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Tolle superbiam: divitiae non nocebunt Community, Renunciation, and the Fall of Rome: Wealth in the Pelagian Controversy

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Cover Page Footnote

Augustine, Sermon 37.4 in Peter Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle: Wealth, the Fall of Rome, and the Making of Christianity, 350-550 AD* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 349. One can find this sermon in its original Latin in Cyrillus Lambot, *Corpus Christianorum: Series Latina*, XLI (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961), 451. Jaclyn Maxwell, "Fraudulent Beggars and Fake Monks: Unease about Almsgiving in Late Antiquity," in *Peasants and Poverty in Byzantium*, ed. Leslie Brubaker, Anna Kelley, and Flavia Vanni (Cambridge, forthcoming). Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 176. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 360. Rees, *Letters of Pelagius*, 7. Rees, *Letters of Pelagius*, 7. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 349. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 11. Kyle Harper, *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 177. Brown, *Through the eye of a Needle*, 294. This controversy between the Donatist and Catholic churches of North Africa related to Christian persecution in the decades and centuries leading up to the moment of the sack of Rome and Pelagian Controversy. The Donatist Controversy concerned the nature of "true" clergy—namely, whether ministers who had wavered in the face of persecution were fit for ministry. For Donatists, the answer was an emphatic "no." Also, see note 2 for the nuances and limitations of the notions of "winning out" and "quelling." Rees, *Letters of Pelagius*, 174. There is some slippage between the figure of the Pelagius and the term Pelagianism in referring to this text as emblematic of Pelagius' writing. Despite its uncertain authorship, I've used the text to function in this way because of the extent to which it has become so deeply associated with Pelagius himself in modern scholarship. *De Divitiis*, 3.1 (Rees 176, Caspari 26). References to the text are from the Latin text in C.P. Caspari, ed., *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten aus den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des kirchlichen Alterthums und dem Anfang des Mittelalters* (Christiania/Oslo: Mallingsche Buchdruckerei, 1890), 25-67. For a more modern translation, see Andreas Kessler, ed., *Reichtumskritik und Pelagianismus: die pelagianische Diatribe de divitiis: Situierung, Lesetext, Übersetzung, Kommentar* (Freiburg: Freiburg University Press, 1999). *De Divitiis*, 3.1 (Rees 176, Caspari 26-27). *De Divitiis*, 17.4 (Rees 200, Caspari 54). *De Divitiis*, 4.2 (Rees 176, Caspari 28). *De Divitiis*, 7.2 (Rees 182, Caspari 33). *De Divitiis*, 10.10 (Rees 190-191, Caspari 44). *De Divitiis*, 19.5 (Rees 206, Caspari 63). *De Divitiis*, 6.1 (Rees 179, Caspari 30). Augustine, Letter 157, 4.25, trans. J.G. Cunningham in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Vol. 1, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887). Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102130.htm>. One can find this letter in its original Latin in JP Migne, *Patrologiae Latina Tomus XXXIII: S. Aurelius Augustinus*, Vol. XXXIII (Paris: Garnier Brothers, 1902), 674-693. Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 1.3.3 in Helen Rhee, ed., *Wealth and Poverty in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press), 115. Rhee uses the Latin text in Peter C. Phan, *Social Thought, Message of the Fathers of the Church* 20 (Willmington, DE: Glazier, 1984). Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 4.1. Augustine, Letter 130, trans. J.G. Cunningham in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series*, Vol. 1, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887). Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102130.htm>. 2.3. One can find this letter in its original Latin in JP Migne, *Patrologiae Latina Tomus XXXIII: S. Aurelius Augustinus*, Vol. XXXIII (Paris: Garnier Brothers, 1902), 495-507. Augustine, Letter 130, 2.3. Augustine, Letter 130, 6.12. Augustine, Letter 130, 3.8. Augustine, Letter 130, 13.24. Kate Ward, "Porters to Heaven," *The Journal of Religious Ethics*, 42.2 (2014): 225, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24586139>. Augustine, Letter 3, Translated by Robert E. Eno from *Saint Augustine: Letters, Volume VI (1*-29*)* (Washington, D.C.: CUA Press), 33-37. One can find this letter in its original Latin in JP Migne, *Patrologiae Latina Tomus XXXIII: S. Aurelius Augustinus*, Vol. XXXIII (Paris: Garnier Brothers, 1902), 63-66. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 364. Edict of Honorius in *Collectio Quesnelliana*, 491B. in Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 373. *De Divitiis*, 17.1 (Rees 199, Caspari 53). Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 378. Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 379. Brown, *Through the*

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Community, Renunciation, and the Fall of Rome: Wealth in the Pelagian Controversy

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During the fourth and fifth centuries, discourse about Christian almsgiving and wealth proliferated widely as charitable institutions and ascetic communities began to form, such that “social norms and expectations regarding poverty were also in flux.”¹ Congregations across the Roman Empire were trying to discern what was the Christian way to understand the relationship between wealth and the Christian life: Should good Christians have wealth? Augustine’s and Pelagius’ early fifth-century discourses on wealth which the Pelagian Controversy produced were pivotal in providing answers to this question. Augustine’s views on wealth formally triumphed at Ravenna in 418. Good Christians could have wealth, so long as it was used appropriately rather than abused. The salience of Augustine’s affirmation of the potential of wealth to help in an individual’s salvation and serve the community’s good in the context of the cultural upheaval following the sack of Rome was indispensable in Augustine’s views on wealth becoming the orthodox view on wealth in the West. This paper will consider cultural moments surrounding the controversy, the Pelagian text *De Divitiis*, a host of Augustine’s writings on wealth, and secondary criticism of these respective writings in the course of the argument of this claim.

Players, Problems, and Places: The Pelagian Controversy

Augustine's life reflected a similar heterogeneity of experience as existed within a congregation. Born in Thagaste in 354 CE, Augustine was part of a locally wealthy family but later took a vow of renunciation. He lived a sexually active life for decades and later took a vow of celibacy. He was involved with Manichaeism early in his life and later became a bishop of the Catholic church in North Africa. As such, in his monastery as in his future congregations, Augustine "was prepared to make allowance for the fact that his brethren came from very different walks of life . . . rich and poor were thrown into 'the crucible of charity, which these communities wished to be, to melt and fuse as best they could.'"² Moreover, as he was able to see the amalgam of experience which a congregation represented, Augustine did not prescribe the ascetic Christianity of his own later life for all Christians. To return to his relationship toward celibacy, for example, Augustine's life saw a deep change: Before eventually taking a vow of celibacy, Augustine had a fifteen-year relationship and a son with a woman to whom he was not married. The diversity of Augustine's life enabled him to affirm the reality of the diversity within a church.

The Pelagian Controversy was a multi-faceted, complex argument at the center of which were the nature of sin and free will. Augustine's view saw sin as a permanent state from which one could be extricated by God's grace alone, an idea which the Pelagian view of self-reliance directly opposed.³ Pelagius' view allowed for the theoretical possibility for one to achieve a perfect life, an avenue which is easier "if one adopts an ascetic way of life."⁴ This theological center drives the more specific conversations regarding the compatibility between wealth and the Christian life. Pelagius understood wealth as a sin, "a result of innumerable free acts of avarice and violence."⁵ Within this perspective, wealth and poverty were inextricably bound: The gain of one necessarily came at the expense of another. Yet, through his emphasis on the autonomy of the will, Pelagius remained hopeful that renunciation of wealth could provide a path to the death of this utter evil. In fact, anything else apart from the complete divestment of wealth was faulty and ineffectual for Christians' salvation. For Augustine, however, pride was the more pressing sin for Christians rather than wealth: "inequalities created by wealth could be accepted as long as they were softened by the abandonment of the toxic by-products of wealth—arrogance, violence, and the abuse of power."⁶ More toxic than wealth for Augustine was the Pelagian belief that one could extricate oneself from such a sinful state by autonomous will alone.

Moreover, the historical moment and North African context in which the Pelagian Controversy flourished posed a serious threat to Roman perceptions and assumptions about community. The sack of Rome in 410 CE and the subsequent flight of many of Rome's wealthy elite and individuals such as Pelagius to North Africa was a portrait of deep, unprecedented instability. In the decades preceding the sack of Rome, Roman elite saw the stabilization of the economy through a true gold system through the proliferation of the solidus.⁷ The fourth century was an "economic watershed" in which fiscal and market forces alike combined to create incredible financial restoration.⁸ Yet, just decades later, Roman elite saw the Visigothic sack of

Rome in 410 which amounted to “a chillingly well conducted act of spoliation.”⁹ A sense of deep loss and novel peril thus informed subsequent conversations about wealth and renunciation. Where Rome and the churches in it were in scattered disarray following this event, however, the Catholic Church in North Africa had considerable wealth, new church buildings taken from the Donatists, and a robust form of Christianity which had developed through the heat of the Donatist controversy.¹⁰ Additionally, Augustine was well into his sixties and had fifteen years of experience as a bishop in Africa by 414. The combined nature of the power of the local North African church and the extent of his church experience by the time of the fall of Rome gave Augustine a cultural “home field advantage,” apart from his specific doctrinal points. Indeed, The location and historical moment of these discourses will prove important as they interact with the discourses themselves.

Incompatibility of Wealth and Christian Life: *De Divitiis*

De Divitiis (On Riches) is a late fourth-century Pelagian document. Though its specific authorship is unclear, scholars agree that the text bears “the authentic stamp of Pelagianism,” all the same.¹¹ Through a structure of questions posed to the author ostensibly intended to refute the text’s arguments about riches, the document’s subsequent detailed responses to such questions emphasize that good Christians should not have wealth. Through a remarkably exclusive focus on the individual, the author affirms the complete incompatibility between wealth and the Christian life in focusing on avarice’s inseparability from wealth, the inherent issues with its origin, and the example of Christ’s poverty.

One of the ways in which the author of *De Divitiis* affirms the ultimate incompatibility between wealth and the Christian life is in maintaining the unbreakable link between avarice and having wealth. For example, whereas other sins like gluttony and lust arouse “a certain feeling of repugnance,”¹² avarice is never completely abhorrent to those who desire it: “Add fuel to a fire and it will grow into an immense blaze; add to avarice what is not its own, and it will develop into an even greater fire of greed for more.”¹³ Indeed, there is a dehumanizing effect of the pursuit of wealth: “In the search for riches morals are often ruined, souls are destroyed, and

every good feature of human nature is profaned.”¹⁴ After this clear affirmation of the danger of avarice, the author rejects that obtaining wealth might serve as a potential safeguard against this dangerous vice: Satisfaction of a vice does not equate to the removal of it. The author turns to the Bible to defend his point here. In an exegesis of 1 Timothy 6:9-10, the author concludes that all who are rich have desired to be rich and those who continue to be rich are still ensnared by the desire for wealth: “It is much easier to meet a willing pauper than an unwilling rich man.”¹⁵ Through both logic and scriptural support, the author elevates the lethality of avarice and its inherent connection to wealth.

The Pelagian author similarly underscores the necessarily evil origins of most kinds of wealth. One of the driving questions of this portion of his argument is whether riches come from God. From the author’s perspective, God cannot be the source of such fruit when he is himself

unchangeably good. Instead, rotten fruit is the product of bad trees: “Yes, but what is the chief source of riches but extortion and robbery?”¹⁶ The respective natures of wealth and God exclude the possibility of relation between them. The author views wealth as “unnecessary possessions” gained at the expense of others.¹⁷ In fact, this understanding is the only real consideration for community which the text offers: As something gained at the expense of others, the author rejects any notion that it might serve communal good, or any good at all. Additionally, in looking to Proverbs 30:8, the author adds to the implications of the unjust origins of wealth in maintaining that wealth contradicts the desires which the scriptures prescribe that Christians ought to have. Therefore, the author denounces wealth as finding its origin apart from God and straying from God’s plan for Christians. This established relationship renders a seemingly innocuous paragraph deeply condemning:

So, what are we saying? That riches are sin? Far from it! Not that they are sin in themselves but that they offer an occasion of sin so long as they are acquired by evil means or are possessed improperly, or the cares attached to them give rise to neglect of the heavenly commandments or result in a need to commit crimes more often.¹⁸

The combined weight of the argument imbues the passage with an air of irony: as riches are almost exclusively of dubious, evil origins and neglect heavenly commandments through their attachment to avarice, riches necessarily entail sin. Moreover, the author’s comprehension of Christ as moving from heavenly, infinite spiritual riches toward earthly poverty elevates the importance of Christ’s earthly poverty for Christians seeking to imitate him. The author thus views wealth as “a great sign of arrogance and pride . . . when we know that Christ was poor.”¹⁹ People, in his view, cannot have wealth, should they want to be good Christians.

Community and Compatibility: Augustine’s Discourses on Wealth

As in so many theological points in the Pelagian Controversy, Augustine’s discourses on wealth fundamentally opposed the Pelagian view. Where De Divitiis denied any possible compatibility between wealth and the Christian life, Augustine allows that “the rich, although far from perfection, nonetheless enter into life if they keep the commandments.”²⁰ Through several of his writings, Augustine affirms the ability of the wealthy to enjoy eternal life while also qualifying that wealth is not the best option for Christians. In fact, for Augustine, individual wealth might even serve as a tool for the good of the greater community through the Church. To reach such conclusions, Augustine considers wealth through a dichotomy of use and abuse, explicates the importance of proper relations toward wealth, denounces the desire for wealth as ultimately injurious, and offers a preferential hierarchy of statuses of wealth—namely, that though it is possible for good Christians to have wealth, voluntary poverty is best for Christian life. The two main texts which I will consider here are Augustine’s *On Christian Doctrine* and

Letter 130, the former offering an apt, succinct insight into Augustine's dichotomy of the use and abuse of wealth and the latter being a more extended meditation on the potential downfalls having wealth and a direct response to Pelagianism.

Unlike Pelagius' austere understanding of wealth as unequivocally bad, Augustine views wealth as something that can be either used or abused. Enjoying things which ought to be only used results in an abuse: "[if] fettered by love for lesser goods, we are either delayed in gaining those things that we are to enjoy or we are even drawn away entirely from them."²¹ Yet, when properly used, physical things might help a Christian to understand God more fully: "through what is material and temporal we may comprehend the eternal and the spiritual."²² It is not material things themselves which make people good, however, as "one's happiness must necessarily come from the same source as one's goodness."²³ Rather, people whose goodness is from God can use materials well: "if people have become good otherwise, they make these things to be really good by using them well."²⁴ Thus, if God places wealth in the hands of people who derive their goodness from him, that wealth has the potential to be used to good effect.

Intrinsic to the right use of wealth is the proper relation toward it. For example, though Augustine avows the sanctity of petitioning God, he nuances this affirmation in maintaining that Christians ought to petition God with proper motivations behind such requests. Christians might properly ask themselves, "What do I want when I want to be wealthy?" The desire for wealth, Augustine maintains, can be a tool for good if it is for the welfare of others:

Is it agreed, then, that over and above that temporal welfare people might wish for positions of rank and authority for themselves and their families? Certainly, it is proper for them to wish for these things, not for the sake of the things themselves, but for another reason, namely, that they might do good by providing for the welfare of those who live under them.²⁵

Again, when used appropriately, wealth and status alike can be tools which serve the welfare of others and oneself: "by distributing [one's] wealth among the poor . . . [one can] have stored it in the safer keeping of the treasury of heaven."²⁶ There is a communal benefit in this point, too, when the Church is the recipient of such gifts. Augustine sees—or at least hopes for—the Church as an institution which can both distribute wealth rightly and honestly to the greater community of which it is a part and benefit as a direct recipient of almsgiving. The Church has financial needs like any other community. Indeed, almsgiving is one of the central means through which wealth might be used rightly: "Fasting, and abstinence from gratifying carnal desire in other pleasures without injury to health, and especially frequent almsgiving, are a great assistance in prayer."²⁷ Not only does he include almsgiving among other spiritual disciplines, but he even elevates it above them ("especially frequent almsgiving"). Given a right posture toward money and the power of almsgiving, Augustine allows for Christians to have and even desire wealth.

Implicit in this view, however, is Augustine's hierarchical, preferential stance toward wealth and renunciation: While renunciation is best, wealth and Christianity might still be compatible, provided that one uses that wealth well. Christians can desire wealth and status, on the one hand, but, on the other, wealth is deeply dangerous to Christians' spiritual welfare. Augustine's teachings on marriage and celibacy are helpful analogues in understanding and resolving this seemingly disparate, contradictory aspect of his guidance on wealth.²⁸ Augustine maintains that there is an avenue toward eternal life for married couples while also maintaining that celibacy is better for Christians.²⁹ Similarly, though the heavenly rewards which await those who are celibate and voluntarily have taken on poverty may be greater, married Christians and wealthy Christians can enter eternal life, nonetheless.

Furthermore, where Pelagius exclusively focuses on the individual and the need to renounce one's wealth for personal salvation, Augustine affirms that wealth is a gift of God which can be abused to a Christian's detriment or used for individual and communal benefit. If abused, the sin which wealth invites is severe. On an individual level, however, almsgiving can serve an expiatory function when used appropriately: "Giving to the Christian community 'for the remission of sins'—and not for one's own glory—was the surest remedy for pride."³⁰ Christians are unified in their state of sin and can be similarly unified in their almsgiving. As they can be unified in their giving, so too can they be unified in giving to the Christian community. Herein lies an aspect of the communal benefits wealth poses: Augustine views the Church as an institution which can use wealth well and safely benefit from it. As such, Augustine offers the Church as a bank to Christians rather than prescribing that they walk away from that wealth altogether. Where Pelagius focuses on individual renunciation, Augustine affirms the individual and communal benefits wealth may offer. This difference between Augustine and Pelagius will prove crucial going forward.

Conclusions: Community, Orthodoxy, and the Road to Ravenna

Augustine's views achieved a formal victory at Ravenna in 418 as Pelagianism was deemed heretical. Following the utter chaos of 410, one could reasonably think that renunciation and ascetic practices might have conceivably flourished after such an event. Yet, Augustine and his views on wealth "win out." In addition to producing eschatological expectations following the sack of Rome, the event motivated practical concerns for survival for the Roman exiles. It is within this context that the role of community in Augustine's thought on wealth finds an apt fit and thus figures prominently in his doctrine becoming orthodox through the Pelagian Controversy. One of the surest signs of the importance of Augustine's emphasis on community in the result of the Pelagian Controversy is the Edict of Honorius itself which condemned Pelagianism. The edict offered little consideration of the theological aspects of Pelagius' writing. Rather, the edict focused on the divisive sense of self-superiority which it claimed Pelagian thought effected: "Judging it to be a sign of plebeian baseness to think the same as everybody else, and a signal mark of expertise to destroy what has been approved of by all in common."³¹

Following the sack of Rome, individual-focused theology with which Pelagianism was associated was a luxury which no longer had any place in Roman society.

Furthermore, another aspect of the Pelagian argument which came to be divisive following the sack of Rome in 410 was his attack on the wealthy themselves. The basis of such an attack is his belief that it is deeply “difficult to acquire riches without committing every kind of evil.”³² Those who committed evil to acquire riches were evil themselves. Following 410, Pelagius’ discourses on wealth were simply out of place: “It had less effect on persons who now faced the prospect of [involuntarily] losing everything.”³³ The people to whom he was prescribing renunciation were the same Roman people who saw their vast wealth stolen before their eyes, who had to flee Rome with whatever remaining belongings they had, and whose futures were absolutely uncertain. For people facing involuntary poverty, calls for voluntary poverty were counter to the reality of their present situation. Though there could have been a way to present the sack of Rome in a way that would make renunciation more attractive (as, for example, in the voluntary renunciation and later ascetic vows of Demetrias, a newly consecrated virgin of the Church to whom Augustine’s Letter 130 was addressed), the effect of this Pelagian discourse was division, a quality which did not translate well into Roman Christian life after the sack of Rome.

Communal concerns were at the heart of Augustine’s discourses on wealth, however, and thus vital for his “victory.” Not only did Augustine allow for the compatibility of Christian life with wealth, but he offered extensive consideration of the benefits the community might reap through donating and giving alms to the Church. Whereas Pelagius solely prescribed renunciation for Christians, Augustine offered the Church to the wealthy Roman elite as a bank. As patrons of the church, the Roman wealthy might give their wealth to the church and hope that their earthly wealth might be amplified into treasure in heaven. Such an offer was deeply appealing to a group of people who had just witnessed their extensive earthly wealth plundered before their eyes. As individual givers might reap spiritual benefits, moreover, the less fortunate Christian recipients might enjoy temporal benefits which these gifts conferred.

Almsgiving also served as a binding practice for this community which had been completely upended. Given almsgiving’s expiatory and exculpatory functions, Augustine encouraged wealthy and poor alike to give according to their means: “A community of sinners was to be a community of givers.”³⁴ Poor and rich alike were united in their sin, in the act of giving, and in one recipient of their gifts through almsgiving: the Catholic church. Augustine’s personal advice to Dardanus, a former prefect of Gaul, was the same for rich and poor alike in North Africa in the years after the sack of Rome: “[One] could best serve God by placing [one’s] wealth and power behind the unity of the Catholic Church on earth.”³⁵ Indeed, Pelagian attacks on wealth and calls to voluntary poverty generally fell on deaf ears for those whose earthly riches had been seized and destroyed against their will in the sack of Rome in 410. Augustine’s proposal of the potential benefits wealth might pose for an individual’s salvation and a community’s good were thus helpful for his views on wealth coming to represent Christian orthodoxy.

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- ² Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 176.
- ³ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 360.
- ⁴ Rees, *Letters of Pelagius*, 7.
- ⁵ Rees, *Letters of Pelagius*, 7.
- ⁶ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 349.
- ⁷ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 11.
- ⁸ Kyle Harper, *The Fate of Rome: Climate, Disease, and the End of an Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017), 177.
- ⁹ Brown, *Through the eye of a Needle*, 294.
- ¹⁰ This controversy between the Donatist and Catholic churches of North Africa related to Christian persecution in the decades and centuries leading up to the moment of the sack of Rome and Pelagian Controversy. The Donatist Controversy concerned the nature of “true” clergy—namely, whether ministers who had wavered in the face of persecution were fit for ministry. For Donatists, the answer was an emphatic “no.” Also, see note 2 for the nuances and limitations of the notions of “winning out” and “quelling.”
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- ¹⁹ *De Divitiis*, 6.1 (Rees 179, Caspari 30).
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²¹ Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 1.3.3 in Helen Rhee, ed., *Wealth and Poverty in Early Christianity* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press), 115. Rhee uses the Latin text in Peter C. Phan, *Social Thought, Message of the Fathers of the Church 20* (Willmington, DE: Glazier, 1984).

²² Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, 4.1.

²³ Augustine, *Letter 130*, trans. J.G. Cunningham in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, First Series, Vol. 1*, ed. Philip Schaff (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1887). Revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/1102130.htm>. 2.3. One can find this letter in its original Latin in JP Migne, *Patrologiae Latina Tomus XXXIII: S. Aurelius Augustinus, Vol. XXXIII* (Paris: Garnier Brothers, 1902), 495-507.

²⁴ Augustine, *Letter 130*, 2.3.

²⁵ Augustine, *Letter 130*, 6.12.

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³⁰ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 364.

³¹ Edict of Honorius in *Collectio Quesnelliana*, 491B. in Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 373.

³² *De Divitiis*, 17.1 (Rees 199, Caspari 53).

³³ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 378.

³⁴ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 379.

³⁵ Brown, *Through the Eye of a Needle*, 378.

