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## THE REPRESENTATION OF JEWS IN THE *COLLECTED WORKS* OF OSKAR KOLBERG<sup>1</sup>

The presence of Jews over the centuries on Polish soil has implied mutual contacts between the local population and the Jewish communities. Certain peculiarities of the Mosaic religion undoubtedly affected the relations between these two groups. These relationships evolved differently in cities, where life developed in a more anonymous manner, and in the countryside, especially in those areas where Jews formed the majority of the population. Another factor which made his integration process more difficult was the *differentiation* existing within the Jewish culture itself. The knowledge of religion, customs and language of this ethnic group developed in various levels. It helped in shaping a particular stereotype, on which later ideologies were to be founded. Despite the fact that Jews isolated themselves from the rest of the society as dictated by their religious norms, and the unfavouring Christian legislative laws with respect to foreigners, certain traces of mutual contacts remained. This can be particularly observed in Polish local customs, in traditions or what can widely termed as folklore. This has already been carefully studied and developed by Olga Goldberg – Mulkiewicz and Alina Cała.<sup>2</sup> Olga Goldberg-Mulkiewicz<sup>3</sup> in various articles discussed Polish and Jewish relations in the Polish countryside. A primary source for the author are the Works of Oskar Kolberg. She particularly studies the question of how the Jewish stereotype evolved, in which circumstances it developed, and which elements of the Jewish culture were particularly noticed by the Christian population and later helped in forming the stereotype of Jews. Both authors based their hypothesis on Oskar Kolberg's works: *People. Their customs, way of living, language, legends, proverbs, rituals, tastes, forms of entertainment, songs, music and dances*.<sup>4</sup> However, no monographic study of his monumental work has ever been made.<sup>5</sup> This work is only

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<sup>1</sup> Oskar Kolberg (1814–1890) – musicologist and ethnographer. Meticulously educated in the fields of Music Theory and Composition, a bookkeeper by profession, fascinated with popular culture often traveling to other parts of the former Republic compiling material on folkloric culture. This he all published in his most important work, *Lud. Jego zwyczaje, sposób życia, mowa, podania, przysłowia, obrzędy, gusła, zabawy, pieśni, muzyka i tańce*. An acclaimed and diligent scholar, who belonged to various Academic Societies both in Poland and in abroad.

<sup>2</sup> A. Cała, *Wizerunek Żyda w polskiej kulturze ludowej*, Warszawa 2005, the book was based on material gathered in the years 1975–1978 and 1984 in the South-Eastern part of Poland. The English version of the book is: A. Cała, *The Image of The Jew in Polish Folk Culture*, Jerusalem 1995.

<sup>3</sup> O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, "»Obcy« w obrzędzie weselnym," *Literatura Ludowa* 22 (2), 1978, pp. 48–57; eadem, *The Stereotype of the Jew in Polish Folklore* (Studies in Aggadah and Jewish Folklore), Jerusalem 1983, pp. 83–94; eadem, "Kontakty polsko-żydowskie w kulturze ludowej Podlasia," *Studia Podlaskie*, vol. II, Białystok 1989, pp. 148–158.

<sup>4</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dzieła wszystkie*, Warszawa 1961–1976.

<sup>5</sup> If should be mentioned that J. Tokarska-Bakir wrote a paper about the ritual murder in Kolberg's work (*Żydzi u Kolberga*, in: *Rzeczy mgliste*, Sejny 2004, pp. 49–72).

limited to volumes 5 (part one) volume 6 (part II), volume 7 (part III) volume 8 (part IV) which is devoted to Krakow and volume 60 which contains various proverbs.

The series devoted to Krakow is – according to Kolberg – the one that contains the most information in *People....* Kolberg initially wanted to limit himself to three volumes, but after much modification and investigation, he finally compiled everything in four volumes. It is worth stressing, that the author made careful preparations and compilations of all the information he had gathered. He not only consulted manuscripts written by contemporary authors, but also made careful study of texts written by early Krakowians such as Ambroży Grabowski and Józef Mączyński. He not only studied contemporary Polish culture, but likewise tried to study how this culture evolved through the centuries.<sup>6</sup>

Oskar Kolberg clearly describes himself to nineteenth-century ethnic investigations.<sup>7</sup> The nineteenth century was the time when the idea of a nation and national consciousness emerged. It was the time when the idea that it was the countryside culture which defined the nation was willingly accepted by the Polish intelligentsia.<sup>8</sup> Various investigations on the rich country traditions and rituals, customs, beliefs and superstitions were made, precisely because it was strongly held that it was in all this traditional culture that the essence of Polish culture was preserved. To such enthusiasts belonged Joachim Lelewel, Tadeusz Czacki, Hugo Kołłątaj, Zorian Dołęga Chodakowski.<sup>9</sup> But it was Oskar Kolberg's investigations which significantly revolutionized all this. He devoted his works to the areas which he himself frequented. He dedicated himself entirely to this task, sometimes even at the cost of his own obligations! It can be easily observed that Kolberg limited himself to the criteria which were laid out by his predecessors, thus limiting himself to the Polish population and thus leaving out exact descriptions of the folklore and customs of the national minorities to which the Jewish population belonged to. Kolberg wrote everything which concerned Polish traditions, thanks to which we are able to acquaint ourselves with the stereotypical observations of Jewish culture made by the Polish peasants. A stereotype is not an exact reflection of reality, but only "a description of the subject coloured with an emotional evaluation" thus giving a subjective image of the world. Thanks to that, an individual is able to situate himself in the world and in a particular social group. This simplified and schematic vision of the world is often "an obstacle in the interpersonal communication processes within a particular ethnic group, particularly when it comes to communication between various ethnic groups."<sup>10</sup> One cannot expect a faithful illustration of the Jewish people, for Kolberg did not conduct any systematic study of the believers of the Mosaic Law. It seems that Kolberg believed in the false image of the Jewish population.<sup>11</sup> For the Jews were like the backdrop of essential events which

<sup>6</sup> R. Górski, *Oskar Kolberg. Zarys życia i działalności*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 165–167.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 37.

<sup>8</sup> S. Lam, *Oskar Kolberg. Żywot i praca*, Lwów 1914, p. 7.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup> J. Bartmiński, J. Panasiuk, *Stereotypy językowe*, in: J. Bartmiński (ed.), *Współczesny język polski. Encyklopedia kultury polskiej XX wieku*, vol. II, Wrocław, p. 386.

<sup>11</sup> See O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 16, part I: Lubelskie, footnote on page 121. Kolberg mentions Jewish feasts quoting after S.Z. Sierpinski: "This people, and particularly those in Poland, conducted the same way of living; they did not differ in anything, in their customs, always and in everything scheming, disorderly, and untidy. (...) Easter. They were heavily preoccupied with maca (that is with the baking of maca to which they added,

took place amongst the Polish people, not essential enough to have an entire chapter devoted to them alone.

In the geographical description of Krakow, Kolberg mentions Kazimierz as the main area which the Jewish people have inhabited since 1477.<sup>12</sup> According to his observations, most Jews were either tailors, horse-keepers or tavern owners. The figure of Jews as moneylenders often appeared in Polish folklore as the so-called *harendarz* as opposed to its Polish equivalent known as *karczmarz*.<sup>13</sup> “The bearded and courteous Jew waiting by the doors” of the tavern greeted entering guests. The fact that this profession was common among the Jews was probably the basis of the then popular saying that it was the Jews that “made the nation drunk.” In a popular nineteenth century song entitled *The Hellish Quarters* the anonymous author observes:

Vodka happily lived among Jews,  
It was them, who the people longed for,  
Entertaining men and women,  
Asking them to drink more.<sup>14</sup>

The custom of assuming different characters, in a form of a simple play, including that of depicting Jewish money-lenders in social gatherings so as to entertain everyone was quite common. It was mostly common in games during the New Year’s carnival when snow sleigh races were organized. The young gentry often enacted scenes which parodied Krakowian wedding receptions. A very important character in these plays was the Jewish moneylender accompanied by his wife. The “actor” played the role of the jester who entertained the participants of the snow sleigh races by arguing with the Jewish highlander and with who he later reconciles with in the end, after it turns out that they were in fact relatives who made trade negotiations together.<sup>15</sup> The same lender was also a very good financier and jester. Kolberg observes that this was a very important role, which when played well, helped in entertaining the guests in various ways.<sup>16</sup>

An interesting representation of Jews can be likewise found in Polish liturgical and popular carols. In popular Christmas plays various characters such as gypsies, Hungarians, Mazurians, highlanders appear, but it was the Jews who had a more complex character. Aside from its obvious entertaining functions, the presence of Jews in Christmas plays helped to recall ancient myths and legends often connected with the pre-Christian relations with the Jews. The appearance of the rabbi in the conversation with Herod actually helped in the re-enactment of this myth.<sup>17</sup> In these plays, Jews were often represented in conversation with Herod, who as Konopka says (quoted in Kolberg): “King Herod listened to his clever Jewish interlocutor.”<sup>18</sup>

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according to an ancient recipe, a drop of a Christian’s blood. (...) During a full moon, they would pray to the moon by the Cross outside.”

<sup>12</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 5: *Krakowskie*, Warszawa 1962, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 167.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 347.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 257.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 259.

<sup>17</sup> O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, *Postać Żyda...*, op.cit., p. 114.

<sup>18</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 5, part II: *Krakowskie*, Warszawa 1962, p. 198.

“The learned rabbi” was supposed to give the King advice and explain the signs which accompanied the coming of the Messiah and helped the King to prepare the banquet. The rabbi himself conversed with the King unwillingly for it was the King who killed the sons of Abraham but warned Herod that the Messiah will come to punish the King Herod for the evil that he had done!<sup>19</sup>

Another scene depicted a Jew with a shepherd. The shepherd tries to convince the Jew to pay homage to the newborn King. At first the Jew is unable to believe the shepherd („But such a great king? Such a great king? Be damned, you shepherd!”), and refuses to leave (“I will not go, I will not go, for I do not want to”), later admitting that he saw the Wise Men paying homage to the Child, for it was he who sold myrrh and frankincense to them. In the end the Jew admits that he has not yet understood the “little God” and himself still adores the old God, “as he is accustomed to.” The contrast between these two characters is emphasized by the manner they conduct their dialogue. The shepherd sings his lines, while the Jew answers in his broken Polish.<sup>20</sup>

An usual part of the repertoire was a Jewish dance in which the male partners shake his beard and locks saying: “Now the Jew will dance, for the devil has hidden the king, aj waj taj daj dom, aj waj taj daj dom! And will dance from the Hebrew, Jewish Cracovian , aj waj taj daj dom, aj waj taj daj dom!”<sup>21</sup>

Actors used typical elements of dress and language commonly associated with Jews. The black coat, long beard and locks (which were especially exposed while dancing), the stumbling and poor use of the Polish language and use of Polish words in a peculiar manner often unintelligible for Poles, such as “aj, waj, mir etc.” was meant to remind the audience elements of Jewish behaviour already familiar to the locals of the village.

These scenes often ended with a Jewish dance, a small fight or the entering of the Devil who took the Jew to hell: “Come, my dear and beloved Abraham, come to my school, and I will make you drink sweet wine of tar”.<sup>22</sup> A similar fate awaited Twardowski, the sorcerer and wandering Merchant.

Jews were not only protagonists in plays enacted on important feast days, but were also often mentioned in popular carols:

On his way to school, a young Jew  
found a pouch of money,  
Sulir bulir, off he went,  
found a pouch of money  
and with the money he found,  
bought himself a doughnut  
sulir bulir off he went.

Oftentimes, songs in their name were sung:

My dear brothers, what have you done?  
You had killed two young Jews by Krzanow.  
And a third one by the Baranowski pine tree,  
Shooting their heads off.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 225.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 212.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 361.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 214.

Ach wej mir, bim, bum!  
 Neither will the deed go unpunished,  
 Nor will Leibes allowed to the Sabbath  
 Ach wej mir, bim, bum!

As has been mentioned earlier, the use of costumes for local village presentations was very popular in Polish folklore. In traditional ceremonies which followed the wedding where the bride ceremoniously substituted her bridal head wreath with one which signified her acceptance of the domestic responsibilities, gypsies or Jewish ladies pretended to be witches. Kolberg observes that those who had assumed these roles often made use of various movements and gestures typically associated with the aforementioned ethnic groups. As in snow sleigh races or Christmas plays, these little acts or plays often helped to entertain the guests.

At this point, one may raise the following question: What was the purpose of these plays or sketches? Did they serve any other purpose other than of entertainment? The Jews, despite their century-old presence on the Poland soil, were to a certain respect a foreign community which differed from the Polish community because of their ethnical, religious or traditional differences. Judaism is a religion rich in rituals which regulated the most ordinary tasks of the day. Orthodox Jews who lived on Polish soil, did not have the chance to integrate themselves precisely because of the rules and rituals mentioned earlier (such as the obligation of consuming kosher products only, which made common get-togethers difficult). It is worth noting that in popular culture, being a "stranger" had a particular meaning. Along with the Jews, there were other social groups equally considered as stranger. They included gypsies, tartars, blacksmiths, priests and lords. These peoples were often treated on the peripheries of the mainstream culture and were often treated with a certain dose of fear and pious devotion in clearly outlined situations.<sup>23</sup> The saying "A guest at home is to have God at home" attested to the religious preoccupation accompanying the fact of having foreigners.<sup>24</sup> This was because it was often difficult to say who they really were, and what powers that had at their disposal. Their presence was thus very crucial in all important family gatherings including Christmas plays and weddings.<sup>25</sup> The appearance of a Jew particularly that of the actor playing this part, had a symbolic character because it was his obligation to close the old year and open the new one. At this important turning point, the presence of the foreigner was often necessary. The celebration of liturgical practices served to warn not only the local community of the potential danger that comes with the transition from the old to the new year!<sup>26</sup> A group's self-identification often involved the necessity to face other opposing neighboring groups, who were likewise foreigners. It of course necessary to find ways to deal with this foreign and often threatening group. This was often done by smiling or mimicking of facial expressions which anticipated those that logically followed on confronting something threatening or dangerous.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>23</sup> R. Otto, *Świętość*, Warszawa 1968, pp. 30–107.

<sup>24</sup> Z. Benedyktowicz, "»Gość w dom, Bóg w dom« i obcy jako bogowie," *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* 1987, p. 189.

<sup>25</sup> O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, "»Obcy« w obrzędzie weselnym," *Literatura Ludowa*, no. 2, 1978; eadem, "Postać Żyda w teatrze obrzędowym okresu Bożego Narodzenia," *Prace Etnograficzne*, vol. 34, 1996.

<sup>26</sup> A. Cała, *Wizerunek...*, op.cit., p. 125.

<sup>27</sup> Z. Benedyktowicz, *Portrety "obcego"*, Kraków 2000, p. 181.

The figure of the Jew was likewise common in rituals commemorating spring and Easter, hence in what constituted an important turn of important events when nature comes to life. All forms of symbolic rituals, such as in the Christmas carols and plays, were to ensure a a bounty harvest and abundance at home. Saying farewell to the old year and to all the difficulties that it had brought and the coming of the new year was often commemorated by the custom of “drowning Judas.” In Krakow, for instance, boys would often drag a puppet symbolizing Judas, bring it high up to the Church tower, and throwing it from there “would hit it hard with a thick rope until it was completely destroyed.”<sup>28</sup> Kolberg however, attests that this was not a very popular custom. On the other hand, a Jew was a kind of guarantee of religious events which rightfully belonged to the chosen people.<sup>29</sup> Kolberg for instance mentions an Easter song which accompanied the decoration of the Easter lamb with evergreens and bells (the so-called Easter *Traczyk*):

And we woke up,  
 Early in the morning,  
 And as were collecting roses  
 We saw  
 Three young Jewish boys (bis)  
 I asked one of them  
 If they have seen  
 The Son of God  
 And they answered that they have.  
 He was in the Church,  
 On the Cross, they replied  
 Holding the Easter banner.<sup>30</sup>

The custom of throwing water on one another on Easter Monday was believed to have evolved in two ways. First, it was said to have originated from Jerusalem “where those who talked about the Risen Lord were thrown water on, so that they may cease talking about such useless stories.”<sup>31</sup> Kolberg also observes certain similarities which united both cultures. One such custom was the custom of eating eggs as part of funeral rites. In Krakow, it was celebrated (and continues to be done so) on the third day after Easter Sunday, when on the Krakus’s tomb, “people ate hard-boiled eggs, apples, ginger bread and potatoes.” Kolberg quoting after Łepkowski, notes that a similar custom was practised among the Jews during funeral rites.<sup>32</sup> In both cultures, Pentecost other wise known as the “Green Feast” was celebrated on days quite close to each other. It was the custom them to decorate the house abundantly with branches of green leaves!<sup>33</sup>

Most of the collection devoted to Krakow also includes songs which Kolberg himself collected, being a well-known expert and connoisseur.<sup>34</sup> Songs such as “On the Jews” which had a more comical note can be found in this collection. In these songs

<sup>28</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 6, Warszawa 1962, p. 279.

<sup>29</sup> O. Goldberg-Mulkiewicz, “Postać Żyda...,” op.cit., p. 112.

<sup>30</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 5, p. 284.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 189.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 290.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 292.

<sup>34</sup> R. Górski, *Oskar Kolberg...*, op.cit., p. 74.

certain features of Jewish character, such as the lack of organization amongst the Jewish population, funny sayings, their poor use of Polish, and their stinginess. According to Benedyktowicz, Jews were often represented as “mad, abnormal, or stupid.”<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, they have always been perceived as appealing because of their difference. In folktales this can be seen in the story which tells of the King Casimir and of his Jewish mistress Esther, who on hearing of the monarch’s “infidelity”<sup>36</sup> committed suicide.<sup>37</sup>

Another barrier to local relations included religion. Jews were often heavily criticized because of their religion. It was believed that they were not too bad, until “they betrayed Christ.”<sup>38</sup> Kolberg quotes in his notes annexed to the popular version of the Old Testament the following explanation: “the future betrayers of Christ descended from those Jews who adored the Golden Calf on Mount Sinai.”<sup>39</sup> In hell, according to popular tradition – in the “cave”, Jews were to be found along with the unbaptised souls or the unbelieving Christians.”<sup>40</sup> The legend says that they preferred to go to the “cave” than to purgatory, because it was not so hot there. It was there (in the hell) that they preferred to await the Messiah, but as an old adage says, “it is only for the last judgement that they are waiting for.”<sup>41</sup> Before that day comes, “Lucifer’s son with a seventy-year old Jewish woman will be born, and he will be named Yawtichrist and will come into the world with this teeth.”<sup>42</sup>

Not even the change of religion guaranteed a better future, for converts were often suspected of practicing the rituals of their Fathers. In an old wedding song, the young man confesses:

I do not want a Pre-Christian,  
Of Jewish descent,  
For she will surely steal away  
All the garlic in the garden.<sup>43</sup>

In a similar way, as the old proverb says, “A baptised Jew, a domesticated wolf, an unwilling servant – of no worth.”<sup>44</sup> On the other hand, stories were often told about certain converted Israelites. One such story tells the fate of a “wealthy tradesman Schmul”, who apparently promised the young teacher of his children, that he will receive baptism on the condition that the teacher becomes a bishop. When it happened as told, the bishop “ordered the Jew to be baptized and a church be built on Schmulenski Street, which later evolved to Smolensk Street.”<sup>45</sup>

Not much is known of the Jewish religious feasts, especially those religious rites related to everyday life. Common knowledge was limited to what could be externally

<sup>35</sup> Z. Benedyktowicz, *Portrety “obcego”*..., op.cit., p. 178.

<sup>36</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 5, p. 187.

<sup>37</sup> A. Cala, *Wizerunek*..., op.cit., p. 59.

<sup>38</sup> K. Kubiak, “Wyróżniki obcości w bajce białoruskiej; cechy boskie i diabelskie »swego« i »obcego»,” *Etnografia Polska* 23 (2), 1979, pp. 185–193.

<sup>39</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 7, Warszawa 1962, p. 16.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 21.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 27.

<sup>43</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 6, p. 137.

<sup>44</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 60, Warszawa 1962, p. 533.

<sup>45</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 5, p. 24.

observed. For instance, it was well-known that Saturday, the day of Sabbath, was the most important day of the week! However, the manner of praying, the language, and gestures was often unintelligible, even mysterious and comical: “they shriek like Jews in a synagogue.”<sup>46</sup> Their piety and diligence was also widely heard of: “He studies like a Jew with his Talmud.”<sup>47</sup>

Finally, it is worth mentioning another popular stereotype, actually that of two of them, the one about the rich Jew and the poor Jew: „In poverty run to a Jew,”<sup>48</sup> “A lord or a Jew is not a great loss, for the lord will always remain a lord, and the Jew, a Jew.”<sup>49</sup> The fact that Jews often occupied themselves with occupations concerned with money transactions helped in forming this particular stereotype, but their legendary wealth, accumulated through their frugality and even stinginess helped in strengthening this popular conviction: “Let us love each other as brothers, but pay our debts as Jews,”<sup>50</sup> “Each Pole is a Stanisław, every Jew a money lender.”<sup>51</sup> Popular convictions often reflected Jews as the figures of negative connotations. Jews were often characterized as longing for money, gold and other material goods which unfortunately not always ended well. Jews were often believed to have cheated in demanding interests, and did not often observe a sense of honour like those of the Polish gentry: “Jews always take advantage of everything, for honour is an indifferent matter for them for indeed what matters alone is that he may fill his pouch.”<sup>52</sup> It was for this reason that people often avoided entering in partnership with Jews. Folktales speak of how peasants took advantage of the naïveté and greed for money typical of Jews although they were not always successful.<sup>53</sup> Curiously enough, when advice on financial matters was needed, people often sought a Jewish money lender’s advice!

In Oskar Kolberg’s letters, one can often find information reflecting his personal affiliation to Polish culture. This can be particularly noticed in his works on the Poznan series. In a letter to B. Moraczewska he wrote: “the only real achievement that we can speak of is to save our land with our own hands, and not to lose it for Jews or Germans so easily.”<sup>54</sup> The author also tries to be detached from his compilation. Sometimes one can find personal commentaries in relation to the rituals, traditions and convictions which he describes. This can be observed in the case of the snow sleigh races and the “fine role” played by the actor mimicking the Jew! No corrections or rectifications were made in the fragments dealing with Jews. Perhaps this was because Kolberg knew that his role was limited to the faithful description of what the people believed in and how they did so. As I have already mentioned earlier, the protagonist of Kolberg’s compilation was the Polish folk, while Jews often appeared as an observation aside. However, their presence was very crucial, for without them the society, in all its cultural richness, could not have existed. Sometimes Jews may appear as negative characters: naive, poor, dirty and scheming. At other times they are depicted in a more

<sup>46</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 60, p. 533.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 533.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 16.

<sup>49</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 5, p. 118.

<sup>50</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 60, p. 33.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibidem*, s. 330.

<sup>52</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 8, Warszawa 1962, p. 191.

<sup>53</sup> *Gadka cudowna: O panu, żydźcie i zuchwałym Wojtku*, in: O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 8, pp. 188–197.

<sup>54</sup> O. Kolberg, *Dziela wszystkie*, vol. 65, Warszawa 1962, p. 627.



positive light, by highlighting their wisdom, richness, shrewdness and piety. Those who are perceived as strangers are a constant part of popular folk culture. And it reflects the mutual, though far from ideal, relations between both ethnic groups.

Translated by Clarinda E. Calma

