

The Labyrinth of Worlds: An-sky's Dybbuk from a Legal, Cultural, and Psychological Perspective

Yaniv Shimon Goldberg

Abstract

The phenomenon of the "Dybbuk" belongs to the category of "possession", which refers to a demon or nonhuman spirit that enters a human body and causes a person to behave in an abnormal behavior. In Jewish society, the notion of "Dybbuk" appeared as early as the sixteenth century to describe Jewish modes of possession in Rabbinic documents from Safed, where the Jewish theory of the dybbuk developed. The ritual to exorcise the dybbuk "rectifies" the soul. This rectification or *tikkun*, according to the Kabbalistic perspective, hastens the Redemption and affords the Jewish nation hope for greater economic and spiritual wellbeing in the future. In the psychoanalytic classification, "Dissociative Identity Disorder" (DID), also known as "Multiple Personality Disorder," is characterized by at least two distinct and relatively enduring identities or dissociated personality states, which control a person's behavior in alternation; it is accompanied by memory impairment with regard to important information, of a sort that cannot be explained by ordinary forgetfulness. As a mental process, DID protects the individual and helps him or her deal with traumatic situations. Ideas, information, and feelings are not integrated because assimilation is unbearable for the ego. This article builds a model to encompass the dybbuk testimonials and uses it to examine the fictional story of S. An-sky, the play *Tzvisht'n Tzvey Velt'n* (*Der Dybbuk*) [*Between Two Worlds (the Dybbuk)*]. An analysis of An-sky's play in light of the model, reveals that this is not a traditional dybbuk story or a Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID), but a story about a girl named Leah that creates separation and individuation from the object, her father, who, following her mother's death, became her care taker and from the community, in order to build her Object Constancy. In this stage Leah experiences herself as a separate entity. At the same time, she also develops the sense that she exists and has a unique life with its own limits and continuity. Unfortunately, in that moment the impressive and terrifying ceremony of exorcism swamps her defense mechanisms and causes their collapse. As a result, she experiences a deep and traumatic regression, in which she hears the voice of Khonon, her strongest passion, calling to her to be united with him and she dies.

Introduction

One of the seminal texts of Yiddish literature and of Yiddish and Hebrew-language drama is *Between Two Worlds (the Dybbuk)*, by S. An-sky (Solomon Zainvil Rapaport, 1863–1920). An-sky worked on the play from 1914 to 1919, first in a Russian version and then in his own rewrite-translation

into Yiddish. The final version was published in 1918, in a Hebrew translation by Haim Nahman Bialik, in the debut number of the periodical *Ha-Tequfah*.¹ The first Yiddish publication came only a year later.² The plot is based on a kabbalistic and theological idea that was widespread in the Jewish world from the middle of the sixteenth century and is recorded in more than 120 stories and documents.

In the psychoanalytic classification, “Dissociative Identity Disorder” (DID), also known as “Multiple Personality Disorder,” is characterized by at least two distinct and relatively enduring identities or dissociated personality states, which control a person’s behavior in alternation; it is accompanied by memory impairment with regard to important information, of a sort that cannot be explained by ordinary forgetfulness. The symptoms are not accounted for by substance abuse, seizures, some other medical condition, or fantasy behavior in children.³ As a mental process, DID protects the individual and helps him or her deal with traumatic situations. Ideas, information, and feelings are not integrated because assimilation is unbearable for the ego. What is created is isolation and a separation from difficult emotions and awareness of them.

Before the nineteenth century, people exhibiting symptoms of this sort were believed to be “possessed”. By its nature, the phenomenon of the *dybbuk* belongs to the cultural category of “possession,” which refers to a demon or a nonhuman spirit that enters a human body and causes a person to behave in an unusual fashion. The unusual behavior is expressed in symptoms similar to those of epilepsy, such as fainting and convulsions. The diagnosis of possession comes from the identification of additional symptoms, such as unusual strength, changes in the person’s voice, speaking in a foreign tongue without prior knowledge of it, and so forth. Accounts of possession are not unique to Jewish culture. Cultures differ in their theories about the nature and qualities of the invader. The assumption common to all these theories is that the invader can act independently and influence the destiny of human beings. The possessed person may be said to serve as a means by which the community imposes sanctions on its members.⁴ In every model of possession, the exorcist is a male member of the religious establishment; in most cases the possessed person is a woman or youth from the margins of society. Every method of exorcising demons by those outside the bounds of the religious establishment is regarded as forbidden magic. Since the fifteenth century, Christianity and Islam have seen possession as the work of the Devil, a direct consequence of the possessed person’s sins (although Islam allows that the Devil may work through a djinn which might be a good possession).⁵ The ritual of exorcism is similar in every culture. After the spirit has been identified, the exorcist begins negotiating with it in order to expel it. The ritual is designed to strengthen religion, spread its ideas and symbols, and attract new devotees—even if the earliest exorcists, guided by their theology, were not aware of this. Although their intent, of course, was to save the possessed

person, the way the ritual was conducted, from the earliest such ceremonies, placed strong emphasis on its effect on the audience. After these beginnings, exorcists increasingly employed the ritual as a means of bolstering and reinforcing religion and came to regard the victim's physical and mental condition as a marginal issue. Thus the ceremony became an important instrument for maintaining the power relations between the religious leader and the community and for keeping the community inside the religious framework.

Possession in Jewish culture

In Jewish society, the use of the dybbuk concept to describe Jewish modes of possession can be traced back to the sixteenth century in Safed, where the theory developed. (The word *dybbuk* is short for the Hebrew expression “possession by an evil spirit” [Hebrew *dybbuk*, from *devek* “attachment”]⁶) Although the Jews of Safed were influenced by the Iberian and Ottoman worlds' conception of the phenomenon,⁷ they also made a concerted effort to develop an essentially Jewish explanation and give it a content unique to Jewish culture, with its own perspectives and beliefs. For instance, to comply with Judaism's strict prohibition on dealing with demons (among other reasons, the invading entity was identified as the soul of a dead person and not as a demon or nonhuman spirit.⁸

Testimonies about instances of possession and descriptions of Jewish methods for exorcising demons can be found in many Jewish sources, dating from the Second Temple period to the end of the twelfth century. By contrast, we find no reports of contemporary cases of possession from the end of the twelfth century to the middle of the sixteenth century, even though belief in demons and spirits continued to thrive. At the end of the Middle Ages, this belief in demons and spirits is documented in many texts that describe the demons' power and influence.⁹ The earliest documented exorcism of a dybbuk took place in Safed in 1545, some 300 years after the kabbalistic basis for the phenomenon (the theory of *gilgul* or transmigration and the theory of the *ibbur*) was laid down and around 400 years after the last description in Jewish literature of cases of demonic possession. In the mid-sixteenth century, possession became a common occurrence in Safed, no longer a theoretical belief but a real event. Now, however, a human body was not held to have been invaded by a demon or nonhuman spirit, but by a *neshamah* or “soul”, the spirit of a deceased person whose sins while alive required “rectification” (*tiqqun*). In general, the voice was recognized as the spirit of a deceased person who had lived in the near vicinity and died within the last 40 years, so that he or she remained in living memory, even if the possessed person had not known him/her personally.¹⁰ The reference to a soul rather than to an evil spirit or demon was guided by the halakhic prohibition on magic and shamanic practices—“You shall not permit a sorceress to live” (Exod. 22:17 [18]); “a man or a woman who has a ghost or a familiar spirit

[*alternate translation*: who is a medium or wizard] shall be put to death” (Lev. 20:27)—practices that were eschewed by Jewish society for 400 years, mainly because they were banned by the Church. The new theory was also influenced by ideas related to redemption and the rectification of the world developed by Rabbi Isaac Luria (known as the ARI). The doctrine concerning the nature of spirits, their behavior after they invaded the body of the possessed, and the methods to be followed to expel them, which was developed on the basis of these notions by his disciple, Rabbi Hayyim Vital, was cited as authoritative by future generations and frequently incorporated into stories and documents. The texts that record cases of possession serve as an archetype and model for later generations in all matters associated with diagnosis of the victim as possessed by a dybbuk and the prescribed order of the exorcism ritual. This explains the great similarity among the documents. Those who took part in these ceremonies, whether actively or passively (the possessed person, the exorcist, and the onlookers), were supposed to know the precise scenario in advance and to stick to it. As mentioned above, the first documented case of exorcism of a dybbuk appears in the book *Zafenat Pa’neah*, by Rabbi Judah Hallawah. The author recounts that he was present at such a ceremony in 1545, where the exorcist was none other than Rabbi Joseph Caro, the author of the binding halakhic code, the *Shulhan Arukh*.¹¹

Characteristics of Dybbuk Stories

An analysis of dybbuk exorcism documents uncovers several recurring themes that appear in every testimony of possession:¹²

- The possessed person usually expresses a strong desire to have the dybbuk removed from itself.
- In most cases, the dybbuk resists because of the punishment it will face if he leaves the person’s body.
- The dybbuk does not invade the person’s body in search of rectification for itself, but to find refuge from the angels of destruction that plague it. After the exorcist conducts a rectification for the dybbuk, which makes it possible for the departed soul to enter Purgatory and then Paradise, the angels of destruction can no longer plague it. The dybbuk then agrees to depart, because it no longer has a reason to stay inside the body of the possessed.

There are also two elements of dybbuk stories that are not directly related to the dybbuk itself but to the nature and structure of the community:

- The rabbi (who serves as the exorcist) tries to assert his control over the dybbuk and in most cases succeeds in expelling it. The rabbi’s ability to do so is a test of his leadership and status as a holy man for individuals and for the community as a whole.
- In all the stories, the narrator claims that he is reporting an actual incident.

The first three themes are not present in An-sky's play, so it cannot be defined as a classic dybbuk story. By contrast, the last two are present and even feature prominently in An-sky's play, because they serve the playwright's needs.

Is An-sky's *Dybbuk* Really a Dybbuk Story?

An-sky saw the play as the culmination of his literary career. He based it on material he had gathered on the ethnographic expeditions he led in 1912–1914, whose goal was to preserve Jewish folklore from extinction. This means that the play reflects contemporary attitudes and ideas in Jewish communities, as the author experienced them. An analysis of the play in light of the dybbuk themes enumerated above can shed new light on the work. The play tells a story on two levels. The explicit level is the love story of Khonon and Leah; behind the scenes, however, the plot is propelled by esoteric and mystical forces.

The outward story is the love of Khonon the yeshiva student for Leah, the daughter of the prosperous Sender. Khonon ate one dinner a week at Sender's table,¹³ where he and Leah fell in love. Sender, the wealthiest man in town, is looking for a rich groom for his only daughter. Khonon understands that as an impecunious student he has no chance of winning Leah's hand. In his distress he turned to the mysteries of practical Kabbalah, because he believes that these can be linked to alchemy in order to produce two jugs filled with gold coins. But he dies while conducting the experiment when after he hears that Sender had found a groom to Leah and betrothed her. He reveals the secret of the Double Name and dies (this is one of the dangers in Kabbalah).¹⁴ Just before her wedding to the groom selected by her father, Leah goes to the cemetery to invite her late mother to stand with her under the bridal canopy,¹⁵ and while there also invites Khonon (despite the religious prohibition on inviting deceased nonrelatives to a wedding). When she returns from the cemetery and her groom arrives to cover her with the bridal veil, Leah bursts out in Khonon's voice and screams at him: "You are not my bridegroom!"¹⁶ The bystanders realize that a dybbuk—the spirit of Khonon—has entered Leah.

Leah is brought to the Hassidic rebbe of Miropolye, the *Tzaddic*, Rabbi Azriel,¹⁷ so that he can exorcise the dybbuk. From this moment, the hidden powers that impel the plot begin to surface. It turns out that Khonon's father, Nissen, and Leah's father, Sender, were close friends in their youth and committed themselves by a binding handshake¹⁸ to marry their future offspring to each other, should one have a son and the other a daughter. This means that the two young people's romance was destined by higher powers and cannot be frustrated. But Sender, Leah's father, violated the pact. This led to Khonon's death and left Nissen with no one to carry on his name. Now Khonon, in an attempt to consummate his love for Leah (as well as the pledge between their fathers, although he was unaware of it), has invaded her as a

dybbuk. In the end, Rabbi Azriel manages to expel the dybbuk; but Leah, choosing to return to Khonon, dies and is united with her beloved in heaven.

The Standard Interpretation of the Play

Almost all scholars and commentators on the play started with the assumption that An-sky was motivated to write a dybbuk story by his urge to document the folklore he encountered in his ethnographic research. Chaim Zhitlowsky,¹⁹ for example, believed that the first version of the play in Yiddish was a “simplistic dramatization of raw folkloristic material. Imaginary tales and supernatural events were represented here in an unsophisticated manner, as people told them.”²⁰ In his memoirs, Zhitlowsky writes that An-sky then expanded his text with the goal of describing the inner life of the people among whom these popular beliefs emerged, and not just the beliefs themselves. The play is a realistic psychological drama, which Zhitlowsky, drawing on the phenomena of self-hypnosis and mass hallucination, understood as an attempt to explain the fictional incidents of its plot in a rational manner.²¹ Avraham Shlonsky defined the play as an “ethnographic museum” rather than “an artistic genre work.”²²

Modern scholars have interpreted the work in various ways. Gad Kaynar describes An-sky’s text as a play based on a “fragments of popular legend, Hassidic stories, motifs of fatal love and fatal weddings, and on narrative models of melodramatic horror stories about the dead who invade the world of the living, ... models that are common in the folklore of many peoples, including the Jews.”²³ He contrasts this with the theatrical interpretation of the noted director Yevgeny Vakhtangov, who constructed “a blatantly anti-Jewish agnostic reception of a play that itself debunks the foundations of the establishment and the ethos of the Jews.”²⁴ However, Kaynar also finds that the play has modernist aspects, in which An-sky supports a blatant and explicit violation of the Jewish ethos and preaches in favor of adultery and free love.²⁵ This conception of Kaynar, is based primarily on the analysis of Habima Theater's performance, while placing great emphasis on Christian elements that have penetrated the play such as Leah's crucifixion movement during the deportation ceremony (when she says she does not know where she shall go. Many scholars saw the production of Habima and certainly other productions as a great achievement of Jewish art. Moreover, in an interview given by actress Fanny Lubitsch, one of Habima actresses who participated in the production in Moscow, she clarified that Vakhtangov the director looked for the Jewish symbols, and more than that, he wanted the play to be very precise about the Jewish identity and Jewish customs. For example, in the scene of Leah's encounter with Khonon in the first act in the synagogue, Vakhtangov asked the actress Hannah Rubina, who played Leah, to touch the lighting pole when she said to Khonon: "Hello, Khonon, you are here again." Then when Leah leaves the synagogue Khonon goes to the lighting pole and kisses the place where Leah's fingers

touched. Vakhtangov asked Habima actors, Tzimirinsky and Gnessin, who had Jewish religious knowledge, whether such a thing was allowed in the synagogue, so that the scene would not disturb the Jewish audience who came to see the play.²⁶

Yair Lifshitz examines the play's subversion of gender identity and of the dichotomous gender division of the body. He believes that the play is a journey to the past, an attempt to collect it and engage with it, but also that it is representative of a revolutionary current in the Yiddish and Hebrew culture of the early twentieth century. Lifshitz sees Vakhtangov's presentation of the characters as a reflection of the revolt against the existing and traditional social order. Lifshitz harnesses An-sky's text to serve Vakhtangov's direction, which attached to the dybbuk's invasion a revolutionary aspect that reflects the changes taking place in Eastern Europe in those years in both the religious-cultural arena and in power relations in society (notably the Bolshevik Revolution). He identifies modernist and revolutionary elements in the text, at least in the context of traditional Judaism.²⁷ Freddie Rokem sees the play as portraying intergenerational rebellion; he defines it as a mystical and Hassidic tale in which the love story that is consummated only in the next world does nothing to help the protagonists integrate into the society in which they lived.²⁸ Rokem claims that the characters in the play don't have psychological depth; They inhabit fictional worlds whose design depends mainly on props and physical gestures. Worlds where violence and death are gross. Death and grotesque occupy the center of the stage. The 1922 Habima presentation of the Dybbuk showed how the collapse of traditional Jewish life began while the young man's spirit tempted Leah to unite with him in the sublime abode of a still undefined future. Rokem compares this issue in the play to conflicts over religion and secularism in today's Israel.²⁹

Gabriela Safran claims that in this play, An-Sky succeeded more than any of his other works in achieving his goal as a Jewish writer. An-Sky wanted to create new secular art based on tradition, a new and modern Jewish culture. Therefore, An-Sky made sure to maintain realism and authenticity in the play, and this is the reason he described Khonon as the best student in the yeshiva and therefore deserves Leah, which was accepted in religious Jewish culture at the time, and so on other issues and other moments in the play.³⁰

An-sky himself, though, wrote to Zhitlowsky that his play was "*fundamentally realistic*, even if it presents the world of people who deal in the esoteric. It embodies a struggle between the desires of the individual and the needs of the community to 'preserve the national existence.'"³¹ Moreover, An-sky claimed that the only mystical feature of his work is the bizarre character of the Messenger, and not the dybbuk. The Messenger plays the role of the chorus in Greek tragedy, warning in advance of what is about to happen, as a sort of destiny foreknown. An-sky added this character at a late stage in the writing of the work, at the request of Stanislavski, in order to unify the various parts of the play.³²

An Analysis of the Play in Light of the Themes of Dybbuk Stories and Psychological Perspective

As already noted, every known document about a dybbuk includes explanation that the spirit invaded the living person's body because the former, when alive, committed such heinous sins that it cannot even be admitted to Purgatory. This has left the bodiless soul at the mercy of angels of destruction, which torture and beat it relentlessly. It invades the possessed body to protect itself. The body provides the spirit with a refuge from the angels of destruction, which are not allowed to torment the living. After the exorcist conducts a rectification for the spirit it can enter Purgatory and later ascend to Paradise; so it no longer has any reason to continue its possession of the body. The invading soul is a stranger to the person it comes to possess. Some sin committed by the possessed person makes it possible for the spirit to enter her body; but there is no prior relationship or acquaintance between them. Taking over the body is a means to ask the living to perform a posthumous rectification for the sinful soul. This goal is the essence of the dybbuk. The soul has no interest in remaining in the body after the rectification has been performed. The body serves only as a temporary asylum from the angels of destruction and makes it possible for the soul to communicate with the rabbi and ask him to perform a rectification so that it can be admitted to Purgatory and then to Paradise, the ultimate "rest and haven."

Although An-sky was familiar with accounts of dybbuk exorcism,³³ he chose not to follow the paradigm. Instead, he devised a story of a different type. Khonon invades Leah's body because she is his *basherte*, his "destined one," the bride intended for him, whether because of the pledge between their fathers, made even before they were born, or because a *bas kol* (a heavenly voice) proclaimed the identity of his mate, 40 days before his conception, causing the two to fall in love.³⁴ By the very act of invading Leah he has performed his own rectification and achieved his destiny. Clearly, when the rebbe of Miropolye expels Khonon the dybbuk he is not performing a rectification for him, but, on the contrary, spoiling things, by separating Khonon from his destined communion with Leah. Accordingly, An-sky gives the Messenger a line that is incompatible with the rationale of dybbuk documents but accords perfectly with this love story: "there are also souls who belong nowhere, who find no peace anywhere; they take possession of another person's body in the form of a dybbuk, *and in this way they achieve their purification.*"³⁵ Here An-sky has the Messenger express the idea that the soul's invasion of the living body constitutes its rectification, whereas the traditional dybbuk paradigm holds that the rectification is not while penetration but after the exit, after the rectification has been performed for the spirit. Khonon, by contrast, finds his rectification when he enters Leah, because his rectification is to be united with her. This is a total inversion of the traditional dybbuk model. An-sky hints at this in the very first line of the

play, in the song by the three Batlonim (unemployed men who spend their days in the synagogue): “The redemption / Is contained within the fall.”³⁶ The fall itself is the rectification! This is why, when the rebbe seeks to expel the dybbuk, the latter replies that it has found its mate and consequently will not leave, whereas the theme of the angels of destruction waiting to torment him is marginal and mentioned only once, and incidentally.³⁷ Even when Rabbi Azriel threatens the dybbuk with excommunication, he refuses to yield, explaining that Leah is his destined spouse:

Leah (Dybbuk): In the name of the Almighty God I am joined to my intended forever and will never leave her.³⁸

The dybbuk is not willing to be separated from Leah, because their union is his rectification. This is why, after the exorcism, Leah goes to join him. Leah dies in order to be united with Khonon in romantic and spiritual love, which is eternal and free of the limits imposed by the physical body. Her heart exploded from love (might be a heart attack) because her body couldn't contain such strong love. In this way both find their rectification. The situation is in stark contrast to the overwhelming majority of dybbuk accounts, in which the possessed person had not known the person who became her dybbuk and almost never wants the spirit to remain in her body.³⁹ There is good reason why Leah says, in her last line,

I am enveloped in a blaze of light. My bridegroom, my destined one,
I am united with you for all eternity. Together we will soar higher and higher, ever higher.⁴⁰

In this consummation of their love they are purified and radiant—corresponding precisely to An-sky's explanation, as spoken by the Messenger, that the dybbuk enters the body in pursuit of *oyslayterung*, “purification” or “brightening” (and not just rectification, as in Bialik's translation).

Had An-sky wanted to express only the theological aspect of the rectification of souls, we might expect that he would use in the Messenger's speech, an expression derived from Hebrew, the Holy Tongue from which Yiddish takes most expressions related to religion and tradition: *mesaken zayn*, “perform a rectification,” or even *tikun*, “rectification,” the terms commonly found in the reports of dybbuk exorcisms on which An-sky based the play.⁴¹ But he instead he used the Yiddish *oyslayterung*, which has chiefly secular connotations.⁴² I would like to suggest that An-sky chose this word intentionally, because in addition to its religious sense it also has the profane meaning. In this way, An-sky is hinting that the purification process in his play is profane rather than sacred, an increase of light in pursuit of the secular enlightenment. This is the reason for the great drama of the beggars' dance in the second act. Although An-Sky did not give it a significant dimension in terms of text space, both in the production of *Habima* and in the production of the Vilner Trope for the Beggar's Dance, it had great significance that goes

beyond the dramatic expression of a frightening and dramatic dance. In the dance, the beggars shook Leah and allowed her to metaphorically break free from the shackles of the community that strangled her as she connected to the inner and authentic strengths within her and thus drew strength to rebel in the community and come out of it to reunite with her beloved Khonon. This contention is supported by the line that An-sky give the Messenger at the end of the first act, after Khonon's death. He doesn't use any of the normal expressions for the situation, such as "he has died/passed away, etc." but instead, "he has been damaged—beyond repair."⁴³ The phrase "he was damaged" (or "suffer harm"; Yiddish *nizok ver 'n*) is one that An-sky heard during his expedition from the rabbi of Chmielnik, Rabbi Daniel Slabodiansky. The rabbi owned an ancient manuscript about a dybbuk exorcism that he refused to show An-sky, because of the tradition handed down to him that should a person without perfect faith believe examine the document he was liable to be "damaged"⁴⁴—and, Khonon the dybbuk says explicitly that he is an unbeliever.⁴⁵

What is more, An-sky may be hinting that there is no dybbuk here at all, but only a show put on by Leah, and it is Leah herself who makes the provocative statement that she does not believe. Leah is told that the souls of the departed come to pray in the synagogue at night and leave their sorrows behind.⁴⁶ But it is not clear whether she knows about dybbuks. When the Messenger tells her about them, she may see a glimmer of hope that there may be a way to escape her involuntary marriage, "and in this way achieve her purification."⁴⁷ Leah pays close attention to his lecture and asks the Messenger to tell her more about the phenomenon.⁴⁸ It is possible that Leah realizes that the Messenger (like the chorus in a Greek tragedy⁴⁹) is trying to save her and making her aware of a powerful means to rebel against the establishment and tradition and turn her back on the community. The Messenger offers Leah a way to escape the forced marriage and be reunited with her dead lover. In other words, the Leah-dybbuk is not a real dybbuk, but an act she puts on to challenge the male and religious rabbinic establishment, which represses and regiments her, in the hope of managing to shaking off its control. In psychological terms, Leah creates separation individuation from the object (in this case her father, who, following her mother's death, became her care taker; but also the community). She succeeds, but only by choosing death and casting off the coils of the body, with its limitations and limits, as well as the chains of the community.⁵⁰

Khonon, Leah's lover, goes through the same emotional process. An-sky has him explain Leah's character in a way that tells us the truth about his feelings her. For him, Leah is not an individual, but a way of life severed from the religious tradition: "But Leah (in Hebrew spelling), also spells 'not God,' not through God. (*Shudders*). What a terrible through! Yet how it draws me."⁵¹ In other words, Leah represents rejection of the traditional belief in God. She represents the secular world of the Haskalah, the Jewish

Enlightenment, that Khonon aspires to join. This is not only a love story between a man and a woman, but the interplay of a man and his faith.

In a wider psychological aspect: dissociative identity disorder is actually a post-traumatic stress disorder. The study indicates a link between the severity of dissociative psychopathology, and the severity of the trauma to which a person was exposed in childhood, the degree of chronicity and the age of exposure to trauma.⁵² The 'self' is defined from the developmental point of view as a combination of attitudes, feelings, expectations, and meanings,⁵³ which develops from the early dyadic parental context and influences one's patterns of experience and adaptation. Self-formation is done through processes of differentiation and integration in relation to the caretaker, during which the child learns to integrate them in the work of emotional regulation. Consistent with the formation of the processes of emotional regulation, self-organization also includes processes of developing the child's expectations of himself, of the other, and of himself-in-relation to the other. Some believe that dissociative processes in childhood are normative expressions of an undeveloped level of organization and integration, which make it impossible to understand that contradictory behaviors are part of one piece. For example - that a parent's anger does not contradict the fact that the parent still loves and that the anger is part of the whole benevolent parent.⁵⁴

Clinicians have described in the literature a number of typical identities that exist among many people dealing with DID. These identities are of strategic importance in the course of treating the disorder. For example, the "host" personality is the one who usually seeks treatment and is characterized by depression and PTSD symptoms that accompany episodes of "holes in memory." This identity is usually unaware of the identities that carry the traumatic memories. This identity may identify with the abusive character, but it often represents an angry and frightened childish mental state.

Although the American Psychological Association and the World Health Organization have addressed their definitions in characterizing the specific symptoms of the various dissociative disorders, including DID, they have not defined the nature of the pathological dissociation, which is the common denominator for all disorders. Dissociative psychopathology will be defined here as a disorder in the integration or combined action of the various psychological functions. Dissociative pathology occurs when a person experiences an invasive and unexpected change in awareness and experience of psychological functions such as: desire, intention, thinking, emotion, feeling, hearing, sight, taste, smell, behavior, knowledge, memory, body experience, identity / self, others and the world. A healthy person experiences his body, behavior, memories or emotions as belonging to him, being in his control or arising from him. In other words, the psychological functions are in association with each other and integrated with each other. The pathological condition is when these functions (or some of them) are disconnected or dissociated from each other.

Diagnoses of dissociative identity disorder include changes in identity: observable objective behaviors that express identity change and include self-reference in plural, in other name, identifying a skill that does not characterize the person or a strange and sudden loss of such skill, identifying objects with no memory of getting them and more. The therapist needs to detect various dissociations, micro-amnesia, changes in speech style, mood, changes in speech tone, vocabulary, identity confusion etc.

The goal of DID therapy is to bring the personality system to a more harmonious and integrative function. The strategy to achieve this goal involves mobilizing all parts of the personality for treatment, creating a therapeutic alliance with everyone, improving communication between the parts of the personality and later also strengthening their empathy for each other. DID therapy aims to achieve the integration of traumatic identities and memories into one identity and one historical memory.

Leah's character can be analyzed as suffering from a dissociative identity disorder, and since no action of uniting all parts of the personality was taken during the exorcism ritual action was taken, Leah eventually tries to reunite with Khonon as part of her healing process, but the reunion will only happen after her death. I would like to suggest that this is not a dissociative personality disorder but a clever pretense of Leah using the pattern of obsession or dissociation in order to avoid the forced matchmaking her father arranged. In doing so as I wrote above, Leah connects to her authentic self and constructs her 'self' so she can be independent and a whole individual, separated from her father and the traditional community.

When Leah talks to rebbe of Miropolye she remembers well her host personality. The personality of Hanan speaking from her throat wants to unite with the personality of Leah. There is here, in my opinion, a hint that this is not a dissociative personality disorder in which the parts of the personality are interested in remaining separate in order to protect the soul, mind and body.

Between Two Worlds = The Dybbuk?

In light of the above, it seems plausible that An-sky was not writing a traditional dybbuk tale of the sort he had encountered on his ethnographical expeditions. Rather, he wanted to employ the dybbuk theme to portray the new processes in eastern European Jewish society at the dawn of the twentieth century. In this light it is clear why An-sky considered the play to be realistic rather than mystical.⁵⁵

Eliezer Steinman, in his attack on the play, takes aim at its double title: "It is well known that *The Dybbuk* has another title. ... That title is *Between Two Worlds*, meaning this world and the next. I conjecture that An-sky was not content with one world, and wanted to have another world."⁵⁶ In my view, the title affords precise information about An-sky's intention. He called the work *Between Two Worlds (the Dybbuk)* for good reason. The two worlds he

had in mind are not just this world and the next, in their normal acceptations, not just the world of the living and the world of the dead, but also, and primarily, the old world and the new, the religious and the secular worlds, which An-sky discovered in the course of his ethnographic studies. An-sky saw that the old, traditional world was disappearing and a new, secular and maskilic world was being “created”; human souls (including An-sky himself) found themselves lost in the labyrinth between the two worlds. People were deeply rooted in the traditional milieu, but at the same time they wanted to break out of the enchanted closed circle of the rabbi and tradition and burst forth into the new world.⁵⁷ This is the Dybbuk. The dybbuk is the mad desire or obsession to create a new world, but without destroying the old world and in fact building on its foundations and reusing its elements. This may be why, when Leah is diagnosed as possessed by a dybbuk, and she is not sent to a physician or psychiatrist, as if she were insane, but to the rebbe, we hear no protests or second thoughts about the decision, and there is no criticism of the rebbe-exorcist. Quite the contrary: the rebbe of Miropolye is portrayed as the most level-headed character of all, fully aware that the world is changing and he is losing his power:

... blind sheep following *a blind shepherd*. ... It is only because they are blind that they come to me. ... There are times when I lose my confidence, when I am as small and weak as an infant; then I need help myself.⁵⁸

An-sky was not a maskil, in the normal sense of that term. He did not believe that Jewish tradition should be discarded; nor did he agree with Bialik that a new spiritual center should be erected in the Land of Israel, based on different principles than those of the Diaspora; or, in Bialik’s words:

The existence of an influential and decisive Hebrew community ... is impossible without deep-rooted foundations and *these must be different from those of Judaism in the Exile*, which was focused on the Judaism of antiquity and on the distant future. *All the national values and treasures, the foundation of our life in the Diaspora, must undergo a fundamental change.*⁵⁹

An-sky did not believe it necessary to create a new world, divorced from religion and tradition, or a world that would be different in some way from the Diaspora world. Instead, he thought that the Jews had to make use of their tradition to develop themselves and to preserve it. Only then could they create a new synthesis, raised on top of it and drawing its vitality from it. An-sky’s attitude towards folk culture was the polar antithesis of the scorn of the first generation of maskilim, who saw Jewish folklore as a collection of outdated traditions. He believed, by contrast, that the works of Jewish folklore express progressive values and that the biblical notion of the superiority of the spirit over matter achieves its most refined level there.⁶⁰ An-sky, who in addition to all his other occupations was also a socialist revolutionary, essentially

shifted the source of authority from above to below, in keeping with the sociopolitical current with which he was identified, and located the aesthetic and moral underpinnings of modern Jewish culture in the folk tradition.⁶¹

An-sky, who returned to Judaism,⁶² believed that Jewish tradition had to be preserved as folklore and as the foundation on which the Jewish people could be built from.⁶³ He expounded this view in his scholarly writings as well.⁶⁴ An-sky identified the changes taking place in traditional society and expressed them in his play.

Thus the play is a realistic description of the transformations taking place in the Jewish community and offers a sketch of what its author sees as the form of *Haskalah* that is appropriate for preserving Jewish national existence. *Haskalah* authors had employed the motif of arranged matches or forced marriages to represent the plague of the old and backward world of the *shtetl*.⁶⁵ An-sky was a *maskil* of a different sort. *Khonon* and *Leah* are bound to us because they are in love—a *maskilic* motif. But they are also fulfilling the betrothal pledged by their fathers even before they were born—a traditional theme. Here tradition and secularism walk arm in arm—a concept foreign to other *maskilim*, and certainly to *Bialik*. I believe that *Bialik*, who knew and understood An-sky's ideas, and discussed them with him at length, both in person and in writing, tried to obscure them in his Hebrew translation of the play, to the extent possible. But a reading of the Yiddish original exposes An-sky's agenda, which *Bialik* the translator did his best to camouflage. An-sky clearly and explicitly expressed the aim of his writing. As we read in his short story, "The People of the Book": "I write about national matters, ... that the Jew should and must remain a Jew."⁶⁶

Leaving the Community and Building the Self

When *Khonon* gets involved with the devil, he cries out, "I have won."⁶⁷ But that is also the moment when he leaves the community and dies, because every system of power relations suggests the potential of a battle or confrontation against the powerful. The participants in such a clash believe that they can triumph, even though they cannot remain in the system of power relations as victors.⁶⁸ When *Leah* learns about the *dybbuk* from the Messenger she understands that he has provided her with a tool to realize her desire to liberate herself from the repressive establishment. She has a way to express her authentic self and to be reunited with *Khonon*, her lover, but, at the price of leaving the community. Here An-sky shares his vision of the image of the new Jews. Through *Leah*'s conduct he shows us his path in *Haskalah*. *Leah* does not rebel against tradition explicitly and directly; instead, she makes use of a traditional device to implement her desire for the new and the secular world. She draws on tradition in order to escape to the new world. In this, too, she reflects the transformations in the Jewish community during the *Haskalah* era and especially at the dawn of the twentieth century. To realize her will and legitimize it *Leah* must stand up against her father and the male religious

establishment and submit to a frightening and humiliating ceremony to expel the dybbuk. It is possible that this impressive and terrifying ceremony⁶⁹ swamps her defense mechanisms and causes their collapse. As a result, she experiences a deep and traumatic regression, in which she hears the voice of Khonon, her strongest passion, calling to her to be united with him in infinite love without the chains and limits of the body. In her psychological process, I believe that Leah regressed to the paranoid-schizoid position.⁷⁰ It might be that Leah's heart burst from a heart attack that caused her death, since her heart was full with infinite love it couldn't endure, combine by the fast separation individuation between Leah and the community.

Summary

In this article I wanted to illuminate a different aspect in An-sky's play: "Between Two Worlds (The Dybbuk)". A play that An-sky saw as the pinnacle of his work and his life's work. The play expresses all the worlds that An-sky lived in. Analysis of the play in light of the model of dybbuk stories, reveals that this is not a traditional dybbuk story or a Dissociative Identity Disorder (DID), but a story about a girl named Leah that creates separation individuation from the object, her father, who, following her mother's death, became her care taker and from the community, in order to build her Object Constancy. In this stage Leah experiences herself as a separate entity. At the same time, she also develops the sense that she exists and has a unique life with its own limits and continuity. Unfortunately, in that moment the impressive and terrifying ceremony of exorcism swamps her defense mechanisms and causes their collapse. As a result, she experiences a deep and traumatic regression, in which she hears the voice of Khonon, her strongest passion, calling to her to be united with him and she dies.

Endnotes

1. The first publication, in Hebrew, was S. An-sky, *Between Two Worlds (The Dybbuk)*, trans. H. N. Bialik, *Hatequfah* 1 (1918): 223–296. For more on the textual history of the play and its vagaries between Yiddish and Hebrew, see Shmuel Werses, *From Language to Language* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1996), pp. 318–341 (Hebrew).
2. S. An-sky, *Tsvishn tsvey veltn (der dybbuk)* (Vilna: Yisroel Kaviat Vilner Ferlag, 1919). On the original status of the Yiddish vis-à-vis the Hebrew, see Werses, *From Language to Language*.
3. American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders-IV (Text Revision)* (Arlington, VA: American Psychiatric Publishing, 2000–06), pp. 526–529.
4. For more on this topic, see: Sara Zfatman Beller, "Exorcism of Spirits in Prague in the Seventeenth Century," *Jerusalem Studies in Jewish Folklore* 3

(1982), pp. 27–28 [Hebrew]; Gedalyah Nigal, “*Dybbuk*” *Tales in Jewish Literature*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1983), pp. 16–26 [Hebrew].

5. Note that, in Islam, possession by spirits was originally deemed to be a positive rather than a negative phenomenon. There too, however, at some point between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, the notion crystallized that possession is satanic and exclusively negative. For more on possession in pagan, Christian, and Muslim cultures, see Yaniv Goldberg, “Studies in Rabbinic Notions in Documents about Dybbuk Exorcism and the Literary Response to Them,” doctoral dissertation, Bar-Ilan University, 2011, chap. 1 [Hebrew].

6. The term *dybbuk* first emerged in Europe in the seventeenth century; before then people spoke of an “evil spirit.” On the evolution of the term, see Gershom Scholem, “Golem and Dybbuk in the Hebrew Lexicon,” *Leshonenu* 6 (1934/5), pp. 40–41 [Hebrew].

7. Revital Bouskila, “Dybbuk Stories as Historical Sources,” master’s thesis, Bar-Ilan University, 2007, pp. 26–27 [Hebrew]; Jeffrey Howard Chajes, *Between Worlds: Dybbuks, Exorcists, and Early Modern Judaism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), p. 33; idem, “City of the Dead: Spirit Possession in 16th Century Safed,” in Matt Goldish, ed., *Spirit Possession in Judaism: Cases and Contexts from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2003), pp. 124–158.

8. Most extant dybbuk stories are collected in Nigal, “*Dybbuk*” *Tales*. For more on the characteristics of dybbuk narratives, see Goldberg, “Studies,” chap. 2.

9. For examples, see Tamar Alexander, “On the Genre Form of Demon Stories,” *Dappim le-Mehqar be-Sifrut* 8 (1992), pp. 203–219 [Hebrew].

10. Zfatman Beller, “Exorcism of Spirits,” p. 26. Only in exceptional cases is the invading spirit identified as having lived in a more distant era, usually antiquity or the talmudic age.

11. This text has been preserved only in MS Dublin: Judah Hallawah, *Zafenat Pa’neah*, Dublin, Trinity College, MS 27 B. 5, fols. 144a–145a. A copy of this text and another document from the same volume are included in Moshe Idel, “Studies in the Method of the Author of *Sefer ha-Meshiv*,” *Sefunot* 2(17) (1983), p. 224, 230 [Hebrew].

12. For more on documents about the exorcism of dybbuks, see Goldberg, “Studies,” pp. 28–101.

13. Yiddish: “*Essen teg*”, “Eating days” refers to the custom whereby yeshiva students ate dinner at the homes of a rotating pool of local householders (a different family each night of the week). In some places, this was an obligation enshrined in the community bylaws. See Yisrael Isser Katzovitz, *A Life of Sixty Years: Memoirs of My Life and the Life of My Generation (1859–1919)* (Berlin and Jerusalem: Dvir, 1923), pp. 28–29 and 36–39 [Hebrew].

14. According to tradition, Kabbalah, and particularly practical Kabbalah, harbors grave dangers for those who devote themselves to it. They may begin with massive headaches, progress to madness and dementia, and end in death. The last is especially to be feared when the person does not act from pure motives but is in pursuit of some benefit. For example, the midrash *Heikhalot Zutarti*, attributed to R. Akiva and R. Ishmael b. Elisha the High Priest, warns: “Be cautious about the honor of your creator [God] and do not descend to him [Don’t try to reach his full intention], and if you descend to him do not enjoy any benefit from him, and if you enjoy benefit from him—in the end you will be bothered out of the world [i.e., die].” (*Heikhalot Zutarti*, ed. Rahel Elior [Jerusalem, 1982], p. 22 [Hebrew]). For more on this topic, see Moshe Hallamish, *An Introduction to the Kabbalah*, trans. Ruth Bar-Ilan and Ora Wiskind-Elper (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1999), pp. 69–73.

15. On the custom of inviting a deceased parent to a child’s wedding, see *Zohar, Pinhas*, fol. 219b–220a, §127: “What did the Holy One Blessed Be He do? He took his father and mother from Paradise and brought them with him to be with him at their children’s rejoicing.” Some invite ancestors going back three generations or even farther. See Rabbi Yosef Yitzchak Schneerson of Lubavitch, *Sefer Hama’marim* 5689 [1928/9] (Brooklyn: Otzar Hahassidim, 1990), “Lekha Dodi,” p. 80. In this context, noted that An-sky, during his ethnographic researches, discovered another custom prevalent in Podolia and Volhynia. In those districts, during the Chmielnicki pogroms of 1648–49, the Cossacks often timed their attacks on Jews for days when a wedding was to be celebrated, so they could murder the bride and groom. The dead couple were often interred next to the synagogue, where weddings were conducted, so that future brides and grooms could dance near the graves of the murdered couple and bring them some joy. An-sky found many graves of this sort on his expedition and documented the phenomenon at the start of Act II of *The Dybbuk*. For more on the phenomenon and An-sky’s reaction to it, see Avraham Rejtman, *Yidische etnografie un folklor* (Buenos Aires: YIVO, 1958), pp. 169–171.

16. S. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, in *The Dybbuk and Other Writings*, ed. David G. Roskies, trans. Golda Werman (New York: Schocken, 1992), p. 29. [All quotations in this article refer to this edition.]

17. Azriel (which means God’s assistance or God’s assistant), the name of the rebbe of Miropolye, clearly expresses his nature and role. The character was apparently based on the historical Shmuel of Kaminka (just across the river from Miropolye). There is also a reference to Shmuel Kaminker at the very start of the play. See Shmuel Shrira, “With An-sky on his Expeditions,” *Davar*, Nov. 8, 1940, p. 3 [Hebrew]. It may be significant that the Miropolyer rebbe was named Shmuel in the first version of the play. In Jewish tradition, the name Azriel is associated with exceptional good fortune.

18. In Jewish law, a handshake is a way to seal an inviolable pledge or oath, expressing the parties' firm state of mind. See Prov. 6:1; B *Bava Metzi'a* 74a; *Shulhan Arukh H.M.* 201.
19. Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky (1865–1943) was a Yiddishist author, critic, and publicist. He was close friend of An-sky's when they were growing up in Vitebsk and exerted a strong influence on him. Zhitlowsky began as a moderate Russian revolutionary, affiliated with the Narodnya Volya. Later he became more radical and was one of the founders of the Social Revolutionary Party, which advocated the use of force to overthrow the czarist regime. Zhitlowsky was the most important influence on An-sky, with regard to the Haskalah movement as well as his conversion to Narodnikism and membership in the Social Revolutionary Party. For more, see Chaim Zhitlowsky, *Zikhroines fun meyn leb'n*, vol. 1 (New York, 1935), pp. 9–114.
20. "S. An-sky on *the Dybbuk*," letter to Chaim Zhitlowsky, *Literarishe bleter* 11 (July 18, 1942), p. 2 [Yiddish].
21. Ibid.
22. Anonymous, "The Dybbuk Trial: Minutes of the Sessions of the Public Tribunal at Beit Ha'am, Tel Aviv, on 24 Sivan and 4 Tammuz 5626" (Tel Aviv: Association of Hebrew Writers, 1926), p. 63 [Hebrew].
23. Gad Kaynar, "The Vakhtangov Production—Agnostic Reception as a National Myth: Intention vs. Reception," in Dorit Yerushalmi and Shimon Levy, eds., *Do Not Chase Me Away: New Studies on the Dybbuk* (Tel Aviv, 2009), p. 130 [Hebrew].
24. Ibid., p. 124.
25. Ibid., p. 131.
26. The Incarnation of the Dybbuk, Efrayim Sten, director, Israel broadcasting authority 1985 (T.V. show).
27. Yair Lipshitz, "The Dybbuk: The Jewish Body in the Labyrinth of Tradition and Modernity," in Avi Sagi, ed., *The Book of Michael: These Times and Those Days* (Even Yehuda, 2007), pp. 545–586 [Hebrew]; idem, "The Body of the Dybbuk: Traditions, Revolutions, Crises," in Yerushalmi and Levy, eds., *Do Not Chase Me Away*, pp. 137–162 [Hebrew].
28. Freddie Rokem, "The Motif of the Son's Death: *The Dybbuk* (1922), *He Walked in the Fields* (1948), and *Shitz* (1975)," Proceedings of the Ninth World Congress of Jewish Studies, Section IV, vol. 2 (1985), pp. 77–78 [Hebrew]. On other lines of interpretation, see: Yerushalmi and Levy, eds., *Do Not Chase Me Away*, passim.
29. Rokem F. "Besessen vom Theater: Der Dibbuk am Habima Theater Moskau (1922)", *Das Denken der Bühne : Szenen zwischen Theater und Philosophie*, Hg. Leon Gabriel und Nikolaus Müller-schöll, Transcript Verlag, Bielefeld, 2019, pp. 95 – 116.
30. Gabriella Safran, *Wandering Soul, The Dybbuk Creator, S. An-sky*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England 2010, p. 214 – 216.

31. "S. An-sky on *the Dybbuk*" [emphasis mine].
32. See: Zalman Silberzweig, "An-sky," *Leksikon fun yidishn teater*, vol. 1 (New York, 1931–1969), pp. 74–75; Zehavit Stern, "Ghosts on the Movie Screen: On Memory in the Film *The Dybbuk* (1937)," in Yerushalmi and Levy, eds., *Do Not Chase Me Away*, p. 213 [Hebrew]. In his efforts to have his play staged, An-sky contacted Konstantin Stanislavski, among others, hoping that he would produce it in his Russian theater. Stanislavski asked An-sky to add the character of the Messenger. Later he asked him to have the play translated into Hebrew so that the Hebrew-language studio he was directing, Habima, could put it on. See Werses, *From Language to Language*, p. 301.
33. See Rejtman, *Yidische etnografie un folklore*, p. 308; Shrira/Shrayer, "With An-sky on his Expeditions."
34. B *Sotah* 2a. This heavenly voice is problematic, because it seems to totally undermine the concept of human free will by dictating the person's choice of a spouse. The Talmud suggests that the heavenly voice causes a man to meet his destined bride and fall in love with her (his first marriage, at least).
35. An-sky, *The Dybbuk* p. 26 [emphasis mine]. Here Bialik's Hebrew translation "sometimes a soul . . .," in the singular, is imprecise. But the most striking change made by Bialik has to do with the word *oyslayterung*, which means "purification" or "clearing up" and has a mainly secular connotation. Here Bialik uses the word *tiqqun*, "rectification," a distinctly religious and traditional concept in both Hebrew and Yiddish (here referring the ascent of souls).
36. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 5. In the English translation is written: "The seeds of redemption..." but it is not accurate according the Yiddish meaning. This couplet foreshadows An-sky's message throughout the play, namely, that the "fall" or "descent" itself—abandoning the world of tradition for the Haskalah—is in fact an ascent, something good. This is effectively the play's motto. (An-sky uses "fall" because traditional circles, and especially the religious establishment, viewed the abandonment of religion as a "descent from the sacred to the profane." Throughout the play he tries to show that the descent is in fact an ascent and thus positive rather than negative.)
37. "I have no place to go. All roads are closed to me and all paths blocked; evil spirits lie in wait everywhere, waiting to consume me" (An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 36).
38. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
39. There are documents in which the possessed person displays indifference as to whether the dybbuk remains in the possessed person's body. But there is certainly no account in which a dybbuk remains because the possessed person is in love with the deceased who soul has invaded her body. See Nigal, "*Dybbuk*" *Tales*. An atypical story is "A Horrible Act," which Nigal copied from a manuscript, in which the spirit wants to conclude a match

between his son and the girl whose body he has invaded. But there is no love between the dead man and the girl. See *ibid.*, pp. 146–160.

40. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 49.

41. Concerning one of the documented exorcisms on which An-sky based the play, see Rejtman, *Yidische etnografie un folklore*, pp. 308–325.

42. For example, for the clearing of the sky from clouds.

43. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 20.

44. Rejtman, *Yidische etnografie un folklore*, p. 309. See also R. Zadok Hakohen of Lublin: “*One may not enter a ruin (B Berakhot 3a): This means a place where real human beings do not live. ... and because of the demons: since every place that is devoid of holiness is a place where demons and the force of the [evil] impulse can overcome one.*” That is, where there is no holiness, there is sin and impurity and the risk of being harmed; Zadok Hakohen of Lublin, *Zidkas Hazaddik*, Lublin 1913, chap. 32.

45. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 36.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 26; Leah will achieve her purification in the same way that the dybbuk achieves his – by using this behavior.

48. *Ibid.*

49. This may be why Stanislavski asked An-sky to add the character of the Messenger, to serve as a sort of Greek chorus, “Fate,” and unify the play (Werses, *From Language to Language*, p. 301).

50. Margaret Mahler, Fred Pine, and Anni Bergman, *The Psychological Birth of the Human Infant* (New York: Basic Books, 1975); Gertrude and Rubin Blanck, *Ego Psychology, Theory and Practice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), 53–60.

51. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 12.

52. Carlson, E.A., Yates, T.M., & Sroufe, L.A., Dissociation and development of the self. In Dell, P.F. & O’Neil, J.O. (Eds.) *Dissociation and the dissociative disorders: DSM-V and beyond*. New York: Routledge 2009.

53. Sroufe, L. A., Considering normal and abnormal together: The essence of developmental psychopathology. *Development and Psychopathology* (1990), 2, pp. 335-347.

54. Cole, P. M., & Putnam, F. W., Effect of incest on self and social functioning: a developmental psychopathological model. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology* (1990), 60, pp. 174-183.

55. “S. An-sky on *the Dybbuk*”.

56. “The Dybbuk Trial,” p. 19.

57. On the rebbe’s magical circle, see An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 40.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 33 [emphasis mine]. There are grounds for a comparison with I. L. Peretz’s play, *The Destruction of the Rebbe’s House*, in *Complete Writings of I. L. Peretz*, vol. 2a: *Hassidism* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1962), p. 178 [Hebrew]. For more on the links between the two authors and their mutual influences, see: Dorit Yerushalmi, “Introduction,” in Yerushalmi and Levy,

- eds., *Do Not Chase Me Away*, pp. 9–22 [Hebrew], and esp. p. 13; Yehuda Moraly, “Peretz and An-sky: A Dialogue between Works,” *ibid.*, pp. 220–227 [Hebrew].
59. Chaim Nahman Bialik, Speech at the Opening of Ahad Ha’am House, Tu Bishvat 5688, in *Devarim she-be’al Peh* (Tel Aviv: Dvir, 1935), p. 158 [Hebrew; emphasis mine].
60. David G. Roskies, “Introduction,” in *The Dybbuk*, p. xxii.
61. *Ibid.*, p. xx.
62. David Roskies, “S. An-sky and the Paradigm of Return,” *Hulyot* 3 (1996): 140 [Hebrew].
63. S. An-sky, “Jewish Ethnopoetics,” in Haya Bar-Itzhak, *Pioneers of Jewish Ethnography and Folkloristics in Eastern Europe* (Ljubljana: ZRC, 2010); Roskies, “S. An-sky and the Paradigm of Return,” p. 140.
64. Benjamin Lukin, “From Folklore to Folk: An-Sky and Jewish Ethnography,” in Rivka Gonen, ed., *Back to the Shtetl: An-Sky and the Jewish Ethnographic Expedition, 1912–1914* (Exhibition Catalogue) (Jerusalem: The Israel Museum, 1994), pp. 27–41 [Hebrew; English abstract, p. xiv].
65. See, for example: Abraham Baer Gottlober, *Memories and Travels* (Jerusalem: Mossad Bialik, 1976) [Hebrew]; the novel by Israel Axenfeld, *Dos Shterntikhl* (The headkerchief), (Leipzig, 1861); Isaac Joel Linetzky, *Dos poylishe yingl* (The Polish boy) (Odessa, 1885); Mendele Moykher Seforim, *Fishke der krumer* (Fishke the lame) (1869; in *Gezamlte verk*, vol. 3 [Moscow, 1935])—English in *Tales of Mendele the Book Peddler: Fishke the Lame and Benjamin the Third*, ed. Dan Miron and Ken Frieden, trans. Ted Gorelick (New York : Schocken, 1996). Here Mendele and his fellow merchant Reb Alter gossip about and trade in the destinies of Jewish boys and girls. In this novel, the lame Fishke and his blind bride are joined in a loveless marriage. In Goldfaden’s plays, too, the institution of matchmaking appears regularly as the mother of all sins, at least in his early works. Even in Sholem Aleichem we can find criticism of the institution and acceptance of the new notion of romantic love in his Tevye stories, whose protagonist becomes an advocate of pure and altruistic love. See Sholem Aleichem, *Tevye the Dairyman and Motl the Cantor’s Son*, trans. Aliza Shevrin (New York: Penguin, 2009).
66. S. An-sky, “The People of the Book,” in *Collected Works*, vol. 14 (Warsaw: S. Shreberk, 1928), p. 124 [Yiddish].
67. An-sky, *The Dybbuk*, p. 18.
68. Michel Foucault, “The Subject and Power,” in Hubert L. Dreyfus and Poul Rainbow, eds., *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 209–226.
69. An exorcism ritual might include the blowing of the shofar, oaths, bans, black candles, sulfur fumes, and even physical violence. An-sky toned the ceremony down somewhat in the play.

70. For more on this process, see Melanie Klein, “A Contribution to the Psychogenesis of Manic-Depressive States,” *Writings*, Vol. 1 (London: Hogarth Press, 1975 [1935]), pp. 344–369.

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