

Archie Wolfman

“Follow for more spookiness”: The dybbuk box, networked digital Holocaust memory and interactive narrative on social media

In 2001, an antique dealer in Portland, Oregon, named Kevin Mannis, bought a wine cabinet at an estate sale. The woman who sold him the box referred to it as the “dybbuk box”¹. Soon after Mannis took ownership of the dybbuk box, he began to experience bad luck and supernatural phenomena. The most alarming part of the original story of the dybbuk box is that, according to Mannis’ own account, when he gifted the item to his own mother, she immediately experienced a near-fatal stroke. She described the box as “pure evil”². In 2003, Mannis decided to list the haunted box on eBay, as shown in figure 1. An extended excerpt from the original eBay listing is as follows:

During September of 2001, I attended an estate sale in Portland Oregon [sic]. The items liquidated at this sale [sic] were from the estate of a woman who had passed away at the age of 103. A grand-daughter of the woman told me that her grandmother had been born in Poland where she grew up, married, raised a family, and lived until she was sent to a nazi [sic] concentration camp during World War II. She was the only member of her family who survived the camp. Her parents, brothers, a sister, husband, and two sons and a daughter were all killed. She survived the camp by escaping with some other prisoners and somehow making her way to Spain where she lived until the end of the war. [. . .] After the sale, I was approached by the woman’s granddaughter who said, I see you got the dybbuk box. She was referring to the wine cabinet. I asked her what a dybbuk box was, and she told me that when she was growing up, her grandmother always kept the wine cabinet in her sewing room. It was always shut, and set in a place that was out of reach. The grandmother always called it the dybbuk box.³

1 A dybbuk originates in Jewish folklore and is the soul of a deceased person that possesses a living person, the Hebrew etymology of which originates in “to cling” or “to adhere”: Joachim Neugroschel, “Ansky: *The Dybbuk* and the Yiddish Imagination” in *The Dybbuk and the Yiddish Imagination*, ed. and trans., Joachim Neugroschel (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), xv–xvii.

2 “The Dybbuk Box,” Season 2, Episode 4, *Paranormal Witness*, directed by Russell England, aired on 29 August 2012.

3 spasmodic, “Dibbuk Haunted Jewish Wine Cabinet Box”, 9 February 2004, *eBay*, http://web.archive.org/web/20051105000557/www.andrew.cmu.edu/user/rubyc/eBay_dibbuk.htm, accessed 30 June 2023.

home | [buy](#) | [register](#) | [sign in](#) | [services](#) | [site map](#) | [help](#)  [Browse](#) | [Search](#) | [Sell](#) | [My eBay](#) | [Community](#)  Powered by IBM

← [Back to home page](#) Listed in category: [Antiques > Other Antiques](#)
Also listed in: [Everything Else > Metaphysical > Psychic, Paranormal](#)

Dibbuk Haunted Jewish Wine Cabinet Box Item number: 3701347648

You are signed in

Bidding has ended for this item (agotron is the winner)

Winning bid: **US \$280.00**
 Ended: Feb-09-04 15:05:59 PST
 History: 51 bids (US \$1.00 starting bid)
 Winning bidder: [agotron](#) (124 )

Location: Missouri
United States (St. Louis)

Go to larger picture

[Shipping and payment details](#)

Description

Here's an excerpt from the original description of the box by the first seller, nw-net-trade.

All of the events that I am about to set forth in this listing are accurate and may be verified by the winning bidder with the copies of hospital records and sworn affidavits that I am including as part of the sale of the cabinet. The winning bidder will also be able to contact most of the persons mentioned herein for the purposes of verification, corroboration, and to gain insight into the full scope of whatever it is. During September of 2001, I attended an estate sale in Portland Oregon. The items liquidated at this sale were from the estate of a woman who had passed away at the age of 103. A grand-daughter of the woman told me that her grandmother had been born in Poland where she grew up, married, raised a family, and lived until she was sent to a nazi concentration camp during World War II. She was the only member of her family who survived the camp. Her parents, brothers, a sister, husband, and two sons and a daughter were all killed. She survived the camp by escaping with some other prisoners and somehow making her way to Spain where she lived until the end of the war. I was told that she acquired the small wine cabinet listed here in Spain and it was one of only three items that she brought with her when she immigrated to the United States. The other two items were a steamer trunk, and a sewing box.

I purchased the wine cabinet, along with the sewing box and some other furniture at the estate sale. After the sale, I was approached by the woman's granddaughter who said, I see you got the dibbuk box.

Figure 1: Screenshot from one of the original dybbuk box's first appearances on eBay in 2004, including some of its description and original photo.

Mannis sold the box on eBay in 2003, before the peak of Web 2.0. Since Mannis sold the box, it has spawned countless blog entries, news articles, books, paranormal reality television episodes, numerous horror films from Hollywood to Malayalam- and Hindi-language films, a phone app, a fantasy genre card game, YouTube videos, Tumblr posts, Reddit threads, Twitter comments, TikTok uploads and responses, and, even to this day, countless copycat eBay and Etsy listings⁴. One of its most peculiar recent episodes comprises a viral online story claiming

⁴ Leslie Gornstein, "A Jinx in a Box?," *Los Angeles Times*, 25 July 2004, <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-jul-25-ca-gornstein25-story.html>, accessed 6 July 2023; Iosif Neitzke, "The Dibbuk Box," 1 August 2013, <https://whisperingdark.wordpress.com/tag/iosif-neitzke/>, accessed 23 June 2023; Kevin Mannis, "The Dibbuk Box: A.K.A. The Haunted Jewish Wine Cabinet," *Yahoo Blogs*, 2 September 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120825053726/http://voices.yahoo.com/the-dibbuk-box-4184199.html?cat=44>, accessed 23 June 2023; Jason Haxton, *The Dibbuk Box* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2011); "The Dybbuk Box," Season 2, Episode 4, *Paranormal Witness*, directed by Russell England, aired on 29 August 2012; Ole Boredal, *The Possession* (Los Angeles: Ghost House Productions), 2012; Jay K., *Ezra* (Chennai: AVA Productions), 2017; Jay

that music artist Post Malone was “cursed” with severe bad luck by the box, after touching it in 2018⁵. The box’s third owner, Jason Haxton, wrote a book and created a website about it⁶. The current owner, Zak Bagans, who acquired the box from Haxton, is the host of numerous paranormal reality shows about the box and exhibits a version of it in his “haunted museum” in Las Vegas. Bagans frequently refers to the box as “the most haunted object in the world”⁷. All the nar-

K., *Dybbuk* (Mumbai: T-Series), 2021; “DibbukBox Ghost Box,” Google Play, 14 June 2023, https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=appinventor.ai_malote1971.DibbukBox&hl=en&gl=US, accessed 25 June 2023; “Cryptid Nation: Seance – 1st Edition,” MetaZooHQ, 9 October 2022, <https://metazooHQ.com/cards/cryptid-nation/seance/1st-edition>, accessed 23 June 2023; MindSeedTV “Opening a Real Cursed Dybbuk Box (Gone Wrong) Very Scary Demon Box 3AM,” YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FEpU-DrHjds&ab_channel=MindSeedTV, accessed 21 June 2023; “#dybbukbox,” Tumblr, 30 June 2023, <https://www.tumblr.com/tagged/dybbuk%20box?sort=top>, accessed 30 June 2023; Derpherpderpdeerp, “The Dybbuk Box,” 8 April 2019, Reddit, https://www.reddit.com/r/TheTruthishere/comments/bav762/the_dybbuk_box/, accessed 26 June 2023; Ashley, @_doyoubelieve_2, 2023. Just dont be like this dude. #dybbukbox #mustwatch #must-watch #paranormal #doyoubelieve #paranormal #scary #ghost #hauntedtiktok #creepy #haunted #horror #spooky #caughtoncamera #paranormalactivity,” TikTok, 15 April 2023, https://www.tiktok.com/@_doyoubelieve_2/video/7222221988071247146?q=%23dybbukbox&t=168812133087; DuCorbeauALaLicorne, “DYBBUK HAUNTED BOX – paranormal saled box haunted box,” 13 February 2017, Etsy, <https://web.archive.org/web/20230629112546/> https://www.etsy.com/uk/listing/1487014278/dybbuk-haunted-box-paranormal-saled-box?ga_order=most_relevant&ga_search_type=all&ga_view_type=gallery&ga_search_query=dybbuk+box&ref=sr_gallery-1-1&pro=1&edd=1&sts=1&organic_search_click=1, accessed 30 June 2023; roadshow01, “dybbuk,” 29 June 2023, eBay <https://web.archive.org/web/20230629113644/> <https://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/125995219678?hash=item1d55e67ade:g:1a8AAOSwXQhklCxC&amdata=enc%3AAAQAIAAAAA4KRA%2B5G5pTSp3%2F5kg6%2BSSy3mVKw3tQrFoyNiDxZEX%2BibYKC3FDEgKHNJEwDm02nKIsV9j%2BkSq5GeL7Sg0NP2OVb%2BO5a7qA1VfxlHrvRFb7djywsdS7Lx8ANfOe5gHqSw63msVhODDdyzUrdq9CH%2FJJ4R%2F5Ms56s%2FzZj2zBuJ5aDl%2B4%2BbI4amxpfD9JBgo4aBgpJZVmkoPreiLPr2%2B8ZENaf7MyBk3qbG%2BKmnjWbvJl%2FfkUJA7LxnF11d5X7fSG9JAGTUuFfbD7o9b3YQcpUg0F3%2FEW%2FwU4e8ehAFZjff6os1r%7Ctkp%3ABk9SR-7j4e6gYg>, accessed 30 June 2023; KGH (Kalani Ghost Hunter) @kalanighost. 2023, “Anyone wanna open a dybbuk box with me ?,” 14 January 2023, 8.53pm, <https://twitter.com/kalanighost/status/1614365183568187394>.

5 Late Night with Seth Meyers, “Post Malone Was Cursed by a Haunted Dybbuk Box,” YouTube, 21 February 2021, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwT-LIX8z18&ab_channel=LateNightwithSethMeyers, accessed 24 June 2023; BBC, “Post Malone’s Bad Luck Put Down to ‘Haunted’ Object,” 18 September 2018, <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-45559534>, accessed 24 June 2023.

6 “The Haunted Jewish Wine Box: Dibbuk Box,” 28 October 2009, <http://www.dibbukbox.com/>, accessed 23 June 2023; Jason Haxton, *The Dibbuk Box* (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2011).

7 Numerous episodes of paranormal reality television refer to the box in this way, such as “Robert the Doll and the Dibbuk Box,” Season 1, Episode 1, *Deadly Possessions*. Executive producer Zak Bagans, aired on 2 April 2016; and “Curse of the Dybbuk Box,” Season 1 Episode 9, *The Haunted Museum: 3 Ring Inferno*, diirected by Adam McDonald, aired 20 November 2021.

ratives about the dybbuk box across its various owners attribute these supernatural events and others like them to the dybbuk that supposedly haunts, has cursed or possesses the box.

The author of the box's original eBay listing, Mannis, confessed in 2021 that the story was an elaborate fiction; Mannis did not buy the box from a Holocaust survivor. Irrespective of the authenticity of the original story, the box's interactive online narrative still continues to transform and travel. The dybbuk box draws on a referential frame as much from popular culture and Jewish folklore as from empirical history (the latter often considered a more appropriate frame for Holocaust memory and education).

Online users interactively produce Holocaust memory and Jewish identity in their engagements with the box. In its remediations on TikTok and YouTube, for example, users often narrativise the box in such a way that emphasises its origins in the Holocaust, within horror genre conventions. In an interactive or networked production of digital Holocaust memory and Jewish identity, responses to these remediations engage in ethical, affective and aesthetic questions about Holocaust history and representation. Many responses are also highly critical of the box's low cultural status, its cultural appropriation of Judaism and Jewish memory, and therefore use the box as a educative springboard to discuss Holocaust memory and Jewish culture. Moreover, Holocaust memory and education instantiated by the dybbuk box exists almost entirely outside of official, institutional commemoration.

This chapter will analyse several examples of the digital remediations of the dybbuk box across different social media platforms, including Reddit, TikTok and YouTube. To investigate digital Holocaust memory on such a platform also speaks to generational changes in commemoration. Both popular and academic commentary identifies platforms such as TikTok with Generation Z (or "Gen Z") culture and sensibilities⁸. Gen Z construct their identities and communities through inhabiting – responding, liking, following, criticising, reposting, remixing – online spaces. Their participation in digital culture is more interactive, fundamental and self-aware in contrast with previous generations.

Therefore, to theorise interactive narratives of the dybbuk box on YouTube or TikTok is also to theorise generational differences in the online culture, aesthetics and sensibilities of digital Holocaust memory. The examples of the box on YouTube and TikTok will demonstrate a distinct affective register through which

⁸ Generation Z or "Gen Z" is generally understood as encompassing those born, approximately, between 1997 and 2015. Trevor Boffone, "Introduction: The Rise of TikTok in US Culture" in *TikTok Cultures in the United States* ed., Trevor Boffone (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 6–7.

Gen Z produce Holocaust memory online⁹. Specifically, a recent empirical study by the Arolsen Archive describes Gen Z’s engagement with Holocaust memory and Nazism in terms of *Angst-Faszination* (“fear-fascination”), a term which, I will argue, characterises a significant amount of online users’ interaction with the dybbuk box. According to that study, Gen Z describe their own interest in the Holocaust in terms of a morbid curiosity, simultaneously *anziehend, unheimlich abschreckend, ungeheuerlich und absolut extrem* (“attractive, eerily frightening, monstrous and absolutely extreme”).¹⁰ As will be explored in greater detail, online users engage with the dybbuk box online because – through its connections to the horror genre and to Holocaust memory – it is both attractive and monstrous. The dybbuk box becomes a site around which seemingly competing affective-aesthetic impulses coalesce. Online users digitally interact with the box as a means to engage with Holocaust commemoration, and education about the Holocaust, antisemitism, and Jewish identity but also because they are fascinated by the horror genre and the supernatural.

Within this chapter, there is not sufficient scope to narrate and analyse in detail the full extent of every iteration of the dybbuk box across its many forms and platforms. I will take the approach of first summarising some of the most important episodes within the box’s many remediations, and then select two from the manifold possible examples to analyse in depth. These two examples are, firstly, the dybbuk box’s appearances on paranormal reality television, a televisual genre involving purportedly “real” scenarios (that is, not scripted or fictional) and non-actor ghost-hunters using pseudo-scientific technical equipment to record paranormal phenomena. In particular, online fan communities’ reception of these ghost-hunting shows is an important part of how digital Holocaust memory is constructed vis-à-vis the dybbuk box, showing how online users’ understanding of the Holocaust is as equally informed by popular culture as by empirical history. Secondly, I will draw on examples from YouTube and TikTok videos together with their user interactions. In particular, YouTube comment sections and TikTok video responses sometimes comprise thousands of comments, including elements of Holocaust denial and antisemitism, as well as debates about the existence of the supernatural. They also comprise an ethical and historiographic sensitivity in online users’ understanding of the Holocaust and Jewish identity.

9 Bad Arolsen, “Die Gen Z und die NS-Geschichte: hohe Sensibilität und unheimliche Faszination,” 24 January 2022, accessed 25 May 2023, https://arolsen-archives.org/content/uploads/abstract_arolsen-archives_studie-genz-1.pdf. Thank you to Josefine Honke for directing me towards the Arolsen study.

10 Thank you to Libby Saxton for advice on the German translation.

It is important to understand the emergent ways in which Gen Z's digital culture produces Holocaust memory, given recent Dutch research stating nearly a quarter of Millennials and Gen Zs believe either the Holocaust is a "myth" or that the number of people killed in the genocide has been "greatly exaggerated"¹¹. As the examples of the dybbuk box on social media will show, a basis in popular culture (not primarily factual history) can still contribute affective and aesthetic value to Holocaust memory and education. Narrative, intertextual analysis of the dybbuk box's appearances on paranormal reality television evidence a referential frame which comprises the popular horror genre, Jewish folklore and other popular Hollywood cinema such as *Indiana Jones: The Raiders of the Lost Ark* (Steven Spielberg, 1981). Further, the box evinces an ongoing shift in the aesthetic and ethical orthodoxies of Holocaust representation predominant in digital space, towards the affective registers of fear and genre of horror, away from ethical-representational conventions, as famously outlined by Terence des Pres, of factuality, uniqueness and sobriety.¹² Particularly, some of the box's manifestations on TikTok or YouTube, discussed in detail below, evidence that the imaginative resources of storytelling and popular culture enrich – not inhibit – the aims of digital Holocaust memory and education. The dybbuk box shows that imaginative, interactive, digital narrative does not necessarily have to chafe against the goals of Holocaust education and the fight against distortion and denial.

1 Memory escaped from (or confined to) its box

Strong refutations of the dybbuk box's supernatural credentials comprise a significant amount of its discussion online. As one Reddit poster simply asserts, there is "no such thing as a 'dybbuk box'"¹³. However, following recent thinking on spectrality and ghosts, this chapter suspends the ontological question – are spirits real or hoax? – shifting instead towards a consideration of the dybbuk box in terms what it does to contribute to the production of Holocaust memory and Jewish

11 Claims Conference, "New study reveals nearly one quarter of Dutch Millennials and Gen Z believe the Holocaust was a myth or exaggerated," 25 January 2023, <https://www.claimscon.org/netherlands-study>, accessed 18 October 2023.

12 Terence Des Pres, "Holocaust Laughter?," in *Writing and the Holocaust*, ed., Berel Lang (New York: Holmes and Meier 1988), 217.

13 ScottSierra, "There's no such thing . . .," 13 May 2023, *Reddit*, https://www.reddit.com/r/Paranormal/comments/13gskn6/what_is_your_opinion_on_dybbuk_boxes/jk22vg5/, accessed 30 June 2023.

identity in different digital, networked contexts¹⁴. In what ways does the box become a site around which online users negotiate digital Holocaust memory and Jewish identity? Irrespective of whether the box is supernaturally or culturally authentic, its circulation in online spaces contributes to the production of digital Holocaust memory and to the formation of online identities and communities, Jewish and non-Jewish, sceptic and believer. Some of the online discussions of the box confirm this view that, regardless of the credulity of the box or demons and ghosts more broadly, “everyone forgets its [o]irigins” and the dybbuk box subsequently “takes on a life of its own”¹⁵.

The dybbuk box first appeared on eBay in 2003, towards the end of the era of Web 1.0, in which the internet was characterised by “static pages and content delivery”¹⁶. However, the box rose to viral prominence with the rise of Web 2.0, characterised by user-led “participatory, collaborative, and distributive practices”¹⁷. The box’s digital circulation is viral, defined by Limor Shifman, as a “cultural unit [. . .] spread by multiple agents” and “viewed by many millions”¹⁸. Despite its viral ubiquity, the dybbuk box has received little academic consideration. The only peer-reviewed academic work on the dybbuk box discusses it jurisprudentially, asking in what sense can a ghost be legally bought and sold on sites such as eBay¹⁹. There are also some brief mentions of the dybbuk box within studies of the horror film genre and representation of Jews and Judaism, relating to one of its most notable cinematic incarnations, the horror film *The Possession* (Ole Bornedal, 2012)²⁰. There has as yet not been any research article or book-

14 Frederic Jameson, “Marx’s Purloined Letter” in *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida’s Spectres of Marx*, ed., Michael Sprinker (London: Verso, 2008), 39.

15 Gun_Mage, “The man who Sold it to Zak . . .,” 25 June 2021, *Reddit* https://www.reddit.com/r/GhostAdventures/comments/o7pnes/is_the_dybbuk_box_at_the_museum_a_replica/h30znn8/, accessed 30 June 2023.

16 Nupur Choudhury, “World Wide Web and Its Journey from Web 1.0 to Web 4.0,” *International Journal of Computer Science and Information Technologies* 5(6) (2014): 8096.

17 Choudhury, “World Wide Web,” 8097.

18 Limor Shifman, *Memes in Digital Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: The MIT Press, 2014), 58.

19 Mark Giancaspro, “Testing the Boundaries of Consideration Doctrine: Can You Contract to Buy and Sell a Ghost?” *Alternative Law* 45(2) (2020): 107–113. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1037969X19882485>.

20 Mark Bernard, “Disorderly Eating and Eating Disorders: The Demonic Possession Film as Anorexia Allegory,” in *Food, Media and Contemporary Culture*, ed., Peri Bradley (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 178; Karen J. Renner, *Evil Children in the Popular Imagination* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 109; Klaus S. Davidowicz, *Film als Midrasch: Der Golem, Dybbuks und Andere Kabbalistische Element im Populären Kino* (Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2017), 68.

length study on the dybbuk box specifically in terms of Holocaust memory, digital re- and trans-mediation, or Jewish identity.

There are no known records of dybbuks having ever haunted or possessed objects such as boxes before 2003. Stories about dybbuks have an extensive history in Jewish folklore. By far the most well-known, pre-digital narrative involving a dybbuk is S. An-sky's 1910s play, *The Dybbuk: Between Two Worlds*, originally written in Russian, and translated into Yiddish. In writing *The Dybbuk*, An-sky, a secular, urban Jew, drew from his ethnographic work with the religiously Jewish occupants of rural and impoverished *shtetlach* (Yiddish for "little towns"). In his research he asked participants about their beliefs in folklore, oral tradition and spirituality. Moreover, its narrative speaks to the haunting of the play's present by antisemitism. *The Dybbuk*'s narrative centres on the marriage of Khonen and Leah. The graveyard of the synagogue in which they are married features the tombstones of a married couple killed during the Khmel'nyts'kyi pogroms of 1648 to 1649. Gabriella Safran reads *The Dybbuk* biographically, in the context of An-sky's anxiety amidst rising antisemitic violence in early twentieth-century Europe involving pogroms and the blood libel accusation and 1913 trial against Jewish Russian Menahem Mendel Beilis²¹. While pre-digital narratives about dybbuks are to do with human – not object – possession, An-sky's play shares in common with the digital dybbuk box the figuration of the dybbuk as a ghost by which the past clings to the present.

Moreover, after the Holocaust, dybbuks continue to metaphorise the persistence of trauma and haunting into the present. Ruth Ellen Gruber, for example, describes Holocaust memory in contemporary Europe simultaneously as a "void", "black hole" and "dybbuk"²². While digital iterations of the dybbuk box mutate the narrative so that the spirit clings to an object – not a person – these earlier instances of dybbuks attest to an enduring figurative and allegorical potential for dybbuks. Gruber also cites Marcin Kacprzak, a twentieth-century non-Jewish Polish writer, who describes his own obsession with the Jewish past clinging to him like a dybbuk²³. One of the most well-known cinematic iterations of the dybbuk is in *Der Dibuk* (Michał Waszyński, 1937), adapted from An-sky's play, shot in Poland and performed in Yiddish. The film has been described as a "kaddish" (Jewish

21 Gabriella Safran, *Wandering Soul: The Dybbuk's Creator S An-sky* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, London: Harvard University Press, 2010), 187.

22 Ruth Ellen Gruber, *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002), 41.

23 Gruber, *Virtually Jewish*, 38.

prayer of mourning) that disturbingly foresees the destruction of Jewish communities across Europe only several years after its release²⁴.

For Zuzanna Dziuban, dybbuks, which figure Holocaust memory as haunting, negotiate relationalities between Jews and non-Jews (for her, specifically in a Polish national context)²⁵. Since ghosts can, in the words of Avery Gordon, become reminders of repressed “social violence”, Dziuban notes how thinking about the past as ghostly can sometimes instantiate “critical demarginalisation” – in other words, bring greater attention to narratives, identities or practices that have been historically neglected in both scholarship and culture²⁶. Conversely, she argues that dybbuks have often become a means by which non-Jews can culturally appropriate Jewish culture, thereby reinforcing such marginality²⁷. These examples of diverse metaphoric deployments of dybbuks in relation to Holocaust memory demonstrate how this figure from Jewish folklore has continued its discursive and narrative adaptability into the interconnected, digital era. Moreover, the dybbuk box across different contexts has a complex, multi-faceted relationship to antisemitism and cultural appropriation as well as positive assertions of Jewish identity and the educative-commemorative aims of Holocaust memory.

Official, institutional Holocaust memory and education has typically distanced itself from user-generated, historically decontextualised narratives such as the dybbuk box. Andrew Hoskins describes the bifurcation of memory between, on the one hand, “formalized, institutionalized, regimented” and, on the other, “more emergent, confrontational, yet fragmented”²⁸. The dybbuk box exists more or less entirely on the latter side. The dybbuk box exemplifies Hoskins’ assertion that within digital memory cultures, “the undesirable past” becomes open

24 Ira Konigsberg, “‘The Only “I” in the World’: Religion, Psychoanalysis, and ‘The Dybbuk,’” *Cinema Journal* 36(4) (1997): 25.

25 Zuzanna Dziuban, “Of Ghosts’ Inability to Haunt: ‘Polish Dybbuks’” *The “Spectral Turn”: Jewish Ghosts in the Polish Post-Holocaust Imaginaire*, ed., Zuzanna Dziuban (Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019), 153.

26 Avery Gordon, “Introduction to the New Edition,” *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xvi; Zuzanna Dziuban, “Memory as Haunting,” *HAGAR Studies in Culture, Polity and Identities* 12 (Winter 2014): 112.

27 Dziuban, “Of Ghosts’ Inability,” 172.

28 Andrew Hoskins, “The Right to be Forgotten in Post-Scarcity Culture” in *The Ethics of Memory in a Digital Age: Interrogating the Right to be Forgotten*, ed., Alessia Ghezzi, Ângela Guimarães and Lucia Vescnić-Alujević, 60, cited in Wolf Kansteiner, “The Holocaust in the 21st Century: Digital Anxiety, Transnational Cosmopolitanism, and Never Genocide Without Memory,” in *Digital Memory Studies: Media Pasts in Transition*, ed., Andrew Hoskins (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), 112.

to a “virality that undermines attempts to sanitise memory”²⁹. Wolf Kansteiner describes an entrenched “digital anxiety” on the part of the “Holocaust memory establishment” when it comes to transplanting their educative and commemorative message to low-cultural “simulative and interactive ludic digital environments”³⁰. This anxiety was also part of the condemnatory response to, for example, the TikTok “Holocaust POV” trend, in which mostly Gen Z online users used TikTok videos to imaginatively perform in direct address to camera the role of a Jewish Holocaust victim that has reached the afterlife³¹. The fragmented, unsanitised nature of the dybbuk box, like the Holocaust POV trend, highlights a tension in thinking on digital memory – between the interactive, ludic potential of the digital, in contrast to a cautious, moralistic and regulatory imperative to control Holocaust memory online.³²

Nonetheless, there are legitimate concerns regarding the relationship between Holocaust memory and social media, as played out in the dybbuk box. Racisms, including antisemitism, as well as Holocaust denial, proliferate on the Internet in a manner peculiar to the digital sphere³³. The dybbuk box could be associated with antisemitism through the racist Christian imagination of Jewish people as supernatural or diabolical. Viral remediations of the dybbuk box sometimes conflate Christian and Jewish folklore and iconographies, in for example, conflating the dybbuk with a “demon” (not a spirit), or confusing the Star of David with a pentagram or vice versa³⁴. The question of cultural appropriation often features in online discussions of the dybbuk box, as the box attracts attention from non-Jews as well as Jews³⁵. In short, the relationship of antisemitism to the dybbuk box can be summarised in Zygmunt Bauman’s definition of “allosemitism” as conceiving of Jews as “radically different from all others”, an ambivalent

²⁹ Hoskins, “The Right to be Forgotten in Post-Scarcity Culture,” 60.

³⁰ Kansteiner, “The Holocaust in the 21st Century,” 112.

³¹ Sophia Ankel, “TikTok creators are pretending to be Holocaust victims in heaven in a new trend dubbed ‘trauma porn,’” 23 August 2020, *Insider*, <https://www.insider.com/tiktok-trend-shows-people-pretending-to-be-holocaust-victims-heaven-2020-8>, accessed 30 June 2023.

³² Stephens, “Playing Pretend on Social Media,” 239.

³³ Tom Divon and Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann, “#JewishTikTok: The JewToks’ Fight against Antisemitism” in *TikTok Cultures in the United States*, ed., Trevor Boffone (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 47; Julian Hargreaves, “Antisemitism: how the internet has revived old anti-Jewish tropes,” *The Conversation*, 11 March 2022, <https://theconversation.com/antisemitism-how-the-internet-has-revived-old-anti-jewish-tropes-178216>, accessed 25 June 2023.

³⁴ Jake Webber, “OPENING A DEMON IN A BOX (DYBBUK BOX),” 24 June 2018, YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GnYSDEbZ_E0, accessed 25 June 2023.

³⁵ Jewitches, “The Deal With the Dybbuk,” 5 September 2020, <https://jewitches.com/blogs/blog/the-deal-with-the-dybbuk>, accessed 30 June 2023.

comingling of philosemitic and antisemitic tendencies³⁶. It may be the box’s allo-semitic, exoticised appeal – that its Jewishness is tied to its scariness – that attracts some non-Jews. This being said, Kevin Mannis, the creator and original owner of the box, is himself Jewish, and has spoken of his interest in kabbalah and Jewish folklore in relation to the box³⁷. He could not have created the box without at least some knowledge of Jewish folklore and religion, as well as Hebrew script. Therefore, debates about the authenticity of the box should be nuanced in light of the original owner’s self-exoticisation.

The copy-cat versions of the box that appear on eBay and Etsy typically do not contain any explicit mentions of the Holocaust, although do often feature Hebrew characters or other (sometimes inaccurate or antisemitic) references to Jewish memory or religion³⁸. The copy-cat boxes sell anywhere in the region of 30 dollars upwards to hundreds of dollars³⁹. The copy-cat boxes relate to another viral trend connected to dybbuk boxes, in which YouTubers post videos of themselves opening the box⁴⁰. Many of these videos have millions of views and are uploaded by YouTubers with millions of followers. In these videos it is ambiguous as to whether video-creators have an authentic, subjectively held belief in the supernatural, or whether they are uploading the videos purely as “clickbait”, to gain views, likes, and subscribers (the digital currency of the online “attention economy”)⁴¹. Mentions of the back-story of the dybbuk box – its origins in the Ho-

36 Zygmunt Bauman, “Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern,” in *Modernity, Culture and the ‘Jew’*, ed. Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998), 143.

37 Moss, “Finally, the truth . . .” behind the ‘haunted’ Dybbuk Box can be revealed,” *Input*.

38 Tess Cutler, “Haunted Dybbuk Boxes For Sale,” October 29 2015, *Tablet*, <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/haunted-dybbuk-boxes-for-sale>, accessed 7 June 2023.

39 minoel1431, “***WARNING HAUNTED DYBBUK BOX BEELZEBUB 18+***,” 25 June 2023, eBay, https://web.archive.org/web/20230629113921/https://www.ebay.com/itm/385708240857?hash=item59ce00afd9:g:4M0AAOSw-LZkfAcu&amdata=enc%3AAQAIAAAA4KxVhpEXE2ZT9P%2BiuE2pbwgtkzplCw5berPkGvVp215fNhAM562UEpG9pzTyhtynnv7xNLg34s%2FRVkfQCPWf5Tzt7SNeYeWqyewcMyQrdQiqZJideYyW5A6x%2FBczhktN7Dja9kb%2Bvx0cclibzEOacNfMlldCZ52N%2F0sWcDsUezJdWZ3vmxRialoYZE8aPBmUBgvIMv66sf9DOSGggp5E0yZ9AILsMRg%2FeLFvyJG1jurZARPOFFDbQHgZrg8xcwsYVdM94Gtu04Ph%2FXHfId8z26sPHyhykhGUjmMAY2P0r29%7Ctkp%3ABk9SR_7kIo-gYg, accessed 30 June 2023.

40 OVERNIGHT, “OPENING 13 DYBBUK BOXES at the SALLIE HOUSE (Incredible Paranormal Evidence),” 3 December 2022, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OkEx_AyMk90, accessed 30 June 2023; Jasko Vlogs, “Opening a Real Cursed Dybbuk Box (Gone Wrong) 3AM Very Scary,” 2 November 2022, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOEw7lnBPEs>, accessed 30 June 2023; Crypto NWO, “I OPENED 3 DYBBUK BOXES OFF THE DARK-WEB,” 14 January 2021, YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T8SdXqPro78>, accessed 30 June 2023.

41 Michael H. Goldhaber, “The Attention Economy and the Net,” *First Monday* 2(4), <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v2i4.519>.

locaust and connections Jewish folklore and mysticism – are scarce in the videos themselves but often feature in the comment sections for the videos⁴².

2 The dybbuk box and paranormal reality television

In contrast to many of the copy-cat eBay and Etsy listings, as well as the YouTube videos that derive from them, the appearances of the dybbuk box on supernatural reality television do feature Holocaust memory as a central narrative component. In general, reality television is a mode strongly characterised by “hybridity”, drawing on a seemingly contradictory set of generic and textual codes and in the case of paranormal reality television specifically, combining documentary and factuality with the horror genre⁴³. This hybridity speaks to the box’s references to the history of the Holocaust while simultaneously being an imaginative, narrative fiction. The online reception of Zak Bagans’ paranormal reality television shows involves lively reaction to each episode on social media. As Mannis, the original owner and creator describes, the dybbuk box has become an interactive, user-generated horror story in real time⁴⁴.

Episode 4, season 2 of *Paranormal Witness*, “The Dybbuk Box”, contains interviews with Kevin Mannis as well as his grandmother, who is alleged to have experienced a stroke because of the dybbuk box. Mannis explains in a talking-head interview, in line with the story written in the original eBay listing, that he bought the box from a Holocaust survivor. He also confirms the same description in the original eBay listing of the box, including an abbreviated, inaccurate portion of the *shema* written on the back. The *shema* is a prayer traditionally recited twice a day by Orthodox Jews as a *mitzvah*. Moreover, it is often recited at funerals. The prayer itself has developed a particular relationship to Holocaust memory as many Jews in the gas chambers of Nazi extermination camps would recite the *shema* moments before they died or that it was sung as a form

42 Jake Webber, “OPENING A DEMON IN A BOX (DYBBUK BOX),” 24 June 2018, YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GnYSDEbZ_E0, accessed 25 June 2023.

43 Laurie Oullette, “Introduction” in *A Companion to Reality Television*, ed., Laurie Oullette (Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2017), 5.

44 Charles Moss, “Finally, the truth behind the ‘haunted’ Dybbuk Box can be revealed,” *Input*, 8 July 2021, accessed 30 May, 2023, <https://www.inverse.com/input/features/dybbuk-box-dibbuk-kevin-mannis-zak-bagans-haunted-hoax-revealed>.

of spiritual resistance⁴⁵. More broadly, in this particular version of the dybbuk box, there is potential to read the spirit inside the box as allegorical of the trans-generational trauma that Holocaust survivors carry with them in post-war migratory journeys.

This episode of *Paranormal Witness* involves a narrative expansion of the dybbuk box in relation to the Holocaust. In *Paranormal Witness*, fictionalised reconstructions along with the testimony of Mannis elaborate that the box was created by Havilah, the deceased grandmother of the woman who sold the box to Mannis, and her cousin Sophie, while they both lived in Poland, on the eve of World War Two (neither of these women were named in the original eBay listing, and are given their names for the first time here). Sophie explains that she and Havilah conducted séances during the rise of Nazism in the 1930s, one of which was successful. This is how they contacted a “dark, evil entity”, the dybbuk contained within the box of Mannis’ 2003 eBay listing. They devised a ritual to contain the dybbuk within the box.



Figure 2: A still taken from Season 1, Episode 4 of Zak Bagans’ *Ghost Adventures: Quarantine*, “Dybbuk Box: The Opening”. The dybbuk box is in the foreground while archival footage of concentration camp internees is projected in the background.

Continuing in their narrative expansion of the dybbuk box, these paranormal reality shows evince its intertextual connections to popular culture. In 2021, in season one, episode four of *Ghost Adventures: Quarantine*, “Dybbuk Box: The Opening”,

45 Norman Lamm, *The Shema: Spirituality and Law in Judaism* (Philadelphia, PA: The Jewish Publication Society, 1998), 4–5.

shot at the beginning of the COVID-19 pandemic, Mannis explains to Bagans during a video call that there are in fact 10 boxes, not one. Mannis elaborates that these boxes each correspond to the 10 branches of the kabbalistic Tree of Life. Mannis further expands that Havilah and Sophie via their séances inadvertently “unleashed” the evil of twentieth-century atrocities of not only the Holocaust but also the Korean War, the Khmer Rouge, and the 1984 Bhopal chemical disaster in India. As Mannis says, Havilah “trap[ped] that evil and then ripped it apart”. As mentioned, narrative details about the dybbuk box transform and contradict one another as it moves across different formats, platforms and texts.

In response to this expansion of the dybbuk box’s narrative world to include 10 boxes, one Reddit user mocks that “this isn’t the marvel [sic] cinematic universe and we ain’t collecting the paranormal infinity stones here”⁴⁶. This user is referring to the Marvel superhero franchise and in particular films such as *Avengers: Infinity War* (Anthony Russo, 2018), in which the evil protagonist Thanos attempts to collect six separate “Infinity Stones”. These stones when assembled altogether have the power to unleash mass annihilation. Another example of the box’s entanglement with popular culture is via Bagans’ association of it with Spielberg’s *Indiana Jones and Raiders of the Lost Ark*. In “Dybbuk Box: The Opening” (see figure 2), Bagans confesses in voiceover narration that, after opening the box, he had expected “some grand moment like *Raiders of the Lost Ark*”, referring to the well-known climax of the film in which Jones (Harrison Ford) witnesses the Nazis opening the Ark, and then dying because of it, having unleashed a destructive, magical force. These examples of the box’s reception of Reddit indicate that online users’ frames of reference for understanding the box (and therefore Holocaust memory) are drawn primarily or entirely from popular culture. On another occasion, in “Robert the Doll and the Dibbuk Box” of 2020 series *Deadly Possessions*, Bagans exclaims to Haxton, who allegedly had buried the box in fear of its paranormal influence: “[Y]ou must have [u]nburied it like you were on *Raiders of the Lost Ark*”. Moreover, Haxton likens the box to an ark very explicitly, asserting that acacia wood, the same material allegedly used to construct the Ark of the Covenant, should be used to safely house the dybbuk box⁴⁷.

These examples from paranormal reality television illustrate that the dybbuk box is broadly part of a wider fictional output of Holocaust-related cultural production in which the genocide and its memory features as a dehistoricised yet nonethe-

⁴⁶ MuppetMurderer5, “When I was watching quarantine and . . .”, 20 October 2020, *Reddit*, https://www.reddit.com/r/GhostAdventures/comments/jhwjb9/dark_ritual_from_deadly_possessions_dybuuk_box/ga3gssk/, accessed 30 June 2023.

⁴⁷ Haxton, “The Dybbuk Box: Research,” 28 October 2009, <http://dibbukbox.com/research.htm>, accessed 30 June 2023.

less narratively and symbolically fundamental part of storytelling. Barry Langford’s description of recent horror films featuring the Holocaust such as *The Unborn* (David S. Goyer, 2009) and *Dominion: Prequel to the Exorcist* (Paul Schrader, 2005) aptly applies to the way in which the dybbuk box in its various online appearance evokes a “dehistoricized and decontextualized” Holocaust⁴⁸. Thus, through connections to Indiana Jones and the Avengers’ Thanos, the dybbuk box mediates the Holocaust as an abstract signifier of a destructive “diabolical evil” within fictional narrative.⁴⁹

3 TikTok and YouTube: Producing memory through comments, replies and remixes

The interactive, user-led nature of YouTube and TikTok lend themselves to fertile analysis of the dybbuk box’s relationship to digital Holocaust memory and Jewish identity. In the comment sections of these platforms, prompted by the dybbuk box, online users contribute to interactive discussion about the ethical, historical, religious and psychological factors related to Holocaust memory and Holocaust survivors. A video uploaded by YouTube channel MrBallen narrates the dybbuk box within the affective and generic framework of horror. MrBallen’s channel features stories about, in its own words, “strange, dark, and mysterious” paranormal phenomena⁵⁰. In MrBallen’s YouTube version, Havilah is scared of the box, desperate to part with it. One comment on MrBallen’s YouTube video remarks that if an elderly Holocaust survivor is “scared of something you can be sure that thing is hell scary [sic]”⁵¹. Another user questions this, stating that a Holocaust survivor “likely has PTSD” and therefore would be “scared of everything” – in other words, not exclusively the box⁵². Another reply exclaims: “she [Havilah]

48 Barry Langford, “Globalizing the Holocaust: Fantasies of Annihilation in Contemporary Media Culture” in *Holocaust Intersections: Genocide and Visual Culture at the New Millenium*, ed., Axel Bangert, Robert S. C. Gordon and Libby Saxton (London: Routledge, 2017), 119.

49 Langford, “Globalizing the Holocaust,” 119.

50 MrBallen, “This box will KILL you,” *YouTube*.

51 yonahgreene7160, “When a 103 year old holocaust survivor is scared of something you can be sure that thing is hell scary,” 7 April 2021, *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bf_9w1vpq50&google_comment_id=UgyGp6C5-dZhNY8dfQ14AaABAg&ab_channel=MrBallen, 25 June 2023.

52 Kjlandon9140, “okay i’m not trying to be offensive . . .”, reply to: yonahgreene7160, “When a 103 year old holocaust survivor is scared of something you can be sure that thing is hell scary,” 7 April 2021.

survived probably the scariest thing in human history” but is “still scared of the box”⁵³. Yet another similar comment opines that, since the dybbuk box originated in the Holocaust, the box “cannot hold any good” as there was “just so much evil” that took place during the Nazi period⁵⁴. These comments perhaps suggest that the dybbuk box, via the imaginative force of horror storytelling, retains an educative value, irrespective of its relationship to factual history. The narrative of an elderly Holocaust survivor petrified of a haunted object associated with the trauma of the Holocaust and antisemitism, for these online users, emphasises the extremity and fear of the Nazi period with a particular affective depth.

Many TikTok videos featuring the box are similar to, for example, MrBallen’s YouTube narration. They rely on a form of what Crystal Abidin describes as digital “communicative intimacies”, formally expressed in the narrator’s slow, hushed speech, direct address to camera in close-up, filming on their mobile phone from the domestic intimacy of their bedrooms, and suspenseful or unnerving horror genre soundtrack⁵⁵. The three-part TikTok narration of the dybbuk box by user Bobbiecurtislee exemplifies this communicative intimacy⁵⁶, shown in figure 3. In this example, however, this particular user is more interested in relating to her viewers the horror aspects of the box – in which Holocaust memory is instrumentalised – rather than its educative or commemorative role in online Jewish identity.

Debates on TikTok about the dybbuk box are shaped by the interactive mechanisms built into the platform. TikTok users can access the “react/duet” function, whereby videos can be posted as reactions to other videos, where the “duet” fea-

53 Foxyloaf8129, “Holy shit i never realized that . . .”, reply to: : yonahgreene7160, “When a 103 year old holocaust survivor is scared of something you can be sure that thing is hell scary,” 7 April 2021.

54 Shelly Simpson -Christian, “In my opinion if there’s anything . . .”, 8 May 2023, YouTube, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bf_9w1vpq50&lc=Ugyjr5L9XRdRkOCS22B4AaABAg, accessed 26 June 2023.

55 Crystal Abidin, “Communicative ♥ Intimacies: Influencers and Perceived Interconnectedness,” *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media & Technology* 8 (2015), DOI:10.7264/N3MW2FFG.

56 Bobbiecurtislee, “Follow for more spookiness #hauntedtiktok #creepy #spooky #ThisCouldBeUs #WordsOfWisdom #fyp #viral #ghost #demon #scary #scarystories #foryou #foru,” 30 December 2020, <https://www.tiktok.com/@bobbiecurtislee/video/6912134105148722437>, accessed 30 June 2023; Bobbiecurtislee, “Follow for more #greenscreen #ThisCouldBeUs #WordsOfWisdom #hauntedtiktok #creepy #spooky #fyp #viral #ghost #demon #scary #scarystories #foru,” 31 December 2020, TikTok, <https://www.tiktok.com/@bobbiecurtislee/video/6912227854453427461>, accessed 30 June 2023; Bobbiecurtislee, “follow for more spookiness 🧛 #Bye2020 #hauntedtiktok #creepy #spooky #fyp #viral #scary #foryou #ghost #demon #NewYearNewMiO #ThisCouldBeUs #foru,” 31 December 2020, <https://www.tiktok.com/@bobbiecurtislee/video/6912475597423873286>, accessed 30 June 2023.

tures the original video alongside the one responding to it⁵⁷. Users can also tag other creators in their video descriptions. One particular video – in response to videos such as those made by Bobbiecurtislee – employs both of these functions, in which the TikTok user performs a self-composed klezmer-style song as a means to playfully educate their followers about the Jewish folklore underlying dybbuks. This video also includes captions warning their followers about the anti-semitic, inappropriate co-opting of Jewish culture by many of the TikTok users who post videos about the supernatural aspects of the box⁵⁸. The video’s creator responds to one comment eruditely in terms of how the dybbuk box can be critiqued for its dehistoricised exploitation of Holocaust memory: the dybbuk box “feels like exploiting holocaust trauma for ~mystique~ and spreading ~scary~ inaccuracies about our marginalized, scapegoated ethnoreligion”⁵⁹. (Bracketing a word with tildes has developed as a means of expressing sarcasm or irony on social media.)⁶⁰ The video’s creator also tags another TikTok user who has posted a video on their channel of them opening a dybbuk box that they ordered from eBay or Etsy⁶¹. In this context, online users’ engagement with the dybbuk box becomes a means by which to simultaneously educate about Jewish folklore from an explicitly self-identified Jewish perspective as well as to warn other users about the potential antisemitic baggage associated with some ways of participating in the haunted box.

TikTok is well-documented as fostering vibrant sub-communities which are organised around tags such as #QueerTok, #BookTok, #WitchTok, and most pertinent for this chapter, #JewTok⁶². #JewTok is a tag employed by users who self-identify as Jewish and tends to feature videos involving autogenous promotion of Jewish identity, and education about Judaism and religious practices as well as

57 TikTok, “Duets and Reactions on TikTok – Safety Tips,” 27 March 2019, <https://newsroom.tiktok.com/en-gb/duets-and-reactions-on-tiktok-safety-tips>, accessed 30 May 2023.

58 sj_rachel, “#duet with @sj_rachel go watch @kitttenqueen’s video explaining more #dybbuk #dybbukbox #jewish #jew #jewtok,” 2 February 2021, https://www.tiktok.com/@sj_rachel/video/6924770820770336006, accessed 30 June 2023.

59 sj_rachel, “yes, it feels like exploiting . . .,” 2 February 2021, *TikTok*, https://www.tiktok.com/@sj_rachel/video/6924770820770336006, accessed 30 June 2023.

60 Jess Kimball Leslie, “The Internet Tilde Perfectly Conveys Something We Don’t Have the Words to Explain,” 5 June 2017, *The Cut*, <https://www.thecut.com/article/why-the-internet-tilde-is-our-most-perfect-tool-for-snark.html>, accessed 2 July 2023.

61 sj_rachel, @thedoradewinter “please don’t open anymore so-called dybbuk boxes . . .,” 2 February 2021, *TikTok*, https://www.tiktok.com/@sj_rachel/video/6924770820770336006, accessed 30 June 2023.

62 Trevor Boffone, “Introduction: The Rise of TikTok in US Culture” in *TikTok Cultures in the United States*, ed., Trevor Boffone (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 4.

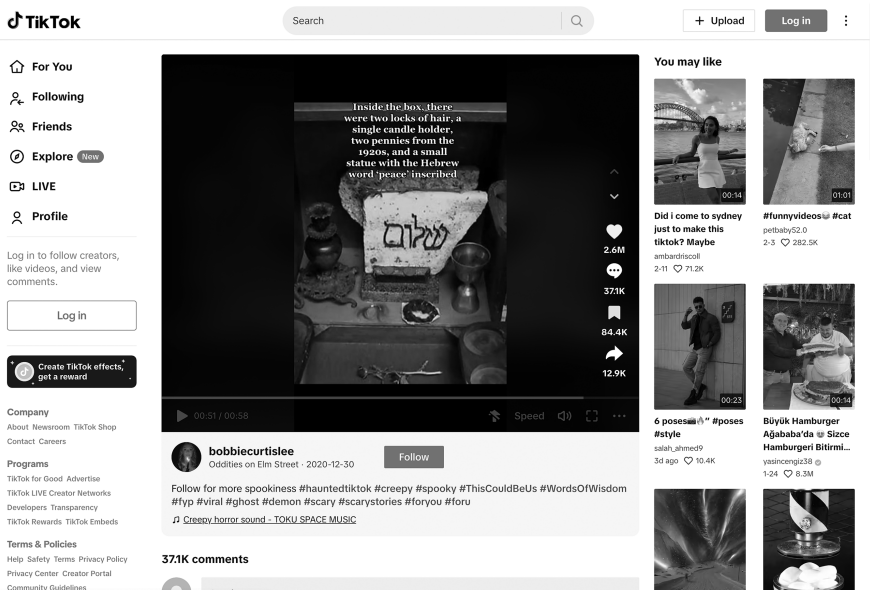


Figure 3: This still is taken from one of the many TikTok videos narrating the dybbuk box as a supernatural, mysterious digital object. It is tagged under #spooky and #hauntedtiktok.

antisemitism and the Holocaust. There is considerable overlap on TikTok between Jewish online space in general, and Holocaust memory and education. The dybbuk box often features on TikTok alongside the #JewTok tag. The tag #dybbukbox as of June 2023 has 46.9 million views, while #JewTok has videos containing over all 1.5 billion views.⁶³ Thus, the dybbuk box becomes a locus on social media around which Jewish identity and Holocaust memory are constructed and debated via the Internet, in line with Diana Pinto's notion of "Jewish space" as any space or "agora" virtual or otherwise, in which "Jews and non-Jews interact" about "Jewish themes" and where "Jews intermingle with others *qua* Jews"⁶⁴.

⁶³ That is, the total amount of views for all the videos with the tag, not one single video with 1.5 billion or 46.9 million views: TikTok, <https://www.tiktok.com/tag/dybbukbox>; TikTok, <https://www.tiktok.com/tag/jewtok>, accessed 5 June 2023.

⁶⁴ Diana Pinto, "The Jewish Challenges in the New Europe" in *Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: Germany and Israel Perspectives on Immigration*, ed., Daniel Levy and Yfaat Weiss (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002), 251, cited in Erica Lehrer, "Virtual, Virtuous, Vicarious, Vacuous? Towards a Vigilant Use of Labels" in *Jewish Cultural Studies: Framing Jewish Culture Boundaries and Representations*. Volume IV, ed., Simon J. Bronner (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), 387.

However, in other cases, some of which are referenced above, the dybbuk box features in videos not tagged under #JewTok, instead tagged under #haunted-tiktok or #spookytok⁶⁵. TikTok users such as Bobbieleecurtis, who receive millions of views on their videos, engage with the dybbuk box primarily in terms of horror credentials, not Jewish, folkloric origins, under these tags. That the dybbuk box is tagged under two seemingly disparate communities means it is describable as a “boundary object”, in that it exists within two separate social spheres can therefore potentially act as a bridge between them⁶⁶. The YouTube and Tiktok videos about the dybbuk box evinces how the notion of “fear-fascination”, mentioned in the introduction, may be central in how a younger, generation of online users produce digital Holocaust memory.

The Arolsen study also suggests that for Gen Z the uncanny, attractive, monstrous qualities of the Holocaust and National-Socialism lend that historical period the “aura of ‘true crime’”⁶⁷. This is significant in that it offers empirical insight into the ongoing generational shifts in the aesthetic, ethical, generic and affective determinants of the production of digital Holocaust memory. Recent scholarly insights into the true crime genre, in terms of its audiences and affects, shed light on the fear-inducing dybbuk box and the way in which this intersects with Holocaust memory. Jean Murley describes the true crime fans as involved in a “serious exposé of ‘unmitigated evil’”⁶⁸. Tanya Horeck suggests that true crime, as a mode drawing on documentary, also satisfies for its spectators what Bill Nichols terms an “epistiphilic” drive – love or desire for knowledge – inherent to documentary spectatorship⁶⁹. There is also Murley’s ethical emphasis on understanding true crime as premised on “easy acceptance of violence as entertainment”. The terrifying fascination of the dybbuk box, then, underlines that for Gen Z users the Holocaust figures within this epistemic desire to comprehend extreme violence and evil while (perhaps sometimes uneasily) traversing pop-culture entertainment and education.

65 Thehappydead, “The box that holds a spirit. #spookytok #conspiracytiktok #scarytiktoks,” 17 January 2022, <https://www.tiktok.com/@thehappydead/video/7054268345520147758>, accessed 30 June 2023.

66 Susan Leigh Star and James R. Griesemer, “Institutional Ecology, ‘Translations’ and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley’s Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39,” *Social Studies of Science* 19(3) (August 1989): 393.

67 Bad Arolsen, “Die Gen Z und die NS-Geschichte.”

68 Jean Murley, *The Rise of True Crime: 20th-Century Murder and American Popular Culture* (Westport, CT: Praeger), 2008, 17 cited in Tanya Horeck, *Justice on Demand: True Crime in the Digital Streaming Era* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2021), 1.

69 Bill Nichols, *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991), 31.

4 Conclusion

As the dybbuk box is such an expansive object, only some of its examples have been covered here. One of the many avenues for further research includes the dybbuk box's appearances in Indian cinema, in the Malayalam-language *Ezra* (Jay K. 2017) and its Hindi-language adaptation, *Dybbuk* (Jay K. 2021). The former focuses on the Jewish community in Kochi and the latter on the Jewish community in Mauritius. Studying the dybbuk box in these films potentially becomes a means by which to cinematically highlight the small diasporic Jewish communities in Mauritius and Kochi. Another aspect to the box's narrative and its online reception is the role of gender, as all of the main protagonists in Mannis' original story are women. A long, detailed YouTube comment emphasises this, listing numerous examples in the original dybbuk box narrative of where Kevin or subsequent owners (all men) ignored women's warnings or suffering in relation to the box⁷⁰. Another possibility in thinking about the dybbuk box is the role of the Covid-19 pandemic in changing online users' engagement with the Internet and how this impacts digital Holocaust memory. Many of the televisual and social media appearances of the dybbuk box appeared in 2020 during the first year of the pandemic. Moreover, during the pandemic, the observation went viral that "covid" spells "divoc" backwards, which online users speculated is another spelling of "dybbuk", thus connecting the dots to antisemitic conspiracy theories about Jewish "influence" within the pharmaceutical industry and its role in the pandemic⁷¹.

Given the extraordinary breadth of interconnected posts, videos, blogs, films and listings, and more about the dybbuk box online, this chapter attempted to provide a summary of the most salient aspects of the box for digital Holocaust memory and then to evaluate just a few examples of its specific iterations. As mentioned, the box provides a challenging case for digital Holocaust memory studies because of the ways in which its form and content sit outside of the comfortable orthodoxies of commemoration and representation. Because of this, the haunted object also shows what happens to Holocaust memory once it has figuratively been released from its box – what it looks like almost entirely independent of any official, institutional memorial framework, produced by non-specialists in a complexly networked

⁷⁰ poetichblade, "Kevin seriously needs to start listening to women . . .," 15 November 2021, *YouTube*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bf_9w1vpq50&lc=UgxFJ5bLwOiiImMcMwJ4AaABA&ab_channel=MrBallen, accessed 30 June 2023.

⁷¹ Samantha Putterman, "No, COVID spelled backward doesn't mean evil spirit possession in Hebrew," 11 February 2022, <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/feb/11/facebook-posts/covid-spelled-backward-divoc-which-means-possession/>, accessed 30 June 2023.

way. In some cases, the user-led discussions produced by the dybbuk box's online appearances exhibit a high level of literacy and understanding of the historiography and ethics of Holocaust memory. In short, once memory has been released from its box, the task should be not to condemn or mistrust but to acknowledge and understand it.

Bibliography

- Abidin, Crystal. “Communicative Intimacies: Influencers and Perceived Interconnectedness.” *Ada: A Journal of Gender, New Media & Technology* 8 (2015). DOI:10.7264/N3MW2FFG.
- Ankel, Sophia. “TikTok creators are pretending to be Holocaust victims in heaven in a new trend dubbed ‘trauma porn.’” *Insider*. 23 August 2020. <https://www.insider.com/tiktok-trend-shows-people-pretending-to-be-holocaust-victims-heaven-2020-8>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Ashley, @_doyoubelieve_2, 2023. “Just dont be like this dude. #dybbukbox #mustwatch #mustwatch #paranormal #doyoubelieve #paranormal #scary #ghost #hauntedtiktok #creepy #haunted #horror #spooky #caughtoncamera #paranormalactivity.” *TikTok*. 15 April 2023. https://www.tiktok.com/@_doyoubelieve_2/video/7222221988071247146?q=%23dybbukbox&t=1688121333087. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Bad Arolsen, “Die Gen Z und die NS-Geschichte: hohe Sensibilität und unheimliche Faszination.” 24 January 2022. https://arolsen-archives.org/content/uploads/abstract_arolsen-archives_studie-genz-1.pdf. Accessed 25 May 2023.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. “Allosemitism: Premodern, Modern, Postmodern.” In Bryan Cheyette and Laura Marcus, *Modernity, Culture and the ‘Jew’*, 143–156. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1998.
- Choudhury, Nupur. “World Wide Web and Its Journey from Web 1.0 to Web 4.0.” *International Journal of Computer Science and Information Technologies* 5(6) (2014): 8096–8100.
- BBC. “Post Malone’s Bad Luck Put Down to ‘Haunted’ Object.” 18 September 2018. <https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/newsbeat-45559534>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Bernard, Mark. “Disorderly Eating and Eating Disorders: The Demonic Possession Film as Anorexia Allegory.” In *Food, Media and Contemporary Culture*, edited by Peri Bradley, 164–184. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- Bobbiecurtislee. “Follow for more spookiness #hauntedtiktok #creepy #spooky #ThisCouldBeUs #WordsOfWisdom #fyp #viral #ghost #demon #scary #scarystories #foryou #foru.” 30 December 2020. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bobbiecurtislee/video/6912134105148722437>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Bobbiecurtislee. “Follow for more #greenscreen #ThisCouldBeUs #WordsOfWisdom #hauntedtiktok #creepy #spooky #fyp #viral #ghost #demon #scary #scarystories #foru.” 31 December 2020. *TikTok*. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bobbiecurtislee/video/6912227854453427461>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Bobbiecurtislee, “follow for more spookiness 🐼 #Bye2020 #hauntedtiktok #creepy #spooky #fyp #viral #scary #foryou #ghost #demon #NewYearNewMiO #ThisCouldBeUs #foru.” 31 December 2020. <https://www.tiktok.com/@bobbiecurtislee/video/6912475597423873286>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Boffone, Trevor. “Introduction: The Rise of TikTok in US Culture.” In *TikTok Cultures in the United States*, edited by Trevor Boffone, 1–14. London/New York: Routledge, 2022.

- Pinto, Diana. "The Jewish Challenges in the New Europe" in *Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: Germany and Israel Perspectives on Immigration*, edited by Daniel Levy and Yfaat Weiss, 239–252. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2002.
- Crypto NWO. "I OPENED 3 DYBBUK BOXES OFF THE DARK-WEB." 14 January 2021. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=T8SdXqPro78>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Goldhaber, Michael H. "The Attention Economy and the Net." *First Monday* 2(4). <https://doi.org/10.5210/fm.v2i4.519>.
- Cutler, Tess. "Haunted Dybbuk Boxes For Sale." October 29 2015. *Tablet*. <https://www.tabletmag.com/sections/news/articles/haunted-dybbuk-boxes-for-sale>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Davidowicz, Klaus S. *Film als Midrasch: Der Golem, Dybbuks und Andere Kabbalistische Element im Populären Kino*. Göttingen: Vienna University Press, 2017.
- Derpherperpdeederp, "The Dybbuk Box". 8 April 2019. *Reddit*. https://www.reddit.com/r/TheTruthishere/comments/bav762/the_dybbuk_box/. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Des Pres, Terence. "Holocaust Laughter?." In *Writing and the Holocaust*, edited by Berel Lang, 217–233. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988.
- Divon, Tom and Tobias Ebbrecht-Hartmann. "#JewishTikTok: The JewToks' Fight against Antisemitism" in *TikTok Cultures in the United States*, edited by Trevor Boffone, 47–58. London and New York: Routledge, 2022.
- DuCorbeauAlaLicorne, "DYBBUK HAUNTED BOX – paranormal saled box haunted box." 13 February 2017. *Etsy*.
- Dziuban, Zuzanna. "Of Ghosts' Inability to Haunt: 'Polish Dybbuks.'" In *The "Spectral Turn": Jewish Ghosts in the Polish Post-Holocaust Imaginaire*, edited by Zuzanna Dziuban, 131–184. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019.
- Dziuban, Zuzanna. "Memory as Haunting." *HAGAR Studies in Culture, Polity and Identities* 12 (Winter 2014): 111–135.
- Freud, Sigmund. *The Uncanny*. Translated by David McClintock. London: Penguin Books, 2003.
- Google Play. "DibbukBox Ghost Box". 14 June 2023, https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=ap.pinventor.ai_malote1971.DibbukBox&hl=en&gl=US. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. London and Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Gun_Mage, "The man who Sold it to Zak . . .". 25 June 2021. *Reddit*. https://www.reddit.com/r/GhostAdventures/comments/o7pnes/is_the_dybbuk_box_at_the_museum_a_replica/h30znn8/. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Giancaspro, Mark. "Testing the Boundaries of Consideration Doctrine: Can You Contract to Buy and Sell a Ghost?" *Alternative Law* 45(2) (2020): 107–113. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1037969X19882485>.
- Gornstein, Leslie. "A Jinx in a Box?." *Los Angeles Times* (25 July 2004). <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2004-jul-25-ca-gornstein25-story.html>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Gruber, Ruth Ellen. *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*. Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 2002.
- Hargreaves, Julian. "Antisemitism: how the internet has revived old anti-Jewish tropes". *The Conversation* (11 March 2022). <https://theconversation.com/antisemitism-how-the-internet-has-revived-old-anti-jewish-tropes-178216>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- "The Haunted Jewish Wine Box: Dibbuk Box." 28 October 2009. <http://www.dibbukbox.com/>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Haxton, Jason, *The Dibbuk Box*. Kirksville: Truman State University Press, 2011.
- Horeck, Tanya. *Justice on Demand: True Crime in the Digital Streaming Era*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2021.

- Lamm, Normal. *The Shema: Spirituality and Law in Judaism*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1998.
- Hoskins, Andrew. “The Right to be Forgotten in Post-Scarcity Culture.” In *The Ethics of Memory in a Digital Age: Interrogating the Right to be Forgotten*, edited by Alessia Ghezzi, Ângela Guimarães and Lucia Vescnić-Alujević, 50–64. New York/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014.
- Jameson, Frederic. “Marx’s Purloined Letter.” In *Ghostly Demarcations: A Symposium on Jacques Derrida’s Spectres of Marx*, edited by Michael Sprinker, 26–67. London: Verso, 2008.
- Jasko Vlogs. “Opening a Real Cursed Dybbuk Box (Gone Wrong) 3AM Very Scary.” 2 November 2022. *YouTube*. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOEw7lnBPEs>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Jewitches. “The Deal With the Dybbuk.” 5 September 2020. <https://jewitches.com/blogs/blog/the-deal-with-the-dybbuk>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- KGH (Kalani Ghost Hunter) @kalanighost. 2023. “Anyone wanna open a dybbuk box with me ?.” 14 January 2023, 8.53pm. <https://twitter.com/kalanighost/status/1614365183568187394>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Kansteiner, Wolf. “The Holocaust in the 21st Century: Digital Anxiety, Transnational Cosmopolitanism, and Never Genocide Without Memory.” In *Digital Memory Studies: Media Past in Transition*, edited by Andrew Hoskins, 110–140. New York and London: Routledge, 2018.
- Konigsberg, Ira. “‘The Only ‘I’ in the World’: Religion, Psychoanalysis, and ‘The Dybbuk.’” *Cinema Journal* 36(4) (1997): 22–42.
- Langford, Barry. “Globalizing the Holocaust: Fantasies of Annihilation in Contemporary Media Culture.” In *Holocaust Intersections: Genocide and Visual Culture at the New Millennium*, edited by Axel Bangert, Robert S. C. Gordon and Libby Saxton, 112–131. London: Routledge, 2017.
- Late Night with Seth Meyers. “Post Malone Was Cursed by a Haunted Dybbuk Box.” *YouTube*. 21 February 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BwT-LIX8z18&ab_channel=LateNightwithSethMeyers. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Lehrer, Erica. “Virtual, Virtuous, Vicarious, Vacuous? Towards a Vigilant Use of Labels.” In *Jewish Cultural Studies: Framing Jewish Culture Boundaries and Representations*. Volume IV, edited by Simon J. Bronner, 383–395. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014.
- Leslie, Jess Kimball. “The Internet Tilde Perfectly Conveys Something We Don’t Have the Words to Explain.” *The Cut* (5 June 2017). <https://www.thecut.com/article/why-the-internet-tilde-is-our-most-perfect-tool-for-snark.html>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Mannis, Kevin. “The Dibbuk Box: A.K.A. The Haunted Jewish Wine Cabinet.” *Yahoo Blogs*, 2 September 2009. <https://web.archive.org/web/20120825053726/http://voices.yahoo.com/the-dibbuk-box-4184199.html?cat=44>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- MetaZooHQ. “Cryptid Nation: Seance – 1st Edition.” 9 October 2022. <https://metazoohq.com/cards/cryptid-nation/seance/1st-edition>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- MindSeedTV. “Opening a Real Cursed Dybbuk Box (Gone Wrong) Very Scary Demon Box 3AM.” *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FEpU-DrHjds&ab_channel=MindSeedTV. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- minoel1431. “***WARNING HAUNTED DYBBUK BOX BEELZEBUB 18+***.” 25 June 2023. *eBay*. https://web.archive.org/web/20230629113921/https://www.ebay.com/itm/385708240857?hash=item59ce00afd9:g:4M0AAOSw-LZkfAcu&amdata=enc%3AAQAIAAAA4KxVhpEXE2ZT9P%2BiuE2pbwgtzplCw5berPkGvVp215fNhAm562UEpG9pzTyhtynnv7xNLg34s%2FRVkfQCPWF5Tzt7SNeYeWquyewcMyQrdQiqZjideYyW5A6x%2FBCzhktN7Dja9kb%2Bvx0cclibzEOacnfMlIdCZ52N%2FOsWcdsUezjdWZ3vmxRialoYZE8aPBmUBgvIMv66sf9DOSGggp5E0yZ9AILsMRg%2FeLFvyjG1jurZARPOFFDbQHgZrg8xcwsYVdM94Gtu04Ph%2FXHf1d8z26sPHYhykhGUjmMAY2P0r29%7Ctkp%3ABk9SR_7kIo-gYg. Accessed 30 June 2023.

- Moss, Charles. "Finally, the truth behind the 'haunted' Dybbuk Box can be revealed." *Input*. July 8 2021. <https://www.inverse.com/input/features/dybbuk-box-dibbuk-kevin-mannis-zak-bagans-haunted-hoax-revealed>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- MuppetMurderer5. "When I was watching quarantine and . . ." 20 October 2020. *Reddit*. https://www.reddit.com/r/GhostAdventures/comments/jhwjb9/dark_ritual_from_deadly_possessions_dybuuk_box/ga3gssk/. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Murley, Jean. *The Rise of True Crime: 20th-Century Murder and American Popular Culture*. Westport: Praeger, 2008.
- Neitzke, Iosif. "The Dibbuk Box". 1 August 2013. <https://whisperingdark.wordpress.com/tag/iosif-neitzke/>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Neugroschel Joachim, ed. and trans. *The Dybbuk and the Yiddish Imagination*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.
- Nichols, Bill. *Representing Reality: Issues and Concepts in Documentary*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1991.
- OVERNIGHT. "OPENING 13 DYBBUK BOXES at the SALLIE HOUSE (Incredible Paranormal Evidence)." 3 December 2022. *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OkEx_AyMk90. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Oullette, Laurie. "Introduction." In *A Companion to Reality Television*, edited by Laurie Oullette. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons, 2017.
- poeticblade. "Kevin seriously needs to start listening to women . . ." 15 November 2021. *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bf_9w1vpq50&lc=UgxFj5bLwOiiImMcMwJ4AaABAg&ab_channel=MrBallen. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Putterman, Samantha. "No, COVID spelled backward doesn't mean evil spirit possession in Hebrew." 11 February 2022. <https://www.politifact.com/factchecks/2022/feb/11/facebook-posts/covid-spelled-backward-divoc-which-means-possession/>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Renner, Karen, J. *Evil Children in the Popular Imagination*. Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.
- roadshow01. "dybbuk." 29 June 2023. *eBay*. <https://web.archive.org/web/20230629113644/https://www.ebay.co.uk/itm/125995219678?hash=item1d55e67ade:g:1a8AAOSwXhklCxC&amdata=enc%3AAQAIAAAA4KRA%2B5G5pTSp3%2F5kg6%2BSSy3mVKw3tQrFoyNiDxZEX%2BibYKC3FDEgKHNJEwDm02nKIsV9j%2BkSq5GeL7Sg0NP2OVB%2BO5a7qA1VfxIHrvRFb7djywdS7Lx8ANfOe5gHqSw63msVhODDdyzUrdq9CH%2FJJ4R%2F5Ms56s%2FzJj2zBuJ5aDl%2B4%2BbI4amxpf9Jbgo4aBgpjZvmkoPreiLPr2%2B8ZENaf7MyBk3qbG%2BKMnjWbvJl%2FfKUA7LxnF11d5X7fSG9JAGTUuFfb7o9b3YQcpUg0F3%2FEW%2FwU4e8ehAFZjf6os1r%7Ctkp%3ABk9SR-7j4e6gYg>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Safran, Gabriella. *Wandering Soul: The Dybbuk's Creator S An-sky*. Cambridge, Massachusetts/London: Harvard University Press, 2010.
- ScottSierra. "There's no such thing . . ." 13 May 2023. *Reddit*, https://www.reddit.com/r/Paranormal/comments/13gskn6/what_is_your_opinion_on_dybbuk_boxes/jk22vg5/. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Shelly Simpson -Christian. "In my opinion if there's anything . . ." 8 May 2023. *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bf_9w1vpq50&lc=Ugyjr5L9XRdRkOCS22B4AaABAg. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Shifman, Limor. *Memes in Digital Culture*. Cambridge, MA/London: The MIT Press, 2014.
- sj_rachel. "#duet with @sj_rachel go watch @kittenqueen's video explaining more #dybbuk #dybbukbox #jewish #jew #jewtok." 2 February 2021.

- Star, Susan Leigh and James R. Griesemer, “Institutional Ecology, ‘Translations’ and Boundary Objects: Amateurs and Professionals in Berkeley’s Museum of Vertebrate Zoology, 1907–39.” *Social Studies of Science* 19(3) (August 1989): 387–420.
- Stephens, Carmelle. “Playing Pretend on Social Media.” In *Digital Holocaust Memory, Education and Research*, edited by Victoria Grace Walden, 237–265. Cham: Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021.
- Street, Kori and Kim Simon. “Using Social Media in Holocaust Education.” *IHRA* (11 November 2014). https://www.holocaustremembrance.com/sites/default/files/social_media_in_holocaust_education.pdf. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Thehappydead. “The box that holds a spirit. #spookytok #conspiracytiktok #scarytiktoks.” 17 January 2022. <https://www.tiktok.com/@thehappydead/video/7054268345520147758>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- TikTok. “Duets and Reactions on TikTok – Safety Tips.” 27 March 2019. <https://newsroom.tiktok.com/en-gb/duets-and-reactions-on-tiktok-safety-tips>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Tumblr. “#dybbukbox.” 30 June 2023. <https://www.tumblr.com/tagged/dybbuk%20box?sort=top>. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- Webber, Jake. “OPENING A DEMON IN A BOX (DYBBUK BOX).” 24 June 2018. *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GnYSDEbZ_E0. Accessed 30 June 2023.
- yonahgreene7160. “When a 103 year old holocaust survivor is scared of something you can be sure that thing is hell scary.” 7 April 2021. *YouTube*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bf_9w1vpq50&google_comment_id=UgyGp6C5-dZhNY8dfQ14AaABAg&ab_channel=MrBallen. Accessed 25 June 2023.

Filmography

- Bornedal, Ole. *The Possession*. Los Angeles: Ghost House Productions, 2012.
- “Curse of the Dybbuk Box.” Season 1, episode 9. *The Haunted Museum: 3 Ring Inferno*. Directed by Adam McDonald. Aired 20 November 2021.
- “The Dybbuk Box.” Season 2, episode 4. *Paranormal Witness*. Directed by Russell England. Aired on 29 August 2012.
- Goyer, David S. *The Unborn*. Universal City: Rogue Pictures. 2009.
- K., Jay. *Ezra*. Chennai: AVA Productions. 2017.
- K., Jay. *Dybbuk*. Mumbai: T-Series. 2021.
- “Robert the Doll and the Dibbuk Box.” Season 1, Episode 1. *Deadly Possessions*. Executive producer Zak Bagans. Aired on 2 April 2016.
- Russo, Anthony and Joe Russo. *Avengers: Infinity War*. Burbank: Walt Disney Studios Motion Pictures. 2018.
- Schraeder, Paul. *Dominion: Prequel to the Exorcist*. Los Angeles: Morgan Creek Pictures. 2005.
- Spielberg, Steven. *Indiana Jones: Raiders of the Lost Ark*. Los Angeles: Paramount Pictures. 1981.

