

Boundary mechanisms in adverts from Silesian Catholic periodicals from the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries

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Abstract. The paper provides an empirical study of semiotic mechanisms of culture. We apply the methodology developed by the Tartu-Moscow School of Semiotics, building also on the criteria of boundary-work dynamics to examine a collected corpus of adverts appearing in Silesian Catholic periodicals (in German and in Polish) from the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. We discuss the cultural implications of the differences and similarities in German and Polish ads and propose functional explanations of the results in terms of the notion of boundary configurations in a region as a particular structuring of cultural codes. The two analytical axes are the social boundary implicated in the use of German vs. Polish on the parameter of ‘sacred’ (*sacrum*) reference, and the symbolic border in the use of Fraktur (German script) versus Antiqua (Latin script) (boundary objects).

Keywords: advertising, boundary, Catholic media, German, Polish

Introduction¹

Phenomena that are 'random' from the point of view of language cannot be ignored: they are working mechanisms in the semiotic structure of culture and a way to describe them must be sought. Hence the most pressing demand is for research into the semiotic nature of untranslatability and into different kinds of culturally created noise, as also into the degree of intersection of the various codes active in a single culture system. (Lotman, J. 1974[1973]: 304)

Explaining cross-national variegation through the relative salience of symbolic or social boundaries is of crucial concern for boundary-work literature.² However, the major bulk of the research is done from cultural or discourse analysis studies and concentrates on the importance of 'the region' in the contemporary world. This work is innovative in two aspects: it takes a semiotic perspective (using the version elaborated by the Tartu-Moscow School of Semiotics, henceforth TMS) on issues related to 'the region', and, secondly, it examines the functioning of boundaries in the region from an historical perspective. Based on a qualitative analysis of a collected corpus of adverts appearing in Silesian Catholic periodicals (in German and in Polish) from the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, the article isolates semiotic mechanisms operative in boundary work in the region as catalysts for cultural change and religious consciousness.

The study of adverts, which, at first glance, constitute merely indirect evidence for societal phenomena, has the advantage of drawing on a first-hand source

¹ This article is drawn from a larger semiotic project in which we investigate advertising in Catholic Silesian periodicals from the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Readers are referred to Haładewicz-Grzelak and Lubos-Koziel (2012) for a more detailed description of corpus materials as a representative sample, and an analysis of the pragmatic situation in the area at the time. Also, some CDA conclusions, including, e.g., the use of honorifics in the database, are reported there. We would like to thank Małgorzata Goc for insights and discussion on some of the issues raised in this paper. We are indebted to both SSS reviewers for their helpful and constructive comments, which guided our revision of the paper. In what follows, we will refer to Reviewer A or B when addressing their respective remarks. We use a dichotomist divide, introduced by Mircea Eliade, of 'the sacred' and 'the profane'. Its Latin version, which is widely used in many European languages, is *sacrum* and *profanum*.

² For example, Yuval-Davis and Stoetzler (2002: 331) assume that "collectivity boundaries are constructed by the imagination in specific ways that are affected and – to differing degrees – determined by the situated positioning – both socially and politically – of those who do the imagining". Hernes provides an exhaustive overview of boundary literature and elaborates his own model of composite boundaries according to "the mechanisms that govern what goes on inside them" (cf. Hernes 2004: 12). See also Bail 2008 for an overview on the topic of boundary research and the application of the symbolic boundary concept, and Felgenhauer 2010 for a case study of symbolic regionalization within the framework of argumentation analysis.

produced by the very social players in the area under study. This makes it independent from official statistics, either German and Polish (which might be slanted on either side), on the basis of which large societal tendencies can be extracted. This we consider to be a contribution the article makes to the existing knowledge and assumptions about the phenomena being studied.

The empirical material on which the analysis is based was compiled from the following sources:

- (1) two Silesian Catholic periodicals of a strictly religious character and published in German, which were targeted mainly at clergy:
 - The weekly *Schlesisches Kirchenblatt* (henceforth *SCHK*), which had the subtitle *Eine Zeitschrift für Katholiken aller Stände zur Beförderung des religiösen Sinnes*, and which appeared from 1835 till 1885;
 - *Schlesisches Pastoralblatt* (henceforth *SCHP*), published in the period 1880–1942; throughout the first five years it was published in parallel with *SCHK* and took over its place after its insolvency. For over 30 years, it was issued as a bi-weekly, and from 1912 as a monthly. Starting from 1930 *SCHP* changed its title and scope, becoming a journal for several dioceses as *Ostdeutsches Pastoralblatt für Erzbistum Breslau, Bistümer Meissen, Danzig und Berlin*;
- (2) two Silesian periodicals issued in Polish, which, while Catholic in profile, covered a thematically wider range:
 - *Zwiastun Górnoszlązki* (henceforth *ZG*) issued in the years 1868–1872;
 - *Katolik* (henceforth *K*) appearing between 1868–1931.

The rationale applied in order to sample and select certain issues from the analysed periodicals was as follows.³ In the pilot study, all issues of *SCHK* and *SCHP* available in libraries in Opole, Katowice and Wrocław were scrutinized. It was established that before 1850 *SCHK* almost exclusively published advertisements or notes recommending Catholic books only. Publicity for commodities other than books (art products and church accessories) only started to appear in the 1850s. This was why we decided to start our analysis in the 1850s, when ads for commodities other than formation books and devotional books started to appear. The *terminus ad quem* was established as the outbreak of World War I, which was a significant caesura in the diocese's history, since after the war the Breslau diocese was divided, with a part of Upper Silesia going to Poland. Although it was not a large area in terms of territory, the move implied losing a significant number of the Catholic population and, obviously, diocese members. Apart from this, World War I was also a caesura in the growth of the market for art and devotional accessories,

³ In fact, the range of investigated periodicals was much wider than the periodicals listed above. We selected for the main study only these which published advertisements.

and in the development of publicity. The pilot study showed that the period spanning a few years before the World War I, the war itself and a few post-war years, was marked by a considerable decrease in advertising. The advertisements that reappeared within *SCHP* in the interwar period show considerable disparities in comparison with pre-war examples.

To the chosen assortment of German periodicals, encompassing the years 1850–1914, we intended to match an analogical set of Polish Catholic journals. However, Polish periodicals started to be issued in Silesia much later than the German ones. Moreover, the first journals of this type, issued starting from 1848 (e.g. *Dziennik Górnos Śląski*), were of an ephemeral character. Hence, the subject of our analysis could only be *ZG* and *K*, which started to appear from 1868, continued to be published over a substantial period of time, and can thus be assumed to have been the first important Silesian Catholic periodicals issued in Polish.⁴

Apart from *ZG*, which only came out for five years, it was not possible to inspect all the issues from all the volumes, given the long period of publication of the analysed journals, but we attempted to create a representative sample, with content taken from several different years in each decade. The texts for this research thus constitute a corpus of advertisements appearing in all source periodicals, which was compiled in the form of digital photos. The photos were then classified into categories subsuming the type of commodity and, finally, typically semiotic regularities in the carrier of the message were singled out. This final stage of research is what we report in this paper.⁵

As supplementary (comparative) sources, the following publications were used:

- *Schlesische Zeitung* – the most influential Silesian (secular) newspaper of the time, published in German in the years 1742–1944; selected issues from the years 1855, 1875, 1885, 1895, 1905, 1911 and 1912 were consulted;
- *Górnos Ślązak* – an important Upper Silesian (secular) newspaper issued in Polish, published in the years 1902–1933; selected issues from the years 1902–1905 were consulted (the earliest accessible matching the main sources);

⁴ It must be stressed that the Silesian Polish press under analysis was not issued by the Polish state, because, at the time, Poland as a nation was non-existent. During that period, the Polish press in Silesia was purely regionally based, and it must be emphasized that such publications were allowed by the German authorities: the periodicals in questions were not “illegal”, although they often openly advocated “patriotic” feelings towards a non-existent Poland. The niche status of Polish periodicals in Silesia is also exemplified by the fact that the two journals under analysis competed for readership and eventually only *K* managed to remain on the market, while *ZG* went out of business in 1872.

⁵ Of course, diachronic changes also appeared in such a slicing (e.g., connected with the gradual intensification of mass production and expansion of the art market or with political and ideological factors, such as, e.g. the Unification of Germany, *Kulturkampf*, and the intensification of nationalist ideologies), but on this level of analysis they could not be addressed.

- directory (*Adressbuch*) appearing in Oppeln (Opole), from 1907 and 1911;
- schematism (*Schematismus*, i.e., diocese directory) of the Breslau diocese – years 1867, 1887–1892.

Since our article will be devoted to an analysis of advertising published in the Catholic press in Silesia, there might be merit in briefly characterizing the socio-pragmatic situation in the area at that time in relation to our analysis in order to contextualize our discussion. This region belonged to the Prussian state during the analysed period, and subsequently, from 1871 to the German Reich,⁶ was inhabited by a population that was diverse in many respects. In the Prussian Silesian Province, which also encompassed the former Czech County of Glatz (Kłodzko) and a part of Oberlausitz (Górne Łużyce), the size of the Catholic and Protestant populations was more or less even. According to the census from 1846, 48.2% of the population declared themselves Catholic and 50.8% – Protestant. The 1885 data give the population as 52.8% Catholic and 46.1% Protestant. Although the overall percentage splits more or less equally between the two main religious denominations, their territorial distribution was visibly uneven. According to data from 1846, the most Catholic one among the three Silesian regencies (administrative districts) was the Oppeln Regency, encompassing Upper Silesia (88.6% of the population was Catholic and 9.7% Protestant). The Breslau Regency was inhabited by a population that was 39.5% Catholic and 59.5% Protestant. The Liegnitz (Legnica) Regency contained only 15.5% Catholics and 84.2% Protestants (Janczak 1967; Michalkiewicz 1970: 125–128, 136–138, 375–380; Michalkiewicz 1976: 60–62).

Catholics were not the dominant religious group in Silesia; nevertheless, this province, against the background of the purely Protestant Brandenburg or Pomerania districts, was perceived as an important centre of Catholicism in the remit of the Prussian state. Among Silesian cities, Breslau was of essential importance as a Catholic cultural centre, both academically and editorially. Being the diocesan capital, it was where the major Silesian Catholic periodicals were published. Some towns in Upper Silesia also served the function of Catholic cultural and editorial centers, e.g. Oppeln, Königshütte (Chorzów) or Deutsch Piekar (Piekary Śląskie) – the latter as a popular pilgrimage destination.

Apart from religious diversity, the population in Silesia was also ethnically and linguistically variegated. Although German was the dominant and official language in the region, a significant percentage of the inhabitants, especially in the

⁶ In this work, we are not considering the parts of the Silesia region which remained under Habsburg rule. As far as taxonomy is concerned, we use the German place names, which were binding in the analysed period. Additionally, at the first mention of a given topological name, we give in brackets the contemporary Polish name of this place.

rural areas, spoke Polish (or rather, Silesian, a vernacular variation of the standard). The scope of the Polish language in the 19th century was gradually diminishing in Lower Silesia; however, it was still used in the regions of, e.g. Breslau, Ohlau (Oława) or Groß Wartenberg (Syców), which was also called “Polnisch Wartenberg”. Nevertheless, the largest Polish-speaking population inhabited Upper Silesia: according to Czapliński et al., its numbers are estimated to have comprised as much as 60% of the total (Czapliński et al. 2002: 261). In the Breslau diocese, the Upper Silesian Catholic population that spoke Polish constituted a considerable percentage of the believers, whose needs were catered to in both pastoral services and in Catholic publications.

The discussion to follow relates to boundary-work theories through the paradigm of the Tartu-Moscow School of structural semiotics, especially the pragmatic research of Boris Uspenskij. The TMS almost exclusively studied semiotics of culture. Practically, this implies that for the TMS culture was the principal vantage point for their research: semiotics as a method for studying culture and linguistic phenomena (Lotman, M. 2002a: 11). The Tartu scholarship is characterized by the conviction that “culture is grounded in semiotic mechanisms, implicated in the protection of signs and texts, but also in the circulation and change of these signs and texts, and finally, in the introduction of new signs and new information” (Lotman, M. 2002a: 13; my translation, M. H.-G).

The Tartu scholars assumed that all material from the history of culture could be studied both from the point of view of particular content information and from the point of view of the system of social codes that allow one to express this information through specific signs and make it property of these or other human collectives. This second aspect – culture as a complex hierarchy of codes – is of interest for the taxonomist of cultures because each type of encoding of historical-cultural information appears connected with root forms of social self-consciousness, the organization of a collective, and the self-organization of personality (Lotman, J. 2002a: 57).

Juri Lotman further claims that any cultural text (culture type) can be studied as a single text with a single code, or as a combination of texts, with a corresponding combination of codes. Within this, the combination of codes can be purely mechanical: consisting of a given sum of texts, which basically cannot be deciphered with one common code, or it can appear to be structured: it might include texts in need of different codes only on a particular level. On other levels, they can be deciphered with one signing system. In the latter case, two different cultural codes can be regarded as variants of an invariant scheme (Lotman, J. 2002a: 57).

Along these lines, we examine the prominence in the cultural system of a given opposition: how productive a difference in a code is and in what way (in Marinetti's

terminology, what is its functional load). We propose transposing the prominence factor directly into the mechanics of boundary formation. As Tilly (2004: 223) points out, “[a]ctivation of a boundary consists of its becoming more salient as an organizer of social relations on either side of it, of social relations across it, or of shared representations on either side. Deactivation consists of a decline in that boundary’s salience”. These levels of prominence will be traced through semiotic aspects of the font used and the presence/absence of thematic realms in a particular language code as a function of the context of appearance.

Tilly (2004: 214) minimally defines a border as “any contiguous zone of contrasting density, rapid transition, or separation between internally connected clusters of population and/or activity”. As an inherent part of any cultural text, borders were ever present as an object of study in works of Tartu scholarship. In his later work, Lotman formalizes this aspect as “one of the primary mechanisms of semiotic individuation” (Lotman, J. 2000: 131). As Andrews and Maximova (2008: 260) point out, for Lotman, *boundedness* is the primary mechanism for semiosis, and boundaries as such are most often defined as “multiplicities of internal and external bilingual filters and membranes that facilitate permeability and fluidity and accelerate semiotic processes”.

It might be posited that there are various levels implicated in creating cultural boundaries, and, accordingly, the prominence and interrelation of areas in between these borders. The opposition which is crucial for our argument is the one between social and symbolic boundaries (Lamont, Molnár 2002). The latter were proposed as being “conceptual distinctions made by social actors [...] [that] separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership”. Social boundaries, on the other hand, are defined as “objectified forms of social differences manifested in unequal access to an unequal distribution of resources [...] and social opportunities” (Lamont, Molnár 2002: 168). Of course, “symbolic boundaries are a ‘necessary but insufficient’ condition for the creation or modification of social boundaries and should therefore be viewed as ‘equally real’” (Bail 2008: 39).⁷

⁷ A caveat is of merit here. As Reviewer A points out, the distinction between symbolic boundary and social boundary, which is taken for granted in most boundary studies, should be further problematized when reframed in Lotman’s semiotics of culture, since in semiotics there is no social boundary that is not primarily symbolic. We fully agree with this stipulation: the priority of the symbolic boundary is taken as an axiom in this paper. In other words, all boundaries are “underlyingly” symbolic. Only through social, secondary reinforcement, can a symbolic boundary be transformed in social consciousness into what in social studies is referred to as a “social” boundary. See also Uspenskij (1975b: 222; my translation, M. H.-G): “[I]t is precisely the ‘frames’, either as directly marked boundaries of the painting (in the particular, its frame) or specific forms of composition – that organize the painting and bestow on it the symbolic value of meaning”. Also, Reviewer B proposes that for our analysis we could use the

Of crucial importance to our analysis is the notion of ‘region’ from a discursive perspective: Following Felgenhauer, we adopt the stance that “[t]he factors that constitute regionalization are not assumed to be found in any natural, ethnic or historic substance but in discursive and linguistic practices and power relations” (Felgenhauer 2010: 64). Pearce and Wodak (2010: 4) point out the pivotal aspect of the region and the ideological battles around it: “as an administrative category, ‘the region’ is at the frontline of most nations’ attempts to control or manage their populations’ sense of ‘home and belonging’ in both local and global contexts”. The region, “as a political and ideological category can challenge, if not transcend, national boundaries” (Pearce, Wodak 2010: 4). Silesia, as a region heterogeneous in terms of ethnicities, religious denominations and linguistic varieties, seems particularly suitable for this type of studies.

In terms of the analytical framework, one crucial aspect should be emphasized here. Although Juri Lotman was a leading scholar and the most prominent figure of the Tartu circle, his method of semiotic analysis should by no means be considered the only viable one for the Tartu School. In fact, his views somehow differed from e.g. Toporov’s or Ivanov’s (cf. Żółkiewski 1975). The impact and uniqueness of the TMS to a large extent derived from the symbiotic combination of several points of view, in particular, those of scholars whose primary background was literature, and of those with a linguistic and pragmatic bias such as Uspenskij. We feel the type of discussion adduced here is closer to the linguistic approach to semiotic phenomena of Uspenskij (who in turn seems to be deeply influenced by Roman Jakobson’s oeuvre), and to structural insights from Andrej Zalizniak.⁸

Moreover, the present research topic involves investigation of the sacred dimension as a separate cultural code. This aspect is particularly salient in the works of Alexander Piatigorski and Boris Uspenskij (e.g. Uspenskij 1985, 1975a; Piatigorski

naming theories that occupy an important position in the school’s theory. We agree that this could be a potentially viable paradigm; however, the framework is already too complex to include another analytical coordinate. We could, however, briefly recall here that, for example, according to Lotman and Uspenskij (1978: 213) “the general meaning of the proper name is essentially tautological: a name is not characterized by distinctive features, but only designates the object to which the given name is attached; several objects having the same name do not necessarily share any special properties, except the property of possessing the given name.”

⁸ Also, as Żółkiewski (1975: 9) further observes, particular Tartu scholars differed in a marked way, especially as concerns “linguistic idealization”. For example, the first sentence of Uspenskij’s work, which analyses linguistic factors that condition Russian religious consciousness, reads: “The subject of this article is closely connected with the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis postulating the possibility of a linguistic influence on diverse aspects of human culture” (Uspenskij 1975a: 179). See also Żyłko 2010 for a detailed analysis of Tartu semiotics.

1974).⁹ As Uspenskij (1974) pointed out, the study of religious consciousness can be most revealing for the investigation of the interrelationship of language and culture “due to its relative stability and fixedness as well as to the canonic nature and the limited number of texts which modify it” (Uspenskij 1974: 177). Zalizniak et al. (1975) assume that data concerning religion, like data concerning language, can belong to two types: either one produced consciously, or one produced subconsciously. Subconscious data are of particular value to the study of automated programming: by not belonging to the sphere of conscious manipulation, they are more credible. More importantly, the combining of the subconscious with a meaning consciously conferred to that behaviour can be a very effective method for investigating systems of the S_r type (Zalizniak et al. 1975: 81f).

Transposing Jakobson’s views on poetic language, we formalize the results in the hierarchy of particular codes: according to Jakobson, as cited in Eagle (1977: 38), the evolution is “not so much a question of the disappearance of certain elements and the emergence of others as it is the question of shifts in the mutual relationships among the diverse components of the system, in other words, a question of the shifting dominant”.

To analyse our empirical data, we singled out three pivotal axes along which our discussion will develop:

- (1) the use of Polish/German and other languages in ads along the parameter of the commodity type;
- (2) the use of Fraktur/the use of Antiqua;
- (3) the absence/presence of national and regional aspect in the database.

According to general structuralist tenets, we will concentrate mainly on the constitutive relations between these axes. The context for the study was as follows:

- ads appearing in German and in Polish in German Catholic journals;
- ads appearing in Polish and in German in Polish Catholic journals.

For comparison, the following contexts were also investigated:

- ads appearing in the German secular press;
- ads appearing in the Polish secular press.

⁹ We might mention here another seminal elaboration by Piatigorsky and Zilberman (1976), in which a study of semiotic aspects and a-semiotic aspects of the word *lakṣaṇā* in the texts of *Upaniṣads* is reported, and which relies on symbolic boundary work for some analytical categories, e.g., “[t]he elimination of ‘sign’ and the concomitant ensurance of the ‘un-sign’ situation presumes the refutation of the ‘unseen polemist’” (Piatigorsky, Zilberman 1976: 259). The polemist that the scholars saw purely in the contextual studies of one word could be precisely indentified: “The exponents of these teachings [Buddhism and other heterodoxical teachings] were undoubtedly the ‘unseen opponents’ who refused to follow the esoteric Brahmanical path (or simply were not allowed to) and so forced the masters of *Upaniṣads* to burst out with unprecedented semiotic activities, in order to assimilate or eliminate the newcomers” (Piatigorsky, Zilberman 1976: 260).

2. Polish versus German on a parameter of the symbolic boundary of 'sacred' reference

The compiled comparative database of items from the German daily secular press from the period did not feature any ads in Polish. In *Schlesische Zeitung*, even Polish-sounding names occurred only sporadically and can be assumed to be of marginal occurrence. The situation was symmetrical in the case of the Polish secular press database (e.g. *Górnoślązak*): no ad in German appeared in the scrutinized dataset.¹⁰ However, German-sounding names and surnames,¹¹ although sporadic, were to be found, e.g., in an ad advertising the sale of flour and noodles: *Siegfried Grünthal, Katowice, Fryderykowska 40* (see Fig. 1). This ad is interesting semiotically because the German name of the street is “Polonized”: the administrative name at the time was *Friedrichstrasse* and definitely not “Fryderykowska”.¹² This tack might be interpreted as a strategy to enhance the ‘Polishness’ of the ad, balancing the German surname, possibly to augment the commercial effect.

In general, ads in the Polish secular press freely used the German orthographic versions of street names with Polish inflections, or gave one of them in parenthesis, e.g. *Ul. Grundmanna 34* [freshly baked wheat bread recommended by Edward Restel. Grundmann Street 34]; *Wrocław. Kreuzstr. 47, Breslau, Kreuzstr. 47* [an advert for a boardinghouse for “maids attending scientific establishments”]; *ul. Rycerska (Ritterstr.) 9*. [Rycerska Street (Ritterstr.) 9]; *ul. Św. Jana (Johannesstrasse)* [St. John’s Street (Johannesstrasse)]. However, ads stressing the national factor usually chose only the Polish version, e.g., ads from the series *Swój do swego*: [which might be translated “as birds of a feather (we should) keep together”]:¹³ e.g., *ul. Pocztowa nr. 10* [Pocztowa Street No 10]; *ul. Krakowska 43* [Krakowska Street 43].

The boundary on the national parameter runs differently in Catholic



Figure 1. Fragment of an advert placed in *Górnoślązak*, advertising the grocery shop of Siegfried Grünthal.

¹⁰ This is ideologically understandable, since under the title heading *Górnoślązak* there were two inscriptions: “A journal dedicated to issues of the Polish people in Silesia” and another “Parents! Teach your children to write and read Polish!” Also, one of the articles in 1905 was entitled “*Hekatyści znowu skarżą*” [Hakata members are accusing again].

¹¹ We assumed that the first name carried a stronger load regarding nationality than a surname.

¹² Currently the name of the street is *ul. Warszawska* [Warsaw Street].

¹³ In this series, we also found an ad for a producer of church accessories, which openly stated “*Proszę mnie jako rodaka wspierać*” [Please support me as your compatriot]. Indeed, the lion’s share of the market for church accessories in the period was taken by German producers.

periodicals, both German and Polish. The percentage of ads in the Polish language in *SCHK* and *SCHP* is considerable. However, we could only find publicity of items with direct sacred (*sacrum*) reference, such as Catholic prayer books, catholic formation books, first communion pictures and graphics, saints' images and Catholic calendars (see Fig. 2). Some are directly advertised in Polish, and there is a number that only mention that these titles are also available in Polish (authorized) translations: e.g., *Dasselbe ins Polnische von Dr Kraiński übersetzt (Firmungbüchlein)* [The same translated into Polish by Dr Kraiński (confirmation booklet)]. At the same time, both periodicals freely published all sorts of publicity in their “unmarked” (German) variety for secular commodities as well.

Im jetzigen Fastenhirtenbriefe unseres hochwürdigsten Herrn Fürstbischöf
empfohlen!

Jubiläums-Büchlein **Książeczka Jubileuszowa**
enthalten zawierająca w sobie
Unterricht und Gebete **Naukę i Modlitwy**
für das na
Jubiläum im Jahre des Heils 1875, **Jubileusz Roku Pańskiego 1875.**
von Za dozwoleńiem Zwierzchności duchownej z Niemieckiego
einem Priester der Diöcese Breslau. przełożona
Alle Rechte vorbehalten. przez Ks. Ant. Stabika.
Wir liefern auf Verlangen behufs leichter Verbreitung bereitwilligst größere Partien und nehmen Wszelkie prawo zastrzeżone.
die übrig gebliebenen Exemplare nach Ablauf des Jubiläums wieder zurück. Der Preis beträgt pro Exemplar
jeder Ausgabe 1! Sgr. und gewähren wir bei größeren Partien noch Freie Exemplare, sowie Franco-Zusendung.

G. P. Aderholz' Buchhandlung in Breslau.

Figure 2. An advert for a prayer book, appearing in *SCHP*, in which a Polish version is “embedded” in the German text.

In Catholic periodicals issued in Polish (*ZG* and *K*), ads in German (a variety across a social boundary) were also published, but they referred only to lay merchandise. As far as publicity in Polish in these journals is concerned, they advertised both lay as well as religious literature and merchandise. Among the ads of a religious character, a fact of particular saliency is that if they referred to goods or religious art from German producers or artists, they were always published in Polish. Some of them could be identified as doublets known from Catholic German Press (*SCHK*), e.g., ads for the church art producers from Breslau, Hoepfner & Co and Julius Schneider.

The ads for merchandise and services of lay character were decidedly more frequent in *ZG* and *K* than in *SCHK* and *SCHP*,¹⁴ which can be explained by the more secular character of the former periodicals as such. It is precisely in this group of announcements, where among the predominant Polish ads there ap-

peared relatively infrequent announcements in German. The insignificant number of ads in German might be reasonably explained by assuming that the journal was targeted primarily at Polish-speaking customers, and German-speaking clients simply preferred to place their offers in German periodicals, which had larger circulations – German being the superstratum variety at the time. If an ad in German was placed in a Polish Catholic newspaper, it usually had a Polish version underneath it or brief information in Polish (see Fig. 3). Notwithstanding, in the advertising of lay products the German language (sometimes also rendered in Fraktur) was allowed without any problems by the editors.¹⁵

According to the stipulations in, e.g., Lotman and Uspenskij (1975: 181), the very existence of culture presupposes the constructions of rules for transforming the immediate experiences into text. The suggestion for such a procedure could be as follows: the parameter in question can be described as BOUND^{LG}: a social boundary evidenced in the use of another language. It is parsed by another parameter, SACRED, which was ranked higher than BOUND^{LG}, which gives SACRED >> BOUND^{LG}, of course, for the sacred environment as such (Catholic press). For the non-Catholic circles, the parameter was simply non-existent. The overall specification of presence/absence of ads in the “other language” is as follows:

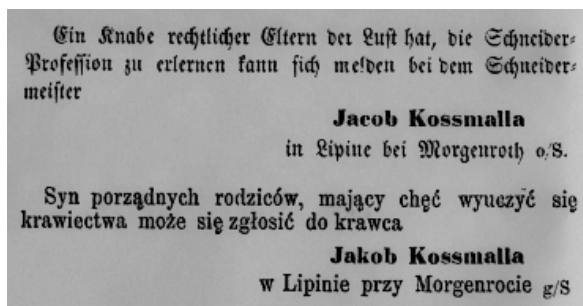


Figure 3. An advert with versions in German and Polish, placed in *Z*.

¹⁴ Among the secular publicity in the Polish Catholic press, we might for example mention a heavily advertised gun producer (their ads could be placed just beneath the ads promoting the sale of the portraits of Pope Pius IX), ever-present wine ads, work (placement) offers for boys about 14 years old, cigars, and publicity for clothes and shops. Shops were referred to as *handel* (Pol.) which seems to be calqued from German *Handlung*. In contemporary Polish *handel* has a different, more general meaning, definitely not co-terminous with “shop”.

¹⁵ Interestingly, currently both *Z* and *K* are referred to in the literature on the period as the main bastions of Polish language and of the fight for Polishness.

	Type of press	Ads in Polish	Ads in German
1	German Catholic	+ [+sacred] only	+
2	Polish Catholic	+	+ [-sacred] only
3	German secular	-	+
4	Polish secular	+	-

Table 1. A specification with respect to the language variety as a function of the category of commodity advertised.

It might thus be inferred that written Polish in official German Catholic media of that time functioned in semiotic terms as a text on a text: it was used only to publicize high-ranked texts, which implied religious and devotional texts. Since Polish was also used to advertise some devotionalia (saints' images, First Communion graphics, etc.), the hypothesis might be posited that, on an underlying level, these artifacts were read as texts as well. They were texts with a high semiotic value, which consisted in:

- religious reference, highly ranked during the time span under analysis;
- acknowledgement that a percentage of the population of the region would feel better in observing religion in their native tongue. Accordingly, with respect to the criteria exposed by Lotman and Piatigorski, the type of culture being analysed here is of the paradigmatic type: “[1]es cultures à structure paradigmatique présentent une hiérarchie de textes unique, avec un accroissement successif de la sémiotique des textes, de telle sorte qu’au sommet se trouve le texte de la culture donnée avec les plus grands coefficients de valeur et de vérité. [Cultures of the paradigmatic structure create a unique hierarchy of texts, with a gradual increase of textual semiotics; as a result, the text which possesses the greatest coefficient of value and veracity is placed at the summit]” (Lotman, Piatigorski 1969: 212; my translation, M. H.-G).

3. “Us” versus “them” along the criterion of symbolic boundary effectuated by Fraktur versus Antiqua

For Tartu scholars, the boundary, which shows the readers that they are dealing with a text and evokes in the consciousness a chain of corresponding codes, is structurally placed in a strong position. We claim that such strong structural positions are transposable into symbolic boundaries. One such mechanism in the dataset was identified between the texts rendered in Antiqua and in Fraktur, respectively.

As Hartmann points out, “[t]he form of the script is not only a purely material carrier of meaning, which does nothing but incarnate the cognitive concepts of a language, but it also contains its own meaning component. This meaning component manifests itself as the connotative value of different types of script. Hence, the existing forms of script in a given scribing community can be connected to political, religious, symbolic or ideological meanings” (Hartmann 1999: 16; my translation, J. L.-K.).

The following discussion aims to create a semiotic map of such higher meta-levels, “which will have precise boundaries between regions, and their surfaces will have equal peripheries. A map of the level of direct communication would show the various intersections in the multi-level system of individual semiosis. In view of the non-coincidence between intersections at different levels of individual semiotic activity the boundaries here will be erased” (Lotman, J. 1974: 304).

Originating from the tradition of Gothic lettering, *Fraktur*, in German also called “*deutsche Schrift*” [German script],¹⁶ was used in the analysed period as the basic font to print text in the German language. *Antiqua*, also called “*lateinische Schrift*” [Latin script], which in the 16th century began to gradually oust the *Fraktur* script in other European countries, was commonly used in Germany to print texts in languages such as Latin, Italian, French, and English, as well as Polish; however, for texts in German it was used only sporadically. It was not until the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that the popularity of *Antiqua* in Germany started to increase. At that time, we can also observe the development of a conflict between the advocates and propagators of *Antiqua* and of *Fraktur*, which intensified with time.¹⁷ Notwithstanding, till the end of the period under analysis in this work, *Fraktur* typeface remained a primary means for printing in

¹⁶ In English elaborations, “*Fraktur*” can be subsumed also under the term *Blackletter* (Bain, Shaw 1998). The terminological conundrum implied in this type of typeface is also evidenced in other languages. For example, in Polish publications the adopted denomination for “*Fraktur*” is *pismo neogotyckie* [Neogothic script] (e.g., Górski 1978).

¹⁷ The beginning of the so-called “battle for the script” (“*Schriftkampf*”) was the publication in 1881 by a supporter of *Antiqua*, Friedrich Soenneken, of the work *Das deutsche Schriftwesen und die Notwendigkeit seiner Reform* (Bonn, Leipzig 1881). This publication provoked *Fraktur* advocates to voice arguments for the use of traditional “German script”. Together with the intensification of the debate on the script, we can witness the subsequent development of ideas coloured in nationalistic hues: to *Fraktur*, which was propagated by its supporters as a national script, proper to the “German people”, a clear German-national meaning was ascribed. “Battle for the script” was continued after World War I and also as Hitler gained power, when the views of the propagators of *Fraktur* began to be inscribed into new, national-socialist rhetoric (Hartmann 1999; see also Sturm 1955: 93). This seemed to be a “natural” semiotic process. In our framework, this would be an example of constituting boundary change through imposition, effectuated through escalation processes.

German.¹⁸ For our study, the saliency factor of the script was of course relevant only for the German part of the corpus (*SCHK*, *SCHP*), since all the texts in the Polish press (*ZG*, *K*) were printed in Antiqua (only some of the ads in German were rendered in Fraktur). Fraktur in the analysed Silesian Polish periodicals was relevant only as a derived factor of the primary processes operating in the German press. Hence, in this section we will concentrate mainly on the German press.

In the German texts printed in Fraktur, traditionally foreign words or Latin quotes were presented in Antiqua. In the 19th century Antiqua also began to be gradually introduced in German texts to enhance particular segments, e.g. proper names. Our study confirmed this secondary “strengthening”: in ads rendered in Fraktur, a German surname sporadically could be rendered in Antiqua.¹⁹ The exceptional status of such renditions in the period under analysis might imply that the presence of the symbolic boundary drew to itself other semiotic factors: foregrounding and enhancing the visibility of the sender using the previously established boundary prominence status.

In the inspected database of ads from *SCHK* and *SCHP*, there also appeared texts in languages other than German: in Latin (titles of devotional books and in the body of the corpus periodicals, reprints of parts of the Liturgy), in Italian (original titles of translated books and names of authors and artists) and in Standard Polish.²⁰ Crucially, foreign texts never appeared in Fraktur: they were always printed in Antiqua, even occasional expressions such as *vis-à-vis*. This custom also held true for other type of textual references we consulted: for example, schematisms.

¹⁸ In 1861, 78% of all books coming out of Germany were printed in Fraktur; in 1891 the percentage was 59%, and in 1928 it was 57% (Hartmann 1999: 31). In *SCHP* the main texts remained printed in Fraktur until the end of the analysed period. The official doom of the “German script” came about in 1941, when German National Socialist authorities rather unexpectedly officially banned the use of Fraktur: all in spite of the national, German connotations ascribed to Fraktur. Hitler simply assumed that since Germany was to rule the whole world, the script had to be unified and it seemed more practical to use Antiqua as a ‘*scripta franca*’ (Hartmann 1999: 245–302).

¹⁹ With the reservation that in time, the content of German texts in Antiqua increased in the collected corpus of ads. In the contextual study run on the 1920s issues, there were hardly any ads in Fraktur. It might be interpreted as a relaxation of a certain cultural constraint, but this study cannot address diachronic issues.

²⁰ We also found one ad in French in *SCHK*. It was authored by an English lady who sought work as a “*gouvernante*” in a Catholic family (“*une Demoiselle anglaise catholique qui possède de bonnes recommandations, desire trouver une place de gouvernante ou dame de compagnie dans une famille catholique*”). Interestingly, French as the code of the message was given preference over the native tongue (English) of the sender: a native speaker of English put an ad in French in a German newspaper, which might point to the existence of a secondary prominence boundary: the saliency of French over English at that time.

Admitting that Fraktur was the scribal convention of the period, we took this convention to be a point of reference (level 0) and assumed that the divergence from the established schemata, which was confirmed in general in our database, might reveal underlying semiotic mechanisms and might tell us where the borders between particular codes ran.

Fig. 4. shows an example of a meticulous mélange of fonts effectuated on the level of the sentence. The mixture is brought to such an extreme that in fact it impedes the comprehension of the content. This clear-cut divergence in the usage of Fraktur and Antiqua might point to a particular function of Fraktur in the period under scrutiny: the Fraktur script had the function of an intermediary, or a marker of the border between the margin and the centre, between “us” and “them”. Its functional load was considerable because it marked cultural inclusion and, at the same time, exclusion, [+foreign]. This process in the dataset was still operative even in the early 20th century. The fact that even quotes from psalms embedded in the main text were rendered in Antiqua, standing out in the Fraktur of the main texts, implies that Fraktur definitely did not carry any religious reference *per se* (no “sacred” reference was attached to it). Religious texts could be thus printed in either script: if they originated in German, they were rendered in Fraktur, if not in German (e.g. Gospel quotes in Latin) – in Antiqua. This corroborates our findings from the previous section: the independence of the nationalist code from the religious code at the time of the analysis.

So far we have two analytical results: (1) Fraktur in Silesian texts carried the load of incorporative/exclusive function; (2) it did not carry any religious load. Admitting these boundary-work functions of Fraktur, let us proceed to analyse the cultural status of Silesian surnames, both those appearing in the corpus periodicals and in the comparative sources (directories and schematisms). Our inquiry did not only address the ontological question of the existence of Slavic names as such, but it also tried to inspect all the possible modes in which they could be incorporated into the cultural system of the region and find out what this implies for boundary

Silesiacum folgenden Wortlaut: **ut ipsi Poloni dominum suum in tonsura et in amplitudine vestium imitantes, semper a dominica septuagesima usque in pascha ab esu carnum abstinent, et ut singulis annis de singulis familiis unum denarium cum impressione capitis sancti Johannis vel duas mensuras avene darent sancto Petro Rome pro lumine**⁴⁾. Die Cronica principum

¹⁾ Ipse (Bolezlavus) etiam beatum Adalbertum in longa peregrinatione et a sua rebelli gente Bohemica multas iniurias perpassum, ad se venientem cum magna veneratione suscepit eiusque praedicationibus fideliter et institutionibus oboedivit. Galli Chronicon, ed. Finkel et Kętrzyński p. 11. — Mit Rücksicht auf den Charakter einer „Quellenstudie“ sind fast überall die bezüglichen lateinischen Texte in ihrem ganzen Wortlaut abgedruckt.

²⁾ Et quicumque post LXX. carnem manducasse invenitur, abscisis dentibus graviter punitur, IX, 2; ed. Kunze, 240.

³⁾ Schulte, Die politische Tendenz der Cronica princ. Pol. S. 172 f.

⁴⁾ SS. rer. Sil. I, S. 10.

Figure 4. An excerpt of a text appearing in SCHP in which the boundary juggling is particularly conspicuous: Latin and Polish as foreign are carefully transposed into marked script, while ‘native’ texts (those inside the boundary) are in Fraktur. Mark the Fraktur determiner before the “Cronica princ. Pol”.

work study.²¹ While all foreign surnames were rendered according to the established pattern for foreign texts (that is, rendered in Antiqua), the issue was more complicated with respect to Slavic (regional/autochthonous) names. Fig. 5. shows a part of a page from an Oppeln directory from 1904.

Gogolof—Grabowstr.

19

Gogolof Heinrich, Arb., Klosterstr. 8	Gonsla Fern., Böttcher, Sedaustr. 86.
— Johann, Maurer, Zimmerstr. 57.	— Vinzent, Böttcher, Feldstr. 14.
— Stanislaus, Zementarb., Bleichstr. 10.	Gora Hedwig, Witwe, Breslauerstr. 12.
— Stanislaus, Maurer, Zweigstr. 4.	— Martin, Zimmermann, Sternstr. 4.
Gohl Josef, Weichensteller, Volkstr. 4.	— Nikolaus, Zigarrenarb., Kräuterei-
Goj Franziska, Witwe, Malapaner-	straße 8.
straße 11.	Gorekhi Elfriede, Postbeamtin, Flurstr. 4
— Johann, Arbeiter, Borschstr. 24.	— Vinzent, Arbeiter, Kräuterei-
— Marie, Witwe, Malapanerstr. 20.	straße 4.
— Marie, Köchin, Zimmerstr. 2.	— Ida, verw. Seifenfabrikant, Wit-
— Thomas, Arbeiter, Zweigstr. 5.	helmplatz 1.
Goligowsky Karoline, Witwe, Bleich-	Gorekto Karl, Arb., Sedaustr. 22.
straße 17.	Gorzawski Josef, Polizeiberg., Nikolai-
Gojny Arthur, Oberpostassistent, Garten-	straße 44.
straße 16.	— Josef, Lehrer, Ludwigstr. 28.
Gojowczyk Rosina, Witwe, Zimmer-	Gorzal Benedikt, Brenner, Zimmer-
straße 67.	straße 67.
Goldbach Ernst, Regierungsbaumeister,	— Franz, Eisenbahnarbeiter, Groß-
Bismarckstr. 2.	Strehlikerstr. 6.
Goldfeld Adolf, Kaufm., Krakauerstr. 38.	— Wilhelm, Klempner, Volkstr. 1.
Goldmann Anton, Hausbes., Bierverl.	Gorzulla Andreas, Schuhm., Bleich-
und Restaurateur, Flurstr. 1.	straße 88.
— Anton, Schuhm., Sebastianspl. 14.	Gottschall Adolf, Zementm., Kräuterei-
— Felz, Dr., Rabbiner, Stockstr. 4.	straße 22.
— Jakob, Kaufmann, Gartenstr. 10.	— Otto, Arbeiter, Feldstr. 8.
— Marie, Witwe, Zimmerstr. 67.	— Rudolf, Magazinverwalter, Groß-
Goldstein Harry, Kaufmann, Zimmer-	Strehlikerstr. 7.
straße 21. ☞ 249.	— Walter, Koch, Zimmerstr. 3.
Golega Emma, verw. Standesamtssek.,	Gottschling Otto, Versicherungsob-
Flurstr. 6.	inspektor, Sternstr. 14.
Goligowski Karl, Böttcher, Flurstr. 8.	Gottwald Richard, Dr., Kandidat des
Golka Heinrich, Oberpostassistent, Lud-	höheren Lehramts, Karlsplatz 2.
wigstraße 20.	— Rudolf, Eisenbahnzugführer, Groß-
Golomb Marie, Hospitalitin, Hospital-	Strehlikerstr. 5.
straße 17.	— Therese, Witwe, Ludwigstr. 8.
Golla Franz, Fuhrwerksbes., Zweig-	Gothmann Julie, Witwe, Gr.-Strehliker-
straße 29.	straße 9.
	Gowin Gottlieb, Gefängnisaufseher,

Figure 5. A part of page 19 from an Oppeln directory from 1904.

²¹ We admit that having a Slavic-sounding name or a German-sounding name does not relate in any way to self-identity and imposed identity issues of the period, which are too intricate to cover within this thematic scope. In this work, we are concentrating only on the semiotic analysis of the representative dataset and its implications for the mechanisms of culture. However, the fact of the practical inexistence of Slavic-sounding names in German everyday periodicals and vice versa, and the scarce appearance of German-sounding names in Polish daily newspapers, cannot be disregarded, either.

As can be seen, there is a certain percentage (of course, varying in particular pages) of names which are definitively not of German, but of Slavic origin. Notwithstanding, all the names in the directories, without exception, were rendered in Fraktur. Hence, the tendency in Silesian directories is the opposite of what can be detected in the remaining texts: all the names entered are ‘by default’ allotted [+ German] or, more properly, [+ regional] value.

In the analytical framework adopted, this implies the prevalence of regional boundaries over symbolic boundaries: BOUND^{RG} >> BOUND^{SYMB}. We cannot make any claims here regarding BOUND^{LG} as positioned here, because in all probability all the people listed on the directory pages spoke German, or were assumed to speak it, and the fact whether or not they also spoke Polish was irrelevant.

**Antoniewicz., ks. R., Kwiateczki Mis-
syjne. Ludowi Wielkopolskiemu na pamiątkę
Missyi odbytej w roku 1852 ofiarowane. 8. geh.
3 Sgr.**

P. Karl Antoniewicz,
Missionär der Gesellschaft Jesu.
Ein Lebensbild
von
Dr. Ferdinand Spiel,

Figure 6. Adverts from SCHK with the surname of a preacher (Antoniewicz) written in Antiqua or Fraktur.

The rendering of Slavic (Polish) surnames in the corpus journals was more intricate than in the *Adressbücher*. Very often we found the same surnames sometimes printed in Fraktur and at other times in Antiqua, especially as regards those of higher church officials, e.g. Father *Karol (Karl) Antoniewicz* (a famous preacher of the time) (see Fig. 6). Fraktur fully incorporated German diacritics, which were always rendered over the Fraktur characters, as in, e.g. *Dr Arthur König*. Provided a name was spelled in Antiqua, the preservation of Polish diacritics was not an issue of relevance, either; they were automatically included (e.g. *Johannes P. Chrzyszcz* in Fig. 7). What is of interest here is the status of Polish diacritics in surnames which were spelled in Fraktur. Neither in the directories, nor in our other comparative source (schematism), nor in the corpus journals, did there seem to exist any external constraint against using Polish diacritics in Polish surnames rendered in Fraktur. However, particular “incorporation” techniques differed. For example, nasal glides

**Drei schles. Landesheilige:
Der heilige Hyacinth,
der selige Ceslaus
u. die selige Bronislawa.**
Von
Dr. Johannes P. Chrząszcz,
Pfarrer.
Mit einem Bilde des heil. Hyacinth.
Octav. IV und 96 Seiten.
Preis 1.20 Mt.,
franco unter Kreuzband 1.30 Mt.

Figure 7. An advert from SCHK advertising the book on Silesian saints written by Rev. Johannes Chrząszcz.

graphemes (<ę, ą>) could be broken into a vowel and a nasal stop (with the reservation that the Silesian ethnolect already lacked nasal glides in any phonotactic position, so the spelling might have reflected the regional Slavic, and not necessarily German, pronunciation), which was the case, e.g. with *Carl Wontropka* (the standard Polish spelling of the surname would be *Wątróbka* [diminutive of ‘liver’] (see Fig. 8)).²² Diacritics were also added “directly” to Fraktur letters, e.g. in *Golómb* as given in the example from Fig. 5 (in standard Polish orthography it would be written as *Goląb* [pigeon]) or *Franz Śniegoń* (the surname of a bishop suffragan mentioned in the schematism

of the Breslau diocese; see Fig. 8). It was also possible to write a Polish name in Fraktur, except for one letter in the middle of the surname (<ń>), which was preserved in Antiqua, as in *Gawiński* (see Fig. 8). Finally, a Slavic name could be spelled fully in Fraktur, omitting diacritics, e.g. *Die heilige Bronislawa*, while the standard Polish spelling would be *Bronislawa* (see Fig. 7).

The random nature of the application of strategies in the Slavic surnames points to the fact that the attitude towards autochthonous Silesian names was ambiguous, as if it were not specified by the cultural code. They were not “by default” parsed by Fraktur (one side of the boundary), nor were they uniformly ousted onto the side of “them” (Antiqua), as was the case with, e.g., Italian surnames from the dataset. This diffusive distribution points to the fact that there existed at the time a symbolic boundary encapsulated in the Fraktur as a boundary object.²³ With the view of the developments adduced in footnote 17, it becomes clear that with the

²² The family could have been *Wontropka* for generations, and might have had no idea of the Standard Polish orthography, possibly even not of the Slavic origin of the surname. A similar caveat might apply to any “underlyingly” Slavic name, as e.g. “*Emil Tschentcher, fryzyer*”, (which possibly could be reconstructed as Polish “Cięciciel”), which appeared in this Germanized spelling in a Polish ad in *Górnoślązak* and was rendered in Latin.

²³ A boundary object, as defined by Star (2010: 603), is something “people (or, in computer science, other objects and programs) act toward and with. Its materiality derives from action, not from a sense of prefabricated stuff or ‘thing’-ness. So, a theory may be a powerful object. Although it is embodied, voiced, printed, danced, and named, it is not exactly like a car that sits on four wheels. A car may be a boundary object, but only when it is used between groups in the ways described above”.

development of the Nazis' policies, there occurred semiotic strengthening of the symbolic status into a social one. In terms of Tilly's categories, it might be assumed that at the time of the analysis, point 4 – “on each side, shared representations of the zone itself”, Tilly (2004: 114) – was lacking. The fact that both Polish names written in Antiqua and in Fraktur could be rendered with or without diacritics meant that the strategy was left at the individual's discretion: if the person using the surname for some reason still spelled it with the original Polish diacritics, it was preserved so, both in comparative sources (directories or schematisms) and in the corpus periodicals.



Figure 8. Various means of rendering Polish diacritics in the names written in Fraktur. Top: the surname Wontropka in an ad placed in *SCHK*; middle: the surname Gawiński in an ad published in *SCHK*; bottom: the surname of a bishop suffragan mentioned in Breslau Schematism 1887.

The use of diacritics points to another boundary mechanism. For example, in the advert published in *K*, *Szanownej Publiczności pozwalam sobie oznajmić, żem sie w Schwientochłowicach jako lekarz praktyczny osiedlił. Schwientochlowice, 3 wrześn. 1895. Dr. Spintzyk* [To the most respectable public I would like to announce that I have settled in Schwientochlowice as a practical doctor. Schwientochlowice, September 3, 1895. Dr. Spintzyk], the spelling actually implies that the author had no idea how to render the correct orthography of the pronunciation that could be reflected by the standard spelling as *Świętochłowice* (Pol.). The underlying intention must have been a Polish version as a target, which is reflected by the retention of the Polish <-wice>

ending. An intention for the German “them” of the social boundary would have been the <-witz> ending, which is indeed how the name functioned officially (administratively) at the time. The version created by the sender of the ad is thus a multifaceted hybrid, incorporating various boundary shifts: the Slavic base of *Świętochłowice* first changed officially into *Schwientochlowitz*, and in this text re-Polonized into *Schwientochlowice*, while omitting a primary carrier of Polishness in orthography: diacritics. This text is semiotically a no man’s land, belonging neither to the German (official name *Schwientochlowitz*) nor to the Polish side.

In the preceding paragraphs the hypothesis was formulated that Fraktur at the time had a strong structural position, the position of boundary object. The fact that Polish surnames (the surnames of people living in the region) could be, in contrast to surnames in other languages, rendered in Fraktur, can be explained by assuming that the function of the cultural system in the region at that time was definitely integrative (boundary blurring on the level of the region). Fraktur was thus applied not only to the [+German] but most of all [+regional]. As long as the surname was marked as [+regional], it followed that it was also marked [+German], of course, on the German side of the social boundary. People living in the region, especially those holding higher functions, were integrated into the cultural space (Slavic names were frequently rendered in Fraktur exclusively, as the example of *Śniegoń* points to). Hence, it might be inferred that if Polish surnames were written in Fraktur, they were “parsed” by the cultural code as “German”. Whatever the track adopted, and regardless of possible exceptions, the overall tendency is clear: Fraktur, by being a marker of “Germanness”, in the configuration of the cultural codes of the period also served an integrative function: it denoted inclusion into the culture of autochthon Slavic elements. At the same time, the exact type of integration was not obligatory, but rather left to the discretion of the individual, which might be an explanation for the wide variation in strategies²⁴. This interpretation of

²⁴ This aspect, possibly self-evident today, could in fact look different with the reinforcement in the region of social boundaries. To wit, in postwar socialist Poland, a lot of inhabitants of Silesia who had German surnames (we are explicitly avoiding the issue of the nationality and self-identification) were informally forced to change their German surname into a Polish one. For example, a person with the family name “Hoffmann” had to change it to “Majchrzak” (a typically Polish one) due to many more or less pronounced problems, like the difficulty in finding a job or other informal harassment. Urban (1994: 50) reports the following: “The authorities did not leave any doubt as to their determination to eliminate the German language. That is why the Registry in Opole even in the 60s changed German names and surnames. It was forbidden to give newborn babies typically German names, such as Helmut, Siegfried or Hedwig.” (My translation, M. H.-G.) An earlier example comes from two excerpts of documents cited by Kruczyńska. Both originated in 1942 in Opole (Oppeln), that is, the region under inspection in the present paper, but while it was under Hitler’s regime: (1) “Guidelines for Germanization of Polish families [...]”. 5. The lack of the ability to speak German or the political past are not hindrances with the

the preference for the regional aspect over the national one in the database might be corroborated by the fact that we did not find any reference to *Deutschland* in the corpus, although, of course, *Deutsch* occurred very often. When it was a matter of mentioning the place, the default lexeme was the name of the region – *Schlesien* or *Oberschlesien*.

Another example of this integrative algorithm is the names of Silesian saints: (autochthonous Polish-Slavic). *St. Czesław* (*der heilige Ceslaus*) and *St. Bronisława* (*die heilige Bronisława*) are typically Slavic names, as they were Slavic Silesian saints. Nevertheless (see Fig. 7), they are written in Fraktur and, as such, can be assumed to have been integrated in the cultural make-up of the region by the German authorities already at that time. They were accepted as patrons of the region regardless of the language and national boundaries. The same goes in the other direction: *St. Jadwiga* (*die heilige Hedwig*), the wife of the Piast prince Henry the Barbed, the mother of Henry the Pious, and, in the latter phase of her life, a nun in the Abbey of Trebnitz (Trzebnica), came from Bavaria and was German. However, she was unanimously accepted as the patron saint of Silesia both by the Polish and German inhabitants of the region. Currently, with Silesia forming part of Poland, she is still held to be the saint patron of this region, regardless of the controversies besetting the issue of the German past of the region.

It can thus be seen that the boundary aspect in the mechanism of culture can be directly transposable into the layered structure of the cultural texts. As Uspenskij (1975b: 232) points out, “in this way one, common to the whole narration text, can be consecutively decomposable into an array of smaller and smaller micro-descriptions, each of which is constructed according to one and the same rule (that is, it possesses special frames, marked through the change of inner- and outer- [intra-textual and extratextual] position of the author”.

Conclusion

The study was devoted to discovering some of the semiotic mechanisms operating in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries in the region of Silesia. These mechanisms were proposed as a semiotic explanation for some aspects of

notions for Germanization (*Eindeutschung*) because the subjects in question will be placed in Altreich (old areas of Germany) under police supervision and the citizenship will be granted to them only conditionally”; (2) a bill of the Minister of Foreign Affairs attached to a letter of the Oppeln regency president from November 1943: “The burial of deceased German and Poles should take place in separate cemeteries. If, within a given commune [...] there are no separate cemeteries for Poles, in such cases it is recommended to organize a special, separate section for Poles, with a separate entrance gate” (Kruczyńska 1961: 446f; my translation, M. H.-G).

cultural diversification through various structurings of cultural codes, in accordance with the assumption of Mikhail Lotman (2002b: 37), who points out:

One of the most important special features of Tartu semiotic school is that simple semiotic systems are not treated as prime elements, from which more complicated systems are formed, but vice versa: elementary semiotic systems are abstractions, simplicity means here simplification. From the viewpoint of semiosis, semiosphere as a whole is the initial unit which is divided into simple subordinate systems.

The basis for the analysis was a dataset of commercials that appeared in the Silesian Catholic press in the second half of the 19th century and the early 20th century. The region under analysis, as an example of a “borderline” area, is and has been replete with controversies regarding the superimposed and chosen national/linguistic identity of the inhabitants. We by no means tried to solve any of these burning issues regarding Silesian identity and national affiliation claims, but our objective was to elucidate and show in a new light some of the facts which are usually taken for granted, and formalize them in terms of boundary dynamics.²⁵

Points of reference through which the operation of semiotic mechanisms in the dataset could be singled out are as follows:

- (1) foreign texts always appeared marked as foreign (*Antiqua*);
- (2) German (culturally central texts) were always unmarked (*Fraktur*);
- (3) foreign surnames always followed the marked (1);
- (4) names of regional saints, regardless of whether they were Slavic or German, were assigned an unmarked script;
- (5) Silesian Slavic surnames, perhaps on par with regional names (cf. *Schwien-tochlowice*), were not specified “underlyingly” by the code at all, and the senders of the ads often had no idea where the Polish code ended.

They were shown to enter into particular spatio-cultural relations, which we proposed to formalize in terms of a heuristic set of universal constraints, in accordance with the stipulation by Juri Lotman (1975: 101) that

²⁵ In this way, the type of analysis presented here is in a meta-sense compliant with the research perspective advocated by Juri Lotman himself. As Mihhail Lotman recalls, Juri Lotman assumed that there are two types of researchers: those who put forth a problem and those who work out these problems. Juri Lotman thought that finding a correct question is more important than finding a correct answer to it, and he counted himself to be of the first type. As far as theoretical problems are concerned, regarding the foundations of semiotics or methodology of the semiotic analysis, Juri Lotman dwelled on them only to the extent that was required by particular research task, and his views entered into a conflict with the standpoints of the works of his predecessors (Lotman, M. 2002a: 5).

[o]ne should differentiate two problems: the spatial structure of the world view and spatial models as a metalanguage of the description of cultural types. In the former case the spatial characteristics belong to the object being described, in the latter - to the metalanguage of description. However, a definite relationship exists between these two totally separate schemes. One of the universal peculiarities of human culture, possibly connected with the anthropological features of human consciousness, is the fact that the world view invariably acquires features of spatial characteristics.

The findings corroborated the claim by Zalizniak et al. 1975 regarding the multilevelled structure of cultural texts. In particular, “in most complicated cases the signing system S_a , used to code the sign of a religious system S_r , retains its independence, because the directing of signs of the system S_a^1 into itself is the most important particularity of that system, idiosyncratic for different types of arts” (Zalizniak et al. 1975: 70; my translation, M. H.-G). This aspect was implied in the collected database as horizontal relations permitting the religious topics pertaining to Polish culture to appear in the German Catholic press and even be printed in Fraktur.

With this in mind, we propose seeing the difference in the use of German versus Polish as a manifestation of a social boundary and the use of Fraktur versus Antiqua as a manifestation of a symbolic boundary. The results can be related to society at large, since we singled out several types of codes: regional, national, religious and commercial, which might be posited to be universal, yet structured culture-specifically. The study showed that in the analysed period the religious code was the least restrictive (the lowest on the parameter on the axis of exclusion; cf. Table 1) and the highest on axis of inclusion, implying inclusion with the preservation of the autochthon value, which ran counter to the official policy of the government.²⁶ The commercial code was less permissive: no ads in Polish appeared in secular German press and no German was published in Polish secular press. The nationalist aspect seemed to be less prominent in Silesia at the time of the analysis. Since there were many possible structural levels in the culture, the cultural system was flexible and capable of incorporating new cultural “territories” in the TMS understanding of the term: it was paradigmatic. As a result, the Slavic substrata co-existed in a sort of equilibrium state with the German superstrata because they occupied separate structural places in the cultural system, the coexistence of which was soon to be defined by the subsequently National Socialist and Communist rules.

²⁶ Of particular relevance might be mentioning that the pastoral letters in German Catholic publications were usually also printed in Polish. We found pastoral letters of the Breslau diocese archbishop Adolf Bertram (e.g., in *Kirchliches Amtsblatt*) which were published in the Polish language in the German Catholic press (alongside their German version) as late as in 1937. Also Kuczyńska (1961: 430ff) cites letters from 1939 which Cardinal Bertram sent to German authorities advocating the use of Polish during religious services.

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Механизмы границы в католических рекламах Силезии со второй половины 19 – начала 20 века

В статье проводится эмпирическое исследование семиотических механизмов культуры при помощи методологии, выработанной в Тартуско-московской школе, построенной на критерии динамики пограничных механизмов. В качестве материала исследования взят корпус реклам, опубликованных в католической периодике Силезии (на немецком и польском языках) в период со второй половины 19 и по начало 20 века. Рассматриваются культурные импликации различия и подобия в немецких и польских рекламах и предлагаются функциональные объяснения результатов в терминах «границы» и «ограничивания», которые структурируют коды культуры в данном регионе. В анализе выделяются две оси, характеризующие социальные границы при сопоставлении использования немецкого и польского языков. Первый параметр – указание на «священное» (*sacrum*), второе – символическая граница при использовании шрифта *Fraktur* (немецкий шрифт) в противопоставлении с *Antiqua* (латинский шрифт).

Piirimehhanismid 19. sajandi teise poole ning 20. sajandi alguse Sileesia katoliiklikus perioodikas avaldatud reklaamides

Artikkel kujutab endast empiirilist uurimust semiootilistest kultuurimehhanismidest. Rakendades Tartu-Moskva semiootikakoolkonnas välja töötatud metoodikat, kasutades ka piiridel aset leidva tegevuse dünaamika kriteeriume, uuritakse 19. sajandi teise poole ja 20. sajandi alguse Sileesia katoliiklikus (saksa- ja poolakeelses) perioodikas ilmunud reklaamide korpust. Vaadeldakse saksa- ja poolakeelsete reklaamide erinevuste ja sarnasuste kultuurilisi implikatsioone ning pakutakse tulemustele välja funktsionaalseid seletusi mingis regioonis esinevate piirikonfiguratsioonide mõiste kui kultuurikoodide konkreetse struktureerimise terminites. Analüüsi kaheks teljeks on sotsiaalne piir, millele osutab saksa keele kasutamine vastandatuna poola keele kasutamisele “pühale” (*sacrum*) osutamise parameetrina, ning sümbolne piir gooti (*fraktuur*) ja ladina (*antiikva*) kirja kasutamisel.