

An Ottoman Map of Ottoman-Austrian Demarcation in the Area of Eyalet of Bosnia After the Svishtov Peace Treaty (1791-1795)

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The Svishtov Peace Treaty of 1791 is a very important milestone in the centuries-old Ottoman-Habsburg relations that began immediately after the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. This agreement ended the war between the Ottoman Empire and Austria (1788-1791), which as a Russian ally subsequently joined the already existing Ottoman-Russian war (1787-1792).¹ After the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), Ottoman borders had been moved to the Sava river, on the north-western border of the Eyalet of Bosnia. That was the area where intensive war activities took place during the war period 1788-1791 also. In the defense of the border towns (Novi, Gradiška, Dubica), which were the first to be struck by the Austrian forces, mainly the military forces of Eyalet of Bosnia and the local population were involved. In the collective memory of the local population, the aforementioned war was remembered by the name Dubica war.² Apart from the loss of border towns, people and property, the mentioned war, as well as many times before, directly reflected on the everyday life of people who inhabited the Ottoman border in the area of the Eyalet of Bosnia in many other ways. Namely, according to the Svishtov Peace Treaty of 1791, that was the area in which the new Ottoman-Austrian border was to be established. According to the Treaty, a part of the territories of the Eyalet of Bosnia, namely fortresses Cetin and Drežnik and their surrounding area, should belong to Austria. Therefore, immediately after the signing of the Treaty, bilateral demarcation commissions were formed. However, due to problems caused by

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1 Kemal Beydilli, "Ziştovi Antlaşması", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C 44, İstanbul 2013, s. 467-472; Virginia H. Aksan, *Kuşatılmış Bir İmparatorluk Osmanlı Harpleri 1700-1870*, çev. Gül Çağalı Güven, II. baskı, 2011.

2 For more informations about war events on the border of the Bosnian eyalet in this period see: Hašim Šerić, "Dubički rat: Borbe između Austrije i Turske oko Dubice 1788-1790 godine", *Gajret Kalendar za 1939 godinu*, Sarajevo, 1938, 109-125; Galib Šljivo, *Bosna i Hercegovina 1788- 1812*, Institut za istoriju u Banjaluci, Studije i monografije, knjiga 7, Banjaluka, 1992; Elma Korić, "Bosansko pograničje u vrijeme Dubičkog rata 1788-1791", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Vol. 56, Sarajevo 2016, 213-237. etc.

local population rebellions who opposed the change of boundaries, delimitation activities have been delayed.³

Until August 1792 no single border sign or column was placed.⁴ In a letter, the Austrian Commissioner for demarcation, Baron von Schlaun, expressed his suspicion that the demarcation of the newly established Bosnian border will ever be completed. Until 1795, only hummock⁵ no. 62 to no. 80 were arranged, but local population and officials did not agree for placing the hummock from no. 81 to no. 89.⁶ For this reason, the Sultan had repeatedly sent strict orders to the governor (*vali*) of Eyalet of Bosnia, after which he calmed down the situation.⁷ After several versions, the final official document on delimitation (*hududname*), was finalized only at the end of 1795.⁸ The border line of the Ottoman state in the area of the Eyalet of Bosnia, established and confirmed by this treaty and the *hududname*, stretched from the mouth of the Maljevac stream into the Glina River in the north to the Triplex Confinium (*hudud-i selase*) in the south. The boundaries defined by this agreement in this area almost completely represent the official boundaries between Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Republic of Croatia today.⁹

3 Šljivo, "Bosna i Hercegovina 1788-1812", s. 201, 202, 203, 208. Opponents of the establishment of a new border line attacked Ismail Ismeti himself and other members of the Ottoman delegation for the negotiations. cf. Jan Schmidt, "Franz von Dombay, Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border 1792-1800", *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Vol. 90, Wien 2000, s. 106, 107, 108. Later, there were attempts to bring the mentioned fortresses Cetin and Drežnik back to the Eyalet of Bosnia. cf. Galib Šljivo, "Prvi pokušaj Bosanskih krajišnika da vrate Cetinograd u sastav Bosanskog ejaleta (26. april 1809. - 14. maj 1810.)", *Prilozi Instituta za istoriju* Vol. 31, Sarajevo 2002, 111-136.

4 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 95.

5 germ. *hünke* or *grenzmarke* and *grenz-säule*; osm. tür. *sütün* and *ışaret*.

6 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 104.

7 Šljivo, "Bosna i Hercegovina 1788-1812", s. 201, 203; Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 105.

8 The integral text of the *hududname* in the Ottoman Turkish language is preserved in the Ottoman Archives in Istanbul (BOA *MAD* 10301, BOA *MHD* 15). In the same fund there are at least two shorter versions of the *hududname* that was compiled earlier by Ismail Ismeti (BOA *HAT* 1434, 5894 and BOA *HAT* 440, 2215). A translation of a part of the *hududname*, which represents a border line from Glina to Medvidja Glavica (from hummock 62 to 71), into the Croatian language, was made. cf. Dino Mujadžević, "Nova habsburško-osmanska granica u Pounju krajem 18. stoljeća i jedan osmanski dokument iz 1795", *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800): Ekohistorija*, Split/Zagreb 2003, 101-108.

9 Some of the toponyms and hydronyms mentioned in the map we are analyzing on this occasion were recorded as border sites and in the international Agreement on border traffic and cooperation between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cf. *Žakon o potvrđivanju Sporazuma između Republike Hrvatske i Republike Bosne i Hercegovine o pograničnom prometu i suradnji*, "Narodne novine", 202-02/05-01/01, Zagreb, 01.03. 2005.

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Among very interesting and rich material of Ottoman origin, created during the mentioned negotiation process, which is stored in archive in Istanbul, we were attracted by the Ottoman maps that were created on this occasion.¹⁰ All titles, names and explanations on the maps were written in Arabic script in the Ottoman-Turkish language with several words in Bosnian language. The textual parts of these individual maps contain specific notes related to individual sites, whose status was considered in the negotiation process, while cartographic representations represent the Ottoman version of the visualization of the demarcation line between the Ottoman state and Austria in the area of the Eyalet of Bosnia, from the river Glina to the Triplex Confinium.

Upon insight into the mentioned maps, as well as the maps of Austrian provenance emerged during the same process, it can be assumed that these Ottoman maps actually represent individual parts of a much larger map. In the text of the hududname from 1795, it was also stated that a part of the hududname was a map of delimitation.¹¹ To the best of our knowledge, these maps have not been the subject of research so far. Based on the data in one document, we find out that their author is an engineer (*mühendis*) Abdurrahman Efendi.¹² On this occasion, only one of the four maps will be analyzed, the one that shows the space and boundary lines on the line between the river Gline and Korana, that is, in the area of the fortress of Cetin.¹³

The map is drawn on a single sheet of paper, and consists of two parts, a map and a textual part. The first part of the map is a cartographic representation of the mentioned space and is made mostly by free hand. It redefines the visualization of the old borderline on the map and several new proposals. Apart from demarcation lines with additional explanations, larger and smaller rivers, streams, more and less significant fortification objects with their territory and communication paths are marked on this map.

10 Their signatures are following: BOA, *HAT* 240/13484; BOA, *HAT* 241/13503; BOA, *HAT* 241/13504 and BOA, *HAT* 241/13508. The maps are published in recent book: Elma Korić, *Bosna i Hercegovina na starim osmanskim kartama*, Posebna izdanja LXII, Orijentalni institut Univerziteta u Sarajevu, Sarajevo, 2020.

11 „...muâhede-i mahsûsa-i mezbûreye merbût mumzâ ve mahtûm harîta...“, BOA, *MAD* 10301, s. 130.

12 BOA, *HAT* 240/13486. The mentioned Abdurrahman Efendi was a professor (*hoca*) and director of the newly founded engineering school (*Mühendishane-berri hümayûn*) in Istanbul (1793-1800). Schmidt, “Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border“, s. 94; Kemal Beydilli, *Mühendishane-i Berri Hümayûn*, İstanbul 1995, 25 and 34.

13 BOA *HAT* 241/13508.

The second, textual part of map, contains a note from which we find out that german miles were used for a scale. From the explanation below the table, it can be concluded that the scale is determined in agreement with the „German“ engineer“. ¹⁴ On that occasion, it was understood and explained that one German mile was about 4.200 klafters¹⁵, that is, when it was recalculated, it was concluded that it was 10.500 cubits in the building arrays:

*İşbu mikeyâs Nemçelü muhendisiyle ittifâk ve ittihâd olunduğu üzere bir mîl Nemçe tâlunda olup merkûmların istilâ'na mutebeyyin dört bin iki yüz klaftar ta'bûr'yle i'dâr mikeyâs terkîm olunup hisâb-ı zirâ' mi'mârî on bin beş yüz zirâ' eylediği bu mehalle şerh olunup.*¹⁶

This note is very important because it supports the fact that the delegations finally agreed on the issue. Namely, although in 1793 it was agreed that Austria would have a little less than 24 square miles, the problem was a question whose mile would be taken as a benchmark in the delimitation.¹⁷ As for the scale on the map, it was obviously drawn by using measuring instruments or rulers. The ruler is probably also used in plotting a triangle of the border territory in the north, around which the commissions appear to have been more controversial since it was a territory that had previously, by an earlier demarcation, belonged to the Ottoman state and by this Agreement was supposed to belong to Austria.

On the map of the mentioned space, which is bounded by the rivers of Glina (*Glina nehri*) and Korana (*nehr-i Korana*), there are some toponyms and hydronyms. Along with the mentioned two main border rivers, a number of other hydronyms, mostly streams (tur. - *çay*) are marked. Some of them still exist under unchanged name: Kladušnica (*Kladušnica çayı*), Šturlički stream, present Šturlova (*çay Šturliç*), while some are preserved in the names of the surrounding toponyms such as Rabinja streamlet (*Rabina ırmağı*)¹⁸, Šiljkovača stream (*çay Šiljkovača*)¹⁹, Grabarska stream

14 According to data from other sources, the Austrian engineer on this occasion was Baron Joseph Graf Cerrini de Monte Barchi (1744-1829). Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 93.

15 *klafter* or *klafter*-old German measure for length. In the second half of the 18th century, in 1757, the so-called Vienna klafter (*Wiener klafter*), which corresponded to the French measure for the length (*toise*), was 1.896614 metre long. cf. Milan Vlajinac, *Rečnik naših starih mera u toku vekova*, III sveska, Beograd, 1968, s. 426.

16 *arşin* or *zirâ' mi'mârî* - Ottoman measure for length, mainly used by masons. It corresponded to 77 centimetre in metric system. Mehmet Erkal, "Arşin", *TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi*, C 3, 1991, 411-413.

17 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 105.

18 Rabinja, Croatia, 45°11'56"N 15°37'16"E

19 Šiljkovača, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 45° 8' 43.16"N 15° 47' 24.5"E and Šiljkovača, Croatia, 45°07'55"N 15°46'01"E

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(*çay Grabarska*)²⁰, Veliki Maljevac (*Büyük Malıvac*).²¹ Some of them are marked on the map under the local name and identified as a stream (bos. *potok*), eg. Pasha's stream (*Pašin potoğu*),²² Ağa's stream (*Ağın potoğu*),²³ *Çamori potoğu* (tur. *çamur* - mud).²⁴ On the map of the mentioned area, a certain number of hydronyms were recorded, which we were not able to read or interpret completely and correctly (*Sutornik*, *Podstranac*, *Bandol / Banji Dol*, *Bunarina Potoğu*, *Grabrnjica*) as well as some toponyms (*Kara dut boğazi*, *Skenderovac*) etc. It can be assumed that under the toponym "Commissar Mountains" is meant present Komesarac²⁵ or some hill in its vicinity. Some of the same toponyms and hydronyms are mentioned in the text of *hududname* also.

During this period, along with artificially placed border signs, mounds and pillars, some natural signs were used to mark the border, for example, mountains and their peaks, valleys, watercourses, major roads, trails or important sources. The oak and beech tree had the role of the border sign. On this map, a beech tree is drawn along the border. Instead of the Ottoman-Turkish name 'kayın', the local name in Bosnian language 'bukva' (*bukva ağacı*) was used. It was probably an impressive tree that served as a marker of the border. The beech tree as the marker of the border in the forms of *bukva* and *kayın* is mentioned in several places and in the text *hududname*, as well as the tree of hornbeam.²⁶

Although the map dates back to the end of the early modern period, when cross border lines with markings are already used in the demarcation process between states, border fortresses with their area were still considered as the significant markers. In this map, central fortification object is the fortress of Cetin²⁷ along with it's area. Places that represent the beginning and the end of the area are marked with the terms *bu mehalde Çetin hudûdu* and *bu mehalde Çetin hudûdu tamâm*. The main roads leading from and to the mentioned fortress are also recorded (*araba yolu*, *Çetin kal'asına giden araba yolu* and *Komesar yolu*). Apart from Cetin, some

20 Grabarska, Croatia, 45° 9'7.2"N 15° 45'10.8"E

21 Maljevac, Croatia, 45°12'04"N 15°46'44"E

22 Pašin potok, Croatia, 45°10'34"N 15°45'36"E

23 Present Hadžin potok, Bosnia and Herzegovina, 45° 3'40.01"N 15° 45'37.33"E

24 It could mean Muddy stream (bos. Kaloviti potok). In Bosnia there are several similar hydronyms. Ismail Ismeti used the word "potok" also in the text of *hududname*.

25 Komesarac, Croatia, 45°06'22"N 15°44'20"E

26 BOA, *MAD* 10301, s. 130.

27 Cetingrad, Croatia, 45° 9' 34" N 15° 44' 21"E

other border fortresses such as Kladuša²⁸, Šturlić²⁹, Klokoč³⁰ and Široka Rika³¹ were also drawn on the map. Along with their names, on this map they are also represented by symbolic designs in the form of towers or fortresses.

In addition, along the agreed border line, from Šturlić towards Cetina and further towards the bridge over Glina on the road to Široka rika, seven other objects were recorded, but without any name. Alongside two of them there is an explanation *toprak kal'ası*, which could mean *fortress made of earth*. According to the Article 5. of the Svishtov Agreement, it was forbidden for Austria to rebuild stone towers and fortresses in the border region and to repair existing ones.³² Hereof, there was a need to emphasize that these smaller border facilities or guards were not built of stone but of mud bricks.³³

In the north-western part of the map, in the triangle drawn with the help of the liner, a bridge over the river Glina, that represents the starting point of the old border was identified as a boundary point, as we can see from the explanation on the map: *In accordance with the old border, the starting point of the border of the Ottoman state lies next to this great bridge (Hudûd-i kadîme mesâfe ettirildiği üzere Devlet-i Aliyye'nin mebd'e noktası işbu cîsr-i kebîr'e değin olmuştur)*. One of the tops of this triangle is located at the mouth of Grabarska into river Glina. The other is at the mouth of Rabinja into Glina, and it is called *place of the old border (hudûd-i kadîme mehal)*, and the third point is on the site which is designated as *the area claimed to be an old border (hudûd-i kadîme iddiâ olunub civâr)*.

On the map, three variants of the border line were proposed. From the Šturlić fortress and approximately to the mouth of the Grabarska stream into river Kladušnica, the right line was placed, along with a note: *the place that was originally requested (evvelâ iddiâ ve taleb olunan mehal)*. In the same direction with that line,

28 Velika Kladuša, Bosnia and Hercegovina, 45° 11' 2" N 15° 48' 24" E

29 Šturlić, Bosnia and Hercegovina, 45° 3' 42.34" N 15° 46' 56.95" E

30 Klokoč, Croatia, 45° 12' 42" N 15 41' 38" E

31 Široka Rijeka, Croatia, 45° 13' 23" N 15° 45' 43" E

32 According to the regulations of the Svishtov Peace Treaty, it was necessary to demolish some stone towers that were built on the banks of the border rivers. There were two from the Ottoman (Bosnian) side, on the river Klokot and near Vadropolje, and many more on the Austrian side, on the left side of river Korana, from where they prevented people from Bosnia to use the river. The construction of similar facilities continued during the negotiation of the demarcation, which is why the Bosnian governor Husamuddin Pasha sent a complaint to the Austrian authorities. Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 101-102.

33 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 90.

the next, curvilinear line from Šturlić fortress along the „Komesarov“ road is withdrawn, and further along the stream of Grabarska towards the fortress of Kladuša, from where it continues to the mouth of the Kladušnica brook into Glina. Before Pašin stream and the Grabarska stream, the same line is additionally marked with dots and with a note: *the place that is requested secondly (sâniyen taleb olunan mehal)*. The next broken line is again in the same direction from Šturlić, but this time somewhat closer to the „Komesarov“ road, all the way to the confluence of the stream Martinovac (?) into river Glina. The mentioned line is bolded and it can be assumed that it is the finally agreed borderline. Along the same line there is a note: *requested as a third and marked with yellow color (sâlišen taleb olunan sarı reng ile işâret olunur)*.

Although there are some indications that the individual lines were marked with different colors, we can not see this on this map. However, we must note that the original map was not used, but it's scan only, or a scan of its black and white copy. As far as we know, there are some indications that the different border lines were marked in different colours in some other maps. There is at least one map from the Austrian production, made after the Svishtov peace treaty by Major Boxic (Božić).³⁴ In addition to the boundaries defined after the Svishtov peace treaty (1791), on this map he also marked the boundary lines in accordance with the provisions of earlier agreements, of Passarowitz (1718) and Belgrade (1739), marked with different colors (black, yellow, red) together with explanations (a, b, c).³⁵

It can be assumed that Markus Boxich (Marko Božić) cooperated with other members of the demarcation commissions as well as an engineer who produced the Ottoman map in parallel. According to Schmidt, apart from the engineer Abdurrahman Efendi, the Ottoman commission was comprised of the architect (*mimar*) Mehmed Efendi, and Mehmed Emin Ağa, a representative of the governor

34 He was born in Svinjarevci (in Slavonia/Croatia) in 1756, and died in Raab (Győr/Hungary) in 1809. He is mentioned under the name Marco Boxich in some archival sources, along with Baron von Schlaun, as a commissioner for delimitation. Leopold Kudrna, *A Bibliographical Dictionary of all Austrian Generals during the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars 1792-1815. Part 2, B, Austrian Generals 1792-1815*, B 77; Stephano Katona, *Historia critica regnum Hungariae strips Avstriacae ex fide domesticorum et externorum sriptorum concinnata*, Budae, 1810, p. 949.

35 KA-W, B IX c 908 in: Zijad Šehić, Ibrahim Tepić, *Povijesni atlas Bosne i Hercegovine: Bosna i Hercegovina na starim geografskim i historijskim kartama*, Sarajevo, 2002, s. 149-151.

of Bosnia, Salih Pasha.³⁶ Governor of Bosnia, Salih Pasha³⁷ himself supervised the mentioned activities, and later he was replaced with his successor, Husamuddin Pasha.³⁸ The commission was led by the official Ottoman demarker (*muhaddid*) Ismail Ismeti-efendi.³⁹

On the Austrian side, members of the delegation on the demarcation in the field were Baron Mauritz von Schlaun⁴⁰, the Colonel Rukavina⁴¹ and engineer Count Cerrini.⁴² Also, from the Ottoman text of *hududname* created after the negotiations, it can be concluded that it was translated from the German language and that his translation was done by the official Austrian interpreters (*tercüman*) Franz Dombay and Anton Hofman, whose names are also found on several pages of the tekst of *hududname*.⁴³

From the data in historiography⁴⁴ and some archival documents related to the process of the mentioned demarcation⁴⁵, we also find out that the member of the delegations for the demarcation were spending a lot of time together on the

36 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 94.

37 In early Bosnian-Herzegovinian historiography he is known under the name Melek Hajj Salih Pasha. It was remembered that in his time *peace and prosperity prevailed, with the four cities desiring the hand of the Austrians*. He was kaymakam of imperial rikbadar, performed the duty of Bosnian governor first time from December 18th 1789 by the end of December 1790. He was replaced at the end of 1790, in order to perform the function of the governor of Bosnia from March 1791 till July 1792. cf. Muvekkit, Salih Sidki Hadžihuseinović, *Povijest Bosne (Tarih-i Bosna)*, translated by A. Polimac et.al., "El-Kalem", Sarajevo, 1999, s. 624 and 708-713; Ćiro Truhelka, "Popis bosanskih sandžakbegova i beglerbegova od god 1463 do 1878", *Časopis za hrvatsku povijest*, knj. 1, Zagreb, 1943, s. 11.

38 For Husamuddin Pasha, it was known that he was a Grand vizier. As a governor he *came to Bosnia when the plague ruled. For his time, honest people were persecuted, and thieves were happy*. He performed the duty of governor of Bosnia from August 1792 until June 1797. cf. Muvekkit, "Povijest Bosne", s. 714 and 728; Truhelka, "Popis bosanskih sandžakbegova i beglerbegova", s. 11.

39 The official Ottoman demarcator (*muhaddid*) Ismail Ismeti was *yeniçeri katibi* and also *rûznâmeçi*.

40 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 92.

41 Georg Freiherr Rukavina from Bidograd (1777-1849), Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 93.

42 The existence of at least one map of demarcation whose authors are Božić, Cerrini and Heinbucher, from 1795 was also recorded. It is also stored in the Austrian state archive (Österreichisches Staatsarchiv – Kriegsarchiv Wien) KA-W, B-IX-c-929-1. cf. Fikret Midžić, "Razgraničenje između Osmanskog i Austrijskog carstva kroz analizu starih geografskih karata 1699–1791", *Glasnik Udruženja arhivskih radnika Republike srpske*, Banjaluka, 2009, 167-186.

43 BOA, MAD 10301.

44 Schmidt, "Austrian Dragoman at the Bosnian Border", s. 96; Šljivo, "Bosna i Hercegovina 1788-1812", s. 210.

45 BOA, HAT 1454, 10/2; BOA, HAT 1454, 10/3.

spot during the negotiations. It is certain that during the negotiation, members of the demarcation delegations cooperated and modified the border line, and at the same time worked on mapping the border map. The goal was to establish a more functional border that followed the concept of natural borders. This is also seen in the text *hududname* where the boundary line follows the so-called “wet border” (the rivers Glina and Korana, the streams Grabarska, Šiljkovača, Maljevac...).

Conclusion

The maps of demarcation according to Svishtov peace treaty of Ottoman production are very important historical source because the cartographic representations of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian space of Ottoman production are extremely rare and less familiar to the scientific and professional public. Additionally, the notes on this and other maps from the same process, as well as in some other documents, support the fact that members of the demarcation commissions have spent a long time on the ground, negotiating. The map therefore presents a testimony of the intense work, collaboration, dedication and competence of the Ottoman and Austrian members of the demarcation commission. The map is also very important for the general history of the Ottoman state and its borderlands, but above all for the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the region in which the process of demarcation was taking place, and which still represents the border line between the Republic of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. Some of the border towns recorded on this map are present official border crossings between the two countries (Velika Kladuša-Maljevac, Hadžin Potok-Bogovolja ...).

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