

Social Mobility of the Interwar Jewish Medical Elite during the Holocaust*

Zuzana Tokárová**

vol. 13, 2024, no. 2, pp. 120–135

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33542/CAH2024-2-05>



The paper analyses the social mobility of members of the interwar Jewish medical elite during the Holocaust, using the example of physicians in the town of Prešov. The aim is to confirm or refute the premise that members of the former medical elite were in a better position and had a higher chance of surviving the Holocaust. This premise is based on the assertion that, due to a shortage of qualified specialists in the Slovak state, the regime granted a wide range of exceptions, including for physicians. In this context, the research aims to analyse the extent of downward vertical social mobility within the societal structure and the changes in social status between 1938/1939 and 1945. The research seeks to answer the following questions: To what extent was the privileged position of members of the interwar medical elite maintained within the Jewish community after the introduction of anti-Semitic policies in Slovakia? What was the rate of decline within the social structure? Did belonging to the former medical elite increase one's chances of surviving the Holocaust? And what were the main factors influencing survival? Answering these and related questions could shed more light on the social background of the Holocaust and the mechanisms of societal transformation associated with the rise of the authoritarian regime and Hlinka's Slovak People's Party.

Keywords: Social mobility; Jewish medical elite; Physicians; Holocaust; Prešov; Slovak state; Anti-Semitic policies.

Introduction

The anti-Semitic policy of Hlinka's Slovak People's Party (HSĽS) against the Jewish population in Slovakia, systematically implemented during World War II, was undoubtedly unprecedented. Both local and society-wide measures impacted the lives of every member of the Jewish minority to varying degrees. However, it seems that members of the former Jewish elite might have had better chances of survival in this struggle. As members of a privileged group, they might have been able to use their prominent positions within the community before 1938 and other associated advantages, such as better economic positions or more diverse political or social ties outside the community, to mitigate the effects of anti-Semitic policies and to increase the likelihood of their surviving the Holocaust. In connection with this, the basic question arises as to whether and to what extent members of the elite were able to maintain their social status and how it helped them.

The study builds on my previous research on the social status of members of the political municipal elite of Jewish origin at the time of the Holocaust, in which I intended to confirm the premise that members of the former political elite (on the example of Jewish members of the municipal self-government bodies in Prešov) could have been in a better position and had a better chance of surviving the Holocaust. Although no causality between membership in the former political elite and a higher chance of surviving the Holocaust has been proven and it having been found that members of the Jewish municipal political elite were affected to the same extent by

anti-Semitic policies as the rest of the Jewish community of the town,¹ in the case of the non-political Jewish elite, the possibility remains open that research could lead to a different conclusion. In the research of downward social vertical mobility for individual groups within the former non-political elite of Jewish origin (economic, administrative, intellectual, religious and cultural), I do not expect significant deviations compared to that of the political elite, except for amongst one specific group within the intellectual elite: physicians. Due to a lack of qualified specialists in the Slovak state, the regime provided a wide range of exceptions, including for physicians. As a follow-up to this, I predict a different outcome in the social collapse and subsequent survival of the Holocaust within the municipal elites in this employment segment.

In this context, the purpose of the research is to analyse the degree of vertical social mobility within the social structure of society and changes in the social status of the interwar Jewish medical elite during the years 1938/1939–1945 in terms of their decline into the lower structures of society. The intention is not to investigate the issue of the social mobility of physicians in isolation, outside the historical context of the Jewish persecution, but to examine the problem as an integral part of the research on the social decline of the Jewish community during the Holocaust. To fulfil this aim, the following research questions were defined: 1. To what degree was the better position of members of the interwar medical elite maintained within the Jewish community after the introduction of anti-Semitic policies in Slovakia and, respectively, what was the rate of decline within the social structure? 2. Did belonging to the former elite mean a better chance of surviving the Holocaust, and what were the main factors influencing survival? Answering these and other related questions could help shed more light on the social background of the Holocaust and the mechanism of societal transformation associated with the rise to power of an authoritarian regime and HSL'S.

The social mobility is examined using the example of physicians in Prešov. The town showed specific characteristics in local processes in comparison with other towns in Slovakia during the observed time frame. Moreover, after Prešov in 1940 became the strategic centre of eastern Slovakia and the seat of the County Office of the newly established Šariš-Zemplín County, local institutions and political actors, on their own initiative, contributed to the strengthening of anti-Semitic attitudes and to the significant intensification of anti-Semitic policies in the region. In the following years, the high proportion of the Jewish minority in the town, together with their influential political and economic positions, was used to support anti-Semitism. It was typical for both the town and the county to adopt strict anti-Jewish measures beyond the framework of central regulations and decrees or in advance of them. The mentioned specific aspects and character of local dynamics of anti-Semitic politics was the reason for choosing Prešov as a case study for analysing social changes in the status of Jews and the social background of the Holocaust at the micro level of society.

^{*} The study is published within the project VEGA 1/0109/22 Strategies of Surviving the Holocaust and Urban Elites II.

^{**} Mgr. Zuzana Tokárová, PhD., Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Pavol Jozef Šafárik University in Košice, Slovak Republic; zuzana.tokarova@upjs.sk; ORCID iD: 0000-0002-1688-8345.

1 See: TOKÁROVÁ, *Social Status*, 655–676.

Theoretical and Methodological Starting Points

The theoretical basis for this study of social mobility is provided by the concept of Pitirim A. Sorokin of social mobility as the process of the transitioning of an individual or social object or value from one social position to another.² The subject of analysis, as already mentioned, is Jewish representatives of the interwar municipal medical elite in Prešov. To identify them, I start with the definition of the term elite in the theoretical concept of Vilfredo Pareto, defining the elite as a group of people that achieves the highest indices of excellence, manifested in success in any area of social activity. It means those who, in any branch of activity (not only in the field of power or politics for which, similar to Mosca, he identified the elite as the governing elite³), can occupy top positions based on their skills (psychological or intellectual superiority, personal competence and efficiency).⁴ Within the meaning of this definition, the analysed group includes Jewish physicians in the town in leading positions – chief town physicians, directors of public hospitals, including heads/primaries of departments, and directors of private medical institutions (sanatoriums) – as well as physicians in leading positions in key medical institutions and associations in Slovakia in the interwar period such as the Medical Chamber,⁵ and in leading positions (chairmen, vice-chairmen and committee members) of local branches of such associations as the Central Union of Czechoslovak Physicians (Ústředná jednota československých lékařů)⁶ and the local group of the Association of Physicians (Spolok pokladničných lékařů).⁷

Similarly to in previous research on the Jewish political elite, the methodological procedure involves a group-biographical analysis of members of the selected social group in the form of a case study based on the systematic collection and analysis of data from preserved materials, mostly official records made out by central and regional public institutions of the Slovak state. Based on the theoretical framework of elite research by Barbara Wasner,⁸ as part of the analysis and subsequent comparison, the following dimensions are monitored: (1) personal characteristics (age, gender, civic status, religion, education etc.), which provide a formal image of members of the elite; (2) social background (public, political, social and religious involvement); (3)

2 For a closer look at social mobility, see: SOROKIN, *Social and Cultural Mobility*, 133–163.

3 Like Mosca, he subdivided elites into a governing elite and a non-governing elite. PARETO, *The Mind and Society*, Vol. III, 1424. Compare: MOSCA, *The Ruling Class*.

4 See: PARETO, *The Mind and Society*, Vol. III, 1423.

5 The Medical Chamber for Slovak Land (and Subcarpathian Ruthenia) was the basic representative of the medical condition, uniting all physicians in Slovakia, providing support and assistance and defending the interests of medical practice. It was established by § 2 of Law no. 113/1929 Sb. z. a n. of 28 July 1929. In 1935, Jewish physicians in Slovakia represented 39.7%. As of 6 October 1938, there were 867 associated Jewish physicians, which represented 44.53% of all physicians in Slovakia within the Medical Chamber. See: SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 29.

6 The Central Union of Czechoslovak Physicians (Ústředná jednota československých lékařů) organized within its regional branches (counties) physicians who practiced in the territory of Slovakia. Physicians in the eastern part of Slovakia belonged to the regional branches based in Košice – Eastern Slovak County XXXI., which mainly brought together physicians of Czech and Slovak nationality and a few Jewish physicians, and county XXXVI., which was established in 1928, brought together physicians of Hungarian and German nationality and the majority of Jewish physicians from eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Within county XXXVI., its branch in Prešov had existed since 1930. SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 29–30. FALISOVÁ, *Lekári na Slovensku*, 67.

7 The Association of Physicians (Spolok pokladničných lékařů) had developed activity within the Central Union of Czechoslovak Physicians since 1929. The physicians of Prešov were organized within the association in the regional branch – Spolok pokladničných lékařů, miestna skupina v Prešove.

8 See: WASNER, *Eliten in Europa*, 23.

a common model of the behaviour – the similarity of reactions to the adopted anti-Semitic measures; and (4) interconnection within the Jewish and non-Jewish municipal elite (family/friendly/neighbourhood ties, work/social/economic connections etc.).

The Social Profile of the Interwar Jewish Medical Leaders in Prešov

Within the large Jewish minority, which in interwar Prešov represented about 18–20% of the local population,⁹ notable groups of elites (economic, administrative, intellectual, religious and cultural) rose to prominence, which wielded influence in various areas of social life. Their members were actively engaged in both public and political spheres and actively participated in the management of the town, in leading positions of local political parties, as members of the Municipal Assembly or the Municipal Council in Prešov. The penetration into local business circles allowed them to significantly participate in the modernization and development of industry,¹⁰ and, through their active participation in local interest groups and a range of Jewish cultural associations, to significantly contribute to the cultural development of the town and the region.¹¹

A special group among the Jewish municipal elite was represented by physicians. Generally, in Slovakia Jews occupied a dominant role in the medical profession. In 1921, physicians of Jewish nationality represented 40.7% of the total number of physicians in Slovakia, with an average share of Jewish nationality of 2.38% and Jewish religion of 4.53%.¹² By October 1938, the percentage share of Jewish physicians had risen to approximately 44.52%.¹³ This was based on the fact that the Jewish community had a strong focus on the medical profession, which was mainly a result of the impact of Jewish culture and religious healing traditions and customs, as well as many other factors conditioned by socio-historical development.¹⁴ Jews were also recorded as holding a growing number of positions among physicians and pharmacists in the town of Prešov, with the town being one of the four in Slovakia with the highest concentration of Jewish physicians during the interwar years.¹⁵ In 1921, 13 Jewish physicians worked

9 In 1921, the share of the Jewish population was 19.78%; of the total population of the town of 17,577 inhabitants there were 3,477 inhabitants of the Jewish religion. In 1930, the proportion of the Jewish population was 18.2% of the total number of 21,775 inhabitants of Prešov, 3,965 inhabitants were of the Jewish religion and 1,702 were of Jewish nationality. This remained at approximately the same level for a later period. By 1938, the number of inhabitants claiming to be of Jewish nationality (still voluntarily) had increased to 2,134 of the total population of the town of 21,016. By 1940, the number of inhabitants of Jewish nationality had increased to 4,381, which was 17.98% of the total population of the town of 24,363; At the beginning of 1942, there were 5,134 inhabitants of the Jewish faith in Prešov. See: Štátny archív v Prešove [State archives in Prešov] (hereinafter ŠA PO), Okresný úrad v Prešove, 1923–1944 (1950) [District Office in Prešov, 1923–1944 (1950)] (hereinafter OÚ PO), box 19, sign. 2826/40 prez. BÜCHLER, *Encyklopédia*, Vol. II, 158.

10 BÜCHLER, *Encyklopédia*, Vol. II, 166.

11 For more, see: AMIR, *Prešov*, 62.

12 Circuit and municipal physicians of Jewish nationality in Slovakia represented a share of 11.8%, and circuit and municipal physicians of Jewish faith accounted for up to 45.9%. By 1928, the share of municipal and circuit physicians of Jewish nationality had increased to 28.6%. See: SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 27–28.

13 DOMENOVÁ, *Lekárska starostlivosť*, 196.

14 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 27.

15 In 1924, a total of 25 physicians worked in the town; In 1932, their number increased to 33 physicians; and in 1939, the total number of physicians in Prešov was 35. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box. 2, sign. 1723/1924 prez. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box. 8, 200, sign. 118/1932 prez.

in the town, and at the beginning of 1939, their number had risen to 31, out of a total of 35 physicians in Prešov.¹⁶

The interwar Jewish medical elite in Prešov consisted of a total of 22 physicians who held leading positions in the medical branch of activities. It included state official physicians – town and district/circuit physicians – and hospital physicians/physicians of hospital insurance companies and treatment funds, as well as general practitioners and specialist physicians in private surgeries with a wide range of specialties (general medicine, internal medicine, physicians for children's diseases and infants, dermatovenerologist/skin and sexually transmitted diseases physicians, eye physicians, ear-nose-throat physicians, dentists, physicians for women's diseases and obstetrics, surgery and medical examiners etc.).¹⁷ Its character indicates a relative homogeneity of the group in terms of gender composition (except one woman, they were all men) and also age distribution. The interwar Jewish elite in Prešov consisted of a younger generation of physicians. Almost 60% of the share was represented by the youngest group, born since the mid-1890s and after 1900, who were students aged 12–23 at the beginning of the interwar period. During the interwar period, they reached a productive age, and at the time of the creation of the Slovak state, they were just around the age of 40. A smaller share of the elite was represented by somewhat older Jewish physicians, born in the 1880s and until the mid-1890s, who were aged 24–33 at the time of the creation of Czechoslovakia, and in 1939 they entered the new state as people of about 50. The older generation was represented by only one physician, Samuel Duschnitz, who was one of the oldest physicians in Prešov (since 1904), already in his fifties at the end of World War I, and who was more than 70 years old when the Slovak state was established.¹⁸ The age structure was naturally reflected in the time when they acquired medical education. More than half of the analysed group received their medical education during the 1920s at medical faculties in Prague and Bratislava, and slightly older physicians completed their medical studies before 1918 at the medical faculty in Budapest. The exception was Samuel Duschnitz, who received his education at the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna.¹⁹

The municipal medical elite was shaped by the environment of Prešov Jewish families (the majority of elite representatives, more than 70%, having been born in Prešov or its nearby villages, just about 30% being not originally from Prešov, while some of them having moved to Prešov with their families within a couple of years of

16 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 28, 45.

17 Odbočka svazu lekárov v Prešove. In: *Slovák*, 1928 (8.9.), vol. X, no. 203, p. 7. Lekárske zhromaždenie v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1930 (12.7.), vol. I., no. 29, p. 2. Noví činovníci lekárskej jednoty v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1931 (4.7.), vol. II, no. 27, p. 5. Noví funkcionári miestnej organizácie lekárov. In: *Šariš*, 1933 (14.1.), vol. IV, no. 2., p. 5. *Lékařský schematismus*, 407–408. Odbočka pokladenských lekárov v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1930, (1.3.), vol. I, no. 1, p. 7. Miestna odbočka pokladenských lekárov v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1931, (7.2.), vol. II, no. 6, p. 3. Riadne valné zhromaždenie miestnej skupiny spolku pokladničných lekárov v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1932 (13.2.), vol. III, no. 7, p. 5. Nové predstavenstvo jednoty lekárov. In: *Šariš*, 1932 (10.12.), vol. III, no. 47, p. 4. Riadne valné zhromaždenie Miestnej skupiny spolku pokladničných lekárov v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1935 (19.1.), vol. VI, no. 3, p. 5. Miestna skupina „Spolku pokladničných lekárov“ Ústrednej jednoty čsl. Lekárov v Prahe mala v Prešove... In: *Šariš*, 1937, (29.1.), vol. VIII, no. 4, p. 6. SPÁNYI, *Adresár mesta Prešova*. DOMENOVÁ – PEKÁR, *Pamätná kniha*. For individual representatives, see: SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II., 13, 19, 23, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 42, 46, 49, 61, 69, 70, 84, 92, 105.

18 For individual representatives see data from the 1930 census: <https://www.slovakiana.sk/scitacie-harky/?page=1&tm=0>.

19 For individual representatives, see: SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II., 13, 19, 23, 31, 33, 34, 35, 38, 42, 46, 49, 61, 69, 70, 84, 92, 105.

their birth), which upbringing led to a deep connection to religion and spiritual life, to deep faith and observance of the principles of religiosity and religious traditions.²⁰ This was reflected in the later religious commitment of several representatives as functionaries of Jewish religious communities,²¹ and Jewish religious and support associations, or in organizing orphanages, charities and soup kitchens.²² Involvement in associational activities was not limited to Jewish religious and charitable associations. They were fully actively involved in Slovak cultural and social life. In addition to managing local branches of medical associations, the Central Union of Czechoslovak Physicians (Ústředná jednota československých lékařův) and the Association of Physicians (Spolok pokladničných lékařův), they were active officials and members of Slovak associations (the Prešov branch of the Czechoslovak Red Cross [Československý červený kříž], Masaryk League Against Tuberculosis [Masarykova liga proti tuberkulóze], District Fire Union [Okresná hasičská jenota], the Slovak Matica [Matica slovenská] or a whole range of sports associations, such as the sports club Snaha, Club of Slovak Tourists [Snaha, Klub slovenských turistov], the Prešov Gym and Fencing Association of Prešov [Prešovský telocvičný a šermový spolok v Prešove (PTVE)], the Skating Association of Prešov [Brusliarsky spolok v Prešove] and others). In addition, they regularly participated in international congresses and in the organization of lectures, medical training and courses,²³ and some of them regularly contributed medical articles to the local weekly *Šariš*.²⁴

In terms of political involvement, political neutrality and passivity were typical for members of the medical elite. Unlike lawyers or merchants, physicians were not used to participating in the political management of the town. The exception was membership in the Social and Health Commission of the Town Assembly in Prešov (Viktor Gärtner and Aladár Weiszlovitz)²⁵ or the Committee of the Jewish Party in Prešov (Aladár Weiszlovitz and Alexander Friedmann).²⁶ More active in the political life of the town among Prešov physicians was Viktor Gärtner, who, in addition to being a substitute in the Municipal Assembly in Prešov and a member of the Social and Health commission, had higher political ambitions. In the mid-1930s he ran for the Jewish Party in the elections to

20 Suláček pointed to the fact that Prešov was one of the places where Jewish physicians integrated into the framework of the Jewish community with their strict spiritual life and lifestyle. SULÁČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 24.

21 Functionaries of Jewish religious communities were Gabriel Bott, Samuel Duschnitz, Jozef Gottdiener, Imrich Hartmann, Markus Hirschfeld, Žigmund Hübschmann and Viktor Gärtner (who after 1939 even became the head of the neologism Jewish religious community in Prešov). See: Volba zastupiteľstva irz. (congr.) náb. obce v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1931 (7.2.), vol. II, no. 6, p. 7. Volba v žid. (congr.) náb. obci v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1931 (14.2.), vol. II, no. 7, p. 7. Volba predstavenstva neol. náb. obce žid. v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1937 (19.2.), vol. VIII, no. 7, p. 5.

22 For more information on Jewish associations in Prešov in the interwar period, see: SZEGHY-GAYER, *Fragmenty*, 153–175.

23 In this regard especially Gabriel Bott, Žigmund Hübschmann, Dezider Lefkovits, Aladár Neuwirth and Aladár Weiszlovitz were particularly active.

24 Especially Gabriel Bott, Samuel Duschnitz, Imrich Hartmann and Žigmund Hübschmann. See: Hlavní spolupracovníci »Šariša«. In: *Šariš*, 1931, vol. II, no. 1, p. 5.

25 Delegovanie členov do mestských komisií v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1932, (3.12.), vol. III, no. 46, p. 3.

26 Dňa 28-ho septembra b. r. bolo valné zhromaždenie Židovskej strany v ČSR miestnej skupiny v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1937 (1.10.), vol. VIII, no. 37, p. 7.

the Assembly of the Country Office²⁷ and in 1937 he became the head of the Jewish Party in Prešov in the position of chairman.²⁸

Social Mobility During the Holocaust²⁹

In the context of strengthening the anti-Semitic policies of the authoritarian regime in Slovakia, the social decline of the Jewish minority within the stratification of society was foreshadowed by the first administrative steps of the HSLS immediately after 6 October 1938, which were carried out in the political sphere. In pursuit of establishing a steadfast popular power structure, it became necessary to remove individuals deemed unreliable and to substitute them with loyal adherents of the regime. Consequently, Jewish political parties and organizations were prohibited, and the members of the Jewish minority were excluded from political positions at all levels of the bureaucratic apparatus including local self-governing bodies. The social status of the Jewish medical elite remained relatively untouched by these measures, which can be attributed to the aforementioned limited involvement of local physicians in the management of communal politics. At the same time, other legal norms directed against Jews were taken, which aimed to restrict the performance of certain professions. In that period, this mainly concerned the activities of Jewish merchants;³⁰ however, the first administrative interventions against the scope of the medical services of Jewish physicians were also introduced. These were interventions that fell within the legal boundaries of the system, for example, the termination of the employment relationship, or the non-renewal of the employment contract. Within the monitored group of the Jewish interwar elite, among the first affected was the temporary state town physician in Prešov, Oskár Stern, whose contract was not extended. He was deprived of his service from 28 December 1938, and replaced by Štefan Bereczký. When rejecting Oskár Stern's appeal against the Country Office's decision to terminate his employment, the Ministry of the Interior argued that the provisions of §19 of Regulation no. 23/1927 Sb. z. a n. allowed the termination of the service contract within the first three years of service without a reason being given.³¹ However, the intention to limit the scope of medical care provided by Jewish physicians was obvious, as evidenced by the non-renewal of the contract with the Jewish physician Gabriel Bott, at that time the chief official physician of the District Hospital Insurance Company (Okresná nemocenská poisťovňa) in Prešov, who was dismissed from his position in December 1938 by the newly appointed government commissioner of the company.³² From 1 January 1939, the service contracts of another 12 Jewish physicians working in the services of the District Hospital Insurance Company were not renewed.³³

27 Šarišskí kandidáti do krajského zastupiteľstva. In: *Šariš*, 1935 (25.5.), vol. VI, no. 21, p. 4.

28 Dňa 28-ho septembra b. r. bolo valné zhromaždenie Židovskej strany v ČSR miestnej skupiny v Prešove. In: *Šariš*, 1937 (1.10.), vol. VIII, no. 37, p. 7.

29 One of the members of the former elite, Imrich Hartmann, who died after an illness on 13 December 1937, was taken into account within the characteristics of the interwar medical elite in Prešov, although his case was not included in the monitoring of social mobility. Notification of the death of Imrich Hartmann, see: Mudr. Imrich Hartmann zomrel. In: *Šariš*, 1937, (17.12.), vol. VIII, no. 48, p. 2.

30 For example, the Regulation for Sunday rest, which was adopted to restrict the business especially of Orthodox Jews. For more, see: NIŽNANSKÝ, *Politika antisemitizmu*, 38, 40–46.

31 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 17, inv. no. 207, sign. 2032/1939.

32 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 18, inv. no. 208, sign. 528/1940 prez.

33 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 40.

The state-legal changes in March 1939 were reflected in a series of other measures beyond the sphere of politics that, within a few years, contributed to the economic and professional isolation of the Jewish community and their social collapse. The legal basis for this was the enabling legislation authorizing the government to issue government decrees with the force of law, which represented a curtailment of the basic powers of parliament and a transfer of legislative power to the government, and at the same time, the acceleration of the adoption of anti-Jewish legislation. Another key legal norm was the Government Decree no. 63/1939 Sl. z. of 18 April 1939 which comprehensively defined the term Jew and anchored the confessional principle in determining its scope. The adoption of the aforementioned decree became a decisive factor that led to the social collapse of the Jewish minority's status in the following years. Temporary maintenance of a certain level of social stability was only possible with the exception from the definition of the term Jew according to the provision of paragraph 2 § 1 of the mentioned decree, but its acquisition was conditioned by many factors.³⁴

Also, from the point of view of the medical profession, the medical practice of Jews was restricted shortly after 14 March, which was supported by several separate legislative norms. The determining factor for the exclusion of Jewish physicians in the first phase was the Government Decree no. 74/1939 Sl. z. of 24 April 1939, on the exclusion of Jews from public services. On the basis of this decree, a Jew could not be employed by the state, public self-governing corporations or public institutions. This meant that by 1 January 1940, at the latest, all Jews were to be released from state service or removed from office in public corporations.³⁵ The decision thus affected all state official district/circuit and municipal and hospital physicians or physicians in health insurance companies. In the event of a possible replacement by non-Jewish applicants, they could be deprived of their position immediately. Temporarily, only the possibility of general and specialized private medical practice by Jewish physicians was left. The measure meant a radical threat to medical care, especially in eastern Slovakia, due to the high proportion of Jewish physicians, as a result of which the implementation of this measure had to be mitigated for a while. At that time, Jewish physicians were gradually excluded from status organizations, and from July 1939 on, they lost their active and passive rights to join the Medical Chamber.³⁶

Permission to carry out the private practice of Jewish physicians was also limited within a few months. The government's key measure in this direction was Government Decree no. 184/1939 Sl. z. dated 25 July 1939, on a guide for the number of Jews in medical practice, setting the *numerus clausus*, which means that it limited the number of Jewish physicians in medical practice to 4% of the total number of members of the Medical Chamber. Paragraph 3 of §1 of this decree allowed the possibility of keeping some Jewish physicians in medical practice even above these 4%, while the Ministry of the Interior determined the place of their practice. Physicians who were not included in the percentage share or in the number above this percentage automatically lost their authorization to practice medicine, as well as their membership

34 See: Government Decree no. 63/1939 Sl. z. of 18 April 1939.

35 Government Decree no. 74/1939 Sl. z. of 24 April 1939. The deadline was later extended to 1 March 1940, according to the Decree with the power of law no. 7/1940 Sl. z. of 11 January 1940.

36 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 42, 43, 45.

in the Medical Chamber.³⁷ The measure naturally affected all representatives of the medical elite in Prešov, who, following the adopted measure, applied for inclusion in the specified 4% share or numbers above this percentage. A total of 41 applications of Jewish physicians were submitted in the Prešov district; the district chief in Prešov recommended rejecting 31 of them and granting only 10 requests, referring to the consideration of local conditions and the number of the population, as well as the applicants' property, citizenship, social and status conditions. In the town of Prešov, he suggested keeping only seven Jewish physicians (two general practitioners, two dentists, and three specialist physicians – paediatric, dermatovenerologist/for skin and venereal diseases, and roentgenologist). The remaining three Jewish physicians were to work in the countryside. The vast majority of physicians recommended for inclusion in the permitted percentage by the district chief were representatives of the medical elite; such are the cases of Ernest Arje, Jozef Gottdiener, Alexander Samuel Gottlieb, Oskár Stern and Andrej Schnitzer, the last of whom the county governor Štefan Hašík had personally recommended as a voluntary participant during the March battles. At the same time, the district chief proposed the inclusion of another representative of the elite, Alexander Friedmann, in the case of the non-inclusion of Ernest Arje. The recommendation of the Prešov district chief was supplemented by a request to withdraw the concession for the sanatorium of the Prešov Jewish physician Eliáš Neumann.³⁸ Similarly to the district chief, representatives of the local organizations HSL'S and HG and representatives of the municipal administration commented on the assessment of physicians' requests. As requests were granted at the level of the ministry only to a limited and individual extent, the authorization to practice medicine of all monitored representatives of the municipal medical elite in Prešov was withdrawn during the second half of 1940. The exceptions were Žigmund Hübschmann and Andrej Schnitzer, whose practice was banned in 1941³⁹ and Samuel Duschnitz, who voluntarily gave up his medical practice in July 1939.⁴⁰ The decree on the prohibition of the practice of medicine was accompanied by the issuance of an order by the district chief in Prešov to immediately and completely remove the company signs of Jewish physicians, which was based on the suspicion that physicians with prohibited practice continued to keep their company signs covering the office hours to continue to mark their physician's office and practice illegally.⁴¹ Subsequently, the surgeries of Jewish physicians who were forbidden to practice medicine were sealed, and their medical instruments and equipment were seized.⁴²

The changes introduced significantly affected the professional and social status of members of the Jewish elite. One of the possible solutions to steer clear of income loss and professional and social isolation, and later also deportation, was the acquisition of the status of a protected person through a ministerial exception or, from September 1941, after the introduction of a general ban on medical and veterinary practice for Jews according to § 18 of Decree no. 198/1941 Sl. z. of 9 September 1941, on the legal status of Jews, also through a presidential exception. In accordance with § 255

37 Government Decree no. 184/1939 Sl. z. of 25 July 1939.

38 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 85, inv. no. 229, sign. 982/1940.

39 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 92, inv. no. 230, sign. 13256/1941; box 93, inv. no. 230, sign. 23580/1941.

40 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 23.

41 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 19, inv. no. 208, sign. 183/1940 prez.

42 The decree no. 23/1941 Sl. z. of 14 February 1941 later allowed medical equipment to be sold off.

of the aforementioned decree, it was allowed to obtain complete (recognition of non-Jewish character) or partial exemption by presidential decision from certain provisions of Decree no. 198/1941 Sl. z.⁴³ Obtaining the exemption was influenced on many factors and a combination of factors. First of all, the opinions of local and district state authorities, the recommendation of the Medical Chamber, or the intervention of influential political actors or the Jewish Centre (Ústredňa Židov) played an important role. At the local level, the physician's professional and social reputation, popularity among patients or personal contacts, social links and closeness to the non-Jewish populace during the pre-Holocaust period were all crucial. Naturally, membership in and involvement in Slovak associations or political orientation in the interwar period helped to obtain an exemption. Various forms of protectionism, corruption or simple coincidence also contributed to the decision.⁴⁴ In regard of the above factors, membership in the interwar medical elite and the privileged status associated with it could appear to be an immense advantage in the effort to obtain an exemption. None of these factors, however, guaranteed the granting of an exception, as can be seen in the case of Gabriel Bott's extraordinary social involvement in Slovak interwar associations, which did not bring him an exception.⁴⁵ Only two of the monitored group of Jewish physicians in Prešov became holders of exemptions from the Ministry of the Interior as early as 1940 (Ernest Arje and Jozef Gottdiener).⁴⁶ Later, in July 1941, Elena Mayerová was included among the 4% quota of Jewish physicians with permission for private practice.⁴⁷ Other exemptions of the Ministry of the Interior and, in two cases, presidential exemptions were only granted in the second half of 1942, at a time when five members of the interwar medical elite in Prešov had already been deported, following the start of the first wave of deportations of the Jewish population from Slovak territory. Almost all the representatives of the interwar Jewish medical elite in Prešov as out-of-work physicians were affected by the rapid social collapse during 1940 associated with professional and social isolation. Partially, it also affected physicians who were left in medical practice. By the issuance of the regulation of the Ministry of the Interior dated 22 April 1941, the marking of the offices of Jewish physicians with a yellow wooden board with the inscription JEW [ŽID] between a pair of six-pointed stars was mandated.⁴⁸

Downward social mobility was further intensified by the decline in the economic position in the process of the forced expropriation of various forms of ownership, limiting the possibility of dealing with money and valuables,⁴⁹ as well as the Aryanization and subsequent nationalization of Jewish housing property. By implementing the Aryanization of housing property, which was intended to deprive Jews of property and at the same time resolve the acute problem of lack of accommodation in the town, the Jews lost ownership of this property, although the Jewish medical elite was not

43 Decree no. 198/1941 Sl. z. of 9 September 1941.

44 See: SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 62.

45 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 85, inv. no. 229, sign. 954/1940.

46 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 98, inv. no. 231, sign. 6131/1942.

47 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 98, inv. no. 231, sign. 6131/1942.

48 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. I, 66.

49 The expropriation of bank deposits and valuables was determined by Decree no. 271/1940 Sl. z. of 18 October 1940; by Decree no. 272/1940 Sl. z. of 25 October 1940; and by Decree no. 293/1940 Sl. z. of 8 November 1940.

affected to the same extent as, for example, the municipal political elite, this being related to the fact that the share of homeowners among the Jewish medical elite was smaller compared to that of the Jewish political elite.⁵⁰ In the first phase of the process of Aryanization of housing property, the Central Economic Office (Ústredný hospodársky úrad; ÚHÚ) was authorized according to Decree no. 257/1940 Sl. z. of October 11, 1940, to impose a temporary administration on Jewish housing property, which meant that the so-called temporary administrators were placed in Jewish-owned houses.⁵¹ In the town of Prešov, the process of imposing temporary administration on Jewish property, which lasted until the end of 1940, included Jewish houses located almost exclusively in the most prosperous part of the town – on Hlinkova Street (today Hlavná Street).⁵² In 1941, under the baton of the District Office in Prešov, temporary building administrators were also appointed in other locations of the town, still in the narrow centre of Prešov (later also on the outskirts of Prešov).⁵³ Only 30% of the representatives of the Jewish medical elite in Prešov were the owners of the house property (Henrich Gideon,⁵⁴ Emanuel Guttmann,⁵⁵ Imrich Hartmann,⁵⁶ Eliáš Neumann,⁵⁷ Aladár Neuwirth,⁵⁸ Alexander Schwalb⁵⁹ and Aladár Weiszlovitz⁶⁰), to which temporary administrators were appointed in accordance with Decree no. 257/1940 Sl. z.⁶¹ Subsequently, after 1 November 1941, the Jewish household property was transferred to state ownership, and Jewish owners lost their property.⁶²

As part of the persecution of Jews, the involuntary eviction of Jews from homes and apartments in selected areas of the town also took place at that time. After the issuing of the Regulation no. 258/1940 Úrad. Nov. of 28 November 1940, the ÚHÚ prohibited

50 See: TOKÁROVÁ, *Social Status*, 655–676.

51 Decree no. 257/1940 Sl. z. of 11 October 1940.

52 First, the Central Economic Office imposed a temporary house administration on a total of 32 Jewish houses, of which 31 were on Hlinkova Street and one was on Slovenská Street. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 17, inv. no. 207, sign. 920b/1939.

53 Until 31 March 1941, a temporary administration was imposed on 280 Jewish houses in Prešov. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 20, inv. no. 209, sign. 884/1941 prez.

54 Henrich Gideon was the owner of two houses, at 1 Bardejovská Street and 120 Hlinkova Street. See: ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 17, inv. no. 207, sign. 920b/1939 prez.; or 1930 census: <https://www.slovakiana.sk/scitacie-harky/cair-ko291gg?url=%7b%22page%22:%221%22,%22lm%22:%220%22,%22search%22:%22Pre%C5%A1ov%20Bardiovsk%C3%A1%22,%22sort%22:%22rank%22,%22sortDirection%22:%221%22,%22searchByKeywords%22:%22true%22,%22index%22:10,%22total%22:37%7d&fromPage=cs>.

55 Emanuel Guttmann owned a house at 150 Hlinkova Street. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 17, inv. no. 207, sign. 920b/1939 prez. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 95, inv. no. 231, Súpis Židov mesta Prešov (celkový a ulice B–H).

56 Imrich Hartmann was the owner of the house at 97 Hlinkova Street until he died in 1937. At the time of the imposition of temporary house administration, Imrich Hartmann's widow, Helena was the owner of the house. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 95, inv. no. 231, Súpis Židov mesta Prešov (celkový a ulice B–H).

57 Eliáš Neumann owned a house at 56 Slovenská Street. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 17, inv. no. 207, sign. 920b/1939 prez.

58 Aladár Neuwirth was the owner of the house at 45 Hlinkova Street. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 98, inv. no. 231, sign. 6794/1942.

59 Alexander Schwalb was the owner of the house at 134 Hlinkova Street. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 95, inv. no. 231, Súpis Židov mesta Prešov (celkový a ulice B–H).

60 Aladár Weiszlovitz owned two houses, at 72 Hlinkova Street and 24 Slovenská Street. ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 98, inv. no. 231, sign. 6794/1942.

61 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 98, inv. no. 231, sign. 6794/1942.

62 Regulation of the Slovak State Government no. 238/1941 Sl. z. of 30 October 1941.

the renting of new apartments in some parts of Prešov and, under § 2, ordered the eviction of Jews and non-Jewish spouses of Jews from apartments on Hlinkova Street by 31 December 1940.⁶³ In December, this measure was supplemented by a nationwide regulation.⁶⁴ However, in the case of the town of Prešov, the initiative of the local authorities⁶⁵ went beyond the scope of this regulation, and the defined zones, from which the Jews were forcibly evicted, were extended to other streets (Slovenská Street and Štefánikova Street), and the ban on living covered other streets in the narrower and wider centre of the town.⁶⁶ In practice, however, the eviction of Jews from apartments in a defined part of the town did not concern Jewish physicians with an authorized practice, the vast majority of whom lived in apartments on Hlinkova Street. According to the Regulation of the ÚHÚ of 25 March 1941, Jewish physicians who were allowed by the Ministry of Interior to practice medicine and lived on the streets of Andrej Hlinka or the streets and squares of Adolf Hitler and in other parts of the towns where the eviction of Jews was ordered by special decrees, were exempted, and the district chiefs were not supposed to insist on their eviction.⁶⁷ As a result of this adjustment, Jewish physicians could continue to live in their apartments in all observed cases until 1944 (except for physicians who did not receive permission and were deported in 1942, who died, or who the Ministry of Interior determined to practice outside their residence).⁶⁸

Similarly, social decline and a sharp reduction in the quality of life of members of the former municipal medical elite in Prešov were exacerbated by other anti-Jewish regulations of a local character and escalating discrimination that affected the entire Jewish community in the period under review, such as their exclusion from the public space (restricting of the free movement of Jews within public parks, markets, orchards, cafes, cinemas, spas and sports facilities or establishing sections in which Jews were forbidden to move),⁶⁹ a ban on meeting in private apartments, restrictions on the purchase of daily necessities for Jews from September 1941,⁷⁰ travel restrictions from November 1941,⁷¹ the marking of Jewish households with a Jewish sign (yellow star)

63 Regulation no. 258/1940 Úrad. Nov. of 28 November 1940.

64 According to ÚHÚ Regulation no. 267/1940 Úrad. Nov., Jews in all towns and villages of Slovakia were forbidden to live on streets and squares named after Andrej Hlinka and Adolf Hitler, and they were obliged to move out of these apartments by 31 March 1941 and to move to the outskirts of town. See: ÚHÚ Regulation no. 267/1940 Úrad. Nov. of 14 December 1940.

65 It was mainly the district chief in Prešov, representatives of the local HSL'S organization in Prešov, the local headquarters of the Hlinka Guard and the local headquarters of the Freiwillige Schutzstaffel, the government commissioner of the town of Prešov, the head of accommodation for Jews, and a representative of the municipal notary's office for the town of Prešov.

66 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 97, inv. no. 231, sign. 912/1942.

67 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 91, inv. no. 230, sign. 10059/1941.

68 Slovenský národný archív [the Slovak National Archives] (hereinafter SNA), Ministerstvo vnútra, 1938–1945 [Ministry of Interior, 1938–1945] (hereinafter MV), box 570, inv. no. 260, no. 21-1 dôv/44. ŠA PO, Policajné riaditeľstvo v Prešove 1938–1944 [Police Directorate in Prešov, 1938–1944] (hereinafter PR PO), box 6, inv. no. 26, cat. no. 35.

69 For example, according to the Regulation of the County Office of the Šariš-Zemplín County no. 20/1941 Úrad. Nov. of 31 December 1940, or the Regulation no. 100/1941 Úrad. Nov. of 1 March 1941.

70 According to the Regulation of the Ministry of the Interior no. 85700/II.4-1941 of 8 September 1941. ŠA PO, Mestský úrad v Prešove, 1923–1945 [Municipality Office in Prešov, 1923–1945] (hereinafter MÚ PO), box. 22, inv. no. 139, no. 85700/II.4-1941.

71 According to the Regulation of the Ministry of the Interior no. 100/30421/VI-25/1941 of 10 November 1941. ŠA PO, MÚ PO, box. 22, inv. no. 139.

above the entrance door to the apartment from 15 March 1942⁷² and the obligation to wear Jewish designation, which was implemented in the Šariš-Zemplín County many months earlier than in the rest of the Slovak territory.⁷³

The predominant response among members of the monitored social group to the adopted anti-Jewish legislative acts was, as in the case of members of the political elite, to adapt to the growing seriousness of anti-Semitic measures. The vast majority of members of the elite relied for survival on using the legal methods of protection offered by the bureaucratic system in its granting of exemptions. After the start of the deportation from the Slovak territory in late March 1942, escape or hiding was chosen only in two cases. Alexander Steinhardt and Oskár Stern were listed for deportation in April 1942, but at the time of concentration, they hid from arrest.⁷⁴ At the end of April, Alexander Steinhardt was arrested, and as an accompanying physician in transport no. 20 from Žilina, he was deported.⁷⁵ Oskár Stern later received a work permit.⁷⁶ In May 1942, another five, or probably six physicians (Gabriel Bott, Henrich Gideon, Emanuel Guttmann, Eduard Lefkovits, Aladár Weiszlovitz and probably also Andrej Schnitzer) were deported on transport no. 28 of 13 May 1942.⁷⁷ Other members of the elite were also listed for deportation in the first wave of deportations. Alexander Friedmann and Aladár Neuirth were intended for transport, but due to illness they were not taken to the concentration centre,⁷⁸ and Elena Mayerová, Viktor Gärtner, Markus Hirschfeld, Eliáš Neumann, Alexander Schwalb and Oskár Stern were taken to concentration centres,⁷⁹ but later they were released as a result of modifications in relation to physicians, which occurred already during the first stage of deportations. The 14th department of the Ministry of the Interior decided at the end of March 1942 that the physicians concentrated in the concentration centres who had not been assigned to the nearest transports until then should be released in the interest of public health. Viktor Gärtner was among the physicians who were designated by the Ministry of Interior at that time as accompanying physicians on the transports, but he was not deported thanks to the granted exception.⁸⁰ As mentioned earlier, during 1942, the remaining members of the interwar Jewish medical elite in Prešov were given ministerial exemptions, and the ministry determined the place of their medical practice (this applying to Ernest

72 According to the Regulation of the Ministry of the Interior no. 14-D4-511/1-1942 of 11 March 1942. ŠA PO, MÚ PO, box. 23, inv. no. 140, sign. 6795/1942.

73 By the issuing of the special regulation of the Šariš-Zemplín County Office no. 144/1941 Úrad. Nov. of 31 March 1941. See more: KAMENEC, *Po stopách tragédie*, 121. For more details on the local aspect and specifics of anti-Semitic policies in the Šariš-Zemplín County, see, for example: HLAVINKA, *Židovská komunita v Humennom*, 30–61; HLAVINKA, *Židovská komunita v okrese Medzilaborce*; HLAVINKA, *Príprava a priebeh*, 361–388; TOKÁROVÁ, *Represívne zásahy*, 50–66.

74 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 22, inv. no. 210, sign. 1112/1942 prez.

75 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign. 1222/1942.

76 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 92.

77 SNA, MV, box 209, inv. no. 152, sign. 14.

78 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 22, inv. no. 210, sign. 1112/1942.

79 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 33, 34, 46–47, 69, 84–85, 92.

80 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign. 1343/1942.

Arje,⁸¹ Samuel Duschnitz,⁸² Alexander Friedmann,⁸³ Viktor Gärtner,⁸⁴ Jozef Gottdiener,⁸⁵ Eena Mayerová,⁸⁶ Markus Hirschfeld,⁸⁷ Žigmund Hübschmann,⁸⁸ Dezider Lefkovits,⁸⁹ Aladár Neuwirth,⁹⁰ Alexander Schwalb⁹¹ and Oskár Stern in 1943⁹²). Ernest Arje and Alexander Samuel Gottlieb received partial presidential exemptions.⁹³ In more than half of the cases, the place of their medical practice was determined to be outside the town of Prešov.

The exemptions granted during 1942 were only temporary protection for the holders and their family members from immediate eviction and did not prevent the social collapse that finally culminated in the autumn of 1944 during the direct German occupation of Slovakia. At the time of the loss of validity of any exceptions, the natural reaction to save bare life was the hiding of several of the monitored group (Viktor Gärtner, Jozef Gottdiener, Alexander Samuel Gottlieb and Alexander Schwalb).⁹⁴ Anti-Jewish actions undertaken by German security forces in Slovakia in cooperation with the Hlinka Guard (HG) at the end of 1944 meant the killing (Samuel Duschnitz⁹⁵ and Jozef Gottdiener⁹⁶) or the deportation of several members of the interwar elite to extermination camps outside Slovakia where they perished (Ernest Arje, Alexander Friedmann, Žigmund Hübschmann, Aladár Neuwirth and probably also Oskár Stern).⁹⁷ Just six members of the Jewish interwar medical elite (Viktor Gärtner, Alexander Samuel Gottlieb, Markus Hirschfeld, Eliaš Neumann, Alexander Schwalb and Elena Mayerová, who was among the last to be arrested and transported to Auschwitz in October 1944)⁹⁸ survived the Holocaust.

Conclusion

The initial assumption that the Slovak state was forced to provide legal protection to Jewish physicians from persecution due to the lack of qualified specialists in the country, and that as a result physicians were supposed to be protected from anti-Semitic

81 SNA, MV, box 222a, inv. no. 152, sign. 14.

82 ŠA PO, PR PO, box 6, 26, cat. no. 35.

83 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942.

84 SNA, MV, box 222a, inv. no. 152, sign. 14.

85 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942.

86 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942.

87 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942.

88 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942.

89 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942. Dezider Lefkovits left illegally after a serious illness in March 1944 to Budapest, from where he was later taken to a concentration camp, where he died. SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 61.

90 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 23, inv. no. 210, sign 1343/1942.

91 SNA, MV, box 402, inv. no. 175, sign. 14.

92 ŠA PO, OÚ PO, box 25, inv. no. 211, sign 1325/1943.

93 SNA, MV, box 583, inv. no. 260, sign. 14.

94 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 34, 38, 85.

95 Shortly before his arrest in November 1944, Samuel Duschnitz and his wife committed suicide in their apartment in Prešov. SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 23.

96 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 38.

97 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 13, 32, 49, 71, 92. *Zoznam obetí holocaustu*, 2–44.

98 SULAČEK, *Biele plášte*, Vol. II, 34, 38, 47, 69, 85, 33. *Prešovskí Židia*, 13, 14, 15, 17.

policies and not be affected by social decline and so having had a better chance of surviving the Holocaust, was wrong. Despite the granting of exemptions for more than half of the physicians from the monitored group, it is not possible to talk about maintaining the social status of the members of the municipal medical elite of the interwar period. As the analysis of local processes showed, the systematic adoption of anti-Semitic measures from the autumn of 1938, and especially after 14 March 1939, also led to a gradual social decline for members of the former medical elite. Within the monitored sample of physicians from Prešov, parallels in the decline in their social status can be observed. The professional and social isolation as a result of losing employment in the civil service and the general ban on private medical practice by Jewish physicians was further accompanied by a decline in economic and social status. In spite of relatively numerous exceptions being acknowledged, a portion of the elite members were not protected in 1942, and the rest were not protected in the autumn of 1944.

The privileged social position in the interwar period as representatives of the medical elite, combined with influence, popularity among the population not only in the Jewish community and more varied social contacts, did not guarantee the maintenance of a more favourable position in the following period. Similarly to in the case of Jewish political municipal elites, the low survival rate suggests that surviving the Holocaust was predicated upon a complex interplay of specific occurrences, fortuitous circumstances, luck and external assistance or aid, rather than the use of the previous privileged social status, personal preferences or personal contacts.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archival primary sources

Slovenský národný archív [the Slovak National Archives], Ministerstvo vnútra, 1938–1945 [Ministry of Interior, 1938–1945].

Štátny archív v Prešove [State archives in Prešov], Mestský úrad v Prešove, 1923–1945 [Municipality Office in Prešov, 1923–1945].

Štátny archív v Prešove [State archives in Prešov], Okresný úrad v Prešove, 1923 – 1944 (1950) [District Office in Prešov, 1923 – 1944 (1950)].

Štátny archív v Prešove [State archives in Prešov], Policajné riaditeľstvo v Prešove 1938–1944 [Police Directorate in Prešov, 1938–1944].

Periodicals and normative sources

Slovák, 1928.

Šariš, 1930–1938.

Slovenský zákonník, 1939, 1940, 1941.

Úradné noviny, 1940, 1941.

Other primary sources

Census 1930: <https://www.slovakiana.sk/scitacie-harky/?page=1&lm=0>.

Lékařský schematismus: Seznam členů Ústřední Jednoty Československých Lékařů a seznam všech českých a slovenských lékařů v Československé republice a všech lékařů na Slovensku a Podkarpatské Rusi. Praha: Ústřední jednota československých lékařů, 1931.

Pamätnica prešovského Kolégia 1667–1967. Prešov: Mestský národný výbor, 1967.

SPÁNYI, Artúr. *Adresár mesta Prešova a Prešovského okresu*. Prešov: Minerva, 1931.

SERVÁTKA, Eugen. *Praktický adresár mesta Prešova, 1941*. Prešov: Tatran, 1941.

Secondary sources

- AMIR, Giora. *Prešov: osud židovskej obce, jednej z mnohých*. Bratislava: SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 2004.
- BÜCHLER, Róbert J. *Encyklopédia židovských náboženských obcí*. Vol. II (L–R). Bratislava: SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 2010.
- DOMENOVÁ, Marcela. Lekárska starostlivosť je dostupná: K stavu lekárov a zubných technikov na Slovensku v roku 1941 (na príklade Penzijného ústavu súkromných úradníkov). In: *Liber – Verbum – Monumentumque IV. (Pretiosa quam sit sanitas morbus docet: osveta – zdravotníctvo – knižná kultúra)*. Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove, 2021, pp. 194–209.
- DOMENOVÁ, Marcela – PEKÁR, Martin (eds). *Pamätná kniha mesta Prešova III (1938–1941)*. Prešov: Štátna vedecká knižnica v Prešove, 2011.
- FALISOVÁ, Anna. *Lekári na Slovensku do roku 2000*. Bratislava: Veda, 2010.
- HLAVINKA, Ján. Židovská komunita v Humennom v rokoch 1918–1945. In: BELEJ, Milan – HLAVINKA, Ján – LEVICKÝ, Juraj. *Dejiny židovskej komunity v Humennom*. Humenné: ADIN, s.r.o., 2013, pp. 30–61.
- HLAVINKA, Ján. *Židovská komunita v okrese Medzilaborce v rokoch 1938–1945*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2007.
- HLAVINKA, Ján. Príprava a priebeh deportácií Židov na území Šarišsko-zemplínskej župy v roku 1942. In: SOKOLOVIČ, Peter (ed.). *Slovenská republika 1939–1945 očami mladých historikov*. Zv. 7. *Perzekúcie na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945*. Bratislava: Ústav pamäti národa, 2008, pp. 361–388.
- KAMENEC, Ivan. *Po stopách tragédie*. Bratislava: Archa, 1991.
- MOSCA, Gaetano. *The Ruling Class*. New York – London: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1939.
- NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. *Politika antisemitizmu a holokaust na Slovensku v rokoch 1938–1945*. Banská Bystrica: Múzeum SNP, 2016.
- PARETO, Vilfredo. *The Mind and Society*, Vol. III, *Sentiment in Thinking (Theory of Derivations)*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1935.
- Prešovskí Židia, ktorí prežili nacistickú genocídu. In: LANDA, Dezider – KÓNYA, Peter. *Pietne odhalenie Pamätníka martýrov v Prešove 18. augusta 1991*. Prešov: Židovská náboženská obec v Prešove, 1992, pp. 12–18.
- SOROKIN, Pitirim A. *Social and Cultural Mobility*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959.
- SULAČEK, Jozef. *Biele plášte: tragické osudy židovských lekárov na Slovensku v období druhej svetovej vojny*, Vol. I – II. Bratislava: SNM-Múzeum Židovskej Kultúry, 2005.
- SZEGHY-GAYER, Veronika. Fragmenty spolkového života židovskej komunity v Prešove. In: *Poklady Židovského múzea v Prešove III*. Bratislava: Neinvestičný fond židovského kultúrneho dedičstva – Menorah, 2021, pp. 153–175.
- TOKÁROVÁ, Zuzana. Represívne zásahy proti židovským obyvateľom v Prešove v rokoch 1939–1942. In: *Dejiny*, 2014, vol. 9, no. 2, pp. 50–66.
- TOKÁROVÁ, Zuzana. Social Status of the Interwar Jewish Political Elite in Prešov and Its Influence on Surviving the Holocaust. In: *Historický časopis*, 2021, vol. 69, no. 4, pp. 655–676.
- WASNER, Barbara. *Eliten in Europa. Einführung in Theorien, Konzepte und Befunde*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften; GWV Fachverlage GmbH, 2004.
- Zoznam obetí holokaustu z Prešova a okolia. In: KÓNYA, Peter – LANDA, Dezider. *Stručné dejiny prešovských Židov*. Prešov: Podnik výpočtovej techniky Bratislava, a.s. divízia Prešov, 1995, pp. 2–44.