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**PHOTOGRAPHY AS A SOURCE FROM THE HISTORY OF EVERYDAY LIFE
UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION IN INTER-WAR CZECHOSLOVAKIA**

Abstract. *The article focuses on the analysis of the photography documentary potential as a visual source for studying the everyday life of Ukrainian intelligentsia in emigration in the Czechoslovak Republic during the interwar period. The purpose of the article is to reveal the possibilities of using photography as a visual source for learning and understanding of the everyday life of Ukrainian intellectuals under conditions of physical separation from their homeland, while at the same time they*

were full of hope for a return to the restored Ukrainian state. **The methodology of the research** involves an integral combination of research tools and methods from several socio-humanitarian disciplines, in particular history, sociology, cultural studies, etc. At the same time, the historical and anthropological approaches of the analysis require reliance on special methods of studying everyday life, in particular according to the phenomenology of A. Schutz, and theoretical and methodological recommendations of visual sociology by P. Sztompka. The main volume of photography comes from the "Prague Archive", which was consciously formed by the emigrants themselves. After the end of the war, it was transferred to Ukraine under the reparations programme. The Soviet special services censored it, partially destroyed it and distributed it to Central State Archive of the Higher Authorities of Ukraine, Central State Archive of Public Organizations and Ukrainian Studies, H. S. Pshenychny Central State Film, Photo and Audio Archive of Ukraine, Central State Audiovisual and Electronic Archive. The archival collections are supplemented by family albums and private collections. The subject area of the article includes photographs of socio-anthropological content, which reflect the public and professional activities of emigrants, socio-cultural events, education, as well as the family and private world, leisure, recreation, entertainment, travel, etc. **The scientific novelty** of the publication consists in the fact that it attempts to analyze photographs as visual evidence of an everyday life of the intelligentsia in emigration, not limited to their representative, obvious (factual) eloquence regarding the material side of life, but also to reveal their deep symbolic potential for tracking value and axiological characteristics, social attitudes that determined the meanings of the emigrant community's existence. **Conclusions.** From the available photographs, we can draw conclusions not only about the material side of the everyday life of emigrants, but also about their moods, experiences, emotions, trace the intentions and goals of their activities, analyze the degree of their social adaptation, the ability to accept challenges and the ability to communicate in new circumstances, establish cultural consumption, and clarify taste preferences. The objects of daily use in private space and during public and cultural events recorded in the photographs reveal the desire to preserve one's national identity and contribute to the restoration of the Ukrainian statehood.

Key words: Ukrainian intelligentsia, emigration, everyday life, photography, visual documents, Prague archive, Museum of Liberation Struggle of Ukraine, personal sources, informational and memorial functions of photographs.

ФОТОГРАФІЯ ЯК ДЖЕРЕЛО З ІСТОРІЇ ПОВСЯКДЕННЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ЕМІГРАЦІЇ У МІЖВОЄННІЙ ЧЕХОСЛОВАЧЧИНІ

Анотація. У статті розглянуто документальний потенціал фотографії як візуального джерела для вивчення повсякденного життя української інтелігенції в умовах еміграції в Чехословацькій республіці у міжвоєнний період. **Мета статті** полягає у розкритті можливостей використання фотографії як візуального джерела для пізнання і розуміння повсякденного життя українських інтелігентів в умовах фізичної відірваності від батьківщини, які сподівалися на повернення у відновлену Українську державу. **Методологія** розгляду заявленої теми передбачає інтегральне поєднання дослідницького інструментарію та методик кількох соціогуманітарних дисциплін, зокрема, історії, соціології, культурології тощо. Водночас історико-антропологічна оптика аналізу вимагає опертя на спеціальні методики дослідження повсякденності, зокрема за феноменологією А. Шюца, та теоретично-методологічні рекомендації візуальної соціології від П. Штомпки. Основний масив світлин походить з «Празького архіву», який був свідомо сформований самими емігрантами. Після закінчення війни він був переданий в Україну за програмою контрибуції. Радянські спецслужби піддали його цензурі, частково знищили і розподілили в ЦДАВО України, ЦДАГОУ, ЦДКФФА України ім. Г. Пшеничного, ЦДАЕА. Архівні колекції доповнюють сімейні альбоми і приватні збірки. У предметному полі статті – фотографії соціо-антропологічного наповнення, в яких відображена громадська і фахова діяльність емігрантів, соціокультурна подієвість, навчання, а також родинно-приватний світ, дозвілля, відпочинок, розваги, мандрівки тощо. **Наукова новизна** публікації полягає у тому, що в ній робиться спроба проаналізувати світлини як візуальні свідчення повсякдення інтелігенції в умовах еміграції, не обмежуючись їх репрезентативною очевидною (фактографічною) промовистістю щодо матеріальної сторони життя, але й розкрити

їхній глибинний знаково-символічний потенціал для відстеження ціннісних і аксіологічних характеристик, соціальних установок, що їй визначали смисли буття еміграційної спільноти. **Висновки.** За наявними фотографіями можна робити висновки не тільки про матеріальний бік повсякденного життя емігрантів, але й про їхні настрої, переживання, емоції, простежувати наміри і цілі діяльності, аналізувати ступінь їхньої соціальної адаптації, вміння приймати виклики і здатність комунікації в нових обставинах, налагоджувати культурне споживання, з'ясовувати смакові уподобання. За зафіксованими на фотографіях предметами щоденного користування в приватному просторі і під час громадсько-культурних заходів простежується прагнення зберегти свою національну ідентичність і зробити внесок у відновлення української державності.

Ключові слова: українська інтелігенція, еміграція, повсякденне життя, фотографія, візуальні документи, Празький архів, Музей визвольної боротьби України, особові джерела, інформаційна та меморіальна функції фотографії.

Problem Statement. The relevance of the research is due to, on the one hand, a growing importance and influence of visual information in all spheres of socio-political life, and on the other hand, the needs and strategies of historical and anthropological methodology in modern Ukrainian humanities, in general, and in the history of everyday life, in particular. To elucidate the complexity of the stated issue actualization, we will present the following arguments.

Firstly, at the present stage the volume of visual information is not only qualitatively and quantitatively dominant, but it also serves as the most powerful cognitive channel for acquiring knowledge, its assimilation, understanding and interpretation. In modern society, visual perception of all phenomena, events and processes, owing to the spread of digital technologies, actually replaces verbal, descriptive reception, which requires adjustments in the source study of the socio-humanitarian cycle sciences (Papakin, 2021, p.162).

Secondly, the visual turn led to the emancipation of images, their liberation from the requirement to behave like verbal texts. Thus, historical photography among visual media ceased to be accepted as a purely additional illustration of a verbal narrative, instead its possibilities as a self-sufficient document require special focus and professional reading, since they contain not only obvious information, but also their own narratives, ideologies and ways of constructing reality.

Thirdly, among the priorities of modern domestic historiography, the need to rethink the history of Ukrainian emigration in the 20th century as part of the national liberation struggle for the restoration of Ukrainian statehood from the Soviet occupation, rather than as a separate part of national history, has become evident.

Fourthly, the forced emigration of the Ukrainian conscious intelligentsia due to the defeat of the National Liberation Struggle of 1917 – 1921 fundamentally determined the existential framework of its everyday life, the fundamental dimensions of which remained the ideas of freedom, responsibility, and the meaning of life in the service of Ukraine. Therefore, the history of everyday life enables us to trace at the micro level how emigrants preserved their national and social identity, relying on the mental structures of consciousness, and how they responded to the challenges of modernity.

Finally, despite the huge array of photographs from the history of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of interwar Czechoslovakia, preserved in state archives, museums and private collections, the array of photographs has not been sufficiently used and analyzed. An excellent example of the processing of visual documents is the article by I. Sribniak and H. Khlebina about the daily life of interned Ukrainian Army soldiers in Liberec. It emphasizes the purposeful

creation of photo documents: “On January 20, 1921, the photographic section (circle) of the Communist Party of Ukraine (Cultural and Educational Circle – *Authors*) began its work, the purpose of which was defined as: a) nurturing the photographic art (art – *Authors*) in general; b) illustrating events of interest to our history and the history of culture; c) collecting materials for the Ukrainian photo terminology” (Sribniak, & Khlebina, 2019, p. 154). To implement these tasks, they set up a workshop, organized courses, established a specialized library and reading room, and even took care of “the publication of Ukrainian photographic textbooks and magazines”. Owing to the help of the Czech camp commandant, the members of the historical and photographic sections collected a lot of materials on the history of the Ukrainian Anti-Academia, which were concentrated in the camp archive. In the following article, the authors focused on everyday life in Josefov (Sribniak, & Khlebina, 2023), also did not bypass visual sources (Photo 1). Currently, the photo albums are in the Central Archives of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

For a researcher of emigration everyday life, the potential of photographs is multi-representational for revealing and understanding socio-cultural life – from basic material needs to self-realization under extraordinary conditions. They are an important historical source for understanding the realities of intellectuals’ life under extraordinary conditions of forced emigration. Photographs created in the context of a community breakup directly reproduce evidence in a factual and representative plane, but, most importantly, they are provided to trace the unbreakable ideological integrity of national elites on both sides of the border, at least its best representatives, in establishing and maintaining memorial communication between generations.

Review of Recent Research and Publications. The issue of photography informativeness has been studied in visual studios, both foreign and domestic quite comprehensively and thoroughly. To substantiate the theoretical and methodological foundations of the use of photographs in the historical analysis of emigration everyday life, we rely on the visuality analytics of famous European authors. The majority of them give photography its due in the field of memory (memoir and memorial) and in the creation and reproduction of images of the past. In particular, according to Z. Kracauer, photographs are “mediums of memory” (Kracauer, 1963); according to P. Nora – “places of memory” (Nora, 2014). In R. Barthes’ semiotics, photographs are not just images of reality, but a system of signs that transmit not only the visible (direct, objective), but also the hidden (cultural, ideological) (Barthes, 2022); V. Benjamin considered photography as a means of knowing the world and changing its socio-cultural paradigms (Benjamin, 2002); according to P. Bourdieu, photo practices are a means of social integration, in particular, intergenerational communication (Bourdieu, & Wacan, 2015).

Among the Ukrainian researchers who studied the issue of visual informativeness, one should mention O. Briukhovetska, O. Karlina, O. Kovalevska, O. Koliastruk, etc. O. Briukhovetska, in particular, warns researchers of the danger of reducing photographic images to “small visual speeches”, since “between photography and reality there are indeed many codes, and not only cultural (which Barthes spoke about), but also technical” (Bryukhovetska, 2025, pp. 289, 290). According to O. Koliastruk, photographs occupy a leading position among visual sources in the study of history, as they have a rather powerful information potential and represent a rich visual image of the past. Photographic documents are a unique source that not only reveals the facts and events of antiquity recorded by the camera to the historian, but also enables reconstructing and representing

the history of a certain era, both of society as a whole and an individual person (Koliastruk, 2008, pp. 260, 264). Her opinion is supported by O. Karlina: “In the reconstruction of everyday life, verbal texts can even be inferior to pictorial and material sources” (Karlina, 2024, pp. 130–131). O. Kovalevska emphasizes that visual images are a special type of text that requires decoding within the discourse in which it arose; they should be considered as self-sufficient sign systems (Kovalevska, 2018, p. 231).

The purpose of the article is to elucidate the possibilities of using photography as a visual source for learning and understanding everyday life of Ukrainian intellectuals under conditions of physical isolation from their homeland.

Research Methodology. The issue under analysis involves an integral combination of research tools and methods of several socio-humanitarian disciplines, in particular history, sociology, cultural studies, etc. At the same time, the historical anthropological optics of analysis requires reliance on special methods of studying everyday life, in particular according to the phenomenology of A. Schutz (Schutz, 1970), and theoretical and methodological recommendations for visual sociology by P. Sztompka (Sztompka, 2005).

Research Results. Owing to the images preserved in photographs: people, things, events, places – the distant past, which we have never seen, becomes visible and can “come to life” in our imagination. According to Z. Kracauer, photography itself is a reflection of society development level, in particular its practically material life, and at the same time serves as a means of preserving and depicting time that has irrevocably passed. Photography represents (with varying degrees of completeness and reliability) the objects recorded on it. Its direct visual eloquence, on the one hand, and the language of minor trifles and details as signs and symbols of time, on the other, provide the opportunity to create images of time from things (Kracauer, 1963, pp. 8, 33).

It is no coincidence that P. Nora referred to photographs as “places of memory” – as material loci containing the past. Photographs as frames of situations and phenomena, in his opinion, do not simply reflect people and events, but also act as active communicators between the past and the present (and therefore the future), evoking emotion and prompting reflection.

This “open meaning” R. Barthes designated with a special neologism *punctum* (literally: a puncture, a cut). In his essay “Camera Lucida”, he, developing the phenomenology of a photographic image, considered its two aspects – *stadium* and *punctum*. The vast majority of photographs, in which a fragment of reality is simply recorded, but there is no moment of touching the elusive meaning, are located at the *stadium* level. The same photographs (of which there are usually not many) that rise above the everyday and touch on the mythical moment of a unique event contain that elusive *punctum* that amazes and excites a viewer”. It is precisely because of the *stadium* that I am interested in many photographs, because I perceive them as political evidence, because I savor them as solid historical canvases; in these figures, faces, gestures, decorations and actions I participate as a person of culture (this connotation is contained in the word *stadium*). Instead, the second part shatters the *stadium* ... and like an arrow flies off the stage and pierces me. There is a word *punctum* to denote this wound, a puncture, a mark made with a sharp instrument; this word suits me all the more because it refers to the idea of punctuation; the photos are sometimes even oversaturated with these sensitive points; they are precisely the marks and wounds” (Barthes, 2022, pp. 17, 19–20).

For a historian, photography is not only a carrier of factual information, but also a spokesman for the development of social dialogue, the culture of social relations, priorities and values, and the fundamental principles of social existence both at the level of official discourse of the authorities and in the everyday practices of ordinary people who oppose it or, conversely, tolerate and support it at the grassroots level. Thus, as “a place of memory” for a historian, photography works in “three senses – material, symbolic and functional” and these “three aspects always coexist” (Nora, 2014, pp. 99–108).

First of all, photographs are able “to turn on” the cycle of time: what was considered important in the past and was chosen for recording by a photographer “appears” each time in the enduring future, in the reflections of the fluid multitude of present moments. Photographs transform the past into the object of consumption. The task that photographs “perform” is to make visible the past that is invisible right here, in the present. In this way, they express the frozen outlines of people and things that declare themselves, whether they are interpreted or not. Actually, the practice of photography, according to P. Bourdieu, served as a kind of protection against the flow of time and expressed a desire for communication (through the subsequent demonstration of the photograph to the audience), it is also the realization of the individual’s selfhood (in particular, through the genre of photo portrait), it is also a way of minting social prestige (official photo fixations), it is also a form of entertainment or escapism (Bourdieu, & Wacan, 2015, p. 32).

In the historical biography of photographs, it is customary to distinguish three stages. The invention of the camera is recognized as a fundamental moment in the progress of visualizing history. The pioneering role of photography in the formation of historical visual documentary was convincingly outlined by J. Ruby and M. Banks in their work “History of Visual Anthropology”. According to their analysis, during the first century of the “scientific biography of photography”, the colonial view remained dominant, when researchers filmed everything. Since the advent of the daguerreotype, interested people had perfectly understood the specificity of a new expressive medium, recognizing a camera’s unsurpassed ability to record, reflect and reveal visible physical reality. From that time on, photography began to be called “a mirror endowed with memory” (Kracauer, 1963, pp. 23, 25).

Since then, photographs had taken on the role of a self-evident, trustworthy document, with a potential not only informative but also commemorative. It is no coincidence that this period went down in history as “a rescue ethnography”, initiated by photography and later technically enhanced by cinema. At this stage, the camera became an obligatory and indispensable tool for Western anthropologists who sought to capture as much information as possible about the original world of the indigenous peoples of the colonized world. On the other hand, under the pressure of industrial urbanization, the traditional peasant way of life was deformed, and the rural way of life with its customs and rituals, everyday practices, things and utensils was rapidly declining.

According to V. Benjamin, the emergence of photography changed the dominant in cognition. After all, it reoriented a person (researcher, writer, artist, ordinary observer) “from the dictates of the hand, which records reality by means of letters and paints, to the power of the eyes, which observe the world through the lens: ... photography for the first time freed the hand during artistic reproduction from the most important creative duties, which from now on passed to the eyes, which look into the lens” (Benjamin, 2002, p. 124).

During the first hundred years, the positivist paradigm (W. G. F. Talbot) dominated the evaluation of photography. In the 1930s – 1980s it was replaced by the modern concept

(W. Benjamin), when reportage documentary (for cinema – a directorial plot) prevailed. The fixation of the visible was carried out with the sincere aim of truthful documentation, but according to a predetermined task, scripted / selective view of a photographer or operator from outside / above, removed from the object of filming. Reportage photographs and documentary films of this time left rich evidence, but they were partly linear and incomplete, since the optics of the object of observation itself was excluded from them in advance.

Only since the 1990s a democratic approach to the relationship between the object and the subject of research has begun to spread. Finally, in the 21st century, a pluralistic, tolerant view of collecting visual information has been established. Thus, the structuralist concept (R. Barthes) has been established in the theory of photodocumentary studies.

The mass of photographs of the Ukrainian emigrant intelligentsia in Czechoslovakia during the interwar period was formed at the intersection of the first and second stages of photodocumentary and, accordingly, has their features. But before talking about these photographs, it is worth recalling what the Ukrainian emigration centre in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic was. It was almost the main centre of Ukrainian political emigration, whose activities were carried out through the mediation of more than fifty Ukrainian organizations and institutions, dozens of Ukrainian publishing houses, editorial offices of the Ukrainian magazines, around which dozens of highly educated specialists, patriots of the Ukrainian cause (Photos 2, 3).

According to the evaluation of the well-known researcher of emigration archives M. Palienko, "...despite the complexity and ambiguity of the situation, in the early 1920s Prague was the best place for the development of the activities of the Ukrainian museum and archival centre, firstly, due to the favourable political situation and positive attitude towards emigrants by the government of Czechoslovakia, and, secondly, due to the movement of a significant number of emigrants to Prague and the formation by them of a number of cultural, educational, scientific, professional and other organizations and institutions" (Palienko, 2008, p. 110). The Ukrainian emigrants outside their native lands did not give up hope and did not give up the cause of restoring the Ukrainian independence, all the time they worked to preserve their identity and carefully accumulated it both in active actions and archival and museum documentation. Hence the articulated awareness of the value of photographs of various types (officially documentary and amateur, private and corporate). In addition to educational and scientific activities, "each of these organizations, editorial offices and institutions had its own archives. It was assumed that after the emergence of independent Ukraine, they would be transported to their native lands, where they would serve in the construction of a new state" (Mushynka, 2000, pp. 532–545).

In the interwar Czechoslovakia, photography became widespread. The most popular among emigrants was the stereoscopic camera "Compur" from the German company "F. Deckel", since its rental was low (up to 25 hellers per day). Such cameras were used by journalists and museum workers. It is also recorded that students of the UHA used it during their internships in Poděbrady. Thus, on Forest Day (April 2), future foresters planted areas above the Labe River with certain types of trees, and then monitored their growth and development using camera and photo cards (Zubko, & Kotsur, 2025, p. 166). (Photo 4)

Prague was also a powerful educational centre of emigration, the Ukrainian Free University (1921 – 1945), M. Drahomanov (1923 – 1933) Ukrainian Higher Pedagogical Institute, the Ukrainian Academy of Plastic Arts (1923 – 1942) operated there; and in Poděbrady, professors and students worked at the Ukrainian Economic Academy (1922 – 1935), the Ukrainian

Technical and Economic Institute (1932 – 1945); the Ukrainian Gymnasium operated (1925 – 1945) in Modřany (Narizhny, 1999). Analyzing their verbal and visual archival documents, researchers conclude that educational institutions “considered knowledge as a factor of socio-economic well-being and confirmed the trend of increasing the influence of scientific, educational and cultural potential on the deepening and consolidation of national consciousness, social organization and activity of the Ukrainians in the development of the struggle for the independence of their homeland. The education of future specialists was aimed at rebuilding the national economy and the new Ukrainian state, serving the interests of the nation and society” (Shulha, 2019, p. 114).

The Ukrainian intelligentsia in emigration (despite all the contradictions in ideologies and beliefs) from the very beginning stood out as a nation-oriented community, interested in restoring statehood, consciously separated itself from the Russian emigration, and gravitated towards a self-sufficient constructive life.

The value of photo-documentary support for the reconstruction of the interwar past is evidenced by the letters and memoirs of many emigrants, especially when they found themselves in the aggression whirlpool unleashed by the Nazis and acutely felt defenselessness and fragility of a harmonious everyday life. It is no coincidence that at the very beginning of the 1940s V. Miyakovsky emphasized: “The life and cultural work of the Ukrainian emigration in Prague must be seen, to believe, that something like this is really possible” (Narizhna, 2010, p. 81) – we read such a remark in the memoirs “Children’s Eyes” by N. Narizhna, which she wrote at the beginning of the 21st century. (Photo 5)

N. Narizhna’s remark about visual documentary is not a random phrase or an illustrative tribute to popular historiography. This statement indirectly reflects her mention of the work of her father, Symon Narizhny, who, as the head of Museum of Liberation Struggle of Ukrainians in Prague, under the conditions of the war did his documentary research work “Ukrainian Emigration: Cultural Work of Ukrainian Emigration between the Two World Wars”. Apparently, to update the accumulated knowledge, to verify his own memories, he relied on numerous video documents of the Museum of the Liberation Struggle of Ukrainians entrusted to him and the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) of Czechoslovakia. The first part of his research was published with some photographs in Prague in 1942. He did not have time to publish the second part, it was published later. According to M. Mushynka’s calculations, this edition is illustrated with 228 photographs (Mushynka, 2005, p. 109).

A review of special historical studies on the Ukrainian emigration confirms that nowadays historians have a fairly representative photo archive of the lives of emigrants. This set of photographs is diverse in terms of photographs creation, their genre, and the method of their preservation.

If we talk about photographs of a socio-anthropological content (people in professional and family-private spheres, socio-cultural events, leisure and recreation, entertainment, education, etc.), which make up the subject field of our article, then it is worth highlighting two components: a) archival photographs from the funds of the Central State Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre of Ukraine, H. Pshenychny Central State Academic Opera and Ballet Theatre of Ukraine; b) photographs from family albums and private collections of researchers. The latter, along with status archival visual documents, are extremely important because, firstly, they were formed in a natural way, in accordance with the subjects’ wishes of the shooting and its initiators, at first mainly by invited professional photographers in a

comfortable setting or in special photo salons, occasionally – these are amateur shots, over time the proportion of amateur shots gradually increased when photographic equipment and relevant equipment became available in families. Secondly, usually the photos from these collections are direct impressions of everyday life, with its various segments (usual and significant events in a person's life, their growing up, upbringing, education, acquiring a specialty and success in business, hobbies and interests, travels, rest and leisure, and often illnesses and death). An excursion into these video sequences allows us to trace family or corporate traditions, established ethical norms and values. On the one hand, they fully trace “the triad of everyday life” (housing – clothing – food), which makes it possible to reconstruct material existence, wealth and status, fluctuations in fashion, human tastes, etc., and on the other hand, involuntarily they reflect the formation of spiritual demands under conditions of a rapid transformation and new challenges for the intelligentsia, etc. Thirdly, because of this, these collections are fully correlated in their content with “rescue ethnography” as miniatures of the private and the general. Finally, it is worth emphasizing that these photographs were carefully preserved, and they were least subjected to artificial changes and deliberate retouching, their authenticity, and therefore reliability, they have sufficient grounds for use in the documentary reconstruction of everyday practices in combination with personal testimonies recorded in diaries, epistolary writings, memoirs, private notes, etc.

Under conditions of separation from the homeland, the need to keep photo chronicles of a family life not only remained, but also acquired fundamental importance, so as not to break intergenerational communication and not to lose national and civic identity. It was typical of every emigrant to take with him abroad, among the obligatory treasures, family albums with many photographs of several generations of his relatives and friends, taken in a wide variety of conditions. Over time, the content of reading these collections changed. At first, family photo cases remained private witnesses of individual destinies of people dear to descendants, their direct purpose was to continue family stories, to arouse faded memories among their loved ones. Over time, the documentary value of photographs from private collections grew, as they began to serve as pages not only of the family narrative, but also of the photo chronicle of history, especially during difficult tests periods of endurance.

The main mass of photographs officially available to the modern historian comes from the so-called Prague Archive, which after World War II was transferred to the Ukrainian SSR under the control of the Soviet special services. Its comprehensive, deep historical and source analysis was carried out by T. Boryak. The researcher focused on its photographic component, she traced that the photographs came to the archive in the form of framed albums. Initially, the “Prague” albums were not allocated separately, their numbering in the catalogue is not continuous. Therefore, they were analyzed with other documents (Boryak, 2011, p. 264). Photographic documents could have arrived in parts or been in storage for a certain time and processed later. Nowadays, the archival funds of Ukraine contain about 3.6 thousand units of photographic documents of Ukrainian emigration to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic.

The photo-documentary segment of the Prague Archive was specially analyzed by N. Topishko, a head of H. Pshenychny Central State Film, Photo and Phono Archive Ukraine. As a result of several years of processing of materials received from Prague, she initially attributed 30 photo albums, but after a more thorough analysis she excluded four collections from their number. The chronological boundaries of these “Prague albums” are from the second half of the 19th century to 1938. 26 album collections contain 3,582 photo documents from the collections of the Museum of Liberation Struggle of Ukrainians

(Topishko, 1995, pp. 144–146). Among them are not only socio-anthropological photographs, but also other important handwritten and printed documents recorded on film that are of interest to document experts. Some albums, in addition to original photo documents, contain photocopies of drawings, engravings, etc. More than a third of the albums (10) provide video information about interned Ukrainians not only in Czechoslovakia, but also in other European countries. At one time, M. Mushynka mentioned 35 albums (4,087 photographs) from the life of Ukrainian prisoners of war in the camps, received from Prague in 1948 and 1958 (Mushynka, 2005, p. 114). These photographs elucidate the camp life of the internees. These are not only general panoramic shots of the camp barracks, production and utility rooms, and street arrangements. Many of them depict Easter celebrations, scenes from plays, choir performances, sports competitions, as well as organized relocations of residents to another camp, mass services, funerals, cemeteries, etc.

For example, a classic photo from the early 1920s shows members of a drama club in Nimetsky Yablunny, resting in national theatrical costumes on a picturesque meadow after a performance. Six young men are dressed in embroidered shirts, Cossack scrolls, girded with wide belts, and wearing boots. Four of them are wearing black or gray smoky hats, while the other two are holding their hats in their hands. Four girls – in embroidered shirts, fitted corsets, voluminous skirts with aprons, on their chests – several strings of various beads, their hair is combed in braids, ribbons on their heads, one of the girls has an elegant white cap on her head, delicately decorated with embroidery. Looking at this photo, you understand that for the participants of an amateur dramatic performance, performing scripted roles is an opportunity to truly immerse themselves in their native culture, to sing songs, dance, and tell witty jokes. Amateur actors pose for photos willingly, continuing the moment of imaginary return/immersion in their native folk culture.

We believe that the photos with bandura players (Photos 6, 7) are not at all ethnographic or wistful nostalgia for their native land.

They are seemingly different in terms of the fact of playing a folk instrument: one is about a concert performance by students from Poděbrady in May 1926, judging by the stage folk costumes and the signature on the back; the other is dated 1927 – 1929, it is an intimate and everyday scene, made in a non-parade corner of the front garden, it represents three men of different ages in suits and ties, each of them is identified (from left to right): a forest engineer M. Teliha, Professor of the Ukrainian State Academy of Music L. Hrabyna, a poet V. Kurylenko. It can be emphasized that in the first picture, M. Teliha (the third from the left) is recognizable. Therefore, a short dialogue between these pictures enables us to assert their essential similarity; in their language, they communicate about the preservation of national identity, about the connection of generations, about the synergy of loyalty to the idea of freedom and independence.

For the historian of everyday life in the interwar period, the personal funds of prominent Ukrainian figures who ended up in emigration are of a particular interest. In the Prague collection, these include, in particular, three private photo albums: two of the Ukrainian poetess O. Teliha from 1919 to 1934 (family photos, life of the Ukrainian community in Poděbrady, cities in Poland, students and teachers of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) and one of the sculptor O. Shevchukovykh (the 1930s). Secondly, these are albums of landscapes with photographs of cities and towns, villages and people present in the natural environment, although the majority of them are photos from before World War I, not from the 1920s and 1930s. Thirdly, two albums (591 photos) about the life of Ukrainian communities in cities and towns in France from 1924 to 1938, which reflect the life and everyday life of the Ukrainian community, the arrival of Ukrainian figures to these cities and towns, scenes from performances, etc. They are important for tracing the typicality and exclusivity of everyday conditions in various emigration settlements (Boryak, 2011, p. 266).

In our opinion, the content and meaning of “the Prague albums” enable us to speak of a “directorial” principle of their collection, scenarios and conditions for inclusion in the collection, developed by the custodians and employees of the Museum of Liberation Struggle of Ukrainians and the Ukrainian Historical Cabinet. The photographs, which are accumulated in them, were not taken arbitrarily, but specifically to consolidate in memory events and facts important for the common cause. At the same time, this fact does not diminish their importance in the study of everyday life, on the contrary – it enables us to select in a condensed form visual evidence of the most typical practices of a social everyday life of emigrants and, most importantly, the content of their lives in circumstances cut off from their homeland.

Photos from everyday life of Ukrainian emigrants should be used not only as a visual confirmation of the material situation and practical activities of the intelligentsia in exile, but also to read their visual text at the level of semantic meanings they contain.

The original methodology of social visualism using photographs was suggested by the Polish sociologist P. Sztompka (Sztompka, 2005). Among the sociological theories that may be used by visual sociology and at the same time may use photographic images heuristically or as evidence, there is A. Schutz’s phenomenological everydayness. In it, a person’s life world is determined by three determinants: situational circumstances, personal experience and a stock of knowledge – all this a person takes from society, from his individual collective, rethinking them individually and giving them his own, private interpretation. A person gives his own meaning to the materials of his life-world, received from the collective through constant contact with others. Although these materials always have their physical form, they still “must be things that can be seen, sounds that can be heard, or other phenomena accessible to a human sensory perception” (Schutz, 1970, p. 19), since their essence consists in the meaning they contain and in the way a person recognizes this meaning. Therefore, the world of a human life, on the one hand, is the world generated by society, and on the other, the world of meanings. And it is A. Schutz’s emphasis not only on the rational cognitive context of everyday life, but also on the mandatory consideration of its emotional and sensual fullness at the expense of a personal perception, memory, and interpretation. This is absolutely necessary for the establishment of everyday practices under extraordinary conditions, which is what emigration became for the Ukrainian intellectuals.

Having lost their usual everyday life due to forced emigration, people necessarily sought to preserve their former world through the memory of the learned and imprinted meanings. To maintain their memory, people use certain clues, carriers in which these vital meanings are contained and transmitted. A. Schutz includes notes, indicators, signs and symbols, which he interprets as follows: a) *notes* are private “subjective reminders” about something that will again be important in a person’s actions, temporarily interrupted; b) *indicators* are objects or phenomena, the presence of which is naturally connected with some other objects or phenomena, as a mandatory attribute, accessory; c) *signs* are objects or ways of behaving specifically designed to convey some other meaning, some message: “In order for signs to serve the purposes of communication, the one who transmits them and the one who receives them must understand them in the same way, respectively, use the same system of signs, remain within the same horizon of meanings. The most complex system of signs is language”; d) *symbols* are, according to A. Schutz, the second-level signs, metasigns or signs of signs, the sphere of a religious, magical, artistic, poetic, logical, and also scientific symbolism (Schutz, 1970, pp. 101, 103, 104).

Let’s try to trace this through available photographs. Thus, there is often such an elementary note of reminder as “a photograph in a photograph”, when the lens catches the second plan, behind the back of a portrait, photographs fixed on the wall or displayed in

frames on the desktop, often a group or individual, landscape or household with the image of objects abandoned in Ukraine, or often – a living room or porch of a house. In essence, these marks are traces of physical discontinuity, but certainly – also a spiritual inseparability.

We also see mental indicators of a kind in everyday objects – the decoration of professors' offices or stylization of kitchen utensils, where a glazed bowl, a mug, a ceramic toy, or even an Easter egg may catch the eye. Bookplates of personal collections of books also speak of the continuation of work begun in Greater Ukraine.

The photographs available to researchers of everyday life in emigration contain eloquent symbolic spokespersons. For example, in photographs of official meetings of societies, pedagogical meetings in a gymnasium, or academic councils in universities, one can often see a presidium table covered with a tablecloth with elements of national embroidery or a woven cloth with a solid pattern or bordered with a national ornament. The photoshoot recorded that embroidered towels are used to decorate the stage for ceremonial mass gatherings, a portrait of T. Shevchenko may be attached to the backdrop, and at party and political meetings, both a trident and a flag.

A. Schutz emphasized: “The world of my everyday life is by no means my private world, but an intersubjective world shared by other people, experienced and interpreted by others, a world common to all of us”. For every person, the existence of others is a self-evident fact that is taken into account without hesitation: “Others are components of my situation, just as I am an element of their situation. A person directly sees and feels the bodies of others, their physical movements, the sounds they make” (Schutz, 1970, p. 31).

In the world of life, always filled with other people and their actions, interpersonal communication takes place, creating a domain of intersubjectivity over the individual goals or motivations of each partner. “Community is established through communications in which we address others as people addressing me, and both parties are aware of this” (Schutz, 1970, p. 165).

The ontological issues, as well as the methodological consequences of A. Schutz's sociology, according to the famous Polish sociologist P. Sztopka, open a wide field for the use of photography. Most of what is done in the world of everyday life is perceived by a viewer and is accessible for photographic registration maximally. Such registration is useful for fixing social situations and conducting a thorough analysis in the categories introduced by A. Schutz.

Conclusions. Based on the available photographs, one can draw conclusions not only about the material side of the daily life of emigrants, but also about their moods, experiences, emotions, trace the intentions and goals of their activities, analyze the degree of their social adaptation, the ability to accept challenges and the ability to communicate in new circumstances, establish cultural consumption, and clarify taste preferences. The objects of daily use in private space and during public and cultural events recorded in the photographs reveal the desire to preserve one's national identity and contribute to the restoration of the Ukrainian statehood.

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Photo 1. Photo album page “Ukrainian Military Camps in the Towns of Liberec and Josefov”. 1918 – 1921. *Central State Audiovisual and Electronic Archive (Kyiv): A 98.*



Photo 2. Professors, Associate Professors, Lecturers of the Ukrainian Free University in 1921 – 1922. From left to right: the 1st row (sitting) – S. Dnistransky, I. Horbachevsky, O. Kolessa, S. Smal-Stotsky, F. Shcherbyna; the 2nd row – A. Artymovych, D. Antonovych, B. Matiushenko, M. Noskova-Bochkovska, M. Lozynsky, K. Losky, D. Doroshenko; the 3rd row – V. Starosolsky, V. Shcherbakivsky, S. Rudnytsky, R. Lashchenko, V. Tymoshenko.

Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Administration of Ukraine (Kyiv), f. 3859, d. 2, c. 53.

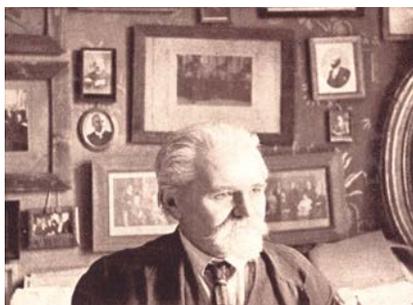


Photo 3. Dmytro Antonovych – rector of the Ukrainian Free University in 1928 – 1930, 1937 – 1938; a head of the Museum of Liberation Struggle of Ukraine in 1925 – 1934, 1935 – 1945.

Central State Archives of the Supreme Bodies of Power and Administration of Ukraine (Kyiv), f. 4018, d. 1, c. 8.



Photo 4.

**Practice of students of the Ukrainian Economic Academy in a forest nursery
State District Archive of Nymburk located in Lysa nad Labem.**

*Fund "Ukrainian Economic Academy in the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic located
in Poděbrady", cardboard with temporary number 53. Digital photography, 2014.*



**Photo 5. The Narizhnyi family: Symon Petrovych, Iryna Lavrivna and Natalia. 1927.
The village of Dobrzhikhovychi near Prague.**

From the private collection of M. Mushynka.



**Photo 6. Bandura students of the Ukrainian Academy of Economics in Poděbrady.
May 17, 1926. Third from the left – M. Teliha.**

Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine (Kyiv), f. 269, d. 1, c. 481.



Photo 7. A group of Ukrainian emigrants in Poděbrady.
From left to right: a forest engineer M. Teliha, Professor of the Ukrainian State Academy of Sciences L. Hrabina, a poet V. Kurylenko.
Central State Audiovisual and Electronic Archive (Kyiv): 204616

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