



MOLLY MURRAY

# The Poetics of Conversion

in Early Modern English Literature

*Verse and Change  
from Donne to Dryden*

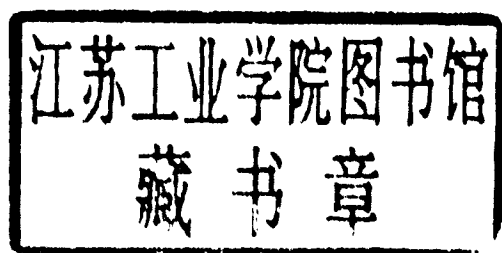
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# THE POETICS OF CONVERSION IN EARLY MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

*Verse and Change from Donne to Dryden*

MOLLY MURRAY

*Columbia University*



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## *Note on the text*

In quotations from primary sources I have silently modernized i/j and u/v, as well as superscripts and subscripts, but have otherwise preserved original spelling.

I have used the following abbreviations throughout:

BL:	British Library
ELH:	<i>English Literary History</i>
HJ:	<i>Historical Journal</i>
JEH:	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
MLQ:	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
MP:	<i>Modern Philology</i>
PMLA:	<i>Proceedings of the Modern Language Association</i>
PQ:	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
RH:	<i>Recusant History</i>
SEL:	<i>Studies in English Literature</i>

I have used the following editions of poetry, with line numbers quoted in the text:

Alabaster, William, *The Sonnets*, ed. G. M. Story and H. Gardner (Oxford University Press, 1959).

Crashaw, Richard, *The Complete Poetry*, ed. G. W. Williams (New York: Norton, 1974).

Donne, John, *The Complete English Poems*, ed. C. A. Patrides (London: Everyman, 1994).

Dryden, John, *Works*, ed. H. T. Swedenberg (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956–2000).

Eliot, T. S., *Collected Poems, 1909–1962* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1970).

Southwell, Robert, *The Collected Poems*, ed. P. Davidson and A. Sweeney (Manchester: Carcanet, 2007).

Spenser, Edmund, *The Faerie Queene*, ed. A. C. Hamilton (New York: Longman, 1977).

Spenser, Edmund, *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems*, ed. W. A. Oram (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

Unless otherwise noted, I have used the Authorized Version for all Biblical quotations.

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## *Introduction: toward a poetics of conversion*

Oh, to vex me, contraries meet in one:  
Inconstancie unnaturally hath begott  
A constant habit: that when I would not  
I change in vowes and in devotione.

(John Donne, Holy Sonnet 19)

The troubled speaker of Donne's quatrain could be early modern England itself: a nation with a "constant habit" of religious change. From the first emergence of Tudor Protestantism to the last years of the Stuart monarchy, England would officially "change in vowes and in devotione" numerous times according to the religion of its successive rulers, and often seemed poised on the verge of further national conversions. No matter what creed was imposed from above, early modern English Christianity stubbornly comprised various "contraries [met] in one": ceremonialist and iconoclast, recusant and orthodox, Anglican and Puritan, and especially the constantly evolving "contraries" of Catholic and Reformed. The work of revisionist historians, most notably John Bossy, Christopher Haigh, and Eamon Duffy, has effectively dismantled the longstanding Whiggish account of the nation's relatively rapid and ultimately triumphant Protestantization.<sup>1</sup> More recently, a new generation of "post-revisionists" has depicted England's long Reformation as a matter of myriad complex and contested allegiances, and provisional or partial redefinitions of terms.<sup>2</sup> It is now no longer possible to imagine sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English

<sup>1</sup> J. Bossy, *The English Catholic Community, 1570–1850* (London: Longman, 1975); C. Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society Under the Tudors* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1993); E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400–1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> For an overview of the "post-revisionist" move in Reformation scholarship, see the introduction to E. Shagan (ed.), *Catholics and the "Protestant Nation": Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England* (Manchester University Press, 2005), 8–18. Notable works in this vein are P. Lake, *Anglicans and Puritans? Presbyterian and Reformed Thought from Whitgift to Hooker* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1988); A. Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant*

religious culture as dominated by a single struggle between two monolithic churches, one destined to defeat the other. Instead, we have come to accept that Christianity in early modern England was much more “vexed” and various than once was thought, and remained so for much longer.

Even as it maps this varied confessional terrain in ever more precise detail, moreover, much recent work in Reformation history has also emphasized how often Christians in early modern England moved across any borders that we, or they, might have drawn. As an example of this movement we might consider the Baptist Susanna Parr, who joined a separatist conventicle in the mid-seventeenth century, and justified her apostasy with an *Apology Against the Elders* (1659); here, she describes one of her brethren who “had formerly been an Anabaptist, then a Seeker, next (as I was informed) a Papist ... then turning to prelacy, and the Book of Common Prayer, and afterward an Independent.”<sup>3</sup> After decades of sectarian proliferation within Christianity, such a miscellaneous confessional résumé was hardly unusual. The work of Michael Questier and Caroline Hibbard has particularly demonstrated how even the most dramatic instances of individual Christian conversion – conversion to or from Roman Catholicism – occurred with remarkable frequency throughout the long seventeenth century, independently of England’s official changes of religion.<sup>4</sup> Parr’s account suggests that early modern people understood conversion as something that could occur between sects as well as between churches; an Anabaptist turned Seeker would be as much a convert as a papist turned Puritan.<sup>5</sup> But if conversions from Catholicism to Protestantism (or vice versa) were not unique in kind, they nevertheless provide the most striking evidence both of the perceived reality of Christian confessional boundaries, and of their porousness. It is this kind of conversion that most preoccupied men and women in early modern England, and it is this preoccupation, in turn, that most vividly illustrates the instability of the period’s religious culture, and of individual identities within it.

*Thought 1600–1640* (Cambridge University Press, 1995); A. Walsham, *Church Papists: Catholicism, Conformity, and Confessional Polemic in Early Modern England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993); L. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism in Reformation England* (Oxford University Press, 2000); E. Shagan, *Popular Politics and the English Reformation* (Cambridge University Press, 2002); and P. Marshall, *Religious Identities in Henry VIII’s England* (London: Ashgate, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> *Susanna’s Apology Against the Elders: Or, a Vindication of Susanna Parr* (Oxford, 1659), 9.

<sup>4</sup> M. Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion in England, 1580–1625* (Cambridge University Press, 1996); C. Hibbard, *Charles I and the Popish Plot* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983).

<sup>5</sup> See, for instance, Peter Fairlambe, *The Recantation of a Brownist, or A Reformed Puritan* (London, 1606), in which a sectarian Protestant describes his reconversion to the Church of England.

This monograph focuses on cases of conversion to and from Catholicism in England, in the period between the excommunication of Elizabeth I and the deposing of James II. As my title and epigraph imply, however, it will do so by focusing on a kind of text that does not cross the desks of many historians: the devotional poem. Scholars of the English Reformation have been surprisingly reluctant to engage with the poetry of the period, even as they have become increasingly attuned to the importance of imaginative literature in reconstructing early modern *mentalités*. To take one striking example, Peter Lake subtitles a recent collection of essays “Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England,” and in many of these essays offers suggestive new interpretations of Shakespeare and Jonson in terms of religious conflict.<sup>6</sup> But in its 731 pages, the book contains no mention of the poetry of Southwell, Donne, Spenser, Herbert, or Milton, literature that addresses such issues at least as effectively as any of Shakespeare’s plays. How can we account for this omission? One possibility might be that poetry, even compared to other literary genres, seems to take a particularly imprecise or oblique approach to its subject, so that its conceptual content is finally, fatally occluded by merely literary concerns, by *style*.<sup>7</sup> We can see such suspicion toward the literary in Questier’s groundbreaking study of Catholic/Protestant conversions between 1580 and 1625. Throughout this book, Questier attends sensitively to the polemical literature developed around the subject, and presents in fascinating detail its strategies for representing change. Yet he dismisses the particular formal characteristics of this writing as “word-games and literary sleight of hand,” verbal superfluities that not only “did not contain the essence of conversion,” but can obscure the more important spiritual, ecclesiastical, or political realities that caused and shaped it.<sup>8</sup> Such skepticism, I would suggest, is deeply inimical to an understanding of one of the most prominent Jacobean converts, John Donne, or indeed of any poet I will discuss in

<sup>6</sup> P. Lake, with M. Questier, *The Anti-Christ’s Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002). The Catholic poet Robert Southwell is mentioned once, as the author of the prose work *An Humble Supplication*. Donne appears as the author of the prose tract *Pseudo-Martyr* and a Protestant friend of the Catholic convert Sir Toby Matthew. Milton receives one mention (as a polemicist, and in a footnote), Herbert and Spenser none at all.

<sup>7</sup> Wooding suggests that the composition of religious verse in the late sixteenth century was, like the writing of hagiography, part of a more general cultural turn to “outward displays of loyalty and piety”; such a formulation suggests an interest in poetry purely as evidence of confessional identification, and not as an object of aesthetic analysis *per se*. Wooding, *Rethinking Catholicism*, 262.

<sup>8</sup> Questier, *Conversion, Politics and Religion*, 37.

the pages that follow.<sup>9</sup> Poetry, and especially the metaphysical poetry of Donne and Crashaw, is perhaps the most ostentatiously “stylish” writing produced in the period, characterized precisely by what we might call “word-games and literary sleight of hand.” The dense “literariness” of such poetry, however, does not indicate a lack of intense or sustained engagement with religious controversy and conflict. This study will propose, in fact, that the complex formal strategies used by these poets demonstrate precisely such an engagement. The poetry written by converts like Donne and Crashaw thus invites us to think more subtly and flexibly about the relationship between literary form and historical context, in addition to thinking more skeptically about the division between Catholic and Protestant aesthetics in the early modern period.

This latter invitation has been largely unheeded by scholars of English literature, despite the so-called “religious turn” in recent early modern literary studies.<sup>10</sup> In fact, the renewed critical attention to matters of belief in Renaissance literature has often, and unfortunately, assumed early modern devotional categories to be absolute. This is not to deny that many critics have explored the complexity of these categories. Complementing Louis Martz’s account of the Jesuit “poetry of meditation,” for instance, we now have the work of, among others, Arthur Marotti, Ceri Sullivan, and Alison Shell, showing the breadth and vitality of English Catholic writing.<sup>11</sup> Complicating Barbara Lewalski’s account of a unified “Protestant poetics,”<sup>12</sup> we now have Debora Shuger’s and Jeanne Shami’s studies of literature and conformity, Ramie Targoff’s discussion of prayerbook poetry, Nigel Smith’s exploration of radical sectarian writing, and Brian Cummings’s magisterial

<sup>9</sup> Donne’s name is notably absent from Questier’s exhaustive bibliography of Elizabethan and Jacobean converts and controversialists; the book’s one mention of Donne asserts that he was “loftily detached in his religious opinions until he finally took orders in the Church of England” (56). In Chapter 2, I suggest that Donne’s devotional poetry belies the neatness of this formulation.

<sup>10</sup> For a survey of this turn, and its response to the secularizing tendencies of much new historicist criticism, see K. Jackson and A. Marotti, “The Turn to Religion in Early Modern English Studies,” *Criticism* 4.1 (2004), 167–90.

<sup>11</sup> L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954, rev. edn. 1962). In *Catholicism, Controversy and the English Literary Imagination, 1558–1660* (Cambridge University Press, 1999), A. Shell attacks the persistent anti-Catholic bias in early modern literary studies, and surveys Catholic literature of exile, loyalism, and martyrdom. A. Marotti takes a similar stance in *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2005). Other notable studies of Catholic writing include A. D. Cousins, *The Catholic Religious Poets from Southwell to Crashaw* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1991); C. Sullivan, *Dismembered Rhetoric: English Recusant Writing 1580–1603* (London: Associated University Presses, 1995); and F. Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

<sup>12</sup> B. Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton University Press, 1979).

account of the English Reformation's various engagements with language and text, to name only a few important recent critical works.<sup>13</sup> But, again, the project of diversifying the map can also lead us to neglect the permeability of its borders. Any taxonomy of confessional categories, no matter how subtle, can implicitly minimize the importance of changes *between* those categories in the religious literature of early modern England. They can blind us to the ways in which denominational change *itself* might have influenced the work of Thomas Lodge, Henry Constable, Ben Jonson, William Alabaster, John Donne, Toby Matthew, Richard Crashaw, Walter Montague, William Davenant, Andrew Marvell, John Dryden, and other poets who moved between Catholic and Reformed positions – sometimes more than once – over the course of their writing lives.

This book proposes that conversion, understood in its early modern sense as movement between churches and not solely as a progression toward grace, profoundly influenced the English literary imagination. More specifically, it proposes that such conversion influenced poetic style. And more specifically still, it proposes that some early modern poets understood their changes in devotional form and their experiments in literary form to be both analogous and symbiotic. Considered etymologically, the terms “verse” and “trope” signal poetry’s intrinsic affiliation with turning, with movement, with change.<sup>14</sup> In early modern English poetic theory, descriptions of poetic language can sound almost uncannily like descriptions of apostasy. Thomas Wilson, for example, defines “trope” as “an alteration of a word or sentence from the proper signification to that which is not proper.”<sup>15</sup> “Proper signification,” here, bears a double meaning: it is both the meaning that adheres to a social consensus about what a word should signify (“proper” as “appropriate”), and it is also the meaning appropriate to the word itself (cognate to the French *propre*). In violating these two kinds of propriety, the poet both separates himself from a community of speakers and converts language itself into something new and essentially, improperly “altered.”

<sup>13</sup> J. Shami, *John Donne and Conformity in Crisis in the Late Jacobean Pulpit* (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2003); D. Shuger, *Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); R. Targoff, *Common Prayer: The Language of Public Devotion in Early Modern England* (University of Chicago Press, 2001); N. Smith, *Perfection Proclaimed: Language and Literature in English Radical Religion, 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989); B. Cummings, *The Literary Culture of the Reformation: Grammar and Grace* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>14</sup> For a discussion of “dialogic” movement in secular lyric, see P. Phillippy, *Love’s Remedies: Recantation and Renaissance Lyric Poetry* (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetoric* (1560), ed. P. Medine (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994), 197.

George Puttenham puts it even more provocatively in *The Art of English Poesy* (1589): “As figures be the instruments of ornament in every language, so be they also in a sorte abuses or rather trespasses in speech, because they passe the ordinary limits of common utterance ... drawing it from plainnesse and simplicitie to a certain doublenesse, whereby our talke is the more guilefull and abusing, for what els is your *Metaphor* but an inversion of sence by transport?”<sup>16</sup> In Puttenham’s playful account, metaphor transports language across an accepted boundary or definitional “limit,” thus rendering it altered, doubled or inverted in a way that resembles other kinds of transgression.<sup>17</sup> As an act of verbal “abuse, cross-naming, new naming, change of name,” metaphor is always close to the outright scandal of catachresis.<sup>18</sup> Puttenham offers a particularly potent contemporary analogy to such a dramatic, scandalous “change of name”; without vigilant attention to the rules of decorum, he warns, poetic utterances can become “trespasses in speech” which, he notes, “are called, and not without cause ... *heresies of language*.”<sup>19</sup>

Puttenham’s connection between poetry and heterodoxy is, itself, only a metaphor, and a lighthearted one at that – but it is nevertheless suggestive. In the ensuing chapters, I will follow some of the implications of this metaphor of verbal “heresy,” exploring the ways in which early modern convert-poets do more than merely describe or justify their “change in vowes and in devotione,” but actively seek to perform or enact versions of that change of name in and through poetic language. The four chapters of this book center on four figures whose careers span a century of religious instability: Donne, Alabaster, Crashaw, and Dryden. For these poets, I will argue, the composition of verse offers neither an escape from, nor a solution to, the heated “contraries” of confessional conflict. Instead, it acts as a mechanism for actively transforming the terms of this conflict, and thus the terms through which identity is defined and maintained.<sup>20</sup> Throughout their extremely diverse devotional poetry, each of these four poets invokes a voluminous and vociferous polemical literature on the subject of conversion.

<sup>16</sup> George Puttenham, *The Art of English Poesy*, ed. F. Whigham and W. Rebhorn (1589; Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 238.

<sup>17</sup> The pioneering account of the connection between rhetorical and ethical theory is D. Javitch, *Poetry and Courtliness in Renaissance England* (Princeton University Press, 1978). See F. Whigham, *Ambition and Privilege: The Social Tropes of Elizabethan Courtesy Theory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 138–42 for an account of the ethics of figuration in Puttenham particularly.

<sup>18</sup> Puttenham, *Art*, 262. <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 239.

<sup>20</sup> Frank Burch Brown discusses the theological implications of metaphor in *Transfigurations: Poetic Metaphor and the Languages of Religious Belief* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); he does not, however, discuss the literary effects of denominational conversion.

Each does so, however, precisely in order to think beyond the definitive claims of the polemicists, whether Catholic or Protestant. Refusing to versify simple creeds or credos, each of these writers instead practices a variation of what I will call an early modern *poetics of conversion*, in which the particular formal qualities of poetry – its schemes and tropes, its distinctive styles of signifying – are used to confront the unsettling phenomenon of religious change. In the rest of this chapter, I will offer a preliminary account of what such a phenomenon, and such a poetics, might involve.

#### TURNING CHRISTIAN

What do Christians mean by “conversion”? It is a question that takes us to the beginning of the Christian tradition, when the evangelists first proposed individual transformation as an index of holiness. From its earliest mentions in the Gospels, however, this transformation has been defined in two distinct ways: as a change of church and as a change of soul. Pagans and Jews become Christians by undergoing a ritual, baptismal induction into a new community, but also through *metanoia*, a word that literally indicates a change in spirit or mind, and is often translated into English as “repentance” or “penitence.” So, in Matthew, John announces “I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance” (Mt. 3:11) [*ego men umas baptizo en udati eis metanoian*]; Mark terms this same activity “a baptism of repentance for the remission of sins” (Mk. 1:4) [*baptisma metanoias eis aphesin hamartion*]. These phrases, describing a single event in two very different registers – the ritual and the spiritual – indicate how paradoxical, even at its origin, the concept of conversion might be. To trace the subsequent discourse of conversion is to see generations of Christian writers elaborating upon this paradox and discovering others. Conversion can be a deliberate, voluntary action, and the passive receipt of the grace of God. It can be incremental and painfully protracted, and it can be instantaneous and cataclysmic. It can be a matter of refusal and rejection, and a matter of intensifying commitments that already exist. It can bolster individual and communal identities, and it can destroy and refashion them.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> For a classic sociological account of the paradigms and paradoxes of Christian conversion, see William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, ed. R. Niebuhr (New York: Touchstone, 1997). For a classic historical account of their origin, see A. D. Nock, *Conversion: The Old and the New in Religion from Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1933).

Many of these paradoxes can be found in the paradigmatic story of Christian conversion, the story of the Jewish Pharisee Saul, “breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord” en route to Damascus.<sup>22</sup>

Suddenly, there shined round about him a light from heaven: and he fell to the earth, and heard a voice saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? And he said, Who art thou Lord? And the Lord said I am Jesus whom thou persecutest: it is hard for thee to kick against the pricks. And he trembling and astonished said, Lord, what wilt thou have me to do? (Acts 9:3–6)

This episode centers on a crisis of self-definition. Saul’s question, “Who art thou?” although aimed at the mysterious voice from heaven, ultimately ricochets back toward its speaker. Called upon to re-examine his actions and attitudes, Saul has *already* undergone a sudden inward change, signaled by his instinctive address of Jesus as “Lord.” *Metanoia*, however, is not the end of the story. From the first, conversion is not just a matter of what Saul believes, but what he is to do: he must reject his old earthly communities and commitments in favor of his new ones, and dedicate his life to the project of evangelism.<sup>23</sup> His story thus emphasizes both the dramatic action of God upon him, and his own deliberate action in consequence: as soon as his vision was restored, the new convert “arose, and was baptized” as a Christian, “preached Christ in the synagogues,” and finally “assayed to join himself to the disciples” (Acts 9:18–26). Saul the persecutor becomes Paul the proselytizer, a convert whose life’s work will be to convert others. The conversions he encourages, again, will combine the turning of the soul with the transformation of action in the world. He urges unbelievers to “repent and turn to God, and do works meet for repentance” [*Metanoein kai epistrephein epi ton theon, axia tes metanoias erga prassontas*] (Acts 26:20). Paul’s entreaty combines the inward and outward registers of conversion; to become a Christian involves both *metanoia*, repentance, and *erga*, works.

<sup>22</sup> See H. G. Wood, “The Conversion of Paul: Its Nature, Antecedents, and Consequences,” *New Testament Studies* 1 (1955), 276–82. Alan Segal points out that, *pace* Luke, Paul’s conversion is “not typical of the first generations of Christians,” as it does not come from Jesus’s teachings, but rather from a direct divine revelation, and is thus continuous with certain aspects of Jewish apocalyptic thought. Segal, *Paul the Convert: The Apostasy and Apostolate of Saul the Pharisee* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 2 and *passim*. Segal offers a useful survey of the meaning of conversion in diasporic Judaism (72–114). More recently, Julia Reinhard Lupton has reconsidered Paul’s relationship to Judaism, and the relevance of this relationship to ideas of political affiliation in early modern England. Lupton, *Citizen-Saints: Shakespeare and Political Theology* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), 21–48.

<sup>23</sup> For the Pauline idea of “separation” see G. Agamben, *The Time that Remains: A Commentary on the Letter to the Romans*, trans. P. Dailey (Stanford University Press, 2005), 44–58.



Turning to Christianity, Paul also turns to writing. His evangelical mission consists in composing letters, “both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians; both to the wise and to the unwise” (Rom. 1:14–15), which will effect further conversions on his own model. This strategy of epistolary conversion centers on a kind of transformative empathy, which he describes in 1 Corinthians: “unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law” and so forth (1 Cor. 9:20). Paul “becomes as” his audience, in other words, precisely in order to effect the opposite transformation. “Be as I am,” he writes, “for I am as ye are” (Gal. 4:12) – and to “be as [Paul is]” requires conversion in both inner and outer senses. Describing in rich detail his membership in another devotional community, “circumcised on the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, an Hebrew of the Hebrews; as touching the law a Pharisee,” Paul the convert asks other unbelievers to “be followers together of me” in his new Christian way of life (Phil. 3:5, 17). Such conversion is not merely a matter of the heart, but also a matter of refashioning outward identity, of becoming a recognizable member of a new church. Paul aims not only to turn sinners into godly men, but also to turn Corinthians, Thessalonians, Romans, and Hebrews into Christians.

Paul’s ministry gained many converts, none more important for the subsequent literature of conversion than St. Augustine. In the *Confessions*, Augustine demonstrates how thoroughly he has “become as” his predecessor by recapitulating key features of the Pauline narrative, with a few significant differences. Like Saul the Pharisee, Augustine the Manichee undergoes a miraculous “reorientation of the soul.” Augustine’s conversion to Christianity may have been more protracted than Paul’s (he reads and investigates scripture long before he believes it), but its culminative moment, as he recounts it in Book 8, is similarly rapid, and triggered by divine coincidences: first the overhearing of the child’s chant – “*tolle lege*,” take and read – in the garden, and then the lucky game of scriptural *sortes* that led him to Paul’s Letter to the Romans, at which point faith arrived and “all the shadows of doubt were dispelled.”<sup>24</sup> Like Paul, Augustine also emphasizes two necessary phases of conversion: first, the mysterious instant of spiritual transformation, and then its necessary expression in earthly, practical terms. For Augustine, conversion centers on the receipt of a divine

<sup>24</sup> St. Augustine, *The Confessions*, ed. and trans. H. Chadwick (1991; paperback edn. Oxford University Press, 1998), 153. Further quotations will be from this edition, and parenthetical page numbers will be given in the text.