Introduction

Religion is part of the culture and part of the Brazilian culture is its *religio cordis*, its religion of the heart. It is so common in this country that it does not call any special attention, and so significant that it influenced even those confessions or denominations that would consider themselves ever near to Catholicism.

The issue of the “cordial” religion found me in 2008, during the elaboration of my contribution to a Wesleyan Study Week, dedicated to the centenary of the Social Creed (1908). My question was: Why the Social Creed was so little remembered in the daily of the church? It was our colleague Dr. Paulo Ayres Mattos who tried to explain this omission by handing over to me a little booklet called *O livrinho do coração* (GOSSNER, 1970), *The little book of the heart*. Soon I discovered that Mattos was right in his interpretation of the worldview of this little popular spiritual guide: indeed it described the world in a very unilateral way as a context which or persecutes or seduces the religious person. However, it was a different issue, which called immediately my attention: What my colleague introduced to me as a small Methodist booklet, had, actually a very common Catholic iconology. Soon I sensed another intriguing proximity, this time, between this publication and the colonial iconography of the *religio cordis brasilensis*. Finally I wondered what this all might have to do with Sérgio Buarque de Holanda’s sociological typology referring to the typical Brazilian as “’cordial’ man”, synonym for the national character even still in 1936 (Decca, 2006)?

The majority of researchers describe Brazilian evangelicals as, basically, “anti-cultural”. This is the case of Ewbank (apud HOLANDA, 2008, p. 151) – “’The austere Puritanism or Methodism will never flourish in the tropics’” – or Gilberto Freire (1962, p. 59-60):

> It is time for the Brazilian Protestant Christianity to go further and to contribute […] with a writer of the stature and flame revolutionary, I’d say, like Euclides da Cunha, with the greatness of a poet like Manoel Bandeira, or a composer who is another Villa-Lobos, who compose Brazilian bacchanals that would be both, a Protestant and a Brazilian interpretation of Bach. We are looking for a cartoonist or playwright, revolutionary protestant, that by his caricatures or plays denounces abuses of the rich, who try to preserve the privileges of their class by pretending to be protectors of religious traditions or of what sometimes is called in pompous and hypocritical terms, Christian civilization.

Beside the slice dose of irony – the composition of “Brazilian bacchanals” would probably not be a primary issue or cultural interest among Brazilian Protestants – the words of Freire, pronounced in a conference of Protestant Churches in 1962, were heard in those days:

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1 Professor of the School of Theology of the Methodist University of São Paulo, Brazil (Umesp). and designated as Program Director for the Postgraduate Program for Religious Studies.
2 The term “evangélico” is today used in Brazil to describe anyone from historic Protestants to Pentecostals or Neo-Pentecostals.
3 Gilberto Freire (1900-1987): one of the most important Brazilian sociologists and anthropologists.
4 Concerning alcohol, Brazilian Protestantism does not defend temperance, but, prohibition.
We ask ourselves up to what extent the Protestant Church has penetrated our authentic culture, or identified itself with it, and up to which point it has only artificially superimposed itself to it, or placed itself beside it, thereby creating a kind of “ecclesiastical subculture” that has no roots in Brazilian cultural tradition, nor will create them in the future. [...] It is not necessary to reject totally the foreign contributions; as far as they really enrich the Brazilian context. It is, however, necessary to make them Brazilian. It is by the identification with the people that an artistic work or other cultural institution can achieve and express universal values that contribute to the true humanization of the people, as manifested in the incarnation of Jesus Christ (SN, 1962, p. 181).

From the moment that the comments of Freire are read in its contexts, this is, alongside the contribution of Almir dos Santos⁵ (1962, p. 1-12), Joaquim Beato⁶ (1962, p. 13-32) and Celso Furtado⁷ (1962, p. 65-88), it becomes clear that the “humanization of the human being” includes cultural sensibility and a sense for citizenship, that includes the capacity to challenge cultural contradictions and its defense of injustice.⁸ Whereas Holanda, following Weber, counted on the successive disappearance of the “cordial man” by the process secularization, Protestantism, from the sixties onwards, understood that the Christian faith would contribute at the time to a critical analyses and appreciation of the Brazilian culture.

Fifty years later, however, the religious situation had once again shifted to a large extend. Instead of the expected erasing of religion from society or at least its retreat to the private sphere (Holanda), notes the sociologist of religion Jose Bittencourt Filho, the disappearance of the rational aspect of religion in Church and society: “The Brazilian Religious Matrix favors religious ecstasy as a sort of culmination of the direct experience of the sacred” (BITTENCOURT FILHO, 2003, p. 72). According to the author, this matrix represents “… the Brazilian common sense on religion [...] that [...] induces devotional behaviors” (BITTENCOURT FILHO, 2003, p. 77). Both Catholicism and [neo] Pentecostalism, in their quest for religious hegemony, are trying to occupy “…the cultural symbols [...] and the common heritage, deeply rooted in the hearts and minds of the population” (BITTENCOURT FILHO, 2003, p. 79).

I present, then a twofold hypothesis: First, I intend to show that the shape of the dominant heart religion in Brazilian culture justifies referring to it as a “cordial” religion in the sense that Holanda has applied to it: a religion that certainly not promotes “citizenship”. The second part of this hypothesis refers to those Brazilian, Protestant, Pentecostal or Neopentecostal represents that articulates themselves by using the pictorial and metaphorical language of the heart of religion. I believe that they, in general, reproduce a very similar mentality to the dominant one instead of introducing an alternative Protestant expression of the religion of the heart.

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⁵ Methodist minister, Director of the Theological School in São Paulo, Secretary of the department for social action, later Bishop.
⁶ Presbytarian minister.
⁷ Celso Furtado (1920-2004): Economist and important Brazilian intellectual. During the presidency of Juscelino Kubitschek, created in 1959 the SUDENE [Northeast Development Superintendence]. Attended the conference in this function.
The *religio cordis* has a long history. The heart metaphors found in the Bible articulate, first, a Jewish or Semitic anthropology, which localize in the heart the faculties of affectivity, will, and discernment. Later on this anthropology is mixed with the Greek and Roman distinction between the heart of the *locus* of emotion and the brain as the *locus* of reason. Up to certain extend these two understandings already anticipate the two main expressions of the *religio cordis*:

- **Greek anthropology**: medieval Catholicism, Catholic reformation, and Ultramontanism or Romanism (devotion of the sacred heart of Jesus); (some neoplatonic Lutherans as Jacob Boehme and Christian Hohenburg);
- **Hebrew anthropology**: the protestant reformation; pietists like Nicolaus of Zinzendorf and his communitarian mystique (*Unitas Fratrum* or *Brüdergemeine*) with its eventual quietist and mysticist – and definitely ecclesiocentric – tendencies;

The Jansenist Pascal, partially also quietist, but at least providing a critical reading of rationalism without rejecting it plainly;

John Wesley’s understanding of religion as religion of heart and (!) life.

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**Picture 1**: The religion of the heart and its cultural settings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Religio cordis</th>
<th>Religio pectorum</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bernard de Clarval (1)</td>
<td>Martim Lutero (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gertrudes de Helfta (2)</td>
<td>João Calvino (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechthild de Helfta (2)</td>
<td><em>Georgette Montenay</em> (1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catarina de Siena (3)</td>
<td>Andreas Cramer (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine Wierix (4)</td>
<td>Christian Hohenburg (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ignácio de Loyola (5)</td>
<td>Jacob Boehme (2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teresa de Ávila (5)</td>
<td>Nikulaus de Zinzendorf (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>João da Cruz (5)</td>
<td>John Wesley (6)</td>
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<td>Michel Nobletz (1)</td>
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<td>Vincent Huby (1)</td>
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<td>Francis Quarles (1)</td>
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<td>Hugo Herman (2)</td>
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<td>Benedictus de Haeften (4)</td>
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<td>Jean Eudes (1)</td>
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<td>Marie Alcoque (1)</td>
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<td>Blaise Pascal (1)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johannes Evangelista Gossner (2)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

9 1 France; 2: Germany; 3: Italy; 4: Belgium; 5: Spain / Portugal; 6: England.
The religion of the heart is hereby understood as a complex phenomenon of the occident, with distinct Catholic and Protestant characteristics and especially appreciated by movements who pretend to reform Christian piety or the church as a whole by reviving it.

Our specific question is: What type of religio cordis has shaped the Brazilian religious mentality?

1. The Catholic religio cordis brasiliensis

“Erasmian humanism, highest expression of the Catholic valorization of man, at least as far as it respected its subordination to God, was in a short time eliminated from Portugal” (PAIVA, 2003, p. 14).

In response to the Council Trent (1545-1563), three Iberian mystics, Ignacius of Loyola, John of the Cross and Teresa of Avila, all articulators of a religio cordis, were understood as models to shape the Latin American Catholic spirituality and “the process of evangelization of the continent” (BINGEMER, 2004, p. 45). The religio cordis formed the mental unity of the “long-lasting” 17th century, with its beginning in 1580 and its end in 1750 (HANSEN apud PAIVA, 2003, p, 15) and explains its continuous importance up to the end of the 19th century, when it returned in its ultramontane expression (BORRIELLO apud ORIZEM, 2011, s. p.):

... the modern age also saw the two great Spanish mystics Teresa of Jesus and St. John of the Cross, which represent the highest point of the encoding of the mystic experience and to which refer all later theologians. They lived fully the climate the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which linked mystique to missionary activity, within and outside the convent. Mystique became a mystique in action, was lived in Carmelite reform, and had its highest expression, some centuries later, just when a Carmelite saint was declared patroness of the missions: Therese of Lisieux.

This mystique was therefore a motivating and mobilizing power that related the very beginning of the colony to the ultramontane movement. When the Jesuits came to Brazil in 1549, there was not yet an important means of disseminating their theologia cordis, the genre of emblem books. But soon, in 1586 or 1587, Antoine Wierix published his work Jesu Cor amanti sacrum, and there are indications that it was used in Brazil.

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10 We do not enter here in the discussion concerning the heart symbol in Islamic mystic and a quite probable exchange between Islamic and Christian mysticism in Spain (SOUZA, 2011).
12 The oldest Christian emblem book using the heart symbol has been written, surprisingly, by a Calvinist woman, Georgette Montenay.
Picture 2 introduces us to some of the typical elements the Catholic *religio cordis*. The human heart is depicted as hollow, the focuses on the human interior. Around the image we find clouds or angels, inside the heart dominates the virgin, breastfeeding the baby Jesus. Far away from the world that actually fully disappeared, the iconography promotes the calmness of the mystical union. Although the genre of emblem books was not very developed in Portugal until the mid-17th century, what led Junior (2011, p. 134) to refer to a “... modest, late, frustrating and derived ...” production, the brothers Wierix were the favorite engravers of King Philip II (1556-1598) and present in America, as Sauvy (1989, p. 55ss) and Borges and Souza (2007, p. 1) state:

To understand the power by expansion of religious engravings in this period, it is necessary to highlight the importance of an editor: Christophe Plantin (1520-1589), who commanded the largest printing agency in Western Europe in the second half of the sixteenth century. On June 10, 1570 [...] Plantin held a monopoly on printing religious books of an immense and powerful Catholic kingdom. [...] This major publisher had numerous writers and editors at his service. Among them stand out the Flemish [...] brothers Wierix. [...] In Antwerp, what is today Belgium, he led one of the most powerful means of counter-reform propaganda.

Therefore, we believe that at least from 1590 onwards *Cor Iesv amanti sacrvm* was read in Brazil, together with other engravings like the one of Ana of Jesus (Picture 3).

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13 An indirect proves I found in the National Library of Spain. It is the case of the engraving “*La Virgen amamantando al Niño*” dated as “1579 y 1604?” It has been correctly related to A. Wierix, but was not identified as the emblem 19 of *Cor Iesv amanti sacrvm*. 
In the engraving of Anne of Jesus, Carmelite companion of Teresa from Avila, made by Antoine Wierix, the Carmelite holds in her hand a burning heart. In the picture we read in Latin: *Accepte cor meum et confige illud iculo amoris tui ut dicat tibi anima mea charitate tua vulnerate sum* (Take my heart and pierce it with the spear of your love and I tell thee that my soul is wounded by thy love). This is a reference to the so-called transverberation of the heart, once again, an experience of ecstasy with approximation to mystical union as pattern of an ideal spirituality. Not accidentally, the heart with a flame is a iconographic trademark of the Jesuits’ *theologia cordis*.14

Another interesting expression of the form how Carmelite spirituality has been introduced to Brazil is a biography of Teresa of Jesus (Picture 3) with the interesting title *Amaçona Cristiana*15 (SAFE, 1619).

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14 This can be seen in several Jesuit emblem books.
15 The title itself is an interesting mixture. It is a mixture of Portuguese (Amaçona) and Spanish (Cristiana) and was written during the so-called Iberian Union, that is when Portugal and Spain belonged to the same kingdom.
Here, Teresa from Avila is approximated to one of the early Brazilian myths. The myth of the Amazons, female warriors, was originally part of the Greek mythology. In 1619, however, it had been revitalized and related to Brazil. Francisco de Orellana (1511-1546), after a meeting with indigenous warriors, named the river, on which he was sailing in search of El Dorado, Amazon River. So Teresa is understood as a spiritual female warrior, wounded not by the arrows of Amazon warriors, but by the arrow of God’s love, fighting the good fight, fighting superstition.

In 1619, the Carmelites were still settling in Latin America, and the description of Teresa as “Christian Amazon” highlights her pioneering spirit, and by this the pioneering spirit of the Carmelites crossing the Atlantic. The book contains only one picture: the experience of transverberation of the heart. The simple art depicts an angel with arrow, a dove representing the Spirit of God and Teresa of Jesus with open arms in expectations of God’s arrow. The image reproduces for what Teresa stands and what religion is about – in Brasil. For whatever Teresa has been, has thought, has dreamed of as a person, in Latin America she became part of a colonial project, and was used to project and protect it.
After the end of the Iberian Union, we find, interestingly, four emblem books in the Kingdom of Portugal, and all are using the language of the *religio cordis*:

- Two editions of the *Pia desideria* from Hugo Herman (1646 e 1830 apud JUNIOR, p. 139);
- One edition of the *Spiritual exercises* from Loyola (1687 apud JUNIOR, p. 139);
- One emblem book about the life of Teresa of Avila (ANTÔNIO, 1710; 1716; 1727) with 20 “mystic” emblems (apud JUNIOR, 2011, p. 138).

Once again we encounter a mixture of Jesuit literature promoting a *religio cordis* with a biography about Teresa of Avila as a model for Christian life.

The work of Herman (1588-1629), originally published in 1624, is considered the masterpiece of the Jesuit *religio cordis* and its most publicized book. His pious wishes – *Pia desideria* – are using the iconography of the heart to propagate the mystical union.

All emblems are composed by representations of *amor divinus* (always in the form of cupid) and *anima humana* (usually a figure without wings). In the engraving (picture 2) *anima humana* is on its knees and offers its heart to the *amor divinus* which holds...
the two tablets of the 10 commandments, expressions of divine love, represented by two hearts. The engraving is signed with Psalm 119.80. While the psalm refers originally to the meditation of the Torah as a whole, the emblem reduces it to the observation of the ten commandments, that is, on the one hand it emphasizes a religious practice traditionally reserved in Catholicism to the common people. This differs from the requirements in relation to and the members of religious orders and their programs within the horizon of perfection, sanctification and the mortification of personal desires. On the other hand, communicates the dual presentation – both the divine heart and the human heart – the idea of the exchange or replacement of the human heart by the divine heart, and this tent to be a typical mysticist metaphor for it is pronouncing an immediate event and not a process which at least lasts a while. Hugo promotes the mystical union as a result of the praxis of contemplation. This interpretation also corresponds to the structure of the book as a whole, and its division into three parts corresponding to “the via purgativa, the via illuminativa and the via uniativa” as the progress of the soul “(apud Dimler SHAVING, 2000, p 65). Resuming, Hugo focuses on the mystical union and thus reproduces the Catholic theological emphasis favored during the Catholic Reformation or counter-Reformation.

The trend of the 17th and 18th centuries to edit books emblematic of the theologia cordis in national languages indicates its dissemination beyond the small group of those able to read Latin in which the mentioned life of Teresa and the Jesuit emblem books usually were written. On the whole we have the impression that the Jesuits or interpreted the mystic of Teresa as similar to their own, trying to integrate here into their cosmos or to appropriate themselves of her popularity.

From 1580, there was another favorable aspect to the use of books. At the end of the 16th century,

... Jesuits were engaged in the education of the elites in their colleges, the sermons on Lent and Advent and to take confessions from urban European population. Numerous were the Jesuits of the province occupied by those tasks that did not consider themselves missionaries (CASTELNAU-L’ESTOILE, 2006, p. 208).

Unfortunately, the libraries of these colleges have not survived. Borges and Souza (2007, p. 2), however, remember that the wide diffusion of engravings of saints became a subject to the Inquisition, as the misinterpretation of these images caused conflicts, and Theresa was an important expression of the official devotion:

However, throughout the colonial period in Brazil, the example of her life reverberated through her devotion practiced by the Third Orders, although these institutions were secular and Marian and had as main Saint our Lady of the Carmel. Nonetheless, the imagetic representation of the Spanish Saint in all churches of the Carmelite Third Order in Brazil is remarkable, what made the Teresa the second most important Saint of these temples. Beside this, prevailed in Brazil in the churches of Carmel of the barefoot male the devotion to the Saint Teresa of Avila around the cities of Salvador and Olinda (Orazem, 2011, p. 8).

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21 *Fiat cor meum immaculatum in iustificationibus tuis, ut non confundat* (Let my heart be perfect in thy statutes, That I be not put to shame).
22 Contributed to the fact itself a technical aspect: the visible and conscious quotation of works known in the 17th century was still considered an element that valued the work and increased his prestige.
23 Both cities were up to the eighteens century the main cities of Brazil. Salvador was the principal harbour were the slaves were landed.
But which of the three main types of her hagiographic representation – as a writer, and later as a doctor, in a moment of ecstasy as mystical experience, or her ascendance to heaven – is the dominant representations of Teresa of Ávila in colonial Brazil? According to Beatriz Coelho (2005, p. 79), “The great reformer of the Carmelites is always represented […] carrying a book and a pen, symbols of the great doctor she was.” The researcher's observation applies to the iconographic program of the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Diamantina, MG and, indirectly, to all representations which remember various moments of the life of the saint (see on this subject SEBASTIAN apud ORAZEM, 2011, s. p.). In fact, this claim cannot be maintained. For example, where, as in the case of the Church of the Third Order of Our Lady of Carmel in São Paulo, the theme of the doctors of the church explicitly appears, Teresa is painted as ascending to heaven. Beside this we find the focus on the exchange of the heart with Christ or the transverberation (pictures 6 and 7).

![Picture 6: Carmelite church of the Third Order, Ouro Preto, MG (Sacristy)](image1)

![Picture 7: Church of the Carmo, Sabará, MG](image2)

This cannot surprise, as the iconic program of Baroque appealed to the senses and wanted to fascinate, enthral, entice, excite and move, as José Amadeu Dias Coelho (1998, p. 291-292) excels in his brief characterization of its non rational pictorial language:

> The law of the Baroque was precisely to attract the senses, fascinate aesthetic sensitivity, delight and seduce the taste, in a word, to move and excite. It reacted against the natural paganization of the Renaissance, against the simplistic pauperism of Lutheran theology, and against the dispossession of Protestant worship, without altar or images. [...] By sensitivity one tried to convince the reason and open the minds of believers to the great, mysterious and non rational dogmas of the Catholic religion.

Dias goes even so for to identify the “Baroque man” as “*homo religiosus romanus*” (DIAS, 2003, p. 302), not without discussion the ambiguity between project and reality:

“Man of baroque”, while specimen that epitomizes an era [...], is a paradigm of emotion and muscularity, sensitivity and sensuality, desires and passions, impulses and aspirations, hopes and illusions. It is this cortege of contradictions that epitomizes the “triumph of Baroque”: at first glance splendid and golden, plethoric of elation and celebration, but in reality, hollow, delusional, superfluous, without consistency (DIAS, 2003, p. 293).

Yet another fact, however, limited further a potential liberating effect of the mystical union promoted by the *religio cordis*. In colonial Brazil, the Carmelite churches were the churches of those families which belonged to nobility and the upper classes. The preference of this segment of the colonial society for a religious order which focused on the mystical union and not, at least, on the imitation of Christ in everyday’s life, is comprehensible as the attempt to understand oneself as extraordinary sensible for the religion, whereas, in reality, it meant to be totally disconnected from the daily life of a slave society.

The Third Order of Carmel was an institution that acted primarily as a social organization of white and blood purity, both symbols of power in the colonial period. Therefore, the Third Order of Carmel was a brotherhood where the most important people of the region where associated themselves, that is, public officials, plantation owners, merchants, and others. Some researchers such as Russell-Wood (1970) state that the profession of most of the brothers of the Third Order was merchants, landowners who exchanged their products for goods (ORAZEM, 2011a).

Thus, the potential of the religion of the heart to help articulate individuality and otherness beyond institutional readings and official circles was restricted to erudite circles and colonial officials, with shielding effect against possible rectifications of other social groups. The most prestigious Saint of the counterreformation had been incorporated into the colonial world alongside principals and colonels. The pursuit of holiness was reduced to seeking a more intimate relationship with God, not interpreted as an ongoing project to build fairer relationships, of mutually commitment to the common good of all human beings. The emphasis on the mystical union fitted perfectly in the Portuguese colonial system and benefited from it in a special way: after the Jesuits, Carmelites had the largest number of slaves in comparison to other religious orders. If the Jesuits were the beloved of the crown, the Carmelites became the beloved of the colony. This went on up to the beginning of the 19 century when the prohibition of acceptance of novices during the reign of Queen Mary I (1777-1816) "... resulted in a notorious aging and emptying o numerous convents of the time, which led to their absolute decline in the nineteenth century (CAMPOS, 2001, p. 58).

Beside Theresa, we find in Brazilian Benedictine Chapels and monasteries often the memory of Gertrude. According Geraldo Dias (2003, p. 304), this was quite common:

> Among the saints of the order, deserved special veneration St. Scholastica, sister of St. Benedict, the mystical and contemplative Benedictine-Cistercian Santa Ger-

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25 Gertrude from Helfta, is actually the first mystic who used the metaphor of the transverberation of the heart in her texts. Interestingly, no iconic equivalent of this does exist. The hagiographic symbol found in picture 9 is used in engravings and prints still in the nineteenth century.
trudes the Great, with altar or images in all monasteries […] To some extend it anticipated the devotion to the Heart of Jesus in the 19th and 20th century.

See next the rare representation of Gertrude in earthenware from the 17th century, originally of the convent of Santa Clara (a Franciscan order), São Paulo. The heart, hold with both hands, "contains" the baby Jesus, and its top we see flames.

![Picture 8: Santa Gertrude, São Paulo, Brasil, séc. 17](image)

Jesus as a child also seems to hold a heart in his left hand. The imaginary signals the presence of Jesus inside Gertrude, his brilliance and his loving attitude (Offering of the Heart).

In relation to the friars the identification passes for awarding the heart of Saint Anthony, even though it was not very common. We find an example in Tiradentes, MG, in the Church of St. Anthony (1710-1732). There, the heart symbol was painted on one of the panels in the ceiling of the nave of the church, in a center position close to the altar.
It is actually, the Jesuit heart with flames on its upper side. After the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1749, the Franciscans took over several of their chapels, as in the case of São Miguel Paulista. There in its permanent exhibit I found two figures with the heart symbol. In fact there is no information about their origin and whether they were in use in Jesuit or only in Franciscan time.
The golden heart with the letters IHS recall the iconography of the Jesuit Francis Xavier, but the clothes are Franciscan, what remembers Benedictus. The problem: The hagiographic characteristics of Benedictus would at least include Jesus as a boy or flowers. Have we here a very rare example coming to us directly from Jesuits times? Do Franciscans here assume the iconography of the Jesuit theologia cordis, although their traditional focus would be more to the wounds and broken heart of Jesus as can be seen in the front of the Franciscan church in Sao Joao del Rei (Picture s 11-14)?

**Figura 11:** Church of São Francisco de Assis, São João del Rei, 1774.

**Figura 12:** Church of São Francisco de Assis, São João del Rei, 1774, Detail.

**Figura 13:** Church of São Francisco de Assis, São João del Rei, 1774.

**Figura 14:** Church of São Francisco de Assis, São João del Rei, 1774, symbol of the third order.
With the decline of this expression of the *religio cordis* in colonial Brazil, another expression came up, the celebration of the devotion of the heart of Jesus. Again, it was promoted by the Jesuits and became known in the French revolution as the spirituality of the king. As in the rest of the world, the celebration of the devotion of the heart of Jesus gained new *impetus* after Vatican I and the beatification of Marguerite-Marie Alacoque in 1864. Key person in the disclosure in Brazil was the Jesuit priest Bartolomeu Taddei, founder of the Brazilian center of the Apostleship of Prayer in Itu, SP, in 1871, and his first national director as founder of the Brazilian edition of the magazine “Messengers of the Heart of Jesus”.

The Apostleship of Prayer emphasized the consecration of the family, cities, countries and the world in its entirety, and cultivated a mystical inner life, private and Eucharist: the 12th of the twelve promises, also called the great promise binds the promise of salvation explicitly described in terms transcendent, through participation in celebrations followed in nine first Fridays of the month.

... the devotion to the Heart of Jesus received a strong promotional charge by the popes and by reform bishops who consacred their dioceses to the Heart of Jesus, as the dioceses of Ceará and São Paulo, among others. This devotion has also found great resonance among Catholics, especially when remodeled in the expression of Christ the King, making it undoubtedly one of the most important strongholds for the consolidation of ultramontane Catholicism in Brazil. The image of Christ the Redeemer, inaugurated in 1933 by Cardinal Leme, and located at the top of the Corcovado [...] crowned successfully this process of now nationally consecration, (GAETA, 1997).

The words of Dom Sebastião Leme pronounced at the consecration of the monument leave no doubt that the Christ of Corcovado was seen as a representation of the "re-conquest" of the Brazilian nation that had become Republican: “... this sacred image will be the symbol of your dominion, of your support, of your predilection of Your blessing hovering over Brazil and the Brazilians ...” (VALDUGA, 2008, p. 186).

**St. Benedict with the Flowers – an alternative reading?**

Despite the evidence of the articulation of the colonial project by the *religio cordis*, there is always the possibility of alternative readings to the official project. I believe that a rereading occurred in the so-called fraternities of black men. In short: there are two distinct forms of hagiographic attributes to Benedictus: with Jesus as a boy, which is the dominant version, and with flowers, that is the form we find in the churches run by fraternities of slaves. The first one remembers a ecstatic experience during an Eucharistic, the second a miracle when bread was transformed in flowers so that he could not be accused by his prior to be a thief when he tried to give bread to the poor, as Benedict was a cook of Franciscan third order. But it occurs that in 5% of the Pictures of St. Benedict with Flowers we find the heart as additional hagiographic attribute.
By this, the imagery of the *religio cordis* transcends—in comparison, for example, with the Carmelites—the boundaries of class, from the care of the religious needs of the slave masters to the care for the lives of slaves and the poor of the Portuguese colony. This “provocation” may also explain the relatively small number of sculptures of St. Benedict with this feature: this appropriation happened occasionally, but not generally, or because it was not accepted by the upper classes who claimed their spirituality for themselves, or by lack of identification of the lower classes with this the mystique of their masters. So it could be or a symbol of the will of social ascendance (this could be the case of fraternities of liberated slaves) or an expression of a re-reading and appropriation of the attribute as a resignification: the heart as symbol of mercy (cf. RENDERS, 2013a, p. 109-132).

2. **The Protestant *religio cordis brasiliensis***

I have already mentioned that the *religio pectorum*, the “Religion of the chest” of Protestant and pietistic tradition, originated of Luther and Calvin.

Later they were transformed, first by the Calvinist Georgette Montenay (cf. RENDERS, 2013b, p. 132-153) and second, by the Lutheran Daniel Cramer, in protestant emblem books. But, it has to be noted also, Lutherans could simply copy the Jesuit iconography of Wierix (as in the case of Christian Hohenburg) or developed an alternative form of mysticism on its own as in the case of the theosophy of Jacob Boehme.

But what of this came to Brazil?
The Lutheran, Presbyterian, Methodist, Pentecostal and Baptist editions of *The Book of the heart*, edited by Catholic Johannes Evangelista Gossner

Among the Protestant missions operating in Brazil only the Methodists had a *religio cordis* on their own, the religion of the heart and life of John Wesley. However, our research has shown that this element was in Brazilian Methodism not important before the late fifties of the 20th century (cf. RENDERS, 2011, p. 181-198).

Yet there was a kind of “Protestant” religion of the heart since the first two decades of the 20th century: the so-called *Book of the heart*. Originally written in 1822 by Johann Evangelist Gossner, then a Catholic priest from Bavaria dedicated to popular mission (cf. RENDERS, 2012c, p. 77-105), its iconography can be traced to Antoine Wierix, via Michel Nobletz and Vincent Huby, all representatives of the Catholic Reformation (cf. RENDERS, 2012B, 65-73).26

For sure we know that the first Portuguese edition was published in 1914 (Picture 16), translated directly from German by the Presbyterian pastor Jensen.


The key to its successful dissemination among Protestants was the author’s conversion to Lutheranism in 1829 – where Gossner was part of an ultraconservative group (cf. RENDERS, 2012B, 73-74) – and his connection with the Basel Mission and the Evangelical Fellowship of Barmen. By 1860, his book had become a distribution phenomenon in all mission Protestant fields, particularly among German and Anglo-Saxon missions (MÖDERSHEIM, 2010). Therefore, there is a certain probability that the use

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26 Tanto as cruzes franciscanas como o livrinho, de fato, reproduzem a iconografia da missa de Gregório.
of a German edition among Lutherans pioneers in Brazil, because they were accompanied by the Missionary Society of Barmen, from 1865 onwards. 27

The title, Livrinho do coração (Little book of the heart), does not follow the original title, Das Herz des Menschen (The human heart). Furthermore, the author changed the sequence of its 10 emblems and created a first sequence that ends with the death of the infidel (badge 5) and a second one that ends with the death of the righteous (Emblem 10). By this, Jensen introduced the scheme of the large and the narrow way. We do not know until when the Presbyterian edition was published. We found, however, identical editions published by the Brazilian Methodist Publishing House in its 22th edition in 1980, and, throughout 1916, an advertisement in the Expositor Cristão, the Christian Advocate of the Methodist Church of Brazil.

In the 50s, there was a third independent initiative to publish the text for Brazil. This time it was a South African Pentecostal publisher, the All Nations Gospel Publishers (Picture 17). It chained the original name of the book to The heart of man, maintained the original sequence of the emblems, but made a number of editorial interventions, among them the complete omission of the references to the Catholic origins of the book (which can be found in the Presbyterian edition and its Methodist copy). Since 1998, a Brazilian Baptist publisher authorized by All Nations Gospel Publishers, edits an identical edition and in 2007, it was in his 9th edition (Picture 108).

![Picture 17: All Nations, 2003, p. 33.](Picture 17)


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27 Unfortunately, we could not yet localize a copy. But we found a version of the publisher Deutschen Vereinigung für Evangelisation und Volksmission in Ponta Grossa, Paraná (GOSSNER, 1932), edited by Friedrich Wilhelm Brepohl, defender of the Reichskirche, that is, national-socialist ideology. That he apparently found no contradiction between his convictions and Gossners understanding of religion calls our attentions.
Overview of the editions

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


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

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

Despite the differences, all editions represent the same religious imagery that follows basically the Catholic Reformation promoted in the Portuguese Empire. Thus, Gossner reproduced a Gregorian and Jesuit iconography, and promotes a nearly monastic world view describing the world as dangerous – its or persecutes or seduces the Christian – and demonic. Thus, the various editions of the Brazilian Booklet help to build a trans-denominational mentality articulated by emblems of the religio cordis. They claim a faith who’s emotional and antirational dichotomous cosmology guides the human being to protect itself against demonic influences and to seek divine help. With its emphasis on five deadly sins – again, classic Catholic repertoire – the human being is encouraged to live a life of simplicity, without great pretensions, functional pieces in a world ruled by the dispute between the demonic and divine. What rests to the people is to take care of their personal virtue. Reformation of the church or transformation of the world are beyond horizon. What might have been an understandable advice in the time during and after the Napoleonic Wars was certainly anachronistic in a Republic or Democracy and a very bad preparation for the time of Dictatorship.

From the “Aldersgate experience” to “the warmed heart”: metaphorical and pictorial discourses between religio pectorum e cordial religion

The introduction of the Aldersgate Experience in Brazilian Methodism has a clear date. In 1959 gave the American missionary Alexander Duncan Reily, at the time, General Secretary of Missions and Evangelism (1952-1960), an impulse to design a religio cordis wesleyanesis brasiliensis 28: “Aldersgate and we: A manifest for the Methodist Church of Brazil on 24 May” (REILY, [21.05.1959], p. 1-4). On the other hand, in the same edition, Wesley is considered a revivalist on Moody’s height (!) Whose “... task corresponded to the extent of the power that it has received.” A month later, the author of the second text, Ercy Teixeira Braga (25.6.1959, p. 16), clarified that he was not "Pentecostal"! (BRAGA, 21.5.1959, p. 7). They background of both texts: In the late fiftieth Brazilian Pentecostalism started to challenge the historical Protestant churches, and the religion of the heart became an argument within the struggle. Reily understand John Wesley’s version as an alternative with the objective to integrate charismatic revivalism in the church; pastors with a charismatic, sometimes Pentecostal experience, on the other hand, tried to articulate their experience within the church as Wesleyan key experience.

28 I based the following argument on the appearance of the expression “warmed heart” (coração aquecido) in the Expositor Cristão, the Brazilian Methodists’ Christian Advocate, as the search for and the sign of its acceptance. To do so we studied the years 1888 to 2008.
In 1981 appeared the first time the term “experiência do ‘Coração aquecido’”, (experience of the warmed heart) highlighted in bold text (SN, 05/1981, p. 1) and entered for the first time in 1984 in a title, but, for now, as a question: “Aldersgate: apenas ‘cão quente’”? (Aldersgate: only a warmed heart?) (REILY, 05/1984, p. 1). A year later articulates an opposite view: “Aldersgate: principalmente um coração aquecido” (Aldersgate: mostly a warm heart) (CABRAL, 05/1985, p. 1). According to the author, Wesley had a “heart [...] constantly warmed by the Holy Spirit” and could be considered a “practical mystic”. The authors interpretation of “spiritual coldness of believers” as “Satan's work” reveals a dichotomous worldview. Wesley, on the contrary, would have been “a man sensitive to the action of the Holy Spirit,” and by this was able to realize great works, like “Alexander” and “Hitler” (!):

[... It was the heart warmed by the idea of dominion that led the young Alexander [...] to build one of the largest empires. [...] It was heart warmed by the idea of supremacy which led Hitler to cause a world war. It is such an experience inside that leads men to achievements and accomplishments of great things, good and bad (CABRAL, 05/1985, p. 13).

The author of these shocking lines had left the Methodist Church in 1967 to be one of the co-founders of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, in the hope that the baptism in the Holy Spirit was the answer sought ... In 1985 has helped the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God as a ghostwriter of Bishop Macedo.

Bishop Adriel Maia (2008, p. 67-70) describes the movement as follows:

In the late 80th the church was composed by a conservative group (called the traditional), a group linked to liberation theology and another group, called “cão aquecido” [those with the warmed heart] The latter proclaimed the need to experience a revival and sanctification. [...] The event, held in October 1987, was highly anticipated and had Bishop Richard as a conferenciê. [...] In his discourse, the bishop pointed out the significance of the baptism in the Holy Spirit [described as [...] a new level of communion with God and with one another, election of new patterns of personal relations, unity, the overcoming of individualism, isolation, and spiritualism.

Bishop Richard rejects, then, on the one hand, mysticism (spiritualism) and opposes the uniformity of religious experience after a Pentecostal pattern. On the other hand, he used the Pentecostal concept “baptism in the Holy Spirit”, a metaphor which created soon its own self-dynamics.

Finally emerged in the late 80 the "Celebrations of the warm heart" as annual events on conference level, which can be seen as an important ritual to establish the relatively new accent as religious pattern or essential expression of Methodist spirituality.29

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29 This could be compared to the annual celebrations of the experience of transverberation among Carmelites.
The symbol of the “Celebration of the warm heart” is a heart on fire, more specifically, a human heart warmed by the flame of the Holy Spirit. Undoubtedly, it is the view of a proposed revival. The massive heart resembles the Protestant tradition of preserving the subject or personality. However, fully disappeared any reference to the world, the nature, culture, finally, the focus is on the relationship between the human being and God, not the relationship between the world – the human being and – God. The appearance of the flames is characteristic to Jesuit and Catholic iconography. That this can already be “fused” can be seen on an outdoor of the Methodist Church in Juiz de Fora, MG (picture 20).

From there, the heart metaphor migrated from a designation of movement within the church to the description of the church as a whole: “We are the people of the warmed heart!” (IGREJA METODISTA DE SARANDI, 2008; FERNANDES e LIMA, 2008). It has to be noted that this icon is not from the official webpage of the church, but from a local church.

**The metaphor of the scorched heart of the Wesleyan Methodist Church**

The Wesleyan Methodist Church is a Pentecostal church that left the Methodist Church of Brazil in 1967. According to its historians
The reasons that gave origin to the church is based on the doctrine of the baptism with the Holy Spirit as a second blessing for the believer [...] and the acceptance of spiritual gifts. [...] When we use the terminology “Wesleyan”, we want to remind people experience heart aflame by God's power (IMW 2009).

Even we have here no literal interpretation of the experience of the heart aflame with the experience of the baptism in the Spirit, this reading continues to be quite popular. Thus we read, for example, on the website of the Wesleyan Methodist Church Itaúna, SP:

On May 24, 1738, in a small meeting, listening to the reading of an old commentary on the letter to the Romans written by Martin Luther, the father of the Protestant Reformation, John feels his heart became aflame (Wesley was here experiencing baptism in the Holy Spirit).

The text is accompanied by the following image (picture 21):

The IMW interprets “Wesleyan” then, as related to John Wesley (1703-1791) from a, however, very specific perspective of the Aldersgate experience, described as "... the experience of the heart on fire by the power of God" (emphasis by the author). In fact, the emphasis on the "power of God" is the focus of the MWC in its attempt to build its denominational identity. (cf. CALEB, 2010, p. 12). That this has to do with the heart symbol can be seen in their church logo, created in 2009. It is composed by a heart in flames or a heart aflame, a cross and the horizon of the earth.

As since the 2010 celebrations of the warmed heart are events were both churches, the Methodist Church and the Wesleyan Methodist Churches, meet, in an attempt of re-approximation, it can be expected that alternative readings of the Aldersgate experience will have a heart time to form the Brazilian Methodist religious mentality.

The logo of the IURD and the cordial religion

The Universal Church of the Kingdom of God is so-called New-Pentecostal church. Founded in 1977, its second logo – a red heart with a white dove at its center, was created roughly between 1985 and 1990.
Already at first glance can be perceived the closeness of this logo to the iconographic representation of the feast of the divine Spirit, the oldest popular religious feast in Brasil which is based on the visions of Joachim of Fiori – and the expectation of a new era under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (picture 24). Perhaps even the name of the church has been inspired by the motto of the Apostleship of Prayer – this great promoter of the devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus: “Thy kingdom comes”. Interestingly, can we find the same J. Cabral, who defended the Aldersgate experience as an experience which refers “mostly to a warm heart” in the eighties in the Methodist Church, before as a founder in the Wesleyan Methodist Church and afterwards as the ghostwriter of Bishop Macedo, the first bishop of the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God.

**Alternative proposals for a religio cordis wesleyanesis brasiliensis**

Methodism, however, had an alternative second reading of its religio cordis, introduced by Alexander Duncan Reily in the late 50's as a type of “counter-spirituality” facing the rising Pentecostal movement and which he characterized in 1981 as “not only a warm heart.” Reily departed directly from John Wesley’s model of a religion of the heart and life which can be read as anti-mysticist stressing the aspect of “life” and anti-rationalist, keeping the heart-metaphor.  

Reily is in continuity with people like Edward (1919, p. 47, 49-50) who described the religion of the heart in the chapter “The religion of the burning heart” in the following terms:

> The religion of the burning heart is a social obligation. […] Little do we realize how constantly are vagaries corrected in the atmosphere of a wholesome Christian fellowship. Mysticism would pass into merest vapor, eccentricities would become unbearable, experience would be tainted with selfish pride, and bigotry would come to be characteristic of religion if we did not share with others the thoughts and blessings and joys and emotions that play such a large and vital part in our experience as Christians. Our experience, therefore, belongs to others for the common good of all.

The author relates the religion of the warmed heart to a religious experience clearly distinct from mysticism and necessarily committed to the “common good”, and actually quotes from the book *Theology of the Social Gospel from* Walter Rauschenbusch (1917).

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30 This cannot be explored here, but this seems to me the different to the pietists’ version of the religio cordis. Whereas this is more ecclesiocentric focusing on church reform, Wesley connects church reform with transformation of society. That is why his religio cordis does not only embrace eusebeia but dikaiosune, the debts to the goddess and the polis (Timothy 6.11).
As for Brazil, we can say that between 30<sup>th</sup> and 50<sup>th</sup> the annual conferences expressed themselves against any form of mysticism, or, precisely, what the <i>little book of the heart</i> proposed. “Mysticism isolated from society and indifferent to the sufferings of man is not fit for the modern world. The Gospel we preach is a transformative social force” (METHODIST CHURCH OF BRAZIL, 1934, p. 96). Also Barbieri (1938, p. 8), who in his book on social action concluded:

There are still others who strive for that the every person should detach itself from all that connects it to the world, making him or her almost a stranger to his environment. The believer should think about heaven, wait for heaven, longing for heaven. The world than is a cursed place, infamous, completely subject to the power of evil. Whoever loves God must hate his world, which attracts with its apparent enchantment to throw everyone into the abyss of perdition. This is nothing but the sublimation of selfishness. It is the deification of individualism.

Guaracy Silveira (1943, p. 219-220, 220-221), discute o tema comparando Lutero com um dos pais do misticismo latino-americano, Loyola:

Luther and Loyola walked the same path in search of salvation [...] Then, at a crossroads, each took an almost diametrically opposite direction. Loyola embarked on the road of the knights and of romance, legend and mysticism. [...] Loyola saw the Church as pure, holy, and noble; he offered his body and soul to defend it, as it was, and without any intention to alter it or modify it. The simple idea that the Church could wrinkles or defects seemed to the new knight a crime so great as when Dom Quixote would have doubted the predicates and the beauty of Dulcinea. [...] At the same crossroads as Loyola, the monk of Wittenberg did not let himself be carried away by fantasies. He took in a more positive way, and more in line with the reality of the facts.

Clearly, for Silveira, "romance [...] legend [...] mysticism [and] fantasies" were elements of a system which thinks holiness without any pretense of world transformation. We end with Buyers (1945, p. 9) and his distinction between mystic and mysticism understood as “... union with God which deprives man of his personality.”

As fare as I can see it there was no attempt by this group of Brazilian theologians and Church leaders to appropriate themselves of the discourse of the religion of the heart in the sense what has already proposed by John Wesley, to connect it, for example, with a spirituality articulating an active and engaged Christian life. We assume that this space has been occupied by the <i>Book of the heart</i>, whose contents, as we have seen, these authors fought openly. However, in the late 80s there was a representation of that aspect, not by chance the cover of a theological ethics, written by liberation theologian Jose Miguéz Bonino:
The illustration “cites” the painting “Creation of Adam” from the Sistine Chapel. The hand of God and the hand of Adam form together the symbol for “love”. Definitely, this discourse does not favor a mysticist bent itself but an accountable spirituality which acts by the grace of God.

**Final considerations**

The *religio cordis brasilienses* as “cordial” religion

Our first observation refers to the continuous presence of heart-religion in Brazil. Concerning the Catholic presence, it should not cause much surprise among those who know the history of Counter-Reformation or Catholic Reformation, being the *religio cordis* one of its favorite languages:

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<tr>
<td>1549</td>
<td>Jesuits (<em>Theologia Cordis</em>)</td>
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<td>1854</td>
<td>Jesuits (Sacred Heart of Jesus)</td>
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<td>1585</td>
<td>Franciscans (wounded heart)</td>
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<td>Dominicans</td>
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<td>1585</td>
<td>Benedicts (Gertrude, Mechthild)</td>
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<td>1568</td>
<td>Carmelits (Teresa from Avalia)</td>
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<td>1883</td>
<td>Salesians (Sales)</td>
<td>(Sacred Heart of Jesus)</td>
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<td>1898</td>
<td>Augustinian Recollects</td>
<td>(Sacred Heart of Jesus)</td>
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The relatively wide spread of a vital heart religion among Protestants, Pentecostals and neo-Pentecostals, has not always be so clear to most scholars.

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<tr>
<td><strong>The little book of the heart</strong></td>
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<td>Luth.</td>
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<td>Presbyterian Church of Brazil 1914-?</td>
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<td>All Nations Gospel Mission 1956ss</td>
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<td>Baptist Edition: 1998ss</td>
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**The use of the heart metaphor to coin an alternative spirituality**

| Methodist Church: Aldersgate Exp. 1956; Warmed heart: 1982ss |  |
| Wesleyan Methodist Church: Storched heart: 1967ss |  |

**Church Logos**

| Universal Church of the Kingdom of God: 1987ss |  |
| Wesleyan Methodist Church 2009ss |  |

This panoramic visions show the importance of heart-religion on Brazilian soil. Notice how the phenomenon started as religious project of and for the colony and that it...
was refurbished but not essentially reformed by Protestants, Pentecostals and Neo-Pentecostals in the 20th century. Among Protestants, the *Little book of the heart* marks the first phase and served as a bridge between Catholic and Protestant spirituality, reproducing a counterreformation mindset. Alternative Protestant readings, which can be found since its use in the arms of Luther and Calvin and in the very specific reading of the *religio cordis* by John Wesley, were overwritten or are in danger to be overwritten by a dominant spiritual mindset which does differ from the colonial one. This mindset does not perform citizenship but reproduces medieval ideals of obedience to superiors, hoping for divine interference by miracles as the general solution of the people problems.

Not surprisingly, a Wesleyan Pentecostal Church and a neo-Pentecostal church elected the heart symbol as their church logo, and a religious movement within the Methodist Church which understands that the Baptism of the Holy Spirit is the answer to their problems and visions, embraced it, too. It seems so that in Brazil the Catholic stress on the “Mystical Union” with Christ and the Pentecostal stress on “Baptism with the Holy Spirit” are articulated as projects of the *religio cordis* and, that the Aldersgate Experience of John Wesley is generally – and unconsciously? – understood in this double perspective, or as an equivalent to the experience of the transverberation of the heart of Teresa de Avila (what normally Methodists do not know)\(^\text{31}\), or as an equivalent to the experience of Souza Street.

So the harvest of the *religio cordis* is in Brazil highly ambiguous and at the same time very “uniform” so that it should be termed as “cordial” religion with clear characteristics which exclude its Protestant expressions. By this it represents a long time project of the rejection of modernity whose last expression was the ultramontane movement and which approximated in the 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century the mindset of “counter reform” to “revivalism”. Its iconographic representations certainly are open to several interpretations, but, seen together, they seem to represent a specific cultural understanding of the *religio cordis*, which in its relation to society, fits astonishing well in the sociological typology of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda who describes the outcome of 400 years colonialism as “cordial” man. He used the term ironically, and described by it a highly ambiguous behavior (idolatry of ones on family; violence against all others).

Reading Holanda and Bittencourt Filho together, we agree and disagree with both in part; For Holanda, the “cordial” man was a species under threat of extinction (as a direct result of secularization); to Bittencourt Filho, mysticism is the one and only cultural power in Brazil, which always has and always will overrun reason. However, we agree with Brüseke and Sell (2006, p. 187) that “the decline of religion in the secular reality (secularization)” as “the supposed rematch of religions (return of the sacred)” may describe desires or anxieties of one group or another, but nevertheless does not capture the dynamics of Brazilian culture.

In this situation, where Brazilian culture and *religio cordis* definitely not only produced the “cordial” man but reflects on many other aspects of life, a Wesleyan reading of the *religio cordis* as religion of heart and life, not in mysticist and not in rationalist terms could be an interesting contribution. My be it could help to build a bridge between medieval and modern forms of the Christian religion in its postmodern expressions, so that cultural interaction, the promotion of citizenship and religious accountability are not opposed to one another and where open hearts meet open minds and open door. The study of the *religio cordis* helps us to understand that a significant part of Brazilian Methodism is much more in touch with its cultural surrounding than it is in general per-

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\(^{31}\) A similar phenomenon, but outspoken, we find in Heath (2010, p. 78-86) when she parallels Phoebe palmer with Bernard of Clairvaux, Catarina of Siena, Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross Cruz.
ceived (ad admitted) by itself. On the other hand provides a more profound reading of this process of enculturation the means for a more conscious and promising interacting with culture.

Wesleyan tradition, as religion of heart and life, could be a very interesting element of a contemporary Brazilian, may be even Latin American Methodism corresponding to its cultural surrounding in a constructive and critical attitude.

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32 We can only mention here that Argentine Methodism has reproduced in 1941 (!) Gossner’s *Book of the heart*, too.


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