

Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen
zum Neuen Testament 76

Anton Fridrichsen

Exegetical Writings



Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament

Herausgegeben von
Martin Hengel und Otfried Hofius

76

Anton Fridrichsen

Exegetical Writings

A Selection

Translated and Edited by
Chrys C. Caragounis and Tord Fornberg



J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck) Tübingen

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Fridrichsen, Anton:

Exegetical writings: a selection/Anton Fridrichsen. Transl. and ed. by
Chrys C. Caragounis and Tord Fornberg. – Tübingen: Mohr, 1994

(Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament; 76)

ISBN 3-16-146268-8 978-3-16-157446-7 Unveränderte eBook-Ausgabe 2019

NE: Caragounis, Chrys C. [Hrsg.]; Fridrichsen, Anton: [Sammlung]: GT

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The book was typeset by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen using Times typeface, printed by Gulde-Druck in Tübingen on acid-free paper from Papierfabrik Buhl in Ettlingen and bound by Heinr. Koch in Tübingen.

ISSN 0512-1604

This Book
is Dedicated to
the Theological Faculty
of the University of Uppsala
Scene of A. Fridrichsen's
Exegetical Labours
and Alma Mater
of the Editors

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Preface

The origins of this book go back to the last week of May 1992. In the relaxed atmosphere of the living-room of his Tübingen home Prof. Martin Hengel approached Chrys C. Caragounis with his long-cherished idea of seeing the widely-scattered and thus little known exegetical writings of Anton Fridrichsen made available in book form. To this intent he made available the series of *WUNT*, which he and Prof. Otfried Hofius edit together, and provided Caragounis with a list of Fridrichsen's writings.

On his return to Sweden Caragounis contacted Docent Dr. Tord Fornberg (Uppsala) inviting him to become co-editor of the volume. Together we worked through Fridrichsen's writings in the difficult task of choosing a mere ten per cent of what was available to be included in the present volume.

As we look back, we are happy and grateful that Professor Hengel took this fine initiative, gave his encouragement and made it possible through the *WUNT* series to publish some of the exegetical writings of Anton Fridrichsen – undoubtedly the greatest Scandinavian New Testament scholar of this century. We are also happy that at a somewhat later stage also Herr Georg Siebeck embraced the project with good-will and enthusiasm and did all that was necessary by way of practical arrangements to see the book through the press.

The writings of Anton Fridrichsen have been published in many languages (in his native Norwegian as well as in Swedish, German, English, French, and Latin) and in many journals, some of which are little known to New Testament scholars. At first we decided on a trilingual book: we would use material published by Fridrichsen in German, English and French, and would, moreover, translate a number of Swedish and Norwegian studies into English. We were then planning a larger book. Owing to the economical recession of the times Herr Siebeck requested of us to reduce the size of the proposed volume to no more than 350 pages, and this compelled us reluctantly to excise the French material.

Our choice of material has been guided by several principles and concerns. First, we have included an evaluation of Fridrichsen's person and work, setting him in the theological context of Uppsala at the time of his appointment, and of his significance for Swedish scholarship, written by his pupil, the late Erik

Beijer, in 1988.¹ In this way Fridrichsen's contribution is placed in its proper context. Second, to present Fridrichsen's particular approach to biblical interpretation we have included his programmatic essay, "Realistic Interpretation of the Bible", which sets forth his method, hermeneutical principles, and his particular angle of approach. Third, we have included a number of articles that he had published in English and German as well as a number of his studies, originally published in Norwegian and Swedish. Our selection has been motivated by our desire to give an adequate picture of the man, his theological achievement, and the way in which his own work fitted in the context of the international debate.

Our objective to make available particularly material that was inaccessible or not easily accessible for scholars has led us to include on the one hand a number of studies in German, published in internationally rather unknown journals like the *Symbolae Osloenses*, and on the other hand to translate into English several of Fridrichsen's most important studies that were published in Norwegian and Swedish. Accordingly our translated material from Norwegian and Swedish comprises more than fifty per cent of the book.

Although we have looked into each other's work and inspected together the entire manuscript in its final stage, our respective responsibilities have been as follows: Fornberg has translated the Norwegian material and Caragounis the Swedish material into English. To avoid different styles and format by reproducing photomechanically the existing German and English material, Caragounis scanned this material carrying it over to his computer. One German article, written in old German characters, was typed by Fornberg into his computer. The scanning proved to be more problematic than anticipated and Caragounis had to restore the German and English material by comparison with the originals. He also typed in the Greek for the entire manuscript. Fornberg and Caragounis each read the proofs of the German and English material. The page lay-out has been preserved in as far as this was possible, but a number of editorial changes – as e. g. the use of the same quotation marks in all articles, the consecutive numbering of footnotes throughout each article, as well as the same type for all article titles – had to be made, changes which do not affect the wording or the punctuation of the original. The material published originally in German and English has been left as it was even where syntactical errors were discovered, with the exception of the minimal correction of a few quite obvious inadvertently committed typographical errors.

¹ For a fuller account of A. Fridrichsen's significance as an exegete and theologian of the Church, see A. Smith, *Anton Fridrichsens kristendomsforståelse*, Oslo 1976. For a brief introduction to the life and work of A. Fridrichsen in English as well as a complete bibliography, see the recent booklet by Erik Heen, *Anton Fridrichsen (1888–1953). A Bibliography*, University of Oslo. Faculty of Theology. Bibliography Series 5, Oslo 1993.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Douglas Jackson, M.Th., for his valuable suggestions to improve the English of our translations. Docent Curt Dahlgren, Lund, kindly made available the Theological Faculty's scanner and his expertise to Caragounis for scanning the German and English material. Caragounis' former student, Mr. Per Holmberg, B.D., now a research student at the University of Göteborg, prepared the indices. Last but not least we owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Jan Bergman of Uppsala. He knows why.

As this book leaves our hands, it is our wish that, besides giving all its readers the pleasure of being acquainted with the perspicacious and sober thinking of one of the great New Testament scholars of this century, it may also challenge and inspire particularly the younger scholars with the true nature of their task: to make the meaning and life of the New Testament transparent and relevant for modern man. It was Fridrichsen's deepest concern to put theology and exegesis in the service of the Church.

Lund 20 February 1994

Chrys C. Caragounis and Tord Fornberg

Introductory

Anton Fridrichsen as Academic Teacher in the Service of the Church

by

ERIK BEIJER

Few academic teachers in recent years have had such a significance within their province of research as *Anton Fridrichsen*. During a period of more than twenty years from his appointment in 1928 to his retirement in 1953, he left his mark on the teaching of New Testament exegesis at the University of Uppsala. When he commenced his professorship at Uppsala he was already well-known and respected in academic circles on the continent. At Fridrichsen's invitation a whole array of scholars, chiefly from German universities visited and lectured at Uppsala. This gave the students the opportunity to come in personal contact with international scholarship – it is difficult for us today to understand how isolated the academic milieu at this northern Swedish university was, at least with regards to theological studies. For students and younger scholars to travel abroad before the Second World War was quite simply an exception. Later the War put a stop to all travel. But international winds blew around Anton Fridrichsen, and he generously shared his wide outlook. At his research seminar a number of young scholars were bred, many of whom later came to hold chairs in various foreign universities, both in Europe and the U. S. A. But even for the usual students who, following their graduation, went out as priests or teachers, he had a decisive significance. Even to the church life of Sweden in general he gave stimulating and decisive impulses through his teaching ministry. I believe, therefore that this year – 100 years after his birth on the 4th January 1888 – it would be appropriate to give a few indications in the *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* of the significance, which Anton Fridrichsen has had for Swedish church life through his teaching.

Anton Fridrichsen entered his office as academic teacher at a time, when students came as a rule to the study of New Testament Exegesis, with a solid preparatory education. Most of them had taken the classical course of study in high school, which meant that they had had Greek for two academic years. If at the time of the commencement of their theological studies, they had not already taken a Bachelor of Philosophy degree in Classical Languages, they had, at any

rate, taken the theological-philosophical examination, “teofilnen”, which was an obligatory entrance requirement, in which *inter alia* the study of Koine-Greek formed a part. This was the starting point, at which the study of the New Testament was embarked upon. Anton Fridrichsen was a demanding teacher. From the *Study Manual of the Theological Faculty*, the 1931 edition, it emerges that for the mark of *Pass* “an intimate knowledge of the writings of the New Testament and their contents was demanded, and an ability to translate the entire New Testament in such a way that the text was comprehensible both linguistically and materially”. Fridrichsen gives a few reflections on this basic demand: “The requisite familiarity with the Greek NT cannot be acquired in any other way than through an assiduous and protracted study of the text”. “A Lexicon and Grammar must be constantly consulted. One should not shun the labor of writing lists of words and learning them by heart. An emphatic warning is hereby given against taking refuge in a translation and learning it by rote”. Those were unequivocal words. Consequently, the New Testament was regarded by Fridrichsen’s students as a difficult subject. At the Priests’ conference in the Archdiocese in 1941 Fridrichsen delivered his oration on “Nya Testamentets enhet”.¹ In it he speaks of the narrow road that leads to life: “Only by engaging one’s whole being seriously in the search can one discover the path that leads to life. This is the way in which the New Testament, too, in all its parts discloses its inner unity of life only to those who apply themselves to the study of Scriptures with all seriousness and energy . . . The task is already large and heavy when one reads the wretched elements that are demanded for getting the first courses in the B.D. degree . . . No one can be spared the hours of discouragement in the scientific study of the Bible”.² Fridrichsen demanded much of his students, but he also gave them much.

In order that we might understand today what significance Fridrichsen’s teaching at Uppsala came to have, we need to place ourselves in the situation which prevailed at this northern Swedish university at the time Fridrichsen entered upon his office in the 1920’s. One might say an exegetical vacuum prevailed. During the years of 1909–1920 the exegetical chair had been occupied by Adolf Kolmodin. With all his erudition he represented an exegetical conservatism similar to that of Theodor Zahn. Kolmodin had acquired the professorial chair by defeating S. A. Fries, who represented the growing scholarship that was coloured by liberalism. This type of scholarship, therefore, never made itself felt in the exegetical teaching at Uppsala. The break became still greater when Kolmodin was succeeded by Gillis Persson Wetter in 1923.³

¹ Anton Fridrichsen, “Nya Testamentets enhet”, *SEÅ* 6 (1941), pp. 43ff. [This essay is included in the present volume under the title “The Unity of the New Testament” (Tr.).]

² *Ibid.* p. 52f. [in original edition (Tr.).]

³ Anton Friedrichsen, Olof Linton, Gösta Lindeskog, *Gillis Wetter in Memoriam, Arbeiten und Mitteilungen aus dem neutestamentlichen Seminar zu Uppsala V*, printed in Helsinki 1937.

Wetter was an out-and-out representative of the religio-historical school. For him the great names were *Reitzenstein* and *Bousset*. Early Christianity belonged together with the Hellenistic mystery religions. A great chasm separated the early Christian churches growing on Hellenistic soil from the early Church within the Palestinian context. Wetter came to the professorial chair of the New Testament at Uppsala from the Stockholm *Högskola*⁴, where he was professor in the History of Religions. He was a frequent contributor to the daily press, and presented also his views to the educated public through a number of popular-scientific works.⁵ In circles close to the Stockholm *Högskola* Wetter was a respected name. In Uppsala, where he was to educate priests, it would appear that he became quite isolated. Since his teaching-labours came to an abrupt end by a humanly speaking early death in 1926, his work as an academic teacher turned out to be a mere parenthesis. There never was enough time to create a continuity. The chasm between Kolmodin and Wetter was too wide and too deep. Kolmodin was a conservative. Wetter was a radical. This caused a great uncertainty within such a central subject for theological studies as New Testament exegesis.

Such was the situation, when Anton Fridrichsen appeared on the scene at Uppsala. He was made professor on the 27th of April 1928 and delivered his inaugural lecture on the 15th of September the same year. Thereby a new chapter in the history of Uppsala exegesis had begun. The man who was thus installed was a mature man with his eye open to what the hour demanded. He was familiar with all aspects of his subject and had an open mind for new views and ideas. Some professors are strangely finished when they are installed on their chairs. Anton Fridrichsen definitely did not belong to this category.⁶

Among the factors which contributed to the feeling of disorientation among the students, and their difficulty in understanding any inner connection within exegesis, was their difficulty in finding an organic connection between the two Testaments. The study of Old Testament exegesis had been dominated for decades by Erik Stave. During the long period between 1899 and 1922 he occupied the chair of biblical exegesis with the center of gravity in the Old Testament. At Uppsala Stave had performed a pioneer's work by his introduction of the new exegesis, whose foremost representative was Julius Wellhausen. The acceptance of this new kind of exegesis had not taken place without a bitter struggle. Together with Nathan Söderblom and Einar Billing, Stave had tried to show that the scientific study of the Bible was no threat to the Christian faith.⁷

⁴ [I.e. a university-level institution (Tr.).]

⁵ Gillis Persson Wetter, *Det urkristna gudstjänstlivet och Nya testamentet*, 1923; Idem, *Kristendomen och hellenismen*, 1923; Idem, *Johannes' Uppenbarelse*, 1924; Idem, *Innanför Herakles' stoder. En resa i Nya Testamentets värld*, 1926.

⁶ Harald Riesenfeld, "Anton Fridrichsen 4/1 1888–16/11 1953," *SEÅ* 18–19 (1953–1954), pp. 7ff. Axel Smith, *Anton Fridrichsens kristendomsförståelse*, Oslo 1976.

⁷ Sven Linder, *Domprostsen Erik Stave. En minnesteckning*, *SEÅ* 5 (1940), pp. 224ff.

The new radical scholarship which Stave represented, was also in some way easier to apply to the Old Testament than to the New. The center of gravity in Old Testament piety had come to rest with the prophets. These could be seen as representatives for a religious development, which placed ethics before cult, and could therefore be seen as heralds of a portrait of Jesus characterized by ethical ideals – the portrait of Jesus represented by liberal theology. Once Stave sat securely in the saddle, he was untiring in writing manuals and popular writings on Old Testament themes. He was still in his best years when “the young men of the Church”⁸ studied. They were ambitious, and in the Swedish countryside many lectures have been given about Israel’s prophets. With regards to the New Testament, Stave was pretty conservative. One has the feeling that once he had attained the position of professor he no longer developed appreciably. It is characteristic of the exegetical scholarly situation, that following Stave’s departure from the professorship in 1922 that there was no competent successor – it was not until 1927 that the Old Testament chair was occupied.

The new occupant of the chair was Sven Linder. Linder was a competent orientalist, he spoke Arabic fluently and had a deep interest in archeology – he lectured gladly on the archeological investigation of Palestine. On the other hand, biblical theology was not his line. This made it difficult for students to get any grasp of the unity of the Bible, what it was that connected the Old Testament with the New – and yet both Testaments were part of the Christian Church’s Bible! To be sure, the prophets could be understood as preachers of an ethically-coloured religion of personalities, but the Messianic prophecies seemed to be an illusion which ended in disappointment and emptiness. That the cult played an important role in Old Testament piety the student learned purely religio-historically – in the course on the Old Testament there was no biblical-theological work. Rudolf Kittel’s *Israel’s Religious History* was read. When Sven Linder lectured on the Psalms, he referred most dutifully to Sigmund Mowinckel’s *Psalmstudien*, but what the cult – when at the New Year’s festival the cultic cry *Yahweh is King!* was sounded – meant as a bridge to the New Testament, no one had the slightest idea of. The whole thing was a “bold theory” – “bold” was one of Linder’s favorite expressions, though he himself as a scholar was anything but bold. For the students entirely new perspectives were opened up when Anton Fridrichsen lectured during his early Uppsala years on “Jesus’ preaching according to the Synoptics”. I remember myself what an aha-experience it was, when Fridrichsen drew the line from the Old Israelite New Year’s Festival, the enthronement, with its cultic cry *Yahweh*

⁸ [The “young men of the Church” were members of a revival movement within the Church of Sweden in the early 1900’s to mobilize young people to influence society towards a Christian life-style (Tr.)].

is king!, to Jesus' message: "The time has come, the kingdom of God is near", so near that it is present in Jesus and with its power it works in and through him. Suddenly, one began to picture the prophetic Messianic line with its roots in the message brought at the time of the kings of the struggle and victory of the King, and how from this the trajectory of thought passed over to the New Testament. Fridrichsen has treated this issue in an exposition of the text for the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary (which, to be sure, is from 1946, however the thoughts had already begun to take form early in the 1930's). He writes: What we find in Lk 1:26–38 is "*the renewal and actualization* of the promise. The message of the angel is conveyed in that style. 'The throne of David', 'the king over the house of David everlastingly', 'The Son of the Most High', – all of this connects back to the old prophetic word, which resounded once, when David's scions ruled over Zion ... What the king meant to the old, classical Israel and Judah nationally, religiously, morally, all this in indissoluble unity, we have begun to understand more and more. The King was the Saviour and the Reconciler. It is this aspect of the kingship, which now appears in its eschatological realization ... We see here the organic connection between prophecy and fulfilment, between pre-formation and realization. The person and work of Jesus are incomprehensible without this background".⁹

This understanding of the relation between promise and fulfilment is for Fridrichsen important for understanding the New Testament presentation of Jesus. Time and time again he comes back to this subject. In an exposition of Lk 18:31–43 (1946): he writes "The teaching about that fatal Easter concentrated in a few pregnant sayings, which the Apostles – and through them the Church – receives here is placed under the perspective of fulfilment. All that the prophets have written about the Son of Man must be fulfilled. This concerns both his humiliation and his exaltation. The words about humiliation and death obviously connect back to Isa 53 and related texts. The word about resurrection has its roots in Hos 6:2. These old prophecies become reality through the Son of Man's death and resurrection from the dead. The cultic realities which peer out from behind the prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah, found their fulfilment in the historical Jesus and the risen Lord of the Church, who is one and the same person. For the Church, as for Jesus as well, the perspective of Scripture is of the greatest significance (1 Cor 15:3–4). Prophecy is the cornerstone in the foundation of the Christian faith, and it is shown that the more unreservedly one allows the New Testament witness of Christ to come to its right place, the deeper one is drawn into the Old Testament. The theological and homiletical indispensability of the Old Testament as well as its fundamentality for faith and preaching becomes clearer and clearer, and the time must come again, when

⁹ Anton Fridrichsen, *Fyrhanda sädesåker*, 1958, p. 523.

the Church once again dares and is able to connect its witness of Jesus to the prophetic word".¹⁰

This does not mean – and I believe it is important to point this out – simply an uncritical reproduction of the Old Testament prophets' words. Fridrichsen was too knowledgeable a scholar and well oriented in history to allow himself to come to such a simple conclusion. When he is able to speak of the New Testament word as a fulfilment, in this word there lies just as much of a new creativity in a radically new situation. Characteristic for Fridrichsen's way of seeing the problem are a few words in an examination of Mt 17:9–13 about the disciples on their way down from the Mount of Transfiguration, in which they raise the question of Elijah's place in the context of eschatology. Fridrichsen expounds on how Jesus interprets the situation from the perspective of John the Baptist's appearance, and continues thus: "With superb certainty Jesus expounded the prophecy, unfettered by the letter, in inner harmony with the prophetic intuition. Thereby the position of the Church on prophecy is also given, whether it is concerned with Old Testament or New Testament prophecy. All interpretation, that goes above the purely religio-historical interest, must start with the historical fact of Jesus Christ. But note well: from the *transfigured* Jesus Christ. It was on the way down from the Mount of Transfiguration that Jesus expounded the prophecy to his disciples . . . The transfiguration on the Mount received its fulfilment and perfection in the eternal radiance of the resurrection. For us the light that falls on prophecy comes from this light-source. We know that what the old Spirit-filled men of God said ultimately referred to the Son of Man's suffering, death and entrance into glory (Lk 24:25, 27). There prevails there a hidden connection that is revealed in the resurrection of Christ. The 'historical element' of prophecy should not be overcome through false allegorization or through unhistorical literal application. History is a creative act of God, which does not occur in accordance with a detailed program, communicated beforehand. History is full of surprises. But it has an inner connection, which the prophetic spirits are aware of and behold in their own way. That is why the prophetic word of the Old Testament becomes a confirmation for the Church, which has experienced the fulfilment".¹¹

The atmosphere in the Theological Faculty at Uppsala at the time of Fridrichsen's assumption of his professorial duties, did not only exhibit the vacuum which prevailed within New Testament scholarship and the difficulty which Old Testament exegesis experienced in finding usable bridges between the Old and the New Testament, but also the difficulty that liberal theology in refined form was represented in the faculty. This theology had a convinced and energetic advocate in the professor of Church History, Emanuel Linderholm, who was

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 198 f.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 403.

active in the years 1919–1937.¹² His piety towards Jesus, inherited from childhood had found a foothold in the picture of Jesus of liberal theology. Linderholm had received decisive impressions from Adolf von Harnack and his “Das Wesen des Christentums”.¹³ The formula according to which Linderholm, in imitation of Harnack, solved the problem of early Christianity, was the double gospel, *Jesus’ gospel about the kingdom of God* on the one hand and *early Christianity’s gospel about Jesus Christ* on the other. This differentiation was decisively important for Linderholm personally, and in his preaching of this Linderholm felt himself called to be a reformer of the Church. We encounter his thought in his programmatic writing “From dogma to the Gospel”.¹⁴ He founded “Sveriges Religiösa Reformförbund”¹⁵ with its journal “Religion och Kultur” and prepared proposals for new Church rituals.¹⁶ Linderholm communicated his ideas to his pupils, one obligatory work in the first year courses being his work “*Evangeliets värld*”.¹⁷ This was a kind of a compendium, which was not based on personal research, but which presented uncritically the religio-historical school’s view of Christianity. It was the first part of a work which had the same fortune as many other works in Swedish scholarship – the second part was never published. In his preface and his epilogue, however, Linderholm sketched an outline of the whole work: “As soon as time and strength allow, the two above-mentioned parts about *Jesu evangelium om Gud och Guds rike* and *Urkristendomens evangelium om Jesus Kristus* as well as the Church life of the early Christian times will be published.”¹⁸ The concluding words are typical of Linderholm’s views. In his work he has painted the world of Hellenism and the Jewish background of Primitive Christianity. He writes: “However, the time was now at last fulfilled. He who would bring the new revelation with its inimitable loftiness and simplicity, with its perfect wisdom and gentle power, divine love and wonderful peace, already stood at the door”.¹⁹

I have tried to sketch in some considerable detail the atmosphere at the Theological Faculty of Uppsala at the close of the 1920’s in order that we might

¹² Anders Jarlert, *Emanuel Linderholm som kyrkohistoriker*, Bibliotheca historico-ecclesiastica lundensis XV, 1987.

¹³ To be sure Linderholm tried to distance himself from Harnack underlining his dependence upon Rud Eucken, *Der Wahrheitsgehalt der Religion*, 1901. See Em. Linderholm, *Från dogma till evangeliet*, 3rd ed., 1926, p. 5.

¹⁴ Originally a lecture given at a Sigtuna conference in November 1918, which was first published in the collection *Det andliga nutidsläget och kyrkan*. The lecture was published separately with a foreword typical of Linderholm in a third edition in 1926.

¹⁵ [I.e. “The Religious Reform Covenant of Sweden” [Tr.]].

¹⁶ Emanuel Linderholm, *Svensk Högmässa*, Stockholm 1926. Idem, *Högmässa, dop och nattvard. Några reformtankar*, Stockholm 1927.

¹⁷ Idem, *Evangeliets värld*, Stockholm 1918.

¹⁸ Ib. p. VII.

¹⁹ Ib. p. 299.

be able to understand the real significance of Anton Fridrichsen's appearance on the scene. At the time of his inauguration as professor he was a mature scholar with a long development behind him and always open to new questions and perspectives. He was at home in the university cities of Europe. He had studied with *Ernst von Dobschütz* at Breslau and with *Paul Wendland* at Göttingen. He was a good friend of Rudolf Bultmann's and had defended his doctoral thesis *Le problème du Miracle dans le Christianisme primitif* at Strasbourg.²⁰ As I have implied, he was not a scholar who had stopped maturing, during his whole life he was open to new ideas. On one point, however, he had come to a result which was to determine his view of early Christianity and its literature in a decisive way. He had learned the approach of the form-critical school and he handled its methods superbly. The Gospels were no biographies of Jesus, but documents of faith, where we meet the early Church's faith in Christ, sprung up from its spiritual reality and characterized by its view of life. Fridrichsen was by this time through with the portrait of Jesus painted by liberal theology. It was an illusion which did not measure up to the demands of a radical research. The Jesus of liberal theology was inspired by the cultural presuppositions of the Germany of Wilhelm, but such a Jesus had never existed. The understanding of Jesus at which Fridrichsen arrived, is met with in a booklet, which was published in 1931. It was one of Fridrichsen's peculiarities that he did not publish big, voluminous books. From his pen flowed small booklets and essays, but behind the flowing presentation the discerning reader could not fail but notice a depth of erudition and reading. The booklet bore the title *Vem ville Jesus vara?*²¹ It had an important sub-title, which indicated its concerns: *The Historical Foundation of Faith in Christ according to Present Biblical Research*. For Fridrichsen the matter was clear. The faith of early Christianity in Jesus as Lord had its roots in Jesus' own Messianic self-consciousness. One did not need to look away from dogma to the Gospel. The road to Early Christian dogma led directly from Jesus. "Christian dogma thus has its roots in Jesus' own consciousness and the disciples' personal experience in following him".²² Jesus made his appearance with clearly Messianic claims and was understood in that way – he was executed by the Romans on account of his Messianic claims. But he avoided using the title of Messiah. It was first during the decisive hearing before the high priest that he admitted clearly and verbally his Messiahship. Earlier this idea had made its appearance more in symbolic actions, as with Jesus' entrance to Jerusalem. The reason for that was that the

²⁰ The dissertation was published in Paris in 1925. ET: *The Problem of Miracle in Primitive Christianity*, 1972.

²¹ A. Fridrichsen, *Vem ville Jesus vara?* Studentföreningen Verdandis småskrifter, Nr 346, Stockholm 1931. [This booklet is included in the present volume under the title *Who did Jesus Claim to Be?* (Tr.).]

²² Id. p.58 [See section under "The Lord" (Tr.).]

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