

# Budapest or Prague?

Jews in Eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'  
at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

Peter Švorc

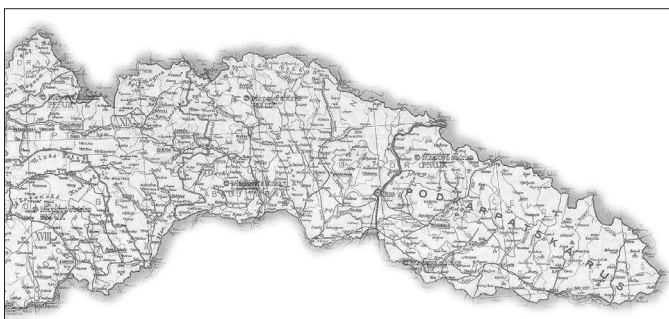


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*Jewish fabric merchant at the Prešov market (Main Street, the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century)*



*A Jewish inn-keeper in Subcarpathian Rus, 1920s*

## In the beginning

The subject of the Jewish population in the history of Slovakia in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century is a recurring topic within Slovak historiography. Of course, this statement has only been true post 1989, when Slovak historical science started to notice, to a much greater extent, one of the most unmissable communities in Slovak society – Jews. It, however, paid most attention to the period around the breakup of Czechoslovakia and the Slovak state of 1939 – 1945, when racially, as well as politically, motivated anti-Semitism entered into the life of the Jewish community resulting in the most staggering consequences for the Jewish population of Slovakia. There were several reasons why Slovak historians focused on the period 1938/39 – 1944/45. One of them was their interest in investigating and, subsequently, pointing to the fate of the Jewish community in the totalitarian regime of the Slovak state; another, later, perhaps, even more common, reason was the material preserved in all Slovak archives. That allowed for a detailed study of the discrimination of Jews, their deportation to concentration camps, as well as social, economic, and physical elimination. Registries of the Jewish population in every town and village, inventories of their possessions, their work and, by effect, social status, reports by gendarmeries, district authorities and other institutions made it possible to analyse the situation in Jewish communities at the close of the 1930s on a local, regional, as well as national level.<sup>1</sup> Less attention was paid to Jews in the interwar period and their social and economic status. It was not caused by a lack of interest on the part of Slovak historical science in this population of Slovakia between 1918 and 1939, but rather the fact that research into Slovakia's Jewish community in the given period is complicated by scattered and relatively small amounts of material, due to which researchers are unable to submerge themselves in the subject to the same extent as is possible for the war period. The reason why contemporary written resources are missing lies in the fact that, when Slovak Jews were deported, their documents, and sometimes the entire archives of local Jewish religious communities, were also dis-

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1 From this point of view, the period at the turn of 1939 is, perhaps, elaborated in most detail in the work of the prominent Slovak historian and expert on the Jewish issue in the war period, Eduard Nižňanský. NIŽŇANSKÝ, Eduard. *Židovská komunita na Slovensku medzi československou parlamentnou demokraciou a Slovenským štátom*. Prešov: UNIVERSUM, 1999.

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posed of. Therefore, to reconstruct the fates of Jewish communities from, as it were, the inside is rather a complicated, complex, demanding, and oftentimes near impossible, task. This is, to a certain extent, also confirmed by *Encyklopédia židovských náboženských obcí* [*Encyclopaedia of Jewish Religious Communities*]<sup>2</sup>, issued by the Slovak National Museum: The museum of Jewish culture in Bratislava, which presents Jewish religious communities in the interwar period very scarcely. Another reason lies in the fact that the Czechoslovak Republic was, from its very formation, modelled as a democratic state in which the 1920 Czechoslovak constitution guaranteed, in Paragraph 106, equal rights to all citizens regardless their origin, mother tongue, race (nationality), or religion<sup>3</sup> and, particularly in Paragraphs 121 – 125, the freedom of conscience and confession, the right to publically as well as privately profess any religion or faith, should it not endanger public order (§122) and, at the same time, the equality of all confessions before the law;<sup>4</sup> in Paragraph 129, it guaranteed the right to one's own mother tongue which could, under strictly defined conditions, be used as an official language<sup>5</sup>; and explicitly prohibited forceful denationalisation, which was included in the constitution alongside a threat that such action would be classified as a criminal offence (§134).<sup>6</sup>

Even though the constitution, just like all laws, only offered a framework within which Czechoslovak society functioned and, in reality, was not a hermetically closed space with uncrossable barriers, or an ideal society, its mere existence and significance, supported by the criminal code, did not allow for unpunished overstepping of the defined socio-legal boundaries. The constitution alone was a serious enough standard, generally respected by Czechoslovak society, which guaranteed its relatively peaceful and democratic existence. This fact was consequently reflected in the 'briefer' form of documents and other material of administrative provenience regarding the Jewish population of Czechoslovakia.

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2 *Encyklopédia židovských náboženských obcí, 1. zväzok A – K*. Zost. Róbert J. Büchler. Bratislava: SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 2009; *Encyklopédia židovských náboženských obcí, 2. zväzok L – R*. Zost. Róbert J. Büchler. Bratislava: SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 2010; *Encyklopédia židovských náboženských obcí, 3. zväzok S – T*. Zost. Róbert J. Büchler. Bratislava: SNM – Múzeum židovskej kultúry, 2012.

3 *Československá ústava a zákony s ní souvislé. I. díl*. Uspořádal a poznámkami opatřil JUDr. Zdeněk Peška. Praha: Československý Kompas, 1935, p. 295.

4 *Československá ústava a zákony s ní souvislé. I. díl...*, pp. 318-323.

5 *Československá ústava a zákony s ní souvislé. I. díl...*, 1935, p. 328.

6 *Československá ústava a zákony s ní souvislé. I. díl...*, 1935, p. 330.

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The above does not, however, fully apply to the Jewish population of Subcarpathian Rus'. The National Archive in Prague has preserved, until the present day, a relatively large amount of contemporary material, exclusively dedicated to Carpatho-Rusyn Jews.<sup>7</sup> It primarily concerns the 1920s, a period which was, from the viewpoint of stabilisation of the young Czechoslovak state, highly significant. Even though the issue of stabilisation of Czechoslovakia was also important in Slovakia, at the beginning of the 1920s there was no threat of Slovakia being torn away from the Czech lands, or Czechoslovakia being eliminated, in spite of various political turbulence, the spread of the Slovak autonomist movement, strengthening criticism of the Czechoslovak government and its policies towards Slovakia. The situation was different in Subcarpathian Rus', which, 'de iure', but really also 'de facto', became part of Czechoslovakia only after the Treaty of Saint-Germain was signed on September 10<sup>th</sup>, 1919. It was not only a numerous Magyar, but also Jewish, population<sup>8</sup> who lived there, that did not support the new state – Czechoslovak Republic – and, in the first years of its existence, also made it clear. The Czechoslovak government, thus, did not trust either the local Magyars or Jews, which is why it requested regular reports on everything regarding those groups of the population from the Civil Administration of Subcarpathian Rus'. This mistrust and the need to be informed about the situation in Subcarpathian Rus' gave rise to relatively detailed reports, statements, and analyses, which provide a complete picture of the life of Jews living in Subcarpathian Rus', their internal conflicts, political groupings, views, needs, etc. Such reports gathered both at the Home Office, as well as the Government Office and the Presidential Office, provide researchers with multiple identical materials on Carpatho-Rusyn Jews in three different depositories, as well as non-identical materials that complement each other. Situational statements and reports from pre-election meetings of existing political parties in Subcarpathian Rus' standing for parliament were of especially great evidential value. In this sense, they can also be of use for finding out about the political activities of Slovak Jews, a majority of whom came from Eastern Slovakia. They came to the hustings in order to support their candidates and convince their co-reli-

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7 Národní archiv Praha (NA Praha), Fond Predsedníctvo ministerské rady (PMR-S) 1918 – 1942, Box 329.

8 In the 1910 census of residents, 174,501 inhabitants of the Hungarian Rus' claimed to be of Magyar nationality, 87,381 to be Israelites, and 336,045 Rusyn. Cf: *Statistická příručka republiky Československé II*. Sestavil Státní úřad statistický. Praha 1925, pp. 56-57\*.



*Bardejov in the 1920s; in 1921, the town had 6,593 inhabitants, out of which 2,206 (33.5%) were Israelites*

gionists in Subcarpathian Rus' of their exceptionality and the merits they had, or, would have, with regard to Czechoslovak Jews should they get into the Czechoslovak parliament or the senate.

Such was also the situation in Czechoslovak journalism with the exception of, perhaps, the first years of the existence of the Czechoslovak Republic. In the period press, one can, again, find more information on Carpatho-Rusyn Jews than on Slovaks.

The Jews of Czechoslovakia did not form, from the viewpoint of civil rights or religious confession, any exceptional group deserving special attention from Czechoslovak officials, public administration, the police, army, etc., and it was no different in the area of nationality. On the contrary, the Czechoslovak state enabled its Jewish citizens to not only publicly claim to be of Israelite confession, which was possible in pre-1918 Hungary (i.e. also in the territory of Slovakia), but also Jewish nationality, which the Jews of Hungary (i.e. Slovakia) could not do until 1919. The fact that not all members of the Israelite faith, generally considered members of the Jewish nationality by members of other religions, chose Jewish nationality in the 1919, 1921, and 1930 censuses of residents, was

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another matter. Their ethnicity in Hungary varied; they usually claimed to be of German or Magyar nationality, i.e. they chose those nationalities which were not exposed to restrictions for the sake of the transformation of Hungarian society into Hungarian political nationality and, consequently, also ethnically Magyar society. Only in rare cases did Hungarian Israelites claim to be of other nationalities. There is no record of a case where an Israelite would choose Slovak nationality. Only in some poor Rusyn villages in Verkhovina in the territory of the then Hungarian (later Subcarpathian) Rus' there were cases of local Jews choosing Rusyn nationality. In their poverty and the rural way of life, they were no different from the local Rusyn population and, thus, most likely for pragmatic reasons, they chose Rusyn nationality.<sup>9</sup> The ethnic limits, which Israelites found themselves in after the formation of Czechoslovakia, however, broadened. Apart from Jewish nationality, Czechoslovak nationality was now also at play and the numbers of Israelites, who were, pre-1919, of Magyar, or even German, nationality, fell significantly. This phenomenon can, however, be seen as significant in Slovakia as late as the second half of the 1920s and throughout the 1930s and it mainly concerned members of the young generation. The official Czechoslovak nationality (which did not distinguish the Czech and Slovak nationalities) opened space for everyone who did not accept Jewish nationality, did not want to keep Magyar or German nationality, and also would not identify with Slovak nationality, as they were unable to make peace with it and accept it as equal, but, for various reasons, wished to integrate in a state-forming ethnic group of Czechoslovakia. Czechs were perceived by Magyars, Germans, and, thus, also Jews, as an 'imperial' but also culturally advanced nation. This alternative could be perceived as advantageous especially by those Jews who in the Czech environment witnessed enough examples of voluntary assimilation of their Jewish co-religionists with their Czech ethnic surroundings. In such a case, identifying with this nationality was not generally perceived as conjuncturalist 'pandering' to the new power, even though part of the Jewish population – the older generation – viewed it that way and criticised all who claimed to be of Czechoslovak nationality.

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9 ŠVORC, Peter. Židia na Podkarpatskej Rusi a československý štát v medzivojnovom období. In *Česko-slovenská historická ročenka 2011*. Brno: Česko-slovenská komisia historikov, 2001, p. 61.

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Should one view the Jewish population in Slovakia, there are obvious differences in their social and economic status and also in the internal functioning of and relationships within their individual religious communities. This corresponded, to a large extent, to the level of advancement of the region where Jews lived. Eastern Slovakia, both in Hungary as well as Czechoslovakia, was among those regions that were economically poorly developed and Hungarian (Subcarpathian) Rus' was even more behind. The economic deprivation of the region also reflected in the local population's level of education, regardless their nationality, as well as their state of mind. It gave specific character to the middle class which a significant proportion of the Jewish population was part of. The 'middle class' on the periphery was not, however, identical to that in the country's centre. It mainly differed in its economic, but also greater social, status. In north-eastern Hungarian (and, after the formation of Czechoslovakia, in Eastern Slovak and Carpatho-Rusyn) counties, the members of this class (regardless their nationality) wished to, at least in their social status, match the members of the middle, and, possibly, even higher class in the centre of the country, and they also showed it at any possible occasion. Back in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Magyar author Kálmán Mikszáth (1847 – 1910) described the situation, using the example of Šariš County on the periphery of Hungary, in his novel entitled *The Cavaliers*:<sup>10</sup> *"I know for well the great Šariš County. I have many a time visited it; my family and friends live there, as do lords, both great and small, which does not mean, though, there is a difference, as, in Šariš, small lords are also great lords and, likewise, great lords are small lords, too. Šariš is a county of good spirits and illusions. I have been to many balls and banquets there, and I always felt like I was sitting among the very Esterházy while still being aware they were county scribes and small-town clerks who were in need and, possibly, starved in secret, but when a stranger's eyes lay on them, they could say goodbye to their very last shilling with count-like grandeur."* Later on, the Slovak author Emo Bohúň described his experience with Šariš County, then, already on the periphery of Czechoslovakia, in a similar way in his semi-autobiography *Dejiny veselé i neveselé* [*Joyful and Less Joyful Histories*] in the short story *Prvé dni a prví páni* [*The First Days and First Lords*]:<sup>11</sup> *"I have found myself in such an environment in Šariš, among these strange fantasists, forgotten by*

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10 MIKSZÁTH, Kálmán. *Gavalieri*. Bratislava: Nakladateľstvo „Bibliotheka“ 1935. 205 p.

11 BOHŮŇ, Emo. *Dejiny veselé i neveselé*. Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1960, pp. 36-47.

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*history, as, in Czechoslovakia, they suddenly lost the breeding-ground of the former feudal Hungary”.*

The breakup of Hungary and the formation of Czechoslovakia brought about a significant change in the life of the Jewish population living in Eastern Slovakia and Hungarian (Subcarpathian) Rus'. The new terms and rules required the inhabitants of the new state to adapt to the new social and political situation which was, in the moment of the revolutionary turn of events, and even later, unknown and full of questions, while the answers only appeared gradually. They also required a new, changed, state of mind, leaving old and tested ways behind and accepting new challenges and conditions. For many, especially the older generation, this was inconceivable and impossible, which meant they fell into the group Bohúň described as *“those forgotten by history, [...] who carried in them a seed of death and, shortly after, would be part of the past”*.<sup>12</sup> The only way to 'save' themselves, as they felt it inside, was a return to the old Hungarian system. That was why they rejected Czechoslovakia and, with hope, welcomed any hint of return. They also viewed as such the revolutionary Red Army units of the Hungarian Soviet Republic which, in May and June 1919, occupied Eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus'.

The relationship of the Jewish population living in Eastern Slovakia and Subcarpathian Rus' towards Czechoslovakia only changed slowly and gradually through the young generation who was open to changes and quickly realised that Czechoslovak orientation would be advantageous for the Jewish population. Apart from other things, Czechoslovakia was built on democratic principles, equality for all, and also recognising the Jewish nation, which was not the case in Hungary.

The present monograph is merely a probe into the complex matter of the social change after the radical upheaval of 1918, on the example of the Jewish population, which was, on the one hand, an integral part of society but, on the other hand, stood apart from, or was set apart by, Christian society. The monograph does not capture the internal structure of Jewish society, but merely traces its outlines. Nevertheless, it strives to point to the factors which determined and formed the relationship of the majority society towards their fellow Jewish citizens both in times of the socio-political changes and shortly after in the new historic post-war environment.

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<sup>12</sup> BOHÚŇ, Emo. *Dejiny veselé i neveselé*. Bratislava: Slovenský spisovateľ, 1960, p. 47.



*Budapest*

## Jews in Eastern Slovakia at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century

Eastern Slovakia as a specific region and, at the same time, a network of counties in Eastern Slovakia (not carrying the name 'Eastern Slovakia'), was not mentioned in the socio-political context until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Until then, as well as later, it was perceived as an integral part of Upper Hungary which might have had its peculiarities but its character reflected the specifics of other regions within the Kingdom of Hungary. Moreover, Eastern Slovakia was neither geographically, nor economically, let alone ethnically excluded from the rest of the territory. One of the reasons was the country being divided into counties (also called *komi-tats*, *stolitsas*, or, post-1850s, *zhupas*), which fully sufficed for administrative and political needs. For a long time, Eastern Slovakia as such was not even defined; the term was first mentioned in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, primarily in the context of the administrative division of the new – Czechoslovak – state.

In spite of the above, starting with the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Slovaks gradually defined their own ethnic area. This was connected to growing national movements, which did not exclude Slovaks, who, just like other European nations, felt the need to determine, albeit basic, outlines of their ethnic territory. This, however, did not mean they separated Eastern Slovakia from the rest of the territory inhabited by Slovaks. Discussions and polemics were aimed at the scope of the Slovak ethnic territory, which was clear in the west and north of the Kingdom of Hungary; however, less so in the south and east where Slovaks lived, either as compact groups or dispersed throughout individual areas.

In this sense, discussions, or published opinions, shifted the eastern line of the Slovak ethnic territory from the western border of Liptov County, as perceived by Matej Bel,<sup>1</sup> up to, and possibly including, Bereg County, as František Hánrich<sup>2</sup>, a Slovak lawyer and government trustee in Vienna, wrote in 1849 in his *Pamätný spis [Commemorative Treatise]*. Later, Uzhhorod was established as the point determining the easternmost point of the Slovak ethnic area, which was also finally officially en-

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1 BEL, Matej. *Notitia Hungariae Novae Historico Geographica. I.* Viena 1735.

2 BOKES, František. *Dejiny Slovenska a Slovákov od najstarších čias po oslobodenie.* Bratislava 1946, p. 199.

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forced in 1918/1919 when the borders of the Czecho-Slovak state were determined. The term 'Eastern Slovakia' as a geographical unit was, however, not mentioned in discussions or deliberations regarding Slovakia.

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was, in Hungary, marked by increasing Magyarisation of the non-Magyar population. The aim to build not only a homogenous political Hungarian nation, but also a homogenous Magyar nation within Hungary was complicated by strengthening national (including Slovak) movements. That was why various initiatives were put forward on the Magyar part with the aim of weakening and eliminating them. Thus, in Eastern Slovakia, the theory of a distinct local Slovak population was born, based on Eastern Slovak dialects. This theory labelled the nation as *Slovyaks*, i.e. the population on the border between Slovaks, Poles and Rusyns. Viktor Dvortsák and István Dessewffy (an influential politician in Šariš County, its former head notary and a collaborator with the Hungarian Ministry of Home Affairs), were present at the birth of this nation. Labelling these inhabitants Slovyaks and separating them from other Slovaks meant not only their ethnical but also territorial estrangement, which was also done by the “creators” of the new nation, albeit only in defining the Eastern Slovak Counties as a territory inhabited by the Slovyak population. In November 1918, when the Czechoslovak Republic (CSR) had been proclaimed and events against annexing the territory of Eastern Slovakia to the CSR culminated, the *Eastern Slovak National Council (Východoslovenska rada)* was founded in Prešov which turned to the Slovyaks and asked them to stand up against imperial Czech efforts and fight for the integrity of Hungary and, later – in December 1918 in Košice – the council declared an autonomous *Slovak People's Republic*. Its territory was not, however, defined in the proclaimed form, which is why one could only imagine what it was like in the eyes of those declaring it. In any case, it included, at least, the territory with the 'Slovyak' population – i.e. Eastern Slovakia.

It was impossible to avoid both, the notion of Eastern Slovakia and its territorial determination, and life as it was required for Eastern Slovakia to be defined geographically (at least) if not also administratively. What was at stake, however, was what the nature and aim was of its determination. In the above event which took place at the end of 1918, this was an effort to salvage part of the Slovak territory – Eastern Slovakia and, with it, also the territory of Hungarian Rus', renamed Subcarpathian Rus' after the CSR was founded – for Hungary.

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Eastern Slovakia was, naturally, defined by geographers with special interest not only in this area but also the entire territory of Slovakia. Of their primary concern were geographical determinants which, subsequently, reflected in the entire sphere of human activity, forming administrative and political units (counties, districts, and even the entire Eastern Slovakia), while the fundamental principles for the interest and work of geographers were mainly of political-administrative nature.

Activities which were to divide the territory of Slovakia into political-administrative units were known as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century on the initiative of Ján Kollár who, after the Hungarian revolution was suppressed, submitted a proposal to the imperial court in Vienna in 1849, according to which the territory of Slovakia was to be divided into four districts – the Dolnopovažský (Lower Váh) region, the Hornopovažský (Upper Váh) region, the Banský (Mining) region and the Toryský (Torysa) region. Spiš, Šariš, Zemplín and Abov Counties were included in the Torysa region.<sup>3</sup> Other, primarily political-administrative ideas did not explicitly exclude Eastern Slovakia from the rest of the territory that Slovaks claimed. It is true that a Slovak Territory was mentioned in the 1861 Memorandum drafted in Martin but merely as one unit. There were thoughts regarding the eastern and southern borders of the Territory, but the internal administrative organisation was not discussed at that point.<sup>4</sup> The issue of the eastern border revealed certain doubts Slovak nationalists had regarding possible expansion of the Slovak ethnic group towards the east and the Slovak nature of the local Eastern inhabitants.

### **Eastern Slovakia from the viewpoint of geographical sciences**

Regarding the geographical determination of individual regions of Slovakia, i.e. also its eastern part, it was not until Dionýz Štúr, in his chapter entitled *Geologicko-geografická osnova polohopisu Slovenska* [*The Geological-Geographical Outline of the Topography of Slovakia*] published in 1862 in *Sokol* [*Falcon*] magazine, outlined the first idea of the macro-regional duality of the Slovak territory, where the Matra mountain range divides Slovakia into two parts – Western (Sub-Tatra) and Eastern (Above-Tisza). Dionýz Štúr applied a hydrographical criterion

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3 BOKES, František. *Vývin predstáv o slovenskom území v 19. storočí. Spisy Historického odboru Matice slovenskej v Turčianskom Svätom Martine*, 7, Martin 1945, pp. 29-32.

4 ŠVORC, Peter. *Krajinská hranica medzi Slovenskom a Podkarpatskou Rusou (1919 – 1939)*. Prešov: Universum, 2003, pp. 11-18.



*High Tatras, as seen from Štrba*

which was, later, in geographical resources enforced as one of the key attributes of the regional structure of Slovakia.<sup>5</sup>

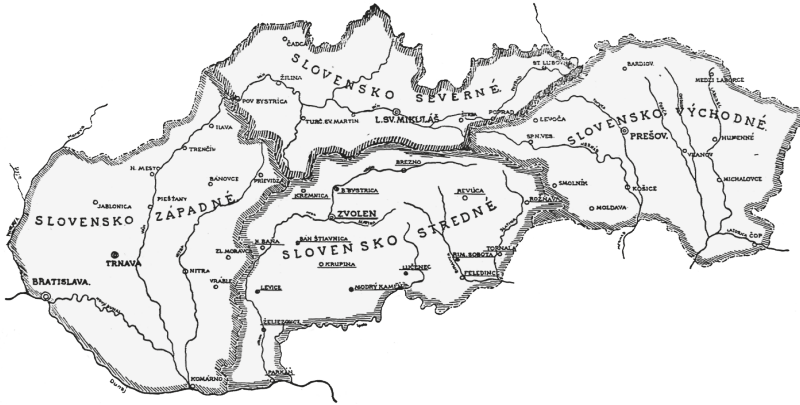
When the CSR was founded in 1918, not only the issue of determining the outer – state – borders arose, but also the issue of its administration and, thus, also the issue of its territorial division into smaller administrative units – uniform for the entire republic, since the Czech part entered the new republic with a system of provinces while the Slovak part was divided into counties. From the purely geographical viewpoint, the territorial division of Slovakia was not a major problem, nor was it a major issue in accepting the economic-geographical or administrative criteria. Such a division was also proposed by some Czech geographers in the 1920s. Václav Dědina<sup>6</sup> proposed a divisional model of Czechoslovakia into so-called natural units of varied hierarchy. In his view, regional units should correspond with basin and valley forms, as he focused on the settlements, communication network, as well as economic, politi-

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5 BEZÁK, Anton. Regionálna identita východného Slovenska a jej odraz v geografickej literatúre. In *Krajina východného Slovenska v odborných a vedeckých prácach. Zborník z konferencie*. Zost. Ján Harčár a Branislav Nižňanský. Prešov: Východoslovenská pobočka Slovenskej geografickej spoločnosti, Katedra geografie a geoekológie Pedagogickej fakulty UPJŠ, Metodické centrum, kabinet geografie, 1996, p. 16.

6 <http://www.quido.cz/osobnosti/dedina.html> (Accessed 30/9/2018).

and cultural life.<sup>7</sup> In 1921, however, Dědina defined Eastern Slovakia on the basis of the drainage of this territory, which is why he defined it as a territory drained by the Tisza River. This, nevertheless did not solve the problem of Northern Spiš, drained by the Poprad River flowing further to the north into the Baltic Sea.<sup>8</sup> Six years later in his work *Přirozené kraje a oblasti v Československu* [*Natural Regions and Territories of Czechoslovakia*]<sup>9</sup>, he used the term *Slovenský východ* [*The Slovak East*], which he reduced to Zemplín County and the east of Šariš County.



*Territorial division of Slovakia into four areas: Eastern Slovakia, Northern Slovakia, Central Slovakia, Western Slovakia, 1932*

Viktor Dvorský defined Eastern Slovakia as corresponding with the Greater Košice County (XX [20<sup>th</sup>] County – Košice) as it was between 1923 and 1928. From the territorial viewpoint, the then districts of Sabinov, Prešov, Gelnica, and Moldava nad Bodvou marked the west, while the districts of Spiš County – Poprad, Kežmarok and Stará Ľubovňa – were excluded from Dvorský's description of Eastern Slovakia.

Eastern Slovakia had different special dimensions in the geographical accounts of another Czech geographer – Jaromír Korčák<sup>10</sup>. When outlining the regional division of the CSR in the 1930s, he completed

7 BEZÁK, Anton. Regionálna identita východného Slovenska a jej odraz v geografickej literatúre..., p. 16.  
 8 DĚDINA, Václav. Rozčlenění státního území československého. In *Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné*, 1921, Vol. 27, pp. 29-31.  
 9 DĚDINA, Václav. Přirozené kraje a oblasti v Československu. In *Sborník Československé společnosti zeměpisné*, 1927, Vol. 33, pp. 21-25.  
 10 Jaromír Korčák: [http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarom%C3%ADr\\_Kor%C4%8D%C3%A1k](http://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarom%C3%ADr_Kor%C4%8D%C3%A1k) (Accessed 15/1/2018).