

THE FORMATION OF THE OTTOMAN MILITARY FRONTIER IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (16TH-17TH CENTURIES)¹

Dr. Okan Büyüktapu

Ege University

Introduction

In 1352, five decades following the establishment of the Ottoman principality, Süleyman Pasha captured the castle of Tzympe (Çimpe) on the Gallipoli peninsula, thus beginning the period of permanent Ottoman conquest in the Balkans (İnalçık, 2005, 20). By 1365, the territorial expansion of the Ottomans extended beyond the borders of Bulgaria to the region bordering the lower Danube, marking the beginning of a significant geopolitical shift in the Balkans. With the resounding defeat of Balkan forces in the pivotal Battle of Kosovo in 1389, defense against the Ottomans became one of Hungary's most urgent security concerns. To keep his rival away from his borders, King Sigismund of Luxembourg organized cross-border campaigns into Ottoman lands with the aim of reconquering the Serbian fortresses captured by the Ottomans. These campaigns ended with temporary achievements; however, the defeat of the crusading army at Nicopolis in 1396 clearly proved that the Ottomans now were part of the Balkans. This fact is also confirmed by historical records, which show that after the Ottoman Empire's heavy defeat at the hands of Timur in the Battle of Ankara, it did not suffer significant territorial losses in the Balkans, in contrast to the massive losses it suffered in Anatolia. (Kastritsis, 2007).

1 This paper is a revised version of the third chapter of the author's unpublished Ph.D. thesis titled "Ottoman Garrisons in Western Slavonia (1550–1680)", Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Filozofski fakultet, 2022

The Emergence of the Early Hungarian Military Frontiers

The challenges experienced by the Ottomans in Anatolia after the Battle of Ankara gave the Hungarians the opportunity to establish a new military organization along their southern frontiers. Recognizing the future pressure from the Ottomans, Hungarian King Sigismund (1387–1395) acknowledged that without secure and resilient borders, he stood little chance against the growing Ottoman threat. Although Sigismund's kingdom and his Balkan allies were unsuccessful in completely eliminating Ottoman danger, they managed to halt Ottoman expansion for several decades through offensive campaigns. Nevertheless, Sigismund's border defense strategies, later reinforced by his successors, became the fundamental foundation of Hungary's resistance against Ottoman incursions (Szakály, 1982, 140).

In pursuit of his objectives, Sigismund initially demanded on the surrender of the fortified places along the lower Danube to the king's authority for further fortification. He also gave the directive to construct additional fortresses spanning the area between Severin and Belgrade. Furthermore, he ordered the mobile troops of the southern Hungarian counties and the soldiers stationed at the border fortifications to be placed under central control. The new system that Sigismund sought to introduce led to the establishment of the so-called *militia portalis*, light cavalry units that could be deployed on the frontier against the Ottoman cavalry troops. The cornerstone of this novel defense strategy was the use of the Serbian population. For the sustainability of the system, they were the most important human resources and were used as *hussars*, boatmen on the Danube, and as peasant soldiers, (also called *voynuks* and *Soldatenbauer*) in return for certain tax exemptions. The main idea behind the defense system was to establish a chain of border fortifications, the center of which would be a group of fortified places along the lower Danube. The implementation of these defense strategies was largely planned by Pipo Scolari, a renowned Florentine general who held the position of Count of Temes under Sigismund's command. Scolari focused on reinforcing fortified locations and towns along unstable frontiers, and because of the disintegration of the Despotate of Serbia and the Kingdom of Bosnia, his system gradually expanded southward. In 1427, Belgrade was relinquished to King Sigismund by the Serbian Despot, becoming the pivotal fortress in this defense network for the subsequent century. In Bosnia, the Jajce and Srebrenica fortresses were also briefly integrated into this chain of fortresses in the 1430s. For nearly three decades, except for the Bosnians' interactions with the Ottomans and the Serbian Despotate's activities, the Hungarian southern border experienced minimal alterations. However, following the disintegration of the Bosnian

Kingdom in 1463, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary seized its former capital, Jajce. He reinforced his southwestern borders by incorporating numerous southern fortresses, such as Knin and Ključ, into the Hungarian defense network during the years 1463–1464. The last significant addition to this defensive chain was Šabac, a fortress and town located mere 50 miles from Belgrade, which was successfully captured in 1476 (Pálffy, 2000, 7-9).

The Establishment of the First Ottoman Frontier in the Balkans

On the other hand, to the south of the Hungarian border, the Ottomans were actively establishing their own fortified towns and locations in alignment with their aggressive expansion strategy. The establishing of the first Ottoman frontier process began after several key milestones, including the downfall of the Serbian Despotate (1454-59), the conquest of the Peloponnese (1460), Herzegovina, and the southern regions of the Kingdom of Bosnia (1463–81), and the capture of the Kilia and Akkerman fortresses (1484). These achievements marked the formation of the Ottomans' initial military frontiers within the Balkan Peninsula. Ottoman defensive strategies aimed at forming a network of fortified places based on capturing all the important fortifications and passages on the banks of the Danube and its basin to ensure the protection of the timar lands. (Baş, 2017, 15-27)

Between 1477 and 1480, there was a notable increase in mutual attacks along the Ottoman-Hungarian borders, prompting Bayezid II to negotiate a peace treaty with the Hungarians. This period of peace provided the Ottomans with the opportunity to implement significant alterations to their defense system established along the Hungarian frontiers. Before the peace agreement, soldiers stationed in border fortresses were primarily financed by fief allocations (timar). However, subsequent to this treaty and in tandem with the rapid expansion of fortified locations along the borders, the new garrison forces began to receive their salaries in cash (ulufe). As will become evident later, this transformation in the payment method became the most important characteristic of the Ottoman border system in the following centuries. (Barkan, 1953, 282) By the 1490s, the organization of the Ottoman fortress network on the Hungarian frontier was as follows: Vidin and its four connected fortresses, Florentin (Ottoman: Flordin), Svirliĝ (İsfirlik), Soko Grad (Bane), and Belogradchik (Belgradçık), formed the northeastern part of the Ottoman frontier. The central and most important part of the border consisted of 15 fortresses in the sancaks of Smederevo and Zvornik. While Golubac (Güvercinlik), Ram (Hram), Kulić (Koyluca), and Smederevo

fortresses formed the first defense line in this region, Manasija Monastery (Re-sava), Ostrovica (Sivricehisar), Maglić (Maglic), Užice (Uziçe), Sokol Grad (Sokol), and Avala/ Žrnov (Güzelce), which were located in the south, constituted the second defense line in the sancaks along the Danube. West of the mentioned fortress network were four fortresses gathered around Zvornik. Among these fortresses, Teočak (Telçak) and Perin Grad (Perin) controlled the important passages to the north of the Sancak of Zvornik, while Srebrenica (Srebreniçe) and Kušlat (Kuşlat) secured the southern parts of the sancak. The western side of the border was surrounded by a two-tiered network of forts along the Sancaks of Bosnia and Herzegovina, from Teočak to the Adriatic coast (91, 164, MAD.d. 540 ve 173 Numaralı Hersek, Bosna ve İzvornik Livaları İcmal Tahrir Defteri (926-939/1520-1533), 218; MAD.d. 15334; MAD.d. 176; Baş, 2019, 151-155).

Toward the later years of Sultan Mehmed II's rule, the standard payment method from timar shifted to ulufe, particularly in the northwestern provinces, i.e., along the Hungarian border. While in the 1460s most of the fortifications located on the borders of the sancaks of Bosnia and Smederevo were financed by timar allocations, by the 1490s most of these locations had already begun to be defended by paid garrisons. This transformation was based on enhancing the defense system's effectiveness and on a concerted endeavor to develop more efficient methods of paying the substantial number of soldiers deployed along the frontiers. This defensive policy was introduced in Bosnia after the victory at Mohács in 1526, and ulufeli military units such as mustahfizes, azaps, beşlis, farises, gönüllüs, and martoloses, that had not existed until then, began to serve on the Bosnian borders (Korić, 2017, 108-109). I would like to point out that, although Hazim Šabanović states that these units began to serve in Bosnia after 1526, this transformation had not taken place in a short period. Ulufeli units appeared in archival sources only after nearly a decade, which indicates that the transformation was gradual but consistent (Šabanović, 1961, 216).

A Short Period of Peace

The introduction of the Hungarian defense system had a significant impact, resulting in the preservation of the *status quo* established in the 1460s for approximately six decades. Following the partition of Bosnia by Sultan Mehmed II and King Matthias Corvinus after the 1463-1464 war, both rulers aimed to maintain the territories they had gained and ensure the stability of their borders. Once their western border became relatively secure, the Ottomans faced mounting threats in the East, particularly during the later years of Bayezid II's rule and throughout Selim I's reign. Due to the successful military campaigns led by Selim

I against the Safavids and Mamluks on the eastern and southern frontiers of the Empire, Suleiman I had the opportunity to shift his focus to the West. Suleiman's priority was to rectify one of his great-grandfather Mehmed II's past failures: the conquest of Belgrade (Emecen, 2015, 237).

On the Hungarian side of the border, during the reign of the Jagiellonian dynasty, the Kingdom of Hungary was economically, socially, and politically in turmoil, and as a result, Matthias Corvinus's defensive practices were neglected. The fortified places were in poor condition, and the army's response system was ineffective. Finally, after the fall of several important fortifications, including Šabac and Belgrade (1521), Knin (1522), and Jajce (1528), the Hungarian defense system was on the verge of collapse. Almost all the significant border fortresses and smaller forts that belonged to Hungary on the lower Danube and Sava rivers were conquered by the Ottomans in a short time. However, after the Battle of Mohács (1526), Suleiman I chose to withdraw from Hungary, keeping under his control the fortresses along the Drava and the Danube from Osijek to the Tisza (Tisa) river for further conquests. On the other hand, after the fall of Srem, the Austrian provinces began to face a direct Ottoman threat; therefore, the first attempts to build a Habsburg defense line were made in Croatia and Slavonia. (Pálffy, 2019, 321).

As a matter of fact, in previous years, Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand had already begun to help Croatia by sending financial support and troops to the Croatian nobility, who were fighting against the Ottomans. Ferdinand's plan was to create a similar system in Croatia and Slavonia to that which Corvinus had formed earlier in his southern provinces, a certain "buffer zone". While Ferdinand's professional troops took over more and more fortified places in Croatia and Slavonia, the financing of defense expenditures in the Croatian-Slavonian region became increasingly dependent on money from the Austrian lands (Jurković, 2000, 11).

The Emergence of the Ottoman Military Frontiers i.e., Serhad in Bosnia

When the Ottomans captured Hodidjed and Vrhbosna in 1451, marking the start of their rule in central Bosnia, the Bosnian territory and its administrative divisions began to serve as the western frontier of the Ottoman Empire for more than four centuries. As a consequence of the empire's territorial expansion and the evolving circumstances along its borders, Bosnia's role in the defense of Ottoman territories underwent substantial transformations. Initially established as a sancak, Bosnia later attained the status of an eyalet in 1580. Historical sources

indicate that the initial clashes between Bosnian and Ottoman forces first occurred when the *akıncıs* (raiding troops) from the Kosovo region reached the banks of the Neretva River in the autumn of 1386. Following this encounter, Ottoman forces found opportunities to establish a presence in the region through their involvement in Bosnia's internal conflicts. For instance, in 1411, Sandalj Hranić Kosača, a Bosnian feudal lord, defended his domains with the assistance of approximately 7,000 Ottoman soldiers from Piva to Ustiprača in the Drina region (Filipović, 2019, 210). The Ottomans continued to incursion into the Kingdom of Bosnia in the first decades of the 15th century, and as an external force continued to support feudal families in their civil conflicts. However, these conditions substantially changed in the following decades. Contrary to his predecessors, the new Skopje *Uçbeyi* (frontier commander) İsa Bey established a policy that ensured a persistent Ottoman military presence on the Bosnian territory rather than incursions and temporary occupations. Targeting primarily Herzegovina, İsa Bey led a significant number of troops into Bosnia, which resulted in the conquering of the important medieval town of Drijeva (today Gabela). Subsequently, until 1451, the Ottomans conquered the towns of Hodidjed, Vrhbosna, and the mountains around Sarajevo. Today, in modern historiography, these areas are known as Bosansko krajište or Vilayet-i Hodidjed in Ottoman sources (Peliđija, 2018, 406-410).

Soon after these conquests, historical records provide information about the first Ottoman military units that were permanently stationed in Bosnia. This data is derived from an *icmal defteri* (cadastral register), dating back to 1455. According to this source, 12 timarlı mustahfizes were serving in the Zvečan fort, 15 in the Jeleč fort, and 20 in the Hodidjed fort (MAD.d. 544; Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine, 1964).

Bosnia's fall in the middle of 1463 marked the beginning of a new phase in the region. Following the conquest of Bosnian Kingdom, the Ottoman Empire faced a fierce counter-offensive led by King Matthias Corvinus, with support from an allied army composed of forces from the Pope, the Venetians, and the Grand Duke of Bosnia, Stjepan Vukčić Kosača. Consequently, the entire territory of northern Bosnia, which included strategically important forts such as Jajce and Srebrenik, was lost in 1463. In response to these developments, King Matthias Corvinus established two banates in the newly conquered territories in 1464: the Banate of Jajce (Jajačka banovina) and the Banate of Srebrenik (Srebrenička banovina). After the establishment of these banates, the Ottomans faced difficulties expanding their borders into Croatia and Dalmatia until the late 15th century. However, following the Ottoman victory at Krbava in 1493, resistance from the

Hungarian and Croatian forces around Bosnia began to wane. By breaking through the Sana valley, the Ottomans constructed formidable fortifications in the towns of Ključ and Kamengrad, which served as significant bases for launching sudden and swift incursions toward the west and south (Sabanović, 1959, 55-57).

In August 1503, Hungary and the Ottoman Empire entered a seven-year armistice. However, after the expiration of the ceasefire period, the Ottomans declined to extend the armistice, leading to a series of new conquests in Bosnia. Northern Bosnia, in particular, was vulnerable to fresh Ottoman attacks, resulting in the conquest of the Banate of Srebrenik in 1512, which was subsequently incorporated into the Sancak of Zvornik. The Ottomans further expanded their control to the northwest and west by capturing the towns of Unac and Blagaj in 1512, followed by Sinj in 1513, and Karin and Korlat in 1514. The pivotal moment in this campaign was the fall of Belgrade and Šabac in 1521. Within two years after the capture of Belgrade, several other fortifications fell to Ottoman forces, including Zemun, Šabac, Ostrovnica on the Una, Knin, and Skradin. These conquests marked a significant turning point in Ottoman expansion into the western regions (Husić, 2000, 194). The defeat of the Croatian and Hungarian army at Mohács in 1526 had far-reaching consequences. It not only paved the way for the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire into the Pannonian plain but also opened the door to their advance into Croatia and Dalmatia. (Solak, 2023, 68-78)

By the conclusion of 1527, the Ottoman army had succeeded in capturing a series of Croatian fortifications, including Obrovac, Udbina, Mrsinj, Rmanj, and other significant towns within the Banovina of Jajce. This conquest also encompassed major cities like Jajce and Banja Luka (Mažuran 1998, 71). Following the fall of Klis, the last Croatian stronghold south of Velebit, the Ottomans solidified their dominion over the inland regions of the Adriatic coast, extending from Zrmanja to Cetina, as well as over Krbava and Lika. Only the territories of the Venetian towns remained beyond Ottoman control. After the conclusion of the Ottoman-Venetian war between 1537 and 1539, the Republic of Venice lost control of the fortifications of Nadin and Vrana, both of which were subsequently annexed to areas under Ottoman military authority. With the establishment of the Sancak of Klis in 1537, traditional Ottoman administrative structures were introduced, and a significant portion of the Bosnian Sancak, particularly its entire southwestern part, was integrated into the newly formed Sancak of Klis (Starčević, 2012, 26). Ottoman conquests in this region were ultimately completed during the Ottoman-Venetian War, also known as the War for Cyprus, which occurred from 1570 to 1573 with the capture of Zemun by Ferhad Bey Sokolović (Hafizović, 2016, 21).

The second major wave of conquest in today's eastern Slavonia started in July 1536, led by Husrev Bey and Mehmed Bey Yahyapaşaoğlu, and finished with the capture of Požega in late January 1537. After this campaign, the Ottomans took possession of more than half of Slavonia in the space of six months, pushing the Habsburgs behind a line stretching from the Drava to the Sava east of Požega. Husrev Bey later focused his attacks on the Pounje region, and captured Dubica and Jasenovac in 1538. Until the mid-1550s, the Ottomans had captured a large part of Slavonia, establishing a boundary line first in Čazma in 1556, and later in Moslavina as a result of the fall of Čazma. A permanent Ottoman-Habsburg border, which would not be changed until 1699, formed only after the Long Turkish War (1593 – 1606) (Mažuran, 1991, 59).

In the latter half of the 16th century, the Ottomans achieved further conquests in the region. They captured Kostajnica and Novi in 1556. During the time of Ferhad Bey Sokolović, they also took control of a number of fortifications in Pounje, including Cazin, Bužim, Ostrožac, and Krupa. However, some of these strongholds were ultimately destroyed as part of new defense policies, including Kladuša, Podzvizd, Šturlić, and Peć. Despite the destruction of some fortifications, many were promptly rebuilt in the area. However, certain strongholds were not fortified until the 1630s due to frequent attacks by Croatian and Habsburg units. Pounje held strategic significance as a crucial part of the Ottoman-Habsburg border, prompting the Ottomans to continuously allocate soldiers and resources to establish as many military strongholds as possible. Over time, they succeeded in creating a robust military defense system in this region of Europe, featuring formidable fortifications from which the Habsburg Monarchy's forces could no longer dislodge them. This proved true even during the Great Turkish War (1683 – 1699), which followed the failed siege of Vienna.

Ottoman Frontier Policy and its Practice

The Bosnian borders extended across seven sancaks, including Požega, Pakrac, Bosnia, Bihać, Krka/Lika, Klis, and Herzegovina. (ÖNB Cod. MxT. 627) The only exception was the Sancak of Zvornik, which remained background. With the cessation of Ottoman conquests on the northern and northwestern borders of Bosnia, the borderline settled and frontiers (serhad) were formed, which lasted more than a century.

established on the lower Danube banks after the 1480s had rather successful outcomes in the protection of the timar regions. Furthermore, thanks to the inner safety provided by paid fortifications, the Ottoman borders were moving forward in a more secure and consistent way in subsequent periods of about 20-30 years. Apart from a concern for a better defense, it should also be noted that the Ottoman state's fiscal conditions were one of the main reasons for such a practice. Because of the scarcity of tahrir lands to be allocated in the newly conquered areas, the pragmatist Ottoman high officials were forced to use ulufeli garrisons along the borders. Since their salaries are covered by the allocated local liquidity resources (*mukataa*), manning ulufeli garrison units enabled the center to recruit more soldiers in a shorter time and to protect the borders without placing a greater burden on the central treasury. Furthermore, unlike the ulufeli soldiers, the timarlı mustahfizs had to leave their posts in order to travel to their timar zones at specific times of the year, which was making it difficult to maintain border protection. For such a compelling reason, most of the garrison forces in the border strongholds would begin to be financed with cash allocated from *mukataa* resources.

The conquests achieved on the Bosnian borders against the Habsburgs, Croatia, and Venice should not be solely attributed to the well-structured war plans described by the Sublime Porte. An examination of the correspondence sent directly to the sultan by local sancakbeyis reveals their significant influence in devising strategies intended for future conquests. These missives, dispatched by the sancakbeyis, exhibit a high level of strategic planning, indicating that their military operations were meticulously organized and executed. Their capacity to identify practical strategic objectives and marshal forces against the enemy consistently afforded them a considerable advantage. These sancakbeyis possessed comprehensive knowledge of both the military and socioeconomic structures of the lands belonging to their adversaries. Notably, even before embarking on conquests, they judiciously allocated resources among their soldiers based on the economic potential of the targeted territory. In contrast to the Habsburg strategy of attempting to expel the enemy from the occupied lands through a single decisive campaign, as exemplified in the campaign leading to the Battle of Gorjani, the sancakbeyis did not need to invest substantial effort in any single campaign. This was because they possessed the financial means and logistical capability to sustain recurrent attacks year after year. Their offensive plans were rooted in the efficient organization of local forces and well-defined targets supported by accurate intelligence. Prioritization of these targets was determined by future conquest policies, the provisioning capabilities of local forces, their military capacity, and the prevailing conditions of the enemy.

Conclusion

To summarize, the evolution of the Ottoman frontier system in Bosnia unfolds in three distinct stages:

1. The establishment of permanent border troops: After 1526, the introduction of *mustahfiz*es, *azeb*s, and other paid fortress soldiers in Bosnia marked a pivotal shift, solidifying Ottoman control along the frontiers.
2. Shifting power and defensive adaptation: Following the Long Turkish War and some Habsburg gains in Croatia, the Ottomans' ambitious expansionist ambitions were replaced by a defensive strategy. This period saw a notable increase in border troop presence, exemplified by the establishment of a captaincy-based organizational structure.
3. The rise of fortress *kapudans* as key defenders: With growing defense concerns, fortress *kapudans* assumed crucial roles in the early 17th century. Their ranks expanded significantly, and they commanded specialized *azeb* units primarily tasked with operational duties. For instance, while there are no records of fortress *kapudans* serving on the border before 1590, a roll-call register (*mevacib defteri*) from the first quarter of the 17th century lists 13 records of fortress *kapudans* serving in Bosnian border fortifications. (TS.MA.d. 1356). On the other hand, despite substantial territorial losses, this number increased to 66 in 1734, covering the entire Bosnian *eyalet*. This significant growth underlines how fortress *kapudans* became the primary organizational pillar of Ottoman border defenses in Bosnia after 1699. (Büyüktapu, 2022, 64-64, 89-94).

Bibliography

Archival Sources

- 91, 164, MAD 540 ve 173 Numaralı Hersek, Bosna ve İzvornik Livâları İcmâl Tahrîr Defterleri (926-936/1520-1533), prep. by Ahmet ÖZKILINÇ, Ali COŞKUN, Abdullah SİVRİ-DAĞ, Murat YÜZBAŞIOĞLU, Ali TOKÖZ. (2006). Volume II Ankara: Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı, MAD.d. 176; MAD.d. 544; MAD.d. 15334, ÖNB Cod. MxT. 627 TS.MA.d 1356.

Secondary Literature

- Barkan Ömer Lütfi. (1953). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu Bütçelerine Dair Notlar*. İÜİFM, no. 1-4, 238-250.
- Baş Göksel (2017.) *Ottoman Serhad Organization in the Balkans (1450-1500)*, (unpublished master's thesis). Bilkent University.
- Baş Göksel. (2019). XV. Yüzyılın İkinci Yarısında Balkanlarda Osmanlı Serhad Organizasyonun Oluşumu Kaleler Ağı Askeri Personel Finansman ve Mali Külfet. *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi=The Journal of South-Eastern European Studies*, 33, 151-181.
- Büyüktapu Okan. (2022). *Ottoman Garrisons in Western Slavonia (1550 - 1680)* (unpublished Ph.D. thesis) Sveučilište u Zagrebu. Filozofski fakultet.
- Emecen Feridun M.. (2015). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve Yükseliş Tarihi 1300-1600*. İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.
- Filipović Emir O.. (2019). *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Osmansko carstvo (1386-1463)*. Sarajevo: Ori-jentalni institut u Sarajevu.
- Husić Aladin. (2000). *Tvrđave Bosanskog sandžaka i njihove posade 1530. godine*. Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju, 49, 189-229.
- İnacık Halil. (2005). *Türkler ve Balkanlar. Bal-Tam Türklük Bilgisi*, Balkan Türkoloji Araştırmaları Merkezi, 3, 9-32.
- Jurković Ivan. (2019). "Vojni ustroj i obrana Kraljevstva: Cito. Cito. Cito. Citissime! In Marija Karbić" (Ed.), *U Vrijeme sazrijevanja, vrijeme razaranja Hrvatske zemlje u kasnome srednjem vijeku* Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 115-135.
- Kastritsis Dimitris J.. (2007). *The sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402-1413*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Korić Elma. (2017). *Stepen izučenosti rubnog pojasa osmanskog serhata u Bosni naspram habsburških vojnih krajina Hrvatske i Slavonske na temelju osmanskih izvora do kraja 16. stoljeća u dosadašnjoj bosansko-hercegovačkoj historiografiji* Franz Vaniček i vojnokrajiška historiografija ed. Stanko Andrić and Robert Skenderović Slavonski Brod 2017, 103-120.

- Pálffy Géza. (2019). "Hungary, Vienna and the Defence System against the Ottomans in the Age of Süleyman". In Pál Fodor (Ed.), *The Battle for Central Europe: The Siege of Szigetvár and the Death of Süleyman the Magnificent and Nicholas Zrínyi (1566)* Leiden-Boston: Brill 321-337.
- Pálffy Géza. (2000). "The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (Up to the Early Eighteenth Century)". In Géza Dávid & Pál Fodor (Eds.), *Ottomans, Hungarians, and Habsburgs in Central Europe: The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest* Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill 3-69.
- Pelidija Enes. (2018). "Krallıktan Sancaklığa Bosna'nın 1463 Yılında Fethi. In Zekeriya Kurşun, Ahmet Usta, Emine Tonta Ak" (Eds.), *Dünden Bugüne Bosna-Hersek ve Aliya İzzet-begoviç Uluslararası Sempozyum Bildirileri* İstanbul 405-418.
- Solak Mehmet. (2023). *Hırvat Askerî Sınır Bölgesi Habsburg Savunmasında Askerî ve İdarî Değişim Üzerine Bir İnceleme (1526-1664)*. İstanbul: Selenge Yayınları.
- Starčević Jurin Kornelija. (2012). *Osmanski krajiški prostor: rat i društvo u jadransko-dinarskom zaleđu u 16. i 17. Stoljeću*. (unpublished P.h.D thesis). Zagreb University.
- Šabanović Hazim. (1964). *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine* (Tomus secundus, Serija II, knjiga 1). Sarajevo.
- Hafizović Fazileta. (2016). *Kliški sandžak od osnivanja do početka Kandijskog rata. (1537-1645. godine)*. Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu.
- Mažuran Ive. (1998). *Hrvati i Osmansko Carstvo*. Zagreb: Golden Marketing.