

III. *Mischsprache as a Feature of Late Sabbatean Literature*1. *Old Ways Renewed*

In his letter of the fifth of Tishrei, 1755 from Constantinople to R. Yakov Emden in Altona, Baruch Yavan describes the faith and practices of the Sabbateans who were followers of Barukhia.⁵⁸ In describing their belief, he writes that they had made a single assemblage of the Christian, Moslem and Jewish faiths and 'worship Barukhia in their prayers, mentioning him as Signor Santo as in the language of Ispamia' and goes on to say, 'They are completely lacking in a base in any language for they have no knowledge of writing or any speech. These fools make *kavanot* in [different] languages saying that they are holy names of great depth and seek hidden meanings in those names. And likewise as concerns the *nusah* and language of their prayer. It is all in the language of Ispamia and there is mixed into it some of the language of the Turk and some of that of the Arab and the language of Ishmael, strange words'. When H. Graetz comes to describe the speech of Yakov Frank he relies on Skimborowicz⁵⁹ and writes that Frank 'understood well German, Italian, Turkish and Walachian....but only spoke the Frankish jargon, the mixed language of the Portuguese Jews in Turkey. Thus, he always had a translator at hand'.⁶⁰

The Polish text of Frank's dicta exhibits features of south Polish, a variety of Polish that shows some influence from nearby Walachian/Moldavian and Turkish. Throughout the text of the dicta there appear words and phrases in other languages, among them Arabic, German, Latin, Walachian (Romanian), Turkish Yiddish and Ladino.⁶¹ It no longer seems possible to determine the details of the speaking, translating and editing of the mss. of the dicta, titled 'The Collection of the Words of the Lord'. The Polish (version) we have certainly does resemble the Polish of the *Chronicle (Kronika)* of the movement and there is no reason to believe that the latter document was not composed in Polish.⁶² (A follower's handwritten annotations in Polish appear at the end of

58 Emden, p.5.

59 H. Skimborowicz, *Żywot, Skon i Nauka, Jakóba Józefa Franka*, Warsaw 1866, p. 10.

60 *Frank und die Frankisten*, Breslau 1868, pp. 21-22. The role played by these 'translators', especially that of Moliwda requires further investigation.

61 I use the term 'Ladino' loosely, to refer to what may be known also as Judezmo and Judeo-Spanish.

62 See the discussion in Levine, p. 7 and n. 72 (below).

the ms. in a different hand, less schooled than that of the ms. itself.) The 'careful' preservation in the mss. of passages in languages other than Polish indicates that these passages were originally spoken in those languages by Frank and that the tradents, including scribes, translators, editors, etc., placed great value on their preservation as spoken by Frank. (As they appear in the mss., the non-Polish passages retain evidence that the last tradents at least did not generally understand what they were writing down. This is also the case with those selections that appear in Kraushar's edited and printed versions.⁶³)

In this paper I will catalog the occurrences of Ladino in the mss. mentioned above and relate them to other Dönme documents such as those presented by Ben-Şevi, Attias, Schatz-Uffenheimer, Scholem and others.⁶⁴ The retention of linguistic and cultural material from the world of the Dönme within a document written in Polish, spoken, perhaps, in another language, can be seen to reflect a desire to retain continuity with the Turkish background of Sabbateanism and to continue linguistic practices in Poland, Bohemia and Offenbach like those described by Yavan. It may be that the syncretistic nature of Sabbatean theology and practice sought to express itself in verbal performance, found its speech naturally in syncretistic language, and that this tendency remained important to those Jews who followed Frank; it may be that Frank sought to promote this identity among his followers. In either case, such an election would have been appropriate to the Frankists in particular, as they sought to retain a hold on their ancestral, sanctified history and traditions while moving forward into their new, modern space.

As it stands now, the Polish manuscripts of the dicta of Yakov Frank⁶⁵ represent a mosaic, a discourse of, and on, code-switching.⁶⁶ (Purely a question

63 In the appendices and throughout the text. See n. 26 above.

64 The most substantial contributions are G. Scholem, 'The Prayerbook of the Dönme of Izmir,' *Qiryat Sefer* 17 (1941), pp. 18-19 [Hebrew]; Attias; Y. Ben-Şevi, 'Kabbalistic Tracts from the Circle of Barukhia,' *Sefunot* 3-4 (1960), pp. 349-394; R. Schatz-Uffenheimer, 'Portrait of a Sabbatean sect,' *Sefunot* 3-4 (1960), pp. 395-431 [Hebrew]; Y. Molkho and R. Schatz-Uffenheimer, 'A Sabbatian Commentary'; M. Attias, 'Coplas di Adonenu,' *Sefunot* 3-4 (1960), pp. 525-536.

65 My references to these texts will be to the version edited and published by J. Doktor, See n. 26 above.

66 See most recently, Peter Auer, ed., *Code-switching in Conversation: Language, Interaction and Identity*, London 1998. (Some license is taken here in using this approach to communication in spite of the non-conversational nature of what is a literary text. Yet, even in conversational analysis it is the write-up of the conversation that undergoes analysis; and from the other side, there are marks of

of scribal rather than oral – interest, it is still germane here and in connection with the rest of this article, that the Ladino, Yiddish, Hebrew/Aramaic passages appear in transliterations that freely employ Polish orthography as well as the orthography of other languages. See, for example, the two representations of // in dictum 858 below and n. 74 below.) There are, as it were, two distinct discourse situations, one – the written one – in which the expected language is Polish; the other, an oral performance in which it might as well be assumed that Polish was expected. This latter text/performance is, of course, lacking, and a further distinction between *both* these texts and other discourse situations is that very little actual dialogue occurs or is represented. The rare responses, or glosses, are in Polish and do not exhibit code switching. Assuming that the written protocol reproduces a transcription, etc. of the oral performance it is fair to say that not all occasions in which code-switching to Ladino occurs favor a single determinative topic or topics; these occasions seem rather to be over-determined. Some of them, for instance, relate to the period in Frank's life before 1755-6, while he was often in Ladino-speaking Turkish areas. (As will be seen, some clothing terms from this period appear in Ladino and clothing is a very significant matter with Frank; but not all the clothing terms are in Ladino, so there is no way to assign the topic of clothing a determinative role in the switching.) There is, as a consequence of the age and the circumstances represented a coincidence between the topic of youthful bravado – childish

response to be found in the Frank dicta: queries to him, the annotations of an observer remarking on gestures and emotionality and, as I have mentioned elsewhere, (*The Jewish Messiahs*, Oxford 1998, pp. 176-177) variants of some retold tales indicate that the teller has taken into account objections and corrections made by his listeners.) Of particular relevance is the summary of the article by Sebba and Wooton, 'We, They and Identity' in Auer, pp. 262-284: 'Social identities can be seen to be flexible constructs, created, negotiated and constantly changed in the course of interaction. There is no one-to-one mapping between these and 'group identities'. The linguistic medium by means of which social identities are constructed may itself be a part of the identity, but we cannot assume a fixed relationship between a social identity and the language of utterance that evokes (or invokes) it; rather such relationships are themselves negotiated and constructed in the interaction itself.' Thus, the terminology majority/minority language or we/they language can be seen as particularly inapposite here as well as in the cases the authors take up. I hope that restatements of his theories in this context do not depart in any important way from Bourdieu's expressions, though we write from different perspectives, as it were. A general introduction to his considerations of language and power relationships can be found in P. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, Cambridge 1991.

libertinism – and the cultural setting, including Ladino or Turkish speech and Sabbateanism. In dictum 858 we read,

I was once at the home of the *Kiaja* in Chocim for dinner. In the afternoon we attempted to pull a copper bow. The other one that was with me, *Türk Haim*, pulled, but everybody made fun of him. I was forced to take that copper bow in my hand, even though it wasn't pleasant for me, and having seated myself in a corner, I put my back to the wall and with my legs drew that bow slowly, slowly, until the whole arrow fit into the bow. I drew it so 30 times, until everyone said of me: *Maschala Deli Basza*.

'*Kiaja*' is Turkish *köyaga*, 'village headman'; *Maschala Deli Basza* is Turkish, 'God protect you, crazy nobleman'. The village of Chocim is in Turkish⁶⁷ territory, the home territory of Sabbateanism. Frank's listeners/readers hear Turkish, untranslated, and so find themselves 'being' Turkish Sabbateans as well as Polish ones. The Sabbatean doctrine of the messiah's performance of *ma'asim zarim*, 'strange deeds,' together with Frank's twist on that doctrine – that the messiah is a fearless and physically masterful doer of deeds – provides another motive for the telling of this tale.⁶⁸

The use of code-switching, like the use of catch-phrases or private idioms, both depends on and increases the intimacy of a relationship between parties to a speech-performance while it undoes and refashions their identities. It is the use of Yiddish, Polish, Hebrew/Aramaic, German and Ladino that saliently characterizes Frankist-Sabbatean discourse. Frank switches to Hebrew (and Aramaic) to signal the relationship he and his listeners share to the library of tradition known in those languages, from the Bible to the Zohar.⁶⁹ (It may seem odd that one who is attacking that very tradition should also rely on it to produce such intimacy, but Frank is re-interpreting the tradition and is not

67 The terms 'Turkey, Turkish' etc are used here to refer to the territories of the Ottoman Empire at the period (and to the language).

68 There are other sorts of borrowing from Frank's Turkish experiences. One that involves the question of loan-translation (*calque*) occurs as the name of the villainous king Zahak (from the *Shah Nameh*) appears in dictum 106 as 'Holler.' The Hebrew, *za'ak*, might easily interfere with the transmission of the name. 'Holler' is otherwise difficult to explain. See, Lenowitz, 'The Tale of Zahak in the Collection of the Words of the Lord', *Persian Studies in North America*, ed. M. Marashi, Bethesda 1994.

69 Here it is important to note that Frank's citations from the Zohar or references to its doctrine appear to the exclusion of Lurianic material, as Scholem noted was the case in regard to Sabbatai Şevi's own preference. (*Sabbatai Şevi, The Mystical Messiah*, Princeton 1973, p.118)

furthering its employment or speaking new ideas on its behalf.) When he has something new to say he may do so through old language. On the one extreme Frank may pun – and it is not possible for me to know whether all or only some of his puns are traditional – on Hebrew, reaching to a learned source like the Talmud (but rarely to the level where only the cognoscenti will get the joke). In dicta 704 and 1149 he makes a joke – that might have been in common use – out of the expression, *kol bir humez* (perhaps a misquote from BPes 4a, *hakol ne'emanim 'al bi'ur hametz* or perhaps from some version of the recited cancellation of unwitting possession of leaven following the blessing, *kol hamira vehami'a* (Aramaic; Hebrew *ve-hametz*), to assert that the meaning of the phrase is 'all beer is *hametz* (forbidden for consumption during Passover)'. (In dictum 1149 the Polish equivalent of German or Yiddish *bier* is given as *pivo*; in dictum 704, it would appear that the joke got lost somewhere. The editor at least missed it, since he adds an explanatory note in Polish translating the punchline as 'all leaven must be cleared away'.) Here the Hebrew or Aramaic is ritual language and a reference point for Frank and his audience. His use of the phrase for this purpose is intensified by the regional pronunciation, as in the local Yiddish, of *bi'ur* as /bir/. The pun is also typical of Frank's humorous/momentous use of Yiddish, as in dictum 1169, 'If I had revealed one word to you, you would have known everything that happens now and must yet happen. Your joy would have been unbounded. The whole world will be in anguish and pain, and you will rejoice in great joy and from that *Krieg* is made a *Top*, that is a pot. That may not be revealed to you'. In this variety of Yiddish the words for 'war' and 'jug' are both realized as /kreeg/, yoking together this very unlikely pair. The idea of a sort of Armageddon is what is intended by the meaning 'war'. The meaning 'jug' (loosely, 'container, pot') and its translation to Yiddish *top*, 'a pot' is connected by Frank to Jer. 1.13, where the prophet has a vision of 'a pot on a fire...tilted away from the north', an image that is interpreted to the prophet by God in the following verse as 'From the north disaster shall flare up against all who live in this land', a reference to the Russian takeover of Poland, and a favorite textual 'proof' employed by Frank (and many kabbalistic texts) as prophet, cf. dicta 503, 807.

This extremely rich turn to Yiddish is matched by quite low uses, 616. A German lad served a certain Jewish merchant, traveled with him on the road when a whole company of Jewish merchants traveled at the same time. They came once to an inn where one pot of meat was cooked for the whole Jewish company. The German took a chunk of salt pork and tossed it in the pot where the meat was being cooked. So it was put onto the table. The

Jews saw the chunk of pork. The Jews held an argument among themselves; some said since according to their laws only a 60th part of the dish was salt pork it was permitted to eat, and others said, but hasn't it a filthy taste? and would not eat; and those who ate said, *Szyszem* that is, a 60th part. The boy was amazed, saying, What kind of difference do I hear here? Those who say *beszyssen* eat it and those who say *nie beszyssen*⁷⁰ don't eat it. And so here, Those who do not hold firm eat it; those who hold firm do not eat it.

where the purpose seems to be to ridicule the *halakha* as well as to identify Frank with his listeners.

On another occasion Frank reports language-jests in the name of those who are said to have made them, achieving greater intimacy with his listeners through promoting one of their number to the status of holy tale-teller:

933. 'One maid in Bucharest broke a pitcher full of milk. Blind Solomon, seeing that, said to her, Don't worry; and having picked up the pieces, he put them together with a thread, and then inserted in the middle a candle and said that the steam from it would seal together the broken bits. Then he began to sing over it in this way: *Ich bin ein broch, und du hast ein Loch, und wir wollen machen noch*. And ordered her to sing in turn: *Du bist broch und ich habe ein loch, und wir wollen machen noch*'.

However vulgar this may seem, even here one may understand that some association with the (cosmic) break that necessitates the repair is intended, along with – or, indeed by means of – erotic humor. Similarly, dictum 58 has Frank say, as he crosses the Dniester into Poland in 1759, *Ester, Ester, ich bin dein Bruder, und du bist meine Schwester*. Again, the sound play seems to come to him in Yiddish – rather than Ladino – and the doggerel has cosmic import associating Poland with the *Shekhinah*.⁷¹ Shmeruk contended that Yiddish was the language in which Frank spoke the dicta; that it was the only language common to Frank and his listeners; that the employment of translators who knew Polish on a couple of public occasions may serve as proof of these assertions; and that the Yiddish was translated at some point to Hebrew and the Hebrew ultimately to Polish.⁷² I think there are some problems

70 A Jewish legal principle holds that one-sixtieth part of certain materials is insufficient to cause the proscription of the whole. The pun is on the German verb for 'to shit'.

71 See also the *Kronika*, entry 104: *Eine Schwester ohne Bruder ist wie eine Schiff ohne Ruder*, which Scholem found to have sexual intent according to Levine, p. 93.

72 On the basis of a preliminary investigation ('*Yakov Frank's Book[!] of the Lord's Word—Its Transmigration from Yiddish to Polish*', *Gal'ed* 14 (1995), pp. 23-36

with this complex theory, and though I cannot go into the entire matter here, for one thing, there are Polish puns in the text. Dictum 1193 in which a jester, playing a prince, discovers the thief of the real prince's tableware ends, 'When the turn of that prince came who had taken the plate came, [the jester/prince] asked him, And what shall I give you as title? [The thief/nobleman] replied: As you please. The jester said, You will be my stableman. And at that he drew the [stolen] plate out of [the nobleman's] pocket. You see, here you have the plate'. (The Polish for 'You have the plate,' *masz talerz*, sounds the same as that for the noun, 'stableman,' *masztalerz*.) In any case, the paranomasia and its cosmic significance – or the lack of the latter – ought probably to be related to the history of exegesis, beginning with biblical folk etymologies/etiologies and continuing through the use of gematria/notarikon/temura particularly in kabbalistic traditions. This distinguishes Frank's use of Yiddish from his use of Ladino where punning does not seem to occur, though both have something to do with the creation of community and with the development and promotion of multi-lingualism as an aspect of social mobility. Having said this, it seems clear that there is a further relation here: to the figure of the language-gamster, that arch-multi-linguist, the imposter. More on this later.

The oral performance, including the verbal discourse, must have been a great deal richer in its significations, given that there was live interaction in a situation fraught with small-group politics. The limited verbal interaction of the members of the audience that appears in the protocol does not indicate that they were not present and responding and assuredly does not indicate that Frank was unaware of or insensitive to their non-verbal responses, however subtle. Here I find apt to recall what Charles Blount, the English philosopher and free-thinker, noted, that 'a Politician is a physician of minds, and his aim is rather to make men good (here read, good citizens of a bad king, perhaps) than knowing; wherefore, according to the diversities of men, he must render himself agreeable to the diversity of humours, for the attainment of his end'.⁷³ This characteristic quality of lability among leaders is, strikingly, not materially affected by the history of the performance, inscription, translation and retranslation of the present materia nor even by its editing or internal censorship. The foreign codes endure.

[Hebrew], later revised in *Teksty drugi* 6 (1995) 118 ff., the late Ch. Shmeruk argued that the only original handwritten texts that remain of Frank's speech (the mss. from Cracow and Lublin, see above) were first spoken in Yiddish then translated to Hebrew and finally put into Polish and copied out.

⁷³ *Oracles of Reason*, London 1693, pp. 123-7

Code-switching is least indicative of the interpenetration of languages on the level of the lexicon and phonetics of the discourse; most indicative of interpenetration when elements of syntax and morphology wander. In the Polish text, most quotations from other languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, German, Yiddish/Judeo-German, Turkish and Ladino, are instances of the more common sort of code-switching and intended to achieve a variety of purposes that include one, the inculcation of community, that promotes familiarity and equal participation at one extreme and mystification and tyranny at the other. (A charming case of the former motive is found in dictum 2185, as Frank recalls speaking to his (already deceased) wife, addressing her as *mi bien*.) I will go through all the Ladino usages first and then by looking closely at two of them show how this particular vector relates to the important common European early-modern political behavior – one that has a long and variegated history: impostering.

In several dicta single Ladino words occur: dictum 211 has *babouches*; 1266-7, *kalsony*; 2136, *sapathen*.⁷⁴ These words for overshoes, shoes and

74 See the appendix, below for the full texts of these dicta. Frank's Ladino shoes are in some ways like those read by Derrida in his essay/performance 'Restitutions', in J. Derrida, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod, *The Truth in Painting*, Chicago 1987, pp. 255-382. (I was led to this essay by another paper, given by Marc Ouaknin, at the conference of Misgav Yerushalayim where I presented mine.) (Numbers in parentheses refer the interested reader to the page touching on the topic discussed in the Derrida essay.) Derrida talks (258) about the Brabant-ish shoes that go to town in Van Gogh's famous painting, *A Pair of Shoes*. The Ladino words are 'foreign' (especially in Polish circumstances) and mean different things in their 'truth' than in their varieties. They are each a pair (274), the Ladino and the simple meaning—translation—of the Ladino, not to mention the allusions, and there are three pairs of them. The diachronic 'truth' of the words *kalsony/calzado*—galoshes/overshoes—(and the folded pizza, *calzone*, and the French patty, the *galette*) is Lat. *calceus*; and of *Sapathen*—not as one reader has noted, some (imaginary) Yiddish plural of Hebrew (Aramaic) *savta*, 'grandmother', nor yet more alluringly (*sibbeta di-*) *sibbatin*, '(Cause of) Causes,' as in Zohar 1.72b—is (J. Corominas, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellano e hispanico*) *zapato/savate/sabot* (and the other great Italian sandwich bread, the *ciabatta*), a word whose origin is unknown but which spreads across Europe and its tongues as well as the Ottoman Empire from Turkish (*çabatta*) to Persian but has an entirely different reflex in Slavic (*ćobot*). *Babouches* is Persian/Arabic/Turkish *papush*, *babuj*, 'slipper' and heeless. This word for 'slippers' does appear later in Polish (*Słownik Języka Polsku*) but spelled *babusz*. The spelling '*babouches*' is itself an instance of orthographic code-shifting, one of many in the text, since Polish orthography encodes a glottal fricative with *ch*

slippers are employed by Frank because he knows them, for one reason. He was an international caravaneer and trader in such goods and these words come from his 'youth'. (Actually, Frank was 35 or so by the time he crossed into Poland and mostly left the Ottoman Empire behind.) And for another, he can expect that his listeners will know both that the words are Ladino and what they mean. In addition to their knowledge of Turkish Sabbatean traditions, Frank's followers are themselves from Turkish border areas. Frank refers in dictum 211 to Sabbatai Şevi having said that the two religions of Islam and Christianity are two slippers and Frank reasons that this means two things: one, that someone is to wear them; and two, that they represent two religions though, he says, Sabbatai didn't really know what he was talking about. In dicta 1266-1267 and 2136, Frank uses the image of the *kalsony* or galoshes in connection with his singular reading of Isa. 40.31, *yarutsu velo yiga'u, yelkhu velo yi'afu* as 'they will run and will not touch the ground; they will walk and they will not fly [Hebrew, 'tire']'. He says that his followers will have help from the world of his Big Brother, and that the *shedim* ('demons') who serve the Big Brother will carry them, supporting them from beneath like

whereas the plural morpheme [s] itself belongs to Ladino. In the actual instance of usage all three must be restored, made to make their way back (266, 365-6; my own campaign here, 272) to their nonnation (as must Yid. *kalashin*, the shoes a reasonably religious Jew—not one to over-scruple and go barefoot— may wear when 'normal' ones, with closures and/or of leather, are not to be worn, on the Day of Atonement or the day of the destroyed Temple, the ninth of the month of Av). And so, the 'work' these words do (263)? They transport the listener and reader; the overshoes, above the terra firma beneath, away from closeness to the ground, from the degree of lowest (264, 268) onto a path away through the air; and make those who put them on an alien nation, returning them first to their owners' place in Turkey; and then their work goes on, in the message of the dicta, as they further alienate the attentive from those who wore once, who were once in, those shoes and slippers, [Judaism and] Islam and Christianity, in Turkey. The varieties of shoe are themselves highly susceptible to fetishistic employment, enfolding (female, even though not yet gummy in the 18th century, becoming so late in the 19th century when the word re-enters Polish as (sing.) '*galosz*') the entering foot (male) (267 ff.) which was, before all, the last that formed them; and they celebrate the bal masque where one is not it seems either what one was or what one is seen to be but divided up from all that. The foot that fits the variance (275), the shoe worn by the followers, their owner and paragon, is Frank himself, Jacob in the robes his mother made him to wear. When he is outside and on his way, uplifted; when inside the tent, smoothly slipping in and out the back way, heeling himself.

overshoes.⁷⁵ It is as hard to miss the tones of irony with which Frank treats his predecessors in the dicta as it is the connections made back to Salonika and its language and forward to Frank's own cosmology. (Note here the deep interpenetration of the Ladino coding as *sapato* gains the Yiddish plural morpheme [en].)

In the one word reference in dictum 1039 to one of the Dönme groups we find a Ladino term with a Polish plural morpheme, *kawair+ów*. This is the name of one of the most powerful and wealthiest Dönme groups, the Cavaglieros, a subset of the Kapangi who broke with the followers of Baruchia. The Cavaglieros were merchants, teachers and veterinarians and

75 Galoshes are related to modernity by James Joyce in 'The Dead', a story in which the themes of alienation and loss of tradition or faith are amply documented to make a pair with new community and new ways, very much related to the issue of imposterism. (See the remarks on the imposter figure, below.) Kerrigan—the hero of Joyce's tale (written, incidentally, in multi-lingual Trieste)—worries and worries at his speech for the family feast, a tradition he is expected to carry out, celebrating the feast, as well as the speech itself and its auditors, in the performance of a self-proclaiming ritual. (His performance anxiety is something Frank has none of; talking is his trade.) Kerrigan worries about his wife's love as well and also about his galoshes and her dancing slippers. The galoshes he takes off in the entry hall are innovations in Dublin in 1904, made from gutta-percha. Kerrigan's aunt, the true bearer of tradition and faith, whose age-weakened voice a drunk recognizes as the finest, truest song, hates the galoshes because Kerrigan has also made his wife wear them and because they have come from 'the Continent'. Kerrigan says, 'Everybody on the Continent wears them', and, when his aunt repeats 'the Continent' she does so with all the hatred normally reserved for Satan. Ireland ('our land') is an island. The problem is that Kerrigan's galoshes keep his feet from contact with the Dublin snow—snow in which his wife's old beau has died, standing out in the cold, longing for her. The galoshes symbolize Kerrigan's modern, continental, loss of faith. When his wife takes off her galoshes—worn at her husband's instigation—and puts on her splendid, ancient dancing slippers she re-enters her passions. There is something going on here that relates to the sex life and childbearing of the Kerrigans. Mrs. Kerrigan angers her aunt by leaving her children alone, though it is, as she says carelessly, 'Only for a night.' But loss—as in the poem by Lady Gregory that we hear in the story—particularly the loss of children—as in the song she hears at the end of the party—brings Mrs. K to tears. Perhaps Joyce's new-model overshoe, made of rubber, is a sort of 'rubber', a condom, a french-letter coming from the Continent, keeping wife and husband apart and discontinuous with their seed as the galoshes keep them from contact with their island earth. Whereas Frank's overshoes will lift his followers into the air to travel seven leagues at a step, the galoshes of the Kerrigans sink Mister K into the ever-falling snow of unstoppable self-doubt, self-hate, sterility.

engineers and artisans. Frank says in dictum 1039 that they tried to buy him over to their exclusive society and even to its leadership but he refused. Since we have been talking about shoes, it is worth noticing that the Cavaglieros were distinguished by their sharp-toed boots.⁷⁶

There are other one-word borrowings from Ladino, including the name of a city, 'Sakis, in Hispanic, Szyia' (2279) that is Saki in Crimea; and two word terms, such as *signor mostro* and *burech io* (*Kronika*, entry 53) both of which Frank is said to have chanted before the altar of the Bernardins in Lublin, on his way to Warsaw and the Inquisition in 1759. These words seem to title Sabbatean hymns and it is noteworthy that the latter phrase, the name of Baruchia, is faithfully recorded as having been pronounced in the southern Yiddish fashion. Except for one phrase found in the dicta – *Venga lamosa aformosa kemos respondi* (195), 'Come beautiful girl, Answer us' – the *Kronika*, in fact, contains the most interesting and longest phrases in Ladino. Entry 56 contains a phrase from the kaddish of the Dönme prayerbook,⁷⁷ still known today among descendants of the Dönme:⁷⁸ *no ajaotro comme tu*. Entry 7 preserves *mostro signor abascharo* in a ceremony of induction into the faith in which the *Ruach Hakodesz* descends upon him. A lengthy phrase appears in entry 33, *Alem piamus con se nisa dela paro dei genisa*, 'Purify us with the ashes of the heifer that is hidden'. The note about the phrase in Levine's edition of the *Kronika*⁷⁹ identifies it with an act of purification that Sabbatai is to undertake on behalf of the Jews, withdrawing the ashes of the red heifer from their concealment and applying them to purify his believers. The passage occurs verbatim (as Scholem noted excitedly) in the Dönme *siddur*,⁸⁰ as does another, present in Kraushar's version (1452)⁸¹ but absent from the remaining mss. fragments: *Sot deytodu estu eczu. Amosz tramus in el eczu*, 'Show us the entire secret of this deed in deed'. Entry 44, *Forsa damus para verti, seihut grandi assere verti*, 'Give us the strength to see you, the great merit of serving

76 Y. Ben-Şevi, in Attias p. 10, above p. 19.

77 G. Scholem, *Prayerbook*, p. 400. The citation in Levine, p. 62 n 133, of Attias, p. 29 is to a slightly different statement, '*ki no hay mas otro dio i kreo ati Tova*'.

78 Personal communication from HB, Istanbul.

79 P. 46.

80 Attias, hymn 167, p. 160 n 1.

81 Whereas Kraushar's versions of the dicta are heavily edited in accord with a number of purposes his presentations of foreign language material in them are trustworthy witnesses, since he apparently didn't understand such passages well enough to 'correct' their presentation(s) in earlier written versions.

you', (but translated as 'to see him' and 'serving him'⁸²) also comes from this hymn; in fact, the three verses follow each other in a single stanza: *sod...*, *forsa...* and, with one verse separating them, *alinpiamos...*

2. *New Selves From Old*

Frank often addresses the new family of the Brothers and Sisters on the topic of social mobility. Sometimes, the way to achieve this is, he tells them, through discarding past allegiances; a pair to this is the accession of new forms, replacements for those discarded: the books, rituals, 'customs of the dead', 'that lead on the way to death' – for like other messiahs Frank seeks to bring to an end not only sickness and poverty, immiseration and social degradation, but even mortality, as he says, often in the negative, e.g. in dictum 62: *All religions, all laws, all books which have existed till the present, and he who reads them, it is exactly as though he turned his face backward and looked at words which have long since died. All this came forth from the side of death.* He puts the argument to his intimates positively and clearly in dictum 1316 and in the last speech recorded in the mss., saying that the old ways are rescinded, and that he will teach them deeds that are to supersede the one way, and guide them as they follow him on the other way.

As the books have to go then so eventually will the language that encodes the old way. Thus the ability to understand and speak all languages is the way to attain power and immortality – as in dictum 808: *In all the lands to which we would have gone, you would have been able to speak the language which is used there. But now I must come to the country of the emperor, for my daughter, so that she might learn the language and the ways of kings – and is as well the consummation of acquiring both power and immortality, often expressed as the capability to speak and understand the 'seventy languages', the conventional expression for 'all human languages', and even more than that, as in dictum 1110: *When one comes to the sun, one must speak like the sun and wear clothes like the sun; and when one comes to the moon, one must wear clothes like the moon and speak the language of the moon.**

By way of an introduction to the conclusion of this essay, I want to turn back to a single-word occurrence in the dicta,

82 This shows that Frank's quotation comes directly from traditions maintained by Sabbatean participants alive during Sabbatai Şevi's lifetime and that the Polish translation has altered the meaning in accord with the later time of its composition

830. Two Arabs arrived who could dance on a rope; one hung himself in the air by the rope and did other tricks like that. But the other *Bajazo* mimicked that one and did it on the ground; his clothing was distinct and strange, his cap peculiar; in his hand he had a mace [and] on top of the mace was a ball filled with cotton. Anyone who moved, he hits with it, but in such a way as to hurt no one. The people absolutely pester him that he absolutely beat them. But that *Paiazza* does his tricks on the ground and says to those rope dancers above, What kind of trick is it to dance there on the rope by yourselves? Do on the rope what I carry out on the ground. Whatever surprising thing he did below, they themselves had to show on the rope.

I find the combination of the alternative Ladino words for 'clown' and the tenor of this exemplum instructive as to Frank's use of code-shifting and an appropriate passage through which to enter the issue of imposterism. Frank intends to mock the highwire artists – those who are above him, whether socially or in terms of religious prestige, whether Jews, Sabbateans or non-Jews – and is represented in the parable as the clown on the ground. He makes use of these and these, other imposters of imposters.⁸³ (In the process, it would seem that Frank has lost track of the number of his personae.) He sets the deed in the home territory of Sabbateanism and seems to say that, in some way, the Arab on the highwire is made into an artist of insufficient skill and daring – an imposter – by the Arab who safely mimics him/them on the groundwire. That they are both Arabs, i.e., Moslems, taken together with the Ladino, further typifies the scene as that of Turkish Sabbateanism. But the Arabs are both imposters and, though there are two of them, Frank is not only attacking his predecessors, Sabbatai Şevi and Baruchia, for *he* is himself the one-of-the-low-way, the certain way. Yet, by the same token, Frank is identified with a clown; and the clown on the ground with whom he identifies⁸⁴ is not doing his tricks at the same risk or employing the same skills as the one in the air, whatever he claims. That clown, Frank, is a smarter imposter.

83 I have found Sylvia Berti's essay, 'Unmasking the truth: the theme of imposture in early modern European culture, 1660-1730' in D. S. Katz, J. E. Force eds, *Everything Connects: In Conference with Richard H. Popkin*, Boston 1998, pp. 21-35 a great stimulus in writing this paper. She writes of 'releasing the libertine tradition from its destiny of ambivalence,' p. 33.

84 Being low is, moreover, and essential step to rising to dominion in Frank's doctrine. See the first sentence in dictum 1266 (below) and, at greater length, in dictum 1267 (below).

Being an imposter in language-use seems to me to typify one aspect of the larger mode of dissimulation that is common to the converso world outlook, yet not to that existence alone. The imposter phenomenon is certainly not limited to the history of the conversos nor to the early modern period nor necessarily manifested in the acts of languageing. Still, de Francesco remarks, 'In all ages the voice of the humbug has exercised a peculiar fascination – it is his chief weapon. But though he has to speak and write continuously his announcements are best couched in indefinite phrases, opaque and susceptible of many interpretations'; and brings Ben Jonson, in the character of a sceptic named Surly to say of a contemporary swindler who had involved highly-placed people in his scams that he avoided intelligibility, his '[alchemical mystery terms so] 'charming...[and] none o' your writers 'grees with other'. As she goes on to treat of the term 'charlatan' and its relationship to the Italian *ciarlatano*, de Francesco cites the *Vocabolario della Crusca* which says the word applies to types of men who 'with a superfluity of artificial words, with boasting and deception endeavor to pass the false for the genuine and turn the credulity of their fellow men to profit'. (Note that the word 'artificial' means, as in law, e.g., 'term of art'.)⁸⁵ If the term 'imposter' expresses particularly the idea of the re- or mis-placement or –positioning of oneself or the selves of others, of pose and of impost in society, then language, 'charlatanry', may be said to be its technique.

One instructive case leads to a large, yet particular, example. It is the story of Danieli from ibn Miskawayhi's *Experiences of the Nations*,⁸⁶ from his entry for the year 319 AH (931 CE), an account of how one al-Husayn ibn al-Qasim got appointed the caliph's *wazir*, as told by Ibn al-Qasim's friend Abu al-Qasim ibn Zanji. This Danieli⁸⁷ lived in Baghdad and claimed to have books of

85 Grete de Francesco, *The Power of the Charlatan*; trans. Miriam Beard, New Haven 1930, pp. 3-4.

86 My thanks to friends and others who attended deliveries of versions of this paper (at the *Misgav Yerushalayim* conference, at Trinity College, Dublin and at the conference of the Middle East Studies Association, 2000) and offered comments of significant importance to the development of this, final, version. My especial thanks to my colleague, Catherine Rockwell, Librarian of the Middle East Library of the University of Utah for her help in preparing the summary of the Danieli story employed here. She has pointed out to me important misreadings in D.S. Margoliouth's translation of Miskawaihi, *The Concluding Portion of The Experiences of the Nations*, Oxford 1921, Vol... 1, pp. 240-244.

87 In addition to being one of the two favorite names for popular prophets—along with Iblis—in Islamic culture (Cf. Vol.1 p. 229 of Ibn Khaldun, *The Muqaddimah*,

[the prophet] Daniel in an ancient script, books that mentioned prominent contemporary personages in letters of the alphabet scattered throughout the books that could then be understood when he gathered them together into words.⁸⁸ He became well-known for his ability to do this and thereby came to be an associate of people in the upper reaches of government. When ibn Zanji (a name, incidentally, suggesting alien, black, slave, origin) wanted to help his friend ibn Al-Qasim become wazir he asked Danieli to make a forgery that would support him, a prophetic passage that would say that if a person whose physical appearance matched that of ibn al-Qasim became wazir things would go well for the caliph. Danieli and ibn al-Qasim discuss how he will prepare such a forgery, the most interesting point having to do with the artificial ageing of the parchment, carried out in the last stage by its being worn inside Danieli's shoe, beneath his foot, for some time. Ibn Zanji says, 'If I hadn't known what its origin was I would have sworn that it was old'. The forgery succeeds: ibn al-Qasim becomes wazir and Danieli is not only well-paid but richly and quite appropriately rewarded by being made Inspector of Weights and Measures, a post that carried with it the responsibility for seeing to the maintenance of moral standards. He also received a raise in pay when he asked for one; the funding came from the monies set aside by the wazir for jurists.

What drew me to mention this episode here was not only its remoteness from early modern times, nor even the great tensions and disruptions – of internal strife in the *dar al-islam* as well as the external threats of Christian military renaissance – that typify the time and place and the reformations of identity occasioned by them,⁸⁹ nor yet the way language is used in the story as a technique of imposition; but the parchment embodied in the prophet's prophecy. Another prophet used his own body as message, a Yemenite messiah of the late 19th century, one of the two known as Shukr Kuḥayl. Somewhat closer to the time of Sabbateanism, an eastern messiah appeared in a western court, at the times of the expulsions and migrations across Catholic Europe, at

trans. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967) this one is a sort of by-name for one who makes use of the legend associated with the discovery of a book or books of predictions found in the tomb of one 'Danyali' (associated popularly with the biblical prophet) in order to produce new predictions and the like. See G. Vajda's entry 'Danyali' in the *Encyclopedia of Islam*².

88 This practice is one of the divinatory techniques associated with writing, known collectively as *djafr* in Arabic. (It is related to the technique known in Hebrew as *notarikon*, Cf. BT Shab. 105a.)

89 See particularly, Steven Wasserstrom, *Between Muslim and Jew*, Princeton 1995, pp. 47-89.

the Vatican, at the court of the humanist Viterbo and his pope, Clement VII, the small, dark man of 'Habur,' David ha-Reuveni, and he spoke strange speech and wrote strange script.⁹⁰ Somewhat closer to the circumstances being examined here, one of Frank's much less well-known predecessors is mentioned by Sasportas, Sabbatai Refa'el. (This particular imposter even has a continuation into Ireland where an offshoot, one who witnessed his performances while in Poland, makes an apparently sincere conversion to that island's church and translates its Book of Common Prayer into Hebrew, a copy of which makes its way back to Izmir about 1820, delivered to a group of New Christians.⁹¹) Sasportas writes that 'Sabbatai Refa'el preached in the Ashkenazi synagogue [in Amsterdam] and some few Sephardim came to listen, and when he saw them he returned to speaking in the language of Sepharad'.⁹²

Y. Yovel has described the range of converso religious responses and sought to show that all of them – from impassioned Catholic behavior to life-endangering resistance to Catholicism – construct doubled identities.⁹³ The historical circumstances that brought about the need to avoid the 'crushing weight of external oppression'⁹⁴ by dissimulating Christianity led to the avoidance of Hebrew and Arabic speech and Hebrew and (Judeo-) Arabic texts

- 90 For brief accounts of these messiah events, see *The Jewish Messiahs* (n. 66, above) chapters 3,5,10; and H. Lenowitz, 'The Messiah Makes an Account of Himself' in *Proceedings of the Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies* (Vol... 2, in press).
- 91 See the history of this document and its wretched composer in L. Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland*, Jerusalem 1972, pp. 27-29.
- 92 Jacob Sasportas, *The Fading Flower of Beauty*, ed. I. Tishby, Jerusalem 1954, 271-274 [Hebrew]. Other motives may mingle with these: Cp... '10. The same year died John [Aylmer] Bishop of London, bred in Cambridge, well learned, as appeareth by his Book, titled the Harborough of Princes. One of low stature, but stout spirit, very valiant in his youth, and will all his life. Once when his Auditory began at sermon to grow dull in their attentions, he presently read unto them many verses out of the Hebrew text, whereat they all started, admiring what use he meant to make thereof. Then shewed he them their folly, that whereas they neglected English, whereby they might be edified, they listened to Hebrew, whereof they understood not a word. Th. Fuller, *The Church History of Britain...*, London 1655, XVI cent., 1593, Book IX, 223-224. My thanks to Mary Morrissey for bringing this text to my attention.
- 93 'The new otherness: Marrano dualities in the first generation,' (Pamphlet publication of the 1999 Swig Lecture at the University of San Francisco).
- 94 Berti, p. 23 concerning dissimulation and its other face, simulation, 'Dissimulation was the protective framework for structuring an uncertain inner truth coming to grips with the crushing weight of external oppression'.

among the crypto-Jews in Iberia and the valorization of the Christian language, Spanish. In continuing to speak Ladino in their diaspora, the Portuguese and Spanish (crypto- at first and then, at last, no longer) Jews continued their dissimulation and it seems that they must have invested themselves in maintaining their ambivalent identity. The same situation is present when someone sets out to claim that his predecessors in a particular activity were 'imposters'. For one thing, it is a certainty that eventually the person claiming that, say, Moses or Jesus or Mohammed were imposters will in turn be called an imposter by those who are adherents of the former. But more interestingly, the person who claims that his predecessors were imposters is yet proclaiming that they knowingly betrayed what knowledge they possessed and thus, did possess some of the same truth their antagonist claims for himself. So that very antagonist is free, or perhaps even forced, to adopt some of the ways of the imposter. When Frank praises the patriarchs as he constantly does, he praises them for acting, not thinking, and for their 'strange deeds', such as offering their wives to foreign kings. These are new strange deeds and so is the strange-ifying language of the parties to the dicta-performances in the multilingual code of Ladino, Turkish, Romanian, German, Hebrew/Aramaic, Yiddish and Polish.

When he employs Ladino in particular, Frank takes advantage of and at the same time vitalizes the Polish Jewish identification with converso duplicity and particularly with its Turkish variety, (the much disputed and tortured Turkish word, *Dönme*, is at bottom a translation of the Spanish *converso*) establishing a tradition of imposture which the Poles (and perhaps even the Moravian and Bohemian followings) can find authentic and authenticating as some of them and their spiritual forbears dissimulated and then simulated Islam and almost all proceeded to dissimulate and then simulate Christianity. Scholem was astonished at the return of three old women, comfortably settled in their urban Christian society, to care for Frank in his old age and illness. (He writes an exclamatory note in the ms. of his wife's translation of the dicta into Hebrew after he calculates that the women must have been in their sixties). These women had been among the Sisters and long left the Court behind; yet they sought and found again the support they needed for their doubled identities and their inner truth.

What are we, in fact, to do with the name Frank chose for himself?⁹⁵ It means 'European' to a Turk or to Moslems in general as far as the west coast of Africa; it means 'Turkish Jew' or 'Arab Jew' to European Jews. In its early appearances in Latin it meant 'free from tax as an ally of Rome' and it continues to mean that, 'friendly,' in Ladino along with 'honest' and 'generous' and 'unashamed'. To be 'unashamed' means to be or possess something others will label 'shameful' but which the one unashamed will proclaim with pride. On being baptised, Frank's followers changed their names to Christian ones in the local language, whether Polish or German. Frank did not need to change either the one his parents, fortuitously, provided him nor the one he had already taken for himself.⁹⁶

- 95 There is oddly a rather frequent use of the word 'frank' in connection to imposture. Witness the following from Berti, p. 27, 29 the first, a reference by a French author imposter the Son of God, quoting 'Scaliger's negative judgement of Philostratus' accounts of the prodigies of Apollonius of Tyana: 'qui fut un franc imposteur' *Histoire d'Apollone de Tyane, convaincu de faussete et d'imposture*, Paris 1705, xvi. 27; the second in English, 'And what can one say of the good Humphrey Prideaux, the great orientalist, who absolves Christ and Christianity [of imposture] by placing all the blame for imposture squarely and solely on Mohammed? Prideaux is nothing if not frank, as his full title declares: *The True Nature of Imposture Fully displayed in the Life of Mohammed. With a Discourse annexed, for the Vindicating of Christianity from this Charge: Offered to the Consideration of the Deists of the Present Age*, London 1697'.
- 96 Y. Liebes *On Sabbateanism and Its Kabbalah*, Jerusalem 1995, pp. 193, 194 [Hebrew] explains that Frank's first name, Yakov, connects him to more than one Sabbatean understanding of the name, i.e., that of the patriarch, particularly in relation to the change of the name of that figure to Yisrael. Liebes suggests (p. 194) some gematriatic possibilities open to his followers to interpret Frank's last name as well. In the first case we are dealing with interpretations by followers (or antagonists) of a name given him by his parents; in the second, again with interpretations of his name, the difference being that Frank himself chose his own last name. Viewing dictum 2029 in which Frank contemplates a new dispensation and a new name for himself one wonders whether it might not then have been *yisrael* (but see Liebes' arguments supporting the precisely Sabbatean propriety of Yakov); or perhaps *'emet*. (Liebes finds a continuity in the employment of this noun, or adjective, in connection with the Sabbatean messiah.) It is worth noting that Frank cites the verse *'emet me'eres tishmah*, 'Truth shall spring up from the earth' (Ps. 85.12) in dicta 199 and 1103 and that one might see there the expression of the high evaluation he placed on lowliness, further stressed in connection with the patriarch's later name in dicta 421, 63, 86 (based on BT Shab. 156a); and with a stunning inversion in dictum 623 (and another in dictum 1285): 'Why did Jacob not want to let go of that *Sar* until he blessed him? Moreover, what kind of

kings who had beaten the 5 kings, he returned with booty and took back his nephew Lot.¹⁰² Surely that was with power from El Saday. You might understand that, that the powers of God are equal to the powers of the unicorn. It has also been told me concerning the First, that in the counting of the name of Sabbatai Şevi there is *Ruach Scheykier*, a false spirit; but I said to them that indeed the name Moses contains the same count as *'Elohim Aherim*, foreign gods.¹⁰³ But I tell you, that even though that counting is in him, he came to repair. So we have come to repair that false spirit, for they too await repair and we need them and must unite with them.

1267. It was revealed and shown clearly to Abraham that El Saday is a *Szed*; but only *El Saday* was revealed to Isaac.¹⁰⁴ Jacob wanted to go even farther down to the foundation; and thought he had already gotten to the foundation, but he went astray and fell, for the farther and farther down it is, the greater the hindrance which stands from that one which stands over them. I, I am that one who will descend now to the foundation; and it is known to you that it is a base and lowly *Sfera*;¹⁰⁵ and we must go first to the lowly *Sfera* to make repair there, and then we will be able to repair the higher. The *Schaidim* are found there, and there are *Ruchen Velilen*,¹⁰⁶ abject spirits, and they are worse than all, just like abandoned *Schaydim*. They will trouble you then and confuse your thoughts and you will fall. But there are *Schaydim* in the high degree, and they are like kings and lords. They commit no evil, on the contrary they do good. In the end even the evil ones must say Amen and become good. Now they hold back from every side. They rejoiced greatly when they heard of me, for they know that Jacob will come to repair them; but [because of] one thing I am afraid to go to them, and they are afraid to come to me. But you would have been intermediaries between me and them and through you

102 Gen. 14.1 ff.

103 345; the gematria occurs in Menahem Azariah da Fano's *'asara ma'amarot, ma'amar hikur ha-din*, 3 chap. 22, (p. 241 in the edition prepared by P. Ovdia (Jerusalem 1992). My thanks to Dr. Elqayam for the guidance. Frank's use of the gematria somewhat different from that made by the R. M. A. da Fano. Frank must have seized upon the gematria with great delight when it was told him.

104 Gen. 28.3, *shed/shaddai*, Cf. Horowitz, *Shnei luhot ha-brit, masekhet hullin-torah 'or, sod birkat ha-mila*, end, (Vol. 1, 187b in the edition of Jerusalem, 1968); the idea that Avraham knew God as a *shed* but Isaac did not seems to be connected to the discussions concerning the *brit mila*, etc. in Zohar 1, 89a-b.

105 Though using the word *Sfera*, Frank is referring to the lower half, the unrepaired aspect, of the *tehiru*.

106 Cf. BT *Eruv*. 18b, 'spirits *shedim* and *liliths*'.

Appendix II

211. That First called the two religions, the Turkish and the Christian, the two slippers.⁹⁷ From that surely one can conclude, that somebody will have to put them on. He revealed to you a great thing – that there are two – but he himself didn't know yet what they are; because he was not in that secret *Das*, for it is impossible to enter that *Das* until one comes to Esau, for first it stands, It will light up from Seir, and then it will shine forth from Izmael⁹⁸ – absolutely from Seir, there it will be opened.

1266. Is it possible to get down from a ladder without first climbing from the lowest rung to the top one? just as it stands concerning Jacob, that the angels he saw on the ladder mounted to the top, and then came down,⁹⁹ so must I go from the bottom to the top, from one rung to the next, and from one crown to the next crown and so on. I revealed to you initially that saying: that God appeared to Abraham as El Saday that he is a *Sched*, for he is the first gate to the entry and they are the gatekeepers.¹⁰⁰ I wanted to show you clearly, so that you would have authority over them. They would have served you at every place wherever you only wanted to go, even if it were a thousand leagues in a day, they would have led you without a single damage from the air/plague. They would have been under your feet like *kalsony* and that verse would have been fulfilled in you, which stands, They will go and will not fly, they will run and will not tire.¹⁰¹ Abraham too, by that power drove off and beat those 4

blessing was it he spoke to him *Loi ikore aut schimcho Jankow ki im Isruel* [Cf. Gen. 32.25; 29. Frank refers to the angel at the Jabbok by the term *sar*, 'prince' as in Gen. R 77.3, etc. (Rashi) – Not Jacob shall you be called, but Izrael – Jacob saw he had to go to Egypt, that is into slavery; and that with that name Jacob he could not go into slavery; for the name Jacob belongs to redemption, but with the name Israel he could go to Egypt; whereas the word *Israel* which he said to him, is *Israel sawa* [Frank uses the term that normally refers to the customary ways of the people of Israel – 'Israel the old man'.] Also to be considered is the new name Frank added to his own at conversion, Jozef. Among the *Sefirot Ya'aqov* is identified with *Tiferet* while Yosef is identified with *Yesod*, the phallus.

97 Here the plural of the common Polish, *pantofel* (fr. French) appears. See dictum 2136 (of the Lublin ms..)

98 Dt. 33.2, understanding *Seir* as Edom (=Christianity), *Paran* as *Ishmael* (=Islam).

99 Gen. 28.12.

100 Cf. Gen. 17.1; dictum 214 n. and see what follows concerning the gematria of Sabbatai Şevi's name (814—as in the spelling out of the letters of his name; 'el *shadai* or *ruah sheker*)

101 Isa 40.31; dictum 499 n.

them for service, so they might lead us in distant lands without tiring or labor. They have that power in hand [such] that they might give us a screen so that we might not be seen in those few places where we might need it. All that I reveal to you is hardly a drop in the ocean against all that [which exists] where I want to go by the power of my God.

2136. Those two *babouches*, *Sapathen*, they are Edom and Ishmael. They are what stands with you: that two women will come at that time. – In Hebrew *Oyz tuwenu*, that means: at that time will come – one of them said: My child lives and the other also herself [said] that mine lives.¹⁰⁹

109 1 K 3.16 ff.

everything would have been concluded. For you have to know that they cannot come before the king of kings, who stands before God, even though he is their God, and he and they are like those two trees which stand one across from the other and a river divides them,¹⁰⁷ so is that Big Brother with them. Therefore I chose you as Brothers and wanted to reveal and display *El-Szaday* openly to you, that he is a *Szed*, so that you could do such deeds before them, and they would have come to serve you and would have been your *galoshes* as was said. They would have led you to that Big Brother and to his brothers. They would have seen how those brothers would receive you kindly and embrace you, from which they would have seen well that through you they will be repaired, for you would have asked the Big Brother and his brothers to do good for them owing to the service they had done you. But now those low spirits mock at those *Scheidim*, saying to them, You had faith in them, that they will do good for you. Also the Big Brother and his brothers say that I am not yet the one who has come to unite with them, for they see that you rejected me and did not want to follow me and from that they deduce that that time has not yet come. Know also that the Big Brother always tries [to see] if he can get past his screen, but some thing draws him back to his place, from which he concludes that there is something higher over them. His brothers too are aware of it. But I would have advised those *Schaydim* how they could unite with that Big Brother; but to the Big Brother himself I would have given advice on how he might get through his screen; and all of that would have been through you. If that Big Brother had come to me, then you would have seen what would have happened in the world. Even though *El-Saday* appeared to Abraham it was not in wholeness, for if they had appeared¹⁰⁸ to him in wholeness then he would have lived forever. And I told you that that precious thing always lies hidden, one hidden in another; but Abraham was only shown the surface and not what was within, as I want to show you. The Patriarchs too were given that great name *El-Szaday* but that was as if some lord were given a title without a position. What use is the name to him? And so were they. The name *El-Szaday* is very valuable, but they need us, that we might repair them, and we need

107 Frank refers to dictum 141. Though the tale he tells there is one example of widespread folktale, the two trees are male and female and the achievement of their uniting is reminiscent of the male and female palms in Pes 56a, *Bahir* (Margaliyot) sec. 172, 198 and Zohar 1.82a.

108 The verbs are in the plural. This passage is the only time that any morpheme appears pertaining to the term *El-Szaday* (in any of its spellings) that has the capacity to express the plural.