

THE FOLK SONG CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL CORRECTNESS: WHEN *HEP, HEP* IS NOT *HOP, HOP*

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The demand for a comprehensive study of musical folklore was accepted in Czech folklore studies more than a century ago, but the two components of a song—the tune and the text—have been studied separately for many reasons. On the one hand, a song is a unit where one component conditions the other. The tune determines the number of syllables of the verse and vice versa; the link between specific tunes and lyrics is often regionally specific. Through this, the characteristic features of the folklore of individual regions are studied. On the other hand, the two components of a song also function independently—the same tune is associated with different lyrics, and variants of one text may work with different tunes. The history of interest in folk song also shows that music and words have not been studied equally. The reasons for this include the complexity of musical notation versus writing down the text in the actual song collection, as well as various purposes related to the context of the time or the personal interest of the researchers. In the Romantic period, poets relied on folk song lyrics, in which they were inspired to compose echoes¹ and forgeries². They sought a pure national language but also a national spirit in folklore, as we can see, for example, in Johann Gottfried Herder³.

1. The echo represents a genre type created by the stylization of the poetics of folk song. It is considered an aesthetic model in the pre-romantic and romantic contexts. The echo seeks to express new content through a “national” experienced form (Peterka 2004: 457). The origins of echo poetry date back to the end of the 18th century, first appearing in English literature, and beginning to appear in Czech literature at the beginning of the 19th century. They are mainly associated with the work of F. L. Čelakovský.
2. For more on European forgeries, see Otáhal, Milan 1986: Význam bojů o rukopisy [The Significance of the Struggle for ‘The Manuscripts’]. In *T. G. Masaryk a naše současnost II*. Praha: Nové cesty myšlení. 40–71. Available at: <<http://www.rukopisy-rkz.cz/rkz/gagan/jag/rukopisy/dokument/otah-1.htm>>.
3. Cf. Johann Gottfried Herder 1778–1779: *Volkslieder*. 2 vols. Leipzig: Weygand (see especially the preface to the second volume).

In the artistic environment, both in the present and past, we can find a dichotomy of the relationship to folk songs, where it is conducted separately by the musical or verbal line. It works in a similar way within the broad spectrum of the folk movement, where at first glance the distinction often merges between ‘original folk’ and ‘artificial authorial’ compositions, whether in the musical or dance component. However, an interesting research field for folklore studies even today is the folklore material as such, which not only stood at the birth of professional study, but also codified its subject matter to a certain extent. While traditional forms of folklore expression are essentially closed in their original function, their nature and interpretation are still a current research problem.

The issues of censorship and self-censorship have already been discussed at the Náměšť Colloquy, especially in connection with the printed editions of folk songs of the Czech lands (Uhlíková 2012). The official censorship of the 19th century was aimed at combating anything that in any way discredited religion or the state, or threatened good manners. **The observance of social conventions, aesthetic, and ethical** parameters of official culture (shared mainly by bourgeois society and intellectuals) directly conditioned the evaluation and success or failure of the editorial activities of individual personalities who published folk texts (not only songs, but also fairy tales, legends, etc.). The social conventions, reinforced by the ideological focus of the collectors’ activities, which were aimed at fulfilling the patriotic goals and ideals of the time, influenced the field research as such. We know that many collectors did not record material that did not conform to their beliefs. In the case of song lyrics, mainly those containing crude humour, harsh satire, erotic motifs, and vulgarisms were omitted.⁴ When such texts were written down by

4. For example, the collector František Sušil, a Catholic priest, often wrote down folk material at various rectories or schools, where he invited local singers; he did not attend rural entertainment in taverns, nor did he allow “indecent” songs to be sung (cf. Pavlicová 2012: 20; Uhlíková 2015: 341).

certain enlightened collectors, they were usually not included in print editions of folk material, or they were censored, or the text was modified, and the undesirable parts were changed. Specific examples of this approach can be demonstrated in the edition of the *Bohemian National Songs* (*Böhmische Volkslieder*), published in 1825 by Jan Ritter of Rittersberk (1770–1841)⁵, mainly as the result of the gubernial collection⁶.

The original version:*

*Šla židovka do Slanýho,
nesla žida zasranýho.
Žid se smál, až prskal.*

The printed version:

*Šla židovka do Slanýho,
nesla žida opilýho.
Žid se smál, až prskal.*

(Markl 1987: 247, no. 33 – Plzeňsko, Chrudimsko)

[A Jewess went to the town of Slaný,
she carried a shitty Jew.
The Jew laughed and spluttered].

[A Jewess went to the town of Slaný,
she carried a drunken Jew.
The Jew laughed and spluttered].

- * [Please note that the English version of the paper includes original song lyrics in various Czech and Moravian dialects, and (in square brackets) these illustrative translations into English are meant to keep the content, but not original rhyme—translator’s note.]
5. Similar issues are also known to the wider Czech public. For instance, fervent Josephist, Austrian officer and Czech patriot Jan Jenik of Bratřice (1756–1845) wrote down such song lyrics for his own use. The publication of these often “outrageous” songs was also subjected to modifications over the next two centuries (see Traxler 2011: 186–188).
 6. The campaign was launched in 1819, but over the years, older records of songs and instrumental music were also obtained. The material collected in Moravia and Silesia was stored in two not completely identical copies in the archives in Brno and Vienna and was partly published in the edition of the *Guberniální sbírka písní a instrumentální hudby z Moravy a Slezska z roku 1819* [Gubernial Collections of Songs and Instrumental Music from Moravia and Silesia from 1819], prepared by Karel Vetterl in 1994. In Bohemia, the collection was not completed until 1823, and part of the material was published in 1825 by Jan Ritter of Rittersberk in his *Bohemian National Songs* (*Böhmische Volkslieder*). The entire material from Bohemia was critically processed and published in 1987 by Jaroslav Markl under the title *Nejstarší sbírky českých lidových písní* [*The Oldest Collections of Czech Folk Songs*]. After 1989, one more part of the Bohemian gubernial collection was discovered: the collection of Thomas Anton Kunz. A facsimile was edited by Lubomír Tyllner and published in 1995.

*Kdybys byla katolička,
vzal bych si tě do srdéčka,
ale že jsi helvice⁷,
nevidím tě, opice.*

*Kdybys byla holka hezká,
vzal bych si tě do srdéčka,
ale že jsi opice,
tak tě nechci již více.*

(Markl 1987: 271, no. 63 – Budějovicko)

[If you were a Catholic girl,
I would put you into my heart,
but because you are a Helvice
I don't see you, you monkey].

[If you were a pretty girl,
I would put you into my heart,
but because you are a monkey
I don't want you any longer].

The lyrics were not chosen at random. In fact, they make us reflect on several important aspects that are also related to them from the perspective of contemporary research.

The first aspect questions the **objective examination of the folk tradition** in its entirety: an authentic text without any purist interference, an undistorted source, or the socio-cultural context associated with it, and especially its interpretation without being indebted to any current contemporary ideology. The second aspect is the **care for the preservation and development of the various manifestations of traditional folk culture, today considered part of the country's cultural heritage**.⁸ In the Czech context, it has been the focus of the interest of individuals and specialised institutions since the end of the 19th century and especially in the 20th century (see in electronic sources *Koncepce účinnější péče*, 2016–2020: 2). In addition to the previous two aspects, we may add a third one, which, although not yet much explored by folklorists or ethnologists, is an issue that ethnology should not neglect today—the **political correctness** mentioned in the title of this paper. In recent years, its social strength has increased due to various perspectives, and it influences the interpretation of many historical and contemporary cultural manifestations.

7. *Helvice*—a member of the Reformed Church (Calvinist); in the past, this denomination was referred to in the Czech lands as the Helvetic denomination—hence the name of the female church member.

8. The concept of cultural heritage is a modern social construct that has been discussed several times at this colloquium (Pavlicová–Uhlíková 2013; Pavlicová 2016).

Efforts to preserve the rapidly disappearing manifestations of traditional folk culture, especially folk song, music, and dance, were made in the Czech environment practically throughout the 19th and 20th centuries. They related to certain ideologies and cultural politics, and were subordinated to them. Some elements of folk culture were accentuated; others on the contrary, were omitted. Some songs or dances functioned as a symbol or emblem, thus carrying other meanings (such as the Polka dance as a symbol of the Czech national movement, or similarly, regional folk costume such as those of Pilsen or Kyjov).

In today's free society, authentic versions of folk texts and other period sources seem not to cause any problems; the reality is somewhat different. It may be driven more by utilitarian considerations than by efforts to portray the image of folk culture to serve as a political tool, as was the case repeatedly in the Czech past: from Romanticism and national aspirations to the "birth" of the new Communist culture. However, the question is whether today's society is aware of otherness in the contexts related to folklore, thus to cultural heritage.

In their original functions, folk issues were closely tied to a specific social environment and cultural identity⁹, their existence being part of tradition. Some of the components of tradition are social memory and the **cultural stereotypes** associated to it. They are not only interesting to study, but are an integral part of the lyrics of many folk songs.

Cultural stereotypes are involved in the formation and preservation of identity; they are the ideas that people have about themselves and about members of different groups. In the identification process, they primarily play a social role—a defence of the values and accepted judgements of a particular society or social group. Identification means identification with them. The sense of belonging to a particular collective is something obvious to everyone. It is a shared feeling of "we, ours, us," which

9. Cultural identity—a set of shared values and norms that defines a particular group of people and through which an individual identifies with that group (Michálek 2018).

at the same time separates “us” from “others, different, strangers” (Kiliánová 2009: 18). On the contrary, what comes to the fore—and often with emotional nuance—are the signs of the other. This view of the self was and still is composed of several main different elements—clothing, language, behaviour, cultural status, and religious practices. Thus the answer to the question of one’s own identity is part of the image of the others; the sense of one’s own identity is the result of confronting others (Uhlíková 2005: 21). However, labelling others with terms such as lazy, dirty, stingy, or noisy does not say anything about the real characteristics of a certain external group, but about the perceptions within one’s own group: “we/us” as more industrious, cleaner, generous, or peaceful. When we observe cultural stereotypes, it is not about their truth or falsity. We must primarily be interested in the bearer of the stereotypes, because they tell us about him or her, their emotional image of the world and that of themselves (Uhlíková 2005: 24–25).

The Other may include members of another ethnic group or religion, ethnographic group, neighbouring village (or part of a village) or social class. Their image in folklore is rather a complex of general ideas, various ideological views, evaluative attitudes, and historical experiences. The specific attributes that we find in folklore texts in connection with the reflection of the Other are related to the phenomenon of Otherness.¹⁰ It is an anthropological constant—a humanly universal, general, and little changeable structure of the image of Otherness, which is based on the model of the contradiction between “one’s own” and “the Other”. It manifests itself in binary oppositions, such as clean–dirty, black–white, handsome–ugly, moral–immoral, sexually normal–sexually potent, stupid–clever, or normal–supernatural (Uhlíková 2005: 23). The portrayal of individuals or social groups perceived as the Other is thus very often negative, which is underlined by ridicule that is

10. For more, see Staszak, Jean-François 2009: “Other/Otherness.” In *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*, vol. 8, edited by Rob Kitchin and Nigel Thrift. Oxford: Elsevier. 43–47. Available at: <<https://www.unige.ch/sciences-societe/geo/files/3214/4464/7634/OtherOtherness.pdf>>.

often even vulgar. In folk songs recorded in the Czech lands¹¹, we encounter comparisons of others to animals or animal offspring; they are considered foul-smelling, often linked to erotic motifs, or those concerning behaviour that is considered by the singer to be abnormal, offensive, repulsive, inhuman, or impure.

*Vy ste Židé, vy ste kmíni, je pravda,
a to proto, že vám roste chlupatá brada;
a to proto vaše šidění,
že ste všeci z jednej kozy zrození.*

(EÚB¹² A 887/185, Lidečko, 1887)

[You are Jews, you are caraway seeds, that is truth, / and that is because you grow your hairy beard;/ and this is caused by your cheating, / because you are all born of one goat.]

1. *Tancovala Adamica s Adamem,
uderil ju mezi nohy čaganem.*
2. *Abel s Kainem začali též krepčiti,
pléskali sa povríslama po riti.*
3. *Když to ostatní židáci viděli,
skákali tajč a jak tchoré smrděli.*
4. *Starý Noe stískél Nojku v kalupu,
a tož poslal Pámbu židom potopu.*

(EÚB A 232/71, Javorník, 1942)

- [1. Adam danced with Adamica, / he hit her between her legs with a stick.
2. Abel and Cain began to dance too, / they would hit their lower backs with straw binders.
3. When the other Jews saw it, / they danced the Tajč and stank like polecats.
4. The old Noah squeezed his wife in a hurry/, and so God sent flood to Jews.]

11. These are songs written down roughly from the beginning of the 19th century to the 1970s. It is not always clear from the individual records whether the song was live repertoire at the time of its recording, or a song that the singer knew from youth. Nor is it always clear whether the song was one that had been popular for a short or long time. However, the many variants of some songs, their geographical reach, and their time span over which the individual entries fell all allow us to somewhat assess the universality of the representation of “the Other”. To clarify the time-frame, let us add that collectors recorded mainly the older and middle generations of singers. The mid-20th century records capture the repertoire of individuals born in the 1870s and 1880s.
12. EÚB stands for *Etnologický ústav Brno*, that is the Brno branch of the Institute of Ethnology of the Czech Academy of Sciences, where the song collection is housed.

*Poviztě mi, ludkově,
aj vaj, šulaj, šulaj dom,
co še stalo v Krakově,
aj vaj, šulaj, šulaj dom,
že se židek narodil,
hajdulu, hajdom,
hau, hau, hauhauhau,
cely Krakov zasmradžil,
hajdulu, hajdom,
hau, hau, hauhauhau,
narodžil se ve skrytě,
aj vaj, šulaj, šulaj dom,
se sviňami v korytě,
hajdulu, hajdom,
aj vaj, hauhauhau.*

(EÚB A 905/85, Klimkovice, 1954)

[Tell me, folks, / what happened in Krakow, / that a little Jew was born / and the whole of Krakow smelled of him, / he was born in a hiding place, / alongside sows in a trough.]

1. *Narodil se mladý švec,
tata pro ňho dělal klec,
že budě měť vtaka,
malého prtaka.*

2. *Narodila se mu cera,
smola se roztěkla
všecky šydla poskakaly
za ševcem do pekla.*

(EÚB A 1229/16, Štramberk, 1953)

- [1. A young shoemaker was born, / his father made a cage for him,
/ because he will have a bird, / a small cobbler.
2. His daughter was born, / the cobbler's wax started to melt, / all the prickers (tools)
jumped into hell / after the cobbler.]

1. *Martin Lutr, to by jeden zparchantilý kněz,
ten tu luteránskou víru po světě roznes.
Na rameně pytel nosí,
lutriány z něho trusí,
kudy šel, všudy sel lutriánský kněz, chachacha,
kudy šel, všudy sel lutriánský kněz.*

2. *Ten, když k nemocnému jede, fajku má v hubě,
s Pánem Bohem se stavuje v každé hospodě.
Gořalenku, pivo pije
a potom s holkú tancuje
a pak nemocného zaopatřuje, chachacha,
a pak nemocného zaopatřuje.*
3. *A když on se nažhral dosti, tak si chtěl zapít,
aby on měl zase lepší chuť zaopatřit.
V jedné ruce drží žbánek,
v druhé asi dvacet párek,
na krku jelita, to pro helvíta, chachacha,
na krku jelita, to pro helvíta.*
4. *A když on se nažhral dosti, tak šel mezi svý,
jaké tam zázraky dělal,
šak to každý ví:
trochu blůl, trochu srál, zázraky dělal, chachacha,
trochu blůl, trochu srál, zázraky dělal.*

(EÚB A 1073/4, Brumov, 1908)

- [1. Martin Luther, who was a bastardized priest, / he spread the Lutheran belief all around the world. / He carries a sack on his shoulder, / spreading Lutherans from it; / wherever the Lutheran priest went, he sowed.
2. When he goes to see a sick man, he has a pipe in his mouth / stopping in each tavern with his God. / He drinks liquor and beer / and then he dances with a girl / and then he takes care of the ill person.
3. And when he has eaten enough, he goes for a drink, / to feel better for taking care of others. / He holds a jug in one hand/ and about twenty sausages in the other, / to give to a Helvetic/ and string of blood sausages hang from his neck, / for a Helvetic.
4. And when he had eaten enough, / he went among his flock, / and what miracles he performed, / everybody knows: / he vomited a bit, he shat a bit, he performed miracles.]

There is another variant, just a fragment, which is an example of the process of variation and transformation of the song text in the folk singing tradition:

*Martin Lutr, to byl jeden zparchantělý kněz,
ten tu rotu loteránskou po světě roznes.
Kady šel, tady sel loteránský kmen.*

(EÚB A 688/10, Šubířov-Chobyně, 1951)

[Martin Luther, he was a bastardized priest, / he spread the Lutheran louts all over the world. / Everywhere he went he sowed the Lutheran tribe.]

The analysis of the material shows that the image of the Other was mainly related to a different denomination, but also to people who were considered unclean because of their profession: mainly shoemakers, processing the skins/hides of dead animals and using bristles from pigs. In the songs, we find the motif of the Other, as well as the diabolical. In the case of shoemakers/cobblers, hell and devils are very often mentioned, as are animals (animal origin or appearance, eating habits), and the impure.

1. *Když se první švec narodil,
tyjadrata, tyjadra,
hned se celý svět zarmoutil,
tyjadrata, tyjadra.
Ďáblové v pekle řvali
a peklo zavírali,
tyjadrata, tyjadra.*
2. *Dal sem si mu boty dělat',
on se mně počal vylouvat',
že on jich šít' nemože,
že nemá žádněj kože,...*
3. *A já zas naň sakra zostra,
že mosí být' dozajista,
a on se ně vymluví,
zas že nemá škuciny, ...*
4. *Běží sviňa po ulici,
švec na ni z okna vyskočí,
rukama drží svini
a zubama škuciny, ...*
5. *Když má švec kance potkati,
musí zasalutovati,
vítej, pane, králi náš,
ty nám škucinu dáváš,...*
6. *Když má švec býka potkati,
musí mu salutovati,
vítej, pane, králi náš,
ty nám kůžičku dáváš,...*

(EÚB A 127/p. 25, Pržno, 1907)

- [1. When the first cobbler was born, / the whole world mourned immediately. / Devils in hell were crying / and were closing hell.
2. I asked him to make my shoes, / he started to make excuses: / that he could not make them, / because he had no hide.
3. I replied sharply, / it had to be done, / and he made excuses: / that he had no bristles.
4. A sow runs along a street, / a cobbler jumps out of a window, / he holds the sow with his hands / and the bristles with his teeth.
5. If a cobbler should meet a boar, / he must salute: / Master, our king, welcome, / you provide us with bristles.
6. If a cobbler should meet a bull, / he must salute: / Master, our king, welcome, / you provide us with hide.]

*Na hoře v Táboře scípl tam vůl,
šli ševci na jarmark, vzali ho půl.
Přišli tam ševčíci, vzali plíce,
nadělali si z nich jitrnice.
Příběhla ševcová, vzala vocas,
měli ho do řepy na dlouhý čas.*

(Brtník 2004: 311, Pelhřimovsko)

[A bull died on the top of Tábor Mountain, / cobblers went to market, taking a half of it. / Young cobblers came there, they took away the lungs, / making sausages from it. / The cobbler's wife went there, / taking the tail, / serving it with beet root for quite a long time.]

*Odpusťte, švec umřel, kam duše přijde,
kdo mu na pohřeb půjde, zatracen bude.
Svíčky mu nedáme, není je hoden,
protože zašival škrámle od hoven.*

(EÚB A 1203/554, Velká Bíteš, 1938)

[Mercy! A cobbler has died; where will his soul go? / he who attends his funeral will be damned. / We won't give him any candles / because he repaired stained shoes.]

1. *Poslyšte, švec umřel, kam duše přijde,
bude mět očistec na suchej vrbě.*
2. *Na hrob mu nedáme žádné květiny,
protože trhával sviňám štětiny.*
3. *Na hrob mu nedáme také žádný kříž,
ať ho čert odnese do pekla si již.*

(EÚB A 1188/12, Otrokovice, 1964)

1. Come and listen, a cobbler has died; where will his soul go? / there will be purgatory for him on a dry willow.
2. We won't decorate his grave with flowers, / because he used to reap sow's bristles.
3. We won't put no cross on his grave either, / let the devil take him to hell now.]

In the folk songs of the Czech lands, most of the individual aspects of the Other are associated with the image of the Jew, but many song lyrics functioned as a kind of basic model into which various groups of the Other were inserted as needed:

*Žydek se nam narodil,
šulaj, šulaj, šulaj,
cele mjesto zasmradil,
šulaj, šulaj, šulaj.
Žydek se nam narodil,
aj vaj, rum pum pum,
cele mjesto zasmradil,
aj vaj, rum pum pum.*

(EÚB A 1229/19, Štramberk, 1951)

[A little Jew was born, / his foul smell has spread all over town.]

*Dyž se švec narodil,
brm, brm, brm, brm, brm, brm
cely svět se nad tym zhryzyl,
brm, brm, brm, brm, brm, brm
čertiska v pekle řvaly,
brm, brm, brm, brm, brm, brm
a vrata zavírali.*

(EÚB A 1229/15, Štramberk, 1952)

[When a cobbler was born / the whole world was shocked / devils in hell cried out / and closed the gates.]

*Sýkora se ohřebila
na krakovském mostě,
pět židů ta porodila
a šesté židovče.*

(Vyhlídal 1908: 70, Haná)

[A tit (bird) became pregnant, expecting stallions / at a Krakow bridge, / she gave birth to five Jews / and the sixth one was a little Jew.]

*Sviňa se nam oprasila,
bumadra, bumadra, bumadra, bum,
devět mladých ševcův měla,
bumadra, bumadra, bumadra, bum.
Dyby byli ševci v pořadku,
mohli by si ju vzyt' za matku,
holadra, holadra, holadra bum,
rydydy, rydydu, ve Vidňu dům.*

(EÚB A 1229/17, Štramberk, 1953)

[A sow was expecting young ones, / she gave birth to nine young cobblers. / If the cobblers were all right, / she could have been their mother. / Boom, boom, boom, a house in Vienna.]

The issue of political correctness in relation to folklore as part of cultural heritage is taking on new meanings today. The world is changing; we are more aware of the sensitivity of certain issues and are coming to terms with colonialism and orientalism. However, we mostly see them as the problem of others, not ours. We understand mocking songs about the Jewish minority as part of the folk tradition, but most of those who work with written folklore material are unaware of the historical context in which it was written. Consequently, they have no idea that the texts they present in the public reflect the anti-Semitism or anti-Judaism of our ancestors. To illustrate this, we have chosen several songs that make use of the hep, hep interjection. At first glance, this seemingly innocent word evokes the very similar word hop, hop, which in some songs could indeed have this meaning:

*Můj koníček, hep, hep, hep,
že já mosím odtud' jet,
ach, škoda, přeškoda,
mojich mladých let.*

(Peck 1884: č. 211)

[Hep, hep, hep, my little horse, / I am to leave this place, / oh pity, what a pity, / that my young years will be wasted.]

In songs reflecting the Jewish minority, however, it has a completely different meaning. The derisive shouts of *hep, hep* are related to the wave of anti-Jewish violence that rose in the German states between 1819 and 1831; they were called the hep-hep riots (Peters 2012: 210). Nowadays, they are named after this very phrase and listed in encyclopaedias (*Die Hep-Hep-Krawalle* in German). The causes of the riots were quite complex; they were rooted in the social and economic position of Germany at the beginning of the 19th century. They were one of the reactions to the process of Jewish emancipation.¹³ Opinions on the origin of the term vary. Some scholars believe that it was an acronym from the medieval Crusaders' shout [in Latin], *Hierosolyma est perdita* (Jerusalem is lost). Another hypothesis assumes that it was originally a herding-cattle call. According to Joseph Jacobs, author of the entry *Hep! Hep!* listed in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1906), the Grimm brothers in their dictionary derive the word *hep* from *Hab! Hab!* a herding call to animals, especially goats, used in dialect in the Bavarian district of Franconia. The Grimms suggest that it was applied to Jews because of their beards. Jacobs further states that the term *hep* had since become a synonym for an outbreak against the Jews (Jacobs 1906: 351). The term can be found in many literary texts. Here is an example from the Czech context: "The derisive shout of hep-hep [by mobs] accompanied them [the Jews] through the streets, and if even the last vagabond thought of it, he could force a Jew to greet him by saying the phrase 'mach mores Jud'.'" (Teytz 1902: 124) The full article was printed in the *Czech-Jewish Calendar* and was devoted to the position of the Jews in Europe, and especially in Germany in the 18th and 19th centuries. The fact that the *hep* interjection was widespread in the Czech lands and functioned as a mocking expression is evidenced not only by periodicals of the time, but also by literary sources concerning life in the countryside. In a book on the life and work of the priest and collector Jindřich Šimon Baar (1869–1925),

13. Cf. "Hep! Hep!" *Jewish Virtual Library. A Project of AICE* [online] [accessed July 20, 2022]. Available at: <<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/hep-hep>>.

we read a recollection of Baar on the coexistence of the Christian majority and the Jewish minority. There Baar remembers the young son of a Jewish merchant: the boy had nice toys, but he was not allowed to lend them to other children. They took revenge on him by shouting at him: “Hep! Hep! Hep! The Jew bakes bread, the Jewess bakes cakes, the Jew is in tears because he only made bread. Hep, hep!” (Teplý 1937: 41) In the folk tradition, this very text also functioned as a song. With a mocking function, the *hep* interjection can be found in several other folk songs:

*Holešovský Abrhám,
počké, žide, já ti dám,
já ti, já ti, já ti dám,
já ti hlavu otrhám.
Hep, hep, hep!*

(EÚB A 776/4, Kojetín, 1952)

[Abraham from Holešovice, / just you wait, Jew, just you wait, / I will pick off your head. / Hep, hep, hep!]

*Žide, hep, hep, hep,
vem si kůžky na chrabet
a běž s nima do Rakús,
tam ti dajú chleba kus.*

(Bartoš 1888: 126)

[You Jew, hep, hep, hep! / put your hides in your backpack / and off you go to Austria,
/ they will give you a hunk of bread.]

*Šelma, šelma, šelma žid,
chtěl on děvče ošidit,
nechtěla ho panna žádná,
že je černý jako vrana,
hep, hep, hep, chajdrnaj.*

(Bartoš 1889: č. 771)

[A crafty bloke this Jew, / he wanted to cheat on a girl, / no maiden wanted to have him,
/ because he was black as a crow, / hep, hep, hep.]

*Hep, hep, hep, hep,
Pinkas se vztek,
Pinkaska taky,
oba se vztekali,
aj, vaj.*

(Neruda 1921: 237)

[Hep, hep, hep, hep, / Pinkas was angry, /his wife Pinkaska was angry too, / they both were angry.]

Nevertheless, the reflection of the Jewish minority in folklore texts is also related to the Christian view of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, which Jews were blamed for in the past. This view can be found in the sacred songs disseminated through hymn books and chapbooks, from where they often entered folk culture. For example, folk texts associated with the custom of chasing Judas are typical, and have been preserved as a living tradition at Easter time.

*Klekání zvoníme,
Jidáše honíme.
Jidáši, Jidáši,
cos to učinil,
žes našeho Mistra
Židům prozradil?
Teďko za to musíš
v pekle hořeti,
s Luciperem d'ablem
tam přebývati.*

[We ring the angelus bell, / we chase Judas. / Judas, Judas, / what have you done, / that you have revealed our Master / to the Jews? / For this, you must now/ burn in hell/ dwell there/ with Lucifer the devil.]

*Poledne zvóníme,
Idáša hóníme.
Židé nevěrní
jako psi černý,
kopali jámu Ježíši Pánu,
aby ho jali, ukřížovali,
na Velký pátek do hrobu dali,
na Bílou sobotu zas vykopali.*

*Za to budeš, ty Idášu,
v pekle d'áblem
až na věky věků
– Amen.*

(Frolcová 2001: 119)

[We ring the bell at noon, / we chase Judas. / The infidel Jews, / as black as dogs, / they dig a hole for Lord Jesus, / to capture him, to crucify him, / to put him in a grave on Good Friday, / take him out of it on White Saturday. / For it, Judas, you will be / a devil in hell / forever and ever.]

The subject of Jewish (or anti-Jewish) issues can also be found in dance songs and dances. Dances named the Jew, the Jewess or the Jewish exist in numerous regional and local folklore editions not only in the Czech Republic, but throughout Central Europe. They are perceived as jocular dances. In his treatise *Czech National Dances*, Czech writer Jan Neruda (1834–1891) notes already in 1859:

“I will comment on The Jew (The Jewish). The gestures in this dance are often rather strange, and our simple national aestheticians would say quite indecent; but I cannot condemn the dance, knowing full well the rights which the people with their exuberance can give themselves. In similar cases, one must simply notice this: a little eccentricity, a little indecency (but only according to salon views) [are to be accepted]; as well as quite a lot of humour—after all, these are merely minor national dances.” (Neruda 1921: 236)

However, Neruda’s commentary continues with an even more substantial message:

“What is sadder is that this dance often reveals, for the most part, the unreasonable resentment of our people against the Jews, a resentment which everywhere testifies to education [of the majority] on a rather low level.” (Ibid.)

It can be concluded that the line between humour and xenophobia in relation to cultural stereotypes was very thin, even at the time of the 19th century national movement. After all, Neruda himself later became the author of the anti-Jewish text *For Fear of the Jews* (1870). The nature of his anti-Semitism and the reasons that led him to it have been debated to this day (Frankl 2014: 434–449).

Folk tradition was never rigid; it responded to changes in the cultural and social contexts, evolving together with its bearers. Some elements disappeared, others changed—their importance declining; expressions originally associated with the adult repertoire became part of children’s folklore, and others moved from the ceremonial level to the sphere of entertainment. Furthermore, the representative function and stage presentation of certain expressions of folk culture gained importance from the end of the 19th century. However, the efforts to preserve selected elements of folk tradition brought about a fundamental break in its natural development. Expressions that had already disappeared were reconstructed and revived through printed editions of folk material and ethnographic literature, as well as through the activities of numerous representatives of culture, and the increasingly institutionalised folklore movement. Some manifestations of folk culture were attributed to a function that did not always correspond to the role that they played in their original existence. In the attempt to save “national” culture, the transformation of the rural areas of the country was not considered in either economic, social, religious, or demographic terms. Today, the former loss of the original social context and meaning raises questions that not only the public but also scholars have failed to acknowledge for years. Indeed, those who today interpret folk songs, dances, and other elements of folk tradition in the mass media or on stage, drawing on collections assembled since the 19th century, are often ignorant of their original meaning or function. For many expressions, this may not matter, but in the context of cultural stereotypes, it is controversial.

The folklore text makes no distinction when it comes to the depiction of “the Other,” and measures everyone almost equally. However, in today’s world, a mocking song about shoemakers, whose craft in the traditional form has almost disappeared, cannot be viewed in the same way as the song’s almost identical version about members of the Jewish minority, not to mention jocular songs with anti-Semitic motifs. Indeed, intangible cultural heritage, as it is understood and defined by UNESCO, is also linked in official documents to the protection of human rights and the principles

of mutual respect among communities, groups, and individuals.¹⁴ The current era of political correctness has thus opened an issue in folklore studies which, although latently existing, has not yet been analysed from this perspective. Let us repeat that cultural stereotypes are primarily indicative of their bearers. Academic literature suggests that in the 19th century in the USA, negative stereotypical views of Jews were like those in Europe because they were brought to the country by Protestant and Catholic immigrants¹⁵ (Rockaway–Gutfeld 2001: 357).

Even though especially the Holocaust changed these negative ideas (as did other events of the 20th century), we continue to pass them on in the legacy of cultural heritage in specific folkloric expressions. It is clear, therefore, that the preservation of folk tradition in connection with the concept of cultural heritage and with the accentuated values of today's society may not always be in harmony with each other. It is obvious that people who perform traditional folk songs on stage today are often not aware of this problem. This is evidenced by the fact that one of the variants of the folk song “Hep, hep, hep, the Jew bakes bread” was recorded this year [2022] by one of the Czech folk ensembles. When present day performers are aware of the problematic nature of folk material, they apply a certain degree of censorship, just as previous generations have done for various reasons. A fitting example of this is the utterance of one of the actors of the folklore revival in the

14. Cf. Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. *UNESCO* [online] [accessed July 16, 2022]. Available at: <<https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>>. Cf. also Methodological Instruction for the Maintenance of the List of Intangible Assets published on the website of the Ministry of Culture: “For the purposes of this methodological instruction, only intangible cultural heritage compatible with legal norms relating to human rights, including rights and obligations arising from international legal instruments to which the Czech Republic is a party, relating to intellectual property rights and the use of biological and ecological resources, as well as with the principles of mutual respect among communities, groups and individuals, and sustainable development shall be taken into account.” Available at: <<https://www.mkcr.cz/seznam-nematerialnich-statku-tradicni-lidove-kultury-ceske-republiky-299.html>>.
15. “Over 10 million immigrants arrived in the United States between 1820 and 1880, most from Germany and Ireland, including 200,000 Jews.” (Rockaway–Gutfeld 2001: 357).

Hornácko region. He commented on the adaptation of the lyrics of the traditional folk song *Javorinko šedá* (“The Gray Javorinka”) about the murder of a Jewish merchant on the Moravian-Slovak border.¹⁶ In an interview also concerning his participation in the filming of an episode of the folklore television program, the actor states:

“...in the ballad ‘The Gray Javorinka’ the lyrics go: ‘When they killed him/, they covered him with leaves /, there you will lie /, Hey, ho, you nasty Jew.’ This seems so harsh to us, almost inhuman, racist; instead, we sing ‘Hey, no more will you go from Hungary to Moravia’.” (Vrba 2012)

(translation Irena Přibyllová)

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16. For this modified version of the song, see the television program *New Czech Legends* from the *Folklorika* series. Premiere on Czech Television June 16, 2012. Available at: <<https://www.ceskatelevize.cz/porady/1102732990-folklorika/312295350120013/>>.

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Summary

The article explores folk songs written down in what is present-day Czech Republic from roughly the beginning of the 19th century to the 1970s. It shows how song lyrics were treated in the past when they did not conform to the social conventions, aesthetics, ethical ideals, and patriotic goals of the time. When such songs were written down by collectors, their lyrics were often modified, some parts being omitted, others changed. This practice was followed from the early 19th century until the fall of the communist totalitarian regime in 1989. At present, these authentic folk song lyrics seem non-controversial by some performers, but many lyrics are far from it. One of the components of tradition is social memory, which is associated with cultural stereotypes—the generally fixed ideas that people have about themselves and members of different groups. These “Others” are usually members of a different ethnicity, religion, or social class. Their image in folklore involves certain ideas, ideological views, evaluative attitudes, and historical experience. Using the example of otherness, which in Czech folk songs is mainly associated with the negative image of members of the Jewish minority, the paper shows the possible results of misunderstanding the historical context: the anti-Semitic motifs of some older songs and dances presented in public may not be evident to those who perform them today.

Key words: Folk song lyrics; cultural stereotypes; phenomenon of otherness; political correctness; censorship; Czech folk tradition; anti-Semitism in folklore.