



**28** ZBIRKA  
RAZPOZNAVANJA  
RECOGNITIONES

Meta Remec

## BAKH, TOBAK IN VENERA

Grehi in skušnjave  
v dolgem 19. stoletju



Inštitut za novejšo zgodovino

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**Grehi in skušnjave v dolgem 19. stoletju**

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**POVZETEK**

**BAKH, TOBAK  
IN VENERA**

**GREHI IN SKUŠNJAVE  
V DOLGEM  
19. STOLETJU**

V t. i. »higienskem 19. stoletju« so družbo preplavili številni nasveti in moralni poduki, ki naj bi ljudem podaljšali življenje, utrdili njihovo zdravje in jim zagotavljali tudi družbeno prosperiteto. Higieniki se niso omejevali zgolj na področje higiene in preprečevanje kužnih bolezni, temveč so se ukvarjali tudi s pravilno prehrano, propagirali so redno telesno aktivnost, borili so se proti vsem vrstam razvad in odvisnosti. Poudarjali so pomen izobrazbe in osveščanja čim širših slojev prebivalstva, predvsem pa so želeli v njih utrditi zavest, da je življenjsko silo mogoče okrepiti ali ošibiti ali vzdrževati v ravnovesju s spoštovanjem nekaterih preprostih in povsem racionalnih pravil obnašanja.

Meščanski pisci so širili vrednote delavnosti, odgovornosti, za ohranjanje zdravja pa je bila med najpomembnejšimi zapovedmi predvsem zmernost. Od odraslega človeka niso pričakovali popolnega odpovedovanja in askeze, sposoben pa je moral biti popolnega samonadzora v vseh življenjskih situacijah. Področja, na katera so se zapovedi o zmernosti in odgovornosti največkrat nanašala, so bila področja, kjer je obstajala nevarnost zapadanja v odvisnost, kot so uživanje alkohola in tobaka, pa tudi poseganje po kavi, čokoladi in sladkorju. Ob dejstvu, da so bile droge, kot sta bila opij in kokain, na Slovenskem manj prisotne, je zlasti alkohol veljal za glavno pregreho, ki je povzročala nepopravljivo škodo posamezniku in celotni družbi. Avtorji so večinoma poudarjali, da zmerno uživanje vina in drugih alkoholnih pijač ni bilo usodno. Še več, njihov poživljajoči učinek naj bi bil za organizem celo pozitiven, težavo pa je povzročalo predvsem dejstvo, da je bila meja med zdravilnimi ali vsaj ugodnimi učinki ter zasvojenostjo tako tanka, da jo je človek nehote lahko prekoračil in zdrsnil v pogubo. Alkoholik je utelešal popolno nasprotje meščanskega ideala. Veljal je za poživljenega in sprevrženega posameznika, ki ni škodoval le sebi, temveč je v skladu s teorijo o degeneraciji v nesrečo pahnil še generacije potomcev, ki so mu sledile. Ne preseneča torej, da so ravno proti alkoholu potekale najodločnejše kampanje. Brezštevilna literatura, ki je izhajala na to temo, združenja, zborovanja ter pozivi

k treznosti in celo boj za popolno abstinenco niso prinesli pričakovanih rezultatov. Alkohol je z napredkom agrarnega sektorja in tehnološkim razvojem postajal vse bolj dostopen, kar se je odražalo zlasti v hitrem propadanju najrevnejših slojev, ki so posegali predvsem po žganju ter industrijsko pridelanem alkoholu in alkoholu iz samorodnic. Manj zavzet je bil boj proti uživanju tobaka, saj se avtorji večinoma niso zavedali resnosti njegovih posledic. Tobak ni bil razlog za nemir in izgrede v javnosti, veljal je za odličen pripomoček za odstranjevanje smrada, problematično pa je bilo zgolj to, da je veljal za »zapeljivca«, ki je nedolžno in naivno dušo zvalil v gostilno, kjer pa je nato podlegala še drugim skušnjavam. Uživanje tobaka so torej problematizirali bolj zato, ker je veljalo za grdo razvado in nepotreben strošek, kot pa iz strahu pred njegovimi zdravstvenimi posledicami. Prepričanje, da je tobak pravzaprav zdravilna rastlina, se je med ljudmi uspelo ohraniti vse do začetka 20. stoletja, povezave s pljučnim rakom pa se večinoma še niso zavedali. Uživanje tobaka je torej veljalo za potratno razvado, ki je bila v nasprotju z meščanskimi vrednotami, ni pa imelo tako nedvoumno negativnega predznaka, kot ga je imel alkohol. Zmerno kajenje je večinoma veljalo celo za zdravju neškodljivo razvedrilo, tako pri alkoholu kot bi tobaku pa je obstajala ostra delitev po spolu. Kajenje in pitje žensk so ostro obsojali, obe navadi pa naj bi za ženske imeli tudi veliko hujše zdravstvene posledice kot za moške.

Drugi dve področji, ki se ju je diskurz zmernosti neposredno dotikal, sta bili področje prehrane in področje spolnosti. Meščanski moralisti so se namreč zavedali, da sta obe nepogrešljivi za obsoj vrste, zato ju ni bilo mogoče preprosto prepovedati kot v primeru alkohola. Nezaželena sta bila zlasti užitek in ugodje, ki ju je spremljalo. Pri spolnosti so obsojali vsako spolno aktivnost izven zakonske zveze, pa tudi tako, katere osnovni cilj ni bila prokreacija, pri prehrani pa so problematizirali zlasti prenajedanje in požrešnost. Prehrana je zagotovo sodila med področja, ki so jim higieniki posvečali največ pozornosti, poleg tega pa ga je bilo skoraj nemogoče nadzorovati. Občutki lakote in si-



tosti so bili namreč povsem individualni, zato je bilo nemogoče reči, kdaj se nekdo še hrani iz potrebe in kdaj se že prenažira. Nadzor je lahko izvajal le vsak nad sabo, ker pa je bilo zavedanje, da sta človekovo zdravje in njegovo dolgo življenje v veliki meri odvisna od zaužite hrane, trdno zasidrano v medicinski misli, so higieniki vendarle poskušali predstaviti smernice, po katerih naj bi se ravnali. V ta namen so pripravljali zapletene in do zadnje podrobnosti definirane jedilnike, ki naj bi se jih ljudje strogo držali, da bi svojim telesom zagotovili vsa potrebna hranilna sredstva. Realnost je bila precej drugačna, saj velika večina ni imela dostopa do vseh potrebnih živil in uravnotežene prehrane. Kljub dejstvu, da pravih lakot na Slovenskem v drugi polovici 19. stoletja ni bilo več, to ne spremeni dejstva, da je velika večina ljudi še vedno živela v pomanjkanju. Prehrana, ki je temeljila predvsem na koruzi in krompirju, ter industrijski razvoj, ki je v domove začel prinašati vedno večje količine predelane in konzervirane hrane, pa sta na prelomu iz 19. v 20. stoletje pripeljala do protislovja, ko se je s prekomerno telesno težo začelo ukvarjati predvsem revno prebivalstvo, vitkost pa je postala znak prosperitete. Nove modne smernice so na rob družbe postavljale vsakogar, ki se ni želel ali ni zmozel prehranjevati v skladu s predpisanimi normami. Časopisje in podobe, ki so se pojavljale v njem, so vzbujale slabo vest ter željo po posnemanju ter na tak način postale pomembna oblika nadzora in socialnega discipliniranja.

Podobno problematični so bili poskusi nadzora na področju spolnosti, saj se je deviantnost bolj kot v dejanjih skrivala v človeških mislih. Vprašanja spolnosti so zelo zaposlovala takratne pisce, ki so se trudili ločevati sprejemljivo od nesprejemljivega in pri tem pogosto iste fenomene vrednotili drugače, če so se odvijali v okviru zakonske zveze ali izven nje. Prakse in odnos do spolnosti so se sicer med seboj precej razlikovali glede na geografski prostor, versko in državno ureditev. Osrednjeslovenski prostor se je izkazal za vrednega posebne pozornosti zaradi izjemno konservativnega in strogo moralističnega pogleda na spolnost, pri čemer se je razlikoval tako od nemških, večinoma

protestantskih dežel na severu kot tudi italijansko govorečega prostora na zahodu. Za razliko od tuje literature, kjer se je seksualnost v 19. stoletju medikalizirala in laizirala in so spolne prakse začeli vrednotiti predsem z vidika zdravja, bolezni in posameznih simptomov, pri slovenskih avtorjih diskurz o grehu in pokori ni nikoli zares izginil iz besedišča. Na splošno lahko trdimo, da je prav na področju spolnosti prišlo do popolnega stapljanja meščanske ideologije ter katoliške morale, saj je vse, kar je prej veljalo za nemoralno, v zdravstvenih priročnikih 19. stoletja začelo veljati za patološko. Spolnost in z njo povezane problematike na Slovenskem v dolgem 19. stoletju niso spadale pod pristojnost medicine, zato ne preseneča, da ni prišlo do postopnega rahljanja spon, ki smo mu sicer priča v drugih okoljih. Avtorji, ki so obravnavali teme, kot so spolnost, spolna vzgoja ter preprečevanje spolnih boleznih, so bili še naprej večinoma duhovniki in teologi, redki zdravniki, ki so se lotevali teh tem, pa so popolnoma prevzeli načela katoliške morale ter vztrajali na načelih molčečnosti, privzgajanja občutka sramu in propagiranja vzdržnosti. Bolj kot osveščanje jih je skrbel moralni vidik vzgoje, zato so se pogosto bolj ukvarjali v posledicami, ki so grozile bolnikovi duši, kot pa z dejanskimi simptomi boleznih. Prepričani so bili, da bodo mladino ohranili »čisto in zdravo«, če bodo njihove misli uspeli odvracati od fizioloških plati spolnosti ter jih čim dlje obdržali v popolni nevednosti. Celo spolne bolezni so v poljudne priročnike začele vstopati šele takrat, ko je bil ogrožen nadzor nad pomembnim delom mlade populacije, kar se je zgodilo ob mobilizaciji na začetku prve svetovne vojne. Mladi fantje so takrat začeli množično zapuščati svoje domove ter odhajati na bojišča, kjer so bili prepuščeni zgolj sebi in svojemu moralnemu kompasu.

Higieniki so od Hufelanda naprej poudarjali pomen odgovornosti vsakega posameznika do sebe in do družbe, s tem pa dejansko razširjali ekonomski pogled na človeka, ki je bil zaradi vse večjih potreb po delovni sili dojet zgolj kot eden v vrsti gospodarskih resursov in je bil kot tak s svojim ravnanjem tudi

soodgovoren za družbeni in gospodarski razvoj nekega naroda ali pa za njegovo nazadovanje. Skrb in ukrepi za ohranjanje zdravja so bili le navidezno usmerjeni v posameznika, saj so v sebi skrivali predvsem družbene cilje. Posameznik s svojim neprimernim vedenjem torej ni ogrožal le sebe, temveč tudi svojo družino in celoten narod. Ne preseneča torej dejstvo, da je povečana skrb za človeka in njegovo zdravje sovpadla z gospodarskim in industrijskim razvojem v evropskem prostoru. Prebivalstvo je postalo bogastvo države, ki ga je bilo potrebno množiti ter krepiti njegovo delovno zmogljivost, kar pa je bilo mogoče doseči zgolj z uvajanjem kolektivne sanitarne organiziranosti, preventivnih akcij, propagiranjem higienskih norm ter varstva pred boleznimi in epidemijami. Namen množice medicinskih publikacij, ki so izhajale v tem obdobju, je bil jasen: vplivati na dolžino pričakovane življenjske dobe in povečati število delovno aktivnega prebivalstva. Ravnanja novih držav, ki so se v evropskem prostoru utemeljile od konca 18. stoletja naprej, torej ne moremo pripisati zgolj moralnim in človekoljubnim vzgibom, ampak predvsem političnim. Cilj nove prebivalstvene politike je bil preprost: zagotoviti dovolj delovne sile za obdobje miru in prosperitete ter dovolj zdravih in za vojsko sposobnih moških za primere vojaških spopadov. Ostali cilji so bili potisnjeni v ozadje, zato lahko poudarjanje pomena ponotranjenih standardov in nadzor nad telesom in umom neposredno pripišemo vojaškimi, ekonomskim in še posebej kapitalističnim interesom.

**SUMMARY**

**BACCHUS, TOBACCO  
AND VENUS**

**SIN AND TEMPTATION IN  
THE LONG 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY**

In the so-called “hygienic nineteenth century” the society was swamped with a plethora of advice and moral lessons aimed at prolonging people’s lives, strengthening their health as well as ensuring social prosperity. Hygienists did not only restrict themselves to the fields of hygiene and prevention of infectious diseases, but also focused on proper diet, promoted regular physical activity, and fought against all kinds of bad habits and addictions. They emphasised the importance of educating and informing the widest possible strata of the population, and they especially aimed to raise the awareness that life force could be strengthened, weakened or balanced by observing a few simple and completely rational rules of behaviour.

Bourgeois writers spread the values of diligence and responsibility, while moderation was among the most important postulates with regard to the preservation of health. Responsible adults were not expected to subscribe to complete abstinence and asceticism, but they had to be capable of maintaining complete self-control in all situations in their lives. The areas that the postulates about moderation and responsibility most often addressed were those that could lead to addictions, for example alcohol and tobacco consumption, but also indulgence in coffee, chocolate and sugar. In view of the fact that drugs like opium and cocaine were not widespread in Slovenia, it was especially alcohol that was seen as the main culprit that caused irreparable damage to individuals as well as the whole of society. Authors mostly emphasised that drinking wine and other alcoholic beverages in moderation was not fatal. Quite the opposite, their invigorating effect was supposedly even positive for one’s organism. However, the problem was especially that the line between healthy or at least beneficial effects and addiction was so slim that one could easily cross it and succumb to damnation. Alcoholics embodied the perfect opposite of the bourgeois ideal. They were seen as bestial and depraved individuals who did not only harm themselves, but rather subjected generations of their descendants to misery in accordance with the theory of degeneration. Thus it is not surprising that the most deci-

sive campaigns were organised with alcohol in mind. Enormous amounts of literature published on the subject, associations, conventions and calls to sobriety or even campaigns for complete abstinence failed to ensure the expected results. With the progress of the agrarian sector and technological development alcohol was becoming easily available, which was especially reflected in the swift degradation of the poorest social strata that resorted especially to spirits, industrially-made alcohol and alcohol from self-sown vines. The struggle against tobacco consumption was normally less zealous, as the authors were mostly unaware of the seriousness of its use. Tobacco did not cause any unrest and public disorder and it was deemed as an excellent tool for the removal of stench. What was problematic was that it was seen as a “seducer”, capable of luring innocent and naïve souls into taverns, where they could succumb to other temptations. Thus tobacco consumption was problematic especially as it was seen as a bad habit and needless expense rather than out of fear of its harmful health effects. The conviction that tobacco is actually a medicinal plant persisted among the people until the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and they were mostly unaware of its relation to lung cancer. Thus tobacco consumption was seen as a wasteful habit, which was in opposition to the bourgeois values but did not have such a clearly negative implication as alcohol. Moreover, smoking in moderation was mostly seen even as a harmless pastime, and just like with alcohol it was subject to a strict gender division. Smoking and drinking in women was condemned, and both habits supposedly had much worse consequences for the health of women than men.

The other two areas directly addressed by the discourse of moderation were the subjects of food and sex. As it was, the bourgeois moralists were well-aware that both of these were vital for the existence of the species, and they could not be simply forbidden, as was the case with alcohol. What was objectionable in this regard were thus the associated pleasure and the feeling of comfort. As far as sex was concerned, any extramarital sexual activity was condemned, as well as sex whose primary goal

was not procreation. With food it was especially overeating and gluttony that were seen as problematic. Diet definitely belonged among the areas that hygienists paid most attention to, and it was almost impossible to control, as the sense of hunger and satiety are completely individual. Therefore it was impossible to decide who was still eating out of need and who was overeating. Control could only be self-imposed. However, the awareness that human health and longevity depended largely on the food consumed was rooted firmly in the medical thought, and therefore hygienists nevertheless attempted to come up with certain guidelines to which one should aspire. To this end they kept outlining complicated diet plans, defined to the smallest detail, which people should adhere to strictly in order to provide all the necessary nutrients for their bodies. The reality, however, was quite different, since the vast majority of people did not have access to all the necessary foods to ensure a balanced diet. Even though true famine no longer occurred in Slovenia in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this does not change the fact that the large majority of people still faced shortage. The diet based mostly on corn and potatoes and the industrial development which started providing increasing quantities of processed and preserved foods to the households resulted in a contradiction at the turn from the 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century: the poor started having problems with obesity, while slenderness became the sign of prosperity. New trends in fashion pushed everyone who was not able to eat in accordance with the prescribed norms or refused to do so to the brink of the society. Newspapers and the images they published resulted in guilty conscience and the aspiration to live up to these standards. In this manner the press became an important form of control and social disciplining.

The attempts to control the matter of sex were similarly problematic, as deviancy lurked in the human minds more often as in their actions. The questions of sex were an issue of significant concern for the writers at the time: they tried to distinguish between the acceptable and unacceptable, and in doing so they often evaluated the same phenomena differently depending on

whether these took place within the confines of marriage or not. The practices and attitudes towards sex differed from each other significantly, depending on the geographical space, religious and state regime. The central Slovenian area turned out to be worthy of special attention due to the extremely conservative and strictly moralistic outlook on sex, and in this way it was different from the German, mostly Protestant countries in the north, as well as from the Italian-speaking space in the west. Although we cannot speak about a uniform and linear development, unlike in the foreign literature where sexuality became a laic medical issue in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the sexual practices started to be evaluated mostly from the viewpoint of health, diseases and individual symptoms, in case of Slovenian authors the discourse about sin and penitence never truly disappeared from the contemporary vocabulary. Generally speaking we can claim that it was precisely the matter of sex where the bourgeois ideology merged completely with the Catholic morality, as everything that had previously been deemed as immoral started to be seen as pathological in the 19<sup>th</sup>-century medical handbooks. Not even in this sense did the matter become more relaxed in Slovenia. The authors who focused on topics like sex, sexual education and prevention of sexually-transmitted diseases were still mostly priests and theologians, while the few doctors who approached these issues adhered to the principles of Catholic morality strictly and insisted on silence, instilled a sense of shame and promoted abstinence. Instead of raising awareness they were concerned with the moral aspects of education, and therefore they mostly focused on the dangers threatening the patients' souls rather than on the actual symptoms of diseases. They were convinced that the youth would be kept "clean and healthy" if they were successfully diverted from the physiological aspects of sex and kept in complete ignorance for as long as possible. Even sexually-transmitted diseases started appearing in popular handbooks only when the control over the majority of the young population was threatened, which happened during the draft at the beginning of World War I. At that time



young boys started leaving their homes en masse for the battlefields where they were mostly left to themselves and their own moral compass.

Ever since Hufeland hygienists kept emphasising the importance of the responsibility of each individual to oneself and to the society. In this way they in fact spread the economic outlook on people, who were – in light of the increasing needs for workforce – seen merely as one of many economic resources, and as such they, with their actions, shared the responsibility for the social and economic development or deterioration of a certain nation. The concern with and measures for the preservation of health were only seemingly aimed at individuals, as they mostly entailed completely socially-oriented goals. Thus individuals and their inappropriate behaviour did not only threaten themselves, but also their families and nations as a whole. Therefore the fact that the increased concern for people and their health coincided with the economic and industrial development in the European space is not surprising. The population became the wealth of the state: it had to be multiplied and its work capacity had to be strengthened. This could only be achieved by introducing a collective sanitary organisation, preventive actions, promotion of hygienic norms and protection from diseases and epidemics. The purpose of a multitude of medical publications, published in this period, was clear: to lengthen life expectancy and increase the active working population. We cannot ascribe the actions of the new states, established in the European space since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, to merely moral and humanitarian motives, because the motivation was first and foremost political. The goal of the new population policy was simple: to ensure a large enough workforce for the period of peace and prosperity and enough healthy men, capable of fighting in case of military conflicts. Other goals were pushed aside, and therefore we can ascribe the emphasis on the importance of internalising the standards and establishing control over one's body and mind directly to the military, economic and especially capitalist interests.