

HANS M. MOSCICKE

The New Day of Atonement

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zum Neuen Testament 2. Reihe
517*

Mohr Siebeck

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Hans M. Moscicke

The New Day of Atonement

A Matthean Typology

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This study represents a minor version of my doctoral dissertation, of the same title. A host of people at various stages in my scholarly career helped direct the contents of these pages. My interest in biblical exegesis can be accredited to Ronald Sauer, whose spiritual insight and wisdom continue to inspire me today. I owe special thanks to Greg Beale, whose courses imparted to me a passion for understanding the use of the Old Testament in the New. John Walton was instrumental in fostering my curiosity concerning the cultic and cultural backgrounds of the Bible. I attribute my pursuit of the Gospels to Nick Perrin's exceptional instruction in New Testament. Jon Laansma's course on the Epistle to the Hebrews remains the most formative classroom experience of my graduate career. Each of these professors is uniquely responsible for nurturing my interest in the sacerdotal and apocalyptic dimensions of biblical literature.

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This volume is dedicated to my wife, Sarah Elizabeth, for her unflagging love, patience, and support for me while I was earning my Ph.D., and to our son, Matthew Leonard, who graciously endured attending my graduation at just three weeks of age.

Yom Kippur, October 8 2019

Hans M. Moscicke

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Introduction

Early Christians commonly interpreted the death of Jesus through the lens of the Day of Atonement and Leviticus 16, conceiving Jesus as both the immolated goat for YHWH, whose blood the high priest brought into the Holy of Holies once a year to purge Israel's sins, and the goat for Azazel, which bore Israel's iniquity into the wilderness far away from God's presence. Such an understanding of Jesus's death did not strike these ancient authors as strange. What is strange, however, is how seldom modern critics of Matthew have considered Jesus's death in light of Leviticus 16 and Yom Kippur traditions. Surely by now scholars have thoroughly scrutinized the potential impact of early Judaism's most significant occasion of atonement on the First Evangelist's conception of the death of Jesus, whose blood is poured out "for the forgiveness of sins" uniquely in his Gospel (Matt 26:28). Surprisingly, this would be an incorrect assumption. In fact, Matthean scholars have very rarely reflected on Yom Kippur as a possible background to the gospel writer's understanding of Jesus's death.

This monograph is not a comprehensive study of atonement in the Gospel of Matthew. The evangelist, as it appears to me, tends to be a maximalist with regard to scriptural allusions. Richard Hays is correct to state that, "For Matthew, Israel's Scripture constitutes the symbolic world in which both his characters and his readers live and move."¹ Thus, I cannot chase every echo or typology that possibly concerns the meaning of Jesus's death in the Gospel. My aim is more modest. It is to examine Matthew's appropriation of Leviticus 16 and Day of Atonement traditions in his passion narrative (PN) and to consider the influence of Yom Kippur on his theology of atonement. This investigation will hopefully yield a more complete portrait of the death of Jesus in the First Gospel.

¹ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Gospels* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2016), 186.

A. Method

In this study, I assume the two-source hypothesis and employ redaction criticism as my primary tool of analysis.² Given that the *Tendenz* of redaction critics has been to generate relatively myopic readings of Matthew's Gospel and its message, I adopt Graham Stanton's methodologically prudent directive, that "the results of redaction criticism are more compelling when they are complemented by other methods."³ I therefore utilize literary and intertextual methods of analysis as well. As the purpose of this monograph is not to debate issues of hermeneutics or metaphysics, I find it adequate to commandeer Dale Allison's sensible deduction, that "literary texts, as the products of human beings, creatures whose public and private lives are pervaded by intentions, have the intentions of their authors encoded in them; and if we can often comprehend intentions while conversing with living human beings, we can do the same while reading the sentences on a page."⁴ Therefore, while I readily acknowledge the (sometime severe) limitations of historical knowledge, I will speak of the historical gospel author, his community, and his authorial intentions.⁵

² Burnett Hillman Streeter's hypothesis with regard to Markan priority and the existence of "Q" is, in its essence, still defensible today and remains the consensus position (*The Four Gospels: A Study in Origins* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1924], 150–332). For a recent defense of the Q hypothesis, see John S. Kloppenborg, *Q: The Earliest Gospel: An Introduction to the Original Stories and Sayings of Jesus* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox, 2008), 1–40. Graham Stanton's apology for redaction criticism remains relevant and valid (*A Gospel for a New People: Studies in Matthew* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1992], 23–53). See the seminal redaction-critical investigation of Matthew's Gospel by Günther Bornkamm, "Die Sturmstillung im Matthäusevangelium," *Wort und Dienst. Jahrbuch der Theologischen Schule Bethel* 1 (1948): 49–54.

³ Stanton, *Gospel for a New People*, 23.

⁴ Dale C. Allison, *The New Moses: A Matthean Typology* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 2.

⁵ Post-war Matthean scholarship through the 1980s typically located the evangelist's community outside the walls (*extra muros*) of the synagogue and Judaism. For a bibliography on *extra muros* positions, see Anders Runesson, "Rethinking Early Jewish-Christian Relations: Matthean Community History as Pharisaic Intragroup Conflict," *JBL* 127 (2008): 95–132, at 97 n. 3 and 97 n. 4. Typical of this view is Douglas R. A. Hare: "Matthew's description of the synagogue as an alien institution indicates that, whatever the cause, Christians are no longer members" (*The Theme of Persecution of Christians in the Gospel According to St. Matthew*, SNTSMS 6 [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967], 125). Donald A. Hagner represents the *extra muros* stance: "Matthew reflects a new community with a new focus of a revolutionary kind that puts it in strong contrast with all other contemporary Jewish communities. An eschatological turning point has been reached and this requires a radical reorientation of previous perspectives" ("Matthew: Apostate, Reformer, Revolutionary?" *NTS* 49 [2003]: 193–209, at 208; see also idem, "Matthew: Christian Judaism or Jewish Christianity?" in *The Face of New Testament Studies: A Sur-*

I employ Richard Hays's criteria for discerning scriptural allusions, supplementing these with conditions set forth by other scholars.⁶ Particularly

vey of Recent Research, ed. Scot McKnight and Grant R. Osborne [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2004], 263–82). The last thirty years witnessed a strong emergence of scholars who situate the Matthean community within the bounds of emerging rabbinic (or “formative”) Judaism, suggesting that the Mattheans still viewed themselves as “Jewish.” In his seminal study, J. Andrew Overman argues that conflict and competition with emerging rabbinic Judaism in the years following 70 CE had the most influential impact on the formation of Matthew's community (*Matthew's Gospel and Formative Judaism: The Social World of the Matthean Community* [Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1990]). So-called formative Judaism and “Matthean Judaism” were “fraternal twins ... [that] developed and defined themselves in light of one another,” the latter conceiving its identity not as “Christian,” but as a Jewish sect and “true Israel” (ibid., 160, 5). Alan F. Segal understands the Matthean community to be also at odds with Pauline “antinomianism” (“Matthew's Jewish Voice,” in *Social History of the Matthean Community*, ed. David L. Balch [Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991], 3–37). L. Michael White suggests that the tension between the Matthean community and the Pharisees “was born of proximity rather than distance, of similarity rather than difference” (“Crisis Management and Boundary Maintenance: The Social Location of the Matthean Community,” in Balch, *Social History*, 211–47, at 241). Graham Stanton compares the communities of Qumran and Matthew, arguing that both groups evince typical sectarian characteristic traits, such as vitriol toward the “parent body” of Pharisaism in the case of Matthew (*Gospel for a New People*, 85–107). Yet Stanton concludes that the evangelist's community had already parted company with Judaism. On the contrary, Anthony J. Saldarini argues that the Mattheans were a “reform group” within the Jewish community, which fundamentally understood Jesus as an authoritative interpreter of Torah, but which ultimately “lost the battle for Judaism” (“The Gospel of Matthew and Jewish-Christian Conflict,” in Balch, *Social History*, 38–61; idem, *Matthew's Christian-Jewish Community* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994], 60). While the Gentile mission played a minimal role in Matthew's group, they were on a trajectory that would soon lead to it. David C. Sim views the Mattheans as anti-Gentile, situating the community within Judaism but outside the synagogue and at variance with Paul's “law-free” gospel (*The Gospel of Matthew and Christian Judaism* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998]). Boris Repschinski suggests that Matthew's community viewed itself within Judaism yet at odds with its leaders, advancing the position of Overman (*The Controversy Stories in the Gospel of Matthew: Their Redaction, Form and Relevance for the Relationship Between the Matthean Community and Formative Judaism*, FRLANT 189 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000]). Runesson argues that the Mattheans belonged to a Pharisaic voluntary association, which had judicial power over the Mattheans, but that by the time of the Gospel's final redaction, a schism between Matthew's social group and the Pharisaic associations had occurred (“Early Jewish-Christian Relations,” 95–132). For a critique of Overman, Saldarini, Sim, and Repschinski, see Paul Foster, *Community, Law and Mission in Matthew's Gospel*, WUNT 2:177 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2004), 22–79. For a more recent review, see Joshua Ezra Burns, *The Christian Schism in Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 136–45.

⁶ Richard B. Hays, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 29–32; idem, *The Conversion of the Imagination: Paul as Interpreter of Israel's Scripture* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 34–45.

insightful for this investigation is Leroy Huizenga's suggestion, that "Hays's criteria can help us listen for echoes not only to biblical texts but also to postbiblical traditions of interpretation attached to those texts."⁷ The criteria I adopt are (1) whether the proposed source of the allusion was *available* to the author of the text and its original readers,⁸ (2) the *volume* of distinctive verbal, syntactical, conceptual, formal, or structural correspondences between texts or traditions, especially if such parallels exist in unusual combinations or as a unique cluster,⁹ (3) the *recurrence* or prominence of the evoked scriptural passage, figure, or tradition elsewhere in the author and contemporary literature,¹⁰ (4) the *thematic coherence* of the purported echo in the author's argument or narrative,¹¹ (5) the *historical plausibility* that the author intended the effect of the allusion's meaning and that the readers could comprehend this meaning,¹² (6) whether subsequent readers of the text in the *history of*

⁷ Leroy A. Huizenga, *The New Isaac: Tradition and Intertextuality in the Gospel of Matthew*, NovTSup 131 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 63. So also Christopher A. Beetham, *Echoes of Scripture in the Letters of Paul to the Corinthians*, BibInt 96 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 33.

⁸ Hays, *Echoes in Paul*, 29; idem, *Conversion*, 34. For Robert L. Brawley, the criteria of availability and volume are paramount (*Text to Text Pours Forth Speech: Voices of Scripture in Luke-Acts* [Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995], 13). For Beetham, the most important criteria are "availability," "word agreement or rare concept similarity," and "essential interpretive link" (*Echoes*, 28–34).

⁹ Hays, *Conversion*, 35–36; cf. idem, *Echoes in Paul*, 30. So also Douglas J. Moo, *The Old Testament in the Gospel Passion Narratives* (Sheffield: Almond, 1983), 21–22; Allison, *New Moses*, 19–20, 23; Beetham, *Echoes*, 29. Michael B. Thompson adds that the greater the rarity of the shared words, syntactical patterns, or a combination of words "the higher the probability that there exists some kind of shared tradition" (*Clothed with Christ: The Example and Teaching of Jesus in Romans 12:1–15:13* [Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1991], 31). Brawley points out that "allusions may also replicate the form, genre, setting, and plot of their precursor" (*Text to Text*, 13).

¹⁰ Hays, *Echoes in Paul*, 30; idem, *Conversion*, 37–38. So also Moo, *Gospel Passion Narrative*, 20; Thompson, *Clothed with Christ*, 35; Beetham, *Echoes*, 33–34. Allison notes, "Probability will be enhanced if it can be shown (on other grounds) that a passage's proposed subtext belongs to a book or tradition which held some significance for its authors" and if a typology's "constituent elements have been used for typological construction in more than one writing" (*New Moses*, 21–22). According to Huizenga, the distinctiveness, prominence, or familiarity of the traditions associated with the evoked text or figure ought to be considered (*New Isaac*, 63).

¹¹ Hays, *Echoes in Paul*, 30; idem, *Conversion*, 38–41. So also Moo, *Gospel Passion Narratives*, 20; Beetham, *Echoes*, 34.

¹² Hays, *Echoes in Paul*, 30; idem, *Conversion*, 38–41. Similarly, Moo, *Gospel Passion Narratives*, 20; Allison, *New Moses*, 22; Beetham, *Echoes*, 34. According to Huizenga, this criterion "recognizes the particular historical location in which the New Testament texts were produced and read, and thus necessitates the inclusion of traditions of interpretation attached to the biblical texts" (*New Isaac*, 64).

interpretation have heard the allusion,¹³ and (7) whether the proposed allusion results in reader *satisfaction*, in that the author's meaning as a whole is better illuminated by the allusion for the contemporary reader.¹⁴

I appropriate these admittedly imperfect criteria as guidelines for my interpretation implicitly throughout this study. In the Conclusion I consider my research in light of these criteria explicitly, since only after having seen the entire argument and all the data one is able judiciously to employ the criteria of volume, recurrence, thematic coherence, and satisfaction. One must keep in mind that these criteria "will often yield only greater or lesser degrees of probability about any particular reading."¹⁵

B. Procedure

To say anything new about the purported Day of Atonement typology in Matthew's PN, it will be imperative first to review and evaluate what schol-

¹³ Hays, *Echoes in Paul*, 31; idem, *Conversion*, 43–44. So also Beetham, *New Isaac*, 32–33. Hays remarks that "this criterion should rarely be used as a negative test to exclude proposed echoes that commend themselves on other grounds" (*Echoes in Paul*, 31). According to G. K. Beale, "this is one of the least reliable criteria in recognizing allusions" (*Handbook on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* [Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012], 33).

¹⁴ Hays, *Conversion*, 44; cf. idem, *Echoes in Paul*, 31–32. Scholars have most severely criticized this criterion, since it purportedly "embraces the relativistic agenda of those literary theorists who first developed 'intertextuality,' tarnishing the other six criteria in the process" (David A. Shaw, "Converted Imaginations? The Reception of Richard Hays's Intertextual Method," *CurBR* 11 [2013]: 234–45, at 240). I do not take Hays's criterion of satisfaction as assuming a poststructuralist agenda. In fact, William Scott Green criticizes Hays for *not* adopting the radical deconstructionist presuppositions that gave rise to the modern discipline of intertextual analysis ("Doing the Text's Work for It: Richard Hays on Paul's Use of Scripture," in *Paul and the Scriptures of Israel*, ed. Craig A. Evans and James A. Sanders, JSNTSup 83 [Sheffield: JSOT, 1993], 58–63, at 63). On the controversy concerning Hays's appropriation of the term "intertextuality," which arose out of a post-modern assumption about the absolute fluidity of textual meaning, see María Jesús Martínez Alfaro, "Intertextuality: Origins and Development of the Concept," *Atlantis* 18 (1996): 268–85; Thomas R. Hatina, "Intertextuality and Historical Criticism in New Testament Studies: Is there a Relationship?" *BibInt* 7 (1999): 28–43; David I. Yoon, "The Ideological Inception of Intertextuality and its Dissonance in Current Biblical Studies," *CurBR* 12 (2012): 58–76; Samuel Emadi, "Intertextuality in New Testament Scholarship: Significance, Criteria, and the Art of Intertextual Reading," *CurBR* (2015): 8–23.

¹⁵ Hays, *Conversion*, 34. So also Thompson, who relays a helpful taxonomy pertaining to the weighing of an echo on the scale of probability; an echo may be virtually certain, highly probable, probable, possible, doubtful, or incredible (*Clothed with Christ*, 36) (the scale is adapted from E. P. Sanders, *Jesus and Judaism* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985], 321).

ars have already said about the impact of Yom Kippur on the gospel PNs. It will also be important to survey and assess the current state of the question with regard to the concept of atonement in the First Gospel. This is what Chapter One accomplishes. Chapter Two will overview the biblical Yom Kippur ritual and the robust traditions developed around the Day of Atonement in Second Temple Judaism. It will additionally survey the christological Yom Kippur typologies in early Christianity, in order to situate historically Matthew's typology. In Chapters Three and Four, I conduct an in-depth exegesis of Matthew's Barabbas (Matt 27:15–26) and Roman-mockery (Matt 27:27–31) narratives, where the purported Day of Atonement typology is clearest and strongest. In Chapter Three, I argue that Matthew constructs a set of satirical Yom Kippur “cast members” in the Barabbas episode: Pilate as a high priest, Jesus as the goat for YHWH, Barabbas and the people as a scapegoat, and Jerusalem as a new wilderness. In Chapter Four, I submit that the gospel writer also designates Jesus as the scapegoat in the Roman-abuse scene and Matthew 27 more broadly, exploring a possible high priest typology in the mockery episode as well. Finally, I suggest that Matthew sustains this alleged christological goat typology into his death narrative (Matt 27:50–54) in Chapter Five. I probe the possibility that the evangelist portrays Jesus as fulfilling the destiny of the goat for YHWH, when Jesus releases his life-force (πνεῦμα) and the temple curtain is torn in two (Matt 27:50–51a), and the destiny of the goat for Azazel, when Jesus is presumed to have descended into the heart of the earth (Matt 27:51b–53).

Chapter 1

Status Quaestionis on Yom Kippur in the Passion Narrative and Atonement in the Gospel of Matthew

Scholars have long debated which scriptural texts and traditions exercised the greatest influence on Matthew's PN and most significantly shaped the evangelist's conception of Jesus's death, but seldom have commentators considered the influence of Leviticus 16 and the Day of Atonement on the Gospel.¹ This lacuna may come as a surprise, given the cultural prominence of Yom Kippur among Jews living in the first century CE. Philo of Alexandria writes:

On the tenth day is the fast [Yom Kippur], which is carefully observed not only by the zealous for piety and holiness but also by those who never act religiously in the rest of their life. For all stand in awe, overcome by the sanctity of the day, and for the moment the worse vie with the better in self-denial and virtue.²

A leading scholar on Yom Kippur traditions in antiquity, Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra remarks that "this [ancient] holiday, unlike other holidays, is celebrated by the greatest number of Jews, even by those that never show up in the pray-

¹ In his classic work, Martin Dibelius argued that scriptural citations functioned apologetically to furnish details for an already-existent PN (*From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf [New York: Scribner, 1965 (1919)], 178–217). For recent discussion on this topic, see Mark Goodacre, who remarks, "The fact that the earliest Christians were immersed in the Old Testament simply means that history interacted with biblical reflection. The conviction that Jesus's crucifixion was 'according to the Scriptures' was both generated by and subsequently retold in terms of the Scriptures that the earliest Christians saw as fulfilled in their midst" ("Prophecy Historicized or Tradition Scripturalized? Reflections on the Origins of the Passion Narrative," in *The New Testament and the Church: Essays in Honour of John Muddiman*, ed. John Barton and Peter Groves, LNTS 532 [London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2016], 37–51).

² Philo, *Spec.* 1.186 (Colson). See also Philo, *Mos.* 2.18, 20, 23: "Throughout the world of Greek and barbarians, there is practically no state which honours the institutions of any other ... It is not so with ours. They attract and win the attention of all, of barbarians, of Greeks, of dwellers on the mainland and islands, of nations of the east and the west, of Europe and Asia, of the whole inhabited world from end to end ... Again, who does not every year shew awe and reverence for the fast, as it is called [τὴν λεγομένην νηστείαν], which is kept more strictly and solemnly than the 'holy month' of the Greeks?" (Colson). See also Josephus (*J.W.* 5.236), who refers to Yom Kippur as "the day on which it was the universal custom to keep fast to God" (Thackeray).

er assemblies during the rest of the year. In a sense, this reminds of modern Christmas.”³

Many church fathers perceived a typological correspondence between the passion of Christ and the two goats of Leviticus 16: the “goat for YHWH” (the immolated goat) and the “goat for Azazel” (the scapegoat). For example, christological goat typologies appear in the Epistle of Barnabas, Justin Martyr, Tertullian, Hippolytus, Origen, Jerome, Cyril of Alexandria, and the earliest commentary on the Gospel of Mark.⁴ Yet only recently has modern scholarship considered whether the Day of Atonement has impacted Matthew’s understanding of Jesus’s death.

The question of whether Matthew portrays Jesus as one or both goats of Yom Kippur has no consensus in biblical scholarship. There are currently four views on the issue: (A) Jesus as the scapegoat of Leviticus 16, (B) Jesus as *pharmakos*-like scapegoat, (C) Barabbas as scapegoat and Jesus as immolated goat, and (D) alternative approaches to atonement with no reference to Yom Kippur. This fourth view includes the following positions: (1) Jesus as the Suffering Servant, (2) Jesus’s death in light of Matthew’s metaphors for sin, (3) Jesus’s death as the new exodus and paschal defeat of dark powers, (4) Jesus’s death as a matter of innocent blood, and (5) other views on atonement in the Gospel. The aim of this chapter is to gauge how further analysis of the influence of Yom Kippur on Matthew’s PN could advance our understanding of the meaning of Jesus’s death in the First Gospel.

A. Jesus as the Scapegoat of Leviticus 16

The typology of Jesus as both goats of Yom Kippur is an ancient interpretation of Christ’s passion.⁵ Although the nuance of each Christian author’s typology differs, the maltreatment and mockery of Jesus (Mark 15:16–20 parr.) is usually interpreted as corresponding to the abuses of the scapegoat. In recent years, John Dominic Crossan and Helmut Koester have posited the influence of Leviticus 16 and scapegoat traditions on the earliest Gospels and their sources.

³ Daniel Stökl Ben Ezra, “Fasting with Jews, Thinking with Scapegoats: Some Remarks on Yom Kippur in Early Judaism and Christianity, in Particular, 4Q541, Barnabas 7, Matthew 27 and Acts 27,” in *The Day of Atonement: Its Interpretation in Early Jewish and Christian Traditions*, ed. Thomas Hieke and Tobias Nicklas (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 165–88, at 167. See also Stökl Ben Ezra, *The Impact of Yom Kippur on Early Christianity: The Day of Atonement from Second Temple Judaism to the Fifth Century*, WUNT 1:163 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003), 13–141.

⁴ See Chapter Two.

⁵ Barn. 7.3–11; Justin, *Dial.* 40.4–5; 111.1; Tert., *Marc.* 3.7.7–8; *Adv. Jud.* 14.9–10; Hipp., *Frag.* 75; Origen, *Hom. Lev.* 9.5; Cyril, *Letter* 41.3–14. See Chapter Two.

I. John Dominic Crossan

Crossan argues that the early passion tradition was the progenitor of the typological trajectory of Jesus as the two goats of Yom Kippur. In *The Cross that Spoke*, Crossan suggests that the Yom Kippur typology of Jesus as scapegoat was transmitted to all of the canonical PNs by means of the “Cross Gospel” and its underlying traditions.⁶ His theory should be examined in view of his hypothesis regarding the development of the PN.

Crossan argues that the passion tradition evolved through three primary stages: (P1) the historical passion, (P2) the prophetic passion, and (P3) the narrative passion.⁷ During P1, Jesus was crucified, but his earliest followers knew none of the details of his execution.⁸ In P2, Jesus’s disciples interpreted the meaning of his death in light of the Hebrew Bible, but they did so without reference to the particular details of the passion events. During P3, Jesus’s followers organized this complex array of scriptural proof-texts into a coherent and sequential narrative, refining and augmenting the story with verisimilar historical detail.

⁶ John Dominic Crossan, *The Cross that Spoke: The Origins of the Passion Narrative* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988), 16–30, 114–59. Our sole textual witness to the “Gospel of Peter” is contained within a small parchment codex that was discovered in 1886–1887 CE at Akhmîm, Egypt (Hellenistic Panopolis). The codex has been designated P.Cair. 10759, and the portion that contains the “Gospel of Peter” is generally dated between the late sixth century and the beginning of the ninth century CE (Paul Foster, *The Gospel of Peter: Introduction, Critical Edition, and Commentary*, TENTS 4 [Leiden: Brill, 2010], 1–3). Discovery of a small fragment from Oxyrhynchus (P.Oxy. 2949), dated to the third (or possibly late-second) century CE and containing what may be a variant version of Gos. Pet. 2.3–5a, caused some scholars to date the “Gospel of Peter” to the second or third century CE (Foster, *Gospel of Peter*, 58–68). Crossan assumes that the “Cross Gospel” predates the Gospel of Mark, basing his supposition chiefly on his historical reconstruction of the PN, although he thinks the evidence of P.Oxy. 2949 already points in the direction of a very early date (*Cross that Spoke*, 6–9). This “Cross Gospel” was supposedly composed of the following three units: crucifixion and deposition (Gos. Pet. 1.1–2; 2.5b–6.22), tomb and guards (7.25; 8.28–9.34), and resurrection and confession (9.35–10.42; 11.45–49) (Crossan, *Cross that Spoke*, 16).

⁷ Crossan, *Cross that Spoke*, 156–57; idem, *The Historical Jesus: The Life of a Mediterranean Jewish Peasant* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1991), 375–76. Crossan argued earlier that the Gospel of Peter contains traditions that predate the canonical Gospels (*Four Other Gospels: Shadows on the Contours of the Canon* [Minneapolis: Winston, 1985], 125–81). The four stages that lead to the “Cross Gospel’s” composition in Crossan’s taxonomy are equivalent to (1) P1, (2) P2A, (3) P2B, and (4) P3A and P3B in the taxonomy I have adopted (*Cross that Spoke*, 142, 157; cf. Crossan, *Historical Jesus*, 375–76).

⁸ According to Crossan, during this stage all that the disciples could assume about the death of Jesus was that torture and scourging accompanied his crucifixion (*Cross that Spoke*, 117).

According to Crossan, certain texts became crucial in the interpretation of Jesus's death during P2. He seems to divide this stage into two parts: what I shall call "P2A" and "P2B." In P2A, Christians principally utilized the Old Testament prophets to interpret Jesus's death. This stage is detected in the tradition of Barn. 7.8–9, which, according to Crossan, interprets Christ's passion in light of (1) Isa 50:6, which predicts that the Servant will be "spat" upon, (2) Zech 12:10, which prophesies that the inhabitants of Jerusalem will "pierce" and "look upon" a certain (messianic) figure, and (3) Zech 3:1–5, which describes the "robing" and "crowning" of Joshua the high priest.⁹

During P2B, Christian tradents interpreted this complex of Old Testament prophetic texts through the lens of a Day of Atonement typology, as perceived in the final form of Barn. 7.3–11:

Pay attention to what he commands: "Take two fine goats who are alike and offer them as a sacrifice; and let the priest take one of them as a whole burnt offering for sins." But what will they do with the other? "The other," he says, "is cursed." Pay attention to how the type of Jesus is revealed. "And all of you shall spit on it and pierce it and wrap a piece of scarlet wool around its head, and so let it be cast into the wilderness."¹⁰

According to Crossan, the spitting of Isa 50:6,¹¹ the piercing of Zech 12:10,¹² and the robing and crowning of Zech 3:1–5 are here reinterpreted in light of a christological goat typology.¹³ The convergence of Isa 50:6 and Zech 12:10 with the tradition of the scapegoat being spat upon and pierced rendered a typology of Jesus as the abused scapegoat (Barn. 7.8a). The convergence of Zech 3:3–5 with the tradition about the scarlet ribbon tied around the scape-

⁹ Ibid., 120–39.

¹⁰ Barn. 7.6–8 (Ehrman).

¹¹ Isa 50:6 uses ἔμπτυσμα with regard to the Servant (Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Isaias*, 3rd ed., Septuaginta, VTG 14 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1983], 311). Barn. 7.8–9 uses ἐμπτύω with regard to the scapegoat (Ehrman).

¹² Zech 12:10: "And they shall look to me [ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς με] because they have mocked me [κατωρχήσαντο]" (Joseph Ziegler, ed., *Duodecim prophetae*, 2nd ed., Septuaginta, VTG 13 [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1967], 319). Barn. 7.8–9: "And all of you ... shall [κατακεντήσατε] pierce it ... Since they will see him [ὄψονται αὐτὸν] ... And they will say: Is this not the one whom we once crucified ... piercing [κατακεντήσαντες] him?" (Ehrman). Crossan posits that in Zech 12:10 the Septuagint seems to have misread the Hebrew רָקַר ("to pierce") for the verb רָקַר ("to dance," as in, "to insult") and thus translated the verb as κατωρχέομαι ("to mock"), whereas other Greek translations have the verb ἐκκεντέω ("to pierce"); for example, Aquila (ἐξεκέντησαν), Symmachus (ἐπεξεκέντησαν), and Theodotian (ἐξεκέντησαν), in addition to John 19:37 (ἐξεκέντησαν) and Rev 1:7 (ἐξεκέντησαν), which both make reference to Zech 12:10 (Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 319). According to Crossan, this was the translation with which Barnabas was familiar (*Cross that Spoke*, 125–27).

¹³ Joshua is crowned and clothed in a ποδήρης in Zech 3:4–5 (Ziegler, *Duodecim prophetae*, 296). The scapegoat is said to be crowned, and Jesus is described as wearing a ποδήρης in Barn. 7.8–9 (Ehrman). See Crossan, *Cross that Spoke*, 120–39.

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