

THE RUTHENIAN INTELLIGENTSIA IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA BETWEEN THE 19th AND 20th CENTURY

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Abstract: The Ruthenian intelligentsia arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Congress of Berlin, where it was decided that this country would be occupied and ruled by Austro-Hungary. In 1910 the country was inhabited by 7,431 people who professed to be Ruthenian, of which about 300 represented the intelligentsia – doctors, solicitors, barristers, etc, who arrived in this country in order to work within the Austro-Hungarian administration, because the local authorities were unwilling to entrust such positions to Croats or Serbs, furthermore, they were not able to provide sufficient qualified civil service on their own. The Ruthenians, mostly graduates from the Galician and Bukovina universities, in the times of the development of education during the Austro-Hungarian period (1867-1918), arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina, since their opportunities of making a career were greater there than in their homeland.

The newcomers from Galicia and Bukovina usually worked at lower levels of administration, because the higher ones were occupied by Germans and Hungarians. However, some Greek-Catholics after a few years managed to get promoted and become the leading figures in Bosnia and Herzegovina. After the First World War, the majority of representatives of this diaspora remained from the Serbian, Croatian, and the Slovenian Kingdom, significantly swelling the ranks of administration of the reborn state.

Keywords: Ruthenians in Bosnia and Hercegovina, Austro-Hungarian period, Intelligentsia, XIX century

Apstrakt: Rusinska inteligencija stigla je u Bosnu i Hercegovinu nakon Berlinskog kongresa gdje je odlučeno da će ova zemlja biti okupirana i da će njome upravljati Austro-Ugarska Monarhija. U Bosni i Hercegovini 1910. godine živjelo je 7.431 osoba koje su po nacionalnosti bili Rusini, a od toga oko 300 je bila inteligencija – činovnici, ljekari, itd. koji su bili zaposleni u austrougarskoj administraciji. Zemaljska Vlada nije željela, a ni mogla, graditi upravu samo uz učestvovanje Hrvata i Srba, posebno jer se osjećalo nezadovoljstvo kod srpskog stanovništva novom ulogom koju je imao Beč. Angažirani Rusini uglavnom su svoje školovanje završili na univerzitetima u Galiciji i Bukovini, ali i u Beču. Nastojeći dobiti što bolje zaposlenje i ostvariti napredak u poslovnoj karijeri Rusini se angažiraju kao stručnjaci u novoj austrougarskoj administraciji smatrajući da su im tu veće šanse nego u njihovoj rodnoj zemlji. Mnogi od njih, na početku karijere, radili su kao službenici nižeg razreda jer su vodeće pozicije bile rezervirane uglavnom za Nijemce i Mađare. U narednom periodu uslovi su značajno izmijenjeni što se odnosilo također i na poslovne angažmane Slavena koji postepeno ostvaruju značajna imenovanja u državnoj administraciji i dobijaju unapređenja. Nakon Prvog svjetskog rata većina grko-katolika ostaje da živi i radi u Bosni i Hercegovini, dok se jedan, manji broj, odselio uglavnom u Poljsku i Austriju.

Ključne riječi: Rusini u Bosni i Hercegovini, Austro-Ugarska, inteligencija, XIX stoljeće

In the article, I would like to stress the problem of the Ruthenian intelligentsia in Bosnia and Herzegovina at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. The research will apply to the group of people recruited from the educated classes of Galicia and Bukovina,¹ who had a high school diploma. I have adopted such a qualification because the Slavic Diaspora in Bosnia and Herzegovina was diversified and it is necessary to emphasize the clear division between the emigration of peasants, soldiers, and intelligentsia.

Before the extensive presentation of the issue indicated above, I would like to describe the origins of this emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian period. The Ruthenian Diaspora in 1910, numbering 7,431 people appeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina due

¹ From this place, the Ruthenian inteligencija arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

to Austria-Hungary granting them a permission to take over the Bosnia Vilayet (renamed then to Bosnia and Herzegovina) in 1878 and to bring military and administrative order, which de facto caused the separation of the province from the Ottoman Empire (the province was officially annexed by Austria-Hungary in 1908).² The Empire was obliged to this based on the Article 25 of Treaty of Berlin, which was the final act of the Congress of Berlin.³

Firsts soldiers...

Galicia and Bukovina were two countries in which the Ruthenians were a significant part of the population. In the first country until 1910, they accounted for over 40% of the total population (3.7 million),⁴ while in Bukovina, in the same period, the Ruthenians constituted the largest group of the population of 38% (350 thousand).⁵ However, if we take into account the vast number of nationalities, we need to know one thing, not all Greek-Catholics were Ruthenians, and not all Ruthenians were Greek-Catholics. In Galicia, we had situations where “Gene rutheni nationale poloniae” people lived, who had a double identity.⁶ Of course, when the Ruthenian

² *Rezultati popisa žiteljstva u Bosni i Hercegovini od 10. oktobra 1910*, Sarajevo 1912. Many Greek-Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina have been in a lot of controversial situations, because, at the beginning of the colonization process, more Greek-Catholic peasants from Galicia professed that they were Poles, and before they went to the colony they said that they were Ruthenian, not Poles. Jan Magiera, *Ludność polska w Bośni*, Wydawnictwo “Czasu”, Kraków 1910, 4. Robert Miączyski, a researcher from Bosnia and Herzegovina, also wrote about it. Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Zemaljska Vlada Sarajevo, (next ABiH, ZVS), 1905, sign. 134 218/3, 7-9.

³ “Član XXX Berlinskog ugovora”, u: *Pravno-politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine. Dokumenti sa komentarima*, ed. Dženana Čaušević, Sarajevo: Editio iuridica, 2005, 195.

⁴ Jerzy Łukaszewicz, “Okres 1795-1918”, in: *Historia Polski w Liczbach. Ludność, Terytorium*, ured. Andrzej Jezierski, Główny Urząd Statystyczny, Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny 1994, 93; Zamoski Krzysztof, *Informator statystyczny do dziejów społeczno-gospodarczych Galicji: ludność Galicji w latach 1857-1910*, Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, 1989, 103-105.

⁵ Marius Petraru, *Polacy na Bukowinie w latach 1775-1918. Z dziejów osadnictwa polskiego*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2004, 186.

⁶ See Adam Świątek, *Gene Rutheni, natonie Poloni. Z dziejów Rusinów narodowości polskiej w Galicji*, Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2014. Or: Adam Świątek, “Przypadek gene Rutheni, nazione

nationalism grew most people rejected relations with Poland, but yet at the beginning of the 20th century, we have Greek-Catholics who declared that their nationality was Polish. We even have an example in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Dr. Leon Zarzycki from Zenica was a Greek-Catholic, but he declared himself a Pole,⁷ we have a similar situation in case of the official Jozefat Starakiewicz. These situations are presented in Table 1, where the number of Greek-Catholics is shown along with the number of people of the Ruthenian origin.

The Galician inhabitants were present in Bosnia and Herzegovina practically since the beginning of the military campaign undertaken by the Austrian army in the second half of 1878. Although initially, the officers of the Austro-Hungarian army decided to send only a few troops that were stationed in nearby Dalmatia, Banovina, and Hungary, however, as no immediate success was achieved, military reserves from other provinces were engaged.⁸ Also, the staff that were sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina were not of the best kind. These soldiers served either as a peace-time contingent or as soldiers pacifying the rebels, as happened in 1882.⁹ As it is visible in the biographies of some officers, they had to spend a few months, even up to several years in the Western Balkans. However, they did not think of their stay there to be especially exceptional, as Kraków historian Michał Baczkowski wrote: “It can therefore be assumed that the recruits went to Bosnia without resistance, and were not especially interested in with whom and why they will fight”¹⁰ To those difficult, but also relatively

Polonie w Galicji”, in: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne 144/2*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2017, 303-322.

⁷ *Corpus studiosorum Universitatis Iagellonicae 1850/51–1917/18. T-Ż*, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, Kraków: Historia Jagiellonica, 2015, 809-810.

⁸ Todo Oršolić, “Sudjelovanje Dalmatinskih postrojbi u zaposjedanju Bosne i Hercegovine 1878”, in: *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru 42*, Zadar: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru, 2000, 287-308.

⁹ Krzysztof Baczkowski, “Żołnierze narodowości polskiej w podboju i okupacji Bośni i Hercegowiny przez Austro-Węgry (1878-1914)”, in: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne 127*, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2000, 107-119.

¹⁰ Ibidem

safe areas (excluding problems that arose during the initial years of administration) less experienced soldiers, who were supposed to undergo the necessary training there, were sent. As Enes S. Omerović wrote, in 1895 in Bosnia and Herzegovina there were 1,292 Ruthenian soldiers.¹¹ Apart from soldiers, the streets were guarded by police officers, among them Slavs outside the Balkan Peninsula, such as Victor Leon Ivasiuk of Czerniewitz of German-Russian descent, who in 1914 was investigating people who carried out the assassination on Franz Ferdinand.¹² Thanks to him, the links between “Young Bosnia” and Kingdom of Serbia were discovered.¹³ The impact of Bosnia and Herzegovina on their private and professional life will be covered later.

... and peasants

One of the problems of Bosnian rural areas was the poor condition of agriculture. In this province, the new government also had a problem with peasants (mainly Orthodox) who were demanding reforms.¹⁴ This situation generated a lot of dissatisfaction, and aversion for the National Government that improvement this situation, government in Sarajevo (during Benjamin Kallay regime) deciding was brought colonists from parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire.¹⁵ One of the new nationalities that emerged in Bosnia and Herzegovina were peasants from Galicia and Bukovina. Most of them were Catholics, but some were Greek-Catholics.¹⁶ As the Croatian historian writes Zdravka Zlodi: “After BiH annexation in 1878 in this place was the start planning process of colonizing persons from different places of Monarchy. Now

¹¹ Enes S. Omerović, *Nacionalne manjine u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918-1941)*, Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2019, 73.

¹² Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Personalni Dosje, Wiktor Ivasiuk, 2.

¹³ Friedrich Würthle, *Dokumente zum Sarajevoprozess*, Wien: Österr. Staatsarchiv, 1978, 32-36.

¹⁴ Noel Malcolm, *Bosnia: a short history*, Lodon: Papermac, 1996, 140-149.

¹⁵ Adnan Busuladžić, “Pojava grkokatoličkog stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini (od 1879. do najnovijeg doba)”, in: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 35, no. 1, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2003, 175.

¹⁶ Ibidem, 174-179.

plenty of them from Galicia, North Bukovina, and less from Zakarpattia. The largest numbers of persons have arrived in the period 1890-1898, and this process existed to the beginning of the First World War”.¹⁷

This group was subject to the assimilation processes (mainly to Serbian nationality), so in 1910 the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv, Andrzej Szeptycki and Josip Stadler established a Greek-Catholic hierarchy there and brought the Greek-Catholic clergy to Bosnia.¹⁸ These actions were supported by the government because the Austrians feared the conversion of Greek-Catholics to Orthodox.¹⁹

Most of the Greek-Catholic peasants lived in the vicinity of Banja Luka, they inhabited villages with purely Ruthenian population or Polish-Ruthenian, but then the conflicts between their inhabitants often occurred.²⁰ Most of the Ruthenian peasants lived in the villages of Devetina, Nova and Stara Dubrava, or Lišnja Mulici. According to Enes S. Omerović, 17 villages had a population of 100% Greek-Catholic denomination.²¹

The Ruthenian intelligentsia

The formation of the Ruthenian intelligentsia in the second part of the 19th century was a dynamic process in Galicia and Bukovina. This process was directly influenced by the reforms of higher education in the Austrian (or Austro-Hungarian) Empire, thanks to which the Department of

¹⁷ Zdravka Zlodi, “Rusini/Ukrajinci u Hrvatskoj – etape doseljavanja i problem imena”, in: *Scrinia Slavonica* 5, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2005, 410.

¹⁸ Tomasz Jacek Lis, “Osadnictwo Rusinów w Bośni i Hercegowinie na przełomie XIX i XX wieku”, in: *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy środkowo-wschodniej* 47, Kraków: PAN, 2015, 36-37; ABiH, ZVS, 1903, 4 45/359, 6; Йосип Гродський, *Положенє русинів в Боснії, накладом редакції “Руслана”, Львів 1910, 39-43.*

¹⁹ Zoran Grijak, “Predstavka Episkopata Vrhbosanske metropolije iz 1903. godine u svjetlu austrougarske vjerske politike u Bosni i Hercegovini”, in: *Croatica Christiana periodica*, vol. 32, no. 62, Zagreb: Institut za crkvenu povijest Katoličkog bogoslovnog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 2008, 97-100.

²⁰ T. Jacek Lis, *Osadnictwo Rusinów*, 30-32.

²¹ E. S. Omerović, *Nacionalne manjine*, 73.

Ruthenian Language functioned in Lviv or Chernivts.²² The young people graduated from the universities where they learned about the history of their nation as well as the Ruthenian language. The influence of the Greek-Catholic intelligentsia on the Ruthenian and later Ukrainian nationalism should also be mentioned. As a consequence of the nationalists' activity, at the beginning of the 20th century, there was a division of young people, Greek-Catholics who mainly became Ruthenians or Ukrainians, while Catholics became Poles only.²³

As far as the civil side of 1878-1914 is concerned, in literature often referred to as the "occupation" of Bosnia and Herzegovina,²⁴ the problem, which the new government was faced with, was not only the backwardness in every field (beginning with the economy and education and ending with non-existent industry) but also the lack of internal possibilities, of this previously Turkish province, to conduct any reforms. Therefore, to carry out even the basic work aiming at modernization of the country and its economy was to reach for the forces external to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁵

²² Jan Surman, *Universities in Imperial Austria, 1848–1918: A Social History of a Multilingual Space*, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2018, 96-106.

²³ A. Świątek, *Gene Rutheni*, 403.

²⁴ Robin Okey, *Taming Balca Nationalism. The Habsburg "Civilizing Mission" in Bosnia, 1878-1918*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987; Mustafa Imamović, *Pravni položaj i unutrašnje-politički razvitak Bosne i Hercegovine od 1878. – 1917*, Sarajevo: Magistrat, 2007; Dževad Juzbašić, *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*, Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 2002. and Hamdija Kapidžić, *Bosna i Hercegovina pod austrougarskom upravom*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1968.

²⁵ More about officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina in: Tomasz Jacek Lis, "Činovníci u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878-1918", in: *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, vol. 52, no. 2, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2020, 629-655.

| Years | Ruthenian | Greek-Catholic |
|-------|-----------|----------------|
| 1906 | 214 | 226 |
| 1907 | 230 | 242 |
| 1908 | 252 | 273 |
| 1909 | 316 | 334 |
| 1910 | 309 | 343 |
| 1911 | 295 | 368 |
| 1912 | - | - |
| 1913 | - | - |
| 1914 | 281 | - |
| 1915 | 284 | - |
| 1916 | 237 | - |

Table 1. Number of the Ruthenian and Greek-Catholic officials in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1906 to 1916²⁶

Initially, the staff were recruited in Dalmatia and Slavonia, but later, for political reasons, the authorities tried to limit the influence of intelligentsia from Croatia, especially Serbia, which was claiming to rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁷ One of them was Ruthenian, Myron Zarzycki, a law graduate in Vienna,²⁸ working for a long time in Sarajevo as a "Government Commissioner" (Vladin povjerenik za glavni grad Sarajevo). The government function was also held by the financial prosecutor Eugeniusz Zubrzycki.²⁹ Apart from law graduates working in administration, there were no engineers like surveyor Aleksander Saranawka. There were doctors working in Bosnia and Herzegovina; Epifanius Gramatowicz from Jajce.³⁰ Many of them held high positions in the justice system, e.g. the presidents of

²⁶ *Izveštaj o upravi Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Landesdrukei, 1906-1918.

²⁷ T. Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim*, 141-146.

²⁸ Archiv der Universität Wien, Studienkatalog der Studierenden der Juridischen Fakultät Wintersemester 1871/72. Buchstaben M-R, (next AT-UAW/Jur. Nat) sign. 78.

²⁹ "Zvanično", *Sarajevski list*, 113, 30.11.1881, 1.

³⁰ Izet Masić, *One hundred Fifty Years of Organized Health Care Services in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, Medical Archives, Sarajevo: Akademija medicinskih nauka Bosne i Hercegovine, 2018, 374-388.

the court in Bihać were Bazyli Wasowicz³¹ and Marian Turzański,³² while Theodor Dawidczak,³³ Mikołaj Jaworski, Severin Niedzwiecki,³⁴ or Józef Napadiewicz³⁵ were presidents at the Supreme Court in Sarajevo, and Eusignus Lastowiecki at the court in Brčko, and Michał Tymczyszyn at the court in Banja Luka, however, the information contained in Vladimir Dedijer's book that Bogdan Naumowicz leading the Gavrilo Princip's trial was Ruthenian,³⁶ is not true, as he was Polish.³⁷ This list is only an example, because the Ruthenian intelligentsia was bigger.

Generally, the northern Slavs were directly responsible for contacts with the local societies for a number of reasons. First of all, both Hungarian and Austrian administrative workers had a little higher status (regardless of the officially equal status of all nations in Austria-Hungary) than Slavs. This may not be considered as crucial when taking into account many exceptions to the rule. Most of all, it seemed that the western Slavs could establish contacts with fellows from the south more quickly. Unlike Austrians, they soon met the kindness of locals. It is significant that the term "Švabe" ("Jerry" or "Kraut") was used as a pejorative name of an official who came to Bosnia and Herzegovina from other areas of the Empire.³⁸ As civil servants, they were treated as a foreign body, and such was the way the majority of them were treated. They were scornfully called "kufer-aši" (chesters), which derived from chests of possessions they brought with

³¹ Державний архів Львівської області, (next ДАЛО). ф. 26: Львовский королевский университет им. Франца (1817-1918), оп. 15: Каталоги студентов, спр. 61: Главный каталог студентов юридического факультета, 1875/1876, nr 472.

³² ДАЛО, ф. 26, оп. 15, спр. 61, nr 527.

³³ ДАЛО, ф. 26, оп. 15, 1884/1885, спр. 77, nr 65.

³⁴ ДАЛО, ф. 26, оп. 15, спр. 61, nr 299.

³⁵ AT-UAW/Jur. Nat, sign. 82.

³⁶ Vladimir Dedijer, *Sarajewo 1914*, Łódź: Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 1983, 167.

³⁷ *Corpus studiosorum Universitatis Iagellonicae 1850/51-1917/18. M-N*, ed. Krzysztof Stopka, Kraków: Historia Iagellonica, 2011, 650.

³⁸ Enes S. Omerović, "Odlazak kuferasa. Iseljavanje stranca iz Bosne i Hercegovine neposredno nakon Prvog svjetskog rata", in: *Nacije i migracije: Studije iz bosanskohercegovačke historiografije*, ed. A. Duranović, Sarajevo: UMHIS, 2019, 71-72.

them. Also, their assignments caused the negative attitude of the part of the natives towards activities of civil servants.³⁹

What authorities in Vienna and Budapest considered as the primary feature of officials and professionals (doctors, lawyers) that came from Galicia and Bukovina was their neutrality, which was not typical of Serbs and Croats. Hiring them within the Empire efficiently contradicted the Great Serbian and Yugoslavian agitation.⁴⁰ Job offers in a place that was considered exotic by a European at the end of the 19th century were met with a wide response from the educated youth. It could be said that “pulling someone’s chestnuts out of the fire”, which means the implementation of difficult reforms, was conducted by graduates of Galician and Bukovina schools and universities. The Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria and the division of Bukovina at the turn of the 19 and 20th centuries was undergoing a huge scientific revolution.⁴¹ Year after year new high schools were established and universities developed the didactic and scientific activity. As a consequence, the number of young and educated people was increasing and the job market was not able to provide them with positions suitable for their ambitions and abilities.⁴² This is why a great number of young people, tempted by the prospect of a rapid career abroad, decided to abandon their homeland and try their hands in the Balkans.

The official intelligentsia which arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina was a predominantly young group. There were often young graduates from

³⁹ More about officials: Iljas Hadžibegović, *Bosanskohercegovačke gradovi na razmeđu 19. i 20. stoljeća*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 2004, 54-57.

⁴⁰ Srećko Džaja, *Bosna i Hercegovina u austrougarskom razdoblju (1878-1918). Inteligencija između tradicije i ideologije*, Mostar-Zagreb: Ziral, 2002, 111-112.

⁴¹ Liviu-George Maha, Gabriel Andrei Donici, Sorin Stefan Maha, “The economic development of Bukovina (II) Bukovina as Autonomus Duchy: 1849-1918”, in: *Review of Economic and Business Studies* 4/1, Warsaw: Sciendo, 2011, 265-295; *Kraków i Galicja wobec przemian cywilizacyjnych 1866-1914*, ed. Krzysztof Fiołek, Marian Stala, Kraków: Universitas, 2011.

⁴² Jeroen van Drunen, “Deutsche Kultur und geistiges Proletariat: Zur Ambivalenz der Czerniowitzer Franz-Josephs-Universität”, in: *Partizipation und Exklusion: Zur Habsburger Prägung von Sprache und Bildung in der Bukowina. 1848 - 1918 - 1940*, ed. Markus Vinkler, Regensburg: Verlag Friedrich Pustet, 2015, 42-46.

high schools, those who decided to abandon previous places of residence and undertake a journey to this unknown world which for them was wild. Having defined and described the group of intelligentsias we can more thoroughly discuss the reasons for their arrival to the Balkans. The first problem has already been presented but solely from the perspective of the Austro-Hungarian authorities. The young and educated northern Slavs, who tied their careers with Bosnia and Herzegovina, chose this country for many reasons which need to be covered.

It is, of course, difficult to indicate all the reasons for emigration, but it is worth to look at the problem synthetically and find the major factors for emigration. I have already mentioned economic reasons. Indeed, the prospect of a rapid and well-paid career had to ignite the imagination, especially of young people, who could not count on developing their abilities in Galicia or Bukovina. At the end of the 19th century, a new, modern intelligentsia was created between the Ruthenians, which did not come from the Greek-Catholic Church.⁴³ The greater freedom and thus tolerance towards other religions was particularly encouraging for the Ruthenian community, who willingly joined the process of modernization of the former Ottoman province. Galicia and Bukovina, in the period of divisions, were not a good place to live and be active for young Greek-Catholics. Especially in Galicia, relations between the Polish and the Ruthenian population were very tense, which was perfectly described several years ago by Ołena Arkusza, who showed the different faces of the then anti-Greek-Catholic.⁴⁴ In the Balkans, the young people of the Ruthenian faith were not met with such a wave of hatred that was taking place in their homeland. In addition, it is worth noticing that some of them achieved the success that they could only dream of in Galicia⁴⁵.

⁴³ Святослав Пахолків, *Українська інтелігенція у Габсбурзькій Галичині: освічена верства й емансипація нації*, Львів: ЛА Піраміда, 2014, 337-339.

⁴⁴ Ołena Arkusza, "Rusini galicyjscy drugiej połowy XIX – początku XX wieku. Między ukraińskim a wszechruskim wariantem tożsamości narodowej", in: *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 144/2, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2017, 281-282.

⁴⁵ *Pamiętniki urzędników*, ed. Irena Homola, Bolesław Łopuszański, Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1978.

Therefore, some of them decided to stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina forever, even regardless of the geopolitical changes that took place in Europe after the First World War. The situation was better for the Greek-Catholics in Bukovina,⁴⁶ but the region was very poor and the number of the Ruthenian students was lower than in Galicia, right before the First War World, in Chernivtsi there were only 303 Ruthenian students.⁴⁷ Also, a part of the Ruthenian intelligentsia from Bukovina was assimilated to the German culture, which was strong in this province.⁴⁸ I don't have any information about the Ruthenians in Bosnia who came from Transcarpathia.

As sources indicate, a very important feature of Bosnia and Herzegovina was the lack of prejudice against people regardless of their class or nationality. This was the characteristic element of the colonies where every newcomer had relatively equal opportunities. In this environment, where mutual relations resembled more USA than Viennese salons, young people felt comfortable. "In this regard, the relations in Brčko were quite different, and even strange for a newcomer from Galicia. You were meeting the poor and the rich but you could see neither exaggerated humility of the former nor haughtiness of the latter. They all were on first name terms, they greeted "kako ste" one another, which means how are you."⁴⁹ Such manners were popular especially in the countryside, where coat of arms or schools completed did not impress. Slightly more rigid relations prevailed in the capital city and larger cities such as Mostar or Banja Luka.

The greatest interest in emigrating to the Balkans (outside Bosnia and Herzegovina the intelligentsia was leaving to other countries Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania), was in the 80's and 90's of the 19th century. At that time in Central Europe, the idea of working at the grassroots enjoyed

⁴⁶ Орест Субтельний, *Україна: історія*, Київ: Либідь, 1993, 414-415.

⁴⁷ Олександр Добржанський, "Формування української національної еліти на Буковині в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст.," in: *Питання історії України*, 16, Чернівці: Чернівецький національний університет імені Юрія Федьковича, 2013, 117.

⁴⁸ Good simple was a Iwasiuk, which has Germans identity. ABiH, PD, Iwasiuk Wiktor.

⁴⁹ Władysław Uziębło, *Wspomnienia 1900-1939*, Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1965, 99.

great popularity, it so heavily promoted especially by the positivists. Large groups of young people enthusiastically adopted the idea of work among the weakest. In addition to some temporary aid, one could also work in the field of education in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which in turn corresponded to ambitions of all those who believed that it was their duty as the representatives of the “European civilization” to educate the inhabitants of this country. One of the travellers, who believed in this type of “Enlightenment” ideals, wrote: “Turkey, then, with all its backwardness, falls in Bosnia, its place is taken away by Austria; it is necessary to revitalize and revive this neglected country, to bring rays of light and civilization into this area immersed in barbarism”.⁵⁰ This is, more or less, the way young people perceived the Bosnian situation. To be fair, it should be mentioned that the majority of them, in the face of local-government apparatus, which only formally aimed at the welfare of the inhabitants of the country, rather quickly lost adolescent enthusiasm.

There is no doubt that in addition to financial issues and lofty ideas arising directly from positivism, there were other reasons why young graduates left their countries and came to Bosnia and Herzegovina. However, I have enumerated those which I consider most important and essential for decisions made. Certainly, it cannot be ignored that the Balkan Peninsula aroused special interest, especially in the 19th century. The place was also perfect for those who wanted to start a new phase in life and abandon past hardship.

The emigration of the Ruthenian intelligentsia to Bosnia and Herzegovina meant a sort of break with the country in which they were born. As it was noted by some observers of contemporary reality, a characteristic feature of officials, working within the Austro-Hungarian government, was the lack of a greater attachment to the workplace. This can be confirmed, among others, by small emigration that took place after the First World War. Unlike Poles, the Ruthenians did not leave Bosnia and Herzegovina so willingly. The position of the Ruthenian/Ukrainian diaspora after the

⁵⁰ Włodzimierz Spasowicz, *Pisma*, vol. VI, Księgarnia Br. Rymowicz, Petersburg 1892, 131.

war was better than in the Austro-Hungarian period; it was more active.⁵¹ At that time, a large proportion of Poles (including virtually all members of the Polish Circle) decided to return to the newly formed Second Republic. However, even before the First World War, there were numerous instances of time-limited stays in Bosnia and Herzegovina that lasted from several months to several years.

I found that some officials, especially those who managed to raise more capital, sent their children to schools in Bosnian cities: Sarajevo, Mostar, and Banja Luka. Most of the children attended state schools. In the villages near Prnjavor, where the Ruthenian colony was located, there was a state elementary school at the beginning of the 20th century, where the Greek-Catholic children were taught and the lessons were held in Russian.⁵² Often, the Ruthenian peasants fought with the Poles in order to have a Ruthenian teacher because the Greek-Catholics did not want a Polish teacher.⁵³ We can read about them in the official report.⁵⁴ But this school was only for the colonists' children, not for the officials' children. Only a few children, if financed by parents, were sent to private schools (mostly German). University students are a separate matter.

To return to the issue of administrative staff, it is necessary to focus on the activities of the largest Ruthenian library. These organizations have played an important role in the national community, at least in Prnjavor.⁵⁵ They served more as a place for meetings, discussions, and education of children and youth. The organization became more active on the occasions of the national anniversaries and significant events. We must remember that in the period from the 19th to the 20th century there were social divisions; the intelligentsia did not feel the need to integrate with peas-

⁵¹ E. S. Omerović, *Nacionalne manjine*, 227.

⁵² ABiH, ZVS, 1912, sign. 218/12.

⁵³ Йосип Гродський, *Положенє русинів в Боснії, накладом редакції "Руслана"*, Львів, 1910, 8.

⁵⁴ ABiH, ZVS sign. 218/12, 7.

⁵⁵ Đorđe Pejanović, *Kulturno-prosvetna humana i socijalna društva u Bosni i Hercegovini za vreme austrijske vladavine*, Sarajevo: Bosanska Pošta, 1930, 92.

ants. There were also some interesting situations such as that of the Judge Dawidczak, who wanted to move to Prnjavor to help the Ruthenian peasants,⁵⁶ but this was not the rule.

Generally, at that time the only representative of the intelligentsia who helped the peasants was a Greek-Catholic priest (vicar). The first Greek-Catholic Ruthenian priests were missionaries like the author of memoirs, Joseph Gorodskij from the Basilian monastery. After the intervention of Andrzej Szeptycki and the establishment of the Greek-Catholic hierarchy in Bosnia and Herzegovina, a number of priests, such as Dr. Józef Żuk from Lviv, lived in the country.⁵⁷ He also went to live in village Kozarc, Devetina, and Stara Dubrava. In 1914, pope Benedict XIV was called the first apostolic administrator Oleksji Bazjuk.⁵⁸ The role of the priests in the Ruthenian colony was not only of a religious nature,⁵⁹ they were also the actual leaders of the local population.⁶⁰

Acculturation process

Slavic members of the intelligentsia from the northern part of Austria-Hungary lived in practically every corner of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The process of acculturation in their case proceeded very smoothly. Given the source material at our disposal, it is worth taking a closer look at the way the Ruthenians were dealing with the various groups of the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most interesting are the relations with the Muslim population. First of all, it should be emphasized that there

⁵⁶ ABiH, ZVS, 1901, sign. 107/356.

⁵⁷ T. Jacek Lis, "Osadnictwo", 35.

⁵⁸ Filip Škiljan, "Ukrajinci u Bosni i Hercegovini od doseljenja do današnjih dana", in: *Historijska misao* 2, Tuzla: Društvo historičara Tuzlanskog kantona, Odsjek za historiju Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Tuzli, 2016, 250.

⁵⁹ ABiH, ZVS, 1906, sign. 143 103/2/5, 1.

⁶⁰ Степан Качараба, "Душпастирська опіка греко-католицької церкви над українською еміграцією у Боснії та Герцеговині кінець XIX – початок XX ст.", in: *Вісник Львівського університету. Серія історична* 49, Львів: Львівський національний університет імені Івана Франка, 2013, 133-134.

was a great interest in the Islam religion and culture.⁶¹ The Galician and Bukovinian Greek-Catholics had no prejudice towards them. The sense of superiority is the only unpleasant aspect of these relations, which, however, was not motivated by national issues, but was rather the burden of an era in which a representative of the Western culture (associated with progress and higher levels of development) was to educate a representative of the Eastern culture (associated with backwardness and superstition). However, it was not a barrier, the more so because the Ruthenian civil servants treated Muslims very carefully. They respected their customs and, following the instructions from Vienna, tried to respect their traditions. One of them was Jarosław Stebelski, a judge in Zvornik who received the honorary citizenship of this city.⁶²

Although there was a considerable religious and cultural distance, the Greek-Catholics positively treated the inhabitants of Bosnia and Hercegovina. It was the result of not only the policy of the authorities, in the structure where the Ruthenian civil servants worked, but also of the pure human sympathy. It is all the more surprising since, basically, in Galicia or Bukovina there were no Muslims and yet the sources very clearly indicate the sympathy between them.⁶³ It concerned mainly the elite Muslim clergy and officials, but even poorer Muslims were generally welcomed by members of the Ruthenian diaspora.

Even better were relations with Serbs because of the similar religion (Greek-Orthodox or Greek-Catholic), a lot of Ruthenians adopted the Serbian culture. During the Austro-Hungarian period, the government discussed the ban on the influx of the Ruthenian people from Galicia

⁶¹ There were no Muslims in Galicia or Bukovina. Therefore, the Islamic culture was interesting for the people in these countries. The result of this interests were travel diaries, most popular between the middle class in Habsburgs Provence. Tomasz Jacek Lis, "Bosna i Hercegovina u očima Poljaka – poljski putopisi o Bosni i Hercegovini u austrougarskom razdoblju", in: *Prilozi 47*, Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2018, 91-106.

⁶² "Rozmaitości", in: *Urządnik, Przemyśl*, 1880, no. 12, 95.

⁶³ Otmar Lahodynsky, Gruss aus Sarajevo, available: <https://www.diepresse.com/3840985/gruss-aus-sarajevo> (accessed: 15. 07. 2020)

because, as a result, they strengthened the Serbian presence in the province.⁶⁴ Therefore, after the First World War, many Greek-Catholics remained in the Kingdom of SCS, who, due to their good relations with the Serbs, often converted to the Orthodox faith or married a Serbian wife and sent their children to a local school where they played with young southern Slavs, e.g. Teodor Jaworski, a classmate of Ivo Andrić (they studied together in the First Gymnasium in Sarajevo), son of Mikołaj Jaworski.⁶⁵ Interestingly enough, Teodor was probably a secret informer to Sarajevo police, observing friends from “Young Bosnia”.⁶⁶ Equally good relations were between the Ruthenians and Croats – it is worth noting that the first Greek-Catholic priest in Bosnia and Herzegovina was Andreas Šegedi from Croatia, and the first bishop who decided to send a priest to Bosnian Greek-Catholics was Julije Drohobycz, also from Croatia.⁶⁷

Nevertheless, not all the Ruthenian intelligentsia did acculturate, because there are examples of some of them who rejected Bosnian culture. The examples are Mikołaj Jaworski or Wiktor Iwasiuk, who were more Austro-Hungarian officials than the Ruthenians, and after the fall of the Habsburg monarchy they decided to leave the Balkans.

Summary

The Ruthenian intelligentsia arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Congress of Berlin, where it was decided that the former Turkish Province will be transferred under the administration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. According to the official statistics of 1910, the country was inhabited by 7 431 people who professed to be Ruthenian, of which about 300 people represented the intelligentsia – doctors, solicitors, barristers, etc. The Greek-Catholic intelligentsia swelled the ranks of administrative

⁶⁴ ABiH, ZVS, 1903, sign. 4 45/359, 4.

⁶⁵ Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, Imenik učenika Velike Gimnazije Sarajevo 1910/1911.

⁶⁶ Vojislav Bogičević, *Sarajevski atentat. Pisma i saopštenja*, Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1965, 84.

⁶⁷ Ivan Peklić, “Život i djelo križevačkoga biskupa Julija Drohobeckog”, in: *Podravina: časopis za multidisciplinarna istraživanja*, vol. 3, no. 5, Koprivnica: Merdijani, 2004, 84.

workers in the absence of local staff and the reluctant attitude of Vienna to the idea of hiring Croats and Serbs; moreover, those two nationalities considered to be eager to carry out propaganda among the local Slavic population in favour of the idea of joining Bosnia and Herzegovina to their country, and thereby strengthening the Slavs in the dualistic monarchy.

The Ruthenians, mostly the graduates of the Galician and Bukovina universities, in the times of development of education during the autonomy (1866-1918) could not manage on the job market, for the market was not large enough to provide suitable positions for such a large group of young graduates. The perfect solution for those young people was Bosnia and Herzegovina, which guaranteed them attractive salaries and the opportunities to build a career.

The Galician newcomers usually worked at the lower levels of administration, since the higher ones were reserved for Germans and Hungarians. Some of them, however, were successful and after few years of working were promoted to higher positions, which is clearly visible in the case of doctors and lawyers. Their contacts with local population; Muslim, Orthodox, Catholic was generally good. The process of their acculturation was dynamic due to the marriages among the local population. We should not forget that officially all officials had to communicate in the local language.⁶⁸ In effect, the Ruthenian intelligentsia often had a good relationship with the local intellectuals, who educated Muslims and similar communities.

After the First World War, the majority of representatives of this diaspora remained in Yugoslavia, significantly reinforcing the administration of the reborn state. Some of these people left the Balkans and emigrated to Austria, Poland or other countries. The experience they gained during the Austro-Hungarian period turned out to be useful in the new political circumstances. Born in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the children of the officials felt attached to this country, which contributed to various cultural actions aimed at stronger cooperation with the Kingdom of SCS, and then the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, mainly by establishing societies and engaging in Neo-Slavism.

⁶⁸ *Glasnik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Sarajevo: Landesdrukei, 1885, 533-552.

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