The centenary of Gossner’s emblem book *The heart of men* in the context of the *religio cordis brasiliensis* or “cordial” religion: continuity, variation and social relevance

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Abstract
Since colonial times emblems are used in Brazil as an important religious language. Among their diversity, the language of the “religio cordis” is outstanding and even gained a kind of sociological equivalent, called “cordial man” (Sérgio Buarque de Holanda). Alternative Protestant forms (G. de Montenay; D. Cramer) or Protestant adaptations of Catholic works have shown in Brazil no effect among Protestants. This changed, in 1914, with the translation from German of J. E. Gossner’s book “The heart of man” (1812). A. Jensen, Danish-born Presbyterian, attracted Calvinist readers referring to John Calvin’s *religio cordis*, integrated a *nada obstat* for the Catholic audients, and changed sequence of the engravings based on the motif of the narrow and wide path. Methodists, promoted already in 1916 this version and published themselves 20 editions of it up to 1980. In 1932 followed a German version, edited by F. W. Brepohl in a Publishing House which promoted the positions of the German Christians. From the fifties onwards All Nations Gospel Publishers distributed their version principally among Pentecostals. This text was also edited by a Baptist Publishing House since 1998. The conference documents the evolution of the emblems and the texts, discusses the implicit message of these editions concerning modern society and stresses its proximity to the classic catholic, colonial and ultramontanous “*religio cordis brasiliensis*”.

Zusammenfassung

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Introduction

My academic focus is on religious studies and within them on religious language and how by them religious subjects relate themselves to the world around them. In the last 15 years I am working in Brazil and became slowly aware of that in this cultural and social context visual, ritual and gesture languages are much more relevant and formative than, for example, confessional texts.

This paper presents a partial result of a five years study on very specific iconic expression of this visual culture. It started with and in response to my first contact with a Brazilian edition of Johann Evangelista Gossner’s Little book of the heart (Livrinho do coração). The exemplar was handed over to me as a Protestant book, whereas it looked to me quite Catholic. I started to investigate its background 2, its immense popularity, 3 and its effect4; I became to understand it as a part of the wider phenomenon of the religio cordis, its effect on Brazilian Protestantism5, the rare but existing cases of alternative readings in colonial6 and present times7. These studies resulted then in a much more profound understanding of Gossner’s book itself, its origins8, and its Brazilian adaption9.

Putting this together with the perception of a Brazilian Protestant and New-Pentecostal Renaissance of the religio cordis from the early eighties of the last century onwards, I formulate the following hypothesis: Gossner’s book is the link between the Catholic religio cordis as religious expression of the colonial project and the late modern Protestant and New Pentecostal versions of a religio cordis. Both have in common that they describe the relation between the religious subject and the world around in more pre-modern than modern terms. By this I understand Gossner’s book as an important link who introduced a colonial Catholic mentality to Brazilian Protestants and Pentecostals. At least the Protestant self inscription represents a rereading of its own tradition within this wider cultural setting. In comparision,
visual expressions of existing alternative readings of the *religio cordis*, either Catholic, Protestant or Pentecostal, are still rare, also they exist parallel to the dominant pictorial discourse.

I divide, than, my paper in three parts. In the first part, “Continuity…”, I describe the particular role of Gossner’s book in the Brazilian religious context as a bridge between the colonial *religio cordis* and the late modern *religio cordis*, contributing to a contemporanean religious matrix which resembles the colonial project. In the second part, “Variations…”, I present the different editions and their particularities, including not only modifications of the text but also of the organizations of the emblems. In the third part, “Significance…”, I focus on the unbroken promotion of a world relation by a discourse established in the Spirit of the Catholic Reformation, and willingly excepted and transmitted by certain Protestants and Pentecostals.

1. Continuity: Gossner’s *Book of the heart* and its relation to the *religio cordis brasiliensis*

The amazingly far-reaching, transconfessionell and transdenominational acceptance of a Protestant emblem language in Brazil in general and the “religio cordis” in particular becomes understandable when we step behind to focus, first, the larger cultural context. The “Conquista” of Latin America was in religious terms accompanied by the spirit of the Catholic Reformation or, from a Protestant point of view, the Counter-Reformation. The center of articulation of the religious aspect happened in the Portuguese colonial empire initially only through books and prints from Antwerpen, after 1640 from Portugal. Consequently, the visual and ritual mediation of religious contents got a special weight what resulted in a profound impact on the cultural setting. The Project *Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art* registered thus especially for the Spanish cultural space the influence of the religious language of emblems, more precisely, the specific literary genre of the emblem books. In the Brazilian cultural space, similar observations have been made punctually, but a systematic investigation into it and the presentation of the results are still to be done.

Among the diversity employed in the symbolic languages of religious emblem books, the language of the “religio cordis” is outstanding, in particular because it was used to highlight the inner – and intimate – aspect of the ideal of the mystical union as the most precious goal of religious experience in the spiritual project of the Catholic Reformation (eg. Anton Wierix, von Haeften, Hermann). Part of this is the Latin American – especially Portuguese - appreciation for Ignatius of Loyola – the theological language of the Jesuits can also be called “theologia cordis” (Jesuits) –, John of the Cross and Teresa of Avila – whose spirituality soon after her death has been summarized in iconographic terms as “religio cordis”. Our research on the importance of the *religio cordis brasiliensis* in colonial times has shown

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10 Even during the Iberian Union (1580-1620) there were no official print presses in Brazil. The first official was authorized by Dom Pedro I in 1813.
13 HAEFFEN, Benedictus van. *Schola cordis* vert, typis Hieronymi Vedusii, 1629.
how the heart mysticism fitted very well in the logic of a slave-society. It is not occasionally that Jesuits and Carmelites have been the religious orders with the highest number of slaves, and that the Carmelites have been the order who gathered the colonial elites, especially, after the expulsion of the Jesuits. But the significants of the religio cordis as articulation not only of a personal piety, but part of a wider project of society, did not end here. It got its last major Catholic expression as the devotion of the sacred heart of Jesus, mainly promoted as the spirituality of Ultramontanism and Romanization at the end the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, gave continuity to the older project. Also this spirituality did not any more promoted a society based on slavery, it was distinguished in its standing against Republican ideals and ideas and a modern world view in general, symbolically expressed by the Christ figure on the Corcovado mountain in Rio de Janeiro, in 1932 capital of the country. The statue and its surroundings form still today a sanctuary of the sacred heart and it was the declared intend to promote Catholicism as the privileged religion of Brazil if not the status of a state religion.

The religio cordis brasiliensis which we understand as central part and vivid expression of what others describe as the religious matrix of Brazil, dominant up to 1813, struggling up to around 1928 and as we pretend to show, even adapted into Protestant spirituality after 1914, has been indirectly registered as highly influential if not dominant by the Brazilian sociologist and historian Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. He created the sociological type of the “cordial man”, passionate in his defense of his family and friends and the combat of his enemies, eager to mix the public with the private sphere, religion and the actually laicistic state.

With other words, Holanda understands that the “cordial man” is not only not prepared for modern democracy, its burocratic processes and impersonal political structures, but, openly against it. In agreement with Holanda’s studies and convinced by its utility even today, we suggested that it might be appropriate to describe the religio cordis brasiliensis – in distinction from its Spanish expression – as a specific religious typus which we suggest to call “cordial religion”.

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15 We use the in the German academy common distinction between mysticism and mystics, being the first a normally rejected extreme of the second. It represents a great challenge that this distinction is rarely made in Anglo-Saxon or Latin American literature.


18 As a result of the I Vatican, Ultramontanism can be interpreted as one of the three closed (fundamentalist ad exclusive) Christian religious systems that marked the 20th century, all trying to guarantee certainty in faith issues by introducing the concept of infallibility: papal infallibility (Catholic Fundamentalism [1870-1928]), infallibility of scripture (classic Protestant Fundamentalism [1890-1928]) and the infallibility of religious experience (late Protestant Fundamentalism [1970-2000]). One could add to this an understanding of modern logic as a system that suggests the idea of the infallibility of reason, what makes more plausible not only the heavy conflicts between Catholicism and Protestantism between 1850 and 1945, but, also between Ultramontanism and Modernity.


21 This does not refer to his classic Weberian understanding of the modern world as characterized by an ongoing process of secularization which would eventually outrun the “cordial man”. At least up to 2014 there is no wider evidence of this.

22 There are existing exceptions, as we have shown by the description and interpretation of the heart as a rare hagiographic element of Benedictus Rosário, the Saints of the slaves. (See: RENDERS, Helmut. “O coração como atributo hagiográfico de São Benedito do Rosário: hipótese sobre a sua origem e seu modelo subjacente da vida cristã”. In: Horizonte, Belo Horizonte, MG, vol. 13, n. 29 p. 109-132 (jan./mar. 2013).

23 We cannot deepen this here but we believe that the sociologists Bittencourt Filho and Holanda are right and wrong at the same time: the “cordial man” did not die out (against Holanda, who follows the theory of an inevitable growing secularization of Max Weber) and mysticism has not taken over the laicistic state (against Bittencourt). More likely one should work in Brazil with the model of a religious modernity, not
When Gossner wrote the *The heart of the human being* he was still a catholic folk theologian and missionary among the popular classes. Only fifteen years later he became a Lutheran. No doubt already in 1811 he was very close to the *Christentumsgesellschaft* (Society for Christendom) in Basel, Switzerland, an transconfessional group composed by Reformed, Lutherans and Catholics (like him). This and the fact that he suffered persecution by Jesuits and his ecclesiastic superiors does not project the idea that he promoted the “conventional” Catholicism of his days. But, in the end what type of Catholic Gossner was? His emphasis on the human heart is modern – but not new – , his stress on the existence of the devil and demons is medieval. And there is no doubt that the second is central to his argument, as we can read in his introduction — “today people laugh about the devil as if he does not exist, the deny his existence and his influence on the human beings (1813, p. iv)” — and see in the emblems.

Beside this one can perceive the absence of certain classic themes of Catholic theology. The doctrine of original sin is not mentioned, the sacraments not nor the Church as a sacrament, or the ecclesiastic hierarchy or priests. And, although he talks a lot about the devil and hell, he does not refer to the purgatory.

No doubt the emphasis on the human being diminish the importance of the institutional and especially sacramental mediation of salvation and this may be one of the reasons of his problems with religious authorities. But he works at least with two major Catholic doctrines: “deathly sins” — “Todsünden” (cf. GOSSNER, 1813, p. 1 e 21) — and “previnent” — “zuvor-kommende Gnade”24 (cf. GOSSNER, 1813, p. 1). The later represents a doctrinal reorientation which occurred at the council of Trento and substituted the irresistible grace of Augustine.

Gossner’s *Book of the heart* shows then a clear evidence of its dependence on a traditional Catholic, mainly Jesuit emblem iconography: the mere use of emblems in theological treaties is a Jesuit specialty and the engravings used in the book are full of respective references. Still clear is the inspiration by Antoin Wierix, but formative was Vincent Huby and his *Miroirs du pécheur* (GARNIER, circa 1739)25.

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24 Na descrição do próximo emblema, Gossner (1813, p. 9) usa também a expressão “zuvorkommende Barmherzigkeit” – “misericórdia preveniente”.

25 There are editions from 1683.
Huby introduced the head into the emblem to articulate a relation between the facial expression of the religious subject and the ongoing within his or her heart.  

Beside this we found in the engravings of Gossner’s book a rich quotation of the passion of Christ using the medieval iconography which can be found in the images of Mess of Gregory the Great (emblems 4 and 6; triple presence of the crucifix: emblems 4, 9 and 10; Trinity: emblem 5).
This iconography is still alive in Brazil and especially represented by the typical Franciscan crosses, as, for example, in the cities of Tiradentes, MG, and São João del Re, MG.

Last not least, Gossner relates as Huby good or bad, God or Devil to the rejection of the seven capital sins (six times; emblems 1-3, 6-7 e 9) or the observations of the three theological virtues—faith, love and hope—in combination with the seven classical virtues, divided in two groups: on the one side, “humility, generosity, love and chastity”30, on the other “soberity, patience, and diligence”31. The focus is on the capitals sins, which appear on six of ten emblems, whereas the seven virtues are only present in one emblem. This only another indicator for the book’s general emphisis on the strong presence of the evil in the world. The model of the seven vices and virtues is a fundamental element in the Catholic moral theology since the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius (400)32. Prudentius related the imaginary of the battle for the human soul with the entry of Christ into the human heart and a kind of marriage between the divine Spirit and the human soul, elements one can still identify in Huby and Gossner.

30 “Demuth, Freygiebigkeit, Liebe und Keuschheit.”
31 “Nüchternheit, Geduld und Fleiß.”
32 Prudentius integrated two of the three theological virtues into the system (Fides versus veterum cultura deorum; pudicitia versus sodomita libido; patientia versus ira; mens humilis et spes versus superbia et fraus; sobrietas versus luxuria; ratio et operatio versus avaritia; concordia et fides versus discordia cognomento haeresis).
Excursus: Spanish Colonial Paintings of the predecessor of Gossner’s book, based on the images of Vincent Huby

In earlier publications we have suggested the possibility that the wide acceptance of the imagetic language of Gossner’s book in Brazil could be directly related to a long time presence between 1588 and 1753 of Anton Wierix iconography in his book *Jesus…* , known as its iconographic antecessor. To proof this has shown itself very difficult, because Jesuit libraries and archives have not survived in Brazil. A later expression of this iconography and direct inspiration of it, the work of Vincent Huby, has not been on my list of research up to my recent discovery of this source in the Latin American colonial art of the Spanish Empire. With other words, the presence in Latin America of Vincent Huby’s *Espelhos…* a emblem book which Gossner’s *Little book of the heart* simply copies, ..., is an remarkable indicator of the fact that this language had been already introduced to Latin America, more precisely, Spanish America. This is reinforced by the observation that at least in Peru the same iconography not only was found in Huby’s emblem book but also in paintings is documented in at least two cases in the Catholic context. There is no reason to believe that Jensen had knowledge or a clear perception of this, but it makes understandable why Catholic parishes can occasionally be find using the book. Going even a little bit further, it makes its wide acceptance plausible as cultural phenomena of an established religious emblematic language.


Image 6: Vincent Huby, *The state of a man in perseverance*. Daniel Liebsohn Collection, Mexico City: [1780-1820]

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34 For example, in GARNIER (ed.) *Le miroir du pêcheur*, Troyes : Garnier [entre 1738-1754].


2. Variations: the Book of the heart in its Brazilian Editions between 1914 and 2014

Also religious emblem books are normally considered a Catholic phenomena, this is not the whole story. It is known that the Protestant reformers Luther and Calvin used seals which integrated the symbol of the heart and in historic terms Protestantism has been even at the vanguard of the emblem books considering that the Calvinist (!) Georgette de Montenay (1540-1581) not only edited the first religious emblem book, but one in which the “religio cordis” served as language. A centenary later created Daniel Cramer (1568-1637) a totally autonomous Lutheran expression.\(^\text{38}\) Seen both works together it can be observed that appeared in them a formal language clearly distinguished from the Catholic emblem language of ’the “religio cordis”’. Nevertheless, this alternative Protestant language of the the religio cordis has shown in Brazil no effect, and this by obvious reasons: Protestantism was admitted only slowly and not until 1821. The same applies to the opposite, the (actually not at all) Protestant adaptations of the works of Anton Wierix, Benedictus von Haeften and Hugo Herman\(^\text{39}\) in Germany or England.\(^\text{40}\)

In Brazil we could so far clearly identify five editions, and for the first example we at least have strong evidence:

[1864: [in German] The Barmen Mission Society starts its work among Lutherans in Brazil];


1914-1950 [?]: Edition of the Presbyterian Church of Brazil;


1955 [?]-2011: 50 or more editions of the All Nations Gospel Publishers, mainly distributed among Assembles of God of Brazil;


2.1 The Presbyterian edition and its Methodist copy

The first Brazilian from 1914 was, interestingly, edited and published by a Danish-born Presbyterians, who translated the book from German.

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39 There were two Portuguese catholic version of Hugo Herman’s Pia desideria in 1656 and 1830 (!). See: JÚNIOR, Rubem Amaral. “Portuguese emblematists: an overview”. In: *Lumen et virtum*, vol. 1, n. 4, p. 139 (maio 2011).

Jensen explains in his introduction that he translated the text “freely from the German, added a preface, made some adaptations and amplified it with final reflections” (GOSSNER, 1970). His editor’s hand appears, in fact, at several occasions. Jensen adapted the book carefully to achieve Brazilian Catholics and Presbyterians or Calvinists.

**Jensen’s edition: an adaption to the Brazilian Catholic reader**

The first observation refers to the title itself, *Little book of the heart.* or “A famous tract or the Little book of the heart! The diminutive form “*Livrinho*, little book, is a typical characteristic of Brazilian Portuguese to create a relation of proximity to persons or subjects to which one under normal conditions would not have access. It is actually a within the social system permitted linguistic strategy of a person with a lower social rank to achieve favors from a person in power calling his name in the diminutive form. The objective is to create a kind of familiarity as if one belongs to the same family what creates bounds of responsibility where there is no legal right to appeal too. In linguistic terms the title is then a clever call to appropriate himself or herself of a holy book [which does not belong to him or herself].

Beside this more discreet detail, Jensen attends also quite openly the potential Brazilian Catholic reader. First, Jensen used a translation of the bible from “Father Antônio Pereira de Figueiredo”, and makes clear that this tradition has been “approved the […] Archbishop of Bahia”. Beside this, he openly describes the book as “a Catholic work”:

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42 “livremente do alemão, prefaciado, adaptado e aumentado com reflexões finais”;
43 Um folheto célebre ou O livrinho do coração. On the third page we read: O coração humano: templo de Deus ou de Satanás, representado por 10 geniais ilustrações para edificação e despertamento da cristandade copies the German title. Jensen maintained the correct translation and used “humano” (“human”) instead of “homem” (“man”).
44 This edition was still a translation from the Vulgata, not from Hebrew and Greek. Actually, in 1914 existed only the New Testament in a Protestant translation, the so-called Tradução brasileira. It was a joined afford of Presbyterians ans Methodists metodistas with the help of Brazilian writers as Rui Barbosa, José Veríssimo and Heráclito Graça. The complete Bible was published in 1917, with a preention of the Methodist Hugh Clerance Tucker. Only in1948 was published the first Brazilian edition of the Almeida Bible.
The Little Book of the Heart, a Catholic work of truly universal character, is aimed at a very different from other more or less sectarian press mission, of course, the complete absence of disputes [...] it is not propaganda of a sect that was making with this or that degree of fanaticism, but only the most legitimate and truthful advertising of the Christian Spirit (GOSSNER, 1914, p. 15).

“Other more or less sectarian press mission” may refer to Catholic or Protestant ones, as the rejection of “Fanaticism” addresses both Catholic and Protestants. On the whole Jensen gives the impression to assume a position of the Missionary Conference of Edinburgh that Catholicism has to be considered a Christian religion as Protestantism united by a “Christian Spirit” they have in commune. That is probably the reason why he translated on the third page of his book, where the original title of Gossner work appears, Christian sense by Christianitiy.

Concerning the Catholic virtue-ethics, Jensen does not comment his substitution of liberalitas – or generosity – by liberty. But one has to be careful. Jensen does not promote the liberty of religion, but the mystic’s liberty from institutional religion. Jensen stresses that the union with God reveals the transitory character of “… everything around us, riches, fame, pleasure, yes, everything, represents […] nothing…” (GOSSNER, 1970, p. 64). What in Gossner is at least a little understandable turns out to be among Brazilian Presbyterians much less comprehensive. Jensen writes in a Republic, and belongs to a church which since 1910 had in the pastor Erasmo Braga a strong promoter of the Social Gospel. The Little book of the heart is then not an accident, but, a conscious omission of any promotion of a more constructive interaction with the society.

Published within the context of the high point of the Ultramontane’s conflict with the Brazilian state, this is actually a quite surprising irenic statement.

Jensen’s edition: an adaption to the Brazilian and Calvinist reader

Where Gossner had only cited 1 John 3:4-10 (GOSSNER, 1813, p. 2), Jensen quotes two latin verses: “praebe, fili mi, cor tuum mihi... / omni custodia serva cor tuum...” (Image 2). This acutally a literal reference to Proverbs 23:26a and 4:23a, following the Vulgata: “My son, give me thy heart”; “Keep thy heart with all diligence”. Proverbs 23.26 in its complete form appears even a second time, on page 3, in a collection of texts called “textos áureos” (Golden texts) side by side with Psalms 50:12-13, Ezequiel 36:26-27 e “Saint” Matthew 5:8. All these texts have in comum that they refer to the human heart as something which potentially can be “given”, “pure”, “new” and “clean” (Image 3).

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45 “O Livrinho do coração, obra católica ou de caráter verdadeiramente universal, é destinada a uma missão muito diferente de outras mais ou menos sectárias, prima, naturalmente, pela completa ausência de disputas [...] não se trata de propaganda de seita que foi fazer-se com tal ou qual grau de fanatismo, mas, unicamente da mais legítima e verdadeira propaganda do Espírito crístico”.

46 O coração humano: templo de Deus ou de Satanás, [...] para edificação e despertamento da cristandade “Das Herz des Menschen oder der Tempel Gottes oder Santans, [...] zur Erweckung und Beförderung des christlichen Sinnes”, literalmente, “avivamento e promoção do sentido cristão”.

47 I am not sure whether Jensen understands the proximity of this expression to the idea of classic catholic model union with god in general.

48 “... tudo ao redor de nós, riqueza, fama, prazer, sim, tudo é [...] nada…”

49 The use of Saint before the names of biblical authors is uncommon in brazilian Protestant publication.

50 “dado”, “puro”, “novo” e “limpo”.
It seems to us that the first and repeated quotation of the proverbs relates directly to John Calvin, and his motto: “Cor meum tibi offero, Domine prompte et sincere” (My heart I offer to you, my Lord, [being it] ready and sincere) which is also known in its pictorial form as the seal or coat of John Calvin.

Twice Jensen omitted the two classic catholic termini tecnici used by Gossner: “deadly sins” (Todsünden) and “provinient grace” (zuvorkommende Gnade). The first marca a general difference between Protestants and Catholics, the second between Reformed and Catholics as outhers Protestants. Protestantism does not distinguish between great and small sins, and Calvinism understands within its doctrine of the double predestination sin as irresistible.

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Jensen’s edition: an adaption to Pietist mindset or mentality

One of the famous Pietist pictorial motives is the image of the large and the straight way. Jensen followed this motive and reassembled the emblems significantly, placing the set of the emblems 6 to 8 in the old edition before the emblems 3 to 5. This results in the following order, considering the numbers of the original edition:

- First group: emblems 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8
- Second group: emblems 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10

With this reorganization, Jensen combines four pictures of the heart resulting in the death of the desperate sinner (emblems 1, 2, 6, 7 and 8) and four that cumulate in the happy death of the believer (emblems 3, 4, 5, 9 and 10). In his panoramic description, Jensen (1970, p. 12-13) describes the emblems in this “new” order, but he does not comment on its reorganization with a single word.

The Methodist edition


As they kept Jensen’s text and images, they opted for a promotion of doctrines at least then not very common. First, Methodist Pneumatology refers in general to prevenient grace, not irresistible grace. This is much nearer to the Catholic concept of provenient grace than to the Calvinist one and opens the way for accountable and responsible interaction of humanity with God and the world. Second, Brazilian Methodists were the only denomination which adopted the Social Creed in Brazil and adapted it to their context, promoting a direct in-
volvement with labor affairs and rural as industrial workers rights. Jensen translation does not only not stand for anything like this but he openly rejected the idea of at least minimal transformation of the world.

2.2 The Lutheran edition[s]

Concerning the Lutheran editions, there should be an even older one, because a friend of Gossner, Ignaz Lindl, was the director of the Barmen Mission in 1827, a mission which did pioneer work in Brazil from 1865 onwards among German immigrants (but, up to now, this could not be confirmed in loci). For sure is an edition in German language, edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Brepohl in 1932, published by the “German Association for Evangelism and Popular Mission” [Deutsche Vereinigung für Evangelisation und Volksmission] in the state of Paraná, a publisher who acted from 1933 onwards as a Brazilian arm of the propaganda of the German Christians. Although then, that the book was published before the election of Adolf Hitler, the execution of the Airier Paragraph and the exclusion of pastors with Jewish discenden
dence, Brepohl was already known by its publications in defense of the organization Stahlhelm and ultraconservative organization of former combatants of World War First. There is no doubt that these activities represent at least conservative political convictions in continuity to Gossner. So I was very keen on including this book in our research. Unfortunately, I could only locate one exemplar of the book outside of Brazil, in the German National Library, in its dependence in Leipzig and hope, after this congress, visit the library and get to know it.

2.3 The Pentecostal and Baptist editions

From the fifties, the well-known edition of the All Nations Gospel Publishers was distributed in Brazil, principally among Pentecostals. As already among Presbyterians and Methodists, the text was distributed in huge quantities especially in evangelist activities and was occasionally used by Catholic (!) communities (Image 13). In distinction to Jensen’s edition, the South African own follows the original order of the emblems in Gossner’s book. The text is nearly independent, but sometimes resembles the original text. The front page shows in both cases not the inner of the heart, but an angel and the devil (in the Pentecostal version together with demons in the form of bats (Image 13) fighting for a heart. In the Baptist version, the devil keeps the heart bound to him by a chain (Image 14).

The color of the devil on the front page (Image 13) changed later from brown to blue. This may be result to a higher sensibility for race issues, but, this it not for sure.

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52 A minor difference is that the later Methodist editor was probably not firm in Latin. From the 14th edition onwards one reads “Omni custodia serva com tuum” instead of “Omni custodia serva cor tuum”. This error is kept up to the 20th and last edition in 1980.

53 This cannot surprise considering the presence of the iconography of Vincent Huby (1608-1693) emblems.

54 The Pentecostal and then the Baptist edition kept the quotation from 1 John 3.4-10, only changed it to 3.4-20.
Who compares the images 2, 3 and 11 to the following two (images 15 and 16) sees clearly that the Catholic iconography still is intact.
From 1998 onwards a Baptist publisher maintained the text and the engravings, and had in 2007 already achieved a 9th edition (Image 12).

3. Significance: The description of the relation of the religious subject to the word around him or her

The book of the heart was formative in many ways. One aspect is its promotion of a dichotomist world view, dividing life in a sphere dominated by the devil and his demons or by God and his angels. Who compares Huby and Gossner with, for example, Anton Wierix, can see that in work of the later the devil is graphically and textually much less present, whereas in general in all three the world is absent, that is, it in general not even portrayed in the emblems. In all 10 emblems appears also an Angel, accompanied in six cases by the dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit. As the demons are the mediators between the human being and the devil, the angels are the divine interfaces.

This dispute for the human heart results in human life or in a total victory of the trinity – marked by a complete absence of the devil and his demons – or by a entire success of the devil and the plain disappearance of God (Images 16 and 17), resulting in heaven or hell.

Concerning the general omission of references to the world in its natural or cultural dimensions space, one emblem makes an exceptions and focuses on the world relation (figures 18-21). This relations is developed by its double description. First, the world is directly mentioned and represented by two male figures. They can be found at the margins of the heart and

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55 This is not totally surprising. Wierix is an engraver of the renaissance, a time when the occident was [re]building his hope based on a new world approach and new worldview. This optimism is still present in the baroque, but Huby – a contemporanean of Baroque and Rococo world –, expresses already the fragility of this optimism, which is definitely fading away after the French revolution, and in the 19th century culminating in the world rejection of the I. Vaticanum.
beneath of it. Within the iconic landscape of the surrounding of these emblems, from the half downwards one is within the sphere of the devil and the highest level of the demonic is on its bottom, reserved not to demons but mal human beings.

On the other hand the emblems describe, too, the relation of the religious subject to the world. It is symbolized by the sack with grains which in Gossner’s interpretation has a double function: to signalize to keep oneself distance from the word by being as much as possible independent, for example, by stocking food, and, on the other hand to relate to the world by charity, which reveals again a very medieval mindset.

Men with a cup and a knife:

1813: “You see in this picture how the human heart is surrounded on all sides by enemies. [...] Below are two men who represent the world, one of which invites with a cup to sensual and worldly pleasures, the other with a knife tries by threats, persecutions, blasphemies and other violent means to hinder from doing good, and to entice a sinful life”. 57

1914/1970: “It is now seen, again, the heart of the old man surrounded by enemies, the world, the flesh and the devil – who, nevertheless are not yet in a position to enter the heart [...] The world is represented here by two men; the one with a sword (as well as in the emblem number 3) stand for threat

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56 See image 6.
57 “Du siehst auf diesem Bilde, wie das Herz des Menschen von allen Seiten von Feinden umgeben ist. [...] Unten stehen zwei Männer, die die Welt vorstellen, worvon einer durch die Darreichung eines Bechers zu sinnlichen Lustbarkeiten, und weltlichen Vergnügen einlädet; der andere mit dem Dolche sucht durch Drohungen, Verfolgungen und Lästerungen und andere gewaltsame Mittel vom Guten abzuschrecken, und zu einem stündhaftan Leben zu verleiten” (1814, p. 28).
and persecution, while the other, with the chalice, represents the attractions and sinful pleasures of this century”.

1985: “a Christian [...] stands firm even when his attempt ed on all sides... We see a man dancing with a glass in his hand, trying to seduce the Christian with the pleasures of the world. [...] The second man is knifing the Christian. When a believer or even an enemy of the Gospel speaks bad about others, when he is unfaithful, when he mocks and threatens others, all this is like a knife in the heart of the sincere Christian ...”.

Beside the variations, all editions kept the idea of being surrounded by enemies or enemies and devils. There is no neutral, free, or middle ground and the world is not seen as inhabited by God.

The most positive move in favor of the world around is symbolized by an open money bag:

1814: “The open money bag displays his charity, his fraternal charity. He works against the avarice when he likes to share his own with his needy

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58 “Vê-se agora, outra vez, o coração do homem cercado dos velhos inimigos, o mundo, a carne e o diabo – que não estão, contudo em condições de outra vez entrar [...] O mundo está aqui representado por dois homens, um dos quais com uma espada (como também na tampa n. 3) representa a a ameaça e a perseguição, enquanto que o outro, com o cálice, representa os atrativos e os gozos deste século pecaminoso. “ (Gossner, 1970, p. 66)

59 “... um cristão [...] fica firme mesmo quando tentando de todos os lados [...] vê-se um homem a dançar com um copo na mão, tentando assim o cristão com os prazeres do mundo, [...] O segundo homem está esfaqueando o Cristão. Quando uma pessoa que se diz crente ou mesmo um inimigo do Evangelho fala mal dos outros, é infiel, escarnece e ameaça os outros, tudo isso é como fosse uma faca no coração do Cristão sincero...” (1985, p. 26).
brothers as much as he can, to practice love and to free his heart more and more of an earthly tear".  

1970: “The open bag means that the Christian must always practice charity, remembering the words of Christ who said…”  

1985: “The open money bag shows that not only your heart but also your money has to be consecrated to God. Instead of spending your money for nothing, spend it on alms to the poor and gives the tenth and offerings to God's Work. Some give all their possesses to the glory of God”.  

There is a slide move between the three texts from an exclusive ecclesiocentric charity, to charity without any ecclesiological indication to a more missionary attitude, but one thing all have in common, there is no move at all into the direction of building or transforming society.  

The world relation becomes more evident when one reflects upon the world relation of the Jesuit successor of Vincent Huby, of Gossner himself, of Pentecostals to the state of Apartheid or the dictatorship in Brazil. Concerning Huby one can at least refer to a mindset the promoted the Catholic Reformation. In the 18th century the devotion of the sacred heart of Jesus became known as the religion of the King - that is in defense of the French monarchy against the French revolution – and in the late 19th century Ultramontanism promoted this devotion in a anti-republic perspective. Between these two expressions appeared the book of Gossner. Under the impression of the effects of Napoleon occupation of Bavaria, he later transferred this very negative idea to the revolutionary activities in Berlin around 1848. Since 1816 observed by conservative aristocratic Protestant circles in Berlin Gossner would by the occasion of the revolutionary uprisings in 1848 in Berlin “… ask insistently in a letter sent to Frederick William IV directly before the 18th march of 1848, not to use false ammunition, but, real one, even if ten revolutionaries might die, for by this the life of hundreds of pacific citizens this might be saved”.  

I agree to the author who still in the same paragraph describes Gossner – side by side with Krummbacher – as a “militant conservative”. A militant aristocratic (!) conservative…  

What in Gossner can be also described as the reflection of traumatic experiences, becomes in the Brazilian editions much more questionable, and this for two reasons. First, especially the Presbyterian Jensen and his Methodist followers had already in 1914 a highly developed, establishment critical and pro-labor discourse at hand: the Social Creed. There is no way that even Brazilian Presbyterians and Methodists could have missed this, as the Social Gospel was

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60 “Der offene Geldsack zeigt seine Wohltätigkeit, seine brüderliche Nächstenliebe an. Er arbeitet dem Geitz entgegen, indem er gern von dem Seinigem seinen bedürftigen Brüdern mittheilt, soviel er kann; um Liebe zu üben und sein Herz immer mehr vom irdischen loszureissen” (1814, p. 40).
61 “A bolsa aberta significa que o cristão deve sempre praticar a caridade, lembrando-se da palavra de Cristo que disse...” (GOSSNER, 1970, p. 68).
62 “O saquinho aberto de dinheiro, mostra que não somente o seu coração,mas, também o seu dinheiro está consagrado a Deus. Em vez de gastar a toa o seu dinheiro, gasta-o em esmolas para os pobres e dá o décimo e as ofertas para a Obra de Deus. Há quem dê tudo que possui para a glória de Deus” (1985, p. 28).
63 BIGLER, Robert M. The Politics of German Protestantism: The Rise of the Protestant Church Elite in Prussia, 1815–1848. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1972. p. 128 and 129, mentions that the information about Gossner’s Catholic revival in Bavaria already in 1816 found its interest among Berlin’s “Pietist aristocracy”. “By this, a new element of religious mysticism, originating from the Catholic South, was introduced to the Protestant North of Germany.”
65 Gossner’s stay in Russia was also indebted to represents of a Russian mysticism, in part, presenting itself as protestant.
quite present among them since the Missionary Conference in 1910 in Edinburgh. The option for the edition of Gossner’s book has to be interpreted as a “counter-discourse” to the promotion of the Social Gospel. Second, in 1914 Brazil had been already 26 years a Republic and Protestantism – especially Presbyterians and Methodists – had presented themselves as active promoters of democracy and Republican ideals. Among the Lutherans the things were a little bit but not total different, and Brepohl’s edition fits et least better to his proximity to the Arian Church of the German Christians than to the Confessional Church.

The Pentecostal option to use the book from the fifties onwards – the first time they started in Brazil large evangelist campaigns by tent missions – can be understood on the basis of their world distant and critical dispensationalist eschatology and by the post second world war order and its sharp communist – capitalist diatomic, which in part contributed to the dictatorship of Vertúlio Vargas (1937-1945) and for sure to the dictatorship of 1964-1985. When Pentecostals started to use the book, they were politically still not relevant and citizenship as a project or the ideal of transformation of society did not fit into their eschatology.\(^6\) The Baptist edition from 1998 onwards, 10 years after democracy had been reestablished in 1988, reflects the main political option of the Baptist Alliance of Brazil during the editorship 1964-1985, but is even less understandable or defendable.

Final considerations

The Book of the heart as a iconological bridge between the colonial “religio cordis brasiliensis” and Protestant resemblance of the “cordial man”

The wide and quite "ecumenical" distribution of Gossner’s work is hardly found again at any other place of the world and can not only be explained in the terms of cultural history – as a response to the dominant religious discourse – or aesthetically – by the inclination of the Brazilian religious culture to orality and imagery, but it has to be discussed in terms of its social significance. In Brazil, the “religio cordis” is associated particularly with the Jesuits and the Carmelites - the Order, who united the colonial elite of this slave society - and has been touted as its last mutation as the favored piety of Ultramontanism and Romanization. This combines the “religio cordis” in Brazil almost without exception with a project of a mysticistic inwardness which almost immunized its adepts to social issues. By the uncritical reception of Gossner the various Protestant and Pentecostal denominations promoted social values, that were just as little friendly towards Republican ideals as the Catholic version. Despite some Catholic and Protestant attempts in the eighties to reinterpret the “religio cordis” as a religious language of solidarity and justice, the colonial preconceived meaning retained the upper hand. This may have something to do with the power of symbolic emblems and its very specific grounding and definition of the “religio cordis brasiliensis”.

The Book of the heart and the relation between the religious subject and society

The Little book of the heart did not respond to the social challenges and political possibilities of modern states providing a vision of a critical but active citizenship. In spite of this, it perpetuated a profound negative world view and a very downsized idea of world responsibility as charity. By this it contributed to the conflicts within the churches and between the

\(^6\) There are some exceptions among rural Pentecostal leaders, who envolved themselves in the fight for a land reform.
churches about the “right” spirituality and the “right” relation to the state. The “inner” world was not related to the real “outer” world, what contributed to a willing or silent support of dictatorships, absence from the fights for democracy, and in some cases even persecution of those who did.\textsuperscript{67}

I conclude that Jensen believed the contents of the original version were generally consistent with his understanding of the Presbyterian tradition. He subtly presents Calvin as the representative of the \textit{religio cordis} and discreetly omits non-Presbyterian concepts, such as the Catholic \textit{zuvorkommende Gnade} (prevenient grace). Moreover, Jensen reorganizes the sequence of emblems according to the late Protestant scheme of the “broad and narrow way”, which, in fact, reaffirms only a central aspect of the book’s original message, its unilateral negative understanding of the world as seductive or oppressive. Thus, even the introduction of freedom in place of generosity, that is, of a distinct Protestant concept, did not contribute to the creation of a more Protestant rereading. There is a prevailing dichotomous imaginary of a battle between God and the devil in and by the human heart focused on reaching a holy death, with no intention of transforming the world.

\textsuperscript{67} See xxxxx \textit{Inquisition without fire places..} first published in the US, than in Brazil.