that I will always be grateful. When I arrived in this country, they sent me to a hostel in Leeds. My late brother and the late Jack Hammond were prefects, as they were older then me. But when War broke out they were sent to Peel on the Isle of Man where they were interned. At that time I was too old to go to school and too young to go into the Army. So they asked me what kind of trade I would like to learn and I said I would like to be come a motor mechanic. No, they said that was work of national importance. So they gave me a list of different occupations and told me to choose one. I could become a tailor, a barber, a gardener and so on. I chose to become a tailor and that I was did until I retired last year. But that is not the end of my story.

After one year in Leeds, I left for London. There I became a waiter in a Lyons Corner House. The blitz in London was in full swing, I wanted to join the Army but I was told I had to wait until I was 18 years old. The only Regiment I could join was the Pioneer Corps, otherwise known as 'The Alien Battalion'.

I landed in France 14 days after D Day at Aramance in Normandy. It was hard work laying the roads for the tanks to drive on. We were told to find big stones and we did so but, to our surprise, we saw two nuns running around and shouting at us. At first, we did not know why but when we later found out that the stones we were using came from a bombed Convent we had to take them all back. When bending down I slipped a disk in my back. I was sent back to the UK on a hospital ship.

At that time, I did not know if my parents were alive or dead. All the mail I sent through the Red Cross came back. Now after the liberation of Belgium, a friend of mine with whom I had shared a room in the hostel in Leeds, saw many pictures of my father. This friend, who was in the Parachute Regiment, had over heard a conversation in which the name Goldberg was mentioned. He looked around and went over to the gentleman and asked him if he had a son called David. And that is how I was reunited with my parents.

I later found out what happened to them during the War. My mother and my youngest brother were hidden away in an attic by a Belgium *Gandarme*. My father and my other brother, who was three years younger then me, were caught by the *Gestapo* and sent away to a camp in Vichy France. Both of them

survived and, after the liberation of France, my father went back to Belgium to look for my mother and my brother went with a transport of children from Marseilles to what was then Palestine. As soon as the opportunity arose, my parents themselves went to Palestine with my younger brother.

When the war was over I saw on the notice board that they were looking for translators for the Nuremberg trials. I applied and got one of the jobs. I became very friendly with Sir Hartley Shawcross, the chief prosecutor at the trial. Although our pay came from our own paycorps, in other respects we all came under the jurisdiction of the Americans and ate in the PX. That part of my army career was the highlight of my four years in the Army.

By way of conclusion, let me say this. We don't know what lies ahead of us but we do know happened in the past and we must make sure that it will never happen again.

David Goldberg is Senior Warden of the Edinburgh Hebrew Congregation. This article is based on a talk given to the Edinburgh Council of Christians and Jews on Thursday 18th February 1999.

## **ANTI-SEMITISM IN MUSIC**

by Esti Sheinberg

The first thing that comes into mind, when anti-Semitism in music is mentioned, are Nazi marches, 'hate' rock songs, or - if you happen to be more conservative in your musical taste - the music of Wagner. In fact, none of the above is anti-Semitic. Indeed, both Nazis and Neo-Nazis abused music to manipulate the emotions of their publics. They attached despicable texts to popular tunes, arousing rhythms and repetitive musical patterns in order to create the same kind of tribal complicity that happens whenever a crowd takes part in a sweeping,

hypnotising common activity. This includes not only singing along (which is what happens in most 'hate' rock-music sessions) but also dancing, stepping with a common beat, rhythmical slogan shouting, etc. All these activities can be seen in mass demonstrations, and they have more to do with mobpsychology than with music. The music in such events serves whatever happens to be the organisers' agenda: communism, religious fanaticism, anarchism, nationalism, neo-nationalism and/or anti-Semitism. It functions as a

uniting, enticing force. Intrinsically, however, it is unrelated to any of the above causes.

Wagner's case is even simpler. Wagner was a vicious anti-Semite, whose literary writings had an enormous impact on Nazi ideology. He did write outrageous articles against Jews, including the notorious "Judaism in Music." There is nothing in his music, though, that is anti-Semitic. It is said that the character of Beckmesser in Der Meistersinger is an indirect caricature of a Jewish critic and that

the characters of Alberich and Mime from his *Nibelungs' Ring* are also caricatures of Jews. All these are, however, at best, only indirect references, since there is nothing 'Jewish', let alone 'anti-Semitic', in the music of any of these characters.

Can music express anti-Semitism at all, without any reference to text or to a literary subject?

Music expresses feelings and ideas by using sound elements that are associated, in our culture, with certain concepts. For example, the concept of 'evil' is normally associated with darkness, with the nether-world, with unexpected violence, with threat, each of which has sound-correlations with slow motion, bass pitch; unexpected shrills; tremolo, vibrating, trembling sounds, harsh dissonances. All of them are therefore associated with our sound-image of 'evil', as anybody who has ever listened to the soundtrack of a thriller will testify. 1 Thus, it is quite easy to write 'music of evil', that will be perceived as such by listeners who share the same culture - in our case Western Culture - with the composer.

Anti-Semitism draws its strengths from a successful transmission of a formula that equates 'Jewishness' with 'evil'. The most famous cases of presenting Jews as paragons of evil by using 'the music of evil' can, of course, be found in Christian liturgy. The ways in which this was and is done throughout history - in Christian literature, art and folklore are, sadly enough, more than transparent. For example, in many places the tradition of burning 'Judas' dolls on Good Friday is still an on-going practice. The particular name attributed to the traitor who sold his Rabbi to the enemy cannot have been coincidentally adopted by Christian tradition. Being a 'Judas', a Jew, while spending Easter in a Christian country can be an awkward experience as everybody is thinking about, preparing for and dealing with the crucifixion. People all around may be rehearsing for the

performances of Passions, the most popular of which is Bach's St. Matthew's Passion. The reading and performance of the Passion is the liturgical (and musical) peak of Easter, and the dramatic 'turning point' and the high point of the Passion story is, of course, the point in which the Turba, the people, or, to be more exact, the Jewish people, choose Barabbas, and not Jesus, as the one to be released from crucifixion. What, then, is to be done with Jesus, the holy Son of God? As much as I love the music of Bach, I still always shudder at the sound of the Turba choir. representing the blood-thirsty crowd of Jews, who scream at Pontius Pilate: 'Lass ihn kreuzigen!' (Let him be crucified) 'Was hat er denn Übels getan?' (What the devil has he done?) - asks the gentle Pilate, while pondering about the hygiene of his hands. The incited mob, however, will not listen; like a den full of venomous vipers, the voices accumulate over each other in an impressive fugue, stronger and stronger, faster and faster, more and more voices. The 'ss' of 'lass' and the 'z' of 'kreuzigen' hiss from bass to tenor, from alto to the shrieking soprano and the whole mass of maddened people scream: 'Lass ihn kreuzigen!' (Let him be crucified). Poor Pilate, of course, has no choice. It is obviously not his fault. Still, just to be sure, the evil Jews hereby declare 'Sein Blut komme über uns und unsere Kinder!' (His blood be on us and on our children.)

Is Bach's St. Matthew Passion an anti-Semitic work? Certainly. Is the music anti-Semitic? No, It is not, because there is nothing Jewish in the music. It is the text that bears the information about 'the Jews', while the music has only soundcorrelatives of 'evil' - harsh consonants, an accumulation of voices, the extreme use of loud dynamics, sudden voice-outbursts and harsh dissonances (relative to Bach's style). Thus, while the music bears the 'evil' content, and the text has 'Jews' in it, there is no intrinsic anti-Semitic content in the music,

because nothing in it points to its 'Jewishness'.

Jewishness' in music, indeed in Western culture, is perceived as a combination of certain 'Shteigers' modes and melodic formulae that are prevalent in the Jewish prayers and Chazzanic performances. It is related to certain musical gestures, rhythms and even instrumental timbres - like the clarinet or violin, that are prevalent in *Klezmer* music. All these musical elements are used. again, whenever 'Jewishness' is signalled, mainly in soundtracks of films, but also in other instances where background and/or incidental music is used. Our first reaction to such music to identify it as 'Jewish', and only then will we make a judgement of the ways it is used, and of its circumstantial appropriateness.

None of the musical indications of 'Jewishness' is equal or even related to the musical indicators of 'evil'. This, combined with the fact that 'evil' and 'Jewishness' are unrelated concepts, makes the composition of anti-Semitic music a very difficult task. How can two completely separate concepts be combined, to successfully transmit the required 'evil Jewish' image through music?

The most efficient way to connect between two unrelated concepts is condensation. This technique was analysed by Ernst Gombrich in his study of anti-Semitic caricatures.2 In such caricatures a double meaning is created, which equates physiognomic 'facts' with ethical and moral defects (and disapproved attitudes or behaviours). Most of the stereotyped 'Jewish' physical characteristics - dark hair, long curved nose, large ears and thick lips are also associated with evil. The 'forces of darkness' come into mind, the long curved nose is associated with old age, witches, ugliness and 'nosiness', and the thick lips are traditionally a sign of lust and coarseness.

Caricatures are based upon exaggeration. They can exaggerate certain characteristic qualitatively.

For example, a cariacature could show Prince Charles flying with real 'Dumbo' ears over genetically modified crop fields, spraying them with a weed-killer; another caricature could present Madelaine Albright, shaped as a military tank, energetically leading the way to Pristina. Another technique of exaggeration is quantitative, using the accumulation of as many characteristics as possible in a single This second type of exaggeration is almost exclusively reserved for subjects that represent types (a people, a race, a language, a musical or literary style, etc.). To explain how this works I will refer to Ludwig Wittgenstein's concept of 'family resemblance'. Wittgenstein pointed out that when we speak of a group of items, what we really have in mind is not any actual manifestation of them but rather an abstract model made up of the accumulated characteristics in their manifestations. various The overlapping of several of the theoretical model's characteristics with those of a particular item is what relates it to the model. Therefore, it might well happen that items with the same designation do not share any common features at all; yet they are regarded as related, due to the fact that several of the features of both of them will appear in the theoretical proto-model. For example, Wittgenstein noted that no single member of a family actually bears all the family characteristics.

I can think of no better expression to characterize these similarities than 'family resemblances'; for the various resemblances between members of a family: build, features, colour of eyes, gait, temperament, etc. etc. overlap and criss-cross in the same way.<sup>3</sup>.

If Wittgenstein is right, and no actual realisation of any member of a family will include all the family's features (although it is all these features that we have in mind when we think about this particular

family), then the actualisation of such a person would be perceived as overloaded, and, consequently, as a caricature of the family. Thus the accumulation of all the features that are considered as characteristic of any group, race, species or type on one sole individual would result in its caricature.



Cruikshank's Fagin wears a long caftan that covers his short figure, his back is crooked, in one hand he holds his hat upside down, almost in a beggar's pose, while the other exposes long, thin, crooked fingers, ready to grab whatever it finds. He is bald, has protruding ears, a long and crooked nose and a long, black, pointed (devilish!) beard.

Anti-Semitic caricatures of Jews are based on the accumulation of the stereotyped 'Iewish' characteristics, which are partly physical and partly the culturally accepted physical correlations of alleged 'Jewish' character defects.4 Long noses, short and crooked legs, large and protruding ears, dark hair (and/or bald heads), short-sighted eyes, black beards, long black coats and long nailed fingers that are always poised in a greedy position, were all accumulated in the caricature's focal object, that represented the whole satirised 'Jewish' group. This kind of

accumulation is particularly manifested in the visual arts. Charles Dickens' description of Fagin the Jew in Oliver Twist (1837-1839) is complex and ambivalent. George Cruikshank's satirical and simplistic illustrations to the story, on the other hand, achieved the caricatural exaggeration of Fagin's figure by the accumulation of all the stereotyped Jewish physical characteristics.

Since no musical sign of Jewishness can be successfully condensed with the musical signs of 'evil', new sound-associations of 'Jewishness', that could easily be related to ethically, morally and/or aesthetically, had to be found.

And indeed, many caricatures were wittily enriched with additions of a captions and verbal under-texts. The late 19th Century 'Humorous and Artistic Magazine' The Butterfly describes not only the Jewish characteristics that can be seen, but also those that can be heard. Its caption uses the 'Jewish language' that reveals the subject's 'Jewish character', regardless of the language he is actually speaking.5 The physical characteristics are the same as in Cruikshank's caricature, although a bit more developed: crooked legs (giving a hint at the traditional 'devil's limp'), thick lips, a pointed black beard and a darkened figure. To these are added two more informative details: the caricature's title which points at Throgmorton Street, the famous London business centre, and the distorted language with emphasis on the characteristic 'Jewish' accent.

The ridiculing of 'Jewish talk' was in no way restricted to London late 19th Century journals. The derogatory attitude towards the 'Jewish voice' is deeply rooted in the European consciousness, which is best expressed in its idioms, such as the German mauscheln, a popular word the various meanings of which describe the 'Jewish talk' as an unclear, unintelligible, blurred



FROM THROGMORTON STREET

Finkelstein (emphatically): 'I don'd care vot yer say, yer tief; yer robbed me, I dell yer! yer a liar und a placguard, und a schwindler und a schweinpig; und dot's plain English!'

Caricature published in *The Butterfly,* London, 1893.

speech, mixed with Yiddish words.

considerable number German dictionaries explain this word as well as its etymology.6 However, none of the sources specifies exactly how it sounds 'to speak like a Jew'. Luckily, the confused musician is not left in the dark, and the missing substantial information is supplied by Richard Wagner who, as early as 1850, engaged himself in filling this particular gap in European culture. The 'Jewish talk' is thus described in full detail in Wagner's writings (here in English translation), which were enthusiastically read by followers.

In particular does the purely physical aspect of the Jewish mode of speech repel us. Throughout an intercourse of two millennia with European nations, Culture has not succeeded in breaking the remarkable stubbornness of the Jewish naturel as regards

the peculiarities of Semitic pronunciation. The first thing that strikes our ear as quite outlandish and unpleasant, in the Jew's production of the voice-sounds, is the creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle: add thereto an employment of words in a sense quite foreign to our nation's tongue, and an arbitrary twisting of the structure of our phrases - and this mode of speaking acquires at once the character of an intolerably jumbled blabber; so that when we hear this Jewish talk, our attention swells involuntarily on its repulsive how, rather than on any meaning of its intrinsic what 7.

This impression is in no way restricted to German culture nor to century.8 the 19th Similar descriptions of the 'Jewish voice' can be found in French, English and Russian writings from the 19th century and the beginnings of the 20th century. Being directly connected with sound, these characteristics appear in musical caricatural descriptions of Jews, like the famous "Samuel" Goldenberg and Schmuÿl' from Mussorgsky's Pictures at an Exhibition. Mussorgsky was a known anti-Semite and also expressed his dislike of the sound of the Jewish language, as well as of Jews in general. The imitation of the squeaky, gasping, nervous, repetitious, chatter-like voice of the poor Jew is evident in the music that describes him. It is the musical condensation, in which the aesthetically pejoritised 'squeakiness' is condensed with 'the Jewish sound' that makes this caricature anti-Semitic.

A more extreme sound-caricature of Jews is drawn by Richard Strauss in *Salome*. Strauss, who was deeply influenced by Wagner and closely acquainted with his writings, draws a caricature of the five Jews who are gathered in an endless noisy blabber, which is contextually contrasted with two other elements: the deep, serene voice of Jokanaan,

and the authoritative demand of Herodias of 'Make them be silent'

An examination of Wilde's original text shows that he, too, was in no way sympathetic to Jewish thought and its verbal expressions:

Herodias: I tell you, you are afraid of him. If you are not afraid of him why you not deliver him to the Jews, who for six months past have been clamouring for him?

**1st Jew:** Truly, my lord, it were better to deliver him into our hands.

Herodes: Enough of this subject. I have already given you my answer. I will not deliver him into your hands. He is a holy man. He is a man who has seen God.

1st Jew: This cannot be. There is no man who hath seen God since the prophet Elias. He is the last man who saw God. In these days God doth not show Himself. He hideth Himself. Therefore great evils have come upon the land.

**2nd Jew:** Verily, no man knoweth if Elias the prophet did indeed see God. Peradventure it was but the shadow of God that he saw.

**3rd Jew:** God is at no time hidden. He showeth Himself at all times and in everything. God is in what is evil even as He is what is good.

4th Jew: That must not be said. It is a very dangerous doctrine. It is a doctrine that cometh from the schools of Alexandria, where men teach the philosophy of the Greeks. And the Greeks are Gentiles. They are not even circumcised.

5th Jew: No one can tell how God worketh. His ways are very mysterious. It may be that the things which we call evil are good, and that the things which we call good are evil. There is no knowledge of any thing. We must needs submit

to everything, for God is very strong. He breaketh in pieces the strong together with the weak, for He regardeth not any man.

**1st Jew:** Thou speakest truly. God is terrible; He breaketh the strong and the weak as a man brays corn in a mortar. But this man hath never seen God. No man hath seen God since the prophet Elias.

**Herodias**: Make them be silent. They weary me.

Wilde's text of the Jews' sequence in his Salomé is in itself satirical. His fact-like description exposes the Pharisees' discussions as irrelevant and their conclusions, which are based on Jewish canons, as illogical. Thus he intentionally builds his satirical text as a discussion which is more irrelevant than meaningless, a quality that becomes particularly evident when compared with the high dramatic tension of the scene within which it takes place: Herod's wooing of Salomé, who is infatuated with Jokanaan, and Jokanaan's voice heard from his prison-cell, announcing his prophecies of doom.

Strauss, however, is not satisfied with Wilde's mere satire. For him a discussion among Jews should be materialised in the Wagnerian Geplapper: a meaningless blabber. Obediently following Wagner prescription, he creates in this episode a grotesque caricature, in which the semantic content is nearly among all the other accumulated characteristics of 'Jewish blabber': the 'creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle' that is conveyed in 'an intolerably jumbled blabber'. In order to make the text sound like 'a blabber', Strauss (unlike Wilde) uses repetitions. However, in order to create the necessary 'jumble', the Jews' parts, after presented being homophonically, so that their irrelevant content will be duly and clearly conveyed, grow into a chaotic contrapuntal web of noisy 'Jewish blabber', to which the instruments contribute their own

share, to make the general impression even more chaotic. In order to achieve the required Wagnerian effect of 'creaking, squeaking, buzzing snuffle', Strauss chose the uncharacteristically and unbalanced combination of four tenors and one baritone (to be compared, for example, with a more balanced male-voice quintet in Puccini's La Bohème, which is made of one bass, two baritones, one tenor, and the landlord's voice, which has no specifications.) The impression achieved by this distribution of voices which emphasises the upper, more 'squeaky' register of the male voice, is even further highlighted by the large amount of 'a', 'a', 'e' and 'i' vowels in the text, to which, although originally translated by Hedwig Lachmann, Strauss himself contributed significantly:

Herodias: Ich sage dir, du hast Angst vor ihm. Warum liefest du ihn nicht den Juden aus, die seit Monaten nach ihm schreien?

1er Jude: Wahrhaftig, Herr, es wäre besser, ihn in unsere Hände zu geben.

Herodes: Genug davon! Ich werde ihn nicht in eure Hände geben. Er ist ein Hil'ger Mann. Er ist ein Mann, der Gott geschaut hat.

1er Jude: Das kann nicht sein. Seit dem Propheten Elias hat niemand Gott gesehn. Er war der letzte, der Gott von Angesicht geschaut. In unseren Tagen zeigt sich Gott nicht. Gott verbirgt sich. Darum ist grosses Übel über das Land gekommen, grosses Übel.

2er Jude: In Wahrheit weiss niemand, ob Elias in der Tat Gott gesehen hat. Möglicherweise war es nur der Schatten Gottes, was er sah.

3er Jude: Gott ist zu keiner Zeit verborgen. Er zeigt sich zu allen Zeiten und an allen Orten. Gott ist in schlimmen ebenso wie im Guten.

4er Jude: Du sollest das nicht sagen, es ist eine sehr gefährliche Lehre aus Alexandria. Und die Griechen sind Heiden.

5er Jude: Niemand kann sagen, wie Gott wirkt Seine Wege sind sehr dunkel. Wie können nur unser Haupt unter seinen Willen beugen, denn Gott ist sehr stark.

1er Jude: Du sagst die Wahrheit. Fürwahr, Gott ist furchtbar. Aber was diesen Menschen angeht, der hat Gott nie gesehn. Seit dem Propheten Elias hat niemand Gott gesehn. Er war der letzte...usw.

2er Jude: In Wahrheit weiss nieman, usw. Gott ist furchtbar, er bricht den Starken in Stücke, den Starken wie den Schwachen, den jeder gilt ihm gleich. Möglicherweise, usw.

3er Jude: Gott ist zu keiner Zeit verbogen...usw.

4er Jude: Du solltest das nicht sagen, usw. Sie sind nicht einmal beschnitten. Niemand kann sagen, wie Gott wirkt, denn Gott ist sehr stark. Er bricht den Starken wie den Schwachen in Stücke. Gott ist stark.

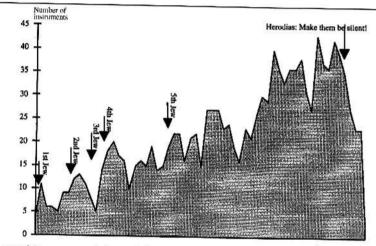
5er Jude: Niemand kann sagen, wie Gott wirkt, usw Es kann sein, dass die Dinge, die wir gut nennen, sehr schlimm sind, und die Dinge, die wir schlimm nennen, sehr gut sind. Wie wissen von nichts etwas.

Herodias (zu Herodes): Heiss sie schweigen, sie langweilen mich.

This cumulative quintet is to be performed 'Sehr schnell' (very fast). It is written in 6/8; the metronome mark is 120 for every dotted crotchet, while the rhythm is mostly based on shorter note-values, mainly quavers. The orchestra,

which up to this point has played long-held chords, becomes a chaotic, dissonant chatter of chromatic runs. The use of instruments is likewise telling, being based on brass and double-reed woodwinds, with their nasal sounds: two oboes, one English horn and the rare loud heckelphone provide the required sound quality for the 'snuffle' effect, while one piccolo and three flutes pierce ears with shrieking sounds. The general orchestral sound tends toward the higher pitch-range, so that the first entrance of the Jew, with his high pitched tenor and jagged melodic leaps only heightens the caricatural effect of 'the Jewish Voice'. The figure below describes the accumulation of musical parts and gradual hightening of the

can, and does, express ideas, and even complex ones, such as anti-Semitism. Another common argument recurs to the aesthetic (and to our cultural association of the 'beautiful' with the 'approved') saying: 'But this music is so beautiful!'. Happily enough, I don't have to answer that, but instead leave the answer to my friend the composer Razak Abdul-Aziz, who was present at the Jewish Literary Society meeting where I presented these ideas, and heard these questions asked. When we later spoke about this, Razak could not contain his surprise: 'How can they say that? Don't they know that there are also many beautiful people that are really evil? Why should music be different?'.



A graphic representation of the accumulation process in the Jews' quintet from *Salomé*. Strauss draws a caricature of Jews based on a literal musical accumulation and the correlational accumulation of their alleged vocal characteristics. While the voices of the Jews accumulate, the orchestra accumulates, too, and reach from 4 instruments to 43.

general pitch in this musical passage.

The ability of music to express anti-Semitism has been in the heart of a long debate, most strongly felt in Israel, where until quite recently the music of Richard Wagner and Richard Strauss was banned, because of their anti-Semitism. Regardless of the various peculiarities and irrelevancies of this debate, a repeating motive appeared again and again: 'But this is just music!' - and notes, abstract sounds, cannot, of course, express ideas. I hope this analysis shows that music

Music can be beautiful. Fortunately, most music is. However, music can also be evil. Luckily, most music is not. Thank God for that.

Dr Esti Sheinberg is a Lecturer in Music at Edinburgh University. This article is based on the talk she gave to the Edinburgh Jewish Literary Society on 13th December 1998.

## **FOOTNOTES**

<sup>1</sup> See also Sheinberg, Esti, 'An Application of Ernst Gombrich's Projection Theory to Music Perception' in Song and Signification: Studies in Music Semiotics. Ed. by Raymond Monelle and Catherine T. Gray. 1995, Edinburgh, The University of Edinburgh Faculty of Music. pp. 38-58.

- <sup>2</sup> Gombrich, Meditations on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on The Theory of Art. 1963, Oxford, Phaidon.
- <sup>3</sup> Wittgenstein, Philosophical Investigations, §67
- <sup>4</sup> Gilman, Sander. *The Jew's Body*. 1991, New York, Routledge.
- <sup>5</sup> The Butterfly, May-October 1893.

<sup>6</sup>Mausche is explained in Heinz Küpper's dictionary as a derogative for 'Jude', specifying that it is derived from the Hebrew name Moses. All in all he lists five usages to mauscheln, one of which, traced back to the year 1600, is 'fraudulent commerce'. The Brothers Grimm's Deutsches Wörterbuch (1885), on the other hand, defines mauscheln 'to behave like a Schacherjude'. 'Schacherjude' means 'a haggling, cheating Jew'. Similar definitions also appear in the Brockhaus Dictionary and Kluge's Etymologisches Wörterbuch, the latter tracing the use of the word back to 1561, and confirming its stemming from 'Moysche', i.e. the Yiddish form of 'Moses'. The other four usages mentioned by Küpper are: 2) To speak like a Jew (traced back to the 1600s); 3) nagging, grumbling; secret grudging. To make a plot or plan an intrigue (used since the 1900s); 4) To tax, to take financial interest (this usage was popular in the 1960s!), and 5) Unclear, unintelligible, blurred speech, mixed with Yiddish words. The other sources also specify mauscheln as Yiddish speech, or a speech of someone that 'sounds like a Jew.' Other dictionaries mention more meanings: to cheat or haggle; to use Jewish gestures. Finally, Mauscheln is also a name of a specific card game, traced back to the Thirty Years War, in which the players try to cheat their opponents. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Heather Valencia, who also helped me with the translations from German.

<sup>7</sup> Wagner, Richard (1852) 'Das Judenthum in der Musik.' in Gesammelte Schriften und Dichtungen von Richard Wagner. 1872, Leipzig, Verlag von E.W.Fritzsch. Fünfter Band, pp.85-108

<sup>8</sup>For example, on the 16.2.1997, in a talk given to the Edinburgh Jewish Literary Society, Prof. Scheunemann from the German Department of the University of Edinburgh described the 'sweet old Jewish woman' he remembers from his youth, who used to tell stories to him 'and had this characteristic charming way of stressing the beginning of the sentence instead of its end.'