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SPRINGS OF LIFE: SPAS IN WESTERN GALICIA FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE 19TH CENTURY TO THE OUTBREAK OF WORLD WAR I

Abstract: Some of the spas there trace their origins to the first half of that century. Thanks to its diverse natural and geographic environment Western Galicia was somehow predestined to establish spas. There were mineral waters and a favorable microclimate. An additional advantage was the mountainous natural environment, especially, in the south of the region, which was mostly pristine. Even though some spas originated in the first part of the century, their dynamic development began to be observed only from the middle of the same century. The number of visitors also began to grow dynamically. The most fashionable place in the middle of the century was Szczawnica. However, it gradually lost this position as a result of increasing competition from other spas and internal problems. Before the outbreak of World War I, Zakopane clearly led the way. The state of the spas depended on the people managing them, mainly, on their commitment. Alongside large spas like Zakopane and Szczawnica existed smaller ones with poorly developed accommodation. They were treated by visitors more as a summer resort than a health resort. The purpose of the article is to show the development of spa treatment in the 19th century and early 20th century. It was based on the sources of medicinal waters discovered in western Galicia. Consequently, these areas became a kind of spa basin, popular among patients. The selected individual spas are discussed, their establishment and development are described, factors influencing the growth of their popularity and obstacles to their development are indicated. Changes in the interaction between man and nature in relation to Western Galicia are shown. It allows to understand the inspiring role of nature in the everyday life of man.

Keywords: health resorts, spas, balneological facilities, natural environment, thermal springs

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INTRODUCTION

The interaction between man and nature is evident, and plays an important role in socio-economical life. The natural environment has been and continues to be the subject of human activities and exploitation. Where conditions were not conducive to human existence, over time, efforts were made to take advantage of seemingly unfavourable factors, including mineral waters, often regarded as undrinkable. The consequence of this was the development of spas. In the 19th century, the area where spas began to develop on a larger scale was Western Galicia. Between man and nature over the course of history, we have a constantly changing relationship. They have undergone changes in economic, social and cultural aspects. On the one hand, man exploited natural resources, sought to free himself from the constraints imposed on him by the natural environment, and on the other hand there was a process of sacralization of nature. The interaction between man and nature was evident, and it played an important role in man's economy, but was also a factor influencing thought patterns, emotions, behavior, beliefs, and social and state structures. The natural environment has been and continues to be the subject of human activities and exploitation. On the other hand, it has influenced and continues to influence the civilization created by man. Natural conditions determined human activity, influenced the degree of civilization and especially economic development. Some of the main factors were temperature, insolation, precipitation levels, the type and quantity of water present, mineral resources, and the terrain and vegetation covering it. Where conditions were not conducive to human existence, over time efforts were made to take advantage of seemingly unfavorable factors, including mineral waters, often regarded as undrinkable. The consequence of this was the development of spas.

The process of development of spas in the Polish lands in the 19th century and early 20th century was influenced by numerous factors of a social, political, economic and cultural nature. Of major importance was mainly the development of medicine, as a consequence of the increasing concern for health. At that time, one can speak of a kind of culture of concern for health. This originally applied to the wealthy strata of the population. While this peculiar concern was evident among the elite much earlier, in the 19th century it begins to be noticed in the middle-income strata, mainly among the intelligentsia. This process deepened with the passage

of time. It was diametrically opposed at the beginning of the 19th century to the first years of the following century.

Galicia, thanks to its diverse natural and geographic environment, was somehow predestined to establish spas. There were mineral waters and a favorable microclimate. This interacted with the stunning, mostly still wild mountain nature. The region in the southern part was inhabited by a population of diverse nationalities. The majority were highlanders of both Wallachian, Polish and Ukrainian origin. Among the latter group, Lemkos were predominant in the area under discussion. The elite consisted of Polish and Hungarian nobility. In the northern part, the Polish population definitely prevailed. Jews and people of German origin also lived in the cities. The inhabitants of Western Galicia were also religiously diverse with the Catholics predominating. However, in the southern part, a large percentage were Greek Catholics and Orthodox. In the cities, on the other hand, we find adherents of Judaism and Protestantism. Western Galicia was an economically underdeveloped area. Most of the population made a living by farming. There were few small industries and craft workshops in the cities.

The issue of spas in Galicia was the focus of researcher Stanisław Pagaczewski (1972), and contemporary researchers Jarosław Kita (2016) and Jan Golba (2020), among others. A small number of spas have survived to witness distinct studies. A commendable exception is Szczawnica, which is within the interests of Barbara Alina Węglarz (1994, 2011, 2013, 2017, 2018). Former Galician spas also appear in the publication series *Kultura Uzdrawiskowa w Europie* [Spa Culture in Europe] (*Kultura uzdrawiskowa...*, 2012–2019). The basic archival materials on the subject in question are held in the National Archives in Krakow. Unfortunately, they have been preserved in a residual state. Valuable information can be found in the *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji w latach 1857–1910* [Statistical Guide to the Socio-Economic History of Galicia in the Years 1857–1910] by Krzysztof Zamorski (1989) and guides to spas published shortly before the outbreak of World War I (Lewicki et al., 1912; Pelczar and Zientowski, 1913). Information is also provided by accounts of travelers and visitors to the spas (Eliasz-Radzikowski, 1870; Rostafiński, 1883; Chłędowski, 1957). The latter are, of course, subjective in nature.

It is essential to define the terminology for spas, operating during the period in question. The terms used most often were: spas as well as bathing establishments, hydrotherapeutic establishments, climatic establish-

ments, gyre establishments, kefir establishments, kumis establishments, climatic stations. An attempt to organize the terminology was made in an Instruction sent out by the Balneological Commission ('Instrukcja dla Komisyi...', 1857) functioning in Krakow in 1858–1877. It met with a mediocre response. Individual spas continued to use arbitrary terminology (Golba, 2020: 38; Kita, 2016: 10). In 1889, Michal Zieleniewski attempted, also unsuccessfully, to bring order to this peculiar terminological chaos prevailing in balneology in his Bibliographic-Balneological Dictionary (Zieleniewski, 1889). It was not until a 1922 law which stated that "Spas are considered to be: 1) localities with thermal springs or therapeutic springs (springs, wells or boreholes with water containing mineral, gaseous or other components, or exhibiting special actions, which gives it therapeutic properties and uses), i.e. so-called spas; 2) climatic stations; 3) sea bathing places" (Dz.U. 1922, No 31, item 254: Article 2).

The territorial extent of Western Galicia also needs to be clarified. The term began to be used after 1850 for the western areas of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. Roughly speaking, this area coincided with that part of Lesser Poland that became part of Galicia. The border between Eastern and Western Galicia ran between the San and Wisłok rivers, the counties of Łańcut, Przeworsk, Rzeszów, Strzyżów, and Jasło being part of Western Galicia. The neighboring districts of Jarosław, Brzozów and Sanok were already included in Eastern Galicia. The division into Western and Eastern Galicia had significance only in the judiciary (Hryciuk, 2005: 25).

THE ORIGINS OF SPAS IN SOUTHERN EUROPE AND THE POLISH LANDS

The first spas in Europe appeared as early as ancient times in ancient Greece and Rome. Their functions were originally performed by baths. The Greeks and Romans realized the therapeutic nature of bathing in healing waters found, mainly, in places of worship and hospices. Therefore, today we can consider these places as the first known European spas (Łazarkowa and Łazarek, 2007: 18–22). Among Greek spa places, the hospices in Epidauros and Pergamon were renowned. The first Roman curative sanatorium was established on the island of Tiberina in Rome after a plague struck the city in the 3rd century BC (Wolny, 2012: 22). Thermae located in every city in the Roman state served a similar function. Mainly,

underground waters were used in treatment, which gave rise to the development of balneology. The therapeutic effects of gases and peloid-mineral deposits were also appreciated (Spielvogel, 2017: 22). In the early Middle Ages, there was a decline in existing healing centers, which was a consequence of the adoption of the principle that the body is for God and not for pleasure, for which bathing was considered, among other things. A departure from this perception of bathing did not occur until the time of Charlemagne, in the early ninth century. The ruler, towards the end of his life, loved bathing and swimming in a pool of water from warm springs in his palace in Aachen (Einhard, 1935: 42–43). For the development of future spas, monasteries in Italy, England or the Iberian Peninsula, where medicinal baths in ponds were used, were of great importance. There, special baths were built near infirmaries, i.e. rooms for the sick.

Outside the area of Roman influence, the situation was originally quite different. In his account, Ibrahim ibn Jacob gives a description of a bathhouse or sauna, which contained a stone hearth onto which water was poured, thus obtaining steam. Those using the bathhouse would “chase” the steam to themselves using dry twigs. This was used to rid the body of boils and pimples. The bathhouse, thus, served hygienic as well as medicinal purposes (W., 1939: 13). Initially, baths on the territory of the Piast state were relatively few. We know that they were used by Bolesław Chrobry (I the Brave). Later, they began to be created in castles. During the period of the location of cities under German law, public baths appeared. In the 14th century, there were even guilds of bathers (Rostkowski, 1986: 231–234). In the 11th century, the medicinal importance of mineral waters was already appreciated. Thanks to bathing in the sulfur springs at Inowłódź on the Pilica River, Judith, wife of Władysław Herman, was said to have been cured, after which she gave birth to Bolesław Krzywousty (the Wrymouth) (Golba, 2020: 25). During the Middle Ages, the benefits of the climate for healing also began to be recognized. We know that Louis of Hungary was treated for tuberculosis in the Spiš Tatra Mountains in Smokovec (Kozłowska-Szczęsna, 2000: 6). From 1413 comes a reference to the existence of mineral waters in Iwonicz (Cwanek, 1984: 4–7). It should be noted, however, that treatment using mineral waters and climate was very rare in the Middle Ages and concerned a narrow group – the elites of the time.

A slightly greater interest in these forms of treatment appears from the 16th century. The elites of Poland at that time traveled to spas in Italy and Germany. During the time of Stefan Batory, domestic spas in Iwo-

nicz, Felsóruzbach, Szkło, Lubień Wielki, Swoszowice and Mikulińce-Konopkówka (Kuropatnicki, 1786: 36; Torosiewicz, 1831: 34) were popular. Mineral waters were used to treat: rheumatism, gout, inflammation of the reproductive organs in women and even syphilis. The treatment consisted of bathing and drinking the water, and in large quantities, which in turn led to other diseases, mainly of the digestive system. The medics of the time only paid attention to the natural properties of the waters: smell, color, temperature and salinity. Another custom was to drink sorrel, or waters saturated with free carbon dioxide, during feasts and parties held by nobles and even peasants. There were cases of people who were allergic to the waters such that consuming them often led to illness and even death. Medics, including Stefan Batory's physician, Wojciech Oczko, warned against boiling or heating sorrels or brewing beer on them. Oczko can be considered the father of Polish balneology (Oczko, 1578; 1881: I-V).

Further development of hydrotherapy occurred in the late 16th to early 17th century. It was then that the foundations of balneochemistry began to be laid. Erasmus Sixtus published a work in which, he summarized the results of his laboratory studies of mineral waters. Sixtus conducted his research, mainly, in Szkło. There, he made a chemical analysis of the mineral waters and developed recommendations and contraindications for treatment at such spa (Sixtus, 1617; Kowalenko, 1984: 24; Dowgiałło, 2015: 685-687). His footsteps were followed by Jan Innocenty Petrycy, who made an analysis of the waters in Druzbak and Lećkowa. He recommended using the waters there for skin diseases (including ringworm, psoriasis, eczema), kidney diseases, cystitis and discharges, arthritis and rheumatism, the treatment of multiple sclerosis, psychoneurotic disorders and disorders of the organ of balance and hearing (Petrycy, 1635; Remiszewski, 2021). Baths were taken in tubs. At the end of the 17th century, the most popular spas were Cieplice and Łądek. Queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, Lithuanian sub-chancellor Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł, among others, were treated there. These spas already had spa pools where both men and women bathed. In Łądek, musicians played brass instruments during therapeutic treatments. Drinking tea was an additional attraction (Małecka and Marcinkowski, 2007: 140; Dębicki, 1998: 81-89). New spas were established during this period in Krzeszowice and Swoszowice. The situation of the spas in the Republic began to deteriorate during the Saxon era, when, as a result of warfare, some of them were ruined (Kuciel-Lewandowska and Kierzek, 2012: 19).

Further development of scientific research devoted to water therapy occurred in the second half of the 18th century. Andrzej Krupiński, Józef Herman Osiński, and Andrzej Trzciński published their works (Krupiński, 1775, 1782; Osiński, 1783). At the time, elites flocked to the waters not only for treatment, but also for prevention as well as to socialize. Foreign spas dominated, employing educated physicians as opposed to domestic ones. At the turn of the 18th/19th century, Czech Karlsbad, in particular, became popular. Among Polish spas, the most renowned were: Szklno, Ozorków, Tuszyn, Wieluń and Inowłódź, to which, mainly, middle-class people flocked (Kucharski, 2010: 129–133). In addition, spas were already operating in Wysowa, Busk and Wapienne (*‘Uzdrowisko „Wapienne” ...’*, 2023). In 1794, spas were also opened in Krynica and Druskienniki (Kuciel-Lewandowska and Kierzek, 2012: 20).

HEALTH RESORTS IN GALICIA IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

In the 19th century, the growing importance of climate was recognized, which had to do with the development of climatology and meteorology. Research was conducted by Stanisław Staszic (1806; 1815), Wincenty Pol (1851a–c), Ludwik Zejszner, Georg Gottlieb Pusch (Feliksiak, 1987: 437–438), Teodor Torosiewicz (1831). In his descriptions of the spa and bathing places he visited, Staszic included information on balneology and climatology. He describes the beauty of the Tatra nature. Pol’s works contain a modern description of the Polish lands. He characterizes, among other things, the location, relief, rivers, climate, flora and fauna. He proposes a climatic regionalization of the Polish lands, based on phytogeographic observations. He distinguished 3 main climatic regions: mountain, steppe and lowland. He noted the influence of climate on the regime of rivers. He tied the river network to the relief of the land (Pociask-Karteczka, 2006). Zejszner dealt with hypsometry, climate and hydrography, among other subjects. He was the author of works on mineral waters. He conducted meteorological research using instruments (thermometer, barometer, hygrometer), which were used by balneologists (Graniczny et al., 2007). Pusch developed a synthesis of the geological structure of Poland (Pusch, 1833). Torosiewicz investigated and determined the composition of medicinal waters in almost all spa towns in Małopolska and Bukowina. He

visited Burkut, Konopkówka, Lubień, Niemirów, Podgórze, Swoszowice, Wieliczka, Sokolniki, Szczawnica, Szkło, Lviv, Jabłonów, Dorn, Pojane Negri, Radowce, Drohobycz, Bolechów and Stara Sól, among others. He was a pioneer in measuring water transparency. Thus, he became the forerunner of spa chemistry (Torosiewicz, 1836: 23–28). In 1837 he made the first dissection of the chemical composition of Iwonicz's waters. He proved their comparability with the Adelaide-Adelheidquelle water (Torosiewicz, 1831). In 1842, he proposed a new way of analyzing water samples and developed a process for detecting and quantifying iodine in them (Torosiewicz, 1842). He combined balneochemical and balneological descriptions of spas with historical ones, demonstrating their therapeutic usefulness (Torosiewicz 1842; 1850). He was also interested in bromatology, toxicology, pharmacognosy, chemical technology, analytical and physiological chemistry. Water analysis was carried out not only by chemists, but also by local apothecaries, who usually had well-equipped laboratories and were the first to reach nearby springs (Wasyl, 2015: 240, 386).

BALNEOLOGICAL COMMISSION IN KRAKOW AND ACTIVITIES AIMED AT GRANTING LEGAL STATUS TO SPAS IN GALICIA

Until the mid-19th century, the popularity of spas in the Polish lands was relatively low. In addition to the reasons mentioned earlier, this was influenced by the state of the national medical knowledge, which underestimated the importance of natural medicine in the treatment process. The situation began to change in the second half of the 19th century. Physicians began to recognize the advantages of domestic spas. Contributing to this was the development and dissemination of native medical literature, which promoted the advantages of balneoclimatology. On the other hand, native spas implemented an effective advertising campaign. The aforementioned trends became apparent especially in Galicia. As of March 8, 1858, on the initiative of Józef Dietl, Józef Majer, Fryderyk Skobel, a Balneological Commission was established within the Branches of Natural and Quantitative Sciences of the c. k. The Krakow Scientific Society established a Balneological Commission. Józef Dietl visited the most important spas of Europe between 1854 and 1856, and in the summer of 1856

he visited 11 Polish spas: Krzeszowice, Swoszowice, Szczawnica, Krynica, Żegiestów, Żulin, Iwonicz, Bardyów, Solec, Busko, Ojców. Consequently, he compared them with foreign resorts (Dietl, 1858a: 33–35). Dietl noted that Galicia had large resources of medicinal waters. However, he recognized deficiencies in terms of known thermal waters. He expressed hope that thermals would be discovered in the future, thanks to new drilling techniques (Dietl, 1858a: 5–9).

The Balneological Commission included scholars, physicians, physicists, chemists, geologists, botanists, architects and earth scientists. It consisted of 20 people. Fryderyk Skobel became the first chairman (Dietl, 1858a: 2). In March 1860, he was replaced by Józef Dietl. The office of secretary was entrusted to Michał Zieleniewski. The Commission adopted, as the goal of its activities, the undertaking of activities for the development of national balneology and the elevation and improvement of national spas, making the public aware of the economic and medicinal importance of spas. The analyses of the chemical and physical properties of the waters mandated by the Commission were carried out by, among others: Adolf Aleksandrowicz, Emil Czyniański, Aleksander Stopczański and Teodor Torosiewicz. In addition to its scientific activities, the Commission also acted as an advisory body on the following issues: the transportation network, the expansion of spas, their equipment for inhalation and therapeutic baths, and the modernization of treatment facilities. In addition, it watched over the proper operation of the springs, conducted research on the correct methods of filling bottles with water so that it would not lose its medicinal properties during transport. The Commission recommended that each spa employ a spa doctor to oversee the therapy of patients. Members of the Balneological Commission were also required to prepare, following the example of the monograph of Krynica by Józef Dietl (Zajączkowski, 2006: 197–203), in his studies of health resorts – Rabka, Jaszczurówka, Krościenko, Bardyów, Żegiestów, Krzeszowice, Swoszowice. Monographs were then published in the *Rocznik Towarzystwa* [Society's Yearbook], *Przegląd Lekarski* [Medical Review] or *Gazeta Lekarska* [Medical Magazine], while articles on the work of the Commission appeared in the Krakow-based *Czas* [Time]. In 1864, the Balneological Commission issued and circulated an instruction on the equipment and facilities of spa establishments. After the transformation of the Krakow Scientific Society into the Academy of Arts and Sciences, the Balneological Commission briefly resumed its work, but in 1877 its activities completely died down (Poradzisz, 1983: 90).

In 1862, the Commission issued a Map of Medical Spas in Galicia and Bukovina, prepared by Teofil Żebrawski (see: Picture 1). The leading spas in Western Galicia at the time included: Krzeszowice, Swoszowice, Wieliczka, Rabka, Jaszczurówka, Krościenko, Szczawnica, Żegiestów, Krynica, Wysowa. Of these, the best reputations were: Krynica, Szczawnica, Krościenko, Swoszowice and Żegiestów. On the map next to the spas were marked localities marked as potential spas in the future, due to the mineral water springs located in them. The type of waters found in them was specified: salt, salt-petroleum, salt-ferrous, sulfate, sulfate-salt, brine, petroleum, ferrous, thermic. Salt, sulfate, sorrel, ferruginous, sulfate-salt waters predominated. There were relatively few kerosene, salt-petroleum, ferrous, salt-ferruginous, and thermal-ferruginous waters (Żebrawski, 1862).

Picture 1: Map of medical spas in Galicia and Bukovina



Source: Żebrawski (1862).

Their unregulated legal situation, lack of assistance from the state and insufficient resources for financing this type of investment also affected the development of the Galician spas. The solution to these problems was to be the establishment of the Company for the Raising of National Spas on the initiative of Józef Dietl, in 1859. Its main task was to raise funds and provide assistance to interested establishments, primarily in Western Galicia (Dietl, 1860). The company contributed to improving the condition of several Galician spas, including the Bathing Establishment in Swoszowice. In 1859, it bought this Plant from Bolesław Radwański. It was renovated and then expanded. The company operated for several years, after which it was liquidated due to bankruptcy (Barnaś-Baran, 2021: 58).

A chance for better development of spa establishments was created by the autonomy of Galicia obtained in the 1860s, as matters of spas came under the jurisdiction of the Galician National Sejm in Lviv. In 1886, Józef Dietl's successor, Bolesław Ludwik Lutostański, drafted a relevant legal act that later became the foundation of a later law on spa establishments in Galicia. He justified his project by the benefits of the future adoption of the law, especially in terms of ensuring "comfort and hygiene" for patients during their stay in spa establishments, by guaranteeing their proper equipment. Lutostański considered the condition of Galician spas to be unsatisfactory, to say the least. He saw the reasons for this in the failure to regulate the relations of municipal administration, the greed of the owners of the establishments, the lack of segregation of duties in them, the lack of investment in balneological equipment, and the difficulties created by the owners for other investors in the localities where the spa establishments were located (Lutostański, 1886: 3-10).

It was not until November 4, 1891 that the National Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria, together with the Grand Duchy of Krakow, passed a law regulating the affairs of spas (Dz.U.iR.K. dla KGiL, 1891, No. 21, item 80). It introduced the obligation for each health resort to have its own statute issued by the c. k. Governor's Office in consultation with the National Department. The establishments had to have a board of directors, a spa doctor, a climate doctor, a health commission, and a climate commission, whose duties and tasks were to be strictly defined. In addition, there was to be a cure fund derived from, among other things, the cure tax. This fee was to be collected for the maintenance of the resort. In addition, the law regulated the issue of fees (Dz.U.iR.K. dla KGiL, 1891, No. 21, item 80: §6). Another law on spas was passed by the National Diet on October 11, 1908 (Dz.U.iR.K. dla KGiL, 1891, No. 21, item 80). It clarified aspects of the

operation not only of spas but also of climate stations, the organization of boards, spa commissions and cure funds (Kita, 2016: 8).

Some of the establishments, especially those that had been in existence for a long time, were not even able to state their date of establishment, let alone have a license deed. Only six spas in Galicia were licensed under the Sanitary Act of 1870 (Franaszek, 2002: 224). An overwhelming number of spa establishments lacked statutes, bylaws and instructions. In 1890, among the spas of Western Galicia, only Szczawnica and Rabka had internal statutes, and instructions regulating the duties of employees in Krynica, Rabka and Szczawnica. Regulations governing the order in bathrooms and living quarters were available in Rabka, Iwonicz, Żegiestów, Lubień, and Rymanów respectively. However, official protective districts around the spas existed only in Iwonicz and Swoszowice (*Sprawozdanie...*, 1890: 8).

OBSTACLES TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF SPAS IN WESTERN GALICIA

In the first half of the 19th century, the condition of the spas in the Polish lands was dire as most of them were neglected and in decline. Their owners and rulers were inexperienced in running such facilities. They invested too much money in their construction or modernization, and consequently lacked the funds to maintain them in the period after they opened. Polish spas also had inferior equipment and poor accommodation standards. The exception was Szczawnica.

As mentioned above, one of the elements influencing the lack of popularity of Polish spas was the lack of adequate medical staff. An excellent example is Krzeszowice, which had an extremely convenient location near Krakow. The owners, the Potocki family, additionally entrusted the physicians employed at the hospital with the care of the residents of their Teńczyńska estate, as a result of which they did not have enough time to take care of the patients. This peculiar frugality on the part of the Potocki family resulted in Krzeszowice's poor reputation among potential patients (Dietl, 1858b: 2-3).

Another factor negatively affecting the number of arriving visitors was the dire state of the road network, and later the underdeveloped railroad network. In the middle of the 19th century, the dire transportation situ-

ation in Galicia continued. The main drawback hindering the development of spa towns was the lack of road infrastructure. For example, a trip from Krakow to Żegiestów in favorable conditions took about two days. A horse-drawn carriage, took the road through Nowy Sącz to Krynica and then through Muszyna along the banks of the Poprad River to Żegiestów (Pol, 1987: 416–434).

This was not altered by the construction of the First Galician Postal and Commercial Road during the reign of Joseph II in 1780–1785 – a Central Galician route, leading from Biała to Lviv, through Izdebnik, Myślenice, Bochnia, Tarnów, Rzeszów, Przemyśl. Between 1784 and 1788, the Kocierski Guesthouse was built, running from Andrychów through the Kocierska pass towards Żywiec. Thanks to it, travel between Krakow and Hungary became easier. In the years 1817–1830, under Francis I, the Second Galician Commercial Road was established – a Podkarpacie route running parallel to the First Imperial Highway, but through the mid-Carpathian foothills, from Lipnik near Biała, through Żywiec, Jordanów, and Nowy Sącz. After 1830, the Austrian authorities extended the beaten road through Nowy Sącz as far as Bukovina and Transylvania. People traveled mainly on horseback by horse-drawn carriage, their own carriage or a mail vehicle carrying more passengers (Kamińska-Kwak, 2013: 193–196; Polak, 2011: 285). As a result, it was cheaper and faster to reach foreign spas in Bohemia, Austria, Prussia. Staying in foreign spas was also considered more prestigious (Dietl, 1860: 3–4; Poradzisz, 1983: 87).

An element contributing to the growing popularity of spas in Western Galicia was the construction of a section of the Warsaw–Vienna Railway – Warsaw–Vienna Iron Road from Warsaw to Maczki – in the years 1840–1848 on the initiative of Henryk Lubieński and Piotr Antoni Steinkeller. Thus, from October 1, 1848, it was possible to communicate by rail from Warsaw to Krakow, Wrocław (Krakow–Silesian Railway) and Vienna via the Prussian Railway (Upper Silesian Railway and Wilhelm Railway) via Mysłówice–Kędzierzyn–Bogumin to the Northern Railway. Communication on the Northern Railway inside Austria was opened in 1856 between Trzebinia and Dziedzice (Wilczek-Karczewska, 2015: 102–105). One of the first spas to gain a rail connection was Krzeszowice, which was connected to Krakow as early as 1847. This shortened the trip from 3 hours to 45 minutes (Pagaczewski, 1972: 40). Of great importance for the development of the spas was the construction of the Charles Louis Galician Railway between 1856 and 1861 and the opening of the Galician Transversal Railway in 1884, running in part along the Podkarpackie tract.

The former ran from Krakow through Bochnia, Tarnów, Dębica, Rzeszów, Łańcut, Przeworsk, Jarosław, Przemyśl to Lviv. From Krakow it had branches to Wieliczka, Niepołomice and Cieszyn and on to Hungary. In 1884, another branch from Tarnów to Nowy Zagórz via Jasło, Krosno, Sanok was connected to the main line (Lijewski, 1959: 24–26; Szuro, 1997). The second was an alternative to the main Charles Ludwig Galician Railway. The terminus stations were Čadca in Hungary (today Slovakia) and Husiatyn (today Ukraine). It ran through Żywiec, Sucha Beskidzka, Nowy Sącz, Jasło, Krosno, Sanok, Sambor, Drohobycz, Stryj and Stanisławów. Of particular importance for access to the spas was the Skawina–Nowy Sącz section, important for visitors heading to the Tatra and Pieniny Mountains (Szuro, 1997: 53–54).

Railroad lines not only provided access to some of the spas but above all, shortened travel time and increased comfort. They reached a small number of spa towns directly. For the rest, travel from the railroad stations was by horseshoes, carriages and horse-drawn carriages. Such was the case for spa guests going to the Tatra Mountains, who got off in Chabówka, from where they continued their journey in highlander carriages or government stagecoaches (Pagaczewski, 1972: 28). After the construction of the Tarnów–Leluchów railroad, walk-in trains were launched, which were advertised as facilitating transportation to Szczawnica, Krynica and Żegiestów. There were train stops listed in the timetable where one had to get off to get to Krynica, Szczawnica or Żegiestów (*‘Obwieszczenie’*, 1877). Rabka and Rymanów had a direct rail connection. Gradually, individual spa towns gained direct rail connections, e.g. Zakopane in 1899, Krynica in 1911 (Kmietowicz, 1910; Mazur, 2016: 72–73).

The construction of railroads encouraged factory owners to invest. An example is Żegiestów, where the Medweckis, even before the opening of the Tarnów–Leluchów railroad in 1876, began to expand the resort. Sometimes such a journey was still long (Lewicki et al., 1912: 36; *‘Historia uzdrowiska...’*, 2023). The biggest impact on the length of the journey from the railroad station to the spa was the condition of the roads, which were neglected. Most often they were dirt roads and lacked bridges. Consequently, during periods of heavy rainfall, the roads were often impassable, especially near watercourses or fords. In mountainous areas, and this is where most of the spas were located, the roads were flooded by mountain streams. On many occasions, travellers were forced to stop-by in nearby inns for several days until the waters subsided (Prek, 1987: 159–162; Kamińska-Kwak, 2013: 201–212). Travelling itself was also dan-

gerous due to the lack of protection for roadsides leading down mountain slopes, which caused fear among travellers (Pagaczewski, 1972: 55). The multi-day journey resulted in overnight stays along the transit route. There were hotels, cafes and restaurants in cities and towns, usually of a decent standard. However, in small rural towns, many were of very poor quality and prices were disproportionately high. The inns were filthy, with bad smells and the noise of drunken customers. Based on travelers' accounts, we know that the inns often had filth, bad smells and the noise of drunken customers. Particularly annoying, however, was the plague of fleas (Eliasz-Radzikowski, 1870: 55; Rostafiński, 1883: 8; Chłędowski, 1957: 96; Kamińska-Kwak, 2016: 146–147, 204).

The condition of roads to individual spas often depended on the owners of the spas. However, the situation of roads leading to spas owned by the government, such as Krynica, was the best. There were also private owners of spa establishments investing in roads. An example is Jakub Ignacy Medwecki, owner of Żegiestów, who built a road to Muszyna at his own expense. This made the spa more popular (Łepkowski, 1987: 302). The condition of roads in Galicia left much to be desired due to the lack of interest in their expansion and reconstruction on the part of the Austrian authorities, who considered Galicia primarily prone to attacks from Russia (Broński, 2016: 92).

LEADING SPAS IN WESTERN GALICIA

The leading spas of this period include: Zakopane, Krynica, Szczawnica, Rabka, Żegiestów, Swoszowice, Krościenko. The vast majority were mountain spas including Zakopane, Krynica, Szczawnica, Żegiestów, Wysowa, Krościenko. Rabka was situated at the foothills. In the lowlands lay Swoszowice and Krzeszowice. In addition, there was a division into spas and climatic stations. The former included: Krynica, Szczawnica, Żegiestów, Wysowa. The status of a climatic station was held by Zakopane, Kościelisko, Jaszczurówka, Poronin, Czarny Dunajec, and Krościenko (Dobieszewski, 1878: 254).

We are not able to determine how many visitors each spa hosted annually. This is the result of a lack of complete data. This was due the lack of uniform criteria for recording guests and deliberate falsification, either by the staff of the establishments or by the guests themselves, who, not want-

ing to pay the resort fee, did not report the fact of their stay in a particular locality. Sometimes local servants and transients staying for only a few hours were listed as guests. For example, in the lists, the number of visitors to Zakopane is understated to about 13 thousand while the number of beds offered at the time was 30–40 thousand. In 1911, officially, the largest number of visitors stayed in Zakopane (12,911), Krynica (11,180), Szczawnica (4,312), Rabka (3,700), Żegiestów (1,698), Swoszowice (1,266), Krościenko (522) and Wysowa (412) (Pelczar and Zientowski, 1913: 9–13, 18–19, 260).

Attendance was influenced by the popularity of the spa and its transportation accessibility. In the case of Zakopane, a factor that contributed to its popularity was the fact that the greatest and most important Polish artists – painters, musicians, philosophers, writers, poets and “essential” artists of the Modernist era – had met and created their works here since the 1890s. The most popular were the mountain towns, which were relatively evenly distributed in the south of Western Galicia. In addition to the therapeutic aspect, the trip to the “waters” was also a form of social life. It was in good taste to show up at a fashionable spa, make friends, meet famous people. Upon returning to one’s place of residence, stories were told about the stay about the people met. New fashion trends were also introduced there.

Krynica

Initially, Krynica enjoyed the greatest popularity. It appears, for the first time, in the sources under the name Krzenyczew in a privilege from 1547 granting a village in this locality to Danko from Miastko (Tylicz). Its name means ‘spa spring’. The actual development of the village began in the 17th century after the discovery of the medicinal values of the mineral springs. The first mention of the healing properties of Krynica’s springs can be found in the work of Fr. Gabriel Rzączyński *Historia naturalis curiosa Regni Poloniae* (Rzączyński, 1721). In the early 1780s, Balthazar Hacquet conducted the first scientific study of Krynica’s waters, in which he found them useful for healing in the form of drinking and bathing. In 1783 Krynica, along with the rest of the Muszyna estate, was taken over by the Austrian authorities. Ten years later, Krynica’s springs with the surrounding fields and meadows were bought for 50 zlotys at the time by a government commissioner from Nowy Sącz, who ordered the springs to be timber-framed. In 1794 the “Little House” was built, and the first

bathing establishments were set up in 1804. In 1800, Krynica's springs were again taken over by the Austrian authorities, who placed them under the municipal administration of the Muszyna estate. Seven years later, Krynica officially became a bathing spa and the first permanent spa doctor, Jan Nennel, began working here. In 1806, Joseph August Schultess, made the first scientific description of Krynica's waters. In the middle of the 19th century, only about 500 visitors a year came to Krynica Spa. As a result, the spa was running a deficit, so in 1852 the Austrian authorities ordered its liquidation. This threat was averted thanks to Józef Dietl and Michał Zieleniewski, who, together with doctors from Krakow, began to promote Krynica's waters to the public and increasingly sent patients to them. Dietl, on behalf of a committee of experts, addressed the Austrian government with demands for the development of the spa. As a result, in 1856, the president of Western Galicia, Heinrich Jaroslav Clam-Martinić (Wurzbach, 1864: 381), appointed a commission that included: Józef Dietl, doctors Bryk and Kremer, and the director of the Treasury Commission in Nowy Sącz (Mazur, 2016: 24–25). The commission drew up a plan for the development and modernization of the resort, on the basis of which the Board proceeded to build sanitary, therapeutic and residential facilities. In the following years, more spa facilities were built including the Old Mineral Baths, the Old Borowin Baths, the Spa House, the wooden Main Pump Room with a promenade, the Larch Theater as well as numerous boarding houses. The baths that were built used the Schwarz system for heating the mineral water, which managed to retain more iron in the water that had hitherto largely evaporated (Zieleniewski, 1866: 11–12; Lipelt, 2019: 26–27). Mud baths were used here from 1858, and were held in new mud baths from 1866. These baths were so popular that new brick mud baths were built in 1881 (Lipelt, 2019: 28). Bottled water sales were intensified. Accommodation facilities were expanding. While in 1857 there were only 81 rooms, by 1879 there were already 796, of which 679 were in the hands of private owners (Babel, 1896: 10). Krynica's popularity was due, not only to its technical and medical facilities but also to its relatively easy access. In 1876, a railroad line was brought to Muszyna, 12 km away from Krynica, which was extended to Krynica itself in 1911. At the end of the 19th century, Krynica was a fashionable resort and a place where many famous Poles stayed and met. Among others it was visited by: Jan Matejko, Artur Grottger, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Józef I. Kraszewski. In 1901 there were already more than 6 thousand visitors in Krynica, and in 1911 their number exceeded 11 thousand (Jaworski, 1908: 8–9; see: Picture 2).

In 1914, a new mineral water spring named “Zuber” was discovered, in honor of the geologist who directed the exploration, Rudolf Zuber (Wnęk, 2009: 320).

Picture 2: Mineral Baths in Krynica in 1910



Source: *Krynica. Łazienki Mineralne* [postcard] (ca 1910).

Szczawnica

Another well-known health resort was Szczawnica, whose name derives from sorrel or sour springs. It first appears in sources in 1413, in a document King Władysław Jagiełło issued to Abraham of Goszyce, which mentions Szczawnica Wyżna and Niżna. The spa role of Szczawnica dates back to 1810, and there is information from this period about patients being treated with “sorrel”. The first houses there for patients were built in 1824. In 1811, the Szczawnica estate was seized by the Austrian treasury authorities, and then sold in 1828 through Jan Podhajecki to Józefina Szalay. Her husband Stefan purchased exclusive access to two springs from Jan Kuciera, which were named “Józefina” and “Stefan” (Hammerschlag et al., 1927: 49–50). The Szalays then began to bottle and sell the water com-

ing from the springs. After Stefan Szalay's death in 1838, the spa was taken over by his son Józef Szalay, who is considered the founder of the spa in Szczawnica. He visited Czech resorts for a year and then proceeded to expand his own spa. He built the first baths, put up new spa buildings and guesthouses in the Swiss style, expanded and modernized the Spa Park, and built a spa chapel. Szalay obtained part of the funds by leasing part of his land to the Company of National Spas, where the Lower Plant on "Miedzius" was established (Szalay 1859: 4–5 Mazur, 2016: 30), which from 1865 was leased successively by Teodor Barański and Władysław Dębski, from 1872 the Tomanek family, and from 1888 by Józef Kołaczkowski (Węglarz, 2018: 8). Despite financial difficulties, Józef Szalay continued to expand the spa and road infrastructure (Węglarz, 2011: 18). He convinced the highlanders to remodel their homes to host tourists. In addition, he inspired them to organize rafting trips down the Dunajec River gorge for tourists. The development of the resort was largely due to Józef Dietl, who outlined the directions of the resort's development in accordance with the standards of European resorts. He referred to Szczawnica as "the queen of Polish waters" (Węglarz, 2011: 18). In 1848–1883, Onufry Trembecki was the main spa physician. Szalay strove to advertise the resort, and in 1857 published the first guidebook to Szczawnica and the album *Szczawnickie* with his own drawings of the Pieniny Mountains (Nyka, 1965: 16). In 1858, Szczawnica was recognized as the best organized health resort in Galicia. Consequently, members of famous families were attracted to it, including Radziwiłł, Sapieha, Tarnowski, or Lubomirski, in addition to painters, writers and artists. Among the guests were Henryk Sienkiewicz, Maria Konopnicka, Wincenty Pol, Jan Matejko, Bolesław Prus, Cyprian Kamil Norwid, Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, Adam Asnyk, Michał Bałucki, Wojciech Gerson. In 1876, shortly before his death, Józef Szalay prescribed the spa for ownership to the Krakow Academy of Skills, which, despite difficulties, related to the repayment of Józef Szalay's heirs (Węglarz, 2011: 17) in the years 1880–1884 builds the Guest Manor (see: Picture 3), puts the park in order, and completes the construction of a road through the Pieniny to the Red Monastery. Wanting to address the lack of finances, the Academy leased the spa to Felix Wiśniewski who brought the booming spa to ruin as the resort began to decline. Fewer and fewer visitors started to come to Szczawnica (Jaworski, 1908: 6–7; Węglarz, 2011: 27–29). Further financial problems and difficulties in administering the establishments prompted the Academy to sell Szczawnica (Bielawska, 1996: 116–117). In 1909, Adam Stadnicki became the owner of the lands and estates located with-

in the Upper and Lower Spa Establishments (Bielawska, 1996: 134–140; Roszkowski, 1983: 284). He subjected the declining spa to extensive modernization, renovated the spa houses and expanded the Upper Park. At the same time, the city's infrastructure began to be modernized. As a result, the comfort of the residents and the conditions of recreation for visitors increased (Pelczar and Zientowski, 1913: 50–51). The implementation of Stadnicki's further plans was interrupted by the outbreak of World War I. However, he returned to them after Poland regained its independence (Węglarz, 2013: 6–7). The number of Szczawnica's visitors consequently resumed a clear upward trend. In 1858 there were about 1,000, and by 1911 there were more than 4,000 (Lewicki et al., 1912: 18–19).

Picture 3: Guest Manor in Szczawnica



Source: *Szczawnica [postcard]* (ca 1910)

Krościenko

Krościenko, probably, already existed at the turn of the 12th/13th century as a servant settlement connected with the Pieniny Castle. In 1348 it was located under the Magdeburg Law by Casimir the Great. The town was initially known as Crosna, but with time it came to be called Krościenko. In a short time it became the main economic center of the region. At the

turn of the 17th/18th century, the town began to decline (Krzan, 1988: 125–131). In 1822, after being put up for sale by the Austrian treasury, it was purchased by the Gross family. Henry Gross also bought back the mineral water springs and had them chemically analyzed. He then erected the first spa buildings – baths and guesthouses for guests, thanks to which Krościenko acquired a spa character. They hosted patients and vacationers with respiratory diseases. The original clientele was, mainly, middle-income Krościenko Jews. They also began bottling the water, which was sent to pharmacies and hospitals in Krakow and Lviv, among others. The weakness of the spa was the low yield of local springs. Despite the substantial investment, the spa, in the face of competition from Szczawnica, developed poorly and did not bring much profit. Consequently, in 1835 Henryk Gross sold his estate to Teofila Ciechulska, from whom Michal Kulig bought it in 1841. Two years later, Hieronim M. Dziejowski, married Kulig's daughter and became the owner of the spa. The new owners expanded the baths in an attempt to attract more wealthy guests (Krzan, 1988: 138, 140–142). At the beginning of the twentieth century, there was only one hotel in the village and about 150 beds at the Krościenko residents, as well as baths on the Dunajec River for river bathing and the "Stefan" spring with alkaline-salt sorrel (Lewicki et al., 1912: 78–94). Just before World War I, the summer resort traffic in Krościenko increased, and as a consequence the town was treated as a summer resort with curative potential. In 1911, the spa hosted 522 visitors (Lewicki et al., 1912: 18–19).

Żegiestów

Żegiestów as a settlement was established around 1575. The origins of the spa were much later, dating back to the mid-19th century, when the manager of the Muszyna baths, Jakub Ignacy Medwecki, searching for iron ores rich in limonite and hematite, accidentally discovered springs of strongly sparkling sour water in the Szczawnik valley in 1846. This coincided with the intentions of the Austrian authorities to liquidate the loss-making spa in nearby Krynica. Medwecki commissioned a chemical decomposition of the waters from Karl Friedrich Mohr, who concluded that it was an earthy-ferrous sorrel with healing properties. As a result, Medwecki bought the land from the local peasants and began building the first spa facilities. His brothers became his partners. He named the main spa "Anna" in honor of his wife, followed by "Marysia" and "Antonina." He also built the first spa

house, spa baths and a couple of residential houses (Lutostański, 1874: 6). Shortly after the launch of the spa, Medwecki began bottling water from the “Anna” spring and selling it to major cities in Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland. The spa was originally relatively unimpressive and the buildings were very modest until a doctor, Dr. Gogojowicz, was hired in 1860 (Dorocki et al., 2017: 170–171). Due to difficult accessibility, the spa was not very popular among visitors. To remedy this, Jakub Ignacy Medwecki built a road to Muszyna at his own expense. This made the spa more popular. Jakub Ignacy Medwecki was a very hospitable man, personally welcoming and showing guests around, treating them to mineral water and wine. A czardas was often played to guests. Żegiestów, due to its very attractive location in the valley of the meandering Poprad River, was the object of day trips by visitors from Krynica. Patients had the opportunity to stay here surrounded by wild nature. The visitors were attracted by the peculiar “exoticism” of the place (Pagaczewski, 1972: 225–226). The proper flowering of the spa began in 1868, when, after the death of Jakub Ignacy, it was taken over by his son Karol, who, together with his uncle Alojzy, expanded the spa facility, erecting larger and nicer villas. In the following years the following villas were built: Alojzówka, Popielata, Karolówka, Waterfall, Hotel, Żegotka. In 1877, a new spa house was erected, as well as the first promenade in the resort (Szczepański, 1885: 8–11). In 1867–1868, Adolf Aleksandrowicz again conducted a chemical dissection of the therapeutic water from the “Anna” spring, which resulted in several scientific papers on żegiestowska water (Aleksandrowicz, 1869: 5–6). At the same time, modern equipment was installed, including a Schwartz water heating system in the newly built mineral baths in 1886. The facility offered mineral baths, soaking baths, gas-water mud baths and Poprad baths, which were popular at the time (Zgórski, 1890: 7–11). Of great importance for the development of the spa was the routing of the Tarnów–Leluchów railroad through Żegiestów along the Poprad Valley (see: Picture 4). It was launched in 1876. As part of the land exchange for the construction of the railroad, the spa facility obtained an access to the station, a descent to the river and a foundation for baths on the banks of the Poprad River (‘Historia uzdrowiska...’, 2023). Under Karol Medwecki, Żegiestów became a well-known resort, however it was unable to compete with nearby Krynica. In 1860 it hosted 113 visitors, and in 1911 it was visited by not fewer than 1,700 bathers (Lewicki et al., 1912: 18–19; Dorocki et al. 2017: 171). After Karol Medwecki’s death in 1888, the establishment was taken over by Jakub Ignacy Medwecki’s grandson Julian Krynicki. In 1899,

just before the new season, there was a fire at Żegotka and Karolówka guesthouses, and the mineral water reservoir burst. This led to a weakening of the resort's reputation and a decline in its income (Grabowski, 1909: 2–3). Consequently, in 1906, the Żegiestów plant was bought back by Michał Żygulinski and Stanisław Więckowski and his wife Victorina. The new owners rebuilt the boarding houses that had been consumed by fire. However, the condition of the accommodations and service were still poor (Lewicki et al., 1912: 18–19; Jaworski, 1908: 8). Więckowski erected the first boarding house Stanisławówka in the new part of the spa. The spa was slowly returning to its former glory. At that time, a spa chapel dedicated to St. Kinga was built, concerts and meetings were held, and a monument to Juliusz Słowacki was erected.

Picture 4: Baths on the Poprad River in Żegiestów



Source: *Uzdrowisko Żegiestów [postcard]* (ca 1922).

Zakopane

Zakopane, as a health resort, began to develop relatively late. The origin of the name is related to the word “zakopane” (clearing) and was originally spelled “Za Kopane.” Initially, the village was a seasonal shepherd settle-

ment. The first unpreserved settlement privilege for Zakopane was issued by Stefan Batory in 1578. It was later approved by King Michał Wiśniowiecki in 1670. The name Zakopane first appeared in 1605 in the Chronicle of the Czarnodunajecka Parish. In the mid-18th century, an ironworks was opened in nearby Kuźnice. In 1770 it was occupied by the Austrians. At the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, the first mountain explorers and visitors appeared in Kuźnice. In 1824, the Austrian authorities sold part of the Tatra Mountains, including Zakopane, to the Hungarian Homolacs family. A breakthrough for Zakopane turned out to be the discovery of hot springs in the Jaszczurówka area by Ludwik Zajszyner in 1834, which gave rise to water therapy. However, the conditions of residence and treatment for visitors were very primitive. In particular, there was a shortage of accommodations. They were located in the local inn and in the hydrotherapy facility itself (Zajszyner, 1987: 226). The town began to develop intensively from the mid-19th century, when its climatic properties also began to be exploited. Great merits in this regard was due to Tytus Chałubiński, who popularized Zakopane as a place where you can rest and improve your health. Chałubiński's son, Franciszek, who was ill with tuberculosis, was treated here. Consequently, Chałubiński became permanently associated with Zakopane. Also of great importance were the climatic studies conducted by Stanisław Ponikło (Talewski, 1971: 8–13). In 1875, Ludwik Ganczarski established the first water treatment facility in Kuźnice, where he offered hot and cold baths in water from the Bystra stream. Others were opened by doctors Andrzej Chramiec in 1887 (see: Picture 5), Bronisław Chwistek in 1892, and by 1886 Zakopane was officially recognized as a climatic spa-station (Talewski, 1971: 8–14). In the 1870s and 1880s, the Zakopane estate remained in the hands of Ludwig Eichborn and Magnus Pelz. In 1889 they were bought by Władysław Zamoyski, who modernized the village's infrastructure. He built waterworks, museums, schools and other public buildings. He also had the slopes of the Tatra Mountains reforested. He laid the foundation for a national park. The climatic conditions, air and sunshine made the village an ideal place for the establishment of tuberculosis sanatorium. By the end of the 19th century, more sanatoriums were established in Zakopane, where water therapy was used to treat tuberculosis, among other things. In the first Zakopane sanatorium, treatments with herbs, oils and gynthitsa, derived from sheep's milk, were used. The first tuberculosis sanatorium in Zakopane was established in 1898 by Marian Hawranek. In addition to Zakopane itself, sanatoriums existed in: Kuźnice, Kościelisko, Jaszczurówka. Zakopane sanatoria quick-

ly gained fame. From all the annexations, eminent physicians seeking effective treatments for tuberculosis were drawn to it. In addition, Zakopane sanatoria specialized in treating: neurosis, anemia, rheumatism and heart disease. The town itself also began to gain fame as a fashionable resort to which the artistic bohemia of the Positivism and Modernism eras, among others, were drawn. Zakopane became fashionable, primarily, among artists and creators. It hosted, among others: Karol Szymanowski, Henryk Sienkiewicz, Stefan Żeromski, Stanisław Witkiewicz. Of great importance for the development of Zakopane was the construction of a road to Nowy Targ and the arrival of a railroad line from Chabówka in 1899 (Szuligowski, 1909: 6). Thanks to better access, the number of visitors coming to the resort increased rapidly. In 1910, the first sanatorium of a social character for academic youth, the "Health House Bratnia Pomoc", was established here. Zakopane sanatoria also began using Lahman-type dietary treatments, air baths and Zander's gymnastics from 1908. The Zakopane sanatoria were the most visited in Galicia at the beginning of the 20th century.

In 1886 they hosted 2152 guests, and in 1911 they officially hosted almost 13,000 (*Zakopane Stacja...*, 1896: 14; Lewicki et al., 1912: 18-19). Zakopane was not only a well-known spa resort but a popular tourist and ski resort as well. Its greatest asset was the unique Tatra landscape, captivating in its wildness and inaccessibility. A negative consequence of the development of the resort was changes in the highland community, which was exclusively profit-driven. A negative consequence of the development of the village was changes in the highland community, some of which were exclusively profit-driven. On the other hand, pathologies began to become apparent among the highlanders, led by drunkenness.

Picture 5: Dr. Andrzej Chramiec's sanatorium in Zakopane, circa 1900



Source: *Zakład Dra Chramca* [postcard] (ca 1900-1910).

Wysowa

Wysowa's origins date back to the 15th century, when a trade route through the Carpathian Mountains ran through the area. In Wysowa itself there were warehouses of Hungarian wine brought by Greek and Armenian merchants. Until the end of the 16th century, the owners of Wysowa were the Gładysz family. Later it was in the hands of A. Brzeziński, the Zborowskis and the Tarlows. In 1760, Maciej Lanckoroński became the next owner. The first source account of Wysowa springs comes from the 17th century. The tradition of medicinal use of the mineral water springs dates back to the 18th century (Pieradzka, 2020: 15–30). In 1812, a spa building with 6 bathrooms and 9 living rooms was built. However, the popularity of the spa was weighed down by poor accessibility, which discouraged potential visitors. The spa became better known only from 1879, after Karol Trochanowski analyzed the local mineral waters and determined their healing properties. In 1882, Wysowa officially received from the c.k. Governor's Office of the then-Galicia, the status of a health resort (Sulimierski and Walewski, 1883: 141). This coincided with the start of bottling Wysowa's waters. The springs and spa facilities were cleaned up, and the chemistry of the waters was studied. At the end of the 19th century, the road from Ropa to Wysowa was modernized, thanks to which the number of visitors increased to 2,000 per year. Before the outbreak of World War I, the Wysowa spa enjoyed a reputation among visitors (Paszkowski, 2022: 10–14).

Rabka

Rabka was counted among the foothills spas. Its origins date back to the 13th century. It first appears in a document by Bolesław V Wstydlivy (the Chaste) from 1254, confirming the possession of the area by a Cistercian monastery from Szczyrzyc. At that time there were salt brewing plants there. In 1364, Casimir the Great granted Mikołaj from Uścia the privilege of locating the village of Rabka under German law. The next known owners of the village were: alderman Zygmunt of Dębowy Dział, the Ligęz family, Andrzej and Piotr Jakusz from Olszówka, and the Jordan family from Zakliczyn. Rabczan brine continued to be exploited. In the second half of the 16th century there was a growing interest in Rabka's brines, which were believed to heal people and animals. From the end of the 16th century, Rabka was successively owned by the families of: Zebrzydowski,

Przyłęcki, Komorowski and Wielopolski. In 1818, the Austrian authorities, concerned about the monopoly on salt mining, banned the drawing of brine waters and ordered the springs to be buried. In the first half of the 19th century Rabka was purchased by Józef Wieniawa Zubrzycki. His son Julian Zubrzycki began transforming the town into a health resort in 1860. In 1858, on the initiative of Józef Dietl, Fryderyk Skobel conducted the first chemical analysis of the brines, which concluded that the brines contained large amounts of iodine and bromine (Lewicki et al., 1912: 69). However, the springs were located on land belonging to the local parish. Therefore, Zubrzycki, who planned to use the springs for healing and spa purposes, bought them from the parish priest (Kowalczyk, 2012: 97). In 1861, the previously buried springs "Maria", "Rafaela", "Kazimierz", "Krakus" and "Helena" were cleaned and the construction of spa baths began (Kowalczyk, 2012: 104). A spa park was established. A spa house was built, a pharmacy was erected, as well as a restaurant with an auditorium. In 1864 the spa was officially opened. However, the spa, despite the investments made, attracted relatively few visitors, which was, among other things, due to poor accessibility (see: Picture 6). In an effort to remedy this, a "speed car" was launched, running on the Rabka-Skomielna Biała route (Kopernicki, 1873: 6). The resort management also had serious problems with food supplies. In order to remedy this, an own farm with a sheepfold was established, from which a large part of the dairy and meat served to the spa guests came. Of great importance for the development of the spa was the acquisition of a railroad connection in 1885, which resulted in an increase in the number of visitors, who numbered 120 in 1864, about 1,000 in 1887, and as many as 3,700 in 1911 (Lewicki et al. 1912: 18-19; Supiński, 1907: 6-7; Kowalczyk, 2012: 104-105). The slow increase in the number of patients was also a result of the bather's rather poor living conditions. The owner only cared about modernizing the facilities at the establishment. In 1887, thanks to Maciej Leon Jakubowski and Julian Wieniawa Zubrzycki, the first Polish Institution for the Treatment of Scrofulous Children was opened in Rabka. As a result, Rabka gradually transformed into a children's spa (Supiński, 1907: 28). In 1895, the spa was purchased from Laura Zubrzycka, the widow of the previous owner Julian Zubrzycki, by Kazimierz Kaden, who proceeded to modernize the hygienic and sanitary facilities, the infrastructure of the place as well as the accommodations for patients. The range of therapeutic treatments was also increased. The following were offered: brine baths, brine baths with carbonic acid, mud baths, and poultices made from local mud (Górski,

1904: 109). In the early years of the 20th century, Rabka began to gain international fame as a children's spa.

Picture 6: Spa and bath facility in Rabka, circa 1870



Source: Sosiński, 1871

Swoszowice

An important lowland health resort was Swoszowice near Krakow. Swoszowice was first mentioned in the Tyniec Codex of 1362. The name of the village comes from the first owner of the place, Wojciech de Swoszow. It later passed to the ownership of the Lateran Canons Regular of Corpus Christi monastery in Krakow. After 1422, when rich deposits of sulfur were discovered, the first mines were established in Swoszowice. The first source information on Swoszowice sulfur waters dates back to 1578. They can be found in Wojciech Oczko's work on thermal spas, in which he noted that the local waters had medicinal value for rheumatic diseases (Oczko, 1578; 1881). Undoubtedly, the local waters were used for medicinal purposes during this period. On the other hand, in 1597, the Frenchman Jacques Esprinhard, after visiting a sulfur mine, stated that staying in the underground of the mine effectively cured the plague. In 1617 Erazm Sixtus con-

ducted a study of the sulfur waters in Swoszowice. In 1721, Gabriel Rzączyński, a pioneer of Polish natural science, wrote in his *Historia naturalia Regni Poloniae... in tractatus XX divisa*, that the waters in Swoszowice are very beneficial for people suffering from bodily diseases. Thus, interest in Swoszowice's waters began to grow. Attempts were made to take advantage of this by Swoszowice owners Leon von Lowenmuth and Franz Hilburg von Ehrenfels, who built three huts made of clay and brushwood, calling them, exaggeratedly, bathhouses and guest houses. Actually, the beginnings of the spa date back to 1811, when Feliks Radwański built the first spa house in Swoszowice and facilities for guest rooms, and established a Spa Park on purchased land. Sulfur-rich waters and mud were used to treat a variety of ailments, including spinal and limb disorders and rheumatism. In a short period of time the spa gained popularity, thanks in part to its proximity to Krakow (Zieleniewski, 1873: 56–57). After 1831, however, it experienced a regression due to, among other things, outdated housing and treatment facilities (Dietl, 1858c, 1–3). Intense development of the spa resumed in the middle of the 19th century thanks to Józef Dietl. In 1859, the spa and adjoining areas were purchased by the Company of National Spas with money from the landowners of Małopolska. Thanks to Józef Dietl and Franciszek Skobel, Swoszowice officially achieved the rank of a health resort. The company renovated the buildings and built: a galleria for inhalation treatments, a new building for baths, a new residential house, a single-story house with two pavilions on the corners, which together with the old one had 70 rooms. In addition, a summer house was built with a restaurant and rooms for entertainment – a “Swiss-style” house with 17 rooms (Kowalczyk, 2012: 104; see: Picture 7). In the 1860s, however, there were problems with the sulfur springs, which began to dry up as a result of the sulfur exploitation in the Swoszowice mine (ANK, *Variae civitates et villae*, 326). Due to its proximity to Krakow, the spa was reached by carriages and horse-drawn carriages, but a Krakow omnibus also ran 3 times a day. In 1875 Swoszowice acquired a railroad connection (Lech, 1868: 8–10; Galas et al., 2015: 28–29). The number of visitors slowly increased. In 1862 there were 130 and by 1911 there were more than 1,200 (ANK, AGD Nawojka, 46). For Cracovians, Swoszowice was also a place for Sunday and holiday excursions. In the 80s, the Swoszowice plant developed poorly. The reason for this was its location near Krzeszowice, which was popular at the time, and its unmodernized equipment. It was only thanks to doctor Józef Zanietowski that new thermal and balneotherapy equipment was installed (Pelczar and Zientowski, 1913: 68–69).

Swoszowice, due to its lowland location, was not able to charm visitors with its landscape, which discouraged some potential clients.

Picture 7: Swoszowice health resort, circa 1870



Source: Swoszowice [woodcut] (ca 1910)

Krzeszowice

Krzeszowice, near Krakow, first appears in the sources in 1286 in a privilege by Bishop Paweł of Przemankow for Fryczek Freton of Bytom. In 1555 Krzeszowice became the property of Stanisław Tęczyński and became part of Tęczyński County (*Województwo krakowskie...*, 2008: 109). Subsequent owners included the families of: Sieniawski, Opaliński, Czartoryski, Lubomirski and from 1816 Potocki. In the 17th century the healing properties of the local sulfur waters were discovered. In the parish chronicle in 1625 there is a record by Fr. Bernard Bocheński of the use of the local sulfur waters to treat cattle. The first studies of the properties of sulfur water and the use of ferruginous water for medicinal pur-

poses are, the work of Jan Gotfryd Leonhardi, commissioned by Prince August Czartoryski in the 1770s. Around 1778, the sulfur water source, the so-called Main Spring, was cased and the first baths were built, and the first patients were admitted the following year. The construction plans created by Prince Czartoryski were carried out by Princess Izabela Lubomirska. In 1788 the complex consisted of five bath houses, two baths and a lazarette. The spa doctor was Leopold de Lafontaine (*Powrót do źródeł...*, 2019: 8–9). In 1819, the Green Baths, later known as Sophie’s Baths, were built. In the 1830s, the spa was already very popular with visitors from Krakow, Galicia and the Kingdom of Poland. During this period, the spa’s lessee, Józef Teofil Kwaśniewski, published texts and advertisements in the Krakow press about, among other things, the sulfur baths and their therapeutic importance. As the years went by, this interest gradually diminished. In 1847, after the opening of the railroad from Krakow to Mysłowice, there was a renewed increase in the number of visitors. During this period, the Potockis shifted their economic interests to more profitable mining. Krzeszowice could not withstand competition from Swoszowice, Krynica, Szczawnica, Zakopane, near Krakow. This led to the slow degradation of the resort. The level of medical services was also declining, and the unmodernized bathroom facilities were devastated. Efforts to renew the spa were made by Józef Dietl, who in 1858 presented a project to improve the situation. As a result, the owners of Krzeszowice at that time took measures to modernize the spa’s infrastructure and treatment methods, including rebuilding and adapting Sophia’s Baths for therapeutic purposes in 1876, and a year later a residential house for guests, known as the “bathroom hotel,” was put into use. In 1869, Adolf Aleksandrowicz reanalyzed the chemical sulfate water of the two Krzeszowice springs. Despite the measures taken, the interest of patients in Krzeszowice, continued to wane. In addition to the balneological institution operating until the end of the 19th century, a lazarette continued to operate (*Powrót do źródeł...*, 2019: pp. 9–13). At the beginning of the 20th century, Krzeszowice also lost its importance as a resort town, despite its more picturesque location than nearby Swoszowice. In 1912, only 100 summer visitors arrived (Lewicki et al., 1912: 94).

CONCLUSIONS

The 19th century was crucial for spas in Western Galicia. In the first half of that century, some spas originated. However, it was not until the middle of the century that their dynamic development began. Their rise was linked to the growing interest in health on the part of wealthy people and the intelligentsia, especially in preventive health care provided by spa facilities. The number of visitors began to grow dynamically. This was, on the one hand, a result of greater concern for health and easier access to domestic spas, due to the expansion of the road and rail network, and, on the other hand, due to an increase in the quality of treatments offered, as well as improved accommodation conditions. The most fashionable destinations in the mid-century were Szczawnica and Krynica. However, it gradually lost this position as a result of increasing competition from other spas and internal problems. Before the outbreak of World War I, Zakopane clearly led the way. The most glaring example of the decline of the spa, are Krzeszowice, which at the beginning of the 20th century actually ceased to be a spa. Krynica's privileged position was due to the fact that it was originally state-owned, unlike other spas that were in the hands of private individuals from the beginning. The privileged position of Krynica was due to the fact that it was state-owned, unlike other spas owned by private individuals. The latter often faced financial difficulties. In this situation, some of the owners focused on achieving maximum profit, mainly, at the expense of accommodation conditions. The condition of the spas depended on the people who managed them, particularly, on their commitment. In addition to large spas such as Zakopane and Krynica, there were smaller ones with poorly developed accommodation. Examples included Krościenko or Wysowa. Visitors treated them more as summer resorts than health resorts. Staying at the spa was also an important part of the social life of the elite of the time.

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