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**UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION TO BOSNIA
AND HERZEGOVINA AT THE BEGINNING
OF THE 20th CENTURY (BASED ON THE MATERIALS
OF THE NEWSPAPER «RUSLAN»)**

*Українська еміграція до Боснії і Герцеговини
на початку ХХ ст. (за матеріалами часопису «Руслан»)*

This article explores the phenomenon of Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the early 20th century, focusing on materials published in the newspaper «Ruslan». This emigration is presented as a multifaceted historical process shaped by economic, social, and political factors that profoundly influenced the lives of Ukrainian emigrants and the development of the Ukrainian diaspora. The article examines reports in «Ruslan» about the migration process, highlighting the lack of preparation and inadequate support systems for emigrants. Despite these obstacles, the Ukrainian community in Bosnia and Herzegovina strived to preserve its cultural identity and religious traditions. The active role of figures such as Father Y. Grodskyi and the efforts of the Greek Catholic Church in addressing the spiritual and socio-economic needs of emigrants are emphasized. Father Grodskyi's work included establishing support centres, promoting education, and facilitating the integration of Ukrainians into Bosnian society. The analysis of «Ruslan» reveals the dual challenges faced by emigrants: maintaining their Ukrainian identity while navigating the risks of cultural assimilation into Bosnian society. Reports criticized assimilation policies and the limited organizational support for emigrants, suggesting the need for more robust strategies to sustain Ukrainian cultural and national heritage abroad. The article provides a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of Ukrainian emigration

to Bosnia and Herzegovina, emphasizing its significance in the broader context of Ukrainian diaspora history. It underscores the role of «Ruslan» as a vital source for reconstructing the experiences of Ukrainian emigrants and their contributions to the socio-political and cultural fabric of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Through this analysis, the study enhances our understanding of migration patterns and their implications for both sending and receiving societies during this historical period.

Keywords: emigration; Bosnia and Herzegovina; Halychyna; newspaper «Ruslan»; diaspora.

У статті розглядається феномен української еміграції до Боснії та Герцеговини початку ХХ ст. на матеріалах часопису «Руслан». Цю еміграцію представлено як багатогранний історичний процес, сформований економічними, соціальними та політичними чинниками, які суттєво вплинули на життя української еміграції та розвиток української діаспори. У статті проаналізовано повідомлення в «Руслані» про міграцію, наголошується на недостатній підготовленості та невідповідній системі підтримки емігрантів. Попри ці перешкоди, українська громада в Боснії та Герцеговині прагнула зберегти культурну самобутність і релігійні традиції. Підкреслено активну роль таких діячів, як отець Йосиф Гродський, зусилля Греко-Католицької Церкви у вирішенні духовних та соціально-економічних потреб емігрантів. Робота Гродського включала створення центрів підтримки, просування освіти й сприяння інтеграції українців у боснійське суспільство. Аналіз «Руслана» розкриває подвійні виклики, з якими стикаються емігранти: зберегти українську ідентичність і одночас подолати ризики культурної асиміляції в боснійському суспільстві. У доповідях критикувалася асиміляційна політика та обмежена організаційна підтримка емігрантів, наголошувалася на необхідності розробити надійніші стратегії збереження української культурної та національної спадщини за кордоном. Стаття дає розуміння динаміки української еміграції до Боснії та Герцеговини, наголошуючи на її значенні в ширшому контексті історії української діаспори. Підкреслено роль «Руслана» як важливого джерела для реконструкції досвіду українських емігрантів та їхнього внеску в суспільно-політичний і культурний устрій Боснії та Герцеговини. Отже, дослідження покращує наше розуміння моделей міграції та їхніх наслідків як для відправляючого, так і приймаючого суспільств протягом цього історичного періоду.

Ключові слова: еміграція; Боснії та Герцеговина; Галичина; часопис «Руслан»; діаспора.

The Problem Statement. Ukrainian emigration is a significant factor in shaping intercultural dialogue, social transformation, and political dynamics, playing a crucial role in various historical contexts — from the consolidation of national

identity within the diaspora to influencing international processes and transnational networks of interaction. One lesser-explored facet of such emigration is the movement of Ukrainians to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the outset of the 20th century. Through an examination of these materials, we endeavor to uncover the reasons behind and repercussions of this emigration, along with its influence on the cultural and historical trajectories of Ukrainian and Bosnian-Herzegovinian societies.

The newspaper «Ruslan», as a key periodical representing the interests and concerns of Ukrainians in Halychyna, provides a valuable perspective on these processes. Its coverage of Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina is particularly significant for understanding the motivations, challenges, and lived experiences of emigrants. «Ruslan» not only documented the material and spiritual hardships faced by migrants but also played a crucial role in fostering national consciousness and cultural unity among Ukrainians, even in distant lands.

The purpose of the article is to examine Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, utilizing materials from the newspaper «Ruslan». Specifically, the study seeks to elucidate the causes and characteristics of the migration processes, analyze the socio-economic and cultural challenges encountered by Ukrainian emigrants, and evaluate the role of the clergy, public figures, and printed publications in preserving the national identity of Ukrainians in the diaspora.

The historiographic review. The situation of Ukrainian emigrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 20th century remains a significant area of research in Ukrainian historiography. Scholarly literature examines both the general trends of migration processes and their socio-economic, cultural, and religious dimensions.

The works of Stepan Kacharaba (Качараба, С. 2013; Качараба, С. 2019–2021) are an invaluable resource for understanding Ukrainian emigration in the early 20th century. The author analyzed the organizational, economic, and cultural dimensions of migrant life, highlighting the critical role of clergy in maintaining national identity. St. Kacharaba underscores the significance of missionary efforts by Andrei Sheptytskyi, the Basilian Fathers, and the Studite monks in supporting the spiritual and cultural needs of emigrants. Additionally, he explores the challenges posed by cultural assimilation and economic adaptation in a new environment. Kacharaba's systematic approach sheds light on the broader implications of emigration processes and their influence on the development of Ukrainian communities in diverse socio-cultural contexts.

In the monograph «Halychyna — Bosnia — Vojvodina: Ukrainian emigrants from Halychyna in the territory of the Yugoslav peoples in 1890–1990», O. Rummyantsev (Румянцев, О. 2008) provides a comprehensive analysis of migration processes, paying particular attention to the socio-economic challenges encountered by Ukrainian emigrants. The author offers a detailed examination

of the cultural and educational activities of the Ukrainian community in the new environment, emphasizing their initiatives to preserve national identity through education and cultural programs.

In the study «Overview of the Cultural and Educational Life of Ukrainians in Bosnia (1890–1990)», B. Liskyi (Ліський, Б. 1997) highlights the educational endeavors of Ukrainian emigrants, including the establishment of folk schools and the promotion of the Ukrainian language. The researcher stresses that these cultural and educational efforts were crucial for maintaining national identity and fostering community cohesion.

P. Holovchuk's (Головчук, П. 2007) work delves into the organization of school education among Ukrainian emigrants. He underlines that the proactive involvement of local communities and church organizations played a significant role in providing access to education in the Ukrainian language. This, in turn, aided in preserving national identity and elevating the educational standards of the emigrant community.

T. J. Lis emphasizes the scale of Ukrainian migration to Bosnia in the context of the socio-economic and political circumstances that developed in Halychyna and Bukovina at the end of the 19th century (Lis, T. J. 2015; Lis, T. J. 2022). In T. J. Lis's works, the situation of migrants in their new environment is thoroughly examined, highlighting the specifics of their interaction with the local population and authorities. This aspect is crucial for understanding the cultural and political adaptation of Ukrainians in a new setting. The author underscores the importance of the migrants' cultural and educational activities as a means of preserving their national identity. Attention to this aspect allows for an exploration of the role of education, language, and religion in shaping the Ukrainian community in the Balkans. T. J. Lis also highlights that, despite social and economic challenges, the migrants played an active role in public life, although they frequently encountered ethnic and religious conflicts.

However, their works only tangentially reference the newspaper «Ruslan», which played a pivotal role in portraying the lives of the Ukrainian diaspora and facilitating information exchange among Ukrainian emigrants. Through the materials found in «Ruslan», it is possible to trace the journey of Ukrainian emigrants to Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as understand the motivations and circumstances surrounding their settlement in the new country.

The study's methodological framework is grounded in a detailed analysis of historical sources, with a particular emphasis on the newspaper «Ruslan» as a crucial resource for investigating Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The application of the historical method provides a thorough examination of the textual materials, allowing for a nuanced exploration of content and the identification of dominant themes and trends within the emigration movement. Additionally, the use of comparative analysis facilitates

a broader contextualization by juxtaposing findings from «Ruslan» with other relevant sources and scholarly works on Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina. This approach enhances the depth of the research and contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of the phenomenon.

The Results of the Research. Towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, Halychyna emerged as the most densely populated province within the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Despite experiencing high rates of infant mortality, the region witnessed an annual population growth exceeding that of other imperial territories by a thousand individuals. From 1830 to 1890, the population of the region increased by nearly 64,900 people each year (Франко, І. 1985, 312). Simultaneously, the scarcity of land resources became a pressing issue, with the number of peasants owning 3–4 morgens of land reaching 800,000 by 1875. F. Buyak estimated that agrarian overpopulation in Halychyna at the turn of the centuries had reached 1.2 million people (Bujak, F. 1908, p. 391).

Following the agreements made during the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bosnia and Herzegovina came under the influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Prior to this, these regions had been under Ottoman rule for over 400 years. Shortly after this transition, a significant influx of immigrants from Germany, Italy, Hungary, and the Czech lands began to migrate to these Balkan countries in search of inexpensive and arable land for farming. Subsequently, settlers from Halychyna also ventured to emigrate to these areas, initially on an individual basis, and later in larger groups, seeking employment opportunities and means of livelihood.

The history of Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina began in 1893, when the Provincial Government in Sarajevo initiated a state colonization program to settle peasants from Halychyna¹. The first group of Ukrainians, comprising 72 families, arrived in the Banja Luka region, establishing the settlement of Klychkove Brdo.

Each settler was allocated a land plot of 10–12 hectares under a 10-year lease agreement. Upon the completion of this period, the land was transferred into private ownership. In cases where the allocated land was forested, settlers were required to clear and cultivate it during the lease term.

For the duration of the lease agreement, settlers were obligated to pay the state an annual rent of six Austrian guilders. Additionally, they were responsible for paying taxes on all agricultural and residential buildings constructed on their plots. All financial obligations were settled at the end of each calendar year. However, to support the settlers during the initial stages, the Provincial Government exempted them from any financial burdens for the first three years of their residence.

¹ According to the research of O. Zaiats, the first Ukrainian settlers appeared in the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1889. However, the main wave of migration from Halychyna took place in 1899 (Заяць, О. 2015).

This colonization initiative laid the foundation for Ukrainian communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina, significantly influencing the demographic and cultural landscape of the region (Lis, T. J. 2015).

The emigration of Galician peasants to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century led to the establishment of significant Ukrainian settlements in the region. Among the largest were Dubrovina (265 families), Deviatyn (150 families), Dytliak (40 families), Kamianytsia (46 families), Kozara (70 families), Haiova (36 families), Tsilenets (28 families), and Horishniy Rakovats (60 families), among others. These settlements became vital centers of Ukrainian cultural and social life, reflecting the migrants' resilience and their efforts to maintain national identity in a new environment¹.

One of the publications discusses the migration of Ukrainians to Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the 20th century. Reports of large-scale departures from Chortkiv, Buchach, and other districts indicate a significant volume of emigration from these regions. Peasants, in search of a better fate, embark on long journeys to Bosnia, where they hope to find land for farming and employment opportunities in the forests.

The newspaper «Ruslan» sheds light on certain aspects of the emigration process, such as the inadequate preparation and lack of information among the emigrants. Many of them migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina without a thorough understanding of the language, customs, and living conditions in the new country, leading to potential misunderstandings with the local population.

The article reflects on the complexity of the emigration process, its underlying causes, and the consequences for the Ukrainian community. It also emphasizes the importance of carefully analyzing the conditions of emigration and taking measures to prevent similar situations in the future.

The low standard of living, limited prospects, and scarcity of fertile land compelled peasants to leave their homes in search of better opportunities. Even residents of relatively wealthier villages viewed emigration as a viable solution to their financial difficulties. Many peasants migrating to Bosnia acted without thoroughly verifying information or seeking advice from knowledgeable individuals, often placing undue trust in rumors and promises from intermediaries, who misled potential migrants to serve their own economic interests.

The primary objective of attracting emigrants to Bosnia was to secure a cheap labor force, particularly for the forestry sector. Jewish consortia managing state forests exploited the socio-economic vulnerabilities of settlers for substantial profits. Immigrants frequently encountered challenges stemming from a lack of familiarity with the local language, customs, and insufficient social support structures, which led to social isolation and heightened the risk of exploitation.

¹ Положене русинів в Босні // Руслан. Ч. 238. 23. жовтня (5. листопада) 1909.

The newspaper «Ruslan» highlights the critical need for proactive efforts to inform the population about the actual living conditions in Bosnia, aiming to prevent further waves of ill-considered emigration. However, the passivity of responsible authorities, who confined their efforts to press publications without implementing systematic solutions, is also underscored. The absence of a comprehensive state policy on emigration exacerbated the socio-economic hardships faced by immigrants¹.

The newspaper recounts the endeavors of Catholic priest Cherminsky among the Ukrainian community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He dedicated himself to addressing their spiritual needs and played an active role in enhancing their religious life. The author of the article provides a comprehensive overview of his missionary activities, detailing his efforts in administering confession, teaching the principles of faith, organizing Divine Services, and conducting baptisms for children. Additionally, the article emphasizes the significance of providing spiritual guidance to both Poles and Ukrainians. It highlights the importance of fostering religious mutual understanding among various ethnic groups².

However, it wasn't just peasants who migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina. The newspaper «Ruslan» provides a list of Ukrainians who held prominent positions in the administrative service of Bosnia, indicating that the Ukrainian community wielded considerable influence and was actively involved in the country's political and administrative affairs. Specifically, the appointments of S. Medvedskyi as president of the district court in Sarajevo and M. Yavorskyi as adviser to the supreme court in the same city are highlighted. These references illustrate that Ukrainians occupied significant positions within the administrative structure of Bosnia and Herzegovina during that period, underscoring their integration and success in those lands.

The newspaper also mentions the successful career advancements of Ukrainian community members within the Bosnian administration. They held various positions in the judicial system and prosecutor's office, demonstrating their sense of responsibility and professional competence. These achievements in the Bosnian administration reflect the Ukrainian community's ability to adapt and assimilate into different social environments, as well as their contributions to the development of local governance structures and society as a whole³.

The newspaper briefly analyzed the visit to Bosnia and Herzegovina by O. Barvinskyi, a prominent Galician public and political figure who served as a deputy in the Vienna Parliament and the Galician Diet⁴. O. Barvinskyi detailed this trip in his memoirs⁵.

¹ Еміграція до Босні // Руслан. Ч. 75. 5 (18) п'ятниці 1901.

² Наші переселенці в Босні // Руслан. Ч. 166. 24 липня (6 серпня) 1901.

³ Іменованя Русинів в Боснії // Руслан. Ч. 85. 16 (29) п'ятниці, 1900.

⁴ Новинки // Руслан. Ч. 172. 2 (15) серпня 1902.

⁵ Інститут літератури ім. Т. Г. Шевченка НАН України, Відділ рукописних фондів і текстології. (Київ). Ф. 135. Спр. 45. Барвінський О. Г. Спогади з мого життя, ч. 9, з. 44.

Following his visit, O. Barvynskyi presented Metropolitan A. Sheptytskyi with a report on the state of affairs of the Ukrainian community in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This underscores the interest of the Greek Catholic Church in addressing issues affecting the Ukrainian community beyond Halychyna¹.

The newspaper presented a critical view of the situation regarding Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina. It argued that despite the geographical proximity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the presence of Ukrainian intellectuals there, Ukrainians had very little information about their compatriots who emigrated to this region. This lack of information was attributed to the absence of publications about Ukrainian emigrants in Bosnia. The author of the publication criticized the policy of assimilation and deemed the emigration to Bosnia unproductive. It was argued that Ukrainian immigrants risked losing their identity and becoming assimilated into Bosnian culture due to active assimilation policies. The contributor also highlighted poor economic conditions and insufficient organizational support, which contributed to the erosion of Ukrainian heritage and cultural decline among emigrants.

Immigrants arriving in Bosnia often lacked financial resources, placing their hopes on state support, including the allocation of land plots. However, the conditions they encountered proved to be extremely challenging: the land required substantial effort to make arable, and initial settlement demanded significant material investment. Due to the lack of sufficient farming resources and the arduous working conditions, many emigrants were forced to return to Halychyna.

The emigrants received inadequate support from both the local administration and Ukrainian public organizations. The absence of developed infrastructure, including schools, cultural institutions, and economic organizations, created significant barriers to their social and economic progress. This lack of institutional support not only hindered their integration into the new environment but also heightened the risk of assimilation and the loss of national identity².

The publication of Y. Grodskyi's work «The Condition of Ruthenians in Bosnia» in the newspaper «Ruslan» marked an important contribution to the study and dissemination of information about the socio-economic, cultural, and religious conditions of Ukrainian emigrants in Bosnia at the turn of the 20th century. In the foreword, the author emphasizes the widespread lack of awareness among the Galician population about the lives of Ukrainians in Bosnia, highlighting the limited knowledge and misperceptions regarding their situation. This points to the broader problem of insufficient public understanding of the challenges faced by compatriots in the diaspora³.

¹ Новинки // Руслан. Ч. 177. 9 (23) серпня 1902.

² Доля виселенців в Босні // Руслан. Ч. 96. 30 цвітня (13 мая) 1903.

³ Положене Русинів в Босні // Руслан. Ч. 232. 16 (29) жовтня 1909.

Y. Grodskyi's decision to publish the study in «Ruslan», after unsuccessful attempts to collaborate with the «Prosvita» Society, underscores the critical role of periodicals in shaping public opinion and disseminating information to wider audiences. The newspaper served not only as a platform for raising awareness but also as a tool for fostering societal engagement with the issues faced by emigrants¹.

Y. Grodskyi's study provides a systematic and in-depth examination of the socio-economic, religious, and cultural circumstances of Ukrainian settlers in Bosnia. It identifies economic hardship and land scarcity in Halychyna as the primary drivers of emigration. The author juxtaposes emigration to America with that to Bosnia, ultimately focusing on the latter. A detailed analysis of Bosnia's socio-economic context following Turkish rule is presented, including population trends, agricultural practices, and the customs of the local Bosnian population.

The challenges faced by Ukrainians upon resettlement are described in vivid detail: food insecurity, infertile lands, unfamiliar climatic conditions, and a lack of infrastructure. Y. Grodskyi places particular emphasis on the struggles for survival and the dependency of settlers on support from local authorities and the church.

A significant portion of the work is devoted to religious initiatives among the Ukrainians, including church construction, the recruitment of clergy, and the establishment of a spiritual infrastructure. The role of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi is particularly noteworthy; he is credited with actively promoting spiritual and cultural development in the colonies. Y. Grodskyi highlights the acute shortage of clergy and the critical efforts to establish a sustainable religious framework, such as founding the Studite Monastery in Kamenica.

One of the central themes is the risk of assimilation, driven by the influence of Orthodox practices. The author stresses the urgent need for secular leaders, educators, and clergy to support cultural and educational integration while preserving national identity.

Beyond Bosnia, the study touches upon Ukrainian communities in Slavonia, Croatia, and Bačka, providing statistical data on parishes and clergy and discussing their dependence on the Križevci Eparchy. The appendix, listing Ukrainian colonies in Bosnia, serves as a valuable resource for demographic and sociological research.

In conclusion, Y. Grodskyi's «The Condition of Ruthenians in Bosnia» is a foundational work for understanding Ukrainian emigration². It offers critical insights into the socio-economic, cultural, and religious challenges faced by settlers and underscores the necessity for continued research on these migration processes. The study not only illuminates historical experiences but also provides

¹ The edition of this book was taken over by the "Ruslan" editorial office, and already at the beginning of 1910 it was published (Скакун, Р. 2020, с. 47).

² The importance of this book is evidenced by the fact that it was republished twice at the initiative of the Ukrainian community in Bosnia.

a basis for analyzing contemporary issues related to diaspora communities and cultural preservation.

One of the contributors to the newspaper praised the efforts of Father Y. Grodskiy in organizing assistance for Ukrainian immigrants in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He highlighted the deficiencies in caring for this group of emigrants, pointing out the inadequacy of organizational measures and the lack of coordination in addressing their needs. However, thanks to Father Y. Grodskiy's intervention, the displaced individuals found support and received the necessary assistance. The contributor emphasized the significant role of the priest in establishing several support centres for displaced persons. Father Y. Grodskiy's active involvement in providing aid and support to resettled individuals served as an exemplary model of volunteer work and assistance in resettlement areas¹.

After a significant surge in emigration in 1901, local authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina implemented a series of restrictive measures to regulate migration. Notably, it was declared that the so-called «kingdom» privilege, which had granted land plots to newly arrived emigrants, would be abolished. By April 1901, official announcements stated that no free land remained available for colonization in the region. To mitigate the socio-economic pressures resulting from migration, the Ministry of Finance in Vienna authorized the local authorities in Bosnia and Herzegovina to issue special directives permitting the entry of Galician peasants, provided they purchased land. This policy shift triggered a wave of mass re-emigration, as thousands of peasants, disillusioned with living conditions, returned from Bosnia. Despite these administrative efforts to curtail migration, the emigration of Galician peasants to Bosnia and Herzegovina persisted, continuing until the outbreak of the First World War. This enduring migration movement underscores the deep socio-economic challenges faced by Galician peasants and their persistent quest for improved living conditions in new territories (Мовчан, С. П. & Качараба, С. П. 1990, с. 71–72).

The newspaper «Ruslan» played a significant role in visualizing the life of the Ukrainian community in Bosnia and Herzegovina by publishing photographs that captured the cultural, religious, and social dimensions of emigrant life. Notably, the magazine featured an image of Stefan Hrytsai, head of the Prosvita society in Pryavor, with his family, highlighting the contributions of public figures to the consolidation of the Ukrainian diaspora. Additionally, photographs of the Ukrainian church in Devyatyn, constructed between 1901 and 1903², and the church in Kamenytsia, built with the active involvement of Y. Grodskiy in 1907–1908, were included³. These visuals not only served to inform readers but also

¹ Апостол босанських русинів // Руслан. Ч. 35. 27 (14) лютого 1910.

² Руслан. Ч. 28. 19 (6) лютого 1910.

³ Апостол босанських русинів // Руслан. Ч. 35. 27 (14) лютого 1910.

helped establish a compelling visual narrative showcasing the achievements of Ukrainians in the diaspora.

The conclusions. The analysis of materials from the «Ruslan» newspaper allows for several important conclusions regarding Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina in the early 20th century. This emigration was a complex, multidimensional process reflecting not only economic difficulties but also the socio-political realities of contemporary Europe. The primary impetus for migration was the agrarian overpopulation of Halychyna, the low standard of living among peasants, and limited opportunities for social mobility.

Upon arriving in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Ukrainian settlers faced challenges related to integration, cultural adaptation, and socio-economic stability. Despite these difficulties, they sought to preserve their national identity through the maintenance of religious traditions, the development of educational initiatives, and the establishment of community organizations. However, as indicated by the materials from «Ruslan», the process of assimilation posed a serious threat to the preservation of the settlers' ethnocultural heritage.

The activities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, particularly Father Y. Grodskyi, played a significant role in supporting the emigrants. His initiatives contributed to the creation of educational and religious centers that aided Ukrainians in adapting to their new environment. Additionally, articles in «Ruslan» emphasized the need for broader organizational support for emigrants from Ukrainian cultural and religious institutions.

Special attention should be given to Austria-Hungary's policies regarding Ukrainian settlers. On the one hand, the imperial administration promoted the colonization of Bosnia, viewing Ukrainians as a loyal group that could contribute to the region's economic development. On the other hand, the lack of systemic support and insufficient protection of the settlers' cultural rights created conditions for their gradual assimilation.

The study of «Ruslan» materials provides a deeper understanding of the patterns of migration processes and their consequences for both the sending and receiving societies. Further research on Ukrainian emigration to the Balkan Peninsula will help form a more comprehensive picture of the Ukrainian diaspora's functioning in various political and social contexts. Thus, Ukrainian emigration to Bosnia and Herzegovina is not only a historical fact but also a significant phenomenon that has shaped the ethnocultural landscape of the region.

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Church in Devyatyn, built in 1901–1903, and houses of Ukrainian immigrants



*Stefan Hrytsai, tailor, head of the Prosvita reading room in Priyavor, with his wife and her sister:
(Руслан. Ч. 28. 19 (6) лютого 1910. С. 2)*