

24 ZBIRKA
RAZPOZNAVANJA
RECOGNITIONES

Meta Remec

**PODRGNI, OČEDI,
ŽIVALI OTREBI**

**Higiena in snaga v dobi
meščanstva**

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Higiena in snaga v dobi meščanstva

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POVZETEK

**PODRGNI, OČEDI,
ŽIVALI OTREBI**

**HIGIENA IN SNAGA
V DOBI MEŠČANSTVA**

V 18. stoletju je pod vplivom idej, ki jih je s seboj prineslo razsvetljenje, prišlo tudi do spremenjenega pogleda na vprašanje zdravja in bolezni. Z dokončno ločnico med teologijo in medicino, ki sta si v tem obdobju razdelili pristojnosti – ena nad dušo, druga pa nad telesom, se je uveljavil tudi nov pogled na bolezen. Ta ni bila več kazen za greh in posledica božje jeze, saj so ljudje začeli zbolevali zato, ker se niso podrejali higienskimi predpisom. S prevlado prepričanja, da je bolezen mogoče vsaj preprečevati, če ne že v celoti zdraviti z neposrednimi posegi in asanacijo okolja, je državni aparat postajal vse bolj odločilen faktor in kot tak vse bolj neposredno posegal v življenje ljudi. Država si je na področju zdravja, higiene in skrbi za bolj zdravo in človeku primerno življenjsko okolje začela prilaščati vedno večje pristojnosti, nase pa je začela prevzemati tudi vedno večjo odgovornost za dobrobit posameznika in celotne skupnosti. 19. stoletje je tako postalo obdobje obsežnih socialnih, zdravstvenih in higienskih reform, s katerimi je država želela preko velikih projektov regulirati, spreminjati in prevzemati nadzor tudi nad najbolj intimnimi področji človekovega življenja. Ob tem so se ves čas srečevali z nasprotji med interesi posameznika, ki je želel jesti, piti ter v polnosti uživati življenje, in interesi skupnosti, ki si je želela predvsem delavne, zdrave in klene državljane, delavce in vojake. Preseči so poskušali vdanost v usodo, ki je na področju zdravja in bolezni med ljudmi prevladovala od antike naprej. Nastajati so začele natančne študije okolja in življenjskih razmer, medicinske topografije, ki so s svojimi analizami sicer načeloma nastajale za strokovno javnost, pa so postajale tudi del preventivne kampanje. Zavedanje o povezavi med zdravjem ljudi in okoljem, v katerem prebivajo, se je že povsem utrdilo, 19. stoletje pa je bilo zagotovo obdobje, ko so socialne in higienske reforme začele prestopati pragove domov ter posegati v človekovo intimno.

Med avtorji priročnikov, teologi, higieniki, zdravniki, psihiatri itd. je kmalu prišlo do spoznanja, da nad nekaterimi področji človekovega življenja ni mogoče izvajati zunanjega nadzora, kar

je spodbudilo potrebo po prevzgoji, načrtnemu osveščanju in izobraževanju širokih ljudskih množic. Pri vsakem posamezniku so želeli vzbuditi občutek za odgovornost do lastnega zdravja ter do zdravja vseh, ki so ga obdajali. Ideal, za katerim so stremeli socialni reformatorji v 19. stoletju oz. v celotnem obdobju meščanstva, so bile reforme brez brutalnosti in prisile. Želeli so, da bi ljudje nova higienska pravila ponotranjili in se po njih ravnali zaradi lastne želje. Ob tem je bil vse bolj prisoten element socialnega discipliniranja. Vsak, ki ni ravnal v skladu s strogimi normami meščanske ideologije, je bil namreč potisnjen na rob družbe, obsojen na neuspeh in propad. Prevzgoja je potekala preko številnih priročnikov, pratik in poljudnih knjižic, ki so bili namenjeni širokim ljudskim množicam, vse bolj pa tudi preko novih medijev, zlasti časopise in podob, ki so se v njem pojavljale. Pomembna tema, ki jo obravnava pričujoče delo, je zato tudi naraščajoči vpliv časopisja in oglaševanja, ki sta s svojim subtilnim in povsem preišljenim pristopom postopoma uspela razširiti med ljudstvo nove estetske in higienske norme ter v ljudeh zasejati strah pred socialno izključenostjo, če tem normam niso sledili. Pogosto je šele razvoj potrošništva in potrošniške družbe dejansko dosegel ponotranjenje pravil, norm in vrednot, ki so jih higieniki, zdravniki in strokovna javnost poskušali brezuspešno privzgojiti ljudstvu s svojimi »jalovimi« nasveti in poduki. Meščanska ideologija je s svojimi vrednotami in normami tako začela prodirati tudi v delavske in kmečke domove, meščanstvo, ki je v tem obdobju postalo odločilni in propulzivni družbeni sloj, pa je na tak način utemeljilo tudi svojo vlogo v družbi. V nasprotju s pomehkuženo aristokracijo in umazanimi in zanemarjenimi pripadniki delavskega in kmečkega proletariata je bil idealni meščan discipliniran, vestno je opravljali svoj poklic, po koncu delovnega časa pa se je redno in pravočasno vračal na svoj dom, kjer je nato predvsem z zgledom in lastno pokončno držo vzgajal nov rod vzornih državljanov. Kar je ogrožalo in lahko tudi dokončno uničilo vse, kar je bilo po meščanski ideologiji svetega, je veljalo za

sprevrženo in nesprejemljivo obnašanje ter znak poživljenosti in pomanjkanja samonadzora.

Zlitje meščanske miselnosti in katoliške morale je bilo vidno zlasti pri načinu obravnave telesne higiene. Katoliška percepcija telesa, smradu in greha je sicer že stoletja zaznamovala način, kako so ljudje dojemali svoja telesa ter skrbeli za njihovo čistočo in zdravje. Posebej smrad je bil deležen ambivalentnih konotacij, saj je po eni strani spominjal na peklenške muke, ki po smrti čakajo grešnike, po drugi strani pa je imel tudi pridih svetosti. Kdor je smrdel, se namreč zagotovo ni umival, ni se dotikal lastnega telesa, ni podlegel strastem in skušnjavam, še več – telesno in fizično dimenzijo lastnega obstoja je uspel povsem zanemariti in svoje bivanje v celoti podrediti duhovnemu in mističnemu. Katoliški strah pred dotikanjem lastnega telesa in greha, ki je na človekovo dušo prežal na vsakem koraku, se je tako v celoti povezal s strahom pred vodo, ki je izviral iz strahu pred epidemijami in napačnega dojemanja funkcij kože. Oboje skupaj je vodilo do uveljavitve suhe toalete, to je umivanja brez neposrednega stika z lastnim telesom in brez nevarnosti, da bi okužena voda prodrla skozi telesne pore in s tem okužila organizem in ga s tem obsodila na smrt. Odnos do vode in njena izključitev iz področja nege telesa za sodobnega bralca pomeni padec higienskih standardov, kar pa je v tem primeru nedopustno prenašanje vrednostnih sodb iz današnjega v pretekli čas. Voda že pred uveljavitvijo suhe toalete namreč ni bila sredstvo za doseganje čistoče, temveč sredstvo za doseganje in ohranjanje zdravja, pred zaprtjem javnih kopališč in potilnic ob izbruhu epidemij kolere pa tudi sredstvo za razvedrilo. Umivanje telesa, do katerega je ob tem nedvomno prihajalo, je bilo zgolj stranski produkt, s katerim pa se niso ukvarjali in o katerem niso posebej razmišljali. Suha toaleta je dejansko prinesla miselni preboj, diskurz o čistoči je postal vseprisoten in mogoče je trditi, da se pisci še nikoli prej niso toliko miselno ukvarjali s človeškim telesom, njegovim vonjem in njegovo snažnostjo, kot prav v času, ko je bila voda povsem izrinjena iz

človekovega vsakdana. Bolj kot o padanju higienskih norm je torej mogoče govoriti o zaostitvi le teh, le da so čistočo dosegali na drugačen, sodobnemu človeku povsem tuj način. Ob vsem tem velja seveda poudariti tudi, da je se diskurz o čistoči, ki so jo dosegali s preoblačenjem, dotikal zgolj tistih, ki so si to lahko privoščili. Voda iz življenja nižjih slojev ni nikoli povsem izginila, vendar zaradi tega v družbi niso veljali za nič bolj čiste. Kmet in delavec, ki sta imela zgolj in samo eno obleko, v kateri sta delala in spala, sta lahko le sanjala o belini čistega perila, ki je lahko dejansko odstranilo nečistoče. Ponovno odkritje umivanja in vode ter obsedenost z njeno temperaturo nista pomenila oddaljevanja od katoliških idealov, temveč le potrebo po večjem samonadzoru posameznika.

Država, ki si je v tem obdobju želela predvsem čistega, delavnega in odgovornega državljana, se je pri doseganju tega cilja pogosto naslanjala na različne inštitucije. Prevzgoja je potekala preko šolskega sistema, vojske, predvsem pa Cerkve, saj je meščanska ideologija povsem ponotranjila tudi glavna načela katoliške morale. Vpliv Katoliške cerkve na šolstvo in javno življenje nasploh se je na Slovenskem izkazal za odločilen dejavnik, ki je odločilno zaznamoval reformna prizadevanja v dolgem 19. stoletju. Med avtorji priročnikov v slovenskem jeziku tako zelo dolgo prevladujejo duhovniki. Redki zdravniki, ki so se lotevali teh tematik, so skorajda v celoti prevzeli načela katoliške morale, enačili zdravo in moralno in postavili prizadevanja za zveličanje in večno življenje pred telesno zdravje pacientov. V nasprotju z nemško govorečim protestantskim svetom in laičnim pristopom v Franciji in Italiji so zlasti vprašanja glede spolnosti, ženskega telesa in higiene telesa nasploh, kontracepcije ter spolne vzgoje vztrajala na načelih »zarote molka«, kot jo je poimenoval Norbert Elias, ter ostajala zavita v tančico skrivnosti. Slovenski prostor se je tako izkazal za vrednega posebne raziskovalne pozornosti, saj so se tendence, miselnost in razvoj dogodkov pogosto razlikovali tudi od razmer v bližnji, pravzaprav neposredni okolici, ki je spadala celo v isti državni okvir.

V delu je prikazan soobstoj različnih svetov, ki so se le redko križali, kar dejansko potrjuje tezo, da na področju osveščanja in utrjevanja pravil, ki naj bi posamezniku zagotovila daljše in bolj zdravo življenje, ni mogoče govoriti o enotnem razvoju. Svet, ki nam ga slikajo meščanski pisci in higieniki, predstavlja zgolj delček realnosti dolgega 19. stoletja. Svet zase je bilo zlasti podeželje, s katerim so se sprva le redko ukvarjali in ki je bilo načrtnih reformnih prizadevanj na Slovenskem deležno šele po prvi svetovni vojni. Med pisci priročnikov in pratik je bilo dolgo mogoče zaslediti celo mnenja, da kmet umivanja sploh ne potrebuje, saj naj bi njegovo kožo čistil že znoj, ki ga je v potokih oblival med fizičnim delom in skrbel za čistost in pretočnost njegovih por in žlez. Pretežno sedeči meščan namreč te sreče ni imel – njegove pore so ostajale tesno stisnjene in zaprte, znoja ni bilo od nikoder in če k temu prištejemo še zadrževanje v zakajenih krčmah in vdihovanje onesnaženega mestnega zraka, je bila podlaga za bolezen tu. Tudi sicer je v literaturi mogoče opazovati zanimiv premik v načinu obravnavanja podeželja. Od simbola klenosti in zdravja in bukoličnega opevanja kmeta njegovih vrednot, trdnosti, trdega dela in načina življenja nasploh, je podeželje vse bolj postajalo simbol zaostalosti, revščine in bolezni. Neposreden stik z naravo in gibanje na svežem zraku nista bila več dovolj. Življenjsko okolje je bilo potrebno regulirati, nadzorovati in analizirati, česar pa na podeželju ni bilo mogoče početi. Kmet se je »napredku in razvoju« celo aktivno upiral ter s svojim vztrajanjem pri tradiciji spravljal v obup socialne reformatorje.

V pričujočem delu je malo časovnih omejitev oz. so postavljena kar se da na široko. Pozitivističen pristop je namreč pri obravnavi tem, kot so higiena in bivanjske razmere, precej težko uporabiti. Predvsem zato, ker je nemogoče zapisati, kdaj si je zobna ščetka dokončno pridobila domovinsko pravico v domovih na Slovenskem, predvsem pa ni mogoče določiti, ali je bilo to leta 1901 ali 1911. Že v zgodnji fazi raziskav je postalo jasno, da se bo potrebno soočati tudi s soobstojem različnih

navad različnih slojev v istem obdobju in da je za današnje pojme nepomembna razdalja stotih kilometrov lahko pomenila povsem različne miselne svetove. Sploh pri obravnavi razmer na podeželju, je v pričujočem delu mogoče opaziti precejšnje časovne skoke. Primerjava razmer ob koncu 18. s tistimi na začetku 20. stoletja je na prvi pogled mogoče presenetljiva, dejansko pa pokaže na »ne-razvoj«, ki se je odvil skozi ta dolg časovni lok in razkriva pogosto jalovost prizadevanj zdravnikov, higienikov in oblasti. Le kako je sicer mogoče pojasniti dejstvo, da lahko o neprimernosti kmečkih bivališč, ki si jih delijo ljudje in živali, prebiramo tako leta 1846 kot leta 1929 in da lahko celo tik pred drugo svetovno vojno še vedno zasledimo opozorila o nevarnosti kopeli. Vse to je dokaz o počasnosti sprememb in na zasidranost nekaterih prepričanj ne samo v glavah preprostega ljudstva, temveč celo med avtorji priročnikov, med katerimi očitno ni bilo prave enotnosti. Čeprav je v literaturi mogoče zaslediti poimenovanja, kot je »higiensko 19. stoletje«, so novi nauki in nasveti med ljudi prodirali počasi in pogosto so večji učinek dosegle reklame s svojimi podobami kot akcije zaščitnih sester s predavanji na terenu. Obstoj nasvetov o zdravem življenjskem slogu, pravilih osebne higiene in moralnih normah predstavlja tako zgolj dokaz o stanju duha v določenem okolju, nikakor pa ni iz njih mogoče sklepati, ali in v kolikšni meri so jih bili ljudje pripravljeni sprejeti in ponotranjiti. Realnost razmer nam do določene mere razkrivajo posamezni drobci v arhivskem gradivu, redka spominska literatura in poročila mestnih fizikov, ki so bili pogosto razočarani nad neodzivnostjo prebivalstva in dejstva, da so se ljudje »napredku« pogosto celo upirali. Proces osveščanja in prevzgoje, ki sta bila v marsičem del socialnega discipliniranja, sta potekala počasi in z mnogimi preprekami, v soodvisnosti od pomanjkljive komunalne infrastrukture in pomanjkanjem zavesti o pomembnosti teh vprašanj.

Iz nasvetov v različnih pratikah in priročnikih ves čas veje dvojna meščanska morala. Slednja je zaznamovala zlasti odnose med moškimi in ženskami, ki so, kljub prizadevanjem ženskega

gibanja večinoma še vedno ostajale zapostavljene doma, še bolj pa seveda v javni sferi. Teme, kot so čistoča ženskega telesa, porod, menstruacija itd. so bile pogosto obravnavane bolj iz vidika spodobnosti ter ohranjanja čistosti in sramežljivosti, kot pa resne skrbi za zdravje in dobrobit žensk. Zarota molka je bila pri obravnavi vsega, kar se je dotikalo žensk in njihovih teles, še posebej trdovratna, čeprav delitev po spolu seveda ni bila edina in pogosto tudi ne najbolj odločilna, saj so se pravila obnašanja in vrednote zelo močno razlikovale tudi glede na vertikalno pripadnost različnim družbenim slojem. Obubožani delavski in kmečki sloji ostajajo pogosto črne lise, saj je njihova življenja zaradi pomanjkanja neposrednih virov, ki bi nastali izpod njihovega peresa, še posebej težko rekonstruirati. Zgolj delno pa je mogoče sklepati tudi o uspešnosti oz. neuspešnosti prenosa nasvetov in pravil obnašanja v prakso. Spone so se z leti sicer krhale, saj je bilo vedno težje omejevati dostop do informacij, ki so ljudi zanimale, pomemben prelom pa je prinesla zlasti prva svetovna vojna. Vseprisotna smrt, pomanjkanje in hude človeške stiske so se po koncu vojne preobrazile v željo po užitkih, ki se jim ljudje niso bili več pripravljene odreči, upajoč na plačilo v posmrtnem življenju. Ta povojna psihoza je še dodatno spodbudila strokovnjake, ki so ob koncu 19. stoletja svarili pred posledicami degeneracije, ki naj bi nastopila zaradi prekomernega uživanja alkohola in spolne razuzdanosti. V mladih nacionalnih državah se je začel širiti strah pred moralnim in fizičnim propadoma naroda, ki so ga poleg tega vse bolj ogrožale tudi težnje po omejevanju števila rojstev. Hufelandove ideje o idealnem državljanu, ki je bil s trdno voljo sposoben nadzorovati lastne strasti, ki naj bi se znal odreči v imenu skupnega dobrega, ki je bil delaven, trezen in odgovoren, so torej v nekaj desetletjih prerasle v evgenične ideje. Pri slednjih volja posameznika in njegov trden značaj nista bila več v ospredju. Evgenični ideal je bila predvsem močna osrednja oblast, ki naj bi s svojo pristojnostjo regulirala in izboljševala karakteristike naroda predvsem s pomočjo negativne selekcije.

Najpomembnejše sporočilo, ki so ga Hufeland in njegovi sodobniki zastopali, da ima vsak posameznik svojo usodo v lastnih rokah, je tako stopalo v ozadje. Nacionalistične in militantne težnje, ki so se sprva odražale v prizadevanjih po zdravih, delavnih in odpornih delavcih in vojaki, so tako začele dobivati vedno bolj zlovesč podton, dokler se niso končno udeležile tudi v zlovesči praksi.

Kulturna in socialna zgodovina sta na področju obravnave telesa, zdravja, bolezni, zdravstvene oskrbe in preventive uveljavili pomembne nove smernice. Od opisovanja simptomov, statistik in bolj ali manj uspešnih načinov zdravljenja različnih bolezni, nove smernice zahtevajo opazovanje zdravja in bolezni v vsej njihovi kompleksnosti, upoštevanje socialnih razlik in drugih družbenih dejavnikov, ki so definirali način dojemanja lastnega telesa, higijene, nege, zdravja in bolezni, pa tudi spodobnosti in greha. Predmet preučevanja zgodovine se tako ni zgolj podaljšal, saj gre za povsem novo koncepcijo zgodovinskega časa, iz katere je razvidno, da se lahko različni družbeni sloji v istem obdobju nahajajo v različnih fazah razvoja in celo v povsem različnih zgodovinskih časih. Zaradi pestrosti in raznolikosti tem, ki jih knjiga obravnava, je bilo vsakokrat mogoče obravnavati le delček poljudne literature, časopisja in priročnikov, ki so v tistem obdobju izhajali, kljub temu pa bo delo nudilo pomembno oporo analizam, ki se bodo v bodoče morebiti želele ukvarjati s posamezno od obravnavanih problematik.

SUMMARY

**RUB, TIDY, TEND
TO ANIMALS**

**HYGIENE AND
SANITATION IN THE
BOURGEOIS PERIOD**

In the 18th century, under the influence of ideas stemming from the enlightenment, the outlook on the issue of health and disease also changed. By drawing the final line between theology and medicine, which divided their jurisdictions in this period – the former becoming responsible for the soul and the latter taking charge of the body – a new attitude to diseases also established itself. Sickness was no longer seen as punishment for sin and consequence of God’s anger: people started falling ill because they did not observe the hygiene standards. When the conviction prevailed that diseases could at least be prevented if not entirely cured by direct interventions and improvement of the environmental sanitary conditions, the state apparatus become an increasingly important factor and as such it kept intervening in lives of the people more and more directly. The state started establishing its authority in the field of health, hygiene and care for a suitable living environment as well as accepting more and more responsibility for the wellbeing of the individuals and the whole community. Thus the 19th century became a period of extensive social, health and hygiene reforms, undertaken by the state in order to regulate, alter, and establish the supervision over even the most intimate aspects of the people’s lives through largescale projects. This gave rise to the opposition between the interests of the individuals, who wanted to eat, drink and enjoy life to the fullest, and the interests of the community, which mostly strived for hardworking, healthy and vigorous citizens, workers and soldiers. The aim was to overcome the resignation which had reigned among people in connection with health and disease since the antiquity. The preparation of precise studies of the environment and living conditions began and medical topographies, whose analyses were basically intended for the expert public, became a part of the prevention campaign. The awareness of the connection between the human health and the environment they lived in had already been completely affirmed, and the 19th century was definitely the period when social and hygiene reforms started enter people’s homes and their intimacy.

However, the authors of manuals, theologians, hygienists, doctors, psychiatrists, etc. soon realised that exerting external supervision over certain areas of the people's lives was impossible. This encouraged the need for reeducation, planned awarenessraising and schooling of the general populace. All individuals were encouraged to feel responsible for their own health and the health of those around them. The ideal pursued by the social reformists in the 19th century or during the whole bourgeois period was to carry out reforms without brutality and coercion. They wanted the people to internalise the new rules of hygiene and observe these rules in accordance with their own wishes. The element of social discipline kept becoming increasingly prominent. All who failed to act in accordance with the strict norms of the bourgeois ideology were pushed to the brink of the society, destined to failure and ruin. Re-education was performed through numerous manuals, almanacs and popular booklets intended for the broad masses and increasingly so also through new media, especially newspapers and the images appearing in them. One of the important subjects of this work is therefore also the growing influence of the press and advertising which, with their subtle and well considered approach, gradually succeeded in spreading the new aesthetic and hygiene norms among the people and make them fear social exclusion should they fail to follow these norms. Consumerism and consumer society often had to develop before the rules, norms and values which the hygienists, doctors and the expert public had failed to impart to the people with their "futile" advices and lessons were actually internalised. The bourgeois ideology with its values and norms thus began to penetrate the homes of workers and peasants as well. In this way the bourgeoisie, which had become the decisive and propulsive social stratum, also established its role in the society. Unlike the spoiled aristocracy and the dirty, neglected members of the working class and rural proletariat, the ideal burgher was disciplined and scrupulous at his work, and after the working hours he always returned home regularly

and punctually to bring up a new generation of model citizens based, above all, on his example and upright posture. Any kind of conduct which endangered and could finally also destroy what was held sacred in accordance with the bourgeois ideology was seen as depraved and unacceptable, as a sign of bestiality and lack of self-control.

The fusion of the bourgeois mentality and the Catholic morality was especially apparent from the manner in which body hygiene was treated. The Catholic perception of body, stench and sin had for centuries marked the way in which people understood their bodies and took care of their cleanliness and health. Stench had especially ambivalent connotations since on one hand it was reminiscent of the infernal torments which awaited the sinners after their death, while on the other hand it was also surrounded by an aura of sanctity. A person who stank definitely never washed himself, touched his body or succumbed to passion and temptation – even more – such a person succeeded in absolutely denying the corporeal and physical dimension of his existence and subordinating his being to spirituality and mysticism. The Catholic fear of touching one's own body and of the sin which preyed upon the human soul at every step thus became entirely connected with the fear of water, stemming from the fear of epidemics and the erroneous understanding of the functions of the skin. Both together led to the introduction of "dry washing", which is to say washing without a direct contact with one's own body and without the danger of the infected water entering the pores of the body and thereby infecting it and condemning it to death. For a modern reader such an attitude towards water and its exclusion from body care implies a decline of hygiene standards. However, that would signify an inadmissible transfer of value judgements from the modern times to the past. Even before the introduction of "dry washing" water had not been used in order to achieve cleanliness, but rather as a means for ensuring and maintaining health. Before the public baths and steam baths were closed

down as the cholera epidemics broke out, water had been also seen as entertainment. The washing of the body which definitely occurred during those activities was only a by-product and was not of specific interest or given much consideration. Dry washing actually brought about a mental breakthrough, as the discourse on cleanliness became ubiquitous and we can claim that writers had never before given so much thought to the human body, its odour and its cleanliness as in the times when water was completely ousted from the everyday life of the people. Thus it is possible to say that the hygiene norms became stricter rather than looser. It is only that cleanliness was achieved in a different way, completely strange to the modern man. We also have to emphasise that the discourse on cleanliness, achieved by changing clothes, was in the exclusive domain of the people who could afford it. Water never completely disappeared from the lives of the lower classes, yet they were not perceived as cleaner in the society for that reason. Peasants and workers who owned only one piece of garment in which they worked and slept could only dream about the whiteness of clean linen which could actually remove the dirt. The rediscovery of washing and water and the obsession with its temperature signified not only a digression from the Catholic ideals but also a need for greater self-control of the individuals.

The state which in this period required primarily clean, diligent and responsible citizens often relied on different institutions in order to achieve this goal. Re-education was performed through the school system, the military and especially the Church, since the bourgeois ideology had completely internalised the main principles of the Catholic morality as well. The influence of the Catholic Church on schools and public life in general proved to be a decisive factor which crucially marked the reform efforts during the long 19th century in Slovenia. For a long time the authors of manuals in the Slovenian language were thus mostly priests. The few medical doctors who dealt with these subjects had almost entirely adopted the Catholic moral

principles, equating health with morality and putting the efforts for redemption and eternal life before the physical health of their patients. Contrary to the Germanspeaking protestant world and the laic approach undertaken in France and Italy, the issues connected with sexuality, the female body and body hygiene in general, birth control and sex education continued to be based on the principles of the “conspiracy of silence”, as it was referred to by Norbert Elias, and thus remained veiled in secrecy. The Slovenian space therefore turned out to be especially worthy of research efforts, as the tendencies, mentality and developments here often differed from the situation in the near or immediate neighbourhood as well, even when included in the same state context.

This work reveals the co-existence of different worlds which rarely intersected, confirming the thesis that it is impossible to speak of a uniform development in the field of raising the awareness and consolidating the rules which were to ensure a longer and healthier human life. The world as revealed to us by the bourgeois authors and hygienists represents only a small fragment of the reality of the long 19th century. Especially the rural areas were a world apart and only seldom received any attention. Only after World War I did they become a part of the planned reform efforts in Slovenia. Some of the authors of manuals and almanacs even claimed that peasants did not need to wash themselves at all, since their skin was already cleaned by sweat pouring out in abundance during the physical work which kept their pores and glands clean and open. The burghers with their mostly sedentary lifestyle had no such luck – their pores remained sealed and closed, sweat was not excreted, and considering the time they spent in smoky pubs as well as inhaling the polluted city air it was obvious that illnesses could easily break out. Moreover, an interesting shift in the attitude towards the rural areas can be observed in the literature as well. From the symbol of vigour and health and the bucolic praise of peasantry and their values, strength, hard work and way of

life in general, the countryside was increasingly becoming a symbol of backwardness, poverty and disease. The immediate contact with nature and exercise in fresh air were not sufficient anymore. It was necessary to regulate, control and analyse the living environment, which was impossible at the countryside. Peasants even actively resisted “progress and development” and drove the social reformers to despair with their insistence on tradition.

The present work does not contain many temporal restrictions or they are exceedingly broad, as it is rather difficult to use of the positivist approach when dealing with subjects such as hygiene and living conditions. It is impossible to determine, for example, when the toothbrush finally conquered the Slovenian homes, and we certainly cannot say whether this happened in 1901 or 1911. Already at the early stage of research it became clear that the coexistence of different habits of different strata in the same period would have to be dealt with and that one hundred kilometres, which is an irrelevant distance from today’s point of view, could imply completely different mental worlds. Especially when discussing the conditions in the rural areas this work deals with considerable chronological leaps. The comparison of the circumstances at the end of the 18th century with those in the beginning of the 20th century might be surprising at the first glance, but it actually reveals the “lack of development” during this long time period and exposes the frequent ineffectiveness of the efforts of doctors, hygienists and authorities. This is obviously the only explanation for the fact that we can read about the unfitness of people and animals sharing the peasant dwellings in 1846 as well as in 1929, and that even immediately before World War II we can still discover warnings about the risks of bathing. All of this attests to the slow pace of changes and to how deeply some convictions were rooted not only among simple people, but even among the authors of manuals which were obviously not unanimous in their opinions. Although collocations such as the “hygienic 19th century” are

used in literature, the spreading of new teachings and advice among the people was slow. Advertising with its images proved to be more effective than the actions of nurses, who organised lectures in the field. The existence of advice on the healthy life style, rules of personal hygiene and moral norms therefore only attests to the state of mind in a certain environment. However, it is impossible to conclude on this basis if and to what extent the people were prepared to accept and internalise these guidelines. To a certain degree the actual circumstances can be discerned from the individual fragments in the archive materials, scarce memorial literature and reports of the city doctors, who were often disappointed in the unresponsiveness of the population and the fact that people frequently even actively resisted “progress”. The progress of the awareness-raising and re-education processes (which were in many aspects a part of the social disciplining) was slow. It had to overcome many obstacles and was co-dependent on the deficient municipal infrastructure as well as the lack of awareness of how important these issues were.

The advice in different almanacs and manuals was continuously imbued with the twofaced bourgeois morality, marking especially the relations between men and women, who were – despite the efforts of the women’s movement – still discriminated against at home and even more so in the public sphere. Subjects like the cleanliness of the female body, birth, menstruation, etc. were often dealt with from the viewpoint of decency and preservation of purity and modesty rather than any serious concern for women’s health and well-being. The conspiracy of silence was especially tenacious in dealing with anything that had to do with women and their bodies, even though gender division was not the only distinction. Normally it was also not the most crucial one, as the rules of conduct and values differed radically according to the vertical adherence to the various social strata. The impoverished workers and peasants frequently represent blind spots, as their lives are

especially hard to reconstruct due to the lack of direct resources written on their own. Furthermore, we can also make only partial inferences about how successfully or unsuccessfully the guidelines or rules of conduct were implemented in practice. As the years passed the obstacles gradually crumbled, as the access to information that the people were interested in became increasingly hard to restrict, and especially World War I represented an important turning point. After the war the allpresent death, shortage and severe despair transformed into lust for life. People were no longer willing to renounce these pleasures, hoping for some reward in the afterlife. This postwar psychosis additionally encouraged the experts who had been cautioning people against the consequences of the degeneration, supposedly involved in the excessive use of alcohol and sexual debauchery, since the end of the 19th century. The fear of the moral and physical decay of the nation started spreading in the young national states. Furthermore, these states were becoming increasingly threatened by the aspirations for limiting the number of births. In a few decades Hufeland's notions about the ideal citizens, capable of controlling their own passions with resolute will, renouncing pleasure in the name of the common good, and being hardworking, sober and responsible, transformed into eugenic ideas. Here the will of the individuals and their firm character were no longer at the forefront. The eugenic ideal was represented especially by the strong central authorities, using their jurisdiction to regulate and enhance the characteristics of the nation mostly by means of negative selection. The most important message represented by Hufeland and his contemporaries – namely, that the fate of each and every individual was in their own hands – thus receded to the background. The nationalist and militant aspirations, initially reflected in the efforts to ensure healthy, hardworking and resistant workers and soldiers, thus kept becoming increasingly sinister, until they were finally implemented in malicious practice.

The cultural and social history have introduced important new guidelines in the field of studying the body, health, illness, medical care and prevention. From the description of the symptoms, statistics and more or less successful ways of curing various diseases, the new guidelines call for monitoring the health and disease in all their complexity, while taking into account the social differences and other social factors that defined the way in which one's own body, hygiene, care, health and disease as well as decency and sin were perceived. Thus the subject of historical studies has not only become more extensive: it also involves a completely new conception of the historical time, indicating that the different social strata in the same period of time can find themselves at various stages of development and even in completely different historical periods. In light of the diversity and range of topics that the book focuses on it was only possible to focus on a small part of the popular literature, newspapers and manuals, published in the periods of time under consideration. Nevertheless, the work will provide an important foundation for the future analyses potentially focusing on the individual problems underlined by this analysis.