
DOI: <https://doi.org/10.61825/r1.2024.v502.04>

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**“TO BE HEALTHIER AND MORE BEAUTIFUL”:
MEDICINES AND COSMETICS IN PRESS
ADVERTISEMENTS OF THE IMPERIAL
PROVINCE OF BUKOVINA (1880-1910)**

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Keywords: medicines, cosmetics, market, pharmacies, advertisement.

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, the trade in therapeutic goods and their internal distribution experienced rapid growth in Bukovina, the easternmost province of the Austrian Empire. This process saw the establishment of new pharmacies and depots that sold products intended to restore health and enhance beauty. In the context of relatively high medicine prices and stringent government regulations governing their distribution, the advent of so-called “miracle remedies”, which promised complete recovery or even cosmetic improvements, was met with considerable enthusiasm. Advertisements for over-the-counter medicines or cosmetic products have become a prominent feature in the final pages of periodicals, magazines, calendars, and newspapers. Initially, they featured rudimentary graphics, later transitioning to more refined designs, and, most importantly,

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captivating texts that provided information about the effects of a specific medicine or cosmetic product, its purpose, purchasing locations, and, notably, the price. This article aims to present some of the most widely circulated and recurring advertisements in Bukovina's central press from 1880-1910. This period reflects the growing aspiration, particularly in urban areas, to align with "Western civilization", which included greater access to health and beauty remedies. The evolution of this trade indicates the public's growing confidence in (scientific and rational) alternatives to traditional medical prescriptions and the desire of an increasingly diverse public to purchase products that were no longer exclusively targeted at the social elite.

„BYĆ ZDROWSZYM I PIĘKNIEJSZYM”. LEKI I KOSMETYKI W REKLAMACH PRASOWYCH IMPERIALNEJ PROWINCJI BUKOWINY (1880-1910)

Słowa kluczowe: leki, kosmetyki, rynek, apteki, reklama.

Na przełomie XIX i XX wieku gospodarka towarowa oraz wewnętrzna dystrybucja preparatów o działaniu leczniczym przeżywały gwałtowny rozwój w najbardziej wysuniętej na wschód prowincji imperium austriackiego – Bukowinie. Proces ten doprowadził do otwierania nowych aptek oraz składów, które oferowały preparaty mające na celu przywrócenie zdrowia i piękna ludziom. W kontekście stosunkowo wysokich cen leków oraz surowych zasad ich dystrybucji, regulowanych przepisami rządowymi, pojawienie się tzw. „cudownych środków”, które obiecywały całkowite wyleczenie lub poprawę wyglądu aż po upiększenie ciała, spotkało się z dużym zainteresowaniem. Reklamy leków dostępnych bez recepty oraz produktów kosmetycznych stały się powszechne na ostatnich stronach czasopism, magazynów, kalendarzy i gazet. Początkowo miały one prymitywną grafikę, potem bardziej dopracowaną, a przede wszystkim ekscytujące teksty, które informowały o działaniu konkretnego leku lub kosmetyku, na jakie dolegliwości można go stosować, gdzie go kupić i – co najważniejsze – jaka jest jego cena. Celem artykułu jest przedstawienie niektórych z najbardziej rozpowszechnionych i wielokrotnie powtarzanych reklam w prasie centralnej Bukowiny (1880-1910), w czasach, gdy potrzeba dostosowania się do „cywilizacji zachodniej” stawała się coraz bardziej widoczna, przynajmniej w miastach, co obejmowało również dostęp do środków zdrowotnych i kosmetycznych. Rozwój tego typu handlu wskazuje zarówno na wiarę w alternatywę (naukową i racjonalną) wobec recept

lekarskich, jak i na rosnące zainteresowanie coraz bardziej zróżnicowanej grupy odbiorców produktami, które przestały być skierowane wyłącznie do elity społecznej.

Despite the demonization fueled by scandals in recent years, today’s pharmaceutical and dermal cosmetic industries remain emblematic of neoliberal capitalism. Their rapid expansion stems from the commercialization of medical science products and the broadening of property regimes. Although publicly committed to the principles of free trade, the pharmaceutical industry enjoys exceptionally high revenues due to monopolies and government protection while profiting from increasing global inequalities, markets and test subjects. The industry’s growing investment in so-called lifestyle-enhancing drugs and products (i.e., those that shape and reshape the self rather than those that treat life-threatening diseases) is also seen as symptomatic of a culture that associates productivism with self-fulfilment.

A historical review of pharmacies and pharmaceutical products in the Austrian Empire reveals a similar situation, considering the era and level of discoveries. In most European countries, the pharmaceutical and beauty products industries and commerce emerged in the latter part of the 19th century, coinciding with the widespread circulation of newspapers that promoted various pharmaceutical products and preparations. These were regarded as both goods and remedies for health or well-being. Historian Antoine Lentacker studied the relationship between drug advertising and the attitudes of a segment of Austrian society. He observed that drug manufacturers not only produced medicines but also crafted texts and slogans to promote them. Frequently, these products were purchased based on an unquestioning, irrational belief in their healing properties rather than on an understanding of their chemical properties, which were typically unknown to the general public (Lentacker 2019).

The evolution of advertisements in the press has become a significant topic of interest in recent decades. Researchers have investigated both the changing societal framework and the impact of commercial messages on social conditions. Additionally, photographic documentaries provide a record of images that reflect the aesthetic value of advertising materials (Langebner 2011; Vranová 2012; Wolińska 2015; Urbanik 2016; Burks 2018; Friedrich, Müller-Jahncke 2022). In the context of the Austrian province of Bukovina, this subject remains underresearched, particularly in the medical field and its commercial extension (Mareci-Sabol 2023).

The study of advertisements in Bukovina's press from the late 19th and early 20th centuries is both fascinating and valuable for Central European historiography. This article aims to demonstrate how a province like Bukovina, situated on the outskirts of the empire, became integrated into the Western capitalist system through the media, particularly in the pharmaceutical and cosmetics industries, by analyzing advertisements for medicines and cosmetics as products that introduced new vocabulary and idioms in the social life.

Economic-social and societal perspectives

The transition from crafts to industry in the production of medicines in Europe at the end of the 19th century was influenced by the transformations of the press, which was strictly controlled by the Habsburg monarchy. In 1898, Hans Heger, editor of the *Pharmaceutische Post*, Austria's leading pharmaceutical journal, drew attention to patent medicines that did not receive the same publicity as "artisanal products" on the fringes of the pharmacopoeia (Lentacker 2019, p. 41). Unlike Germany and France – historical landmarks both for the pharmaceutical industry and the modern press – Austria had a smaller circulation of newspapers. Although the Law of 1862 and the Austrian Constitution of 1867 officially abolished censorship (Ungureanu 2020), the newspaper circulation remained limited. Linguistic pluralism and, above all, the inhibiting influence of governmental restrictions (i.e., the prohibition of street sales of newspapers, which could only be purchased by subscription and distributed by mail) constrained the press's reach among low-income groups. Even so, in the few decades separating the rise of the mass commercial press in the late 19th century from the advent of the radio in the interwar years, newspapers enjoyed undisputed hegemony over mass communication. Beyond their traditional functions – such as reporting news and transmitting political debates – the daily press of that period influenced readers' consumption habits, clothing, language, and literary or artistic tastes. In contrast to the French printing press, the Austrians employed a highly targeted advertising approach rather than a broad one.

The peculiarities of the Austrian press reflect, in many ways, the specifics of the history of pharmaceuticals in Austria. Medicines have never held the same presence in Austrian dailies as they have in French or German newspapers. In the first decade of the 20th century, approximately 10% of the advertisements in *Neues Wiener Tagblatt* and *Kronenzeitung* promoted medicines, while 30% advertised other goods and services of a medical nature. In the *Neue Freie Presse*, 5% of advertisements were for medicines

and 20% for other medical goods and services (Lentacker 2019, p. 45). The small proportion of advertisements dedicated to this field and their more limited impact resulted from a lower level of development in both the drug industry and marketing in Austria. Many of the advertised drugs were of foreign origin. In fact, after the International Congress for Hygiene and Demography held in Vienna in 1887, Dr. Florian Kratschmer noted that the business of secret remedies had become an irresistible force that overcame sanitary regulations and ethical and moral principles (Kratschmer 1887). At the beginning of the 1880s, the Ministry of the Interior in Vienna banned several folk remedies, and starting in 1894, Austria required all patent remedies to be checked and approved by a state agency before being allowed on the market (*Angelegenheiten der Gemeindeverwaltung...* 1899). However, these restrictive measures were not implemented in the Hungarian part of the Monarchy. Thanks to the customs union between the two halves of the Empire, the citizens of the Austrian Empire could obtain all kinds of goods from Hungary, including cures and medicines. Bukovinians followed suit, publishing an increasing number of advertisements for products sold in Transylvania and Banat, in accordance with Budapest regulations.

“Cheap remedies for suffering people”

In Bukovina, most German and Romanian language newspapers were relatively short, generally consisting of four to eight pages. Very rarely did the advertisements outnumber the editorials. While medicines never held the same prominence in the Viennese dailies as they did in the Parisian ones, their presence in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz) newspapers was even less significant. In the last years of the century 19th and the first decade of the 20th century, between 5% and 10% of the advertisements in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, *Bukowiner Nachrichten*, *Bukowiner Volkszeitsug*, or *Bukowiner Runschau* promoted medical services, medicines, and cosmetics.

They targeted an audience primarily composed of representatives of the new middle class – educated individuals with sufficiently well-paid jobs that enabled them to imitate the lifestyle of the major cities of the Austrian Empire and their consumption models. Between 31 (Torouțiu 1922, p. 192) and 43 (Nagy 1921) public pharmacies operated in Bukovina at the end of the Great War, which is a minuscule number given the province’s size, population, and, most importantly, the needs of the sick. Many of these pharmacies had names with religious connotations (“*Zum guten Hirten*” [“To the Good Shepherd”], “*Zum Vorsehung Gottes*” [“To the Providence of God”], “*Zum Mutter Gottes*” [“To the Mother of God”]), patriotic significance (“*Jubilaums*” [“Jubilee”], “*Zur Kaiserkrone*” [“To the Emperor’s Crown”]),

“*Zum Reichsadler*” [“To the Imperial Eagle”]), or references to heraldic animals, such as the eagle and the elephant, symbolizing nobility and power (“*Zum Goldenen Adler*” [“To the Golden Eagle”], “*Zum Elephanten*” [“To the Elephant”]). Additionally, 5% to 10% of the advertisements in the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, *Bukowiner Nachrichten*, *Bukowiner Volkszeitung*, *Bukowiner Post*, or *Bukowiner Runschau* promoted these pharmacies. They benefited from the publicity generated in the press, even though advertising slots were scarce and undoubtedly quite expensive.

The few pharmacists authorized to practice in Bukovina became more economically active and autonomous from physician authority by instilling confidence in the goods sold through their businesses to readers of advertisements, potential customers, and patients. Beyond their designated role of curing diseases, their involvement in selling branded products, such as those intended for beautification, took on significant meaning. The creation of a lifestyle that encouraged the active integration of consumption-oriented practices into the heart of the empire contributed to a discursive construction of the human body and body culture among Bukovinians in the peripheral territories of the Austrian monarchy. Gradually, advertisements in the Bukovina press – many of which were similar to those in the central Viennese press – transformed patients into active consumers who could improve their health or enhance bodily comfort.

Many pharmaceutical products and medicines were designed to target the digestive, musculoskeletal, neurological, and respiratory systems. To illustrate, *Mariazeller* stomach drops were created in 1780 to treat “liver, intestinal, and gastric disorders.” The “double” bottle cost 70 crowns, while the “single” bottle was priced at 40 crowns. Distributed by the Moravian pharmacist Carl Brady, these drops were available at Bukovinian pharmacies located in Czernowitz, Gura Humor, Radautz, Suczawa, Solka, and Vizhnitz, similar to the *O Pills*, which were prescribed to treat “corded worms” that caused “vomiting”, “stomach spasms”, and “unpleasant sensations”. Such ailments demoralized and discouraged patients from working; in addition, they often experienced unusual symptoms such as dizziness, anemia, loss of appetite, and sometimes excessive hunger. A single medication cost seven crowns in Banat at Ludovic Vertés’ pharmacy in Lugoj, and patients were required to disclose their age, presumably along with any ongoing treatments (*Călinădarul Poporului Bucovinean* 1909, p. 108).

Sarsaparilla syrup was used to treat a wide range of illnesses. It was believed to cleanse thick blood and remove bile fluid, regarded as the “root of many ailments”, and worked “wonders” for conditions such as obesity,

gout, migraines, hemorrhoids, poor digestion, liver and spleen swelling, skin rashes, and rheumatic disorders. This syrup cost 85 crowns at the *Dr Hellmanns' "Barmherzigkeit"* ["Mercy"] pharmacy in Vienna, with an additional 15 crowns for transport fees (*Bukowinaer Rundschau* 1885, p. 7). A similar product was *Feller's Rhabarber* tablets, also known as *Elsapillen*, which could be purchased for four crowns from E.V. Feller, the "pharmacist of the court" in Stubica, Croatia (*Bukowinaer Post* 1906, p. 5). Sold by "Hoffmann La Roche & Cie.," a pharmaceutical company established in Basel in 1896, *Sirolin* syrup was recommended for respiratory illnesses. It became a "bestseller" that remained on the market for over 60 years after its launch in 1898, making it a veritable "pearl" for the corporation. Newspaper advertisements in Bukovina claimed that *Sirolin* was effective against bronchitis, catarrh, colds, and coughs, and sick people could often consume it throughout the winter (*Bukowinaer Rundschau* 1905, p. 5).

The Vertés pharmacy sold *Syrup of Lime and Iron*, which cost approximately two crowns and featured the following opening line in its advertisement: "Good news for tuberculosis, asthma, jaundice, rickets and anaemic patients." The advertisement highlighted its "pleasant taste and smell," which even the "softest" individuals appreciated, noting that it could be "taken with pleasure instead of fish oil," while listing the conditions it could treat or alleviate. One bottle was priced at 2.50 crowns, with an additional 1.5 crowns for shipping and handling. Successful therapy required a minimum of four bottles. The same "Vulturul" ["The Eagle"] drugstore in Lugoj served as the sole supplier (*Călinădarul Poporului Bucovinean* 1909, p. 107). Dr. Julius Herbabny of Vienna created a substance comparable to Vertés' *Syrup of Lime and Iron*, which was recommended for the early stages of tuberculosis, acute and chronic lung disorders, as well as for improving appetite and digestion, making it suitable for anaemic, rickets-prone, or scrofulous children (*Bukowinaer Rundschau* 1887, p. 6). The Órkény *Lime Honey Syrup* also fell under the syrups category. The product, which received a gold medal and a diploma of honour at the "English Exhibition," was recommended "with all heart, to prevent the spread of small evil in time" for conditions such as cough, hoarseness, night sweats, heavy breathing, chest pain, flu symptoms, or "bad signs of disease, from which many serious illnesses have frequently arisen." Prices for this syrup ranged from 3 crowns for a "trial bottle" or sample to five crowns for a "big bottle" and 15 crowns for three-bottle "cure," "with a refund." The only general depot for Austria-Hungary was in Budapest, and "Apostol" of Órkény was the only pharmacy selling it (*Călinădarul Poporului Bucovinean* 1909, p. 114).

Medicinal cognac frequently appeared in press advertisements (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt* 1909c, p. 7). It was listed in the Austrian Pharmacopoeia as *Spiritus Vini Rectificatus* and possessed both stimulating properties (for cardiac conditions) and sedative effects (for neurological diseases, insomnia, and delirium), depending on the dilution grade. Administered orally, intra-rectally, or via intravenous injection, it was effective in treating anorexia and fever (in cases of pneumonia or typhoid fever), enhancing blood oxygenation and reducing breathing rates, while providing up to 40% of the calories needed for patients with difficulties in food assimilation. When inhaled, it helped alleviate heart failure, and when ingested, it masked the taste of castor oil or other unpleasant-tasting pharmaceutical remedies. Additionally, it stimulated the production of gastric juice and, due to its vasodilating effects, was recommended for those suffering from angina (*Bukowinaer Post* 1902, p. 6).

Regarding the “mineral waters”, Josef Golichowski, the owner of the pharmacy “*Zur Vorsehung Gottes*” in Czernowitz, advertised his products as follows: “Based on the concession I acquired from the high government to artificially create mineral waters, I can prepare all mineral waters as if they were natural, thanks to my scientific knowledge, diligent efforts, and the possession of appropriate devices [...] For many yearsm I have harbored a desire to alleviate the distress of humanity by utilizing low-cost remedies. The most distinguished medical gentlemen, as well as the passionate public, will undoubtedly test them with delight because the healing waters I produce are not inferior to the natural ones, but rather fresher and cheaper than the original products.” He also prepared and sold remedies such as “sour water” (“for the spring cure,” as a “preservative agent for many diseases”) and “spruce water” (considered “excellent for cleaning the skin” and removing “pimples and other skin growths”), “powders” (including *Seidlitz* and *Salycil* for foot sweat, as well as for cattle and other domestic animals), “drops” (such as *Morison* and *Swiss*, and “self-made candies, against whooping cough”), “spruce resin” (for healing all wounds, gangrene and ulcers), *Algophone* (which relieves “rheumatic toothache” or “hollow teeth”), “spirits” (against “gout, eating the limbs, rheumatic pains in the head and teeth and weakness of the nerves”), and “syrops” (*Sarsaparilla*, *Pagliano*), along with “surgical equipment”, insect dust spreaders, bandages, irrigators, suction pumps, and cosmetic items (*Revista Politică* 1886, p. 19-20).

The public was exposed to remedies or pharmaceuticals through such advertisements, which targeted people’s fears, hopes, prejudices, emotions, and needs. As a result, a wide range of products was available that could cure or improve various ailments. The target audience was not limited to the

social elite; rather, it included all individuals who had reached an impasse, although not all prices were low. Unlike the medical advertising of the early 19th century, which was traditionally associated with superstition and quackery, the new pharmaceutical advertisements became an expression of modernity.

“Beauty remedies, within everyone’s reach...”

Medicine and medical knowledge played a vital role in the reconfiguration of the body. Advertisements for specific pills and tonics illustrated, within a limited discursive framework, how the body emerged as an entity capable of seeking pleasure and inducing desire. The bodies featured in advertisements aligned with modern ideas of gender, set in motion by the agents of modernity. Among other features, smooth, blemish-free skin became a benchmark of beauty. Consequently, products targeting consumers seeking the ultimate cure began to establish themselves in the Austrian market.

Products containing arsenic, for example, promised to „smooth the cheeks and restore their color” by using “waters” that would eliminate freckles, blackheads, acne, vulgar redness, rough skin, and “yellow or muddy” complexions, and “other facial disfigurements,” while also addressing ailments such as anaemia, leukemia, dyspepsia, constipation, malaria, neuralgia, rheumatism, neurasthenia, and “lack of luster in the eyes”, as well as “low spirits and lack of vitality” (*Neues Wiener Tagblatt* 1889, p. 5; *Anzeigen-Blatt zur Zeitschrift...* 1898, p. 5; Haller 1975). In turn, cigarettes containing Belladonna or Cannabis (Fieber 1865; *Fremden-Zeitung* 1899, p. 10) were marketed as beautification therapies; when smoked, they dilated the pupils, making “the eyes sparkle, giving an air of vivacity to the smoker,” according to a newspaper advertisement. The press from 1890-1910 introduced lotions and instruments that promised to reshape the contours of the nose or eliminate double chins, fostering a new ideal of female beauty. These transitions were an integral part of the ideological and mental shifts occurring in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, reflecting a transition to modern society in which consumer goods became increasingly linked to self-perception.

In Vienna, one of the most prominent figures in the field of beauty, or, in contemporary terms, a cosmetics entrepreneur, was Rosa Schaffer. She owned a workshop, several stores, and general depots (*Wiener Zeitung* 1903, p. 155). Schaffer patented the “Ravissante” preparations (face powder, cream, and eau de toilette), which gained popularity not only in the boudoirs of high society but also abroad. Her trademark was granted protection by

the imperial authority within a short period. Her company motto was: Beauty is wealth, beauty is power (*Neue Freie Presse* 1898, p. 18). The merit of Rosa Schaffer also consisted in the intelligent use of the power of advertising to market her products; she added colorful advertising posters to newspaper advertisements (now sold to collectors at exorbitant prices). A note in the May 17, 1903, issue of the *Czernowitzer Tagblatt*, repeated this slogan. The text is suggestive: "Today, the appearance of Mrs. Rosa Schaffer still causes a sensation with her flawless, blossomingly beautiful face. Any girl would be lucky to have such a fresh and beautiful complexion, and Madame Rosa Schaffer guarantees that this can be possible with Ravissante powder, cream and cologne. The use of these three remedies represents an effective treatment, restoring the beauty of even the most disfigured skin, protecting the face from wrinkles, and keeping it young until old age. Mrs. Rosa Schaffer herself is proof of the miraculous nature of her products; although she is already a grandmother, not even the sharpest eye can detect a wrinkle on her radiant, youthful face. The gold medal and diploma of honour from London and Paris have already been awarded to these effective products. Ravissante powder, cream and water bear the image of the inventor to protect their authenticity" (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt* 1903, p. 3). Two years later, the same newspaper wrote that "Women's beauty is, was and will be the most valuable commodity at any time, whose power exceeds that of money. Nowadays, when one hears or talks about beauty products, one of the first people mentioned is Madame Rosa Schaffer, who managed to reach the top with her phenomenal inventions.... The inventor, a beauty of the first rank, is probably the best advertisement for her preparations, because their miraculous effect can best be judged on her face" (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt* 1905, p. 5).

Enthusiasm for Rosa Schaffer's products persisted for a few more years. In August 1909, her induction as an honorary member of the Chemical Academy of Palermo was announced in Czernowitz, along with the awarding of a gold medal for Schaffer's products, deemed "excellent" and "of first class" (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt* 1909b, p. 6.). However, a few weeks later, the motto "Beauty is wealth" acquired a different connotation. The author of an article published in *Bukowinaer Post* wrote a text focusing on money rather than the effectiveness of cosmetic preparations, accusing the Christian newspapers of "closing their eyes to recommend, without reservations, a Jewish business and Jewish products." The name "Schaffer" became synonymous with "greed", and purchasing her products led to debts of 300 crowns (*Bukowinaer Post* 1909b, p. 4). In other words, selling beauty products led to questionable wealth.

The culture of health and beauty, a topic of interest in the Bukovina press in the 1900s, was reflected in the newspapers that adopted different approaches regarding physical appearance. The advertisements promoted dermato-cosmetics and beauty products, ranging from soaps and hair growth treatments to wigs and bizarre skin rejuvenation tools. The purpose of the products was to “maintain” youth: healthy, vigorous, and voluminous hair, shiny teeth and smooth and luminous skin. However, there was a (“general”) distinction between products that could “restore” or “preserve” youth (i.e., soaps, treatments, and baths) and those that attempted to (“artificially”) conceal the signs of ageing (“dermal enamelling” or the use of “colored” cosmetics).

Although it was the duty of women to preserve their natural qualities and popular calendars recommended temperance and cleanliness rather than pomades and lipsticks, “beauty preservers” perpetuated the concept according to which it was enough to wish to become beautiful and a miracle would happen. The advertisement entitled “I Was Ugly” filled an entire page to describe a transformation of a young woman whose face – deformed due to all kinds of moles, comedones, and “other impurities of the skin” – created repulsion for her. With only four doses of *Helin* cream, she acquired a “soft, clean, smooth” face, a “pleasant, beautiful, and silky” appearance, and white hands with “aristocratic delicacy”. Before long, she had become “everyone’s favorite,” “the most beautiful in the land”, and a bride walking down the aisle with “the man of her heart” (*Călinarul Poporului Bucovinean* 1906). To put it another way, the ugly woman did not have to look elsewhere for the blame for her appearance.

Most of the time, beauty was associated with youth, and an article in the *Bukowinaer-Volks-Zeitung* raised the question: “How does a woman stay young?” The first and most important rule was: to avoid excessive fatigue. However, it clarified, “this does not mean that a woman should avoid work or become physically lazy. It is advisable to have brief rest periods, ideally including lying down, if possible. At least once a day, women should rest for twenty minutes or half an hour quietly, calming their thoughts”. In addition, a “short, warm bath of three to four minutes, followed by general body and facial massage, works well”. Here, the advertisement seamlessly integrated: “Adding a small amount of borax or salt to the bath water is an excellent idea. After using a quality face cream and gently massaging the face, sip a glass of hot milk and relax for a while. Before leaving the bathroom, apply a teaspoon of cologne to your face wash soap”. The conclusion was revealing: “The right cosmetics are always those that do not aim to cover defects, but

rather to maintain the health of the body, maintaining, at the same time, youth and beauty” (*Bukowinaer-Volks-Zeitung* 1907, p. 3).

A quick look at advertisements for beauty products, perfumes, or hair treatments indicates a target audience of both women and men. For example, cologne was no longer intended only for the “elegant universe of women” (not only the aromas diversifying, but also the packaging and the method of application), but also for men who, smoking cigars or cigarettes, “spread a disgusting smell.” It was necessary to wear perfume to counter the odour of cigar smoke and protect “women’s sensitive sense of smell” (*Bukowinaer Post* 1909a, p. 1).

As in the 19th century, many doctors and pharmacists recommended “trusted” cosmetic products, using “the result of scientific research” and “miracles of science”, as keywords in the advertisements. Science was, however, a quality that people had to take seriously, and “scientifically produced” medicines or cosmetics were not only bound by strict principles of science or rationality but offered the chance to all citizens, regardless of where they lived. *Diana* soap, for instance, was popularized in large-size advertisements in the Czernowitz press in 1909 by the Hungarian pharmacist Bela Ereny from Budapest. It “had to be found in every home” as an “extraordinary, fine toilet product, producing a good foam and having a particular, pleasant, discreet fragrance. Due to the high content of lanolin, it made the skin soft and delicate.” It addressed both sexes: “For men, it is necessary to wash the throat, as it has proven many times that those who use *Diana* soap regularly every morning do not develop the disgusting abscesses and eruptions due to tight necks and which they can turn into wounds. And if such wounds already exist, they will dry completely using *Diana* soap.” Freckles, liver spots, blackheads on the nose and face, and shiny and sweaty nose could also be eliminated with the help of the same product. Plus, a small amount on the toothbrush will made the teeth “snow white”. Women could have white, delicate, and soft hands, and its content with “harmless ingredients” (pure bile extract, the finest honey and the finest lanolin) is recommended, as well, for children or infants. Incidentally, “almost all European actors and actresses use *Diana* soap, *Diana* cream and *Diana* powder as beauty products.” Sometimes, the advertisements were accompanied by testimonials from doctors and consumers, vouching for the qualities of the cosmetic preparations (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt* 1909a, p. 7).

At the beginning of the 20th century, “popular lectures” were organized about unhealthy habits, drawing attention to “reddening the lips” by rubbing them with rough fabric or applying citric acid or “enamelling” the

skin with zinc oxide-based powders. Making an incursion in the history and use of beauty products, physician and professor Wender warned against “the world of the most strange and adventurous products,” mentioning the devices and preparations for removing wrinkles and changing hair color, but also the dangerous consequences of using dyes and creams (*Czernowitzer Tagblatt* 1907, p. 6).

Moreover, in the same period and for the first time in Bukovina, the profession of a “beautician” was mentioned. An advertisement in the *Czernowitzer Allgemeine Zeitung* presented not only *Excelsior* products to the readers (face cream and rejuvenating soap) but also the name of an enigmatic Anna Tauber from Kimpolung (*Allgemeine Czernowitzer Zeitung* 1909, p. 5).

By the 1910s, the number of pages that the dailies reserved for informational posters and advertisements had increased, sometimes exceeding six pages. The clear intentions of graphic designers to embellish the advertisements with ornamental borders in the form of flowers or geometries were then more clearly distinguished, adding miniature, illustrative drawings and vignettes influenced by the pictorial forms of the time. Apart from the care given to the graphics and the tendency to highlight the titles and main ideas (through large hand-drawn letters), the crafted texts had to attract attention, promising both health and beauty.

Conclusion

The marketing of remedies and pharmaceutical products in Bukovina targeted people’s fears, hopes, prejudices, emotions, and needs through messages such as “Help for Those with Weak Stomachs”, “How You Are, Stay, and Become Healthy”, “Good News for Tuberculosis Patients”, “Safe Effect”, and “To Become and Stay Beautiful”. Hence, the capability of a product that could cure or improve several ailments. The wording of the text had to give the readers a dose of confidence, using explanations related to their content, the therapeutic effects and the testimonies of those who buy them. The addressability was not limited to the social elite, although not all prices were within reach, but to all individuals who reached an impasse or wanted to become more attractive. Differing from medical advertising in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, traditionally associated with superstition and quackery, the new pharmaceutical advertisements were meant to be viewed as an expression of modernity. It is true that some preparations addressed more than one condition, but the most important characteristics became more and more evident. To further convince buyers, advertisements used phrases such as “the most useful”, “the best known”, “time-tested”,

“good value”, and “achievement of nature” or “of science”. Medicines or cosmetics were recommended either on behalf of medical professionals, especially pharmacists, or on behalf of patients (both men and women) who, it seems, used them and tested their effectiveness. Although pharmacists or merchants can be easily identified by their names and addresses, it is unclear whether the “patients” were real people, and even if they were, there is doubt that the products they advertised really and effectively worked.

Through its communication system, facilitated by keywords and, sometimes, symbol designs, advertising messages related to pharmaceutical and cosmetic products acquired a proactive role in the culture of consumerism development, arousing curiosities and interests and fueling new sensitivities that had to shape a new lifestyle.

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