

FROM THE SINGING RABBI TO THE KING OF HASIDIC REGGAE

Abstract: My study introduces three significant figures from the Jewish religious popular music scene (Shlomo Carlebach, Debbie Friedman and Matisyahu). Through these three case studies I examine the participants' understanding of music and how (religious) identities are defined and redefined through religious popular music. Questions of world views, religious attitudes, identities are brought to the fore. I would like to shed light on how the relationship to community, tradition and religious tradition is contested through Jewish religious popular music.

Keywords: Jewish religious popular music, religious modernization, vernacular religion

It is well known that every period leaves its own imprint on religiosity and as a result the lived, vernacular level¹ of religion is never static and unchanged – although this is not always reflected in the official religious documents – it is being shaped in constant movement. This could be observed in the case of earlier, so-called popular religion and it can be observed in the lived religion of the present time. Although vernacular or lived religion often contained forms incompatible with official dogmas, it can perhaps be said that such a great variety and transformation as can be observed in lived religion today did not occur in earlier historical periods. This phenomenon has a number of well known cultural causes, the strongest of which is that mass culture and the mass media have seeped into the so-called “religious market” as well, where they have a considerable influence especially on the artistic dimension of vernacular religion (see, for example, works of religious popular art, or the so-called “religious kitsch” phenomenon).² This kind of interaction can perhaps be examined most readily through the phenomenon of “religious popular music”, as from the second half of the 20th century all the secular music styles – rock and roll, later pop, rap etc. – have had religious parallels.

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1 The concept of vernacular religion was first introduced by Leonard Norman Primiano (PRIMIANO 1995). The term refers to the syncretic form of lived religion, in everyday life, found at the individual level.

2 In the case of Christianity this has been examined, among others, by McDANNELL 1995; MORGAN 1998.

In the case of Christianity, the international literature on religious studies deals at considerable length with the process whereby the connection between religion and music enters into discourse with the problem of modernity,³ and in what way the new actors on the contemporary religious market are linked to different music styles,⁴ but at the same time research into Jewish religious parallels has been far more superficial.⁵ In part this is due to the fact that Jewish religious ethnomusicology itself has only a short past, and it is practically only in the past decade that popular music elements have appeared here in a religious guise.⁶ International researchers have turned their attention mainly to the spread and use of klezmer music, and to the klezmer revival,⁷ while the contemporary Jewish religious inculturation of more recent popular music genres has only just started.⁸

In this short article I would like to give an idea, through Jewish religious popular music, of the religious transformation that is taking place under the circumstances of late modernity. My aim is to use case studies to throw a sharper light on that process at the macro level, to show how lived religion responds to aspects of modernisation, and how crisis situations arise between representatives of the so-called traditionalist trends – who emphasise the threat arising from the dismantling of traditions – and those who see a positive opportunity in the transformation. I wish to examine this here through the reception of the new trends in religious music.

The products of religious popular arts are understood to be works with religious content and religious purpose produced in late modernity within the frames of mass culture, according to its operating mechanism and rules, that clearly reflect both the characteristics and changes of the wider cultural context and the value preferences of “consumers” of the given works. Naturally, a complex analysis of the vernacular religion of late modernity cannot be made within the frame of this short article, but the case studies to be presented can give a deeper understanding of the characteristics of the religious motivations and religious experiences and communities behind the process.⁹

3 Among others: EVANS 2006; ROMANOWSKI 2000.

4 Examples are reggae and Rastafarianism, black metal and Satanism or neo-paganism, and the clearly observable intertwining of psychedelic trance music and neo-shamanism.

5 Among others: ARIEL 2003; KAHN-HARRIS 2009; 2012; WAGNER et al. 2013; WOOD 2007.

6 This may appear strange in view of the fact that Jewish performers, producers and songwriters have been active in shaping contemporary pop music, but they did so without stressing or acknowledging their ethnic identity. This is one of the reasons why, apart from klezmer, there is practically no other global Jewish music phenomenon on the world pop music scene, created by Jewish performers for a Jewish consumer base and that is also an important factor commercially outside Israel. KAHN-HARRIS 2011. 74.

7 Many people regard klezmer as the most significant manifestation of Jewish non-religious music. BOSSIUS – KAHN-HARRIS – HÄGER 2011. 6.

8 KAHN-HARRIS 2009; 2012.

9 Online-anthropological methods (content analysis of numerous websites and forums, analysis of videos), and personal depth interviews in Budapest were the main methods used in writing this article. I wish to thank chief cantor László FEKETE, Dániel DAN, Andrea DEÁK and András ZIMA for the information they provided.

The feminist guitarist, the singing rabbi and the king of Hassid reggae

In January 2011 media around the world reported the sad news of the death of the Jewish singer Debbie Friedman. A few months later the musical *Soul Doctor* based on the figure and work of Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach was staged on Broadway. One of the best known showmen, Larry King also reported on the musical in his programme. As he said, this was the first thoroughly Jewish musical since *Fiddler on the Roof*.¹⁰ In December of the same year the local Csongrád County daily paper reported the sensation that Matisyahu, the Orthodox Jewish reggae singer had shaved his emblematic beard.¹¹

If we connect the three, otherwise entirely separate news items, we can immediately draw several conclusions that appear straightforward at first sight. Firstly they can create the appearance that the mass media and the use of today's accelerating modernisation techniques are strengthening the presence of religions in popular culture. This could also be supported by the fact that recently a growing number of researchers have turned their attention to the connection between religion and mass culture. Whole volumes of studies have been published on the impact of the media, principally the internet, on how the churches are trying to be present in virtual space, what religious content appears in various films and popular music genres.¹² Secondly it can lead to the conclusion that the churches can only survive and retain their popularity if they make use of these new trends associated with popular culture as there is a growing demand for them among young people. But is that really the case? Does the contact of the latest achievements of modernisation and mass culture with religion really cause the upswing of religion? Can it be established beyond doubt that this kind of change is the instrument of renewal? Are the younger generations really open to this "new style"?

The Jewish religion can offer a good ground in many respects for answering these questions. Firstly, living in diaspora has always had a two-fold effect on Jews: they had to adapt to local circumstances but only as far as they retained their Jewish identity. Secondly, Jewish religious music was perhaps always more open to adapting secular music trends. This can be clearly seen in the fact that local folk music motifs and later pieces from opera and operetta appeared in the repertoire of musically educated cantors. Thirdly, because in much of Jewish history right up to the present in many cases the boundaries between the religious and the secular were not clearly drawn.

10 <http://www.examiner.com/article/first-major-jewish-themed-musical-soul-doctor-hits-colony-and-parker-playhouse> Accessed on 20 December 2013.

11 http://www.delmagyar.hu/ezmilyen/a_zsido_reggae-sztar_leborotvalta_ikonikus_szakallat/2254547/ Accessed on 20 December 2013.

12 Among others, FORBES — MAHAN 2005; MAZUR — McCARTHY 2011.

This is the case also in the subject of our analysis: singers and composers who have had perhaps the greatest impact on contemporary Jewish religious music, and whose influence was aptly described by Kligman as “pioneers of religious revival”¹³. Debbie Friedman’s name and musical style is perhaps little known among Hungarian Jews, but she can be regarded as one of the driving forces of the music of American reform Jews and among those who launched Jewish religious popular music. Her best known composition is the “Mi Shebeirach” (prayer for healing), used in hundreds of congregations all over the US. A few Orthodox communities also use her songs, although her person is not unequivocally accepted among Jews as a whole. She is popular mainly in the liberal, reform branch of Judaism.¹⁴ She has created an entirely new Jewish music with her songs. She has set prayers and ancient teachings to music in the style of 1960s American protest songs, in which Jewish music traditions can no longer be felt. She was the first songwriter to use mixed English and Hebrew texts. Some of her album titles reflect the message of her songs, among others: *Songs of the Spirit*, *Light These Lights*, *The Water in the Well*, *The World of Your Dreams*, *And You Shall Be a Blessing*, *Sing Unto God*, *As You Go On Your Way: Shacharit - The Morning Prayers*, *It’s You*. Besides all this, Debbie Friedman was openly feminist. Her afterlife and the influence she has had on religious music can be seen in the fact that the former Hebrew Union College – Jewish Institute of Religion’s School of Sacred Music New York is now known as the Debbie Friedman School of Sacred Music. Her funeral service was followed live on internet alone by 7000 people.

The name of Shlomo Carlebach is well known in Jewish circles. As one of my informants put it: “probably the eighty-year-old diamond merchant in Antwerp, or a Jew in Jerusalem and one in Johannesburg all know Shlomo Carlebach.”¹⁵ Many go so far as to consider that Carlebach was the most influential Jewish composer of the 20th century. However we evaluate his musical achievement, there can be no doubt that almost everybody, from reform communities to Hasidic communities uses the *Carlebach nigunim*. In reform communities even the entire liturgy may be based musically on Carlebach’s melodies, while the stricter communities tend to use them mainly for paraliturgical occasions or outside the liturgy.

Shlomo Carlebach was born in Berlin in 1925, later together with his family he reached Switzerland through Lithuania and Austria, and eventually settled in New York. His father was an Orthodox rabbi. Shlomo Carlebach went to Berkeley for the 1966 Folk Festival. Later he decided to settle there and try to set the lost Jewish souls – drug addicts and drifting youth – on a better path. In San Francisco his local followers opened the “House of Love and Prayer” centre where they attracted young people with music, dance and community gatherings. He became known as a singing rabbi. His tuneful melodies and texts inspired thousands of Jewish youth and adults and led them back to their lost religion. Carlebach’s songs are easy to learn, they have a short and often repeated melody and

13 KLIGMAN 2001.

14 The ambivalent attitude towards her can be seen in the essay by KAHN-HARRIS 2011.

15 Budapest, 3 December 2011.

traditional texts. They have become an integral part of prayer occasions in many synagogues around the world. As Weiss also stresses, one of the keys to their rapid spread and popularity is the musical and spiritual vacuum that characterised Jewish people in the years following the Holocaust; Carlebach's melodies filled this vacuum well with their easily grasped, logical structure that could be readily fitted into any Jewish tradition in the world (Western, Eastern, Ashkenazi, Sephardic).¹⁶

Surprisingly, compared to the influence he has had on Jewish popular music, little has been written about Carlebach who is regarded as the father of Jewish religious popular music.¹⁷ The reason for this is perhaps, as mentioned earlier, that Jewish ethnomusicology is a relatively new research field. But it must be added that, to form a picture of his afterlife, we must turn not so much to analyses in the literature but rather to how he appears in collective memory. Of special significance here is the musical about Carlebach already mentioned, "Soul Doctor – Journey of a Rockstar Rabbi", that is still played on Broadway. His person is also important because many cantors in the classical sense now use Carlebach melodies. His legendary personality and his influence is reflected in the *Carlebach minyanim* that have inspired and move a broad spectrum of Jews. As Kligman too stresses, most of Carlebach's melodies have become fully incorporated and accepted songs in the synagogues, at weddings and Jewish events to such an extent that people who hear them often think they are traditional Jewish melodies, not compositions barely a few decades old.¹⁸

Matisyahu was born as Matthew Paul Miller. He attended a Jewish religious school but as a teenager turned away from what he had been taught, was expelled from the school and began to take drugs. In 1995 he took part in a two-month school program in Israel exploring Jewish identity and under its influence he returned to his faith. First he attended the Carlebach Shul in Manhattan and formed a band. Later he joined the Chabad-Lubavitch Hasidic trend. His unique style combines traditional Jewish elements with elements of reggae and rock. He quickly became world famous. In 2006 Billboard music magazine named him "Top Reggae Artist". On his tours he fills vast halls. It is a good indication of his popularity that in 2015 30 million people saw and listened to his most popular music video on YouTube.¹⁹ He attracts several hundred new followers a day on Facebook. In 2010 he gave a successful concert in the Syma Hall in Hungary.

16 http://www.klezmershack.com/articles/weiss_s/carlebach/ Accessed on 27 March 2014.

17 He issued around 25 albums and recorded only a small fraction of his 1000 – 4000 compositions.

18 KLIGMAN 2001. 102.

19 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRmBChQjZPs> Accessed on 12 November 2015.

Community reception

Now it is worth examining what role the subjects of our investigation have played and continue to play in religious and non-religious Jewish life at home and abroad. It is worth stressing that, apart from the different branches of Judaism, considerable differences can be observed between the opinions here, depending on the culture or region from which they originate. This is confirmed by Kahn-Harris's study of the negative reception of Friedman found among Jews in the UK. The author shows that because of the openness characterising American culture, American Jews had a basically positive attitude towards her, while she was firmly rejected by the more conservative British.²⁰

Accordingly, the recorded interviews, questionnaires and the thematic forums on online community portals show a complex picture, even if we leave out of account the opinions that are simply expressions of liking the music, or in the case of Matisyahu come from fans, as well as those that report superficially that a song by one of the performers changed their life, gave them new hope or "brought light to their souls".

"He's also showed me there is always room in your heart for hope. I stopped writing music for a little bit, and after listening to him I decided I'd start up again and give my band another shot. Well, I can say that Matis has truly motivated me. I first began to listen to him because of the great solos and instrumentation in Live at Stubbs. But then I actually began to listen to the lyrics and they have so much meaning. Any day that I feel down, I can just listen to his music and it lifts my spirit.

Matisyahu has inspired me to be a better person. He has truly been a 'refuge for me' he has been the 'light' in my soul. And for that I give my thanks and prayers to you for life. You are amazing.

It helps me relax after a stressful day or it can just bring a smile to my face on a sad day."²¹

"DEAR HOLY REB SHLOMO, WE LOVE YOU AND MISS YOU TERRIBLY

Some days it's ok. I hear her voice and it pushes me on through some of the hills and valleys of my life."²²

Some of the comments support our hypothesis that within certain limits, religions have to find the language of the given time in the circumstances of the age, in which they can address the people of their time. In this way it can be said that

20 KAHN-HARRIS 2011.

21 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WRmBChQjZPs> Accessed on 28 March 2014.

22 <http://www.lindakwertheimer.com/?p=264> Accessed on 25 August 2015.

the songs of Debbie Friedman make people feel at home in a liturgy, they are able to pray through her, they are able to turn to the Everlasting through her songs. They also help their religious self-expression.

“To me, Debbie Friedman’s songs are the sounds of Judaism that I know. When I’ve gone into a temple that isn’t using them, I don’t feel at home.

Her music infused a new spirituality into the words of our traditional tefilot and empowered a generation of Jewish women. She will be missed, but she will continue to inspire our children, much the same as she inspired us.”²³

“I live on a college campus so it is hard to find time to just get away and think about God. However I can listen to Matisyahu anywhere and feel like I am alone with God. Whatever mood I’m in I can listen to Matisyahu and enjoy my day better and feel a closer connection to God.

I saw Matisyahu for my 2nd time in Kansas City, MO and there was nothing more moving than hearing ‘One Day’ as the sun began to set...he turned to face the sun and smiled and as I looked around there were so many people of different ages and places in life with tears in their eyes. You are touching many. As a 35-year-old mother of 2 beautiful little girls ‘One Day’ is my true wish and always has been...”²⁴

Moreover, one can clearly feel from them that for people today the persons who function as identification models often come through the new channels of mass communication, through the new music styles.

“But because I am by G-d’s grace a believer in faith, in knowing what comes, comes from G-d. And when we lose a loved one, be it friend, family, or someone like Debbie, it is because of that very G-d’s grace, and is G-d’s way of preparing us to do just what Debbie did with and what she gave to us for as long as G-d allowed.”²⁵

“Debbie Friedman played an integral role in the development of my Jewish identity.”²⁶

“She meant a great deal to me in my Jewish identity as a teen and adult.”²⁷

23 http://www.jewishjournal.com/debbie_friedman_tributes/article/remembering_debbie_friedman_a_collection_from_community_leaders_20110110/ Accessed on 28 March 2014.

24 <http://matisyahuworld.com/community/forum/viewthread/105/P15> Accessed on 8 February 2012.

25 <http://www.lindakwertheimer.com/?p=264> Accessed on 28 March 2014.

26 <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/postmortem/2011/01/jewish-folk-singer-debbie-frie.html> Accessed on 25 August 2015.

27 <http://voices.washingtonpost.com/postmortem/2011/01/jewish-folk-singer-debbie-frie.html> Accessed on 25 August 2015.

This identification model very often points beyond religion. We can see that many people regard Debbie Friedman as a model to be followed for her feminism, while the attachment to Jewish ethnic identity or their rediscovery of the tradition of Matisyahu or Carlebach can even serve as a model for non-religious Jews. I even found a comment reporting that the writer turned to the Lubavitchers under the influence of Matisyahu's music.

"she had a large impact [in] Modern Orthodox shuls, women's tefillah [prayer], the Orthodox feminist circles.... She was a religious bard and angel for the entire community."

"As a Jewess, a feminist, a nurse, a daughter, granddaughter, sister, wife and mother I reached to Debbie's (of blessed memory) music to learn, to grow, to heal, to emulate, to carry tradition, to share experience, to cherish, to be an example and teach my children to do the same."²⁸

"About 7 years ago, My friend who is a member of Lubavitch Chasidus, introduced me to his music, and turned me on to Matisyahu. A year later, I adopted myself to Chasidus and I am learning something each day. Being that I was in a strict Orthodox School Environment, I had my thoughts of going off the "Big D" because of pressure, and more pressure, But Chasidus brought out the truth. Matisyahu brought out the truth, and I personally want to thank Matisyahu (I thanked him in person but I want to thank him again now) for showing me the road to Light! You are a true Shliach in my heart, and many others!"

"first started listening to a couple of his songs like king without a crown and youth, but listening to jerusalem really opened up my eyes to my jewish heritage. It showed me how important it is not to forget your heritage and how Remembering your religions past is so important."²⁹

These opinions are in line with the hypotheses postulated by Summit, who attempts to demonstrate that musical choice is not merely the result of religious identity, but at the same time it has an influence on that identity, in many cases fundamentally determining it.³⁰

"You won't believe it, but I went out and bought his records. They're all here: Youth, and Light too. At the age of seventy-five... If nothing else, just for the sake of the title of the first record. Do you know what a great thing that boy did? He brought something very

28 <http://www.lindakwertheimer.com/?p=264> Accessed on 25 August 2015.

29 <http://matisyahuworld.com/community/forum/viewthread/105/P15> Accessed on 25 August 2015.

30 SUMMIT 2000.

old in a very new form. And as I heard it, with absolute authenticity. He was a rebel, and he still is... Even with a hat, black suit, white shirt and beard. Tzitzit and reggae, that's really something![...] why can't you find these old things in such a modern way in Hungarian? Why does everything appear much more pathetic? Why are the Jews sometimes so elderly-like, and why are they so youthful and winning in English?"³¹

Several explanations can be given for this Hungarian-American difference. It is, however, obvious that in the West religion has retained its continuity, its presence in everyday life that enabled religion and religiosity to be modernised in an organic way. While the continuity of the religious chain was not broken among Western Jewry after the Holocaust, among Hungarians this has caused multiple problems arising from the historical circumstances.

Interpretation

Modernisation and mutual influences among religions are not a new phenomenon. In all periods achievements in technology/civilisation also had an impact on religiosity. These transformations can be clearly observed, among others, in the changes in religious music. Just as the different historical periods have religious popular songs in their own style in the case of Christianity, we find the same phenomenon clearly in evidence in Jewish music too. We know in the case of Jewish music that the *Nusach* allows the possibility of improvisation as long as the character remains within recognisable frames, or if it dances away from them it finds its way back at the blessing sentence. However, the closed melodies inserted in this way in the stream of prayer depend to a great extent on the culture. In Hungary it is typically Central East European folk music that appeared, then in the last 100-150 years also works of art music. Probably in all periods these processes evoked ambivalent reactions among those belonging to the different trends of Judaism. In addition, in the accelerated pace of today's world, these changes, new demands and new styles pile up and demand with growing urgency the appearance and use of the "new" and "modern".

Debbie Friedman, for example, can be regarded as one of the spokespersons of emancipation and feminism. Religious feminism, the search for female roles and efforts to place greater emphasis on the presence of women can be observed in trends from esoterism, through neo-paganism, right up to Christianity and Judaism. Friedman took part in the democratisation of the reform/progressive branch of Judaism at a time when, in the early 1970s, the ordination of women as rabbis had only just begun. According to Keith Kahn-Harris her work was greatly helped by the move towards the egalitarian ceremony. She was the first women

31 http://www.litera.hu/hirek/majd_egyszer Accessed on 28 March 2014.

to exercise a big influence on the liturgy of reform Judaism, and in addition was also lesbian, although not openly. Nevertheless, it is important to emphasise that while Friedman was a well known and popular figure, judgement of her was far more ambivalent than it was of her contemporary, Carlebach. The reason for this must also be sought in their similar but not entirely identical responses to the new circumstances. Although Friedman openly accepted her Jewish identity and thereby served as a point of orientation for many seeking Jews, in her music it was mainly only the text that was linked to the authentic tradition – and even there not always, while her melodies broke away from it. She was influenced mainly by the American folk-song revival of the 1960s, such as the music of Joan Baez or Bob Dylan, making her style just as “happy clappy” as the Christian popular music.

It is interesting that this process of revival and within it the Christian popular music, the Jewish Friedman and Carlebach, were in close ideological connection with the hippie movement of the period. Like the Christian “Jesus movement”, the “Hasidic hippie” movement radiating out from Carlebach’s “House of Love and Prayer” centre in San Francisco was a community of religious “hippies” who discovered the eastern religions in their spiritual quest but experienced spiritual fulfilment within Jewish religious frames and openly embraced their religious identity before the wider public. As Ariel also emphasised in his study *Hasidism in the Age of Aquarius*, they blended the various eastern religious practices (energy transmission, incense burning, yoga, meditation) into their own religious frames, their own lived Jewish religion.³² These religious hippies are thus not merely a new trend within mass cultural fashion, they are genuinely identity seekers, a group wishing to give an answer to the current problems and challenges of the time within the frames of religion, before the public. In this way the rock and roll music of the period did not remain simply secular music, its religious parallel – “Christian popular music” and “Jewish popular music” – appeared at practically the same time, also within the liturgy.

Carlebach and Friedman too are linked principally to this phenomenon, but in contrast to Friedman, Carlebach built to a considerable extent on authentic Jewish traditions. One important difference right from the start is that Carlebach sang not in English but in Hebrew. He made use of Hasidic traditions and modified them to bring them into line with the values of the new generation, reshaping and “reinventing” the tradition.³³ Carlebach gave his own messages and those of the counterculture into the mouths of the Hasidic founding fathers. He took his place in the long tradition of Hasidic storytelling. He introduced innovations into the religious context, previously unknown genre elements of mass culture, and interestingly these songs in turn have an influence on classical cantor art, they are becoming incorporated in the same natural way that each age created religious syncretism in the vernacular or lived religion, often without the believers even being aware of the borrowing. In this way Carlebach innovated without bringing tradition and the modern into conflict, organically incorporating the new approach.

32 ARIEL 2003.

33 ARIEL 2003: 28.

The Jewish music world shines through his style and the psalms can also be felt behind it. His vehicle and communication channel is a stirring musicality, but at the same time, as a spiritual leader, a rabbi, he teaches his listeners. Because of this organic character, Jewish communities from reform to orthodox all recognise it and incorporate it into their melodic world.

To a certain extent Matisyahu can also be linked to the phenomenon of Friedman and Carlebach. Like Friedman, Matisyahu uses a musical genre entirely foreign to Jewish tradition. While Friedman was the first woman to sing Jewish religious texts in American folk style, making them attractive and popular, Matisyahu is a pioneering actor in the contemporary mainstream, the secular music industry. He fills reggae and rap melodies with traditional Jewish values. Like Carlebach, Matisyahu also unequivocally represents his religious allegiance. His attachment to modernity is manifested practically in that he conveys his message in a style of contemporary music. They all personally address the listener with and in their songs, they speak to the individual, building on what is lacking in the age of alienation. Of course, there are also numerous obvious differences arising from the cultural changes that have taken place over close to half a century. One such trend has been the continuous laicisation, a weakening of religiosity attached to the institution, the crisis of identity leading to cosmopolitanism.³⁴ Matisyahu's reception base is no longer solely religious Jews, indeed perhaps it is not even principally religious Jews. Moreover, it may be surprising to the outsider, but his aim may not necessarily be to convert irreligious Jews. Jewish popular music also has a function of preserving Jewish identity, with which it also reaches out to secularised Jews. They are the irreligious groups who try to strengthen their ethnic identity weakened by the cosmopolitanism of globalisation, through the modern but essentially authentic phenomenon of Jewish religious popular music. They see and hear on the basis of the Jewish external signs that this is an unequivocal identification model, nevertheless it is able to reach them by corresponding to their own aesthetic taste derived from mass culture. Thus, in practice, this process too is part of the deprivatisation of religion about which José Casanova wrote.³⁵ A young Hasidic man openly embraces his faith, his religious views, becoming a star and identification model,³⁶ and many of his fans and listeners experience their own Jewishness through his, he creates for them a link in the chain towards the weakened tradition.

34 DAVIE 2010.

35 CASANOVA 1994.

36 On the stars as identification models, see Povedák 2011.

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