

GENERAL INFORMATION

Author and Context

Aurelius Augustine is probably the most important Christian teacher since the time of Christ (excluding the apostles, of course). With Augustine, the story of a pagan's surrender to Christianity is played out on a personal level. His conversion, however, did not take place until later in life. He was born in Roman North Africa in A.D. 354 to a pagan father, Patrick, and devout Christian mother, Monica. He was not baptized as an infant, because his mother feared that he might stray from the faith, making his baptism a curse for him.

Augustine grew into a man of great stature. His father sought to give him a classical education, and Augustine showed immense gifts in the field of rhetoric. His skill and hard work in this area brought him from Africa to Rome and Milan.

Confessions is the story of Augustine's life from the time of his youth to shortly after his conversion. Before he was converted, Augustine wallowed in many sins. He had a number of mistresses and fathered a child out of wedlock. He had wealth, power, women and security. In all of this, however, Augustine found that his heart could not find peace. Still, in the end, God's mercy called down by his mother's ceaseless prayers took this wicked man and turned him into a great church father.

His great struggle with the faith and his eventual surrender to it have become part of the history of the West. His charisma and straightforward honesty (evident throughout this work) made him one of the most influential thinkers in history.

Significance

The significance of Augustine's *Confessions* can hardly be overestimated because Augustine's contribution to the life of the church and the life of the West can hardly be overvalued. In some ways, Augustine is the father of both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. He taught that the sacraments are outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace. He stood against the erroneous monk, Pelagius, and championed God's sovereignty in salvation—those who read *Chosen by God* in Omnibus I will remember this discussion.

In *Confessions*, Augustine, one of the greatest minds of the ancient and medieval worlds (in a way he ends one world and begins the other—now *that* is an accomplishment!) makes his confession. For him confession means two things, one negative and one positive. In this book he tells us all the things that he has done wrong: stupid things he believed, immoral things he did, even the cowardly vacillation of his stubborn heart. He tells about himself, warts and all. He confesses his sin, but he also confesses his faith. *Confessions* is the story of Augustine's journey from his rough and rowdy youth to his conversion. In it he does not excuse, glorify or rationalize his sin (like some people do who make their confessions on the talk shows of our day). Instead he confesses that God has redeemed him and saved him from his own utter futility. *Confessions* does this in such an interesting and charismatic way that it has become a classic for the ages. I hope you enjoy it.



The church fathers often are difficult to get to know because one must infer or read between the lines in their stories. This is not the case with Augustine. *Confessions* is an introduction to one of the most powerful minds in history.

Augustine's life and thoughts continued their broad influence later in church history. The rulers and missionaries of the Middle Ages who fought against and Christianized the invading barbarians had few books. Other than the Bible, the two that were probably most read and influential were Augustine's *City of God* and *Confessions*. In Augustine, one can see a believer, but also a person who struggled with and still fights against sin. He is certainly not like the plastic, pseudo-spiritual Christian "heroes" of our day when he prays "Lord, make me chaste ... but not yet."

Main Characters

Augustine is one of the main characters in *Confessions* and the book is interesting and enjoyable because Augustine is Augustine. He is a larger-than-life character who is not afraid to bare his soul (and his dirty laundry) before the watching world. Augustine, however, is not doing this because he wants attention (like so many of our modern "confessors" who happily trot their lurid behavior out on national TV so that some sap will cry for them or at least pay attention to them). Augustine

Augustine in his study, painted in the early sixteenth century by Vittore Carpaccio. When shown in his study, Augustine is conventionally depicted as dispensing the rule of his order.

describes himself and his sin with a steady and unflattering hand. He lived a rough and rowdy youth, but instead of reminiscing about his "glory days," Augustine shows us his own deep-seated emptiness and loss. He sought pleasure with women and material goods, but found them unsatisfying and vain.

The other great character of the *Confessions* is God. Silently, stealthily, God brings Augustine to his knees before Christ. He empties all of the pleasures out of Augustine's sin. He calls Monica to cry out for the lost soul of her son. He attracts Augustine to the preaching of St. Ambrose. Initially, Augustine, the rhetoric teacher, goes to church simply because Ambrose is such a gifted speaker. In all this, God is the final harbor for the wayward boat of Augustine's soul, and in the end God's truth becomes Augustine's confession.

Finally, Monica, Augustine's mother, is a major character of *Confessions*. She suffers much at the hands of her husband, and her son often breaks her heart, but she never gives up on him and always keeps praying.

Summary and Setting

Confessions divides nicely into two parts. The first nine books of *Confessions* recount the story of Augustine's childhood, his teenage years and his young adulthood. This section ends with his conversion and baptism and the death of his faithful mother. In these books Augustine confesses his sins. The last three books of *Confessions* focus on what man is and on the meaning of Genesis chapter one. In this part of the book, Augustine makes a confession of his faith.

In the life of Augustine, one can see the final defeat of paganism in the West and the rise of the Christian West. His life sets the stage for the Middle Ages. Augustine possesses all that a pagan could ever want: pleasure, women, growing fame, power and ability. As a rhetoric teacher (the most sought after aspect of education in those days), the keys to power and influence were in his hand. All of this, however, he eventually sets aside gladly for the sake of Christ. In him, the world of unbelief sees its ultimate futility and the rest and peace that come with submission to Christ. As Augustine is washed with the waters of baptism, one can see the coming of Christendom.

Worldview

Sometimes only one thing can satisfy us. Have you ever been really thirsty—maybe during a sports practice or mowing the lawn on a scorching day in the midst of July? During other times of the year or under other circumstances, any sort of drink will do. You might prefer a Coke or iced tea or coffee, but if you are drop-dead thirsty, your body longs for water. Nothing else is quite as good. At moments like that when you are sweaty and your parched throat feels like sandpaper, you do not want a hot cup of coffee or a syrupy soda. Even a sports drink with all of its potassium and electrolytes is not quite right (almost, but not quite). You need water.

Augustine faced a situation much like this. He had a longing. With this longing, his book begins crying out to God: "You made us for Yourself and our souls are restless until they find their rest in You."

The fulfillment of this longing and the discovery of rest, however, takes a long time for Augustine because of the type of person that he was. Most of us are limited in many ways. We might not have the gifts or abilities that others have. We might be excellent with numbers, but not be able to relate well to people. We might be a good basketball player, but struggle when it comes to spelling. Not so with Augustine. He was gifted in most every way. He was an incredible speaker and writer. He got along well with others (too well when it came to women). His family loved him and his father provided him with an excellent classical education. He had gained quite a reputation even at an early age because of his many gifts.

Still, Augustine found no satisfaction, even though he displayed a measure of tenacity or work ethic. He rose quickly in popularity and importance through teaching rhetoric, which was the hallmark of a good Roman education. He moved from North Africa to Italy, teaching rhetoric in both Rome and Milan. His fame and reputation as a teacher grew, and students sought him out.

None of these seemingly wonderful characteristics helped him to fulfill his restless longing. They did, however, give him the ability and imagination to try to find many things to fill the empty void of his soul. *Confessions* is particularly interesting because Augustine has the courage to recount all the ways in which he tried to satisfy this great longing. It would

be like coming in from the blistering sun on a hot summer's day, dipping up a bowl of steaming chili covered with melted cheese, then washing it down with a cup of boiling hot coffee. All of us do unwise things like this at some point in our lives. Most of us, however, do not have the courage to write it down. Augustine did.

"Make me chaste . . . but not yet."

As a pagan Augustine sought to satisfy his longing with false gods. We see some people today following unusual beliefs and practices. They search for answers, but move only into stranger and increasingly weird practices. Augustine, trying to satisfy his longing, joined up with a bizarre group called the *Manicheans*. These followers of the teacher Mani believed that no one should marry or have children. Eventually, this odd group died out (imagine that). They also taught that the only food their more spiritual members would eat was fruit. These "elect" Manicheans, however, could not pick the fruit, so novice, or new, Manicheans would have to go out and pick the fruit for the initiated ones. While these beliefs might seem comical to us, Augustine was serious about it for a while. His parched throat continued to burn even though the Manicheans promised him fulfillment.

Augustine of Hippo? Was that a jab at the weight of the scholar saint? No, Hippo was the name of where he lived—Hippo Regius (now called Annaba, in Algeria). In 396 he was made coadjutor bishop of Hippo (assistant with the right of succession on the death of the current bishop), and remained as bishop in Hippo until his death in 430.

He also looked to philosophy to cure his ills. The words of philosophers like Plato and Cicero echoed through his mind, but none of it satisfied him.

Augustine admits that, as an unbeliever, he had some strange ideas about God that kept him back from belief in the God of the Bible. He exposes his own amusement at some of his false beliefs when he recounts his idea that God must have a huge material body.

Augustine also sought all sorts of pleasure to fill the void in his soul. Early in his life, when he was your age, he hung out with the "cool" crowd of local ruffians. He tried to satisfy his longings with the acceptance of others or with the thrill that one can have by stealing. They called themselves

the Wreckers. These are the sort of kids that have fun vandalizing cars or stealing pears and feeding them to pigs instead of eating them. All of this, he recounts, was empty. Later he rose on the corporate ladder. He gained the trust of many. His fame grew. And yet it was all empty. As he grew up Augustine sought to fill his soul with the love of women. He had a number of mistresses and even fathered a child out of wedlock. He never married. This, however, proved even more unsatisfying in the end, because Augustine found himself not only unsatisfied, but also addicted to something that would not satisfy him. With everything that a pagan could want, he found himself trapped, enslaved and increasingly restless.

He was so desperate that he turned to the religion that his pious mother had always prayed he would follow. Still, he could not let go of his sin. He prayed, "Lord, make me chaste . . . but not yet." He longed to give up sexual immorality and serve Christ, but he could not. He was trapped. It was as if his throat felt like it was full of cotton from being parched and, rather than drinking water to quench his thirst he actually filled his mouth with more cotton. He even came to realize that Christ is, in fact, the "true drink." But he could not run to the fountain because he was addicted to things that would not satisfy.

When it comes to the pleasures of sin, Augustine's diminishing returns teach us an important lesson. Sin might seem and even feel very satisfying for a while. God, however, does not let this satisfaction continue. The world that God has made is not ultimately satisfying outside of Him. Many in our day blame God for this. Why would He ever take joy from us, or, even worse, send sickness and even death? Why not indulge our immorality and let us live in perpetual satisfaction and peace? Why does God make us restless? This characteristic of the world and of our God must be viewed as one of His greatest mercies. We cannot function properly without God alone at the root of our souls. All of it feels empty. As one of our own poets has said, "I can't get no satisfaction."

As he languishes, vacillating between belief and unbelief, we also learn that God uses many means to move us along the way to salvation. In the life of Augustine, He used tragedy, example, strong teaching and faithful prayer to move Augustine toward His kingdom. Tragedy touched Augustine when one of

his friends died. His friend's illness was so severe that for a long time he was unconscious. During this period of unconsciousness, he was baptized. Later he recovered slightly and awoke from his coma. Augustine, who was still a pagan, made light of the baptism that was performed on his friend while he slept, but was shocked to find that his friend rejected his advice and was whole-heartedly unwilling to renounce Christ. Soon after, the illness returned, and his friend died. Augustine's paganism was challenged both by the fear of death and by the change that he witnessed in this converted friend.

Examples of Christian devotion helped to dislodge Augustine's reticence to follow Christ. Two of the main examples that helped him were Victorinus and St. Anthony. Victorinus was a studied pagan philosopher in Rome who argued against Christianity. Eventually, however, he saw the emptiness of his ways and turned to Christ. In this Augustine perceived a path that he could follow. Through a book on the life of St. Anthony, Augustine saw a way of complete devotion that was attractive to him. The book presented the story of Anthony, one of the founders of Christian Monasticism, who left worldly living and retreated to the desert to give himself whole-heartedly to war against the flesh and to devote himself to Christ. God used these examples to batter the walls of unbelief surrounding Augustine's heart.

Providentially, Augustine also was exposed to excellent teachers who both instructed him in the faith and helped him deal with many of his objections to Christianity. Chief among these teachers was Ambrose of Milan. Augustine moved to Milan to accept a position teaching rhetoric and was exposed to Ambrose's teaching. Augustine went to hear Ambrose preach, not because Augustine was a believer at the time but because Ambrose was such a good speaker and rhetorician. Even though Augustine was perhaps attracted for the "wrong reasons," he learned much truth from Ambrose's powerful preaching. Increasingly, Augustine came to see that the longings of his heart were ones that only Christ could satisfy.

Finally, God used faithful prayers to convert Augustine. Monica, his mother, never gave up on her son. While Augustine focused on and achieved worldly success, this did not satisfy his mother. Her desire was to see her son safely in the church. To this

end she prayed.

All of this demonstrates to us a tremendous truth about God. He is the Master of history and of means. He used a multi-faceted attack to win the heart of Augustine, humbling his pride, destroying his objections and finally bringing him to his knees.

"Take up and read!"

Augustine's conversion also demonstrates God's providence and great truths about regeneration, or being born again. The story of Augustine's faith is a classic of Christian history. This proud and powerful pagan is finally reduced to distressed weeping because he finds all of life to be empty without Christ. Yet he seems unable to let go of his sin. God pushes him over the edge using a combination of His word, a child's game and a seeming random coincidence—but we know there are no "random" coincidences in God's world! God's sovereign hand in salvation is clearly presented in the story of Augustine's conversion.

Augustine's conversion shows the proper relationship between God's sovereignty and man's faith. It would be ridiculous to argue that God did not choose or predestine Augustine's conversion. The circumstances have God's fingerprints all over them. Those who would say that salvation rests chiefly in the choice of man should be dismayed as they see God dragging Augustine to conversion, battering down Augustine's defenses and destroying his pleasure in sin. In salvation sinners initially are completely passive. Only God's power can free Augustine from his slavery to sin and free him to declare his faith in Christ.

As God's word and Spirit overwhelm Augustine and bring him to life spiritually, his conversion shows that newborn Christians become active *after* God's Spirit changes their heart. As a newborn babe in the faith, Augustine places his trust in Christ. This is not implanted in him. He is no longer passive. Augustine's restored will chose Christ because God's Spirit has made Augustine's spirit new.

Augustine's life also helps us understand the proper relationship between conversion and the sacraments. He is converted to Christianity as he reads God's word. His family and friends rejoice, and he has irrevocably moved from the kingdom of darkness to the realm of light. His baptism waits until the next Easter. This clearly shows that baptism and participation in the rest of the sacraments are the natural

reactions of a believing heart to God's grace, but that conversion is not tied to the moment of the sacrament's application. His story corrects anyone who would claim that conversion happens only when a sinner is baptized.

Augustine also corrects our often weak view of the sacraments. Today many churches treat the sacraments as unnecessary or superfluous. This is certainly not Augustine's view. For him, they are the

official recognition of the existing relationship.

In and through the sacraments we enter into a covenant

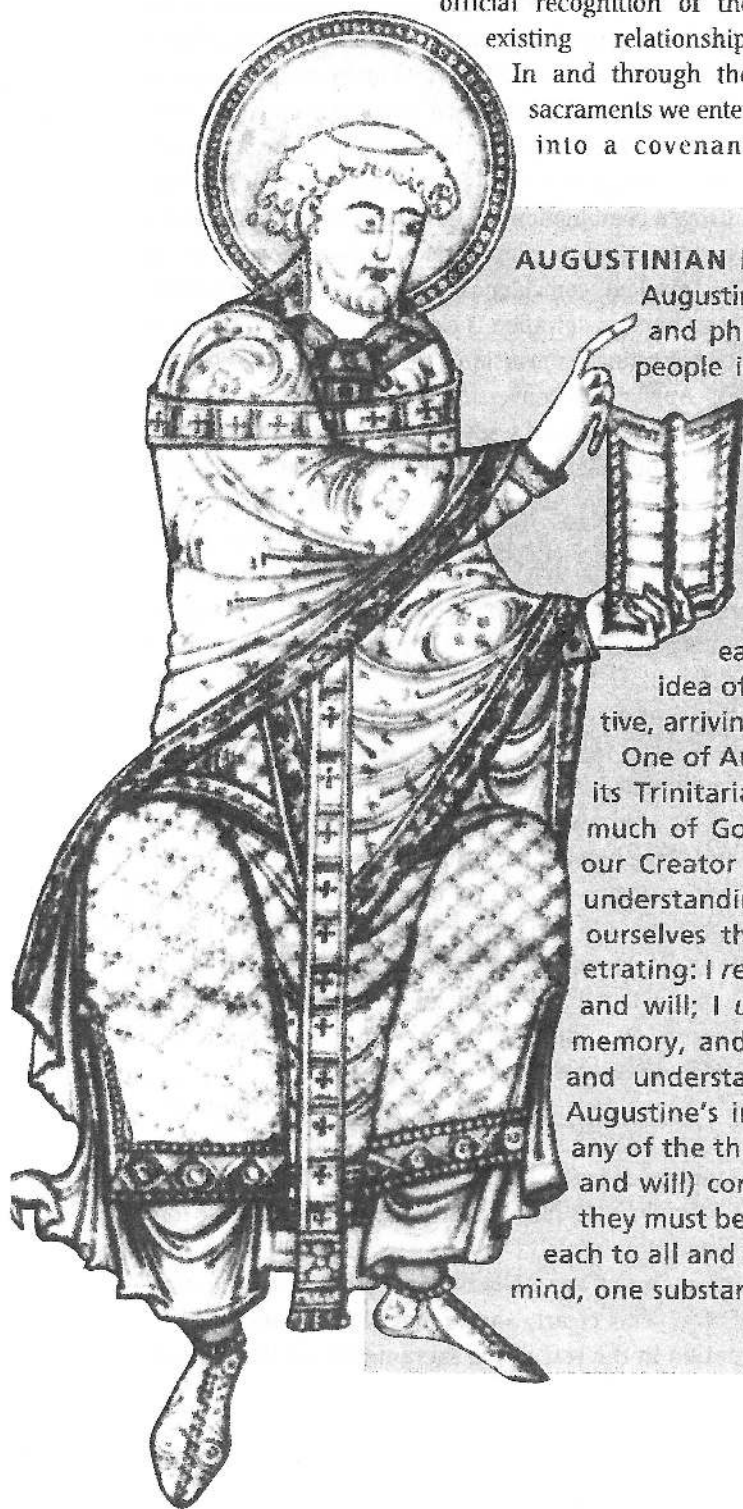
relationship with God.

Although marriage is not a sacrament, it does supply a good example at this point because it is a covenant. Imagine a man, Jerry, and a woman, Sally, who are contemplating marriage. Jerry gets to know her family; Sally gets to know his. They spend time together, and Jerry goes through the godly (and often fearful) process of winning her heart and getting the blessing of her family. Eventually, Jerry and Sally commit themselves to each other. This happens when Jerry proposes to Sally. When she says yes, great joy erupts.¹ A relationship has been inaugurated. Promises have been made. If Jerry is flirting with another girl the day after he and Sally make this

AUGUSTINIAN FIRSTS

Augustine was not only one of the greatest theologians and philosophers in history. He was one of the few people in history who significantly changed the way people understand God's world, and he has many "firsts" to his credit—including being the first saint to have an internet site devoted to him! *Confessions* is the first autobiography and the first profound study of memory. And fifteen hundred years before Sigmund Freud made psychology a fashionable study in the early twentieth century, Augustine studied the idea of the self and the soul from a biblical perspective, arriving at many profound insights.

One of Augustine's profound insights about memory is its Trinitarian structure. Augustine understood how so much of God's world reflects the Trinitarian nature of our Creator God. He recognized that our memory, our understanding and our will are three-in-one aspects of ourselves that are distinctive yet equal and interpenetrating: I *remember* that I have memory, understanding and will; I *understand* that I have understanding, and memory, and will; and I *will* that I will, and remember, and understand. Commentator Garry Wills summarizes Augustine's insight in *Saint Augustine's Memory*: "Since any of the three (aspects—that is memory, understanding and will) contains any of the other two, or all of them, they must be equal to any of the others, or to all of them, each to all and all to each—yet these three are one life, one mind, one substance."



commitment, he is in a whole new sort of trouble. He has made a commitment to Sally and her family that he is going to devote himself to her and her alone. Both Sally and Jerry, however, do not yet enjoy all of the rights and privileges of marriage. That waits for a day when they have a ceremony to recognize officially and formally the commitment that they have made to one another. After this ceremony the covenant between them is recognized by all, and they can enter into the joys and privileges of marriage. If the two of them entered into a sexual relationship before the marriage ceremony, we would say that they had committed the sin of fornication.

After the ceremony, they are not only encouraged but are charged to enter into this aspect of their relationship. If they don't, they are being unfaithful. In the same way, the covenant relationship with God has reality when God acts to change the heart of a sinner, but is only formally recognized and entered into when a believer participates in the sacraments.

A person who claims to be a believer but is unwilling to be baptized and brought into the church should be looked on with suspicion and eventually be treated like someone who pretends to be married. If a group of kindergarteners are pretending to "play house," with one taking the role of Mommy, another playing Daddy and the rest filling the role of children, we might think that this is quaint and cute. If two adults are pretending marriage by living together, it is ghastly and proves that they do not understand the gravity of the commitment they are pretending to make. They are still acting like infants and are proving that the relationship they claim is so dear is one they are truly unwilling to protect and to commit to. The same is true of someone who

says that he believes and yet refuses baptism. This fellow is, through his failure to act, proving that he doesn't really believe what he claims to believe. In a similar way, those who are baptized but live sinful lives proclaim that they despise the covenant relationship they are claiming. In a marriage this faithlessness often leads to divorce; in our covenant with God it leads to apostasy (when a baptized Christian rejects the faith and falls into unbelief) and excommunication (when the church officially recognizes that the apostate person no longer should be treated like a believer).

A fresco of Augustine teaching Rhetoric and Philosophy, painted by Benozzo Gozzoli as part of a series of seventeen images in the Apsidal Chapel of Sant'Agostino in San Gimignano, Italy.



*"Give grace to do as You ask,
and ask whatever You will."*

Augustine's conversion shows us that God's grace is the key to understanding Him rightly. After his conversion, Augustine's heart is pliable and trusts God's word. His objections to Christianity melt as he hears God's word explained. The problems that he had with falsely thinking God had a large physical body fade into the background. Thus, we see that faith is demanded if one wants to rightly understand God.

This mature faith, however, allows for mystery and differences between fellow Christians. Much of the second section of *Confessions* (books 10–13) deals with the interpretation of Genesis 1 and 2. This passage tells of the creation of the world. It was controversial in Augustine's day and continues to be in our day. Augustine confesses his own views on creation but admits that some things are hard to understand and are even mysterious. When it comes to these difficult issues, Augustine recognizes that other believers may disagree with him, and that he might be wrong. While we might not agree with some of his interpretations (I don't—it seems to me that there are some ideas here that should remind us of our reading in Plato last year), we should admit that it is refreshing to hear one of the greatest Christian minds in history admit that he might be totally wrong about what he is writing.

Although Augustine's interpretations of some passages may strike us as fanciful and wrong-headed allegorical, they are a nice corrective to our modern "scientific" view of the Bible. Augustine treats the Bible as if there are a lot of hidden and secret meanings. In creation, Augustine speculates that the dry land represents faith and the sea points to unbelief. Later, he claims that the fish and the sea monsters represent the sacraments. At points we might scratch our heads and wonder how Augustine is getting all of these strange interpretations out of the text. At other times, we might notice that some of the meanings he is drawing out sound a lot like Plato. Augustine was attempting to mine every bit of truth that God sent us in His Word. Sometimes this truth has many layers full of allegory, symbol and metaphor. At times, Augustine saw these meanings in places where he shouldn't have. We, however, err in the opposite direction by trying to turn all the Bible into a

book of scientifically verifiable, logical propositions. We think that if we can just prove that all of these propositions are true, unbelief will crumble. While we see that Augustine's interpretations might be far-fetched at some points, his view is certainly closer to the interpretations made by the writers of the New Testament when they look back at and interpret the Old Testament. In Matthew 13:35, Christ tells us that Psalm 78:2— "I will open my mouth in a parable; I will utter dark sayings of old"—is a prophecy about Him. As we look back at the Psalm, however, it might initially appear that Jesus is mistaken. In Psalm 78, these words are clearly referring to Asaph, the writer of Psalm 78—not Jesus. (One good rule of thumb when you are interpreting the Bible, however, is that any time you think that Jesus is making the wrong interpretation, perhaps you need to rethink your own interpretation!) How, then, can Jesus be correct? Clearly, Jesus' interpretation is correct because God is prophesying through Asaph in a manner that is not obvious on the surface of the text. To put it succinctly, Asaph was saying more than he knew. He was talking about himself, but his words were also describing and prophesying about Jesus. While we might disagree (and should) with some of Augustine's interpretations, we must not deny that sometimes God communicates to us in ways that don't fit easily within our "modern" scientific definitions of the truth.²

Augustine's new life in Christ shows the power of God's grace in overcoming temptation. He knew the cruel slavery of sin. For years these chains of lust and pride had kept him from faith. Now, as God releases him, we see a man who is able to stand against temptation. The old Augustine was always vacillating between sin and belief. Now, however, he is a humble, useful weapon in God's hand.

This newfound strength, however, does not imply some sort of perfectionism, or teaching that Christians do not sin after conversion. Augustine was too wise about his own heart to fall into this error. He freely admits that all his works are still polluted by sin and that his heart is often wayward. In all of this, he looks to Christ for grace (X.31).

He shows us that all Christian endeavors rely completely on God's grace. In a famous line, he sets forth the way believers should live, "Give me the grace to do as You command, and command me to do what You will" (X.29). In this we see that in everything

Augustine sees our need of grace. He teaches that believers should whole-heartedly follow where God leads, trusting that God has the power to give us grace to overcome any obstacle that sits in our way.

This reliance on God's grace should lead us to holy boldness. It did for Augustine. He faced huge battles in his life against popular heretics like Pelagius, but he faced them with the confidence that God can accomplish anything through us by his grace. We see this same truth affirmed in the Old Testament when Jonathan and his armor bearer go to fight the Philistines in 1 Samuel 14. Jonathan expects God to accomplish his will and defeat his enemies. Instead of looking at the odds, he goes to fight the enemy and a great victory is accomplished through him.

In Christ, Augustine finally finds rest for his soul, and he drinks deeply of the one drink that can truly satisfy a thirsty soul. In Christ, Augustine discovers what eluded him or was missing from him in the lies of the Manicheans or the pomp and power of wealth or in the adulation and love from others; in Christ, Augustine's weary soul finds rest. This rest erupts throughout *Confessions* into prayers of thanksgiving and praise. Augustine, who has seen the hopeless end of all that the world has to offer, pours out his soul without reserve and serves his Lord in the same manner.

One can also see in Augustine's conversion a precursor or an allegory of the final destruction of ancient paganism. Having been born in A.D. 354, he lives during a period in which Christianity, suppressed until the time of Constantine (whose great Edict of Milan was written in 313), was quickly spreading through the Roman Empire. But the pagan hold on society was still sizable. In Augustine, we see the final and irrevocable fall of ancient paganism. Augustine was all that a pagan could hope to be. He was powerful, winsome, well educated, affluent and beloved. All of this, however, does not satisfy. It is worthless compared to Christ. Augustine's thirst drove him to discard everything that failed to satisfy. In the end, he was left with Christ alone as the only spring of living water. The rest of the ancient pagan world would eventually follow Augustine into the waters of baptism. The reasons for this were many, but in Augustine we see that paganism has no power to stand against the gospel and cannot offer anything that will satisfy our thirst for life. The light of Christ will overcome the darkness of the world.

Augustine's life and teachings tell us much about a Christian worldview, but more than anything else they point us to Christ as the only source of true rest. In life we might be tempted to look to other things for comfort and hope. Augustine tried them all and teaches us that none of them will ever fill the gaping need that you have. Nothing but Jesus can quench your thirst. So, one can be reminded of the imperative words that Christ uttered during the first Lord's Supper, "Take, drink..."

—G. Tyler Fischer

For Further Reading

Cowan, Louise and Guinness, Os. *Invitation to the Classics*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1998. 81-84.

Gonzalez, Justo. *The Story of Christianity*. Vol. 1. San Francisco: HarperCollins, 1984, 206-216.

Spielvogel, Jackson J. *Western Civilization*. Seventh Edition. Belmont, Calif.: Thomson Wadsworth, 2009, 192-193.

Veritas Press History Cards: Middle Ages. Lancaster, Pa.: Veritas Press. 1.