
The Jews in the Eastern War Zone

a cura di

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Nel 1916 l'American Jews Committee pubblicò il volume The Jews in the Eastern War Zone¹, con lo scopo di portare all'attenzione della comunità internazionale un dramma poco noto che pure si stava consumando nell'Europa orientale martoriata dal primo conflitto mondiale: l'escalation di violenza contro le comunità ebraiche e le espulsioni di massa di migliaia di ebrei dai territori di residenza. I passi riprodotti qui di seguito illustrano la campagna di brutalizzazione condotta dal Ministero della Guerra e dall'armata zarista contro gli ebrei che vivevano nelle province occidentali dell'impero zarista e nei territori occupati della Galizia austriaca.

Per un'introduzione all'argomento si rimanda alla rassegna bibliografica proposta da Serena Tiepolato in questo numero Le espulsioni di massa degli ebrei russi durante la Grande Guerra (1914-1917).

Introduction

[page 7] Of all the people that have suffered deeply from the present war, none have borne a greater burden than the Jews—in physical and economic loss, in moral and spiritual torment. Jews are today fighting each other in all the armies of Europe. Russia alone has over 350.000 Jewish soldiers; Austria has over 50.000; altogether there are probably one-half million Jews in the ranks of the fighting armies.

The Jews are bearing the brunt of the war's burdens, not only on the field of battle, where they suffer with the rest of the world, but also in their homes, where they have been singled out, by their peculiar geographic, political and economic position, for disaster surpassing that of all others. When the war broke out, one-half of the Jewish population of the world was trapped in a corner of Eastern Europe that is absolutely shut off from all neutral lands and from the sea. Russian Poland, where over two million Jews lived, is in a salient. South of it is Galicia, the frontier

¹ American Jewish Committee (eds.), *The Jews of the Eastern War Zone*, New York 1916.

province of Austria. Here lived another million Jews. Behind Russian Poland are the fifteen Russian provinces, which, together with Poland, constitute the Pale of Jewish Settlement. Here lived another four million Jews.

Thus seven million Jews - a population exceeding that of Belgium by one million - have borne the brunt of the war. Behind them was Holy Russia, closed to [end page 7] them by the May Laws of 1881. In front were hostile Germany and Austria. To the south was unfriendly Rumania. They were overwhelmed where they stood; and over their bodies crossed and recrossed the German armies from the west, the Russian armies from the east and the Austrian armies from the south. True, all the peoples of this area suffered ravage and pillage by the war, but their sufferings were in no degree comparable to those of the Jews. The contending armies found it politic, in a measure, to court the good will of the Poles, Ruthenians and other races in this area. These sustained only the necessary and unavoidable hardships of war. But the Jews were friendless, their religion proscribed. In this medieval region all the religious fanaticism of the Russians, the chauvinism of -the Poles, combined with the blood lusts liberated in all men by the war - all these fierce hatreds were sluiced into one torrent of passion which overwhelmed the Jews.

Hundreds of thousands were forced from their homes on a day's notice, the more fortunate being packed and shipped as freight-the old, the sick and insane, men, women and children, shuttled from one province to another, side-tracked for days without food or help of any kind-the less fortunate driven into the woods and swamps to die of starvation. Jewish towns were sacked and burned wantonly. Hundreds of Jews were carried off as hostages into Germany, Austria and Russia. Orgies of lust and torture took place in public in the light of day. There are scores of villages where not a single woman was left inviolate. Women, old and young, were stripped and knouted in the public squares. Jews were burned alive in synagogues where they had fled for shelter. Thousands were executed on the flimsiest pretext or from sheer purposeless cruelty. [end page 8]

These Jews, unlike the Belgians, have no England to fly to. The sympathy of the outside world is shut off from them. They have not the consolation of knowing that they are fighting for their own hearths, or even for military glory or in the hope of a possible reward or indemnity. The only thought they cherish is that after the struggle shall be over they may at last achieve those elementary rights denied to no other people, the right to live and move about freely in the land of their birth or adoption, to educate their children, to earn a livelihood, to worship God according to the dictates of their conscience.

Russia

Nearly half of the Jewish population of the world lives in Russia, in the immediate area of active hostilities, congested in cities, which are the first point of attack. The dreadful position of the Jews of Russia in normal times is well known. Forbidden to live outside of the enlarged Ghetto, known as the Pale of Settlement; burdened with special taxes; denied even the scant educational privileges enjoyed by the rest of the population; harried by a corrupt police, a hostile Government and

an unfriendly populace-in brief, economically degraded and politically outlawed-their condition represented the extreme of misery. It was the openly expressed policy of the reactionaries who ruled Russia to solve the Jewish question by ridding the country of its Jews. "One-third will accept the Greek Church; one-third will emigrate to America; and one-third will die of starvation in Russia" so ran the cynical saying. Some did abjure their faith, tens of thousands did starve in Russia and hundreds of thousands did emigrate to America [end page 9].

Loyalty of Russian Jews

Then came the war. The Jews saw therein an opportunity to show the Christian population that in spite of all the persecutions of the past they were ready to forget their tragic history and to begin life anew in a united and regenerated Russia. Thousands of Jewish young men who had been forced to leave Russia to secure the education which their own country denied them returned voluntarily to the colours even though they knew that all hope of preferment and promotion was closed to them. On the field of battle the Jewish soldiers displayed courage and intelligence which won the respect of their fighting comrades and gained for hundreds of them the much desired cross of St. George, granted for distinguished valour in the face of the enemy; while those who remained at home opened and equipped hospitals for wounded soldiers without distinction of race or creed, contributed generously to all public funds, and, in brief, gave themselves and their possessions unsparingly to the Russian cause.

It appeared at first as though the long desired union with the Russian people was about to be realized. But it soon developed that the chains which bound the Jews of Russia to their past could not be broken. Forces which they could not possibly control doomed them to the greatest tragedy in their history. The Pale in which they lived was Polish in origin and population. Poles and Jews were fellow victims of the Russian oppressor; but instead of being united by the common bond of suffering, they were separated by religious and racial differences and above all by dissension deliberately fostered among them by the Russian rulers until it developed into uncontrollable hate [end page 10].

Russian Atrocities

Immediately before the war the struggle had assumed its bitterest form-that of an unrelenting boycott waged against the Jews. When the war broke out the political status of the Poles changed overnight. Both the Russian and the German armies found it politic to cultivate the good will of the Polish population. Many Poles seized the opportunity to gratify personal animosity, religious bigotry or chauvinistic mania by denouncing the Jews, now to the one invader and now to the other, as spies and traitors. In Germany the animus of the attacks was to some extent uncovered and the lies refuted. But in Russia they found fertile soil. The Russian military machine had met with defeat at the hands of the Germans. To exonerate themselves in the eyes of their own people the military camarilla eagerly seized the pretext so readily furnished them by the Poles and unloaded the burden

of their ill-fortune upon the helpless shoulders of the Jew. Men, women, even children were executed without the shadow of evidence or the formality of a trial. Circumstantial stories of Jewish treachery, invented by the Poles, were accepted as the truth and circulated freely through the Russian press and on the local government bulletin boards; but when official investigation proved these stories false in every particular, the publication of the refutation was discouraged by the censorship. The authorities gave the troops a free hand to loot and ravage, even encouraging them by the publication of orders which officially denounced all Jews as spies and traitors. The result was a series of outrages unprecedented even in Russia. A million Jews were driven from their homes in a state of absolute destitution [end page11].

[...]

Galicia

During the ten months of the Russian occupation of Galicia the Jews of that section suffered even more severely than did the Jews who dwelt in the Russian Pale. For here the Jews were the subjects of the enemy and no pretext was needed for their maltreatment. The Ruthenians and Poles who occupied the land were friendly to Russia, which promised them independence and power. But Russia could expect nothing from the Jews of Galicia, for they were already in the possession of rights and liberties not enjoyed by the Jews of Russia, and the weight of the Russian invasion fell upon them mercilessly. Here thousands of Russian Jewish soldiers were forced to give up their lives in an attempt to impose upon the free Jews of Galicia the servitude from which they, themselves so ardently longed to escape in Russia. They were forced to witness the desecration by their Russian companions-in-arms of synagogues, the outrage of Jewish women and the massacre of innocent and helpless civilians of their own faith [end page12].

[...]

Wholesale Expulsions

[page.61] This public official distrust of the Jewish population of Russia increased with the Russian reverses, and the assumption by the authorities that the loyalty of all the Jews was open to suspicion gave added impetus to, the spy mania, set the Jews apart as a dangerous people and delivered them helpless into the hands of the Cossack soldiery and the hostile Poles. The atrocities committed upon the Jews in Poland and Galicia have already been referred to. But a more disastrous, though less spectacular, consequence of the governmental attitude towards the Jews was the systematic expulsion of the entire Jewish population from the war zone, an act which assumed the character of a merciless war by Russia upon its own population.

From the very beginning of the war there were individual cases of Jews, who, being suspected of bad faith, were ordered to leave a given locality. There were also sporadic expulsions, or rather a forced exodus, of the entire civilian population of localities which the authorities desired to clear for military operations. But it was in March, 1915, that the authorities began systematically to expel Jews from all the

Polish provinces, even those not occupied by German troops, and from the governments of Kovno and Kurland, thus affecting about 30 per cent of the entire Jewish population of the Empire. Even the Jewish deputy from the Kovno district, Friedman, was expelled, in spite of his constitutional privileges as a member of the Duma.

The first sufferers were the Jewish inhabitants of the smaller towns, because these were readily segregated. In a very brief space of time the region where the Jews, constitute over eighty per cent of the population of the [end page 61] small towns was absolutely denuded of Jewish inhabitants². It was only the rapid invasion of this territory by the Germans which prevented the complete expulsion of every one of the two million or more Jews who inhabited this area. And those who have remained in this territory for the present have been promised, by decree of the supreme military authorities of Russia, immediate expulsion as soon as the Russian troops regain a foothold here³.

The enforcement of the expulsion orders was carried out ruthlessly. The time generally allowed was twenty four hours, rarely forty-eight hours. The Jewish inhabitants of the governments of Kurland and Kovno were given from five to twenty-four hours' notice⁴.

The Jews of the city of Kovno were notified on the evening of May 3 (16) to leave not later than midnight of May 5 (18), 1915.

Cruelty of Officials

In a speech delivered in the Duma the non-Jewish deputy Dzubinsky declared:

As a representative of our 5th Siberian division I was myself on the scene and can testify with what incredible cruelty the expulsion of the Jews from the Province of Radom took place. The whole population was driven out within a few hours during the night. At 11 o'clock the people were informed that they had to leave, with a threat that any one found at daybreak would be hanged. And so in the darkness of the night began the exodus of the Jews to the nearest town, Ilzha, thirty versts away. Old men, invalids and paralytics had to be carried on people's arms because there were no vehicles.

The police and the gendarmes treat the Jewish refugees precisely like criminals. At one station, for instance, the Jewish [end page 62] Commission of Homel was not even allowed to approach the trains to render aid to the refugees or to give them food and water. In one case a train which was conveying the victims was completely sealed and when finally opened most of the inmates were found half dead, sixteen down with scarlet fever and one with typhus...

In some places the Governors simply made sport of the innocent victims; among those who particularly distinguished themselves were the governors of Poltava, Minsk, and Ekaterinoslav... who illegally took away the passport of the victims and substituted provisional certificates instructing them to appear at given places in one of five provinces at a

² "Ziemia Lubelska", April 23 (May 6), 1915.

³ "Retch", May 10 (23), 1915.

⁴ "Evreyskaya Nedelya", June 14 (27), 1915.

given date. When they presented themselves at these designed places they were shuttled back and forth from point to point at the whim or caprice of local officials.

In Poltava the Jewish Relief Committee was officially reprimanded by the governor for assuming the name "Committee for the Aid of Jewish Sufferers from the War", and ordered to rename itself "Committee to Aid the Expelled" on the ground, as stated explicitly in the order, that the Jews had been expelled because they were politically unreliable-and, therefore, presumably, deserved no help⁵.

No distinction of age, sex or physical condition was made. As most of the able-bodied young men were at the front, those affected by the expulsions were the persons least able to bear up under the suffering and privation entailed-old men and women, children, the sick from the hospitals, the insane from the asylums, even wounded and crippled Jewish soldiers-all were driven out en masse, without the slightest regard for human comfort or decency. Women in labour were given no consideration and many births occurred along the route. Mothers were separated from their children, entire families were broken up and dispersed all over Russia. The Jewish and liberal Russian press is filled with long lists of victims seeking their lost relatives. Where transportation was provided, the exiles were [end page 63] packed in cattle-cars and forwarded to their destination on a way-bill, like so much freight. In many places thousands of them were forced for weeks at a time to stay in congested villages which were absolutely unable to afford them a roof and shelter, or to sleep in the freight cars or in the open fields. And tens of thousands were forced to tramp weary distances along the open road, or, in the fear of the soldiery, to take to the back roads, the woods and swamps, there to die of hunger and exposure.

The total number of Jews who have been expelled to date is unknown. Expulsions are still going on. At the beginning of June, 1915, at the deliberation of the Petrograd Central Committee for the Relief of Jewish War Sufferers, which was participated in by the most prominent provincial committees, it was calculated that the total number of homeless Jews ruined by the expulsion-in Poland and the north-western district-is 600.000 at the least⁶. After the Kovno-Kurland expulsions there collected in the Vilna government alone some 200.000 exiles⁷. In Riga there gathered, by May 18 (31), some 9.600 families or 42.000 persons⁸. Up to August 6, 1915, there collected in the government of Volhynia upwards of 250.000 refugees⁹.

Hostages

There is evidence to indicate that the Russian government, overwhelmed by the consequences of the expulsion policy, has suggested to the military authorities the [end page 64] advisability of repatriating the exiles; but these authorities have

⁵ "Evreyskaya Zhizn", Aug. 9, 1915, p. 19-20.

⁶ "Haint", May 21 (June 3), 1915.

⁷ "Evreyskaya Nedelya" May 31 (June 13), 1915.

⁸ "Evreyskaya Nedelya" June 14 (27), 1915.

⁹ "Retch", Aug. 6 (19), 1915.

refused to consider the suggestion except on condition that the Jews voluntarily give hostages from among their own ranks, these hostages to include the Rabbi and other leading Jews. This proposal has been universally rejected by the Jews through their representative in the Duma, Deputy Friedman, in a letter to the President of the Council of Ministers:

As a deputy from the province of Kovno, from which I, together with all other Jews, have now been expelled, I consider it my duty to call the attention of your Excellency to the following:

According to the latest decrees of the authorities the Jews who have been expelled from their homes are to be allowed to return on condition that they give hostages. This monstrous condition, which the government aims to impose upon its own subjects, the Jewish people will never accept. They prefer to wander about homeless and to die of starvation rather than to submit to demands which insult their self-respect as citizens and Jews. They have honestly performed their duty toward their country and will continue to do so to the very end. No sacrifices frighten them and no persecutions will make them swerve from the path of honour. But neither will any persecutions force them to accept a lie, to give testimony, through base submission, that the monstrous accusations against them are true. When the insolent enemy threw down the gauntlet to Russia the Jews arose to shield their country with their breasts, and I had the honour to appear at the historic session of the Duma as their spokesman in the expression of this spontaneous, inspiring enthusiasm. The Jews gladly assumed all the sacrifices demanded of them by their country because of a feeling of duty to the land to which they are bound by century old, historic bonds, and also because of a sincere hope for a brighter future. And I may say with deep conviction that even now, after all that we have gone through, this sense of duty is as strong as ever. But with the very same deep conviction I consider it my right and my duty to declare that no privations will shake our firm conviction that as Russian subjects we cannot be made the victims of measures applicable only to enemies and traitors; that we consider ourselves and shall never [end page 65] cease to consider ourselves above all suspicion of treason to our duty, and our vows. If the authorities really desire to return the Jewish people to the places from which they were driven away by order of the authorities they must take cognizance of this feeling which I can testify under oath, on the basis of many conversations and observations, is universal among us. This permission to return under shameful conditions is only a new and senseless insult. So the entire Jewish population feels, and this feeling is shared by me, their representative.

Misery of Refugees

This sudden uprooting of an entire people from the land in which it has dwelt for centuries has brought irretrievable disaster to the Jews of Poland and Russia. It has been estimated that nearly three of the six million of Jews of Russia and Poland are now without means of support.

Overwhelming and incalculable as the economic loss may be, the moral losses far exceed them in intensity. Jewish communal life is disrupted. Many of the cities and towns from which the expulsions took place were centres of Jewish culture. Most of the Jewish colleges and schools have been closed and many of the buildings and synagogues have been destroyed. It is safe to say that these losses cannot be repaired for generations to come.

The demoralization and pauperization of the individual refugees is painfully noticeable everywhere. Beggary, which was practically unknown among the Jews, is now only too frequent.

The appalling misery of the refugees is fully described in the appended report of the Russian Jewish Committee for the Relief of War Sufferers [...]. The Jews of the Empire living outside of the war zone, have assumed [end page 66] a system of self-taxation which, added to their normal or rather normally excessive-burden of taxation is practically impoverishing them. The small Jewish community of Moscow alone gives about 85.000 roubles a month, ranging from an average of 200 roubles per month imposed upon 265 manufacturers down to the 10 roubles per month imposed upon their poorest clerks. Other cities are contributing in proportion but they cannot possibly keep pace with the ever-growing need.

Unfair Administration of Relief

And in the midst of this catastrophe the old struggle between the Poles and Jews has continued with unabated ferocity. The local relief committees refused to accept Jews as representatives, denied Jews any help whatsoever and even drove them away, by intimidation and force, from the relief stations supported by their own people. Of seventy-one relief committees operating in Poland, fifty-two contained, no Jewish members, although the Jews constituted nearly one-half of the urban population and thirteen to fourteen per cent of the rural population in these places. In the other nineteen committees the Jewish membership constituted scarcely ten per cent of the total, although the Jewish population ran from thirty-five to sixty-eight per cent of the total population in the cities and from ten to fifteen per cent in the rural districts¹⁰. And in most of these places the Jews had contributed the major part of the relief funds. Even institutions supported solely by Jewish contributions were expropriated by the Poles.

Thus “the magnificently equipped Hospital for the Wounded, in Warsaw, created at the expense of the [end page 67] Jewish Kehillah, which had refitted the Roman Hotel for the purpose, has been running until now under the official name of the Warsaw Local Relief Committee. But this has turned out to be an anti-Semite organization without a single Jewish representative, its board being made up of rabid Judeophobes, who feel no scruples in the methods and means of their anti-Jewish policy. Private donations, the personal labour of Jews—all this has gone into Polish institutions, all this has disappeared in the Polish river-bed”, declares “Novy Voskhod”, Sept. 11 (24), 1914.

The present attitude of the Jews of Russia toward this problem is well reflected in a letter, published in a recent issue of “Evreyskaya Zhizn”¹¹, from a Jew, the owner of a salt mine, who had been invited, among others, to contribute salt for the poorer people of Warsaw, without distinction of race or creed. He replied, in effect, that the proposal met with his deepest sympathy, but he took the liberty of inquiring as to who would have charge of the distribution of the salt. “Everybody

¹⁰ “Rasviet”, Januar 4 (17), 1915, pp. 31-32.

¹¹ July 5 (18), 1915, pp. 30-31.

knows”, he wrote, “the intolerant attitude of the Polish Relief Committee toward the Jews. This makes us doubt whether your high principle would be carried out conscientiously if administered by Polish hands. The Warsaw Committee is particularly distrusted, and it would be extremely unpleasant for me to feel that the necessities that we contributed should be withheld from our own fellow Jews. “On the other hand, we would welcome gladly every effort on the part of Russian organizations to undertake to cooperate with Poles and Jews in this matter to insure an equitable distribution”.

When the Central Citizens’ Committee of Warsaw was dissolved by the German governor of Poland, in [end page 68] September, 1915, its accounts showed that it had distributed over eleven million roubles (\$5.500.000) since the outbreak of the war, of which the Jews received scarcely 100.000, although they constitute one-sixth of the population and the funds had been gathered with the express understanding that the distribution be absolutely without discrimination between Poles and Jews. The Liquidation Commission which disposed of the balance on hand at the time of the dissolution of the Central Committee-some 1.290.000 roubles-allotted it all to Polish institutions. Although there are 300.000 Jews in Warsaw, the majority of them in dire need, not a rouble was offered for their relief.

Finally it must be noted that the occupation of Poland by the German forces has afforded little relief to the Jews, as the scarcity of food in Germany precludes the shipment of any considerable quantities of provisions to ameliorate the distress of the starving Jews of Poland [end page 69].

Austria-Hungary

[page 84]The total estimated Jewish population of Austria Hungary is about 2.250.000, of which nearly one million were, at the beginning of the war, in the border province of Galicia, in the immediate area of hostilities.

Here, as elsewhere, the Jews manifested their keen loyalty by trooping to the colours even when they were normally exempt, as in the case of the students of the Budapest Rabbinical Seminary, many of whom volunteered, although not required to do so. The Government recognized this loyalty in many ways, particularly in the granting of special privileges with respect to the observances required by the Jewish religious ritual Thus the Emperor, in his own name, sent 20.000 Tallithim (prayer shawls) for the soldiers in the field during the holidays. When, at Passover, it was discovered that the matzoths for the Jewish troops had been improperly prepared, the Government, at the instance of the Chief Rabbi of Vienna, authorized the wholesale distribution of potatoes to Orthodox Jews.

Hundreds of Jewish soldiers have been decorated on the field of battle, and many were given officers’ commissions.

Galicia

It was the million Jews of Galicia who were made to feel the full burden of the war. Although their economic condition before the war was greatly inferior to that

of the general population, their political condition was one of equality. But the Russian invasion of Galicia, in September, 1914, changed their status overnight [end page 84].

The Russian Governor-General, Count Bobrinski, a notorious anti-Semite, found the political status of the Jews in Galicia most abhorrent to him. He at once proceeded to degrade them to the status of the Russian Jews, and, if possible, still lower. He proposed to his home Government that all Jewish landed property in Galicia be confiscated and the Jews be forbidden to own, lease or rent land; and this, he added, was an immediately imperative step, to be carried out even before the formal annexation of Galicia was announced!

On February 13, 1915, the Grand Duke Nicholas issued an order declaring that “in view of the increase of spying on the part of the Jews, it is decreed that:

1. No person of Jewish nationality may enter Galicia.
2. No persons of Jewish nationality may pass from one district of Galicia into another.
3. Infractions of this decree will be punished by a fine of three thousand roubles (\$1.500) or by three months’ imprisonment¹².

The spirit of these documents, communicated to the troops, produced a series of outrages against the Jewish population more horrible even than any perpetrated in Russia. As each town was invaded by the Russians the troops first sought the Jewish quarters, and here they let themselves loose in an orgy of pillage, sack and rapine.

In the town of Bohorodczany there appeared, in January, 1915, a detachment of Austro-Polish troops. They demanded food and quarters and were, of course, supplied. After a brief stay they departed. But the act of the Jews was reported to the Russian commander in Stanislaw. He immediately sent a “punitive” expedition of four hundred Cossacks to the town. They set the [end page 85] town on fire, routed out the Jewish women and girls from their places of concealment, assembled them in the square and there held an orgy under the open sky. After their lusts were satisfied they drove the victims under the crack of the whip, half naked and starving, along the roads to Stanislaw. One woman, who had risen from childbirth only a few days before, died on the way. One of the physicians of Stanislaw, Dr. B., testifies that he alone treated ten cases of women and girls who had been violated¹³.

In Szczerzec, Galicia, the Russian soldiers caught one Jacob Mischel, a town councillor, poured oil over him and burned him alive¹⁴.

In Dembica, Cossacks raided a synagogue to which the Jews had fled for refuge and prayer, robbed and imprisoned the men, and outraged the women. Those who

¹² “Prikarpatskia Russ”.

¹³ “Jüdisches Archiv”, p. 5.

¹⁴ “Jüdisches Archiv”, p. 6.

escaped through the windows were caught by the guards below and men and women were knouted to death. Then the troops set fire to the synagogue¹⁵.

These are typical cases of outrages perpetrated against the Jewish population of Galicia. Scarcely a town in the line of invasion escaped. The Jewish population fled before the invaders in vast numbers.

There are about 175.000 Jewish refugees in Vienna; 70.000 of these are destitute. There are about 70.000 living in barracks in Bohemia; 8.000 of these are in Prague. There were about 52.000 in Budapest. All fugitives who have settled in Hungary, however, have been removed to Austria proper. Dr. J. Bloch of Vienna, estimates that the total number of Jewish refugees from Galicia is about half a million. The situation of these refugees [end page 86] is somewhat better than that of the Jewish refugees in Russia, inasmuch as the Government has placed them in concentration camps, attends to their minimum want and gives each one an allowance of 70 heller (14 cents) daily. With the rise in the prices of food, the daily allowance has risen to about 90 heller (18 cents) per capita. They are treated well by the population, and in many cases are provided with some work.

[...]

¹⁵ “Jüdisches Archiv”, p. 10.