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Buddha, Joshua, Jesus

And the way to the other shore

The Gnostic Interpretation of the Exodus and the Beginnings of the Cult of Joshua Jesus

Contents

1. The Exodus in Gnostic Interpretation
2. "To the other shore" - Buddhism and Upanishads
3. Therapists, Buddhism and Gnosis
4. Joshua, the Jordan River and the Baptism of Jesus
 - 4.1 Joshua and the question of the "right prophet
 - 4.2 ΙΧΘΥΣ - The fish symbol in early Christianity
 - 4.3 ... who once made the sun stand still"
 - 4.4 Joshua as revealer of the vine - the Didache
 - 4.5 Jesus/Joshua in the Epistle of Jude
 - 4.6 The Proclamation of Jesus according to Mark
 - 4.7 "...journey to the other shore ahead".
 - 4.8 Typological church interpretation
 - 4.9 Miriam-Maria
5. Joshua-Jesus and the Jewish-Buddhist exegesis of the Old Testament
6. Literature

1 The Exodus in Gnostic Interpretation

The exodus of the people of Israel from Egypt, as reported in the Book of Exodus, is a central motif that occurs repeatedly in the Old Testament.[1] Old Testament exegetes speak of a "primordial confession" with a significance constitutive of Israel's faith and self-understanding.[2] The exodus of the people of Israel in the Book of Exodus is a "gnostic" interpretation.

Within Israel, the Exodus event was usually regarded as a purely historical fact. An allegorical interpretation only developed outside Orthodox Judaism in Egyptian Alexandria.[3] According to the interpretation of the Jewish religious philosopher Philo from the 1st century CE, Egypt is the "refuge of a lush and unprotected life" and a symbol of the "bodily passions" from which God led his people out in order to let them walk on the "path where there is no sensual pleasure".[4] Likewise, the Jordan is regarded by Philo as a symbol of the passions. Jacob's word: "in my staff I have crossed this Jordan", (Gen 32:10), he interprets thus:

Jordan means descent; but the vicious and passionate actions belong to the lower, earthy and transient nature; these the virtuous mind passes through in discipline. For that would be a lowly conception, that he had passed through a river with a stick in his hand" (Leg 2,89).

However, Philo only generally emphasises the contrast between the sensual-material sphere (= Egypt/Jordan) and the spiritual-intelligible sphere (= desert); the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea (as a symbol of the transition from one sphere to the other) is not further reflected in him.

This is different with the therapists living near Alexandria, at the Mareotian Sea, about whom Philo reports in detail in his work *De Vita Contemplativa*. The therapists were intensively occupied with the passage through the Red Sea. They saw a mystery in it, which they visualised scenically, i.e. through choral singing and dancing. As in his writing *De Vita Mosis*, Philo emphasises the special significance of singing and claims that[5] Moses, after the passage through the Red Sea, "had songs of praise sung to the Father and Creator" and for this purpose divided the Israelites into two choirs of men and women, making his sister Miriam the leader of the women's choir (*VitMos* 2.247).[6]

What Philo reports in *De Vita Contemplativa* about the double-choir singing of the therapists sounds like the scenic realisation of this apocryphal tradition: 'Mainly following this model,' Philo says,

'the singing of the male and female therapists takes up the melody in mutual alternation, the descant of the women mixing with the bass of the men, thus producing a harmonious and truly musical harmony' (88).

<p>1 Dt 26:5ff, Ps 114:lff; Jes 43:16 u.ö.</p> <p>2 Gerhard von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testaments (Bd. 1, 2 Bde.; München: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1957), 177ff.</p> <p>3 Nach Lahe ist die allegorische Auslegung des Exodus „nur in der alexandrinisch-jüdischen Schriftauslegung belegt.“ Jaan Lahe, Gnosis und Judentum: alttestamentliche und jüdische Motive in der gnostischen Literatur und das Ursprungsproblem der Gnosis (Nag Hammadi and Manichaeen studies V. 75; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 329.</p> <p>4 Post 155; vgl. auch Post 62; Leg 2,84.87; 3:38.312; Sacr 4; Abr 103</p> <p>5 Hier scheint eine nicht-biblische Tradition zugrunde zu liegen.</p> <p>6 Nach Ex 15,1-19 (Moses' Lobgesang) und Ex 20:21 (Miriams Lobgesang).</p>	<p>1 Dt 26:5ff, Ps 114:lff; Is 43:16 et al.</p> <p>2 Gerhard von Rad, Theologie des Alten Testaments (vol. 1, 2 vols.; Munich: Chr. Kaiser Verlag, 1957), 177ff.</p> <p>3 According to Lahe, the allegorical interpretation of Exodus "is attested only in the Alexandrian-Jewish interpretation of Scripture." Jaan Lahe, Gnosis and Judaism: Old Testament and Jewish Motifs in Gnostic Literature and the Problem of the Origin of Gnosis (Nag Hammadi and Manichaeen studies V. 75; Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 329.</p> <p>4 Post 155; cf. also Post 62; Leg 2,84.87; 3:38.312; Sacr 4; Abr 103.</p> <p>5 This seems to be based on a non-biblical tradition.</p> <p>6 According to Ex 15:1-19 (Moses' song of praise) and Ex 20:21 (Miriam's song of praise).</p>
<p>3 - Lahe p. 329 "Although in the OT, in the rabbinic traditions and in the NT the Exodus of Israel is interpreted theologically (and in the NT also typologically) as a miracle at the Sea of Reeds, it is also always seen as a real, historical event. In the Perates and Mandaeans, on the other hand, there is a bold allegory that corresponds to Nagel's interpretation type 6 783 and is only documented in the Alexandrian-Jewish interpretation of Scripture. There, the exit of the soul from the body was equated with the exodus of the children of Israel from Egypt and the Sea of Reeds was midrashically interpreted as the sea of the end (/ ' as / ')784. Egypt with its flesh became the image of the bodily and sensual existence and the exodus from it an escape from the hylc into the pneumatic world. The red sea is the border between the two worlds and can only be crossed by the pious785. M. Lidzbarski sees the influence of these ideas also in Mandaean literature. In the Book of John, for example, expressions such as "sea of the end" and "day of the end" are often found in connection with "coming to an end". The Orthodox Jews rejected this allegorism, since for them the Exodus from Egypt was too vivid a fact to be understood merely as an image786. Yet, as the example of Irenaeus shows, the Exodus was also known to the Gnostics as a historical event. This shows that allegorical and typological interpretation of Scripture was not the only way of interpreting Scripture among the Gnostics, as was often claimed earlier787.</p>	

783: 6 Types of Interp – p. 194 of Lahe:

- 1 . Interpretation in the opposite sense through exchange of roles and functions²¹.
(HA, UW; ApcAd; Peraten).
- 2 . Scornful rejection of OT figures and events (2Log- Seth; TestVer).
- 3 . Corrective interpretation in close connection with the second group.
(AJ; Ophites).
- 4 . Use of "neutral" passages by means of allegorical interpretation.
(Baruch Book of Justin; Naassener; Pistis Sophia).
- 5 . Eclectic reference to individual passages of the OT to confirm one's own doctrines or cult practices (Valentinians; Libertinist Gnostics).
- 6 . Aetiological or typological interpretation of the OT, partly with a soteriological tendency
(TractTrip; EV; EvPhil; ExAn; PistSoph)²².

In his account, Philo suggests that the passage was apparently understood by the therapists as God's judgement, to some, i.e. the Israelites, as the "cause of salvation", to others, i.e. the pagan Egyptians, as the "cause of utter ruin".

Celia Deutsch speaks in this context of a "communal ritual" and rightly remarks: "In ritual time and space, they are the people at the Red Sea; in their performance of the text they become a kind of embodied allegory."^[7] In the next but one section, we will see how the text is interpreted.

We will discuss the therapists in more detail in the section after next.

We find another allegorical interpretation of the Exodus motif in the early Christian heretic Simon Magus. We are informed about his teachings by the Church Father Hippolytus, among others. However, the origin of the scripture from which Hippolytus quotes is not clear. It bears the title "Great Annunciation" and, according to Hippolytus, was written by Simon. However, it is disputed among scholars whether it actually originated with Simon or was written at a later time by a group of students and then attributed to him. In the scripture, an analogy is made between the world tree and the embryo growing on the umbilical cord of the womb. In Simon's allegorical interpretation, the Book of Exodus becomes a symbol that

.that which was born must travel through the Red Sea and come into the desert - he calls the Red Sea the blood - and taste bitter water. Bitter, in fact, is the water beyond the Red Sea, and indeed this is the path of the arduous and bitter experiences of life that is traversed" (Ref 6.15).

Similar to Philo's therapists, the author of the "Great Annunciation" uses the passage through the Red Sea as a metaphor of purification. Egypt or the Red Sea are symbols of the body that must be passed through (on the way to the immaterial sphere). But through the Logos, i.e. through Moses, the path of the bitter experience of life is sweetened.[8]

We find further interpretations of the Exodus motif among the Naassenes and Perates. The two Gnostic sects, together with the Sethians, belong to the so-called Ophites, whose teachings Hippolytus refers to in the 5th book of his Refutatio. The name is derived from the Greek word for snake = ophis (οφίς), and goes back to the fact that the snake plays a central role in the myth of all three cults.

The reference of the Peraten to the Exodus theme is already visible in their name. This could possibly be derived from the Greek word πέραν = to go through, to pass through. The Perates thus regarded themselves as "passing through".

<p>7 Celia Deutsch, „The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience ", in Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Lit, 2006) 287-311, hier 306.</p> <p>8 Vgl. Hugo Rahner, Symbole der Kirche die Ekklesiologie der Väter (Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 274-79. Zum bitteren Wasser vgl. Philo Post 155f.</p>	<p>7 Celia Deutsch, "The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience", in Paradise Now: Essays on Early Jewish and Christian Mysticism (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Lit, 2006) 287-311, here 306.</p> <p>8 Cf. Hugo Rahner, Symbole der Kirche die Ekklesiologie der Väter (Salzburg: Müller, 1964), 274-79. On bitter water cf. Philo Post 155f.</p>
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According to Hippolytus, at the centre of their "colourful wisdom" is the serpent, whose significance for salvation history was read out of the Old Testament by means of allegorical exegesis.[9] Like other gnostics, the Perates also judge the work of the serpent in the story of paradise - in contrast to orthodox Jewish exegesis - as positive. It is regarded as the bringer of gnosis, but also as a symbol of salvation and redemption, because the Israelites who were bitten by poisonous snakes were healed by the sight of Moses' brazen serpent.

The image of the caduceus on a "salvation-historical" level is contrasted with that of the gnostic uroboros on a cosmic level. The Perates identify the serpent with the Logos. The Logos is located between the unmoved Father and the moving matter, and is thus the mediator between the two. On the one hand, he turns to the father in order to

absorb his powers and pass them on to matter, on the other hand, he frees the paternal powers that have imprinted themselves in matter through her from the material fetters in order to lead them out to the father, so that "at the top of her head", as it were, "rise and fall are mingled" (Ref 5.16).

Creation is regarded by the perates as a sphere of nothingness and transience. Because everything that has become is subject to this law, there is only one way of salvation for the perates: man must pass through the downfall, to which he is inescapably delivered, even before his death.

This brings us to the mysteries of the Perates or their central mystery, baptism. For the downfall has to do with water. Water and demise are synonymous among the Perates. "The downfall is water. For by nothing has the world perished faster than by water," it says, presumably alluding to the story of the Flood (Ref 5.16).

The creaturely world as flowing water and as a river - this is an image that is already encountered in Heraclitus: Everything flows, no one gets into the same river twice. The proximity to Heraclitus is emphasised by Hippolytus. For the Perates, too, the descent of the eternal ideas into the world of matter, which is equated with water, the "running waters of the Styx", is their death.

Accordingly, the story of the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea signifies for the Perates:

"exodus from the body - Egypt being the body, they believe - and crossing the Red Sea, that is, crossing the waters of destruction, namely Cronus, and passing over the Red Sea, that is, passing over coming into being, and coming into the desert, that is, passing out of coming into being, to where all the gods of perdition and the God of redemption are together" (Ref 5.16).

As can be seen, the allegorical interpretation of the Exodus among the Perates corresponds on the whole to the basic pattern that Philo claims to have encountered among the therapists.

Hippolytus reports that the Naassenes first called themselves "Gnostics" and claimed to know "the depths of wisdom alone" (Ref 5.16). He explains the origin of the name by saying that the serpent was cultically worshipped by the Naassenes. Apparently, the Naassenes took advantage of the similarity of the Hebrew term Noh (= serpent) with the Greek νόος (noos - temple),^[10] for they said that "no consecration [can be] found

under heaven where there is not a temple and the Naas in it, from which the temple received its name" (Ref 5.9).

9 Wolfgang Schultz, <i>Dokumente der Gnosis</i> (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1910), 103.	9 Wolfgang Schultz, <i>Dokumente der Gnosis</i> (Jena: E. Diederichs, 1910), 103.
10 Hans Leisegang, <i>Die Gnosis</i> (Bd. 32, 5. Aufl.; Kröners Taschenausgabe; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1985), 111.	10 Hans Leisegang, <i>Die Gnosis</i> (vol. 32, 5th ed.; Kröners Taschenausgabe; Stuttgart: Kröner, 1985), 111.

The theology of the Naassenes is essentially an allegorical interpretation of Old Testament and Greek myths. Jesus is mentioned in the so-called Naassen Psalm and in the interpretation of Exodus, among others. The Naassen Psalm is an ancient hymn about the earthly torment of the soul and the descent of its Saviour Jesus, and as such is at the same time a testimony to the existence of Christian pre-existence ideas in early times. In the Gnostic exegesis of Exodus, the sea becomes the image of the earthly material world. It is contrasted with "Jerusalem on high" as the "mother of the living". The other symbol is Egypt:

"But if you return to Egypt, i.e. to the lower mixture, you will die like men' (Ps. 81:7); for mortal is all becoming in the deep, but immortal is becoming born on high. For the spiritual is born of water and spirit alone, not the carnal; but he that is born of the deep is carnal. This is the meaning of the scriptural word: 'That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit' (John 3:6). According to them [the Naassenes], this is spiritual becoming" (Ref 5.7).

Then the image of the sea in the allegorical exegesis of the Naassenes suddenly changes into that of the "Great Jordan":

"Since it flowed downward and prevented the children of Israel from going out of the land of Egypt - that is, from the mixture in the deep, for Egypt, according to them, is the body - Jesus dammed it back and made it flow upward" (Ref 5.7).

Because of the name 'Ιησοῦς, one might think that the text refers to the Gospel accounts of Jesus' baptism. But the allusion to the flight of the children of Israel from Egypt is unmistakable. Moreover, the most important motifs of the baptismal account are missing: John the Baptist, the dove, the voice from heaven; also, the motif of the

damming of the Jordan does not come from the New Testament accounts of baptism, but from the Old Testament book of Joshua:

"Now when the people went out from their tents to pass through Jordan, and when the priests carried the ark of the covenant before the people, and came to Jordan, and dipped their feet in the water before them, for Jordan had been overflowing all its banks all the time of the harvest, the waters that came down from above stood upright as one wall, very far off, by the city of Adam, which is on the side of Zaretan; but the waters that ran down to the sea, to the salt sea, decreased and flowed away altogether. So the people passed through over against Jericho" (Josh 3:14-17).

Since the name Joshua is translated in Greek as 'Ιησοῦς = Jesus, Ιησοῦς means none other than the Old Testament successor of Moses Joshua.

But the association with the New Testament account of baptism triggered by the name is by no means coincidental. Another Gnostic text from the *Testimonium Veritatis*, which was probably written in the Alexandrian milieu in the 2nd century, can show that the motif of the passage and the baptism of Jesus sometimes flow seamlessly into one another:

"But the Son of Man [comes] from incorruption [as one who is] a stranger to defilement. He came [into the] world by way of [the river] Jordan, and immediately [the Jordan receded]. John [but] bore witness to the descent of Jesus. For it is he [alone] who saw the [power] that came down over the river Jordan. For he perceived that the dominion of the carnal generation was ended. But the river Jordan, it is the power of the body, that is, the sensations of the lusts. The water of the Jordan is the desire of sexual intercourse. But John is the archont of the womb." [11]

In the *Gospel Veritatis*, too, the imperishable and sensual-material spheres (= water of the Jordan) are juxtaposed, and here, too, the water recedes at the appearance of Jesus/Josua. Only the scene to which the interpretation refers is not about the passage of the Israelites through the Jordan, nor is Jesus the Old Testament Joshua, but the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan is actually meant here. And the encratic tendency of the Naassenian text in the *Testimonium Veritatis* has also clearly increased. Through a slight, hardly noticeable shift of a few details, the Old Testament scene has become a New Testament scene. Not quite, of course: unlike in the Gospels, it is not the Holy Spirit who descends from heaven at the baptism, but Jesus himself!

A similar view of baptism as in the *Testimonium Veritatis* we also find in the Valentinian treatise, which also comes from the Nag Hammadi corpus of writings. In his doctrinal piece on baptism, the author remarks: through it, i.e. (the first) baptism

we are led from [corruption] to [incorruption - which (?)] is the Jordan, [...] this place is the [...] of] the world (?). So we were led out of the world to the aeon - for the interpretation of John's is the aeon, but the interpretation of that which is the Jordan is the descent, which is the [ascent], which is the going out [of] the world, [to] the aeon."^[12]

Unlike in the *Testimonium Veritatis*, the motif of the receding waters of the Jordan is missing here, so that a reference to the fording of the Jordan, unlike there, is no longer visible.

We find another allegorical interpretation of the Exodus motif in the Odes of Solomon. This collection of early Christian songs was probably written in the first half of the 2nd century CE, also in the Alexandrian milieu. In the 39th ode, the "power of the Lord" is compared to raging rivers "that lead those who despise him headlong" (1-4), while those who cross them in faith go "without fail" and are not "disturbed". In verse 8 it follows, "Put on, then, the name of the Most High, and (know) it, and ye shall cross over without danger, while the rivers shall be subject unto you." It goes on to say:

The Lord bridged them by His Logos, and He (the Logos) went and crossed them on foot. And his footprints remained on the water and were not destroyed, but were like wood that is truly fixed. And from here and from there the waves rose up, but the traces of our anointed Lord stand firm and are not obliterated, nor destroyed. And a way was laid out for those who pass over after him, and for those who follow the course of his faith and revere his name. Hallelujah!^[13]

In contrast to the texts quoted so far, the 39th ode does not explicitly speak of the Red Sea or the Sea of Reeds, nor of the Jordan. Instead, the Odist merely speaks of "raging rivers", which could suggest a reference to Isaiah 43:2. It also seems that, according to the Odist's conception, the waters are not crossed, as in the Exodus miracle, but crossed.^[14]

On the other hand, a structural similarity to the Gnostic Exodus interpretations cited so far is unmistakable: Here, as there, the passage through the water is seen as judgement, i.e. on the one hand as salvation (of the faithful), on the other hand as destruction (of the unfaithful).

Whether there is a relationship to the Old Testament Exodus motif, as the majority of exegetes from Julius Wellhausen and Harris Mingana to Walter Bauer assumed, is not entirely clear. However, there is every indication that this was the case, but that the author dealt very freely with his subject. Michael Lattke also seems to assume this. He speaks of "gnostic interpretation of the Israelite passage through the Red Sea", but also of "jumbled images of the saving bridging and crossing of the raging waters through the Word or in faith." [15]

<p>11 30,5-31,1 - Hans-Martin Schenke, Ursula Ulrike Kaiser, und Hans- Gebhard Bethge, Hrsg., <i>Nag Hammadi Deutsch: Studienausgabe; NHC I-XIII, Codex Berolinensis 7 und 4, Codex Tchacos 3 und 4</i>^· Aufl.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 483.</p> <p>12 Schenke, Kaiser, und Bethge, <i>Nag Hammadi Deutsch: Studienausgabe; NHC I-XIII, Codex Berolinensis 7 und 4, Codex Tchacos 3 und 4</i>, 527.</p> <p>13 Michael Lattke, <i>Die Oden Salomos: griechisch, koptisch, syrisch mit deutscher Übersetzung (OanxxstedV. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011), 130ff.</i></p> <p>14 Nach Bauer sind die Verse 9. 10 und 11. 12 allerdings „nicht genau aufeinander abgestimmt.“ In Vers 11 bestehe das Wunder entsprechend Ex 14:22 darin, „daß sich die Flut hüben und drüben aufgestaut hat“. - Wilhelm Schneemelcher und Edgar Hennecke, Hrsg., <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (4. Aufl, durchges. Nachdr. der 3.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1971), 620 A.8.</p>	<p>11 30.5-31.1 - Hans-Martin Schenke, Ursula Ulrike Kaiser, and Hans- Gebhard Bethge, eds, <i>Nag Hammadi Deutsch: Studienausgabe; NHC I-XIII, Codex Berolinensis 7 and 4, Codex Tchacos 3 and 4</i>^· Aufl.; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 483.</p> <p>12 Schenke, Kaiser, and Bethge, <i>Nag Hammadi German: Studienausgabe; NHC I-XIII, Codex Berolinensis 7 and 4, Codex Tchacos 3 and 4</i>, 527.</p> <p>13 Michael Lattke, <i>The Odes of Solomon: Greek, Coptic, Syriac with German translation (OanxxstedV. Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2011), 130ff.</i></p> <p>14 According to Bauer, however, verses 9. 10 and 11. 12 "are not exactly coordinated." In verse 11, according to Ex 14:22, the miracle consists in "the flood being piled up over here and over there." - Wilhelm Schneemelcher and Edgar Hennecke, eds, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (4. Aufl, durchges. Nachdr. der 3.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1971), 620 A.8.</p> <p>15 Michael Lattke, "Zur Bildersprache der Oden Salomos", in <i>Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis</i> (vol. 4; OBO 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 17-36,</p>
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15 Michael Lattke, „Zur Bildersprache der Oden Salomos“, in *Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis* (Bd. 4; OBO 25; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998) 17-36, hier 26.

here 26.

Another time we encounter the allegorical-gnostic interpretation of the Exodus motif is among the Mandaeans. This baptismal sect, which originated in the eastern fringes of Syria-Palestine and presumably has a close genetic connection with early Christian Gnostic groups[16], has an interpretation of the Exodus motif that is very similar to those discussed above. Mark Lidzbarski, who has rendered outstanding services to the translation of the Mandaean texts, notes: "The attempt to interpret the Exodus from Egypt allegorically and eschatologically goes back as far as Alexandrian hermeneutics. Egypt with its flesh pots, an image of bodily and sensual existence, the exodus the flight from this hylish world into the pneumatic world, the Red Sea the dividing line between the two worlds; in it the wicked find their end, only the pious transcend it. These ideas show their after-effects in Mandaean literature as well.[17]

Lidzbarski refers to the idea of the Süf (reed) sea, which is also called the "sea of the end" by the Mandaeans.[18] As the following text passage from the Book of John of the Mandaeans can show, the passage through the sea (symbolised at baptism by the "water of the Jordan") is regarded by the Mandaeans as God's judgement; the water becomes the downfall for the wicked, but for the faithful it serves as a bridge to the light. The Gnostic redeemer cries out:

"I am the treasure, the treasure of life. The wicked are blind and do not see. I call them to the light, but they bury themselves in darkness. O you wicked, I call to them, 'you who sink down into darkness, straighten up and do not fall into the deep. I call out to them, but the wicked do not hear and sink into the great sea of Süf. Thus the Jordan became a bridge for the Uthras; a bridge for the Uthras it became, while it cast off the wicked section and into the great Süf sea.'"[19]

To the believers goes the exhortation:

"Love and bear with one another, as the eyes that watch the feet. Love and bear with one another, and you will pass over the great sea of Süf."[20]

And:

"Whoever cannot show reward and alms, for him there is no bridge across the rivers. Whoever cannot show reward and alms, for him there is no crossing on the sea." [21]

Also in the Book of John of the Mandaeans, the Saviour addresses his "elect" with the following words:

.Love almsgiving and love Sunday, that a bridge may be laid for her (the soul) across the sea. A bridge shall be laid for it over the sea, on the shore of which stand a thousand times a thousand. A thousand times a thousand stand on its shore, but out of a thousand only one is let across. Out of a thousand, one is let across, and out of two thousand, two. They let across those souls who are eager and worthy of the place of light." [22]

16 Radhakrishnan stellte überdies einen engen Zusammenhang mit der indischen Geisteswelt fest: „The Mandeans flourished in Mais an, which was the gate of entry for Indian trade and commerce with Mesopotamia. Indian tribes colonized Mai san, whose port had an Indian temple. Mandaean gnosis is full of Indian ideas ". - S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern religions and western thought* (Oxford India paperbacks; Delhi ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 158, A. 3.

17 Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915), 21. Vgl. 60, 90, 105, 203, 239. Mark Lidzbarski, Hrsg., *Ginza: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (Bd. 13; Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and J. C. Hinrichs, 1925). 20, 60, 67, 123, 124, 180, 227, 229, 300, 323, 336, 347, 373, 385, 391, 477.

16 Radhakrishnan also noted a close connection with the Indian spiritual world: "The Mandeans flourished in Mais an, which was the gate of entry for Indian trade and commerce with Mesopotamia. Indian tribes colonized Mai san, whose port had an Indian temple. Mandaean gnosis is full of Indian ideas ". - S. Radhakrishnan, *Eastern religions and western thought* (Oxford India paperbacks; Delhi ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 158, A. 3.

17 Mark Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer* (Giessen: Töpelmann, 1915), 21. Cf. 60, 90, 105, 203, 239. Mark Lidzbarski, ed., *Ginza: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer* (vol. 13; Quellen der Religionsgeschichte, Leipzig: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht and J. C. Hinrichs, 1925). 20, 60, 67, 123, 124, 180, 227, 229, 300, 323, 336, 347, 373, 385, 391, 477.

18 Π IO (reed) > η IO (end).

ϣ IO (Schilf) > ϣ IO (Ende)

<p>18 Π IO (Schilf) > η IO (Ende) ϣ IO (Schilf) > ϣ IO (Ende)</p> <p>19 Lidzbarski, <i>Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer</i>, 203.</p> <p>20 Lidzbarski, <i>Ginzä: Der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer</i>, 20.</p> <p>21 Lidzbarski, <i>Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer</i>, XXI, 102f.</p> <p>22 Lidzbarski, <i>Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer</i>, 102f.</p>	<p>19 Lidzbarski, <i>Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer</i>, 203.</p> <p>20 Lidzbarski, <i>Ginzä: The Treasure or the Great Book of the Mandaeans</i>, 20.</p> <p>21 Lidzbarski, <i>The Book of John of the Mandaeans</i>, XXI, 102f.</p> <p>22 Lidzbarski, <i>The Book of John of the Mandaeans</i>, 102f.</p>
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In summary, it can be stated: In the Gnostic interpretation of the Exodus motif, Egypt or the waters of the Red Sea/Jordan usually stand as a symbol of the corporeal world; the passage through the Red Sea/Jordan is a symbol of the soul's ascent from the transient into the immaterial sphere or into "imperishability".

Apart from such fundamental similarities, however, the Gnostic texts differ in detail. From the differences, a development in the history of tradition with three different stages can be read:

- 1) Moses saves the people from Egypt, the waters of the Red Sea recede (Therapeutes, possibly Perates).
- 2) Joshua/Jesus saves the people from Egypt and allows the Jordan to flow upwards (Naassenes).
- 3) Jesus comes into the world over the Jordan, the waters recede (Testimonium Veritatis/Testimony of Truth).

One can see very well how the shifting and interchanging of individual motifs gradually transforms the image of the passage of the people of Israel through the Red Sea under Moses into that of the baptism of Jesus in the Jordan. If one follows this line of

development closely, it does not require too much acumen to recognise that there is a genetic connection between the Jesus of the Testimonium Veritatis and the Old Testament Joshua. A transition from the one to the other idea is already indicated in 2), where the rescue of the Israelites from Egypt is attributed to Joshua/Jesus, but not, as would have been expected, to Moses.

Before we look at the further development of this motif in early Christianity, we should now ask about the religious-historical background of the Gnostic interpretation of the Exodus. The usual reference to (middle) Platonism does little to explain this passage. There is indeed a distant analogy in Plato's dialogue of Cratylus in which Heraclitus and his so-called "river doctrine" is quoted.[23] But apart from the fact that this only concerns a small section, the Heraclitean doctrine of the flow of existence, but not the doctrine of the ascent of the soul or redemption, which is closely connected with it among the Gnostics, it is very unlikely that the various communities, Therapeutics, Simonians, Perates, Naassenes, Mandaeans, should have developed their Exodus interpretation.[25]

The following section will show that, especially with regard to the Exodus motif, it may prove very useful to follow the suggestion of the American scholar Zacharias Thundy and take a look at the neglected terrain of Indian and Buddhist tradition.

<p>23 „Herakleitos sagt doch, dass alles davon geht und nichts bleibt und, indem er alles Seiende einem strömenden Fluss vergleicht" (402a).</p>	<p>23 "Heracleitus says that everything goes away and nothing remains and, comparing everything that exists to a flowing river" (402a).</p>
<p>24 Infrage kommen nur B 12 und B 49a.</p>	<p>24 Only B 12 and B 49a come into question.</p>
<p>25 Hugo Rahner hat eine Sammlung von Zitaten aus der antiken griechisch-römischen Literatur zusammengestellt, die belegen soll, dass es sich bei dem „Meer der Welt" um einen alten Topos handelt (1. „Das bittere Meer“, 2. „Das böse Meer). Was fehlt, ist der Beleg dafür, dass das Bild - wie bei Gnostikern und Therapeuten - als Transzendenzmetapher gebraucht wurde. Das „andere Ufer“, das im Buddhismus</p>	<p>25 Hugo Rahner has compiled a collection of quotations from ancient Greco-Roman literature to prove that the "sea of the world" is an ancient topos (1. "The bitter sea", 2. "The evil sea"). What is missing is evidence that the image was used as a transcendence metaphor - as it was by Gnostics and therapists. The "other shore", which in Buddhism is usually equated with Nirvana, plays no explicit role within the ancient imagery. It is only given this role in the later exegesis</p>

zumeist mit dem *Nibbana* gleichgesetzt wird, spielt innerhalb der antiken Bildwelt keine explizite Rolle. Diese erhält sie erst in der späteren Väterexegese. - Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche die Ekklesiologie der Väter*, 272ff. - Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Bd. 4152; Herder-Spektrum; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1992), 291 ff.

of the Fathers. - Rahner, *Symbole der Kirche die Ekklesiologie der Väter*, 272ff. - Hugo Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Vol. 4152; Herder-Spektrum; Freiburg im Breisgau, Basel, Wien: Herder, 1992), 291 ff.

2 "To the other shore" - Buddhism and Upanishads

In his book published post mortem, the French Benedictine monk Henry Le Saux has given an impressive account of the spirituality of the Upanishads under the title: "The Way to the Other Shore".¹² The title of the book programmatically sums up the spiritual essence of the Indian literature he discusses. Even the introductory quotations from the Upanishads can impressively demonstrate the closeness to the imagery we have come to know in the Gnostics and their interpretation of the Exodus motif:

"With the syllable OM as boat,
he crosses the space of the heart
and reaches the other shore,
into the innermost space that reveals itself to him...
And thus he enters the abode of Brahman.[27]

"...on the farthest shore of the beyond." [28]

.... thus the venerable Sanatkumāra showed him
'the shore beyond darkness.' [29]

"From non-being lead me to being,
from darkness lead me to light,
from death lead me to immortality.[30]

More could be added to the quotations Le Saux has appended:

In the Proçno-Upanishod, the disciples say to their master: "You are our father, who lead us from ignorance to the other shore". [31] In the Kot hoko-Upanishod, there is talk of the "shore without fear". [In the Arsheyo Upanishod it says: "This Brahman is the Aetman, without end, without age, without shore; not outside and not inside, all-knowing, light-shaped, without hunger and without thirst; he leads us over from ignorance to the other shore."]

However, the quotations also show that the metaphor of crossing over in the Upanishads is still used in a somewhat different sense than in the Gnostics. Whereas in the Gnostic interpretation of the Exodus, water and the river are seen primarily in terms of transience, i.e. as a "stream of becoming", in the passages quoted from the Upanishads other aspects are in the foreground: ignorance, fear and darkness. Of course, all aspects are closely related in content, but this connection is hardly reflected in the Upanishads.

In contrast, we encounter the image of the "stream of becoming" or "stream of existence" above all in Buddhism. Buddhist texts explicitly speak of this: [33]

Where greed for existence tears down,
 In the stream of becoming it carries on,
 Into the realms of death:
 There one hardly listens to such teaching."[34]

The passage contains in nuce the essential ingredients of the Buddhist worldview: on the one hand, greed for existence and death (and transience), symbolised by the image of the flowing stream, which is also the stream of samsāra; on the other hand, the teaching. As Buddha's wisdom overcoming the stream of existence and pointing to the other shore, it can be described in some texts as "knowledge that has Gone to the Other Shore" (proho-pōrom-itōm),[35] just as the 24 teachers and healers of the Jains were called "ford-makers" or "ford-crossers" (tirthon kora) [36] - which is not by chance reminiscent of the above-mentioned "passing through", the Gnostic perates.

<p>26 Henri Le Saux, <i>Der Weg zum anderen Ufer: die Spiritualität der Upanishaden</i> (Diederichs, 1980).</p>	<p>26 Henri Le Saux, <i>The Way to the Other Shore: The Spirituality of the Upanishads</i> (Diederichs, 1980).</p>
<p>27 <i>Maitri Upanishad</i> 6,23</p>	<p>27 <i>Maitri Upanishad</i> 6,23</p>
<p>28 <i>Kāthaka Upanishad</i>'S, 1</p>	<p>28 <i>Kāthaka Upanishad</i>'S, 1</p>
<p>29 <i>Chāndogya-Upanishad</i>, 26, 2</p>	<p>29 <i>Chāndogya Upanishad</i>'S, 26, 2</p>
<p>30 <i>Brihadāraṇyaka</i> 1, 3, 28; zitiert nach: Saux, <i>Der Weg zum anderen Ufer</i>, 29.</p>	<p>30 <i>Brihadāraṇyaka</i> 1, 3, 28; quoted from: Saux, <i>The Way to the Other Shore</i>, 29.</p>
<p>31 6,8</p>	<p>31 6,8</p>
<p>32 Paul Deussen, <i>Sechzig Upanishad's des Veda: Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt und mit Einleitungen und Anmerkungen versehen</i> (3. Aufl.; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1921), <i>Kāthaka-Upanishad</i> 3,2, 276.</p>	<p>32 Paul Deussen, <i>Sixty Upanishad's of the Veda: Translated from the Sanskrit and Provided with Introductions and Notes</i> (3rd edL; Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1921), <i>Kāthaka-Upanishad</i> 3,2, 276.</p>
<p>33 Neumann kommentiert die Stelle folgerichtig mit einem Verweis auf Heraklits πάντα ρ ε ἴ.</p>	<p>33 Neumann logically comments on the passage with a reference to Heraklits πάντα ρ ε ἴ.</p>
	<p>34 Karl Eugen Neumann, Übers., <i>Die Reden Gotamo Budhos, aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke Suttanipato des Pali-Kanons</i>. Translated by Karl Eugen Neumann (2nd ed.; Munich: Piper, 1911), 246, cf. 237. In Nyanaponika's translation: "Those who are caught up in the lust of existence, swept away by the current of existence, who have</p>

34 Karl Eugen Neumann, Übers., *Die Reden Gotamo Budhos, aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke Suttanipato des Pali-Kanons. Übers. von Karl Eugen Neumann* (2. unveränd.; München: Piper, 1911), 246, vgl. 237. In der Übersetzung von Nyanaponika: „Die in der Daseinslust befangen, vom Daseins- Strome fortgerissen, Die ins Bereich des Todes sind geraten, nicht leicht begreiflich ist für sie die Lehre." Nyanaponika, „Tipitaka, Dreikorb, der Palikanon des Theravada Buddhismus", <http://www.palikanon.com/index.html>.

35 Heinrich Zimmer, Joseph Campbell, und Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (Routledge library editions: Buddhism [20 volumes]; Vol. 20; London: Routledge, 2008), 39f, vgl. 542ff.

36 Zimmer, Campbell, und Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, 392. John A. Grimes, *A concise dictionary of Indian philosophy: Sanskrit terms defined in English* (New and rev. ed.; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 320.

fallen into the realm of death, the teaching is not easily comprehensible to them." Nyanaponika, "Tipitaka, Three Baskets, the Palikanon of Theravada Buddhism", <http://www.palikanon.com/index.html>.

35 Heinrich Zimmer, Joseph Campbell, and Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India* (Routledge library editions: Buddhism [20 volumes]; Vol. 20; London: Routledge, 2008), 39f, cf. 542ff.

36 Zimmer, Campbell, und Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, 392. John A. Grimes, *Ein knappes Wörterbuch der indischen Philosophie: Sanskrit terms defined in English* (Neue und überarbeitete Auflage; Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), 320.

In a fragment of the Buddhist doctrinal poem Sutto-Nipāto, it is reported how Buddha's disciple Nanda, due to a misunderstanding, believed that Buddhist "priests and ascetics" could not escape the "flood" either. Whereupon the Exalted One clarified such misunderstanding with the words:

"I do not say: All priests and ascetics
Are bound in birth and age.
But those who have seen, heard, experienced in other ways,
rules, vows, all abandoned,
Those who have other forms, all abandoned, who see through desire, free of impulse, - I
proclaim them as people who have escaped the flood.[37]

Or in Neumann's translation:

"Not all priests, I say, and ascetics,
Are sunken in birth and age:
What is visible, audible, conceivable to them here,
Whatever virtue has passed away,
The various things have thus come to naught,
They have been driven mad by thirst,
These, I say, have escaped the floods." [38]

In the 22nd discourse of the Middle Collection, Buddha compares his teaching to a raft. [39] A man stands before a "tremendous water." Since there is neither ship nor bridge, and the "shore on this side is full of dangers and terrors, the shore on the other side is safe, free from terrors", the man builds a raft with his own hands to cross the water. He reaches the other shore and is saved. Buddha asks his disciples whether it would be sensible for the man to keep the raft to which he owes his salvation, and then load it on his shoulders and go away with it. The disciples answer in the negative and are confirmed by the Buddha. The man would do better to lay the raft on the shore or to lower it into the tide. As with the raft, Buddha's teaching is suitable for escape, not for holding on.

This parable again uses the already familiar metaphor: the "immense water" stands for the world of samsāra, for the cycle of birth, death and rebirth, the raft for Buddha's teaching, the other shore for salvation and Nibbana. [40] The parable is closely related to the one quoted above.

Closely related to the parable quoted above is that of the cattle herder from the 34th discourse (2). [41] The foolish cattle herder "without examining the bank on this side, without examining the bank on the other side of the Ganges, drives his herd at random into the stream". The cattle perish miserably.

Likewise, monks, it is the same with those ascetics or priests who do not understand this world and that world, do not understand the realm of nature and the realm of freedom, do not understand temporality and do not understand eternity: whoever wants to trust the swimming skills of those, will suffer long misfortune and suffering.

The wise shepherd, on the other hand, drives his cattle through the ford only after carefully examining the external circumstances and knowing his cattle, with the result that they reach the other bank in one piece.

In the same way, monks, it is with those ascetics or priests who understand this world and that world, understand the realm of nature and the realm of freedom, understand temporality and eternity: whoever wants to trust the swimming skills of those, it will bring him long-lasting well-being and salvation".

In this, the bulls resemble those monks who have "laid down the burden, attained salvation, destroyed the fetters of existence", the "redeemed in perfect wisdom", who have "crossed the current of nature and ... have reached the other shore in safety". The strong cows resemble

those "who, after destroying the five fetters that drag them down, rise up to go out from there, who no longer return to that world...". Farrows and heifers resemble those "who have destroyed the three fetters, those who have been relieved of greed, hatred and error, those who have almost been purified, those who return only once, those who have come to this world only once to put an end to suffering"; but the tender calves resemble those "who are devoted to the truth, devoted to the teaching".

It follows from the context that the metaphor of the stream is understood by Buddha - not unlike the Christian gnostics quoted in the first section - as a "stream of existence" that confronts all those who wish to cross it with the task of purification and cleansing from desires and passions. The Buddhist monks are regarded by Buddha as "ford-makers" or "ford-crossers", much like the Tirthon koroden Jains mentioned above.

<p>37 Nyanaponika, „Tipitaka, Dreikorb, der Palikanon des Theravada Buddhismus“.</p>	<p>37 Nyanaponika, "Tipitaka, Three Basket, the Palikanon of Theravada Buddhism".</p>
<p>38 Neumann, <i>Die Reden Gotamo Budhos, aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke Suttanipato des Pali-Kanons. Übers, von Karl Eugen Neumann, 352.</i></p>	<p>38 Neumann, Die Reden Gotamo Budhos, from the collection of fragments Suttanipato of the Pali Canon. Translated by Karl Eugen Neumann, 352.</p>
<p>39 Karl E. Neumann, <i>Buddha, Die Reden Gotamo Budhos: Aus der Mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikayo des Pali-Kanons</i> (Edition Lempertz, 2006), 158f.</p>	<p>39 Karl E. Neumann, Buddha, Die Reden Gotamo Budhos: Aus der Mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikayo des Pali-Kanons (Edition Lempertz, 2006), 158f.</p>
<p>40 Das Gleichnis ähnelt in verblüffender Weise einer Passage aus der 57. Predigt Meister Eckeharts: „Wir müssen die Dinge recht lieben, die uns zu Gott hinbringen; das allein ist Liebe mit Gottesliebe. Habe ich Lust, übers Meer zu wollen, und hätte ich gern ein Schiff, so nur deshalb, weil ich gern übers Meer wollte; und sobald ich übers Meer gelange, bedarf ich des Schiffes nicht mehr“; Buddhas <i>Lehre</i> wurde von Eckhart durch die <i>Liebe</i>, die „uns zu Gott</p>	<p>40 The parable is strikingly similar to a passage from Meister Eckehart's 57th sermon: "We must love rightly the things that bring us to God; that alone is love with love of God. If I have a desire to go over the sea, and if I would like to have a ship, it is only because I would like to go over the sea; and as soon as I get over the sea, I no longer need the ship"; Buddha's teaching was replaced by Eckhart with the love that "brings us to God"; Eckhart, <i>Schriften und Predigten</i> (ed. Herman Büttner and Johann V Cissarz; Leipzig; Jena: Diederichs, 1923), 613.</p> <p>41 Neumann, Buddha, <i>The Discourses of Gotamo Buddha: From the Middle Majjhimanikayo Collection of the Pali Canon</i>, 252-54.</p>

hinbringt" ersetzt; Eckhart, *Schriften und Predigten* (Hrsg. Herman Büttner und Johann V Cissarz; Leipzig; Jena: Diederichs, 1923), 613.

41 Neumann, *Buddha, Die Reden Gotamo Buddhos: Aus der Mittleren Sammlung Majjhimanikayo des Pali-Kanons*, 252-54.

At another point the river becomes the "river of iniquity":

"Sail wisely through this sea of iniquity,
Arise strong and bold to the stream of return:
Knowest thou the beginning, the content, the context of the world, Be thou heir of
the Lord who showed us the best." [42]

Another variation on the theme is offered by the Buddhist parable "The Stream" from the Anguttar Nikāya: [43]

"Four kinds of people, monks, are found in the world. And which are these four?
The man who is driven by the stream; the man who struggles against the stream;
the man who stands secure in the stream; the man who has crossed the stream
and reached the shore beyond, the saint who stands on secure ground."

To the first class of men belong those who pay homage to evil deeds and desires; to the second, those who struggle against them and struggle for a holy life; to the third, those who, having destroyed their fetters, find themselves in a higher world; and to the fourth, those who are granted "the delusional redemption of mind and wisdom while still in this life," "knowing and realising it themselves." The translator Nyānatiloka explains what hardly needs explanation: "The stream is the symbol of the world with its desires and passions. The shore beyond is Nibbāna." [44]

Only with the help of the redeeming knowledge of the origin and source of desires and cravings is it possible to overcome the stream:

"He who has understood this, whence it comes,
He will push it away, know, Yakkho;

The floods that are hard to cross, he crosses them,
Never pre-crossed, never to return."[45]

But in addition to purification and cleansing ("annihilation of the fetters of the sense world"), faith also plays a role in crossing the river. In the Som yutto Mkoyo, the Exalted One answers the question.

'How does one cross over the flood?
How does one cross the rugged sea?
How does one overcome suffering?
How is one purified?"

"By faith one crosses over the flood,
By diligence, the rugged sea.
By energy one overcomes suffering,
By wisdom one is purified."[47]

The Buddha's answer in Schrader's German translation:

"Faith leads us through the stream,
Earnestness leads us through the sea of life;
Steadfastness conquers suffering,
And insight makes pure from faults."[47]

The translator and commentator Bhikkhu understands by "flood" the "flood of ignorance";[48] but this is by no means clear. The "rugged sea" would certainly fit better with the "stream of life" or "stream of existence" with its desires and passions.

It is easy to understand how another motif, that of the water change, emerged from the circle of ideas revolving around the theme of "dangerous river/saving shore". The ability to change water is already attributed to Buddha in the oldest Buddhist literature, i.e. in texts from pre-Christian times. It is not always clear whether this refers to walking on water or floating above water. In the Dighanikayd^ it is reported how Buddha wants to cross the Ganges on his last journey. While the others search for boats and a raft or make a raft for themselves from creepers, Buddha disappears from the bank of the Ganges on this side as quickly "as a strong man stretches out his bent arm or bends his outstretched arm and appears on the bank on the other side". There he calls out to those standing on the other bank:

"Overcome the flood (of being),

The wise man quickly builds a bridge over it:
 And that lets him quickly find his way,
 When others toil for a raft."[50]

In Dahlke's translation:

"They, who cross the waters of the wide river,
 building themselves a bridge, avoiding the swamps -
 A raft the people binds itself;
 "Wise men stand, escaped from the stream."

This apophthegmatic incident oscillates between historical anecdote and parable. There is much to suggest that we are merely dealing with an "ideal scene", i.e. a historicised parable. The question of how Buddha crossed the Ganges seems to be of little concern to the author, at least he does not give any further details about it.[51] The historical setting serves him only as an illustration of the last verses, which are supposed to show that it is only possible for the wise man to cross the stream of existence by his own strength.

<p>42 Karl Eugen Neumann, <i>Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddho's</i> (E. Hofmann & co., 1899), 238.</p>	<p>42 Karl Eugen Neumann, <i>Die Lieder der Mönche und Nonnen Gotamo Buddho's</i> (E. Hofmann & co., 1899), 238.</p>
<p>43 Gautama Buddha, <i>Die Reden des Buddha aus dem „Angüttaranikaya“; aus dem Pali zum ersten Male übers, und erläutert von Myanatiloka</i> (Übers, d 1957 Nyanatiloka Mahathera; München O. Schloss, 1923), 7-9.</p>	<p>43 Gautama Buddha, <i>Die Reden des Buddha aus dem "Angüttaranikaya"</i>; aus dem Pali zum ersten Male übers, und erläutert von Myanatiloka (Übers, d 1957 Nyanatiloka Mahathera; München O. Schloss, 1923), 7-9.</p>
<p>44 Gautama Buddha, <i>Die Reden des Buddha aus dem „Angüttaranikaya“; aus dem Pali zum ersten Male übers, und erläutert von Myanatiloka</i>, 8, A1.</p>	<p>44 Gautama Buddha, <i>The Discourses of the Buddha from the "Angüttaranikaya"</i>; translated from Pali for the first time, and explained by Myanatiloka, 8, A1.</p>
<p>45 Neumann, <i>Die Reden Gotamo Budhos, aus der Sammlung der Bruchstücke Suttanipato des</i></p>	<p>45 Neumann, <i>Die Reden Gotamo Budhos, aus der Sammlung der Fragments Suttanipato des Pali-Kanons. Translated, by Karl Eugen Neumann, 94. See also 306: "The swamp of desires is difficult to cross."</i></p>

Pali-Kanons. Übers, von Karl Eugen Neumann, 94. Siehe auch 306: „Den Sumpf der Wünsche kreuzt man schwer.“

46 Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Samyutta Nikdya; Translated from the Pali* (The teachings of the Buddha; Boston: Wisdom Pubi, 2000), 315.

47 Otto Schrader, *Die Fragen des Königs Menandros. Aus dem Pali zum ersten Male ins Deutsche übersetzt* (Berlin: Verlag von Paul Raatz, 1905), 28.

48 Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, 486.

49 Rudolf Otto Franke, *Dighanikaya, das Buch der langen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons, in Auswahl übersetzt von Otto Franke* (Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), 192f. D XVI,1,3, Vgl. zum Folgenden: J. Duncan M. Derrett, „Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive“, *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 41/3 (1989) 193—214, hier 209f.

50 Franke, *Dighanikaya, das Buch der langen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons. In Auswahl übersetzt von Otto Franke*, 193. Vgl. Rudolf Seydel, *Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre*, 1882, 247. Maurice O'C Walshe, Hrsg., *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Digha Nikdya* (The teachings of the Buddha; Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 238f.

46 Bhikkhu Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Samyutta Nikdya; Translated from the Pali* (The teachings of the Buddha; Boston: Wisdom Pubi, 2000), 315.

47 Otto Schrader, *The Questions of King Menandros. Translated from the Pali into German for the First Time* (Berlin: Verlag von Paul Raatz, 1905), 28.

48 Bodhi, *The Connected Discourses of the Buddha*, 486.

49 Rudolf Otto Franke, *Dighanikaya, das Buch der langen Texte des buddhistischen Kanons, in Auswahl übersetzt von Otto Franke* (Göttingen Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1913), 192f. D XVI,1,3, Cf. on the following: J. Duncan M. Derrett, 'The change of water in Christian and Buddhist perspective', *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 41/3 (1989) 193- 214, here 209f.

50 Franke, *Dighanikaya, the Book of Long Texts of the Buddhist Canon. In Auswahl übersetzt von Otto Franke*, 193. Cf. Rudolf Seydel, *Buddha-Sage und Buddha-Lehre*, 1882, 247. Maurice O'C Walshe, ed., *The Long Discourses of the Buddha: A Translation of the Digha Nikdya* (The teachings of the Buddha; Boston: Wisdom Publications, 1995), 238f.

51 Derrett concludes that there was no water change at all, but that the miracle performed was "that of invisibility and reappearance"; Derrett, "The Water Change in Christian and Buddhist Perspective", 209.

51 Derrett schließt daraus, es habe gar keinen Wasserwandel gegeben, das ausgeführte Wunder sei vielmehr „das des Unsichtbarmachens und Wiedererscheinens“; Derrett, „Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive“, 209.

The Scottish Indologist Berriedale Keith has aptly summarised the essence of such "water change" parables: "Faith is the root of correct knowledge; man does not think out the doctrines of the Buddha by the independent light of reason; he must hear them taught and explained. Faith is the means which man may cross the depths of the river of existence to the safety of Nirvâna; the teaching of the Buddha saves him who has faith, but destroys the faithless, ..." [52].

While Keith emphasises the importance of faith to be illustrated by such parables, Duncan Derrett places emphasis on the idea of succession. "The teacher of knowledge who overcomes the cycle of birth-sickness-death-rebirth (samsâra) has himself crossed a river (even an ocean); and he teaches his disciples to do likewise. He is a pathfinder for others. The Buddha has overcome and causes others to overcome." [53]

Faith and discipleship, as we had seen, were also the themes of the Christian Gnostic interpretations of Exodus, which in this respect do not differ in any way from the Buddhist ones. The similarity of the Buddhist texts with the 39th Ode of Solomon quoted above is particularly striking. Bauer has summarised its content with the following words: "Tearing streams... separate this world from the next.... Only the faithful souls find the way across, if - secured by the name of the Most High - they follow the footsteps of the Lord, who has gone before them and left indelible traces behind. Those who revere Christ's name and unite with him in faith find the way and reach the other side safely." [54]

52 A. Berriedale Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, 1923, 34f.

52 A. Berriedale Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, 1923, 34f.

53 Derrett, "The Water Change in Christian and Buddhist Perspective", 202.

<p>53 Derrett, „Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive“, 202.</p> <p>54 Schneemelcher und Hennecke, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i>, 618.</p>	<p>54 Schneemelcher and Hennecke, <i>New Testament Apocrypha in German Translation</i>, 618.</p>
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The theological imagery of the ode is so similar to the Buddhist parables in its basic structure that names become interchangeable and "Christ" could easily be replaced by "Buddha" without even the slightest difference of religious-historical background being noticed.[55] It has already been pointed out that there are also important Buddhist parallels for the footsteps of which the odist speaks.

Apart from the quoted texts, the idea of a water-walking Buddha can also be substantiated by Buddhist relief depictions. The best known is the depiction on the eastern gate of the Sanchi stupa. It is described by W. Norman Brown as follows:

'It shows the waves, the three Kasyapas rowing out to save the Buddha, and the Buddha himself serene amid the floods. The Buddha is not there in a human figure; he is indicated by a smooth rectangular slab below the waves, which is his *canakrama* 'magic promenade'; for at that period of Buddhist art in Central India he was never represented in sculpture except symbolically."[56]

The stupa depicting the water-walking Buddha is an illustration of a scene described in *Mohovaggo* 1.20.16 and several other texts.¹⁵²¹ It was probably made between the 2nd and 1st centuries BC. Norman Brown, with Marshall and Foucher, assumes a pre-Christian origin for the relief on the basis of archaeological studies and writes: "we have the testimony of archaeology, for that gateway was not later than the first century B. C. "¹⁵²¹ According to the estimate of the well-known English Orientalist Duncan Derrett, however, the relief should date from "the early first century after Christ, or even as early as around 50 B. C."[59].

<p>55 Tatsächlich hatte Gressmann schon 1912 gefordert, man müsse „die Möglichkeit ins Auge fassen, daß ,der</p>	<p>55 In fact, Gressmann had already demanded in 1912 that one should "consider the possibility that 'the revealed</p>
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<p>Geoffenbarte' oder ‚der Auserwählte' [ursprünglich] mit Namen genannt wurde (etwa Mani oder Buddha)"; Hugo Gressmann, „Ode Salomos 23", in <i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Sitzung der phil.-hist. Klasse vom 21. Juli 1921; Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1921) 616-24, hier 620, A. 1.</p> <p>56 W. Norman (William Norman) Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i> (Chicago, London: The Open Court Pub. Co., 1928), 21.</p> <p>57 Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i>, 20.</p> <p>58 Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i>, 20.</p> <p>59 Derrett, „Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive“, 204.</p>	<p>one' or 'the chosen one' was [originally] called by name (such as Mani or Buddha)"; Hugo Gressmann, "Ode Salomos 23", in <i>Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Sitzung der phil.-hist. Klasse vom 21.1921; Berlin: Verlag Akademie der Wissenschaften 1921) 616-24, here 620. Klasse vom 21. Juli 1921; Berlin: Verlag der Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1921) 616-24, here 620, A. 1.</p> <p>56 W. Norman (William Norman) Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i> (Chicago, London: The Open Court Pub. Co., 1928), 21.</p> <p>57 Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i>, 20.</p> <p>58 Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i>, 20.</p> <p>59 Derrett, 'The Waterwalk in Christian and Buddhist Perspective', 204.</p>
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However, whether 200 B.C. or 50 A.D., in any case it is not possible to derive the motif of the change of waters from the Gospels (which even according to conservative estimates are supposed to have been written only towards the end of the 1st century).

Derrett undoubtedly deserves credit for drawing attention to the inner connection between the two motifs of the exodus and the change of waters. In his essay "Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive" he shows how much the New Testament account of baptism is linguistically and motivically related to the Old Testament narrative of the Exodus.

In the end, however, he arrives at results that are difficult to comprehend. Derrett argues that the "Red Sea and Jordan River crossings, which occur in various forms in the

Gospels.... via Central Asia and otherwise had been known in India." [60] In a hypothetical scenario, Derrett reconstructs the route by which "the Gospels might have reached the borders of India via Syria to Sogdiana" and influenced Buddhist lore there.

In view of the fact that some of the Buddhist texts cited by Derrett are obviously older than the corresponding Christian ones and that the Sanchi sculpture is dated by Derrett himself to the early first century AD, it will be difficult to follow the scenario he has developed. Another argument against Derrett's thesis is that the spiritualisation of the Exodus, as has been shown, has a long Indian tradition that goes back to the Upanishads. Indologist Heinrich Zimmer says: "The broad river of ignorance and passion is a dangerous torrent, yet the savior, the divine ferryman, can bring his devotees safely to the other shore. This is an image held in common by all Indian traditions. "1^ An import of Christian ideas of the Exodus, as Derrett obviously assumes, was by no means necessary in India. [62] What is decisive, however, is that the above-quoted conception of the Exodus was not a Christian one.

What is decisive, however, is that the texts cited above all impressively prove that the idea grew organically out of Indian, especially Buddhist, theology and intellectual world.

Derrett's explanations captivate with erudition, but his attempt to derive the Indian Exodus conceptions from Christian presuppositions is not very convincing. The age and character of the tradition clearly speak for an Indian origin. This applies both to the spiritual interpretation of the Exodus and to the closely related motif of the water change. After a detailed analysis of the relevant texts, the Indologist and theologian Klatt came to the conclusion that, "... although we cannot determine unequivocally the original Buddhistic text, we may affirmatively state, based on the historical priority of the Buddhistic tale, as for example in the pre-Christian Pâli canon, that the direction of the borrowing is from the Buddhistic source into the Christian gospels." [63] Klatt, like the other scholars, judged the Exodus to be of Indian origin.

Incidentally, Zacharias P. Thundy and W. Norman Brown, Christian Lindtner and Michael Lockwood also judged similarly to Klatt. [64] Brown also stated towards the end of his investigation, "The miracle of walking on the water, as it appears in Indian and Christian texts, originated in India, where its roots are found in the Rigveda before 800 B. C." [65]

60 Derrett, „Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive", 212.	60 Derrett, "The Water Change in Christian and Buddhist Perspective", 212. 61 Zimmer, Campbell, and Zimmer,
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61 Zimmer, Campbell, und Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, 392.

62 Auch in der indischen Erzählliteratur scheint es eine Exodus-Legende gegeben zu haben: Der 8. Vers aus Rig Veda T.1 879 „ist einem Liede entnommen, in welchem (wie öfters) der Uebergang über einen Fluss geschildert wird, der den verfolgenden Feinden ein Hemmnis bietet“; „Klassiker der indischen Philosophie“ (Directmedia Pubi., 2006), 3218, Rig Veda T. 2, S. 473. „Durch des Viçvamitra und seines Stammes Gesänge“ wird „der Strom, den sie zu durchschreiten haben, zum Stillstände gebracht wird“; „Klassiker der indischen Philosophie“, 1770, Rig Veda T. 1, 532. Indra „machte mit seiner Macht die Sindhu aufwärts fließen....“ Rainer Stuhmann, „Schiffahrt im Rigveda“, *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 22/3 (2015) 29- 90, hier 81.

DOI:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.11588/ejvs.2015.3.318>.

63 Norbert Klatt, *Jesu und Buddhas Wasserwandel = Walking on the water of Jesus and of the Buddha: a presentation of the case in English, with a critical discussion of the opinion of J. Duncan M. Derrett in German* (Göttingen: The Author, 1990), 30.

64 Michael Lockwood, *Mythicisim: A Seven-Fold Revelation of the Buddhist'branch' Grafted onto Jesse's*

Philosophies of India, 392.

62 There also seems to have been an Exodus legend in Indian narrative literature: The 8th verse from Rig Veda T.1 879 "is taken from a song in which (as is often the case) the crossing of a river is described, which offers an obstacle to the pursuing enemies"; "Classics of Indian Philosophy" (Directmedia Pubi., 2006), 3218, Rig Veda T. 2, p. 473. "By the songs of Viçvamitra and his tribe" the "stream which they have to pass is brought to a standstill"; "Classics of Indian Philosophy", 1770, Rig Veda T. 1, 532. Indra "made the Sindhu flow upwards with his power...." Rainer Stuhmann, "Navigation in the Rigveda", *Electronic Journal of Vedic Studies* 22/3 (2015) 29-90, here 81.

DOI:
<http://dx.doi.org/10.11588/ejvs.2015.3.318>.

63 Norbert Klatt, *Jesu und Buddhas Wasserwandel = Walking on the water of Jesus and of the Buddha: a presentation of the case in English, with a critical discussion of the opinion of J. Duncan M. Derrett in German* (Göttingen: The Author, 1990), 30.

64 Michael Lockwood, *Mythicisim: A Seven-Fold Revelation of the Buddhist'branch' Grafted onto Jesse's "Lineage Tree" [Revised]*. (S.L: Worldview Publications, 2014), 108-9.

65 Brown, *The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water*, 69.

<p>„Lineage Tree" [Revised]. (S.L: Worldview Publications, 2014), 108-9.</p>	
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<p>65 Brown, <i>The Indian and Christian Miracles of Walking on the Water</i>, 69.</p>	
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We should not conclude the section on the development of the "Exodus7 "crossing" motif in the Indian religious imagination without having referred to the development in Mahayana Buddhism. The name of the perfect wisdom worshipped there, the Projnäpärömitä, is composed of the words Projnö, meaning wisdom, and Pöromitö, which literally means "other shore", but is usually translated as "transcendent/perfect". The most widespread scripture of Mahayana Buddhism is the so-called Heart Sutra. It ends with the mantra: "Gate gate Päragate Pärasangate Bodhi svähä", which according to Edward Conze can be translated as: "Gone, gone, gone beyond, gone altogether beyond, o what an awakening, all hail!" ("Gone, gone, gone over, gone altogether over, oh what an awakening, all hail!"). It all sounds formulaic, the original imagery of the expression almost lost. The "going over" is merely a paraphrase for "transcending".

In summary, it can be stated that the idea of a "spiritual exodus" is undoubtedly a genuine product of the Indian imagination and has grown out of it. Its tradition reaches back from (Mahayana) Buddhism to the early Vedic literature and the Upanishads, and in this developed, thoroughly reflected form is without equivalent in Jewish, Greek or Roman literature. This means that the most important parallels to the Gnostic interpretation of the Exodus are to be found almost exclusively in the Indian and Buddhist intellectual worlds. The Gnostics used Old Testament images and motifs to fill them with spiritual content of Indian and Buddhist tradition.

The crucial question now is: Where do the two lines meet, Jewish tradition and Hebrew Bible on the one hand, Buddhist or Indian spirituality on the other? At what point exactly do they intersect?

The answer is simpler than it might seem at first glance. We have already seen the point where the two lines converge: it is in Alexandria, more precisely with Philo's therapists from the Mareotian Sea.

3. Therapists, Buddhism and Gnosis

The community of therapists described with much sympathy by Philo in his writing *De Vita Contemplativa* consisted of men and women who had shed their bourgeois obligations and had bequeathed or given away their possessions in order to devote themselves to the contemplative life in solitude.

According to Philo, the community at his time was by no means located only in Alexandria, but was scattered all over the world. The decision to join the community was final; neither family nor friends could make the members reverse their decision.

The houses of the group living at Mareotic Lake were of great simplicity and plainness. They were close together so that the inhabitants could defend themselves together in the event of an enemy attack. In the middle of the settlement was a small sanctuary where the residents gathered for communal worship on the seventh day of the week.

The daily routine of the therapists was determined by prayer, readings and scripture interpretation. Inside each house was a room called a sanctuary or cloister. In it, the residents retreated during the day to devote themselves entirely to the study of the holy scriptures, i.e. the laws, prophets and psalms. Among the scriptures they read were those written long ago by the founders of their community.

The therapists used to pray twice a day, at dawn and in the evening. The contemplative way of life included spiritual chants and hymns, but also strict asceticism. Food and drink were limited by the therapists to the bare necessities and were only taken after sunset. Their clothing consisted of a thick fur coat in winter and a short skirt or robe made of linen in summer.

As already mentioned, the members of the community came together every seven days for a communal meeting in their common sanctuary. This had a double enclosure with one area for the men and another for the women. During the services, texts from their sacred scriptures were interpreted by the elders and scripture experts. After the interpretation of the scriptures, they usually ate a simple meal of bread and salt, made palatable by some with hyssop, and drank spring water.

Every seven times seven days, the congregation - men as well as women - gathered on the eve of their high feast for a holy meal, which was again preceded by prayer, scripture reading and alternate singing. In interpreting the Scriptures, the leader used the allegorical method also used by Philo. In the view of the therapists, Scripture was to

be compared to a living being, "which as a body has the literal instructions, but as a soul possesses the invisible meaning hidden in the words" (VitCont 78).

The meal on the eve of the fiftieth day also consisted only of bread and salt with hyssop and water. This was to remind us of the bread and salt on the consecrated table in the sacred vestibule of the temple. In a longer excursus, Philo points out the contrast to the lavish Greek banquets and their debauchery. During the meal, the therapists were not served by slaves, as was customary at the time, but by their novices, since they rejected slavery on principle.

The meal was followed by the holy night celebration, during which the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea was staged in the manner of a mystery act, as already described on page 13. The celebration does not end until early morning. At the rising of the sun, the Therapeans raised their hands heavenwards in prayer and then went back to their sanctuary.

Philo concludes his writing with a few general remarks about the therapists who, as citizens of both heaven and the world, were placed on the side of the Father and Creator of the universe and were called to live exclusively to the contemplation of nature and the soul.

Philo's writing about the therapists is attested relatively late, first in Church Father Eusebius of Caesarea. In his Church History, Eusebius comments on and quotes individual passages in detail. It becomes clear why Philo is interested in the therapists: He considers them to be Christian monks. In his opinion, the name "therapists" was only chosen because the name "Christians" was not yet widespread everywhere. By comparing individual passages with passages from the New Testament, Eusebius tries to prove his point. For example, he explains the therapists' voluntary renunciation of possessions with a scriptural passage from the Acts of the Apostles, in which it is reported that the followers of the early Christian community laid their possessions at the apostles' feet (Acts 4:34 f).

The Church Father was undoubtedly aware that one could have a different opinion about the identity of the therapists. Nevertheless, he emphatically stated that Philo could not have had anyone else in mind when he thought of the therapists other than the "first preachers of evangelical doctrine" and "the original customs handed down by the apostles" (Hist 2:17).

Eusebius' opinion was shared by the other Church Fathers, including Epiphanius, who also devotes an extensive section to the therapists in his work.

That the therapists were in fact early Christian monks and that monastic tendencies already existed in the earliest church,[66] was considered undisputed for a long time. It was not until the 19th century that this view began to waver. Instead of Christians, they were now seen as Jewish ascetics foreign to Christianity or - as Ferdinand C. Baur and Eduard Zeller - Jewish representatives of neo-pythagoreanism or Orphic-Bacchic asceticism.[67] With doubts about Christian identity, this view began to falter.

Doubts about the Christian identity of the therapists were combined with doubts about the phiiionic origin of the Scriptures. The authenticity debate that was conducted around Philo's writing was from the beginning under an unfavourable omen. The literary question was overshadowed by the polemical debate about the origins of Christian monasticism. While the Catholics thought they could find proof in Scripture that monasticism had already had its origins in apostolic times, the Protestants, who rejected monasticism altogether, endeavoured to show that this could not possibly have been the case.

One of the first to doubt the authenticity of the Scriptures was the Jewish historian Heinrich Graetz. In his view, the writing did not come from Philo at all, but from an Encratite-Gnostic, perhaps also Montanist Christian, "who had the tendency to hold a panegyric of ascetic monasticism and to confirm his superior age by Philo's authority." [68] Graetz justifies his thesis, among other things, by saying that the writing was not authentic.

Graetz bases his thesis, among other things, on the fact that Josephus mentions the Essenes, but does not seem to know the Therapeutes related to them. Also, the hand of the forger betrays itself already at the beginning of the writing, since Pseudo-Philo tries to create the impression here that the work on the therapists is the continuation of a writing on the Essenes. Since there is no such continuation and Philo's writing *Quodomnes probus liber* only contains a few marginal notes on the Essenes, Graetz concluded that the forger was only looking for a point of reference to prove that his writing was phiiionic.

The observations of the Jewish historian Graetz were eagerly taken up by many Protestant theologians. Paul Ernst Lucius argued similarly to Graetz. He saw in the Phiiionic writing on the therapists a "writing of tendency" which "presupposes a widely developed asceticism, widespread in numerous countries, as well as conditions exactly such as existed only in Christianity of the 3rd century."

As the "first member of a branch of literature of the ancient church that is extremely rich in such products", it is an "apology written under the name of Philo in favour of Christian asceticism".[69] The apology is a "trendy writing".

<p>66 A. Hilgenfeld, „Philo und die Therapeuten“, <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> 23 (1880) 423-40, hier 426.</p> <p>67 Hilgenfeld, „Philo und die Therapeuten“, 426.</p> <p>68 H e i n r i c h G r a e t z, <i>Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart: Geschichte der Juden von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergang des[udäischen Staates</i> Leopold Schnauß, 1856), 519.</p> <p>69 P. E Lucius, <i>Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Askese: eine kritische Untersuchung der Schrift De vita contemplativa</i> (Strassburg, 1879), 198.</p>	<p>66 A. Hilgenfeld, "Philo und die Therapeuten", <i>Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> 23 (1880) 423-40, here 426.</p> <p>67 Hilgenfeld, "Philo und die Therapeuten", 426.</p> <p>68 H e i n r i c h G r a e t z, <i>Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart: Geschichte der Juden von dem Tode Juda Makkabi's bis zum Untergang des[udäischen Staates</i> Leopold Schnauß, 1856), 519.</p> <p>69 P. E Lucius, <i>Die Therapeuten und ihre Stellung in der Geschichte der Ascese: eine kritische Untersuchung der Schrift De vita contemplativa</i> (Strassburg, 1879), 198.</p>
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With their theses, Graetz and Lucius had a lasting influence on Protestant research. For the majority of theologians, the inauthenticity of De Vito Contemplativo was a foregone conclusion. A new change of course came only when the English Orientalist Frederick C. Conybeare published his study of the Phiionic script in 1895.[70] Conybeare had sifted through all the manuscripts of De Vito Contemplativo and collated them in order to compare the script meticulously word for word, sentence for sentence with the other works of Philo that were considered genuine. He could not find any evidence of a forgery anywhere. Conybeare considered the writing to be an early work of Philo. Since Philo was born around 30 BC, this meant that the writing must have been written in the first quarter of the 1st century. This was remarkable above all because it put an end to the assertion once made by Eusebius and the Church Fathers that we were dealing with Christian monks in the case of the therapists. The question of who the therapists were, if they were not Christians, arose again.

In the meantime, the text *De Vita Contemplativo* is recognised as genuine by both Catholics and Protestants; the debate can therefore be "regarded as decided to the extent that today one sees in the text a genuine philosophical writing and in the 'therapists' a Jewish ascetic grouping".

Today, however, there are still isolated attempts to relativise the historical value of the account by assuming that Philo's report should be understood as an attempt to set up a literary monument to the ideal of a contemplative community that he had in mind. For Troels Engberg-Pedersen, the therapists' account is merely "a philosopher's dream".[72]

Apart from other points of view, the exact location alone speaks against this. If Philo's portrayal of his therapists had merely been a writerly fiction, the local details - which can be verified at any time - would undoubtedly have been counterproductive.[73] The full title of the text is almost identical to the title of the book.

The full title of the writing in almost all Greek manuscripts is: "On the contemplative life or the protective pleas. The first book on the virtues" (ΠΕΡΙ ΒΙΟΥ ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟΥ Η ΙΚΕΤΩΝ, ΠΕΡΙ ΑΡΕΤΩΝ ΤΟ ΤΕΤΑΡΤΟΝ).[74] Philo himself explains the words Therapeutoi or Therapeutrides (feminine) from the two basic meanings of the word θεραπεύειν = to heal, to venerate. As "healers", the therapists are representatives of a healing art "which is better than that in use in the states", insofar as it is holistic and encompasses body and soul; as "venerators" they "venerate that which exists" (*VitCont* 2).

<p>70 F. C. (Frederick Cornwallis) Conybeare, <i>Philo about the Contemplative Life</i>^{ò^xà}. The Clarendon press, 1895).</p>	<p>70 F. C. (Frederick Cornwallis) Conybeare, <i>Philo about the Contemplative Life</i>^{ò^xà}. The Clarendon press, 1895).</p>
<p>71 Jörg Ulrich, <i>Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden: Studien zur Rolle der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea</i> (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 95.</p>	<p>71 Jörg Ulrich, <i>Euseb von Caesarea und die Juden: Studien zur Rolle der Juden in der Theologie des Eusebius von Caesarea</i> (Berlin, New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 95.</p>
<p>72 Troels Engberg-Pedersen, „Philos's ‚De Vita Contemplative‘ as a Philosopher's Dream", <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian,</i></p>	<p>72 Troels Engberg-Pedersen, "Philos's 'De Vita Contemplative' as a Philosopher's Dream", <i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i> 30/1 (1999) 40-64. Roland Bergmeier, <i>Die</i></p>

<p><i>Hellenistic, and Roman Period</i> 30/1 (1999) 40-64. Roland Bergmeier, <i>Die Qumran-Essener-Hypothese: Die Handschriftenfunde bei Khirbet Qumran, ihr spezifischer Trägerkreis und die essenische Gemeinschaftsbewegung</i> (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 144ff. Schon Bousset vermutete beiläufig, Philo zeichne möglicherweise „auf eigne Faust und ohne allen thatsächlichen Hintergrund ein Idealeben frommer, monotheistischer, allegorisierender Philosophen“; Wilhelm Bousset, <i>Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter</i> (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 446.</p> <p>73 Deutsch, „The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience“, 288, A. 6.</p> <p>74 Deutsch, „The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience“, 290, A. 13.</p>	<p>Qumran-Essener-Hypothese: Die Handschriftenfunde bei Khirbet Qumran, ihr spezifischer Trägerkreis und die essenische Gemeinschaftsbewegung (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 144ff. Bousset already casually suggested that Philo was possibly "drawing an ideal life of pious, monotheistic, allegorising philosophers on his own initiative and without any factual background"; Wilhelm Bousset, <i>Die Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter</i> (Berlin: Reuther & Reichard, 1903), 446.</p> <p>73 Deutsch, "The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience", 288, A. 6.</p> <p>74 Deutsch, "The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience", 290, A. 6. Experience", 290, A. 13.</p>
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It is unclear how the title ΠΕΡΙ... ΙΚΕΤΩΝ ("On those who implore protection").[75] According to the translator Karl Bormann, the two interpretations that Philo gives in § 2 to the θεραπευτώ, do not fit. On the other hand, the combination of the two terms is not at all unusual in Philo.[76] SpecLeg 1,42 Philo speaks of the proselytes, who as "right worshippers of the truth free from all delusion.... protectors and servants of that which truly exists" (ικέται τε και θεραπευται). Celia Deutsch still points out that there is also a close reference to the Old Testament Levitical service: "The Levites are God's suppliants(ικέτης αὑτοῦ), and their service to God symbolises the 'fountain of devout contemplation'^ θεωρίας δέ τῆς του μονού σοφού ... πηγή το θεραπευτικός; Sacr 119 LCL). This reflects not only ancient mystery language, but also the cultic language of the Septuagint and its interpretation, "designating the members of the Lake Mareot community as initiates and/or priests whose contemplation is a cultic act." [77] This is not the same as the Septuagint.

However, a completely different interpretation would also be conceivable. In order to understand it, it is necessary to take a closer look at the origin of the term therapists, quite independently of the secondary interpretation that Philo gives it. In his 1993 study "Buddha and Christ", the American scholar Zacharias P. Thundy had argued that the term Therapeuta could go back to the Sanskrit/Pali word Theravada. The Indian word has been transformed into a Greek word through sound shifting. As an example of a similar transfer, Thundy cites the Tamil word karuva (cinnamon), which was translated as cassia by the Greek physician and writer Ktesias. For the transformation of the Indian word into a Greek word, Thundy points to Clement of Alexandria, for whom Buddha is always called Boutta.[78]

According to Michael Lockwood, however, the term therapist can also be explained without any sound shift at all as a translation of a Buddhist term into Greek:

"The Buddha's knowledge, then, was to be passed down generation after generation of monks, under the guidance of leading Elders, 'mahâ-thêra-d' who had attained a thorough knowledge of the doctrine. It is in this sense that the term 'thêraputtâ' came to be applied to Buddhist monks in a monastery under the leadership of a Mahâ-Thêra ('Great-Elder'). Thêraputtâ (Pâli) is a compound of the two words: thêra = elder, and putta - son(s). The fem. of the Pâli word thêra ('elder') is thêâ from (Skt.) sthaviro sthaviâ. and 'daughter', (Skt.) putri . Emperor Asoka's medical missionary monks who arrived in Alexandria, Egypt, in the 3rd century B.C.E., and their followers and converts were to be known by this name, which, to the Greeks, would sound like 'therapeutai'. These monks' skill in healing the sick, both physically and spiritually, would enhance a medical connotation of the Greek term, 'therapeutai', and its later English offshoots, 'therapy', 'therapeutics', etc." [79].

In other words, according to Lockwood, the therapists were the "sons of the ancients" (theroputta), as the young Buddhist monks who had travelled to the West as emissaries of King Asoka called themselves. In the Greek ears, this sounded like therapeutai.

In fact, both Thundy and Lockwood confirm a thesis that had already been put forward a century and a half ago by Henry L. Mansel in his book *The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries*: "The Therapeutae or contemplative monks of Egypt appear to have sprung from a union of the Alexandrian Judaism with the precepts and modes of life of the Buddhist devotees.[80] The Therapeutae were Jewish Buddhists!

<p>75 Philo und Leopold Cohn, <i>Die Werke in deutscher Übersetzung</i> (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1962), 44, A. 1.</p> <p>76 Det 160; Migr 124; Congr 105; 309; Virt 185; Omn Prob Lib 39</p> <p>77 Deutsch, „The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience“, 290.</p> <p>78 Zacharias P. Thundy, <i>Buddha and Christ: Nativity Stories and Indian Traditions</i> (BRILL, 1993), 245. Elmar R Gruber und Holger Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus: die buddhistischen Quellen des Christentums</i> (Frankfurt/M; Berlin: Ullstein, 1996), 249f.</p> <p>79 Michael Lockwood, <i>Buddhism's Relation to Christianity: A Miscellaneous Anthology with Occasional Comment</i> by Michael Lockwood (T.R. Publications, 2010), 14.</p> <p>80 Henry Longueville Mansel und Joseph Barber Lightfoot, <i>The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries</i> (London: J. Murray, 1875), 31.</p>	<p>75 Philo and Leopold Cohn, <i>The works in German translation</i> (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1962), 44, A. 1.</p> <p>76 Det 160; Migra 124; Congr 105; 309; Virt 185; Omn Prob Lib 39</p> <p>77 German, "The Therapeutae, Text Work, Ritual, and Mystical Experience", 290.</p> <p>78 Zacharias P. Thundy, <i>Buddha and Christ: Nativity Stories and Indian Traditions</i> (BRILL, 1993), 245. Elmar R Gruber and Holger Kersten, <i>The Ur-Jesus: the Buddhist sources of Christianity</i> (Frankfurt/M; Berlin: Ullstein, 1996), 249f.</p> <p>79 Michael Lockwood, <i>Buddhism's Relation to Christianity: A Miscellaneous Anthology with Occasional Comment</i> by Michael Lockwood (T.R. Publications, 2010), 14.</p> <p>80 Henry Longueville Mansel and Joseph Barber Lightfoot, <i>The Gnostic Heresies of the First and Second Centuries</i> (London: J. Murray, 1875), 31.</p>
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With the help of these explanations, an illuminating light could now also fall on the other title of Philo's writing, on the designation: "refuge seekers".

Kersten/Gruber refer to the Sanskrit word Bhikshu, "which denotes the Buddhist monk - literally translated it means "beggar," someone who "asks" for alms."[81]

However, another derivation would be conceivable. "Taking refuge in the Buddha or the Exalted One or the Lord Gotamo" is a phrase stereotypically used in Buddhist texts.[82]

The Dharma, i.e., the doctrine containing law, justice, and truth, is, in the words of the dying Buddha, "an island of refuge." [83] Buddha, dharma, san gha together form the "three jewels" or "preciousnesses (Sanskrit: *triratna*, Pali: *tiratane*^ to which Buddha disciples should take refuge, according to the Buddhist view." [84]

Thus, it would stand to reason that the Jewish Buddhists in Alexandria who sought and found "refuge" in the Dharma referred to themselves in Greek *asiKétai*, "refuge seekers."

<p>81 Gruber und Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 250.</p> <p>82 Die Formel „beim Erhabenen Zuflucht nehmen (bei der Lehre und der Jüngerschaft)" begegnet allein in den Reden der Mittleren Sammlung ca. 23-mal. Der Ausdruck „beim Herrn Gotamo Zuflucht nehmen (bei der Lehre und der Jüngerschaft)" ist in gleicher Häufigkeit anzutreffen.</p> <p>83 Klaus-Josef Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 7.200Stichw(Bà. 2; Herder, Freiburg, 1998), 1, 132.</p> <p>84 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1.200 Stichw, 2, 477. "Take refuge in the Buddha, take refuge in the law, and take refuge in the community {<i>Buddham saranam gacchami, dharmam saranam gacchami, sangham saranam gacchami</i>}." - Zacharias P. Thundy, <i>Trial and Death of Jesus: Buddhist Sources of Gospel Narratives</i> (Kindle Edition, 2014), Pos. 244.</p>	<p>81 Gruber and Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 250.</p> <p>82 The formula "to take refuge in the Exalted One (in teaching and discipleship)" occurs about 23 times in the speeches of the Middle Collection alone. The expression "taking refuge with the Lord Gotamo (in teaching and discipleship)" is encountered with equal frequency.</p> <p>83 Klaus-Josef Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 7,200Cichw(Bà. 2; Herder, Freiburg, 1998), 1, 132.</p> <p>84 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1,200 Stichw, 2, 477. "Take refuge in the Buddha, take refuge in the law, and take refuge in the community {<i>Buddham saranam gacchami, dharmam saranam gacchami, sangham saranam gacchami</i>}." - Zacharias P. Thundy, <i>Trial and Death of Jesus: Buddhist Sources of Gospel Narratives</i> (Kindle Edition, 2014), pos. 244.</p>
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What stands in the way of such hypotheses are partly entrenched thought patterns, partly simple prejudices. They should not prevent us from examining in an unbiased way the arguments for a close mutual relationship between Judaism, Christianity, Gnosticism and Buddhism, which have been put forward for 200 years by serious researchers, from Isaac J. Schmidt, Samuel Beal, Henry L. Mansel to Zacharias Thundy, Christian Lindtner and Michael Lockwood. Indeed, there are a number of striking parallels:

- Male and female therapists - In ancient Buddhism, too, there were and are nuns, bhiks uni (Skt., Pali bhikkhunh = mendicant; the Buddhist nun, however, was always subordinate to the monk. The ordination succession has been broken in the Theravādic order of nuns only since the 12th century. Unlike the monks, who had 220 rules of the order to follow, there were considerably more rules for the nuns, 290 (or 355).[85]
- Poetries Songs (VitCont 80, 84) - In Buddhist literature there are collections of songs of the nuns and monks (see Theragāthā and Therīgāthā of the Pālikanon).
- Separation of Therapeutics (33) - In the Buddhist religious community, the sangha, monks and nuns are strictly separated from each other; contact with the opposite sex is undesirable.[86]
- Prayer at sunrise and sunset ("Then, when they see the sun rising, they raise their hands to heaven and pray for a beautiful day, namely for knowledge of the truth and keenness of mind," 27). - The number and occasion of prayers in Buddhist sangha may change, but prayers at sunrise and sunset are commonly attested.
- "Thus, by their own free will, they allow themselves to be inherited before the time. But those who have no relatives bequeath their property to companions and friends." - The form of life of the Buddhist monk is poverty liberated from the bondage of the world; it is realized in houselessness (pabbajjā) and renunciation of worldly possessions.[87]
- "The common sanctuary in which they each meet on the seventh day" (32) - Buddhist monasteries, called vihāra, also usually consist of a central hall and surrounding simple monk cells. The vihāra was considered a fixed abode for nuns and monks, especially during the rainy season when wandering was prohibited.[88] - Generally, there is no seven-day rhythm in Buddhism. However, the Uposatha is considered a day of inner contemplation and renewal of

Dhamma practice. It is celebrated every 5 to 7 days and corresponds to the Jewish Sabbath. Since the therapists were of Jewish origin, it is reasonable to assume that they kept the customary seven-week rhythm. Buddhism was very adaptable in this respect.

- The therapists have two robes, one for summer and one for winter - Buddhist monks are also instructed to limit themselves to one robe consisting of a double, top and bottom.
- "For they regard as elders not the aged and gray-haired but those who from the earliest years of life have devoted their youth and manhood to the contemplative part of philosophy..." (67) - "The sangha originally conceived of itself as an egalitarian community of equals that only allowed for precedence according to ordination age." [89]

<p>85 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1.200Stichw, 1, 74; 2, 341.</p> <p>86 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1.200Stichw, 1, 147.</p> <p>87 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1.200Stichw, 1, 53.</p> <p>88 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1.200Stichw, 2, 504f.</p> <p>89 Notz, <i>Lexikon des Buddhismus: Grundbegriffe, Traditionen, Praxis</i>. 1.200Stichw, 2, 292f.</p>	<p>85 Notz, <i>Encyclopedia of Buddhism: Basic Concepts, Traditions, Practice</i>. 1,200Stichw, 1, 74; 2, 341.</p> <p>86 Notz, <i>Encyclopedia of Buddhism: Basic Concepts, Traditions, Practice</i>. 1.200Stichw, 1, 147.</p> <p>87 Notz, <i>Encyclopedia of Buddhism: basic concepts, traditions, practice</i>. 1.200Stichw, 1, 53.</p> <p>88 Notz, <i>Encyclopedia of Buddhism: basic concepts, traditions, practice</i>. 1.200Stichw, 2, 504f.</p> <p>89 Notz, <i>Encyclopedia of Buddhism: Basic Concepts, Traditions, Practice</i>. 1.200Stichw, 2, 292f.</p>
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Abbildung: Fries aus Gandhara; siehe Bergau, Buddha, Bodhisvata und fremde Götter, S. 43

- Philo describes the posture of the therapists listening to the lecture as follows:.... they clasp their hands in their robes, the right one between chest and chin, the left one pulled back at the waist" (30). - Posture and body language also play an important role in Buddhism; consider the importance of the asanas, mudras, and bandhas. The gesture described by Philo, however, also has iconographic evidence. The evidence, of course, does not come from Egypt, but from Gondhoro, the ancient border region between today's Pakistan and Afghanistan, which is considered an important interface of Greek and Buddhist culture. Among the archaeologically important finds is a frieze with rows of Indian arches (coitya) and Persepolitan columns. Under one of the arches stands a Buddhist monk who, according to Julius Thomas Bergau, "holds his right hand under the robe in

front of his chest and with his left hand reaches into the robe ..." [90] The depicted posture is strikingly similar to Philo's description. Other finds also show Buddha and monk figures in a corresponding posture. [91] Unfortunately, little is known about the meaning of this gesture. [92] The only certainty is that it originates from the Buddhist cultural sphere and seems to have its roots here. - That the iconographic testimonies all come from Gandhara is certainly no coincidence. Already Holger Kersten had tried to show that the city of Taxila in Gandhara can be made probable as the place of origin of those living in Alexandria. We shall see elsewhere that there are indeed a number of arguments in favor of this hypothesis. [93]

- The Therapeuts did not have their sacred meals served by slaves^ ανδράποδα), but by their young novices, since they rejected the ownership of slaves on principle and regarded slavery as contrary to nature (70). - In the Buddhist community, too, special persons are appointed to perform administrative tasks or other worldly business, e.g., table service, comparable to the auditores among the Manichaeans. They are referred to as karmadāna. According to Jonathan A. Silk "karmadāna seems to mean something like "transaction". In any case, the karmadāna are considered "managing monks." [94] - Buddha did not call for an abolition of slavery or a dissolution of the Indian caste system; his focus was entirely on man's inner "enslavement" to the world. Whoever overcame it could be called a "slave of Buddha," like the Thai monk Buddhadāsa. [95] An acceptance of slaves into the Buddhist community was rejected by Buddha. In the Buddhist monastic community, therefore, there were as few slaves as there were therapists. Admittedly, the rationale for the rejection of slaves among the therapists was different. It seems to have been more closely aligned with the natural law views of the Stoics among the Therapeutae.
- Philo reports that the ruler of the church proceeded very slowly in the interpretation of sacred Scripture, because he was not concerned with rhetorical splendor, but with making the material comprehensible to his listeners and memorizing it. - Renunciation of rhetorical brilliance on the one hand, extreme effort for comprehensibility and thoroughness on the other hand can also be considered as a basic principle of the Buddhist scriptures. The monotonous style, the gradual development of thoughts, and the endless repetitions, in which each new thought is immediately discussed several times, demand a lot of patience from the Western reader who is not used to it.

Kersten/Gruber still note that Philo omits in his report to give a reference to the livelihood of the therapists. They suspect that Philo "intentionally left this unmentioned

because it seemed demeaning to him and did not quite fit the idealized image he was trying to form of the therapists. Now the certainty dawns: of course the therapists, like their Buddhist brethren in other parts of the world, were mendicant monks (bhikshus and bikshuni[^] and depended on mild offerings."[96]

<p>90 Julius Thomas Bergau, „Buddha, Bodhisattva und fremde Götter - Zur Ikonographie in der polytheistischen Gandhāra-Kunst", in <i>Gandhāra: Buddhas griechisches Erbe?</i> (Asian religions and society series; Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) 39-49, hier 42.</p> <p>91 Bergau, „Buddha, Bodhisattva und fremde Götter - Zur Ikonographie in der polytheistischen Gandhāra-Kunst", 46, Anm. 26.</p> <p>92 Holger Kersten äußerte in unserer Korrespondenz die ansprechende Vermutung, die Geste sei möglicherweise Ausdruck dafür, dass ihnen alles Weltliche fremd sei.</p> <p>93 Gruber und Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 253-62.</p> <p>94 Jonathan A. Silk, <i>Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism</i> (Oxford University Press, 2008), 128. Samuel Beal, <i>Abstract Of Four Lectures On Buddhist Literature in China</i>, 1882, 164.</p> <p>95 Junius P. Rodriguez, <i>The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery</i> (ABC-CLIO, 1997), 111. Man vergleiche damit das δούλος Χριστού Ἰησοῦ bei Paulus (Röm 1:1; Phil 1:1; Kol 4:12).</p>	<p>90 Julius Thomas Bergau, "Buddha, Bodhisattva, and Foreign Gods-On Iconography in Polytheistic Gandhāra Art," in <i>Gandhāra: Buddha's Greek Heritage?</i> (Asian religions and society series; Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006) 39-49, here 42.</p> <p>91 Bergau, "Buddha, Bodhisattva, and Foreign Gods-On Iconography in Polytheistic Gandhāra Art," 46, note 26.</p> <p>92 In our correspondence, Holger Kersten made the appealing suggestion that the gesture was possibly an expression of the fact that everything worldly was foreign to them.</p> <p>93 Gruber and Kersten, <i>The Original Jesus</i>, 253-62.</p> <p>94 Jonathan A. Silk, <i>Managing Monks: Administrators and Administrative Roles in Indian Buddhist Monasticism</i> (Oxford University Press, 2008), 128. Samuel Beal, <i>Abstract Of Four Lectures On Buddhist Literature in China</i>, 1882, 164.</p> <p>95 Junius P. Rodriguez, <i>The Historical Encyclopedia of World Slavery</i> (ABC-CLIO, 1997), 111. Compare with this the δούλος Χριστού Ἰησοῦ in Paul (Rom 1:1; Phil 1:1; Col 4:12).</p> <p>96 Gruber and Kersten, <i>The Original Jesus</i>, 248.</p>
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96 Gruber und Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i> , 248.	
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Back to the crucial question: were the Therapeutics Jews, were they Christians, or were they Buddhists? The answer to this must be: they were a little bit of everything. They were Jews insofar as they adhered to Jewish holidays and rituals, referring to the Old Testament as the basis of their faith. But they were also Buddhists, insofar as they interpreted the Old Testament in Buddhist terms at its core. And finally, they were (proto-)Christians, insofar as they laid the foundation for the later development of Christian doctrine with their interpretation of the Old Testament.

This view helps us to solve the problems that arise when one chooses only one of the three answers in each case. Those who claim that the Therapeutics were only Alexandrian Jews must explain how ascetic practice and Bible exegesis could have developed on a purely Jewish basis. To regard them merely as Buddhists is impossible because the Jewish elements in them (use of the Old Testament scriptures, observance of the Sabbath commandment, etc.) are unmistakable. Whoever considers them to be Christians must ask himself why they should have been widespread not only in Egypt but in the whole world already in Philo's time and why, moreover, they could already look back on a long history. If, on the other hand, one regards them as proto-Christians in the sense that Judaism and Indian Buddhist traditions have come together to form a new synthesis, then all contradictions are "cancelled" in the best Hegelian sense.

In the course of the history of research, other possibilities were considered for the identification of the Therapeutics, which will only be touched upon here. For example, the theologian Eduard Zeller wanted to have detected Pythagorean influence in the Therapeutics. Since Pythagoreanism, according to some scholars, was merely a western offshoot of Buddhism,[97] it would of course be difficult to distinguish it from the latter.

That the Therapeutics have numerous points of contact with the Essenes has been rightly noted again and again.[98] However, according to numerous researchers, Essenism is also not a genuinely Jewish phenomenon, but merely a Jewish-Buddhist hybrid. The reference to Essenism could therefore only explain how the Buddhist influences were mediated. However, the decisive roots in the history of religion are certainly not Jewish, but Buddhist/Indian.

To explain the Buddhist influence in Egypt/Alexandria but also in Syria and Samaria, a digression about the most important communication and trade routes would be necessary, especially Taxila in Gandhara would have to be discussed. Already Samuel

Beal observed the lively "intercourse of Bactrian Greeks or Hellenists with Syria, and probably Samaria, where Alexander the Great had left a Macedonian colony.... "[99] "Buddhism in India undoubtedly owed much to Greek art in Bactria; and the same workmen who were employed at Taxila, may have worked at Antioch." [100] That the cultural influence of Bactrian Buddhists on Egypt and Syria related not only to art but also to religion goes without saying. In particular, more attention would have to be paid to the Mahāyāna doctrine, which developed at this very time and place and, as will be shown elsewhere, exerted a strong influence on the genesis of Christian incarnational theology. [101]

Finally, a digression on King Ashoka and the Buddhist world mission would also be necessary. [102] This will be made up for elsewhere.

<p>97 Leopold von Schroeder, <i>Pythagoras und die Inder; eine Untersuchung über Herkunft und Abstammung der pythagoreischen Lehren</i> (Leipzig O. Schulze, 1884). So schon Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom 1.15): „Pythagoras war ein Hörer der Galater und Brahmanen.“</p> <p>98 A. Hilgenfeld, „Der Essäismus und Jesus“, <i>Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie</i> 10 (1867).</p> <p>99 Samuel Beal, <i>Abstract Of Four Lectures On Buddhist Literature in China</i>, 165.</p> <p>100 Samuel Beal, <i>Abstract Of Four Lectures On Buddhist Literature in China</i>, 160. Ein ausführliches Kapitel über die Handelsbeziehungen bei Gruber und Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 253ff.</p> <p>101 "Most scholars are of opinion that the Mahāyāna doctrine originated in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era" - Har Dayal, The</p>	<p>97 Leopold von Schroeder, <i>Pythagoras und die Inder; eine Untersuchung über Herkunft und Abstammung der pythagoreischen Lehren</i> (Leipzig O. Schulze, 1884). Thus already Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom 1.15): "Pythagoras was a hearer of the Galatians and Brahmins."</p> <p>98 A. Hilgenfeld, "Essaeism and Jesus," <i>Journal of Scientific Theology</i> 10 (1867).</p> <p>99 Samuel Beal, <i>Abstract Of Four Lectures On Buddhist Literature in China</i>, 165.</p> <p>100 Samuel Beal, <i>Abstract Of Four Lectures On Buddhist Literature in China</i>, 160. A detailed chapter on the trade relations in Gruber and Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 253ff.</p> <p>101 "Most scholars are of opinion that the Mahāyāna doctrine originated in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era." - Har Dayal, <i>The Bodhisattva Doctrine In Buddhist Sanskrit Literature</i>, n.d., 43f.</p> <p>102 Gruber and Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 93ff. - Lockwood, <i>Buddhism's Relation to</i></p>
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<p>Bodhisattva Doctrine In Buddhist Sanskrit Literature, o. J., 43f.</p> <p>102 Dazu Gruber und Kersten, <i>Der Ur-Jesus</i>, 93ff. - Lockwood, <i>Buddhism's Relation to Christianity</i>, 6f.</p>	<p>Christianity, 6f.</p>
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To describe the principle of allegorical scriptural interpretation that characterizes the therapists' exegesis, as well as his own, Philo compares the sacred writings to a living being, "which as a body has the literal injunctions, but as a soul has the invisible meaning hidden in the words." By "body" the therapists mean the Old Testament. But how can the content of what Philo calls the "soul" of her interpretation of Scripture be qualified?

It is generally assumed that Philo projected Platonic content into the Old Testament scriptural word in his interpretation. This may be true in many cases.[103] However, with regard to the Therapeuts, it is to be noted that the spiritual movens of their exegesis was by no means Platonism: rather, the life and thinking of their community was obviously determined by Indian or Buddhist contents. These have also and especially influenced their exegesis of the Old Testament.

As a continuation and further development of the Alexandrian wisdom, the Christian "Gnosis" of the 2nd century is also affected by it. Gnostic exegesis is essentially the combination of the Old Testament, Alexandrian wisdom and Indian/Buddhist spirituality.

By the indirect route via Christian gnosis, Indian/Buddhist ideas eventually reached the early Christian scriptures. [104] Apart from some parallels between the New Testament and Buddhist texts, to which already Indologists and religious scholars from Seydel to Klatt and Thundy have drawn attention, what has been overlooked so far, even the emergence of the Jesus cult together with the ideas about the task and meaning of the Christian Redeemer connected to it was essentially a result of Alexandrian exegesis of the Old Testament influenced by Indian/Buddhist ideas. This thesis will be explained in more detail in the next section.

103 Allerdings hatte schon Isaac Jacob Schmidt im Jahre 1929 zu Philo's Schriften bemerkt: „Es findet sich gar manches eigenthümlich Buddhaistische bei ihm.“ Nach Schmidt habe „Philo seine Ansichten aus indischen Vorstellungen“ geschöpft und mit platonischen Ideen verbunden. Als Beispiel nennt Schmidt die Englerscheinungen des Alten Testaments, die von Philo als „eine Art Maya oder Sinnestäuschung“ erklärt werden; Isaac Jacob Schmidt, Ueber die Verwandtschaft der gnostisch-theosophischen Lehren mit den Religionssystemen des Orients, vorzüglich dem Buddhismus (Leipzig: Cnobloch, 1828), 17. Vgl. auch Gruber und Kersten, Der Ur-Jesus, 251.

104 Dies setzt natürlich voraus, dass die Evangelien nicht vor der Blüte der Gnosis im 2. Jahrhundert entstanden sind, sondern zeitgleich mit ihr. Diesen Punkt kann ich hier übergehen, da ich bereits an vielen anderen Stellen im Anschluss an die radikale Kritik des Neuen Testaments zu zeigen versucht habe, dass es sich bei der neutestamentlichen Literatur durchweg um Schriften aus dem 2. Jahrhundert handelt; vgl. Hermann Detering, Falsche Zeugen: Außerchristliche Jesuszeugnisse auf dem Prüfstand (1. Aufl.; Aschaffenburg: Alibri, 2011).

103 However, Isaac Jacob Schmidt had already remarked on Philo's writings in 1929: "There is quite a bit that is peculiarly Buddhaistic in him. According to Schmidt, "Philo drew his views from Indian ideas" and connected them with Platonic ideas. As an example, Schmidt cites the angelic apparitions of the Old Testament, which Philo explains as "a kind of maya or sensory illusion"; Isaac Jacob Schmidt, Ueber die Verwandtschaft der gnostisch-theosophischen Lehren mit den Religionssystemen des Orients, vorzüglich dem Buddhismus (Leipzig: Cnobloch, 1828), 17. Cf. also Gruber and Kersten, Der Ur-Jesus, 251.

104 This assumes, of course, that the Gospels were not written before the flowering of Gnosticism in the 2nd century, but contemporaneously with it. I can pass over this point here, since I have already tried to show in many other places, following the radical critique of the New Testament, that the New Testament literature is consistently 2nd century writings; cf. Hermann Detering, Falsche Zeugen: Außerchristliche Jesuszeugnisse auf dem Prüfstand (1. Aufl.; Aschaffenburg: Alibri, 2011).

4. Joshua, the Jordan and the Baptism of Jesus

The Alexandrian or Gnostic exegesis of the Exodus motif was, as we have seen, determined from the beginning by the Indian-Buddhist idea of the "ford crossing". In the Jewish-Buddhist circles of Alexandria, one looked for an Old Testament image for the crossing of the river of existence and found it in the Exodus story. The figure of Moses was regarded by the therapists as the "ford maker" or "ford crosser". In their nightly mystery celebrations, they depicted how he had led the people of Israel through the waters of the Red Sea into the Holy Land, i.e., according to their exegesis: from the material world into the immaterial, spiritual one.

While the exegesis of the therapists was essentially oriented to the wording of the Book of Exodus, the figure of Moses, which was central for the Exodus theme, was replaced by Joshua/Jesus among the Naassenes and other Christian Gnostics. Apparently, the Naassenes had deliberately based their interpretation on the Book of Joshua, not the Book of Exodus. In their eyes, Joshua had surpassed his predecessor in every respect, since he had succeeded in what the latter had still been denied: He had led the Israelites through the Jordan into the Holy Land, which was regarded as a prefiguration and shadow image of the world to come.[105] At the same time, however, Joshua also assumed the role of the liberator from Egypt, which in the Old Testament tradition was reserved exclusively for Moses.

At the end of the development, the interpretation of the Exodus had become the Gnostic-Christian baptismal mystery. In the Testimonium Veritatis, Joshua/Jesus enters the world above the Jordan, the waters recede, and the end of the dominion of the flesh over the spirit is ushered in.[106] From here to the New Testament account of Jesus' baptism is only a short distance.

That Jesus was originally only a symbolic figure for the Gnostics gained through allegorical exegesis, which had its roots in the Old Testament Joshua tradition, can still be demonstrated by numerous small text passages from early Christian times within and outside the New Testament - passages which, insofar as one relates them to the (historicized) Jesus of the Gospels, would have to remain puzzling.

105 „Mose hatte das Gottesvolk noch nicht dahin führen dürfen, wohin es letztendlich gelangen musste; erst leesoüs hatte sich als wahrer Anführer für diese Aufgabe herausgestellt." - Gerardus J. P. J. Bolland, De evangelische Jozua: Eene poging tot aanwijzing van den oorsprong des christendoms (Leiden:

105 "Moses had not yet been allowed to lead God's people to where they ultimately had to go; only leesoüs had emerged as the true leader for this task." - Gerardus J. P. J. Bolland, De evangelische Jozua: Eene poging tot aanwijzing van den oorsprong des christendoms (Leiden: Adriani, 1907), 4. The "greater than Moses" motifs also found in later Jewish tradition; Duncan Derrett points out, "Rabbi Pinhas b. Ya'ir (between 150-200

Adriani, 1907), 4. Das „*Größer als Mose*“-Motiv findet sich auch in der späteren jüdischen Überlieferung; Duncan Derrett weist darauf hin: "Rabbi Pinhas b. Ya'ir (zwischen 150-200 n. Chr.), ein berühmter Heiliger (Mishnah, Sot IX, 15), ein Asket und Wunderwiker machte sich auf den Weg, Gefangene zurückzukaufen; dabei bat er einen Fluß, daß er sich teile, um ihm die Überquerung zu ermöglichen (so als ob er Elisha wäre: 2 Kön 2, 14; vgl. Jes 11, 15e; 51, 10). Der Fluß weigerte sich. Pinhas erwiderte: 'Ich befehle, daß kein Wasser dich durchströmt!' Und der Fluß teilte sich. Dasselbe geschah bei zwei weiteren Anlässen; so wird uns berichtet. Und über ihn wurde geurteilt, daß er größer als Mose sei." Derrett, „Der Wasserwandel in christlicher und buddhistischer Perspektive“, 200.

106 Vgl. Exc ex Theod 4,76ff,

CE), a famous saint (Mishnah, Sot IX, 15), an ascetic and miracle worker set out to buy back captives; in doing so, he asked a river to part to allow him to cross (as if he were Elisha: 2 Kings 2:14; cf. Isa 11:15e; 51:10). The river refused. Phinehas replied, 'I command that no water flow through you!' And the river parted. The same thing happened on two other occasions; so we are told. And he was judged to be greater than Moses." Derrett, "The Changing of the Waters in Christian and Buddhist Perspective," 200.

106 Cf. Exc ex Theod 4:76ff,

4.1 Joshua and the Question of the "Right Prophet".

The discussion about the "right prophet" plays a considerable role in late Jewish/early Christian literature. The central biblical passage is considered to be Moses' word in Deut. 18:15,18:

"A prophet like me the Lord your God will raise up for you from among your brothers; to him you shall listen in all that he will speak to you."

The interpretation of this text is controversial. The Jewish and Christian commentators of the 1st century interpreted the passage as referring to the return of "one of the (ancient) prophets." [107] As God had once given Israel in Egypt a Moses to free them from slavery, and as they were eventually led into the Holy Land under the leadership of Joshua, so God would do in the

present and cause one of the ancient prophets to arise. The Egyptian plagues (Ex. 7:14-10:29), the passage through the Reed Sea (Ex. 13:17-14,31), the fording of the Jordan (Josh. 3:1-4,24), the 40-year passage through the wilderness, the giving of the Tablets of the Law on Mount Sinai, the miraculous feeding of God's people with quail and manna (Ex. 15:22-18,27), the eventual taking of the land-all these events were not merely past, but promises for the present.

The return of Moses is always spoken of in rabbinic literature where his death and burial in the wilderness are mentioned. "Moses had to endure both, therefore, so that the scriptural word (referred to Moses by the Midr[asch]) Dt 33:21: 'He comes at the head of the people (so the Midr) ' might be fulfilled, i.e., so that the desert race might one day be raised up for his merit and enter the Promised Land under his leadership." [108]

The connection of a "Moses redivivus" with the expectation of the right prophet is also found in some Qumran texts, for example 1 QS IX 9-11. There it states:

"And from no counsel of the law shall they depart, Until the (one) prophet and the messengers of Aaron and Israel come."

Other passages indicate that the expectation of the right prophet, who is also called the "teacher of righteousness" or "teacher of the true," was considered fulfilled. Often this is paralleled with Moses and referred to as a teacher or lawgiver. [109]

Regardless of the question of whether the texts offer reliable evidence for an unambiguous identification of the Teacher with Moses, [110] it can be stated that the Qumran community also saw in the desert time the ideal model of the messianic time of salvation. Like Moses, the leader of their community had called for a new exodus. The renewed end-time exodus was compared to the Israelites' migration to the Promised Land. Like the people of Israel, the congregation lived in "camps," and its members were "patterned" and divided into groups according to the model of ancient Israel. [111]

<p>107 J. Jeremias in ThW IV, 862</p> <p>108 Gerhard Kittel und Gerhard Friedrich, Hrsg., <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), IV 861. ThW IV 861</p> <p>109 Vgl. Schoeps: „erstere ‚die schismatische Sekte des neuen Bundes von Damaskus‘ haben den ‚Lehrer des</p>	<p>107 J. Jeremias in ThW IV, 862.</p> <p>108 Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds, <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), IV 861. ThW IV 861.</p> <p>109 Cf. Schoeps: "the former 'the schismatic sect of the new covenant of Damascus' have awaited the 'teacher of the true' as Moses redivivus (Dam 1:11; 20.20)."-Hans Joachim Schoeps, <i>Theologie und Geschichte des Judenchristentums</i> (Tübingen: Mohr, 1949),</p>
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Wahren' als Moses redivivus erwartet (Dam 1,11; 20.20)" - Hans Joachim Schoeps, *Theologie und Geschichte des Judentums* (München: Beck, 1949), 91.

110 J. Jeremias, ThWNT II, Art. Elias 932

111 Hinzuweisen ist noch auf den byzantinischen Kirchengeschichtsschreiber Sokrates (Historia Ecclesiastica VIII 38, Hussey). Auch er kennt einen *Moses-redivivus*. als Führer einer jüdisch-messianischen Bewegung auf Kreta im 5. Jahrhundert n. Z. „Hier trat ein Mann als Mose redivivus auf, der, vom Himmel gekommen, den Zug durch das Meer nach dem heiligen Lande - vgl. Ex 14,15-31 - wiederholen wollte. Er fand zahlreiche Gläubige, und am entscheidenden Tage traten sie den Zug durchs Meer an. Viele Juden stürzten sich an der kretischen Steilküste ins Meer, wo sie elend umkamen. Als man sich aber nach dem falschen Mose umblickte, war er verschwunden“, Gerhard Kittel und Gerhard Friedrich, Hrsg., *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), Rudolf Meyer, Art. προφήτης, VI 827.

91.

110 J. Jeremias, ThWNT II, art. Elijah 932

111 The Byzantine church historian Socrates (Historia Ecclesiastica VIII 38, Hussey) should also be mentioned. He too knows a Moses-redivivus. as the leader of a Jewish Messianic movement on Crete in the 5th century C.E. "Here a man appeared as Moses redivivus, who, having come from heaven, wished to repeat the passage through the sea to the holy land - cf. Ex 14:15-31. He found numerous believers, and on the decisive day they started the procession through the sea. Many Jews threw themselves into the sea at the Cretan cliff, where they perished miserably. But when they looked around for the false Moses, he had disappeared," Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1933), Rudolf Meyer, Art. προφήτης, VI 827.

Especially in the Samaritan area, the person of Moses developed from a simple prophet to a figure of, as it were, divine authority and dignity. He was - similar to the later New Testament Jesus - lifted out of the human sphere and imagined pre-existent and divine. He ascends to heaven, is purified there in the bath of the angels and writes down the heavenly book dictated to him by God.

But for the office of the eschatological (true) prophet there was another popular candidate: the prophet Elijah. The Gospels know Elijah primarily as a forerunner of the Messiah.[112] To justify the need for Elijah to "rise" before the Messiah comes, they refer to a scriptural passage in the prophet Malachi 3:1 and 23f:

"Behold, I send my messenger to prepare the way before me. Behold, I send you Elijah the prophet before the great and dreadful day of the Lord comes..."

However, there is evidence that Elijah was often seen as more than just the figure of the harbinger and preparer of the messianic end times. Rather, the immediate proximity of the prophet Moses to the Messiah seems to have rubbed off on the prophet, so that he too could be made into a Messiah.[113]

Besides Moses and Elijah, there are other Old Testament figures who were to be resurrected as true prophets of the end times, Enoch, Jeremiah, and David. Josephus reports that Athronges, a shepherd, appeared as the new David.[114]

The most important figure in our context is Joshua ben Nun (son of Nun). Although it is a well-known fact that the Hebrew name Joshua was translated as Ἰησοῦς = Jesus in the Greek translation of the Old Testament, the Septuagint, it must be specifically noted again in this context because of the fundamental importance of this statement for what follows.

The belief that Joshua-Jesus was the true prophet promised by Moses is attested especially in the Samaritan area. In his book "Garizim and Synagogue" Hans Gerhard Kippenberg has collected rich material from which it is evident that among the Samaritans of the New Testament period the view that Joshua/Jesus was the expected prophet was widespread.[115]

<p>112 Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2; Lk 7:27</p> <p>113 Je nachdem, wie man sich die Abstammung des Elia vorstellte, - kam er aus dem Stamme Gads, Benjamins oder Levis? -wurde unterschieden: Wenn man sich Elia als Abkömmling aus dem Stamme <i>Gads</i> dachte, sah man in ihm auch eine messianische Persönlichkeit. Dachte man sich Elia als einen</p>	<p>112 Mt 11:10; Mk 1:2; Lk 7:27</p> <p>113 Depending on how Elijah's ancestry was conceived-came he from the tribe of Gad, Benjamin, or Levi? -a distinction was made: If Elijah was thought of as a descendant of the tribe of Gad, he was also seen as a messianic personality. If Elijah was thought of as a descendant of the tribe of Levi, high priestly functions were attributed to him. If Elijah was</p>
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Abkömmling des Stammes *Levi*, schrieb man ihm hohepriesterliche Funktionen zu. Betrachtete man Elia unter dem Gesichtspunkt seiner Herkunft aus dem Stamme *Benjamins*, so sah man in ihm nur einen Vorläufer des Messias, dem lediglich die Funktion des Friedensstifters und Wegbereiters zukam. Die letzte Vorstellung scheint am verbreitetsten gewesen zu sein und hat sich auch im NT niedergeschlagen.

114 Ant 17,278; Bell 2,60

115 Hans G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode* (Bd. 30; Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten/Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971).

thought of as a descendant of the tribe of Benjamin, he was seen only as a forerunner of the Messiah, with only the function of peacemaker and forerunner. The last conception seems to have been the most widespread and has also found expression in the NT.

114 Ant 17:278; Bell 2:60

115 Hans G. Kippenberg, *Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode* (vol. 30; Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten/Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1971).

This view was used by the Samaritans in polemic against the early Christian heretic Dositheus.[116] Thus a certain Eulogius (d. ca. 607 CE) reports that the Samaritans fell into two hostile parties:

"Some believed that it was Joshua, the son of Nun, of whom Moses had said: The Lord God will raise up a prophet like me from among your brethren. (Deut. 18:15), others objected to this and proclaimed as this prophet someone named Dosthes or Dositheus." [117]

There is a revealing parallel to this passage in the *Judaeo-Christian Recognitions* (I, 54, 5). Here it is said of the expectation of the "true prophet" among the Samaritans:

"And they rightly expected, however, a true prophet on the basis of the promises of Moses, but were prevented by the reprobation of Dositheus from believing that the one they were expecting was Jesus." [118]

It is clear that both passages seem to deal with one and the same problem, the controversial question of right/wrong prophets in late Judaism, among the Samaritans, and in early Christianity. However, while in Eulogius Joshua ben Nun and Dositheus confront each other as candidates and competitors for the office of true prophet, in the section from the Recognitions these are Jesus and Dositheus.

Now the striking similarity of the two texts as well as the parallelism of the two pairs of opposites: Joshua, son of Nun-Dositheus, Jesus-Dositheus, suggests that also the Jesus of the Recognitions is none other than Jesus/Josua ben Nun.[119] Even if the author of the Recognitions should not have been aware of this connection and he did not think of Jesus=Josua when he mentioned Jesus, the quotation could point us to the root of the name of Jesus. The Jesus of the Jewish Christians, who are undoubtedly the keepers of the oldest Christian tradition, was, from the point of view of the history of tradition, none other than Joshua ben Nun. Here we come across the traces of the earliest Christian faith in Jesus, in the center of which there was no "Jesus from Nazareth", but the Old Testament figure of Joshua ben Nun.

<p>116 Stanley J. Isser, <i>The Dositheans: A Samaritan sect in late antiquity</i> (Bd. 17, 1. Aufl.; Studies in Judaism in late antiquity; Leiden: Brill, 1976).</p>	<p>116 Stanley J. Isser, <i>The Dositheans: A Samaritan sect in late antiquity</i> (vol. 17, 1st ed.; Studies in Judaism in late antiquity; Leiden: Brill, 1976).</p>
<p>117 Text: Photius, <i>Bibliotheca Cod.</i> 230. MPG 103, 1084 D-1085 A.; vgl. Kippenberg, <i>Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode.</i> 132.</p>	<p>117 Text: Photius, <i>Bibliotheca Cod.</i> 230. MPG 103, 1084 D-1085 A.; cf. Kippenberg, <i>Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode.</i> 132.</p>
<p>118 Text: B. Rehm, <i>GCS</i> 51. Berlin 1965, 39 Z. 17—19; Übersetzung: Kippenberg, <i>Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode.</i> 117.</p>	<p>118 Text: B. Rehm, <i>GCS</i> 51. Berlin 1965, 39 Z. 17-19; translation: Kippenberg, <i>Garizim und Synagoge: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur samaritanischen Religion der aramäischen Periode.</i> 117.</p>
<p>119 Das Zeugnis des Eulogius ist relativ spät, wird aber vermutlich auf älterer</p>	<p>119 The testimony of Eulogius is relatively late, but is probably based on older tradition. In any case, the text is the "more difficult reading." It seems unlikely to me that the addition "son of Nun"</p>

Tradition fußen. In jedem Fall handelt es sich bei dem Text um die „schwierigere Lesart“. Es erscheint mir unwahrscheinlich, dass der Zusatz „Sohn des Nun“ von Eulogius stammt.	comes from Eulogius.
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4.2 ΙΧΘΥΣ - The Fish Symbol in Early Christianity.

The fish is one of the oldest and most widespread symbols of Christ in Christianity. On house doors, tomb inscriptions, coffins, jewelry, signet rings and amulets, it was considered in the 2nd century not only as a (secret) sign of recognition among Christians, but also as a symbol of warding off evil spirits. It can be traced throughout the Roman Empire.

Fish symbolism is often associated with the Eucharist. In many early illustrations, the fish is part of the Lord's Supper along with bread and wine. This is probably a combination of the Eucharist and the feeding story (cf. Mark 6:35-44). In some depictions, the fish may even symbolize the Eucharistic bread, the body of Christ (including Westlettner, c. 1250, Naumburg Cathedral).

The question of the origin of the fish symbol is often answered with reference to the fact that the Greek word ΙΧΘΥΣ = fish, can be resolved as an acrostic [120] and the confessional phrase "Jesus Christ, Son of God (is our) Savior" can be formed from the first letters of the Greek word, thus:

I = Ι = Ιησούς - Jesus
X = Χ = Χριστός - Christ
Θ = Θ = θεοῦ - God's
Υ = Υ = υἱοῦ - Son
Σ = Σ = σωτήρ - Savior

However, it is extremely unlikely that the fish symbol was created by the acrostic abridgement of the confession. Rather, it appears to have existed as a Christian one before it was interpreted in the manner described above. [121]

Thus, the question remains as to what was the original meaning of the fish symbol and by what genuine connection it was linked to the figure and name of Jesus.

Various answers have been given. Above all, one has pointed again and again to the extra-Christian area of cultic-ritual fish meals. Dölger demonstrated that fish gods, sacred fish, and fish sacrifices were known in various non-Christian cults (especially in the east of the empire, in Syria).[122] The practice of sacred fish meals (cena pura) may have been known to Christianity from synagogal Judaism.

The simplest and at the same time most plausible answer, however, was given by Robert Eisler. Unfortunately, his relevant works have not received the attention they deserved. In his essay: "On the Origin of Ancient Christian Fisherman and Fish Symbolism", [123] Eisler proves that the solution to the riddle lies in the epithet of the Old Testament Joshua = ben Nun.[124] The Hebrew ben nun literally means "son of the fish, son of fish", but can be translated simply as "fish" (as, for example, ben baqar simply means "cattle"). Jesus ΙΧΘΥΣ is thus Joshua = (ben) Nun.

However, Eisler does not go so far as to claim that the historical Jesus owes his origin to the Old Testament hero Joshua (ben Nun). According to his opinion the name received only a special coloring by the mythical patronymic, since it made of Joshua a "double of the .out of the water pulled' likewise flood-splitting hero Moses". Further Eisler quotes a rabbinical sentence: "Only a man called ben Nun (son of fish) (could) lead the Jews through the river into the land of promise". Eisler concludes from this: "So probably also the Joshua or Jesus of the last days had to be a ben Nun sejn" [125].

According to Eisler, the epithet of Joshua could be the reason why the Messiah would be born in the zodiac sign of Pisces in later speculations. Only against the background of the equation ben Nun - fish could also explain the assertion in the 4th book of Ezra, colored by "Babylonian Oannes myths, that the Messiah would rise 'from the heart of the sea'." [126]

In a further article Eisler points to a passage in the rabbinical literature in which an otherwise hardly known tradition is reproduced.[127] According to it the sons of Ephraim (Samaria) had already made the attempt to flee under Moses before the exodus from Egypt, "and that under the leadership of a distinguished Ephraimite named Nun (= fish). This man - in whom we of course have to see the father of Joshua, who is also called an Ephraimite, and who is not mentioned further in the Old Testament - was, however, martyred and killed by the Egyptians on the occasion of this unsuccessful enterprise. The suffering redeemer of the last days could thus also be called directly the reincarnation of that prehistoric martyr for the deliverance of his people 'ben Nun'." [128]

One need not follow Eisler's speculations in everything; it is crucial to know that the Christian fish symbolism was apparently prompted by the epithet of the Old Testament Joshua and was deeply rooted in the early Christian imagination.

<p>120 D.h. die einzelnen Buchstaben des Wortes bilden hintereinander gelesen die Anfangsbuchstaben eines neuen Wortes.</p> <p>121 <i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (3. Aufl.; Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 2, 968. Carl Andresen: „Jedenfalls wird die Gleichung F[isch] = Christus schon bestanden haben, als man die Ichthysformel erfand.“</p> <p>122 Franz Joseph Dölger, <i>ICHTHUS: das Fisch-Symbol in frühchristlicher Zeit; ICHTHUS als Kürzung der Namen Jesu IESOUS CHRISTOS THEOU UIOS SOTER</i> (Münster in Westf.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928).</p> <p>123 Robert Eisler, „Zum Ursprung der altchristlichen Fischer- und Fischsymbolik“, <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft vereint mit den Beiträgen zur Religionswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Stockholm</i> 16 (1913) 300-306.</p> <p>124 Ex 33:11; Nurn 11:28; 13:8, 16; 14:6, 30, 38; 26:65; 27:18; 32:12, 28; 34:17; Dtn 1:38; 31:23; 32:44; 34:9; Jos 1:1; 2:1, 23; 6:6; 14:1; 17:4; 19:49, 51; 21:1; 24:29; Ri 2:8; 1 Kön 16:34; Sir 46:1.</p> <p>125 Eisler, „Zum Ursprung der altchristlichen Fischer- und Fischsymbolik“, 304.</p>	<p>120 I.e. the individual letters of the word form one after the other read the initial letters of a new word.</p> <p>121 <i>Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> (3rd edL; Tübingen: Mohr, 1960), 2, 968. Carl Andresen: "In any case, the equation F[isch] = Christ will already have existed when the Ichthys formula was invented."</p> <p>122 Franz Joseph Dölger, <i>ICHTHUS: das Fisch-Symbol in frühchristlicher Zeit; ICHTHUS as an abbreviation of the names of Jesus IESOUS CHRISTOS THEOU UIOS SOTER</i> (Münster in Westf.: Verlag der Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1928).</p> <p>123 Robert Eisler, "Zum Ursprung der altchristlichen Fischer- und Fischsymbolik," <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft vereint mit den Beiträgen zur Religionswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Stockholm</i> 16 (1913) 300-306.</p> <p>124 Ex 33:11; Nurn 11:28; 13:8, 16; 14:6, 30, 38; 26:65; 27:18; 32:12, 28; 34:17; Dt 1:38; 31:23; 32:44; 34:9; Jos 1:1; 2:1, 23; 6:6; 14:1; 17:4; 19:49, 51; 21:1; 24:29; Ri 2:8; 1 Kings 16:34; Sir 46:1.</p> <p>125 Eisler, "On the Origin of Ancient Christian Fisherman and Fish Symbolism," 304.</p> <p>126 Eisler, "On the Origin of Ancient Christian Fisherman and Fish Symbolism," 304.</p>
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<p>126 Eisler, „Zum Ursprung der altchristlichen Fischer- und Fischsymbolik“, 304.</p> <p>127 Robert Eisler, „Der Messias ‚ben Nun‘ im jüdischen Folklore“, <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i> 17 (1914) 336-39.</p> <p>128 Eisler, „Der Messias ‚ben Nun‘ im jüdischen Folklore“, 339.</p>	<p>127 Robert Eisler, "The Messiah 'ben Nun' in Jewish Folklore," <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i> 17 (1914) 336-39.</p> <p>128 Eisler, "The Messiah 'ben Nun' in Jewish Folklore," 339.</p>
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4.3 who once made the sun stand still"

In the 5th book of the so-called Oracula Sibyllina, an apocryphal Jewish-Christian collection in 14 books, which originated between the 2nd century B.C. and the 3rd/4th century A.D., the following is promised:

"But one will be again from heaven, an excellent man, whose hands spread out on the fruitful wood of the Hebrews Best, who once made the sun stand still, speaking with beautiful word and with pure lips." [129]

For Jeremiah....it turns out that the passage expects as the Son of Man the one who made the sun stand still, i.e. Joshua (Jos 10:12)." [130] Indeed, it is evident that the passage is an allusion to Jos 10:12ff, wherein the battle of the Israelites at Gibeon is spoken of and Joshua is said:[131]

"He said in the presence of Israel, 'Sun, stand still at Gibeon, and moon, in the valley of Ajalon!' So the sun stood still, and the moon stood still, until the people had avenged themselves on their enemies. Is not this written in the book of the righteous? So the sun stood still in the midst of heaven, and hastened not to go down almost a whole day."

Besides alluding to the passage in the Book of Joshua just mentioned, the author of these passages seems to be alluding to the episode of Joshua and Caleb in the Holy

Land. Nurn 13:1-33 records how the two Old Testament heroes, on their exploration of the Holy Land, cut down a vine with a bunch of grapes at the brook Eshcol and carried it back "two by two on a pole, with it also pomegranates and figs," a very popular motif frequently found in Christian art. Presumably, the "fruitful wood" is precisely this vine wood, which, of course, is at the same time reinterpreted by the author of this passage from the Oroculo Sibyllino and associated with the wood of the cross.[132] The author of this passage from the Oroculo Sibyllino also reinterprets it as the wood of the cross.

The passage from the Oroculo Sibyllino Yann show,

- that on the basis of the early Christian tradition, individual telltale hints can be found again and again, from which it emerges that the figure of Jesus of Nazareth has its tradition-historical roots in the interpretation of the Old Testament hero Joshua ben Nun;
- that the early Christian meal celebration was closely connected with this very interpretation. Among the first fruits that Joshua and Caleb brought back from their exploration of the Holy Land was a branch of grapes.[133] Thus, in the early Christian interpretation, the wine enjoyed at the common meal is a prophetic reference to the imminent taking possession of the Holy Land and the eschatological goods of salvation given with it-but also to Jesus/Joshua, who "made known" such things to his people.

This brings us to the next point, the Jesus/Joshua of the Didache.

<p>129 Sib 5, 256-259, Kurfess.</p> <p>130 Kittel und Friedrich, <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>, IV, 861, A. 110. Zwar erwägt Jeremias - wie einige andere Kommentatoren - die Möglichkeit, die Stelle auf Moses zu beziehen, da das Sonnenstillstandswunder, wenigstens in tannaitischer Zeit, auch auf ihn gedeutet werden konnte (Hermann Leberecht Strack und Paul Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i>, (München: Beck, 1922), I, 13;</p>	<p>129 Sib 5, 256-259, Kurfess.</p> <p>130 Kittel and Friedrich, <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i>, IV, 861, A. 110. It is true that Jeremias, like some other commentators, considers the possibility of referring the passage to Moses, since the miracle of the cessation of the sun, at least in Tannaitic times, could also be interpreted to him (Hermann Leberecht Strack and Paul Billerbeck, <i>Kommentar zum Neuen Testament aus Talmud und Midrasch</i>, (Munich: Beck, 1922), I, 13; II, 414); nevertheless, he gives preference to the first possibility: "In any case, the biblical</p>
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II, 414); gleichwohl gibt er der ersten Möglichkeit den Vorzug: „Der Bibeltext legt es jedenfalls näher, an Josua zu denken.“

131 Nach Kurfess, der außer auf Jos 10:12 noch auf Ex 17:12 verweist, sollen Josua und Moses gemeint sein. Aber im Text ist nur von einer Person die Rede; Ex 17:12 hebt Mose seine Hände, „bis die Sonne unterging.“ Davon, dass er durch das Heben der Arme den Stillstand der Sonne bewirkt hätte, ist nicht die Rede - Alfons Kurfess, *Sibyllinische Weissagungen* (1. Aufl.; Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 310.

Für Jeremias „... ergibt sich, daß die Stelle als Menschensohn den erwartet, der die Sonne stillstehen ließ, dh Josua (Jos 10, 12)“, ThW IV 861, A.110. Zwar erwägt Jeremias die Möglichkeit, die Stelle auf Mose zu beziehen, da das Sonnenstillstandswunder, wenigstens in tannaitischer Zeit, auch auf ihn bezogen werden konnte (Str-B I 13; II 414); gleichwohl gibt er der ersten Möglichkeit den Vorzug: „Der Bibeltext legt es jedenfalls näher, an Josua zu denken.“

132 Dazu Robert Eisler: „Der seine Hände ausbreitete auf dem fruchtbaren Holz' kann nur auf den Gekreuzigten gehen; es unterbricht den Zusammenhang von 256 und 258 in sinnloser Weise, denn wo steht in Exod 17,42 - worauf die Kommentare immer verweisen - oder sonstwo im AT irgend etwas davon, daß Josuah Mosis Hände auf irgend einem Holz ausgebreitet

text suggests it more closely to think of Joshua.“

131 According to Kurfess, who refers to Ex 17:12 in addition to Jos 10:12, Joshua and Moses should be meant. But the text speaks of only one person; Ex 17:12 Moses lifts his hands "until the sun goes down." There is no mention of his causing the sun to stand still by raising his arms-Alfons Kurfess, *Sibylline Prophecies* (1st edL; Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter, 2014), 310.

For Jeremias, "...it follows that the passage expects as Son of Man the one who made the sun stand still, i.e. Joshua (Jos 10, 12)," ThW IV 861, A.110. Although Jeremias considers the possibility of referring the passage to Moses, since the miracle of the sun standing still, at least in Tannaitic times, could also be referred to him (Str-B I 13; II 414); nevertheless, he gives preference to the first possibility: "In any case, the biblical text makes it closer to think of Joshua.“

132 On this Robert Eisler: "'He who spread out his hands on the fruitful wood' can only refer to the crucified one; it interrupts the context of 256 and 258 in a senseless way, for where does it say in Exod 17:42-which the commentaries always refer to-or anywhere else in the OT that Joshua spread out Moses' hands on any wood?" - Robert Eisler, "On the Origin of Ancient Christian Fisherman and Fish Symbolism," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft vereint mit den Beiträgen zur Religionswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Stockholm* 16 (1913) 300-306, here 306.

133 Nurn 13:23: "And they (Joshua and

hätte?" - Robert Eisler, „Zum Ursprung der altchristlichen Fischer und Fischsymbolik“, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft vereint mit den Beiträgen zur Religionswissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft in Stockholm 16 (1913) 300-306, hier 306.

133 Nurn 13:23: „Und sie (Josua und Kaleb) kamen bis an den Bach Eschol und schnitten dort eine Rebe ab mit einer Weintraube und trugen sie zu zweien auf einer Stange, dazu auch Granatäpfel und Feigen.“

Caleb) came unto the brook Eshcol, and cut down there a vine with a bunch of grapes, and carried them two by two upon a pole, with pomegranates and figs also."

4.4 . Joshua as Revealer of the Vine - the Didache

In the Didache (Apostles' Doctrine), a church order discovered only in 1873, which most scholars believe dates from the beginning of the 2nd century, there is a detailed section with instructions on the Eucharistic meal celebration. It deviates considerably from the corresponding New Testament communion texts, because it contains neither the words of institution nor more details about the performance of the eucharistic act. In other respects, too, the text - like the Apostles' Doctrine as a whole - makes a primitive impression. The majority of the material used in the prayers, which is obviously given traditional material, betrays Jewish origin and shows striking similarities with the contemporary Jewish celebration of the Eucharist.[134] The text of the Apostles' Doctrine as a whole also gives a primitive impression.

Apparently, Jewish templates were reworked or given a thin Christian varnish. "The Christianization is achieved by quite sparing means." [135]

In the Eucharistic texts, the "Christian" element seems to be limited to the mention of the name of Jesus, which occurs alone here within the entire Didache. Elsewhere, there

is usually only general mention of the "Lord," although in some places it remains unclear whether this refers to God or Jesus.

At the Eucharistic meal, the following prayers of thanksgiving are to be said one after the other:

9:2 First concerning the cup:

We give thanks to you, our Father,
for the holy vine of David, your servant,
with whom you have made us acquainted (of whom you have let us know)
through Jesus/Joshua, your servant.

...

9:3 Concerning the bread:

We thank you, our Father,
for the life and knowledge
which you have revealed to us through Jesus/Yoshua, your servant.

...

10:1 We thank you, holy Father,

for your holy name
which you have made to dwell in our hearts,
and for the knowledge and the faith and the immortality
which you have revealed to us through Jesus/Joshua, your servant.

In the passages quoted, the Old Testament term "servant" (παῖς = Hebrew עֶבֶד) for Jesus is striking. It is relatively rare in the New Testament and early Christianity;[136] it is not encountered at all in the communion accounts. A reference of the title to the Servant of Isaiah, which is assumed by many scholars,[137] is by no means obvious and is, in my opinion, also excluded by the fact that the sacrificial idea is completely absent from the Eucharistic prayers of the Didache.

Probably, however, as we shall see, a meaningful reference to the "servant Joshua" (Jos 5: 11, 24:29, Ri 2:8) could be established. The identification of Jesus with the Old Testament Joshua is supported above all by the fact that Jesus is called the "revealer" of the holy vine (David's) in the cup thanksgiving. There is no mention in the Gospels of Jesus "revealing" or "making known" (ἐγνόνισσας = "making known, making known") to his disciples the holy vine. So, also here the solution of the problem could be that on the level of the tradition represented by the prayer not at all the Jesus of the Gospels was thought of, but the Joshua of the Hebrew Bible or the Septuagint. In fact, it is expressly said of Joshua that he made the assembled community (together with Caleb) "see the fruits of the land" after the exploration of the Holy Land (Nurn 13:26).

<p>134 Klaus Wengst, <i>Schriften des Urchristentums. Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet</i> (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 48. Paul Drews, „Untersuchungen zur Didache“, <i>ZNW</i> 5 (1904) 53-79, hier 74. Drews konstatiert: „Diese Formeln selbst verraten, daß sie nichts sind als Verchristlichungen jüdischer Formulare.“</p> <p>135 Joseph Anton Fischer, Hrsg., <i>Die Apostolischen Väter</i> (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956), 48.</p> <p>136 Apg 3:13, 26; 27, 30. Von David: Apg 4:25.</p> <p>137 Z.B. Geza Vermes, <i>Vom Jesus der Geschichte zum Christus des Dogmas</i> (Verlag der Weltreligionen im Insel Verlag, 2016).</p>	<p>134 Klaus Wengst, <i>Schriften des Urchristentums. Didache (Apostles' Doctrine), Epistle of Barnabas, Second Epistle of Clement, Writings to Diognet</i> (Darmstadt: Wiss. Buchgesellschaft, 2006), 48. Paul Drews, "Untersuchungen zur Didache," <i>ZNW</i> 5 (1904) 53-79, here 74. Drews states, "These formulas themselves betray that they are nothing but Christianizations of Jewish forms."</p> <p>135 Joseph Anton Fischer, ed., <i>The Apostolic Fathers</i> (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1956), 48.</p> <p>136 Acts 3:13, 26; 27, 30. of David: Acts 4:25.</p> <p>137 E.g., Geza Vermes, <i>From the Jesus of History to the Christ of Dogma</i> (Verlag der Weltreligionen im Insel Verlag, 2016).</p>
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Once it is recognized that 'Ιησοῦς in the prayers of thanksgiving in the Didache originally meant none other than Joshua, the theological meaning of the Eucharistic meal celebration as presupposed in the Didache also emerges more clearly. In particular, the transitional form 10:6, which begins with the verse: "Grace come, and let this world pass away!" and concluding with the cry Moran ata = the Lord is coming, points to the eschatological character of the meal celebration, directly oriented to the expectation of the coming Kingdom of God. This also comes to light in the blessing of bread (V0Ä), where after the thanksgiving for the life revealed by Jesus/Joshua, there is talk of the-eschatological gathering that precedes the kingdom of God:

"As this broken bread was scattered on the mountains and brought together became one,

so shall your gathering (ἐκκλησία = church) be brought together from the ends of the earth into thy kingdom."

The idea of gathering is taken up again in 10:5. There the request for the gathering (= church) reads quite accordingly:

"Bring her (= ἐκκλησία = gathering) together from the four winds, the sanctified, into your kingdom, which you have prepared for her."

The memory of Joshua and Caleb, who gave their community a foretaste, as it were, of the future "beyond the Jordan" fits well into this eschatological framework. The meal clearly reflects the Old Testament situation of departure. As with the Passover meal, the community finds itself, as it were, on its eve. As the eating of the bread becomes a reminder of the gathering of God's end-time community, so the drinking of the wine becomes an anticipatory tasting of the divine promise.

In an examination of the distinctive features of the Eucharistic meal celebration of the Didache, K. Wengst arrives at the following conclusion:

"The Eucharist in the Didache is nothing other than a slightly Christianized Jewish-Hellenistic meal celebrated by the congregation on Sunday. So there is something completely different in it than in the Pauline and Markine tradition about the Lord's Supper. For the latter the reference to the death of Jesus is constitutive. But precisely of this there is not the least trace in the Didache's injunctions about the Eucharist [emphasis mine]."[138]

138 Wengst, <i>Schriften des Urchristentums. Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet</i> , 53.	138 Wengst, <i>Schriften des Urchristentums. Didache (Apostles' Doctrine), Epistle of Barnabas, Second Epistle of Clement, Writings to Diognet</i> , 53.
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But is it at all conceivable that the passion tradition, if it already existed, should have been unknown to the Didachist or ignored by him? The only reasonable explanation for the fact that there is no reference to it anywhere in the prayers of the Didache can only be that it did not yet exist (at the time of the composition of these prayers). Obviously,

the Passion tradition came into being only at a relatively late point in time and was then secondarily connected with the other Christian or Jesuit traditions.

So far, we have explicitly related the equation Jesus = Joshua ben Nun only to the prayers of the Didache, which are pieces of tradition that are historically older than the other parts of the text. Whether in the latter already a knowledge of the synoptic Jesus can be proved, however, is also doubtful.

Against it could be objected that in the Didache at different places a gospel (always singular!) is mentioned (8:1; 11:3; 14:3). This is usually identified with the Gospel of Matthew (among other reasons because the Didachist quotes the Lord's Prayer in the Matthean and not in the Lucan form).

Against the assumption that the Didachist knew a complete Gospel of Matthew, however, speaks the fact that he quotes only words of Jesus - but betrays no knowledge of the narrative and passion tradition in the Gospels. What the author of the Didache called "Gospel" seems to differ in any case from the form of the Gospel that we know from the Synoptics and John, for which, apart from the speech material, the miracle narratives and above all the passion story form an essential and characteristic component.

The problem could be solved by the assumption that the Didachist had in mind in his Gospel a collection of logia circulating under the name of Matthew, which was a Matthean recension of the source of logia Q (Qmt). The extended Matthean recension of Q could be the much-discussed Logia source mentioned by Papias (90-150). The bishop of Hierapolis claims that Matthew compiled in Hebrew the words of Jesus, "but each translated them as best he could" (Eusebius, Hist Eccl 3.39). This source of sayings, like the Gospel of Thomas, very likely contained a collection of words from early Christian prophets who spoke in the spirit of the Old Testament
Joshua=Jesus.[139]

139 Did 10:7; 11:3, 7ff; 13:1, 3f, 6; 15:1f	139 Did 10:7; 11:3, 7ff; 13:1, 3f, 6; 15:1f
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Against the thesis that the figure of a "Jesus of Nazareth" was still quite unknown to the Didachist, it could be further argued that 11:8 speaks of the "ways of life of the Lord.

"But not everyone who speaks in the Spirit is a prophet, rather (only) if he has the Lord's ways of life (τρόπους κυρίου). For by the way of life one recognizes the pseudo-prophet and the prophet."

The passage gives the impression that the example Jesus set by his "way of life" is being thought of. However, it will have to be conceded that such model theology, if it existed, represented something unique within the Didache. If the Didachist 11:8 really wanted to make the "way(s) of life of the Lord" the standard for the behavior of Christian prophets, it would have to be asked why he does not mention Jesus' exemplary behavior in any detail within the Didache. It is obvious that his interest is nowhere in the life and way of life of Jesus, but only in his words.

By the τρόπους κυρίου, then, according to the understanding of the didachist, it seems that "the way(s) of life of the Lord" is not meant at all (Gen. subiectivi - which even the plural form would hardly allow - but the characteristic behaviors of the Christian prophets determined by the Lord (Gen. obiectivus). as laid down in the words of Jesus. Just as one speaks of the "commandments of the Lord" or of God, one speaks of the "behaviors of the Lord," i.e., the behaviors decreed by the Lord (for the conduct of the prophets' lives). One could think in this context, for example, of the missionary instructions, which is indeed traced back to words of Jesus (Mt 10:9b.10-15).

Whether "accursed" (καταθέματος) may be referred to Jesus crucified, as some commentators think with reference to Gal 3:13 ("Cursed be he who hangs on the cross") or 1 Cor 12:3 (cursing Jesus), is very doubtful. The context does not suggest this; presumably the "world leader" or antichrist is meant.[140]

All in all, then, it can be shown that in the Didache there is in fact as yet no evidence whatsoever of a "historical Jesus" (of Nazareth). The community, to which the Didachist addresses himself, does know a Jesus/Joshua (present in the prophetic spirit and word), it knows a series of sayings that come from prophetic mouths and are traced back to him, some of which already have authoritative character and are collected in the "Gospel"; furthermore, it already gathers on the "Lord's Day" (14: 12), that is, on Sunday, to celebrate the "resurrection" of Jesus (during the communion of meals in the prophetic word} - but a Jesus of Nazareth, crucified, dead and buried, is still unknown to it.

In the Eucharistic celebration, there is no commemoration of his death, but rather the communal remembrance of the Old Testament figure of Jesus/Joshua, who was the first to enter the Promised Land and who, upon his return, revealed to Israel "the holy vine of

David"; with this, as well as the prophetic word proclaimed in the community, he brought and continues to bring to his followers "life, knowledge, faith and immortality."

Like the Israeli community at that time, the Christian community of the Didachist is filled with the consciousness of being about to take possession of the promised "Holy Land". The gathering (= church) of eschatological Israel has already begun (9:4,5), apostles and teachers are on their way, the eschatological promise of the Spirit is confirmed by the work of numerous prophets (11:7ff), the arrival of the (as Joshua redivivus) coming "Lord on the clouds" (16:8), preceded by the appearance of pseudo-prophets and deceivers (16:3ff), is no longer far away. In eucharistic fellowship, the congregation experiences the anticipation of the coming kingdom of God and gives thanks for the promises revealed to it through Jesus/Joshua and symbolically enjoyed in bread and wine. In doing so, the spirit of Joshua/Jesus continues to be alive in the "spiritual food," i.e., in the (prophetic) Word. The call: "Maranatha, our Lord may come" (10:6), with which the Eucharistic prayers end, seems to lead over to the "communion part", i.e. to receiving the (Josuan) spirit within the Eucharistic community. That this is so is indicated not least by the fact that immediately following it there is mention of the prophets, who are permitted to "give thanks as much as they wish" (10:7).

The Didache is early evidence of the existence of a Jewish Hellenistic Christianity in which the tradition of the life and death of Jesus of Nazareth was still quite unknown. The words of Jesus that were invoked did not come from the mouth of a historical Jesus, but from the mouth of prophets in whom the spirit of Joshua was active.

140 Vgl. dazu auch Wengst, der dazu auf Did 16:4 und Mt 24:24 verweist; Wengst, <i>Schriften des Urchristentums. Didache (Apostellehre), Barnabasbrief, Zweiter Klemensbrief, Schrift an Diognet</i> , 91, A. 132.	140 Cf. also Wengst, who refers to Did 16:4 and Mt 24:24; Wengst, <i>Schriften des Urchristentums. Didache (Apostles' Doctrine), Epistle of Barnabas, Second Epistle of Clement, Writings to Diognet</i> , 91, A. 132.
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4.5 Jesus/Joshua in the Epistle of Jude

The Epistle of Jude is a pseudepigraphical letter written in the name of the master brother Judas, probably written in the 2nd century in the form of a church letter. There

are differing views about the identity of the opponents opposed in it. The most likely assumption is that they were libertine Gnostics, possibly the Cainites mentioned in Irenaeus and other church fathers.[141]After briefly discussing the errors of the opponents in verse 4, the author intends to show in the following that they will not escape God's judgment. Three examples from the Old Testament will prove this. We are interested in this context only in the first example, i.e. verse 5:

"But I will remind you, though you already know all these things, that the Lord [142] God. [143] Jesus [144], having once for all helped the people out of Egypt, the other time put to death those who did not believe."

From some textual witnesses, including Clement Alexandrinus and the Syriac manuscripts, instead of reading "Lord" (with or without the definite article), the reading "God" (ὁ θεός) is offered. In contrast, important textual witnesses, such as the Codex Alexandrinus, the Vaticanus, as well as Origen and others read "Jesus"(Ἰησοῦς).

If one puts the weight of the witnesses in the balance in the evaluation and if one considers that according to an old rule of textual criticism the more difficult reading deserves the preference, then the decision for "Jesus" is not difficult. In fact, there are Bible translations, such as the New English Bible (NEB), in which the passage is referred to the Old Testament Joshua.[145]

However, Peter Müller correctly notes, "The problem of v. 5 (one can read [ὁ] κύριος or Ἰησοῦς) is burdened by the fact that while the text-critical argument of *lectio difficilior* argues for Ἰησοῦς, this reading in context raises difficult questions of interpretation." [146]

Probably Müller thinks of the fact that in the Old Testament not Joshua but Moses is the deliverer from Egypt. However, this objection is only convincing at first sight. A closer look shows that the figure of Joshua in the early Christian tradition had already been very much adapted to that of Moses. As we already noted with the passage from the Naassen sermon quoted on p.18, Joshua had taken on the role of the deliverer from Egypt just like Moses. The apologist Justin, in the middle of the 2nd century, in a conversation with the Jew Tryphon, can assert without contradiction:

"For all of us who are of all nations do not await Judah, but Jesus, who also brought your fathers out of Egypt" (Just Dial 120.3).

The assertion cannot be based on the reading of the Scriptures. This exegesis apparently originated in the conviction of early Christians that Joshua excelled Moses in everything, so that whatever was true of Moses must also be true of Joshua.[147]

Now the name of Jesus occurs in the Epistle of Jude not only in this place, but also still 1, 4, 17, 21, 25, and usually in the compound: κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. If it is correct that the writer is thinking of the Old Testament Joshua/Jesus in verse 5, the question arises as to why he does not linguistically distinguish him from the "Lord Jesus Christ" (e.g., as Ἰησοῦς υἱός Ναυη = Jesus Son of Nun). According to the results of our previous investigation the answer is obvious: For the author of the Epistle of Jude it is one and the same person.

For him the κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός is none other than the Joshua elevated to the Christ and conceived in competition with and as a surpassing of the Jewish Moses.

141 Haer 1.31.1; Epiphanius, Pan 38,2,4	141 Haer 1.31.1; Epiphanius, Pan 38,2,4
142 κύριος 3 C ^o d Ephr ó κύριος K pm syh	142 κύριος 3 C ^o d Ephr ó κύριος K pm syh
143 ó θεός C2 b pc sybh Cl	143 ó θεός C2 b pc sybh Cl
144 Ἰησοῦς B A pc vg Or	144 Ἰησοῦς B A pc vg Or
145 John Norman Davidson Kelly, <i>A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude</i> (Reprint.; Black's New Testament commentaries 17; London: Black, 1977), 5.	145 John Norman Davidson Kelly, <i>A Commentary on the Epistles of Peter and of Jude</i> (Reprint.; Black's New Testament commentaries 17; London: Black, 1977), 5.
146 Peter Müller, „Der Judasbrief“, <i>Theologische Rundschau</i> N.F. 63 (1998) 267-89, hier 270f.	146 Peter Müller, "Der Judasbrief", <i>Theologische Rundschau</i> N.F. 63 (1998) 267-89, hier 270f.
147 Vgl. Nurn 14:22-37; 26:64-65; Deu 2:15-16; Ps 106:26; Heb 3:16-19; 4:1-2	147 Vgl. Nurn 14,22-37; 26,64-65; Deu 2,15-16; Ps 106,26; Hebr 3,16-19; 4,1-2

4.6 The Transfiguration of Jesus according to Mark

Within the scope of this study, it is not possible to discuss in detail the various interpretations that the transfiguration story (Mark 9:2-8 par) has received over time as "an anticipated parousia narrative, a confirmation of Peter's confession, a misplaced Easter story, an apocalyptic vision, a Christian transformed Sinai story, a Christian interpreted tabernacle narrative, a messianic enthronement." [148] In my student days it was in vogue to see in it an Easter story ("misplaced resurrection-account") that had been brought forward, i.e., backdated into the earthly life of Jesus. After Wellhausen had already suspected "that it was originally an account of the appearance of the crucified to the three disciples", [149] other exegetes followed, among them W. Bousset, R. Bultmann [150] and his student Walter Schmithals, who believed to be able to recognize the lost conclusion of Mark in the story. [151] Today, however, "The rejection of the line of research opened by Wellhausen is now common knowledge among most recent interpretations of Mk 9.2-8." [152] The internal contradictions and difficulties are too great. Wellhausen's equation of "resurrection" and "transfiguration" could never be convincingly justified. [153]

Besides E. Best, D. Lührmann, J. Roloff, Klaus Berger had also expressed his skepticism early on. The mention of the two Old Testament figures Moses and Elijah, the clear allusion to Dtn 18:15 in the voice from heaven showed that the narrative was by no means about the theme of resurrection. The focus is rather on the question: Who is the right prophet of the end times promised by Moses, is it Moses, or Elijah - or Jesus? In the story of the transfiguration, the question is decided in favor of Jesus. "It is not to be a triad of three authorities, but Jesus-and not Moses or Elijah-is the beloved Son; to him alone is the church to listen." [154]

To the supporters of the theory of a "dislocated Easter story," Berger asks, "What are these two (Moses and Elijah) doing in a resurrection account? To this question the answer has been owed to this day."

Adrian Wypadlo also recognizes "the tendency of Jesus to outdo Moses and Elijah, as well as the emphasis on the exclusivity of his theological dignity. There is a subtle polemic against an incriminated misconception of a theological equivalence of Jesus with the aforementioned celestials." [155]

The quotations from Berger and Wypadlo can show that the transfiguration story is again related to the discussion of the question of the right prophet (Dt 18:15), which has

already been discussed. All three, i.e. Moses, Elijah and Jesus, are potential candidates for this office. The choice, however, falls on only one, Jesus, and he is more than his two competitors, for he is God's "beloved Son ... him you shall hear!"

Our excursus on the late Jewish/Christian interpretation of Dt 18:15 can show that by Jesus was obviously meant not, as Berger, Wypadlo and other exegetes take for granted, Jesus of Nazareth, but none other than the Old Testament figure of Joshua ben Nun. The Old Testament Joshua was the fitting counterpart to the Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah.

At the end of the passage, Simon is alone with Jesus. So: Not Moses and Elijah, but Joshua ben Nun is the promised right prophet. And Simon is his witness![156]

It is quite possible that the transfiguration story, which is basically nothing more than a narratively dressed decision of the question of the right prophet, was originally passed off as a vision of Simon. Theologically, it was meant to legitimize the law-critical Jesuan course, as expressed, for example, in the Sermon on the Mount, and to distinguish the more liberal Josuanism from Jewish Mosaism.

<p>148 Adrian Wypadlo, <i>Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markusevangelium: Studien zu einer christologischen Legitimationserzählung</i> (Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 3ff.</p>	<p>148 Adrian Wypadlo, <i>The Transfiguration of Jesus According to the Gospel of Mark: Studies in a Christological Legitimation Narrative</i> (Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 3ff.</p>
<p>149 Julius Wellhausen, <i>Das Evangelium Marei</i> (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1909), 71.</p>	<p>149 Julius Wellhausen, <i>Das Evangelium Marei</i> (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1909), 71.</p>
<p>150 „Daß diese Legende eine ursprüngliche Auferstehungsgeschichte ist, ist längst erkannt worden“ - Rudolf Bultmann und Gerd Theißen, <i>Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition</i> (10., Aufl.; Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 29 = N.F., 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 278f. Wypadlo spricht von einem „exegetischen Konsens“.</p>	<p>150 "That this legend is an original resurrection story has long been recognized."-Rudolf Bultmann and Gerd Theißen, <i>The History of the Synoptic Tradition</i> (10th, Aufl.; Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments 29 = N.F., 12; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995), 278f. Wypadlo speaks of an "exegetical consensus."</p> <p>151 Walter Schmithals, "Der Markschluß, die Verklärungsgeschichte und die Aussendung der Zwölf," <i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i> 69/4 (1972)</p>

151 Walter Schmithals, „Der Markusschluß, die Verklärungsgeschichte und die Aussendung der Zwölf“, *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 69/4 (1972) 379-411.

152 Wypadlo, *Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markusevangelium*, 3, A.11.

153 Wypadlo, *Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markusevangelium*, 3-4, A.11. 11^41

154 Klaus Berger, *Theologiegeschichte des Urchristentums: Theologie des Neuen Testaments* (Tübingen u.a.: Francke, 1994), 639.

155 Wypadlo, *Die Verklärung Jesu nach dem Markusevangelium*, 441. Vgl. auch Hartmut Gese, „Zur Bedeutung Elias für die biblische Theologie“, in *Evangelium, Schriftauslegung, Kirche: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag* (Hrsg. Peter Stuhlmacher, Scott J. Hafemann, und Otfried Hofius; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), hier 148, A. 56. Das Auftreten „von Mose und Elia nach 1 Kön 19.9.11-13 [lässt] die Verklärungsgeschichte als Aufnahme der Sinaioffenbarung erscheinen, wobei nun Gottes höchste Offenbarung zu Jesu Wort geworden ist („Auf ihn hört!).“

156 Ich folge Bultmann/Schmithals. Bultmann hielt es für möglich, „daß die Geschichte ursprünglich von Petrus allein erzählt wurde, und daß die beiden andern Jünger ... nachträglich hinzugefügt worden sind“ - Bultmann und Theißen,

379-411.

152 Wypadlo, *The Transfiguration of Jesus According to the Gospel of Mark*, 3, A.11.

153 Wypadlo, *The Transfiguration of Jesus According to the Gospel of Mark*, 3-4, A.11. 11^41.

154 Klaus Berger, *Theological History of Early Christianity: Theology of the New Testament* (Tübingen et al.: Francke, 1994), 639.

155 Wypadlo, *The Transfiguration of Jesus According to the Gospel of Mark*, 441. See also Hartmut Gese, "On the Significance of Elijah for Biblical Theology," in *Gospel, Scriptural Interpretation, Church: Festschrift für Peter Stuhlmacher zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. Peter Stuhlmacher, Scott J. Hafemann, and Otfried Hofius; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997), here 148, A. 56. The appearance "of Moses and Elijah after 1 Kings 19.9.11-13 [makes] the transfiguration story appear as a reception of the Sinai revelation, with God's supreme revelation now having become Jesus' word ("Listen to him!)."

156 I follow Bultmann/Schmithals. Bultmann considered it possible "that the story was originally told by Peter alone, and that the other two disciples ... Bultmann and Theißen, *Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, 279. Schmithals also stated that "the original ... always called the oldest apostle Simon, as in 1, 16f. 29 f. 56" - Schmithals, "Der Markusschluß, die Verklärungsgeschichte und die Aussendung der Zwölf", 388. It cannot be ruled out that there were tradition-historical connections to that other Simon from Samaria.

<p><i>Die Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition</i>, 279. Schmithals konstatierte darüber hinaus noch, dass „die Vorlage ... den ältesten Apostel wie in 1, 16f. 29 f. 56 stets Simon" nannte - Schmithals, „Der Markusschluß, die Verklärungsgeschichte und die Aussendung der Zwölf", 388. Nicht auszuschließen, dass es hier traditionsgeschichtliche Verbindungen zu jenem anderen Simon aus Samarien gab.</p>	
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4.7 "Journey to the other shore ahead' [157]

The expression "to the other shore" (εἰς τὸ πέραν) occurs strikingly frequently in the Gospels, 4x in Matthew, 5x in Mark, and 1x in Luke, for a total of 11x. For comparison, in the entire Old Testament (LXX) the term is found only 9x. Mark uses it in three prominent places, at the calming of the storm (4:35ff), the change of the sea (6:45ff) and the miraculous multiplication of bread (8:13ff).

That the "other shore" is mentioned in the context of the calming of the storm and the change of the sea is not as self-evident as it seems, for after all it would also have been possible for the author to mention the specific destination headed for by the disciples instead of speaking generally of εἰς τὸ πέραν. The ambiguity prompted by the εἰς τὸ πέραν seems intentional. It still points to the original meaning of the narratives, which were not about itineraries and geography, but a metaphor for the afterworld. We have already seen how closely the waterwalk motif is connected to the idea of the "other/other shore" in the Buddhist tales discussed in Chapter 2. It seems that the motif of the water-walking Buddha was transferred by the early Christians in their allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament to the new "ford-crosser" Joshua/Jesus.[158] The obstinate repetition of εἰς τὸ πέραν still clearly recalls this original sense of the narratives. It is not impossible that Jos 1:14ff played a special role in the exegesis:

"Let your wives and your children and your cattle remain in the land that Moses gave you, beyond the Jordan. But you, as many of you as are men of war, shall

pass over armed before your brethren, and help them, until the LORD also bring your brethren to rest as he bringeth you, that they also may possess the land which the LORD your God shall give them. Then you shall return to your land, which Moses the servant of the LORD gave you for a possession beyond the Jordan (εἰς τὸ πέραν), toward the rising of the sun."

That the narrative of the miraculous multiplication of the loaves (Mark 8:13ff) also belongs in this context follows from the finding we made in connection with the Didache. The common meal symbolically anticipated in the Promised Land, i.e. "beyond the Jordan", the revelation of the "vine of David" formed, as we saw, for the community of the Didachist the sacramental background of their Joshua/Jesus cult.

The same connection, incidentally, is observed in John's Gospel, though it should be noted that instead of εἰς τὸ πέραν, the evangelist consistently uses the phrase πέραν τῆς θαλάσσης (John 6:1, 17, 22, 25). After Jesus has performed his bread miracle on the far shore of the lake (Sea of Galilee) and has presented himself in his bread speech as the bread of life come from heaven and legitimized as the true prophet and προφήτης ὁ ἐρχόμενος, he returns to Capernaum. There they want to make him king, but he flees to a mountain. Meanwhile, his disciples have once again set out for the other shore; when a storm arises, Jesus recognizes their need and follows them on the water. Zeilinger adequately paraphrased the passage:

"The sovereign Lord, who has come down from the 'mountain' to the lake to act on them, preempts human will! If at the feeding it was the 'heavenly mountain' where he went, here it is the other shore where [sc. they) want to take him themselves. It is that shore where the son of the royal official, raised to new 'life, lives thanks to the 'second sign' of Jesus, and where Jesus wants to reveal himself to the disciples as the bread of life that works for eternity." [159]

Behind the narrative, the original components of the oldest Christian cult mystery-the "ford-crosser" Joshua, the eschatological meal on the "other shore"-can still be discerned.

<p>157 Den Hinweis auf die behandelten Stellen verdanke ich meinem amerikanischen Freund René Salm.</p> <p>158 Klatt, <i>Jesu und Buddhas Wasserwandel = Walking on the water of Jesus and of the Buddha.</i></p>	<p>157 I owe the reference to the passages discussed to my American friend René Salm.</p> <p>158 Klatt, <i>Jesu und Buddhas Wasserwandel = Walking on the water of Jesus and of the Buddha.</i></p>
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159 Franz Zeilinger, *Die sieben Zeichenhandlungen Jesu im Johannesevangelium* (Kohlhammer Verlag, 2011), 63.

159 Franz Zeilinger, *Die sieben Zeichenhandlungen Jesu im Johannesevangelium* (Kohlhammer Verlag, 2011), 63.

4.8 Typological Church Fathers Interpretation

It is usually assumed that the typological interpretation of the Old Testament was used by the early church fathers to establish the legitimacy of Jesus and his various sovereign titles. It was used to demonstrate that Jesus was indeed the Messiah, right prophet, etc., foretold by the Old Testament in "shadow images."

According to our previous investigations, however, the circumstances are somewhat different. We saw that the way did not run at all from the historical Jesus back to the Old Testament typos, but vice versa from the allegorical exegesis of the Old Testament to the historical Jesus.

What this method of early Christian scriptural exegesis might have looked like is described by Peter in the so-called Kerygmo Petrou thus:

"But we opened the books of the prophets which we had, which partly in parables, partly in riddles, partly reliably and in clear words name the Christ Jesus, and found also his coming, his death, his cross, and all the rest of the punishments which the Jews did to him, his resurrection, and his assumption into heaven before the foundation of Jerusalem (ἵερουσόλυμα κτισθῆναι). ... how all this was written down, what he had to suffer, and what would be after him. Knowing therefore this, we believed God by the things which are written (as a reference) concerning him ... For we perceived that God had indeed ordained it, and nothing do we say without the Scriptures." [160]

Since it literally speaks of Jesus being taken up "into heaven before the foundation of Jerusalem," the passage could not have originally referred to Jesus of Nazareth. Rather, the author candidly confesses how the cornerstones of the "life" of Jesus/Josua, "his coming, his death, his cross and all the other punishments which the Jews inflicted on

him, his resurrection and his assumption into heaven before the foundation of Jerusalem," came about: They were read out of the Holy Scriptures!

Typologically, i.e. as an Old Testament proof of legitimacy, the Old Testament seems to have been used only when the image of Jesus had become more and more historically solidified, i.e. time, place and circumstances of his origin and life had been fixed. When it was forgotten that the Christian Savior owed his origin, even his existence, only to the interpretation of Old Testament passages, those passages were reinterpreted and regarded as prophetic references, i.e. as typos that were supposed to point to him.

This is the case, for example, with the apologist Justin, who justifies why Jesus must be the prophet foretold by Moses as follows:

"Who then led your fathers into the land? Finally see that it was the one who had received the surname Jesus (= Joshua) and who had first been called Auses! (cf. Num 13:17). If you will realize this, then you will also realize that Jesus was the name of the one who had said to Moses: "My name is on him." [161]

Tertullian also uses the typological method, [162] of course without realizing that Jesus, conversely, is only the historicized hypostasis of the supposed "emblem" Joshua:

"For because Christ was to introduce the future people, and that is us, those born in the wilderness of the Gentile world, into the land of promise flowing with milk and honey, i.e., into the possession of eternal life, which is the very sweetest, and this was to be done not by Moses, viz. not by the discipline of the law, but by Jesus, the grace of the gospel, after we had been circumcised by the sharpness of the stone, i.e. Christ, for Christ was the stone, - therefore the man who was held in readiness as the emblem of this mystery of faith was also introduced as the emblem of the name of the Lord, and was called Jesus."

Likewise Clement of Alexandria, who no longer knows that the supposed "shadow image" is in truth the archetype: [163]

"'A prophet like me,' he [Moses] says, 'God will raise you up from among your brethren,' meaning by the Jesus [Joshua] the son of Nave, Jesus the Son of God; for a shadow image of the Lord was the name Jesus proclaimed beforehand in the Law."

160 CI AI Strom, 6.15.128; Dobschütz Nr. IX und X; Schneemelcher und Hennecke, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> , II 63.	160 CI AI Strom, 6.15.128; Dobschütz nos. IX and X; Schneemelcher and Hennecke, <i>Neutestamentliche Apokryphen in deutscher Übersetzung</i> , II 63.
161 Dial 75.2	161 Dial 75.2
162 Tert Marc 3.16.1	162 Tert Marc 3.16.1
163 CI AI Paed 1.7.60	163 CI AI Paed 1.7.60

4.9 Miriam-Mary

How did Mary become the mother of Jesus/Joshua?

Because, as Miriam, she was the sister of Moses, the "ford-crosser." For the therapists, Miriam/Mary and Moses were the two central figures of their nightly mystery celebration in which they scenically envisioned the Exodus. Mary/Miriam was regarded as the female counterpart of Moses, who crossed the ford, and thus assumed the role of the soul guide leading "to the other shore". When Moses was later replaced by Joshua, Miriam/Mary became Joshua's companion. As such, she too, like Joshua, was a result of the Christian Gnostic (Buddhist influenced) exegesis of the Old Testament.

A reminder of Mary's original identity as Moses' sister is still found in the Qur'an. Mary, the mother of Jesus, is identified in the 19th sura with Miriam, the daughter of Amram (Imram in Arabic) and sister of Aaron (Harun), i.e., the sister of Moses. Most religious scholars see this as a confusion and conclude that Muhammad had no conception of the historical sequences.[164] They are all mistaken: at least in this respect, Muhammad, who was associated with Christian Anabaptist communities, was better informed than they.

164 Marco Frenschkowski, <i>Heilige</i>	164 Marco Frenschkowski, <i>Sacred</i>
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Schriften der Weltreligionen und religiösen Bewegungen (marixverlag, 2007).

Scriptures of World Religions and Religious Movements (marixverlag, 2007).

5 Joshua-Jesus and the Jewish-Buddhist exegesis of the Old Testament.

Starting from the Gnostic interpretation of the Exodus motif and the question of its origin in the history of religion, we came across the central importance of the image of the "other shore" used as a metaphor of transcendence, which plays a considerable role in Indian/Buddhist spirituality.

The question of where the two lines, Jewish tradition and Hebrew Bible on the one hand, Buddhist/Indian spirituality on the other, converge led us to the therapists reported by Philo of Alexandria in his writing *De Vito Contemplativo*.

After the Buddhist origin of the therapists was made plausible, it could be shown that their central mystery is based on an interpretation of the Exodus motif that goes back to Buddhist sources.

This interpretation also contains the germ of the Christian sacrament of baptism. Early Christian Gnostics such as Peraten and Naassener transferred to the successor of Moses, Joshua, what was reserved for Moses in the case of the Therapeutists who were more strongly rooted in the Jewish tradition. The old Mosoism was to be surpassed by the new, Gnostic-Christian Josuonism. Jesus/Josuo became the counter-image of Moses.

The Christian redeemer Joshua/Jesus is seen in this way nothing else than - a result of the Jewish-Buddhist exegesis of the Old Testament!

The "historical" Jesus, i.e. Jesus of Nazareth, was hypostasized out of the image of the Old Testament Joshua in the course of the 2nd century. [165]

165 Es ginge weit über die begrenzte Aufgabenstellung dieser kleinen Studie hinaus, den komplizierten literarischen und überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Prozess, der vom „Furtüberquerer“ Josua ben Nun hin zum „historischen Jesus“ führte, im Einzelnen nachzuzeichnen. Deutlich ist, dass der Gedanke von Passion und Auferstehung dem ursprünglichen Jesus/Josua-Kult noch fremd gewesen ist. Er geht vermutlich auf die Kombination mit dem überall im

165 It would go far beyond the limited scope of this small study to trace in detail the complicated literary and historical process that led from the "ford-crosser" Joshua ben Nun to the "historical Jesus. It is clear that the idea of passion and resurrection was still foreign to the original Jesus/Joshua cult. It probably goes back to the combination with the myth of the dying and resurrecting mystery god (Osiris, Attis, Adonis etc.), which was widespread everywhere in the Mediterranean area. The myth was originally still without temporal fixation. It was not until the 2nd century that the gospels were written on this basis. In them, Jesus is portrayed as a

Mittelmeerraum verbreiteten Mythos vom sterbenden und auferstehenden Mysteriengott (Osiris, Attis, Adonis etc.) zurück. Der Mythos war ursprünglich noch ohne zeitliche Fixierung. Erst im 2. Jahrhundert entstanden auf dieser Grundlage die Evangelien. Darin wird Jesus als geschichtliche Person unter Pontius Pilatus geschildert; vgl. Hermann Detering, *Christi Brüder - Wie heidnische Mythen das Christusbild prägten*, 2017. Der Verfasser des Markusevangeliums war sicherlich einer der ersten, der das Bild des Heilands als historisches Ereignis zeichnete und Jesus als jüdischen Messias (Christus) darstellte.

historical person under Pontius Pilate; cf. Hermann Detering, *Christi Brüder - Wie heidnische Mythen das Christusbild prägten*, 2017. The author of the Gospel of Mark was certainly one of the first to draw the image of the Savior as a historical event and to portray Jesus as the Jewish Messiah (Christ).

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