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The Spirituality of Christian Suffering

The Personal Cross in Early Modern Imagery and Devotion

*Good souls want to contemplate / the bitter death of Jesus / you should
humiliate yourself in the same way / by patience in great suffering. [...]
You must carry your little cross / in these troubled times / learn to suffer
without complaining / if you want to be happy.*

KATHERINA BOUDEWYNS 1587

*Endure adversity, virtue conquers everything, if you want to you will
conquer in the Lord, learn to suffer.*

NORWEGIAN INSCRIPTION 1616¹

In 1669, a window in the north wall of the nave of the church at Vik, Sogn, in Western Norway, was decorated by a grisaille glass painting showing Christ carrying his Cross, followed by several men, each of them carrying crosses of their own.² [1] The motif is a quite literal illustration of Matthew 10:38: “He who does not take his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me”. Quite faithfully, the glass painter in Bergen has copied an illustration in Daniel Cramer’s (1568-1637) *Octoginta emblemata moralia nova* from 1630, explicitly referring to this quote, under the inscription “Qvem colis hunc seqvere”, follow him who you worship. It is not an emblem in the strict sense, but typical of many religious emblems meant for a wider audience, here more crudely copied for a village church. Embedded in this almost naïve iconography lies an entire spirituality of Christian suffering, which articulated the inextricably entwined relationship between suffering and redemption, pain, and bliss, or, how the apparently negative was indeed a salvific

[1] Glass painting 1669 (22.5x17 cm), part of a window in the north wall of the nave of Vik church in Sogn, in Western Norway. The name seems to be “H Claus Berken”, the (faded) title “H” indicating a vicar. The University Museum of Bergen, inv.no. NK 444.

Photo: Adnan Icagic, University Museum of Bergen.

necessity. As the last part of Cramer's subscriptio admonished the reader: if you want to conquer, take up the cross, "si vis vincere, tolle crucem".³

Introduction

In late medieval *devotio moderna*, the aspect of suffering had gained new importance, based on an intensive compassionate preoccupation with the Passion of Christ. In his *De imitatione Christi*, c. 1425, Thomas a Kempis (1379/80-1471) outlined the main components of a 'spirituality of Christian suffering', based on the example of Christ: "He went before you, carrying his Cross and died for you upon the Cross, that you may also bear your cross and love to be crucified upon it. For if you be dead with him, you shall also live with him, and if you are united with his sufferings, you shall also be united with his glory".⁴ The work was soon to become the most influential devotional book, far beyond the Late Middle Ages, and effortlessly its approach to Christian suffering became part of the seventeenth-century emotionally charged Christianity, where the faithful learned to live a proper Christian life in a devotional 'School of the Cross', presented by Lutheran devotional works like the posthumous work by Valentin Wudrian (1584-1625), published in Hamburg 1627: *Schola Crucis et tessera Christianismi. Das ist: Ein ausführlicher / Christlicher / Unterricht / von dem lieben Kreutz ... Allen frommen Christlichen Herten / die mit Kreutz und trübsal beladen sind / zu trost und Unterweisung*; or *Creutz- Buss- und Bet-Schule* by Heinrich Müller (1631-1675), published in Rostock 1674, or Johannes Weidner's (1672-1732) *Glaubiger Kinder Gottes Creutz-Schule*, Augsburg 1714. Indeed, Thomas a Kempis influenced Lutheran piety to the extent that a new edition of *De imitatione Christi* was presented by Johann Arndt (1555-1621) in 1605, almost as an introduction to the Lutheran devotional spirituality, established by Arndt's four books on true Christianity, 1606-1610, and his *Paradiesgärtlein* 1612.

An introduction to the spirituality of Christian suffering, easy to appropriate by Catholics and Lutherans alike, may be found in Antonius van Hemert's book *Vertroostinghe in alle lyden en de tegenspoedt; een devoot ende seer troostelyck boexken voor alle bedroefde herten*. Published in Antwerp 1549, two years later in Latin, and reappearing in several editions throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century, it formed a bridge from Late Medieval to Early Modern spirituality.⁵ Focusing almost entirely on the *homo interior* and with no controversialist engagement, the book anticipated much of the devotional discourse on Christian suffering and the paradox of something apparently negative in truth being something positive; transforming, as it were, Divine punishment into Fatherly favour. While the book continued the tradition from *devotio moderna*,

attention to the bitter suffering of Christ making one's own suffering much easier,⁶ its basic perspective could, I submit, easily be defined as transconfessional, easy to share by both Catholic and Lutheran devotion.

Requested by good friends and to avoid the multitude of books that distract suffering people rather than comfort them, and to arrive at the one thing we need, to the true patient love that receives all things from the hand of God in an equal manner, [...] I have written this book as consolation for all dejected hearts.

When a man turns to God and begins a good life, soon he will meet persecution and adversity, which is a sure sign of a life blessed by God. Therefore, you dejected hearts who are now persecuted, tormented, and despised, in your sufferings and temptations finding little support from your fellow men, come here, read, and seek something that may comfort you.

Oh, if only we could observe how greatly even the smallest suffering unites us with God and makes us like him, out of what great a love God gives us this, and how great a reward we thus are given. Surely, we should not want to be relieved of suffering, but we should much better run towards suffering, kissing the footsteps of those people who cause us pain. Yes, we should count that day lost, that is without suffering.⁷

That van Hemert expressed an already internalized view on Christian suffering, we learn from a letter written from Goa in India to the Jesuit headquarters in Rome by Franciscus Xavier. The letter was simply a report, written in 1542, neither a literary exercise nor meant for edificatory purposes, yet he gave a contemporary expression of the spirituality described by van Hemert: "I am perfectly persuaded in my own mind that the lovers of the Cross of our Lord Christ consider a life of this kind of trials a blessed life, while trying to fly from or be without the Cross is death to them".⁸

Pious pursuit of the proper Christian attitude towards sufferance for Christ, uniting one's sufferance with his, forms the main structure of what we might call the seventeenth-century 'spirituality of Christian suffering', expressed in a significant part of seventeenth-century religious imagery in Northern Europe (Knipping 1939, 126seq., or more recently, Dekoninck 2012, *passim*).⁹ Based on both Catholic and Lutheran ascetic literature, this essay investigates the Early Modern Christian interpretation of human suffering with its devotional paradox where the negative, the painful in this life, in a Christian sense was positive (leading to salvation), while the positive in terms of a pleasant life and absence

of pain would eventually turn out to be negative (leading to damnation). Sufferance itself was not the main point, but the proper Christian attitude towards it. There was no love for Christ that would not also entail love of his Holy Cross (Müller 1719, 216).¹⁰ The spiritual guides revealed experientially the Christian meaning of one's suffering, the hidden treasure in Christian sufferance, evoking a pious response. A devout Christian had to discover "the ineffable good that lies hidden in suffering" as Lutheran Johann Arndt (1555-1621) explained in his third book of True Christianity, "since God offers us the cross out of pure love and faithfulness (Treue)".¹¹ Instead of fleeing the Cross and embracing the world, a true Christian, whether a Catholic or a Protestant, should attempt the opposite: to flee the world and embrace the Cross, as Antonius van Hemert pointed out (Hemert 1622, 259). It should be regarded as an expression of God's great fatherly mercy (Gnade) (Müller 1739, 331).¹² In the seventeenth century, the topic of Christian suffering became subject to intensified hermeneutics, in the context of German Lutheran hymnals, for instance, moving from the suffering of the Lutheran Church to individual suffering, a shift towards a focus on "the cross of the individual" and its corresponding *praxis pietatis* (Piper 1966, 144). To stay within the scope of this essay, the objective of this investigation is simply to offer an outline of the basic structure of this concern, the paradox of sufferance, as it was expressed in seventeenth-century ascetic literature as a Christocentric, transdenominational, "spirituality of suffering" [2].

Had such a spirituality of Christian suffering been a relevant frame of reference as he investigated seventeenth-century visualizations of bearers of crosses in imitation of Christ, David Ganz might have concluded his otherwise very interesting and well-researched article on the cross-bearing somewhat differently (Ganz 2010, 322). He might, then, have acknowledged that medial variety in communicating does not necessarily imply a more complex or heterogeneous message. Instead, one may refer to the phenomenology of devotion found almost programmatically expressed by Oratorian Father, Jean-Hugues Quarré (1580-1656) in 1636, regarding different visual and textual phenomena as different expressions of this spirituality (Achen 2022, 6).¹³ The double meaning of the cross, the Cross of Christ and one's personal cross was clear in the engraved frontispiece to a devotional book published in 1634, *Contemplationes ac Suspiria Hominis Christiani*, by the Lutheran theologian Johann Michael Dillherr (1604-1669). It shows a Christian soul with her own cross standing before a cross placed as a ladder to Heaven. "Hac vera scala Coelitum, ascendere Christiane!", the subscription reads; here is the true heavenly ladder, ascend it, Christian! On the cross is the inscription "Per Crucem Æternam ad Lucem", through the



[2] Passion piety. Pious contrition adoring Christ crucified. Sculpture on a confessional in St. Catherine's church in Mecheln, Brabant. Carved around 1680 by Nicolaas van der Veken (1637-1709).
Photo: Henrik von Achen.



[3] The engraved frontispiece in Johann Michael Dilherr: *Contemplationes et suspiria hominis Christiani*, Nürnberg, Michael Endter: 1660. Photo: München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.

became the central issue in Lutheran edificatory books (Bach-Nielsen 1990, 225). Indeed, both Catholic and Lutheran *ascetica* promoted the proper Christian attitude, employing a devotional approach aligned with the suffering Christ in accordance with the programmatic call in Luke 9:23 and Matthew 10:38 and its tropological implications. Recognition of suffering as an important road to salvation, articulated in related phenomena like Catholic counterreformation spirituality and Lutheran devotional piety, sprang from “a collective treasury of spirituality” as it was formulated by Csilla Gabór in 2016 (Gabór 2016, *passim*). Developing its Late Medieval heritage, this Early Modern spirituality revitalized basic Christian ideas beyond denominational divisions, displayed as a union of

eternal cross to the light. After the strife of this life, the soul receives its heavenly crown, “Post Pugnā Triumphus”, while a devil is hurt by the thorny rose wrapped around the cross, “Affligo Crudeliter” [3]. Illustrations in Early Modern religious books provide a very rich source of such imagery, the main elements introduced quite early in the seventeenth century. Thus, the visual renderings of the paradox of Christian suffering and its corresponding devotional literature contribute to explain an interesting part of Early Modern religious iconography. For instance, why the donator chose to have copied a moral emblem by Daniel Cramer, published in 1630, when he in 1669 commissioned the glass painted window for a church in Western Norway. As the daylight of Sunday morning came through the window, illuminating the cross-bearers following Christ, the congregation might sing his words: “He who does not take up his Cross and follow in my footsteps, he shall not go to eternal life. For those I love I chastise, I kill and make alive, you shall have glory through the Cross” (Thomissøn 1569, 231a).¹⁴ This short essay offers a contribution to understand the seventeenth-century iconography of the paradox of Christian suffering.

A transdenominational phenomenon

From around 1600, suffering imitation of Christ

dramatic contrasts and paradoxes, where life and death, love and pain, redemption, and suffering were inextricably entwined, as were, indeed, pleasure and perdition. About one such book, *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae* by Jesuit Father Johannes David, 1607, Walter Melion caught several elements of the spirituality of Christian suffering in his description of the cross-bearing as a process of devout internalization, the acceptance of sufferance, acting with compassion and imitation, resulting in the double experience of pain and consolation (Melion 2018, 249 and 252). There might be two reasons for the interconfessional character of this approach to Christian suffering. Most importantly, the focus on Christ as the model to follow had a distinct Christocentric quality; and secondly, it remained a question of attitude, emotion, and morality rather than erudition, thus belonging to the area of spirituality rather than dogmatics.

If we focus on a post-Reformation, denominationally defined and ordered Europe, divided into specific religious cultures as clusters around the *propria* of each denomination, we may well heed the warning of Birgit Emich not to overlook phenomena existing in the interference of the particular Lutheran and Catholic (Emich 2018). This lack of concern for individual *praxis pietatis* and what we may call faith, not as dogmatics or ecclesiology, but as expressions of an “interiority” of religion on a fundamental level below the school theology, has been a critique levelled against the primarily German approach to “Konfessionalisierung” (Emich 2018, 379-82). In a perspective of continuity and interiority, by virtue of “interconfessional conjunctions” (Gabór 2016, 134-45), the Catholic and Lutheran spirituality of Christian suffering may rather be regarded a transconfessional phenomenon. In Catholic as in Lutheran faith-related attitudes, this spirituality emerged as parallel phenomena, growing out of a common pre-reformational idea of the positive role of adversity contrasted with the negative role of worldly bliss. Its roots in the *devotio moderna* were shared as a foundational Christian view on earthly life and the pursuit of an imitation of Christ. With Andreas Holzem we may regard the Reformation itself as a significant step, though still just a step, in an ongoing process (Holzem 2002, 262). Moreover, we may with Jan van der Kamp register that Late Medieval programs of reform remained influential across the denominational borders and in devotional trends of the Early Modern era (Kamp 2022, 80). If we consider late Medieval spirituality as the very origin of this phenomenon, in the mid-sixteenth century programmatically expressed by van Hemert, split in almost identical Catholic and Lutheran variants, neither the question of transfer of religious knowledge, nor, indeed, a perspective of confessionalization adds much to our understanding. In principle, individual appropriation, below the denomina-

tional culture as such, may have been possible without having been assigned to a distinct confession, but since the performativity of any *praxis pietatis* did not float in an interdenominational space, it had to be inscribed into or recognized as part of a larger confessional culture (cf. Emich 2018, 383, 387). Yet, we are not dealing with something which should be learned, transferred, or borrowed from one confession to another, but rather with a common fundamental aspect of Christian faith, which the Reformation did not change, or at least not dramatically. It did not, I would submit, to any important degree become part of arguments between the confessions. In 1692, Jesuit Father Gilles Carlier (1613-92) could sum up the century on that point: “One hour of suffering is worth more than days of good works” (Carlier 1692, 190).¹⁵ In this respect, then, one may use the term “transconfessional” in characterizing the early modern expressions of a spirituality of Christian suffering, more than anything related to the proceedings of a *theologia positiva*, cultivating the fundamental paradox inherent in earthly existence.¹⁶ Throughout a funeral sermon in 1688, based on above all biblical texts, the Pastor of St. Thomas in Leipzig, Johann Benedict Carpzov (1639-99), presented the spiritual, devotional, and moral aspects of patience as a most Christian virtue.¹⁷ Though it exceeds the limits of this short contribution, the emerging Catholic and Lutheran devotional piety around 1600 may be regarded as similar phenomena, both reacting, as it were, to the dogmatical excesses of the sixteenth century and controversialist theology with a renewed interest in the *homo interior*.

One attempt to insert a controversialist perspective on the virtue of patience and the admonition to follow Christ was made by the Jesuit Georg Scherer in 1611. If Grace accompanied every human being in support of his pious endeavours, suffering devoutly would contribute to make a human just before God. Yet if man could do nothing to deserve justification, as Protestants would have it, suffering could do nothing and thus be meaningless. How, Scherer asked, could our suffering deserve nothing? (Holzem 2009, 582). Against this, however, we may say that the spirituality of suffering pointed to the attitude alone, to the humble virtue of patience. The image of a Christian carrying his cross on the road of abnegation to Heaven, was but a metaphor and did not necessarily entail external actions. To Lutherans, this passive attitude rather than exterior acts would still be a truly Christian response, yet not in the sense of cooperation between man and Grace. The devotional approach negotiated this religious “action space” based on a spirituality, yet it appeared even in a dogmatic Lutheran context in *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*, 1633, by the leading Danish theologian and bishop, Jesper Brochmand (1585-1652). He defined actions or

'works' entirely as spiritual virtues, and among those listed were "to carry one's cross with an equal mind, to hope patiently for the help of God in difficult adversities, to live according to the Spirit, and for eternal life, through a mind turned towards Heaven, to despise the things of this world".¹⁸ Hence, to Catholics and Protestants alike, the human effort was above all passive, interior, spiritual, and based on the attitude of acceptance, patience, and endurance.

The proper Christian attitude

In the seventeenth century, life certainly entailed misery, sufferance, and adversity as an inescapable part of human existence, confirming what Thomas a Kempis stated two hundred years before, namely that earthly life was "plena est miseriis, et circumsignata crucibus", full of misery and set around with crosses (Kempis 1595, 46r). In a sinful world, pain was inevitable, war hit not only soldiers but the entire society; to both Catholics and Lutherans, war, plague and crop failure were unavoidable, both Divine punishment and a test for the faithful.¹⁹ Voicing this common experience, Carlier pointed out that "the tears of a newborn infant offer proof that as soon as you begin to live, you begin to suffer. Such is the beginning, what follows, and until the end of our life" (Carlier 1676, 10).²⁰ This view was common to all Christians. In the church at Shorne, Rochester, a grave monument of 1625 expressed it most succinctly: "Death is the end of this misery, and the beginning of a better life".²¹ For those offering religious instruction and spiritual guidance, the task was to explain why suffering came and teach the faithful how to suffer with the proper Christian attitude. "The suffering of good people, van Hemert had stated, was a preparation for the highest glory, a gate to eternal joy", thus describing the ultimate achievement of a spirituality embracing adversity (Hemert 1622, 22). The challenge was to establish a hermeneutic of suffering that understood it as part of the economy of salvation, paradigmatically expressed by the sufferings of Christ. Furthermore, this hermeneutic avoided doubt in the goodness of God and sinful despair, while serving proper interpretation of human suffering.²² If human existence was marked by unavoidable suffering in a world that could not be changed, the Christian attitude was to endure it devoutly. According to van Hemert, we want to throw off and get rid of the small crosses we are given, but that is not possible. Therefore, pious Christians should make a virtue out of what had to be anyway. To complain about one's sufferance was to complain about God who had sent it (Hemert 1622, 260, 33). Devout patience was the basic virtue. In suffering patiently, receiving all trials and tribulations from God, the Old Testament figure of Job was pointed out as an obvious example of devout endurance and trust in God despite his ill fortune. To Wudrian, Job



[4] Titlepage of Antonius van Hemert: *Vertroostinghe in alle lyden ende Tegenspoet. Een devoot ende seer troostelijck boeckken, voor alle bedruchte herten*, Antwerpen, Joris Willemsens: 1663.

Photo: Gent University Library, BIB.TH.004525/-1.

[...] the world lives in splendour, pride and glory, the children of God are given bread of tears to eat and a multitude of tears to drink [...] In sum, the just must suffer a lot, and arrive at the Kingdom of God after much misery” (Wudrian 1680, Aiiiir and Ava-r).²⁴ Like Christ saved us by his own suffering, Francois de Sales (1567-1622) told Philothea in one of the most influential Catholic devotional books of the seventeenth century, *Introduction a la vie devote*, first published in Lyon 1609, “in the same way we must work out our salvation by sufferings, trials, bearing insults, conflicts and troubles with as much gentleness as possible for us” (Sales 1641, 161).²⁵ True Christians had to navigate through life, piously enduring adversity and rejecting the pleasures of this world. In this, any

was the very model of Christian piety, praised by God himself.²³ Indeed, in both Catholic and Lutheran devotional literature Job emerged as the very *exemplar virtutis* to all devout Christians, (cf. Holzem 2009, 260 and 280). Therefore, the woodcut on the titlepage of the Dutch edition of *Vertroostinghe*, 1663, shows the afflicted Job [4]. Indeed, one might learn how suffering should be greeted since it would strengthen the patience in all who are pious and innocent (Wudrian 1680, 98 and 567). Thus, Job did not only provide the devout with a rhetoric of suffering, but also of trust in God and steadfast faith accepting the cross as a divine gift. He was, as we gain from the title of Arthur Brett’s *Patientia victrix, or, the book of Job in lyrick verse*, published in London 1661, the very embodiment of victorious patience.

If suffering and adversity were not only endured, but embraced in loving imitation of Christ, they would reveal themselves as the very road to Heaven. Therefore, pious Christians should become cross-bearers, yet the paradox was always there, as Wudrian pointed out, that nowhere is more honour and glory than in true Christianity, and at the same time nothing carries with it more misery and tribulations. The road to salvation was hidden in suffering, literally a blessing in disguise; “Anyone who wants to live godly in Jesus Christ, must endure persecution

Christian should be prepared to take up his or her cross. If life brought sufferance, Christians would suffer more, the more devout the more suffering. “He who does not want to or knows how to adjust to the ways of the world, he remains a bungler and martyr in the world. The more pious and Christian a person wants to be, the more bitter his life will be for him”, Wudrian warned his readers (Wudrian 1680, 510).²⁶ Therefore, to reach Heaven, the Christian should not only be Christian in name, but become a true cross-lover, a staurophile, as it was described in Benedictine Father, Benedict van Haeften’s (1588-1648) *Regia Via Crucis*, 1635, with a veritable iconography of Christian suffering accompanying a dialogue between Christ and Staurophilia, a cross-loving soul. To suffer piously and willingly, one would have to deny oneself, indeed, personal abnegation was an important part of embracing the cross. It was simply “the best way to prepare for carrying one’s cross”, according to van Haeften (Haeften 1635, 103)²⁷, yet it had consolations of its own, the paradox always present, as the devout could read in *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*: “Those who belong to Christ have crucified their flesh with its vices and lust, quoting Galatians 5:24, but, oh soul, how sweet this cross is for you, how sweet the nails, how pleasant the beating, how mild the killing and how sweet the death” (*Amoris Divini* 1629, 136).²⁸ [5]

The dramatic, emotional rhetoric, visual or verbal, indeed, the complex chiaroscuro of the seventeenth century, was well suited to articulate the paradox of Christian suffering. Both these works boast an illustration of Anima Christiana crucified by Amor Divinus. In *Regia Via Crucis*, the Anima Christiana calls out in the subscription, “Christe Deus, Crucifige meam, crucifige rebellem” - precisely under the inscription of Galatians 5:24 (Haeften 1635, 264).

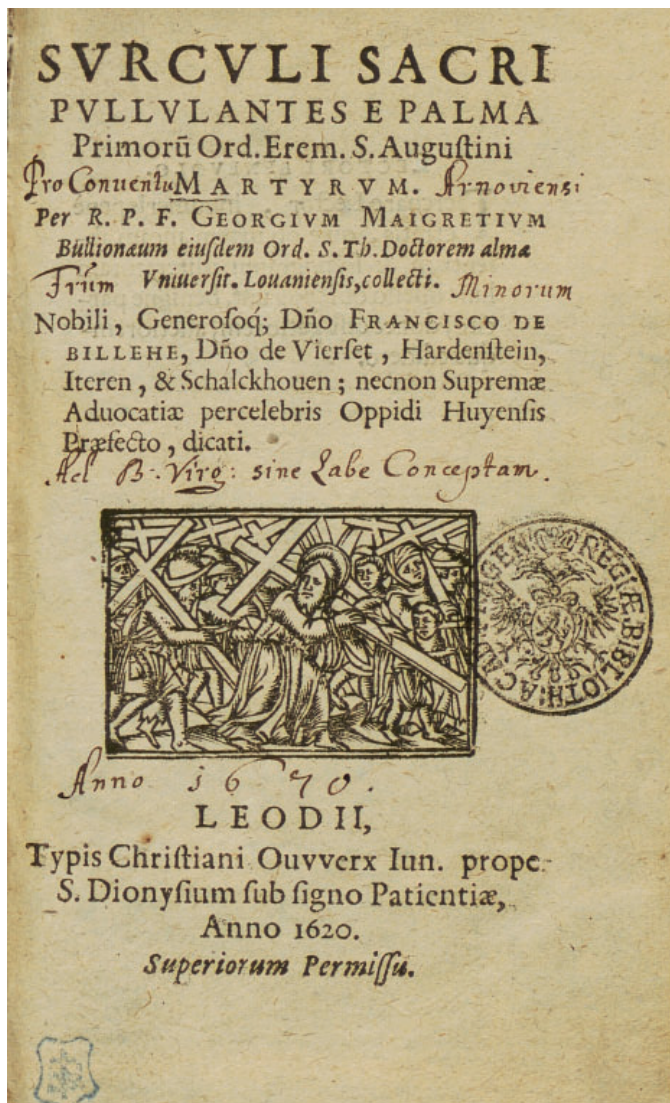
Christ as the unique model

To endure suffering with the proper Christian attitude was learnt in the ‘School of the Cross’ through devotional reading and devotions, focusing on the Passion of Christ as the very model to imitate. His suffering was a true ‘gymnasium of meekness’ and ‘school of abnegation’, according to Jesuit Father Caspar Druzbecki (1589-1662) (Druzbecki 1652, 117). Since man is not inclined to suffer, the temptation to reject the cross and embrace the world was

[5] Engraved illustration from *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*, 1629, fig. XXV, Martyrium Amoris, p. 136a. The Latin inscription quotes Gal. 2:19, “I am crucified with Christ”, the French subscription reads: “The arm of Love is so sweet that he does not wound me with these nails”. Photo: Gent University Library, BIB.TH. 09/264.94.55.



[6] Title page of George Maigret's *Surculi sacri pullulantes e palma*, on the martyrdom of Augustinian Hermits, originally published in 1612. Title page of the second edition, Liège, Christian Ouwerx jnr. 1620. The woodcut depicts the *imitatio Christi*, which the martyrs have achieved to the full. Photo: National Library of the Czech Republic.



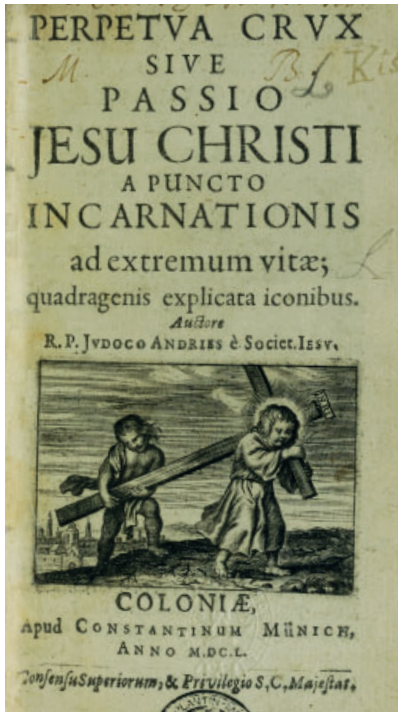
a constant feature of life. Against all such temptations, there was no more efficient remedy than constantly to contemplate the innocent suffering and bitter death of Christ. This, then, would shield one from the arrows of the devil, and make the Christian think of what he should do to walk in the footsteps of Christ (Hemert 1622, 144-45).²⁹ The spirituality of suffering placed Christ himself as the unique and irreplaceable model for all Christians. As we have seen, this clear Christocentric basis supported its transconfessional character. Since suffering was an inescapable part of human life, the crucial point was how to suffer, a question of the proper Christian attitude, namely, devoutly to embrace one's cross,

acknowledging Christ as the unique *exemplar virtutis*. "The perfect model of patience is the suffering Christ", Jesuit Father Jan David (1546-1613) wrote in 1601 about an engraving showing Christ adoring his Cross and the Passion tools placed on an altar with the name 'Patientia'.³⁰ Christ suffered to give mankind an example to follow through "truly patient love that receives all things from God with an equal mind" (Hemert 1622, 4-5).³¹ In the "School of the Cross", he was the master, teaching by his own life, his own patience, his own humble and utterly unjust suffering for the sake of all men [6]. In *Meditationes Sacrae*, first published in 1606, Lutheran theologian Johann Gerhard (1582-1637) was clear on that point: The holy life of Christ is the most perfect model of virtue, not only his suffering but his entire life should be an example, the rule of our lives (Gerhard 1629, 215-16).³² The example of Christ, the disfigured, bloody Jesus dying on the Cross, was the constitutive element of the spirituality of Christian suffering, in 1680 brought on a precise formula by a title of a Catholic ascetic work: *L'amour de la Croix sur le modèle de Jésus souffrant, nécessaire à tout chrétien pour être parfait*.³³ From Christ, the devout would learn to be patient in the face of tribulations

and adversity. Indeed, the true piety to exercise was imitation of Christ (Quarré 1636, 563-64). Aligning one's own suffering with the suffering of Christ, the image of God is restored in us, the *conformitas Christi* which was the very goal of any *imitatio* – what the English theologian Thomas Taylor (1576-1632) in 1628 called “conformity to Jesus Christ in practice and passion, in suffering and doing as he did in some measure” (Taylor 1632, 24-25).

In order to stay focused on the example of Christ, to remain steadfast as a carrier of the cross through life, ascetic literature, services, and hymns supported Lutheran Christians, while a number of devotional practices were available to Catholics, such as The Way of the Cross, Passionals, devotion to the Five Sacred Wounds, the Passion rosary, ascetic literature, and, not least, attending holy mass, be it spiritually or in person (Achen 2022, 16). “Grant me and all faithful to follow your suffering so closely, that together with all the saints we may behold you in the eternal happiness”, the devout would pray after mass (Kruyssen 1651, 37).³⁴ While an emotionally charged compassion was an important vehicle, this approach, however, served primarily to instil in the devout the basic attitude towards one's own suffering. The devout soul should patiently carry the cross given by God, Gerhardt admonished his readers, and take comfort by the thought of Christ (Gerhard 1629, 336).³⁵ In *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*, the reader was encouraged to contemplate the Passion of Christ, since “by meditation commemorating the torments of Christ [...] you see your Lord pass by and while you want to bear his Cross with him, he himself carries heaven and earth; with Christ you want to hang on the Cross, and [then] Christ embraces you most sweetly”, once again articulating the typical Christian paradox of pain and sweetness. The devotional literature shaping this spirituality engaged in what Andreas Holzem has called a “discourse of contrast” (Holzem 2014, 239).³⁶ Unquestionably, Christ was the unique example to follow for both Catholics and Lutherans, but as *imitatio Christi* in a Catholic context often in practice amounted to an *imitatio sanctorum*, we have a related example of this function in the inscription on a painting dated 1628 of the Prince Johan Frederich, Elector of Saxony (1503-54). It presents a catalogue of noble titles connected with Christian suffering: Martyr of Jesus Christ, Duke of the suffering, Prince of those who confess the faith, Count of truth, standard bearer of the Holy Cross, model of patience and heir to everlasting life.³⁷

To the seventeenth century, the suffering of Christ was no purely historical event piously commemorated; far from it, it took place in the present, as did, indeed, the suffering of devout Christians. The relation between the devout and Christ was immediate, not historical; the suffering of Christ was eternal, caused



[7] Titlepage of Josse Andries: *Perpetua Crux sive Passio Jesu Christi*, Köln, Konstantin München: 1650. Engraving by anonymous engraver. Photo: Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp - UNESCO, World Heritage.

by human sin throughout all ages. We find this expressed in the title of Jesuit Father Josse Andries' (1588-1658) *Perpetua Crux Sive Passio Jesu Christi* and in the Catholic cult of the (forever tormented) Sacred Heart, which emerged in the later part of the seventeenth century. Perhaps the concept of the presence of Christ's suffering was more easily accessible to Catholics, where the mass as their most prominent devotional practice was a re-enactment of Christ's suffering and death, anamnetically called into physical existence accessible to the senses – not a metaphysical celebration of a historical event but of a present sacramental reality (Achen 2022, passim). The Passion of Christ remained new and immediately relatable as the faithful met their suffering Saviour in devotional texts or through devotional practices. As mentioned above, the title page of *Perpetua Crux*, Köln 1650, showed the devout Christian assisting Christ in carrying his Cross [7]. The prayer laments how Jesus was close to succumbing under the heavy weight of his Cross, not as a historical spectacle, but “under the painful burden of my sins” (Andries 1650, 77).³⁸ To Dillherr as well, the sufferings of Christ were due to the sinfulness of the faithful, who, contrite, would burst out: “I am your painful wound,

the sin for which you were slain” (Dillherr 1660, 121).³⁹ Likewise, the immediacy of the encounter between devout and Christ was captured by Jesuit Father Antoine Sucquet (1574-1627) in *Via vitae aeternae*, 1630, when the devout was admonished to “prevent those sins and imperfections in yourself and others by correcting them, that he to whom we owe so much should not suffer” (Sucquet 1630, 673).⁴⁰

Learning to suffer

“The more we suffer”, stated the Lutheran theologian Johannes Weidner (1671-1735), “the more we need to learn to suffer. Suffering is not enough, many godless people experience much suffering, but we must suffer patiently” (Weidner 1714, 2r).⁴¹ In the tradition of *devotio moderna*, the Christian should respond to the Passion with compassion, embracing the paradox, where “the pain of love and the love of pain is practiced” (Sales 1626, 745 and 276).⁴² In Johann Arndt's *Paradiesgärtlein* from 1612, close alignment with, and constant attention to, Christ crucified was paramount. “If you would turn my heart to you”, he implored Christ, “show me Paradise, comfort me in my cross, and crucify on your Cross all evil lust in me with nails of love, that your crucifixion may always stand before my eyes, poised in my heart, and totally conform me to you” (Arndt 1657, 292-93).⁴³

While sin was the original cause of suffering, adversity and tribulations were also sent as a test, a gift for the chosen, a most comforting thought. As Arndt put it in his third book on True Christianity, “Suffering and Cross are so noble and useful, that our dear God will not let all his friends be without them” (Arndt 1699, 840).⁴⁴ Oratorian Father Julien Lorient (1633-1715) wanted priests who preached in parishes to make it clear that afflictions come from God, are to be suffered with God, and lead us to God. To embrace the Cross was to be conformed with Christ; “Therefore, come, dear Cross, you alone are capable of conforming me to Jesus Christ, come dishonor, loss of property, and temporary afflictions, that provide honour, riches, and pleasures without end” (Lorient 1697, 34).⁴⁵ Based on the Beatitudes, Gerhard expressed the fellowship of true Christians in sharing adversities to reach Heaven, “Let us, then, suffer with the suffering, carry the cross with the crucified, that we may also be glorified with the glorified” (Gerhard 1629, 210).⁴⁶ In catechizing the faithful, it was important to convey that everything in this life is temporary, except the immortal soul. At any moment, all worldly splendors could perish, and even the fiercest suffering was temporary in the perspective of “memento mori”. There was an inherent paradox in the concept of Christian suffering since the proper attitude would make the cross easier to carry. While the sufferance was quite real, it also brought joy since it was a sign of God’s love, a mark for the chosen.⁴⁷ Suffering with and for Christ was paradoxically sweet precisely through the sufferings of Christ. The Lutheran theologian Heinrich Müller (1631-75) pointed out that the cross was a sermon of God’s Grace, not his anger [8]. Therefore, made sweet by the Passion of Christ, it should be received with patience and ardent prayer.⁴⁸ The Christian approach to sufferance in this life would, then, not only be to endure pain, but to find it sweet; a paradox of pain and love, the relation between adversity and heavenly reward that vibrates in much religious imagery of the Baroque. “When truly crucifying the flesh along



[8] Engraving by Frederick Bouttats in Jesuit Father Adriaan Poirter's (1605-74): *Het Masquer vande Wereldt Af-getrocken*, Antwerpen, Widow of Jan Cnobbaerts: 1646, p. 308: True rest is found the Cross. In the subscription, the captive bird, a well-known motif in seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting, sings: “Whether I want to or not, I only rest (sit stil) on the bird stick (kruysken).” Photo: KU Leuven, Maurits Sabbe Library.

with all vices and desires, the soul would experience how sweet that cross would be”, *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* promised its pious readers.⁴⁹ Hence, Wudrian stated, a Christian should enjoy his cross, not flee from it (Wudrian 1680, 27).

The iconography of Christian suffering

Visually and verbally, the Passion piety evoked each stage of the Passion, the ascetic literature providing a generic ekphrasis, brought alive by the existing familiarity with those motifs in churches, homes, devotional practices, and book illustrations. As literature and hymns unfolded the concept of the victorious Christian suffering, the *Patientia Victrix*, an iconography of such suffering and the rejection of the pleasures of this world was developed, not least in corresponding engraved or woodcut book illustrations, forming “discursive consciousness” in dealing with human adversity and found in both Lutheran and Catholic books.⁵⁰ [9] Hearing and seeing were parallel ways of producing the decisive

inner, spiritual image (Sdzuj 2005, 200). Like texts, images and actions would both instruct and move. In a letter of 1621, the bishop of Gent, Jacob Boonen (1573-1655), described the popular procession in the parish of Saint Martin in Eckerghem, where each station had images of the various mysteries of the Lord’s suffering to see, and also images of the Passion itself, to make the faithful remember the bitterness of Christ’s suffering and move them to follow in his footsteps (Zachmorter 1623).⁵¹ Facing a sinful world where pain was a given, a process of concentration of religious thought and feeling was necessary, turning one’s back to the world and focusing on the hereafter. Devotional texts and imagery alike sought to promote this through the virtue of patience of which Job, as we have seen, was the greatest example after Christ himself (Holzem 2009, 578-80). Devotional imagery was primarily spread through illustrations in devotional books. As visualization of Luke 9:23 and Matthew 10:38, the motif of imitation

[9] *Patientia Victrix*, woodcut, the last illustration in *Surculi sacri pullulantes e palma*, 1620, signed with initials EF and dated 1616. Photo: National Library of the Czech Republic.



was introduced in the Late Middle Ages, Christians either carrying their crosses following Christ, or taking the role of Simon of Cyrene. Richly illustrated books offered a multitude of aspects of this theme, simply offering a visual summary of the main thrust of various chapters and at other times more closely related to devotional imagery. Being book illustrations ensured their rather widespread distribution. Andreas Holzem has pointed to four major functions of such literature, which all are relevant in promoting a visualized spirituality: interiorization and imagination, contact between God and man and better knowledge of oneself, normative education of Christians in terms of the proper religious performance, and religious discipline in everyday life (Holzem 2014, 234-53). Carrying of one's cross, following the narrow path while rejecting the world, comforted by it in all adversity and pain, enduring pain in the expectation of heavenly bliss: all these motifs, textually and/or visually conveyed, made one solid text-image corpus as an educative formation of this spirituality (cf. Holzem 2016, 107).

If we consider the role of imagery connected with practices of Catholic Passion piety, or, indeed, popular mass books, and their corresponding devotional texts, the visual played a constitutive role. Lutheran devotional literature too was not without illustrations; relatively simple emblems of Christian life and virtues played a role to support religious formation. We may think of *Emblematum Sacrorum I-II*, by Daniel Cramer, published in 1624 in Frankfurt am Main by Lukas Jennis, and at times, Catholic imagery was simply copied for Lutheran churches. In the context of not only the Christian *Historia*, but also of visualizing otherwise invisible spiritual processes, we should interpret the Lutheran concept of religious images as *adiaphora* not so much as emphasizing the unimportance of imagery, but rather as an acknowledgement of its double potentiality. We may trace this acceptance of images, particularly *Historia*, back to Martin Luther's own introduction to his *Passional*, published in Wittenberg 1529. Moreover, illustrating the very model of Christian suffering, the Passion of Christ and Christian imitation of his patience were motifs with a clear moral agenda, easily acceptable to Lutherans as well as Catholics. Common roots and iconographical loans created closely related devotional cultures with separate yet parallel elements, often sharing basic elements of both text and image.

We may divide this iconography of Christian suffering into three categories: Christ as visualization of the model to follow, the imitation of Christ in willingly and patiently carrying one's own cross, and the rejection of worldly pleasures to walk the narrow path to Heaven. The Passion of Christ, the bloody Bridegroom of our souls, "den Bloedighen Bruydegom onser zielen" (Zachmorter 1623) would correspond to the first of these categories, at times including the

martyrdom of saints or their Old Testament equivalents and prefigurations of Christ, as seen in the images of the Passion in Josse Andries' *Perpetua Crux sive Passio Jesu Christi*, published in 1649. Crosses carried by faithful, or faithful copying images of Christ, would illustrate the virtue of imitating Christ, as testified by the Norwegian church window 1669. Such pious imitation would be the road to salvation, as demonstrated in Jesuit Father Antoine Sucquet's *Le Chemin De La Vie Eternelle* 1623, an illustrated edition appearing in 1630, *Via Vitae Aeternae Iconibus illustrate*; or, indeed, van Heaften's *Regia Via Crucis* 1635. The human situation of being captive of the world and then the liberation of the soul to pursue Heaven was expressed in several popular series describing the interactions between Divine love and the human soul, developing, as it were, the Anima Humana into an Anima Christiana. In the 1620s, this spiritual process of turning away from the world and following Christ was, then, rendered in Hugo, Herman: *Pia Desideria emblematis elegiis et affectibus SS. Patrum illustrate*, Antwerpen, Hendrik Aertsens, 1624, by an unknown Jesuit, R.C., in *Typvs Mvndi in quo eius Calamitates et Pericvla nec non Diuini, humanique Amoris Antipathia*, Antwerpen, Joannes Cnobbaert, 1627, and by an anonymous author (Jacob van Zevecote?): *Amoris divini et humani antipathia* in 1629, the very same year and city where Benedict van Haefthen's *Schola Cordis sive Aversi A Deo Cordis ad eumdem reductio, et instructio* was published.⁵² All these aspects are combined in the engraving on the title page of the edition in Köln 1650 of Josse Andries' book. It shows the Christian taking the role of Simon of Cyrene, helping Christ rendered as *Amor Divinus*.

Conclusion

The “spirituality of suffering”, nurturing the virtue of patience, changed the apparently negative into something positive, and therefore, any true Christian would benefit greatly from patiently carrying his or her cross received from God; indeed, one should strive to live in a continual Christian suffering (Carlier 1676, 3, 8-9, 184).⁵³ Although inscribed into different denominational settings, the close relations between their devotional perspectives on the question of Christian suffering seem to make confessional differences far less important than the similarities. This set of more basic common features beyond the mere structural, makes it reasonable to speak of a largely interior, devotional and transdenominational phenomenon, where the basic attitude outweighed the various degrees of passivity represented by Catholics and Lutherans respectively. On this point, then, one may want to modify the “significant differences” between Tridentine Catholicism and Lutheran orthodoxy, presented by Andreas Holzem (Holzem

2016, 107, 132-36). We can identify three major elements in the basic structure of this spirituality: A 'School of the Cross' in which Christians through self-denial and devotion would learn to endure and then embrace suffering with the proper Christian attitude, which includes a rejection of the world. This was based on the suffering Christ as the irreplaceable model to imitate, not in a historical sense, but as immediate interaction in the present. Devotional practices, including reading/listening and singing, focused on the Passion of Christ, nurtured this spirituality, making it possible to keep focus on Christ Crucified and to embrace one's cross steadfastly, at the end receiving a heavenly reward for rejecting the comforts of this world. To outline the spirituality more clearly, it has been necessary to select but a few references from the massive body of existing primary and secondary literature. Other choices could have been made, but while they might have changed the profile somewhat, they would not have changed these basic elements. Based on the spirituality of Christian suffering, one may say that Lutheranism was not the only confession where "the tribulations of the world were transferred into the interiority of the faithful soul" (Holzem 2016, 136).⁵⁴ Future research might endeavour to achieve a more refined definition, on one hand investigating the relationship with other devotional strands of that age, as well as with the school theology, and on the other carrying out a more detailed study of specific confessional elements which might, perhaps, modify the transconfessional character of this spirituality.

ABSTRACT

The essay offers a contribution to understand the paradox of Christian suffering in seventeenth-century Transalpine devotional texts and their illustrations. Outlining the basic components of a transdenominational 'Spirituality of Christian sufferance', expressed in both Catholic and Lutheran ascetic literature, it provides a hermeneutic approach to the early modern iconography of carrying one's own cross in imitation of Christ. To imitate Christ was to align one's suffering with his. While Catholics and Lutherans had somewhat different practices to obtain such alignment, it originated in the same basic will to suffer, to receive adversity and pain from God. The spirituality of Christian suffering was an attitude of patience by which the Christian dealt with the fact that earthly life was a valley of tears, for most people misery a given. To endure suffering in faith became an important spiritual devotion for all Christians, regardless of denominational differences. Based on Luke 9:23 and Matthew 10:38, suffering should be embraced as a gift, rejection of the world as a salvific act. The model of the suffering Christ should move the faithful to take up their own crosses willingly, and devoutly endure trials and tribulations in this short life to achieve everlasting glory. The spirituality had to be acquired, internalized, and for this both Catholic and Lutheran literature

presented literary ‘Schools of the Cross’. Flowing from this spirituality, simultaneously expressing and shaping it, an iconography grew forth rendering the cross-bearing as the path to salvation, a spirituality whose fulfilment was, indeed, the “Patientia Victrix”.

NOTES

- 1 Belle 1927, p. 47, Een gheestelyck liedeken. Katherina Boudewyns (c. 1520- c.1605), the hymnal was published in Brussels, Rutgher Velpius:1587. The second quote is an inscription from 1616 on a bench from a farm in Eastern Norway; “Rebus in adversis paties, terit omnia virtus, in Domine si vis, disce pati. Nudus ut in mundum veni sic nudus ab(i)bo”, see Faye 1869, p. 26. The last part quotes Job, 1:21.
- 2 The University Museum of Bergen, inv.no. NK 444, 22,5 x 16,9 cm. Inscription below: “H Claus Berken / 1669”. The glass painting is a copy of a moral emblem, published in Cramer, Daniel: *Octoginta emblemata moralia nova, e sacris literis petita, formandis ad veram pietatem accommodata, & elegantibus picturis aeri incisus repraesentata*, Frankfurt am Main, Lukas Jennis:1630, p. 17. Inscriptions related to the emblem are found on p. 16 in German, French and Italian. When described in 1839, the motif was long since forgotten, now identified as “a Jerusalem Journey”, a pilgrimage, see University Library of Bergen, MS 235b/22, A list made by W. F. K. Christie, dated 3 October 1839, probably described this window under no. 1: “De maledede Ruder i Viigs Kirke. Af disse ønskes især (...) en til Venstre i Skibet, forestillende en Jerusalemsrejse, med Aarstal 1664.” He did not, though, remember the year correctly. In 1849, the museum acquired the glass painting as a single quarry from the original church window, destroyed since first described ten years earlier.
- 3 “Vincit qui patitur”, he who suffers conquers, was the motto of the prominent Catholic cloth merchant Simon Maarten Dirksz (1504-c. 70) in Amsterdam, indicating suffering as the very road to Salvation. Portrait 1565 by Pieter Aertsen (1508-75), below the crest of Dirksz. Athens, National Gallery, The Alexander Soutsos Museum, inv. no. 3311. Cf. Tracy, James D.: A Premature Counter-Reformation: The Dirkist Government of Amsterdam, 1538-1578, in *Journal of religious history* (1984), vol. 13(2), pp. 150-67, here table 1, p. 156.
- 4 Kempis 1595, Chapter 12,2, p. 45r; “Præcessit ille bajulans sibi crucem, & mortuus est pro te in cruce, ut & tu portes crucem, & mori affectes in cruce: quia si commortuus fueris, etiam cum illo pariter vives; & si socius fueris poenæ, socius eris & gloriæ”.
- 5 Hemert 1622, passim. Nine editions between 1549 and 1682. See the Latin edition, *Paraclesis afflictæ mentis, sive de Patientia libri tres*, Antwerpen, Johannes Steelsius:1551; and a German edition like *Creutz über Creutz. Das ist: Mit Creutz über Creutz beängstigter Hertzen besonderes Trost-Wercklein*, Augsburg, Joseph Gruber: 1715. Antoon van Hemert was a regular canon of St. Augustine in the convent of Mariënhage just outside Eindhoven in Northern Brabant.
- 6 Hemert 1622, p. 147; “Want als wy aenmercken het bitter lijden ons Heeren Jesu Christi / soo wort ons kleyn lijden veel lichter te lijden”.
- 7 Hemert 1622, pp. 4-5 and 260-61; “Om dan te schouwen de menighvuldigheydt der boecken die den lydende mensche meer verstroyen dan vertroosten, ende te komen tot desen eenen die ons van noode is, dat is, tot de waerachtighe verduldighe liefde die alle die dingen vande handt Godts in ghelycker maten ontfanght, soo heb ick door begeerte van goede vrienden tot vertroostinghe van alle bedruckte herten [...] dit boeckxken gheschreven. [...] hem een mensche tot Godt wil keren, ende een goet leven begint aen te nemen, hastelyck sal hem vervolginghe ende tegenheynt ontmoeten. Want dat een secker teecken is, eens Godt-salighen levens. Hierom ghy bedruckte herten die nu in de wereldt vervolghet, ghequelt, ende veracht wordt, ende lutter trouwe vindt inde menschen om u lÿden ende bekorings te klagen, komt hier, leest ende soeckt hier een jegelijck dat hem vertroosten magh. [...] Och oft wy bemercken konden hoe grootelijck dat ons het alderminste lijden met Godt ver-eeenight / ende hem gelyck maeckt / ende uyt wat groote liefde ons Godt dat schenckt / ende hoe grooten loon dat ons daer door ghegeven sal worden / seker wy en souden niet begeeren het lijden ontlast te

- zÿn / maer wy souden veel liever het lÿden teghen-loopen / ende kussen haer foet-stappen die ons eenigh lijden aendoen. Ja wy behooren den dagh verloren te rekenen / als wy gheen lijden gehad en hebben”.
- 8 Coleridge, Henry James: *The Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*, Volume 1, London, Burn and Oates:1874, Book II, chapter I, p. 121. Letter from Goa, 18 September 1542. Xavier was canonized in 1622. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the original Spanish (or Latin?) text.
 - 9 Knipping 1939, eg. the chapter “De nieuwe ascese”, pp. 126-47.
 - 10 “wer Christum liebet / muss auch sein heiliges Creutz lieben / dann Christus lässt sich von seinem Creutz / und das Creutz von Christo nicht trennen”.
 - 11 Arndt, Johann: *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christenthum*, 1605-10, the first collected edition was published in Magdeburg 1610, here quoted from Arndt 1699, Chapter 23: “Von dem Geheimniss des Creutzes / wie wir dadurch zu GOTT gezogen werden”. In this context Arndt refers to Romans 8,29, which comes close to the predestination of those chosen to be conformed to Christ. “Denn Niemand das mit Worten aussprechen / wie ein unaussprechlich Gut im Leiden verborgen ist; denn Gott aus lauter Liebe und Treue das Kreuz auffleget”, p. 839.
 - 12 Müller 1739, p. 331; “und lieget eine grosse väterliche Gnade und Holdseeligkeit Gottes unter dem Kreutz verborgen”.
 - 13 This is found in the second edition of *Thresor spirituel*, from 1636, not in the first edition 1633.
 - 14 *Den danske Psalmebog*, p. 231a; “Huo sit Kaarss ey tager paa sig/ Oc i min fodspor følger mig/ Til liffuit skal hand ey gange. / Thi den ieg reffser haffuer ieg kier/ Jeg ihjelslaar oc jeg leffuendis gjør/ Gennem kaarssit i æren fange”.
 - 15 Carlier 1692, p. 190; “Door het lyden wordt de deught met meerdere volmaecktheydt geoeffent, als door het wercken. Dit synde boven al pryfelijck, en by Godt van meerdere weerde een’ ure te lijden met gedult, als vele daghen te passeren in goede wercken”.
 - 16 Leinsle 2015, p. 37. In two books exhorting Lutherans and Reformed to offer a convincing testimony of the quality of the Reformation, the quote from carrying one’s cross plays a central role, Willem Teellinckx: *Noodwendigh vertoogh, aengaende den tegenwoordigen bedroefden state, van Gods volck*, 1627, and Theophil Grossgebauer: *Wächterstimme auss dem verwüsteten Zion*, Frankfurt am Main, Nicolaus Kuchenbeckern:1661, see Kamp 2022, pp. 92-93.
 - 17 Karpzov, Johann Benedict: *Patientia Victrix, Die gedult / so alles überwindet*, printed in Leipzig, Johann W. Krüger:1688. Carpzov was professor in theology, the deceased was a citizen of Leipzig, Elisabeth Berthold, particularly pp. 3-41.
 - 18 Brochmand, Jesper: *Universæ Theologiæ Systema*, vol. I, Leipzig, Johannes Hallervord and Joachim Moltke:1638, Cap I, sect. octava, p. 347; “Actiones mere spirituales [...] cruce[m] æquo animo ferre, in duris adversitatibus auxilium Dei patienter sperare, secundum spiritum vivere, ad vitam æternam, rebus hujus mundi alto animo spretis”.
 - 19 Cf. Holzem 2009, pp. 577-83. He points to Hesselbach: *Leichpostill Auff allerley Ständt vnd Zufäll der Verstorbenen Personen gericht*, Würzburg, Stephan Fleischmann:1628, see eg. pp. 559-60.
 - 20 Carlier 1676, p. 10; “De nieuw-gheboren Kinderen gheben met hunne traenen genoegsame preuve van dat den Mensch niet soo haest en begint te leven / ofte hy begint oock te lijden. Soodaenigh sijnde het beginsel / soodaenigh is oock het vervolgh / ende ’t eynde van ons leven”.
 - 21 Thorpe, John (ed.): *Registrum Roffense, or, A collection of antient records: charters, and instruments of divers kinds ...*, part II, London, W. and J. Richardson:1769, p. 759; “Mors finis hujus miserae, principium melioris vitae”. A grave monument on the north wall of the chancel over the family of William Page who died in 1625.
 - 22 Cf. Phil. 1:29 and 1 Pet 4:12-13. Cf. a Kempis 1595, chapter 12,10, p. 47r. See also Holzem 2009, pp. 577-79.
 - 23 Wudrian 1680, p. 98; “Also auch der fromme und gedültige Job / der von Gott dem Herrn selber das Zeugniß hat / dass von Frömmigkeit seines gleichen im Lande nicht zu finden”. And p. 567; all kinds of pain would serve the “bewehrung der Gedult in Frommen und Unschuldigen /

- wie die Historien von Job und Tobia bezeugen". See also the instructive title of Arthur Breet's *Patientia victrix, or, The book of Job in lyrick verse*, London, Richard Gammon:1661.
- 24 Wudrian 1680, preface pp. Aiiiir and Ava-r; "Alle die gottselig leben wollen in Christo Jesu / die müssen Verfolgung leiden [...] In solchem Kreutz und verfolgung jubiliren und frolocken die Gottlosen / die Gläubigen und Frommen müssen weinen und heulen // Joh. 16/20.) Die Welt lebt in Pracht / Hoffart und Herrlichkeit / die Kinder Gottes warden gespeiset mit Thränen=Brod / und getränckt mit grossem Mass voll Thränen. [...] In summa / die Gerechten müssen viel leiden / Ps. 34/20.) und durch viel Trübsal in das Reich Gottes gehen".
- 25 De Sales 1641, part III, chapter 3, p. 161; "Resouvenez vous souuent que nostre Seigneur nous a sauuez en souffrant & endurant, & que de mesme nous deuons faire nostre salut par les souffrances & afflictions, endurans les iniures, contradictions & déplaisirs avec le plus de douceur qu'il nous sera possible".
- 26 Wudrian 1680, p. 510; "Wer sich jetzt nicht wil oder Weiss nach der WeltLauf zu schicken / er bleibet ein Stümper und Märtyrer in der Welt. Den je frömmer und Christlicher ein Mensch seyn wil / je bitterer ihm das Leben wird".
- 27 Van Haeften 1635, p. 103; "Abnegatio sui, optima ad Crucem ferendam præparatio".
- 28 *Amoris Divini et Humani Antipathia*, p. 136; "sed o anima, quam suavis tibi hac crux; quam dulces clavi, quam iucunda percussio, quam interfectio leniens, quam suavis mors!". The illustration follows on p. 136a.
- 29 Hemert 1622, pp. 144-45; "Teghen alle bekoringhen der sonden en is geen beter remedie dan ghestadigh t'overdencken het onnoosel lijden ende bittere dootd ons Heeren Jesu Christi / het welck eenen schildt is voor alle pijlen des duyvels. [...] ende denckt wat gy oock doen moet / om den selven wegh te wandelen wilt ghy komen daer hy is".
- 30 David 1601, p. 200a, "Perfectum patientiæ exemplar, Christus passus".
- 31 Hemert 1622, preface, pp. 4-5; "Want Christus heft voor ons geleden (seyt Petrus) ons achterlatende een exempel dat wy hem na volgen souden [...] desen eenen die ons van noode is, dat is, tot de waerachtighe verduldighe liefde, die alle die dingen vande handt Godts in ghelycker maten ontfanght".
- 32 XXX. Meditation, pp. 215-216; "Sancta Christi vita est perfectissima virtutum idea. [...] Non solum Christi passio, sed & Christi actio sit vitæ exemplum. [...] Sancta Christi vita est perfecta vitæ nostræ regula".
- 33 It was published by Nicolas de Rache, Lille 1680 and probably written by Jesuit Father Francois de la Rue (1625-80), see *Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, fasc. LIX-LX, Paris, Beauchesne: 1975, col.s 316-17.
- 34 Van der Kruyssen 1651, p. 37; "Verleent my / ende alle geloovigen / hier uw lÿden zoo na te volgen / dat wy met alle uwe Heyligen in de eeuwige blÿdtschap u mogen aenschouwen".
- 35 Gerhard 1629, p. 336; "Sey stille du andächtige Seele / und trage das von GOTT dir auferlegte Creutz mit Gedult / Gedencke an deines lieben Bräutigams Leyden".
- 36 *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*, 1629, p. 136; "Per meditationem commorans in Christi tormentis, [...] Conspicis Dominum tuum passum & dum cum illo vis crucem baiulare ipse in corde portat coelum, terramque [...] cum Christo vis in cruce pendere, & te dulcissime Christus amplexatur".
- 37 Lidén, Hans Emil and Magerøy, Ellen Marie: *Norges kirker. Bergen*, vol. I, Oslo, Gyldendal:1980, p. 97; "Martÿr Iesu Christi / Dux afflictorum / Princeps confessorum fidei / comes Veritatis / signifer sanctæ crucis / exemplum patientiæ, hæres vitæ æternæ". The painting is in the church of Our Lady in Bergen.
- 38 Andries 1650, p. 77; "prope succumbis pressus gravi Cruce, id est, meorum molesto onere peccatorum!".
- 39 Dillherr 1660, p. 121; "Ego sum tui plaga doloris, tuæ culpa occisionis". The book was first published in 1634. As we have seen, its frontispiece speaks of *Crucem Æternam* (rather than

- Lucem Æternam*), yet the 1660-edition has the more conventional “Per Crucem ad Æternam Lucem”.
- 40 Sucquet 1630, p. 673; “Quomodo in te & in aliis impedire queas peccata et imperfectiones emendando, ne patiatur is, cui tanta debemus, Deus noster”. It has not been possible to find this in earlier editions. The book was first published in French in Antwerpen 1623.
 - 41 Weidner 1714, preface p. 2r; “Je mehr wir aber leiden / je mehr müssen wir lernen leiden. Denn Leiden ist nicht genug / massen auch der Gottlose vil Plage hat / sondern wir müssen gedultig leiden”.
 - 42 Sales 1618, Book XII Chapt. XIII, p. 745; “Tout amour qui ne prend son origine de la passion du Sauueur est friuole et perilleux”; and in Book V Chapt. V, p. 276, de Salle speaks of “se pratique la douleur de l’amour, & l’amour de la douleur; alors la condoleance amoureuse, & la complaisance douloureuse”.
 - 43 Arndt 1657, pp. 292-93; “Wollest mein Hertz zu dir wenden / mir das Paradeis zeigen / mich in meinem Creutz trösten / und in mir alle böse Lust mit dir creutzigen mich mit den Nägeln der Liebe an dein Creutz hefften / dass deine Creutzigung immer für meinen Augen / in meinem hertzen schwebe / und mich dir gantz gleichförmig mache”.
 - 44 Arndt 1699, pp. 838-48. Book III, chapter 23, Von dem Geheimniss des Creutzes / wie wir dadurch zu GOTT gezogen werden. Here, p. 840; “Denn Leiden und Creutz ist so edel und nütze / dass unser lieber Gott alle seine Freunde ohne Leiden nicht lassen will”.
 - 45 Loriot 1697, Sermon I, p. 34; “Viens donc chere Croix, qui es seule capable de me render conforme `Jesus-Christ: venez deshonneurs, pertes de biens, afflictions passageres, qui me procurez des honneurs, des richesses & des plaisirs qui ne finiront jamais”.
 - 46 Gerhard 1629, p. 210; “Beati estis, inquit Christus, si persecute vos fuerint propter nomen meum [...] Patiamur ergo cum patientibus, crucifigamur cum crucifixis, ut glorificemur cum glorificatis”.
 - 47 Wudrian 1680, pp. A vja; “Das Kreutz ist ein Merckzeichen der Liebe Gottes”.
 - 48 Müller 1698, p. 642; “dass uns die Liebe Gottes unser Creutz versüsse durchs Leiden Christi”, p. 621; “Das Creutz zuschicket / es ist kein Zorn= sondern ein Gnaden=Prediger”, p. 617; “mit stiller Gedult und eifrigem Gebet empfangen”.
 - 49 *Amoris divini et humani antipathia*, Antwerpen, p. 136; “Qvi Christi sunt, carnem suam crucifixerunt cum vitiis & concupiscentiis, sed o anima, quam suavis tibi hac crux”. Text connected with fig. XXV, where Jesus crucifies the soul with the title “Martyrium Amoris”.
 - 50 Giddens, Anthony: *The Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration*, Berkeley-Los Angeles, University of California Press:1984, chapter 2, pp. 41seq.
 - 51 This quite interesting letter of 20 June 1621, telling what they did, where they did it and why, was published in Dutch and Latin as a kind of introduction to Zachmorter 1623 and following editions, right after the preface; “eene devote Processie ende bevaert tet eeren ende ter memorie van de boosheyde Passie ons Heeren [...] inden welcken verscheyden Mysterien van het Lijden des Heeren in Beelden vertoont worden naer de verscheydinghe ende af deelinghe der plaetsen [...] ende verscheyden Mysterien vande selve Passie voor ooghen ghestelt; [...] de gheloovighe verweckt om met bewegen te ghedencken de bitterheden ende pijnen die hy in syn Lichaem om ons gheleden heeft / ende om sijn voetstappen naer te volghen”. It was not a Lent practice since the procession was arranged on Sunday after the octave of the Holy Sacrament.
 - 52 One may regard Otto van Veen: *Amoris divini emblemata*, Antwerpen, Martin Nutl and Johannes Meursl: 1615 as a forerunner of these very popular Catholic editions.
 - 53 Carlier 1676, p. 184; “trachten te leven in een ghedurigh Christelijck lijden”. See also pp. 8-9; “Christelijck Lijden; het welcke soodanigh sal wesen, als wy onse ghepeynsen, ende herte tot Godt keerende, van deses vaderlijcke handt met verduidigheyt sullen ontfanghen die Kruyssen, welcke van sijne goetheyt tot saeligheyt ons worden voor ghestelt”.
 - 54 Holzem 2016, p. 136; “eigentlich wird die elementare Grunderfahrung der reformatorischen Identität (...) aus der Sphäre der äusseren Weltenkämpfe in die Binnenräume der gläubigen Seele verlagert”.

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