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**Sergiy KOPYLOV**

*PhD hab. (History), Professor, Professor of the Department of World History, Kamianets-Podilskiy Ivan Ohiienko National University, 61 Ohiienko Street, Kamianets-Podilskiy, Ukraine, postal code 32300 (kopylov@kpnu.edu.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-3634-5276  
**ResearcherID:** ABG-4518-2020

**Iryna PAUR**

*PhD (History), Associate Professor, Associate Professor of The Department of Fine and Decorative Art and Restoration, Kamianets-Podilskiy Ivan Ohiienko National University, 61 Ohiienko Street, Kamianets-Podilskiy, Ukraine, postal code 32300 (iryna.paur@kpnu.edu.ua)*

**ORCID:** 0000-0002-5998-8274  
**ResearcherID:** AAY-7735-2020

**Сергій КОПИЛОВ**

*доктор історичних наук, професор, професор кафедри всесвітньої історії, Кам'янець-Подільський національний університет імені Івана Огієнка, вул. Огієнка, 61, м. Кам'янець-Подільський, Україна, індекс 32300 (kopylov@kpnu.edu.ua)*

**Ірина ПАУР**

*кандидатка історичних наук, доцентка, доцентка кафедри образотворчого і декоративно-прикладного мистецтва та реставрації творів мистецтва, Кам'янець-Подільський національний університет імені Івана Огієнка, вул. Огієнка, 61, м. Кам'янець-Подільський, Україна, індекс 32300 (iryna.paur@kpnu.edu.ua)*

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**THE JEWISH POPULATION OF THE RUSSIAN-AUSTRIAN BORDERLAND  
AT THE TURN OF THE 19th – THE 20th CENTURIES: ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES  
AND DAILY PRACTICES (BASED ON DOCUMENTARY POSTCARDS)**

**Abstract.** *The relevance of the study is determined by the shifts in recent decades in the perception of visual sources, as intellectual activity has encouraged researchers “to rediscover” their sources. The research priorities reorientation has led to the academic community recognizing documentary postcards and their written messages as significant sources with great potential for understanding a spiritual and material life, everyday practices, and mentality of the population of a given era. The purpose of the research is to outline the economic activities, everyday practices, and interactions with the surrounding world of members of the Jewish communities in the region of the eastern section*

of the Russian-Austrian borderland at the turn of the 19th – 20th centuries. The main source of the study consists of nearly 400 documentary postcards from private and museum collections, published in 1896 – 1918. **The research methodology** is based on the application of analytical and synthetic, historical and cultural attribution, iconographic, and comparative analysis methods. **The scientific novelty** of the study consists in expanding current understanding of the economic activity and everyday practices of the Jewish population in the Russian-Austrian borderland at the end of the 19th century, on the eve of and during World War I. **Conclusions.** The iconography of the postcards represents the everyday visual world of the Jewish population in the Russian-Austrian borderland, offering personal testimonies and opening up avenues for the study of their culture, economic activities, and daily practices. The imagery affirms that the synagogue functioned as the focal point of the Jewish communal life, while religious rituals-binding for all members of the community-constituted the supreme normative framework. The unquestioned authority of rabbis is reflected in their portraits and the depictions of their residences featured on the postcards. The visual content of the postcards attests to a significant role played by the Jewish entrepreneurs in the economic development of the imperial borderlands across adjacent regions. It visualizes the economic activity of the Jewish capital in the sugar, flour-milling, timber, and brick industries within the border provinces of the Russian Empire. This involvement contributed to the completion of the industrial transformation in the frontier regions – Volhynia, Podillia, Bukovyna, and Eastern Galicia. It also facilitated the development of transport infrastructure, accelerated urbanization processes, and led to the numerical predominance of the Jews among the urban population in the contact zone between the two empires. The imagery captured on the postcards documents the national character, leisure activities, domestic life, traditional dress, and everyday practices of the Jewish communities members. It reflects the patriarchal structure of the family, where male authority and leadership were dominant, yet women played a decisive role in key family decisions, upheld the Jewish religious principles, and ensured the satisfaction of daily needs. The postcards also reveal that individuals who sought to break away from familial and communal authority often renounced tradition and, as a result, faced social condemnation. The prevalence of antisemitism and the outbreak Jewish massacres, prompted waves of emigration from the western provinces of the empire to countries across the American continent. At the same time, the visual materials from World War I period attest that, even amid the turmoil of war, members of urban Jewish communities, despite numerous hardships and obstacles, persisted in maintaining established economic routines and everyday practices.

**Key words:** Jews, Jewish population, Austro-Russian borderland, postcard, documentary postcard, visual source.

## ЄВРЕЙСЬКЕ НАСЕЛЕННЯ РОСІЙСЬКО-АВСТРІЙСЬКОГО ПОГРАНИЧЧЯ НА ЗЛАМІ XIX – XX ст.: ГОСПОДАРСЬКА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ І ПОВСЯКДЕННІ ПРАКТИКИ (ЗА ДОКУМЕНТАЛЬНИМИ ПОШТІВКАМИ)

**Анотація.** Актуальність дослідження визначається змінами останніх десятиліть у ставленні до зображальних джерел, коли інтелектуальна активність спонукала дослідників “віднаходити” своє джерело. Переорієнтація дослідницьких пріоритетів зумовила визнання академічною спільнотою документальних поштівків і їхніх листовних повідомлень як вагомих джерел з великим потенціалом для розуміння духовного та матеріального життя, буденних практик і менталітету громадянства відповідної епохи. **Метою** статті є окреслення господарської діяльності, особливостей буденних практик, взаємин із навколишнім світом представників єврейських громад у регіоні східної ділянки російсько-австрійського пограниччя на зламі XIX – XX ст. Основним джерелом слугували майже 400 документальних листівок із приватних і музейних колекцій, виданих в 1896 – 1918 рр. **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на застосуванні аналітично-синтетичного, історико-культурної атрибуції, іконографічного й методу порівняльного аналізу. **Наукова новизна** полягає у розширенні уявлення про господарську діяльність й повсякденні практики єврейського населення російсько-австрійського порубіжжя наприкінці XIX ст., напередодні та в роки Першої світової війни. **Висновки.** Іконографія поштівків репрезентує повсякденний візуальний світ єврейського населення російсько-австрійського пограниччя, їх особисті свідчення та відкриває можливості вивчення їх культури, господарської діяльності і повсякденних практик. Їх зображення підтверджує, що центром життя єврейських громад

була синагога, а найвищим законом – релігійні обряди, які стосувалися всіх членів громад. Про беззаперечний авторитет рабинів свідчать їхні портрети й види їхніх резиденцій на поштівках. Їх зображальний ряд засвідчує важливу роль єврейських підприємців у розвитку економіки пограниччя імперій у межах суміжних регіонів, візуалізує економічну активність єврейського капіталу в цукровій, борошномельній, деревообробній, цегельній промисловості прикордонних губерній Росії, що сприяло завершенню промислового перевороту в регіонах порубіжжя – Волині, Поділля, Буковини й Східної Галичини. Це сприяло розвитку транспортної інфраструктури, прискорювало урбанізаційні процеси та зумовило чисельне переважання євреїв серед жителів міських поселень стикового прикордоння двох імперій. Зображення поштових листівок зафіксували національний колорит, дозволя, побут, традиційне вбрання та повсякденні практики членів єврейських громад; підтвердили владу і лідерство чоловіка в родині, хоча жінка приймала ключові рішення, дбала про дотримання іудейських принципів, забезпечувала повсякденні потреби. Вони також зафіксували, що охочі звільнитися від влади родини й громади зрікалися традицій і зазнавали осуду. Внаслідок антисемітизму та єврейських погромів відбувалася еміграція єврейського населення західних губерній у країни американського континенту. Водночас зображальний ряд поштових листівок періоду Першої світової війни засвідчив, що навіть у буремні роки члени єврейської громади міст, долаючи усілякі труднощі і перешкоди, продовжували усталені економічні й повсякденні практики.

**Ключові слова:** євреї, єврейське населення, австро-російське прикордоння, поштівка, документальна листівка, зображальне джерело.

**Problem Statement.** The territory of Ukraine has been home to one of the largest Jewish communities in Europe for centuries, and new perspectives for studying them can be found in the information potential of pictorial sources (photographs, documentary postcards/postcards), which have been long underestimated. The attitude to these pictorial materials has changed in the light of the current situation in source studies, when intellectual activity has encouraged researchers, as Jacques Le Goff said, to “construct” and “discover” one’s source. The refocusing of research priorities has led the academic community to recognize documentary postcards and their letters as valuable sources (documentary illustrations – *author’s note*) with great potential for understanding the spiritual and material life, everyday practices, and mentality of citizenship of the corresponding era.

**Review of Sources and Recent Research.** The historiography of the problem consists of the researchers' works who analyzed the documentary postcards with the Jewish subjects and described the role of Jews in the socio-economic life of the region. Historians and anthropologists mostly used event postcards as illustrations, sometimes analyzed their visual content, and did not develop methods for their analysis. X. Marici-Sabol and S. Puritsi emphasized the respect of Austrian postcard publishers for the Jewish community of Bukovyna in the early 1900s, whose prints demonstrated their significant role in the economic life of the region (Marici-Sabol, & Purici, 2020). G. Kubicha examined ethnographic photographs of the Polish Jews, and K. Walilewska-Predka studied the versatile photographs published by the Austrian and Polish publishers of documentary postcards (Kubica, 2015 – 2016; Wasilewska-Prędko, 2019). S. Kopylov and I. Paur noted the colourful images of the Jews on postcards from M. Graham’s Podillia Types series, analyzed images of Jewish architecture in Eastern Podillia on documentary postcards, and studied the everyday activities of the residents of Middle Podnistrovia in the early twentieth century (Kopylov, & Paur, 2019, 2021). The collectors initiated the publication of thematic albums with postcards from public and private collections that preserved the history of regions, cities, and rural settlements of Right-Bank Ukraine and neighbouring countries (Duda, & Sosenko, 1997; Oprea, 2007; Kotłobułatowa, 2006; Zabochen, Polishchuk, & Yatsiuk, 2000; Fedosiuk, 2008, Poberezhnyk, 2017; Fedoryshen, 2014). Their illustrative materials were used as sources, and

the comments and notes in these publications became a kind of research on the problem under study. I. Monolatii examined little-known facts of the biography and the main milestones in the life and activity of the Ukrainian publisher of the Jewish origin Ya. Orenstein, who was a publisher of documentary postcards, and analyzed his place and role in the Ukrainian-Jewish cultural and political relations in the first third of the twentieth century (Monolatii, 2025). J. Petrovsky-Shtern describes the economic, religious, and cultural life of the Jewish townshetl in Ukraine in the 18th and the 19th centuries (Petrovsky-Shtern, 2019).

Several types of images were identified on documentary postcards of 1896 – 1918 (almost 400 were examined) from museum, library, and private collections in Ukraine, Poland, and Romania, as well as their reproductions in albums, exhibition catalogues, scientific publications, and electronic copies on the Internet auction sites. These are the following ones: 1) photographs and reproductions of works of fine art depicting the Jewish types, religious and public buildings, and historical, architectural, and memorial monuments of the Jewish communities; 2) photographs of industrial production, commercial establishments, and transport owned or tenanted by the Jews; 3) photographs depicting the course of economic, religious life and everyday practices of the Jews on both sides of the Russian-Austrian border. The authors also took into account and analyzed various aspects of the philcartographic materials used: publishers, concept, subject matter, reception, etc.

**Research Purpose.** The article aims at outlining the economic activities and day-to-day life of Jewish communities in the eastern part of the Russian-Austrian borderland based on information documented in postcards.

**Research Results.** During the “long nineteenth century”, the largest Jewish community in Central and Eastern Europe was divided between the Russian and Austrian (since 1867, Austro-Hungarian) empires. The largest number of Jews inhabited the region of the borderlands (borderlands or interregnum – *authors' note*) of the states, which, due to its proximity to the state border, was the area of intersection of various cultural, religious, political influences and interethnic contacts, which resulted in an “ensemble of invisible ties” (Pierre Bourdieu). The borderland was a zone of attraction, an area of mutual repulsion, and a space of manipulation, which dictates the relevance of blending historical, genetic, functional, and psychological approaches to its characteristics (Veremnych, 2023, p. 311). There the system was formed by a specific atmosphere of the borderland (a zone along the state border line with a width of 5 to 100 km – *authors' note*), whose defining features were the state border and the possibility of relations between residents of adjacent regions of neighbouring states. After the third partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the eastern section of the border between the Romanov and Habsburg empires ran from Melnyk in Podlasie, south along the Buh River through Włodawa, Berestechko, Brody, Zbarazh, then along the Zbruch through Ozhyhivtsi, Volochysk, Pidvolochysk, Tarnoruda, Sataniv, Husiatyn until it flows into the Dniester near the village of Isakivtsi, and then along the Dniester to Novoselytsia in Bessarabia.

By featuring views of the state border line, images of border guards, customs officers, and travellers at border crossing points in Husiatyn, Novoselytsia, Pidvolochysk, Radziwill, and the others, the Austrian publishers emphasised the impact of the borderland situation on the economic life and the daily routine of the inhabitants of the border regions. The duplication of these prints demonstrated the power and efforts of the state to protect the borders and served as a prevention of illegal criminal acts (Kopylov, & Paur, 2022, p. 35). The images of uniformed border guards, customs officers, and quarantine officials on duty were also an expressive visual representation of state interests (Collection of postcards of Iryna Paur

(Kamianets-Podilskyi) – next CP Paur). At the same time, to promote the frontier among merchants and tourists, publishers circulated postcards with sights of historical and natural monuments and settlements along the state border: Volochysk, Zhvanets, Zoloty Potok, Iziaslav, Kovel, Kopychynets, Kryvch, Okopy, Radzivilov, Skala, etc.

On the borders of the Habsburg and the Romanov empires, the Ukrainians, the Jews, the Russians, the Moldovans, the Germans, the Poles, the Romanians, and other ethnic groups lived “together and apart”: they were united by the territory they inhabited, but separated by ethnic, religious, and social barriers. On the postcard “Gruss aus der Bukowina” (1899), the Austrian publishers placed models of the main ethnic groups of the multinational region: the Romanians, the Ukrainians, the Hutsuls, the Lipovans, and the Jews (**Fig. 1**); on another one, three representatives of the Jewish community and a synagogue in the religious centre of Hasidism, Sadgora (Sadaguri) (CP Kopylova). These images focused on the significance of Jews, one of the largest groups in the region. The rate of Jewish concentration among the population of Bukovyna was 15,2%, while in the neighbouring regions, it was slightly lower: in Eastern Galicia – 13,1%, in Volyn province – 13,2%, and Podillia – 12,2% (Beauvois, 2023, p. 36).



**Fig. 1. Types ethnic groups of Bukovyna**

*(Gruss aus der Bukowina. Verlag von Leon König Papierhandlung, nr 258, Czernowitz, 1899)*

Jewish communities on the border of the empires were not socially homogeneous, which was reflected by the Austrian and Polish publishers of documentary postcards. Talmudists (Torah scholars – *authors*), who devoted their lives to intellectual improvement and religious development, were the most reputable, and their portraits were reproduced on postcards to emphasize their importance in the life of Jewish societies (Duda, & Sosenko, 1997, p. 70). At the same time, we hardly ever come across their images in the Russian publishers, which confirms the prevailing xenophobia and hostile attitude of imperial society towards religious Jews and prohibition of official censors on their reprinting.

The majority of the Jews on the Russian-Austrian borderline lived in families and couples, so despite social stratification and financial inequality, the Jewish family was a self-sufficient institution. A housewife played a significant role in ensuring their well-being and organizing their everyday life. Only occasionally, however, we find images of the Jewish women next

to shops or stalls at the market squares of cities and towns, among peasant traders at markets (Collection of postcards of Serhiy Kopylova (Kamianets-Podilskyi) – next CP Kopylova). These prints prove that the Jewish hostesses made important decisions, sold groceries at the market or in shops in private houses, ran taverns, cooked, looked after livestock, kept the house in order, and took care of observing the Jewish traditions. Their daily work in the family business and the satisfaction of everyday needs demonstrated that the Jewish family despite, social stratification and financial inequality, was a self-sufficient institution.

At the end of the 19th century, wealthy entrepreneurs, successful businesses, and land tenants, who, on their initiative, achieved financial success and became respected guild merchants, financiers, and industrialists, emerged from the Jewish communities of the borderland. Talented and successful representatives of the “free professions” distinguished themselves from the communities, and their portraits on postcards by Austrian, Jewish, and Polish publishers emphasized their important role in the cultural and healthcare life of the urban settlements (Kopylov, & Paur, 2021, p. 16).

Trade and middle-management activities were the most relevant segment of the Jewish economic activity. This type of entrepreneurship, which imposed almost no personal obligations on the organizers, was physically easier than agriculture, provided greater profitability, mitigated potential political persecution, and gave them the freedom to move freely and travel abroad. To carry out trade operations, the Jewish merchants systematically, sometimes daily, crossed the state border, the land and water frontier that separated territories of the countries. Undoubtedly, the border factor had a significant impact on the economic activity and everyday life of merchants, who, while crossing the border, established contacts with the border guards, customs officials, and travellers, including merchants and tourists, which became a very common occurrence for them (CP Paur).

Usually, successful Jewish entrepreneurs, like ordinary traders, organized and participated in smuggling activities: they smuggled illegal immigrants across the border, transported stolen cattle, transported banned publications and various restricted goods from Austria to the Russian Empire, etc. Austrian publishers were eager to replicate views of the Austrian-Russian border, checkpoints, border guards, and customs administrative buildings, which intended to convince ordinary citizens that the border guards were reliably protecting state interests (CP Kopylov; CP Paur).

The major type of economic activity of the Jews on the Russian-Austrian border was trade and intermediary activity. The main figures of the Jewish trade were the privileged members of the merchant guild, wealthy merchants, and shopkeepers, who were very important in economic relations and everyday life in the region. This aspect of the region’s economic life was documented by postcard publishers, in pictures of streets and market squares in Tulchyn, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Vinnytsia, Medzhybizh, Proskuriv, Lutsk, Ostroh, Rivne (Kopylov, & Paur, 2019, pp. 188; Fedoryshen, 2014, pp. 34, 36; Kopylov, & Paur, 2021, p. 15; CP Kopylov; Pryscheпа, 2010, pp. 114–115), and the others which showed the facades and advertisements of shops, most of which were owned by the Jewish entrepreneurs. Due to their initiative and efforts in the cities and towns of Volyn and Podillya provinces, steady trade acquired qualitatively new forms and successfully performed the function of turnover from the production sector to the consumer sector, increasing its volume and expanding the range of goods.

The postcards demonstrated that the railway stations of Zhmerynka and Zdolbuniv (**Fig. 2**) became the centres of trade, with 31 retail establishments operating in 1903 and daily markets being held near the railway station.



**Fig. 2. Zdolbuniv. Vokzalna Street**

*(g. Zdolbunov. Vokzalnaya ulica. Izd. Kontragenstva A.S. Suvorina i K<sup>o</sup>, nr 2, Moskva, 1916)*

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, permanent trade was closely connected with market trade. On postcards Austrian and Russian publishers depicted trading at fairs and markets in Brody, Husiatyn, Zholkva, Zalishchyky, Zoloty Potik, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Kolomyia, Letychiv, Medzhybizh, Nemyriv, Skala, and Chortkiv, when the Jews welcomed peasants who had arrived from local villages, readily bought fresh products from them, and, having received money, the latter went to the Jewish shops and taverns. Such trips abroad expected the participation of the Jews in various trade practices: negotiations, purchases, or sales of goods.

At fairs and market squares in cities and towns, the Jewish artisans and traders, as well as peasants from the surrounding villages, were captured by local photographers, and their portraits against the background of market squares with rows of shops, horse-drawn carts with various goods, and bidders were among the most common subjects of documentary postcards. All this attention of Jewish entrepreneurs and postcard publishers (G. Wasserman, L. Warhaftig, L. Hochman, D. Lachmanowicz, J. Orenstein, E. Hayes, G. Spizman, and the others) to fairs, markets, and ordinary vendors' markets emphasized the importance of the trade sector in the economy of the Pale of Settlement and the primary role of Jewish merchants in its organization. It should be mentioned that markets and fairs in urban and rural settlements were perhaps the most important places of the Ukrainian – Jewish interaction.

The centres of Jewish trading and resale in the area borderland were shtetls, small towns with a dominant Yiddish-speaking population among the local population. Trade in shtetls defined and regulated the lives of their inhabitants, primarily Jewish artisans, retailers, and merchants involved in its activities. A characteristic feature of the towns, as seen in the photographs of the artists and postcard images, was the rows of small stalls in the market squares selling textiles or groceries at markets and fairs, which resembled the covered shopping arcades in the large cities of Europe. The Jewish traders owned such pavilions and shops, which were the focal point of annual contracts, Sunday fairs, and weekday trade, in particular in Dunayivtsi, Zhvanka, Zalishchyky, Zinkiv, Sataniv, Felshtyn, Yarmolyntsi, and other areas. Typically, they were captured by local photographers and soon afterwards on postcards of local publishers.

The Jews from the settlements along the Dniester or Cheremosh rivers organised the purchase, rafting, and sale of the Carpathian spruce trees, stacking them near the wharves, which usually attracted the attention of local photographers and postcard publishers. In many places on the banks, the Jewish tradesmen set up sawmills where they processed some of the wood used by the population for housing construction (CP Kopylov; CP Paur). The Jews of the town of Kytaihorod in Ushytsia district of Podillia ran mills on the Ternavets, a left tributary of the Dniester, a distillery, two inns, engaged in the carriage trade, and sold bread (Sulkovsky, 1889, p. 644; Kitaygorod, 1885, p. 280). Their significant role in the town's economy was confirmed by the image of the postcard "Yar near Kytaihorod", which shows a cathedral, an Orthodox church, shtetl buildings, and the Jewish cemetery on limestone slopes (Kreczmański, 2007, p. 135).

Taverns and inns (skittles, monopolies – *authors' note*) played an important role in the economic and everyday practices of the Jews in shtetls and towns on the borderlands, being a peculiar core of social, financial, and informational networks. In taverns, the Jews made deals, borrowed money, bought food, exchanged horses, spent the night on the way to the fair, and shared news, etc. In Bukovyna, taverns and pubs were usually located on the main streets, where they were photographed, and later their photos were reproduced on documentary postcards (Cheviuk & Zakharchuk, 2008, p. 30).

There was no shortage of inns and taverns on the Russian frontier, as evidenced by the images of postcards with sights of Zhvanets, Letychiv, Medzhybizh, Nemyriv, Felshtyn, and the others, which were on the routes connecting the most important fairgrounds. To attract customers, tavern keepers had to be creative. Travellers, merchants, and locals could order wine or vodka, have breakfast and dinner, and sometimes spend the night in taverns. In taverns with inns, merchants could leave their horses and carts loaded with goods in a fenced courtyard, the entrance gates of which are sometimes featured on postcards (**Fig. 3**).



**Fig. 3. Tavern with an Inn in Felshtyn**

(*Budivnytstvo tsivilne. Zaїzd v Felshtyni na Pod. Vydavnyche T-vo "Drukar" Kyiv, "Halytska nakladnia" Kolomyia [1919]*)

The regulations of the Russian and Austrian empires allowed the Jewish entrepreneurship in industry and trade as well as the possibility of engaging in usury (lending money at interest).

The moneylenders were representatives of the Jewish monetary capital, shopkeepers, merchants, tavern keepers, and usurers. The role of moneylenders in socioeconomic relations in the Podillia province is emphasized in one of the postcards of the series “Podillia types” by the photographer and postcard publisher M. Graham with a portrait of a Kamianets moneylender, indicated by the universal jewellery scale in his hands (**Fig. 4**).



**Fig. 4. Podillia Types – Kamianets Moneylender**

*(Podolskaya tipa. Types Podoliens, nr 8)*

In the 1900s, the Jewish moneylenders provided loans on a mass scale to migrant workers travelling abroad or to families who decided to emigrate to the United States, Canada, Brazil, and other countries. The space of the Russian-Austrian border became a place of searching for chances, lack of feeling of earth under the feet, and eternal escape. The Jews of Podillia, Kyiv, and Bessarabia provinces left for emigration or to work, usually through checkpoints on the border with the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They travelled on horse-drawn transport along the route Kamianets-Podilskyi-Zhvanets-Isakivtsi-Borshchiv-Ternopil-Lviv. With the opening of the Lviv-Ternopil-Volochysk railway line, Pidvolochysk became one of the main border posts on the frontier of the empires and photographs of the local station building and Austrian border guards in uniform adorned postcards (CP Kopylov). Train traffic through Pidvolochysk was quite busy. The same route was used by the Jews to go to work or emigrate, as recorded by Lviv publisher: “Two Jewish migrant workers were sitting and looking out of the window of a third-class carriage of the Lviv-Vienna train, and their smiling faces radiated hope for the realization of their plans and ideas” (CP Paur). Austrian postcards printed photographs of railway stations in Husiatyn, Zalishechyky, Lviv, Pidvolochysk, and Chernivtsi, as well as numerous bridges used for railway traffic, while Russian postcards featured photographs of railway stations and platforms in Kyiv, Vinnytsia, Volochysk, Zhmerynka, Proskuriv, and Rivne, which were on the way to European countries.

In several places in Volhynia, Kyiv, and Podillia, the Jews were involved in the development of agriculture. However, they were interested in land mainly as a tool for gaining capital for further investment in more profitable sectors of the economy: flour mills, distilleries, breweries, sugar refineries, craft workshops, trade, etc. Instead, publishers

willingly distributed photographs of fields of ripe wheat, apple orchards, grape and sugar beet plantations where the Ukrainian peasants or Czech colonists worked.

Industrial production was critical to the economy of the Russian-Austrian borderland, as witnessed by the numerous images of refineries and breweries, power plants, flour mills, distilleries, sawmills, etc. A similar series of postcards displayed the consequences of the Industrial Revolution and represented the most modern enterprises in the region, some of which were owned or leased by the Jewish capital. The same images showed the importance of the work of industrial workers, for whom “labour” was an integral part of everyday survival, and working with machines and mechanisms, even in handicraft workshops, was filled with ideals of “masculine” mastery of the world.

The development of light industry in the borderland of Podillia province is confirmed by images of two newly built enterprises: the sugar factory of the merchant Solomon Marantz and a steam mill built by this entrepreneur near the railway station Proskuriv in 1892, which for three years in a row became part of the first joint-stock company in the city, the “Proskuriv Mill Production Company of S. G. Marantz”. The depiction of these enterprises was placed on the photo collage of the postcard “Proskuriv” (until 1904 – *authors’ note*), published by the bookstore owner J. Jacemyrska.

Offhanded, Warsaw publisher B. Wierzbicki published a photograph of one of the most famous breweries in Podillia, the Tulchyn Brewery (tenant L. Rosenfeld, director I. Rosenthal), on a postcard for advertising purposes (**Fig. 5**).



**Fig. 5. Tulchyn Brewery**

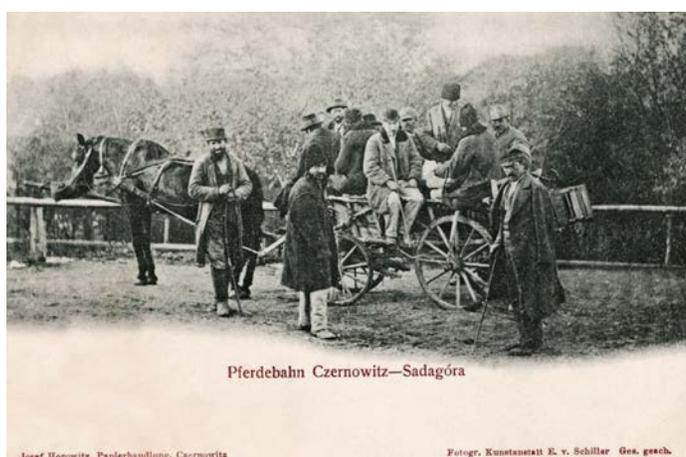
*(Tulczyn, Podole. Browar; Tulchin, Podolsk. Pivovarnyj zavod. Zaklad Fotochem. B. Wierzbicki i S-ka)*

As a rule, publishers tried to visualize new modern industrial facilities for advertising (power plants in Nemyriv and Rivne), famous historical and architectural monuments (Kamianets, Medzhybizh, Khotyn fortresses), and views of the city's central squares and streets (Borshchiv, Vinnytsia, Kovel, Medzhybizh, Proskuriv, Rivne, etc.). Undoubtedly, the choice of industrial facilities for visualization was determined by their appearance, importance in the economic processes of the region, and the interest of their owners or tenants.

The expansion of shareholder campaigns facilitated the penetration of Jewish capital into the sugar industry on the Right Bank of Ukraine. In the early 1890s, the Jews owned 34,6%

of all shares in 28 companies on the Right Bank (Rakovsky, 1992, p. 161). Enterprises, regardless of the nationality of their owners, employed a large community of Jewish employees who held the positions of directors and technical directors, accountants, senior chemists, mechanics, and others. On the eve of World War I, Austrian publishers advertised the Zalishchyky and Kryshchatyk sugar factories on postcards, and the Chikhachov landowners from Murovani Kurylivtsi, where the Jews made up more than the third of the population, circulated photographic postcards with views of their estate, local farm fields, market square, and sugar factory (CP Kopylov).

The Jewish merchants participated in the development of horse-drawn transport in the borderland region, which served the circulation of thousands of people and goods. In the late 19th century, the Jews of Sadhora held the monopoly on the carriage trade on the Chernivtsi-Sadhora-Chernivtsi route, which is evidenced by the images of postcards by local publishers J. Horowitz and W. von Simon Gross (**Fig. 6**).



**Fig. 6. Jewish merchants-carriers of Sadhora**

*(Pferdebahn Czernowitz-Sadagóra. Josef Horowitz Papierhandlung. Czernowitz. Fotogr. Kunstanstalt E. v. Schiller Ges. gesch, [1900])*

The carriers gathered travellers near the railway station and on the banks of the Prut, where they accommodated 8–10 people without any alternative and drove them on long carts for about an hour to the spiritual centre of the Hasidim of Eastern Europe. In Sadhora, there was the residence of the miraculous Rabbi Friedman and a synagogue, the images of which were reproduced on Austrian postcards. The Jewish water carriers from among the traders and residents of the village of Zhabintsi delivered drinking water to the residents of Kamianets-Podilskiy on horse-drawn carts daily from the Hun well or from the surrounding villages for 2–5 rubles per month or 25–35 kopecks of silver per barrel or 3–6 kopecks per bucket (Sementovskiy, 1862, p. 8). The Jewish traders also delivered water to Vinnytsia and Mohyliv-Podilskiy (Karoeva, 1998, p. 24; CP Kopylov).

The wealthiest members of Jewish communities, including successful entrepreneurs, were involved in various charitable projects. The charity was clear evidence of the philanthropists' success, a demonstration of their economic strength and sustainability, a manifestation of

care for their fellow congregants. Taking into account the importance of health care in the daily routine of the Jews, successful entrepreneurs usually initiated the construction of Jewish hospitals at their own expense, which were opened in Balta, Bender, Vinnytsia, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Mohyliv-Podilskyi, and the others in the late 19th century. The ceremonial opening of the Jewish hospital in Balta in 1898 was a grand event for the 13,000-strong Jewish community of Podillia (Kopylov, & Paur, 2021, p. 16). According to a documentary postcard, the meeting was attended by members of the provincial governing board, representatives of the rabbinate, and Podillia's Jews, who were represented by festively dressed men and teenage boys (**Fig. 7**).



**Fig. 7. Ceremonial Opening of the Jewish Hospital in Balta in 1898**

(*Balta. Evrejskaya bolnica, Balta. Jüdisches Krankenhaus, [1900 – 1904]*)

On the initiative of philanthropists from the wealthy members of the Jewish community of Bukovyna, an exquisite four-storey Art Nouveau building of the Jewish People's House (an architect T. Levandowski) was built in 1908 on one of the central streets of Chernivtsi. The new building became not only the centre of the Jewish community but also a kind of business card of the city. Its image was repeatedly reproduced on postcards on the eve of World War I. The postcards also featured a photograph of the two-storey Jewish orphanage in Chernivtsi, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1898 to mark the accession of Emperor Franz Joseph to the throne (CP Kopylov).

The Jewish communities of the borderlands, despite their foreign-speaking, usually Christian, surroundings, lived a measured life dictated by historical traditions and religious spirit and characterised by a corresponding rhythm and cycles. The highest law for all religiously observant Jews was religious ritual, which applied to the all members of the community and was strictly observed. The rabbi and religious sage held a very respectful position among the community members, and the miracle-working rabbis of Boyan, Vyzhnytsia, Sadhora, and Chortkiv were considered saints. Every year, on the Jewish holidays, thousands of Hasidim from Bukovyna, Galicia, and the borderlands of the Russian Empire would come together for pilgrimage and prayer to the miracle-working rabbis, where they would receive their blessings. The undisputed authority of the rabbis among the Hasidim was evidenced by their portraits

and views of their magnificent residences in Sadhora and Chortkiv on postcards issued by the Austrian, Jewish, and Polish publishers (Duda, & Sosenko, 1997; CP Kopylov; CP Paur).

The synagogue was the centre of Jewish community life on the borderland, where people gathered for common prayer, study of sacred texts, and solemn ceremonies and court trials. Their significance is confirmed by images on postcards of synagogue buildings of different styles in Volodymyr-Volynskiy, Horokhiv, Kamianets-Podilskiy, Lutsk, Pidhaitsi, Rivne, Sadhory, Chernivtsi, and other cities. However, the publishers did not replicate views of wooden synagogues, which were traditional for shtetls in Podillia and Volhynia. Presumably because of their less-than-presentable appearance. It was only after the collapse of the Habsburg Empire that three postcards with views of Jewish buildings were printed in the series Civil Construction in late 1918, thanks to the cooperation of the Drukar publishing house in Kyiv and J. Orenstein's Galician Invoice in Kolomyia: a wooden Karaite shul in Lutsk (Fedosiuk, 2008, p. 32), a drive-in in Felshtyn (**Fig. 3**), and a stone synagogue in Sataniv (1532). The building of the latter, as well as the fortress synagogues in Shargorod (1589) and Husiatyn (early seventeenth century) (CP Kopylov), demonstrated the invincibility of their walls combined with the originality of their architectural style.

There were few photographers and publishers of illustrated postcards on either side of the Russian-Austrian border who visualized Jewish neighbourhoods in cities, towns, or shtetls in Galicia, Podolia, and Volhynia. Exceptions included cases where the Jewish buildings were located along the boundary of one of the perimeters of the marketplace (Zhvanets, Medzhybizh, Nemyriv), near-religious or public buildings (Iziaslav, Kamianets-Podilskiy, Starokonstantyniv). These rare views of documentary postcards allow us to form an idea of the Jewish architecture of the frontier.

The Jews in the central neighbourhoods of cities and towns had shops in front of their homes to attract passers-by, or they sold directly from open windows or doors. Their homes could combine the functions of a city store and a village warehouse. In several places, a room on the ground floor of a Jewish house could serve as an inn, shop, or craft workshop. In particular, Dovha Street in Kamianets-Podilskiy, which was featured on several postcards by local publishers (Kopylov, & Paur, 2019, pp. 178–179), was almost entirely occupied by the Jewish shops and workshops that were hospitably open to customers.

The typical architecture of a two-story Jewish house with galleries and a barn is depicted on a postcard with a reproduction of the painting *Victim of Fanaticism* (1899) by Ukrainian artist M. Pymonenko (**Fig. 8**). To paint this picture, the author travelled to Kremenets, where he made many drawings and sketches of the city's landscapes and types of Jewish population. At the very same time, the depicted the lynching of a Jewish girl by an angry crowd who fell in love with a Ukrainian blacksmith and converted to Christianity demonstrated the vulnerability of the Jewish family to internal and external conflicts, which foreshadowed the decline of the Jewish town.

The way of life and everyday practices that had been developed over the years determined the ability of Jews to organize leisure time at a convenient time, using a variety of reasons. A common pastime for residents of Zalishchyky, Zhvanets, Kamianka, Mohyliv-Podilskiy, Stara Ushytsia, Yampil, and the others as well as residents of Kamianets-Podilskiy, Skala, Chortkiv on its tributaries the Smotrych, Zbruch, Seret rivers, was, as can be seen on the postcard images, watching the river flow, the passage of ships, their maneuvering near the marinas, rafting on the Carpathian fir trees, etc. Communication between participants of such entertainment became more lively when the participants were neighbours, usually representatives of the same ethnic group.



**Fig. 8. Mykola Pymonenko “Victim of Fanaticism” (1899)**

*(Pimonenko “Zhertva fanatizma” [1912])*

In Kamianets-Podilskyi, a favourite place for entertainment and leisure for Jewish children from the Jerusalemka neighbourhood in the Old Town was the banks of the Smotrych River near the footbridge between its banks. The moment of this children’s play was captured in the postcard “On the Banks of the Smotrych River” published by Jewish businessman H. Spizman (CP Kopylov). In shtetls or small towns such Jews met in the streets, near shops, or in market squares in their free time to exchange news and discuss everyday affairs. Such everyday practices were usually captured by photographers, but these photos were “overlooked” by postcard publishers, who took into consideration the censorship restrictions in place. Non-verbal communication was also significant among the Jewish residents of urban settlements. Fishing was a common activity for the Jews, and it took place in the Horyna, Dniester, Zbruch, Sluch, Smotrych and other rivers. Photographers captured individual fishermen and groups of them, and these photographs were used to create documentary postcards showcasing the region (CP Paur).

In the largest cities of the Russian frontier, such as Vinnytsia, Zalishchyky, Kamianets-Podilskyi, Lutsk, Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Proskuriv, and Rivne, the beautification of city squares, boulevards, streets, and parks created new entertainment opportunities. In Kamianets-Podilskyi, a favourite leisure activity of wealthy citizens, including wealthy Jews, was visiting the shops located on Central Square, Troitska and Poshtova streets; in Lutsk, on Shoseyna Street; in Rivne, on Holovna Shoseyna Street; in Proskuriv, on Kamianetska and Oleksandrivska streets, which was usually recorded by photographers and postcard publishers. The Jewish families lived in the central streets of the towns, and their dwellings were used as shops, warehouses, or workshops (Fedosiuk, 2008, p. 21; Pryscheпа, 2010, p. 195; CP Kopylov).

The most well-known event of 1904 in the life of the Hasidic communities of Northern Bukovyna and the adjacent regions of Podillia was the wedding of the daughter of a legendary Rabbi Friedman of Sadhory. This event was reported in the secular chronicle by most of the Austrian newspaper writers, and one of the publishers of postcards in Chernivtsi did not ignore it (**Fig. 9**). He skilfully conveyed the national spirit and the solemn atmosphere of the

wedding ceremony as the bride and groom performed the ceremony under the wedding canopy after reading the marriage contract, and the guests were eager to have fun and rejoice with the Friedman family (The Open Door, 2002, p. 43). The guests, especially Jewish women, wore brightly coloured dresses or skirts, fashionable short jackets, wrapped silk scarves and jewellery made of pearls and precious stones. The wives of the wealthiest merchants wore diamonds and other jewellery, while the wives of middle-class tradespeople could boast of necklaces made of silver ducats or corals on silk thread. The wedding was boisterous and surprisingly joyful, a striking contrast to the dreary black and grey everyday life of ordinary Jews on the Austro-Russian border.



**Fig. 9. Wedding of the Daughter of the Rabbi Friedman of Sadhory**  
(*Slub. Chype-Maseltow "Nakladem E. Schiller", Czernowce, [1904]*)

The life of Jewish communities on the Right Bank of Ukraine was influenced by anti-Semitism imposed from Western Europe, whose proponents rejected coexistence with the Jews in any form. Violent acts of anti-Semitic attitudes by the population and the military led to spontaneous riots that took place. The pogroms were economically motivated and caused by political instability, and were accompanied by the destruction of property, looting, abuse of the individual, and sometimes even the death of people (Reient, & Serdiuk, 2021, p. 93). Mass violence against the Jews was received differently by the public: some sympathised with the perpetrators and approved of their actions, while others condemned the violence and sympathised with the victims. Some publishers reacted to the tragic events by printing black-and-white postcards with drawings by the Jewish artists M. Maimon "In the Motherland" and K. Filkovich "Pogrom" condemning the riots. However, no postcards with postal stamps were found, indicating that they were probably banned from being used for mailing. As a result of the violent acts, 240,000 Jews emigrated to North America alone in 1906 – 1907.

With the outbreak of World War I, most of the countries at war banned the sending of letters in postal envelopes, and all written messages were sent to addressees only on open correspondence cards. The military authorities were added to the list of publishers of postal correspondence forms, and the subject matter of postcard images was propagandistic. In the

German-occupied areas of Volyn province, postcards were printed for German soldiers with the inscription “Feldpostkarte” (German for “field post letter”), which depicted views of cities, types of residents, episodes of their routine, etc. The replication of similar scenes indicated the successes of the Kaiser’s army, attracted the attention of recipients, and introduced them to a little-known country. In particular, a postcard sent by field post on 25 November 1917 to E. Bork in Berlin-Mariendorf depicts a group of middle-aged and older Jewish men in the Kamen-Kashirsky market square (Fedosiuk, 2008, p. 163).

In another postcard from the same period, the German publisher emphasised the view of the Jewish quarter in Volodymyr-Volynskyi (CP Kopylova). Its buildings were a kind of space where the natural agricultural cycle coexisted with the economic system of urban civilisation. Nearly every house in this quarter was a symbiosis of a city dwelling and a village house with an attached barn and shed, as Jews involved in city crafts and trade kept livestock and poultry. The houses of wealthy Jews were more similar to standard urban buildings, while those of the poor were more similar to rural huts. At the same time, the postcard of the Korps Hofman charitable foundation for the Austrian army included a black-and-white graphic drawing by the great Hungarian avant-garde artist of Jewish origin Bertalan Pora of the seventeenth-century stone defensive synagogue in Pidhaisi, several neighbouring mud houses from the Jewish quarter, and six harnessed carts (CP Kopylov). The story depicted by the master showed that during the tumultuous years of the First World War, members of the Jewish community of the city, overcoming all sorts of difficulties and obstacles, continued their established economic and everyday practices: They traded in shops and on the market, worked in craft workshops, followed a set of religious observances and the Sabbath, attended synagogues, etc., which was confirmed by a series of German postcards from the occupation period with a view of the Great Synagogue in Volodymyr-Volynskyi and the bustling life around it (CP Paur).

**Conclusions.** The postcards from the late 19th and early 20th centuries serve as crucial visual sources. Their significance lies in their reliability in characterizing the societal worldview, their social orientation, and the mass democratic nature of this channel of interpersonal communication, which establishes a connection with the life world of people from the past.

The iconography of these postcards reflects the daily visual world of the Jewish population in the Russian-Austrian borderland and serves as testimonies of their lives. This opens possibilities for studying their culture, economic activities, and everyday practices. The images on these postcards confirm that the synagogue was the center of the Jewish life in the borderlands and that religious rituals held the highest authority, applicable to all members of the communities. The absolute authority of rabbis is evidenced by their portraits and views of their residences, depicted on postcards by Austrian, Jewish, and Polish publishers.

These documentary postcards bear witness to the significant role of Jewish entrepreneurs in developing the economies of the Habsburg and Romanov empires’ borderlands, extending into neighboring regions. The series of images depict the economic activities of Jewish capital in the sugar, flour milling, woodworking, brick and tile industries of the Russian border provinces. These activities contributed to the completion of the industrial revolution in the regions of the Russian-Austrian borderland – Volyn, Podillya, Bukovina, and Eastern Galicia. This development facilitated the growth of transport infrastructure, accelerated urbanization processes, and led to a numerical predominance of Jews among the inhabitants of urban settlements on the borderlands of the two empires.

The depictions on these postcards capture the national color, leisure activities, household scenes, traditional dress, and everyday practices of Jewish community members. They confirm the influence and leadership of men within the family, even though women often made key decisions, ensured adherence to Jewish principles, and fulfilled daily needs. These postcards also document that those who sought to break free from family and community traditions were often ostracized.

Due to anti-Semitism and persecution, the Jewish population of the western provinces emigrated to the American continents. Yet, several postcards from World War I era depict that even during turbulent times, members of the Jewish community in cities continued their established economic and everyday practices, overcoming various difficulties and obstacles.

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