## Jewish Lawand Decision-Making

A Study through Time

Aaron M. Schreiber

### Aaron M. Schreiber

Professor of Law, Temple University School of Law

# Jewish Law and Decision-Making A Study through Time



Temple University Press, Philadelphia 19122 © 1979 by Temple University. All rights reserved Published 1979 Printed in the United States of America

Publication of this book has been assisted by a grant from the Publication Program of the National Endowment for the Humanities, School of Law, and the Temple University Law Foundation.

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Schreiber, Aaron M
Jewish law and decision-making.

Bibliography: p. Includes index.

1. Criminal law (Jewish law)—History.

I. Title.

Law 345'.002'403924 79-18872

ISBN 0-87722-120-0

#### Thanks and Acknowledgments

My deepest gratitude is due to many persons who aided in the preparation of this book. Professor W. Michael Reisman, of Yale Law School, provided the stimulus, encouragement, and overall guidance for the structure of the book and for resolving the many problems that arose during its preparation. Much of whatever merit there is in the book is due to his profound insights, judgment, and dazzling range of knowledge. Professor Myres M. McDougal's pioneering jurisprudential approach first inspired me to begin research in this area while I was still a student of his at Yale Law School and he has continued to encourage me since. It was due to the foresightful urging of Dean Peter J. Liacouras, of Temple Law School, that I began to offer a regular course in comparative Judaic law at Temple Law School (possibly the first such regular course offering at an American law school), out of which this book developed. Dean Liacouras has devotedly supported my work and made yeomen efforts to provide the financial and academic support necessary for the preparation and publication of this work. His aid made its completion possible. I have benefited greatly from the enormous erudition of Rabbi Issac Sender of the Hebrew Theological College of Chicago, who reviewed the manuscript and made numerous and extremely helpful suggestions and comments. Professor Sol Cohen, of Dropsie University, placed at my disposal his great expertise in ancient Near Eastern languages, culture, and literature, the Bible, and Rabbinic texts. Finally, the book was greatly enhanced by the encyclopedic knowledge of the Talmud, its commentaries, and the wide range of Responsa literature by my son, Baruch D. Schreiber, whose indefatigable resources I gratefully acknowledge. Ms. Ann Newman, a student research assistant, performed outstanding services in preparing the index and in proofreading. Ms. Cassie Stankunis was a model of patience in typing numerous drafts.

I should also like to acknowledge the permission kindly granted by the following authors, editors, translators, publishers, journals, and organizations to reprint excerpts from the works indicated below.

Birnbaum, P. "Talmudic Exposition of the Scriptures." In *Daily Prayer Book* (Hebrew Publishing Co., 1969). Chajes, Z. H. "The Oral Law and Its Relation to the Written Law." In J. Schacter, *Students' Guide through the Talmud* (P. Feldheim, Inc., 1960).

- Diamond, A. S. "An Eye for An Eye," 19 *Iraq* (1957). With the kind permission of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.
- Elon, M. "Takkanot" and "Takkanot ha'Kahal." In *The Principles of Jewish Law* (Keter Publishing House Jerusalem Ltd., 1975).
- Finkelstein, J. J. "'Babel-Bible': A Mesopotamian View." With the kind permission of Dr. Philip Finkelstein.
- Finkelstein, J. J. "Bible and Babel: A Comparative Study of the Hebrew and Babylonian Religious Spirit." Reprinted from *Commentary*, by permission; copyright © 1958 by The American Jewish Committee. With the kind permission of Dr. Philip Finkelstein.
- Finkelstein, J. J. "Sex Offenses in Sumerian Laws." Journal of the American Oriental Society 86 (1966). With the kind permission of Dr. Philip Finkelstein.
- Finkelstein, L. "Synod of Castilian Jews of 1432" and "Takkanot of R. Tam." In *Jewish Self-Government* in the Middle Ages (The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1924).
- Freehoff, S. "Origins and Development of the Responsa." *The Responsa Literature* (Jewish Publication Society of America, 1955).
- Friedlander, M., ed. Moses Maimonides: The Guide For the Perplexed (Dover Publications, 1956).
- Greenberg, Moshe. "The Biblical Conception of Asylum." *Journal of Biblical Literature*, vol. 78 (Scholars Press, 1959).
- Greenberg, Moshe. "Some Postulates of Biblical Criminal Law." Yehezkel Kaufmann Jubilee Volume (Magnes Press, 1960).
- Greenberg, Moshe. "Avenger of Blood," "Banishment," "Blood Guilt," and "City of Refuge." From the *Interpreters Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. 1, copyright © 1962 by Abingdon Press. Used by permission.
- Greengus, Samuel. "A Textbook Case of Adultery in Ancient Mesopotamia." XL-XLI Hebrew Union College Annual (1969-1970).
- Jackson, B. S. "Reflections on Biblical Criminal Law." In Essays in Jewish and Comparative Legal History (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) and in Journal of Jewish Studies 24 (1973), published by the Oxford Centre for Post Graduate Hebrew Studies.
- Jacobsen, Thorkild. "Primitive Democracy in Ancient Mesopotamia" and "An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial

- for Homicide." Reprinted by permission of the publishers from TOWARD THE IMAGE OF TAM-MUZ AND OTHER ESSAYS ON MESOPOTA-MIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE by Thorkild Jacobsen, William L. Moran, editor, Cambridge, Mass.: Copyright © by the President and Fellows of Harvard College.
- Jewish Publication Society of America. Selections from *The Torah* (1967).
- Leemans, W. F. "King Hammurapi as Judge." In Symbolae Iuridicae et Historicae Martino David Dedicatae (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1968).
- Maimonides, M. "Laws Concerning a Murderer and the Preservation of Life." From Book of Torts, trans. H. Klein, and "Laws of the Sanhedrin," from Book of Judges, trans., A. D. Hershman (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954).
- Paul, S. M. "The Problem of the Prologue and Epilogue to the Book of the Covenant," from Studies in the Book of the Covenant in the Light of Cuneiform and Biblical Law (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970).
- Pritchard, James B., editor. Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament (edited by James B. Pritchard; copyright © 1969, reprinted by permission of Princeton University Press):
  - The Code of Hammurabi, translated by Theophile J. Meek.
  - Lipit-Ishtar Law Code, translated by S. N. Kramer.
  - The Laws of Eshnunna, translated by Albrecht Goetze.
  - The Middle Assyrian Laws, translated by Theophile J. Meek.
  - The Hittite Laws, translated by Albrecht Goetze. The Laws of Ur-Nammu, translated by J. J. Finkelstein.

- Results of a Trial for Conspiracy, translated by John A. Wilson.
- The Edict of Ammisaduqa, translated by J. J. Finkelstein.
- Rosenzweig, Bernard. "The Hermeneutic Principles and Their Application." *Tradition*, 13 (Summer, 1972).
- Soncino Press, Ltd. English translation of *The Talmud* (selections from the volumes entitled *Baba Mezia*, *Gittin*, *Makkot*, *Menahot*, *Sanhedrin*, *Shabbat*, *Yebamot*).
- Speiser, E. A. "Cuneiform Law and the History of Civilization." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 107 (Nov. 6, 1963).
- Speiser, E. A. "Early Law and Civilization. In J. J. Finkelstein and M. Greenberg, eds., *Oriental and Biblical Studies* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1967).
- Speiser, E. A. "The Manner of the King." In B. Mazar, ed., World History of the Jewish People, vol. 3 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1970), with the kind permission of Massada Press, Ltd.
- Soloveitchik, J. B. "Thoughts and Visions: The Man of Law" (Hebrew). I *Tadpiot* (Yeshiva University, 1944).
- Soloveitchik, J. B. "The First Rebellion Against Torah Authority." In Shiurei Harav: A Conspectus of the Public Lectures of Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik (New York, 1974).
- Twersky, Isadore. "The Shulhan Aruk: Enduring Code of Jewish Law." *Judaism* (American Jewish Congress and World Jewish Congress, Spring, 1967).
- Wilson, John A. "Authority and Law in Ancient Egypt." Journal of the American Oriental Society (April 1, 1959).

### Contents

Thai	nks and Acknowledgments	χv		g. The Persian State	23
Inte	oduction			2. Other Social Contexts of Law	23
ırıırc	Approaches to Jewish Law	3		a. Class Structure and the Economy	23
	The Value of Comparative Judaic Law			(1) Mesopotamia	23
	Studies	7		(2) Egypt	24
	Problems and Methodology in the Study of Ancient Law			b. Miscellaneous Social Contexts	24
			II.	BIBLICAL LAW IN CONTEXTUAL	
			11.	PERSPECTIVE	26
Pai	rt One			A. An Overview of Jewish History	
	w in the Ancient Near East,			in the Biblical Era	26
	00 B.C.E.—350 B.C.E.	11		1. Sources of Jewish Biblical History	26
220	JO B.C.E.—550 B.C.E.	1.1		2. The Early Hebrews	27
I.	THE SOCIAL CONTEXTS OF THE			3. The Patriarchs	27
	ANCIENT NEAR EAST	13		4. The Bondage in Egypt	27
	ANCIENT NEAR LAST			5. The Exodus from Egypt and the	
	A. REGIONAL CONTEXTS	13 13		Sinai Covenant	28
	1. Introduction			6. The Conquest of the Land of	
	2. The Development of Mesopotamian			Canaan	28
	and Egyptian Civilizations	13		7. The Era of the Judges	29
	3. Ethnic Movements and Power			8. The Monarchy in Israel	29
	Alignments among the Nation-States			a. The First King	29
	of the Ancient Near East 4. Power Processes and Alignments	14		b. The Davidic Dynasty	30
				c. The Internal Power Structure	
	among the Ancient Nation-States	17		of the Davidic Monarchy	31
	5. The Common Law, Culture, and	4.0		9. The Division of the Jewish State:	2.1
	Languages of Western Asia	18		Judah and Israel	31 32
	B. NATIONAL CONTEXTS: THE INTERNAL			10. Royal Rule in Judah and Israel	32
	Power Structure of the Ancient			11. The Rise of Assyria and Babylonia	
	Nation-States	19		and the Demise of the Northern	
	1. The Interrelationship of Religion,			Jewish State	32
	Power, and Law in the Ancient			12. The Destruction of Judah and	
	World	19		of the Temple	34
	a. Polytheistic Religions in the			13. The Babylonian Exile and the	2.4
	Ancient Near East	19		Return to Judea	34
	b. The Earthly State as Part of the			B. THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXTS	
	Polytheistic Cosmic Power			OF BIBLICAL LAW: THE PRE-	
	Structure	19		PENTATEUCHAL BASIS OF POST-PENTA-	
	c. The Sharing of Power by King			TEUCHAL PRACTICES	35
	and Assembly	20		1. The Cultural Contexts	35
	d. The City-States	21		2. The Economic Framework	36
	e. The Role and Status of Law in			3. The Social Structure	37
	Mesopotamian Society	21			
	f. The Role and Status of Law in			C. THE EFFECT OF MESOPOTAMIAN AND	
	the Egyptian State	22		EGYPTIAN CULTURES ON BIBLICAL LAW	37

D.			N BIBLICAL LEGAL DOCUMENTS LICTION to Selections from the	39			(Deuteronomy 19:1–13, 15–21)	54
	,	Torah	(the Pentateuch) ons from the Torah	39		(4)	Absolution from Guilt for	J <b>4</b>
		(Penta		20			Homicide (Deuteronomy	
		a. Gen	,	39 39		(5)	21:1–9, 22–23)	55
				39		(3)	Individual Dignity and	
		(1)	Homicide, Repentance, and				Responsibility (Deuteronomy	
			Punishment (Genesis	40			24:6–17)	56
		(2)	4:8–16)	40		(6)	Limitations on Flogging	
		(2)	A Reckoning for Life				(Deuteronomy 25:1–3)	56
		,	(Genesis 9:1–6)	41		(7)	Helping a Victim of Unjust	
	1	b. Exc		42			Aggression (Deuteronomy	
		(1)	The Institution of Courts				25:11–12)	57
			among the Israelites			-		
			(Exodus 18:13–27)	42	E.		Nonbiblical Legal	
		(2)	The Giving of the Law at			DOCUMEN'		57
			Mt. Sinai (Exodus 19:1–25)	42			orm Law and the History of	
		(3)	The Decalogue (Exodus				tion (by E. A. Speiser)	57
			20:1–18)	43		2. Authori	ty and Law in Ancient Egypt	
		(4)	Injury to Persons or			(by Joh	n A. Wilson)	63
			Property (Exodus 21:12–37)	44		3. Early L	aw and Civilization (by E. A.	
		(5)	Theft and Other Tortious			Speiser)	)	66
		. ,	Damage (Exodus 22:1-26)	46		4. Cuneifo	rm Codes	72
		(6)	Carrying Out Justice, Obli-			a. The	Code of Hammurabi (trans-	
		(-,	gations to the Poor, and				by Theophile J. Meek)	72
			Other Miscellaneous Norms				Laws of Ur-Nammu (trans-	
			(Exodus 23:1–12)	47			by J. J. Finkelstein)	83
		(7)	The Covenant with God to	47			t-Ishtar Law Code (translated	-
		(7)					. N. Kramer)	85
			Accept the Law (Exodus	47			Laws of Eshnunna (trans-	05
		. r	24:3–8, 12–18)	47			by Albrecht Goetze)	88
	(	c. Lev		48			Middle Assyrian Laws	00
		(1)	Avoiding Practices Abhorrent				slated by Theophile J. Meek)	91
			to God (Leviticus 18:27–30)	48			Hittite Laws (translated by	71
		(2)	Attaining Holiness; Conduct				echt Goetze)	95
			toward One's Fellows				in the Ancient Near East	93
			(Leviticus 19:1–4, 9–18, 29,					00
			32–37)	48		(Uy J	'. J. Finkelstein)	99
		(3)	A People Apart in Holiness		F	A COMPAR	ison of Jewish and Cunei-	
			(Leviticus 20:22-26)	49	L.		TURAL AND RELIGIOUS	
		(4)	Tortious Injuries (Leviticus			PERSPECTI		100
			24:17–22)	49				102
	C	l. Nun	abers	49			nd Babel: A Comparative	
		(1)	Cities of Refuge (Numbers				f the Hebrew and Babylonian	
			35:9–34)	49		_	is Spirit (by J. J. Finkel-	400
	é	e. Deu	teronomy	52		stein)	D71 9 4 3 6	102
			Establishing Courts and	34			Bible": A Mesopotamian	
		(-)	Criminal Procedure (Deuter-				y J. J. Finkelstein)	115
			onomy 16:18–20, 17:2–13)	52			oblem of the Prologue and	
		(2)	Kingship (Deuteronomy	J &			e to the Book of the Cove-	
		(2)	17:14–20)	52			y S. Paul)	120
		(3)	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	53			omparisons between Biblical	
		(3)	The Unwitting Manslayer				sopotamian Legal Perspec-	
			and False Witnesses			tives		122

III.	BIBLICAL AND CUNEIFORM LEGAL SYSTEMS IN OPERATION: AUTHORI-		a. An Eye for an Eye (by A. S.	174
	TATIVE DECISION-MAKING IN BIBLICAL AND CUNEIFORM LAW	124	8. Other Criminal Trials	174 177
	A. THE MAKING OF THE LAW: WHO PRESCRIBED THE LAW?  1. The King  a. The Manner of the King		a. Results of a Trial for Conspiracy (in Egypt) (by J. Pritchard)	177
	(by E. A. Speiser) b. The Edict of Ammisaduqa	124	Part Two	
	(translated by J. J. Finkelstein)	127	Talmudic Law in the Eras of the	
	2. The Community	130	Second Jewish Commonwealth,	
	a. Primitive Democracy in Ancient		Ancient Greece, the Hellenist States,	
	Mesopotamia (by Thorkild		Rome, and the Early Middle Ages,	
	Jacobsen)	130	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	101
	·		350 в.с.е.—630 с.е.	181
	B. THE APPLICATION OF THE LAW	136	THE THEORY OF THE POPULATION TO	
	1. Introduction	136	IV. HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION TO	100
	2. The Courts	136	TALMUDIC LAW	183
	a. King Hammurapi as Judge		A. THE HELLENIST MILIEU	183
	(by W. F. Leemans)	136	1. The Macedonian and Greek	
	b. Courts in the Biblical Era: The			183
	Judicial Role of the Biblical King	139	2. The External Power Alignments	
	c. Application of the Law by			183
	Priests	140	3. Cultural and Religious Perspectives	
	3. The Role of the Tribe and Family			183
	in Applying Criminal Sanctions	140		
	a. The Biblical Conception of		B. Jewish History in the Hellenist	404
	Asylum (by Moshe Greenberg)	140	Era: An Overview	184
	4. Criminal Sanctions	143	1. Judea under the Ptolemies and	
	a. Some Postulates of Biblical		Seleucids	184
	Criminal Law (by Moshe		2. The Effect of Hellenist Culture	404
	Greenberg)	143	on the Jews	184
	b. Reflections on Biblical Criminal		3. The Hasmonean Revolt	185
	Law (by Bernard S. Jackson)	151	4. Roman Rule of Judea	186
	5. Case Studies in Criminal Law	158	5. The Destruction of the Second	100
	a. Murder and Accidental Death	158	Jewish Commonwealth and Temple	186
	(1) Avenger of Blood (by		6. The Bar Kokhba Revolt	186
	Moshe Greenberg)	158	7. The Spread of Christianity	187
	(2) Banishment (by Moshe		8. The Jews in Egypt	187
	Greenberg)	158	C. Internal Power Blocs in Judea	
	(3) Blood Guilt (by Moshe		DURING THE SECOND COMMONWEALTH	188
	Greenberg)	159	1. The Supreme Judicial-Legislative	
	(4) City of Refuge (by Moshe		Body	188
	Greenberg)	160	2. The Priesthood	188
	b. An Ancient Mesopotamian Trial		3. The Pharisees	188
	for Homicide (by T. Jacobsen)	161	4. The Sadducees	189
	6. Rape, Adultery, and Seduction	163	5. The Essenes	189
	a. Sex Offenses in Sumerian Laws		6. The Army	189
	(by J. J. Finkelstein)	163	•	_ ~ ~
	b. A Textbook Case of Adultery in		D. THE JEWS IN BABYLONIA: DEMO-	
	Ancient Mesopotamia (by		graphic, Economic, and Cultural	
	Samuel Greengus)	171	Conditions	189

V.	TALMUDIC LAW IN GENERAL: THE EFFECT OF CULTURAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ON TALMUDIC LAW	191	b. Reduction in Jewish Power Resulting from the Destruction of the Second Jewish State and Temple	227
	A. GENERAL CONCEPTIONS OF LAW AND AUTHORITY  1. The Torah before the Creation of	191	<ul> <li>c. Roman Palestine: The Patri- archate</li> <li>d. Persian and Parthian Babylonia: The Exilarchate</li> </ul>	228 229
	the World (Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 88b)  2. Talmudic Legal Perspectives	191 191	e. Comparisons of Decision-Making Powers of the Exilarch and the Nasi	231
	<ul><li>3. The Oral Law (by Moshe ben Maimon)</li><li>4. The Oral Law and Its Relation to the Written Law (by Z. H. Chajes)</li></ul>	197 200	f. The Effects of Non-Jewish Authority Systems on Jewish Law (1) The Exilarchate and Patri-	232
	B. Applying the Law: Principles of Legal Interpretation	204	archate (2) Incorporating Non-Jewish Norms into Jewish Law	<ul><li>232</li><li>233</li></ul>
	<ol> <li>The Thirteen Canons of Scriptural Interpretation</li> <li>The Hermeneutic Principles and Their Application (by Remark)</li> </ol>	204	(3) Religious Perspectives Concerning the Authority of a Jewish Royal Agent to	
	Their Application (by Bernard Rosenzweig)  C. Adjustments in the Law to Meet	205	Impose Biblically Pro- hibited Sanctions g. Notions of Authority and	234
	Crises and Changed Conditions: Documentary Studies	211	Control  B. Participants in the Legal Process:	235
	<ol> <li>The Law Is Not in Heaven (Baba Metzia 59b, 86a)</li> <li>Moses as the Source of All Law</li> </ol>	211	DECISION-MAKING BY PRESCRIBERS AND APPLIERS 1. The King	236 236
	(Menakhot 29b) 3. The Power to Abrogate the Law	215	2. The Judicial System  a. The High Court (Sanhedrin)	237
	(Yebamot 89b) 4. The Institution of the Prusbul by Hillel (Gittin 36a)	<ul><li>216</li><li>221</li></ul>	during the Second Jewish Commonwealth b. Jewish Courts after the Destruc-	237
VI.	5. Adjustments in Family Law THE LEGAL SYSTEM IN OPERATION	223	tion of the Second Jewish Commonwealth	239
	A. Jewish Loss of Power and Exile: The Impact on Jewish Law of		<ul><li>c. Lower Courts of Twenty-three</li><li>Judges and of Three Judges</li><li>d. One-Judge Courts</li></ul>	239 241
	EXISTING IN AN ALIEN AUTHORITY AND POWER SYSTEM  1. Non-Jews as the Source of Power for Jewish Decision-Makers:	226	e. Appellate Review f. Other Superior Courts g. Courts of Special Jurisdiction h. Lay Courts	241 241 242 242
	Changes from a Hierarchical Authority and Power System to a	226	<ul><li>i. Jewish Courts in Babylonia</li><li>3. The Academies of Law and Reli-</li></ul>	244
	Dual-Co-Archical System 2. The Internal Power Structure: Authoritative Decision-Making after the Second Jewish Commonwealth;	220	gion headed by the Gaonim 4. Lay Decision-Makers a. Perspectives Concerning Decision-Making by the Lay	244 245
	Institutional Patterns and Participants 3. Jewish Decision-Making in a Dual	226	Communal Polity b. Lay Communal Decision- Making in the Roman Empire	<ul><li>245</li><li>248</li></ul>
	Authority System  a. Early Palestine and Babylonia	227 227	c. Lay Communal Decision- Making in Roman Palestine	248

	C. :	Documentary Studies in		,		CHANGES IN THE JEWISH CONDITION	~ -
		Criminal Law	249			iii iii biiii bii iii bii ii bii bii bi	85
		1. General Attitudes: The Sanctity				1. Economic Changes and Jewish	
		and Dignity of Life	249			Population Shifts 2	85
		a. Laws Concerning a Murderer				2. The Growth of Jewish Legal and	
		and the Preservation of Life				Religious Culture in the West 2	86
			249			3. The Urbanization of Jewish Life	
		2. Criminal Procedure: Rights of the					86
			260			4. Increased Jewish Commercial	
		a. Selections from the Talmud,					87
		Sanhedrin, Chapter 1				5. The Political and Power Status of	
		(Mishnah IV)	260				87
		b. Selections from the Talmud,				Jews III Medieval Europe	,,,
		Sanhedrin, Chapter 4			D.	THE CRUSADES 2	87
		(Mishnah I–IV)	261		т,	THE EFFECTS OF THE CRUSADES 2	88
		c. Selections from the Talmud,	201		E.		,66
						1. Changes in the Economic Position	000
		Sanhedrin, Chapter 4	263			01 000	88
		(Mishnah V)	203			2. The Degraded Social Position of	
		d. The Talmudic Prototype of	265			the Jews 2	289
		Rodef (Sanhedrin 49a)	203		F	THE GROWTH OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES	
		e. Obstacles to, and Views Con-			٠.		289
		cerning, Capital Punishment in				IN TOLAND	
		Talmudic Law (Makkot 6b and	265		G.	THE SPANISH INQUISITION AND	
		7a)	265			EXPULSION FROM SPAIN 2	290
		f. The Trial of a Capital Case	0.65		* *	Engage on give Drivings and and give	
		(by Moshe ben Maimon)	267		н.	EFFECTS OF THE RENAISSANCE AND THE	101
	n	THE RATIONALE OF SANCTIONING	275			REFORMATION ON JEWISH LIFE 2	291
	υ.	1. Punishment and Deterrence			I.	THE END OF JEWISH COMMUNAL	
		(Maimonides, Guide for the Per-				AUTONOMY AND THE IMPOSITION	
		plexed 3:41)	275				291
		2. Atonement (S. R. Hirsch, Com-	2,0			of the dietro	
		mentary on Genesis 9:6)	276	VIII	TL	HE JEWISH LEGAL SYSTEM IN	
		memary on Genesis 3.0)	2,0	V 111.			292
	E.	An Appraisal of the Function of			Oi	EXATION	
		THE JUDICIARY IN MAINTAINING PUBLIC			A.	JEWISH COMMUNAL AUTONOMY AND	
		ORDER AND IMPOSING CRIMINAL				Decision-Making	292
		SANCTIONS	277			1. Societal Contexts of Jewish	
						Communal Decision-Making	292
						a. The Mediterranean Lands in	
						General	294
						b. Spain	294
Part	T	hree				•	294
		Law in the Middle Ages				<u>-</u>	295
			281				296
(pos	st C	530 c.e.)	201			(1) Jewish Authoritarian	
. 777	D/	NITTOAL AND COCIAL CONTEVES				• •	296
VII.		DLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS				(2) The Exilarchate and the	2,0
		F JEWISH DECISION-MAKING IN	202			Gaonate (Deanship of the	
	11	HE MIDDLE AGES	283				207
	A.	Jews in Christian and Islamic				•	297
		Countries	283			f. Other Social Contexts of Jewish	200
	_						298
	В.	THE CHURCH AND THE JEWS IN	:			2. Documentary Studies of Autonomous	•••
		Western Europe	284			Jewish Communal Decision-Making	298

	а	An C	ola M	ledieval Form for		b. The Role of the Academies in
	и.			ng a Jewish Communal		Decision-Making 317
				nd Decision-Maker		(1) Education 318
				Al-Barceloni)	298	(2) The Academy Courts 318
	Ь			and Transcommunal		(3) The Gaonic Responsa,
	υ.			Making	299	Treatises, and Prescriptions 318
				hern Europe	300	(4) The Academies versus the
		(1)		Portugal	300	Exilarchate 319
				Spain	300	(5) Sources of Income of the
				The Ordinances of the		Babylonian Academies 320
			(0)	Synod at Valladolid,		(6) The Final Decline of the
				Spain (1432)	300	Exilarchate and Gaonate 320
		(2)	Nor	thern Europe	306	c. The Scholar–Religious Leader
		(2)		Synods and Chief	500	as Decision-Maker 320
			( <i>u</i> )	Rabbis: France,		(1) The Payment of Compensa-
				Germany, and England	306	tion to Scholar-Religious
			(h)	The Ordinances of the	500	Leaders 321
			(0)	Franco-German Synod		(2) Sources of Income of the
				at Troyes (1150)	307	Salaried Community Rabbis 322
			(c)	Takkanot (by M. Elon)	308	(3) The Community Rabbi as
		(2)		and and Lithuania	309	Decision-Maker 323
				tral Europe	311	(4) Selecting the Community
				imary	311	Rabbi 325
		(2)	Sum	iiiiai y	J11	d. Conflicts and Sharing of Decision-
D	DADT	ICIDAN	TTC I	n Jewish Decision-		Making Powers between Rabbis
Б.	MAK		1151	N JEWISH DECISION-	312	and Lay Leaders 327
			netiti	utive Scheme of Jewish	312	(1) Rabbi-Scholar Approval and
				Decision-Making:		Veto of Lay Communal
				and Institutions	312	Prescriptions 327
				munal Decision-Making	312	(2) Rabbinic Nullification of
	u.			spectives Concerning	51 <b>-</b>	Communal Enactments;
		(1)		aitations on Communal		Majority Rule and Minority
				hority	312	Rights 328
		(2)		Scope of Communal	U.2	(3) Interpretation of Communal
		(2)		eision-Making	312	Prescriptions by Rabbis and
				Taxation and Economic		Scholars 329
			(4)	Regulation	312	(4) Bases of Lay Power 330
			(h)	Exclusion of New-	514	(5) Communal Prescriptions for
			(0)	comers	313	the Allocation of Power
			(c)	Miscellaneous	315	among Laymen and Rabbis 331
			()	Prescriptions	313	(6) The Role of the Community
			(d)	Changes in Traditional	313	Proletariat in Decision-
			(4)	Law	313	Making 333
		(3)	The	e Relationship of Law	515	(7) Communal Control by Lay
		(3)		mmunal Decision-Making		Oligarchies 333
				Fraditional Jewish		2. Jewish Courts in the Middle Ages:
				cision-Making	314	A Documentary Study 335
		(4)		kkanot ha'Kahal	514	a. Communal Prescriptions for
		(4)		M. Elon)	315	Judicial Systems 336
		(5)		ocedures and Institutions	J1J	(1) The Ordinances of the
		(3)		Lay Decision-Making	316	Jewish Community of
				The Lay Electorate	316	Moravia (Sixteenth and
				Communal Officials	316	Seventeenth Centuries) 336
			(0)	, communa o promo		

	(2) The Ordinances of the		2.		mentary Case Studies of	
	Jewish Community of	<b>.</b>			aordinary Sanctions in the	
	Mantova, Italy (1677)	341			lle Ages	378
	b. The Selection and Removal of				nposing Sanctions Not	
	Jewish Judges	344			uthorized by Law (by Josef	
	c. The Compensation of Judges	346			aro)	378
	d. The Composition and Number			b. In	formers	379
	of Judges of Jewish Courts	346		(1	1) The Practice Concerning	
	e. The Community Rabbi as Judge	347			Informers (by Moshe ben	
	f. Jewish Courts in Suburban and				Maimon)	379
	Rural Areas	347		(2	2) Disposing of an Informer	
	g. Appellate Courts	348			(by Asher ben Yehiel)	379
	h. Lay Courts	350		(3	3) A Case Concerning an	
	i. Merchant and Guild Lay Courts	351			Informer (by Shlomo ben	
	j. Intercommunity Courts for				Aderet and Meir ben Baruch	
	Communal and Private Disputes	351			of Rothenberg)	380
	k. Compelling Compliance with				lurder	385
	Court Subpoenas	353		(1	1) Sanctions for Homicide	
	l. Ex Parte Hearings	354			(by Judah ben Asher)	385
				(2	2) Criminal Procedure (by	
IX.	ADJUSTING THE LAW TO MEET				Rabbi Isaac ben Sheshet	
	CHANGED CONDITIONS	355			Perfet)	386
	A. THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEW LEGAL				(a) Admissibility of	
	Institutional Practices	355			Confessions	387
	1. Changes in Family Law	355			(b) Providing an Attorney	
	2. Judicial Procedure	356			for a Defendant	387
	3. Residential and Mercantile Protec-				(c) Freeing a Defendant on	
	tions and Restrictions	356			Bail	388
	4. Law Enforcement Officials	356			(d) Accepting Testimony in	
	B. New Forms of Authoritative				the Absence of the	
	Prescriptions and Decisions for a				Accused	388
	Dispersed Jewry	357			(e) The Legal Rationale for	
	1. The Shulhan Aruk: Enduring Code				•	389
	of Jewish Law (by Isadore Twersky)	357		(3	B) Representation by Attorneys	
	2. Origins and Development of the					391
	Responsa by S. Freehoff)	366		d. Pu	inishing a Blasphemer (by Asher	
	C. ADJUSTING CRIMINAL LAW TO CRISES				en Yehiel)	393
	and New Conditions in the			e. Pi	unishing a Fornicator (by Asher	
	TALMUDIC ERA AND MIDDLE AGES	375				393
	1. Documentary Case Studies of			f. In	nprisoning a Thief on Circum-	
	Extraordinary Sanctions in the				antial Evidence (by Shimon ben	
	Talmudic Era, Uncalled for by					394
	Traditional Legal Doctrines	375			ommunal Criminal Law	
	a. The Hanging of the Witches					394
	(Sanhedrin 45b)	476			Ordinances of the Jewish	-,.
	b. Amputating the Arm of an			`	Community of Cracow,	
	Assaulter (Sanhedrin 58b)	376				394
	c. Blinding a Murderer (Sanhedrin			(2	2) Sanctions Imposed by the	•
	27a–27b)	376		ζ-	Portuguese Jewish Commu-	
	d. Execution without Trial by a				nity in Hamburg, Germany	
	Court: Death by Feeding;					395
	Execution by the Temple Priests		3.	Prece	edents, Principles, and	- / 5
	(Sanhedrin 81b)	376			onales for Extraordinary	

	Sanctions and Adjustments in			(4) Extraordinary Flogging	412
	the Law	396		(5) Flogging of Women	412
	a. Biblical Authority	396		g. Imprisonment	412
	b. Legal Principles	397		(1) As a Penalty	413
	c. Rationales	398		(2) To Ensure Appearance at	
1	The Imposition in Practice of			Trial or for Sentencing	414
٠.	Extraordinary Sanctions Contrary			(3) As a Means of Coercion	414
	to Traditional Norms	400		(4) For Debt	414
	a. The Biblical Era	400		h. House Arrest	417
	b. The Talmudic Era	401		i. Excommunication	417
5	Sanctions in the Middle Ages	402		j. Banishment	418
٦.	a. Capital Punishment	402		k. Expulsion from the Synagogue	419
	b. The Manner of Inflicting the			l. Humiliation	420
	Death Penalty	405		(1) By Public Announcement	420
	c. Permissible Slaying of "Innocent"			(2) By Shaving the Head and	
	Persons	405		Beard	420
	(1) In Order to Sancify (or Not	.02		m. Deprivation of Rights and	
	to Disgrace) the Lord, or to			Privileges	421
	Strengthen the Faith	406		n. Denial of the Right to Engage in	
	(2) Choice of Life Situations, or	100		Certain Occupations	421
	the Preservation of Many			o. The "Donkey's Burial"	421
	Lives	406		p. Fines, Levies, and Confiscation	
	d. Gouging of Eyes and Amputation	100		of Property	422
		407		6. Appraisal of the Perspectives, Social	
	of Limbs	409		Contexts, and Outcomes of Extraor-	
	e. Branding	410		dinary Sanctioning by Jewish	
	f. Flogging	410		Decision-Makers	422
	(1) As a Penalty	410		DOUBLOIT HARMOND	
	(2) In the Middle Ages	411	Index		427
	(3) Procedure for Flogging	411	inues		

## Jewish Law and Decision-Making

A Study through Time

#### Introduction

Jewish law is the oldest applied legal system in the world, spanning more than three thousand years. It has been operative in most civilized countries and continents, throughout the full spectrum of recorded human history and in all stages of societal development, ranging from rural to urban, and from agricultural to commercial and industrial. It has experienced the greatest variety and change in social conditions, including shifts in economic contexts, cultural and political milieus, dramatic crises, and drastic fluxes in both power and powerlessness.

The term "Jewish law" is used in this book to refer to the law of the Jewish people throughout the Biblical Era, the first and second Jewish commonwealths in the land of Israel, the Middle Ages, and up to the present time in numerous lands in which Jewish communities existed all over the world. Although significant differences may be found between the various epochs, it would not be useful in a book of the general character of this one to distinguish between "biblical law," "Israelite law," "talmudic law," "Jewish law," and like terms since there are dominant unifying themes running through all of these periods. As Henri Frankfort succintly stated:

What constitutes the individuality of a civilization, its recognizable character, its identity which is maintained throughout the successive stages of its existence? . . . We are not, of course, looking for a formula; the character of a civilization is far too elusive to be reduced to a catchword. We recognize it in a certain coherence among its various manifestations, a certain consistency in its orientation, a certain cultural "style" which shapes its political and its judicial institutions, its art as well as its literature, its religion as well as its morals. I propose to call this elusive identity of a civilization its "form." It is this "form" which is never destroyed although it changes in the course of time. And it changes partly as a result of inherent factors—development—partly as a result of external forces—historical incidents. . . . These changes [are] the "dynamics" of a civilization. . . . [This] cultural style . . . amounts to a point of view from where seemingly unrelated facts acquire coherence and meaning. . . . It imparts to their achievements—to their arts and institutions, their literature, their theology—something distinct and final, something which has its own peculiar perfection.1

1. H. Frankfort, The Birth of Civilization in the Near East (New York, 1955), pp. 2-3, 25.

In addition to its many other values, Jewish law permits the comparative study of the law and social dynamics of society at different stages of development and allows the examination of various hypotheses regarding decision-making, by enabling scholars to isolate different variables in the multitude of observed societies.<sup>2</sup> In this sense, Jewish law may come closer than any other legal system in affording the opportunity for legal studies as an empirical science.

#### Approaches to Jewish Law

Traditionally, however, the study of Jewish law and the Talmud has often proceeded on the assumption that law is a body of rules, operating as a closed system, completely divorced from human events and societal conditions and detached from developments resulting from the interactions of people competing for societal values in a variety of activities and institutional patterns. So, too, little regard has been paid to the effects on decisions of the perspectives, personalities, and backgrounds of decision-makers. Similarly, students of Jewish law have often paid slight attention to the underlying, sometimes unspoken, assumptions of Jewish law regarding values, ethics, and tradition, along with the social contexts, historical antecedents, and converging social forces.

This prevailing approach to Jewish law implies that a legal decision, especially by a court, would be reached on any "issue" of law simply and solely by first determining the "applicable" legal doctrines and principles and then by logically analyzing and following deduced conclusions through a winding rational maze, until one eventually emerged with a "legal" decision, dictated solely by application of deductive logic to these a priori principles of law. When carried to extremes, as is all too often the case, this process deteriorates into derivational exercises in which there is little conception of either the role of policy in the decision processes or the effects on decisions of conditions in the social contexts. Scholarly work in the area of Jewish law, including contemporary scholarship, has in this vein tended to concentrate on the examination of various doctrines and rules of law that are allegedly to be applied by courts, has largely ignored policy, social conditions, and contexts, and has frequently disregarded decisions made by nonjudicial decision-makers.

2. See E. A. Hoebel, Law of Primitive Man (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. vii-viii.

The proponents of the foregoing approach have often seemed completely unaware of its fatal defects. It has long since been pointed out that, even in the area of judicial decision-making, one can often find conflicting lines of case precedent and legal doctrines, all of which can be applied with equal logic to the case at hand.3 The issue then becomes, which line shall be selected by the decision-maker and why? Similarly, any line of legal precedents that one may choose to follow can legitimately be given a narrow or a wide interpretation, resulting in greatly differing applications to the case at hand. In the same way precedent cases can be "classified" and interpreted, both as to the facts and law, in many different ways, leading to divergent results. Which facts of any given case are emphasized and which are relegated to a position of minor importance can also play a vital role in judicial decisions. The above factors alone should indicate the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of relying solely on the application of deductive logic to given "principles" of law in order to reach decisions in judicial cases.

In addition, of course, there are other substantial difficulties in maintaining such a view of law. It has been observed that a judge often reaches a decision on one ground but then proceeds to justify and rationalize it by writing a legal opinion in which he cites legal principles and precedent cases that are not the real reasons for the decision. Often the real grounds for his ruling are affected by unconscious motivations, unknown even to the judge himself.4 The American legal realists, in leveling their devastating criticism of traditional approaches to law, have greatly emphasized and elaborated upon such "hidden" factors in judicial decisionmaking and the sometimes "instinctive" reaction of judges to fact patterns. It is also by now widely recognized that the social, economic, and cultural class and background of the judge as well as his personality, can have a substantial effect on his decisions. Similar complex factors affect the many vital nonjudicial areas of legal decision-making.

Clearly, too, a "mechanical" approach to law without regard to social developments assumes a very stable legal system and presupposes the certainty of the law.

3. See R. Von Jhering, Law as a Means to an End, trans. Husik (Boston, 1913), and The Struggle for Law (Chicago, 1879), p. 12; B. N. Cardozo, Paradoxes of Legal Science (New York, 1927); M. McDougal, "The Ethics of Applying Systems of Authority: Balanced Opposites of a Legal System," in H. Lasswell and H. Cleveland, eds., The Ethics of Power (New York, 1962), p. 221.

4. K. N. Llewellyn, "Some Realism about Realism—Responding to Dean Pound," 44 Harvard Law Review (1931): 1222; J. Frank, Law and the Modern Mind (New York, 1931), p. 130; see also his Are Judges Human? 80 University of Pennsylvania Law Review (1931): 17, and his Courts on Trial (New York, 1949).

This is regarded as shaped exclusively by rules and principles that themselves are unchangeable. What this view ignores is that for law to be effective and "just" it must reach and further accepted basic goals. As society and its underlying conditions change, as they invariably do, so the law also must change if it is to avoid undesired and even ludicrous decisions. Vital to the law are "the creation of techniques that efficiently and effectively solve the problems posed . . . so that the basic values of the society are realized through the law, and not frustrated by it." Exclusive concentration on how a particular norm fits syntactically into a rule structure can be of little use in developing a well-ordered society, although it may have mystical connotations and satisfy an aesthetic feeling for logical symmetry.

Furthermore, the manner in which norms are applied is vital. It has been aptly remarked:<sup>8</sup>

Even when . . . rules are known and clear in words, one does still not know the legal system, save as he studies case after case in which rules have come into question, or have been challenged or broken. Thus only as one makes cross-check in action on how far the known "rules" are rules which are followed and on how they are "followed," and on what else happens in addition to their being followed, can he be certain what his data are. A fortiori must one go to the cases of hitch or trouble when procedural and remedial matters lack ritual or verbal form.

For, to repeat, the idea of "legality" carries with it the idea not only of right, but of remedy. It includes not only the idea of prescribed right conduct, but that of prescribed penalty (or type of penalty) for wrong, . . . [the] recognizably proper persons to deal with offenders, or of recognizably proper ways of dealing with offenders and of recognizable limits on proper dealing with them. . . .

The techniques of use of any legal form or rule, are, if anything, more important than the form and rule themselves. The techniques of operation of the legal personnel, and the latter's manner of handling the techniques, these commonly cut further into the nature of a society's legal system than does the "law" itself. But they must be dug out of the cases in which actual troubles have been dealt with.

In order for law not to strait-jacket society, authoritative decisions must take account of changed conditions and new developments in many diverse areas, ranging from social customs, to religious, philosophical, and ethical perspectives, to new instruments of production, forms of credit, ownership devices, and modes of travel. Law, then, must stress its overriding goals and assess existing and projected societal conditions, deter-

- 5. Hoebel, Law of Primitive Man, p. 281.
- 6. Llewellyn and Hoebel, The Cheyenne Way (Norman, Okla., 1941), pp. 26, 27.