devils, such as the seven devils that Christ cast out of Mary Magdalene. The idea of a demon at noon was attributed to Verses 5 and 6 of Psalm 91, or 90 in the <u>Douay Version</u>:

> Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror
> by night; nor for the arrow that flieth by day
> Nor for the pestilence that walketh in
> darkness; nor for the destruction that wasteth
> at noonday.

Evagrius' Greek words were translated by the Latin _acedia,_
vana gloria, superbia, avaritia, and _tristitia_ in a passage
that lists the sins especially dangerous to hermits, and
acedia was said to be the demon that walks at noon.[2] We
recall that Cassian included _acedia_ among the sins that he
said were especially monastic vices. The Interpreter's
Bible sees in Verse 6 of the quotation (p. 98) a possible
allusion to plagues, but adds that the psalmist may have been
using his language loosely. In regard to Verse 5, the same
source says that this "is the language of...Oriental poetry.
Metaphors [are] drawn from nomad life, with possible refer-
ences to night demons and magic spells." It is suggested
also that "the psalmist [may have] in mind the heat of the sun,
particularly at midday, and the ills popularly associated
with the sun's rays."[3] We can imagine that noonday heat

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[2]
Bloomfield, _op. cit.,_ pp. 59, 356.

[3]
Nolan B Harmon (ed.), _The Interpreter's Bible_ (New
York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press), IV, pp. 494-95.

on the desert would enervate the hermit in his primitive

hut and tempt him to neglect his prayers. Cassian wrote

in a treatise, "Of Accidie" the following:

> Towards eleven o'clock or midday it
> induces such lassitude of body and craving
> for food, as one might feel after the ex-
> haustion of a long journey and hard toil, or
> the postponing of a meal throughout a two or
> three days fast. Finally one gazes anxiously
> here and there, and sighs that no brother of
> any description is to be seen approaching:
> one is for ever in and out of one's cell,
> gazing at the sun as though it were tarrying
> to its setting: one's mind is in an irrational
> confusion, like the earth befogged in a mist,
> one is slothful and vacant in every spiritual
> activity, and no remedy, it seems, can be
> found for this state of siege than a visit
> from some brother, or the solace of sleep.[4]

In connection with this discussion we should note

that _tristitia_ and _acedia_ were considered by the early

Christian writers to be two separate vices. _Tristitia_

is defined in Harper's _Latin Dictionary_ as: "sadness,

mournfulness, sorrow, grief, melancholy, gloominess,

dejection."[5] _Acedia_ does not appear in Latin dictionaries

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[4]
Helen Waddell, _The Desert Fathers_ (Ann Arbor:
University of Michigan Press, 1960), p. 158.

[5]
Andrews, _op. cit._, p 1902.

because it is merely the Latinized writing of the Greek word ακηδία, "indifference, torpor, from grief or exhaustion."[6] Cassian defined it as taedium cordis. Bloomfield says that Gregory the Great was the first Christian theologist to merge the two, and that he combined them in his list of the Deadly Sins under the name of tristitia, thus making room in the list for invidia.[7] Theodulf of Orleans (see p. 19) also combined the two. Bloomfield points out that the Christian attitude toward tristitia was that one should serve Christ with joy rather than with sadness, but that the name of the sin referred to additional attitudes that were not necessarily sinful. This, he said, probably led to the loss of the use of the word tristitia in favor of acedia.

The first writer to change the spelling of acedia to accidia was Aldhelm, seventh century churchman, Bloomfield says. Aldhelm's spelling prevailed over the earlier one

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[6] Henry G. Liddell and Robert Scott, A Greek-English Lexicon (New York: American Book Company, 1882).

[7] Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 72.

in the years following. The use of Latin in the writings of English churchmen continued until Alfred urged that books be written in English, and it was not until Aelfric wrote his homilies, Pastoral Letters, and Lives of Saints in the eleventh century that the Old English word slæwð was used to translate accidia. Other Old English terms used as equivalents of that Latin word are listed by Bloomfield as aswolcennes, sleacmōdnes, unlust, and aemylnysse; and those used to express tristitia are unrōtnes and sorinesse. These words are found in the Old English translation of the works of Theodulf of the latter half of the eighth century, in the works of Wulfstan, a contemporary of Aelfric, in Vices and Virtues of around 1200, and in Richard Morris' Old English Miscellany.

USE OF THE WORD SLOTH

Aelfric's choice is the word that eventually became applied universally by Englishmen to express the sin of accidia. Slæwð is defined by Clark Hall as "sloth or

indolence." According to both Skeat and the Oxford English
Dictionary, the Middle English word was formed directly on
the Old English adjective slāw, slōw, which meant "sluggish,
torpid, or lazy." It seems to this writer that the form
slæwð is the more likely origin, with its consonantal
ending and with a meaning that is closer than that of slāw
to the meaning of acedia. Bosworth-Toller defines slæwð
as: "laziness, inertness, torpor; accidia, inertia, pigredo,
torpor." This authority on Old English gives as examples:
"Se sixta leahter is accidia gehateh, ðæt is āsolcennys
oððe slæwð on Englisc," from Aelfric's Lives of Saints;
"Sio slæwð giett slæp on ðone monnan pigredo immittit so-
porem," from Pastoral Care; "On ðæm sceate his slæwð in
sudario lenti torporis," from Pastoral Care, and "Hi for
heora slæwþe and for gimeleste forleton unwriten ðara
                                8
monna dæda" from Boethius.

Sloth has more variations in spelling in the Middle
English period than any of the other Deadly Sins listed in
the Oxford English Dictionary. They are: slauðe, slaw(e)the,

8
    Bosworth, op. cit.

slauþe, slauth, pronounced /sla-ʊth/ or /slauth/, slaughte,

slouhȝe, slouȝe, slougthe, sloughe, slought, slouþe, slouthe,

slouth, s(c)lowþe, slowthe, slowth, sloath, slothe, sloth.

Three definitions follow, the first being, "Physical or

mental inactivity, disinclination to action, exertion, or

labour; sluggishness, idleness, indolence, laziness."[9]

Quotations illustrating these meanings are: "þe licome

luuaȝ mechele slauȝe and mechele etinge," Lambeth Homilies,

circa 1175; "Stiȝ imodede men and swifte, slauþe bidæled,"

from Layamon, circa 1205; "For fele fautez may a freke

forfete his blysse...þen for slauþe one," Early English

Alliterative Poems, fourteenth century; "Heo wule scheken

of hire slep of vuel slouhȝe" from Ancrene Riwle, 1225;

"Oure owene necligence and slouȝte," Wyclif's Works, 1380;

"Nowe here be ware...That for sloughe and for rachleshede,"

Libel English Policy; "We nolle sclepe in no sclowþe til

we hem sclain haue," Alexander and Dindimus, 1340-70;

"Pruyde and slouþe and envye," Myrc's Instructions for

_____

9
    James A. H Murray, op. cit., IX, p. 234.

Parish Priests, and from John Gower's <u>Confessio</u> <u>Amantis</u>,

1390, the following:

> And slouthe kēpeth the libraire
> Which longeth to the Saintuaire
>
> Bot ofte is sēn that mochel slowthe
> Whan men ben drunken of the cuppe
> Doth mochel harm
>   (Prologue)
>
> For this I wot riht wel a fīn,
> Mi grace comth so selde abõūte
> That is the Slowthe of which I dõūte
>
> Bot he, which hadde his thoghtes feinte
> Towardes love and full of Slowthe,
> His time lette, and that was rowthe.
>
> Ha, who fond evere such a lak
> Of Slowthe in eny worthi kniht?
>
> A naked swerd anon schē threste,
> And thus schē gat hireselve reste
> In remembrance of alle slowe.
>
> So that he kēpe and holde his trowthe
> Withõūte lette of eny Slowthe
>
> For Slowthe is mihtI to confounde
> The spied of every mannes werk.
> For many a vice, as seith the clerk
> Ther hongen upon Slowthes lappe.
>
> Touchende of Slowthe in his degrē,
> Ther is yit Pusillamite,
> Which is to seie in this langāge
> He that hath litel of corage
> And dar no mannes werk beginne.

Thereof me schal no Slowthe lette,
Til deth out of this world me fette

Schē seith, that if hē lengere lette
Of such a day as schē him sette
Shē scholde sterven in his Slowthe
Which were a schame unto his trowthe.

For thurgh the Slowthe of Negligence
Ther was yit nevere such science
Ne vertu, which was bodelȳ
That nys destruid and lost therby.

That thou for Slouthe of eny love
Schalt so thi lustes sette above
And leve of armes the knyhthode,
Which is the prīs of thi manhode.

And goth to bedde and leith him softe
And of his Slouthe he dremeth ofte.

Wanhope folweth ate laste
Which mai noght after longe laste
Till Slouthe mā̄ke of him an ende
      (Book IV)

Gregoire upon his Omelie
Ayein the Slouthe of Prelacie
Compleigneth him.
      (Book V)

The second part of the OED definition gives the vice

of sloth as personified. It is one of three of the seven

given in OED as personified, the other two being pride and

gluttony. However, all of the Deadly Sins have been used

in that way in medieval English literature. Examples of the

use of <u>sloth</u> thus are: "In al þe seruyse of Slouþe I sese him
to-gedere" from Langland's <u>Piers Plowman;</u> "Bot Slowthe mai
no profit winne, Bot he mai singe," Gower's <u>Confessio</u>
<u>Amantis,</u> Book II; "Lechery, Slawth, and Glotonȳe, to mans
flesch ȝe are fēndis Frē" from the <u>Castle of Perseverance,</u>
1425, and from <u>Piers Plowman,</u> Passus XX:

> A gadelyng at the laste
> Oon that muche wo wroghte,
> Sleuthe was his nāme.
> Sleuthe wax wonder yerne,
> And soone was of āge
> And wedded oon Wanhope
> A wenche of the stewes.

The third part of the definition of sloth gives its
meaning as "slowness or tardiness." Instances of the word's
usage thus include: "þus many men for sich slowthe of sharp
reprouyng synnen meche" from Wyclif's <u>Works;</u> "If it so be
thou wolt with-outen slouthe Bileue aright" from Chaucer's
<u>Second Nun's Tale;</u> "Augustin began to accuse himself sor...
of þe slauth of his returne to God," Capgrave's <u>Life of St.</u>
<u>Augustine,</u> and "When Slowthe hath don al that he may/
To drȳve forth the longe day" from <u>Confessio Amantis,</u>
Book IV.

MODERN CONCEPT

The last definition of <u>sloth</u>, "slowness or tardi-
ness," is listed as archaic in <u>Webster's Third New Interna-
tional Dictionary</u>, but the first definition given by the <u>OED</u>
is very similar to the first one in the 1961 work just cited:
"1. a. disinclination to action or labor: sluggishness, lazi-
ness, idleness, indolence." The principal difference noted
in the definitions from three editions of Webster's is that
the 1961 dictionary has under 1. b., "spiritual sluggish-
ness and dejection that constitute one of the seven deadly
sins: apathy and inactivity in the practice of virtue."
This indicates more awareness in the last decade of the fact
that Christianity has a special interpretation for the word
<u>sloth</u>. Why was this meaning "lost" for centuries? Bloomfield
dates the loss as occurring during the Middle Ages. He says:
"Gradually its [accidie's] spiritual meaning--dryness of
spirit--wears off and more and more frequently is used as
a synonym for sloth. The intermediate step in this trans-
formation is the common interpretation of sloth in the later
Middle Ages as laziness in performing one's duties to God in
such matters as church attendance...In Elizabethan times,

if we may take Dekker's <u>Seven</u> <u>Deadly</u> <u>Sinnes</u> <u>of</u> <u>London</u> (1606)

as typical, sloth...retains not even a vestige of its

medieval meaning. It is laziness, pure and simple!"[10]

Therefore we see sloth used in the sense of indolence or

laziness in the following passages from Shakespeare:

> ...To ebb
> Hereditary sloth instructs me.
> ...Ebbing men indeed
> Most often do so near the bottom run
> By their own fear or sloth.
>   (<u>Tempest</u>, Act II, Scene 1)

> Awake, awake, English nobility!
> Let not sloth dim your honors new-begot.
>   (<u>Henry</u> <u>VI</u>, <u>Part</u> <u>I</u>, Act I:1)

> These Cardinals trifle with me. I abhor
> This dilatory sloth and tricks of Rome.
>   (<u>Henry</u> <u>VIII</u>, Act II:4)

> False of heart, light of ear, bloody of hand,
> hog in sloth, fox in stealth...
>   (<u>King</u> <u>Lear</u>, Act III:4)

> ...Weariness
> Can snore upon the flint, when resty sloth
> Finds the down pillow hard.
>   (<u>Cymbeline</u>, Act III:6)

Also we find the word used by Milton, in the sense of dis-

inclination to exertion or habitual indolence:

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[10]
   Bloomfield, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 96.

> I see that most through Sloth had rather serve
> Minist'ring spirits, train'd up in Feast and Song
>
> Shall change their course to pleasure, ease,
>   and sloth,
> Surveit, and lust
>
> Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
> Counsell'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth.
>   (Paradise Lost)

But the modern church did not forget the background

of the sin called sloth. Joseph F. Delany defines the term

as disinclination to labor or exertion, and he recalls St.

Thomas' description of it as "sadness in the face of some

spiritual good which one has to achieve (tristitia de bono

spirituali)." Another modern theologian, Father Joseph

Rickaby, translates the Latin acedia as "the don't-care feel-

ing." Delany states that a man realizes that the practice

of virtue is beset with difficulties and he chafes under

the restraints imposed by the service of God. "The narrow

way stretches wearily before him and his soul grows sluggish

and torpid at the thought of the painful life journey. The

idea of right living inspires not joy but disgust, because

of its laboriousness."[11] Sloth in this sense is not a

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[11]
Joseph F. Delany, "Sloth," Catholic Encyclopedia,
XIV, pp. 57-58.

specific vice, according to St. Thomas' teaching, but is termed a circumstance of all vices. It ordinarily will not have the malice attributed to mortal sin unless one is willing to defy some serious obligation. St. Thomas completes his comments by saying that sloth is torpor in the presence of spiritual good, which is Divine good. A man is distressed at the prospect of what he must do to bring about or keep intact his friendship with God. "In this sense sloth is directly opposed to charity...The trouble attached to maintenance of the inhabiting of God by charity arouses tedium... He violates therefore, expressly the first and the greatest of the commandments," which is, Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength, as it is expressed in <u>Mark 12:30</u>.[12]

This point of view recalls the discussion of the "real" deadly sins in the introduction of this thesis. It was stated that those sins were the ones involving violation of the Ten Commandments. Sloth in this light could be a real demon to the hermits in the desert. It could cause

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12
<u>Ibid.</u>

despair, as Langland said in Piers Plowman:

> This Sleuthe was wār of werre
> And a slynge made,
> And threw drede of dispair
> A dozeyne myle aboute.

And it may haunt modern man even now, as Waugh warns:
"It is in that last undesired decade, when passion is
cold, appetites feeble, curiosity dulled, and experience
has begotten cynicism, that accidia lies in wait as the
final temptation to destruction...it is then, perhaps,
that we shall be able to resist only by the spiritual
strength we have husbanded in youth."[13]

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[13]

Wilson, op. cit , p. 64.

CHAPTER VIII

ENVY

Wyclif called envy the first sin because Satan committed it when he led mankind to fall. Bloomfield points out that Wyclif, however, did not take account of Satan's first sin against God.[1] But long preceding Wyclif, Prudentius in the fourth century had noted in his Hamartigenia that Satan was jealous of Adam "because envy marked him with her stain and pricked him with her sore stings."[2] The attribution of envy to Satan also may be found in the Apocryphal or Deutero-canonical Wisdome of Solomon 2:24, as follows, "Neuerthelesse through ennuie of the deuill came death into the world: and they that doe holde of his side doe finde it." We note Prudentius' figure of speech calling envy a stinging serpent and we recall the fact that Genesis referred to Satan as the

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[1] Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 419.

[2] H. J. Thomson, op. cit., p. 217.

serpent in the Garden of Eden. This is a natural association, and it seems to have occurred to other writers and to artists as well, although it is possible that some were familiar with Prudentius' work. In _Vices_ _and_ _Virtues_ of around 1200 envy is described as an adder, and in _Piers_ _Plowman_ the sin is personified as a pale man with a long, lean face, whose words come out like those of an adder's tongue.

It is not the purpose of this paper, not is it possible within its scope, to make a study of the art of the Middle Ages in connection with the Seven Deadly Sins. But it is pertinent to note here two instances in connection with the Satan-serpent-envy motif. A number of vices appear in the Last Judgment of Giotto, on the wall of the church of S. Maria dell Arena in Padua. Here, Envy is a woman with horns, large ears, and with a snake issuing from her mouth and turning to sting her between the eyes. A similar figure appears in an array of seven or eight sins sculptured on the capitals of pillars of the Ducal Palace at Venice.[3]

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[3] Bloomfield, op. cit., pp. 103-04.

Although envy has a history going back, as we have

pointed out, to the Garden of Eden, it has not always been

a member of the family of the Seven Deadly Sins. Gregory

probably is the writer whose example most firmly established

the word envy--or rather, its Latin equivalent, invidia,

in the group.

EARLY CONCEPTS

The ancients considered envy a vice, for Plato

spoke of it in The Republic when he said, "That power is

bound to make him [the despot] ever more envious, treacher-

ous, and unjust," and Horace included it among a group of

human passions for which he suggested in his first Epistle

to Maecenas the remedy of reading an appropriate book.[4]

Among early Christian writers who included envy in lists

of sins were Abba Isaias, one of the desert fathers, who

noted several sins in connection with seven demons, St.

Orientius and Nilus of the late fourth and early fifth

centuries, and Caesarius of Arles in the sixth century,

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[4]

Ibid., p. 45.

Nilus, incidentally, furnishes an early example of the theme of a struggle between virtues and vices, and St. Orientius is among those who made lists of seven vices or sins.[5] It has been suggested that Evagrius (p. 4) omitted envy from his fourth century list because its connection with material possessions rendered it less dangerous to hermits than the carnal sins and some of the other spiritual offenses. Possibly the fact that Cassian in the fifth century was concerned with the spiritual welfare of monks rather than that of lay people led him also to omit *invidia* from his list of eight sins. But there is a hint of envy in fourth-century Prudentius' description of *Avaritia* in *Psychomachia.* (In connection with envy and avarice, we note that *Webster's Second New International Dictionary* gives *covet* as one of the synonyms for the verb *envy.*) Prudentius wrote:

> If a soldier sees his own brother and
> fellow-soldier with a helmet that glances with
> precious stones of tawny hue, he fears not to
> unsheath his sword and smite the skull with a
> comrade's blade, purposing to snatch the gems
> from a kinsman's head.[6]

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[5]
Ibid., pp. 54, 60, 73.

[6]
H. J. Thomson, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

The sixth-century Gregory chose to include _invidia_ in his

list of seven sins by means of combining _tristitia_ and _acedia_.

Many of the continental writers after Gregory followed his

example in regard to invidia. Evidence of combined influ-

ences is seen much later in the late eighth and early ninth-

century Theodulf of Orleans, who used the order of Cassian

in listing the Deadly Sins but who, like Gregory, included

invidia and merged _acedia_ and _tristitia._

ENVY IN MEDIEVAL LANGUAGES

The word _invidia_, "envy, jealousy, ill-will, odium,

unpopularity," apparently was the universal choice by

Christian writers of a Latin expression of this sin. An

Old English equivalent is _nið_, as it appears for instance

in _Beowulf_, "þæt hyt on heafolan stōd/ nīðe genȳded."

In medieval England those writers who used the vernacular

for the enlightenment of the layman failed to agree as the

Latin authors did in their choice of a word to convey the

idea. _Anda_, _nið_, _onca_, and _ǣfest_ all appear in works

including those of Byrhtferth and Theodulf and the writers

of _Virtues_ _and_ _Vices_, the Exeter manuscripts, the _Old_

English _Miscellany_, and the Vercelli and Blickling _Homilies_.

The thirteenth century, however, has left us evidence that

the Middle English word _envie_, pronounced /ɛn-vĭ-ə/, was com-

ing into use, borrowed from Old French. We have the quota-

tion from the _Fall_ _and_ _Passion_, _circa_ 1280, "Tŏ him the deuil

had envĭe, þat hē in his stid scholde be broʒte." The

fourteenth century offers many more examples. The word also

had the variant forms of _envye_, _envi_, _enevi_, _envyʒe_, _enwie_,

inwy(e), _invy_, _envy_. These correspond, according to the

Oxford _English_ _Dictionary_, to the Portuguese _inveja_, Span-

ish _envidia_, and Italian _invidia_. The Latin form is com-

posed of _in_, upon, and _videre_, to see.

The _OED_ defines envy first with an obsolete meaning,
"malignant or hostile feeling, ill-will, malice, enmity."[7]

Examples of this usage include: "þurch senne, þurch prēde

oþer þurch an-vie," from Kentish Sermons in _Old_ _English_

Miscellany, 1250;   "Of all venime and eneuī ful kindeld

vp he rās," from Cursor Mundi, _circa_ 1300;   "Ich [Belial]

7
    James A. H. Murray, _op_. _cit_., VIII, p. 231.

made þoru-a lutel enuÿe þat on sle þat oþer," Seyn Julian,

circa 1300; "So grete envÿ bitwix tham twā was than,"

Ywaine and Gawain, circa 1400; "To him hē had so grete envÍe,"

Syr Generys, circa 1430; "Niþe and onde and envÍe," Debate

of Body and Soul, thirteenth century. Other obsolete

definitions are: "unwillingness, reluctance, and odium,

unpopularity, and opprobrium,"

Also obsolete is the meaning of "active evil, harm,

mischief," which is illustrated by "Envÿe doe by no woman,

to doe her shāme by nighte nor daie" from Chester Plays of

the Shakespeare Society, circa 1400; "Discese and other

enuÿes" from Apol. Lollards, circa 1400; and "Yf thoù hast

haryed all Bamborowe shyre, Thoù hast done me grete envÿe,"

from Battle of Otterbourne in Percy Reliques, 1460.

The definition which has remained in use throughout

the centuries is that of: "the feeling of mortification and

ill-will occasioned by the contemplation of superior advan-

tages possessed by another." Examples from the Middle Ages

are: "He þat by caus of enuÿ werrayes anoþer wrāngwÍslÿ,"

Cursor Mundi, 1300; "Enuÿe couaitis, iolifte and oþer vÍces,"

from the Hampole Psalter, circa 1340; "Haveye so gret envÿe

Of mȳn honōur?" from Chaucer's <u>Knight's Tale</u>, 1386; "Haueþ

non enuye to leredene to lewide," Langland's <u>Piers Plowman</u>;

"Envȳ...es joye of oþer mens harme and sorowe of oþer mens

welefare," from <u>Religious Pieces</u> of Thornton Manuscript;

"And hadde enuȳe þat hit so was" from Robert Mannyng of

Brunne's <u>Chronicle</u>, 1303; and from Mannyng's <u>Handlynq Synne</u>,

1303,

> A forbysyn ys tolde þys
> Seyd on frenshe men and on englys:
> "That frenche men synne yn lecherȳe,
> "And englys men yn enuȳe."

The phrase <u>to envy</u> was used in the sense, now obsolete,

of "to such a point as to excite envy, to the heart's content,

to admiration or perfection." It is seen in Chaucer's <u>Dethe</u>

<u>Blaunche</u> of 1396, "They had good leyser for to route/ To

envȳe, whō might slēpe beste." In the sense of "a wish,

desire, longing, or enthusiasm," the word is used in the

following: <u>Cursor Mundi</u>, "þese fōles...wiþ greet envȳe þis

werk bigon"; "They rode forthe with grete envȳ to sēke aftur

the quēne" in <u>Syr Tryamour</u>, 1430, and in Caxton's <u>Myrror</u>

"And had enuȳe at none other thinge, but only for to lerne

suche science."

ENVY IN MODERN ENGLISH

We can find many illustrations of the OED's first
definition, now obsolete but still in use in the late six-
teenth and early seventeenth centuries, in the works of
Shakespeare. He used envy in the sense of "malice, spite,
or hate" in the following quotations:

> The foul witch Sycorax, who with age and envy
> Was grown into a hoop?
> (Tempest, Act I:2)

> And that no lawful means can carry me
> Out of his envy's reach
> (Merchant of Venice, Act IV:1)

> But no metal can--
> No, not the hangman's ax--bear half the keenness
> Of thy sharp envy
> (Merchant of Venice, Act IV:1)

> One flourishing branch...
> Is hacked down, and his summer leaves all faded
> By envy's hand and murder's bloody ax.
> (Richard II, Act I:2)

> Pity, you ancient stones, those tender babes
> Whom envy hath immured within your walls!
> (Richard III, Act IV:1)

> Each word thou has spoke hath weeded from my heart
> A root of ancient envy.
> (Coriolanus, Act IV:5)

Shakespeare also used envy widely in the meaning that

survives: "jealous mortification at the sight of another's

excellence." Illustrations are:

> Yea, there thou makest me sad and makest me sin
> In envy that my Lord Northumberland
> Should be the father to so blest a son
>   (Henry IV, Part I, Act I:1

> Tis much when scepters are in children's hands
> But more when envy breeds unkind division
>   (Henry VI Part I, Act IV:1

> With full as many signs of deadly hate
> As lean-faced Envy in her loathsome cave.
>   (Henry VI Part II, Act III:2)

>   ...Now I feel
> Of what coarse metal ye are molded--envy.
>   (Henry VIII, Act III:2)

>   ...Men that make
> Envy and crooked malice nourishment
> Dare bite the best.
>   (Henry VIII, Act V:3)

As stated above, Webster's Third New International

Dictionary lists as obsolete the meanings of "malice, spite,

opprobrium, unpopularity" for envy. Current is: "Pain-

ful or resentful awareness of an advantage enjoyed by

another, accompanied by a desire to possess the same advan-

tage." The Second Edition (1952) is a little different

although the same in import in its definition: "Chagrin,

mortification, discontent, or uneasiness at the sight of

another's excellence or good fortune, accompanied with some
degree of hatred and a desire to possess equal advantages;
malicious grudging." Also given as archaic is the defini-
tion of "longing or desire."

CHRISTIAN CONCEPT

The obsolete usages cited in the OED and Webster's
dictionaries remind us of Gower's listing of the attributes
of the various Deadly Sins in his Confessio Amantis, 1390.
Those of Envy, he said, are Sorrow for another man's joy,
Joy for another's grief, Detraction (Backbiting), False
Semblant, and Supplantation. Also, we should take further
note of envy's relationship to the other sins, besides that
cited in the reference to Prudentius' description of
Avaritia, above. The Hebrew Qin'āh of the original in
Proverbs 14:30 may be translated as either envy or passion,
according to The Interpreter's Bible in explaining the
verse, "A sound heart is the life of the flesh: but envy
the rottenness of the bones." The root meaning, according
to this interpretation, is "red," then "inflamed." Flesh

in the first half of the verse, together with <u>bones</u> in the second half, stands for the whole body.[8] The danger of the sin of envy is cited by another writer as follows: "The frequent indulgence in particular forms of emotion, such as anger, envy, sympathy, melancholy, fear, and the like, fosters tendencies towards these sentiments which give a subconscious bent to a large part of man's behaviour."[9] Proverbs 27:4, a verse dealing ultimately with envy, reads literally, "cruelty of wrath, flood of anger," the <u>Abingdon Bible Commentary</u> points out. The <u>King James Version</u> gives it as: "Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous." The Commentary points out that "Anger and wrath do not last long, but jealousy burns on until it consumes him who is its object. The jealousy referred to here is that of a jealous husband...Anger is like a torrent...Jealousy is like the incessant dropping of water on a stone. The person who lives with an envious individual has no relief.

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[8]
    Harmon, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>.

[9]
    Michael Maher, "Character," <u>Catholic Encyclopedia</u>, III, p. 585.

"Several of the proverbs mention a particular kind of envy.

> Let not your heart envy sinners, but continue
>   in the fear of the Lord all the day.
> Surely there is a future and your hope
>   will not be cut off.
>   (23:17-18)

"When one sees the apparent success of unprincipled men he is impelled to envy their lot...But the sages come back to their oft-repeated observation. The wicked may be successful for a time, but there is no future in their way of life.

> Fret not yourself because of evil-doers, and
>   be not envious of the wicked;
> For the evil man has no future: the lamp of
>   the wicked will be put out.
>   (24:19-20)

"If one can quiet his rising envy long enough, he will see that the fate of the evildoer is nothing to covet."[10]

The effect of the sin upon the envier is considered in the definition of envy by Donald Attwater: "Sadness because of another's good, especially if it is regarded as a lessening of one's own. It is a sin against charity,

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[10]
     Eiselen, op. cit., p. 933.

whereby we should be pleased at the good of others, and in

a matter of weight is mortal. That acute form of envy

popularly called jealousy is particularly dangerous, for it

often leads to brooding upon our own sufferings, to fomenting

ill-will against our neighbor, to underhand revenge by word

or deed, or even to open violence."[11]

In the Catholic Encyclopedia a discussion of this, the

sixth of the Seven Deadly Sins, is found not under "envy" but

under the title of "Jealousy." It is explained, "Jealousy

is here taken to be synonymous with envy." Joseph F. Delany,

author of the article, defines it as a sorrow that one enter-

tains at another's well-being because of the notion that one's

own excellence is lessened in consequence. Its particular

malice comes from its opposition to the supreme virtue of

charity. The law of love enjoins us to rejoice instead of

being distressed by our neighbor's good fortune. The atti-

tude of envy contradicts the spirit of solidarity which

ought to characterize the human race and especially the

Christian community. "The envious man tortures himself

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[11]
Donald Attwater, A Catholic Dictionary (New York:
The Macmillan Company, 1949).

without cause," believing that another's success works evil for himself. The sin in general is grievous but often considered venial because of the trifling matter involved and want of deliberation. "Jealousy is most evil when one repines at another's spiritual good. It is then said to be a sin against the Holy Ghost."[12] Because of the other vices it begets it is called a capital sin. St. Thomas lists among its offspring hatred, detraction, rejoicing over the misfortunes of one's fellow, and whispering. One wonders if Gower used this list as the basis of his own, cited above. Delany notes that regret at another's success is not always jealousy but may be regret that one does not deserve his good fortune or fear that he may use it to the detriment of others. He terms this a rational feeling as long as it does not become excessive. One also may be grieved at his own failure to accomplish rather than actually begrudging the other person his more favored position or condition.

Circumstances and the direction and intensity of one's feelings, then, have much to do with the seriousness

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[12]
    Joseph F. Delany, "Jealousy," Catholic Encyclopedia, VIII, p. 326.

of the sin of envy. It has been related to covetousness, which can be a violation of the Tenth Commandment. It has been called Satan's sin, as stated earlier in this section. In _Jacob's Well_, written in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, envy is called the worst of all sins because it is contrary to all virtues and all goodness. This work also points out that envy is opposed to the Holy Ghost.[13] It is not difficult to find a writer in Middle English literature who calls one of the Deadly Sins the worst of all. In fact, some writers dealing with the sins in series seem to find each in turn more heinous than any preceding, giving us the impression that the writer can not make up his mind or is equally horrified by all. Perhaps this is a characteristic of the didactic author as his enthusiasm shows its impartiality!

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[13] Bloomfield, _op. cit._, p. 223.

CHAPTER IX

ANGER

Ancient pagan scholars, Biblical authors, and modern religious philosophers show remarkable agreement on the subject of anger.

EARLY CONCEPTS

Aristotle speaks for all ages of the civilized world in his Ethics, Book 2, Chapter 7: "A man is not blamed just for being angry; it is for being angry in a particular way."[1] However, criminal defense lawyers might take exception to his "I believe it to be an error to say that acts occasioned by anger or desire are involuntary," in Book 3, Chapter 1, of the same work, for they often base their arguments upon a plea that an act was committed "without intent" or "without malice aforethought." Proof of such circumstance is expected, of course, to lighten the penalty accorded the guilty person. Some other comments of Aristotle on the same topic are: "Gentleness is the disposition which observes

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[1] J. A. K. Thompson, op. cit.

the mean in anger," from Book 4, Chapter 5, and one that

comes close to a modern definition of the sin, "Anger rushes

off to get revenge," in Book 7, Chapter 6.

Cicero had comments on the subject for the guidance

of his fellow Romans of the pre-Christian era in his De Of-

ficiis. In Book 1, Chapter 25, he wrote: "Anger is in every

circumstance to be eradicated...They who administer the

government should be like the laws, which are led to in-

flict punishment not by wrath but by justice," and "In ad-

ministering punishment it is above all necessary to allow

no trace of anger..."[2] Also in Book 1, Chapter 25, he com-

ments, "The Peripatetics...too much commend the passion of

anger, by asserting it to be a useful property of our nature."

In Book 1, Chapter 28, he says, "Reproaches may sometimes be

necessary...even in that case we ought only to seem to do

these things in anger..."[3]

CHRISTIAN CONCEPTS

A concordance of the Bible offers perhaps more

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[2]
Miller, op. cit.

[3]
Edmonds, op. cit.

references to anger than to any other one of the Seven

Deadly Sins, indicating the attention this sin received

from early religious writers of the Judeo-Christian tradi-

tion. Inasmuch as early medieval Christian writers wrote

mainly for the literate, who were fellow churchmen or church-

educated men, they tended, unlike the scriptural writers, to

emphasize the "monastic vices" (see p. 9) more than anger

and therefore added little that was new or especially sig-

nificant to the treatment of the latter sin. It is not,

therefore, necessary to summarize their comments at this

point. It is interesting to note, however, that this sin

apparently regained its prominence in later religious

philosophy. We find, for instance, that although the

Universal Jewish Encyclopedia does not deal with the other

six sins, it has a thoughtful and thorough treatment of

anger. There is agreement in thought between Catholic and

Jewish articles that, as St. Thomas commented on capital

sins in general, the emotion in itself is not a sin or evil

passion, but it can produce evil. Since anger often leads

to retaliation and revenge, it involves ethical considerations, according to the Jewish encyclopedia. Uncontrolled anger does harm to others and injures the person who displays it; it may lead to hatred, retaliation, revenge, and even to furious vindictiveness.[4] The Catholic Encyclopedia also emphasizes the desire of vengeance as the very definition of the word anger, adding that its "ethical rating" depends upon the quality of the vengeance and the quantity of the passion. Anger is not a sin when these are within balanced reason, but rather is a "praiseworthy thing and justifiable with a proper zeal." It becomes sinful when one seeks vengeance upon one who does not deserve it, or in greater degree than it is deserved, or from an improper motive, or in conflict with the law. "The sin is then in a general sense mortal as being opposed to justice and charity...Likewise, anger is sinful when there is an undue vehemence in the passion itself, whether inwardly or outwardly. Ordinarily it is then

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Frederick A. Doppelt, "Anger," Universal Jewish Encyclopedia (New York: Universal Jewish Encyclopedia Inc., 1939), I, p. 315.

accounted a venial sin unless the excess be so great as to

go counter seriously to the love of God or of one's neighbor."[5]

Franz X. Muth adds his caution, in a related article, that

one must devote special attention to the mastering of the

passions, "because it is with them above all else that the

moral combat must be waged most relentlessly. Scholastic

philosophy enumerates the following passions: love, hatred,

desire, horror, joy, sadness, hope, despair, boldness, fear,

anger."[6] Also concerning religious ethics and philosophy

Arthur Devine writes: "The chief passions are eleven in

number: Six in the concupiscible appetite...and five in the

irascible—hope and despair, courage and fear, and anger...

Only in so far as they are voluntary do they come under the

moral law." The Bible condemns anger when it is uncontrolled

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[5]
     Joseph F. Delany, Anger," Catholic Encyclopedia,
I, p. 489.

[6]
     Franz X. Muth, "Ascetical Theology," Catholic Ency-
clopedia, XIV, p. 616.

[7]
     Arthur Devine, "Passions," Catholic Encyclopedia, XI,
p. 534.

and vindictive, according to the <u>Universal Jewish Encyclo-</u>
<u>pedia,</u> and admonishes against giving vent to it. "Joseph
denounced the wrath of his sons Simeon and Levi in the words:
'Cursed be their anger, for it was fierce, and their wrath,
for it was cruel'(Genesis 49:7). The book of Proverbs
associates anger with strife: 'A wrathful man stirreth up
discord; but he that is slow to anger appeaseth strife'
(Proverbs 15:18)...Ecclesiastes admonishes 'Be not hasty in
thy spirit to be angry; for anger resteth in the bosom of
fools' (Ecclesiastes 7:9). At the same time, the Bible
realizes that anger may serve a useful purpose as well...In
the Maccabean revolt...at the profanation of the altar 'his
[Mattathias'] zeal was kindled, and his heart quivered; and
his indignation burst forth for judgment' (I Maccabees
2:24-26). The Testament of Dan [one of the apocryphal
scriptures of the Old Testament, Testaments of the XII
Patriarchs] in Chapters 1-5 deals extensively with the twin
evils of lying and of anger as the sources of all wickedness.
The Talmud [first five books of the Bible] generally refers

to quickness of temper as a species of folly or wickedness,
and praises highly the control of one's temper. The ad-
monition of Ecclesiastes [11:10] : 'Remove vexation (anger)
from thy heart' is the theme of the Jewish moralists..."[8]

SEMANTIC CONSIDERATIONS

Turning from the moral concept of anger as a sin to
consideration of the word as it came to medieval England,
we note that the first writers on the subject of the Seven
Deadly Sins used the language of Greek, then Latin, as we
have seen above in connection with the other sins. There-
fore, before discussing the English word _anger_ we will take
up the earlier designation of _ira_ for that sin. Prudentius,
Cassian, Gregory, and others apparently were unanimous in
using the Latin _ira_ for their expression of the idea. Monks
and other scholars in England from the sixth century on no
doubt followed their example when copying or writing Latin
manuscripts about the Seven Sins. We note, of course, the
word _ire_ in modern English, which the _Oxford English_

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[8] Doppelt, _op_. _cit_., pp. 315-16.

Dictionary says was adopted from Old French _ire_, _yre_, which was in turn adopted from Latin _ira_, meaning anger, wrath, or rage. The _OED_ gives examples from the early fourteenth century: "Ire somdele Vpstegh þanne in Iraēle" from _Early English Psalter_, "þo was Beues in gret ȳre" from _Sir Beves of Hampton_, and "Ne hē ne saide namore til hire, Bot wente fro hure al in ire" from Robert Mannyng's _Chronicle_.[9] One would be hard put to disprove the idea that _ire_ comes from Old French, but on the other hand we find the forms _irre, yrre_, and _ierre_ in Old English, some of them predating the _OED_ examples above by centuries, and it seems to this writer that the Old English _irre_ undoubtedly contributed to the modern English _ire_. _Ire_ possibly was given support by the presence of French and Latin in the British Isles, a support that was not enjoyed by _torn_, _grama_, and another Old English word for anger, _wēamōdnyss_, which is found in Aelfric and Wulfstan and in the _Old English Miscellany_. _Wrath_, which survived without any Latin or French assistance, was the Old English _wraþþe_,

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James A. H Murray, _op. cit._, V, p. 474.

found, for instance, in <u>Vices</u> <u>and</u> <u>Virtues</u> of around 1200.

<u>Yrre</u> is in the translations of Theodulf, in Byrhtferth's

works and in the Vercelli <u>Homilies</u>, to say nothing of

<u>Beowulf</u>, which dates back to the late eighth century.

From <u>Beowulf</u> are "syððan on yrre uppriht āstōd," and

"Da cōm of mōre under misthleoþum/ Grendel gongan Godes

yrre bæ r ." The use of <u>yrre</u> thus clearly predates both

the Norman invasion of 1066 and the Danish invasions of

England in the early ninth century, which probably ac-

counted for the entry of the word <u>anger</u> into the English

language.

Anger has become the modern expression for the name

of the sin and <u>anger</u>, incidentally, is the only one of the

seven words that is Old Norse or Icelandic in origin. At

that, there are the Old English <u>enge</u> or <u>ang</u>--meaning "narrow,

confined, or painful," and <u>ange</u>, "trouble, affliction, an-

guish." Examples of <u>ange</u> in the OED are "þatt himm wass

waȝȝ and ange" and "Dide hemm mikell ange" from <u>Ormin</u> of

1200 (the Canon Regular of the Order of St. Augustine). In

J. R. Clark Hall's <u>Concise</u> <u>Anglo-Saxon</u> <u>Dictionary</u> we find

also the adjective anger͜ed as an equivalent for ungerad,
"at variance, wrong, discordant, dissentient," and in Bos-
worth-Toller is ͜enge, "narrow, troubled, anxious," along
with ange, "narrow, straitened, vexed, troubled, sorrowful."
This ange of Old English no doubt contributed to the form
anger of Modern English, much as we noted on page 136 that
the Old English irre contributed to the modern word ire. The
word ange obviously belongs to the same family as the Ice-
landic ange, "affliction or sorrow," and the Old Norse angr,
"trouble, affliction." In order to conclude that there was
a common Indo-European ancestor for these words one need only
consider the words cited in the unabridged 1916, 1952, and
1961 editions of Webster's New International Dictionary.
There are, for instance: anger, "regret," Danish; ånger,
"regret," Swedish; angor, "a strangling, anguish," Latin;
aṁhas, "distress," Sanskrit; anchein, Greek; enqi, Old High
German; and angwus, Gothic.

DEFINITIONS AND EXAMPLES

The Middle English Dictionary gives as variant forms

of anger, which was pronounced /aŋ-gər/, the words angir,

angur, angre, and hanger. Its first definition is one that

is now obsolete, "distress, suffering, anguish, agony; the

anguish of love, love-longing." The definition is illus-

trated by quotations from Genesis and Exodus, circa 1250,

"₃he held hire hard in ⸢ralles wune, and dede hire sorge and

anger mune; ⸢o flēg agar fro sarray" and "Balames fōt is

hird, And he wur⸢ ⸢o for anger wro⸢." The word also is

described as "a source of distress, suffering, or discomfort;

trouble, hardship," as illustrated by "Lord, gyf me ⸢ir

angers all" from the Northern Passion, E.E.T.S. No. 183,

circa 1375. These explanations correspond to one listed as

obsolete in the 1916 Webster's New International Dictionary,

"trouble; affliction; vexation; also physical pain or smart

of a sore." The second definition given by the Middle English

Dictionary is: "A hostile attitude, ill-will, surliness," as

illustrated by "Ysmael pleide hard gāmen. Sarra was ⸢or-fore

often wro⸢; Hir was ysmaeles anger lo⸢" from Genesis and

Exodus; "resentment, grudging, irritation; anger; rage;

wrath," examplified by "For anger his herte gan sswelle, and

þouȝte roulonde for to quelle" in Otuel, circa 1330; and

finally, "a fit of anger or resentment,"

The Oxford English Dictionary, which gives the variant

spellings of angyr or -=gir, angre, and angar, offers first

the obsolete definition of "That which pains or afflicts, or

the passive feeling which it produces; trouble, affliction,

vexation, sorrow."[10] Quotations showing one of these uses of

the word include: "Na man may to heven ga, Bot-if he thole

here anger and wā" from Hampole's Prayer of Consecration,

1340; "Thir angrys may I na mar drey" and also "The angyr, na

the wrechyt dōme/ That is cowplyt to fōule thyrldōme" from

Barbour's Bruce, 1375; "To suffren al þat god sente syke-

nesses and angres" from Langland's Piers Plowman, 1393;

"Deliver me from this anger þat I dwelle in," Gesta Roman-

orum, 1440; and from the fifteenth century Earl of Toulouse,

"What anger the lady befelle."

The second definition of the OED, "The active feeling

provoked against the agent; passion, rage; wrath, ire, hot

displeasure," is the one that most closely resembles those

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[10]
Ibid., I, p. 325.

of the Third Edition of <u>Webster's</u>, "a strong feeling of
displeasure and usually of antagonism," and the similar but
slightly longer one of the Second Edition, "a strong passion
or emotion of displeasure, and usually antagonism, excited
by a sense of injury or insult. Hence an instance, mani-
festation or embodiment of such passion." Examples of the
<u>OED</u> definition in Middle English literature include: "þe
anger of his ire þat arȝed monye" from <u>Early English Al-</u>
<u>literative Poems</u>, <u>circa</u> 1325; "Nevere eft ne was ther Angre
hem bitwene" from Chaucer's <u>Franklin's Tale</u>, 1386; "Ne
couth I after that be wroth, But all mīn anger overgoth,"
from John Gower's <u>Confessio Amantis</u>, and others from the
same work,

> For finaly, whan that I muse
> And thenke how schē mē wol refuse,
> I am with anger so bestad,
> For al this world mihte I bē glad.
>
> That ther nys servant in mȳn hōūs
> Ne non of tho that bēn abōūte,
> That ech of hem ne stant in dōūte,
> And wenan that I scholde rāve
> For anger that thei sē mē hāve.
>
> What mischief that this vīce stereth
> Which in his Anger noght forbereth
> Whereof that after him forthenketh
> When hē is sobre and that he thenketh
> Upon the follē of his dēde.

That was tō him an angri jāpe;
Bot for that hē with Angre wroghte,
Hise Angres angrelīche hē boghte.

Third, the _OED_ gives the definition of "physical
affliction or pain; inflammatory state of any part of the
body (dialectical)," illustrated by "I cacche...an ague in
such an angre, and some tȳme a feure" from _Piers Plowman_.
This is still listed as dialectical in the Third Edition
of Webster. The latter also gives under synonyms of _anger_
the two words that we found in Old English, _ire_ and _wrath._
In distinguishing shades of meaning between them, the
definition explains that _ire_ is now literary in usage,
usually suggesting a somewhat greater emotional turmoil than
anger, and that _wrath_ may imply either rage or indignation,
usually also implying a grievance and a desire to revenge
or punish in return.

Before going on to later examples it may be _a propos_
to note here two other words used by Gower in _Confessio_
Amantis which since have been dropped from the language,
that is, which appeared only as "obsolete" in the 1916
Webster's. They are _cheste,_ which the _Middle English Diction-_
ary defines as "strife, contention, fighting, quarreling,

bickering, caviling," and <u>contek</u>, which is explained as
"dissention, discord, conflict, strife, quarreling, brawl-
ing." They are among the "five servants" of <u>Ire</u> listed by
Gower, Cheste, Hate, Contek, Homicide, and Melancholy.

Passing on to the sixteenth century, which serves
as our bridge between the Middle and Modern English periods,
we find examples of the use of the word <u>anger</u> in Shakes-
peare's works, which show that he used it predominately in
the sense of the surviving definition,"a strong feeling of
displeasure and usually of antagonism." There are, for
instance:

> Still is he sullen, still he low'rs and frets,
> 'Twixt crimson shame and anger ashy-pale
> <u>(Venus and Adonis)</u>

> The bloody spur cannot provoke him on
> That sometimes anger thrusts into his hide
> (Sonnet L)

> My tongue will tell the anger of my heart
> Or else my heart, concealing it, will break.
> (<u>Taming of the Shrew</u>, Act IV:3)

> O, what a deal of scorn looks beautiful
> In the contempt and anger of his lip
> (<u>Twelfth Night</u>, Act III:1)

> What, shall we suffer this? Let's pluck him down.
> My heart for anger burns. I cannot brook it.
> (Henry VI Part III, Act I:1)

In Jacob's Well, a product preceding Shakespeare

in the fifteenth century, St. Bernard of Clairvaux is

quoted as saying that wrath is the "gate of all sins."[11]

And so, in the manner of the medieval moralists, who loved

to speak of their subject in allegory, we now close the gate

upon anger and the others of the Seven Deadly Sins.

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[11]
   Bloomfield, op. cit., p. 223.

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