The Four Assumptions of Ancient Biblical Interpretation
from James Kugel/Ya`aqob Kaduri, *The Bible as it Was*

1. **They assumed that the Bible was a fundamentally cryptic text:** that is, when it said A, often it might really mean B.
   Sometimes this might also be read as the belief that the text had many layers of meaning.

2. **Interpreters also assumed that the Bible was a book of lessons directed to readers in their own day.** It may seem to talk about the past, but it is not fundamentally history. It is instruction, telling us what to do: be obedient to God just as Abraham was and you will be rewarded, just as he was.
   Call this “eternal relevance.” Here we see why the first assumption was necessary. Without being able to find hidden meanings beneath the surface, it would be impossible to argue that the etiological stories of competing Canaanite tribes were actually relevant to modern readers.

3. **Interpreters also assumed that the Bible contained no contradictions or mistakes.** It is perfectly harmonious, despite its being an anthology; in fact, they also believed that everything that the Bible says ought to be in accord with the interpreters’ own religious beliefs and practices since they believed these to have been ordained by God.
   Call this “non-contradiction.” Again, we see why the first assumption is necessary. If two surface meanings contradict, then the solution is to go to a deeper meaning.

4. **Lastly, they believed that the entire Bible is essentially a divinely given text, a book in which God speaks directly or through His prophets.**
   There could be little doubt about those parts of the Bible that openly identify the speaker as God: “And the LORD spoke to Moses, saying ..”Thus says the LORD, the God of Israel ..” But interpreters believed that this was also true of the story of Abraham and the other stories in Genesis, even though the text itself never actually said there that God was the author of these stories. And it was held to be true of the rest of the Bible too—even of the book of Psalms, although the psalms themselves are prayers and songs addressed to God and thus ought logically not to have come from God.
From Biblical Transmission to Interpretation

A. Original - Biblical Manuscripts MT type
B. Add Small Glosses - Biblical Manuscripts Septuagint type, proto-Samaritan type
C. Harmonization and Additions - Reworked Pentateuch
D. Retelling the Bible - Jubilees and Temple Scroll
E. Translating - Targum and Septuagint
F. Retelling and Translating - Genesis Apocryphon
G. Completely Separate – Pesharim, Legal interpretations

B. Glosses in the Text

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Exodus 12:40</th>
<th>Septuagint</th>
<th>Masoretic Text</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Now the residence of the sons of Israel during which they dwelt in the land, Egypt, and in the land of Canaan was four hundred and thirty years.</td>
<td>וְיוֹמַיָא דְיָתִיבוּ בְנֵי יִשְרָאֵל בְּמִצְרַיִם תְלָתִין שְמִיטִין דִשְנִין דִסְכוּמְהוֹן מָאתָן וְעֶשֶר שְנִין וּמִנְיַן אַרְבַע מְאָה וּתְלָתִין שְנִין מִן דְמַלֵיל יְיָ לְאַבְרָהָם מִן שַעְתָא דְמַלֵיל עִמֵיה בַחֲמֵיסַר בְנִיסָן בֵינֵי פְסוּגַיָיא עד יוֹמָא דִנְפָקוּ מִמִצְרַיִם:</td>
<td>וְיוֹמַיָא דְיָתִיבוּ בְנֵי יִשְרָאֵל בְּמִצְרַיִם תְלָתִין שְמִיטִין דִשְנִין דִסְכוּמְהוֹן מָאתָן וְעֶשֶר שְנִין וּמִנְיַן אַרְבַע מְאָה וּתְלָתִין שְנִין מִן דְמַלֵיל יְיָ לְאַבְרָהָם מִן שַעְתָא דְמַלֵיל עִמֵיה בַחֲמֵיסַר בְנִיסָן בֵינֵי פְסוּגַיָיא עד יוֹמָא דִנְפָקוּ מִמִצְרַיִם:</td>
<td>מִמִצְרִים בָּאַבְרָהָם אֲשֶׂר יָשָבוּ בְמִצְרָיִם שְלֹשִים שָנָה וְאַרְבַע מֵאוֹת שָנָה:</td>
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C. Reworked Pentateuch – Sukkoth

במדבר פרק כ
+ 

דרמ פֶּקֵ#יֶנ

וְיֹמָה יָשְבִּית בְּעָסָף מִגָרְנְךָ וּמִיִּקְבֶךָ אַתֶּֽה אַתָּֽה וּבִּנְךָ וּבִּתֶּךָ וָעָבָדֶךָ וַאֲמָתֶּךָ וְהַלֵּוִּי וְהַגֵּר וְהָאַלְמָנָה אֲשֶׂר בִּשְעָרֶֽיךָ:

4Q366 f4i:1 [הַשּׁוֹבֵן אֲחָד מִלְבָּד לְעַבְּדֶךָ לְהַלֵּוִּי לְהַגֵּר לְהָאַלְמָנָה אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:2 [וְשָׁמַחְתָּ בְּחַגֶּךָ אַתָּֽה וּבִּנְךָ וְעַבְּדֶךָ וַאֲמָתֶּךָ וְהַלֵּוִּי וְהַגֵּר וְהָאַלְמָנָה אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:3 [וְתַעֲשֶׂה לְךָ שִׁבְעַת יָמִּים בְּאָסָף מִגָּרְנְךָ וּמִיִּקְבֶךָ:

4Q366 f4i:4 [שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִּים בְּאָסָף מִגָּרְנְךָ וּמִיִּקְבֶךָ עָבַדְתָּ וְשָׁמַחְתָּ בְּחַגֶּךָ אַתָּֽה וּבִּנְךָ וְעַבְּדֶךָ וַאֲמָתֶּךָ וְהַלֵּוִּי וְהַגֵּר וְהָאַלְמָנָה אֲשֶׂר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ:

4Q366 f4i:5 [וַיָּשֶׁר הַשִּׁבְעַתָּה הַיָּמִּים שָׁמַחְתָּ בְּכָל הַלָּאָדָם אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:6 [וְלָכָּל הַלָּאָדָם אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:7 [וַיָּשֶׁר הַשִּׁבְעַתָּה הַיָּמִּים שָׁמַחְתָּ בְּכָל הַלָּאָדָם אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:8 [וְיָשָׁר הַשִּׁבְעַתָּה הַיָּמִּים הַשָּׁמַחְתָּ בְּכָל הַלָּאָדָם אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:9 [וְיָשָׁר הַשִּׁבְעַתָּה הַיָּמִּים שָׁמַחְתָּ בְּכָל הַלָּאָדָם אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

4Q366 f4i:10 [וְיָשָׁר הַשִּׁבְעַתָּה הַיָּמִּים הַשָּׁמַחְתָּ בְּכָל הַלָּאָדָם אֲשֶֽׁר בִּשְׁעָרֶֽיךָ] =

}. [4Q366 f4i:10]
(Exodus 15:16) Until [your people pass over, (vacat) O LORD, (vacat) until this people pass over (vacat) whom who have purchased. (vacat) (Exodus 15:17) You will bring them in, and you will plant them]

2 in the mountain of your possession. (vacat) The place which [you made] for yourself to dwell in, [O LORD; the sanctuary (vacat) which your hands have established.]

3 (Exodus 15:18) The LORD shall reign forever and ever. (Exodus 15:19) (vacat) For [the horses of Pharaoh (vacat)] went in [with his chariots and with his horsemen into the sea, (vacat) and]

4 [the LOJRD [brought back] the waters of the sea (vacat) upon them (vacat); [but the children of Israel walked on dry land in the midst of the sea.]]

5 [Now the wate]rs* were [a wall*] for th[em* on] their right* and on their left.* (vacat) (Exodus 15:20) [Miriam the prophetess, the sister]

6 [of Aaron,] took [a timbrel in her hand and a]ll the women went out after her with [timbrels and with dances. (Exodus 15:21) She answered[.}

8 (Exodus 15:22) Moses led [Isra]el onward from the sea, and they went into the wilderness of Sh[ur three days found no water. (vacat) ]

9 (Exodus 15:23) When they came to Marah, they could [not] drink of the waters of Marah, for [they were bit]terter. [Therefore the name of it was called Marah.]

10 (Exodus 15:24) And the people murmured again[st Moses, sal]ying, "What shall we drink?" (Exodus 15:25) Moses* cried to [the LORD . the LORD]
11 a tree, and he cast it into [the water]s, and the waters were made sweet. There he made for them a statute and an [ordinance, and there he tested them. (Exodus 15:26) Then, he said]
12 "If [you will] diligently listen [to the voice of the LORD your God, [and] do that which is right in his eyes, and [give ear to his commandments,]
13 [. and keep] all his statutes, [I will put none] of the diseases [upon you,] which I have put upon the E[gyptians,]
14 [for I am LORD] your [healer." (vacat)
Book of Jubilees

[Chapter 1]

1. And it came to pass in the first year of the exodus of the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the third month, on the sixteenth day of the month, [2450 Anno Mundi] that God spake to Moses, saying: 'Come up to Me on the Mount, and I will give thee two tables of stone of the law and of the commandment, which I have written, that thou mayst teach them.'

2. And Moses went up into the mount of God, and the glory of the Lord abode on Mount Sinai, and a cloud overshadowed it six days.

3. And He called to Moses on the seventh day out of the midst of the cloud, and the appearance of the glory of the Lord was like a flaming fire on the top of the mount.

4. And Moses was on the Mount forty days and forty nights, and God taught him the earlier and the later history of the division of all the days of the law and of the testimony.

5. And He said: 'Incline your heart to every word which I shall speak to thee on this mount, and write them in a book in order that their generations may see how I have not forsaken them for all the evil which they have wrought in transgressing the covenant which I establish between Me and thee for their generations this day on Mount Sinai.

25. And do thou write down for thyself all these words which I declare unto thee on this mountain, the first and the last, which shall come to pass in all the divisions of the days in the law and in the testimony and in the weeks and the jubilees unto eternity, until I descend and dwell with them throughout eternity.'

26. And He said to the angel of the presence: Write for Moses from the beginning of creation till My sanctuary has been built among them for all eternity.

27. And the Lord will appear to the eyes of all, and all shall know that I am the God of Israel and the Father of all the children of Jacob, and King on Mount Zion for all eternity. And Zion and Jerusalem shall be holy.'

28. And the angel of the presence who went before the camp of Israel took the tables of the divisions of the years -from the time of the creation- of the law and of the testimony of the weeks of the jubilees, according to the individual years, according to all the number of the jubilees [according, to the individual years], from the day of the [new] creation when the heavens and the earth shall be renewed and all their creation according to the powers of the heaven, and according to all the creation of the earth, until the sanctuary of the Lord shall be made in Jerusalem on Mount Zion, and all the luminaries be renewed for healing and for peace and for blessing for all the elect of Israel, and that thus it may be from that day and unto all the days of the earth.

Chapter 2:1 And the angel of the presence spake to Moses according to the word of the Lord, saying:
Write the complete history of the creation, how in six days the Lord God finished all His works and all that He created, and kept Sabbath on the seventh day and hallowed it for all ages, and appointed it as a sign for all His works.
2 For on the first day He created the heavens which are above and the earth and the waters and all the spirits which serve before him…
### E. Septuagint – “The Most Important Translation Ever Made”

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<th>Updating</th>
<th>Septuagint</th>
<th>Hebrew</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 9:11</td>
<td>Syria from the rising of the sun and the Greeks from the setting of the sun – those who devour Israel with open mouth. For all his anger has not turned away, but his hand is still uplifted.</td>
<td>אָרָם מִקֶּדֶם וּפְלִשְתִּים מֵאָחוֹר וַיֹּאכְלוּ אֶת יִשְרָאֵל בְכָל פֶה בְכָל ظאת לא שב אפ ועוזי יד נתינה:</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interpreting</th>
<th>Exod 12:40</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 24:10</td>
<td>And they saw the place, there where the God of Israel stood, and that which was beneath his feet, like something made from lapis lazuli brick and like the appearance of the firmament of heaven in purity.</td>
<td>והזוהו את מקום אלהים ישראל ואת תחת רגלו כמוה כ createElement אבן טבאה וכמחזי שםיה לתברירו:</td>
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<th>Philosophyizing</th>
<th>Exodus 3:14</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah 38:11</td>
<td>I said, no longer shall I see the salvation of God on the earth; no longer shall I see a man from my kindred.</td>
<td>אמרתי לוכא יאה יאה באצอร הארץ לא אпуст אם על עמי:</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<th>Isaiah 7:14</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exodus 21:22-25</td>
<td>22. When men fight and one of them pushes a pregnant woman and a miscarriage results, but no other damage ensues, the one responsible shall be fined according as the woman’s husband may exact from him, the payment as the judges determine. 23. But if other damage ensues, the penalty shall be life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, 24. burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise.</td>
<td>(כב) כי נצון אנשיה והנה אשתו קורא תראה ילדה ולא קורא אשתו פעודה. נפש נש.song כ النار בד אשה בנות: (כג) אם אבום קורא אשתו פעודה נש: (כד) עין תחת בעי תחת זו תחת יד תחת יד תחת גורל תחת: (כה) קורא פעודה פועא פועא מכלת מחטרה:</td>
</tr>
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</table>

NJPS translation

22. When men fight and one of them pushes a pregnant woman and a miscarriage results, but no other damage ensues, the one responsible shall be fined according as the woman’s husband may exact from him, the payment as the judges determine. 23. But if other damage ensues, the penalty shall be life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, 24. burn for burn, wound for wound, bruise for bruise.

Septuagint

Now if two men fight and strike a pregnant woman and her child comes forth not fully formed, he shall be punished with a fine. According as the husband of the woman might impose, he shall pay with judicial assessment. 23. But if it is fully formed, he shall pay life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, 24. burn for burn wound for wound, stripe for stripe.
F. Genesis Apocryphon

Q20 19:6 7 [. And there I built] the [altar, and called] ther[e upon the name of G]o[d .] And I said, "You are indeed 8 [the Etern]al [G]od for m[e.] ." Previously, I had not reached the holy mountain; so I journeyed 9 to … and I continued traveling to the south … until I reached Hebron—though Hebron had yet to be built—and I lived 10 [there for two year]s . Now, there was a famine in all that land, but I heard that in Egypt there w[as] g[ra]in. So I journeyed 11 to [enter] the land of Egypt . [and] I [reached] the Carmon River, one of the 12 branches of the Nile . until this point we were still within our own land, [but] now I [cr]ossed the seven branches of this river that … 13 … Now we had crossed our land and entered the land of the children of Ham, the land of Egypt.

14 I, Abram, had a dream the night of my entry into the land of Egypt. In my dream, I saw a cedar tree and a 15 date-palm gro[w]ing from [a single] roo[t.] Then people came intending to cut down and uproot the [c]edar, thereby to leave the date-palm by itself. 16 The date-palm, however, objected, and said, "Do not cut the [c]edar down, for the two of us grow fr[om] but a [sin]gle root." So the cedar was spared because of the date-palm, 17 and was not cut down. Then I started from my sleep while it was still night, and said to Sarai, my wife, "I have had a 18 dream and no[w] am fearful [because of] it." She replied, "Tell me your dream so I may understand." So I began to explain it to her, 19 and I also [explained its significance.] I said, "...[men will come] intending to kill me while sparing you. Notwithstanding, this is the kindness 20 [that you can do for me.] In every [place] where [we shall go, say] concerning me, `He is my brother.' Thus I may live because of you and my life be spared owing to you. 21 [... they will attempt] to sepa[ra]te us and to kill me." Then Sarai wept at my words that night.

22 … and the Pharaoh of Zo[an ...] Sarai n[o longer wanted] to go to Zoan 23 [with me, for she was] exceedingly [afraid] lest any man attached to the Pharaoh of Zoan should see her. Nevertheless, after five years had passed 24 [there came] three men, councilors from the Egyptian court [and advisors] of the Pharaoh of Zoan. They came having heard of [my] words and my wife, and kept plying me 25 [with many gifts.] They as[ked] me [for knowledge] of goodness, wisdom and righteousness, so I read to them
the [Book] of the Words of Enoch. 26 ... in the famine that ... the Book of the Words of Enoch ... 27 ... with much eating and drinking ... wine..

**G. Pesher Interpretation**

1QpHab 7:1-5

1 then God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen to 2 the generation to come; but when that period would be complete He did not make known to him. 3 When it says, "so that with ease someone can read it" (Habakkuk 2:2), 4 this refers to the Teacher of Righteousness to whom God made known 5 all the mysterious revelations of his servants the prophets.
The Damascus Document (CD IV:19—V:11)

20. of whom it says, ‘they shall surely rave’ (Mic 2:6) - they are caught in two: fornication, by taking two wives in their lifetimes although the principle of creation is ‘male and female He created them’ (Gen 1:27)

1. and those who went into the ark ‘went into the ark two by two’ (Gen 7:9). vac Concerning the Leader it is written

2. ‘he shall not multiply wives to himself’ (Deut 17:17); but David had not read the sealed book of the Law

3. in the Ark; for it was not { } opened in Israel from the day of the death of Eleazar

4. and Joshua and the elders who served the goddess Ashtoret. It lay buried

5. (and was not) revealed until the appearance of Zadok. Nevertheless the deeds of David were all excellent, except the murder of Uriah

6. and God forgave him for that. They also defile the sanctuary, for they do not

7. separate clean from unclean according to the Law, and lie with a woman during her menstrual period. Furthermore they marry

8. each man the daughter of his brothers and the daughter of his sister, vac although Moses said, ‘Unto

9. the sister of your mother you shall not draw near; she is the flesh of your mother’ (cf. Lev 18:13). But the law of consanguinity is written for males

10. and females alike, so if the brother’s daughter uncovers the nakedness of the brother of

11. her father, she is the flesh (of her father). Vac