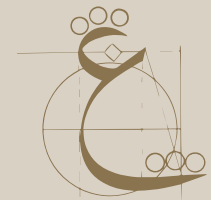
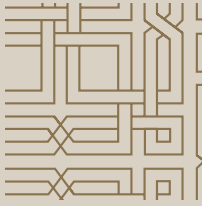




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The Development of Ottoman and Post-Ottoman Boundaries in Bosnia and Herzegovina

BOSNA VE HERSEK’TE
OSMANLI VE OSMANLI
SONRASI SINIRLARIN
GELİŞİMİ



IVAN BALTA*

ABSTRACT

This article surveys the historical and present-day boundaries of Bosnia and Herzegovina by focusing on two concepts: (1) The early history of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries and (2) wars and treaties of the modern period. The Ottoman policies of administering the Balkan lands were varied according to the necessities of the conquered lands and their ability to the pursue political and institutional policies on these regions. To divide the area into more controllable pieces, they established *sancaks* (military administrative units) and *paşalıklar* (an administrative unit consist of several *sancaks*) to manage the control and to consolidate their power. The Ottoman stability in the region threatened with various wars with the Habsburg Empire. Accordingly, starting with the late seventeenth century the active political context of the region affected the limits of the Bosnian lands as well. The region had to experience a vast number of battles and ceasefires until the WWII to take its final shape.

Keywords: Borders, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Balkans, battle.

ÖZ

Bu makale Bosna-Hersek’in tarihsel ve günümüz sınırlarını iki farklı döneme odaklanarak incelemektedir: (1) Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nun on beşinci ve on sekizinci yüzyıllar arasındaki erken tarihi ve (2) modern dönemin savaş ve barışları. Balkan topraklarını yönetmeye dönük Osmanlı politikaları, fethedilen yerlerin ihtiyaçlarına ve Osmanlıların bunları gerçekleştirmek üzere planladıkları siyasi ve kurumsal politikaları uygulama kabiliyetine göre değişmekteydi. Osmanlılar, bölgeyi daha kontrol edilebilir parçalara bölmek suretiyle güçlerini pekiştirmek ve kontrolü sağlamak için sancaklar (askeri yönetim birimi) ve paşalıklar (birkaç sancağın birleşiminden oluşan yönetim birimi) kurdu. Bölgedeki Osmanlı istikrarı, Habsburg İmparatorluğu ile yapılan çeşitli savaşlar tarafından tehdit edilmekteydi. Buna bağlı olarak on yedinci yüzyıl sonlarından itibaren bölgedeki fiili siyasi durum, Bosna topraklarının sınırlarını da etkisi altına aldı. Bölge, son şeklini almak için, İkinci Dünya Savaşı’na kadar çok sayıda savaş ve ateşkes tecrübe etmek zorunda kaldı.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sınırlar, Bosna, Hersek, Balkanlar, muharebe.



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1. The Ottoman Expansion In the Balkans and Changing Borderlines of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia and Hungary

The Ottomans ruled over the Balkans between the fifteenth century to the second half of the ninetieth century. Their military administration in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia was covered by so-called soft borderlines.¹ Many political entities including the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Empire, Venice and other insurgent forces were in active warfare in the given geography. The Ottomans invaded Bosnia in 1463, Herzegovina in 1482. In 1493, the Battle of Krbava heralded further Ottoman conquests in Croatian lands. They accordingly established new *sancaks*, united under a larger military-administrative unit, the *paşalık* of Bosnia. The Ottoman *sancaks*, normally, were governed by a *beylerbeyi* (governor-general of the administration unit). However, the Bosnian *Paşalık* or the *Eyâlet* (provincial administration) of Bosnia were divided into *kaptanlıks* (captaincies). These were special border military districts governed by a *kaptan* (captain, commander). The Bosnian *Paşalık* lasted until the late nineteenth century, the time when the Ottoman presence in the region weakened and abolished in 1878, with decision taken in the Berlin Congress.

The Bosnian *serhad* (borderline) took its form between 1448 and 1453, in the occupied part of Bosnia. The Ottomans did not force out domestic feudalism and they also established the *timar* (landowner-grooming system). It was after the Smederevo Despotate's fall in 1459 that the Ottoman government in Bosnia started to expand by moving freely from the Bosnian borderland into its heartland, towards important centers Fojnica and Kreševo.² The last Bosnian sovereigns relied on Hungary and the Papacy to defeat the Ottomans.³ However, at that time, there were conflicts between the king Stjepan Tomaš (r. 1443-61) and the duke Stjepan Vukčić-Kosače (r. 1435- 1466) culminated into a civil war in the Bosnian lands. The local conflict partly ended with the death of the former in 1461. This event also hastened the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia⁴ because the new king Stjepan Tomašević (r. 1461-63) denied to pay the tribute. In 1463, the Ottomans started a military campaign and descended to the Drina River across Skopje, Kosovo and Sjenica. Soon, they arrived in the border area of the Pavlovićs and Kovačevićs and captured the region without any resistance. The surrender of Bobovac in the central Bosnia demoralized the garrisons of the remaining towns, especially of Travnik, Jajce and Ključ. This is because the army commander and the grand vizier Mahmud Paşa primarily guaranteed the king's life and freedom on the condition of surrender. The king surrendered but the sultan did not save his life. Thus the death of Stjepan Tomašević in 1463 also sealed up the fate of the Bosnian Kingdom.⁵ The Ottomans established their

1 In this article the term 'soft' highlights permeable, conductive and constantly changing features of the Ottoman borderlines in the given geography.

2 Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1982), 35-37.

3 Anto Babić vd., *Historija naroda Jugoslavije I* (Belgrade: 1953), 606.

4 Pavo Zivković, *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine do konca XVIII stoljeća, i, Povijest hrvata Bosanske Posavine do početka XX stoljeća* (Mostar: Hrvatsko kulturno društvo Napredak, 1994), 76.

5 Šabanović, *Bosanski paşaluk*, 38-39.

government and a new border of their empire after this victory.⁶ In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman authorities usually put new areas under the direct management of *sancak* governors. Around the 1580s Bosnia became a separate border *beylerbeylik* as a strategy of counteract to the Habsburg Empire.⁷

After the fall of Bosnia, the border moved towards Croatia. In Hungary, the death of the king Matija Korvin (r. 1464-90) in 1490 marked the end of the absolute reign because the successor Vladislav II Jegelović (r. 1490-1516) could not stop dynastic fights. These internal conflicts paved the way for the Ottoman intervention. In Slavonia, King Vladislav's supporters were in constant fight with those of the king Maksimilijan of Habsburg (r. 1459-1519). Parallel to that disputes there was an Ottoman attack to Kranjska and Croatia in 1491. Following to this unsuccessful one, they initiated a new campaign, commanded by the Bosnia's governor Yakub Paša with an army of ten thousand soldiers across Croatia to Kranjska and Koruška. On 9 September 1493, there was a battle in Krbava, ended up with heavy loses on Croatian side including the execution of many nobles. The news about the Croatian defeat spread over Europe, and evoked the idea of the Crusades against the "unbeliever" Ottomans. Vladislav was not interested in that, although his lands were narrowed down since the border moved to the west due to ongoing Ottoman conquests.⁸ In 1499, the Ottomans advanced towards Dalmatia., but Vladislav's army suppressed the siege of Jajce after two years. He entrusted the noble families of Berislavićs and Frankopans for defending his sout. From the 1520s on, the new sultan Süleyman I (r. 1520-66) undertook military attacks towards the west of Europe, starting with Hungary. Accordingly, in 1522, Bosnian governor Husrev Bey went to Dalmatia, captured Knin and Skradin easily but could not take the fortified Klis. Finally, in 1525, Süleyman decided to attack Hungary. He conquered Petrovaradin and Osijek, crossed the Drava River and so came into Hungary. A great battle took place in Mohács, where the Hungarian army was heavily defeated. Hungarian king Ludovik II (r. 1516-26) died in that battle and the Sultan entered Budin.

In 1576, Rudolf II (r. 1576-1608) became the Austrian king. His enthronement also affected the Military Border.⁹ In 1583, the Ottomans managed to move their frontline from the River Una to Kupa. Accordingly, Bihać fell to the Ottoman hands in 1592, thus the Croatia's line of defense went from Ogulin -through Karlovac by the River Kupa- to Sisak. A year later, the Bosnian governor Hasan Paša, wanted to conquer Sisak, marched towards Zagreb but

6 Matuz, *Osmansko Carstvo*, 64. There were two larger administrative units in the Ottoman Empire: eyâlets and sanjaks. They were militarily organized according to the principle of judicial jurisdiction. Beylerbeys and sanjakbeys almost always appeared under the scope of military career, and heads of legal districts and environments under that of theological-judicial one. The largest territorial units of the Ottoman Empire were eyâlets led by beylerbeys. They continually disposed of one sanjak called pasha-sanjak, and were also charged with supervision of their own eyâlet's sanjakbey, certainly without too much interfering into the competence of certain sanjakbeys.

7 Halil Inalcik, *Osmansko Carstvo* (Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2002), 131.

8 Živković, *Povijest Bosne*, 96-97.

9 The Military Border was created by Charles V (r. 1516-56), the archduke of Austria, in the sixteenth century to secure the Croatian, Slovenian and Hungarian border from the incursions of the Ottoman Empire. The border mostly controlled by the Habsburg Empire's military forces.

his attempt resulted unsuccessfully.¹⁰ This campaign marked a short break for the Ottoman conquests, but the war continued more until 1606 when the peace was made in Žitva.¹¹

When the Ottomans conquered the Balkan lands, many Orthodox Christians and the Bogomils accepted Islam, especially in Bosnia. The Ottoman population were divided t in two general classes: Muslims and unbelievers.¹²

2. Establishment of the Ottoman *Sancaks* in Bosnia

As the Ottomans conquer new lands they accordingly established military-administrative units, *sancaks* in these areas. They were divided into smaller units, so called *nahiyes*. As the number of sancaks increased, the Bosnian Paşalık was formed as the largest military-administrative unit on the lands of the former Bosnian Kingdom. This unit consisted some parts of Slavonia, Lika, Dalmatia the Pavlović and Kovačević districts as well as the occupied part of the Herzegovina.¹³ By uniting them with the earlier districts in Raška and Bosnia, The Ottomans so founded the Bosnian Sancak with the center in Sarajevo.¹⁴

In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Hungarian king Matthias Corvinus (r.1464-90) attempted to reconstruct his former territories by establishing two *banovinas* (regions), Srebrenica and Jajce. Following to that development, the Bosnian Sancak became confined with the remaining Hungarian-Croatian area in the east and northeast. Following to the Ottoman attack to Herzegovina in July 1463, the Ottomans established a special *sancak* with its center in Foča, then in Pljevlja.¹⁵ In December 1481, they besieged the Herzeg's Novi, the last garrison of the Bosnian state. Here, the *banovinas* of Jajce and Srebrenica represented a powerful threat for the Ottoman troops, as well as a permanent danger for their border estates. Therefore, the Ottomans decided to connect their authorities in the central Drina River Basin, thus they established the Sancak of Zvornik, with its governors sojourning in Tuzla.¹⁶

Upon the conquest of Klis in 1537, the governor of the Bosnian Sancak, Hüsrev Bey, suggested the establishment of a new *sancak* in the region with the center in Klis. In 1538, in the conquered area of central Slavonia the Ottomans also established a new *sancak*, the Sancak of Požega, named after its center. All the new Ottoman estates in the Slavonian Drava River Basin were annexed to the Sancak of Požega, and those in the Sava River Basin were articulated to the Bosnian Sancak. The Sancak of Požega belonged to the Beylerbeylik of Rumelia, and then to the Paşalık of Budin, remained there until 1580. Then it was joined to the Bosnian Paşalık. When the Paşalık of Kanjiža was established in 1600, the Sancak of

10 Živković, *Povijest Bosne*, 105. The battle took place in the field between the rivers kupa and Odra on 22 June 1593. It lasted one hour, and the Ottoman army was heavily defeated with great losses. Hasan-Pasha Predojević was killed in that battle.

11 Ferdo Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata II* (Slit: Marjan tisak, 2004), 306-307. Peace Treaty of Žitva was the first one in which the Hungarian-Croatian king and sultan were equal, and it was a sign that the Ottoman dominance began to decline.

12 Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 329.

13 Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 326-327.

14 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 39-40.

15 Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 327.

16 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 52-54.

Požega was joined to it and remained its part until the end of the Ottoman reign. In the mean time, Požega, Osijek, Virovitica, Vukovar and Đakovo were included in the Sancak of Požega.¹⁷ In summer 1552, the Ottomans conquered new lands in Slavonia, and joined the these areas to the Sanjak of Požega. In 1557, they founded the new *sancak* of Zračasna. However, as Zračasna was recognized unsafe between 1560 and 1565, so the Ottomans replaced the center of this *sancak* to Pakrac.¹⁸ The Sancak of Krka (Lika) was founded in e 1570s, and it spread along the Velebit Mountain towards Senj, Brinje and Otočac. It included the northern part of Dalmatia, Lika and Krbava and it was a unit belonged to the Bosnian Paşalık. It was time to time connected with the Sancak of Bihać, and that of Klis as one *sancak*.¹⁹ Precisely, until the end of the sixteenth century, the area of the future the Bosnian Paşalık was divided into three regions: Rumelia, Budin and Timisoara.

There are several reasons lying behind the foundation of Bosnian Eyâlet. First is the presence of Austria and Venice as two arch-enemies situated against the Ottoman aspiration for further expansion and consolidation of power. Secondly, the Ottomans knew that they had to make state reforms and administrative divisions to eliminate the administrative decline. Therefore, they established a special district, the Bosnian Paşalık in 1580, by detaching the Bosnian and Herzegovinian *sancaks*, as well as the *sancaks* of Klis, Pakrac and Krka from the *paşaliks* of Rumelia, Zvornik, Požega and Budin. The Sancak of Srijem was the only exception, since it had been and remained as a part of the Budin Eyâlet with its center in Ilok.²⁰ The Bosnian Sancak became the central district of the Bosnian Paşalık, also called the Paşa-Sancak,²¹ and its first *beylerbey* was Ferhat Bey Sokolović, who was also the previous *sancakbey* of the Bosnian Sancak, up to the year 1588.²²

In the Ottoman administrative system the *paşaliks*, generally consists of numerous *sancaks*. Instead, following the establishment of the Bosnian Paşalık, the Ottomans divided it into *kaptanliks*. The armies of *kaptanliks* were the main power of the Bosnian Paşalık's defense.²³ The Ottomans learned this type of military administration unit when they arrived the banks of Sava and Una rivers. They got acquainted with the Christian institution of *kaptanliks* that had been established by the Hungarians and Croats to defend themselves from the Ottoman invasions. The Ottomans established these units in the occupied towns and they usually kept the existing *kaptans* and soldiers, together with setting up their own ones. For example, after the conquest of Nova Gradiška, they founded the *kaptanlık* of Gradiška in 1537. In 1565 they established the *kaptanlık* of Krupa, and in 1592 the *kaptanlık* of Bihać. The same process had continued during the conquest of the Herzegovinan lands as well. In the sixteenth century these *kaptanliks* were small, had limited territories only by the border. Later on, in the eighteenth century, they were also *kaptanliks* in the interior lands. These units were completely abolished in 1835, until that time, *kaptanliks'* employees were paid soldiers, and

17 Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 327.

18 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 66-68.

19 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 66-68.

20 Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 327.

21 Željko Holjevac - Nenad Moaćanin, *Hrvatsko-Slavonska Vojna Krajina i Hrvati Pod Vlašću Osmanskoga Carstva u Ranome Novom Vijeku* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007), 115.

22 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 79-81.

23 Hamdija Kreševljaković, *Kapetanije u Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Naučno Društvo NR Bosne i Hercegovine, 1954), 7.

services were hereditary.²⁴ In the 1680s the number of *kaptanlıks* significantly increased in relation with the siege of Vienna. From 1606 to 1690, there were twenty-nine *kaptanlıks* on the territory of the Bosnian Paşalık. Whereas in 1829, six years before the abolishment, there were thirty-nine *kaptanlıks*. After the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the Ottoman Empire acted with a defensive strategy. Therefore, around 1700, they started to establish the borders. In the eighteenth century, twenty-eight new captaincies were founded in addition to twelve others that remained after the Karlowitz. With the addition of new units, the borders of the Bosnian Paşalık were connected through military defense locations.²⁵

The size of the Bosnian Paşalık had never coincided with that of the former Bosnian Kingdom. Its geographical scope also did not correspond with Bosnia after the Treaty of Karlowitz. After the occupation of 1878 its borders had also changed. Its dimensions had constantly changed in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries because of the addition or removal of new *sancaks* to its borders. For example, a new *sancak* Bihać was founded in the sixteenth century and it was joined to the Bosnian Paşalık together with eight other *sancaks*. As another instance, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Sancak of Požega was separated from the Bosnian Paşalık and attached to the newly founded Eyâlet of Kanjiža, where it remained till the end of the Ottoman reign.²⁶

The seventeenth century was a time for two important wars: the War of Kandija (1646-1669) and the Battle of Vienna (1683-1699). In these battles Venice conquered a part of the Sancak of Krka and of the Sancak of Klis. This means that the border Dalmatian *kaptanlıks* of Islam, Nadin, Zemunik, Klis, Kamen and Soline fell under Venetian hands.²⁷ The battle for Vienna lasted sixteen years and it changed border completely. With an alliance, Budin was liberated in 1686. In the first four years, Budin, the largest parts of Hungary, Slavonia and Croatia were taken from the Ottomans so the border moved to the River Sava. The Austrian army occupied Požega, Osijek, Udbina and Knin and then came to Belgrade and Kosovo, but soon they withdrew. The Ottomans experienced another defeat in 1671 near Slankamen, and in 1697 near Senta, resulted with the Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. The Ottomans signed the peace agreement with Austria and Venice, thus lost the whole Hungarian lands (except Banat), Slavonia (except southeastern Srijem) Croatia (to the River Una and southern Velebit), as well as all Knin, Sinj, Vrgorac.²⁸ Precisely, the Bosnian Paşalık lost the whole Slavonia and the Sancak of Likatogether with some parts of the Sancak of Klis and of Herzegovina. It then had five remaining *sancaks*: the Bosnian Sancak, Herzegovinian Sancak, and the *sancaks* of Zvornik, Klis and Bihać. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Sancak of Bihać was articulated to the Bosnian Sancak, so the Bosnian Paşalık consisted only of the four remaining *sancaks*.²⁹

24 Every captaincy had at least one town and one tower, and sometimes a fortified watch-tower. The main task of a *kaptanlık* garrison was to keep the border from the enemies day and night, as well as the roads from highwaymen and robbers.

25 Kreševljaković, *Kapetanije u Bosni*, 19-20.

26 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 80. During the 17th century, the Bosnian Paşalık consisted of seven sanjaks: the Bosnian Sanjak, Herzegovinian Sanjak, Sanjak of Zvornik, Sanjak of Pakrac and Cernik, Sanjak of Krka and Lika and the Sanjak of Bihać. The last two sanjaks were sometimes connected into one sanjak, but the Sanjak of Bihać was dissolved for some time in the mid-17th century.

27 Kreševljaković, *Kapetanije u Bosni*, 18.

28 Šišić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 331-333.

29 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 92.

At the end of the Battle of Vienna a great part of the Austrian lands was liberated from the Ottomans with the Treaty of Karlowitz. The eighteenth century started with a new War of Požarevac which also ended with a peace agreement. As a result of this treaty, the Ottomans again lost significant parts of the Bosnian Paşalık, that is to say the areas of the Bosnian Sancak and that of Zvornik. In the following war that was sealed by the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739, they reconquered a larger part of Serbian and Bosnian regions. By the end of the eighteenth century, with the peace Treaty of Sistova, the Ottomans lost Lapac, Srb and Cetin.³⁰ These were the last parts of the Croatian lands. From then on up to the end of the nineteenth century the border between Austria and the Ottomans stood still.

3. Disputes on the New Bosnian-Herzegovinian Border of the Nineteenth Century

Local problems had often taken place in the border *sancaks*. In the Sancak of Livno, for instance, the Austrian subjects were forced to obey the standards of the Ottoman law. By this they had to pay the taxes only if they had land estates, but did not have to pay any if they became craftsmen or settled in the Bosnia Paşalık permanently.³¹ In addition to that, there was a tight control over the visas of the Austrian subjects and the Ottoman authorities strictly charged for eight silver coins for a passport or one gold coin if they were travelling inside the *paşalık*. This situation led to population change and the number of the Austrian subjects from Dalmatia, accordingly increased. So, in 1866, there were 200 to 300 of them in Livno. They came in order to earn money with the help of the Bosnian landowners. In the same year, thousands of people went from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Dalmatia. Under normal circumstances, the Austrian authorities did not ask for visas at the border for those who were travel for commercial purposes. Until 1866, they recognized all the inhabitants of Ottoman towns Unište, Mračaj, Stožište and Tiškovac as Austrian subjects and did not collect taxes from them either. However after this year, as a response to growing Ottoman control in the region, they started to ask them to fulfill all the tax obligations.³² In relation to these developments in the Treaty in Villafranca between France and Austria in 1859 it is stated that "there appeared numerous papers written by greatest authorities (e. g. E. H. Maq and B. M. Hauslab), partly authentic and partly inspired, which said that Austria could not have any advances, neither national nor economic or military ones, from the Dalmatian coast while its hinterland, i. e. Herzegovina and Bosnia were possessed by the Ottomans."³³

In 1859 the Serbian Parliament proclaimed the plan of Miloš Obrenović proposes an attack to Bosnia near Zvornik by the Serbian forces. This plan was supported by Russia, and France and it pointed to an attempt of realizing a much wider plan of invading of Bosnia, Slavonia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria would start to conquer Slavonia.³⁴ In relation to that, an Austrian consular agent in Brčko reported the Consulate General that the people in the

30 Šabanović, *Bosanski Paşaluk*, 93-94.

31 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Sarajevo, fond: Austro-Ugarski Generalni konzulat Sarajevo, 228/1867, K 126, Dembički Generalnom konzulatu, Livno, 16 January 1867.

32 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Sarajevo, fond: Austro-Ugarski Generalni konzulat Sarajevo, 228/1867, K 102, Dembički Generalnom konzulatu, Livno, 28 March 1867.

33 Kriegs Archiv Wien, Memoire XXVIII-1071, Geschichte der oesterreichisch-ungarischen Politik in der Occupationsfrage Bosniens und der Herzegowina.

34 Šljivo, *Bosna*, 471.

Sancak of Zvornik were afraid of the Serbian attacks. Bosnian and Herzegovinian authorities started to replace new military powers into the Bosnian towers and towns.³⁵ Strong military forces deployed in Herzegovina, in the border area towards the Principality of Serbia, but the border with the Austrian Monarchy was left without any Ottoman soldiers.³⁶ On August 19, the Bosnian *vali* (governor) Şerif Osman Paşa went to Sarajevo to visit the border. Meanwhile, there were some rumors in Sarajevo.

"According to the rumours circulating in Sarajevo, the Serbian Party of Action allegedly dealt with a plan to intrude into Bosnia. The leaders of that Party were surely not enough acquainted with the circumstances in that vilayet if they, believing to the news published in some newspapers, could count on near uprising in Bosnia and rebellion of the Bosnian "raja" (people)."³⁷

As the Austrian consul general reported, the *vali* travelled towards the Montenegro border to supervise. Besides, he needed to recruit three thousand *başıbozüks* (irregular forces of the Ottoman army) from Taslidža, Prijepolje and Nova Varoš and to deploy them on the border.³⁸ The consul general had learned that if the Ottomans moved to Serbia, they would have been determined to fight to the last man, to not to be defeated and live under the rule of Serbia. Consequently, in 1867, the Austro-Hungarian military circles paid more attention to Bosnia and Herzegovina.³⁹ At the same time, the Serbs were convinced that Austria intended to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. The Serbian leader Ilija Garašanin (d.1867) openly declared to the French consul that if the Austro-Hungarian army entered Bosnia, Serbia would ally with the Ottomans and expel them from Bosnia. The Serbian prince travelled to Vienna and to Paris to figure out the intentions of Austria-Hungary for Bosnia and Herzegovina. In Paris, he was advised that Serbia had to restrain from any interfering into the affairs of Bosnia and Herzegovina, since the fate of those provinces represented "the vital issue of the Dual monarchy".⁴⁰ During the September 1867, a committee united in Zagreb to arrange a collaboration for the conquest of Bosnia. So a strategy was settled with the help of Prussia and coordinated according with its intentions.⁴¹ In relation to that Garašanin wrote to the prince Nikola: "Situation in Turkey has become very critical as it has never been - do not lose the sight of it. This must be used: now or never".⁴² The diplomatic negotiations on the European provinces of the Ottoman Empire lasted until the time of the prince Mihail Obrenović (r. 1860-68). On 28 July 1868 Serbian diplomat Antonije Orešković submitted his memoirs to the Serbian governorship showing that he negotiated with the Hungarian prime minister Gyula Andrassy in Pesta. Andrassy was determined to separate Serbia from Russia. A discussion between the leaders in the Zagreb Committee shows the diverse intention of the European powers:

35 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A., XXXVIII; GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 20 March 1867, 28 March 1867.

36 Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, HA III, 2.4.1. I, Nr 8.597, Otto Blau Visokom kraljevskom Ministarstvu inozemnih poslova, Sarajevo, 2 September 1867.

37 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A., XXXVIII; GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 30 August 1867.

38 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A., XXXVIII; GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 30 August 1867.

39 Alen Dž. P. Tejlor, *Borba za Prevlast u Evropi 1848-1918* (Sarajevo: 1968), 229.

40 Grgur Jakšić - Vojislav Vučković, *Spoljna Politika Srbije za Vlade Kneza Mihaila-prvi Balkanski Savez* (Belgrade: Historical Institute in Belgrade, 1963), 425; Alen Dž. P. Tejlor, *Habzburška Monarhija 1809-1918 Historija Austrijske Carevine i Austrougarske* (Belgrade: 2001), 214-216.

41 Jakšić - Vučković, *Spoljna Politika*, 426-429.

42 "Crna Gora i Srbija od 1862." Garašanin Knjazu Nikoli, 28.II 1867.

Antonije Orešković:

"Like it or not, we cannot allow that Turkey crashes before we get secure from Russia whatever it may cost We would easily arrange with the Croats, if it does not mean the whole Turkish Empire, let them have Turkish Croatia."

Guyla Andrassy replied the Serbs:

"Good, take Bosnia and Herzegovina, but don't go any further, don't touch Bulgaria, because you could spoil everything in that way, you would upset all European Turkey and put into question its existence, and this cannot be allowed yet; Europe would take matters into its own hands, and who knows what you would go through."

Antonije Orešković to the German politician Josip Juraj Strossmayer:

"Give Turkish Croatia to Croatia and the rest of Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia."

Strossmayer answered:

"By no means! It would be separation of Serbs and Croats, and because of our future it is necessary that there are Croatian elements in the Serbian state; in that way we shall stay in better connection and aspire to unite."⁴³

In 1866 the new consul general Ferdinand Haas came to Sarajevo. The newspaper *Narodne novine* in Zagreb accordingly announced "Whether his name is Meho or Mujo – they are all the Turks! We do not want Vienna's policy to be different. Formerly, there was a lot of sympathy for Vienna in Bosnia; but the Austrian consuls put it off."⁴⁴

At the beginning of 1867, the events at the Croatian-Bosnian border calmed down. An imperial border guard from Otočac pleasingly reported to report that the Ottoman border authorities "were doing everything they could to improve mutual understanding in the best possible way." Those reports about political events "contain, in addition to interesting notes and distorted truths, even completely insulted news of events of the utmost importance, so I consider my duty to report this to your excellence."⁴⁵

There were more disputes at the Austrian-Ottoman border on the River Sava, especially in Brčko.⁴⁶ A consular agent from Brčko reported that the Muslims afraid of intrusion of Serbs, and the Bosnian authorities started to deploy new military forces in Bijeljina. The Bosnian authorities were informed that Serbia was arming itself for a war against the Ottomans and that the Russian agents were coming to the Bosnian Eyâlet for the same purpose. They were visiting the Greco-Eastern monasteries and giving great amount of cash and ecclesiastic

43 Vojislav J. Vučković, *Politička Akcija Srbije u Južnoslovenskim Pokrajinama Habsburške Monarhije 1859-1874* (Belgrade: 1965), 356-381.

44 *Narodne novine*, Zagreb, 31 December 1866.

45 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/GK S, K 182, Zaks Beustu, Sarajevo, 13 March 1869.

46 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Sarajevo, fond: Austro-ugarski Generalni konzulat Sarajevo, K 121, Omčikus Generalnom konzulatu, Brčko, 12 October 1863. Numan Ağa, inhabitant of Brčko, bought by mid-September 1866, 1.200 cargoes of wheat for Elias Mandušić. Mandušić asked the mudir Salih bey in the presence of the kadija Mustafa-efendija and the president of the medžlis (assembly) – Meho Pašalić approval, but the mudir told him that he needed no approval and that he could buy the same quantity of wheat once again. Then Mandušić bought one more quantity of the same wheat, but in the meantime the mudir forbade the export of cereals from Bosnia. The faithful to the Austrian consular agent in Brčko, some black marketeers and a military soldier in the crew of the cordon near Brčko informed Omčikus in confidence that in the cordon near Brčko the čauš (?) Mehmed Ağa buggled on the River Sava banks and provided security for black marketeers charging for his services. The consular agent told that the mudir Salih-bey, but the mudir did not believe him.

books. This is to gather priests' appeal and Orthodox population in favor of Russia. The authorities thought that in the case of the Serbian attack to Bosnia some corrupted priests would revolt in the arms and contribute to the realization of a common aim. That propaganda had already included some Russian photographers who came to Bosnia previously, and "in order to avoid any doubt of their intentions, they photographed the Turks cost-free to convince them that they travelled through Bosnia to make sketches from it for the Russian empress",⁴⁷ The Muslim population were appealed to because of the apparent hostile intentions of Serbia.

The Austria-Hungarian State diligently collected the data about the Bosnian population's attitude on their political strategies. To do this, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs asked generals and consular agents to submit regular reports about the ideas of the Muslims regarding Bosnia and Herzegovina's annexation to the Empire. That disturbed the Muslims.⁴⁸ One of the reports says "I have noticed, the consul general Teodorović informed Andrassy among the Muslims on 10 November 1876 that they felt the Slaves and expressed that feeling more and more, while up to then they proudly called themselves the Turks. Moreover, the Bosnian youths learned to read and write in Bosnian".⁴⁹ The Serb politician Vaso Čubrilović pointed out:

"Love towards Bosnia and its tradition is developed in the Bosnian Muslims more than in the Catholics, not to mention the Eastern Orthodox Christians, in whom the Nemanjić tradition, spread by church and folk songs, has almost completely pushed out the memories of the former Bosnian state. Consequently, a Bosnian Muslim remained the only real Bosnian."⁵⁰

Russia should have known Austria's ambitions on the Balkanic region when the two allied and they needed to be ready for the upcoming events. Austria had especially eye on the elongated Dalmatian coast, that was considered safe only if the coastal defense could lean on its hinterland. That is why Bosnia and Herzegovina, for example, were the strategic bases that which Austria had to get. Austria's zeal to possess Bosnia and Herzegovina could be realized by the force of political circumstances. Therefore, the Registry Bureau of the Russian state recommended that it was no more expected from the Austrian consuls to make military analyses, but they had to collect reliable statistic data and reports about the changes, true description of the strategies and information about the army. The Russians also took some measurements to set up consulate managers in the Serbian-Bosnian regions, who are able to establish contacts with the local people. On the contrary, Şerif Osman Pasha, at the Bosnian *Paşalık's* governor had contributed to the development of the province more than the previous *beylerbeys*.⁵¹ The Austrian consul general informed his government regarding the attitude of the Muslim population in Bosnia, and pointed out that the dissatisfaction of the Muslims prevailed in Sarajevo because of the evaluation of houses and the immovables

47 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/ GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 30 January 1867.

48 Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine Sarajevo, fond: Austro-Ugarski Generalni konzulat Sarajevo, vicekonsulat Brčko, Res. Br. 6/1873, Teodorović Omčikusu, Sarajevo, 7 February 1873.

49 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/ Konsulate, K 207, Teodorović Andrašiju, Sarajevo, 11 November 1875.

50 Vaso Čubrilović, *Bosanski Ustanak 1875-1878* (Belgrade: 1930), 321-322.

51 *Narodne novine*, Zagreb, 13 February 1867. A correspondent of "Napredak" from Sarajevo confirms that there is peace in Bosnia: "The voice that some of the proclamations in Bosnia appeared, and that the rebellion had nearly erupted, made The Muslims be ready. Bosnia is peaceful and there is no rebellion, neither can it happen. What you have heard a protrusion bout some proclamation is completely false."

to determine specific taxes. Therefore, sometimes the Muslims refused to open the doors of their houses and harems to census-takers, and most of the craftsmen in Sarajevo shut down their shops for protesting the situation. Since the Tanzimat Edict in 1839, the practice of the Ottoman state was to decrease the Bosnians' influence on the government and but assigning the Ottomans to higher civil and military positions. This practice provoked the Bosnians' disrespect towards the Ottoman government and its dignitaries, and also evoked resistance to the measures they had implemented in Bosnia.⁵²

The Ottomans spent the year 1867 by estimating whether the *eyâlet* Bosnia was sufficient compensation to Austria for the loss of Venice, or whether it is time for Serbia and Montenegro to expand as a new Ottoman province. However, they paid little attention was paid to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina to see whether they wanted to leave their fate to hands of another state. Representatives of European countries analyzed the diverse echelons of the Bosnian society meticulously to understand which authority they were eager to accept. The Austrian reporters, especially followed the attitude of the Muslim population. In 1867, Ferdinand Haas Beusta reported:

"There is apathetic peace in Bosnia...I had neither accidents nor adventures in the regions I passed through, although this area was notorious for that. And this is the proof that even such authorities as Ami Boue in Vienna and Šafarik in Belgrade were not right when they had deprived me in the previous year from travelling because of personal security and miserable condition of the state."⁵³

So, if someone decides to step into Bosnia, it is no longer associated with danger or with great difficulty.

Bosnia was one of the most important provinces for the Ottoman Empire because of its geographic position in the middle of the Slavic countries. The attacks of the surrounding especially made the place important. The pan-Slavist movement had been shook the existing situation in Bosnia by detaching the Christian population from being loyal to the Bosnian authorities. The movement even spread groundless claims among the Slavic-Muslim population. "Serbian-Russian agents are moving around here, smuggling under the mask of photographers, teachers, merchants and do not miss to present their bosses in Sarajevo, Belgrade and Petrograd pompous reports of their missions' success, just to justify their high fees".⁵⁴ The Slavic press misled the public opinion in Europe telling that the Orthodox people in Bosnia were expected to rebel in order to escape from the Turkish authority to their Serbian ally. The reporter found it interesting that the Ottoman state and the population of Bosnia were perfectly calm.⁵⁵

The bishop of Đakovo, Josip Juraj Strossmayer also worked on that plan: According to a confidential report – the bishop Strossmayer is supposed to work on the union of the Catholic and Graeco-Eastern population in Bosnia. As people say, he suggested the use of the Cyrillic characters instead of the Latin ones in all Slavic alphabets. He acts in the direction

52 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/GK S, K 176, Haus Beustu, Sarajevo, 18 September 1867.

53 Galib Šljivo, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1861-1869 (Orašje: 2005)*, 264-279.

54 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 27 September 1867.

55 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 27 September 1867.

of giving advantage to the Cyrillic characters over the Latin ones while printing the Catholic prayer-books, as well as in schools.⁵⁶

This should have contributed to the elimination of religious prejudices that existed between the Catholics and Orthodox Slavs, so helped the unity of the Slavic nationality. Svetozar Marković wrote that a radical change in the Serbian policy towards the foreign one is necessary: "Because official Serbia behaves as a conqueror towards Bosnia and Herzegovina and other unfree provinces."⁵⁷ Slobodan Jovanović described the circumstances on the eve of the war in 1876. He stated that Serbia had 1.5 million inhabitants, whereas the Ottoman Empire had more than 40 million. That is to say, "the thought that Serbia is at war with Turkey was madness."⁵⁸ It is the people who decided Serbia's destiny:

"[Serbia's destiny] were loaded with nationalism. Family, school, papers, literature and the whole public life with the policy of prince Milan and juvenile movement, awakened and inflamed their national awareness. Everywhere one and the same thing was listened to, that is we were Serbs and as Serbs we had a votive idea to rob Kosovo. The Serb national feeling, the Serbianism became the only belief to live and die for, and that belief had its own bible – folk songs, which were not being read to point out the cleanness and beauty of the language, but because of inspiration for great patriot deeds."⁵⁹

During the uprising in Bosnia 1875-1878, the Orthodox inhabitants were not unique in the idea to fight for Bosnia to annexed to Serbia:

"Our uprising is not the operation of Slavism! (pan-Slavism) as various newspapers present. That intention is unknown to us. Our task is: to shake off the Turkish yoke and reach freedom and equality; to define our future at last through the union with a civilized country. According to some special news it is expected that Serbia, in the case of war success, annexes Bosnia, and we are not ready for such solution."⁶⁰

4. Borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina after the Congress of Berlin

The medieval Bosnian state and the Bosnian Paşalık extended on the areas of the whole modern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Additionally, they had some areas in Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro.⁶¹ So, they entered the Adriatic coast about 700 kilometres by including the islands of Brač, Hvar, Korčula, Šolta, Čiovo and other smaller ones.

The territory of the former Bosnian state was significantly larger than the modern territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. During the reign of the King Tvrtko (r. 1377-91) it was about 72 thousand square kilometres, and the present area of Bosnia and Herzegovina comes around 51 thousand square kilometres. So the former included all Bosnian countries, that of Usora, Soli, Donji Kraji, Zapadne strane (Western districts) Tropolje or Završje, Primorje

56 Haus Hof und Staatsarchiv Wien, P. A. XXXVIII/GK S, K 176, Haas Beustu, Sarajevo, 12 August 1867; Jako Baltić, *Godišnjak od Dogadaja Crkvenih, Svjetskih i Promine Vrimena u Bosni* (Sarajevo: 1991), 252; Tejlor, *Habzburška Monarhija*, 214-216.

57 Milorad Emečić, *Ustanak u Bosni 1875-1878* (Sarajevo: 1973), 70.

58 Slobodan Jovanović, *Vlada Milana Obrenovića* (Belgrade: Knjiga prva, 1934), 516-519.

59 Jovanović, *Vlada Milana*, 516-519.

60 Narodna biblioteka Srbije, Zaostavština Grgura Jakšića, P 558/XII/1-11, Njihovo Cesarsko Kraljevsko apostolsko Veličanstvo.

61 Marko Vejo, *Historijska Karta Srednjovjekovne Bosanske Države* (Sarajevo, 1978).

(Littoral), Zahumlje – Hum, Travunija, a part of Zeta, Polimlje (The Lim basin), Podrinje (The Drava basin). The center from which Bosnia had developed remained the same in the area of the River Bosnia with its center in Vrhbosna. The place later, during the Ottoman Empire and its *paşalık*, was established as the residence Saray Ovası (Sarajevo). The Bosnian Paşalık was around 80 thousand square kilometres, and was significantly larger territory from Tvrtko’s Bosnia, it also covered larger parts of Slavonia, Banija, Kordun, Lika, the River Krava, Kninska krajina (Knin border), the drainage basins of Cetina, Krka and Zrmanja, a great part of the Adriatic Littoral (Dalmatia and Boka), as well as the coastern line from Omiš to Risan. It also stretched to Kosovska Mitrovica in the east, to more than half of modern-day Montenegro.



Map 1: Johannes Sambucus, Illyricum (Antwerpen, 1573). (16th century)
Territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slavonia and Hungary as part of the Ottoman Empire.



Map 2: Southeast Europe and Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of the Ottoman Empire Augsburg, cca. 1730. (18th century) Matthaues Seutter, *Nova et Accurata Hungariae* (Augsburg: 1727).

The present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina is significantly smaller than Tvrtko's Bosnia and it is even more smaller than the Ottoman *eyâlet*. Its borders were defined based on four peace treaties: The Karlovac Treaty in 1699, The Požarevac in 1718, The Belgrade in 1739, and the Sistova in 1791. The Croatian border at the southwest towards central Croatia was established by the peace treaties in Karlovac and Požarevac. However, the line towards the Dubrovnik Republic remained same until the end of the fifteenth century. The Ottomans did not touch the border of the Dubrovnik Republic, and it widened its boundaries by making purchases. For instance, in 1333, they bought Pelješac and Ston from Serbian King Dušan and, in 1357, a piece of land in Žrnovnica from King Uroš. In 1399 the King Ostoja of Bosnia (1398-1418) separated the Littoral of Slano (Bosnian Littoral) from Bosnia. In 1419 and 1426, Bosnian dukes Radoslav Pavlović and Sandalj Hranić sold Konavle to the Dubrovnik Republic.

With the Treaty of Berlin in 1878, the River Drina became the boundary between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia. According to this agreement the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina will be occupied by Austria-Hungary. As the government of Austria-Hungary

did not want to take over the management in the Sancak of Novi Pazar, the Ottoman management remained there. However, Austria-Hungary had still the right to held garrisons and dispose of military and trade roads there. The border towards Serbia was determined with the River Drina. The borders towards the Sancak of Novi Pazar which had been detached from the Bosnian Paşalık are still boundaries of on the ridge of Višegrad.⁶²

The maritime border of Bosnia and Herzegovina represents an essence of the former Bosnian Littoral of the medieval times, as well as in that of the Bosnian Paşalık during its heyday. The channels between Neum and Klek, as well as those in Sutorina were remained parts of the Bosnian Paşalık with the Treaty of Karlovac and were affirmed by the Treaty of Požarevac. With the decree of delimitation issued in 1945 issued in Sutorina and Kruševac were given to Montenegro. There were no cadastral municipalities of Kruševac and Sutorina and they had no territorial demarcations and administrative political divisions of Bosnia and Herzegovina. The traces and information about their limits could be found in the Treaty of Berlin and were confirmed by the Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) and by the Aniti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (ZAVNOBIH). In this *Prilozi za biografiju Josipa Broza Tita /Novi Prilozi*, Yugoslav politician Vladimir Dedijer quotes on that matter:

"Borders between individual republics were solved in direct agreements between secretaries of particular Party's leaderships. Thus, according to its historical borders, Bosnia stretched all the way to Herceg Novi, that is behind Debeli Brijeg, down Sutorina, towards the sea. Montenegrin Party's official Blažo Jovanović, during one conversation persuaded Bosnian-Herzegovian official Đuro Pucar Stari, and Sutorina fell to Montenegro, consequently the new border towards Croatia, which had the Dubrovnik Riviera, was established on Debeli Brijeg. That procedure violated the Peace Treaty of Berlin, and later the decision of the AVNOJ Presidency, so Bosnia and Herzegovina got only the enclave – channel Neum-Klek."

5. Correction of Bosnia and Herzegovina's Borders After the World War II

After the World War II, the republic of former Yugoslavia, made demarcations on its federal units and corrected them until 1946. Here each political power of the geography expressed their demands on border correction. Accordingly, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government asked the correction and establishment of some borders with Croatia near Bihać, and the municipality of Petrovo Selo, Meljnovac, the territory of the Drvar municipality, Begluci (a village remained in the Republic of Croatia). The government also claimed that Croatia had to live the villages of Kaldurma, Duga Poljana, as well as Podjinska Torina. There were also requests for the hamlets of Dranovac, Sevina Poljana and Gornji Tiskovac. All of them were rejected by the committee. The villages and hamlets, together with a Bosnian village named Begluci remained in Croatia. As a result, the Bosnian-Herzegovinian government offered

62 The line that starts from the Ilija hill north of Klobuk descends to the River Trebišnjica near Grančarevo, which remains in Herzegovina, and then it follows the flow of the river to the point one km down the mouth of the River Čepelica, and from there by the shortest way to the hills along the river Trebišnjica. After that it continues towards Pilatovci leaving that village to Montenegro, then goes along the hills in the north direction, and keeps six km from the road Bileće-Korita-Gacko to the gorge between the mountain Somina and the hill Kurila, from where it goes to the east across Vratković ceaving that village to Herzegovina, to the hill Orline. Going from that point and leaving Ravne to Montenegro, the border goes forward in the northeastern direction traversing the summits of the Lebrsnik and Volujak, then it descends by the shortest way on the River Piva, traverses it and joins the River Tara in the passage between Crkvice and Nedvina. From that place it climbs along the Tara to Mojkovac.

Croatia the villages Vinica and Prisika in the municipality of Duvac, but nothing changed. Croatia claimed the following villages: Kestenovac, Bosanski Strbac, Soće, Osredački Drenovac, Lički Tiskovac and Bušević. Those villages became parts of the Croatian government during 1953 and 1956 with an agreement signed with the consent of the federal authorities. Serbia requested seventeen villages from Višegrad to Rudo, the request was declined, and Bosnia and Herzegovina claimed two villages of Gacko: Krivi Do and Hadžića Poljana, but was not successful. Villages of Kruševo and Vučevo in the municipality of Foča were given back to Bosnia and Herzegovina, since, they were mistakenly given to Montenegro After the World War II.

Although the Peace Treaty of Berlin specified that the River Drina was the ultimate border, the question on this the frontier line was particularly raised in this meeting. This discussion was crucial because the stream was moving over time and the border had to follow it. So it had to be corrected to reflect the deviations.⁶³

The “soft” borders of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Croatia and Montenegro are the result of numerous wars, migrations, and of peace treaties, such as Karlovac, Požarevac, Belgrade, Svištov, Vienna, Berlin, and that of AVNOJ until the end of the World War II.

63 The request clearly shows that there were some deviations from the Berlin Peace Treaty and AVNOJ. The requests on changing the borders are placed in the Archive of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the “Fond of the Government of NRBiH”, box no 9, no 5092/46, there are also the sketches of the required territories.

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