
Black Gold and Yellow Star

Forms of mobility of Galician Jews investing in the oil business

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Obligated to declare all his possessions according to the law of 27 April 1938, a Viennese Jew born in Galicia in 1877 stated he was the owner of a castle in Schwadorf, a district in Lower Austria. The Nazi bureaucratic apparatus was already functioning perfectly: he had to indicate the sum of his life insurance, to list all his objects of precious metal (like the watch chain or the cuff links he was wearing that day), as well as his stocks, bonds and other assets. Among these shares, he declared 50,000 Reichsmarks with the ‘*Steaua flüssige Brennstoffe A.G.*’ (liquid fuels), an enterprise selling Romanian oil in Austria. Compared with the other amounts, the sum specified was by far the most significant. What were the origins of this company and what were its links to Galicia, which most of the Jewish population left shortly before the fall of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy? Did Galician oil enable the establishment of a Jewish bourgeoisie in Vienna, which adapted to the contemporary Austrian forms of capitalism?ⁱ Whereas the fate of the poor Jews arriving in Vienna as of the end of the nineteenth century is well documented, in historical essays as well as in creative literature, the story of these bourgeois Jews, who had often discarded their religion, is still largely untold.ⁱⁱ

In order to investigate the case of a major share owner in the ‘*Steaua flüssige Brennstoffe A.G.*’, three issues should be discussed: the history of oil in Galicia, the specific form of capitalism which enabled it to be drilled on a large scale and, finally, the question of integration in the different segments of the Jewish community.ⁱⁱⁱ

I – Galician Oil

In many places, the earth is black and full of inflammable material. Schistose rocks, coloured in brown, yellow or black, like pitch, can be lit and burnt with a flash of flame. All the streams are covered with a thin iridescent film and sometimes, especially during the days of great heat, the atmosphere is full of a smell so penetrating that some people feel the symptoms of poisoning.

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(...) Since, following the 'gold rush', the 'oil rush' has changed the United States so dramatically, leading to towns cropping up out of loneliness, creating enormous wealth and giving rise to new industries, Galicians, led by American engineers, also rushed for petroleum, earth wax and cerezine resources. The annual output rapidly increased thirtyfold: in 1866, it already amounted to 50,000 tons. Boryslaw, a small village less than 10 km south-west of Drochobycz (sic), in the Dniestr basin, was the first main asphalt centre. Within the space of months, it has been transformed into a beehive of 20,000 inhabitants, into a labyrinth of houses, shacks and strange scaffolding swarming with a cosmopolitan population from Poland and Hungary. In the midst of this maze of tracks and huts, the ground was drilled by more than 5,000 wells with an average depth of 40m, where workers inhaled air charged with hydrogenated gas, pumping oil. A rope fastened to their waist allowed them to escape quickly if they felt like suffocating. Later, (...) a crowd of pit workers came there to collect the liquid from the geysers, which provided, so it was said, a similar fluid to the wells of Pennsylvania. Many Carpathian valleys, whose virgin forests had never seen a traveller, were suddenly invaded by a horde of foreigners, cutting down trees, digging wells, building houses and inns. It was like a revolution.^{iv}

This meticulous description of the mining of mineral wax (ozokerite) and oil is an excerpt from the *New Universal Geography* by one of the greatest French geographers of that time, Elisée Reclus (1830-1905). It is a very early picture as it derives from the end of the 1870s (Reclus 1878, p. 405 for the quote above). Ozokerite had been mined since the 1850s, initially for lighting. In this context, the North Station of Vienna, the *Nordbahnhof*, for example, was the first public building to be lit by lamps of mineral wax coming from Galicia at the end of 1858 (Kos et Dinohobl 2006).



Boryslaw, no date, Polish National Library, National Digital Library 'Polona' (Poland)

Regarding the population of this province, which quickly gained the nickname 'Galician Pennsylvania', Elisée Reclus noted:

Almost half of all the Austrian Jews live in Galicia or Bukovina and, since most of their

coreligionists from Poland or from Russia are crowded in adjacent districts, we can really consider this central region of Europe as the Jewish country per excellence, more than Palestine or any other part of the world. It is the centre of the spider's web which has been spun throughout the continent. (...) In Drochobycz [heart of the oil-producing region], they form the majority. (Reclus 1878, p. 400)

These two characteristics of the imperial crown land, the presence of oil and the strong concentration of Jews, were lumped together very early, here in the interest of anti-Semitic prose. Thanks to the writings of Saul Raphael Landau (1870-1943), it is possible to gain an impression of the working world in this region, which was about to become the third-largest oil producing area in the world, behind the United States and Russia (this would be the case in 1909). The third chapter of his book, *Among Jewish Proletarians*, is devoted to the city of Boryslaw, described as a giant wasteland where the undefined lattice work of floorboards links shanties built on different levels, everything in foul conditions (Landau 1898). According to Landau, the majority of the 9,000 drillings employees were Jewish, even if some tasks were specifically reserved for Ruthenians or Masurians.^v The development of Zionism is presented as a reaction to the extreme working conditions: 12 hours' work a day, six days a week, with high proportion of child labour.^{vi}

When Reclus mentions the presence of American engineers, it is in fact a reference to the work of William Henry McGarvey and John Simeon Bergheim, the former Canadian and the latter British, even if born in Palestine. McGarvey and Bergheim considerably improved the profitability of the wells, thanks to an important technology import, mentioned in the advertisement for their company, the '*Galizische Karpathen-Petroleum Aktien Gessellschaft*'. They were proud to mention the use of a Canadian system and cranes using 'Galician-Canadian' rotation systems.^{vii} Other companies were clearly run by Jewish entrepreneurs, as a glance at the names mentioned in the journals of the time show, an impression confirmed by the names on different boards, detailed in the volumes of *Compass*.^{viii} Alison Frank has written 'the owners of these small companies were (...) predominantly Jewish' (Frank 2007, 164) and it is therefore quite understandable that the *Drohobyczer Zeitung*, which was mainly concerned with the oil business, was written in High German with Hebrew characters (as in Yiddish).^{ix}



Borysław, no date, Polish National Library, National Digital Library 'Polona' (Poland)

II – A ‘cosmopolitan’ capitalism... also Jewish?

The links between Jewishness, cosmopolitanism and capitalism are difficult to analyze (Muller 2010), as this touchy subject might be abused by anti-Semitic authors. Animals have often been employed to serve as caricatures of things perceived as hostile. Apart from the threatening spider metaphor used by Reclus in 1878 (quote above), we find in the press the octopus symbolizing Standard Oil, founded by John D. Rockefeller. The eight tentacles grab for oil wealth worldwide (Frank 2009, 27). In Vienna in 1909, during the petrol war (*‘Petroleumkrieg’*), the government fought against Vacuum Oil Company, a subsidiary of Standard Oil, which was well entrenched in the Monarchy, not only in Galicia but also in Silesia. A visceral form of anti-Semitism, stirred up by the Mayor of Vienna, Karl Lueger (1844-1910), propagated the idea that Jews were responsible for the detrimental effects of capitalism. As George Steiner likes to remind us, it was in Austria, in 1906, that a first leisure club proudly announced that they were ‘free of Jews’.^x

With more than 8 million inhabitants in 1914, Galicia was by far the most populated of the eleven provinces of Cisleithania. Its multi-ethnic character was pointed out in the first tourist guide ever to be

published for the region in the same year. Nationalities and religions are used to describe the characteristics of the population: ‘58.6% Polish, 40.2% Ruthenians, and 1.1% Germans’, next to ‘46.5% Roman Catholics, 42% Greek Catholics, 0.5% Protestants and 11% Israelites’ (Orlowicz et Kordys, 1). The authors stressed the fact that the region was at the same time the most densely populated one in Europe and a nub of emigration with half a million persons leaving every year, even if the development of the oil industry led to new hopes of attracting foreign companies and investment (the ‘*Compagnie commerciale française*’, the ‘*Société anonyme belge des pétroles de Galicie*’, and their counterparts from Romania, the Netherlands and Great Britain).



Borysław, no date, Polish National Library, National Digital Library 'Polona' (Poland)

In order to cross-analyse the multi-ethnic aspect of Galicia with the identity of oil men, the different editions of *Compass* turned out to be very useful. They reveal the structure of all companies involved in the oil business in Galicia. For the year 1920, they are no fewer than 200 enterprises with head offices in Vienna. When matching these with the index of the managers of these companies, it is striking to see how many Jews

were present on different boards. They were not only largely involved in the oil business, but also in the timber trade and the textile industry. The most exhaustive source to confirm this analysis remains the declarations of possessions held by Jews in Austria in 1938, as mentioned above. All the Jews who possessed more than 5,000 Reichsmarks were obliged to fill in a form called 'Inventory of assets' (*Vermögensverzeichnis*).^{xi} The Austrian Historical Commission, established in 1998 and specifically concerned with restitution issues, has published more than thirty volumes. One of them is particularly interesting, since it is based on a statistical analysis of Jewish assets in Vienna in 1938 (Pammer 2003). About one-fourth of the Jewish population of 190,000 filled in this inventory form. Among the respondents, no fewer than 16.2% held a Ph.D. or an engineering diploma (Pammer 2003, 58-62). Movable property represented 14% of the goods declared, a high percentage compared with that of the rest of the population (ibid. p. 125).^{xii}

III – Arrival in Vienna and the issue of integration

It seems as if the government in Vienna never really understood the importance of regulating oil production in Galicia. The relative autonomy granted to Galicia explains the confused situation described by all the travellers passing through Borysław: derricks everywhere, poor security conditions due to the competition between the wells exploiting the same layer... and also tensions, not to mention conflicts between the peoples, the political parties and the religious groups.^{xiii} As Alison Frank notes, no fewer than five ministers were in a position legitimately to intervene on different aspects of the oil business. Her reference to '*Bürokratismus*' (bureau cretinism), originally coined by Karl Kraus, well summarizes the incompetence characterizing imperial policy in this respect (Frank 2009, 24).

Nevertheless, beyond the fact that output decreased as of 1910, it must be conceded that the international situation was not favourable to exemplary initiative. Although many Jews had fled from the pogroms at the end of the nineteenth century, those involved in the oil business had, as a rule, come to Vienna when the Russian army invaded Galicia in 1915, or in November 1916, when Poland was declared a sovereign state.

The pogrom in Lemberg, the capital of Galicia, 65 km north-east of Drohobycz, put an end to all hopes of return. From 21 to 23 November 1918, more than 150 Jews were murdered, persecuted because they were presumed to have fraternized with Ukrainians. As Joseph Roth noted in his famous book, *The Wandering Jews*, ‘Jews contradicted the adage saying that the third party is the lucky winner when the first two fight. Jews were always the losing third parties.’^{xiv}

What was awaiting those Jews who had invested in Galician oil when they arrived in Vienna? Klaus Hödl has wonderfully described the situation of wretched Jews who formed, it is true, the majority of the company. Marsha Rozenblitt, for her part, probed even deeper in the search for identity. Still, the story of those called ‘major industrialists’ (*Großindustrielle*) is still largely unknown (Hödl 1994; Rozenblit 1984). Galician Jews represented about a quarter of the 150,000 Jews who were living in Vienna at the time. As is well known, Jewish intellectual life was lively and pulsating, as is evinced by the 150 Jewish dailies and weeklies published in the imperial capital. Following the well-known joke which says that the difference between a tailor and a psychiatrist is one generation, there is no doubt that in the 1934 census, Jews were largely over-represented in Vienna in some professions: they accounted for 86% of the lawyers, 52% of physicians and more than 70% of business men in the textile sector (Glockemeier 1936). As early as 1927, Joseph Roth, in his description of the Leopoldstadt district, observed this ‘voluntary ghetto’, in which every day we could see ‘merchants and hawkers going out of the city’, but also ‘stock brokers and business men’ (Roth 1927, 53).^{xv} He added that it smelled of onions, herrings, dish water and garbage... and ‘oil retailed, still most of the time for lighting purposes’ (ibid. p. 61).^{xvi}

The kaleidoscope of peoples, parties and religions could only aggravate the question of Jewish identity. Its different aspects were reflected in the journals, each of which advocated a specific aspect of Jewish identity, one for Zionists, one for the guardians of a ‘Jewish nationality’, one for the socialist Zionists of Poale Sion and one for the Orthodox Jews... As regards the economy, Werner Sombart’s book (1863-1941), *The Jews and Modern Capitalism*, inspired by Weber’s work on the role of Protestantism in the rise of capitalism, was the subject of many critiques (Sombart 1911). The author established a link between the Jewish ability to change domicile and the modern feature of capitalism (his neologism) of having to diversify investments.^{xvii}

Landau, who in 1898 took an interest in the Jewish proletariat of Borysław (see above), in his *Neue National-Zeitung* published a long and very positive review of this work, insisting on the rationalist dimension of Judaism (Anin 1911).^{xviii}

The official representation of the Jews, the '*Kultusgemeinde*', became the object of savage criticism due to their obeisance to the Pan Germans and in the 1920s, for instance, every week, the socialist Zionists' journal *Unsere Tribüne* was proud to present lists of those who had quit the '*Kultusgemeinde*'. Joseph Samuel Bloch (1850-1923), the editor-in-chief of the renowned *Dr. Blochs Österreichische Wochenschrift*, was not registered with this official representation because he was considered a Pole. For many Viennese Jews, their brothers from the east and the north-east constituted a threat, that of the visible Jew, with his caftan and payots, allegedly incapable of adapting to modern life. To describe this phenomenon, Nathan Birnbaum coined the term '*Ostjuden*' during the Zionist Congress held in Basel in 1897. As early as 1916, Dr. Bloch's weekly devoted an article to different solutions planned to assist the Galician Jews, whose number was estimated at 800,000. The two main points discussed concerned the issue of a loan payable by all the official communities... and the struggle against Jewish religious schools ('*Chedarim*'). The author demanded no less than that solely the public schools should be recognized as schools for compulsory education (Stern 1916).

From 1901 to 1923, a review entitled *Ost und West* dealt entirely with the understanding between Jews of the West, the assimilated ones ('*Westjuden*') and the '*Ostjuden*'.^{xix} The Galician Jews, who had become rich thanks to oil, had a special role to play, serving as paradigms of social mobility. Thus, Dr. Bloch's review, subtitled 'Central gazette of the overall interests of Judaism', took particular care in drawing up the list of Jews decorated by the Austrian emperor. In the 18 May 1917 issue, p. 7, we read in the list of recipients especially distinguished by their efforts during the war that Arnold Segall (sic) was awarded the Cross of Merit for Civilian Services, Class 2. The news was taken up in the oil journal, *Rohölindustrie*, in the June issue. Segal was the representative of the region of Drohobycz for the Federation of Oil Producers. To what extent is his career representative of the age?

IV – The case of Arnold Segal

Arnold Aron Segal was born in Drohobycz, Eastern Galicia, on 30 August 1877 to parents who came from Bolechow (30 km south-east of Drohobycz and 80 km south of Lemberg).^{xx} Arnold married Ida Strisower, the daughter of Julius Strisower, an employee of the Jaroslau, branch of the Austro-Hungarian Bank, in the Polish part of Galicia. Together, they had three children, Erna, Stanislas and Heinrich, born in 1907, 1908, and 1911 respectively.

The register *Compass* enables his professional career to be traced quite minutely, because it reveals not only the industrialist's duties, but the volumes organized by sector and region detail the composition of assets and the history of companies. At the outset, in 1909, whereas the banker Julius Strisower diversified his capital by investing in timber, especially intended for railway sleepers, Arnold, for his part, was content to invest in oil-producing companies in Galicia. His responsibilities within the Federation of Oil Producers led him quickly to settle in Vienna. The family lived there as of 1916, but in 1920 Arnold can be seen as the managing director of the two oil-producing companies in Boryslaw, '*Lifschütz & Co Naphta Ges.m.b.H.*' and '*Seghard-Czaszim Naphtaproduktionsges. m.b.H.*'.

It is a curious fact that at the end of the war Arnold became a Polish citizen. Then he fought and defeated bureaucracy to become an Austrian citizen. German was his mother tongue, but he understood Polish. As regards religion, the family was not practicing, – no way he would rub shoulders with the '*Ostjuden*' – Arnold was more concerned with integrating in the business middle class and purchased the castle of Schwadorf in Lower Austria in 1926. Unfortunately, the castle was severely damaged the following year by the largest earthquake ever registered in Austria in the twentieth century (Mastal 2007; Langwieser 1953). The family wealth gradually increased, always due to oil, since Arnold found himself at the head of a small enterprise entrusted with reselling in Austria petrol from the major Romanian state company *Steaua Romana*, which had been established in Austria since 1923. To this end, an independent company was founded, the Liquid Oil Company *Steaua Romana* ('*Steaua Romana Flüssige Brennstoffe AG*').

In the 1920s, Arnold became interested in new technologies, doubtlessly realizing that the loss of Galicia

rendered him entirely dependent on Romanian petrol for his business in Austria. He invested in the first artificial silk factories, a sector which can be linked to the textile industry, where Jews were highly prominent, on the one hand, and also to the oil industry, since artificial silk involved synthetics. The *Compass* edition of 1930 specifies four functions for Arnold: two in the oil industry, one in Bohemian coal and one in the production of artificial silk. He was president of '*Kleinpolnische A.-G. Für Petroleumindustrie*' and a board member of '*Mineralölgewinnung-u. Handels A.-G.*' in Prague. He was also no less than vice-president of the Senica artificial silk spinning mill in Bohemia ('*Kunstseidespinnerei*'). The company according to Austrian law was founded in 1920 with capital deriving from France, Great Britain and Czechoslovakia. Artificial silk was produced in a process similar to that for viscose and the sales were done together with those of '*Erste böhmische Kunstseidenfabrik A.-G.*', in Theresienthal.



Arnold Segal (1877-1944), private archives

The family divided its time between the castle of Schwadorf and the finer districts of Vienna, where it had an apartment in the third district. Moreover, Arnold had the benefit of an office in Naglergasse, opening on the Graben. Whilst his father was going about his business in Bohemia the two eldest children were in Great Britain to learn English and the younger son, Heinrich, was finishing his studies at the Academy of International Business, the forerunner of the present University of Economics and Business Administration. Heinrich Segal graduated^{xxi} in 1932 and, four years later, he could be found employed in the companies founded by his father: he was a confidential clerk in '*Steaua Flüssige Brennstoffe A.G.*', of which his father had become the sole share holder, and with the first name of 'Henrik', he held the same position in *Erste Böhmisches Kunstseidefabrik A.-G.*, in Hohenelbe in Bohemia.

In 1938, everything happened at the same time. The German troops were welcomed with unprecedented enthusiasm and, less than a couple of weeks later, all the Jews were summoned to declare their entire possessions. The 'industrialist' Arnold Segal was one of the 13.4% respondents with the title of doctor, he had been awarded by the emperor for services rendered to the country, but everything had been in vain (Pammer 2003, 58). As early as April, he was arrested by the Gestapo and the castle of Schwadorf was requisitioned for billeting troops. Arnold managed to escape to Prague with his wife and son, and they stayed at first in Hohenelbe, where the artificial silk factory was running on full steam. The family quickly fled to Paris, where Arnold had no lack of contacts. Heinrich declared himself stateless and joined the Foreign Legion, hiding his parents in a hotel near Grenoble. Demobilized in 1941, he was hired in May as a 'foreign worker' by the '*Société nationale de la Viscose d'Echirolles*' (in Isère), commonly called 'La Viscose' (Blondé 2008). Heinrich also called himself Henri, the only name he used when he joined the Resistance as a member of the group 'Combat' (winter 1942/43). In 1944, he led a Maquis group of twelve men in Grésivaudan. It was in the Maquis that he married Jacqueline Lévy, a Viscose employee, who had passed on to him confidential information. Although Arnold Segal died in August 1944, his first grandchild, Jacques, was born a few hours after Hitler committed suicide. Life could start again, a life indirectly saved by Galician oil.

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Bibliography

- i The recent book by Alison Frank has played a major role in gaining a better understanding of the importance of oil in Galicia, even if other aspects, more technical or related to ethnology, have generated useful publications (Anonymous 1898; Erdheim 2004; Frank 2007; Kitai 1959; Loewenherz 1916; Muck 1903; Perutz 1880; Sozantildeski et al. 2006; Szajnocha 1905).
- ii Joseph Roth's writings are, of course, illuminating (Roth 1927, 53-65) and, as far as studies in social history are concerned, amongst the plethora of available sources we concentrated on the books by Klaus Hödl, Marsha Rozenblit and Ruth Beckermann (Hödl 1994; Rozenblit 1984; Beckermann 1984).
- iii Heterogeneous sources have been used for this purpose: apart from seminal scientific sources, the novel by Claudia Erdheim can be considered a brilliant case study, and her knowledge of the *Drohobyczer Zeitung* (written in High German, but printed in Hebrew characters) has proven to be invaluable (Erdheim 2006). Moreover, the annual commercial registers entitled *Compass* were consulted, as well as the registers of the Jewish Community in Vienna (*Israelitische Kultusgemeinde*). Two specific journals devoted to the oil business, *Petroleum* (1914-1938) and *Rohölindustrie* (1910-1938), have also been systematically scrutinized. Other journals, which are available online, offered useful contextual information (118 of the 150 Jewish journals which existed at that time are fully scanned and available under <http://www.compactmemory.de/> and most of the dailies and weeklies can be found at the Austrian National Library under <http://anno.onb.ac.at/>).
- iv "En maints endroits, la terre est noire de substance combustible; les roches schisteuses, colorées en brun, en jaune, ou en noir comme de la poix, peuvent être allumées et brûlées avec un dégagement de flamme ; tous les ruisseaux sont revêtus d'une pellicule irisée, et parfois, surtout pendant les jours de grande chaleur, l'atmosphère est remplie d'une odeur tellement pénétrante que certaines personnes éprouvent de véritables symptômes d'empoisonnement. (...) Depuis que la 'fièvre de l'huile', succédant à la 'fièvre de l'or', a bouleversé de vastes contrées des États-Unis, fait surgir des villes du milieu des solitudes, créé de puissantes fortunes et donné naissance à de nouvelles industries, les Galiciens, guidés par des ingénieurs américains, se sont également précipités vers leurs sources de pétrole et de cire minérale ou cérésine, et la production annuelle a bientôt trentuplé ; en 1866, elle était déjà de 50 000 tonnes. Boryslaw, petit village situé à moins de 10 km au sud-ouest de Drohobycz (sic), dans le haut bassin du Dniestr, fut tout d'abord le centre principal de l'exploitation de l'asphalte ; dans l'espace d'une saison, il s'était changé en une ruche de 20 000 habitants, chaos de maisons, de baraques et d'échafaudages bizarres, où grouillait une population cosmopolite accourue de Pologne et de Hongrie. Au milieu du dédale des chemins et des cabanes, le sol était foré de plus de 5000 puits d'une profondeur moyenne de 40m, où des ouvriers, respirant un air chargé de gaz hydrogéné, travaillaient à l'extraction de l'huile : une corde, attachée à leur ceinture, permettait de les retirer en cas d'asphyxie soudaine. Plus tard (...) une foule de mineurs se porta de ce côté pour en exploiter les fontaines, qui fournissent, dit-on, un liquide semblable à celui des puits de la Pennsylvanie. Plusieurs vallées des Carpates dont les forêts n'avaient jamais été troublées par les pas d'un voyageur, furent tout à coup envahies par des multitudes d'étrangers qui coupaient les arbres, creusaient des puits, bâtissaient des maisons et des auberges. Ce fut toute une révolution."
- v The ozokerite was often referred to as a 'Jewish' substance: 'native paraffin (ozokerite), which is also called Jewish wax (...)' (Sozantildeski et coll. 2006, 878).
- vi See 'Kinder- und Frauenarbeit beim Bergbau', *Rohölindustrie*, January 1912, 12, p. 227.
- vii 'Kombinierte galizisch-kanadische Rotationskrähne' (*Petroleum*, vol. X, no. 23, 1 September 1915, p. 928).
- viii All the companies are listed in descending order according to output in different issues of *Rohölindustrie* (see e.g. April 1911, 3, p. 46 or February 1912, 1, p.12). See also, for earlier times, the list of 224

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- companies in (Anon. 1898, 29-35).
- ix To our knowledge, Claudia Erdheim is the only person to have investigated this journal, published by a well-known editor, Aron Župnik. Advocating an enlightened point of view, this daily was established in 1883 and focused on international news, symptoms of anti-Semitism, daily life in the Monarchy... and, of course, all the news related to oil. Another journal, in German and Polish, had dealt with the oil business specifically since 1897, *Naphta* (Anon 1898, 4).
 - x The expression 'judenrein' was used by a cyclists' club in Linz but, already in the 1890s in student fraternities (*Burschenschaften*). Recently, an interesting study on anti-Semitism in tourist centres from the end of the nineteenth century to the Second World War has been published (Bajohr 2003).
 - xi According to the historians of the Austrian Historical Commission, the 5,000 Reichsmarks corresponded to 25,000 Euros in 2002 (Felber *et al.* 2005, 18).
 - xii A two-book volume in this set deals with the economy, Aryanization, and the different sectors of the economy. Unfortunately, oil is completely absent. The same applies to the official history of the Austrian economy (Jetschgo, Lacina, and Pammer 2004).
 - xiii For an example, see the article 'Blutige Wahlen in Drohobycz – Viele Tote und Verwundete', *Neue Freie Presse*, 20 June 1911, p. 3. It reads: 'Der polnische Nationalrat hat in dieser ostgalizischen Stadt den früheren Abgeordneten Dr. Loewenstein als offiziellen Kandidaten ausgestellt, ihm standen ein allpolnischer, ein zionistischer und ein sozialdemokratischer Bewerber gegenüber. (...) Drohobycz liegt in der Nähe der Boryslawer Erdölgruben, und der schärfere Zug des Erwerbslebens, den der große Industriezweig mit sich bringt, wie das Zusammenströmen großer Massen mag diese Stadt zu einem besonders heißen politischen Boden machen.' The foreign press was also interested in the violence and as early as 21 June, the *Times* reported 18 killed.
 - xiv 'Die Juden widerlegten das Sprichwort das da sagt, der Dritte gewänne, wenn zwei sich streiten. Die Juden waren der Dritte, der immer verlor' (Roth 1927, 19).
 - xv Joseph Roth wrote, 'Die Söhne und Töchter der Ostjuden sind produktiv. (...) Die Jungen sind die begabtesten Anwälte, Mediziner, Bankbeamten, Journalisten, Schauspieler.' (Roth 1927, 54).
 - xvi 'In der kleinen Schiffgasse riecht es nach Zwiebeln und Petroleum, nach Hering und Seife, nach Spülwasser und Hausrat, nach Benzin und Kochtöpfen, nach Schimmel und Delikatessen'.
 - xvii 'Das ist Ja die Eigentümlichkeit, die unsere Industrie immer mehr ausprägt: daß ihre Leiter beliebig die Branche wechseln können, ohne ihre Tüchtigkeit zu vermindern, weil eben alle Schlacken der technischen Besonderheit abgefallen sind und das reine Gold der nur kommerzial-kapitalistischen Allgemeinheit übrig geblieben ist.' (Sombart 1911, 133). One of Sombart's commentators was Philipp (Philipp 1929) but, even 80 years later, Sombart has not lost his topicality (Slezkine 2004).
 - xviii In 1919, we can still find in the *Zeitschrift für Demographie und Statistik der Juden* a detailed study of the social and professional distribution of Jews in Austria (Tennenbaum 1919).
 - xix An article of 66 pages on the Eastern Jewish question ('*Ostjudenfrage*') was published in two consecutive issues, in February and then in April 1916. See also the film by Sidney M. Goldin and Ivan Abramson, *Ost und West*, made in 1923.
 - xx The history of Bolechow has been very well known since the bestseller on the saga on the Mendelsohn family (Mendelsohn 2007).
 - xxi The archives of the university have preserved the grades the students received during their courses.
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