

# The transformation of cartographic normality in tourist maps of the Teschen Beskids (1905–1947)

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## ABSTRACT

This article examines the transformation of cartographic normality in tourist maps of the Teschen Beskids between 1905 and 1947, a period marked by major political and institutional changes in Central Europe. Cartographic normality is understood as the set of conventions that determine which elements are treated as self-evident and which are explicitly explained within cartographic language. The analysis is based on a qualitative comparison of successive map editions, with particular attention to map legends and the categorization of tourist huts. The results identify three main phases. Before 1918, tourist huts appear as named but uncategorized elements within a landscape understood as a memory space. During the interwar period, cartographic normality shifts toward an explicitly articulated plurality, in which national and institutional affiliation becomes a systematically expressed category. Beginning in 1940, this model disintegrated through semantic reduction and subsequent homogenization, culminating in the complete removal of national distinctions in the 1947 edition. The article demonstrates that cartographic change cannot be interpreted solely as a reflection of political borders, but rather as a transformation of cartographic language through which political and institutional meanings are internalized and stabilized.

## KEYWORDS

tourist cartography; cartographic normality; map legend; Teschen Beskids; historical geography

Received: 5 February 2026

Accepted: 5 May 2026

Published online: 20 May 2026

Kupka, J. (2026): The transformation of cartographic normality in tourist maps of the Teschen Beskids (1905–1947), e23361980.2026.9

<https://doi.org/10.14712/23361980.2026.9>

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## 1. Introduction

Tourist maps are commonly understood primarily as practical tools for spatial orientation. At the same time, they constitute an important historical source, as they not only record the physical configuration of the landscape but also reflect the ways in which space was interpreted, structured, and communicated at a given time. Historical tourist cartography has received increasing scholarly attention, including regional studies of mountain areas such as the Karkonosze (Woźniak 2005). More broadly, maps have been interpreted not as neutral mirrors of reality, but as socially conditioned representations shaped by selection and classification (Harley 1989).

In regions with a complex political development, such as Teschen Silesia (Hanslik 1907; Machatschek 1927), political and social transformations are not expressed in maps solely through changes in borders or toponymy. They also manifest themselves through subtler cartographic features that indicate what was considered relevant, self-evident, or worthy of explicit explanation in a given period. This study proceeds from the assumption that the map legend represents a key interpretative element through which such shifts can be traced.

Although historical cartography has paid considerable attention to the depiction of borders and place names, the role of map legends in shaping and stabilizing cartographic normality has remained relatively underexplored, particularly in the context of tourist maps.

In this paper, cartographic normality is understood as the set of information regarded at a given time as an obvious and necessary component of cartographic representation. It thus concerns the distinction between what a map leaves implicit and what it considers sufficiently significant to be explicitly articulated. Cartographic normality does not denote neutrality, but rather a historically contingent set of social and political conventions embedded in the cartographic language of a given period.

The aim of this paper is to examine the transformation of cartographic normality through a selected corpus of tourist maps depicting parts of the Teschen Beskids between 1905 and 1947 – a period marked by profound political ruptures. Particular attention is paid to the representation and categorization of tourist huts, whose changing treatment in map legends serves as a sensitive indicator of broader political, national, and institutional shifts.

Accordingly, the study addresses two interrelated questions: how did the categorization of tourist huts in map legends change across successive editions between 1905 and 1947, and what do these changes reveal about the ways political and institutional transformations became internalized into cartographic language?

## 2. Materials and methods

This study is based on a qualitative comparative analysis of tourist maps purposefully selected to represent key chronological and political phases between 1905 and 1947. This period was marked by profound political and institutional transformations in Central Europe. The analysed corpus consists of representative tourist cartographic works chosen to capture changes in cartographic conventions over time rather than to provide an exhaustive overview of regional tourist mapping.

With the exception of a reference map dated to around 1905, the analysis focuses primarily on maps published within the cartographic series of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club (Klub československých turistů, KČST) issued in Ostrava, together with a tourist map published by the Teschen district of the KČST, interpreted here as a direct predecessor of the later series. The internal continuity of this editorial line enables a detailed comparison of successive editions and the identification of gradual shifts in cartographic representation.

The upper temporal boundary of the analysed corpus is defined by the seventh and final edition of the series published in 1947, which concludes both the interwar and immediate post-war continuity of this type of tourist cartography. After 1948, the activities of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club were institutionally interrupted, resulting in the disappearance of a comparable editorial framework. The lower boundary is represented by a tourist map from the late Austro-Hungarian period, which serves as a reference point for the initial state of cartographic normality.

The Teschen Beskids are treated in this study as a historical-geographical region whose coherence cannot be reduced to later state borders. In addition to the analysed KČST/KČT map series, complementary primary sources in Czech, Polish, and German – including guidebooks and tourist maps (e.g. Herbatschek 1922; Galicz 1931; Mapa Beskidu = Beskidenkarte [early 1920s]), as well as materials issued by other associations such as Podhorská jednota Radhošť – were consulted in order to contextualize the broader multilingual and multi-institutional cartographic culture of the region. However, these materials are not analysed systematically.

The analysis focuses on tourist huts and related facilities, whose cartographic depiction and categorization provide a sensitive indicator of changing national, political, and institutional approaches. Particular attention is paid to map legends, symbols, and classificatory schemes, rather than to the quantitative expansion of tourist infrastructure. Although the network of tourist huts expanded considerably after 1920 (Polášková and Polášek 2009), this study does not pursue a quantitative assessment of this development.

The analytical procedure consisted of three consecutive steps. First, maps were selected according to chronological relevance, preservation status, and the possibility of comparison within one continuous editorial series. Second, each map was comparatively examined through four recurring analytical categories: legend structure, terminology, symbolization, and the categorization of tourist huts. Third, the observed changes over time were interpreted in relation to broader political and institutional transformations affecting the region.

## 2.1 Study area

Although the analysed maps cover a broader area including the Moravian-Silesian Beskids, the Javorníky Mountains, and the Vsetín Hills, the study concentrates on the region traditionally referred to as the Teschen Beskids. The term is used here not in a strict geomorphological sense, but as a historical-geographical concept corresponding to the area in which the analysed cartographic material was produced and used.

From a geomorphological perspective, the Teschen Beskids form part of the Western Beskids province and include sections of the Moravian-Silesian and Silesian Beskids, as well as the Jablunkov Furrow and Jablunkov Highlands (Sosna 2001; Břina 2012). Politically and historically, the region is characterised by a complex borderland position, which makes it particularly suitable for examining transformations of cartographic normality.

## 3. Phase I: The self-evident landscape without explanation (c. 1905)

The tourist map produced around 1905, entitled *Spezialkarte der Beskiden für Touristen*, represents the initial reference state for the observed development of cartographic normality. Tourist huts – among the earliest facilities of mountain tourism in the Teschen Beskids – are depicted and identified by specific names; however, they are not defined as a separate category in the map legend, nor are they differentiated according to national, linguistic, or institutional affiliation. This absence corresponds to a phase in

which tourist huts were perceived as a self-evident component of the landscape rather than as objects requiring explicit cartographic explanation.

Typical examples include the *Erzherzog Friedrich Schutzhaus* on Javorový Mountain (1895) and the *Erzherzogin Isabella Schutzhaus* on Čantoryje Mountain, both established by the *Beskidenverein*. At the turn of the 20th century, this association functioned primarily as a regional tourist organisation operating within a multilingual social and cultural environment, without systematic national differentiation of tourist infrastructure.

Tourist initiatives associated with Czech and Moravian movements began to construct mountain huts in the Teschen Beskids only after 1918, following the political and institutional consolidation of the new state framework. It was this later organisational context that enabled the subsequent systematic cartographic categorization of tourist huts in map legends. In this sense, national classifications introduced in later maps reflect institutional plurality rather than retrospectively projected national ownership (Tab. 1).

The analysed map can be situated within the institutional and linguistic framework of the Habsburg monarchy, in which linguistic plurality functioned as a taken-for-granted element of public communication. Cartographic normality at this stage is characterized by an understanding of the landscape as a memory space, in which named objects serve as carriers of local continuity rather than as analytically classified entities.

At the same time, this period did not produce a single uniform cartographic model. Alongside professionally produced state and crown-land maps with supra-regional scope, Czech associational tourist maps also existed, typically employing simplified graphic conventions and omitting the naming of mountain huts. These differences do not reflect national hierarchy or value judgement, but rather distinct institutional purposes and conceptions of the role of maps within specific user contexts.

### 3.1 The c. 1905 edition (Austro-Hungarian period)

A representative example of this phase is the tourist map *Spezialkarte der Beskiden für Touristen*, issued around 1905 at a scale of 1:150,000 by the bookshop

**Tab. 1** Institutional background of selected tourist associations underlying later national classifications of tourist huts in map legends (not direct national ownership).

Institutional framework	Association (Year founded)	First hut (Year opened)
Provincial associational framework (pre-1918)	Beskidenverein (1893)	Erzherzog Friedrich Schutzhaus (Javorový Mountain) (1895)
Polish associational framework (Teschen region)	Polskie Towarzystwo Turystyczne "Beskid" (1910)	Hut on Ropička Mountain (1913; destroyed by fire in 1918)
Czech-Moravian associational framework	Beskydská / Pobeskydská jednota slezská (1910)	Hut on Prašivá Mountain (1921)

Note: The associations listed do not represent exclusive or uniform operators of mountain huts. Prior to 1918, the Teschen Beskids and their wider surroundings were characterised by a parallel network of regional units, company-owned facilities, and tourist sections. In later map legends and summaries, this infrastructure was retrospectively classified along national lines or labelled as "private", reflecting subsequent cartographic and institutional reinterpretations rather than the original operational reality.

of Siegmund Stuks in Teschen, an Imperial and Royal Court and Chamber Bookseller. The map thus clearly belongs to the institutional framework of the Habsburg monarchy.

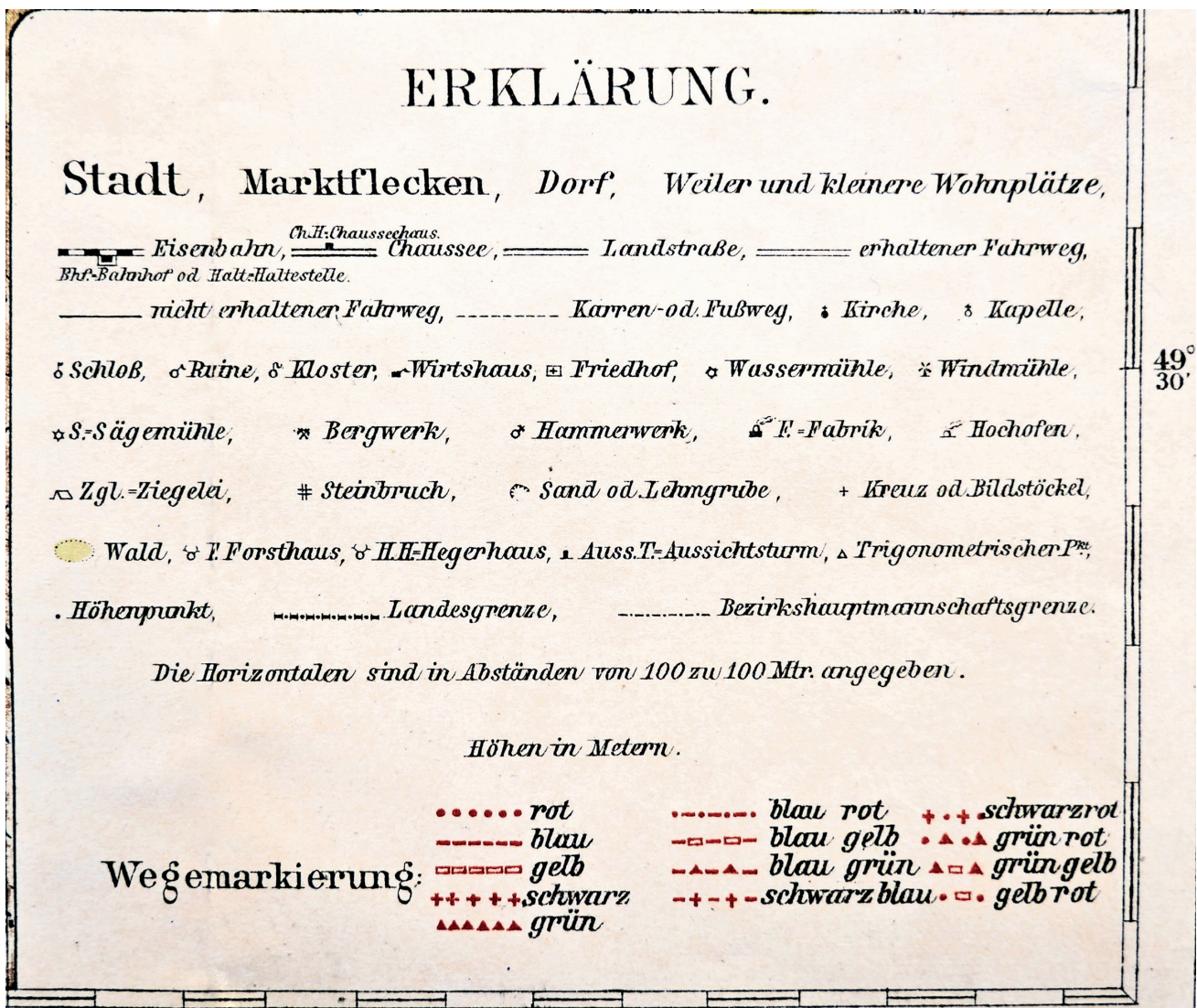
Although the map is not explicitly dated, its production can be determined with a high degree of probability on the basis of internal content indicators. The presence of the Isabellaschutzhaus on Čantoryje Mountain (opened in 1904), combined with the absence of the Frýdlant nad Ostravicí–Bílá railway line (constructed between 1906 and 1908), allows the map to be dated to around 1905.

The map depicts the entire Silesian Beskids as an internal space of a single state entity, in which political or administrative borders do not function as structuring elements of the cartographic image. Spatial organization is instead based on the territorial

affiliation of the region to Silesia, prior to its later political and conceptual fragmentation.

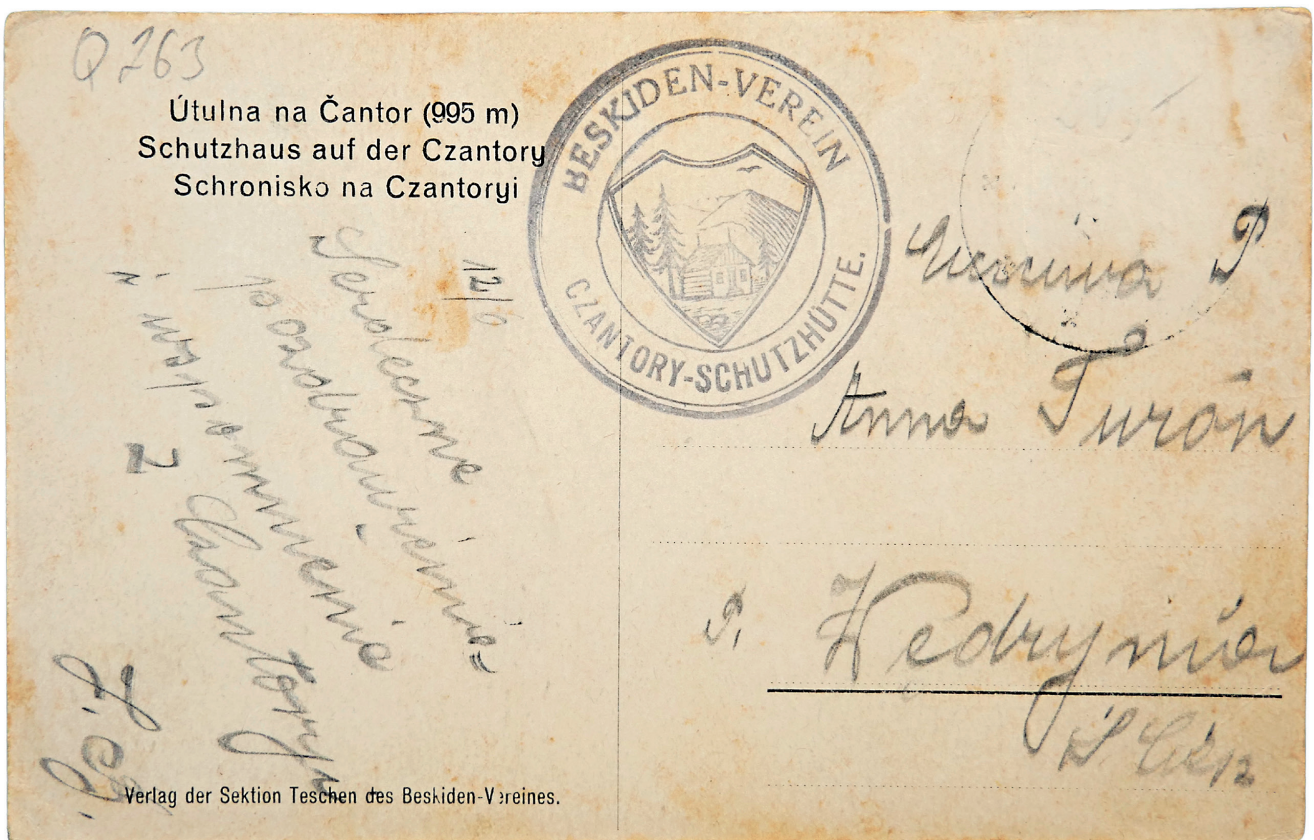
It is characteristic that tourist huts are not defined in the legend as a separate cartographic category (Fig. 1). Although they are depicted and named in the map field, their significance is not further explained or systematically classified. This corresponds to the cartographic normality of the period, in which tourist huts were perceived as a self-evident component of the landscape rather than as objects requiring explicit interpretative framing.

The linguistic layer of the map is multilingual and reflects contemporary local usage. German and Slavic toponyms appear side by side without systematic differentiation or explanation in the legend. Linguistic plurality thus functions as a taken-for-granted element of the shared cultural space of the Habsburg



**Fig. 1** Legend of the Spezialkarte der Beskiden für Touristen (c. 1905). The legend presents basic categories of settlement, transport infrastructure, land use, and economic features, yet does not define tourist huts as a distinct cartographic category. Although tourist huts are depicted and named in the map field, their presence is not thematised or explained in the legend. This absence reflects a form of cartographic normality in which tourist facilities are understood as self-evident elements of the landscape and function primarily as mnemonic reference points rather than as objects requiring explicit categorization. Source: Author's private collection.





**Fig. 3** Postcard depicting the hut on Čantoryje Mountain (formerly Isabellaschutzhaus), probably before 1930. The reverse side lists the name of the object in Czech, German, and Polish, reflecting the continued multilingual use of the hut. In contrast, contemporary tourist maps of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club classify the same object exclusively as a German hut. This comparison highlights the discrepancy between lived linguistic plurality and its selective cartographic interpretation. Source: Author's private collection.

classified exclusively as a German hut. This discrepancy demonstrates that cartographic classification does not necessarily reflect the plurality of linguistic or user practices, but rather the institutional framework within which the map was produced (Fig. 3).

Cartographic normality at this stage is clearly transitional. The national situation after 1918 had become sufficiently complex and salient that it could no longer remain uninterpreted even in tourist cartography. National affiliation thus begins to be explicitly articulated as a relevant cartographic category, although it does not yet form a fully stabilized editorial standard.

Differences in contemporary terminology further illustrate this transitional character. While the German *Schutzhaus* and Polish *schronisko* are etymologically equivalent, they cannot be unequivocally translated into the Czech term *útulna*, which initially functioned as a broad, non-differentiated designation. Only in the second half of the 1920s – particularly in connection with the normative activities of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club – did a more precise terminological system emerge (*chata*, *útulna*, *ochranná útulna*), as documented in contemporary tourist guides and editorial notes “at the time of printing” (Riegler 1928). In this study, terminology is therefore used contextually, with regard to contemporary cartographic and linguistic practice.

#### 4.2 Standalone maps of the series (1929–1947)

The first standalone edition of the analysed map series, published by the Czechoslovak Tourist Club (KČST) and probably dating from around 1929, was produced within the stabilized framework of interwar Czechoslovakia. Its cartographic language is highly systematized, and the legend provides an explicit and unambiguous interpretation of spatial complexity. Tourist infrastructure is conceived not merely as a functional element, but as a meaning-bearing component of the landscape.

The legend presents a fully developed categorization of tourist huts according to national and institutional affiliation. Czech, German, Polish, and private huts are clearly distinguished, and the identity of each object is treated as a cartographically relevant form of information. This model remained largely stable throughout the subsequent editions of the 1930s.

The fifth edition, published in 1939, emerged in a period of rapid political and territorial change, yet largely preserves the established cartographic language and legend structure. Both the map field and the legend reveal a tension between the continuity of cartographic normality and the need to accommodate new political conditions.

Cartographic normality in this phase is characterized by explained plurality. The map does not merely record the presence of different actors in the landscape, but actively structures and interprets them through systematic naming and explicit legend-based categorization.

#### 4.3 First standalone edition (undated, c. 1929)

The analysed map represents the earliest standalone edition of the examined series, published as *Moravskoslezské Bezkydy – Hory Vsacké – Javorníky* (c. 1929). Although no year of publication is stated, the map can be dated – on the basis of comparison with the second edition from 1931 and relevant cartographic and institutional features – to the late 1920s, probably shortly before that year.

It was published by the Pobežkydská District of the Czechoslovak Tourist Club in Moravian Ostrava, with cartographic processing associated with F. Karel and J. Pták. Its graphic design and legend structure correspond to the standardized conventions of interwar tourist cartography employed by the Club.

From the perspective of the present study, this edition is particularly significant for its fully developed and explicit categorization of tourist huts. The legend systematically distinguishes between private facilities and nationally defined huts – Czech, German, and Polish – treating national affiliation as a recognized and cartographically relevant form of information (Fig. 4A). Tourist huts thus function not merely as orientation points, but as carriers of cultural and identity-related meaning actively articulated through the map.

Together with its second, third, and fourth editions, this map constitutes a reference state of explained plurality, against which the later transformation observable from the fifth edition onward is comparatively assessed.

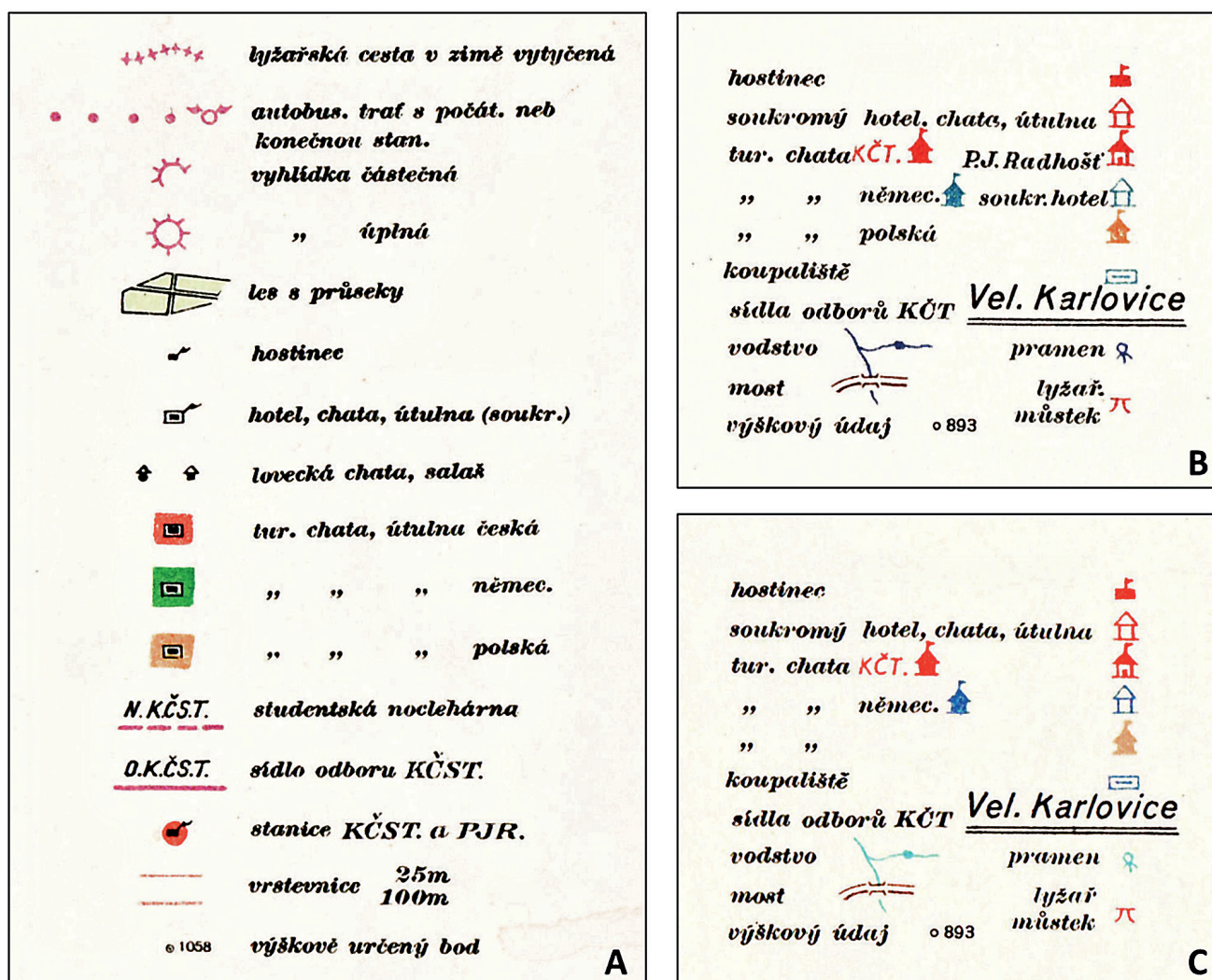
### 5. Phase III: Reduction of identity and functionalization of space (1940–1947)

Phase III marks a fundamental transformation of cartographic normality, in which the previously stabilized model of explained plurality begins to disintegrate. Although political changes after 1938 are reflected in the map image of the landscape, the decisive shift occurs primarily in the map legend and in the overall interpretative framework through which the landscape is represented.

In this phase, tourist maps gradually cease to function as instruments for articulating plurality and increasingly become tools for its reduction. The identity of tourist facilities is progressively stripped of its semantic dimension, and the cartographic representation of the landscape is reorganized around functional and administrative categories rather than explicitly articulated national or institutional distinctions.

#### 5.1 The 1939 edition

The fifth revised edition of the map *Moravskoslezské Beskydy – Javorníky – Vsacké Hory* (1939) was produced in the immediate aftermath of the major



**Fig. 4** Comparison of legend variants from successive editions of the KČST and KČT tourist map series produced under different political frameworks.

(A) First standalone edition of the series (c. 1929), issued in the stabilized interwar period.

(B) Fifth revised edition (1939), published after a major territorial reconfiguration of the region, yet still adhering to the established interwar system of legend-based national and institutional classification.

(C) Sixth revised edition (c. 1940), representing a further editorial revision under a newly consolidated political framework, in which selective categories are no longer explicitly explained in the legend.

The comparison illustrates the transformation of cartographic normality through changes in legend structure. While variants A and B maintain an articulated classification of tourist huts according to national and institutional affiliation, variant C marks a shift toward semantic reduction. Source: Author's private collection.

political changes following the Munich Agreement. Despite this, its thematic legend and symbolic representation of tourist infrastructure largely preserve the cartographic normality established during the interwar period. The discrepancy between rapid political change and the relative stability of cartographic language makes this edition analytically significant.

It was published by the Pobeskydská branch of the Club of Czech Tourists, with cartographic processing by Jaroslav Pták. In the map field, newly established state boundaries are clearly depicted, and selected toponyms appear in modified linguistic forms.

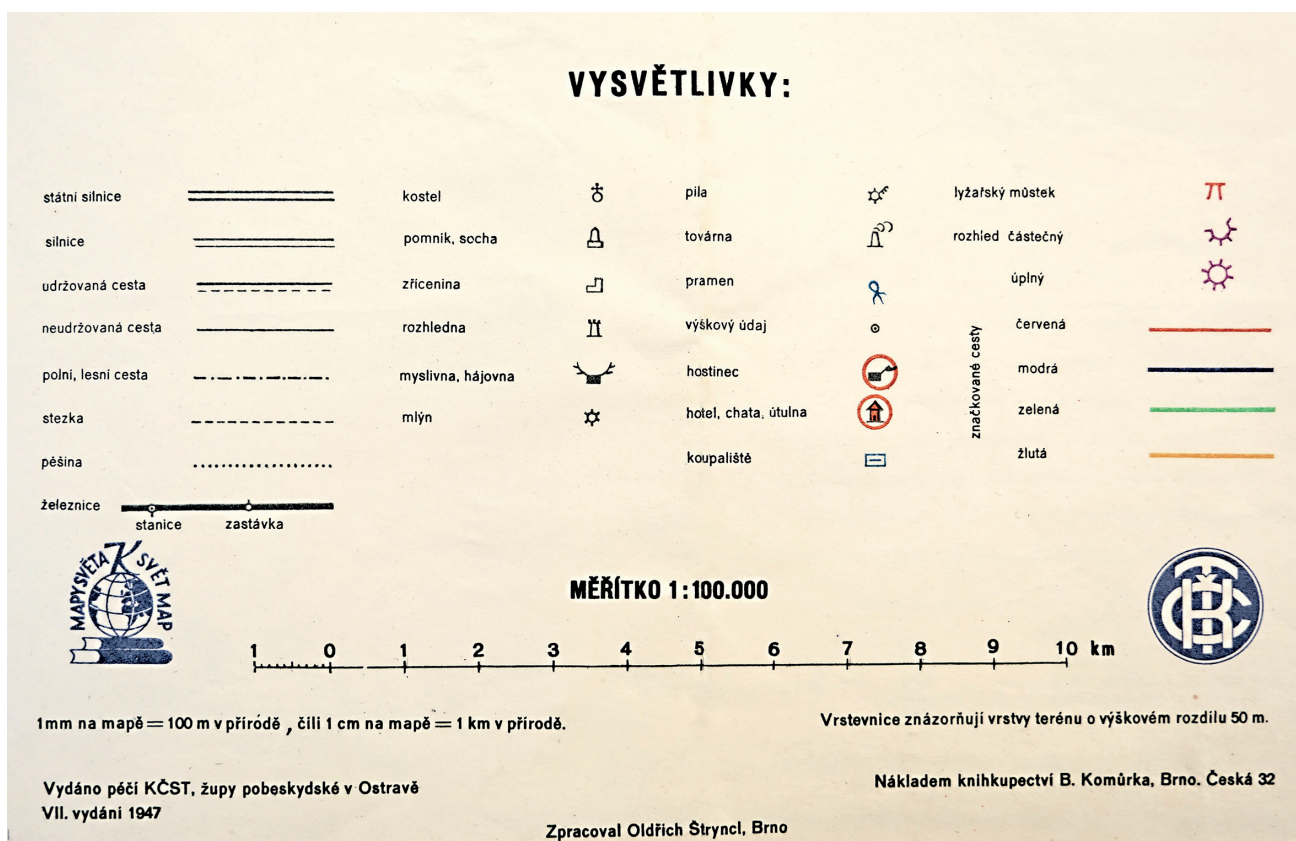
From the perspective of the present study, this edition constitutes the culmination of pre-war cartographic normality. Both the map field and the legend continue to systematically distinguish tourist

huts according to national and organizational affiliation. The legend explicitly retains categories of Czech, German, Polish, and private huts (Fig. 4B).

This categorization conveys semantic information about the plural structure of the tourist landscape, in which multiple organizations and traditions coexist. State boundaries, although present in the map image, do not yet function as the primary interpretative framework. Cartographic normality thus continues to operate as an articulated and explained plurality that has not yet undergone semantic reduction.

## 5.2 The 1940 edition

The sixth revised edition of the map Moravskoslezské Beskydy – Javorníky – Vsačké Hory (1940) marks



**Fig. 5** Legend of the tourist map Beskydy, Javorníky, Vsacké Hory (seventh edition, 1947).

The legend employs a unified symbol for tourist huts and shelters, without any reference to national or institutional affiliation. This homogenization reflects the stabilization of a new cartographic normality in which the historically plural character of the region is no longer considered a relevant category of spatial representation.

Source: Author's private collection.

a transitional moment in the transformation of the analysed series. In contrast to the 1939 edition, the decisive change occurs not primarily in the map field, but in the conceptualization of the map legend.

Published by the Pobeskydská branch of the Club of Czech Tourists, with cartographic processing by Jaroslav Pták, the map gives increased prominence to newly established state borders, which begin to function as a primary organizing element of space.

A fundamental transformation takes place in the legend, where the category of Polish tourist huts is no longer explicitly listed, even though the corresponding symbols remain present in the map field (Fig. 4C). This does not constitute a physical erasure of objects from the map, but rather a form of semantic anonymization.

Cartographic normality thus shifts: national plurality is no longer treated as a recognized cartographic category, despite its continued presence in the landscape itself.

### 5.3 The 1947 edition

The final stage of the analysed series is represented by the seventh edition of the map Beskydy – Javorníky – Vsacké Hory (1947), published in Ostrava by the Club of Czechoslovak Tourists, Pobeskydská branch. It

records the culmination of the transformation of cartographic normality within the post-war framework of Czechoslovakia. The linguistic layer of the map is fully unified, corresponding to broader post-war homogenizing tendencies in the territory.

In comparison with earlier editions, the analysed part of the map legend undergoes a fundamental transformation. National differentiation of tourist huts is no longer present – not only in the legend but also in the cartographic language associated with this category of objects (Fig. 5). Tourist huts and shelters are depicted using a single, uniform symbol, without any indication of former plurality.

This development does not represent a return to pre-war or pre-1918 cartographic neutrality. Rather, it marks the stabilization of a new cartographic normality in which the historically multi-layered character of the region is no longer treated as a relevant category of spatial representation.

## 6. Discussion: The transformation of cartographic normality

The analysis of tourist maps of the Teschen Beskids from the period 1905–1947 demonstrates that changes in cartographic normality cannot be interpreted

as a direct or mechanical consequence of shifts in state borders. More important than political ruptures themselves is the manner in which such changes were internalized into cartographic language and translated into the interpretative structure of the map. In this respect, the findings correspond with broader approaches in critical cartography that view maps as socially constructed representations rather than neutral mirrors of reality.

In the earliest phase, represented by the map from around 1905, plurality exists as an implicit and self-evident feature of the landscape. Tourist facilities are depicted and named, yet their identity is not systematically explained or categorized in the legend. This does not imply the absence of national or institutional identities, but rather that such distinctions were not yet considered cartographically relevant.

A fundamental shift occurs during the interwar period. After 1918, tourist cartography responded to the new institutional framework by expanding the legend and standardizing cartographic symbols. National and institutional affiliation became explicit and systematically articulated, giving rise to a phase of explained plurality in which the identity of objects was treated as meaningful information for the map user.

The editions from 1939 and 1940 mark a further transformation. While the map field reflects rapid political changes with considerable accuracy, the decisive shift takes place in the legend. In the 1940 edition, the explanatory reference to Polish tourist huts disappears, even though the symbols themselves remain present in the map field. This represents a key instance of semantic reduction: objects remain physically depicted, yet are deprived of explicit identity-related meaning. Whether this change resulted from deliberate editorial decisions or institutional constraints cannot be determined with certainty; what matters is the emergence of semantic silencing as a cartographic practice.

The post-war edition of 1947 carries this logic to its conclusion. National differentiation of tourist huts disappears, not as a return to pre-war neutrality, but as the stabilization of a new cartographic normality. The resulting political and national configuration of the landscape is presented as self-evident and no longer requires cartographic explanation. In this sense, the political dimension of the landscape does not vanish from the map; it becomes embedded in the taken-for-granted framework of representation.

The principal characteristics of the analysed maps and the transformations of cartographic normality across individual phases are summarized in Tab. 2.

**Tab. 2** Overview of the analysed tourist maps of the Teschen Beskids and transformations of cartographic normality (1905–1947).

Year	Map title / series	Publisher	Editorial position	Political-historical context	Categorization of tourist huts in the legend	Character of cartographic normality
ca. 1905	Spezialkarte der Beskiden für Touristen	Private publisher	Pre-series reference map	Austro-Hungarian Monarchy	Tourist huts not defined as a separate legend category; huts named in the map field (e.g. Schutzhaus)	Implicit plurality; landscape as a memory space without explicit categorization
1928	Turistická mapa Bezkyd – map insert in a KČST tourist guide	KČST, Těšínská branch	Outside the main series	Interwar Czechoslovakia	Basic differentiation of huts; emerging concept of national categorization	Formation of categorization
ca. 1929	Moravskoslezské Bezkydy – Hory Vsacké – Javorníky	KČST, Pobežkydská branch	1st edition	Interwar Czechoslovakia (model established in 1929 and reproduced in subsequent editions)	Private, Czech, German, and Polish huts explicitly distinguished	Explicit and explained plurality (stabilized across editions 1–4)
1939	Moravskoslezské Beskydy – Javorníky – Vsacké Hory	KČT, Pobežkydská branch	5th edition	German Reich, Poland, and Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia	Full set of national categories preserved	Plurality under political pressure
1940	Moravskoslezské Beskydy – Javorníky – Vsacké Hory	KČT, Pobežkydská branch	6th revised edition	German Reich and Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia	Category of Polish huts removed from the legend; symbols remain in the map field	Selective semantic reduction
1947	Beskydy, Javorníky, Vsacké Hory	KČST/KČT, Pobežkydská branch	7th edition	Post-war Czechoslovakia	No national categorization of tourist huts	Homogenized cartographic normality

Note: The listed tourist associations do not represent exclusive or uniform operators of mountain huts. Before 1918, the Teschen Beskids and their wider surroundings were characterized by a parallel network of regional associations, corporate facilities, and tourist departments. In later tourist maps, this heterogeneous infrastructure was retrospectively nationalized through legend-based categorization or classified as private.

## 7. Conclusions

The analysis of tourist maps of the Teschen Beskids from the period 1905–1947 demonstrates that tourist cartography constitutes a valuable source for interpreting landscape. Political and social transformations are reflected in maps not only through changing borders or toponyms, but also through shifts in what is regarded as relevant, meaningful, and communicable within cartographic information.

A key analytical focus of this study is the map legend, where transformations of cartographic normality can be traced through the changing representation of tourist huts – from implicit plurality before 1918, through its systematic articulation during the inter-war period, to its post-war semantic reduction. In this sense, maps do not merely mirror landscape change, but actively participate in stabilizing meaning and memory within specific historical contexts.

Processes sometimes interpreted as a depoliticization of cartographic representation may, in this case, be understood rather as a reconfiguration of politicization. Politics does not disappear from the map; instead, it becomes embedded in cartographic language and incorporated into an apparently self-evident framework of spatial interpretation.

The Teschen Beskids emerge as a particularly suitable model region for examining these dynamics. Their complex political history makes it possible to trace how the relationship between landscape, memory, and power was transformed in cartographic representation – from a memory-based space, through articulated plurality, to a homogenized political norm.

The transformation of cartographic normality also suggests that borders in maps need not be expressed solely as lines in physical space, but may also be constructed through categories treated as self-evident within cartographic language. The analytical approach presented here may therefore be applicable to other border regions of Central Europe and beyond.

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