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The Sabbatian Siddur: The Liturgy of A Messianic Movement

Michael D. Mayersohn

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
New York, N.Y.

March, 1979

Referee: Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman

HEBREW UNION COLLEGE - JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
New York School

Report on the Rabbinic Dissertation Submitted by Michael Mayersohn in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for Ordination

A SABBATIAN SIDDUR: THE LITURGY OF A MESSIANIC MOVEMENT

In 1942 and 1943 Gershom Scholem published a text of prayers which he attributed to "the early Donmeh." It seemed to him to be a disorganized collection of liturgical material, rather then an actual prayer book used by this most interesting of sects. It is this conclusion with which Michael Mayersohn takes issue in his thesis, A Sabbatian Siddur: The Liturgy of a Messianic Movement.

Mr. Mayersohn, like Professor Scholem, has had a virtual fascination for kabbalistic movements, specifically those spawned by Shabbetai Zevi. He therefore brings no animus to bear in his careful reading of this sectarian prayer book. On the contrary, the material is viewed with considerable sympathy, in that it is Mr. Mayersohn's assumption that prayer is the means by which this small beleaguered community maintained its sense of identity and reaffirmed the ultimate hope which lay beneath its Messianic expectations--even after the shock of their leader's apostasy.

He begins, therefore, with a background account of the sect. Though he explores no new avenues in this section of his thesis, he provides necessary data regarding the lives of Shabbetai Zevi and Nathan of Gaza; and summarises important kabbalistic concepts without which the prayer book would prove meaningless. By the time he arrives at a description of the siddur we are prepared to view the Donmeh as serious messianists armed with a coherent doctrine and prepared to voice their aspirations in their prayers.

Considerable space is allotted to a description of the siddur itself. The book was apparently printed in the 1860's in phonetic transcriptions of the Hebrew. It contains four discrete services: tefilat hashachar, tefilat hamitah, birkat hamazon, and tefilat hakever. The titles, on the other hand are not always indicative of the services' actual contents, so that tefilat hamitah, for example, also contains liturgy appropriate for the High Holy Days and for Tisha' Be'av.

It is Tisha' Be'av which demands most of our attention. Mr. Mayersohn carefully unravels the secret behind this fast day, indicating that for the Donmeh, this traditional day of sorrow was transmuted into a day of feasting, since it was a holiday of Shabbetai's Zevi's birth. The real interest of this thesis becomes the relationship between the siddur under investigation and the Donmeh's Chag Hasemachot (Tisha' be'av) To be sure readers will find the analyses of individual prayers to be engrossing, and the Donmeh's liturgical confession of principles

fascinating. But the real contribution here is the author's contention that what we have is no accidental collection of prayers as Scholem would have it, but a liturgical text carefully put together for actual use on Chag Hasemachot. Thus, for example, a prayer for Yom Kippur has been emended to read Chag Hasemachot; which now is seen as the Donmeh High Holy Day par excellence; the birkat hamazon marks the feasting rather than fasting which characterized the Sabbatian conceptualization of the day; and the concluding tefillat hakever voices the realization that Zevi was dead but that resurrection would surely follow for the faithful.

This siddur is not typical of all Sabbatian liturgy, and Mr. Mayersohn correctly notes that only the Izmirli community used it. The reader of this thesis learns to appreciate the depth of commitment retained by the Izmirli sect, and receives new insight into their beliefs and the way prayer functioned to sustain their faith in a time of trial.

Respectfully submitted,

Lawrence A. Hoffman
Rabbi

April 1979

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Harachaman, hu yishlach lahem kol tuv.
The Merciful One, may He provide them with life's bounty.

To Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman, a great source of warmth, wisdom and insight.

To Alison, who through her love, support and patience has helped me to recognize the joy and hope in this world.

INTRODUCTION

Messianism is a religious expression of hope. People imbued with the structures and perceptions of a religion often seize upon messianic expectation in order to realize their personal, national and universal hopes. But hope, a uniquely human emotion, is subject to the irrationalities and excesses of the human spirit. Thus messianic expectations too often are subject to these same human frailties.

The movement of Shabbetai Zvi and his followers offers a precise case in which the personal, national and universal hopes of a people grew to levels of irrationality and excess. Sabbatianism raged for several months in 1665 and 1666 as the very real manifestation of the Jewish people's hope. Exiled from their land, too often persecuted and even massacred, the people turned towards religious doctrines which indicated that God would send a messiah to end the exile and subjugation. Shabbetai Zvi promised to be that messiah and thus became the focus of hope for thousands of Jews across the world.

Other times and other places had provided the conditions for dramatic surges of messianic expectation among Jews. Jesus of Nazareth was not the only Jew of the first century C.E. to claim the messianic throne. That century saw a

spate of claimants, certainly none so successful or eventually popular as Jesus. Although the people were not in exile from the land, they were in exile from power and thus every messianic claimant had to promise a restoration of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel. In fact, the one common thread running through Jewish messianism over the centuries was a promise of an end to physical and/or political exile. No individual rose to assume the messianic mission and attracted a wide following when the Jews enjoyed political sovereignty in Eretz Yisrael. This stands as a perpetual truth because messianic movements depend on the spiritual and political needs of the people. It is then not surprising that individuals move to attract a following as the messiah only when the people demonstrate a need. Individuals can seize the time; they cannot create it!

Up to the present day, each period ripe with messianic expectations has inspired false messiahs. One wonders whether God will send the messiah only when people do not expect or anticipate the event. In the meantime we must recognize the great psychological tragedy of false messiahs. As we have suggested, false messiahs offer a fruition of hope when the people are experiencing great anticipation. The realization of the falsehood of the messianic claimant, especially when great masses have been persuaded, can lead to despondency, despair and skepticism, not for all,

perhaps, but for many. People grew to distrust not only those who led but themselves as well.

For most followers of Shabbetai Zvi, his dramatic demise led to exactly such widespread depression. For some, the hope was so great that even the messiah's apostasy could not dissuade them. They perpetuated Sabbatianism long after Zvi's apostasy and death. It is these peole with whom we are concerned in this study. Through a collection of their prayers, we will attempt to understand the self-identity, faith and practices of these Sabbatians. Their continued faith stands as a great monument to the hope which thrives in the human soul. This study is an exploration of their hope.

The use of liturgy as the vehicle for this understanding is no accident. Through prayers, people reveal their self-perception in both subtle and overt ways. In an obvious way, the name by which the worshippers refer to themselves tells the reader how they identify the group to which they belong. In addition, polemics in liturgy tend to constitute attacks on that group which is closest in identity to the worshippers. The need in polemics most often is to differentiate oneself from the closest adversaries, as they are the ones who pose the greatest threat. Thus the Sabbatians never allude to Christians, but some of their polemics do seem directed against non-believing Jews.

Liturgy also offers an understanding of the beliefs, doctrines and rites of the worshippers. While letters and public statements often launder a group's beliefs for broad consumption, the prayers recited privately stand out as honest expressions of the worshippers' yearnings and world view. The collection of prayers which we will study here provide invaluable insight into the self-identity and beliefs of the Sabbatian worshippers. It is an incredibly honest document, making no attempt to hide that belief which made them outcasts from the Jewish community--that Shabbetai Zvi was the messiah. In various places the liturgy clearly spells out the essence of the beliefs of Sabbatianism. It also lets us know how the worshippers see themselves in relation to the rest of the Jewish community.

Sabbatians from 1667 on hoped beyond reason, continuing to believe that Shabbetai Zvi was the anointed messiah. Their persistent and fervent belief speaks to us not only of the great extent to which the human mind can be persuaded--it speaks to us of the tremendous strength of hope as a human emotion. Those who underestimate that emotion are destined never to understand how the Jewish people could come to follow a man who briefly offered great hope, Shabbetai Zvi.

Historical Background of Sabbatianism

The Sabbatian movement has been analyzed and described by many historians. Its objective facts are well-known, with disagreement among scholars only on the finest points. But despite the thorough documentation of the period in general and the great knowledge of the particular events and actions, considerable uncertainty continues to surround the origins and causal factors of the movement. The knowledge of events and conditions giving rise to such an episode is invariably more subjective than the knowledge of the event itself. It is much easier to know that an event occurred than to determine how it happened and what brought it about in the first place.

Most historians associate the origins of the Sabbatian movement with the great wave of Polish persecution of the Jews in 1648-9. The terrible massacres of Jews initiated by the Chmielnicki revolt left a deep scar on the people's psyche. Entire communities were devastated and the leadership of Polish Jewry was decimated. As we will see in a later discussion of his life and career, Shabbetai Zvi first declared his messianic mission in 1648. Historians have suggested that Zvi and his followers seized upon the destruction and desolation and offered the people messianic hope. The campaign fed on the people's depression,

according to this theory, and reached a climax in 1666.

Challenging this general view of the causal factors, Gersham Scholem[1] and Yitzhak Spivak[2] offer another theory, one forceful enough to persuade many other scholars in the field. They point out that the center of activity and enthusiasm for the movement was not in Poland of Eastern Europe, the areas most affected by the 1648 massacres. The movement's focal point was in Turkey and Palestine, and spread to areas as remote as Yemen, Persia and Kurdistan, communities which had not even heard of the Polish massacres. One must look to phenomena other than localized socio-economic factors for the origins and impetus of Sabbatianism. It attracted broad-based support from both the poor and the prosperous, the persecuted and those free of persecution.

The causes are to be found not in socio-economic conditions but in the religious tenor of the times: notably Lurianic kabbalism, which was the dominant religious phenomenon of the seventeenth century.[3] The religious interpretations of the Lurianic Kabbalah had so come to govern the outlook of Jews around the world that even historical events were given a uniquely kabbalistic interpretation. The Spanish persecution of the late 1400s, for example, was seen as messianic birth pangs, while the fall of Constantinople was viewed as the overture to the

wars of Gog and Magog. Thus did apocalypticism invade kabbalism, with messianic speculation closely linked. A union of kabbalah and messianism gripped the Jews of Safed and spread throughout the world Jewish communities.

Especially after his death (1572) it was Isaac Luria's approach to the kabbalah that captivated Jewish communities. His innovations swamped Safed and helped transform this small village into a hub of kabbalistic activity, and by 1650 Luria's interpretations were supreme. Scholem characterizes it as, "the one well-articulated and generally accepted form of Jewish theology at the time."[4] Despite rabbinic opposition in some quarters, it had spread extensively by the early seventeenth century, regardless of geography and economic classes. There was in the Lurianic Kabbalah a dynamic power to confront the needs of various people and communities. One consequence of the spread of Lurianism was a consequent increase in messianic tension.[5]

By the 1640s and '50s Lurianic works and kabbalistic commentaries were widely disseminated throughout Europe. Southern Poland emerged as the scene of a great kabbalistic revival, and it was in this environment which the 1648 massacres took place. Redemption had been expected by great numbers of people, according to a widely popular interpretation of a Zohar passage in which the year 408 of the sixth millenium was to be the year of redemption.[6]

The year 5408 of the Hebrew calendar coincided with the year 1648 of the Christian reckoning. By 1649 the Jews of Poland recognized that 1648 had not been a year of redemption. The kabbalists re-interpreted the passage in the light of events and declared that 1648 was the year of the beginning of the messianic birth pangs. The Zoharic reference to 408 was thus seen as a call for a revival of prayer and repentance, a summons answered by large numbers of the people.

These two phenomena together, the spread of Lurianic kabbalah and the 1648 tragedy, gave rise to expanding messianic expectations. The coincidence of the kabbalistic interpretations of the year 1648 and the Eastern European massacres of that year planted in the minds of many an anticipation of imminent redemption. Those areas untouched by the massaacres had latched on to messianic expectations inherent in the kabbalah. The massacres helped spread and popularize the messianic elements of the kabbalah in some regions, but were not in themselves responsible for those elements. Thus the messianic claimant could emerge from an area untouched by the massacres. Zvi's message grew out of his kabbalistic studies and was given added impetus in some areas by local catastrophic events. As Scholem suggests, "The kabbalism of the age was the spiritual heritage common to all Jewish communities; it had provided them with an interpretation of history and with a fund of ideas and

practices without which the Sabbatian movement is unthinkable."[7]

The doctrines of Lurianism relevant to the Sabbatian movement contribute substantially to an understanding of the movement's origins. For Zvi himself, and his great mass of followers, these doctrines constituted a common religious framework, to which the nature of the evolving movement necessarily conformed. Chief among the formative Lurianic concepts was the doctrine of redemption. Lurianic kabbalism inspired an abandonment of that concept of messianism which believed redemption must be preceded by a great catastrophe. The alternative view, that favored by Luria, anticipated an evolutionary progress towards redemption, a stage which would be the natural fruition of Jewish history. The prayer within the Amidah, Baruch ata adonai, m'kabetz nidchei amo Yisrael, calling for the ingathering of exiles, was interpreted as a manifestation of national redemption. Jews influenced by Lurianic kabbalism believed that redemption depended on human actions to heal the world, on acts of restoration and reparation.

Closely related to the doctrine of redemption was their concept of exile. Vessels of light emanating from Primordial Man were shattered at the moment of creation. This shattering occurred within God. Due to the breaking of the vessels, nothing is in its right place and thus Israel

is in exile. Only the act of tikkun, restoration of the fragments of the vessels known as sparks, can end the state of exile. Man is responsible for this tikkun.

Lurianic kabbalah revolved about these two axes of redemption and exile, and they became focal points for the Sabbatian movement as well. The belief grew in the seventeenth century that the study of the kabbalah and acts of tikkun and study would bring closer the messiah and the end of days. There came to be an intertwining of kabbalistic esotericism and messianic expectations. The two became central to the world-perception of the Jew as anticipation and speculation became prevalent.

The idea that human actions might influence the coming of the messiah was a significant one. Israel's tikkun, its perfection of the world through the gathering of sparks, was the requirement for the messiah's revelation. Israel had to fulfill its task before the messiah would come. Lurianic kabbalism pictured a "messiah-soul" in every generation who could reveal himself only if Israel merited it. This merit was determined by a spiritual renewal in which Israel would grasp the mysteries of the Godhead and Torah, and teach certain elect souls to cling to God. Only when this is done, will God reveal the messiah. It is crucial to understand that, according to the Lurianic kabbalah, the chain of events is initiated by man, not God.

Like so many other young Jews of the 1600s, Shabbetai Zvi and Nathan of Gaza grew up with this mystical approach infused into their study of Jewish texts and tradition. Their teachers had been greatly influenced by Luria's teachings and writings, so that both Zvi and Nathan believed in the task of tikkun, the meaning of exile and the surety of redemption. With eagerness and anticipation they watched for the imminent coming of the messiah. In this they differed little from their peers in Holland and Germany, or Egypt and Yemen. What distinguished them was their certainty that Shabbetai Zvi was the expected messiah.

The Life and Career of Zvi and Nathan

As the Sabbatian movement spread through the Jewish world, it came to reflect not only the tenor of the times, but the nature of its name-sake as well. Thus, knowledge of Shabbetai Zvi's life, his studies and his personality, generates greater understanding of the movement he inspired.[1] Joined in a major and significant way by Nathan, Zvi led a movement which moved thousands to great hopes and expectations.

Even the birth of Shabbetai Zvi takes on great significance for his followers. Critics and supporters alike point to the date of Zvi's birth as indicative of his import to the Jews of the seventeenth century. The ninth day of the month of Av is observed traditionally as a day of fasting and national mourning in commemoration of tragedies befalling the Jewish people on that date. Critics suggest it fitting that Shabbetai Zvi's birth fell on the anniversary of the destruction of the First and Second Temples. Supporters and Zvi himself later established Tisha B'Av as a special feast day: "The Nativity of our King and Messiah." The day came to be called, as we will see in the liturgy, Chag Hasemachot.

Born to an Ashkenazi family in Izmir (Smyrna), Turkey, Shabbetai was the second of three sons in the Zvi family.

Some dispute continues as to the exact year of his birth, though it can most likely be established as 1626. As with most people who attain great fame, Zvi's childhood occasioned little note since no one could know his destiny. We do hear of early periods of asceticism and solitude while Shabbetai was in his mid-teens. Various reports indicate that local rabbis ordained Zvi a chacham at the age of eighteen.[2] Clearly, Zvi was no stranger to rabbinic literature and halachah. Critics charged Zvi with an assortment of faults, but none accused him of ignorance of traditional texts and teachings. Presumably Zvi began the study of Kabbalism in his late teens, as was the pattern of his peers. Although Lurianic kabbalism enjoyed great popularity, it seems Zvi at first adhered closely to the Zohar and its teachings.

Zvi's prayers and study demonstrated his interest in mysticism. Although he did not engage in contemplative meditations during prayer, he did study mystical esoterics. The sefirah, or emanations, became a subject of interest for Zvi. The sefirah of tiferet, the source of the active Godhead, dominated Zvi's mysticism. Symbols of tiferet included the term, "Holy One, Blessed be He," and the tetragrammaton. None of these formulations were new, but stood as central to Zvi's thinking. Zvi's fixation on the tetragrammaton, considered to be the husband of the

shechinah, led him to what were considered heretical actions. Zvi distinguished between the kabbalistic hidden God, En Sof, and the tetragrammaton. He placed great emphasis on the tetragrammaton, wearing a ring containing the four letters and using the pronouncement of God's name in exercises of practical kabbalah. Zvi saw the mystical name of God as existing outside of the sefirot but manifested in tiferet. He never fully resolved the inherent contradiction in such a formulation.

Zvi acquired a reputation for some acomplishment in the area of kabbalah and began to collect students in Izmir. He taught in the manner of a kabbalist, taking long walks along the sea, for example. Ritual baths in the sea, taken during these walks, characterized Zvi's pedagogy. He still concentrated on early kabbalistic writings as the foundation of his teachings and his private life.

Illness plagued Shabbetai from childhood to old age. Without doubt Zvi suffered severely from a manic-depressive psychosis. Sources both critical and supportive refer to a cyclical pattern of darkness and seclusion, and then illumination. This psychosis had no significantly deleterious affect on Zvi's intellectual abilities, although it exercised a great impact on his messianic career. Believers refer to the manic periods as "illumination," and to the depressive periods as "Hiding of the face." As his

public career progressed, these psychotic fluctuations in temperament had a part in determining the very character of the movement. As we will see later, Zvi declared his claim to the messianic throne during one of these manic stages. All of the creativity and intensity Zvi infused into the movement grew out of his manic stages. Referring to Zvi's illness, Nathan pointed to the Talmudic "byname" of the messiah, bar nafle, the fallen one. Drawing on Isaiah 53:7, the great Lurianic kabbalist of the sixteenth century, Hayim Vital, had described the messiah as, "a man of pains and acquainted with disease." For Vital, the allusion was to Luria, but a generation later Zvi was to fit Vital's definition only too well.

One of Zvi's earliest manic periods coincided with reports in 1648 of widespread massacres of Jews in Poland. Like others of his times, Zvi was familiar with the kabbalistic interpretation of the Zohar passage predicting the year 408 of the sixth millenium as the year of redemption. Fueled by that popular expectation, and sparked by the rumors from Poland, Zvi declared himself the herald of the awaited redemption. He did not thereby attract an immediate following however. Most among his family and associates merely pitied Shabbetai as a sick man. Though the exact nature of this early proclamation is somewhat vague, we know at least that Zvi dared to pronounce

aloud the ineffable name of God then. Such a dramatic act may have been inspired by Zvi's reading of the Talmudic passage predicting that in the world to come the divine name would be pronounced as written (Pes. 50a). As Scholem suggests, "...it was a proclamation of imminent redemption and not of the messiah's person."[3] Whatever the exact nature of the proclamation, the date was established by followers later as the 21st of Sivan. This became a major holiday for the Believers, the birth date of the great movement.

So Sabbatianism began less with a bang than with a whimper. It was as dependent on the personal character of its founder as on the tenor of the times. The movement thrived on Zvi's manic periods over which he had little control. Graetz postulates other elements of formative character traits. "He (Zvi) owed the attachment which he inspried even as a youth, not to his qualities of mind, but to his external appearance and attractive manner. He was tall, well-formed, had fine dark hair, a fine beard, and a pleasant voice, which won hearts by speech and still more by song."[4] Graetz' subtle derision of the forces drawing followers to Zvi fails to obfuscate the essential nature of the movement--its character was determined, even fated, by Zvi's temperament.

Sources indicate that Zvi engaged, during these early

years, in practical kabbalah including the magical manipulation of God's ineffable name. For such activities Zvi was perseucted by local rabbis and finally expelled from Izmir some time between 1651 and 1654. Upon this expulsion Zvi began a life of wandering through Palestine, Egypt, Turkey, Greece and finally Yugoslavia.

Zvi's travels eventually brought him into contact with his greatest supporters and severest critics, and exposed him to a broad range of mystical, kabbalistic learning. Once again he dabbled in the rabbinically unpopular exercise of practical kabbalah and once again the rabbis banished him. Many in the rabbinic community considered him mad as indeed he was, clinically speaking; he was a manic-depressive after all. But none considered him unlearned or ignorant. Zvi passed through Greece and in 1658 reached Constantinople. It is unclear to what extent he promulgated any claim to be the messiah or the harbinger of redemption during these years of nomadic drifting. That he participated in what came to be known as ma'asim zarim, or "strange acts", is clear, however, as the rabbis of various communities deemed it necessary to expell the visitor upon hearing of them. We know also that at some point during his travels he decreed a change of date for the three pilgrimage festivals; Pesach, Shavuot and Sukkot were to be combined into one seven-day period. Actions of this sort further alienated the man from rabbinic authorities.

Zvi entered a state of seemingly perpetual exile due to successive banishments by local rabbinic councils. Along his travels he managed to attract followers who believed that this wandering mystic personified a holy spark of the divine. Wherever he went he impressed at least a few Jews by his "strange acts." Finally, in 1658 Shabbetai went one step further and proclaimed, "a new law and new commandments." In what became a critical element of Sabbatian beliefs and liturgy, Zvi sought to sanctify sin by declaring transgressions of rabbinic law to be positive commandments. During his manic periods of "illuminiation," Zvi put his theory into practice by demonstrating significant antinomian tendencies. He changed the the text of the traditional morning blessing, emending the phrase mattir 'asaurim to mattir 'issurim. This alteration from "Who frees the bound," to "Who permits everything forbidden," indicates a major stream in Zvi's thought. Zvi saw himself operating beyond rabbinic law, subject more directly to a higher, mystically interpreted authority. Upon examination of the Sabbatian siddur this tendency is evident in the phrase, rak mitzvot betelot, "only the commandments are abolished." This was a direct and critical challenge to rabbinic jurisdiction, which was answered by repeated bans of excommunication intended to minimize Zvi's influence on the Jewish populace.

In the late 1650s Shabbetai Zvi returned home to Izmir, accompanied by a kabbalist of Safed, David Habillo. In Izmir Zvi continued his study and his exercise of practical kabbalah for about three years, until compelled to leave by local rabbis. Forced to resume wandering, he visited Rhodes, Egypt and Jerusalem. In Egypt Zvi was exposed to Samuel Vital, the son of the great Lurianic kabbalist, Hayyim Vital. His year in Jerusalem exposed him again to rabbinic ridicule and derision. The rabbis of Jerusalem later emerged as one of the most vocal foci of opposition to Zvi's messianic claim. With the decline of Safed as a kabbalistic center, Jerusalem had taken over as the hub of mystical teaching and studying. Late in 1663 Zvi returned to Egypt and there met and married his first wife (5 Nisan 5424 [1664]). No stranger to mysticism herself, Sarah had her own reputation for the commission of "strange acts." Even before hearing of Zvi, she is alleged to have foretold her marraige to the messiah. Her reputation among those who had heard of her was rather tarnished; many thought her to be a whore. After the wedding Shabbetai and Sarah returned to Jerusalem and enjoyed a period of relative normalcy through 1665.

Abraham Nathan ben Elisha Hayyim Ashkenazi was born in Jerusalem, in 1643 or 1644. He studied under the tutelage of Rabbi Jacob Hagiz, the author of the Etz Chayyim, and

earned a reputation as a bright youngster and an excellent student. Though he did not move to Gaza until the age of twenty, the name Nathan of Gaza was assigned to him. It is quite possible that Nathan had heard of Shabbetai by the early 1660s, as Jerusalem was a small town where Zvi's "strange acts" provoked lively discussion. At the age of twenty Nathan married a woman from Gaza and moved there. Upon studying the Kabbalistic thought of the times, Nathan experienced a mystical revelation that Shabbetai Zvi would soon declare himself as the messiah. He described the vision as a merkabah engraved with the image of Zvi. Thus early in the year 1665 a student of the Zohar and Lurianic kabbalah other than Zvi himself acknowledged Shabbetai Zvi as the awaited messiah. As Scholem asserts, Nathan became the "precursor and harbinger of the messiah as well as the ideological and theological exponent of the Sabbatian faith."[5] Nathan constituted the John and the Paul of Sabbatianism.

In consonance with his mystical vision, Nathan held it to be only natural and inevitable that every Jew would recognize and acknowledge the messiah. Only a misled mind could obstruct one's ability to recognize the new state of Jewish existence. Redemption was imminent. The lack of necessity for messianic signs concurred with the traditional perspective that the true messiah would, by definition, be

recognized by the people. Their emphasis on faith led to the followers naming themselves as ma'aminim, the faithful.

As the movement took shape, Nathan emerged as a leader of spiritual qualities, inspiring more and more followers to acts of tikkun. Relying on his prophet-like charisma Nathan freely imposed fasts and periods of aescetic behavior on the faithful. Visitors began flowing towards Gaza in a quest for physical or spiritual aid. In fact, Nathan was leading his own spiritual, mystical movement already. In 1665 Shabbetai Zvi heard of Nathan and proceeded to Gaza in a quest for tikkun for his troubled spirit. Nathan instructed Zvi that as the messiah, he surely needed no tikkun from him. The two studied together and began joint travels as Nathan strove to convince Zvi of his role in God's design. Zvi remained uncertain of his own character, knowing only that he was a troubled man who committed bizarre deeds at times.

On Shavuot, 1665, Nathan fell into a trance and publicly proclaimed Zvi to be king over all Israel. Zvi withdrew into one of his periodic states of melancholia, only to emerge three days later, now in the manic phase and displaying greater confidence in his own claim to be the messiah. May 31, 1665, stands as the date of Shabbetai Zvi's first public and supported proclamation of his messianic character. The ma'aminim marked the corresponding

Hebrew date, the seventeenth (later to be changed to the fifteenth) of Sivan, as a festival.

Consequent to the dramatic events of May, 1665, the movement spread quickly and dramatically. In September of that year Nathan wrote a long letter to his close friend and ally in Egypt, Raphael Joseph. In the letter Nathan proclaimed the advent of the messiah, son of David, and called for communal commitment to penitential prayer. The rabbis in Jerusalem excommunicated Zvi and opposed Zvi's claim actively and vocally from then on. The rabbis objected vociferously not only to his "strange acts" but also to Zvi's claim of possesing divine qualities. His violations of rabbinic law were compounded by his benediction permitting all things forbidden. This benediction became a major source of controversy throughout the movement and persisted as a rallying point for opponents. Zvi cancelled the "midnight devotions" which lamented the exile of the Shechinah, as he believed the Shechinah was no longer in exile. Zvi instituted liturgical changes and publicized hymns of comfort and joy. His travels brought him from Jerusalem to Safed, Damascus and Aleppo; everywhere he attracted new followers. Reports of exultation and celebration were issued at Aleppo after Zvi's visit there. These reports helped initiate interest and enthusiasm in Turkey. In the late summer of 1665 Zvi

returned to his hometown of Smyrna where he maintained a low profile for two to three months.

During the year 1665 the movement began to coalesce into a unified, directed, and purposeful drive. Rumors of Zvi's claim to the messianic throne spread and Nathan's writings fueled them. Hymns and penitential prayers concerning the messianic vision and redemption issued forth from the prophet of the movement. Communities heard reports of miracles, mystical visions, and imminent redemption. In 1665, at Zvi's persuasion, Nathan even changed his name, to Nathan Benjamin. Gershom Scholem suggests a possible parallel between this act and Jesus' change of Simon's name to Peter.[6]

Nevertheless, despite all this increased momentum, Zvi still resided in Smyrna as late as the end of 1665. There, on December 12, the messianic claimant approached the Portuguese synagogue, initiating events which became a turning point for the entire movement. Familiar with Zvi and his reputation for transgressions of traditional decorum, the congregants locked him out of the synagogue. Zvi proceeded to attack the door of the synagogue with an axe until the congregants relented and granted him entrance. Zvi then confirmed the worst fears of the congregants, proclaiming, "Today you are exempt from the duty of prayer." Reports indicate he then took hold of a printed Pentateuch,

declared it more holy than the Torah scrolls and commenced the weekly reading of the Torah portion. For the blessings over the reading he called no Priests or Levites, calling only the common Israelites of the congregations. As they were called to the Torah he forced them to pronounce the ineffable name of God, the tetragrammaton for which he had already demonstrated a fascination. Zvi also distributed kingdoms among his closest followers, declaring his brother Elijah king of Turkey. Believers Isaac Silveira, Abraham Yakhini, Soloman Laniado, Moses Galante, Daniel Pinto and Joseph Kohen were all annointed kings by Zvi. The day after his bizarre demonstration local rabbis questioned him, but shrunk from any public challenge of the charismatic leader. Zvi's followers in Smyrna were too numerous and his influence in the city too significant. Following the attempts by the rabbis to check Zvi's activities he approached the Cadi, the local turkish magistrate, and with a generous gift, persuaded him to becalm the rabbis. Zvi enjoyed a period of manic activity and with great enthusiasm fanned the flames of exultation among his followers.

Believers in Zvi organized themselves in local communities, maintaining contact with each other, spreading more fanciful reports of the messiah and attracting more followers. The opposition, on the other hand, was poorly organized, vague about its goals and intimidated by the

ever-increasing numbers of believers. Rabbinic opponents remained unclear as to exactly what they were fighting, uncertain of the veracity of each story repeated. The Jerusalem rabbis, earliest to act against Zvi, remained quiet about their vote of excommunication as enthusiasm spread. News of the movement spread out from the Oriental communities into all of Europe and North Africa.

Wild and unfounded stories accompanied the more accurate reports of events in Turkey. Christian Chiliasts, sensitive to any messianic rumblings, helped spread rumors through the Maghreb and into Europe. Stories of a messianic captain leading an army towards Mecca, spread among those hungry for the apocalypse. Rumors disseminated of a militaristic re-constitution of the "Ten Lost Tribes" decimating the Moslems and, proceeding to the Christians of Germany and Poland. The reality of Zvi's claims and Nathan's prophecies seemed to touch an alert and sensitive nerve among the masses awaiting climatic events. Due to the 1648 massacres and the persistently oppressive and virulent anti-Semitism of the Polish masses, the Jews of Poland responded in large numbers to these wild stories of marching armies and messianic captains. These stories and legends circulated with little view to reality or verity. Zvi and Nathan neither planned nor desired this part of the movement but

proved unable to control the bizarre stories which were antithetical to their thoughts.

Within months of the mid-1665 proclamation of Shabbetai Zvi as the messiah of Israel the movement developed into a broad and deep uprising of tremendous enthusiasm in support of this mystic messiah. The great breadth and popularity transported the movement to every community in which Jews resided. The manner of dissemination involved the writing of letters, often between family members, mailed from one town to another. Fast days, especially that of the Ninth of Ab, were abolished in consonance with Zvi's theology. Believers engaged in alternate periods of fasting and recitation of penitential prayers as a form of preparation for the messianic redemption. By the early months of 1666 the movement had spread as far as England and even across the sea to America. Some in the movement sought publicity for their beliefs while others demanded secrecy, fearing anti-Jewish riots.

In various and disparate Jewish communities the frenzy of Zvi's followers created a mood of great anticipation and expectation for imminent redemption. In Amsterdam the movement maintained an open and public posture in an environment of freedom. Sephardim there could forget the secrecy of the Spanish Inquisition and Ashkenazim could escape the attacks of the Cossacks. The Jewish community of

Amsterdam flourished in an atmosphere of liberty and prosperity and so, the Sabbatians flourished there. Sabbatian devotees in Holland counted among their supporters both lay and rabbinic leaders. In the east, Salonika emerged as one of the largest Jewish communities in the world (estimated population - 60,000) containing the center of Sabbatian activity. There the movement struck its deepest roots and there it persisted long after extinction in other towns and cities. Tremendous messianic enthusiasm erupted, including recurrent fasts and prolonged periods of penitential prayer. Many people actually died from excessive fasting! Large-scale divorce from normal activities disrupted the commercial life of the community so that many became impoverished and, in turn, devoted more of their time and energy to the mystical speculation. A fever of great magnitude erupted among the people. A certain militancy infused the believers as strength in numbers grew. From a position of security in some towns followers exhorted each other to attack the infidel. In many locales, Sabbatians encouraged terrorism against non-believers as they gained the upper hand. Proselytism emerged, as Zvi's secretary in Gallipoli, Samuel Primo, enjoined believers to rejoice in the faith and to coerce others to rejoice as well. Although distortion and rumors obfuscated much of the

actual message of Zvi and Nathan, it is clear that success had been achieved.

Zvi and Nathan succeeded in convincing large numbers of Jews throughout the world of Shabbetai Zvi's messianic role. Thousands believed him to be the messiah and that he would bring redemption to the world, even though Zvi and Nathan did not orchestrate the development of the movement with great care and caution. Happenstance, fortune and timing all played a crucial role in contributing to this unforeseeable explosion of messianic fervor. The fact that the message originally issued forth out of the Holy Land lent credence for many who saw Palestine as a place of great spirituality and authority. Nathan's role as prophet accompanying the sometimes erratic messiah confirmed the truthfulness for some. Much of the success of the movement depended on Zvi's and Nathan's reliance on doctrines, legends and expectations with which the people were familiar. Their message inclued popular and traditional apocalyptic visions which the masses knew. They retained the political and military eschatological expectations which infused the messianism of the people. The language and beliefs of Lurianic kabbalism instilled the movement with a familiarity which attracted many followers. Purposely or not, Zvi and Nathan demonstrated a finely tuned political sense by introducing their message through conservative and

traditional means. Exhortations to repent in order to hasten national redemption could not easily be opposed by non-believers. Infidels had to mute any opposition in the face of Sabbatianism as a dominant force in Jewish life.

But stability and consistency characterized neither Shabbetai Zvi nor the movement he spawned. Immediately upon establishment of Sabbatianism as a controlling force in numerous Jewish communities (a process which took less than a year!) events conspired to bring the movement to a devastating demise. Jewish leaders in Constantinople circumvented the massive support for Zvi and privately betrayed Zvi to Turkish officials. Acting upon the suggestion that Zvi was set to overthrow Turkish rule, the local leaders arrested Zvi upon his arrival in the capital. Although none could see it at the time, Zvi's arrest in February, 1666, marked the beginning of a precipitous decline of Sabbatianism. The Turks sought to becalm the frenzied Jews whom they believed Zvi had incited to revolt and to disrupt normal commerce. On the other hand many expected the Turks to summarily execute Zvi, so that the fact that he was only imprisoned encouraged many believers. Followers saw this avoidance of death at the hands of the barbarians as nothing short of a miracle befitting the messiah. The Turks interpreted events differently, seizing this opportunity to heap derision upon the Jews for

believing in an imprisoned messiah. Zvi enhanced his own reputation by refusing to have a ransom paid to assure his release. Responding to the persuasion of bribes, Turkish prison guards permitted Zvi visitors and even moved him to more comfortable quarters just before Passover. Although forced to restrain their enthusiasm by the newly militant Turkish populace, Zvi's imprisonment did not immediately alter the practices of the Sabbatians.

Specific details remain unclear, but in September of 1666 the Turkish council summoned Shabbetai Zvi and offered him a choice--death by torture or apostasy. Zvi stood accused of fomenting rebellion and inciting disturbances among the Jewish populace by claiming to be the messiah. As he had done previously before Gentiles, Zvi denied any messianic pretensions. Confronted by the limited choice offerd by his captors, Shabbetai Zvi agreed to convert to Islam. Turkish religious leaders re-named him Mehemed Effendi and placed upon his head the symbol of conversion, a white turban.

Word of the messiah's apostasy spread quickly. Reactions varied from denial to rejection, but most acute was a tremendous national depression. Some followers insisted that Zvi had done only what was necessary to survive and that, in fact, he had assented to the conversion without saying a word. Many denied the possibility that Zvi

had denounced Judaism publicly in order to preserve his own life. Others sought to glorify the act as an attempt on Zvi's part to protect Turkish Jewry from widespread persecution and attack. Some suggested that the turban was merely forced on Zvi's head. His wife and a few of his closest followers repeated the act and themselves converted to Islam. The depression of the masses who recognized the great betrayal struck deeply, more so than with previous such movements. The tremendous magnitude of the messianic fervor had planted within the believers deep roots of faith, acceptance and anticipation. This great depth led not only to the intense depression for some but also to the fervent rejection of others. Some refused to accept the implications of Zvi's apostasy and so maintained the faith long after the masses had abandoned it. Some believed that Zvi's act constituted the manifestation of redemption and prepared themselves for the final events. Those who held tenaciously to the faith spiritualized their messianic hope, accepting it now as an act removed from the stage of history. Most significantly, Sabbatians after the apostasy needed to convert the fiction of Zvi's messianic character into a reality by which they could live their lives.

Upon hearing of Zvi's apostasy, opponents grew more bold and emerged from their previous submissiveness. Many former believers denied they had ever taken part in the frenzy.

The rabbis in Turkey excommunicated any persistent believers and forbade any assemblies or public demonstrations of their now unpopular faith. Part of the zealousness of rabbinic opponents can be ascribed to a fear of punishment at the hands of the Turks. The rabbis drove any believers underground and transformed the movement into a sect of deviant rebels. This enforced secrecy led to sectarianism for the Sabbatians. Opponents sought to restore the old order and assumed that by banning the sectarian behavior and rituals of the faithful, the faith itself would fade out. Sabbatianism evolved into a sect of secrecy as much to defend itself against fellow Jews as against Turks.

Mass apostasy seemed an imminent danger to many Turkish rabbis as rumors circulated that Zvi encouraged followers to proselytize. One version of such encouragement included a promise Zvi had allegedly made to the Sultan that he would try to convince Jews to convert. These reports were never confirmed but they struck enough fear in the hearts of local rabbis to convince them to make every effort to obliterate any allegiance to Zvi. Fearing adherence to an edict of the Sabbatians cancelling the fast of Tisha B'av, the rabbis threatened excommunication for any Jew who refused to observe the fast. The rabbis' response to open, public manifestations of the faith probably did not forestall a mass apostasy, as that posed no real threat. But their

response did help transform Sabbatianism into a closed and secret sect of fervent believers.

Zvi's behavior following his apostasy continued in its erratic and often contradictory fashion. Reports of those who visited him tell of a man engaged in duplicity; at times he behaved like a Jew, retaining his lifelong beliefs, and at others he acted like a Muslim. Some report that he prayed with tefillin on, holding the Koran in one hand and the Torah in the other. It seems that in 1666 he observed the High Holy Days. To some of his followers visiting him, he preached conversion to Islam, though not consistently. The sect centered about him reflected the leader's own character, displaying ambiguity--even duplicity--and constant secrecy.

The Turks kept Zvi in prison primarily to retain control over his contacts and activities. In the spring of 1673, his captors banished him from Turkey without publicizing his destination. Believers seeking to congregate around Zvi had settled in Constantinople and now dispersed. Nathan wandered from town to town, trying to explain Zvi's apostasy and to strengthen the faith of remaining believers. Followers finally discovered that Zvi had been exiled to Dulcigno in southern Yugoslavia, but few followed him there. Zvi's wife, Sarah, had given birth in 1667 to a son. The boy's name was Ishmael and Nathan claimed that through him

the Gentile nations would be saved. Sarah died in 1674 and in 1675 Zvi remarried Jochebed, the daughter of a prominent believer.

Even Zvi's death is surrounded by mystery and significance. Evidence indicates he died on the morning of September 17, Yom Kippur, 1676. A Sabbatian tradition holds that he died precisely at Ne'ilah. Legends developed concerning secret burial in a cave guarded by a dragon; it was said that only his brother visited the grave and found no remains. Sabbatians submitted that Zvi's death was an act of occultation. Nathan died four years later, in 1680.

Sabbatianism intimately reflected the character and career of its namesake, Shabbetai Zvi. Erratic and meteoric, the movement grew within months of Zvi's public proclamation to a position of dominance in Jewish life. And only a few months later it withdrew to a position of a secret and diminutive sect. Unlike its leader, however, Sabbatianism did not die in 1676.

Introduction to the Sabbatian Siddur

Various manuscripts of Sabbatian liturgical writings exist, most consisting of one or a few hymns or prayers written for a certain purpose, expressing a specific theme. However, the manuscript under scrutiny here has no parallel in magnitude among other Sabbatian liturgical texts. Due to the secrecy of the sect which grew as time progressed, members of Sabbatian sects zealously guarded their documents, thereby limiting any knowledge of their practices or beliefs. Hence, those outside the sect had discovered virtually no Sabbatian documents until very recently. Sabbatian creed and doctrine came to the attention of scholars only in the last one hundred years as descendants of the sect divulged the inherited texts of their families. The text constituting the basis for this study lay unused for years among the property of an Izmir family.

Measuring only nine centimeters in length and thirteen in width, the siddur could be held in the palm of one's hand. It includes seventy-six leaves with text on both sides, plus four blank leaves at the end. Following the standard Sephardic publishing tradition of the nineteeenth century, each column of text includes thirteen lines. The lettering is also typical of the mid-to late-nineteenth century printing style of Turkey.[1] Due to these factors

Scholem points to the 1860s as the probable date of the siddur's printing.[2]

According to the titles contained within it, the siddur includes four distinct tefilot. The titles of the service are printed in Judeo-Spanish while the text is printed in a phonetically-spelled Hebrew. Translated into Hebrew, the four services are Tefilat Shachar (p. 2a-32b), Tefilat Hamitah (p. 33a-73b), Birchat Hamazon (p. 74a-75a) and Tefilat Hakever (p. 75b-76b). Obviously the first two services constitute the bulk of the siddur, although the third and fourth are of significant interest as well. Despite the headings of the tefilot, various instances of disorder appear within each section. This disorder is seen most clearly in the second service, tefilat hamitah or "bedtime service." In fact the title is a misnomer in that the service contains morning, Tisha B'Av and High Holy Day liturgy as well as bedtime prayers. The actual prayers for bedtime appear only on pages 70b-72a of this second service. One of the questions we will have to answer rises out of this very disorder within the services. Is the manuscript a collection of prayers compiled by some Sabbatian anthologist, or does it constitute a siddur used by worshippers in a worship service? Related to this question is that of the nature of the editor's role in compiling the liturgy, and the public or private character of the tefilot.

The siddur is primarily based on the High Holy Day liturgy of the Sephardic rite. As will be seen in an examination of the prayers, most are drawn from the penitential devotions of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. In comparing the text to various High Holy Day prayerbooks, the Sabbatian siddur paralleled most closely the Machzor L'Yamim Nora'im, printed in Salonika in 1842. The order and text of the prayers indicates some affinity with the liturgy of Turkish Jewry in the middle of the nineteenth century. The Sabbatians clearly made no effort to break completely from Judaism, even after two centuries of ostracism and enforced secrecy.

The language of the siddur provides valuable insight into the Sabbatians' perception of the relationship that existed between themselves and normative Judaism. The language of the prayers is Hebrew, but it is written phonetically, according to Spanish style. The titles of the prayers are written in Hebrew transcription of the Spanish. This fact would seem to indicate that the worshippers no longer understood Hebrew but still considered the language so important that their prayers should be transcribed so that they are pronounced in Hebrew. They retained knowledge of the Hebrew alphabet and its sounds, but apparently not the language itself. Scholem points to the significance of this phenomenon as he states that, "Some two hundred years

after their conversion, the descendants of the 'Faithful' prayed in Hebrew, even if they did not understand the language."[3]

The issue of order, or flow, in the siddur cannot be stressed enough in determining the nature of the siddur itself. The extent to which the services are ordered, similar to other machzorim of surrounding communities, indicates the nature of the editor's task in compiling the manuscript. The question of the editor's purpose, to compile an anthology for posterity or a prayerbook for worship services, is answered in part by the extent to which the tefilot are ordered and structured. Issues of the origins and tone of the prayers also help to answer the question.

The first service of the siddur opens with various berachot customarily included in the daily morning tefilah. Until page 4a the prayers are of a daily character, with no specificity to a holiday or occasion. This initial section appears to establish an opening to the service which follows. The order of these morning berachot adheres closely to that found in other Sephardic prayerbooks, notably: the Sephardic Machzor Hashalem L'yom Kippur, published in 1958, the Machzor L'yamim Nora'im published in Salonika in 1842, and Siddur Tefilot Hashanah Leminhag Kehilot Romania, published in 1519. At the end of the service worshippers

recite the Kaddish and sing what appears to be a hymn, extolling Shabbetai Zvi and his unparalleled character (p. 32b). Closing a service with a recitation of Kaddish and the singing of a hymn is widely attested in various liturgical rites, down to the present day. Interestingly, the text of the Kaddish is not provided in the siddur as only the title is mentioned. This is done with no other prayer in the siddur, indicating the worshippers' familiarity with this prayer. The opening and closing segments of Tefilot Shachar, both seeming to serve a purpose which fits their placement, provide a strong argument for considering this to be an independent service rather than a collection of prayers.

Similarly, the second service contains a clearly distinguishable beginning and end, demonstrating a structured and purposeful order. The service is called Tefilat Hamitah, but as indicated above, the bedtime prayers constitute a very small part of the entire service. Like the first service this appears to be a morning service, opening with a series of Biblical verses, Ps. 20.10, 29.11, 51.17, and 119.18, the last two repeated three times. The verses are all traditional components within Jewish liturgy and show no unique affinity to Sabbatian worship. Interrupting the series of verse is one line of Sabbatian nature, referring to Shabbetai Zvi's uniqueness. A berachah

praising God for wiping away sleep from the eyes immediately succeeds the Biblical and Sabbatian verses, giving the first clear indication that the service is not meant for night-time worship. The rest of the service closely reflects the tone and content of the first service. An extensive section of High Holy Day prayers, adhering closely to the traditional order of the service, follows these opening passages. The tone of the prayers seems to coincide thematically with the end of the first service, dwelling on penitence and the glorification of God. Although this service does not end with a Kaddish as did the first, it does conclude with a repetition of verses praising Shabbetai Zvi.

A series of four prayers included in each of the two major tefilot testified to this structured nature of the siddur. Found on pp. 4b-7a in the first service, and 40b-42a in the second, the four are drawn from the traditional shacharit Amida of the High Holy Days. These four prayers, Ub'chen ten pachdecha, Ub-chen ten kavod, Ub-chen tzadikim, and Kadosh atah, follow the exact order in both services of the Sabbatian siddur, as in more traditional prayerbooks. This series of prayers is the only example of such close consistency between the two services and the traditional liturgy as well. The uniqueness does not detract from its significance however. The editor of the Sabbatian siddur obviously felt these four prayers to be

central to the major shacharit services. They seem to constitute the Amida within the service. The four prayers offered no easy opportunity for injection of Sabbatian theology as is the case with some prayers which were included. From this example alone one can see that the siddur was not compiled randomly or haphazardly, but rather with the discerning eye of an editor.

Relatively few prayers are similarly included in both major services. Although both appear to be shacharit services and both contain many High Holy Day prayers, exact congruence between the two is rare. The prayer, M'loch al kol ha'olam does appear in both services (pp. 4a and 37a) although Scholem does not reprint it in the second service. The hymn, Adon Olam, also appears in both services (pp. 27a and 69b-70a), in each case towards the end of the service. The similar placement relative to the rest of the service in each case again provides evidence of an edited, independent and orderly liturgy. The two services may be complementary, even alternative services intended for a similar purpose or occasion.

Various examples of disarrangement of the traditional liturgy certainly abound within the siddur. A prayer from the Pesukei dezimrah will be followed immediately by a prayer from the middle of the Amida. The flow of the service, however, from beginning to end, closely reflects

the flow of a traditional service. Only once does the liturgy jump backward, for example, from the Amida to Pesukei dezimrah. Furthermore, virtually every prayer is drawn directly from the traditional liturgy of Judaism. No attempt was made to create an entirely unique and distinct Sabbatian liturgy without roots in Judaism.[4] The worshippers, as evidenced in their siddur, clearly saw themselves as Sabbatian Jews. The editor of the siddur sought to compile a prayerbook reflecting that self-identity.

The minor elements of the siddur, the actual Tefilat Hamitah (p. 70b-72a), Birchat hamazon (p. 74a-75a) and the Tefilat Hakever (p. 75b-76b) offer little insight into the structure of the siddur. They will enter into the later discussion concerning the purpose of the liturgy as a whole. Structurally, the Tefilat Hamitah, although it provides the name for the entire second service, is little more than an interruption within that portion of the siddur, and in fact, it seems to be out of place completely. Certain passages of this traditional liturgy are offered, but they only disrupt what would otherwise be a smoothly flowing conclusion to the second shacharit service. The inclusion of this section remains a mystery for this writer. The other two sections, the blessing following a meal and that for a graveside ceremony, seem structurally to be additions to the two major

services, almost as an afterthought. Once again, both draw from traditional sources and display an orderly and edited structure.

The inclusion of the prayer, Anna B'koach (p. 69a-b), provides more evidence of the purposefully ordered composition of the siddur. Although traditionally ascribed to the 1st century tanna, Nehunya ben Hakanah, it was probably composed by 13th century kabbalists.[5] The prayer expresses a longing for deliverance from the state of exile in which the Jews found themselves for so many centuries. It consists of seven verses, each of which contains six words. The initial letter of each word spells out the forty-two letter mystical name of God. Furthermore, the initials of the second verse comprise the phrase, "Kra satan," meaning, "destroy (lit. rend) the devil." The tenor of the prayer reflects mystical, kabbalistic themes, and while it is usually recited at mystically significant events such as Kabbalat Shabbat, here it is placed immediately before the actual bed-time prayers. This may indicate a significance ascribed by the Sabbatians to the bed-time prayers. Shabbetai Zvi had demonstrated, during his career, an affinity for the kabbalistic work also ascribed to Nehunya ben Hakanah, Sefer Hakanah. This fourteenth century treatise engaged in a radical mystical exegesis of the commandments which Zvi adapted and integrated into his own

doctrine.[6] Knowing that Zvi had already shown interest in the book ascribed to Hakanah, it seems no random decision by the siddur's editor to include the Anna B'koach prayer. The kabbalistic format and the mystical themes make this prayer appropriate for inclusion in a Sabbatian siddur.

What is argued here is directly antithetical to the usual view of our text, that is Scholem's contention that the siddur consists merely of liturgical fragments with little continuity or cohesiveness.[7] He points to portions of the Amidah scattered throughout the siddur as specific evidence of this fragmentary nature. Scholem offers two possibilities for the composition of the siddur: either the prayers were originally compiled in a disorganized fashion and an editor simply transcribed them, or as succeeding generations grew less and less familiar with the liturgy the original composition and structure broke down to the present state. Scholem opts for the latter option, suggesting the siddur had originally been well-structured but had been distorted over the years.[8]

Scholem ignores too many indications of the purposeful hand of an editor in compiling this siddur. Certain prayers, in a set order, were considered important enough to be included intact in both shacharit services. Most of the prayers are drawn from the Sephardic rite of Turkey extant over the years the Sabbatians maintained their identity.

Rather than constituting an anthology of the "most important and popular sections of the Sephardic siddur and machzor," as Scholem suggests, the manuscript demonstrates ordered and structured services with beginning, middle and end.[9] Both of the major services emerge as shacharit services with the appropriate morning blessings, many of the major constituents of traditional services, and concluding hymns. The editor knew the worship service well and also knew exactly what Sabbatian emendations were to be made. He made most of the emendations with a deftly surgical hand so that they blend into the prayers with little or no interruption. (The nature of these emendations will be discussed in the following chapter.) The editor included many prayers not because they offered easy opportunities for Sabbatian emendation, but because they were considered integral to the service. Although most of the prayers are drawn from the High Holy Day liturgy, specific references to the holidays are excised (pp. 36a-37a). Whereas all of the Biblical verses included appear without emendation, the word goyim is excised from Isaiah 40:15 (p. 38b). This seems to result from a fear that someone from outside the group would hear the verse and be offended. Relying on the same format as Maiminides' "Thirteen Articles of Faith," the Sabbatian credo outlines the major principles of the sect's faith (p. 8b-11b). Finally, the editor's hand can be seen in the

tone of the liturgy, maintained throughout. Taken primarily from the High Holy Day liturgy, the prayers reflect penitential themes. This coincides closely with the major thrust of Sabbatianism during and after Shabbetai Zvi's life. Zvi and Nathan encouraged the people to repent of all sins in order to enact tikkun and thus bring redemption. Penitence was central to Sabbatianism, and thus it is no matter of chance that the Sabbatian siddur reflects penitential themes throughout. A Sabbatian editor, or various editors over a period of two centuries, compiled a uniquely Sabbatian prayerbook which includes two alternative shacharit services and three minor serices (counting the actual Tefilat hamitah as the third service).

Questions remain as to the actual manner in which the siddur was used by worhsippers. Evidence of at least the intention of the editor that the siddur be used by worshippers exists in the rhythmic repetition of verses and hymns at the end of both of the major services. Such chants and hymns suggest that the manuscript constitutes more than simply a text of Sabbatian prayers. The conclusion that this manuscript is a Sabbatian siddur edited purposefully with a structured order points to its use by worshippers. If this is so, the question of its private or public use arises. Was this siddur used in public worship service or was it intended for the private, devotional use of the

individual Believer? One bit of external evidence, the fourteenth of eighteen dicta of Sabbatian faith, published separately, states, "They (the believers) shall study privately the Book of Psalms, a daily measure every day."[10] Within the liturgical tradition the recitation of Psalms, both privately and publicly, plays an important part. Thus this statement of their private recitation by Sabbatians indicates a practice of private worship, at least as far as Psalms are concerned. The inclusion of the prayer, Modeh Ani Lefanecha (p. 2a), supports a similar conclusion. Traditionally this prayer is recited immediately after awakening, before washing one's hands. This is quite clearly a prayer meant for private recitation.

However, most of the internal evidence of the siddur itself indicates its use for public, congregational use rather than private devotional worship. The verse repetitions at the end of both major services seem structured for congregational chanting. A rhythmic, musical cadence emerges as one reads it, leading to the conclusion that it was meant for choral recitation. The amen at the end of every passage in the kabbalistic prayer of the first service (p. 296) similarly implies public rather than private recitation. The inclusion of the Modim derabanan (p. 48b) from the reader's repetition of the Amidah provides further evidence of the congregational use of this siddur.

This prayer is specifically recited only when a congregation worships and one person leads the service. Perhaps related to the possibility of a reader leading the service is the absence of any directions in the siddur. This fact can lead to any one of a number of conclusions; either the worhsippers all knew the choreography of the service and did not need directions, or the siddur was meant for use by the reader who knew of any directions and prompted people orally. Considering the inclusion of the private opening prayers alongside those for public worhsip, it is possible that individuals possessed their own siddur and used it both at home and at worship service. As the sect was hounded into such secrecy, the small size of the prayerbook may have lent itself to concealment while the worshipper walked from home to the worship site. It seems evident that this manuscript constitutes the finely-edited and purposefully-compiled siddur for both the private and congregational worship of the Sabbatian sectarian.

One question concerning the Sabbatian siddur remains: Exactly who worshipped from it? To say that it was Sabbatians avoids the difficult issues. Were the Sabbatians after Zvi's death cut of one cloth? Did all Sabbatians use the same liturgy? How does the liturgy of this siddur reflect the development of Sabbatianism after Shabbetai Zvi's death in 1676?

Soon after Zvi's death the seemingly inevitable drift towards sectarianism began. In 1683, several hundred Sabbatian families in Salonika converted to Islam in an attempt to imitate Zvi.[11] Known as the Donmeh, Turkish for "apostates," these families constituted the major sect within the camp of those who continued to believe in Zvi. Deeming it necessary to imitate the messiah, these families maintained an outward appearance of adherence to Islam but in fact constituted a crypto-Jewish Sabbatian sect. Throughout the 250 years of their existence the group sought a resolution of a conflict between their external identity as Muslims and an internal identity as adherents of a mystical, messianic Judaism.

By the early-eighteenth century, the Donmeh had divided into three distinct sects, while most of those who had not converted had faded out of existence. Scholem identifies these sects as the Jacobis, Koniosos and Izmirlis.[12] The first two sects aligned themselves with charismatic figures who tried to lead the Sabbatian faithful. The Jacobis followed a man named Jacob Querido and the Koniosos were led by Baruch Konav (known as Beruchiah). Each man sought to lead their followers by investing special, even divine, status in his own character. In both cases the sect perceived the new leader as a figure to be worshipped along with Zvi himself. This investment of divinity had no

precedent in Sabbatian thought and distinguished the two sects from that of the Izmirlis. Named after the city of the Messiah's birth, the Izmirlis maintained the purest Sabbatian faith, free of later additions or distortions. In his introduction to the siddur, Scholem contends that it originated with the Izmirlis, "who did not add a thing to the Sabbatianism handed down to them."[13] Scholem goes on to suggest that the prayers themselves may have originated with the Donmeh before the division into sects and that the Izmirlis preserved it as their liturgy.[14] The absence of any mention of Querido or Beruchiah in the siddur corroborates Scholem's identification, since the writings of the other two sects frequently refer to their respective spiritual guide. Furthermore, the theology of the siddur (which will be discussed in a succeeding chapter) reflects a Sabbatianism which had not wandered far from its source. Thus it seems evident that the worshippers using this siddur belonged to the Izmirlis sect of Sabbatianism.

The life of the Donmeh reflected the duality inherent throughout Zvi's life. Zvi passed back and forth from tradition to heresy, from normalcy to radicalism, from Judaism to Islam. As suggested above, the Donmeh incorporated this dualism into their character upon their conversion. Scholem described the posture of the Donmeh as, "Voluntary Marranism," projecting Islam externally while remaining

Jewish internally.[15] The analogy with the Marranos of Spain is made by Yitzhak Spivak as well, establishing an analogy between the words Marrano and Donmeh.[16] In both cases Jews adopted another religion for purposes of public appearance. One cannot compare the motivation for such adoption, however. The Marranos acted out of coercion while the Donmeh acted, at least in part, out of religious motives, seeking to imitate their messiah. It seems clear that the Donmeh adopted Islam in order to enter the kelippah of evil and enact tikkun.[17] Zvi had spoken of this gesture and Nathan interpreted the messiah's apostasy according to this kabbalistic framework. Evidence indicates that the Donmeh attended worhsip services at mosques and engaged in the rituals of Islam.[18] Meanwhile they retained various Jewish practices, including the reading of Psalms, study of Zohar and kabbalah and the observance of certain holidays.[19] This retention of traditions along with the essentially Jewish characer of the liturgy refutes the generally-held conviction that the Donmeh had effected a total, irrevocable break with Judaism. Such facts contradict the harsh sentiments of Graetz, who analyzes the conversion as a way for "sexually loose" Sabbatians to avoid persecution at the hands of the Turks. He goes on to suggest that, "...the Sabbatians of Salonica, opposed alike to Judaism and morality,...continually found fresh supporters,

who clung to the delusion with pertinacity, deceived themselves and others, and gave impostors an opportunity to profit by this fanatical humor."[20] The siddur described here does not reflect the beliefs of a group opposing or rejecting Judaism entirely.

The Donmeh in general, and the Izmirlis specifically, exhibited a greater degree of moderation than one might expect of a sect isolated from the major religious stream. The Izmirlis consisted primarily of large- and middle-scale merchants, and as time progressed, professionals as well. The Danish orientalist, Karsten Niebuhr, estimated the Donmeh population in 1784 at about 600 families. By the late nineteenth century their population reached a high of five to ten thousand individuals.[21] The sect's religious leaders, the chachamim, decreed that no member could marry outside the sect, whether Jew or Turk. Persecuted both by Turks and Jews, the Donmeh withdrew from any social contact with outsiders. They did maintain contact with dervishes, believers in a mystical Islamic faith. The synagogue of the Donmeh, known as a kahal, stood in isolated quarters of Turkish towns, undistinguishable from other synagogues.[22] Their knowledge of Hebrew deteriorated, as demonstrated in the siddur, until they retained only a familiarity with the alef-bet. They generally spoke Ladino at home until the nineteenth century when it was replaced by Turkish.[23]

By World War I little more than stories and family heirlooms remained of a movement which had swept world Jewry just two-and-a-half centuries before. Only documents such as the Sabbatian siddur can speak to us today of the faith of the followers of Shabbetai Zvi.

Doctrines, Rites and Theology of the Siddur

Through their liturgy, as well as other writings, the Sabbatians express a set of beliefs specific to their group. We have seen how the Sabbatian faith resulted from the unique interaction between Shabbetai Zvi's mind and Nathan of Gaza's study, and Lurianic kabbalism. Thus in this faith we find a fabric of Lurianism with the patterns of Nathan and Shabbetai. Our attempt here will be to examine the practical application of this phenomenon through an analysis of the doctrines and theology expressed in the Sabbatian siddur. We will primailry restrict our scope to those elements displayed in the siddur, but we will also turn to extra-liturgical Sabbatian beliefs in order to complete a picture of this unique creed.

Shabbetai Zvi stands at the center of Sabbatian faith. The entire movement, both before and after his death, relies on his personage and the nature of his role in history. It is obvious that Sabbatianism revolves about belief in Shabbetai Zvi as God's messiah. Every other tenet of the Sabbatian creed grew out of this belief that the messiah had come. The remaining question concerned the nature of Zvi's character itself. Many in the movement pondered Zvi's divinity, his identification as a godly, rather than human, being. Gematriyeh was utilized to demonstrate Zvi's

supernatural character. Sabbatians pointed to the equation between the gematriyeh of "Shabbetai Zvi" and the phrase in Genesis 1:2, "God hovered."[1] Zvi wore a ring which spelled out the name, Shaddai, holding that he was, "the mystical fullness and manifestation of the name Shaddai."[2] Nathan amplified the belief, developing the doctrine that faith in the messiah must include a belief that the messiah "will achieve perfect divinity..."[3] Immediately after Zvi's apostasy, Israel Hazzan reported that Sabbatians recited twice daily, "He (Zvi) and no other, He is our God."[4] Yet this extreme formulation of Zvi's divinity never became a major thrust of Sabbatian belief. On the contrary, the liturgy of the siddur under study pointedly rejects any ascription of divinity to Zvi.

Within the siddur, references to Zvi take on a formulaic character, exalting his messianic role but ignoring any divine quality. Two different forms, one expanded and one abbreviated, emerge from the references to Zvi. The expanded reference dwells primarily on the exaltation of Zvi's reign as king and messiah: "Our lord, the king, the messiah, Shabbetai Zvi, may his glory be magnified, may his kingship be raised up on high, with the En Sof." The term adonenu at the beginning seems to refer to Zvi as master or ruler rather than a divine being. Zvi's kingdom and preeminence is of primary concern to the worshipper. The

En Sof at the end alludes to the kabbalistic conception and terminology for God. This formula also appears in the liturgy in a truncated form but with the same meaning and intent. Zvi's name is included without the formula only in rhythmic repetitions of his name which seem to constitute chants. The prayers make no attempt to mute references to Zvi or belief in his messianic character. They also make no attempt to establish his divinity.

The Sabbatian worshippers of this siddur never refer to Zvi as anything but adon, melech and mashiach. Within the Avot the text alludes to, "the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, God of Isaac and God of Jacob and the God of our lord, the king, the messiah, the ruler, Shabbetai Zvi." (59a) Shabbetai emerges much more as a patriarchal character, a person to be venerated, rather than a godly figure worthy of actual worship. The worshippers direct their prayers through Zvi rather than to him. While other sects displayed needs to deify Zvi along with their own leaders, the Izmirlis retained the "pure" belief in Zvi as the messiah.

Upon the messiah's apostasy followers had to re-think their perceptions of the man. Some developed a parable to explain the apostasy. A king (God) and his bride (Shechinah) and family (holy sparks) are captured by an enemy (kelippah). The king sends his trusted servant

(messiah) as a spy into enemy territory in order to effect their release. As a spy the servant must convince the enemy that he is one of them. Thus the Sabbatians saw the Turks as manifestations of the kelippah of evil and they believed Zvi sought only to defeat them from within.[5] The conflict between historical reality and their non-rational faith troubled many Sabbatians. For the worshippers of the Sabbatian siddur resolution of the conflict must have grown out of their own conversion to Islam. Imitation of the messiah's act of descent into the kelippah most likely provided a solution to the problem of apostasy.

While the messiahship of Zvi constitutes the major sectarian belief of the Sabbatians, other aspects of their creed emerge in the siddur. Various technical terms offer insight into those beliefs considered by the worshippers to be most important. Most important among these technical terms are those relating to emunah, or belief. By the middle of 1665 the term Ma'aminim, Believers, had taken on a technical sense, referring to those who believed in Zvi.[6] Within the liturgy virtually every reference to Israel is emended to Ma'aminim. On a very basic level this constitutes the self-identity of the worshippers--they are those who believe. By definition, they excluded from their own group those who did not believe. Thus, whether Jew or Moslem, anyone who had not accepted Shabbetai Zvi as messiah

cannot be a member of this worship group. Within the morning prayer, Neshamah shenatata bi (p. 3b-4a), the Sabbatian editor added the line, she'atah hu ribon kol hama'aminim vechol hama'asim. The worshippers seem to suggest that God protects those who believe as well as their acts. In addition to this self-identification as Believers, the Sabbatians demonstrate a broad concern for faith in place of commandments. In various places the worshipper emends any reference to mitzvot to emunah, thus substituting faith for commandment in the effort to adhere to God. The faith of the Sabbatian plays the same role as commandments do in rabbinic Judaism. We will see in an examination of the Sabbatian Ani Ma'amin that they consider the commandments cancelled.

Sabbatianism grew out of a spiritual environment prepared by the doctrines of Lurianic kabbalah. Both Zvi and Nathan studied the prevalent teachings of this mystical belief-system and relied heavily upon such teachings in their message. An interweaving of messianic expectations and kabbalism gave rise to the fabric of Sabbatianism. Thus it is not surprising that the Sabbatian siddur closely reflects such influence and conjunction. Throughout the liturgy of the prayerbook, allusions are made to technical kabbalistic terms which indicate those beliefs considered central to Sabbatian creed. An extensive structure of

Lurianic kabbalism does not emerge, but we see allusions to mystical elements, fragments of a theology which hint at a broad infusion of such doctrines.

The sefirotic terms of Lurianism abound within the liturgy of the siddur. The formulaic references to Zvi himself often close with an allusion to the En Sof, the kabbalistic term relating to the infinite character of God. There is particular reliance on the sixth sefirah, tiferet. Emerging from these allusions is a belief that Zvi himself dwells in the sefirah of tiferet, that realm which is said to constitute the essence of Zvi's belief.[7] During his career tiferet stood at the center of Zvi's identification of the divine. Tiferet thus became central to Zvi's formulation of the sefirot and this fact is reflected in the liturgy. The entire realm of sefirot and emanations of God is reflected in the kabbalistic prayer on pp. 29b-32a of the siddur. We find references to keter, binah, tiferet, chachmah, malchut and various other mystical terms. Clearly the worshippers understood the doctrines behind these terms, as little elaboration accompanies their formulation.

Students of the kabbalah can generally ferret out the meaning and significance of the included kabbalistic terms. Less clear is a phrase found within some of the abbreviated references to Zvi, telat kashrei demehemnuta. No decisive explanation has clarified the meaning of this, "Three Knots

of the Faith." Trinitarianism of sorts abound within the Zohar and other kabbalistic works, including three parts of the soul, three aspects of the intellect and the tri-fold process of tsimtsum, shevirah and tikkun. In their "Three Knots of Faith," the Sabbatians seem to be developing a new trinity rooted in the Zoharic phrase. The only hint the liturgy provides is the formula itself: "The God of Truth, the God of Israel, Who Dwells in the Tiferet of Israel, in the Three Knots of Faith which are one." (pp. 8b, 11a, 33a, 39b and 74a with some modifications and variations.) The final phrase, "which are one," seems to reflect a need to affirm the ultimate monotheism of the faith. However Zvi is not seen as God and the Three Knots do not seem to refer to three different manifestations of God. Although the exact thrust of the term remains a mystery, the liturgy appears to allude to a trinitarian conception of God's presence.

Nathan referred to Islam as the "law of mercy," and Judaism as the "law of truth." Upon his apostasy Zvi strove to reconcile this dichotomy as he strove to rationalize his apostasy. He pointed to Psalm 85:11 in which we read that "Mercy and truth are met together."[8] This attempt to confront the two concepts continues in the Sabbatian liturgy as well. Emet, truth, takes on the role of a technical term, most often in association with God, who is called the "God of truth." (p. 19a) The Sabbatian worshippers believed

they deserved the mercy of God because they recognized the truth of God.

The kabbalistic interpretations infuse Sabbatianism and the Sabbatian liturgy with mystical allusions and technical terms. While we may not fully understand the nuances and ramifications of all the references, surely the worshippers did comprehend. Sabbatian faith in general grew out of this kabbalistic creed and developed into a fully-developed set of doctrines and beliefs.

The primary thrust of Sabbatian belief centers around expectations of imminent redemption. Followers believe Zvi to be the divine agent of redemption, declaring the nearness of God's salvation and preparing the way. Thus during Zvi's career, a cantor in Amsterdam changed the tense of the verse in the Yigdal hymn from, "He will send our annointed at the end of days," to, "He hath sent..."[9] Some followers turned to the kabbalistic stages of redemption and held that it would occur seven to ten years after the messiah's initial manifestation. The date of redemption, linked to the initiation of Zvi's career, was variously established between 1672 and 1675 due to discrepancies in determining the exact date of initiation.[10] The failure of the expected redemption helped drive the movement underground into secrecy.

Following Zvi's apostasy the Sabbatian concept of redemption had to undergo serious revamping in order to conform to the new reality. Believers needed to understand what had happened to the expected redemption. Those who could not formulate and adopt an understanding of this problem, surely the majority of followers, abandoned Sabbatianism altogether. Those who clung to the faith relied on kabbalistic teachings to find a positive value in the apostasy. They contended that while redemption had begun, an intermediary stage was necessary during which the shechinah would rise up from the dust. During this intermediary stage the messiah descended into the inferno (cf. Isaiah 28:21) so that he could perform his strange acts. The descension of Good, the messiah, into evil would have the effect of strengthening evil before its final crushing defeat. The total identification of good with evil destroys the evil from within.[11] Although the Donmeh did not reflect such beliefs in their liturgy, this doctrine provides support for their conversion to Islam in imitation of the messiah's descent. Zvi explained that only through descent into the kelippah could he extract and gather all the holy sparks in order to enact tikkun.[12] The apostasy of Zvi seems not to be a problem to the Donmah worshippers, perhaps because they acted out their own explanation by converting.

Belief in imminent messianic redemption, deification of the messianic character and an emphasis on the saving power of faith all lead to an association with Christianity. The instances of similarity and parallelism between early Christianity and Sabbatianism are great enough to warrant scrutiny. Scholem points to this affinity in stating that, "the differences between Paulinism and Sabbatianism are great but the kinship of the basic structures, their antinomianism and the crisis theologies they rapidly developed should be neither overlooked nor mistaken."[13] Although no overt affinity to Christianity exists in the Donmeh siddur, a subtle "kinship" emerges in structure and ideology.

Shabbetai Zvi toyed with a possible likeness between himself and the character of Jesus during his manic states. During one such outburst Zvi appointed twelve disciples among his many followers. Although he publicly associated them with the twelve tribes he may also have been imitating Jesus' appointment of twelve apostles.[14] Challenging local rabbis who did not follow him, Zvi declared in Smyrna, "What has Jesus done that you ill-treated him thus? I shall see to it that he will be counted among the prophets."[15] During a manic outburst in 1666 he exhorted believers to make a pilgrimage to the "Tomb of his Mother" in Smyrna.[16] This assignment of special, even sacred, qualities

to his mother seems to reflect a desire to associate with Jesus. Zvi demonstrated a fascination with former messianic claimants and most markedly with Jesus. His third wife, Sarah, had a wide reputation as a harlot and part of Zvi's attraction to her may have been a perceived similarity with Mary Magdalene. Nathan put forth the idea that the messiah could save anyone, including a sinner, through faith. The messiah was seen as a savior of souls requiring only faith in the messianic character.[17] Zvi's apostasy presented Sabbatians with the same problem followers of Jesus faced in the first century. While the solution for the Sabbatians was essentially a Jewish one, they demonstrated the same need as those felt by the early Christians.

The antinomian tendencies of Sabbatianism constitute a further example of similarity with Christianity. In the doctrinal statement of the liturgical passage, Ani Ma'amin (p. 8b-11b), the Sabbatian reaffirms belief in the eternity of the Torah, and "only the commandments are abolished." This attempt to retain the spirit of the Torah while abrogating the laws relates closely to Paul's actions. During his manic states Zvi acted out this doctrine, as we saw in a previous chapter, through his "strange acts." Shabbetai interpreted the work "forever" in Jer. 31:35 to indicate that the ordinances can depart temporarily rather than permanently.[18] We have already seen that Zvi

incurred the wrath of some rabbinic authorities by pronouncing a benediction which sought to permit those things which had been forbidden.

The role of Torah and law during messianic times is unclear even within traditional circles. Scholem establishes a distinction between utopian and restorative messianism.[19] Utopian messianism strives toward a world of perfection never before achieved. Under this concept law will no longer be needed and thus things previously forbidden will be permitted. Restorative messianism seeks a return to a pristine past in which adherence to the laws of Torah grew naturally out of a clearer understanding of the meaning of God's word. Zvi's approach most closely coincides with the concept of utopian messianism as he saw the laws of Torah ultimately violable with his emergence as messiah. Nathan approached a similar conclusion quite differently, adopting a kabbalistic approach in which the messianic times signalled an achievement of tikkun and thus the return of the Torah to a spiritual non-material state. In such a state practical application was impossible, thus laws were abrogated.[20] The liturgical statement of the siddur, that the Torah is eternal and immutable but the mitzvot are abolished, seems to reflect more closely Zvi's approach. The Sabbatian abrogation of traditional commandments does

not constitute a rejection of Judaism but a belief concerning the place of law in messianic times.

This antinomianism of the Sabbatians allowed for some radical decisions. A major thrust of Zvi's was a feminist reform in which he called women to read from the Torah and take part in any aspect of Jewish ritual.[21] It is impossible to determine whether the Donmeh worshippers maintained this change from tradition. Based upon the declarative statement within the siddur concerning the abolition of mitzvot, we know that the Donmeh worshippers accepted the principle of Zvi's antinomianism. This move surely would have generated a significant impact upon the religious lives and practices of the worshippers.

The Sabbatian prayerbook refers to only one holiday, which they call Chag Hasemachot. The liturgy describes this holiday as the birthday of Shabbetai Zvi and as a day of forgiveness for transgression (p. 42a-b). Since tradition holds that Zvi was born on the 9th of Av, the holiday referred to would appear to be a Sabbatian Tish'ah B'av. This concurs with the fact that Zvi had ordained the ninth of Av as a festival celebrating his birth. One of his significant transgressions of rabbinic law was the abolition of the Tish'ah B'av fast and the institution of a feasting celebration on that day.[22] The association of Zvi's birth with this date was of no little significance in that rabbinic

tradition held that the messiah was born the day of the Temple's destruction. The day thus held great significance for anyone believing in Zvi's messiahship, and the siddur mentions no other holiday. In fact the editor excised any reference to Yom Kippur within the liturgy (p. 37a). Whereas traditional prayers are consistently reproduced within the siddur free of any changes excepting those of Sabbatian significance, the words Yom hakippurim are noticeably absent.

Zvi similarly altered or abolished other holiday celebrations during his career. Just as he changed Tish'ah B'av from a fast to a feast day, so he turned the seventeenth of Tammuz into a festival. Early Sabbatian liturgical calendars refer to 17 Tammuz as, "The first day of AMIRAH's (Zvi's) illumination and the revival of his spirit."[23] The 23rd of Tammuz was converted into a replica of Chanukah, called the "Festival of Lights" and celebrated by burning seventeen candles of fat and one of wax.[24] The Donmeh held a celebration on 22 Adar, called "Festival of the Lamb." Scholem suggests that it probably originated as a pagan cult celebration of "the Great Mother" and was adopted by the Donmeh.[25] The celebration included orgiastic rites including married couples' exchanging mates, all intended as a practical application of the principle of redemption through sin. Thus, the Sabbatians, and Zvi

himself, sought to commemorate major events in the movement by transforming traditional holidays into Sabbatian celebrations. Although in many cases this meant a direct violation of customary celebration, the Ma'aminim did deem it necessary to retain the dates of traditional observance. While only one Sabbatian holiday is reflected in the siddur, that holiday, Chag Hasemachot, stands as one of the most important in the Donmeh calendar.

As a group which accurately perceived threats against its existence from various quarters, the Donmeh demonstrated a need to establish their own identity clearly distinguishable from their adversaries. The Moslems never fully trusted the conversion of the Donmeh, fearing it was an act of subterfuge. After Zvi's apostasy the great masses of Jews rejected the possibility of his messianic character and sought to eradicate any lingering faith in him. Jews in Turkey feared retaliation by the Turks if they persisted in their messianic faith. Facing such broad and deep opposition from both Jews and Moslems, the Donmeh moved underground. For over two centuries they dwelt in secrecy, worshipping clandestinely. Within their liturgy they clearly identify themselves and cast dispersions on those they perceive as their true opponents. The Donmeh see infidel Jews as those who have gone astray from the God of Israel by rejecting His messiah. The real opponents of the

Donmeh, from their perspective, are those Jews who reject Zvi. The worshippers express no concern for the Moslems. Within the same prayer, ub'chen tzadikim, the editor inserted the phrase v'chol erev rav before the words k'ashan techaleh. The polemic here seems again to be against infidel Jews as they are the, "Multitude who vanish like smoke." Just as Christians had to establish themselves as veritas Israel, so the Sabbatians needed to identify themselves as the ones who were still faithful to the God of Israel. The editor inserted a similar polemic in the Elohai netsor passage, the traditional rabbinic close to the silent Amida. Within that text (47b-48a) the editor interjects, yihyu kemots lifnei ruach umal'ach Adonai docheh, "They will be like chaff before the wind, and the messenger of God is repulsed." Needing to attack the closest adversary, the polemic seems aimed against infidel Jews who the Donmeh believe will blow away. Although it is not specified, the mal'ach Adonai would seem to refer to Zvi, repulsed by those Jews who reject him.

Thus the Donmeh, living an ambiguous existence between the two worlds of Islam and Judaism, established its own strong and positive identity, which provided a viable reason to continue existence in such a threatened state. They were the truly faithful Jews, the ones who remained loyal to the God of Israel. At the same time they attacked those who

presented the clearest threat. Infidel Jews would vanish and they, the believers in Zvi, would persist. This identity structure finds expression in the Sabbatian siddur.

Through their prayer, the Donmeh express the faith which inspired their cohesion in the face of opposition. Relying heavily on the Zohar and Lurianic kabbalah, the worshippers were able freely to express their belief that the messiah had come and redemption had begun. According to Isaiah Tishbi, the Zohar ascribes a two-fold nature to prayer: 1. Ritualistic and external, moving beyond sacrifice and ritual.[26] The Donmeh reflected this dichotomy in their own lives, in public acting ritualistically as Moslems, and in private behaving as Jews. In their worship services, while expressing their own spirituality, the Donmeh gave utterance to their real faith.

Within the liturgy the Sabbatian version of the Ani Ma'amin (p. 8b-11a) summarizes the fundamental tenets of that faith. The Sabbatian version follows the format of the traditional text, although it includes eight rather than thirteen statements. The eight statements offer the most systematic liturgical description of the Sabbatian faith, expressing the following elements of their creed:

1. I believe with complete faith in the faith of the God of truth, the God of Israel, who dwells in the

Tiferet of Israel, The Three Knots of Faith which are one.

2. I believe with complete faith that Shabbetai Zvi is the true king messiah.
3. I believe with complete faith that the Torah, which was given by Moses our teacher's hand, is the Torah of Truth as the text says, 'This is the Torah which Moses placed before the Children of Israel, from the mouth of God to the hand of Moses. It is a tree of life to those who grasp it, and its supporters are happy. (Pr. 3.18) Its ways are ways of pleasantness and all its paths are peace. (Pr. 3.17) The length of days is in its right hand, wealth and honor in its left. The Lord was pleased, for His righteousness' sake, to make the teaching great and exalted. (Is. 42.2) O Lord, our Lord, how glorious is Your name in all the earth. (Ps. 8.2, 10) Be strong and fortify your hearts, all those who praise the Lord. A great peace unto all the lovers of Your Torah, and not to those who stumble. The Lord will give strength unto His people, the Lord will bless His people with peace. (Ps. 29.11)

4. I believe with complete faith that this is the Torah; it cannot be changed and there is no other Torah. Only the mitzvot are abolished, but the Torah is eternal and everlasting.
5. I believe with complete faith that Shabbetai Zvi, may his glory be exalted, is the true messiah and he will gather the exiles of Israel from the four corners of the earth.
6. I believe with complete faith in the resurrection of the dead, that the dead will live and rise up from underneath the dust of the earth, as the text says, "Your dead will live, my dead bodies will rise up. Awake and sing, you that dwell in the dust." (Is. 26.19)
7. I believe with complete faith that the God of truth, the God of Israel will send us the Bet Mikdash, built from on high to below, as the text says, 'Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain who build it.' (Ps. 127.1) Our eyes will see, our hearts will rejoice and our souls will be glad soon and in our days, amen.
8. I believe with complete faith that the God of truth, the God of Israel will rejoice in this world as the text says, 'For they shall see eye to eye, the Lord returning to Zion.' (Is. 52.8) As it is said, 'And

> the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together; for the mouth of the Lord has spoken it.' (Is. 40.5) As it is said, 'On that day, behold this is our God, for Whom we waited, we will be glad and rejoice in His salvation.' (Is. 25.9)

The passage closes with a peroration restating the belief that God dwells in Tiferet, "in the Three Knots of Faith," and that He will send the messiah, Shabbetai Zvi, soon. This last sentence, in conjunction with the last of the eight articles of faith, indicates a belief that Zvi will return.

One glaring statement stands out from the rest of this declaration of Sabbatian faith. The fourth statement puts forth quite clearly the suggestion that while the Torah remains immutable and unparalleled, the mitzvot are cancelled. The latter sentiment coincides precisely with Zvi's antinomian leanings but seems to contradict the initial statment declaring the Torah's continued value and importance. The contradiction is solved only if we remember Zvi's frequent battles with rabbinic authorities during his travels and assume that by mitzvot the Sabbatians meant the rabbinic or oral law. The Sabbatians seem to seek a return to the spirit of the Torah, more as a symbolic element than

a legal framework. With this perspective, neither the third or the fourth articles of faith present a conflict of ideas.

The Sabbatian Ani Ma'amin concisely encapsulates the major tenets of the faith of those who worshipped from this siddur. The Sabbatian worshipper believed that the God of Israel had finally appointed a messiah, in the name of Shabbetai Zvi. Because of that act, the specific laws of the Torah were no longer binding, although the Torah itself was not abrogated. As messiah, Zvi would fulfill those tasks traditionallly ascribed to God's annointed, including the ingathering of exiles. The later stages of redemption were imminent and would include the building of the heavenly Temple on earth, God's rejoicing on earth, and Zvi's return for an eternal reign. The worshipper expresses all this in the language and style of a kabbalist, using the terminology of kabbalism. Without stating it in so many words, the worshipper believes this faith to be totally consonant with traditional Judaism and that no break with that tradition is necessary for such a statement.

The Sabbatian siddur serves as a clear window to the beliefs and doctrines of the Donmeh sect. Although the liturgy cannot reflect all the details and complexities of the people's rites and faith, it does provide great insight into the essence of their creed. Where it seemed necessary

I elaborated upon the faith and rites, striving to describe those most likely to have been preserved within the sect subsequent to Zvi's death. The siddur itself was a living document for the Donmeh, reflecting those principles and beliefs which infused their communal life with purpose.

Purpose and Use of the Siddur

We have analyzed the structure and the doctrines of the Sabbatian siddur. Still one essential question remains: For what purpose, and at what time, did the worshippers use the siddur? It seems unlikely that the siddur existed merely as a compendium of Sabbatian prayers, meant to lie on a bookshelf. The fine editing of the document as well as the rhythmic repetition of verses at the conclusion of services leads to a firm conclusion that worshippers used it. For some Believers, this siddur served as the text for the communal expression of faith in Shabbetai Zvi. Thus we must now turn to the question of the purpose and specific use of the siddur.

Any answer to this question must be presumptive, in that the manuscript offers no title or clear indication of its purpose. Whatever evidence we find to support any conclusion must be within the text. Judging from the contents and structure of the document, Gershom Scholem concludes it to be "the order of prayers or at least a large part of the order of prayers for the early Donmeh."[1] Scholem does not go so far as to say that the manuscript is itself a prayer-book for public use. Scholem finds little real structure in the collection, although he does recognize that most of the prayers are drawn from the traditional High Holy Day

liturgy. Sensing an unorderly structure and a lack of thematic flow, Scholem ascribes no specific purpose to the document beyond that of an anthology, primarily of those prayers which lend themselves to the introduction of Sabbatian elements.[2] Surely he does not perceive it as a highly-edited, purposefully-structured siddur, used by Sabbatian faithful in a communal worship service.

However, as we have seen in preceding chapters, a conclusion affirming this editing and structure seems unavoidable. It appears clear from this evidence that the siddur does indeed have a purpose and use. The specific excisions and insertions of the editor do not indicate a process of deterioration in the preservation of the text or a meaningless distortion but rather clear editorial design! It seems that the finer the hand of the editor, the clearer becomes the purpose of the siddur.

It has already been established that most of the liturgy comes from the traditional Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur services. One such prayer found within the Amidah of holiday tefilot, Ya'aleh Veyavo, is also included in the Sabbatian liturgy (p. 36a-37a). At one point the traditional text of the prayer refers to the holiday, either Yom Hakippurim hazeh or Yom Hazikaron hazeh. In the Sabbatian siddur, the editor excised either the word Hakippurim or Hazikaron, leaving only the phrase, beyom hazeh. Thus the

editor cut out any reference to the specific holiday, and only a general reference to "this day" remains. The one excised word fits well into the context of the prayer and surrounding prayers, and so its extraction appears to be purposeful. The editor seems to seek a generalization of the prayer from one specific day to any day. Immediately following this bit of editing, in the same paragraph, the editor eliminated the phrase, beyom slichat ha'avon hazeh, beyom mikra kodesh hazeh. Once again the desire seems to be the avoidance of any words which refer to Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur. Thus while the majority of the liturgy has as its source the High Holy Days, specific references to those days are carefully, even purposely, edited out.

A more striking and telling example of this kind of editing out appears in the prayer atah bechartanu (p. 42a-b). This traditional blessing from the Amidah is included within the Sabbatian siddur in the identical context as the traditional liturgical structure. However, where the traditional prayer includes the phrase, (Yom Hashabbat hazeh ve-) Yom Hakippurim hazeh, the editor has substituted the phrase, yom Chag Hasemachot hazeh shehu yom lidat...Shabbetai Zvi. With this removal of the reference to Yom Kippur and the insertaion of, "This Festival of Rejoicing which is the birthday of...Shabbetai Zvi," we see a clear allusion to the purpose and use of at least this

prayer. The editor sought to transform the prayer from a specifically High Holy Day text to one intended for recital on the Sabbatian Chag Hasemachot. In an earlier chapter we saw that this holiday was in fact the Sabbatian adaptation of the traditional Tisha B'Av. Relying on the tradition that Zvi was born on the ninth of Av, and Zvi's edict that the day be celebrated as a feast rather than a fast, the Sabbatian faithful wrote their holiday into this prayer.

It must be noted that editorial emendations of the traditional liturgical text never appear in the siddur without purpose. In comparing the Sabbatian prayers to those of more traditional prayerbooks, one finds an amazing consistency between the two texts. The editor deleted virtually no words or phrases other than these under scrutiny here, and the only additions to the Sabbatian text from standard prayers, other than those of a theological nature, are those relating to the holidays.

The same emendation as that made in atah bechartanu emerges on the succeeding page, in the prayer mechol l'avonotanu (42b-43b). Once again the editor excised the phrase referring to the specific holiday and substituted the reference to Chag Hasemachot. The editor clearly had no intention of editing out the High Holy Day character of the liturgy, for the penitential character of the prayers remains immediately evident. Obviously the intent was

simply the substitution, within the context of these High Holy Day penitential prayers, of allusions to the Sabbatian festival celeberating Shabbetai Zvi's birth.

Viewing the entire siddur, one final piece of evidence must be considered in determining its purpose and use. The first seventy-three leaves of this seventy-six leaf document consist of two shacharit services. Two minor services seem to be added at the end of the prayerbook, almost as an afterthought. The Tefilat Hakevarim demonstrates little in the way of thematic consistency with the rest of the siddur. Both retain traditional elements of their respective liturgies while including clearly Sabbatian passages as well. Both are extremely brief, perhaps even perfunctorily so. One can make sense of the inclusion of these two services only if the fact of their inclusion is combined with all the evience the siddur offers.

Taking all the evidence into account, it becomes clear to this writer that this Sabbatian siddur is in fact the Izmirlis' prayerbook for the Chag Hasemachot celebration on the ninth of Av. For the Izmirlis this day constituted a festival for rejoicing in the birth, and death, of their messiah, Shabbetai Zvi. Urged on by Zvi and Nathan during their careers, followers of the movement made the act of repentance a foundation of Sabbatianism from the beginning. Mass contrition and penitence were seen as an essential

prerequisite for the final redemption. Throughout its text the siddur reflects this emphasis as these themes stand at the center of the prayerbook's ideology. This fact may confirm no more than the siddur's identity as thoroughly Sabbatian. But the substitution of the Chag Hasemachot phrases in conjunction with the Birkat Hamazon and Tefilat Hakevarim leads to the conslusion that the entire siddur was meant for the holiday on the ninth of Av. The Birkat Hamazon was required, given one of Zvi's great deviations from the rabbinic tradition, namely, the reversal of Tisha B'Av from a fast to a feast day. Eating on Tish B'Av became a sign during the movement's zenith of adherence to Zvi's leadership. Surely followers would retain this tradition after Zvi's death as well, although it would have to be done privately. This being the case, the community's siddur for public worship needed a Birkat Hamazon for recitation after the significant and meaningful meal. Presumably this meal became a part of the communal gathering on Chag Hasemachot, a crucial element of the holiday's celebration. Indeed, after Zvi's death, the celebration of the 9th of Av, his birthday, may very well have taken on even greater significance.

Moreover while celebrating the life of the messiah, his death could not be ignored. The Tefilat Hakevarim at the close of the service can be viewed as a fitting conclusion

to a service in commemoration of Zvi. The prayer opens with a formulaic reference to Zvi, continues with an expression of comfort addressed to unnamed deceased individuals, and concludes with allusions to resurrection of the dead. One can easily imagine a congregational pilgrimage to the local cemetery and the expression of the expectation that because Zvi had come as the messiah, all the deceased would soon return to life. Not only would this be quite consistent with traditional messianic expectations, but it would be a thoroughly fitting close to an Izmirlis Chag Hasemachot celebration. The inclusion within the prayer of the words morid hatal, "who brings the dew," lends credence to the supposition that the prayer is meant for recitation in the summer. The evidence offered within the siddur indicates that it was used by Sabbatian faithful for worship services on Chag Hasemachot, the ninth of Av.

For the Sabbatian, Chag Hasemachot constituted the High Holy Day par excellence. Marking the birth of the messiah, it was a day for renewed penitence and devotion to Zvi; for many it surely served as an opporutnity to gather as a congregation and to derive support from the affirmation of the battered faith in the dead messiah. What we have before us in the siddur is the text of the worship service for the Sabbatian's holiest day of the year. No mere collection of prayers, this siddur includes within its pages a Sabbatian

expression of ultimate faith in Shabbetai Zvi's messianic mission.

CONCLUSIONS

The Sabbatian siddur under study here reflects not only the beliefs and ideology of the worshippers, but also their historical background and self-identity. Any liturgy, by nature, will express the doctrines and ideological identity of those who develop it and worship from it. Less obvious, perhaps, is the extent to which a group's liturgy reflects its historical setting and the social conditions under which it exists. The Sabbatian siddur is more than a prayerbook of people who believe that Shabbetai Zvi is the messiah. The prayers shed light on the identity of a people infused with a messianic hope, which grew out of a condition of exile and which was spurred by a broad and deep movement of mystical thought. The worshippers saw themselves neither as heretics nor as sectarians, though events and forces pushed them into such a posture. Their prayers clearly tell us that they saw themselves as Jews who recognized that the promised messiah had come.

The broad popularity and acceptance of Lurianic kabbalism in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries prepared the way for messianic hopes and expectations. Doctrines and interpretations emanating from Palestine spoke of redemption and the restoration of the world to a pure and pristine state. People began to hear that acts, directed toward this

end, could bring the end of exile and the messianic days. As had happened during other periods of intense messianic expectations, a spate of predictions arose concerning the date of the messiah's emergence. Many predictions pointed to the year 1648, and when that year passed, marked by destruction instead of redemption, expectation only grew. The events of that year were interpreted to have been the birth pangs of the awaited messiah. Hope and anticipation only intensified over the years.

Thus when rumors began to spread of a man who performed strange acts during periods of illumination, and who claimed to be the messiah, great masses went into a state of frenzy. Certain facts seemed to confirm the identification: this man's message emanated from the Holy Land, a prophet was spreading the word, and the man spoke in the kabbalistic language of the day. Surely this Shabbetai Zvi was the long-awawited messiah and redeemer of Israel. Jews across Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and the Arabian peninsula developed doctrines and rites, based upon letters, hearsay and rumor, centering around the belief in Shabbetai Zvi as the messiah. While the movement experienced incredible breadth and intensity, it also knew a very short life. Within months of the height of the movement, word spread that Zvi had converted, under pressure, to Islam. For most this spelled dramatic failure and gloom as it meant this was

simply one more pretender to the messianic throne. For a few however it inspired merely a re-interpretation of the messianic mission and greater devotion.

With Zvi's apostasy Sabbatianism dramatically switched from that of a normative majority movement to that of an excluded and persecuted minority. Loyal believers were forced into secrecy by the opposition of Jews as well as Turks. Despite this pressure which forced the Sabbatian faithful into the posture of a heretical sect, many retained the substance and tenor of Jewish worship.

The siddur under study here clearly demonstrates the retention of the Jewish character of the liturgy. The Izmirlis, one of three Sabbatian sects, preserved the structure and major components of traditional High Holy Day liturgy. They attempted to create for themselves a prayerbook which reflected their Jewishness and their belief in the messianic mission of Shabbetai Zvi. Through their liturgy they deny nothing of Judaism, while affirming the messiah's manifestation. While they are forced to exclude themselves from the Jewish community, they continue to believe that their faith makes them the true children of Israel. The earliest Christians sixteen hundred years earlier had similarly seen themselves as Jews who had recognized the coming of the messiah. Both the Sabbatians and Christians seemed to react in astonishment that their fellow

Jews had failed to acknowledge this great event. Unlike the Christians, the Sabbatians did not, or could not, reach out to non-Jews and attract them to the faith. Sabbatianism failed to be an active force within fifty years of Zvi's apostasy and finally expired 250 years after the presumed messiah's lonely death.

The siddur of the Izmirlis constitutes the truest liturgical expression of the original Sabbatian faith. Others, like Jacob Querido and Jacob Frank modified the faith, striving to place themselves rather than Zvi at the center. The Izmirlis sect retained the faith as expounded by Zvi.

The siddur holds a unique position within the realm of Sabbatian literature. Letters and Biblical commentaries were generally written by a Believer with the intent of expounding and clarifying Sabbatian faith, expecting it would be read by fellow Believers. In most of these documents specific elements of Sabbatian faith are expounded. The siddur stands out from these texts in that it was intended for the very practical, liturgical use of the Sabbatian faithful. More precisely, it was the prayerbook used by Sabbatians in their celebration of Tisha B'av, commemorated as the birth of Shabbetai Zvi. The holiday, Chag Hasemachot, was a day of penitence and feasting, and the siddur reflects those facts with the inclusion of High Holy

Day prayers and a Birkat Hamazon. This practical use of the siddur in a liturgical setting differentiates this text from other Sabbatian documents. The prayers of the Chag Hasemachot prayerbook tell us both overtly and covertly of elements of the faith as retained by the faithful. This is not Sabbatianism as put forth in doctrinal statements but rather the doctrines and ideology of a worship group.

Moshe Attias compiled an anthology of Sabbatian piyyutim which, while quite distinct from the siddur, do express major elements of Sabbatian faith. The piyyutim compiled by Attias are of a varied nature, although most are odes to Zvi. Attias identifies the author as Judah Levi Tobah, otherwise known as Dervish Effendi.[1] Tobah lived at the end of the eighteenth or early nineteenth century.[2] The piyyutim are written in Ladino with Hebrew characters, significantly different from our siddur's phonetic spelling of the Hebrew. The very existence of the piyyut as a unique liturgical form differentiates Attias' collection from the siddur. The piyyutim tend to be poetic and rhythmic while the liturgy tends to follow a prose style. The Izmirlis include only emended traditional prayer texts, with no original pieces written specifically for their use, nor any piyyutim at all. In several places the piyyutim strive to evoke a narrative, even explanatory, sense while the prayers of the siddur are much more declarative. There is also a

much heavier emphasis on kabbalistic elements and the mystical in the piyyutim. All of these differences offer clear indication that the piyyutim grew out of a different time than the siddur and that they were used by one of the other distinct Sabbatian sects. The name Jacob is frequently mentioned, a phenomenon unique to the Ya'akovim sect, the followers of Jacob Querido.[3] Tobah is also included, probably referring to the author Judah Levi Tobah, and at one point Abraham Michael Cardozo's name is mentioned.[4] Free from influence by these later leaders, the Izmirlis refer only to Shabbetai Zvi within their prayers.

The piyyutim and prayers collected by Attias reflect a different authorship from the siddur, and clearly seem intended for different worhippers. Since both express forms of Sabbatian faith subsequent to Zvi's death, a comparative study of the two would surely lead to a better understanding of how the believers in Zvi diverged following his death. Such a study could lead to greater familiarity with the development of sects and sectarian beliefs. This writer surely anticipates and awaits such a study.

In the interest of rhetoric and persuasion, sects tend to be the object of maligning generalizations and false accusations. Prior to a close study of their liturgy, one could be excused for believing that Sabbatins were de-

structive heretics, out to destroy the fabric of Judaism. Subsequent to Zvi's apostasy the non-believers gained a position of dominance and further crushed the movement by casting continued belief as heresy. Whether or not Shabbetai Zvi was the messiah, the prayers of his believers demonstrate their perception that they were loyal, faithful Jews. They believed the non-believers to be the sectarians, and until Zvi's apostasy they were right. The worshippers of this siddur can be accused of being misguided in their belief in Zvi but they cannot justly be accused of rejecting Judaism. In an environment which thrives on messianic expectation and hope, those who seize upon the manifestation of that hope cannot be condemned out of hand. The great hope which these Jews held onto so dearly uplifted and sustained thousands. We need not condemn the need for hope but rather be sure that none will raise up such hope on legs that cannot stand.

NOTES

Chapter Two

1. Gershom Scholem, SABBETAI SEVI: The Mystical Messiah (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973). (Hereafter cited as Scholem, Shabbetai Sevi.)

2. Yitzhak Spivak, Hamashiach Me'izmir (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1967).

3. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 7.

4. Ibid., p. 67.

5. Ibid., p. 67.

6. Zohar, 139b.

7. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 8.

Chapter Three

1. Unless otherwise noted, the picture to be drawn of the lives of Zvi and Nathan and the movement they led, is drawn from the epic work on the subject by Gershom Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi: The Mystical Messiah. His stands as the most complete and authoritative work in the area. Citations will only be made where other sources are used.

2. Chacham is the title used in Sephardic communities for the equivalent of a rabbi.

3. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 142.

4. Heinrich Graetz, "Spinoza and Sabbetai Zevi," History of the Jews, 6 vols., (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1895) vol. V, Chp. IV, p. 118.

5. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 203.

6. Ibid., p. 364. Any similarities between Christian doctrines and history, and Sabbatianism, will be examined under another heading in this study.

Chapter Four

1. Gershom Scholem, "Seder Tefilot shel Hadonmeh Me'izmir," Kiryat Sepher XVIII (1942): p. 299.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. The Sabbatian siddur seems to display the greatest affinity with the Sephardic 1842 Salonika machzor. In various instances, most markedly the Adon Olam (pp. 27a and 69b-70a), the text of a prayer deviates significantly from the modern Sephardi and Ashkenazi rites, but conforms exactly to that of the 1842 Salonika text. In the instance of the prayer Veyasiv kol avadecha (pp. 6a-7a), the editor seems to have drawn from a sixteenth-century Ashkenazi minhag of Salonika. This would indicate some degree of familiarity among the Sabbatians with both the extant Ashkenazi and Sephardi rites, although they draw more extensively from the latter.

5. "Anna B'Khoach," Encyclopedia Judaica (Jerusalem: Keter Press, 1971) vol. 3.

6. "Book of Kanah," Encyclopedia Judaica, vol. 10.

7. Scholem, "Seder Tefilot," p. 301.

8. Ibid, p. 302.

9. Gershom Scholem, "Mitsvah Haba'ah Ba'averah: Toward and Understanding of Sabbatianism," Keneset II (1937): pp. 156f.

10. Gershom Scholem, "'The Sprouting of the Horn of the Son of David,' A New Source from the Beginnings of the Doenme Sect in Salonika," In the Time of Harvest, ed. Daniel Jeremy Silver (New York: Macmillan Co., 1963), p. 384.

11. Gershom Scholem, "The Crisis of tradition in Jewish Messianism," The Messianic Idea in Judaism (New York: Schocken Press, 1971), p. 63.

12. Gershom Scholem, "Beruchiah Rosh Hasabbatayim Besalonika," Zion 6 (1948): p. 131.

13. Scholem, "Seder Tefilot," p. 303.

14. Ibid., p. 305.

15. Gershom Scholem, "Redemption through Sin," The Messianic Idea in Judaism, pp. 114f.

16. Yitzhak Spivak, Hamashiach Meizmir (Jerusalem: Rubin Mass, 1967), pp. 85ff.

17. Meir Benayahu, "Hatenuyah Hasabbatait Beyavan," Sefunot 14 (1978): p. 108.

18. Scholem, "Seder Tefilot," p. 300.

19. Moshe Attias, Sefer Shirot Vetishbachot shel Hasabbatayim (Tel Aviv: Devir, 1948), p. 6.

20. Heinrich Graetz, "Spinoza and Sabbetai Sevi," History of the Jews, 6 vols., (Philadephia: Jewish Publication Society, 1895) vol. V, chp. IV, p. 211.

21. Gershom Scholem, "The Crypto-Jewish Sect of the Donmeh in Turkey," The Messianic Idea in Judaism (New York: Schocken Press, 1971), pp. 154ff.

22. Ibid., p. 150.

23. Ibid.

Chapter Five

1. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 235.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 872.

4. Ibid., p. 837.

5. Ibid., p. 802.

6. Ibid., p. 238.

7. Ibid., pp. 122f.

8. Ibid., p. 863.

9. Ibid., p. 535.

10. Ibid., p. 898.

11. Ibid., pp. 800f.

12. Ibid., p. 832.

13. Scholem, "Crisis of Tradition," pp. 58f.

14. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 223.

15. Ibid., p. 399.

16. Ibid., p. 613.

17. Ibid., pp. 285f.

18. Ibid., p. 223.

19. Scholem, "Crisis of Tradition," pp. 51ff.

20. Scholem, Sabbetai Sevi, p. 319.

21. Ibid., p. 403.

22. Ibid., pp. 617ff.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Scholem, "Redemption Through Sin," p. 114.

26. Isaiah Tishbi, Pirkei Zohar (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1969), p. 81.

Chapter Six

1. Gershom Scholem, "Mitsvah Haba'ah Ba'averah: Toward an Understanding of Sabbatianism," Keneset II (1937): p. 161.

2. Ibid.

3. Moshe Attias, Sefer Shirot Vetishbachot shel Hasabbatayim (Tel Aviv: Devir, 1948), p. 28.

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_____. "Mitsvah Haba'ah Ba'averah: Toward an Understanding of Sabbatianism." Keneset 2 (1937): 347-392.

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_____. "Seder Tefilot shel Hadonmeh Me'izmir." Kiryat Sepher 18, 19 (1942, 1943): 298-312, 394-408, 58-64.

_____. "'The Sprouting of the Horn of the Son of David,' A New Source from the Beginnings of the Doenme Sect in Salonika." In the Time of Harvest, edited by Daniel Jeremy Silver. New York: Macmillan Co., 1963.

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