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## BESSARABIAN MOTIFS IN THE CREATIVE HERITAGE OF PODOLIAN PHOTO ARTIST MYKHAILO GREIM

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### Rezumat

#### Motive basarabene în moștenirea culturală a artistului-fotograf din Podolia Mihail Greim

Articolul este dedicat operei unui fotograf remarcabil, unul dintre primii maeștri ai fotografiei din Podolia, Mihail Greim. Este prezentată o trecere în revistă a publicațiilor autorilor ucraineni și străini despre activitatea artistului și este definit scopul articolului. Se remarcă faptul că studiile nu menționează aproape deloc întreaga colecție de fotografii dedicate ținuturilor basarabene, care se învecinau îndeaproape cu Podolia ucraineană. Autorul analizează viața și formarea lui Greim ca fotograf, interesele sale profesionale. Este prezentată gama de compoziții fotografice de gen, atenția se concentrează asupra autoportretelor. Articolul este completat cu fotografii de arhivă, găsite de autori în Ucraina și Polonia, unde se acordă o importanță deosebită anumitor teritorii din Basarabia și locuitorilor săi. Fotografiile demonstrează legăturile domestice și familiale strănse, care, la rândul lor, s-au reflectat în formarea și existența tradițiilor populare multiculturale ale regiunii, în formarea tipurilor etnografice ale populației, purtătoare ale codului etnic al poporului. Fotografiile maestrului sunt poate singura fixare fotografică care, chiar și în detalii infime, poartă informații importante despre viața, modul de viață, aspectul, mediul și ocupația populației moldovenești din Basarabia, la granița cu Podolia din Ucraina. Moștenirea creativă a lui Greim este o contribuție semnificativă la studiul identității naționale a popoarelor ucrainean și moldovenesc.

**Cuvinte-cheie:** fotografie, activitate creativă, patrimoniu artistic, populația din Basarabia, locuitori din Podolia, tipul etnografic al populației, studii regionale.

### Резюме

#### Бессарабские мотивы в творческом наследии подольского фотохудожника Михаила Грейма

Статья посвящена творчеству выдающегося фотохудожника, одного из первых мастеров фотографии на Подолье Михаилу Грейму. Представлен обзор публикаций украинских и зарубежных авторов о деятельности художника, определена цель статьи. Отмечено, что в исследованиях почти не упоминается целая подборка снимков, посвященных бессарабским землям, которые вплотную прилегали к украинскому Подолью. Рассмотрен жизненный путь, становление Грейма как фотохудожника, сферы его профессиональных интересов. Представлен диапазон жанровых фотографических композиций мастера, акцентировано внимание на автопортретах. Статью дополняют архивные снимки, найденные авторами в Украине и Польше, где особое значение придается конкретным территориям Бессарабии и ее жителям. Фото демонстрируют тесные бытовые и семейные связи, которые в свою очередь отражались на становлении и экзистенции народных поликультурных

традиций региона, на формировании этнографических типов населения, носителей этнического кода народа. Снимки мастера – едва ли не единственная фотофиксация, которая даже в мелких деталях несет важную информацию о жизни, быте, внешнем виде, окружении и занятиях молдавского населения пограничной к украинскому Подолью Бессарабии. Творческое наследие Грейма – это значительный вклад в изучение национальной идентичности украинского и молдавского народов.

**Ключевые слова:** фотография, творческая деятельность, художественное наследие, население Бессарабии, жители Подолья, этнографический тип населения, регионоведение.

### Summary

#### Bessarabian motifs in the creative heritage of Podolian photo artist Mykhailo Greim

The article is devoted to the work of the outstanding photo artist, one of the first masters of photography in Podolia, Mykhailo Greim. The review of publications of Ukrainian and foreign authors about the artist's activity is presented, the purpose of the article is defined. It is noted that the studies almost do not mention a whole selection of images dedicated to the Bessarabian lands, which were closely adjacent to the Ukrainian Podolia. The life path, the formation of Greim as a photographer, the scope of his professional interests are considered. The range of genre photographic compositions of the master is presented, attention is focused on self-portraits. The article is complemented by archival photographs found by the authors in Ukraine and Poland, they demonstrate close household and family ties, which in turn were reflected in the formation and existence of the folk multicultural traditions of the region. The master's photographs are perhaps the only photographic record that, carries important information about the way of life, appearance, environment and occupations of the Moldavian population of Bessarabia bordering the Ukrainian Podolia. Greim's creative heritage is a significant contribution to the study of the national identity of the Ukrainian and Moldovan nations.

**Key words:** photography, creative activity, artistic heritage, population of Bessarabia, inhabitants of Podolia, regional studies.

One of the representatives of the artistic galaxy who devoted his life to the documentary reproduction of ancient monuments, carefully preserving for the present and the future the best examples of past centuries, is the Podolian photo artist Mykhailo Greim (1828–1911), who left many valuable artistic photographic materials. Greim's life path is

reflected to a certain extent in the publications of scientists and writers of various fields, among whom were local historians and art historians A. Prusevich (Prusevich 1911: 411-413), N. Kozlova (Kozlova 1990), E. Nazarenko (Nazarenko 1993), H. Osetrova, L. Bazhenov (Bazhenov: 2005), I. Pidgurnyi (Pidgurnyi 2010: 16-19), Y. Dzevulska (Dzevulska 2011: 379-420), historians Y. Gazhtetskyi (Gazhtetskyi 1972), A. Paraviychuk (Paraviychuk 1979), A. Kvyatkovskiy, O. Zavalniuk (Zavalniuk 2003: 52-56), O. Komarnitskyi (Komarnitskyi 2003: 52-56), S. Shchepanskyi (Shchepanskyi 1997: 7) and others, who in their writings touched upon certain facts from the biography of the outstanding photographer, numismatist, collector, local historian, scientist and public figure. Most of the publications contain mainly biographical information about Greim. Among his creative output are a series of photographs with different themes, dedicated to the life of certain strata of the population: peasants, nobility, Jews, beggars, residents of Kamianets-Podilskyi and Podillia in general, etc. Polish researcher Yoanna Dzewulska mentions in the article “The world of Podillia and Bessarabia in the lens of Mykhailo Greim. Gifts of Photography for the Polish Academy of Craftsmanship” about photographs containing images of landscapes, villages and inhabitants of these areas (Dzewulska 2011: 379-420). However, the mentioned article is devoted to one collection located in the Polish Academy of Crafts, where insufficient attention is paid to the Bessarabian motifs present in M. Greim’s work. Insignificant coverage of this topic prompts us to consider it more thoroughly in our article.

Mykhailo Greim’s family appeared in Podilla in 1852, when he arrived and started working at the Provincial Printing House. It is much rarer to find the date and place of his birth – September 15, 1828, in the town of Żelechów (85 km from Warsaw) in the Vistula Region (now Garwolin County, Masovian Voivodeship, Poland) in the family of a burgher (Garztecki 1972: 53). M. Greim went to Warsaw, where he studied printing and photography.

At first, he worked in one of the printing houses in Warsaw and in 1848, he received a diploma for the title of typesetter from the Society of Warsaw Printers, and later – in a Jesuit printing house in Lublin. In the same year 1848, M. Greim joined the Society of Printers in Warsaw. This fact is reflected on the reverse side of the passepartout of the photo cards, where the inscriptions about the membership of the author of the photos in six different societ-

ies, both on the territory of Podillia and abroad, are placed on the ribbons that form a kind of coat of arms.

In 1852, M. Greim was appointed senior typist at the provincial printing house and worked there until 1872.

In 1872, he bought out the photographic establishment of Joseph Kordysh, where he opened his own photo studio (phototype and typography) (Prusevich 1911: 411), although his photographs are already mentioned starting from 1864. Residential buildings located on Tatarska Street, 16–18, namely on the corner of Gymnasium Lane and Tatarska Street, were combined into one building during reconstruction in the first half of the 19th century. He added a photographic pavilion with a single-pitched roof to the house, one part of which was under tiles, the other part was glassed, he bought equipment for a small printing press and organized a lithographic workshop, producing postcards (Zavalnyuk 2003: 52).

It is worth considering the self-portrait photographs, which M. Greim kindly sent in 1892 as part of a gift to Eliza Ozheshkova for the 25th anniversary of her writing activity. The inscription in his hand indicates that the pictures were taken at the request of Madam Eliza Ozheshkova, and that they were all taken over a period of 30 years. In each of the four photos (Fig. 1), one feels self-respect, a sense of one’s own ethos and dignity, and the signatures sound a subtle sense of humor: “...as an addition to the collection of types of Podilsk «foreigners», January 27, 1892” (BUŁ, J photo II 114 (a, b, c, d)). The gift is accompanied by a handwritten letter: “Dear Lady and Silver Jubilee! For the beautiful (in the «Country») «Confessions», I make New Year’s greetings: Health! ...until the Golden Jubilee, then the Diamond Jubilee. And for the beautiful deeds for humanity – a modest gift: Podilsky in the images of «Nyzyna», please accept from an unknown admirer and most loyal servant Mykhailo G. P. S. In the lowlands there are, because there must be, hills and some mountains. M. G.” (BUŁ, J fot II / 1-115).

M. Greim married Octavia from the Wagner family in 1853. The family was quite “decent”, but too impoverished. The family created by M. Greim in Kamianets was numerous. Only one name is missing – that of his daughter, who died in 1870; one of the friends expressed his condolences on this occasion in a letter. Instead, the names of Mykhailo’s 5 children are known. These were 3 sons: Jo-

seph, named after his grandfather, Jan, and Felix, as well as 2 daughters – Modesta, whose godfather was the photographer Joseph Kordysh, and the younger Virgilia (Garzdecki 1972: 184).

In the collection gifted to Eliza Ozheshkova, there is a photo collage (Fig. 2) of the entire Greim family (my family 15 years ago): in the bottom row in the center is a photo of Joseph Greim's father, who died in 1879 (the date is written on the photo collage); on both sides of the father: on the right – Mykhailo Greim himself, on the left – his wife Octavia, whose date of death is 1890, also written by hand; the top row contains pictures of three sons: on the right – Jan Graham (1860–1886), in the center – Felix Greim (junior), on the left – Joseph Greim (senior); on the right and left sides of the collage are photos of two daughters: Modesta and Virgilia (younger) (BUŁ, J fot II 115b A3). The impression of the family is complemented by another, so far unknown photo collage, found by the authors of the article in the funds of the Kamianets-Podilsky Historical Museum-Reserve, which more fully depicts the family circle of the photo artist (Fig. 3). The photo contains the inscription: "To Madam Honorata Zabronska on her birthday, January 12, 1875, with wishes for health and well-being from M. Greim and family" (KPDIMZ, KV-51900). Just as in the previous collage, photos of individual people are contained in an oval around the inscription, which indicates that it was created in M. Greim's photo workshop. In the center of the upper row is the head of the family, Joseph Greim, to the left of which is a heavily retouched and finished photograph of his wife, which is significantly different in quality from other photographs; it is followed by a photo of M. Greim himself, and then a full-length photo of his wife. On the right is a photo of the uncle, apparently with his son, and then there is a picture of Greim's brother.

The brothers are very similar to each other not only in their faces, but also in their hairstyles, mustaches, clothes, and facial expressions. It is difficult to identify the following photo, which depicts a full-length man in a white jacket. In the center of the bottom row is a photo of the middle son Jan, to the left of which are photos of daughters Modesta and Virgilia; on the right is a photo of the youngest son Felix, further – the three children of Mykhailo Greim together, where you can recognize Jan and Modesta. This photograph is an extremely important document that has been in the archive for a long time and is only now being introduced into scientific

circulation for the first time. Testimonies of outsiders claim: the family established by Mykhailo Greim was united. He was a good father not only from a material point of view, but a person who also cares about the well-being of the family. He encouraged family members to study and record the past. Thanks to his qualities, the pictures from the Bessarabia cycle, which were discussed in this article, have reached us.

Kamianechchyna, where Greim lived and worked, closely borders the lands of Bessarabia, whose inhabitants aroused the constant interest of the photographer, who was fond of finding and recording ethnographic types of the population. Since the photographer was an ethnic Polish, he donated his photos mainly to Polish institutions or private individuals. Therefore, most of his pictures are concentrated in museums, foundations, and private collections in Poland.

Considerable collections of Graeme's photographs are kept in Polish archives in Krakow and Lodz. In Kraków, photo collections of the artist are concentrated in three archives. The first of them is the archive of the Polish Academy of Crafts and the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAU and PAN). As mentioned above, M. Greim was a member of the anthropological commission of the Polish Academy of Crafts. In the yearbooks of the Academy of Craftsmanship, we found information about the pictures sent by him (Rocznik 1877: 95; Rocznik 1878: 98, Rocznik 1879: 143). In 1874, he sent 39 photographs of ethnographic types, in 1875 – 68 photographs of ethnographic types of Podillia and Kamianets surroundings, in 1876 – 19 photographs of ethnographic types, in 1877 – 21 tables of panoramas of Kamianets-Podilsky and ethnographic types; in 1878 – 27 pictures of various corners of the city of Kamianets-Podilsky and Podillia.

There is a collection of photographs in the archive of the scientific library of the Polish Academy of Crafts in Krakow; almost all of them are marked with impressions of Greim's dry, embossed seal, and explanatory signatures in his own hand.

The second collection of photographs is stored in the archives of the Severyn Udzele Ethnographic Museum. All photos of ethnographic types were transferred here from the archive of the Polish Academy of Crafts and grouped in 4 folders ("Europe", "Grandfathers", "Podilskyi clothing" and "Jews") (AME, F. Greim M. J., III, 297-324). In the museum were a collection of ethnographic types of Bessarabia has been placed (AME, F. Gre-

im M. J., III, 322-334).

The third rather large collection is in the National Museum of the city of Krakow – it is about sixty pictures mainly of Podillia and Kamianets-Podilsky, among them photocopies of landscapes, both graphic and pictorial; there are several drawings made by the hand of the photographer's son, Jan Greim. Most of the collection consists of photographs bearing the seal of the Society for the Protection of Polish Monuments of Art and Culture (Towarz. opieki nad polskimi zabytk. sztuki i kultury) with the handwritten mark "Dom Matejki 1912". And only two have an impression of Greim's dry seal, but almost all of them are signed on the back in the photographer's hand.

Another large collection of authentic photographs by Mykhailo Greim is also preserved in the Polish archives – it is a gift to Eliza Orzeshkova for the 25th anniversary of her writing activity, already mentioned in the article. The collection is in the Scientific Library of the University in Lodz (BUŁ, J fot II / 1-115) and consists of 8 groups of pictures (Kamianets-Podilsky, Podillia, Bessarabia, Noblemen, Peasants, Jews, Beggars, Mykhailo Greim) sorted by Greim himself, translated by sheets of paper with handwritten signatures of the photographer. In addition, all photographs are also signed by the author and contain an impression of an oval dry seal with his monogram, which certifies their authenticity. In total, the collection includes 165 photos on 116 cards.

Greim's photographs preserved in Lodz can be divided into three groups. The first and largest are "types". The word was much more commonly used in those days than it is now; "types" were a regular subject of magazine illustrations, were sold as prints in photographic establishments, and were exhibited at international and national exhibitions. A photograph could individualize a person, saying that it is an image of a specific familiar person. These were actually "types". In Greim's collections there are male and female slaves from Podillia and Bessarabia, the nobility and the Polish intelligentsia, urban and rural beggars, many Jewish types, and by chance there are royal officials. The second group consists of the urban landscape – Kamianets, Khotyn, Zhvanets. The third is types of Podil and Bessarabian villages.

The photographs of interest to our research are in the library of the University of Lodz, the Severyn Udzei Ethnographic Museum in Krakow, and the National Museum in Krakow. Among the pictures

of the museum there are several pictures with architectural structures dedicated to Bessarabia, in particular "Fortress in Khotyn" (Fig. 4). Three pictures from the Bessarabian cycle are in the archive of the scientific library of the Polish Academy of Crafts in Krakow (Dziewulska 2011: 419-420).

Mykhailo Greim was interested in the specific territories of Bessarabia, namely those located on the borders with Ukrainian Podillia – the Prut-Dniester interfluvium. In the photographs of the photographer, species, and ethnographic types of Kishinev (Fig. 6), Khotynsky (Fig. 5) counties, as well as such settlements as Soroky (Fig. 7), Resteo (Fig. 8), Kotyuzhany (Fig. 9 and others).

Sometimes the artist signed a photo taken on the territory of Bessarabia as Zadnystryan (Fig. 10). The photographer was well aware that the population, which he was particularly interested in, was multicultural in nature. The territorial coexistence of the Ukrainian people and the inhabitants of Bessarabia gave rise to close household and family ties, which in turn were reflected in the formation of the culture of the region.

Mutual influences were felt not only in the observance of religious holidays, customs, and ceremonies, but also in the assortment of clothing for men and women, in the ways of building peasant huts and decorating their interior space. It was Greim's photographs that recorded such integration and made it possible to understand exactly which elements were brought from Ukrainian and which from Bessarabian life of the inhabitants of these areas.

Greim studied in detail the characteristic features of the landscape environment, took pictures of village houses with roofs covered with reeds and thatch, dirt roads, and haystacks. He photographed the houses of the peasants, placing in the foreground the grape bushes typical for these terrains, as a symbolic sign of belonging to the Moldavian nationality. The master revealed the life of the inhabitants of Bessarabia in photos from the fair, at meetings of peasants near the taverns, in various staged photos of a domestic nature (Fig. 11).

Fortification structures fell into the artist's area of interest, for example, in the "Bessarabia" collection, the Khotyn fortress is depicted from the northern (Fig. 4) and eastern sides. Interestingly, the photographs are made from authentic woodcuts by his son Jan Greim. In the drawings, in addition to the fortress itself, there are figures of peasants, sometimes horses harnessed in a harness, to scale the size of the defensive structure in space. This



technique is used by the master in staged pictures. Photographing peasant houses, he places their owners next to them, near a wicker fence. Figures, as in pictorial photos, give a full impression of the scale of the environment. This approach is completely professional in nature and characterizes a conscious attitude to the creative process.

At the same time, the photo artist was most interested in the ethnographic types of the population, which were reflected in the number of photos, the vast majority of which depict colorful characters of the chosen ethnic group, namely the Moldovan. The search for people who would personify the characteristic features of the Moldovan nationality for filming is clearly visible (Fig. 12).

If the photo was taken in a photographic studio, great attention was paid to the entourage, national clothes, the smallest details that characterized the inhabitants of Bessarabia. The faces, types, clothes, kushma (hat), woman's scarf, katrinca (woman's skirt), postoly (shoes) and additional attributes, in Greim's photos are harmoniously combined and strengthen the impression of the perception of the ethnographic type of the inhabitants of Bessarabia (Fig. 13).

It is interesting that several types of gypsies are added to the photographs in the "Bessarabia" collection (Fig. 14). These are mostly bust portraits with accentuated facial features. Among the photos of Moldovans, there are almost no portraits of the upper classes of the population, the intelligentsia, the attention of the photo artist is completely directed to the representatives of the peasantry, the bearers of the ethnic code of the people.

Defensive structures, village houses and figures of specific people from the Bessarabia in the artist's photos are maximally individualized, they lack impersonality – iconographic stamps, which were often used to convey the concepts of "church", "temple", "palace", "person". The types of Moldavian peasants presented in M. Greim's photos provide materials for scientists studying the culture and lifestyle of the Bessarabian population of that time, local historians, botanists, biologists, etc. The gallery of photo portraits provides an opportunity to study various aspects of the cultural, ethnic, family, trade, and household existence of the inhabitants of the Bessarabian lands.

So, stating the great interest of the photo artist in recording ethnographic types of the population, in particular, the inhabitants of the Bessarabian territories, it is worth noting that the master's photos

are almost the only source in the field of photography that reliably, even in small details, conveys important information about life, everyday life, appearance, encirclement and occupation of the Moldavian population of Bessarabia bordering Podillia with Ukraine. Greim's creative output is a significant contribution to the process of finding and studying the national identity of the Ukrainian and Moldovan people.

Mykhailo Greim died on January 2 (January 15 according to the new style) 1911 at the age of 83. He lived in Kamianets-Podilskyi for 59 years (1852–1911) and was known as a member of the Podolsky Church Historical and Archaeological Society, a Kamianets old-timer, numismatist, and antiquarian. In 1903–1905, M. Greim donated 62 negatives and 62 photographs of sights and views of Kamianets to the Kamianets-Podilskyi Museum, a significant number of these pictures are kept in the historical museum-reserve (Paraviychuk 1979). He was buried at the Polskofilvaretsky cemetery, which is located on the Niginsky highway. The burial place was destroyed during the Soviet era – in 1935–1938.

Summing up, the following conclusions can be drawn: the creative heritage of Mykhailo Greim is reliable visual information about the cultural heritage of the past, and his photographic compositions are an important iconographic source for studying the life and lifestyle of the multicultural community on the territory of Bessarabia. Unlike many works of visual arts (painting, graphics), where artistic tasks are primarily solved, Greim's works of the Bessarabian cycle contain the smallest tectonic, stylistic, and artistic compositional features of the architecture of the depicted rural houses and details of ethnographic or civilian clothing, peculiar anthropological features of the inhabitants of Bessarabia. The work of M. Greim is a valuable and unique visual material, the detailed study of which will fill the white spots in the history of the Ukrainian and Moldovan cultural and artistic environment and will open great opportunities for using this material in research, restoration, and monument preservation. The next step in exploration will be to work out the methodological principles of introducing the researched material into modern regional studies and monument preservation activities.

#### List of abbreviations

AME – Archives of the Ethnographic Museum Seweryn Udzieli in Krakow (Archiwum

Muzeum Etnograficznego im. Seweryna Udzieli w Krakowie).

BUŁ – Library of the University of Lodz (Biblioteka Uniwersytetu w Łodzi).

KhDADM – Kharkiv State Academy of Design and Arts.

KPDIMZ – Kamianets-Podilsky State Historical Museum-Reserve.

PAU and PAN – Polish Academy of Crafts and the Polish Academy of Sciences (Polska Akademia Umiejętności i Polska Akademia Nauk).

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BUŁ-J photo II 13. Greim M. Twierdza turecka w Chocimiu od strony północnej / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 14. Greim M. Twierdza turecka w Chocimiu od strony podolskiej wioski Brahy czyli od wschodu / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 15 (a, b). Greim M. Wioska Kotiużany / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 16. Greim M. Wioska Kotiużany / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 17. Greim M. Wieś Resteo / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 100 (a, b). Greim M. Typy zadniestrzańskie (mieszaniec plemion mołdawo-podolskich) / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 101. Greim M. Kobiety w ubiorze odświętnym / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 102. Greim M. Kobiety w ubiorze odświętnym / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 103. Greim M. Pod Karczmą / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 104. Greim M. „Schodka” na obławę / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 105. Greim M. Włóścianie z powiatów Chocimskiego i Sorokskiego z synem / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 106. Greim M. Włóścianie Podolsko-besarabscy / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 107 (a, b). Greim M. Cyganie / Bessarabia.

BUŁ-J photo II 108. Greim M. Włóścianin z porzecza Prutu / Bessarabia.

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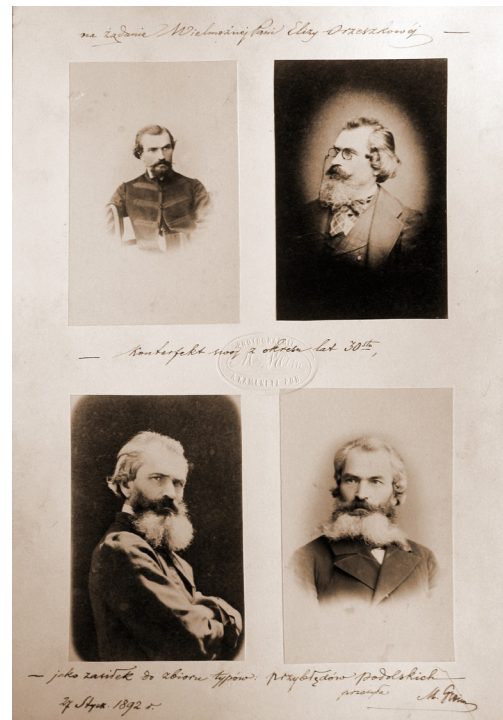


Fig. 1. Portraits of Mykhailo Greim. From the funds of the University Library in Lodz. BUŁ, J fot II 114. A gift to Eliza Ozheshkova for the 25th anniversary of her writing. January 27, 1892



Fig. 2. Mykhailo Greim's family. From the funds of the University Library in Lodz. BUŁ, J fot II 115b A3



Fig. 3. Mykhailo Greim's family. KPDIMZ 1875, KV-51900. A gift to Honorata Zabronska on her birthday, January 12, 1875





Fig. 4. Fortress in Khotyn, view from the north side. BUŁ J fot II 13



Fig. 5. Podolian-Bessarabian peasants from the Khotyn district. BUŁ. J fot II 106



Fig. 6. Peasant from Kishinev district. BUŁ. J fot II 109



Fig 7. Peasants from Khotyn and Sorok counties with their son. BUŁ J fot II 105.



Fig. 8. The village of Resteo. BUŁ J fot II 17



Fig. 9. The village of Kotyuzhany. BUŁ J fot II 16



Fig. 10. Zadnistryan types. A mixture of Moldavian-Podilskyi tribes. BUŁ J fot II 100





Fig. 11. Under the tavern. BUŁ J fot II 103.



Fig. 12. A peasant from the river Prut. BUŁ J fot II 108



Fig. 13. Women in festive clothes. BUŁ J fot II 101



Fig. 14. Gypsies. BUŁ J fot II 107 (a, b)

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