

Gery and Subbotniks

- Talmudists and Karaimy

Aleksandr L'vov

The object/subject of this work are the sects Iudeystvuyushchikh, which arose in Russia at the end KHVIII - beginning KHIKH of substances and which exist to this day.

In this religious motion, which covers predominantly peasants, they separate/liberate several directions. One of them they contradict usually against all rest as closest to normativnomu to Judaism or even coinciding with it. The sectarians of this direction are most frequently called *Gerami*, although are encountered other names: *Hatters*, *Talmudists*, *Subbotniks* (last term sometimes it is used as autonym, if next there are no other Iudeystvuyushchikh senses ¹). Subsequently we will use for the designation of this direction term Gery. The sectarians of other directions (*Subbotniks* (*Besshapochniki*, *Karaimity*)) differ from Gerov in its religious practice, which sometimes converge with Karaimskimi ². We will call them Subbotnikami. In the literature, as a rule, is emphasized the proximity of Gerov to the Jews: Strictly speaking, one should and consider the sectarians: they - more accurate - confessors the executors/performers of the law Of Mosaic and Talmud, only Russians on the nationality. ³.

It would seem, a question about the differences between Gerami and Subbotniks this is contained by. Only the one circumstance confuses: it is not entirely understandable that such ispovedniki and the executors/performers of the Mosaic Law and Talmud and what relation has this determination to the ethnography. Actually, both Gery and Subbotniks can call themselves Jews and is considered themselves the followers Mosaic Law: Saturday and Jewish holidays are observed, tyuey kashrut and the like. is at the same time obvious that they make this differently, and to observers, by familiar not by hearsay with the life of Jewish religious community, this difference strikes.

Here, for example, as begins the description of religious the practitioner of Gerskoy community V. Dymshits: Net sense it is in detail to discuss, what precisely Judaic commandments and as fulfilled *Gery*, since the discussion deals with the complete observance of *galakhi* in entire volume and with all special features of ashkenazskogo ritual. I will stop only at some special features of ritual, which distinguish precisely Privolenskuyu Jewish community. ⁴.

By very similar means described Gerov other authors, one way or another directly participating in the religious practice Gerov: S. An-ski ⁵, M. of el'kin ⁶, M. Merimzon ⁷ in the beginning KHKH v., and, together with V. Dymshits, this author - at the end KHKH v. The structure of these descriptions is such: at first is proclaimed the belonging of Gerov with the Jewish of religion, then follows the developed description of the special features of Gerskoy community - deviations from normativnogo Judaism, which are examined now as the special features of this local Judaic community.

Descriptions, built according to this diagram, give the previously predictable result: if Gery from the very beginning are defined as Jews, their evre'lskie. Signs/criteria will be noted and emphasized in the description, and everything else - are omitted or interpreted as Jewish: Ego eye and the nestrizhennaya beard they resembled about our people. In its view there were skorb' and fear, voice sounded it got tired and gentle, in it were visible the typical signs/criteria of Jew in Galute. ⁸.

The identification of Gerov as Israelites, as svoix, occurs at the level faster emotional, than logical, and even gaps/spacings in the Jewish knowledge of peasants are received as their impressing evidence Jews. For example, staricok, that forgot blessings and is lost repeated

the first word, causes in educated s. An-skogo something like the religious enthusiasm: I if only prayers reach the throne of Most High, then this lost "Borkhu" of old man- peasant surely caused the trembling of enthusiasm in all celestial spheres, and it was accepted by the Lord as the best gift of human heart.⁹.

V. Dymshits' attempt to find formal, but not emotional bases for the acknowledgement of Gerov by Jews appears by important step/pitch forward against the background of these religious enthusiasm. It is at the same time obvious that polnoe the observance of galakhi. By this base be cannot (at least, if we count, as now this accepted, to galakhu - by arch/summary of laws, by the enumeration of commandments). Gery, as all other Jews, observe by no means all commandments. However - and this the authors cited above perceive well - Gery, in contrast to the Subbotniks, observe commandments *in Yiddish*. In other words, observers, more or less participating to the Jewish religious tradition, they are in this question faster informants (and in this quality of their evidence they possess for us undoubted value), than by ethnographers, is removed ob7ektivno by those describing strange culture.

Since the author places himself precisely in this category, he cannot rely on his own field observations and intuitions in a question about the difference between Gerami and Subbotniks: this difference is too obvious for it. Therefore appears the need for turning to the evidence of Russian ethnographers, missionaries and jurists, who wrote about of the Iudeystvuyushchikh in KHIKH v. and tested/experienced, on the contrary, serious difficulties in the description differences between the senses.

The merit of the discovery/opening the difference between Gerami and Subbotniks in the domestic ethnography belongs TO S.V. to Maximov, who described his visit s. free, by the Transcaucasian stoliqy. Iudeystvuyushchikh: Pri mutual concordant persuasion to follow the law Of Mosaic and Jewish customs, in one and the same settlement of two differences... this visible discord, which was seeming at first negligible, with further observations and questions proved to be very serious and essential. Seeckt Iudeystvuyushchikh actually it was decomposed into two senses.¹⁰. Let us note that to Maximov the difference between Gerami and Subbotniks did not seem by essential at first: indeed those, etc. follow Mosaic Law and itself (with some reservations) is considered Jews. Differences in the arrangement, in the stylistics of the observance of law, that strike to Jewish observers and having for them decisive importance, to Maximov are not simply visible. Its attempts to find the objective bases of this separation by the fact are more interesting for us.

It is interesting that the differences in the rituals, about which Maximov much and it seems willingly tell his informants, ethnographer do not seem essential. Probably; therefore it is confused in the parts, first assigning to Geram the Subbotnitskiye strict laws of dirtiness ¹¹, then asserting that Gery from these laws went away, since stali to deepen more in the moral essence of Jewish study and to grow cold to the trifles of rites. - In contrast to the Subbotniks, which vsemi by forces are caught for the rite and the legend.¹². But, to Maximov's honor, it is necessary to note that the enumeration of the numerous and not always reliable in his account differences between Gerami and Subbotniks it begins from other: Otdelenie those, etc. was said, first of all, fact that Gerov have rabbi their and scientific: they troublesome search for such, which would be natural Jew and real rabbi. In Subbotniks the rabbi, whom they call *r* and *binomial*, also their, and besides the responsibility of teacher and svyashchennosluzhitelya can take upon himself anyone who knows how and laughs.¹³.

Not long before Maximov, in 1862 Sibidarski1 county assessor notified protoireya of Baku cathedral, which the Molokans, who name themselves Iudeystvuyushchimi, adhere to Talmud, and recognizing the sect of Karaites, they name themselves Subbotniks.¹⁴. Similarly explains to Maximov the difference between Gerami and Subbotniks one of his informants: My, Gery, pure/clean Talmudists; Subbotniks, must be assumed/set, they adhere to more than

karaimskogo study.¹⁵. Nevertheless Maximov places as the chief concern not relation to Talmud, but preference in the selection of teachers - Rabbis.

In actuality, for the ethnographer of determination like priderjivahts⁴ Talmud or cistye Talmudists. They are not explanation, but, it is faster, by a new question. Indeed the presence of the treatises of Talmud in the Iudeystvuyushchikh communities is not fixed ^{by 16}. From other books, which relate to the Talmudicheskoy tradition, large part (sidury, treatise Pirkei Of Avot, the collections of aggady and the like in the transfers/translations into the Russian language) is used both by Gerami and by Subbotniks. Another, smaller part (in essence this - galakhicheskiye codes without the transfer/translation) is encountered almost exclusively in Gerov, but, according to available to us data, these books in practice were not used and had for their owners -Gerov faster symbolic value ^{of 17}. It is difficult to visualize that different relation to these nechitayemym books and to Talmud in particular served as base for the separation between priderjivah⁵imis⁴ Talmud by Gerami and as its not recognizing Subbotniks. In all likelihood, the tendency of Gerov toward the possession by such books is the consequence of the already prevailing separation Iudeystvuyushchikh, but not by its reason.

Observation of Maximov, who connected this separation with the different relation to ravvinam. from prirodnyx Jews, it remains for us the only deserving attention (although needing refinement) hypothesis.

The contrast of Karaites and Talmudists, which exists in the Jewish of religion is already more than 1000 years, it proved to be that perceived by Russian peasants -iude1stvuh⁵imi. In all likelihood, it proved to be consonant to some to the internal, in the Russian traditional culture existing separation, which appeared in different relation to the out-of-town Jews. By what factors could be determined this relation?

First of all let us note that the personal qualities of Jews played far from most important role in the formation of these relations. Thus, for instance, formed Siberian Ger Of the moisey Of Koz'min notes: Vajna⁴ the task of training the Subbotniks fell out frequently in the fraction/portion of different rogues, exiled from Russia into Siberia, Jews damaged morally, who along the way stopped in the Subbotniks.<...> this repeatedly was necessary to test/experience to my father, who was especially hunter assume/take wanderer- Jews. As a result, writes Koz'min, Iudeystvuyushchiye poter⁴li any confidence in Jew, they ridiculed, they made fun him. And nevertheless in each strannike - Jew Gery were ready to see their teacher: nesmotr to such relations of Subbotniks to the Jews, the first cannot manage without the latter and they always use their services.¹⁸.

Another striking special feature of the relation Iudeystvuyushchikh to the Jews - these are frequently encountered determinations nasto⁴5i1.and prirodny1. Even for Gerov, which are received by Jews as svoi., the difference between nasto⁴5imi. by Jews and by Gerami preserves its high significance. This is how explains this difference one of the informants s. An-skogo:Nas with the Jews to compare something. We, Gery, must its position to remember <... > in the Bible as is said: "I agreement concluded ⁴ with the people by my by Israel". It means, the Lord concluded agreement to the eternal periods with the people of Israel. It gave to it to Thor on Sinaye, gave to it "613 precepts" - fulfill. Well, it is agreeable. Here is passed time - and the Lord sees: Israel does not carry out precepts. The Lord is distressed - yes nothing you will do. You will not destroy agreement.

It is concluded/included to the eternal periods. He here and tells Israel: "it is difficult to you to carry out all 613 precepts - guard although Easter and Yom-Kipur". But Israel this does not want, and that it does not carry out. Is distressed the Lord still more - yes nothing you will do. And he says: "although you no my precepts carry out, but nevertheless you my

people Israel, and on you will rest the paradise of the ancestors of your, patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac and Yakov". Such a one it is here with Israel. Jew although does not carry out law, but he nevertheless remains Jew, and everyone knows that he is Jew. But Ger that? Thus far it carries out strictly all precepts, it Jew, and only it stepped back, today it did not pray, tomorrow it went with the peasant into the restaurant, day after tomorrow drunk got drunk and by bad word mouths its defiled, it no lonGer Jew. And everyone will say: "what it Ger - peasant drunk, is more than nothing!"¹⁹.

Let us note that this reasoning is in certain contradiction with the galakhoy, according to which the descendants of Gerov (proselytes) are usual Jews, and Gery themselves, which passed once the procedure of giyura, can remain Jews, even disrupting commandments. Bases for another understanding. Gerstva. It is necessary to search for, obviously, not in galakhe, but in the Russian traditional culture. Let us look again to the cited text. Natural Jews. They are described in it by means of mythological identification ²⁰ with the Jews by biblical. Their Jews - nekonventional'no ²¹, it is determined by the will of god, composes their internal essence and does not depend even on their own desires and efforts/forces: in any event. Everyone knows that he is Jew. A different matter is Gery, which are Jews on our own will, on the human, but not godly arbitrariness. Their Jews is conventional: it depends on the external signs/criteria (observance of commandments) and on the fact that precisely everyone will say.

Perception by Gerami of the incoming to them Jews explains well developed T.B. of Shchepanskoy the model of interaction of peasant community and wanderer, allotted by the functions of leader ²². It comes, it was, this settler- Jew, and that and lost appearance of Jew, plucked, torn, dirty, hungry and sick.²³ - assert that he there is present natural Jew. For Iudeystvuyushchikh this assertion indicates the claim on sacral status, which can be placed in one row with the tradition of Russian political and religious imposture ²⁴. Possession of one of the ritual specialties or at least by Jewish certificate gave to out-of-town Jews into the hands the collection of symbols with the sufficiently indeterminate value, where wanderer can put activity plan necessary to it.²⁵ Thus, for Gerov, which recognized the authority of these strange leaders. Their direct substantiation religious practitioner occurred not the text of Bible, but oral of Thor, perceived from the identified with biblical Israel out-of-town Jews.

Subbotniks, in contrast to Gerov, insisted on the correctness of their customs; however, for them it is extremely important to obtain approval natural Jews to conquer them in the dispute. Here is, for example, the fragments of interview with the tutor of the community of Subbotniks ²⁶, 1936 g.r., written down in 2000 g. in Stavropol:

Inf.: Here is woman's Monthly occur in it. So in you as it is considered? But it unclean?

SOB: Yes.

Inf.: It to sidit' ²⁷ separately?

SOB: No.

Inf.: But well and as this?

SOB: But in you separately, yes?

Inf.: Yes. But why here in you not to sidyat'?! That you are more... as... present, radical. You are Jews![...] you all this know, they are familiar. But why here in you it... together khodyut, everything are done? It does not sit separately?

SOB: Well, are here so... such customs.

Inf.: [smiles] Slukhay, fog! In them differently.

Inf.2: Differently they make in them.

Inf.: I know; therefore 4 and I ask. Differently. But why differently?!

SOB: However, Na, Vy knows

SOB: However, To n, Vy you know... With yerami [by Gerami] together they lived in the free. You saw, in them the same customs...

Inf.: But them who justified?! They rights y?! What so here... do not sit - they are right?! Them they did justify? But in the law... You do read law? [...] you read. But in the law as it is written? If woman is unclean... Yes? It must sit seven days, be cleaned. It is so written? But why it not sit- that?!

SOB: Well, it is possible differently to understand...

INF.: But because it is difficult! To sit - this is difficult! Children - small - to ist' request, they request to drink... It is here in to mine so 8 children were [...] must be prepared, it is necessary to weld, it is necessary to bake, it is must cho... It means, I will walk, I will not sit - it is certain, to me... it is easy!

As is evident, informant instead of telling about its culture as it is assumed .i.e., answering questions of collector, it approaches to intercept initiative and to describe about its customs in the form of question- claims the culture of collector- Jew. Numerous conversations in this style are written down by expeditions of 1997 in s. free and 2000 g. into Stavropol edge 28.

Stories about the disputes with the Jews compose the important part of folklore narrative of Subbotniks, for example: Real Rabbis arrived in us, and they were surprised even, as strictly we observe Mosaic law, and we could not us dispute.²⁹ The more developed stories of such type are located also in the materials of last expeditions. It is interesting that written down in the middle KHIKH v. the words can be to describe, obviously, and the given above fragment of the interview, where for the collectors it was necessary to play role real Rabbis..

If Gery see in the Jew- wanderers of their teachers - in complete agreement with the concept T.B. of Shchepanskoy, then the ratio to them of Subbotniks makes it possible to assume existence in the Russian peasant culture of another model of behavior with respect to, to wanderers. Existence and traditionalism of this model indicates not only its use by the Subbotniks, which placed it into the base of its Etna- religious identity the same model of behavior - as individual, but not group characteristic - demonstrates Ger, one of the informants S.A. An-skogo: From the first two words it is evident that this is dialectician, who was tempted in the religious debates. Its speech showed multicolors by quotations from the Bible and the prophets. Even at me it arrived with the Bible and the catechism, accurately it was gathered to become involved with me in debate.³⁰

Almost all stories of this Gera represent by its person, who conquers in the dispute of their - always higher than it standing - ill-wishers. Caused for the exhortation, he tells the priest: I only passed from your faith/belief in the faith/belief Christ's - it is more than nothing.- as so?...- Thus the Christ of what faith/belief was? Judaic? Here 4 V its faith/belief it passed. Priest recognizes his damage/defeat and writes so that they would send the nine additional priests in the aid. But to me he says our hero to argue and to perekoryat'sya nevertheless with them, that honey to drink, because I strike them, we do not throw, but by in a word Bozhiim.³¹ Gendarme officer tells it: How do you do, Gide!- I thank obediently, answer.- 4

for this name much suffered. And you did not offend me, but they praised.³² They judged and exiled it. Once it arrived for help at the fiscal rabbi and heard from it: You pass into the Judaic faith/belief, so that the Jews would help you. It left not which, but before, of course, he answered: No, the honorable rabbi. this your Jews pass into the orthodox faith/belief so that the rights are different to obtain yes tips. But Jewish faith/belief that can give, besides stitch abuses?³³.

Pantom (point) of these stories appears the disclosure/expansion of the intellectual and moral superiority of man from bottoms above the representative high culture. It is obvious that between the behavior of teller and the model of behavior, described in his stories, there is the same correspondence as between the stories of Subbotniks about the disputes by Rabbis and by the method of conducting the dialogue with the Jew- collectors. It... accurately was assembled to become involved with me in debate correctly it noted An-ski.

Finally, the same model of behavior man from the people directed toward the demonstration of superiority lower the culture above/high it became the collision of the very, probably known story of Vasiliy Shukshin. It cut off. In how its hero Gleb Kapustin it cut off/out-of-town Candidates of Sciences, and, which is more important, in its constant readiness to humble/notable guest is learned the model of behavior, which was being widely used by sectarians.

Of Gery, which assumed/took Jews as the teachers and followed their indications, deserved thus name Talmudists.

It is possible to assume that the disputes of Subbotniks with the out-of-town Jews were received by the latter as the negation to oral Tori/Torr and attempt to teach galakhu from the writing which in the Jewish tradition is associated first of all with the study of Karaites. Jews, possibly, named/called Subbotniks Karaites - and they explained by them, who such Karaites. In any case, in 1870- X yr. the Subbotniks Of the Tsarevskogo district of Astrakhan province reported to out-of-town orthodox missionary about their attempt to meet with the Karaites and to borrow their rites: To us it is desirable to be drawn together with the Karites we are close to them in our rites. Recently we sent our into Kerch to the Karaites to learn about their orders in the faith/belief and the praying and requested them to write our rules of faith/belief for us. But Karaites could not carry out our request: they do not know well our language, and our ambassadors do not know Jewish.³⁴ It is obvious that to these Subbotniks about existence of Karaites it was known, before they attempted with them meeting - and learned about the Karaites they, most likely, from the Jews. The difficulties of the intercourse of Subbotniks with the Karaites proved to be surmountable. In 1893 Astrakhan missionaries revealed/detected that Prishibinskiye Subbotnik- Karaites acquired transfer/translation from the Jewish text to the Russian language of the book "order of prayers for the Karaites" and printed in The Tsaritsynskoy printing house. The printing of prayer books gave courage to tell Subbotniks that their faith/belief was approved by government. It turned out that on the relation with the Moscow censorial committee the transfer/translation of prayer-book was permissible to the publishing in Moscow 18- GO of April of 1882.³⁵ this, as far as we know, the earliest transfer/translation of karaimskogo prayer-book into the Russian language bilingual. Voice of Iakova, until now, that appearing basic prayer book in Subbotniks, was published into Vil'no in the beginning KHKH v It would be interesting to compare the relation of Subbotniks k. to real Rabbis. With their relation k. to real Karaites. But, unfortunately, no straight/direct evidence about their contacts we thus far have available.

Report at the Ninth International Conference on Iudaike, Moscow, February 2002

Notes

- 1 see, for example, M. Koz'min. Past and present Siberian sectarian- Subbotniks// Jewish old times. Vol. 6. of 1913.The discussion in the article deals with Gerakh.
- 2 Cm. OF T.I. Of Butkevich. Survey/coverage of Russian sects and their senses. Kharkov, 1910.S. 397-401.
- 3 there. S. of 398.
- 4 Dymshits v. ethnographical description sat down free// the materials of 6-1 international interdisciplinary conference on iudaik. Jewish culture and cultural contacts. H. 3. Of M., 1999.S. 76-77.See also "brief report about the expedition in Azerbaijan".
- 5 S.A. Rappoport (An-ski1). Among Iudeystvuyushchikh. From the travelling notes// collected works. Vol. 3. destroyers of fence. St. Petersburg, 1912.
- 6 M. Yelkin.To diye Gerim there Of zhudina// Mitteilungen ZUR Of zhudisyuen To volkskunde, 31.Sh., 1929.
- 7 M. Merimzon. Story of old soldier// Jewish old times. Vol. 6. of 1913.
- 8 Yelkin. To diye Gerim there Of zhudina. P. 67.
- 9 An-ski1.Among Iudeystvuyushchikh. S. 287.
- 10 S. Maximov. After the Caucasus// domestic notes.Kn.2-4.1867. s. 341.
- 11 there. S. 340-341.
- 12 there. S. 344.
- 13 there. S. of 342.
- 14 Butkevich. Survey/coverage of Russian sects and their senses. S. 597.
- 15 S. Maximov. After The Caucasus. S. 345.
- 16 exception is one volume, Talmud Pereferkovicha, discovered by expedition of 1997 Gerov have s. free. However, this book, which is the critical transfer/translation Of Mishny and Tosefty, was there faster the object/subject of the pride of its mistress, than by the source of dogma.
- 17 see, for example, evidence M. of el'kina:. Several books lay/rested on the large tables: Khoshen mishpat, yora of dea, Bible, K[it-sur] Of shulkhan of arukh. This was entire/all library, yes even it, by its acknowledgement, it examines not too well. It is clear that laudanum it was not.(Yelkin 1929:67-68).But in 1997, investigating bag with the old books, which were being stored in one of the houses s. free, the author revealed/detected several commentaries to Talmud of the publication of end KHIKH - beginning KHKH of substances with the continuous pages.
- 18 M. Koz'min. Past and present Siberian sectarian- Subbotniks. S. 7.
- 19 An-ski1.Among Iudeystvuyushchikh. S. 289-290.
- 20 Cm. OF YU.M. Of lotman, B.A. Uspenski. Myth-name- culture// B.A. is Uspenski.

Chosen transactions. T.y. M., 1996.S. 433-437.

21 sr. of the reasoning B.A. of Uspenski about nekonventional'nosti word Tsar which comes forward in ancient Russia as sacral word and, sootvetsvenno, is characterized by that nekonventional'nost'yu with respect to the lingual sign, which is characteristic generally for the sacral vocabulary; thus, name itself by Tsar in no way can be considered as purely arbitrary, voluntaristic report/event. B.A. is Uspenski. Tsar the impostor: samozvanchestvo in Russia as cultural-historical phenomenon// the chosen transactions. T.y. M., 1996.S. of 144.

22 T.B. Shchepanskaya. Strange leaders (about some traditions of social control in Russians)// the ethnic aspects of authority. St. Petersburg, 1995.S. 211-240.

23 M. Koz'mins. Past and present Siberian sectarian- Subbotniks. S. 7.

24 although from our point of view these out-of-town Jews were by no means impostors, for Iudeystvuyushchikh, that understood present Jews as biblical Israel, these wanderers pretended to the role, similar on its sacral status to the role of Tsar, Christ, saint, etc.- see footnote 4.

25 Shchepanskaya. Strange leaders. S. 224.

26 on the request of our informants, their names and name populated areas we do not indicate.

27 v of the tradition of the Subbotniks (but not Gerov) woman during the monthly (i.e. in the state of ritual dirtiness) must not touch not any objects/subjects, except those specially isolated for this period of dishes and bed. In this case she, in particular, is deprived of the possibility to be occupied by domestic work, this is called, to sit separately..

28 A.L. L'vov, A.A. Panchenko, S.A. Of Shtyrkov. Field examinations of the culture of the sectarian- Subbotniks: expedition Petersburg iudaiki in the Stavropol edge// report at the eighth yearly international interdisciplinary conference on iudaiki; February 2001 g., Moscow.

29 S. Maximov. After The Caucasus. S. 344.

30 An-ski1.Among Iudeystvuyushchikh. S. of 291.

31 there. S. 292-293.

32 there. S. 297.

33 there. S. 299. It is necessary to note that present Gerov they frequently provoke to sozdniye of similar narrative of encounter with the clerks of Israeli embassy.

34 K. Popov. At the praying meetings in Subbotniks// wanderer.1877, Vol. 2.S. 199.

35 report of Astrakhan Cyril -Mefodievskogo society for 1891-1892 and 1892-1893// are the Astrakhan diocesan to vedomesti, 1894, 12-18, s. 186.