

**'Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft:
Am färbigen Abglanz haben wir das
Leben'. The Aria 'Erwäge, wie sein
blutgefärbter Rücken' in J.S. Bach's
Saint John Passion***

Abstract

The aria 'Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken' in Bach's *Saint John Passion* has been criticized for its 'bad taste' because it compares 'the blood-colored back' of Christ with 'the rainbow'. But it articulates the special emphasis upon the atonement as *Christus Victor* and therefore upon the dialectic of defeat and victory and upon a typological correlation with the narrative of the Flood.

In the Pact Scene in Goethe's *Faust*, after Faust has denounced the devil as a 'pedant' because Mephistopheles has demanded from him not only an oral but a written contract, Faust asks:

Was willst du, böser Geist, von mir?
Erz, Marmor, Pergament, Papier?
Soll ich mit Griffel, Meißel, Feder schreiben?
Ich gebe jede Wahl dir frei.

And Mephistopheles replies: 'Du unterzeichnest dich mit einem Tröpfchen Blut'.

The reason for this condition is, as he says a little later: 'Blut ist ein ganz besonderer Saft'.¹ Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was born on 28 August 1749, exactly eleven months before the death of Johann Sebastian Bach on 28 July 1750, and at least in this

* Lecture originally written and delivered in German, but presented here in English.

technical sense we are entitled to regard Bach and Goethe as contemporaries. For Bach, too, blood is 'ein ganz besonderer Saft' – and that, as the essays in this volume show, in many and various ways.

It is to be expected that this 'ganz besonderer Saft' should play a specific role especially in Bach's Passions and that it should receive special attention from both the composer and his librettists, for the texts of the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of John demand such attention. And (following the model of the Latin poem, 'Salve caput *cruentatum* / Totum spinis coronatum', which is ascribed to the Cistercian Arnulf of Louvain) the Passion chorale of Paul Gerhardt, which Bach chose as the leitmotiv of the *Saint Matthew Passion*, indites in its opening words, which in a solemn movement of this work are sung/prayed by the choir: 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden'.² But among the many and complex variations of our theme in the Passions – it is, for example, quite surprising that the blood and water that flowed from Christ's side does not receive any special attention in the *Saint John Passion*³ – there are at least two passages, one in each of the Passions, where the theme of the conference, 'das Blut Jesu', becomes the subject of a striking or even an astonishing metaphor.

In the fourth aria for alto in the *Matthew Passion*, just before the singing of the words of the chorale 'O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden', the text reads:

Können Tränen meiner Wangen
Nichts erlangen,
Oh, so nehmt mein Herz hinein!
Aber laßt es [das Herz] bei den Fluten,
Wenn die Wunden milde bluten,
Auch die *Opferschale* sein.⁴

Here, as also in other passages in the works of Bach, there is a significant connection drawn between the two streams of blood and

tears, a connection that would have deserved to be treated in a special lecture at this conference: the blood of the Savior as a stream of grace and mercy coming from God, and from the human side the tears of the faithful as a stream of 'Buß und Reu' (to invoke the words of the first aria for alto in the *Matthew Passion*). In the *John Passion*, too, there is reference to the tears of the human heart, which are poetically described as 'Zähren':

Zerfließe, mein Herze, in Fluten der Zähren
Dem Höchsten zu Ehren.
Erzähle der Welt und dem Himmel die Not,
Dein Jesus ist tot!⁵

But in the aria I have quoted from the *Matthew Passion*, 'Können Tränen meiner Wangen', it is the closing words that are so unexpected; for here the weeping heart of the believer is called an 'Opferschale', a chalice of sacrifice. In medieval and Baroque paintings of the crucifixion of Christ we often see blood mixed with water flowing out of the side of Christ directly into a chalice. According to the medieval legends of the Holy Grail, this chalice was identical with the one which Christ had used at the institution of the Eucharist and had distributed to the disciples, which now on Golgotha Joseph of Arimathea employed to catch the blood of the dying Savior. For this pious thought, however, the simple word 'Kelch' would have sufficed here. But the librettist calls the chalice, that is, the heart, an 'Opferschale,' an unmistakable reminder of the sacrificial character of the Holy Mass in the liturgical and theological tradition of the Middle Ages. In the Western and Eastern history of eucharistic piety and of sacramental theology this definition of the Lord's Supper as a sacrifice for the living and the dead comes to expression earlier and more clearly than does the definition of the real presence, not to mention the theory of transubstantiation.

It is notable that the question concerning the presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament arises so much later, and that it does so at a time when the interpretation of the Mass as sacrifice has already become a generally acknowledged presupposition. Indeed, when the problem of the real presence finally did arise, in the controversy between Radbertus and Ratramnus in the ninth century, and then in the debate between Berengar and Lanfranc in the eleventh century, it was in the form of the question whether the body of Christ on the altar, which now is being sacrificed in the Mass, is identical with the body on the cross, which was sacrificed on the first Good Friday.⁶ The definitive text of the canon of the Mass reads, directly after the recitation of the verba testamenti: 'Offerimus praeclarae majestati tuae ... hostiam puram, hostiam sanctam, hostiam immaculatam ... Calicem salutis perpetuae.' As Gabriel Biel explained in *Lectio 21* of his *Canonis misse expositio*, 'Que duo sunt. Primum ut grata sint offerenda munera. Secundum ut fiant sacrificia idonea'.⁷ But it was specifically this interpretation of the Lord's Supper as intercessory sacrifice, much more than the theory of transubstantiation, that was the target of the polemics of Luther and of the Lutheran Confessions (to which Bach as cantor was also obliged to subscribe). 'Daß die Messe im Bapsttum muß der größte und schrecklichste Greuel sein... dieser Trachenschwanz, die Messe', the Smalcald Articles declare.⁸ And the Apology of the Augsburg Confession complains that the 'adversarii ubique sacrificii nomen ad solam ceremoniam detorquent', and it demands that not the ceremonies of the Mass, but 'ceremonia cum praedicatione evangelii, fide, invocatione et gratiarum actione' be so designated.⁹ But it would be a mistake to exaggerate this element in the interpretation of the 'Opferschale' in Bach's *Matthew Passion*, for its principal signifi-

cance is surely a twofold one: in a direct sense, the sacrificial character of the response of the repentant and thankful heart to the redemption through the blood of Christ (that is, as the *John Passion* also calls it, as a 'Dankopfer'¹⁰); and then, as the foundation of this response, the sacrificial character of the death of Christ as the Lamb of God in the interpretation of the doctrine of the atonement which shapes the *Matthew Passion*. The death of Christ as sacrifice is intoned already by the boys choir at the opening of the *Matthew Passion*, in the *Agnus Dei* chorale, about which my American colleague Robin A. Leaver speaks in his lecture at this conference.

There is a similiar connection between the doctrine of the atonement as theme and an unexpected metaphor also in the *John Passion* of Bach, as articulated in the following arioso and aria:

Betrachte, meine Seel', mit ängstlichem Vergnügen,
 Mit bitterer Lust und halb beklemmt von Herzen,
 Dein höchstes Gut in Jesu Schmerzen,
 Wie die aus Dornen, so ihn stechen,
 Die Himmelsschlüsselblumen blühen;
 Du kannst viel süße Freude von seiner Wehmut brechen,
 Drum sieh ohn' Unterlaß auf ihn;

and then in the immediately following aria of the tenor, accompanied by viola d'amore and violoncello:

Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken
 In allen Stücken
 Dem Himmel gleiche geht!
 Daran, nachdem die Wasserwogen
 von unsrer Sündflut sich verzogen,
 der allerschönste Regenbogen
 Als Gottes Gnadenzeichen steht.¹¹

The contrast between 'Dornen' and 'Himmelsschlüsselblumen' in the arioso, like the closely related contrast between 'Krone'

und 'Dornen',¹² is dramatic, precisely as an expression of the oxymoron 'mit ängstlichem Vergnügen, mit bitterer Lust'. But it is especially the picture of the 'blutgefärbter Rücken' that has evoked the most intense interest. In her erudite and useful monograph on the doctrine of redemption in Bach and his contemporaries, our colleague Elke Axmacher has provided a brief account of the state of research on these two pieces:

Der alte Streit darüber, ob insbesondere der Arientext besser oder schlechter als seine Vorlage sei, soll hier nicht forgeföhrt werden. Erinnerung sei nur an Spittas bekannten Satz, man könne die Brockessche Arie 'Dem Himmel gleich [...] in hohem Grade geschmacklos finden', sie enthalte jedoch 'klar geschaute, richtig durchgeföhrt Bilder', während man durch den entsprechenden Text der Johannes-Passion, 'Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken', 'hart an die Gränze des blühenden Unsinn's' geföhrt werde.¹³

And, without a verbatim quotation, she refers to the brief essay of 1910 by Rudolf Wustmann, 'Zu Bachs Texten der Johannes- und der Matthäus-Passion', as a counterweight to Spitta's harsh interpretation.¹⁴

My chief interest in this lecture, however, is not directed to aesthetic questions of taste, not only because the Eleventh Commandment, 'De gustibus non est disputandum', deserves to be applied here, but because in the interpretation of this aria it is necessary to take into consideration also Bach's melodic reworking of the text: How can such a preoccupation with what is 'geschmacklos' and with the 'blühender Unsinn' of these pictures and symbols come to terms with the altogether transcendent melody precisely in the aria? Without putting this latter question completely aside, I would rather formulate the question this way: What is the relation of the arioso 'Betrachte, meine Seel', mit ängstlichem Vergnügen' and the aria 'Erwäge, wie sein blutgefärbter Rücken' to the *John*

Passion as a total work (about which Professor Franklin speaks in his paper), and what sort of place do they occupy in it? Having just quoted the Forschungsbericht of Prof. Dr. Axmacher, I may perhaps continue with another Forschungsbericht, this time with one that was written for the musical public, neither by a musicologist nor by a theologian, but by a conductor:

Wie Friedrich Smend als erster überzeugend dargelegt hat, folgt der musikalische Ausbau der Johannes-Passion einem genialen formalen Konzept. Der Choral 'Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn, ist uns die Freiheit kommen' [40] ist der Mittelpunkt des 'Herzstückes' des ganzen Werkes. Um diesen Choral, der wie eine lapidare Predigt den Sinn des ganzen Passionsgeschehens erklären soll, sind symmetrisch wie die Flügel eines barocken Palastes Chöre gleicher oder sehr ähnlicher musikalischer Gestaltung gruppiert. Jede der beiden lyrischen Partien 'Betrachte' (31), 'Erwäge' (32) und 'Eilt, ihr angefochtenen Seelen' (48) ist mit zwei flankierenden Chören zu einer Satzfolge gruppiert, diese Satzfolgen entsprechen einander genau.¹⁵

It is well known that Smend in his treatise of 1926, *Die Johannes-Passion von Bach auf ihren Bau untersucht*, proposed a 'schematische Skizze' that was intended to show how Bach and his librettist in the *John Passion* seek out ever sharper contrasts in order to present the dialectic of the redemption.¹⁶ Gustav Adolf Theill speaks of the 'von Smend entdeckter chiasmischer Aufbau' of this dialectic in the *John Passion*.¹⁷ According to Smend the 'Herzstück' of the *John Passion* are these words of the chorale:

Durch dein Gefängnis, Gottes Sohn,
Ist uns die Freiheit kommen,
Dein Kerker ist der Gnadenthron,
Die Freistatt aller Frommen;
Denn gingst du nicht die Knechtschaft ein,
Mußt' unsre Knechtschaft ewig sein.¹⁸

'Gefängnis' as counterpart to 'Freiheit'; 'Kerker' as counterpart to 'Freistatt'; the undeserved slavery of Christ for a brief time as counterpart to the eternal slavery that we deserved and that has been overcome through him – so the chorale plays in dialectical fashion with defeat and victory, or to put it more sharply, with victory through the defeat of the one who nevertheless, as the chorus 'Herr, unser Herrscher' confesses, has been 'zu aller Zeit verherrlicht',¹⁹ and who continues to be 'König, groß zu allen Zeiten'.²⁰ Therefore it is the blood of Christ that is the basis of comfort and rejoicing:

In meines Herzens Grunde
Dein Nam' und Kreuz allein
Funkelt all Zeit und Stunde,
Drauf kann ich fröhlich sein.
Erschein' mir in dem Bilde
Zu Trost in meiner Not,
Wie Du, Herr Christ, so milde
Dich hast *geblut'* zu Tod.²¹

Yet if I may (though with considerable trepidation), I should like to dissent a little from Prof. Dr. Axmacher's masterful exposition, specifically on a question from the history of theology: the relation between Saint Anselm of Canterbury and Martin Luther. Dr. Axmacher sees 'eine kleine, aber bedeutsame Differenz zwischen Anselms und Luthers im übrigen ja stark anselmisch geprägter Versöhnungslehre' principally in the area of theological methodology.²² For it is well known that Anselm proceeds in the treatise *Cur deus homo* 'remoto Christo', and he develops a magnificent speculation on this question: What sort of reconciliation can human reason discover for itself without the help of divine revelation, a reconciliation that would be in a position to provide redemption for the situation of sinful humanity, which reason, too, is able to recognize? But it is necessary to distinguish this brilliant speculative methodology – which is pe-

cularly Anselm's own and which, in the consideration of the ontological argument for the existence of God in his *Proslogion*, called forth the critique of Thomas Aquinas – from his doctrine of the atonement itself, the theory of the substitutionary satisfaction rendered to the violated justice of God through the death of Christ (eventually called 'satisfactio vicaria'). That theory of the atonement, while clothed in this speculation, was systematized by Anselm but not strictly speaking invented by him, and in his *Meditatio* it is expounded not 'remoto Christo' but on the basis of orthodox Christology and of the dogma of the two natures in the one person of Jesus Christ. The most important historical basis of this doctrine of the atonement is not, as the secondary literature claims from time to time, the old Germanic concept of 'Wergeld', but the concept of *satisfactio* in the medieval history of the sacrament of penance. As for the difference between Anselm and Luther in this respect, let me suggest two elements. In Luther, but not in Anselm, the entire human life of Christ – as the *Formula of Concord* and the later dogmaticians call it, his 'obedientia activa', in the words of the *Formula of Concord* the 'solida, absoluta et perfectissima obedientia, iam inde a nativitate sua sanctissima usque ad mortem'²³ – has a positive significance for the redemption, and not only as a preparation for his death. As Heinrich Poos has expressed it, 'Die diaphane Natur der zweiten trinitarischen Person, des primo crucigero des Evangeliums, ist dem Kanon eingeschrieben. Der Gehorsam Christi ist der Typus des Gehorsams seiner Nachfolge'.²⁴ Secondly, and even more importantly for our question here, it is an excessively narrow reading of Luther's conception (or, rather, his several conceptions!) of the atonement to attribute to him only such ideas as satisfaction and sacrifice. For frequently in his writings, particularly in the ex-

tremely important *Commentary on Galatians* of 1531/1535, as part of his exegesis of the words of Galatians 3:13, 'Christus nos redemit de maledicto legis factus pro nobis maledictum', Luther separates himself from these ideas of satisfaction and criticizes his predecessors and his adversaries for having so 'totally obscured' this chief article of the faith.²⁵ In the *Galatians Commentary* Luther operates with a theory of the atonement that has more in common with the Greek church fathers than with Anselm and the scholastics. As Gregory of Nazianzus in the fourth of his *Theological Orations* sharply criticized the notion of ἐκδίκησις (a Greek word that could be translated as 'satisfaction'),²⁶ so also Luther polemicizes against this inadequate, perhaps even unworthy (if not 'geschmacklos') description of the work of Christ. It is this doctrine of the atonement, labeled by Bishop Gustaf Aulén as 'the Christus Victor type', that most sharply distinguishes Luther from Anselm.²⁷

And that is precisely the doctrine of the atonement and the version of what Heinrich Poos identified as the 'crux-gloria-Topos',²⁸ which comes through so clearly in Bach's *John Passion*.²⁹ The reworking of the chorale of Martin Schalling, 'Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr', at the end of the *John Passion* in association with the choir's singing of 'Ruht wohl' is not only, as Winfried Zeller showed in his final work, the transformation of a 'Sterbelied' into an 'Ewigkeitslied',³⁰ but the celebration of Christus Victor, whose 'Grab [...] macht den Himmel auf und schließt die Hölle zu'.³¹ That is why the *John Passion* could open with the chorus 'Herr, unser Herrscher', which so many commentators on the work have found to be so problematical, without the laments and tears of the corresponding opening chorus of the *Matthew Passion*, 'Kommt, ihr Töchter'. Therefore also the words of Christ on the cross, 'Consummatum est', which in the An-

selmic and then also in the Protestant theory of satisfaction (for example, in the *Institutiones religionis christianae* of Calvin) served as the basis for an exposition about the completion of the sacrifice and about the divine acceptance of the satisfaction, become instead the ground for the unforgettable paean in praise of the *Christus Victor*, a song of mourning but then – and therefore – of victory:

Es ist vollbracht, es ist vollbracht,
 O Trost für die gekränkten Seelen.
 Die Trauernacht, die Trauernacht
 Läßt mich die letzte Stunde zählen.
 Der Held aus Juda siegt mit Macht,
 Und schließt den Kampf.
 Es ist vollbracht!³²

Therefore in the *John Passion* the very death of Christ instantaneously becomes an occasion not only for the bass to sing his dirge, ‘Mein teurer Heiland, laß dich fragen’, but for the choir with the melody of the choral ‘Jesu, deine Passion’ to celebrate his resurrection (which in the *Matthew Passion*³³ is mentioned only as an *obiter dictum*):

Jesu, der du warest tot,
 Lebest nun ohn’ Ende [...]³⁴

Without wanting to exaggerate the precise meaning of the individual words, I would want to add: the aria ‘Erwäge’ does not say that the ‘blutgefärbte Rücken’ of the Savior ‘dem Himmel gleiche *steht*’, but rather ‘gleich *geht*’. The emphasis is therefore a dynamic one, not a static one, and it is an emphasis on action, on drama, on *Heilsgeschichte*. The history that comes into the memory of the poet here is the drama of the greatest victory that the human race in its entirety had experienced before the death and resurrection of Christ: the drama of the Flood, which here is interpreted as a typology for the liberation and victory of the entire human race through the victory and re-

venge of Christ, the theme of the closing chorus of the *Christmas Oratorio*, where the melody of ‘O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden’ is transposed from minor to D-major, and with trumpets:

Nun seid ihr wohl gerochen
 An eurer Feinde Schar,
 Denn Christus hat zerbrochen
 Was euch zuwider war.
 Tod, Teufel, Sünd und Hölle
 Sind ganz und gar geschwächt;
 Bei Gott hat seine Stelle
 Das menschliche Geschlecht.³⁵

The parallels between Old and New Testament, between Exodus and Golgotha, occur very often in the cantatas of Bach, but these parallels pertain to the particular history of the liberation of the Children of Israel and of the special covenant between God and the chosen people. More rarely, but in very interesting passages, Bach reminds us of the history of Noah and of the universal covenant that God established with the entire surviving remnant of the human race, with eight persons in one family; indeed, according to Luther’s *Lectures on Genesis*, ‘the covenant of which he speaks here pertains not only to humanity but embraces all living animals’.³⁶ So most familiarly in the gentle recitative of the burial in the *Matthew Passion*:³⁷

Am Abend, da es kühle war,
 Ward Adams Fallen offenbar;
 Am Abend drücket ihn der Heiland nieder.
 Am Abend kam die Taube wieder
 Und trug ein Ölblatt in dem Munde.
 O schöne Zeit! O Abendstunde!³⁸

Like circumcision in the covenant with Abraham, so the rainbow in the covenant with Noah acquires a significance that one can almost call ‘sacramental’. As it is written in the Book of Genesis, ‘God said to Noah and his sons: “I am now establishing my covenant with you and with your descendants af-

ter you.” [...] God said, “My bow I set in the clouds to be a sign of the covenant between myself and the earth. When I bring clouds over the earth, the rainbow will appear in the clouds”.³⁹ But what was missing in the rainbow as ‘sacrament’ or as the sign of a covenant, that was fulfilled in the blood of Christ: in the formulation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, to which Kristlieb Adloff has referred in his lecture, ‘Now where there is a testament διαθήκη it is necessary for the death of the testator to be established; for a testament takes effect only when a death has occurred: it has no force while the testator is still alive. Even the former covenant itself was not inaugurated without blood’.⁴⁰ ‘Not inaugurated without blood’ applied as well to this new διαθήκη. Theologically much deeper than the parallel of the *Matthew Passion* between evening and evening in the history of the Flood is this parallel of the *John Passion* between covenant and covenant. But for this parallel it was absolutely necessary to find in the blood of Christ a connection between the rainbow and the cross as ‘Gnadenzeichen’:

Daran, nachdem die Wasserwagen
von unsrer Sündflut sich verzogen,
der allerschönste Regenbogen
Als Gottes Gnadenzeichen steht.

Pace all the superciliousness about ‘Geschmacklosigkeit’ and the ‘blühender Unsinn’ in the aria ‘Erwäge’, this connection between the ‘blutgefärbter Rücken’ and the ‘Regenbogen’ must be observed. And therefore even Alfred Dürr in his book about the *John Passion* can speak about ‘besonderes Bilderreichtum’ precisely in this aria.⁴¹

It was with a quotation from Goethe’s *Faust*, ‘Blut ist ein besonderer Saft’, that I opened this lecture. How better to conclude it, then, than with another quotation from the same drama, one treating Bach’s other theme of the rainbow?

Allein wie herrlich, diesem Sturm er-
spießend,
Wölbt sich des bunten Bogens Wechseldauer,
Bald rein gezeichnet, bald in Luft zerfließend,
Umher verbreitend duftig kühle Schauer.
D e r spiegelt ab das menschliche Bestreben.
Ihm sinne nach, und du begreifst genauer:
*Am färbigen Abglanz haben wir das Leben.*⁴²

Indeed: according to the *John Passion* of Johann Sebastian Bach, and specifically according to the aria ‘Erwäge’, it is in this ‘coloured reflection’ – which has its colour from the ‘special fluid’ of the ‘blutgefärbter Rücken’ of the suffering Christ – that ‘we have life’.

Curriculum vitae

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Notes

1. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Faust*, lines 1716-1740.
2. *Matthäus-Passion*, Nr. 63 (numbering according to BWV).
3. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 64 (numbering according to BWV).
4. *Matthäus-Passion*, Nr. 61.

5. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 63.
6. Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition. A History of the Development of Doctrine* (5 Vols.; Chicago 1971-1989), Vol. 3, pp. 74-80, 184-204.
7. *Gabrielis Biel Canonis misse expositio*, edd. Heiko A. Oberman and William J. Courtenay (Wiesbaden 1963), p. 185.
8. *Die Bekenntnisschriften der evangelisch-lutherischen Kirche* (Göttingen 1952), pp. 416, 419.
9. *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae* XXIV, pp. 34-35, *ibid.*, p. 360.
10. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 65.
11. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 31-32.
12. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 33-34.
13. Elke Axmacher, "Aus Liebe will mein Heyland sterben". *Untersuchungen zum Wandel des Passionsverständnisses im frühen 18. Jahrhundert* (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1984), p. 157.
14. Rudolf Wustmann, 'Zu Bachs Texten der Johannes- und der Matthäus-Passion'. In: *Monatsschrift für Gottesdienst und kirchliche Kunst* 15 (1910), pp. 126-131, 161-165.
15. Nikolaus Harnoncourt, *Die Johannes-Passion Johann Sebastian Bachs* [Program notes Teldec CD, s.a.], p. 14.
16. Friedrich Smend, *Bach-Studien. Gesammelte Reden und Aufsätze*, ed. Christoph Wolff (Kassel 1969), pp. 11-23.
17. Gustav Adolf Theill, *Beiträge zur Symbolsprache Johann Sebastian Bachs* (Bonn 1983), Vol. 1, p. 111.
18. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 40.
19. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 1.
20. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 27.
21. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 52.
22. *Op.cit.*, p. 19, n. 15.
23. *Formula Concordiae*, Solida Declaratio, III, 58, *Bekenntnisschriften*, pp. 934-935.
24. Heinrich Poos, 'Christus Coronabit Crucigeros – Hermeneutischer Versuch über einen Kanon Johann Sebastian Bachs'. In: *Theologische Bach-Studien* 1, edd. Walter Blankenburg and Renate Steiger (Neuhausen-Stuttgart 1987), p. 93.
25. Martin Luther, *In epistolam ad Galatas commentarius* (1535), in: WA 40 I, pp. 432-453.
26. See Jaroslav Pelikan, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (New Haven 1993), pp. 272-273.
27. In her bibliography, p. 252, Elke Axmacher refers to an article by Aulén in the *Zeitschrift für Systematische Theologie*, but not to his complete account in the book *Christus Victor*, which I provided with a foreword when it was reprinted (New York 1969).
28. Heinrich Poos, 'Kreuz und Krone sind verbunden', in: *Johann Sebastian Bach – Die Passionen* [Musik-Konzepte 50/51], edd. Heinz-Klaus Metzger and Rainer Riehn (München 1986), pp. 47-48.
29. I have discussed these differences at greater length in *Bach among the Theologians* (Minneapolis 1986).
30. Winfried Zeller, 'Tradition und Exegese: Johann Sebastian Bach und Martin Schallings Lied "Herzlich lieb hab ich dich, o Herr".' In: *Bach als Ausleger der Bibel*, ed. Martin Petzold (Göttingen, 1985), pp. 151-176.
31. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 67-68.
32. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 58.
33. *Matthäus-Passion*, Nr. 20, Nr. 76.
34. *Johannes-Passion*, Nr. 60.
35. Bach, *Weinachts-Oratorium*, Nr. 64.
36. Luther, *Enarratio in Genesin*, WA 42, pp. 362-363.
37. See Renate Steiger, "'O schöne Zeit! O Abendstunde!'" Affekt und Symbol in J.S. Bachs Matthäus-Passion', in: *MUK* 46 (1976), pp. 1-13.
38. *Matthäus-Passion*, Nr. 74.
39. Genesis 9:8-9, 12-14.
40. Hebrews 9:16-18.
41. Alfred Dürr, *Die Johannes-Passion von*

*Johann Sebastian Bach: Entstehung/
Überlieferung/Werkeinführung*

(München und Kassel 1988), p. 101.
42. Goethe, *Faust*, lines 4721-4727.

