# The centripetal and centrifugal dynamics of selected Judaic symbols as hieratic markers from the semiotactic perspective

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Abstract

*The paper focuses on the semiotic salience of the main hieratic markers of Judaism in the form of the Menorah and Magen David. They are necessarily cast against other Judaic symbolism, as for example the semiotic presence of Hamsa, which is not however a hieratic marker. The analysis is based on two (illusory) contrastive forces that have also been widely used to analyze linguistic phenomena: the centrifugal and centripetal. Framing them as implicational preferences operating on the investigated areas of the semiosphere, I accordingly propose several functional and structural categorizations of the investigated signs. The analytic corpus for a bottom-up study was collected in various European countries and Morocco in the years 2010–2022 and consists of hundreds of tokens of digital documentation of encountered Judaica and concatenations of Judaism symbols in pragmatic contexts. The discussion is also indexed by a cultural dyad of the sacred/profane. The analysis brings to light some synchronic processes which that type of signage undergoes, e.g. the process of fortition of the Magen David (centrifugal direction - diffusive, dividing, with a concomitant lenition of the menorah (centripetal position – confusive, binding) and postulates the Shield of David as a floating semiotactic prime.*

*Keywords: semiotactics, centripetal/centrifugal forces, sacrosphere of Judaism, fortition.*

Streszczenie

Dynamika dośrodkowa i odśrodkowa głównych symboli Judaizmu jako hieratycznych znaczników: studium semiotaktyczne

*Artykuł skupia się na omówieniu semiotycznej wyrazistości hieratycznych znaczników judaizmu w postaci Menory i Gwiazdy Dawida. Są one z konieczności pozycjonowane wobec ogółu symboliki judaistycznej, jak na przykład semiotycznej obecności Hamsy, która nie jest jednak znacznikiem hieratycznym Analiza opiera się na dwóch (iluzorycznych) przeciwstawnych siłach, które były już również szeroko stosowane do analizy zjawisk językowych: odśrodkowej i dośrodkowej. Ujmując je jako preferencje implikacyjne operujące na badanych obszarach semiosfery, proponuję odpowiednio funkcjonalną i strukturalną kategoryzację badanych znaków. Korpus analityczny do badań został zebrany w różnych krajach Europy i Maroku w*

*latach 2010-2022 i składa się z cyfrowej dokumentacji setek egzemplarzy napotkanych judaików oraz konkatenacji symboli judaizmu w kontekstach pragmatycznych. Dyskusja jest również indeksowana przez kulturową diadę sacrum/profanum. Wyniki wskazują na pewne synchroniczne procesy, którym poddawany jest ten rodzaj znakowości, m.in. proces usilnienia Magen David (kierunek odśrodkowy – dyfuzyjny), z jednoczesną lenicją menory (kierunek dośrodkowy - konfuzyjny, wiążący). Jako próba interpretacji postuluję Gwiazdę Dawida jako pływającą("floating") semiotaktyczną pierwszą.*

*Słowa kluczowe: semiotaktyka, siły dośrodkowe/odśrodkowe; sakrosfera judaizmu, usilnienie*

## 1. Introduction

It generally admitted that Claude Lévi-Strauss based his methodology of studying cultures on linguistics. What is less commonly acknowledged, though, is the fact that he was inspired not by linguistics as such, but specifically by structural phonology, burgeoning in the 1960s and 70s in the version developed by Roman Jakobson and the Prague Circle. For example, the canonical terms of *etic – emic* (cf. Pike 1967/1954) are nothing else but clipped forms of phon(etic) and phone(emic).[1] The parallel study of culture and language was developed by a plethora of scholars, among them, e. g. de Saussure himself, Nikolay Trubeckoy, Boris Uspiensky with the Tartu-Moscow semioticians, as well as the Prague Circle (Roman Jakobson himself), as well as a vast array of linguists or semioticians, such as e. g. Algirdas Greimas ([1979]1985).

The perspective I have been developing for more than a decade (e.g., Haładewicz-Grzelak 2009; 2018, 2022) [2] stems from the same premise, that is, that there is an overlap in processes defined as cultural and as linguistic.[3]  Accordingly (without inquiring into the directionality

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[1] "There is needed a theory which will not be discontinuous, and which will not cause a severe jar as one passes from nonverbal to verbal activity. There is needed a unified theory, a unified set of terms, and a unified methodology, which can start from any kind of complex human activity which various subtypes of activity included, and analyses it without sharp theoretical or methodological discontinuities. It is concluded that (2) language is behavior, i.e., a phase of human activity which must not be treated in essence as structurally divorced from the structure of nonverbal human activity. The activity of man constitutes a structural whole, in such a way that it cannot be subdivided into neat 'parts', or 'levels' or 'compartments' with language in a behavioral compartment insulated in character, content and organization from other behavior, Verbal and nonverbal activity is a unified whole and theory and methodology should be organized or created to treat it as such" (Pike 1967/1954: 26).

[2] I would like to thank anonymous reviewers for their time and expertise devoted to upgrade this text. All translations and photos, unless otherwise indicted in the text, are my authorship. My translations go in single quotation marks. I would like to thank the Museum in Munich for providing a digital copy of their exhibit "Sendhande" and granting me courtesy permission to reproduce it. Due to the space limitations, I cannot address the issue of the referential support in all its complexity. Hence, I will give only a general reference where interested readers can find more information and grounding within the academic chorus. I will refer to all shapes of Jewish sepulchral stelas (*macevahs* etc.) as 'stela'.

[3] See e g. Chrzanowska-Kluczewska, Gołda-Derejczyk (2009); Danesi –Perron (1999).  In particular, Chapter 2 of Haładewicz-Grzelak (2018) is devoted to specification of the liaison and synergy of investigative avenues within antropology (ethnography) and linguistics.

implied – that is, whether linguistics should be included into the wider culture schemata or whether the cultural schemata are perceived as underlyingly linguistic), I posit that cultural phenomena can be to some extent modelled using the approach that has been proven fruitful for linguistic analyses. Within that meta-assumption, I specifically embrace a possibility of a parallel investigation of signs and their postulated components, as has been proposed in contemporary phonological models.

From the time of Roman Jakobson and Claude Lévi-Strauss, about half a century has elapsed, and naturally, as in any science, there have been huge developments in phonology. In particular, the flat structure of binary features was superseded by auto-segmental tiers (e.g., Goldsmith 1979, 2013 inter alia) and a sound itself delayered into the so-called primes (e.g., Kaye et al. 1985, inter alia). Natural Phonology in particular set a solid ground for embracing cultural (external linguistic) factors in the analysis. In particular, Wolfgang Dresser (e. g. 1999) overtly admitted Peircean semiotics as a meta-analytical principle for linguistic analyses. Accordingly, I have proposed semiotactics (2012) as a method of semiotic analysis. It is patterned after phonotactics, which has been canonically described as the investigation of rules and conditions of the well-formedness of phoneme combinations, also known as co-occurrence restrictions, e. g. Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (2002); Zydorowicz –Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (2014); Zydorowicz et al (2016).[4] The postulated semiotactics thus can be defined as a branch of semiotics studying the cooccurrence of particular signs in specific contexts, or the postulated components thereof (primes). In this way, it is a linguistically grounded semiotic perspective and the conclusions arrived at hereby are uniquely of a semiotactic (linguistic) value. Furthermore, this implies that the work does not relate to the symbolic nor historiographic aspects of the investigated markers.

Furthermore, I share with the followers of Natural Phonology the assumption that the (linguistic) phenomena are not of a categorical but of a scalar nature. That is, at a given synchronic state of a language, there are several, often conflicting propensities coexisting at the same time (Dziubalska-Kołaczyk 2002). This means that we can observe, or analytically access, only the currently prevailing tendency but that does not rule out the fact that there can also exist synchronically even conflicting strategies. In case there is a conflict between preferences, it ought to be resolved with advantage of those preferences in which a situation of conflict between

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[4] "Phonotactics is a subbranch of phonology studying the permissible sound sequences in language. Morphonotactics refers to the interaction between phonotactics and morphonotactics (Dressler & Dziubalska-Kołaczyk, 2006) and allows a researcher to specify consonant clusters which emerge as a result of the intervention of morphology" (Zydorowcz – Dziubalska-Kołaczyk (2017: 317). See also Dressler et alli (2006).

preferences "strive towards maximal benefit or expected utility" (Dressler 1999: 392). This means that the framework does not formulate "rules" or "laws" but preferences: the currently prevailing substantial and observable realizations.[5]

Semiotic work on the experience of the sacred has long been the object of sustained semiotic enquiry. Particularly noteworthy are the achievements of the Tartu Schools of Semiotics. We might mention here a sample paper by Boris Uspensky (1969/1974), where the possibility of a linguistic impact on various aspects of culture is explored. For Uspiensky (1969/1974: 177), the study of religious consciousness is revealed most in this context because of "its relative stability and fixedness as well as to the canonical nature and the limited number of texts which modify it." The semiotician also singles out several processes operating within the sacrosphere, such as for example, a re-interpretation through folk etymology.[6]

In my previous work, I posited the sacrosphere as that aspect of the semiosphere in which religious discourse is produced, received and responded to (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2018; 2021a, 2021b *inter alia*). In particular, three aspectual areas of the sacrosphere have been determined, reflecting the pragmatic dyad cohesion/separation: i) open (private), ii) semi-opened (community) and iii) closed (institutional). The private sacrosphere is categorized as open because it subsumes sacred markers placed by individuals on their private possessions (the façade of a house, a stable) and the marker does not function to delineate e.g., a domestic space or to isolate it from its surroundings, as the proxy of a material fence, but rather, its teleology is inclusive – it is supposed to inscribe the bearing structure into a religious space (the incorporative function). The institutionalized sacred sphere encompasses buildings/areas for official social religious celebrations (shrines, synagogues, mosques, churches, cathedrals, etc.)., which is in turn described analytically as closed because these are canonical carriers of the sacrum – and the very idea of sacrum entails its separation from all that is not sacred. There is thus implicit boundedness –- a phenomenological fence, separating the sacrum precincts from the profane world surrounding them. On the level of external relationships, this sphere denotes separation.

In a way, the semi-open category overlays both of the previously exposed types and relates to small group dynamics. It usually denotes e. g., spontaneously erected small objects of devotion placed within local communities. As pointed out in Haładewicz-Grzelak [2018: 194-

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[5] Due to the space limitations, I cannot fully embrace the methodological premises. For a more detailed exposition thereof, see Haładewicz-Grzelak (2018).

[6] See e.g., the perspective of teolinguistics, in particular through the series of monographs *Teolingwistyka* https://biblos.pl/129-teolingwistyka

195], the formulation of a "semi-closed" space implies a certain crisscrossing of societal spaces: on the one hand, a given hieratic marker belongs to institutionalized (fixed) forms of religiousness, but on the other, it also implies a degree of individual religious expression. Within a thus conceived religious space, expanded also to lay dimensions (tourist interactions), the mutual prominence of particular makers of Judaism will be investigated. This categorization will be an important criterion in the adopted taxonomy of my data for this analysis as well.

It might be safely stated that practically all aspects of the history of Jews, Judaism, with emphasis on the Holocaust, Judaic culture, tradition, customs etc. have been thoroughly elaborated by historians, religious studies scholars and specialists on Judaism (or "Judaic specialists" all over the world).[7] Scholarly research on the lore and history of Judaism can be roughly categorized into several avenues. The first, which can be called "traditional," contains scholarly monographs and a plethora of research papers, addressing specific aspects of Jewish heritage in a given country, and even in small areas thereof. That strand, since it resonates with specific pragmatic contexts, is usually written in the languages of the country in question.[8]

Yet, undeniably, current Jewish culture is internationally fostered predominantly through centres of Jewish heritage, usually located in extant and renovated monuments, such as educational institutions (yeshivas) or synagogues, which also serve as heritage houses and venues for specific events. Hence, the most exhaustive and accessible of sources currently on the topic of Jewish heritage in Europe is the material disseminated not in the form of printed monographs, but the plethora of museum exhibitions, memorial sites plaques, all serving as archival repositories and featuring ample documentation in a visual, interactive and material form.[9] There are also in-depth comprehensive studies on the (sepulchral) symbolism of this

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[7] This expository section on the Judaism resources was in its major part reprinted with permission from Haładewicz-Grzelak [2021]

[8] For example, see Coenen Snyder (2013). As far as Poland is concerned, the most relevant to the present thematic thrust are works by Andrzej Trzciński, especially Trzciński (1997), the monograph which will be addressed later on and extensive references therein. See also Banasiewicz-Ossowska (2014), Adamowski (2006). There are also elaborations on the history of specific sites, e.g., a monograph of Lodz synagogues (Stefański – Szrajber 2009). Bergman E., Jagielski J.,(1996) Zachowane synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce. Katalog, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny, Warszawa 1996. See also https://skarbnica.muzeum.gliwice.pl/projekty/synagogi/

[9] To mention but sample ones: Zsidó Levétár Magyar (Hungarian Judaic Archives issued in Zsidó Múzeum Magyar - Hungarian Judaic Museum, - http://jewish.hu/synagouges ); a temporary exhibition in Budapest ethnographic museum Kő kövön: Töredekek a magyar vidéki zsidóság kultúrájából , (E.) "Picking up the pieces: Fragments of rural Hungarian Jewish Culture" (2014); Permanent exhibition in the White Stork Synagogue, Wroclaw, Poland (Center for the Jewish Studies and education in the White Stork Synagogue, https://fbk.org.pl/en/synagogue/ ); Museum of the History of Polish Jews Polin (https://www.polin.pl/en); Jüdisches Museum in Berlin, https://www.jmberlin.de/en ; Judaica Foundation – Center for Jewish culture in Cracow, (Poland); Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam https://www.esnoga.com/ ; Dom Pamięci Żydów Górnośląskich, Gliwice, Poland - http://muzeum.gliwice.pl/en/explore/dom-pamieci-zydow-gornoslaskich-1 ; with affiliated the Repository of knowledge on Upper Silesian Jews

religion, the most relevant being, e.g. Trzciński (1997), De Vries [1982/2005]), Goodenough (1953-1968).[10]   A reader interested in pursuing the symbolic/ontological aspects of Jewish signage is referred to these sample works and the references contained therein.

However, to the best of my knowledge, there are few typically semiotic studies on the topic of the sacrosphere of Judaism,[11] and less so the semiotactic ones, that is, based on data capturing the coexistence of individual symbols (marker = symbol + context) and their implicational structuring. This study aims to address that lacuna, while at the same time, forming part of my wider semiotactic project on the *sacrum* and *profanum* (sacred and profane) cultural dyad (see e.g., Haładewicz-Grzelak (2018, [forth.], as well as pursuing a wider project on the sacrosphere of Judaism). [12]

On the other hand, while scholarly research and digitalized documentation of historic data are extensive, the extant substance of material heritage related to Judaism in contemporary Europe is scarce, which is due to historical events and the destruction of this type of sacrosphere.

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https://skarbnica.muzeum.gliwice.pl/?lang=en, http://www.judaica.pl/index1.php?zmien_jezyk=EN ; The Jewish Historical Museum in Amsterdam (https://jck.nl/en/location/jewish-historical-museum ); Slat Al Azama Synagogue in Marrakesh, Morocco, https://www.jmarrakech.org/ ); Chachmei Lublin Yeshiva http://teatrnn.pl/lexicon/articles/yeshiva-rabbinical-academy-in-lublin/ or Casa de Sepharad, Cordoba, Spain (http://www.casadesefarad.es/ to name just a few of the most renown edifices, being both centers of heritage, research centers, venues for events and also particular community archives and museums. Also see Świętokrzyski Sztetl website http://swietokrzyskisztetl.pl/asp/pl_start.asp?typ=14&menu=554&sub=6#strona

[10] With exhaustive references therein. Also of growing significance are information plaques on specific graveyards, as picture 1 shows, sometimes accompanied with electronic guides (cf. e. g. a cemetery in Biała Prudnicka, Poland).

[11] Although it must be admitted that there is a prolific line of enquiry in this regard in terms of linguistic anthropology. In Poland, a particularly important project on the linguistic view of religious discourse is a volume from the series *Język a komunikacja* (*Language and communication*, (Vol. 5 (2)) published by the Tertium publishing house (Krakow, 2004), edited by Piotr Chruszczewski. As the editorial board initially notes, similarly to various topics raised at a function, "so we threw a party with this collection of works, during which we intend to 'negotiate' the meaning of religion, its texts and contexts with the recipient of the presented [hereby] texts" (2004: 10). Of importance for the present thematic scope is a hermeneutic study of the Torah (Gebert 2004), as well as the analysis of selected linguistic and cultural aspects of prayer in Judaism (Chruszczewski 2004). Chruszczewski (2004) in particular proposes a method of modeling religious discourse in Judaism, assuming that prayers constitute variously autonomized social heteronomies of language, and looking at their discursology, they can be considered a text of religious discourse. He also draws attention to the performative function of uttering the text of the prayer - emphasizing that it is with the help of this act that the sacralization of space, time and material substance takes place (Chruszczewski 2004: 27). Crucially, he claims that if in any discourse it is possible to isolate both the rules of verbal and non-verbal action that complete the studied discourse, then "it would be advisable to define such a phenomenon as the communicative grammar of a given discourse" (Chruszczewski 2004: 42). As far as a semiotic perspective is concerned, see e. g. Riv-Ellen Prell-Foldes (1980) on reflexivity in (postexilic) Jewish prayer.

[12] See Haładewicz-Grzelak [2021, forth.] in those references, a more detailed elaboration on the nature of the sacrosphere can be found. My ongoing work on other types of Judaica signage was presented to the academic audience in 2016 at the International Conference Languages in Contact (Wrocław, 28-29 May 2016) in the presentation "Semiotactics of contact in the case study of Moses Tablets in the sacrosphere of Judaism" and in 2017 in the paper "Centripetal and centrifugal forces in the sacrosphere of Judaism" (The 13th IASS-AIS World Congress of International Association for Semiotic Studies (IASS/AIS, Kaunas 26-30 June 2017).

The compilation of the corpus material was thus considerably hampered and prolonged in time by the limited participation of the symbols of Judaism in the semiosphere of contemporary Europe. In the corpus compilation I was searching for, most of all, authentic, substantial hieratic markers in their pragmatic context of occurrence (ethnographic data). On this assumption, a crucial caveat regarding the data collection is thus that it was limited only to Europe and Marrakesh as an illustrative example. Definitely it must be admitted that in the context of countries such as e. g. Israel, the power relations and centre-periphery dynamics are different. I cannot address that context at his point in the research since it was not as accessible as fieldwork and first-hand data collection.

The places where hieratic markers related to Judaism currently can be found in Europe are mainly culturally inactive locations (former synagogues,[13] old Jewish cemeteries and museums or houses of Jewish culture as heritage venues). As far as markers in lay semiosphere are concerned, I documented information accessible for tourists and in selected landmark catering establishments. Under these provisos, the totality of the documented tokens of Judaica amounts to several hundred. The conclusions drawn as a result of the analysis should be nonetheless treated as heuristic due to the inevitable fragmentation of the research data available to me, notwithstanding the prolonged period of data collection (2010–2022). Thus, although the collected material cannot constitute the basis for exhaustive and definite scientific answers; however, it is certainly sufficient and representative enough to highlight certain cultural preferences, assuming that the specimens available to me are a representative sample of the possible state of the semiosphere of Judaism in contemporary Europe at the time of their collection. This current project will also be a voice in documenting the given synchronic state of the European Judaica, and the modes they appear and interact in the contemporary urbanscapes. In this paper, for reasons of the space limitation of a research paper, only sample, landmark documentation is provided as illustrative material.

Under these caveats, the database for the study is in the form of a digital documentation of markers active in Judaism collected by the Haładewicz-Grzelak in various European countries and Morocco (2010–2022)[14], as well as (for the profane dimension) miscellanea (Judaica): a collection of memorabilia and tourist souvenirs acquired by the Haładewicz-Grzelak. The sites the digital documentation of (hieratic) markers was collected at can be categorized as: i) synagogues; ii) Jewish cemeteries ([Heb.] beit kvarot, [Pol. *Kirkuty*); iii) heritage sites; iv)

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[13] I analyze this context in another paper, Haładewicz-Grzelak (2021).

[14] This is not grant-based research, and it proceeds with my own resources.

artwork placed in the vicinity of heritage sites; v) markers as a semiotic guidance for tourists (tourism and catering contexts); vi) souvenirs sold in the vicinity of tourist landmarks. The analytical procedure consisted in categorizing the collected material according to these contexts, and also according to cooccurrence preferences, possibly taking into account the sacred/profane dimension.

This also implies that the conclusions arrived at as a result of the analysis are of semiotactic (linguistic) value, in compliance with the journal's profile and the topic of the paper: neither the theological, symbolic, ontological, historical, nor devotional aspects of the analysed signage will be addressed here, apart from their necessary pragmatic underpinnings.[15] Hence, specific symbols (X, Y) are abstracted as "a (hieratic) marker in the form of X, Y," that is, a specific form of a sign. It cannot be denied that the external exponents of the sacred signage reflect the way of experiencing the sacred by the authors of that hieratic textuality (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2021 *inter alia*), as well as group dynamics and power relations. By no means do I mean to refute the importance of the former, yet, due to the space limitations of an academic paper, I had to abstract here from the symbolic and cultural aspects of the analysed hieratic marker.

Another caveat regards the dimensionality of the studied symbols. No academic paper can exhaust a studied issue in its entirety. As indicated in footnote 12, it is part of an ongoing project, on the one hand, within the vein of my work on the sacrosphere dynamics, and on the other, on the semiosphere of Judaism. As specified above, the main thrust is semiotactic, that is, parallel to a linguistic (phonotactic) one. The nature of the gathered data does not allow me to venture into more far-reaching conclusions of societal dynamics. The centrifugal and centripetal dynamics to be investigated belong to the level of signage, not anthropology, although, as I show in Haładewicz-Grzelak 2021, they can serve as a litmus test of deeper societal changes. Accordingly, these aspects could be left for a follow-up study, departing from the conclusions reached through the present discussion.

Similarly, at this stage I cannot address the full aspects of sign combinations, they are analysed only to the extent of the patterns extracted from the corpus I gathered, and the methodology adopted. The analysis proceeds in a typical Natural Linguistic fashion, that is, bottom-up and not top-down. There are no aprioristic hypotheses to prove. The starting point and ultimate paragon is the collected corpus. Delving into the fine grained aspects of sign combinations or particular ontologies would require a different perspective, that nestle in for

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[15] See references above in the footnote 9 for sample discussion of those aspects.

example, ethnographic or linguistic anthropology, which is however a subject for a different analysis and a separate research  paper.

Another concomitant caveat regards the area the corpus was collected and defined in the corpus description. To recall, the data was collected in the European (diaspora) context, mainly in central Europe. The portion of the corpus collected in countries like Spain (as well as a Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam – Sephardi Judaism) does not show any divergencies regarding the topic of the study. As an anonymous reviewer points out, power relations regarding Jewry in contemporary Europe and for example, in Israel, are totally different, hence, the conclusions reached hereto forth relate exclusively to the semiotic presence of Judaica in contemporary Europe.

## 2.  Signage in Judaism: a brief overview

The above presented categories regarding the types of the sacrosphere constitute a meta-analytical grid and taxonomic key of pragmatic contexts against which specific analytic data in the form of collected hieratic markers are cast. These markers relate to a widely conceived Jewish symbolism.[16] Canonically, the Star of David (also known as the Shield of David – Magen David, [S] henceforth) and a seven-branch candelabra (Menorah, [M] henceforth), symbolizing the burning bush[17] are each generally assumed to be the main symbols of Judaism. Nonetheless, the symbolism active in that sacrosphere is much more intricate. The information boards on display at the exhibition at Ethnographic Museum in Budapest "Picking up the pieces: Fragments of rural Hungarian Jewish Culture" [2014; see footnote 9], describe some of them in the context of gravestones (*stelah*, [Hebr.] מַצֵּבָה). In a brief synopsis of that content, the main aspects of Jewish (tombstone) symbolism are as follows (regardless of these guidelines, it is generally believed that the symbol chosen on a stela was in some way related to the personal characteristics of the deceased).

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[16] Readers interested in Jewish symbolism as such are referred to e. g., Trzciński, where an exhaustive historiography of symbols, in particular used in the context of sepulchral art, is given in a retrospective from prehistoric times. Below, due to the space limitation of an academic paper, I opt for a general synopsis from a museum information board.

[17] The manufacturing and the appearance of the Golden Lampstand is described in Exodus (25:31-40), in the passage immediately following the description of The Ark and the Table: the final part reads as follows: "The buds and branches shall all be of one piece with the lampstand, hammered out of pure gold (37) "Then make its seven lamps and set them up on it so that they light the space in front of it (38). Its wick trimmers and trays are to be of pure gold. (39) A talent[of] of pure gold is to be used for the lampstand and all these accessories. (40) See that you make them according to the pattern shown you on the mountain." https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Exodus%2025&version=NIV (Bible Gateway).

i) *Willow tree:* (weeping willow) The symbol is often seen on the gravestones of women. In general, in Jewish tradition it means transience, mourning and regret, but it also forms part of the *lulav,* in connection with the rite of *Sukkort*

ii) *Two Interlocking Hands*: symbolize unity in death. It appears on the "tombstones of spouses who have died within a short time of one another. It may also symbolize brotherly/sisterly love and assistance. It is frequently seen on the gravestones of officers of the Chevra Kadisha."

ii) *Two outspread hands*: the symbol marks the graves of descendants of Aaron (Cohenites) and of the priestly class as a position, relating to the divine blessing. The curators of the exhibition note that, "it is deemed that from between the two hands, God looks upon His chosen people."

iii) *The crown of the Torah* (knowledge): apart from symbolizing the knowledge of Scripture, can also signify a high status or fidelity in a marriage.

iv) *Candle:* apart from being a symbol of life and soul, family and community, it can also refer to the Temple, the Sabbath, and to the Friday lighting of candles. According to the cited source, related symbols appearing on the gravestones, are the menorah and Chanukah.

v) *Bunch of grapes*: traditionally symbolizes the nation of Israel and the Jewish people, which is why it is often visible in the decoration of synagogues. In the context of gravestones, it relays family life and fertility.

vi) Regarding the *Star (the Shield of David)*, the curators of the exhibition point out that it is often visible on temples, and since the 20th century it started to appear as a grave marker. Its two overlapping triangles symbolize the connection between heaven and earth, that is, the domain of God and the world of man.

vii) *Stone Tablets* that symbol appears on the façades of synagogues and on stelas and it can also be a tombstone marker itself [that is, a gravestone can be in the form of a Moses tables]. In the Jewish tradition, it was a pair of stone tablets that contained the Ten Commandments summarizing the laws (religious, moral, and social) that God gave to Moses. Thus, the symbol of the two tablets on a stela can be used as an indication of religious zeal and adherence to the laws of Judaism, but it can also refer to spouses dying within one year of one another.

viii) *Pitcher:* today it is a reference to Levite origin. In ancient times, it was the Levites who were responsible for caring for the Holy of the Holiest. Today, it is their duty to pour water over the hands of the Cohenites before the utterance of the Aaronic blessings. Hence, on

the tombstones, the carved pitcher stands for the ritual handwashing and accordingly, points to the Levitical descent. [18]

My focus will not be on their symbolism but on selected preferences of co-occurrence in a given context.[19] This means that all the conclusions drawn are only based on the material I collected. To a large extent, these structural conclusions can be said to coincide with autochthon intuitive judgments, but questioning Jewish respondents as a main procedure will be a differently framed study which is left for further research. [20] In what follows, I will focus mainly on the Magen David and Menorah (as hieratic markers), with the addition of another one, the Hamsa, which does not appear as Judaism gravestone symbolism**. This marker appears in the form of an open palm, with sample variants both in Islam and in Judaism as shown in Fig.1.[21] In the exhibition in Casa de Sefarad (Cordova, Spain), there is an explanation board stating that:

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[18] There is plethora of scholarly elaborations of most Jewish cemeteries apart from the ongoing projects previously mentioned, see e.g., Podolska-Walicki (2002). An article by Banasiewicz-Ossowska (2014) is a very important contribution to the issue of the funeral rites of Jews in Poland, as well as offering further insights on the stelae ornamentations. The reader will find also there, among others, an ethnographic study of both the traditional Jewish funeral rite and an analysis of the changes taking place in this ritual based on the example of an anthropological analysis of the Jewish cemetery located at today's Lotnicza Street in Wrocław (opened in 1902) As the author notes, traditional Jewish tombstones are known in the form of stone or cast-iron plates. Nowadays, members of this community in Wroclaw also exhibit horizontal tombstones for their deceased. Moreover, "some monuments have pictures of the dead, which is contrary to the prohibition of depicting human figures in the image and likeness of God, which is very important in Jewish religion and art. The latter practice is disapproved of by part of the Jewish community" (Banasiewicz-Ossowska 2014: 200-201). The changes in funeral symbolics are also noted throughout particular cemeteries' plaques, e.g., in an elaboration placed at the entrance to the Jewish cemetery in Opole (authored by Maciej Borkowski.). Also, a graveyard can form part of a wide museum complex, as it the case in City Museum of Wroclaw (https://muzeum.miejskie.wroclaw.pl/ where the Jewish Cometary forms part of its Museum Sections. Also, see the Jewish community center in Budapest https://www.greatsynagogue.hu/gallery_community.html

[19] An in-depth study of the meaning of selected symbols on tombs of Ashkenazi Jewry in Poland is provided in e. g. Trzciński (1997). The author starts with tracing the existence of a given symbol in literary works/written tradition (e. g. the Hebrew Bible), cults and rites, art and analyzes the variegations of main motifs throughout the centuries from Antiquity (the motif of a frame, of a tree, *inter alia*) with vast photographic documentation). For example, Trzciński sees the occurring plant motifs, included trees and grapes, as a manifestation of a larger "tree archetype." The Menorah would also fall into that archetype according to that author. See also other publications by that author related to the sepulchral symbolism of Ashkenazi Jews (e.g., 2007).

[20] For example, Dr. Isaiah (Yeshayahu) Gruber, was kind to provide the following comments through personal (mail communication, 2017): "I would say that the Magen David is (today) more nationalistic than the Menorah. It is also more modern. The significance of the Magen David has been enormously influenced by three events that occurred within a relatively short span of time: its adoption by the Zionist movement; its use by the Nazis (the yellow "Jude" star); and its placement on the Israeli flag. The menorah is in some sense a "deeper" symbol of Jewish identity (going back clearly to biblical times) and perhaps "purer" in the sense of less fraught with political, etc., entanglements. At the same time, it has probably receded to 2nd place (and *hence*, perhaps, has fewer complications) as a result of the modern events connected with the Magen David. On the other hand, some groups use it as a symbol of the desire to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem, so I suppose it can also have complex overtones. It's very hard (and maybe even futile) to separate "national" and "religious" symbolism here. In addition, note that there has been confusion/interchange in history even between the two symbols you mentioned: at some points the menorah (rather than the star) was termed the "Magen David"! The menorah is also used by the modern State of Israel (as its seal). However, I think the flag is much more recognizable generally."

[21] It should be pointed out that from the semiotic as well as anthropological perspectives that the Hamsa is a controversial sign and definitely merits separate scholarly attention, which cannot be pursued here. It can only be observed here that the open (right) hand with its protective function appears more than often in, e. g. the Hebrew

Hamsa, which literally means *five* in Arabic, is a symbol in the shape of a hand, traditionally used as a talisman or amulet to protect against evil or misfortune. Of pre-Islamic origin, it has become a popular object, as much in the Muslim tradition as in Jewish culture, particularly among the Sephardic Jews. In the Muslim tradition, it is known as the 'Hand of Fatima') (daughter of the prophet Mohammed), while in the Jewish tradition, it is known as the hand of Miriam (the sister of Moshe Rabenu), The Hamsa has become an object shared by both cultures, au authentic symbol of cultural exchange. It is identified with the five pillars of Islam in the Muslim tradition, while kin to the Jewish tradition, it is related to the five books of the Torah.

To reiterate, the paper will not focus on the symbolic aspect of those markers, nor how they relate to Judaic religious tenets or how they developed and changed through the centuries. The cynosure of attention here is solely on the semiotic (semiotactic) implications I draw based on my corpus. The database relates to the aspect which I call canonical signage (that is, late 18th century /early 20th century) and the contemporary signage (synchronic data, that is, after 1950s in graveyards and, at the time of collection [2010s/early 2020s] for lay markers). Of course, since semiotics is *per se* a social discipline, the pragmatic grounding is inevitable and the conclusions drawn will necessarily have a bearing on the social aspect of semiosphere changes.

As the Hamsa does not appear as a marker in the institutional and semi-open sacrosphere, that is, in places with the most sacred load – e. g., on synagogue exteriors or on tombstones or in context of heritage– it can be preliminarily defined in the synchronously researched state of culture as secondary sacred signage, related mainly to the private sacrosphere.

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Scriptures (Old Testament), hence the basis for the modern popularity of this symbol is also ascribed in connection with the safe exit of the Israelites from Egypt. For example, in Exodus (14.8), when the Israelites crossed the Red Sea, we read: "And the Lord hardened the heart of Pharaoh king of Egypt, so that he pursued the sons of Israel. And the sons of Israel came out under the cover of the raised hand" [Biblia, *Pismo Święte Nowego i Starego Testamentu. Biblia Polska* [1981] [I am citing the Polish translation here because in the English one, the phrase "under the cover of the raised hand was translated as 'leaving triumphantly'", e.g., https://www.biblesociety.org.uk/explore-the-bible/read/eng/GNB/Exod/14/   A little further we read: (Exodus 17). "10. Joshua did as Moses commanded him and went out to fight the Amalekites, while Moses, Aaron, and Hur went up to the top of the hill. 11 As long as Moses held up his arms, the Israelites won, but when he put his arms down, the Amalekites started winning" https://www.biblesociety.org.uk/explore-the-bible/read/eng/GNB/Exod/17/ . Moreover, an open (right) hand as protection features frequently in the canticles (Psalms), e. g. Psalm 98: "Sing to the Lord a new song, for he has done marvelous things; his right hand and his holy arm have worked salvation for him". https://www.biblegateway.com/passage/?search=Psalm%2098&version=NIV

Fig. 1. Variants of the Hamsa . Upper panel (left):: Exhibits in the Jewish Museum in Cordoba (Museo Judío- Casa de Sefarad.) (right) photo of the obverse of a necklace with a Judaic hamsa from the Haładewicz-Grzelak' s collection.Lower panel left: Exhibits in the Jewish Museum in Cordoba (right: ) Hamsa as an exhibit in the section devoted to Islam at the Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde (Munich). © Museum Fünf Kontinente München, photo: Marianne Franke, Inv.-Nr. 91-315 362.

## 3. Centripetal and centrifugal dynamics as a linguistic category

Regarding the semiotactics of particular hieratic markers, the axis of exclusion/inclusion is of primary importance. There, inevitably ensues a vectorial aspect, captured by the dynamics *towards the centre* and *away from the centre*. These dynamics have been canonically described in classical physics by two (illusory) forces: *centrifugal*, meaning away from the centre, entailing dispersion, exclusion, delimitation and separation (disconnection) and *centripetal* (towards the centre, cohesion, subsuming bonding, inscribing, grouping together and

connection). [22] Obviously, although both can be said to be illusory, the meta-principle between them is *opposition*. [23]

That conceptual dyad, although primarily applied to Newtonian physics, has proved to be a seminal analytical tool for linguistics. Already Roman Jakobson used these theories to describe dialects, yet most prominently these concepts feature in the work of Wolfgang Dressler and in general, amongst Natural Phonology scholars where they denote respectively: i) phonological processes serving the speaker (lenitions) as syntagmatic processes, operating on sequences of sounds – as centripetal forces – and ii) centrifugal forces – the processes serving the hearer (foregrounding), which are context-free and paradigmatic.

Notwithstanding, there is also a tradition of using those concepts in semiotic scholarship. For example, Edward Stankiewicz (1982) initiated a line of investigation of poetry, focussing on tracing the sources of poetic tensions on the level of a particular work of art: between structure (centripetal tension) and texture (centrifugal tension).[24] This thread was taken up by Daniel Grossberg (1986) in his semiotic analysis of the complexes of compositional elements implied within the Song of Songs. The perspective also enabled him to show the effect of the impact of these elements on the poetic structure of the Bible.

Ensuing from all these stipulations, the specific emergent directionality types can be called divisive (imposing the boundary – foregrounding) and cohesive (eliminating the boundary– backgrounding). In this paper, they will be juxtaposed as: i) *external relation: separation (centrifugalism)*– backgrounding, context dependent, ii) *internal relation: inclusion (centripetalism)* foregrounding, context free, with regard to the extracted semiotic saliency. It

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[22] According to etymological dictionary online: https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=centripetal. The entry further stipulates that the lexeme was coined in "1687 by Sir Isaac Newton (who wrote in Latin), from Latin *centri,* alternative combining form of *centrum* 'center' (see *center* (n.)) + *petere* 'to make for, go to; seek, strive after'. centripetal (adj.) means 'tending or moving toward a center'." The entry "centrifugal" from the same source states the meaning as "flying off or proceeding out from a center" https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=centrifugal; 1690s, with adjectival suffix -al (1) + Modern Latin *centrifugus*, 1687, coined by Sir Isaac Newton in *Principia* (which is written in Latin), from Latin *centri-*, alternative combining form of centrum "center" (see center (n.)) + *fugere* "to flee."

[23] as Marcel Danesi observes, "oppositional relations might involve various structures and modalities other than purely binary ones in the determination of distinctiveness, contrariness, and contradiction" (Danesi 2009: 23). Here the oppositional type is purely categorical as a meta-principle: that is, a particular tyle of dynamics cannot be somewhat centripetal and at the same time, somewhat centrifugal. More on the study of semiotics my means of modelling systems theory in Sebeok and Danesi (2000).

[24] "The enumerated tensions between the parts and the whole, succession and simultaneity, unity and diversity, meaning and sound have given rise in poetry (as well as in some nonverbal arts) to two basic types of works: works with a dominant centripetal, homogeneous, and tight structure, and works with preponderantly centrifugal, heterogeneous, and loose patterns. To the first type belong works in which the parts are generally subservient to the whole, in which the composition is basically compact and closed, and in which the formal structure serves to weld together the disparate parts" (Stankiewicz 1982: 221).

will entail elaborating an anchorage point to determine where a given process was of centripetal or centrifugal direction, as well as a semiotactic sign typology.

## 4.  Contextual parametrization of Judaica from the corpus

### 4.1.  Jewish cemeteries

In a way, the current semiosphere of Jewish cemeteries in Europe epitomizes the situation of European Judaica as such. On the one hand, the material substance of those cemeteries is, in its major part, a culturally inactive relic, but on the other, digital documentary elaboration and digital reconstructions thereof are growing (cf. footnote 9, see in particular the multiple resources in the Warsaw Museum of Jewish History, which are in a major part, digital). It can be thus inferred that the semiosphere of Judaism is currently moving to a digital world from an "analogue" one. This is one of the many reasons wherefor it is of importance to conduct sustained studies on the extant material/substantial exponents in their natural contexts of occurrence. The database for this section comes from about 15 Jewish cemeteries in the territory of Poland – all of them, except the new cemetery in Kraków, being inactive.[25] Also, I managed to inspect selected cemeteries in Germany, Slovakia, and Hungary. All of them were of Ashkenazi Jewry, except the cemetery in Marrakesh. I was not looking only for grave epigraphs but, in general, at all the inscriptions related to the cemetery semiosphere; in that way, my studies are different from the currently compiled bases of stela inscriptions.[26] The key research focus for this section was the occurrence of [S] on stelas/plaques as contrasted with other traditional forms of symbolism.[27] I have not documented any single sign of [S] on a stela dated before the 1910s. Often, just as the epitaphs below them, the carvings of symbols are hardly legible.[28]

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[25] An exhaustive documentation of all Jewish cemeteries in Poland and all inscriptions on stelas is being carried out currently in the project https://jri-poland.org/foundation-for-documentation-jewish-cemeteries.htm -

The Foundation for Documentation of Jewish Cemeteries (FDJC). Also worth mentioning is the fact that e.g. the cemetery in Biała has a QR code plaque at the entrance, allowing for a virtual visit.

[26] The Sephardi origin exhibits from my data were documented in Spain (in 2010 and 2018), and in Amsterdam (the so-called Portuguese synagogue). However, I did not find any difference at the level of analysis pertinent to this study. Also, a guide at the Amsterdam Portuguese synagogue mentioned that there was only a minor difference e.g., in the rites of marriage between the Sephardi and Ashkenazi communities living there. The documentation from Marrakesh is of illustrative value only. Of possible differences, see e. g., Trzciński (1997).

[27] In that way, the work proceeds differently to e. g., the wholistic investigation by Trzciński, who documented most of the extant cemeteries and inspected them for specific variants of archetypical motifs, or historiographies of specific cemeteries. I equally disregard the particular form of a grave and of a stela, the exact exposition of their development can again be found in Trzciński (1997).

[28] A sample inscription in Hebrew on the tombstone in (Fig 3 left,) read by Yishai Tobin (personal communication, September 2013) – proceeds along these lines: "there is an abbreviation on the top *Here lies buried* ... followed by something that could be a surname, and then another abbreviation of the phrase *of blessed memory*.

Appendix 1 lists an illustrative selection of the documented tokens from that section of the database.

Even this small sample shows clear preferences as far as markers in the sacrosphere of Jewish cemeteries are concerned. Fig. 1A – [A denotes the appendix location of a figure]. (left) is a typical view of an inactive cemetery in Poland (Biała), where stelas were collocated in the form of a *lapidarium* (no occurrence of [S] in that cemetery).[29] The view can be assumed canonical for all Polish inactive cemeteries from the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. All main symbolism enumerated in the first section (except the Hamsa) occurs, and I even managed to document more symbols (e. g., two/three interlocking fish, (Old cemetery in Kraków) a hand holding a torch, etc.). [S] in all the inspected sites this symbol seems to have been introduced only in the early 1900s, (Fig. 2A) that is, it is absent in cemeteries such as Biała, the old cemetery in Kazimierz, and, over time, it seems to have supplanted other rich traditional symbolism (contemporary stelas), which was the case in all documented sites that featured stelas erected after the 1920s. Photos in Fig. 6A show an interesting strategy in a German Jewish cemetery: the extant macevahs (stelas) are bilingual, on the one side there is a text in German and the other, in Hebrew. Traditional symbolism only appears on the face with the Hebrew version. It seems that the other linguistic version has been added after the renovation of a given stela.

The contexts of the occurrence of the markers, parametrized in relation to the societal issues are as follows:

[1] stelas erected before the 1900s – all traditional Jewish symbolism occurs, no record of a [S] whatsoever;

[2] Contemporary (I count as contemporary graves dated after the 1950s (my database does not include the interwar and war period);

a) On contemporary private gravestones [S] is obligatory when the deceased was important for the Jewish nation;

b) In the remaining contexts, it is not obligatory (cf. Figs. 1–3A) although it can appear. Traditional symbolism, predominantly in the form of the representations of a pitcher, the outspread hands and the crown, does occur, although definitely, it is not that frequently resorted to as in the traditional stelas.  For illustrative purposes, some tokens of older stelas are shown in (Figs 1A, 2A upper panel).

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The following line says a very important woman, modest and proper (from the word *kosher*), and the rest of the text is not legible."

[29] More on the history of that cemetery and Jewish community in Biala at (http://www.kirkuty.xip.pl/biala.htm). This cemetery also has the possibility of an interactive guided tour based on a QR code.

[3] [S] is obligatory as a marker of institutional reference, namely on the stelae commemorating the fallen, with references to the Holocaust), and obligatory when a grave is anonymous (Figs. 2A lower– 5A). For example, the photo from the center panel shows a fragment of the cemetery in front of the Nagy synagogue (Budapest): there are no menorah symbols in the entire area where the graves ofthe victims are located. We can see it only in the further part of the precincts, no longer being a graveyard, but where other monuments and sculptures related to the Holocaust have been placed.

Summing up, in post-Holocaust commemorative contexts [S] is obligatory (a reference to the collective memory), although it can cooccur with the menorah, but no other sign. The [M] in that context is optional, not preferred, but it cannot occur as a unique marker, only the [S] is obligatory. We might assume that [M] is in that context a secondary sign. [S] thus, can be posited to refer to Jewry as a nation/polity, in contrast to all other polities. This first context points to the centrifugal, boundary imposing, dynamics as well as fortitive processes in the case of [S] – the conclusions which will be confirmed in the remaining contexts that were analyzed. By implication, [M] is not licit as a primary sign when the context of (anonymous) fallen members of a nation is implied.

## 4.2.   Heritage sites and small group dynamics[30]

Regarding visual marking as co-texts to verbal texts related to a broadly understood cultural heritage, both signs are certified: [S] and [M].[31] Figs. 7A–8A show a selection of documentation of commemorative plaques from my database. In a way, that context liaises with the previously analyzed milieu because in the semiosphere of Judaism, the commemoration typically involves the mention of a nonexistent community which used to dwell on that place, or a non-existing sacred place. The selection features only two occurrences of the menorah as a unique marker. These were the only two I managed to find, while I documented several other plaques with the [S], not included in the illustrative sample. Taking into account the criterion of context, in the immediate connection with the last point of the previous sub-section, the collected data shows that:

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[30] Another caveat is of merit here. In the investigated European context, sometimes, as in the case of the Budapest Nagy synagogue cemetery, it is hard to distinguish between a cemetery and a heritage site. If we adopt the narrow definition, let us assume that the heritage sites here are all excluding the actual burial spots.

[31] I managed to document one instance of an upright lion as an indication of a tourist trail, but that being just one sole occurrence, we can still proceed with the preference for these two formerly mentioned. To that, again, the sign has been tampered with, reckoning that there is just one, instead of two of them.

[1]   [S] is obligatory when the commemoration of the deceased during the Holocaust is concerned or any reference to the Jewry as a nation/polity is implied (fig.2A-4A, 8A). This context is in fact phenomenologically identical to the context of the commemoration in a cemetery. I have not documented any commemorative official plaque relating to the Holocaust where only [M] or any other marker would be present (the plaques could go without any signage though).

[2] As far as external plaques of any other aspect of heritage are concerned, either one can occur (yeshivas, a building in Kraków).

Photos in Fig. 10A in turn adduce contexts which could be called *small group dynamics,* that is, when traditionally the reference is made to "Jewishness" from within the group, by members themselves.[32] In those contexts, I only managed to document menorahs. For example, Fig. 10A (left panel) shows a photo on the front page of the freely distributed information booklet of an exhibition at the Judaic Museum in Munich. The photo (106 years ago – 1916) shows a group of soldiers gathered around an eight-branched candelabra.[33] An important fact is that the soldiers amongst themselves preferred to gather around a candelabra-menorah-like symbol. [34] The right panel features a photo taken in the former Jewish quarter of Dubrovnik. Under the house number (9), we can see a hand-carved menorah-like sign as a mark, which, according to a local guide, the inhabitants of the Dubrovnik Jewish quarter placed them on their own houses to mark the membership into a Jewish community. It functions thusly as a token of a "group-formation," a vernacular sign used internally by a given community.

Furthermore, in terms of contemporary group pragmatics, webpage design could be evoked, and for example, a website of Hungarian Jewish archives chose a menorah, not a star, as an icon for the site (Archives exhibited at the Magyar Zsidó Múzeum - Hungarian Judaic Museum). [35] To compare with a centrifugal context, that figure (right) also shows my photo of a digital

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[32] Decidedly, these are so to speak, random historic data. I did not have access to contemporaneous European contexts, nor was I able to access many instances of such contextualization. Also, with the stipulation of the expansive nature of the [S] makers, I do not rule our possibility that the fortitive process could reach also this context and currently amongst European Jewish small group environments only [S] could be used.

[33] It is not really a biblical menorah (eight-branched candlestick). Now, it is difficult to define the motivation for the use of this version by soldiers. It can only be assumed that it was perhaps the only form close to the menorah available to this group of military men.

[34] In the photo, additionally in the background, we see an official monument to the victims of Holocaust in the form of a cast weeping willow as a specific added "living symbol," where each leaf is labeled with one name of a fallen.

[35] By the way, the graphic image chosen on the webpage of the internet page of the museum is a menorah. http://collections.milev.hu/exhibits . The webpage features a thorough digital documentation of all the exhibits and the retrospective of the exhibitions held.

documental exhibited freely at the former synagogues in the Czech Republic – a group of children from a local community, wearing a headband with a star.[36]

## 4.3.    The Holocaust in art (heritage contexts)

The next context to be analyzed is the vein of artistic visions on the Holocaust. Of course, the trauma of those events has been reworked in a plethora of artworks across Europe. From a semiotic and linguistic standpoint though (not of an art historian), I narrowed the context to artworks chosen as an epitome, chosen to be displayed in public spaces and usually accompanying a heritage site, that is, chosen by some societal bodies to be representative along a heritage site. Here, it must be admitted that the chosen ones in Fig. 11A are the only ones accessible to me under these conditions.

The left panel shows a sculpture placed in front of the synagogue in Kaunas. We can see the unfolded book of the Torah, torn as if at the top into small, tattered elements, from which they emerge, or perhaps touched by two downwards pointing outstretched hands. The second photo shows a plaque commemorating the deportation of the Jewish population from Bardejovice (Slovakia) during the Second World War. The tablet is in the shape of cracked and broken Moses tablets with the motif of an outstretched hand, or perhaps a trace of a human hand in suffering, into which it is equally delicately interwoven.[37] The third photo shows a fragment of the monument in the Great Synagogue in Budapest, commemorating the Holocaust in 1944. The previous two sculptures did not feature [S] at all, in the latter, we can see it as a fragment of the motif on a part of the sculpture-monument (right next to a similarly sized menorah mark), but it is definitely not the dominant motif or the main canvas on which the entire sculpture is built. It is only a marginal, backgrounded sign. [38]

Admitting that I did not have access to a wide range of artistic works commissioned as officially relating to the Holocaust/Jewishness, but on the other hand, taking into account the prolific data on other types of contexts, it means that simply that signage is scarce. The random ones I did come across indicate that when it comes to artistic impressions chosen as official about Judaism/the Holocaust, the [S] tends to be avoided, and decidedly, it is not the dominant sign in this context (can feature as an auxiliary sign/secondary). The artistic expression belongs

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[36] Only [S] is also used when referring to Jewry in denigrating/hostile contexts, which I also documented but which are not included in the illustrative sample.

[37] A caveat is of merit, that is, I documented several instances of that plaque as a token, which seems to be an adopted and generalized format for placing texts regarding the plight of Jews in Slovakia.

[38] The main monument to the fallen in the precincts of the synagogue in Nagy is actually a sculpture of a weeping willow.

to a subjective sphere, therefore, the lack or the preference not to include the [S], or the [S] being just a secondary motif, in such representations, would support the conjecture about the contemporary "institutionality" and the centrality of this symbol.

### 4.4.   Tourism: The interactive function of the markers

In section 4.2., we have seen that in the context of heritage, the [S] is obligatory when the commemorative aspect (collective memory/anonymity in particular of war atrocities/an ontological discontinuity) was concerned. In the remaining contexts (e.g., when knowledge / tradition and instruction was concerned), the [S] was not obligatory and in optional distribution with [M]. That was the direction semiotically conceived as *from within*, that is, from within the heritage experiencers. Let us now look at the context when an interaction with a tourist is implied, that is, where synchronically, the aspect of semiotic contact (semiotic boundary) and communicative exchange is more prominent (Figs. 9A, 12 A)

Photos in Fig. 12A show a selection of admittance tickets/information boards from my collection (there are some more specimens regarding particular expositions, but no changes in the design). As can be seen, there are some preferences. Definitely, the [S] is avoided in such contexts. Intuitively hypothesizing, if [S] was placed on a board informing of a parking lot, it might be assumed that the parking lot must commemorate something or might be in some way important on a national level and, rather not accessible for a passerby to park, that would not have the primary function as a facility). The most preferred patterns on such stationery, adopted both in e.g., Marrakesh and in Kraków, is a combination of [H], with an [M] inscribed into it.

The next set of figures (14A–17A) shows the documentation of contexts even further detached from sacred/collective memory into the "profane" and casual interaction. It shows the pictures I managed to take of landmark catering establishments in active Jewish quarters in Kazimierz in Kraków: *Ariel* and *Hamsa*, my documentation from 2014 and 2018, with no subsequent changes) and in Lublin (Poland) (2017, 2019, no changes). In the sphere of semiotic contact, let us inspect how the owners/managers of those establishments decided to connote "Judaism" for their clients. In terms of visual textuality, only three markers were availed of: [S], [M] and [H].

First of all, it might be safely stated that [S] does not appear as a main/primary sign, or it is even avoided in all of those contexts. For example, over the entrance to *Ariel* catering establishment in Kraków, there is a neon sign in the form of three five-branching stars. The neon is prominent and salient actually only when lit, that is, in the evening and at night. (Fig. 14A

middle). In a series of works, I advance the claim that the replication of semiotic entities triggers and spurs the process of their lenition – weakens the semiotic salience of a multiplied sign (e. g. Lubos-Kozieł – Haładewicz-Grzelak 2016). That means, that the more a sign is tampered with, the more replicative strategies it entails, the less semiotically salient it becomes.  This is in compliance with the traditional *Gestalt* "figure and ground" principle, used widely in Natural Phonology paradigm. In brief, it means that we perceive the figure against the ground: one salient element against the background, the more acute is the contrast between the figure and the ground, the more optimal the perception and cognition.  Hence, the fact of estranging the star (most of all, this is a five-pointed star not a six-pointed star)[39] and making it look like a festivity neon, can be interpreted as a lenitive (weakening) strategy to downplay its strong prominence. In other words, replication and adding accessories implies diminishing the status of a figure by reducing the distance between the figure and the ground, relegating [S] onto level of loose denotation. This strategy, in turn can mean that out of the three signs that appear in that context on that catering establishment ([M], [H], [S]) only the [S] (which is not the shield of David) required additional manipulation to be placed over the restaurants for tourists.[40]

The most prominent markers, placed without any tampering as visual textuality on the establishment, are thus [M] and [H]. They are placed on the name board, on a movable board outside and inside. Also, of importance is the fact that no other hieratic marker, e.g., Moses Tablets, crown, pitcher, was chosen to appear in that context. It seems that only [M] and [H] can appear in exclusively lay contexts, in the function of catering logos. The photo on the left shows the visual text of another restaurant in Kazimierz, actually called *Hamsa*. Here, there is not much variegation: only [H] appears on the building and also, on consumption bills. It functions thus more of a commercial logo than a symbol.

The set of photos also shows the documentation of another landmark Jewish catering establishment, *Mandragora* in Lublin. It can be seen that the patterns are actually repeated. [M] features prominently, and more than profusely, in the interior part – it is placed several times on

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[39] There is also a five-branching star as the component of a decoration on the entrance door, which is even less salient and recognizable as a figure. The exact reason why it is a five-pointed and not six-pointed star cannot be determined from my research perspective. The collected database and the adopted methodology can only posit the heuristic explanation adduced above, that is, that the neon is only to "evoke" the ambient atmosphere of Judaism, as a soft connotation, rather than relay on direct signage. But alternative explanations are also possible, for example, that the architects of the decoration, did not know the exact shape of a [S] cannot be ruled out. It does not however change the general conclusion: the result is that of softly reminding the viewer of the Magen David rather than directly relating to it.

[40] As an anonymous reviewer observes, the Menorah seems to be the most visible and the main symbol as a decoration of that catering establishment. That is compliant with the general thesis proposed hereto forth. It might nonetheless be observed that the candelabra featuring there as a decoration is 9-branching, not 7-branching, so it cannot be called a menorah in the strictest sense.

the wall, on the reservation plaques and on the entrance.[41] Again, its function seems more of an advertising logo than a symbol. In semiotactic terms: neither Moses Tablets, crown, lions, interlocking hands are licit in those positions, nor is [S] as a main symbol but the [M] can.

## 5. Discussion

### 5.1. Heuristic taxonomies

In Haładewicz-Grzelak (2021: 241–242), two analytical paths have been proposed to approach semiotactic typologies. Given that neither such a type of empirical semiotic research has been carried out before, nor has a taxonomy of (sacred) signage developed in this direction to relate to, so due to the lack of prior analysis, both functional and structural analytical veins were put forth. Functionally speaking, we can investigate which sign appears as auxiliary to the main sign, (a  diacritic function); ii) structurally – signs can be categorized as *primary* and *secondary*.

The primary sign can be defined as a sign that never occurs alone in a diacritic function or, assuming the licit appearance in a diacritic function, it may also concatenate with other signs, hence it may also appear alone (broad definition: inclusive). As further observed in Haładewicz-Grzelak (2021: 242), the first assumption yields as the sole criterion for classifying a sign as a secondary possibility to occur as an auxiliary sign. This option will not exclude the possibility to appear as a primary sign. Adopting the second definition, the *sine qua non* to define a sign as a secondary would be the inability to occur independently. At the present stage of research on the signs of Judaism, the only sign that can be said to have always required another one was a crown and two lions that, canonically positioned facing each other in a position on their hind legs, were supporting a more important sign, a menorah or a pitcher, on both sides. (see Fig. 2 below).

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[41] Such interiors are, of course subjected to changes and refurbishment over time, this fact is of no importance to the present analysis.

Fig. 2. A canonical concatenation with a marker in the form of two lions supporting the marker in the form of Moses Tablets, above which a marker of a crown in placed and beneath, a pitcher. The semiotic cluster placed on a Torah scroll at Aron Ha-kodesh in an inactive synagogue in Tomar (Portugal), (currently a museum with open access).

Therefore, we are left with only a narrow definition. On the basis of this criterion, the [S] can be described as a secondary sign. Primary signs would be, for example: Moses Tablets, [M], outstretched hands, and [H].

## 5.2.   [S] as a boundary object

The material collected at this stage of research in the paradigmatic direction indicates that the most expressive and dynamic institutional marker of Judaism today is [S]. Even at this point of the analysis, it structurally appears to be the most congenerous counterpart of, e. g. the Islamic crescent. Its semiotic dominance on the institutional plane is undeniable. The [M] on the other hand functions semiotically as an element that completes the sacred space, related more, though not exclusively, to personal/small group religious and cultural legacy experience, remaining at the vernacular level, and also, spanning the sacred and the profane.

There are several patterns that emerge from the above juxtapositions. The analysis (admitting, however, by necessity, the fragmentary nature of the research data available to me at this stage of the analysis), seems to confirm the legitimacy of considering active preferences in relation to the studied synchronic processes of the semiosphere: centripetal and lenitive in sacred dimension for the [M] and centrifugal and generally fortitive for the [S]. It can thus be

hypothesized at this point that the [S] assumes the dynamics of centrifugal, external forces: institutional, national identification, while menorah: centripetal, integrating, identifying, vernacular, social and cultural, small group dynamic forces. In other words: the [M] has predominantly a group-forming function and [S] – separating from other groups.

The centrifugal process also translates into another ontological feature of [S]. "Boundary" is a basic concept in both anthropology and linguistics, especially in phonology (c.f. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2018 for an overview of the concept of anthropological boundary). It implies a change of quality into a different one, or a change of an ontological state to the state of absence/presence. The [S] emerges from the analysis so far as just such an example of a semiological boundary signal, or as a "boundary object" (cf. structuralist *Grentzignale*). Its basic semiotactic function is to mark the borderline between the Judaic sacrosphere (semiosphere) and its peripheries, us and them (the Jewry and other nations) the past and present. [42] For empirical support, let us look at another set of data. Fig. 13A (upper left, right) shows the contexts when a choice has to be made to efficiently refer to one denomination in the context of another. As far as the marking of the symbols of Judaism in such overreaching contexts is concerned, obligatorily the [S] is chosen. That is, it is not licit to use the [M], Moses Tablets or [H] to establish and mark an opposition with e. g., a cross or a crescent.[43]

### 5.3.  Syntagmatic axis (combinations): [S] as a floating prime

In my previous work on the hieratic markers of Judaism (the sacred, institutional sphere, that is, the synagogues context, Haładewicz-Grzelak [2021]), I investigated the marker of the Moses Tablets on synagogues with relation to the Shield of David and concluded that [MT] has the strongest hieratic load (sacred dimension), however, it is not the sign of contact (in the current analytical frame: it has a centripetal dynamics) and that is why it has been eliminated from outside of the synagogues, and the [S] is preferred, or it is marked with an [S] as a diacritic (on the outside) to make up for the missing coordinate of a centrifugal, separating dimension (see e.g. Fig. 13A). That is, the hieratic marker of [MT] nowadays requires a semiotic reinforcement:

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[42] As an anonymous reviewer observes, and in compliance with the caveat in the introduction, "this is true in Israel where Jews are a majority. In all the other countries where these symbols are studied, the Jews are/were a minority. Judaism is on the periphery."

[43] As a side remark, it might be observed that to mark Orthodox Christianity, usually in such contexts, the so-called Russian cross is chosen, although, it must be reiterated the Orthodox cross is not an obligatory version for Orthodox Christians, however, when it comes to the juxtaposition with e. g., Roman Catholicism, it is more frequent (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2018). Also, to round out this thread, let us focus briefly on another exhibit from Casa de Sefarad. (Fig.13A lower panel). As I verified with the curator of the exhibition, it was definitely property of a Jewish community. The crescent could be a simple random decorative element, or as a result of the free and syncretic co-habitation for centuries in Andalusia of all major denominations.

it did not require such a reinforcement in the past (carvings of Tablets incorporated into the façades of synagogues do not include the Star of David as an addition), while contemporary visual texts contain such a supplementation.

As far as the tourism aspect is concerned, I managed to digitally document souvenirs sold in Amsterdam, Kraków, Budapest and Prague, all near landmark Jewish sightseeing attractions. A selection of that material is shown in Fig. 16A–17A. This context involves both in-group interaction (a range of visitors of Judaic denominations, visiting their heritage site) but predominantly, an interaction of an inter-group type, that is, with potential non-Jewish tourists willing to experience the culture of Judaism. Examples of souvenirs sold in tourist venues show that apart from its undeniable status as an independent sign, the [S] can be combined with virtually all symbols, except (so far) the menorah – the [S] therefore appears diacritically. Of course, the fact that throughout the years of collecting the database I did not encounter an [M] with an [S] does not mean that such a combination does not exist/is not licit, but we can definitely state that it is not preferred. With a dynamic trajectory of the [S] nothing prevents it in the contemporary semiotic (particularly, lay ones) concatenations to attach to [M] as well, in particular, in lay, contemporary created contexts.

Let us focus now on another marker: [H], that has been singled out as belonging to the private sacrosphere or lay semiosphere. I could not document it in typically institutional/semi open context, but it features profusely in the open (private) sacrosphere (see e. g. in the function of a door knob) and in tourist interaction milieus. Fig.16A–17A shows sample documented concatenations. The palm of a hand is a convenient area for placing virtually all types of signs in the context of souvenirs /tourism except for the Tablets. On the other land, lions never support [H] nor the [S]. It might be pointed that [H] is the canonical symbol – donor, accepting all signs apart from the Moses Tablets.

Taking into account all the so far developed contexts of the occurrence of the [S], it should be emphasized that it is very different not only from the markers identified as primary, but also from other secondary signs that share the category (e. g., a jug, a crown, lions). In addition to the demarcating function in which none of "incumbent" symbols can be found, we can also see that there are absolutely no restrictions as to the context of the occurrence (except for the towering position that inside the synagogue). Accordingly, I propose to use an additional feature, also transposed from phonological representations, namely the status of the "floating" element or, in other words, those not related to any specific semiotic context/structural position.

One more important issue should be emphasized here. If I indicated at the beginning that the analytical model is modeled on phonological analysis, it does not mean that it is a

straightforward transposition. The methods of modern phonological analysis operate on clearly defined structure of the representation.[44] That is, if in phonology we describe a phonological prime as "floating," it should be considered that it is not attached permanently to the level of the skeleton of representation which is also clearly defined. At the present stage of the analysis, I am not able to define the entirety of the semiological representation and purely theoretical considerations and the development of the model itself are not the subject of this contribution. The most current stage of analytical modeling of sacred sign representation was proposed in Haładewicz-Grzelak, (forth.). This version, proposed for the canonical marker of Moses Tablets, is shown in Fig. 3 below. A heuristic structure of a hieratic sign:
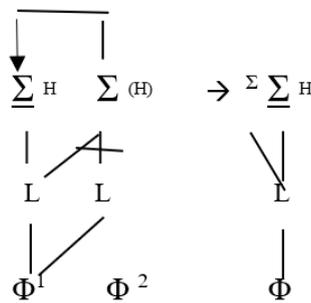


Fig. 3. A "subsegmental" structure of a hieratic sign of [ST] with a diacritic of [S]

where: [ $\Sigma$ ] stands for a sign root, [H] – a hieratic (sacrality) aspect, and [L] – a prime that has already been singled out in my previous work, *Locativus*. [ │ ] is a skeletal association line and '–' denotes the delinking of that association line (cf. e. g. Davenport, Hannahs [1998]). A locative prime specifies whether a marker has a fixed position within the sacrosphere or not. That subsegmental prime also can become delinked. In other words, the more specified the position of a hieratic sign, the more marked it is (the more complex its composition is). In this understanding, [S] would simply spread onto a corresponding entity.

I understand here a floating element as having no or few semiotactic restrictions, able to spread and to easily to combine with other signs, to have no fixed semiotic status. Thus, a theoretical refinement should go in the direction of delayering a representation of a sign (traditionally classified as an icon, symbol or index (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2012) and allowing for a skeletal layer that would host a prime which spread over the entire visual text, as is the case with interpreting the structure of a chain of phonemes (see Haładewicz-Grzelak 2018, 2022,

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[44] More on the interrelation of phonology and semiotics, see Haładewicz-Grzelak (2021a).

forth. for such analyses). The representational modus can be compared to an unbound, free morpheme (clitic) that, while carrying meaning in itself, when attached to another, only emphasizes its original meaning. Alternatively, we can recall here interpretations of nasality as a floating feature that can span several other segments. In this sense, the [S] could be defined as a secondary, unbound sign, and a [M] as a primary/permanent "fixed" (in the sacred context|) sign.

For example, "lions" would be a secondary/fixed semiological entity since they preferably do not occur as an independent semeion, but usually support the representation of Moses tablets (cf. Fig 2). The category "fixed" would mean that the sign has a rather specific context of occurrence. It could roughly correspond to the feature "headed."  For example, the marker of lions appears as an element supporting another, more important sign, but they will not appear in a crowning or towering position. In fact, a star can attach to any sign except a menorah (I have not encountered such semiotic compounds). This would be justified by the functional aspect of these signs – as I stated above, the menorah is a connecting sign associated with the community, and the star is a demarcating sign. The confusing occurrence of [M] and [S] occurs only in remembrance, culture/heritage texts. In the last context under analysis, that is, deprived of religious/heritage dimension, only [M], [S] and the hamsa can function in the guise of commercial logos.

## 6.   Conclusion

This paper examined the semiosphere of Judaism as the space of overlapping signing activities in pragmatic contexts. The particular subject matter was the semiotic projection of two cultural dimensionalities, formalized here as forces of a contrasting teleology, and called centrifugal (separating–outward, foregrounding) and centripetal (unifying, backgrounding, inward) force, operating on two of the traditional symbols of Judaism: Menorah [M] and Magen David [S], with the interpolation into the Hamsa [H] sign.

It was first necessary to propose heuristic typologies of the hieratic signage. From the linguistic point of view, we had two analytical paths to choose from: either to establish the division of the signs themselves structurally (for example, primary and secondary) or to adopt a classification in terms of function, which would be less restrictive and better describe the research data, necessarily fragmented. Therefore, I proposed to introduce a diacritic function, that is, to divide the signs into those that can appear as a diacritic, i.e., in a function added as a smaller sign to the primary character, and which cannot appear in this function. Along these

stipulations, the [S] was categorized as a secondary, floating sign (unheaded), and a [M] (just as MT) as a primary/permanent "fixed" (in the sacred context) sign (cf. Haładewicz-Grzelak 2021).

A preliminary conclusion from the analysis of the collected database can be drawn about the structural semiotic prominence of the investigated markers at a given synchronous stage of culture: nowadays, the marker that is most ingrained in the semiosphere (possibly most related to the *national* dimension of religion) is the [S]. The hand sign, Hamsa, seems to be the least institutionalized, least associated with the sacred dimension and the most anchored in the private /open /interactive sphere.[45] Yet, being the most neutral and I would say, the most devoid of the sacred markedness, it spreads most easily into the lay contexts such as, e. g., advertising. Of importance is the fact that it was the [M] as the only one out of the "incumbent" sacred markers, that could spread into the lay (profane) contexts, becoming the epitome one for marking the tourism context. Relating to the general categorization of the sacred sphere, [S] is predominant in institutional contexts, [M] s more linked to small group dynamics, (phatic communion function) and Hamsa, functions at the level of open, private (sacro-) sphere (it is difficult form a semiotic point of view to establish the demarcation for heritage and sacred sphere for Judaism).

Thus, from the semiotactic analysis of Judaism to date, two markers emerge with a similar ontological dimension: the Menorah and the Moses Tablets. They are both characterized by an indexical aspect (they refer to specific substantial entities over the course of Jewish history) and centrifugal direction. Thus, it follows that the Star is placed utterly differently in the structure of Judaic signage. It is certainly a floating, unrestricted, centripetal marker and of demarcating character. It is not indexing; it is not bonding. The entirety of the contexts of occurrence and the structural position indicate that it was a secondary sign and historically, acquires the status of a primary sign (in the surface structure: towering position). When considering semiotactic contexts, it is structurally close to the Hamesh. It is, in a way, its structural opposite and complement. While the star is a floating sign, meaning that it can attach itself to any other Judaic sign besides the menorah, the Hamesh can be considered an anchorage sign. The palm is a convenient locus to collocate most Judaic symbols (apart from the menorah and MT), even, surprisingly, the photo on the right panel shows the marker of the Prophet's Eye inside the Hamsa, sold in front of the (Nagy) synagogue.

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[45] As an anonymous reviewer observes here, "The Hamsa [in Jewish community] in used in in-group interactions and in interactions with other nations. in the latter, the Hamsa has a protective function against the evil coming from other nations, but in the former it protects from the evil coming from in-group members. This function has an intercultural dimension."

Nonetheless, there are systemic differences between the two markers regarding the "semiotactics" of contact. The Hamsa can be described as a canonical sign of semiotic contact, "contact" being conceived of in the anthropological sense: cohabitation and exchange of ideas of two denominations, given that it an active marker of both Islam and Judaism.[46] On the other hand, [S] is marker of contact only in the semiotactic sense, regarding the topic of the investigation the centripetal (cohesive) and centrifugal (separating) forces between Jewry as community and other communities.

It seems, then, that the differences between religious systems do not only depend on the semantic level, i. e. specific content related to the conceptualizing and ceasing of the sacred, but also in the "semioticity" of the religious system itself. If, for example, we assume that the menorah functions as a vernacular sign, and the star as a relatively recently derived form of a mainly institutional sign, the fact that the Star of David dominates the Judaic sacrosphere in contemporary Europe may indicate some changes that also affect this variant of the sacrosphere: if Judaism is an inseparable alloy of the aspects of both ethnic (national) and religious, the fact of the greatest expressiveness of the star in the studied area of the European context gives more and more prominence to the former.

The above compilation of research material thus seems to support the thesis about the growing importance of the [S] as a determinant of the Judaic sacrosphere and, moreover, of the semiotic appropriating of territories once defined mainly by other symbols. Semiotically, it translates as a fortitive process of *spreading*, while the [M] is undergoing the process of semiotic lenition and delinking the sacred component. Within the distribution of semiotic tendencies called centrifugal and centripetal identification, the Magen David was also identified as a semiotic exponent of a semiosphere boundary. It is used exclusively when the Judaic denomination is juxtaposed in immediate adjacency with other denominations. For example, when the marker of Moses Tablets appears as co-text with verbal texts, their inclusion in the sphere of Judaism is currently marked by adding a star. Hence, the star also works in this context as a boundary object, or in other words: a diacritic. It would mean that in the realm of the contemporary European Judaism sacrosphere there is more emphasis on the separation form rather than on forming in-group dynamics. The findings thus show how visual imagery is a potent form for capturing the transformation of inter- and intra-group forces. The final goal of the research was also to document subsequent layers of phenomenological contact within the

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[46] We must not forget that that Hamsa sign is equally prominent and historically embedded in Muslim denomination.

semiosphere that is disappearing from contemporary Europe and to show how intricate and inspiring its signage is.

**Appendix 1 Tokens of the database of hieratic markers**

**[1] Jewish cemeteries**





Fig. 1A. Upper panel: Views of fragments of the inactive Jewish cemetery in Biała (Opolskie Voivodeship, Poland). Lower panel: (left) example of stela symbolism, Poland. Biała. (middle) Szczebrzeszyn. (right) Kazimierz (Old Cemetery). Visible among others, stones placed on tombstones - the equivalent of flowers as a commemoration function in European culture.

Fig. 2A. Left and middle: Contemporary signage in the new Jewish cemetery, Lublin. Right: monument at the entrance to a new cemetery in Kraków.



Fig. 3A. The Jewish cemetery in Szczebrzeszyn (Poland). Left: monument to the fallen. Right: information board at the entrance to the cemetery.



Fig 4A. Lublin: the new cemetery, containing tombs of the tragically deceased during the war.
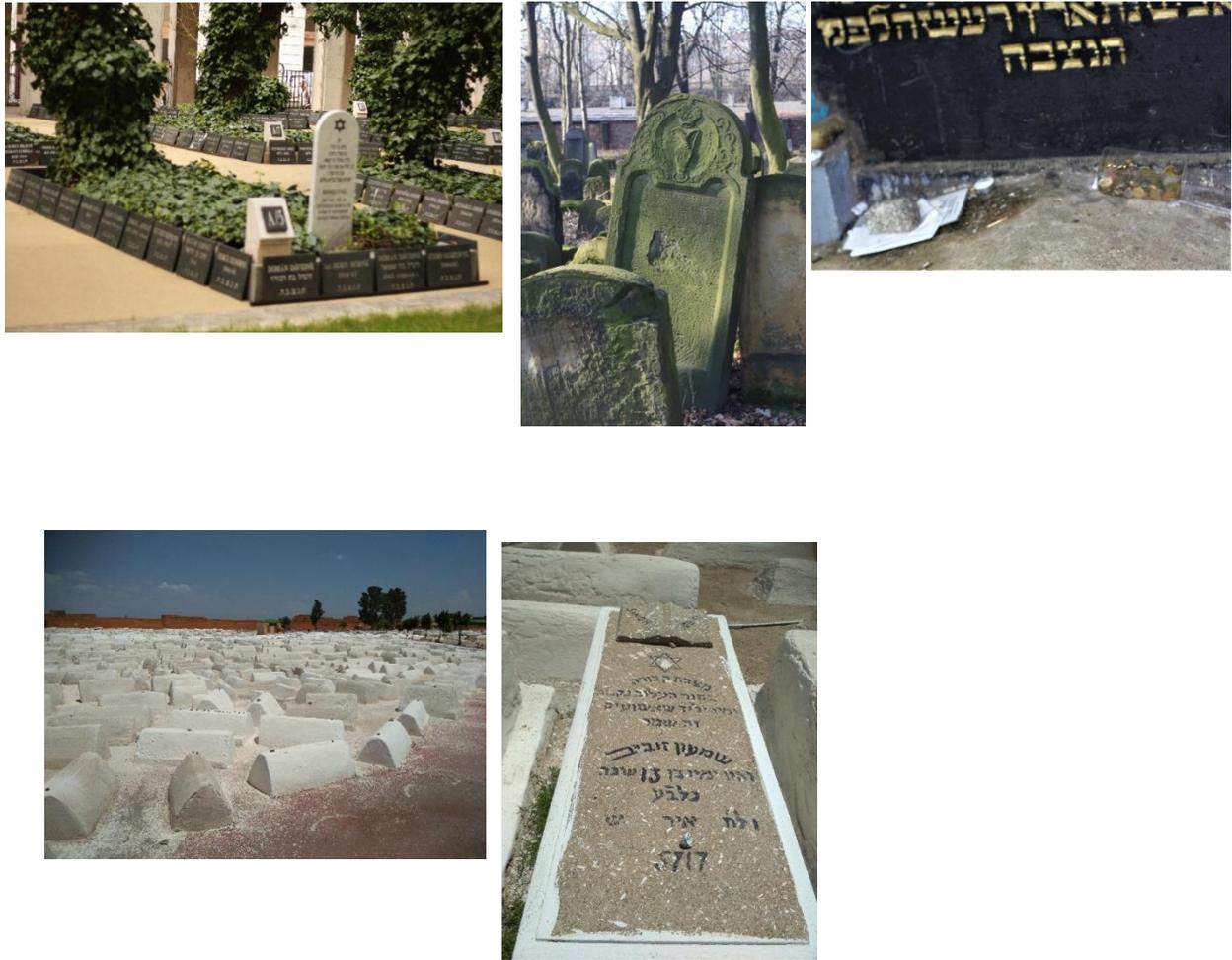
Fig. 5A. Upper panel: (left) cemetery of the Budapest inhabitants fallen during the war in front of Nagy Synagogue, Budapest. (right and middle) New Jewish cemetery, Kraków. (Poland). Lower panel: Jewish cemetery in Marrakesh (Morocco).



Fig . 6A. Jewish cemetery (Judisches Friedchof), Kraków am Zee (Germany).

## [2]. Heritage sites and tourism



Fig. 7A. Left and centre: Textuality and signage at the active synagogue in Daugavpils, Latvia. Right: commemorative plaque on a monument in Kazimierz (Kraków). Bottom right: information board in the synagogue in Liptovsky Mikulaš (Slovakia).



Fig. 8A. Left and middle: A view of a memorial stone in Kazimierz, Kraków. Right: Prayer house Kowea Itim le-Tora in Kraków (ul. Józefa 42). The inscription on the building most likely means "take time for the Torah" (after and before renovation).
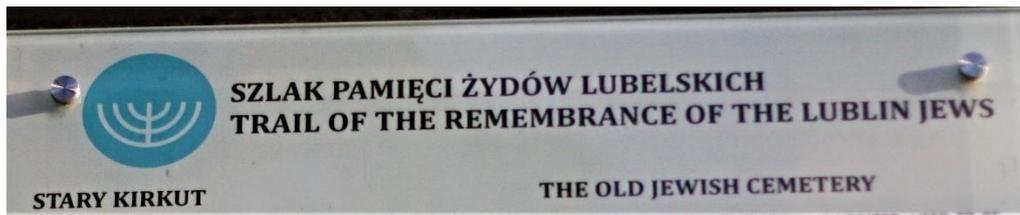
Fig. 9A. Upper panel: Markers on information board in Lublin (Poland). Middle (left): a plaque on the hoses of Maimonides (Moses ben Maimon) – a  medieval Sephardic Jewish philosopher. (right) Name of a street in a former Jewish quarter in Jaen, Spain. Bottom left: marker on a synagogue (currently a museum), in Tomar (Portugal). Bottom right: information board for Synagogue  Museum in Sopron (Hungary)

Fig. 10A Left: The cover from a freely distributed leaflet from the exhibition "Jews between the fronts," Museum of Judaism in Munich. Right: Photo taken in the former Jewish quarter of Dubrovnik.



Fig. 11A. Holocaust in artistic sculpture. Left: sculpture standing in front of the Kaunas synagogue (Choralinė Sinagoga - choral synagogue). Middle: a plaque commemorating the deportation of the Jewish population during the war from Bardejovice (Slovakia). Right: sculpture on the Holocaust memorial in the grounds of the Great Synagogue in Budapest.

Fig. 12A. Upper panel (left): Lublin. (right) Kraków. Middle panel (left, middle): Kraków. (right) Cordova. Lowest panel: Sample entrance tickets to heritage sites: (left) Kraków synagogue complex. (middle, right) Marrakesh.
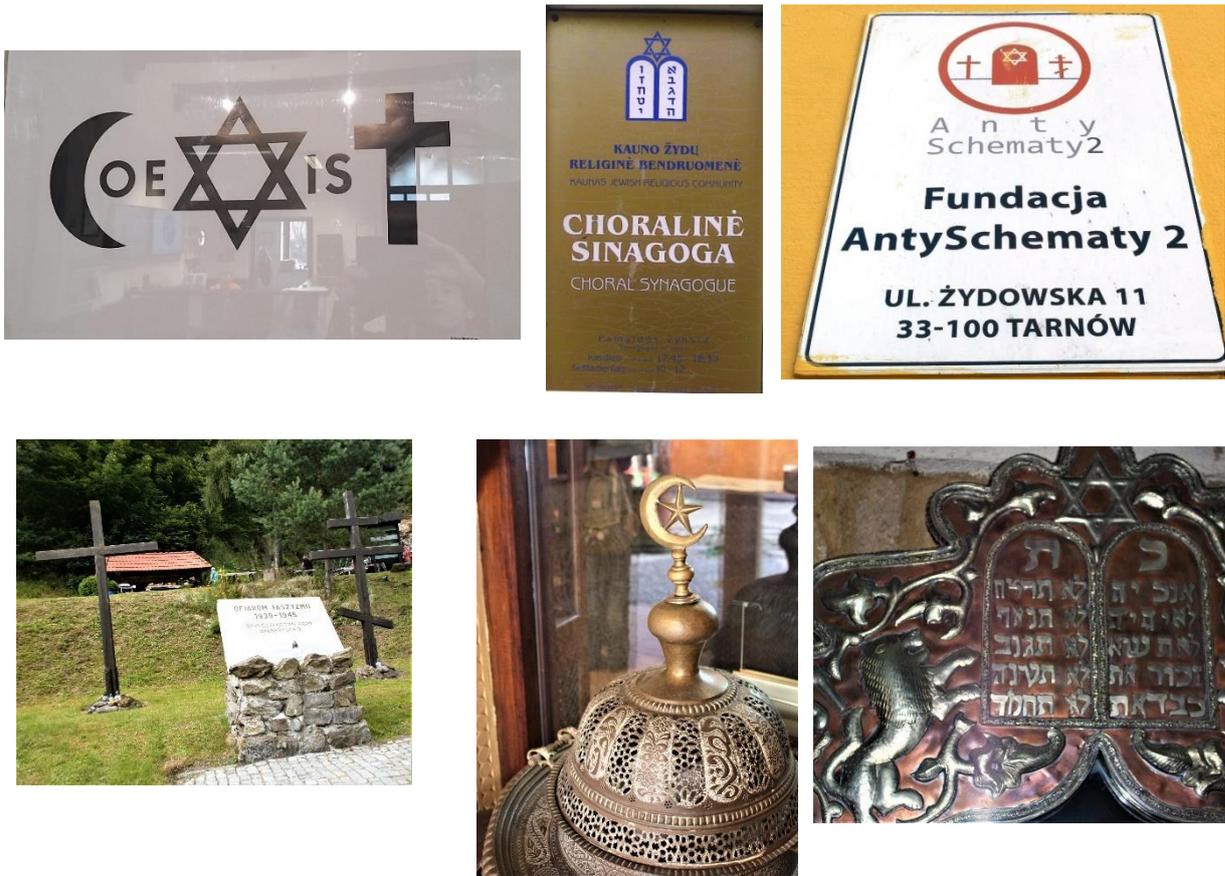
Fig. 13A. [S] as a boundary object. Upper panel (left): a sign at the Gliwice Museum. (middle) Information board in front of the Kaunas synagogue (Choralinė Sinagoga - choral synagogue, Kaunas. (right) Information board in Tarnów. Lower panel: (left) signage in the form of crosses near the entrance to the Walim mine (Poland). (middle and right) Exhibits in Casa de Sefarad (Corbova, Spain).

Fig. 14A. Semiotic markers on gastronomic establishments in the Jewish district of Kazimierz (Kraków). Left: Hamsa restaurant. Middle and right: Ariel restaurant.
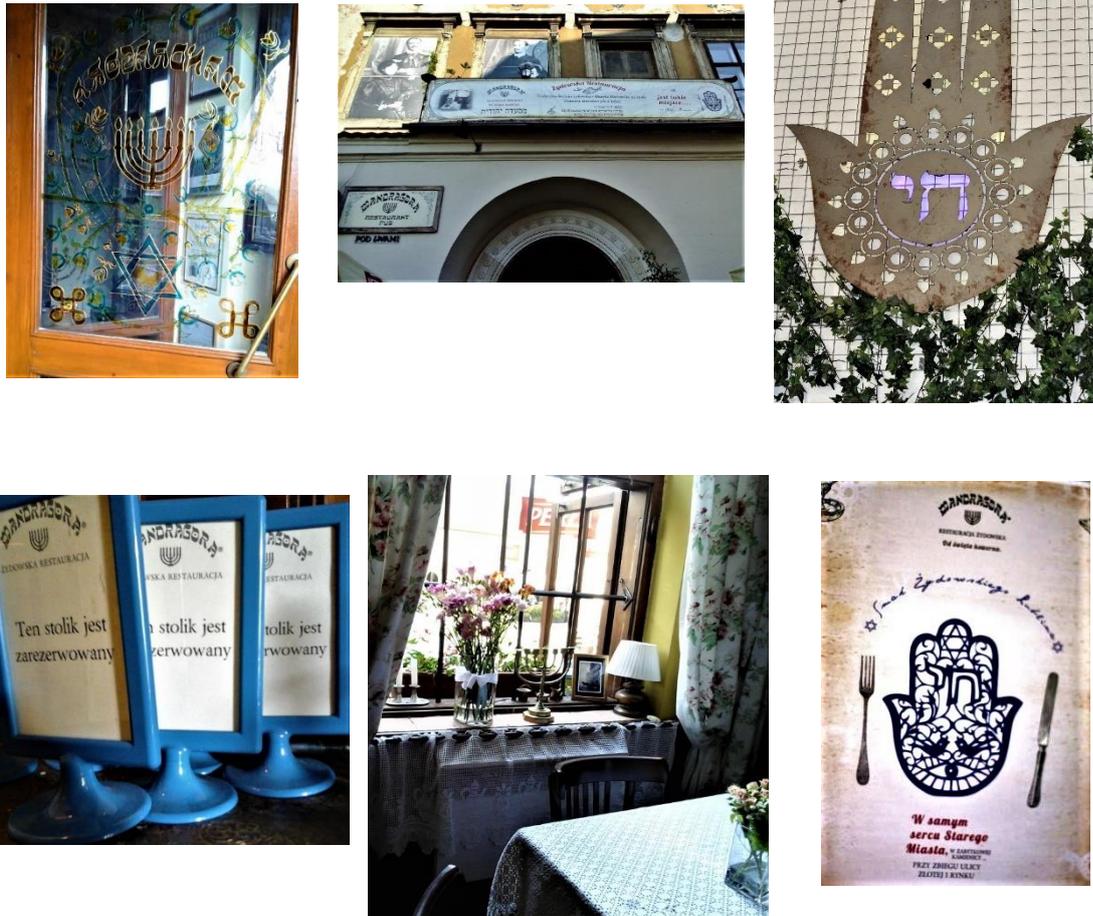
Fig. 15 A. Catering contexts: Upper panel (left and middle): catering establishment Mandragora (Lublin). (right) Hamsa restaurant (Kraków). Lower panel (left and middle): catering establishment Mandragora (Lublin). (right): Hamsa restaurant (Kraków) (menu).



Fig. 16A. Souvenirs – Judaica, sold in front of the Nagy synagogue Budapest (2014).
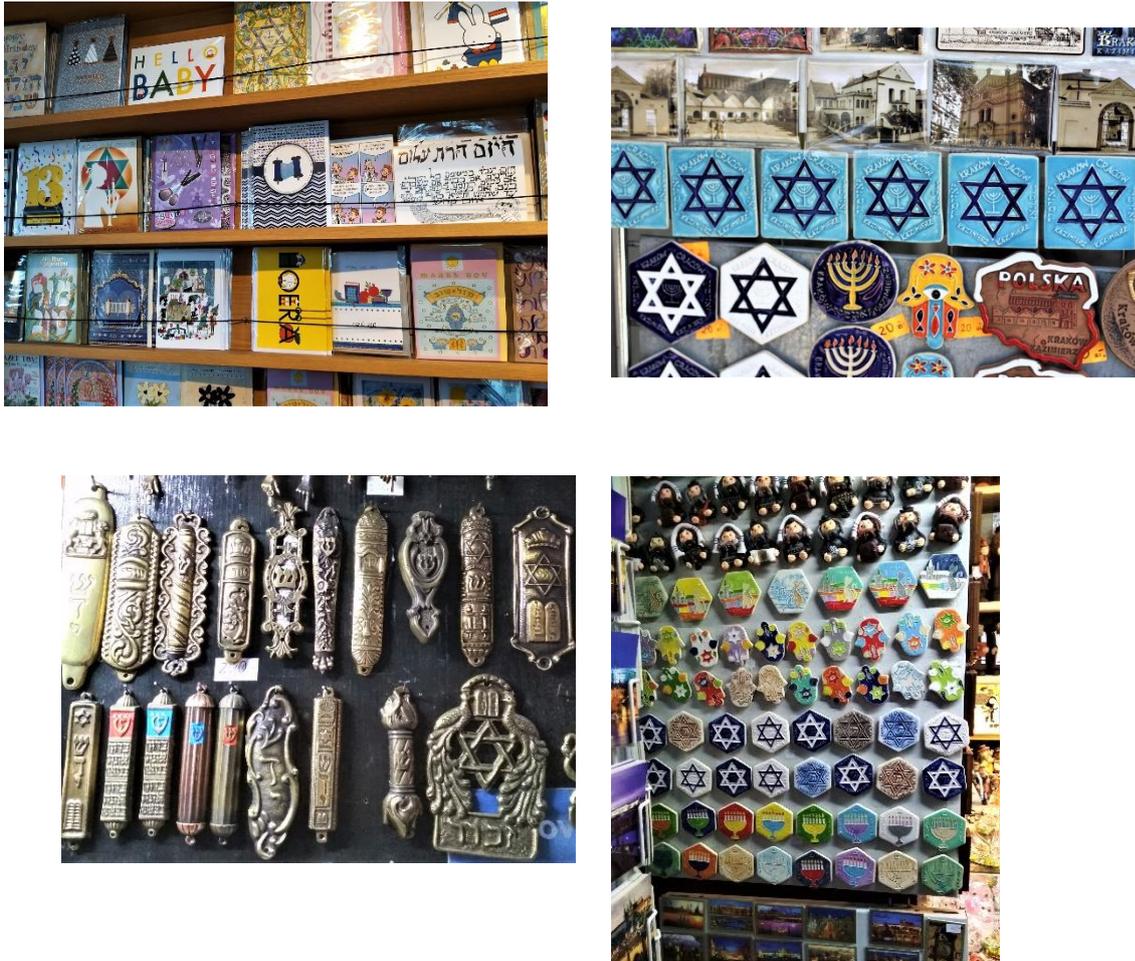
Fig. 17A. Upper panel: (left) Souvenirs postcards sold in Portuguese synagogue, Amsterdam. (right) Kraków, Kazimierz. Lower panel (left): souvenirs in Bocian synagogue (Wrocław). (right) Prague.

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