

## CHAPTER 20

---

# JUDAISM AND RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

---

DOMINIC RUBIN

---

## RUSSIA, THE JEWS, AND RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

---

THE lifespan of Russian religious philosophy coincided with a cardinal epoch in the shaping of modern Russian identity. The same period was also a crucial one in the shaping of Jewish identity. In fact, by the end of this period Russia was home to the largest Jewish community in the world and Russian Jewry enjoyed immense worldwide intellectual and social prestige of a sort equalled only by German Jews. However, in examining the interaction between Russian religious thinkers, who were of course Orthodox Christian in orientation, and Jews, there is naturally a certain asymmetry. Jews and Judaism played a significant role in the Russian religious imagination, but Russian religious thought was far less important for the consciousness of Russian Jews, who, due to their peripheral status, tended to engage in socialist, populist, or liberal movements that fought for rights and justice rather than justifying the conservative *status quo* philosophically (see Frankel 2008). As a result, studies usually focus on two issues: Jewish elements, or the ‘Jewish question’, in Russian thought, and the related question of anti-Semitism (see, for example, Katsis 2006; Williams 2007; Engelstein 2009).<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, there is a third possible angle to consider: the influence of Russian Christian thought on a particular group of ‘integrationist’ Jews and Jewish identity. In this chapter, we will cover the first two issues, and then examine the third.

The collective Jewish presence in imperial Russia only slightly predates the inception of Russian religious philosophy, and the fates of the two were to be intimately intertwined. One and a half million Jews entered the empire—without moving an inch—after the

<sup>1</sup> For more on imperial Russia’s ‘Jewish question’ see Klier (1995).

threefold partitions of Poland under Catherine II at the end of the eighteenth century. The newly annexed populations of Russian Poland, which included not just Jews, but Poles, Ukrainians, and the Baltic nations, had to be absorbed into the Russian empire legally, religiously, and culturally. The Jews faced a similar choice as other ‘new Russians’: to maintain a segregationist autonomy (or fight for independence), or to assimilate completely or partially into their new society.<sup>2</sup> Their course of action was dictated, in part, by the attitudes of the Russian government, which also swung between two options: to create a pluralistic empire, in which minorities would have linguistic, religious, and other freedoms; or to pursue a policy of Russification, which would ultimately culminate in the absorption and disappearance of non-Russian minorities (Hosking 2002, chapters 7, 8).

After the military and ideological defeat of Napoleon, Russia under Alexander I and then Nicholas I turned more and more into a ‘Slavophile empire’ (Engelstein 2009), embracing Russification, and, to a great extent, Russian Christian thinkers reflected this geopolitical orientation. Russia’s humiliating defeat in the Crimean War triggered an injection of moderate liberalism and minority rights under Alexander II but his assassination in 1881 produced a backlash (especially against the Jews). Under Nicholas II, more concessions were made, but against a background of conservative fury that only collapsed with the overthrow of the tsarist government in 1917. Throughout this century-long period (ca.1817–1917), the so-called ‘Jewish question’ raged fiercely and often became proxy for discussions of the much larger question of imperial Russia’s identity *in toto*.

The reasons were simple. The tsar’s absolute authority rested on his status as an Orthodox, divinely anointed monarch. Uvarov’s formula (‘Orthodoxy, nationality, autocracy’) propagated this idea, but almost half of the ‘nationalities’ in the Russian empire, as the nineteenth century progressed, were non-Russian. As Orthodox Russia became a statistical anachronism, the question of what worldview could unite the empire’s different nationalities became ever sharper; consequently, Russian conservatives, like their European counterparts, often found refuge in the centripetal glue of a negative nationalism: anti-Semitism. Even Polish revolution, or Ottoman revanchism, was referred back again and again to Judaic tropes (cf. Engelstein 2009; Rubin 2010, chapter 1). And the Jews themselves, who had proved largely immune to early optimistic attempts at mass conversion or Russia’s own *mission civilatrice* towards them, were a focal point for imperialists anxious about the empire’s defeat, disintegration, or simply liberalization.

With regard to the Jewish Question in Russian religious thought we can say that Vladimir Soloviev set the tone: Russian religious thought after him might be said to be conservative–liberal: it was conservative (and often theocratic) in adhering (with a few exotic alterations) to Orthodox dogma and seeing Russia, *qua* Uvarov, as an Orthodox nation; it was liberal in condemning ‘right-wing’ Slavophiles (such as Ivan Aksakov) for

<sup>2</sup> For more detail on religious freedoms see Werth (2014).

their anti-Semitism, and in arguing for more rights for Jews. This basically inconsistent and even contradictory position produced a whole range of intriguing philosophical, theological, and political speculation about Jews, Judaism, and Russia. The picture was further complicated by another factor: Soloviev and his successors were also engaged in a project of Christian renewal, and for this they often (like other Christian reformers) turned to Hebrew and Jewish sources. Thus Russian religious thought became even more intimately involved in the questions of Judaism, Russian-Jewish destiny, and the phenomenon of modern nationalistic anti-Semitism.

Having examined these issues, we will conclude by approaching the topic from a different angle. Despite the triumph of Russia as a Slavophile empire in this period, Alexander II's reforms did allow some space for Jews who wished to negotiate an identity that lay between complete assimilation (whether through conversion, or membership in left-wing internationalist movements) and complete resistance (through Zionism, religious separatism, emigration, Yiddish autonomism, etc.). These new Russian Jews built communal and cultural edifices that drew on both Russian and Jewish sources. A very small and individualistic subset of these 'integrationists', as we can dub them, chose a slightly different option: to tread the path of the Russian 'spiritual' intelligentsia. And so it is that we find Jews, somewhat surprisingly, in the ranks of the Russian religious philosophers. We will look at four such figures in the last section. This will allow us to reverse our earlier perspective, by asking not the more usual question of how Judaism influenced Russian thought, but rather how this thought impacted on a certain type of Russian Jew and Russian Jewishness. (See Horowitz (2013) for a good overview of different types of integrationist Russian-Jewish intellectual and social movements.)

## ‘SACRED MATERIALISM’, JUDAISM, AND ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS THOUGHT

### Vladimir Soloviev

Soloviev's philosophy emerges in the immediate wake of Jewish emancipation and takes in the start of the era of pogroms, which began after the assassination of Alexander II in 1881. This was the era when Russia's 'Jewish question' was at its sharpest, and it was to have a crucial impact on Soloviev's whole way of thinking (see Kornblatt 1997). The later Slavophiles saw Alexander II's liberal reforms as undermining Orthodox, monarchic Russia, and associated Jews and Judaism with this catastrophe; the fact that one of Alexander's assassins had been a Jewish revolutionary confirmed them in their belief that concessions to the Jews were disastrous for Russia. Soloviev himself embraced a Slavophile position in the 1870s, but the ugly anti-Semitism that issued from his erstwhile

allies, especially after 1881, caused him to revise his beliefs wholesale, and in fact to take what might well be called a ‘Jewish’ position in his theology and politics (indeed Soloviev increasingly liked to tell his friends, ‘I am a Jew’).<sup>3</sup>

What do we mean by Soloviev taking a ‘Jewish position’? The term ‘Jewish’ has several connotations, of course. In his early work, Soloviev peppered his work with Kabbalistic terms. However, this was closer to the general esoterism and theosophy of Russian philosophy, reflected little awareness of contemporary Jewish issues, and does not yet make Soloviev’s philosophy Jewish, in the sense that it would later become (see Kornblatt 1991; Burmistrov 2007). However, this changed in 1881 and the decade that followed. It was now that Soloviev developed his ideas of divine-humanity, sophiology, all-unity, theocracy, Christian nationalism, and ecumenical reconciliation of the churches. Each one of these ideas was given Jewish content, but now this Jewishness was not just esoteric or stereotypical (recycling Old and New Testament tropes), though elements of this remained. Instead, in this decade Soloviev studied Hebrew and the Talmud with rabbi Faival Gets, defended the Talmud against Russian and Western calumnies, and engaged in correspondence with Joseph Rabinowitz, an Odessan rabbi who founded a Jewish-Christian community in the late 1880s. Concern for and contact with ‘real’ Jews heavily influenced his thought (Soloviev 1885, 1925, 1966, 2008).

The idea of Christian nationalism as a form of patriotic Christian pride that would allow minority nationalities (especially the Jews) to preserve their identity was a counterpoint to perceived Slavophile idolatry of Russianness. Soloviev’s famous dream of reunifying the Christian churches so as to hasten the Second Coming emphasized the prior need for Jews and Christians to reconcile. To this end, Soloviev rephrased the anti-Semites’ ‘Jewish question’ as a ‘Christian question’: how can Christians rediscover the Judaic concrete ‘sacred materialism’ inherent in Christianity and behave with true Christian love to the Jews, who would then see the truth of Christ and, without losing their national identity, take their place in the truly ecumenical church? The ‘whole personality’ and ‘divine-humanity’ that lay at the heart of true Christianity were seen as rooted in the unity of life, law, and action of Talmudic Judaism and in the active religious self-consciousness of the prophetic Jewish people. Soloviev’s encouragement of Joseph Rabinowitz’s Hebrew Christian congregation (which contrasted with the hostility of K. Pobedonostsev, chief procurator of the Holy Synod from 1880 to 1905) must thus be seen as integral to Soloviev’s larger theocratic project in the 1880s.

Thus Soloviev’s philosophy was intrinsically shaped by the situation of Russian Jewry. Interestingly, it also influenced Russian Jews in turn. As Bar-Yosef has noted, the eminent Russian philosopher’s defence of Jews and the Talmud was used by the renowned Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook to encourage self-confidence among Zionist pioneers (Bar-Yosef 2000; see also Mirsky 2014). Israel’s first national poet, Chaim Bialik, who

<sup>3</sup> Nicolai Lossky in his *History of Russian Philosophy* writes in the chapter on Soloviev: ‘Soloviev often called himself a Jew. Thus . . . he wrote to Strakhov: “how can one explain to Danilevsky that our common Russian . . . nationality does not prevent you being a Chinaman and me being a Jew?”’ See Lossky (1991).

began to use Talmudic imagery in his work, so defying the trend to denigrate it in favour of the Biblical heritage, may well have been inspired by Soloviev, too.

Nonetheless, Soloviev's 'Jewish self-identification' may have been a bit hasty. After all, his aim, like any Russian Christian conservative, was still the conversion of the Jews. One can also note that his Jewish teacher, Getz, was a *maskil*,<sup>4</sup> and so did little to reshape Soloviev's reiteration of the old Christian grace–law dichotomy: the Judaism that Soloviev defends is always ethical, almost never *halakhic* or ritual. Some Jewish critics of the time (Asher Ginsberg, Shmaryahu Levin) also picked up on the fact that Soloviev was ultimately defending the Christian nationalism of a nation, Russia, that tended to swallow up smaller nations, rather than the nationalism of the oppressed minority. One can also add, finally, that Soloviev's first-phase Kabbalistic mysticism always remained theosophist-Christian in nature, and was never connected to the practice of contemporary Judaism (among the Hasidim, for example).

## Vasilii Rozanov and Pavel Florensky

Some of these lacunae were filled by Vasilii Rozanov (1856–1919). Although Rozanov has a (mostly deserved) reputation as an anti-Semite, in some ways his approach to Jews and Judaism was more original and richer than Soloviev's.<sup>5</sup> Rozanov's career overlapped with Soloviev's. He started out as a nationalist Slavophile who saw Russian Orthodoxy as containing all the advantages that Western Christianity lacked: it was intuitive, holistic, and theocratic, while Catholicism was legalistic and coercive. However, partly due to the Russian church's refusal to recognize his second marriage and the legitimacy of his five children, in the late 1890s Rozanov became severely disenchanted with Orthodoxy too, and began to look to ancient Egypt, paganism and Judaism as embodiments of a family-centred, 'sexual', 'sacred materialism' that would replace Christianity.

In 1903, Rozanov produced a book-length series of articles, later to be compiled in a collection called *Judaism*, in which he provided a loving, if exaggerated and characteristically eccentric, portrait of the religion (Rozanov 1993). Unlike Soloviev, Rozanov was able to avail himself of the first translation of the Talmud into Russian (by Naum Pereferkovich), as well as accounts of contemporary Russian-Jewish religious practice. He distils the essence of Judaism down to three rituals mentioned together in a Talmudic quote: Sabbath, *mikveh* (the ritual bath), and circumcision. He interprets them as mystical gateways to sacred sexuality and immortality. Furthermore, in Rozanov's slightly bizarre account, the *mikveh* becomes a space where each Jew, who is a divine incarnation, is dissolved into the bodily presence of other Jews—what I have called elsewhere a Rozanovian ecclesiology of the *mikveh* as an immanent church of conciliar

<sup>4</sup> That is, a representative of the *hasakala*, or Jewish enlightenment, whose proponents championed rationalism over mysticism.

<sup>5</sup> For an overview of Rozanov's place in Russian culture, cf. Mondry (2010). For more on Rozanov and Judaism, see also Rubin (2010).

(*soborny*) Jewry (Rubin 2010, 249–62). Judaism comes out clearly superior to Christianity in this approach, and indeed takes on the features of the sort of modernist reformed neo-Christianity that Russian religious philosophers in general were seeking.

However, Rozanov's relationship with actual Jews was far more complex than Soloviev's. He had several Jewish intellectual sparring-partners (Stolpner, Steinberg, Gershenzon),<sup>6</sup> and it seems that Russified Jews read his works with admiration. But Rozanov's tendency to over-idealize Judaism and then to suffer from black squalls of reactive envy and disenchantment extended to these relationships as well. This brings us to his vicious anti-Semitic turn during the 'Beilis affair' of 1911–1913, when he produced a series of articles arguing that Mendel Beilis, who was accused of the ritual murder of a young Russian boy, was indeed guilty as charged (on the Beilis trial, cf. Weinberg 2013).

The extraordinary prosecution of Beilis was launched and supported by monarchist conservatives, who feared the forces of liberal change that had been unleashed since the 1905 revolution, especially as embodied in a mooted Duma bill to abolish the Pale of Settlement. Rozanov threw himself into the right-wing assault on Jews in these years. Usually, scurrilous anti-Semitic tracts are a dull affair, but there is an odd subterranean continuity with Rozanov's earlier philo-Judaic writings, which is revealing of trends in Russian religious thought in general.

In these tracts sex and superhuman immortality in Judaism are replaced with a portrait of the secret role of blood in Judaism (Rozanov 1998). Nonetheless, the Beilis-era essays still view Judaism as mystical, powerful, and enviable. At one point, Rozanov asks a certain priestly 'friend from the Caucasus' to comment on Judaism's blood-ritual. This contributor, it emerged when the archives opened in the 1990s, was Fr. Pavel Florensky.<sup>7</sup> Florensky deftly reconciles the well-known Jewish taboo on blood with accusations of human blood-consumption by pointing out that taboo substances are highly valued and can be consumed by the elite in secret. He goes on to speculate that the atavistic blood-cult of ancient Judaism is, in fact, a proto-Eucharist, whose full meaning and practice was brought to its culmination by Christ.<sup>8</sup> Setting aside the grotesque anti-Semitism inherent in this Judeology, we can nonetheless see that Rozanov and Florensky are still, in their own terms, philo-Judaic: their conservative-Slavophile position sees 'true', 'bloody', 'sacred-materialist' Judaism as a worthy and real mystical religion, that stands in contrast to the ethereal and bloodless Kantian rationalism of liberals who would abolish the sense of the sacred (and, by implication, the necessary separation between Jew and Russian in the present). As with Soloviev, but quite differently, indeed perversely,

<sup>6</sup> For a detailed analysis of Rozanov's relationship with Steinberg and Gershenzon, cf. Rubin (2010, chapters 4, 5).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Rubin (2010, 298n148) for detail on Florensky's contribution to Rozanov's Beilis-era articles. The authorship of various articles by Florensky was established in 1998 by his grand-nephew Hegumen Andronik (Trubachev) using archival material. Before this, it was common knowledge among Russian émigrés that, as Zinaida Gippius put it, Rozanov's attacks on Jews had been made 'not without the help of Florensky'.

<sup>8</sup> The discussion comes in the article that appears under Rozanov's name exclusively, 'Nuzhno perenesti vse delo v druguiu ploskost (K delu Iushchinskogo)', in Nikoliukin (1998).



the deepest goals of Christian reform are expressed using Judaic tropes. But while Soloviev's Jewish interlocutor was a rationalist *maskil*, Rozanov and Florensky hungered in their own religious lives for something more primal and irrational. This took the form of a sort of baroque anti-Semitic philo-Judaism.

Katsis (2006) links this irrationalist anti-Semitic mysticism to the Name-Worshipping (*Imiaslavie*) controversy that occurred in exactly the same years as the Beilis trial. At least on one interpretation, the doctrine concerning the quasi-magical power of the divine name, the power to unite the utterer with God's essence (which Khoruzhii 2005 argues is more neo-pagan than Orthodox), can arguably be interpreted as sharing an underlying metaphysics with Eucharistic Judeology. One might note, too, that this hyper-realist Platonistic awe of the power of names seemingly had early origins in Florensky's development: in his memoirs, he makes a telling confession regarding his early impressions of Jews: 'I felt that the word "Yid" really was a special word, full of magical strength and power...' (Florensky 2008, 777–9; for further discussion see Rubin 2010, 313n165). On this view, words are not arbitrary Saussurean signs, but directly embody divine realities; likewise, the Eucharist is no bloodless (Kantian-phenomenal) symbol, as the Protestants believe: behind it, too, is a visceral Judeo-pagan remnant of *real* blood-consumption. On this reading, Beilis-era anti-Semitism and Name-worshipping Platonism are part of a general Russian religious-philosophical irrationalism.

## Sergei Bulgakov

The theme of Judaism and blood also recurs insistently in the work of Florensky's close colleague, Sergei Bulgakov, whose larger thought was fuelled by similar Jewish concerns.<sup>9</sup> After his disenchantment with the 1905 revolution, Bulgakov morphed from a Christian socialist into a Christian monarchist. Like the above thinkers, Bulgakov's attitude to Jews and Judaism was highly ambivalent, fluctuating, one might say, between Soloviev's Christian philo-Semitism and an ambient anti-Semitism that was pervasive to Russian conservative thought of the time.

In 1915, we have a 'Soloviev moment', when Bulgakov actually takes into consideration the contemporary situation of Russian Jewry, contributing a piece to *Shchit* (*Shield*), the anthology edited by Gorky to express support for Russian Jews suffering from pogroms on the Western front (on *Shchit* see Engelstein 2009, 221–2). The short piece he wrote, 'Zion', is an interesting example of Russian Orthodox Christian Zionism, with all its attendant ambiguities (Bulgakov 1915). Bulgakov, in a typically conservative stance, prefers Zionist Jews to liberal and assimilation types, whom he views as threatening to Russia: his hope is that once the Jews have re-established themselves in Palestine, they can overcome the twin evils of an unhealthy Diaspora existence and its attendant anti-Semitism, and in this new freedom finally turn to Christ. In all of this, he seems

<sup>9</sup> See Bulgakov (1991a). For further detail see Rubin (2010, chapter 2). Williams (2007) also examines the question of Bulgakov's anti-Semitism.

unaware of the fiercely secular orientation of the Zionist camp (although his position can be read as being interestingly close to that of the already mentioned Rabbi Kook, who also saw secular Zionism as a first stage in the revival of Jewish spiritual nationhood [cf. Mirsky 2014]).

Bulgakov's vision takes on a Solovievian theocratic hue, when he adds a Russian imperial element to the project: Russian Christians should yearn, he remarks, not just to see a cross atop the Hagia Sophia (as the Slavophile poet Tiutchev had also put it during the Russo-Turkic war of 1877), and for Jews to settle in their ancient homeland, but also for a dismantled Ottoman Palestine to fall within Russia's orbit. Zionism thus also becomes a Russian Messianic project. This goes together with a dig at Germany, Turkey's ally in the then raging First World War. A Russian, Zionist Palestine, Bulgakov writes, would also be a blow to Russia's Protestant enemy, which has drifted so far from its true Christian roots. It is clear, then, that Bulgakov's Zionism, like the philo-Judaism of Rozanov and the philo-Semitism of Soloviev, is deeply enmeshed in a conservative, imperial Russian worldview, combining support for 'real' Jews with distaste for assimilating, liberal Jews.

The question of Bulgakov's scattered anti-Semitic actions and writings is quite complex, but can be summarized as follows. He certainly wrote of the October revolution of 1917 as having been perpetrated by 'Yid-Bolsheviks'. In Crimea in 1920, he gave talks linking current Jewish Bolshevism to the 'Jerusalem atheists' who killed Christ, and even distributed leaflets for the White movement, warning Christians to be wary of Jewish Bolshevism, at a time when mass atrocities against Jews were a fact of everyday life.<sup>10</sup> Much later, in Parisian exile in the 1940s, Bulgakov wrote a series of essays about the destiny of the Jews, which are peppered with similar vicious rhetoric about the congruities of Judaic this-worldly apocalyptic Messianism and Hitler's and Stalin's ideologies, and the struggle of international Jewry to undermine Christian culture.

But here we come to the sort of paradox that we saw with Rozanov, and this concerns Bulgakov's positive remarks about Jews, and indeed his attempt to forge an original theological approach to the Jewish question. All this takes him in a very different direction from Rozanov's erratic and hysterical approach. For, despite the lingering and endemic conservative Russian anti-Semitism, Bulgakov's essays are impassioned diatribes against Nazi racism and anti-Semitism.

In one of his wartime essays, 'Racism and Christianity' (1941–2), Bulgakov critiques the racist account of Jewry developed by Alfred Rosenberg, the Nazi party's chief racial theoretician.<sup>11</sup> But the critique also displays odd similarities with Rosenberg, even though it ultimately argues for a vehemently opposing position. The similarities are probably due to the overlapping backgrounds of the two men. Rosenberg was a Baltic German who grew up in the Russian empire, was educated in St. Petersburg, and supported the White movement during the civil war. In addition to a general European pseudo-scientific pedigree, Rosenberg's anti-Semitic views thus also have a clear

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Budnitskii (2012) on pogroms during the Civil War.

<sup>11</sup> See the section 'Rasizm i evreistvo' in part 2 of Bulgakov (1991b).



ultra-conservative Russian element in them. Indeed, the idea of blood and racial personality as determining the fate of nations was taken up by other White Russian émigrés in Germany, who saw the resurgent power of Germany as their hope of ousting the Bolsheviks. One such thinker was Baron A. V. Meller-Zakomelsky, a right-wing Eurasianist, who took Trubetskoi's and Karsavin's idea of 'symphonic personalities' precisely in the racist direction.<sup>12</sup>

The possibility that conservative Russian Christian thought could slip comfortably into a racist anti-Semitism that would support systematic state violence against Jews rather than just mob-directed pogroms may have caused Bulgakov to sit up in alarm and re-examine his own positions. There is a sense in the wartime essays that he is scrambling to rescue forms of thought that are being given a repulsive veneer in apocalyptic times. Thus Bulgakov agrees that the Jews are chosen by God 'by blood... with a certain biological absoluteness,' and he even refers along with Rosenberg to the 'notorious international character of the Jewish "anti-race"...'<sup>13</sup> However, Bulgakov's notion of blood is couched within a theology of sacred materialism. For him, blood is not simply brute power, and nor is blood the only component of a nation or individual by which they can be exclusively explained. Rather, blood for Bulgakov is a dual substance: it is the meeting-place of spirit, or the divine breath, and matter, or the 'dust of the earth' of Genesis. Blood in this sense of matter-spirit is the line by which the sacred genealogy of the Old Testament prophetic people can be traced. This spiritual blood runs in the veins of Mary, the Mother of God, and Christ, the Godman. When Christ is crucified, Bulgakov theorizes in another pre-war essay, the soldier plunges a spear into his side and releases blood and water into the world: this non-Eucharistic blood acts covertly within the world to sacralize matter even outside the strict boundaries of the church, which is the locus for the strictly Eucharistic blood (Bulgakov 1997). Finally, this sacred Jewish blood continues to link Jesus and Mary with contemporary Jews, giving Jews an initial potential link with divine-humanity that is stronger than in non-Jews. Thus Jews are, *qua* Rosenberg, an anti-race, but only in the sense that they have a talent to disperse among the nations without dissolving into the paganism of the nations, but instead spreading the spirit and word of God.

This is an impressive rescue operation of terminology that was already becoming rather squeamish in the hands of Rozanov and Florensky. Still, it is not entirely successful: at certain points, Bulgakov writes that post-Christic Jews no longer have spirit and that non-Christian Jews are working fiercely against Russian and Christian civilization. The sophianic and sacred-materialist metaphor seems to break down then, and we are left with spiritless Jewish blood that seems to exclude Jews from true spirituality, rather as in the extreme-right Eurasianist position, if not the Rosenbergian position.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sobolev (2008) for the correspondence between two of the four founders of Eurasianism, N. Trubetskoi and P. Savitsky, where they discuss Meller-Zakomelsky's attempts to recruit Eurasianism for the pro-Nazi cause in Russian Berlin in the early 1930s.

<sup>13</sup> See the section 'Rasizm i evreistvo' in part 2 of Bulgakov (1991b).

These are part and parcel of the contradictions inherent in Bulgakov's complex sophiology. However, none of this should obscure the clear fact that Bulgakov, and his follower, Mother Maria (Skobseva), made great efforts to protect Jews in Paris from Nazi round-ups,<sup>14</sup> nor that Bulgakov maintained warm Jewish friendships, notably with Lev Shestov (see Bulgakov 1939). From his memoirs, it is also interesting to note that Bulgakov arrived at the position that it was forbidden for Christians to proselytize to Jews, as the history of Christian anti-Semitism had rendered such witness unconvincing.<sup>15</sup> No doubt his writings on Jewish sacred blood in the context of Nazism were part of this reassessment of the Solovievian 'Christian question'.

## RUSSIAN RELIGIOUS PHILOSOPHY AND JEWISH IDENTITIES

---

We come now to the influence of Russian religious philosophy on Jews, specifically on Russian Jews who practised Russian philosophy themselves, rather than Russian Jews who pursued Zionism, or Hebrew or Yiddish cultural activities. Four figures will illustrate this overlap: Lev Shestov, Mikhail Gershenzon, Aaron Steinberg, and Semyon Frank. All of these thinkers attained a more or less prominent status in Russian religious philosophy, despite the fact that this thought was Orthodox Christian in orientation. Of course, Frank converted to Orthodoxy when he was thirty-six, but as we shall see, he also retained aspects of his native Jewishness. The Jewishness of these philosophers, defined differently by each of them, raised and raises interesting questions about the universalism of the philosophical endeavour and the ethnic or religious identity of the philosopher. All of these thinkers defended the Russianness of their thought against anti-Semitic or anti-Jewish accusations of incompatibility.

Mikhail Gershenzon (1869–1925), both a historian and religious thinker, was the editor of the 1909 *Landmarks* collection, celebrated as a key text in pre-revolutionary religious political thought (see Gershenzon 1989, 1991). He was also a close friend and adviser of the novelist Andrei Bely and a one-time confidant of Rozanov. He was famous for writing a deeply personal narrative history of aristocratic Moscow after the Napoleonic wars, as well as biographies of Slavophile thinkers, including Ivan Kireevsky. In the early 1900s, he developed a spiritual philosophy of his own that owed much to Slavophilism, Tolstoy, and elements of Populism. He also professed a 'spiritual anarchism' that was partly inspired by the idiosyncratic thought of Rozanov (see Rubin 2010,

<sup>14</sup> For more on Mother Maria (Skobseva), cf. Haeckel (1992).

<sup>15</sup> 'It is unnecessary and forbidden to missionize to Jewry, to convince them of the truth of Christianity; in its soul the devil struggles directly, face to face, with Christ, as in the soul of Judas.' See the section 'Sud'by Rossii, germanstvo i evreistvo' in part 3 of Bulgakov (1991b). On Bulgakov's relationship with Lev Shestov and his refraining from missionizing to his Jewish philosopher-friend, see Rubin (2010, 211).

chapter 4) and displayed similarities to Berdiaev's thinking. In later life, he found spiritual sustenance in a special 'slow reading' of the poetry of Pushkin (Gershenson 2000).

However, Gershenson's deep attachment to Russian thought did not pass unexamined. Several *Landmarks* writers disowned him in 1917 when he abandoned their spiritual liberal-conservatism, which for some had by then morphed into monarchism, and came out in support of the Bolsheviks. Even before that, several years earlier Berdiaev had declared Gershenson's reading of Slavophile thought unacceptable (see Horowitz 1994): Gershenson found in Kireevsky a theory of the natural, holistic (*tselnaia*) personality, and argued that it was purer and more powerful once stripped of its 'accidental' Christian formulations. The support of the Bolsheviks and the de-Christianization of a key Russian thinker soon prompted many of his erstwhile colleagues to suggest that Gershenson, or 'Gershen the Slavophile', as they jokingly called him, had embraced dangerous and wrong positions under the influence of certain defective Jewish elements in his worldview. Even more sympathetic thinkers questioned his understanding of Pushkin, and it is indeed hard not to see a Judaization of the poet in Gershenson's comments that Pushkin was an 'Ahasuerus', an 'Easterner', with 'Arab ancestry', whose eternal Logos once again owes little to Christianity.<sup>16</sup>

Gershenson was no stranger to anti-Jewish prejudice: he had evaded the Jewish quota, the pressure to convert, and restrictions on Jewish residence in Moscow to turn himself into a Russian intellectual. However, this new scrutiny led him to admit that 'my psychology is totally Jewish', and to refrain from trying to understand Russians 'intimately' (letter to A. Gornfeld; cf. Rubin 2010, 373). Nonetheless, Gershenson's critics missed an important point: much of what they saw as negative Jewishness in the historian's worldview was in fact simply the nihilism, spiritual anarchism, and universalism embraced by Russian symbolists and 'new age' religious philosophers themselves. And when Gershenson turned his religion of the Spirit on his own historical heritage (see Gershenson 1993), he likewise adamantly rejected Zionism and traditional Judaism, arguing that the purpose of suffering in Jewish history had been to inculcate in Jews an 'indifference to permanence', whose natural culmination was assimilation away from a parochial existence towards an utterly different universal future. Gershenson's philosophical outlook was thus thoroughly the fruit of Russian modernism; by transforming his Jewishness, by bringing it into friction with Russianness, he expanded the range of Russian thought, and indeed can be seen as one of the early contributors to the 'spiritual secularism' of early Soviet ideology (for a deeper understanding of Gershenson, cf. Horowitz 2009).

Lev Shestov (1866–1938) was similarly attacked by Berdiaev, a long-time friend, for undermining the Christian nature of religious philosophy with his 'Jewish pessimism', but Shestov turned the tables on him (see Rubin 2010). Like Gershenson, Shestov's

<sup>16</sup> For Gershenson, Pushkin, 'in creating, becomes transfigured; in his well-known European face step forth the dusty creases of Ahasuerus, from his eyes there stare out the heavy wisdom of millennia... (Gershenson 2000, 19). Gershenson then saw it as his task to hermeneutically unpack the meaning of Pushkin's prophetic Word, detecting nuances the poet himself was unaware of.

nihilism was derived not from Judaism but from Nietzsche, whose influence can be felt in Berdiaev's thought too. Shestov refused to be stereotyped and at different times accused Gershenzon of being too 'Christian' and Berdiaev of being too 'Jewish', the fault of both being an abstract Hegelian spirit in their account of history and religion, while truth lay with Shestov's own pantheon of truly (that is, irrationally and fideistically) Biblical thinkers, who included Pascal, Luther, Kierkegaard, but also the Old Testament Job and Abraham. As with Gershenzon, one could argue that Russian philosophy became for Shestov a 'third testament' where the theological, cultural, and indeed (in the Russian context) even political contradictions of Christianity and Judaism could be finally transcended.<sup>17</sup>

Steinberg and Frank also brought Jewish influence to Russian philosophy. From the 1910s onwards, the precocious Steinberg (1891–1975) mingled with Silver Age poets and philosophers like Rozanov and Blok, and after the October revolution was secretary of the Petrograd Free Philosophical Association (Volphila).<sup>18</sup> His triadic quasi-Hegelian 'concrete idealism' shared much with Ern's Logism and Karsavin's philosophy of history; but he was closer to Gershenzon in being hopeful about the Bolshevik revolution (his brother was people's commissar in Lenin's first government). Nonetheless, he (and his brother) confounded the Russian intelligentsia's distinction between Russia's 'bad Yids' (socialist atheists) and 'good Jews' (obedient and exotic religious conservatives): while espousing a philosophical system that based itself on Dostoevsky, he was also a supporter of the new revolutionary order in Russia as well as a practising Jew, who, in another table-turning operation, ascribed Dostoevsky's anti-Semitism to his Old Testament Messianism; in its place he proposed not a New Testament universalism (though he was happy to use the language of crucifixion and immaculate conception metaphorically), but a *Mishnaic* Messianism, which tallied exactly with Russia's new revolutionary role in world history! In emigration, he sympathized with the Eurasian movement and defended Jewish particularity in a friendly epistolary exchange with Karsavin. Steinberg is thus a fascinating case of a Russian-Jewish religious-philosophical fusion.<sup>19</sup>

Frank (1877–1950) was, of course, a first tier Russian philosopher. Unlike the preceding thinkers, he solved his own 'Jewish problem' by converting to Orthodoxy. In an autobiographical extract he famously wrote that it was his Jewish grandfather's legacy that formed the basis of his first mental worldview.<sup>20</sup> This Jewishness is probably best seen not so much as religious (his childhood visits to synagogue), but predominantly

<sup>17</sup> Shestov was forbidden by Russian law, as a Jew, from marrying his non-Jewish, Orthodox Christian wife. The same was true of Gershenzon: although his intended spouse was born Jewish, she had converted to Orthodoxy; it was only by converting further to Protestantism that the two could be wed.

<sup>18</sup> For Steinberg's philosophical essays, cf. Shteinberg (2011). For his Volphila period, cf. Belous (2005). Steinberg's memoirs (Shteinberg 1991) contain recollections of major artistic, literary, and philosophical figures of Russian life from 1913–1921.

<sup>19</sup> On Steinberg see Portnova (2007), Belous (2011), Stolovich (2011), and Rubin (2010, chapter 5).

<sup>20</sup> For his brief autobiography written in Berlin in 1935, see 'Predsmertnoe: vospominanie i mysl'i' (Frank 1996, 39–58).

cultural: his family was German-speaking and hailed from the borderlands between Prussia and the Russian empire. All his life, the German language was to play a strong emotional and intellectual role in his development: while he saw his philosophy as embodying a ‘Russian worldview’, curiously enough many of his key influences were Germans. This was partly true of other Russian philosophers, of course, but Frank actually wrote his major work (*The Unfathomable*) in German, and unlike Ern, Berdiaev, or Bulgakov, was almost unique in not succumbing to anti-German hysteria in the First World War. Even in the Second World War, when he was hounded out of Germany for being a Jew, and had to rewrite *The Unfathomable* in Russian so as to find a publisher, he devotedly separated the beloved German language and heritage from the thuggery of Nazism.<sup>21</sup> Russian spirituality and German philosophy and poetry were thus ingredients in a philosophical universalism which was undoubtedly part of a general pre-war ‘pan-European’ Jewish intellectual worldview, which was manifested particularly strongly, albeit with obvious differences, among German Jewish religious philosophers such as Hermann Cohen and Franz Rosenzweig (see Rubin 2010, chapter 6).

To different degrees Shestov, Steinberg, and Gershenzon had sensed limitations in their inherited native Jewishness (just as Russian thinkers had critiqued their native Orthodoxy), and they sought to expand their horizons by entering into Russian intellectual life. None of them thereby rejected their Jewishness, at least not fully: rather, as with contemporary Russian-Jewish writers like Mandelstam or Pasternak,<sup>22</sup> the traditional Jewish veneration of the word, together with the emancipated Jewish passion for universalism that was a reaction against perceived religious Jewish exclusivism, also manifested itself in these philosophers: they rejected the nationalist Slavophile aspects of Russian thought, and honed in on the pan-European elements. Despite his conversion to Orthodoxy, the same trend can be detected in Frank. Here the ground had been laid by Soloviev’s ‘Jewish excavations’, which made it entirely plausible for Russian Christian philosophy to be a home for a converted Jew. And just like Soloviev, Frank’s Christianity eschewed canonical church divisions: as he confessed to his son at the end of his life, it was not so much Russian Orthodoxy that Frank felt at ease in, as a universal non-denominational Christianity (Boobbyer 2001, 221). Like Gershenzon, Frank also venerated Pushkin, although the poet’s congenial pantheistic spirit was interpreted by him not as an ahistorical, general Eastern-apocalyptic religion of the Spirit, but rather as the best of universal Russian Christianity.<sup>23</sup> Frank also saw the word veneration of his friend and unconverted literary critic Iurii Aikhenvald as a sort of covert Christian veneration of Christ the Logos; he pointed also to the implicit Christian spirit of his (and Soloviev’s) beloved Spinoza. The proximity of Frank’s German- and Russian-Jewish philosophic Christian sensibility to Gershenzon’s new general ‘Eastern religiosity’ can also be seen in a remarkable casual comment in a letter to his daughter, in which he

<sup>21</sup> For more on Frank’s life, including the Jewish aspects see Boobbyer (1995).

<sup>22</sup> For the Jewish aspects of these Russian greats, cf. Epstein (2004).

<sup>23</sup> Frank wrote at least five essays on Pushkin; two that discuss the poet’s religiosity are Frank (1933) and ‘Pushkin i dukhovnyi put’ Rossii’ (Frank 1996, 273–7).

called the Persian Sufi al-Hallaj ‘the greatest mystic since Christ’, thus bypassing an entire array of Christian saints (Boobbyer 2001, 199). The stunning implications of this elevation of a Muslim mystic are deepened when we consider that he also used an epithet from al-Hallaj to introduce *The Unfathomable*.<sup>24</sup>

In sum, Russian religious philosophy was shaped by Judaic and Jewish influences at its very inception in the work of Soloviev; but it also attracted a particular type of Russian-Jewish intellectual, and thereby created a new type of European Jewish thought on the very boundaries of Christian and Jewish philosophy. This thought combined the special universalism, or Messianism, of both Jewish and Russian thinking; it also combined Jewish and Russian preoccupation with the metaphysical meaning of history. One can perhaps say, too, that the practice of philosophy as spiritual Wisdom was also a common Russian and Jewish theme, as well as the thirst for truth in an intimate relationship with the incarnated and concrete-historical, or prophetic, Logos. For Steinberg, Gershenzon, and Shestov, this Logos was primarily the canon of Russian and European literature; for Frank, it was all this, but also the incarnated Logos of the historical Christ (as it was in different ways for philosophical writers like the converted Mandelstam and Pasternak).

## CONCLUSION

In concluding, we can state a paradox: Russian religious philosophy was practised primarily in the power centres of imperial Russia (Moscow, Kiev, St. Petersburg), most often by members of its Orthodox Christian ruling class. And yet the all-expansive nature of imperial Russia, which by the end of the period was arguably the largest and most diverse country in the world, was reflected in the universalistic ambitions of its Christian philosophy. Even in Eurasianism, which was nominally open to non-Christian religions, this universalism was decidedly a Christian universalism that digested and dissolved non-Christian input (as Jewish critics like Ginsberg and Levin observed). However, the engagement of Russian Christian thinkers with Jews and Judaism, and the stubborn continued presence in the Russian spiritual intelligentsia of ‘Jewish Jews’ like Shestov, Gershenzon, and Steinberg show that, to some extent, there was room for a stimulating pluralism at the heart of Slavophile Russia’s attempts to think about itself in cosmic and absolute terms. Many of the Jewish thinkers examined here could have chosen, after all, to join German or Polish intellectual culture; the fact that many of them (who were in effect recently Polish Jews) ‘chose Russia’ and immersed themselves in its Silver Age is testimony to the richness and deep attractiveness of that cultural project.

<sup>24</sup> It reads: ‘To understand means not only to see things but to see how they are immersed in the absolute.’



## WORKS CITED

- Bar-Yosef, Hamutal (2000), 'The Jewish Reception of Vladimir Solov'ev', in *Vladimir Solov'ev: Reconciler and Polemicist*, ed. Wil van den Bercken, Manon de Courten, and Evert van der Zweerde. Leuven: Peeters.
- Belous, Vladimir (2005), *Volphila*, nos. 1, 2. Moscow: Tri Kvadrata.
- Belous, Vladimir (2011), 'A. Z. Shteinberg i Volphila', in Shteinberg 2011, 695–734.
- Boobbyer, P. C. (1995), *S. L. Frank: The Life and Work of a Russian Philosopher, 1877–1950*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Boobbyer, P. C. (2001), *S. L. Frank: Zhizn' i tvorchestvo russkogo filosofa*. Moscow: Rosspen.
- Budnitskii, Oleg (2012), *Russian Jews between the Reds and the Whites, 1917–1920*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bulgakov, Sergei (1915), 'Sion', in *Shchit: literaturnyi sbornik*, ed. L. Andreev, M. Gorkii, F. Sologub. Moscow: T-vo tipografii A. I. Mamontova, 42–5. Reprinted in Bulgakov 1991a, 7–12.
- Bulgakov, Sergei (1939), 'Nekotorye cherty religioznogo mirovozzreniia L. I. Shestova', *Sovremennye Zapiski*, no. 68, Paris.
- Bulgakov, Sergei (1991a), *Khristianstvo i evreiskii vopros*, ed. Nikita A. Struve. Paris: YMCA-Press.
- Bulgakov, Sergei (1991b), 'Rasizm i khristianstvo', in Bulgakov 1991a, 19–140.
- Bulgakov, Sergei (1997), *The Holy Grail and the Eucharist*, trans. Boris Jakim. Hudson, NY: Lindisfarne Books.
- Burmistrov, Konstantin (2007), 'The Interpretation of Kabbalah in Early 20th-Century Russian Philosophy: Soloviev, Bulgakov, Florenskii, Losev', *East European Jewish Affairs* 37/2: 157–87.
- Engelstein, Laura (2009), 'The Old Slavophile Steed: Failed Nationalism and the Philosophers' Jewish Problem', in Engelstein, *Slavophile Empire: Imperial Russia's Illiberal Path*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press.
- Epstein, Mikhail (2004), 'Khasid i talmudist. Sravnitel'nyi opyt o Pasternake i Mandelshtame', *Zvezda* (St. Petersburg), no. 4.
- Florensky, Pavel (2008), *Imena*. Moscow: Eksmo.
- Frank, S. L. (1933), 'Religioznost' Pushkina', *Put'* 40: 16–39.
- Frank, S. L. (1996), *Russkoe mirovozzrenie*. St. Petersburg: Nauka.
- Frankel, J. (2008), *Prorochestvo i politika: Sotsializm, natsionalizm i russkoe evreistvo, 1862–1917*, trans. S. Ilyin, ed. V. Levin. Moscow: Mosty kultury.
- Gershenson, Mikhail (1989), *Griboedovskaia Moskva. P. Y. Chaadaev. Ocherki proshlogo*. Moscow: Moskovskii rabochii.
- Gershenson, Mikhail (1991), 'Tvorcheskoe samosoznanie', in *Vekhi. Iz glubiny*, ed. A. A. Iakovleva. Moscow: Pravda, 73–97.
- Gershenson, Mikhail (1993), *Sud'by evreiskogo naroda (1927)*. Reprinted in *Taina Izraelia: 'Evreiskii vopros' v russkoi religioznoi mysli kontsa XIX—pervoi poloviny XX v.v.* St. Petersburg: Sophia, 468–97.
- Gershenson, Mikhail (2000), *Izbrannoe*, vol. 1: *Mudrost' Pushkina*. Moscow: Gesharim/Mosty kultury.
- Haeckel, Sergei (1992), *Mat' Maria*. Paris: YMCA Press.
- Horowitz, Brian (1994), 'A Jewish-Christian Rift in Twentieth-Century Russian Philosophy: N. A. Berdiaev and M. O. Gershenson', *Russian Review* 53/4: 497–514.
- Horowitz, Brian (2009), 'Mikhail Gershenson: A Jew among the Russian Elite', in *Empire Jews: Jewish Nationalism and Acculturation in 19th- and Early 20th-Century Russia*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica.

- Hosking, Geoffrey (2002), *Russia and the Russians. From Earliest Times to 2001*. London: The Penguin Press.
- Katsis, Leonid (2006), *Krovavyy navet i russkaia mysl': Istoriko-teologicheskoe issledovanie dela Beilisa*. Moscow: Gesharim/Mosty kultury.
- Khoruzhii, Sergei (2005), 'Imiaslavie i kul'tura Serebrianogo Veka: fenomen Moskovskoishkoly khristianskogo neoplaotonizma', in *Opyty iz russkoi dukhovnoi traditsii*. Moscow: Parad.
- Klier, John (1995), *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question 1855–1881*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kornblatt, Judith (1991), 'Androgynous Sophia and the Jewish Kabbalah', *Slavic Review* 50/3: 487–96.
- Kornblatt, Judith (1997), 'Vladimir Solov'ev on Spiritual Nationhood, Russia, and the Jews', *Russian Review* 56/2: 157–77.
- Lossky, Nicolai (1991), *Istoria russkoi filosofii*. Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel.
- Mirsky, Yehudah (2014), *Rav Kook: Mystic in a Time of Revolution*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Mondry, Henrietta (2010), *Vasily Rozanov and the Body of Russian Literature*. Bloomington, IN: Slavica Publishers.
- Portnova, Nelli (2007), "'Russkoe koleno Izrailevo" Aarona Shteinberga', *Lekhaim* 4/180 (April). Available at: <https://lechaim.ru/ARHIV/180/portnova.htm>.
- Rozanov, Vasilii (1993), 'Iudaizm', in *Taina Izrailia: 'Evreiskii vopros' v russkoi religioznoi mysli kontsa XIX—pervoi poloviny XX v.v.* St. Petersburg: Sophia, 105–228. First published as a series of articles in *Novyi Put'*, nos. 7–12 (1903).
- Rozanov, Vasilii (1998), *Oboniatel'noe i osiaznatel'noe otnoshenie evreev k krovi*, ed. A. N. Nikoliukin. Moscow: Respublika.
- Rubin, Dominic (2010), *Holy Russia, Sacred Israel. Jewish-Christian Encounters in Russian Religious Thought*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press.
- Shteinberg, A. Z. (1991), *Druz'ia moikh rannikh let (1911–1928)*. Paris: Syntaxis.
- Shteinberg, A. Z. (2011), *Filosofskie sochineniia*. Moscow: Mir.
- Sobolev, A. (2008), *O russkoi filosofii*. St. Petersburg: Mir.
- Soloviev, Vladimir (1885), 'Novozavetnyi Izrail', *Rus'* (nos. 24, 25). Also in Soloviev 1966, 4: 207–21. For English, 'New Testament Israel', in Soloviev 2008, 89–102.
- Soloviev, Vladimir (1925), 'Talmud i noveishaia polemicheskaiia literatura o nem v Avstrii i Germanii', in *Talmud s prilozheniem F. Getz 'Ob otnoshenii Vl. Solov'eva k evreiskomu voprosu'*, Berlin: Zarya. Also in Soloviev 1966, 6: 3–32. For English, see 'The Talmud and Recent Polemical Literature Concerning It in Austria and Germany', in Soloviev 2008, 121–46.
- Soloviev, Vladimir (1966), 'Evreistvo i khristianskii vopros', in Soloviev, *Sobranie sochinenii Vladimira Sergeevicha Solov'eva*, ed. S. M. Solov'ev and E. L. Radlov, 12 vols. Brussels: Zhizn' s Bogom, 4: 135–85. For English, see 'The Jews and the Christian Question', in Soloviev 2008, 43–88.
- Soloviev, Vladimir (2008), *Freedom, Faith, and Dogma: Essays by V. S. Soloviev on Christianity and Judaism*, ed. and trans. Vladimir Wozniuk. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Stolovich, Leonid (2011), 'Ob A. Z. Shteinberge i ego filosofskikh vozzreniiakh', in Shteinberg 2011, 736–807.
- Weinberg, Robert (2013), *Blood Libel in Late Imperial Russia. The Ritual Murder Trial of Mendel Beilis*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

- Werth, Paul (2014), *The Tsar's Foreign Faiths. Toleration and the Fate of Religious Freedom in Imperial Russia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Williams, Rowan (2007), 'Bulgakov and Anti-Semitism', in *Sergii Bulgakov: Towards a Russian Political Theology*, ed. Rowan Williams. Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 293–304.

## FURTHER READING

- Bar-Yosef, Hamutal (2003), 'Sophiology and the Concept of Femininity in Russian Symbolism and in Modern Hebrew Poetry', *Modern Jewish Studies* 2/1: 59–78.
- Engelstein, Laura (2009), *Slavophile Empire. Imperial Russia's Illiberal Path*. Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press.
- Horowitz, Brian (2013), *Russian Idea, Jewish Presence*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press.
- Horowitz, Brian (2017), *The Russian-Jewish Tradition: Intellectuals, Historians, Revolutionaries*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press.
- Klier, John (1995), *Imperial Russia's Jewish Question 1855–1881*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Klier, John, and Lambroza, Shlomo eds. (1992), *Pogroms: Anti-Jewish Violence in Modern Russian History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kornblatt, Judith (2004), *Doubly Chosen. Jewish Identity, the Soviet Intelligentsia, and the Russian Orthodox Church*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Mondry, Henrietta (2008), *Exemplary Bodies: Constructing the Jew in Russian Culture, 1880s to 2008*. Boston, MA: Academic Studies Press.
- Morson, Gary Saul (1983), 'Dostoevsky's Anti-Semitism and the Critics: A Review Article', *Slavic and East European Journal* 27/3: 302–17.

