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Tvrđi grad (kastum) Mogorić

U radu se na temelju arhivskih i terenskih istraživanja prikazuju ostatci tvrdoga grada (kastuma) Mogorić u Lici. Riječ je srednjovjekovnoj utvrdi, čiji se tragovi, topografski položaj i povijesni razvitak prvi put u novije vrijeme daju na uvid znanstvenoj javnosti.

Ključne riječi: *tvrdi grad (kastum), Mogorić, Lika, srednji vijek, Mogorovići*

The burg (castrum) of Mogorić

The paper presents the remains of the burg (castrum) of Mogorić in Lika, based on archival and field research. The traces, topographic position and historical development of this medieval fortification are presented to the scholarly public for the first time in recent years.

Keywords: *burg (castrum), Mogorić, Lika, Middle Ages, the Mogorovići.*



Sl. 1. Tvrđi grad Mogorić, pogled sa sjeveroistoka (N. Milčić 2020)
 Fig. 1 Stronghold Mogorić, view from the northeast (N. Milčić 2020)

Uvod

Tijekom razvijenog i kasnog srednjeg vijeka veliki dijelovi današnje Like bili su u rukama velikaških obitelji Frankopana i Kurjakovića. No velike su posjede u toj hrvatskoj planinskoj regiji imali i brojni plemićki rodovi ili zajednice plemića, koji su za zaštitu svojih imanja gradili niz utvrđenja, odnosno tvrđih gradova i kasnije kaštela. Premda njihove ruševine danas nalazimo po čitavoj Lici, najveća koncentracija tih utvrda nalazi se na području slijeva rijeke Like, koji se u srednjem vijeku nalazio u sklopu Ličke i Bužanske županije. Među njima svojim se položajem i oblikom osobito ističe tvrđi grad Mogorić, jedno od utvrđenih sjedišta plemićkoga roda ili zajednice plemića Mogořovića.

Za razliku od nekih drugih tvrđih gradova u Hrvatskoj, koji su poznati široj javnosti zbog visokog društvenog položaja njihovih vlasnika, povijesnih zbivanja vezanih uz njih ili zbog monumentalnosti svoje arhitekture, u dosadašnjim raspravama tvrđi grad Mogorić je kao utvrđeno sjedište jednog od nekoliko desetaka ogranka plemićkog roda ili zajednice plemića Mogořovića, bio tek rubno obrađivan prilikom istraživanja širega ličkog prostora ili nekadašnje Ličke županije, kao i prilikom istraživanja nekih drugih tema, poput povijesti plemićkog roda Mogořovića.

Stoga nam je osnovni cilj ovoga rada analizom postojećih arhitektonskih ostataka te pisanih i sli-

Introduction

During the high and late Middle Ages, large parts of modern Lika were owned by the noble families of Frankopan and Kurjaković. However, as many estates in this Croatian mountainous region were possessed by numerous noble families or communities of nobles. They built a number of fortifications to protect their demesnes, viz. burgs and subsequently castles. Although their ruins can be found throughout modern Lika, they are largely concentrated in the Lika river basin, which was part of the Lika and Bužan counties in the Middle Ages. The burg of Mogorić, one of the fortified seats of the noble family or the community of noblemen of Mogořović, stands out among them due to its position and shape.

Unlike some other burgs in Croatia, known to the general public because of the high social status of their owners, historical events related to them, or the monumentality of their architecture, the burg of Mogorić as the fortified seat of one of the dozens of noble lineages or communities of nobles of Mogořović, has only been marginally addressed in previous discussions covering the greater Lika area or the former Lika County, as well as under other topics, such as the history of the noble lineage of Mogořović.

Therefore, the main objective of this paper is to analyse the existing architectural remains and writ-

kovnih izvora sagledati cjelokupni povijesni razvoj ove utvrde, a kako bi taj cilj ostvarili, postavili smo niz istraživačkih pitanja. Prvo, tko su bili njegovi graditelji i kada su ga sagradili; drugo, kakav je bio građevinski razvoj tvrdoga grada Mogorića kroz povijest. I treće, kakva je bila geostrateška uloga ovog utvrđenja u obrani Like tijekom povijesti?

Pregled literature¹

Kao što je to slučaj s većinom utvrda na području današnje Like, prvi poznati opis tvrdoga grada Mogorića nalazimo u spisu *Brevis et compendiosa duarum Comitatum Regni Croatiae Likae et Corbaviae descripto* (Kratka i sadržajan opis dviju županija Hrvatskog kraljevstva Like i Krbave 1695. godine) iz 1696. godine, a čije se autorstvo kod starijih autora pripisivalo senjskome i modruškome biskupu Sebastijanu Glaviniciću.² Dok su neke od ličkih utvrda u ovome spisu vrlo detaljno opisane, o Mogoriću saznajemo tek da se na području suvremenog naselja nalaze ostatci srednjovjekovnog utvrđenja (...*arces Mogorich...*),³ koje u vrijeme sastavljanja spisa nije bilo nastanjeno.⁴

Zatim se u literaturi Mogorić ne spominje sve do prve polovice 20. st. Tada se na njegove ruševine u nekoliko rečenica osvrće Gjuro Szabo u svojem znamenitom djelu o srednjovjekovnim utverdama na području Hrvatske i Slavonije,⁵ dok vrlo vrijedne podatke o stanju njegovih ruševina donosi Većeslav Henneberg. On je tijekom svojih studijskih putovanja po Lici 1923. i ponovno 1931. godine u dva navrata obišao njegove ruševine te nam o njima ostavio vrlo vrijedne terenske zapise.⁶

Prema skromnijem Hennbergovom opisu od 26. srpnja 1923. od tvrdoga grada Mogorića je »*sačuvano dosta malo zidova iz kvadra među liticama.*

ten and pictorial sources and consider the overall historical development of this fortification. In order to achieve this goal we formulated a series of research questions: first, who were its builders and when did they build it; second, what was the course of construction of the burg of Mogorić through history; and third, what was the geostrategic role of this fort in the defence of Lika in the course of history?

Review of literature¹

As is the case with most fortifications in the area of modern Lika, the first known description of the burg of Mogorić can be found in the 1696 document *Brevis et compendiosa duarum Comitatum Regni Croatiae Likae et Corbaviae descripto* (*A Short and Substantial Description of Two Counties of the Croatian Kingdom, Lika and Krbava, in 1695*), which earlier scholars attributed to Sebastijan Glavinčić, the Bishop of Senj and Modruš.² While this document describes some fortifications in Lika in great detail, all one can learn about Mogorić is that there were remains of a medieval fortress (... *arces Mogorich...*)³ at the location of the then settlement, which was not inhabited at the time of the document.⁴

Subsequently, Mogorić was not mentioned in the literature until the first half of the 20th century. This is when Gjuro Szabo mentioned its ruins in a few sentences in his renowned work on medieval fortifications in Croatia and Slavonia,⁵ while Većeslav Henneberg provided very valuable information about the condition of its ruins. During his study visits to Lika in 1923 and again in 1931 he visited its ruins and made very valuable field records.⁶

¹ U prikazu literature obrađeni su samo oni članci u kojima su opisane ruševine tvrdoga grada Mogorića. Ostali radovi, koji se tek usputno u obradi povijesti Like ili plemićkog roda ili zajednice plemića Mogorovića osvrću na tvrdi grad Mogorić, nisu razmatrani.

² Lopašić 1889, str. 49; Bogović 1991, str. 125.

³ Gusić 1962, str. 36.

⁴ Bogović 1991, str. 120.

⁵ Szabo 1920, str. 206.

⁶ Hennebergov opis ruševina Mogorića u sklopu je rukopisa *Ličke gradine*, koji se nalazi u arhivu Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske u Zagrebu, a još jedan primjerak ovog rukopisa pohranjen je i u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu. Henneberg 1923–32; Zrnić, str. 23–34; Šurina 2002, str. 519.

¹ The list of literature includes solely the articles in which the ruins of the burg of Mogorić are discussed. Other works, which only incidentally refer to the burg of Mogorić in their discussion of the history of Lika or the Mogorović noble lineage or community of nobles, were not considered.

² Lopašić 1889, p. 49; Bogović 1991, p. 125.

³ Gusić 1962, p. 36.

⁴ Bogović 1991, p. 120.

⁵ Szabo 1920, p. 206.

⁶ Henneberg's description of the ruins of Mogorić is part of the *Ličke gradine* manuscript, kept in the archives of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb. Another copy of this manuscript is stored in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. Henneberg 1923–1932; Zrnić, pp. 23–34; Šurina 2002, p. 519.

Na najvišoj litici tek temelji i malo zida među kamenom. Gore ravno ili malo postrane pod tim se nalazi malen obzidani terac, a obzidan je i ulaz u pećinu s obe strane. Od tog niti je nešto sačuvano. Donji dio grada, što se prislanja uz liticu na zapadu isto je zatvoren polukružnim zidom od kvadra, sačuvano nešto iznad temelja (dio do 1(2 m)«.

U svom idućem izvještaju, od 14. kolovoza 1931., Henneberg je znatno detaljniji: »Grad je bio podignut na velikoj litici, što čini s. z. kraj kamenog brda više Basarskih kuća na s kraju sela Mogorić. Litica je šuplja skroz od I do Z. U toj pećini gnijezde se divlji golubovi i puše neprekidno strašan vjetar. Ta pećina bila je zazidana s obje strane polukružnim 1 m debelim zidovima iz nepravilnih 30 x 30 cm i 30 x 20 cm velikih kvadri. Od tih zidova stoji fragment na litici pa bi se moglo reći, da je grad Mogorić u glavnom tvorila visoka obla kula, kojoj je šuplja pećina bila podrumom, a zidovi se dizali uz liticu te je uglavnom nadviše. Na samoj litici ima još nešto temelja zidova pa je na s. bila vidljiva još jedna zgrada do kule. Litica je podzidana još i niže ispod kule sa I strane pa se i od tih supstrukcija nešto sačuvalo. Sa zapadne strane su niže ispod ulaza u pećinu još ostaci dva okrugla recinta u nejednakoj visini. Sjeverni je viši i okrugli na litici pa slijedi njegov oblik. Drugi je prostraniji, a sagrađen je od primitivnog poluobrađenog kamena 30 x 60 a i 40 x 100 velikog kamena. Taj zid izgleda strašno primitivno. Između oba recinta bio je sva je prilika ulaz u grad.«⁷

Na Mogorić se znatno skromnije osvrnuo Stjepan Pavičić u svojem radu o seobama i naseljima u Lici, u kojem je naveo nekoliko osnovnih informacija o povijesti i položaju ove utvrde.⁸ Za razliku od njega, znatno detaljniji bio je Branimir Gusić četiri godine kasnije.

U prilogu o etnogenezi nekih starohrvatskih rodova on se dotaknuo i plemićkog roda Mogorovića i njihovog utvrđenog središta, koji je zapravo prepričani i blago izmijenjeni tekst iz Hennebergove pisane ostavštine, što ga je Gusić sastavio zajedno s Hennebergom prilikom zajedničkog posjeta ovom lokalitetu godine 1922. »Sam grad Mogorić, obrambeno sijelo plemena od davnine, uzdizao se na strmoj litici neposredno iznad Jadove poviše Basarskih kuća na sjevernom kraju današnjega sela. Litica je skroz šuplja od istoka na zapad i ta pećina,

According to Henneberg's more modest description dated 26 July 1923, the burg of Mogorić was reduced to "but a few preserved walls built of square stones among the cliffs. On the highest cliff, only the foundations and some wall-work among the stones. Straight upwards or slightly to the side, there is a small terrace lined with stones underneath, and the entrance to the cave is also lined on both sides. None of it has been preserved. The lower part of the town, leaning against the cliff in the west, is also enclosed by a semicircular wall built of square stones, preserved to the height slightly above the foundations (the section up to 1(2 m)."

In his next report, dated 14 August 1931, Henneberg is much more detailed. "The town was built on a large cliff which forms the NW end near the stony hill above Basarske kuće in the S end of the village of Mogorić. The cliff is hollow all the way from E to W. Rock doves nest in this cave and a terrible wind constantly blows. This cave was walled-in on both sides with semicircular walls one metre thick, made of irregular large square stones 30 x 30 cm and 30 x 20 cm in size. A fragment of these walls is still on the cliff, so it could be said that the town of Mogorić mainly consisted of a high round tower, and that the cave was its basement, while the walls rose along the cliff and mostly jutted above it. There are some more wall foundations preserved on the cliff itself, and thus another building next to the tower was visible in the south. The cliff was underpinned even lower below the tower on the east side, and some of these substructures have been preserved. On the west side, below the entrance to the cave, there are the remains of two round precincts of unequal height. The northern one is higher and round on a cliff, in line with its shape. The other one is more spacious, built of primitive quarry-pitched stone 30 x 60 cm in size and of 40 x 100 cm large stone. This wall looks terribly primitive. In all probability, the entrance to the town used to be located between the two precincts."⁷

Stjepan Pavičić referred to Mogorić in much less detail in his work on migrations and settlements in Lika, in which he provided some basic information about the history and position of this fortification.⁸ By contrast, Branimir Gusić was much more detailed four years later.

⁷ Henneberg 1923-32.

⁸ Pavičić 1962, str. 35-36.

⁷ Henneberg 1923-1932.

⁸ Pavičić 1962, pp. 35-36.

u kojoj se danas gnijezde divlji golubovi i kroz koju stalno puše jak vjetar, bila je s obje strane zazidana 1 m debelim polukružnim zidom, te je služila kao siguran kuli grada, što je iznad nje bila sagrađena. Zid je građen od 30 : 30 i 30 : 20 cm velikih nepravilnih kamenih kvadera, kako je pri našem posjetu godine 1922. zabilježio moj prijatelj i veliki istraživač ličkih starina prof. V. Henneberg. Na samoj litici ima još nešto tragova zida, a i sama litica je podzidana i niže ispod ulaza s istočne strane. Sa zapadne strane su niže ispod sadašnjega ulaza u pećinu još i ostaci od dva recinta u nejednakoj visini. Sjeverniji je viši i dizao se uz liticu slijedeći njezin oblik. Drugi veoma primitivno građen je prostraniji, a sastoji se od poligonalnog kamena vel. 30 : 60 cm i 90 : 100 cm. Izgleda da je ovdje između oba ova recinta bio ulaz u samu tvrđavu. I ispod toga ima još tragova zida što su očigledno branili prilaz gradu. Prema svemu grad je uglavnom tvorila visoka oblakula kojoj je šuplja pećina bila prirodno zaštićeni podrum, a zidovi se dizali uz liticu da je napokon nadviše.«⁹ Gusić se na Mogorić ukratko ponovno osvrnuo nekoliko godina kasnije u svome radu o ličkom stanovništvu prije pada Like pod osmansku vlast.¹⁰

U kratkim crticama tvrdi grad Mogorić opisala je u svom magistarskom radu još i Tatjana Kolak. »Na sjevernom rubu sela, zaseok Buljmize, na koti 655 smještena je **Gradina**. Ovo je položaj srednjovjekovnoga grada Mogorovića. Osnovu ovog grada činila je okrugla kula podignuta na nepristupačnoj litici, čiju suptrakciju čini prirodna pećina, proširivanjem i pregrađivanjem upotrijebljena za sam ulaz u kulu.«¹¹

Krešimir Matijević je među posljednjim autorima koji su opisali ruševine utvrda na području suvremenog naselja Mogorić. Na žalost, on je u ovom tekstu vrlo detaljno obradio Popovićevu gradinu i Zebu, ruševine kojih se doista nalaze u današnjem Mogoriću, no propustio je obraditi sam tvrdi grad Mogorić, ruševine kojeg se također nalaze u ovome mjestu.¹²

Pregled slikovnih izvora

Uz radove starijih istraživača prvorazredni izvori u proučavanju građevinskih struktura svake utvr-

In an article on the ethnogenesis of some early Croatian lineages, he also referred to the noble family of Mogorović and their fortified seat. In fact, his account is a retold and slightly modified text from Hennerberg's written legacy, which Gusić had written together with Henneberg during their joint visit to this site in 1922. *“The town of Mogorić itself, the defensive seat of the tribe since ancient times, stood on a steep cliff just above Jadova over Basarske kuće at the northern end of the modern-day village. The cliff is completely hollow from east to west and this cave, where rock doves nest today and through which a strong wind constantly blows, was walled-in on both sides with a one-metre thick semicircular wall, and served as a safe place for the tower of the town, built above it. The wall was built of large irregular stone blocks, 30 by 30 and 30 by 20 cm in size, as noted by Professor V. Henneberg, my friend and a great researcher of antiquities from Lika, during our visit in 1922. There are some traces of wall-work on the cliff, which itself is also underpinned lower below the entrance on the east side. On the west side, below the current entrance to the cave, there are also the remains of two precincts of unequal height. The northern one is higher and stood along the cliff following its shape. The other one, rather primitively built and more spacious, is made of polygonal stone 30 by 60 cm and 90 by 100 cm in size. There seems to have been an entrance to the fort between these two precincts. Below there are more traces of wall-work apparently used to defend the approach to the town. It would appear that the town was mostly formed by a high round tower with the cave as its naturally protected basement, and the walls stood along the cliff and projected above it.”*⁹ Gusić briefly referred to Mogorić again a few years later in his work on the population of Lika before the fall of Lika under Ottoman rule.¹⁰

Tatjana Kolak also very briefly described the burg Mogorić in her master's thesis. *“On the northern edge of the village, the hamlet of Buljmize, there is **Gradina** located at elevation 655. This is the site of the medieval town of the Mogorovićs. The core of this town was a round tower built on an inaccessible cliff. Its substructure is a natural cave, used as the entrance to the tower by widening and partitioning.”*¹¹

⁹ Gusić 1969, str. 466-467.

¹⁰ Gušić 1973, str. 13-61.

¹¹ Kolak 2001, str. 140.

¹² Matijević 2015, str. 15-32.

⁹ Gusić 1969, pp. 466-467.

¹⁰ Gušić 1973, pp. 13-61.

¹¹ Kolak 2001, p. 140.



Sl. 2. Tvrdi grad Mogorić na karti *Tuto el Cotado di Zara e Sebenicho*, isječak (Mateo Pagano, oko 1522)

Fig. 2 Stronghold Mogorić on the map
Tuto el Cotado di Zara e Sebenicho, excerpt
(Mateo Pagano, around 1522)

de slikovni su izvori, koje dijelimo na planove, različite vrste crteža te naposljetku fotografije.

Kao što je to slučaj za većinu tvrdih gradova i kaštela s područja središnjih i istočnih dijelova današnje Like, najstariji slikovni prikaz utvrde u današnjem Mogoriću potječe sa znamenite karte *Tuto el Cotado di Zara e Sebenicho*, koju je u tehnici drvoreza oko godine 1522. objavio tiskar Mateo Pagano u Veneciji.¹³

Na njemu je Mogorić prikazan kao manja utvrda na brdu, koja se sastoji od kule na najvišem položaju te dva manja bedema koji stepeničasto zatvaraju prostor desno od kule. Na vrhu bedema i kule nacrtano je krunište, a osim njih od detalja vidljiva je u donjem dijelu kule jedna okomita kratka crta, koja bi po svom smještaju sugerirala vrata. Premda je ova slika Mogorića izrazito shematizirana, kad je usporedimo sa stanjem na terenu, čini se da ona prikazuje ovaj lokalitet u pogledu sa zapada, odnosno da prostorni raspored pojedinih građevinskih struktura vidljivih danas na terenu u cijelosti odgovara stanju na Paganovu crtežu.¹⁴

¹³ NSK 2021.

¹⁴ Dosadašnja istraživanja utvrđenja na prostoru sjeverne Dalmacije i Like sa zemljovidima, čije se autorstvo u literaturi pripisuje Mateo Paganu, jasno su pokazala da su rađeni prema informacijama s terena. Stoga nema razloga ne vjerovati da je i ovaj prikaz Mogorića relativno precizan te da se može koristiti u rekonstrukciji izgleda ove

Krešimir Matijević is one of the most recent authors to describe the ruins of fortifications in the area of the modern settlement of Mogorić. Unfortunately, in his text he discussed Popovićeve gradina and Zeba in great detail. Their ruins are indeed located in modern Mogorić, but he did not refer to the burg of Mogorić itself, the ruins of which are also in this place.¹²

Review of pictorial sources

In addition to the works of earlier researchers, the key sources in the study of the building structures of fortifications are pictorial sources, which we divide into plans, various types of drawings, and photographs.

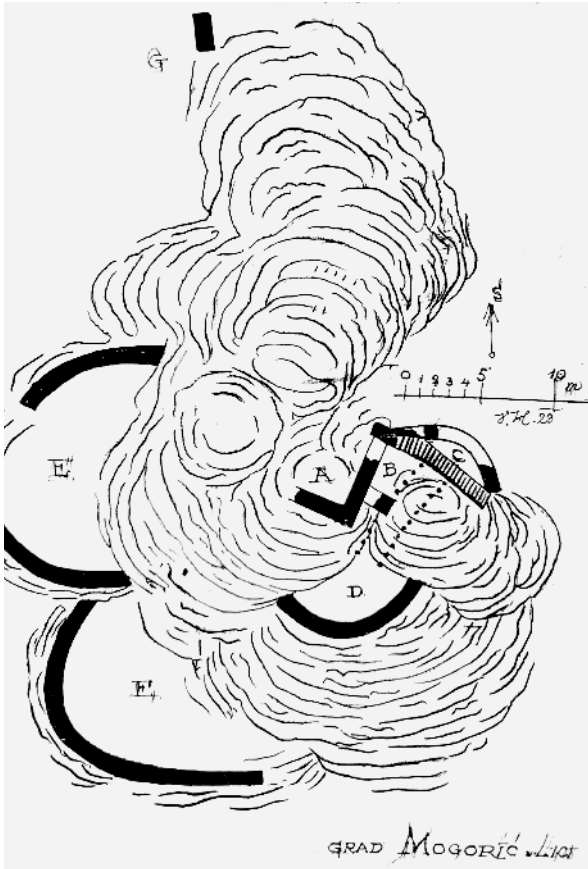
As is the case for most burgs and castles from the central and eastern parts of modern Lika, the earliest pictorial representation of the fortification in modern Mogorić originates from the renowned map *Tutto il Contado di Zara e Sebenicho* in the woodcut technique, published around 1522 by the printer Matteo Pagano in Venice.¹³

It depicts Mogorić as a small fortification on a hill, consisting of a tower at the highest point and two small ramparts by which the space to the right of the tower is enclosed stepwise. A battlement is depicted on the top of the ramparts and the tower, and a vertical short line can be seen in the lower part of the tower, which would suggest a gate based on its location. Although this representation of Mogorić is quite schematized, compared with the actual condition, it seems to depict a view of this site from the west, and the layout of respective building structures still standing today fully corresponds to that on Pagano's drawing.¹⁴

¹² Matijević 2015, pp. 15–32.

¹³ NSK 2021.

¹⁴ Previous research into the fortifications in northern Dalmatia and Lika based on the maps whose authorship is attributed to Matteo Pagano in the literature has clearly shown that they had been made based on information from the field. Therefore, there is no reason not to believe that this depiction of Mogorić is also relatively accurate and that it can be used in the reconstruction of the appearance of this fortification at the beginning of the early modern period. For more on this topic, see Horvat 1997, pp. 157–158; Petricoli 1999, pp. 22–23; Slukan 1999, Appendix 2; Magaš 2003, pp. 13–28; Slukan-Altić 2007, pp. 24–32; Hilje 2008, pp. 19–145; Regan 2012, pp. 1–34; Regan 2014, pp. 463–495; Regan 2017, pp. 313–360; Regan 2020, pp. 38–39; Latinčić–Regan 2021 (forthcoming).



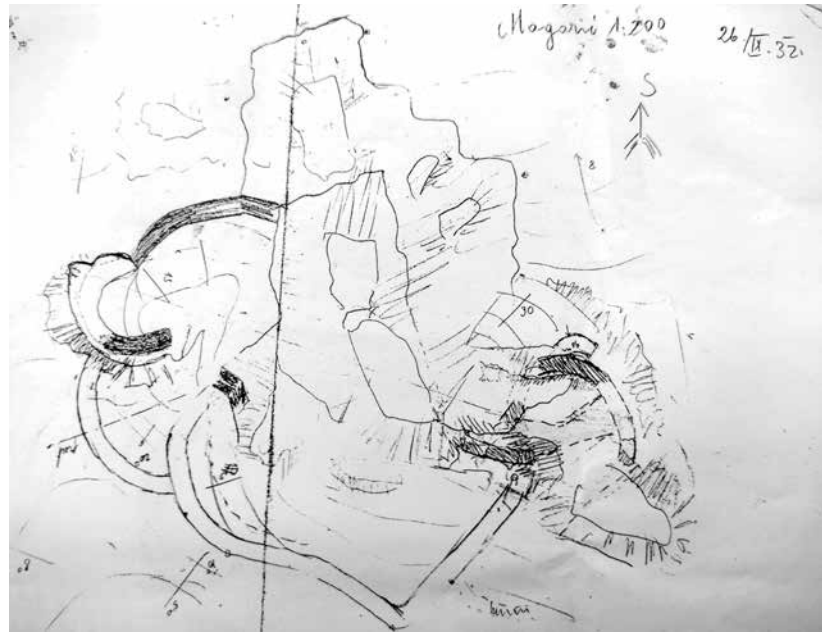
Sl. 3. Skica ruševina tvrdoga grada Mogorića
(V. Henneberg 1922)

Fig. 3 Sketch of the ruins of stronghold Mogorić
(V. Henneberg 1922)

Potom nemamo nikakvih kvalitetnijih prikaza ove utvrde sve do prve polovice XX. st., kada u sklopu svojih terenskih istraživanja 1923. i 1931. Većeslav Henneberg obilazi njegove ruševine te nam, uz već spomenute zapise, ostavlja nekoliko prikaza tlocrta ove utvrde.¹⁵ Na prvome od njih, nastalom 1924., Henneberg je Mogorić prikazao kao manju utvrdu stisnutu uz liticu. Čitavim planom dominiraju dvije skupine ruševina. Na desnoj strani nacrtani su bedemi, koji zatvaraju ulaz u špilju, a iznad njih

utvrde početkom ranog novog vijeka. O ovoj temi vidi još: Horvat 1997, str. 157-158; Petricioli 1999, str. 22-23; Slukan 1999, prilog 2; Magaš 2003, str. 13-28; Slukan-Altić 2007, str. 24-32; Hilje 2008, str. 19-145; Regan 2012, str. 1-34; Regan 2014, str. 463-495; Regan 2017, str. 313-360; Regan 2020, str. 38-39; Latinčić-Regan 2021 (u tisku).

¹⁵ Ovi planovi nalaze se u rukopisu *Ličke gradine*, koji je pohranjen u arhivu Uprave za zaštitu kulturne baštine Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske u Zagrebu, a još jedan primjerak ovog rukopisa pohranjen je i u Hrvatskom državnom arhivu u Zagrebu. Henneberg 1923-32; Zrnić 2012, str. 23-34.



Sl. 4. Skica ruševina tvrdoga grada Mogorića
(V. Henneberg 1932)

Fig. 4 Sketch of the ruins of stronghold Mogorić
(V. Henneberg 1932)

There were no adequate depictions of this fortification until the first half of the twentieth century, when Većeslav Henneberg visited its ruins as part of his field research in 1923 and 1931, and made several plan views of the fortification in addition to the already mentioned records.¹⁵ In the first one, made in 1924, Henneberg showed Mogorić as a small fortification clutched against a cliff face. The whole plan is dominated by two groups of ruins. The ramparts are depicted on the right-hand side. They enclose the entrance to the cave, and above them there are the remains of several walls of the former bergfried. It was accessed by a staircase, located next to the north-east entrance to the cave. On the left-hand side of the representation there are two semicircular ramparts, one next to the other. They enclose two smaller courtyards below the south-western entrance to the cave, i.e. two suburbia. In addition to these, Henneberg also depicted yet another small rampart at the north-west end of the cliff, but its relation to the fortification is not clear.

Henneberg made the next plan in 1932. It was copied and published by Branimir Gusić, who erro-

¹⁵ These plans are parts of the manuscript *Ličke gradine* manuscript, kept in the archives of the Directorate for the Protection of Cultural Heritage of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia in Zagreb. Another copy of this manuscript is stored in the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb. Henneberg 1923 – 1932; Zrnić 2012, pp. 23–34.

ostatci su nekoliko zidova nekadašnje branič-kule. Njoj se pristupalo stepeništem, koje se nalazilo tik uz sjeveroistočni ulaz u špilju. U lijevom dijelu slike nacrtana su dva polukružna bedema, jedan do drugoga, koji zatvaraju dva manja dvorišta ispod jugozapadnog ulaza u špilju, odnosno dva podgrađa. Osim njih, Henneberg crta na sjeverozapadnom kraju litice još jedan manji bedem, no njegova veza sa samom utvrdom je nejasna.

Idući je plan Henneberg izradio 1932. godine, a njega je u precrtanom obliku objavio Branimir Gusić te ga pri tome pogrešno datirao u 1922. godinu.¹⁶ Na njemu su strukture u istočnome dijelu utvrde, na oba ulaza u špilju i iznad nje, prikazane gotovo istovjetno kao i na planu Mogorića iz 1922. godine.

Jedina veća razlika na njima jest da na njemu više ne nalazimo stepenište. Za razliku od njih, bedemi podgrađa u zapadnom i jugozapadnom dijelu utvrde potpuno su različito prikazani. Dok je podgrađe u jugozapadnom, najnižem dijelu utvrđenja nacrtano kao izduljeni bedem sa zaobljenim završetcima, dotle je podgrađe u zapadnom, povišenom dijelu utvrđenja prikazano kao uvučeni ulaz, koji s jedne strane flankira polukružni završetak bedema donjeg podgrađa, a s druge strane manja ugaona kula polukružnog ili potkovičastog tlocrta u sklopu gornjeg podgrađa. Na ovom crtežu Henneberg je prikazao još jedan manji polukružni bedem kroz koji vodi pristupna staza, a koji je povezivao spomenutu kulu gornjeg podgrađa i polukružni završetak bedema donjeg podgrađa u jednu cjelinu, formirajući tako svojevrsni manji propugnacul (*propugnaculum*) nepravilna tlocrta.

Osim planova utvrde u Hennebergovoj ostavštini u Ministarstvu kulture također se nalazi još i veduta Mogorića, koja njegove ruševine pokazuje u pogledu s jugozapada.¹⁷ Na ovom malom, no detaljima vrlo bogatom crtežu jasno se raspoznaju prepoznatljive konture brda na kojemu se utvrda nalazi, a ono po čemu je ova veduta značajna jest da je na njoj branič-kula prikazana kao manja okrugla ili poligonalna građevina očuvana u vrijeme nastanka crteža sve do visine krovišta, čime se ona sjajno nadopunjuje s već prethodno opisanim crtežom s Paganova zemljovida.

Posljednje tlocrte Mogorića izradio je Zorislav Horvat te tim suradnika na internetskim stranicama

neously dated it to 1922.¹⁶ It shows the structures in the eastern part of the fortification, at both entrances to the cave and above it, in an almost identical way as in the 1922 plan of Mogorić.

The only major difference is the missing staircase. By contrast, the ramparts of the suburbia in the western and south-western parts of the fortification are depicted completely differently. While the suburbium in the south-western, the lowest part of the fortification, is depicted as an elongated rampart with rounded ends, the one in the western, elevated part of the fortification is shown as a recessed entrance, flanked on one side by a semicircular end of the rampart from the lower suburbium, and on the other by a small angle tower with a semicircular or horseshoe-shaped floor plan within the upper suburbium. In this drawing, Henneberg also showed another small semicircular rampart with an access track running through it. It connected the mentioned tower of the upper suburbium and the semicircular end of the rampart of the lower suburbium into one structure, thus forming a sort of small propugnacle (propugnaculum) with an irregular floor plan.

In addition to the plans of the fortification, Henneberg's legacy kept in the Ministry of Culture also includes a veduta of the ruins of Mogorić as viewed from the south-west.¹⁷ In this small but very detailed drawing, the recognisable contours of the hill on which the fortification is located are clearly discernible. This veduta is significant for its depiction of the bergfried as a small cylindrical or polygonal building preserved to the roof height at the time of the drawing, and therefore it is a fine complement to the drawing from Pagano's map described above.

The most recent floor plans of Mogorić were made by Zorislav Horvat and a team of collaborators for the website of the Hungarian National Digital Archive of Castles.¹⁸ Both floor plans are almost identical and depict a dominant steep cliff, like all the other plans of this fortification. They mainly differ in the fact that they no longer depict the remains of the ramparts near the cave because they were no longer there, while the two suburbia on the south-west side of the complex are no longer shown as two small fortified courtyards with an intricate entrance system, as in Henneberg's representations, but rath-

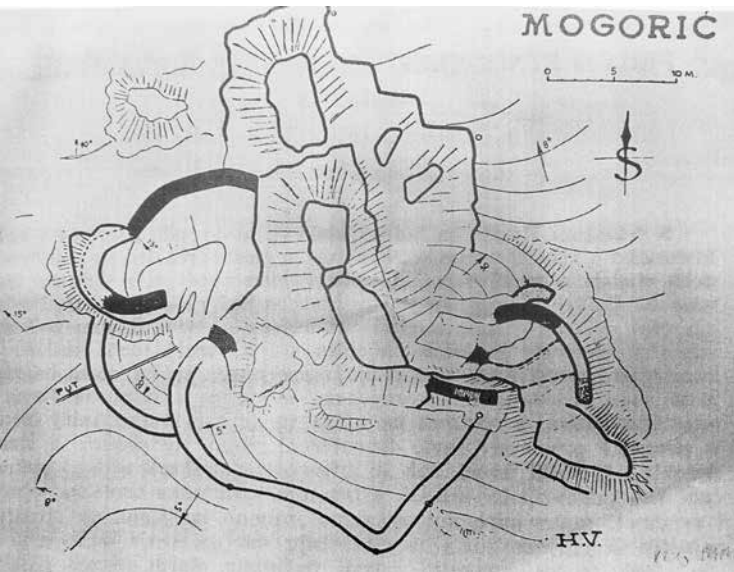
¹⁶ Gusić 1969, pp. 466–467.

¹⁷ Henneberg 1923–1932.

¹⁸ Horvat 2008, p. 35, Fig. 36; Horvat 2014, p. 50, Fig. 31; Varak 2021.

¹⁶ Gusić 1969, str. 466–467.

¹⁷ Henneberg 1923–32.



Sl. 5. Skica ruševina tvrdoga grada Mogorića
(B. Gusić 1969)

*Fig. 5 Sketch of the ruins of stronghold Mogorić
(B. Gusić 1969)*

Mađarske zaklade za arhiv dvoraca.¹⁸ Na oba, gotovo istovjetna, tlocrta dominira strma litica kao i na svim ostalim planovima ove utvrde. Glavna razlika u odnosu na njih jest što se na njima više ne nalaze ucertani ostatci bedema kod špilje jer su u međuvremenu nestali, dok se dva podgrađa na jugozapadnoj strani kompleksa ne prikazuju više kao dva manja utvrđena dvorišta sa složenim sustavom ulaska u njih, kako to čini Henneberg, već kao dva dugačka i s triju strana bedemima omeđena dvorišta, od kojih se dulje nalazi na višoj prirodnoj stepenici, a kraće i nešto šire dvorište na nižoj stepenici, koja postupno prelazi u strmu padinu brda na kojemu čitavi kompleks leži.

Povijest

Tvrđi grad Mogorić sagrađen je na području, koje se još od druge polovice 13. st. nalazilo u rukama Mogofovića, plemićkog roda ili zajednice plemića čije tragove prvo nalazimo već u 12. st. u okolici Zadra, a krajem četrdesetih godina 13. st. u Lici.¹⁹ Tu su držali veliki i kompaktni posjed, koji se isprva protezao u južnoj polovici Ličkog polja, na obje obale rijeke Like u njezinom gornjem toku, u nekadašnjoj srednjovjekovnoj Ličkoj županiji.²⁰

¹⁸ Horvat 2008, str. 35, sl. 36; Horvat 2014, str. 50, sl. 31; Varak 2021.

¹⁹ Klaić 1897, str. 50; Klaić 1902, str. 24; Kekez 2009, str. 206-209; Majnarić 2018, str. 284-285.

²⁰ Kekez 2013, str. 98.



Sl. 6. Veduta tvrdoga grada Mogorića u pogledu s juga
(? V. Henneberg 1922)

*Fig. 6 Veduta of stronghold Mogorić from the south
(? V. Henneberg 1922)*

er as two long courtyards bounded by ramparts on three sides, of which the longer one is on a higher natural step, whereas the shorter and somewhat wider courtyard is on a lower step, which gradually turns into a steep slope of the hill on which the whole complex is located.

History

The burg of Mogorić was built in the area owned by the Mogofović noble family or the community of nobles since the second half of the 13th century. Their traces were first recorded in the 12th century in the vicinity of Zadar, and then in Lika in the late 1240s.¹⁹ They had a large and compact estate there, at first in the southern half of Ličko polje, on both banks of the upper river Lika in the former medieval Lika County.²⁰

As early as the 13th century, some branches of the Mogofović family started building their fortifications in this area, bordered on one side by the north-eastern slopes of Mt Velebit, and on the other by the south-western slopes of the Ličko sredogorje mountain range.²¹ Since most of the earlier fortifications of the Mogofovićs in the former Lika County were taken over by the Frankopans in the first half of the 15th century and then the Kurjakovićs in the second half of the same century or in the early 16th century, it is very likely that some branches of

¹⁹ Klaić 1897, p. 50; Klaić 1902, p. 24; Kekez 2009, pp. 206-209; Majnarić 2018, pp. 284-285.

²⁰ Kekez 2013, p. 98.

²¹ Kekez 2013, p. 101.



Sl. 7. Tvrđi grad Mogorić, pogled sa sjevera
(V. Henneberg 1922)

*Fig. 7 Stronghold Mogorić, view from the north
(V. Henneberg 1922)*

Na tome prostoru, omeđenom s jedne strane sjeveroistočnim padinama Velebita, a s druge strane jugozapadnim padinama Ličkog sredogorja, pojedine grane Mogorovića gradile su još od 13. st. svoja utvrđenja.²¹ S obzirom na to da su Frankopani tijekom prve polovice 15. st., a potom i Kurjaković tijekom druge polovice istoga stoljeća ili početkom 16. st. preuzeli većinu starijih utvrda Mogorovića na području nekadašnje Ličke županije, vrlo je izgledno da su pojedine grane Mogorovića, u strahu pred Osmanlijama, sagradile niz novih utvrđenja na tom prostoru. Je li njihova gradnja započela neposredno nakon pada velikih dijelova Bosne pod osmansku vlast 1463. godine ili najkasnije poslije poraza hrvatskih postrojba u Krbavskoj bitci 1493. godine, u kojoj su se Mogorovići borili u postrojbama knezova Bernardina i Nikole Frankopana, na temelju dostupnih izvora ne može se ništa pouzdano utvrditi.²²

Njihove ruševine danas nalazimo na čitavom nekadašnjem teritoriju Mogorovića. Tako se na obroncima Ličkog sredogorja, na potezu od ruševina Ostrovice Ličke na sjeverozapadu pa sve do Gornjih Ploča na jugoistoku Ličkoga polja u dužini od samo nekoliko kilometara nalaze ostatci čak 7 utvrda. To su Velika i Mala županska gradina kraj Barleta, Pavlovac kraj istoimenog naselja, Mogorić, Popovića gradina i Zeba ili Milojevića gradina

²¹ Kekez 2013, str. 101.

²² Jurković 1999, str. 71, bilj. 47; Botica 2011, str. 272-273; Kekez 2013, str. 106, 109.



Sl. 8. Tvrđi grad Mogorić, pogled s juga
(V. Henneberg 1922)

*Fig. 8 Stronghold Mogorić, view from the south
(V. Henneberg 1922)*

the Mogorović family, fearing the Ottomans, built a number of new fortifications in the area. Based on the available sources, it cannot be reliably determined whether their construction began immediately after the fall of large tracts of Bosnia under Ottoman rule in 1463 or no later than following the defeat of Croatian troops in the Battle of Krbava in 1493, in which the Mogorovići fought in the units of Princes Bernardin and Nikola Frankopan.²²

Today, their ruins can be found in the entire former territory of the Mogorovići. Hence, there are the remains of as many as seven fortifications on the slopes of the Ličko sredogorje mountain range from the ruins of the Ostrovice Lička in the north-west to Gornje Ploče in the south-east of Ličko polje, all of them over a distance of only a few kilometres. These are Velika and Mala županska gradina near Barlete, Pavlovac near the settlement of the same name, Mogorić, Popovića gradina, and Zeba or Milojevića gradina in the settlement of Mogorić, and Štulića kula near Gornje ploče.²³

The burg of Mogorić stands out among them with its position and picturesque ruins. As is the case with many other fortifications in Croatia, there is no information either of its origination or demise. Therefore, it is very difficult to say anything meaningful about its history.

²² Jurković 1999, p. 71, fn. 47; Botica 2011, pp. 272-273; Kekez 2013, pp. 106, 109.

²³ Szabo 1920, p. 206; Henneberg 1923-1932, Henneberg 1934, p. 14; Marković 1995, pp. 73-190; Kolak 2001, pp. 119, 140, 142, 143, Horvat 2013, pp. 456-460, 464-465.

u naselju Mogorić te Štulića kula nedaleko od Gornjih Ploča.²³

Među njima svojim se položajem i slikovitošću ruševina posebno ističe tvrđi grad Mogorić. Kao što je to slučaj s brojnim drugim utvrđenjima u Hrvatskoj, nemamo o njemu vijesti ni o utemeljenju ni o propasti. Stoga je vrlo teško reći nešto suvislo o njegovoj povijesti.

Budući da je njegovo ime nesumnjivo nastalo skraćivanjem izvornoga imena čitavog roda ili zajednice plemića, postavlja se pitanje je li ovo utvrđenje moglo biti prvobitno sjedište čitavoga roda ili plemićke zajednice po dolasku u Liku već u 13. st.

U prilog ovako postavljenoj hipotezi, osim njegova imena, svakako ide smještaj u prostoru, tipologija tlocrta i mala debljina bedema, koje isključivo nalazimo na romaničkim tvrđim gradovima nastalim prije provale Tatara 1241. godine.²⁴ No povijesni izvori ne idu u prilog ovoj hipotezi.

Naime, tvrđi grad Mogorić prvi se put javlja tek oko 1522. godine na znamenitoj karti utvrda sjeverne Dalmacije i dijela Like,²⁵ dok ga u dokumentima nalazimo tek 1577. godine, kad se spominje u popisu utvrda koje su zaposjeli Osmanlije.²⁶ S obzirom na ovako kasni spomen, njegovo vrijeme nastanka izglednije je tražiti u drugoj polovici 15. ili u sam početak 16. st. A za ovakvo datiranje odgovarao bi i povijesni kontekst, jer je upravo to vrijeme kada se širom Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva masovno grade brojne utvrde, čija je jedina i osnovna funkcija bila zaštita njihovih vlasnika od iznenadnih osmanskih pljačkaških provala.²⁷

Za osmanske vladavine Mogorić se nalazio u sastavu nahije Bilaj-Barleta u sklopu Kliškog (do 1580.), a potom Krčko-ličkog sandžaka (1580. – 1636. i 1641. – 1685.) najprije kao dio kadiluka Skradin, a od oko 1580. u sastavu je kadiluka Krka



Sl. 9. Tvrđi grad Mogorić, pogled s juga
(V. Henneberg 1922)

Fig. 9 Stronghold Mogorić, view from the south
(V. Henneberg 1922)

Since its name is undoubtedly an abridged form of the original name of the whole lineage or community of nobles, the question arises whether this fortification could have been the original seat of the whole lineage or community of nobles upon arrival in Lika as early as the 13th century.

In addition to the name, this hypothesis is supported by the siting, the typology of the floor plan and the small thickness of the ramparts, which can be found only in Romanesque burgs built before the Tatar invasion in 1241.²⁴ Notwithstanding, historical sources do not support this hypothesis.

Namely, the burg of Mogorić was first recorded as late as around 1522 on the renowned map of the fortifications in northern Dalmatia and a part of Lika,²⁵ whereas it was first mentioned in documents as late as 1577 in a list of fortifications occupied by the Ottomans.²⁶ Given such a late mention, it is more likely that it originated in the second half of the 15th or at the very beginning of the 16th century. This dating is in line with the historical context, because this is the time when numerous fortifications were built en masse throughout the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. Their sole purpose was to protect their owners from Ottoman raids.²⁷

²⁴ Horvat 2008, p. 25.

²⁵ Pandžić 1993, p. 89.

²⁶ Pavičić 1962, p. 36; Kruhek 2013, p. 484.

²⁷ Since the king of Hungary and Croatia, Matthias Corvi-

²³ Szabo 1920, str. 206; Henneberg 1923-32, Henneberg 1934, str. 14; Marković 1995, str. 73-190; Kolak 2001, str. 119, 140, 142, 143, Horvat 2013., str. 456-460, 464-465.

²⁴ Horvat 2008, str. 25.

²⁵ Pandžić 1993, str. 89.

²⁶ Pavičić 1962, str. 36; Kruhek 2013, str. 484.

²⁷ Budući da je ugarsko-hrvatski kralj Matija Korvin godine 1471. posebnom ispravom dopustio slavonskom plemstvu nesmetanu gradnju utvrđenja na svojim posjedima, vrlo je izgledno da je takvo dopuštenje moglo biti dano i hrvatskom plemstvu, koje je u to vrijeme bilo izloženo jednako pogibelji. Adamček 1980, str. 437; Kruhek 1995, str. 124-127; Horvat, 2020, str. 16-20.

ili Knin.²⁸ Godine 1620. tvrdi grad Mogorić ušao je u sastav Udbinske ili Ličke kapetanije.²⁹

Mogorić je u posjedu Osmanlija sve do Velikog (Bečkog) rata za oslobođenje (1683. – 1699.), kada ga je oslobodio karlovački general Ivan Josip Herberstein za svojega drugog pohoda na Liku u lipnju 1689. godine.³⁰ Čini se da je za toga rata utvrda stradala ili ubrzo bila napuštena, jer se u već spomenutom spisu *Brevis et compendiosa duarum Comitatum Regni Croatiae Likae et Corbaviae descripto (Kratok i sadržajan opis dviju županija Hrvatskog kraljevstva Like i Krbave 1695. godine)*, spominje u nizu drugih manjih i nenastanjenih utvrđenja na području Ličkoga polja.³¹

Još poč. 20. st. bili su vidljive ruševine ove utvrde, no tijekom istoga stoljeća uklonjene su od strane domaćih seljaka, koji su njezinu građu iskoristili za podizanje svojih kuća i gospodarskih građevina.

Arhitektonski sklop Mogorića

Neznatni ostatci tvrdoga grada Mogorića nalaze se oko 15 km jugoistočno od Gospića, na jugozapadnom rubu brežuljka Gradina, što se strmo uzdiže iznad desne obale rijeke Jadove te mogoričkih zaselaka Maljkovići, Buljmize i Basarići. Jugozapadni rub brda zapravo je četrdesetak metara dugačka i dvadesetak metara široka strma litica. Ruševinama se može pristupiti kroz gustu šikaru iz smjera zaselka Maljkovića po jugozapadnim padinama brda, ili od zaselka Basarići po istočnim padinama brda do njegova vrha te zatim po hrptu u smjeru jugozapada.

Konfiguracija terena na kojem leže ostatci utvrde uvjetovala je njezin tlocrt u formi dugačkog i uskog nepravilnog četverokuta sa zaobljenim uglovima, koji se sa sjeveroistočne strane u cijelosti naslanja na strmu liticu. Od sjeverozapada do jugoistoka protežu se ostatci Mogorića u dužinu od približno 34 m, dok mu najveća širina smjerom sjeveroistok-jugozapad iznosi oko 30 m, od čega čak polovica širine otpada na liticu. Ovaj obrambeni sklop sastoji se od jezgre podignute na najvišem vrhu strme litice, neposredno iznad špilje, te utvrđenog predgrađa na prirodnim stepenicama, što se nalaze neposredno ispod jugozapadnih padina litice.³²

During the Ottoman rule, Mogorić was part of the nahiye of Bilaj-Barlete within the Sanjak of Klis (until 1580), and then the Sanjak of Krka-Lika (1580–1636 and 1641–1685), first as part of the kadiluk of Skradin, and from around 1580 of the kadiluk of Krka or Knin.²⁸ In 1620, the burg of Mogorić became part of the kapudanlik of Udbina or Lika.²⁹

Mogorić was in the possession of the Ottomans until the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), when it was liberated by Ivan Josip (Johann Joseph) Herberstein, General of Karlovac, during his second campaign to Lika in June 1689.³⁰ It seems that the fort was destroyed or soon abandoned during this war, because the above-mentioned document *Brevis et compendiosa duarum Comitatum Regni Croatiae Likae et Corbaviae descripto (A Short and Substantial Description of Two Counties of the Croatian Kingdom, Lika and Krbava, in 1695)* mentions this fortification as one of a number of other small and uninhabited strongholds in the area of Ličko polje.³¹

The ruins of this fortification were still visible in the early 20th century, but they were removed during the same century by local peasants, who used its material to erect their houses and outbuildings.

Architectural ensemble of Mogorić

The scarce remains of the burg of Mogorić are located about 15 km south-east of Gospić, on the south-western edge of the hillock of Gradina, which rises steeply above the right bank of the river Jadova and the Mogorić hamlets of Maljkovići, Buljmize and Basarići. The south-western edge of the hill is in fact a steep cliff about forty meters long and twenty meters wide. The ruins can be accessed through a dense thicket from the direction of the hamlet of Maljkovići along the south-western slopes of the hill, or from the hamlet of Basarići along the eastern slopes of the hill to its peak and then along the ridge in a south-westerly direction.

The lay of the land on which the remains of the fortification are located affected its floor plan. It is

nus, allowed the Slavonian nobility to build fortifications on their estates in his 1471 special charter, it is very likely that the Croatian nobility, also exposed to equal danger at the time, were permitted the same. Adamček 1980, p. 437; Kruhek 1995, pp. 124–127; Horvat, 2020, pp. 16–20.

²⁸ Šabanović 1959, p. 212; Moačanin 2001, pp. 25–29.

²⁸ Šabanović 1959, str. 212; Moačanin 2001, str. 25-29.

²⁹ Kreševljaković 1954, str. 124.

³⁰ Lopašić 1885, str. 395-396.

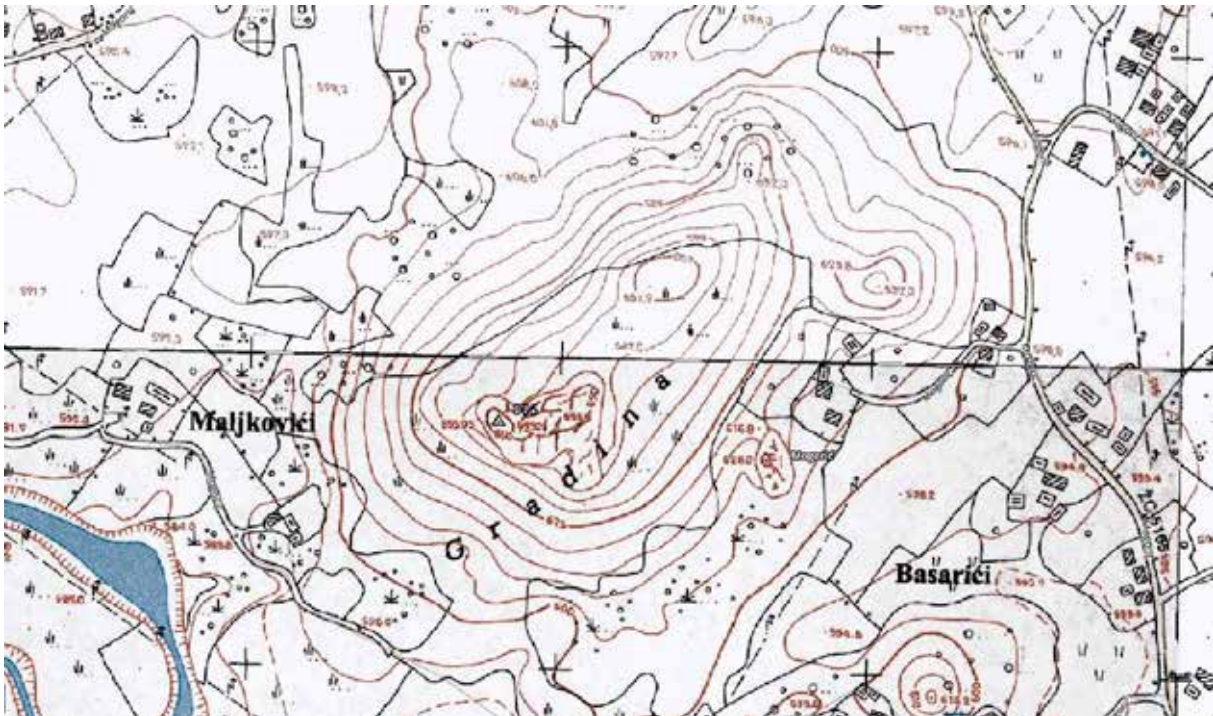
³¹ Lopašić 1889, str. 49.

³² Gledano morfološki, smještaju dvaju predgrađa Mogorića najbližnja su predgrađa tvrdih gradova Novigrada

²⁹ Kreševljaković 1954, p. 124.

³⁰ Lopašić 1885, pp. 395–396.

³¹ Lopašić 1889, p. 49.



Sl. 10. Položaj tvrdoga grada Mogorića na Hrvatskoj osnovnoj karti
(izvor: <https://geoportal.dgu.hr/>, pristup ostvaren 2021)

Fig. 10 Location of stronghold Mogorić on the Croatian Base Map
(source: <https://geoportal.dgu.hr/>, website visited in 2021)

Osnovni nosivi materijali koji su bili korišteni za njegovu gradnju odgovaraju geološkim i geografskim značajkama reljefa na kojem leže. Sagrađen je od lomljena i grubo obrađena lokalna kamena povezana mortom. Jesu li postojali pojedini klesani arhitektonski elementi (portali, vijenci, konzole, okviri prozora i vrata) na temelju vidljivih ostataka ne može se zaključiti.³³

Od ostalih građevinskih materijala, temeljem analogija, svakako je bilo korišteno drvo, za krovšta, podnice, vrata, kapke, obrambene hodnike na bedemima, pomične mostove, prilazne drvene konstrukcije i cjelovite gospodarske građevine, što su se obično nalazile unutar utvrda dimenzionirane prema veličini pojedinih dvorišta.³⁴

Jezgra

Jezgru tvrdoga grada Mogorića tvore ostatci branič-kule i utvrđene špilje. Premda su se od branič-kule očuvali tek skromni ostatci temelja širokih oko 1 m i jedan manji segment njezina sjevernoga zida

in the form of a long and narrow irregular quadrilateral with rounded corners. Its north-east side entirely rests against a steep cliff. The remains of Mogorić are approximately 34 metres long in the NW-SE direction. It is widest in the NE-SW direction, about 30 metres, of which as much as one half is made of the cliff. This defensive compound consists of a nucleus erected at the highest peak of the steep cliff, directly above the cave, and fortified suburbia on natural steps, located directly below the south-western slopes of the cliff.³²

The basic load-bearing materials that were used for its construction correspond to the geological and geographical characteristics of the location. It was built of crushed and roughly worked local stone bonded with mortar. Based on the visible remains, it is not possible to determine whether there were certain worked architectural elements (portals, cornices, corbels, window and door jambs).³³

As to the other building materials, the analogies reveal that wood was certainly used for roofs,

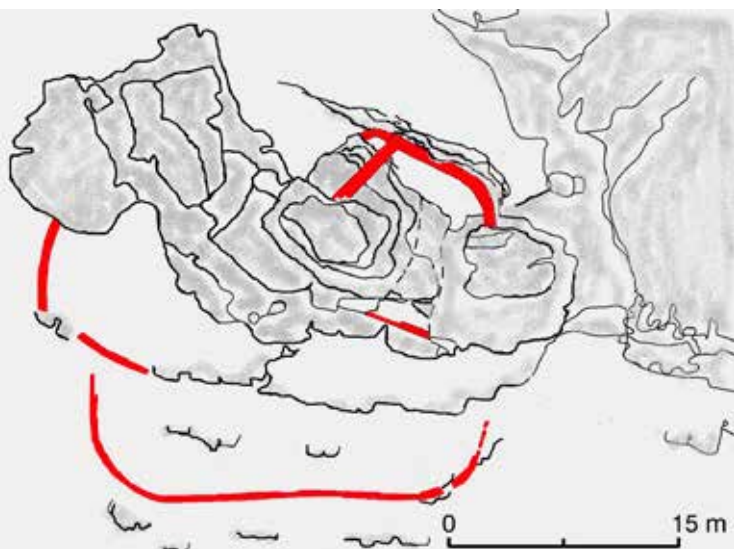
Dalmatinskog i Velikog Kalnika. Regan 2004, str. 83-104; Latinčić-Regan 2021 (u tisku).

³³ Horvat 2013, str. 451-452; Horvat 2020, str. 146.

³⁴ Horvat 2020, str. 146-150.

³² Morphologically, the location of the two suburbia of Mogorić is most akin to the suburbia of the burgs of Novigrad Dalmatinski and Veliki Kalnik. Regan 2004, pp. 83-104; Latinčić-Regan 2021 (forthcoming).

³³ Horvat 2013, pp. 451-452; Horvat 2020, p. 146.



Sl. 11. Skica ruševina tvrdoga grada Mogorića
(K. Regan prema predlošku Z. Horvata 2020)
*Fig. 11 Sketch of the ruins of stronghold Mogorić
(K. Regan based on a template by Z. Horvat 2020)*

visoko na litici, zahvaljujući slikovnim izvorima ovu građevinu možemo ugrubo opisati kao masivno zidano višetažnu građevinu nepravilna četverokutnog tlocrta sa zaobljenom jugoistočnom stranicom, promjera oko 8 m. Sudeći prema konfiguraciji tla na kojem leži, branič-kula mogla je imati najmanje tri, a možda i četiri etaže te vrlo vjerojatno još jednu obrambenu etažu na samome vrhu, koja je, prema Paganovu zemljovidu, ravna terasa omeđena prsobranom s kruništem.

Sudeći prema starijem Hennebergovom tlocrtu, komunikacija između prizemlja i prvoga kata kule odvijala se kamenim stubištem podignutim ili uklesanim u živu stijenu neposredno iznad ulaza u špilju, no danas od njega nisu na terenu vidljivi nikakvi ostatci. U donjim su se etažama zidovi branič-kule sa sjeveroistočne strane polukružno naslanjali na strmu liticu, koja je zapremala polovicu unutrašnje površine kule, dok su tek gornje etaže sa svih strana bile zidane te u cijelosti iskoristive za boravak. Gornji katovi kule bili su vrlo vjerojatno međusobno povezani unutarnjim drvenim stubištem.

Branič-kula dijelom se naslanja na sjeverozapadnu padinu litice, a dijelom leži na njoj. Sama litica pod branič-kulom nije kompaktna kamena masa, već kroz nju poprečno prolazi manja špilja. Njezino dno nije ravno, već se od sjeveroistoka prema jugozapadu strmo spušta, te završava visokom postavljenom prirodnim terasom, koja je izvorno bila zatvorena bedemom. Zbog tog pada jugoza-

floors, doors, shutters, defensive pathways on ramparts, drawbridges, access wooden structures and complete outhouses, which were usually located within fortifications, sized according to the dimensions of courtyards.³⁴

Nucleus

The nucleus of the burg of Mogorić consists of the remains of its bergfried and the fortified cave. Although only modest remains of the bergfried foundations have been preserved, about one metre wide, as well as a small segment of its north wall high on the cliff, the pictorial sources of this building allow us to roughly describe it as a massive masonry multi-storey building with an irregular quadrilateral floor-plan and a rounded south-east side, about eight metres in diameter. Judging by the lay of the land on which it stands, the bergfried could have had at least three or maybe even four floors and most likely another defensive floor at the very top, which, according to Pagano's map, was a flat platform bordered by a parapet with a battlement.

According to Henneberg's earlier floor plan, the ground floor and the first floor of the tower were linked by a stone staircase erected or carved into the bed-rock directly above the entrance to the cave. However, there are no visible remains of it today. At the lower floors, the north-east walls of the bergfried rested in a semicircular form against the steep cliff, which occupied one half of the inner surface of the tower, while only the upper floors were walled on all sides and entirely usable for living purposes. The upper floors of the tower were very likely linked by an internal wooden staircase.

The bergfried partly rests against the north-western slope of the cliff, and partly rests upon it. The cliff under the bergfried is not a solid stone mass, since a small cave cuts through it transversely. Its bottom is not flat but rather steeply descends from NE to SW, where it ends with a high natural terrace, originally enclosed by a rampart. Due to this downward incline, the south-western entrance to the cave is a few meters lower than the north-eastern one.

Although all scholars have depicted this cave as a single space, it actually consists of two parallel rooms tapering from SW to NE. The western room is smaller and can only be passed by crawling, while the eastern room is completely passable. As

³⁴ Horvat 2020, pp. 146–150.



Sl. 12. Tvrđi grad Mogorić, pogled sa sjeveroistoka (N. Milčić 2020)
Fig. 12 Stronghold Mogorić, view from the northeast (N. Milčić 2020)

padni je ulaz u špilju za nekoliko metara niži od sjeveroistočnog ulaza u nju.

Premda su do sada svi istraživači ovu špilju crtali kao jedinstveni prostor, ona se zapravo sastoji od dvije usporedne prostorije, koje se ljevkasto sužavaju od jugozapada prema sjeveroistoku. Zapadna prostorija je manja i njome se može proći samo puzeći, dok je istočna prostorija u cijelosti prohodna. Ova veća prostorija špilje je, kao što smo maloprije spomenuli, na sjeveroistočnoj strani u cijelosti bila zatvorena bedemom branič-kule.

Sjeverozapadni otvor manje prostorije bio je također zatvoren polukružnim zidom, koji se u cijelosti naslanja na sjeverozapadni ugao branič-kule. Danas su od njega očuvani tek temelji. S obzirom na njegov položaj u odnosu na branič-kulu, osim što je zatvarao ulaz u manju prostoriju špilje, ovaj polukružni zid vrlo vjerojatno je, poput kontrafora, učvršćivao sjeverni ugao branič-kule.

Kako su izvorno izgledali bedemi koji su zatvarali nasuprotni ulaz u špilju, na temelju postojećih ostataka i starih Hennebergovih fotografija ne možemo zaključiti. No analogijom prema utvrđenim špiljama u okolici Bužima u Lici, špilji Kuća na Kordunu ili špilji na Starom gradu Krapini, možemo pretpostaviti da su imali manji ulaz te pokoji otvor – strijelnicu ili puškarnicu – koji su, osim za obranu, služili i za osvjetljavanje unutrašnjosti pe-



Sl. 13. Tvrđi grad Mogorić, pogled s istoka (N. Milčić 2020)
Fig. 13 Stronghold Mogorić, view from the east (N. Milčić 2020)

already mentioned, the north-east side of this larger cave room used to be entirely enclosed by the rampart of the bergfried.

The north-west opening of the smaller room was also enclosed by a semicircular wall, which entirely rests against the north-west corner of the bergfried. Today, only its foundations have been preserved. Given its location relative to the bergfried, this semicircular not only enclosed the entrance to the



Sl. 14. Sjeverni ulaz u pećinu podno branič-kule tvrdog grada Mogorića (N. Milčić 2020.)
 Fig. 14 North entrance to the cave at the foot of the keep of stronghold Mogorić (N. Milčić 2020)

čine te za njezino prirodno provjetranje.³⁵ S obzirom da je jugozapadni ulaz u pećinu nekoliko metara iznad utvrđenog predgrađa, do njega su sigurno vodili drveno stubište ili ljestve.

Ulaz u špilju, a samim time i u branič-kulu, vrlo vjerojatno se nalazio na obje strane špilje. Njime se, s jedne strane, pristupalo iz utvrđena podgrađa, a s druge strane manjoj cisterni kvadratnog otvora, dužine stranice oko 1 m, koja je uklesana u živu stijenu nekoliko metar istočno od kule.

Utvrđeno predgrađe

Za razliku od jezgre, od nekadašnjih obrambenih struktura utvrđenog predgrađa na terenu gotovo da više nisu vidljivi nikakvi ostatci.³⁶ Samo predgrađe sastojalo se od dvaju utvrđenih dvorišta, sagrađenih na prirodnim stubama ispod jugozapadne padine litice na kojoj se nalazi jezgra Mogorića. Još 1920-ih i 1930-ih bili su vidljivi temelji dijela njihovih bedema, no danas se oni tek vrlo skromno prepoznaju na terenu.

Sudeći prema ranijim izmjerama ruševina Mogorića, bedemi gornjeg dvorišta zatvarali su prostor u obliku nepravilnog četverokuta, 32 m dugačkog i 10 m širokog, a bedemi donjeg dvorišta opasavali

³⁵ Laszowski 1902, str. 208; Raguž-Cvitanović 2011, str. 19-22; Božić 2018, str. 503-517.

³⁶ Horvat 2020, str. 46, 49-50.



Sl. 15. Lokva ili cisterna tvrdoga grada Mogorića uklesana u živu stijenu (N. Milčić 2020.)
 Fig. 15 A pool or cistern of stronghold Mogorić carved into solid rock (N. Milčić 2020)

smaller cave room, but also very likely strengthened the northern corner of the bergfried, like a buttress.

Based on the existing remains and old Heneberg's photographs, no conclusion can be made as to the original appearance of the ramparts which enclosed the opposite entrance to the cave. However, by analogy with the fortified caves in the vicinity of Bužim in Lika, the Kuća cave at Kordun or the cave in Stari grad Krapina, it can be assumed that they had a small entrance and a few openings – loopholes or port-holes – which, in addition to defensive purposes, also illuminated the interior of the cave, and provided natural ventilation.³⁵ Since the south-western entrance to the cave is a few meters above the fortified suburbium, they must have been linked by a wooden staircase or ladder.

The entrance to the cave, and hence to the bergfried, was very likely on both sides. It was accessed on one side from the fortified suburbium, and on the other to a small cistern with a square opening and about one metre long sides, carved into the bedrock a few metres east of the tower.

³⁵ Laszowski 1902, p. 208; Raguž-Cvitanović 2011, pp. 19-22; Božić 2018, pp. 503-517.

su prostor također u obliku nepravilna četverokuta, dugačkog oko 25 i širokog oko 7,5 m. Prema Hennebergu, na spoju oba dvorišta u zapadnom dijelu Mogorića nalazio se ulaz u utvrdu, koji je s dviju bočnih strana bio flankiran polukružnim bedemima, dok ga je s vanjske strane također zatvarao još jedan polukružni bedem.

Što se tiče samih izgleda bedema, na Pagano-vu zemljovidu oni su nacrtani kao zidane strukture koje su završavale kruništem. S obzirom na malu širinu bedema predgrađa od jednog metra, vrlo vjerojatno je stražarska staza mogla biti izvedena na posebnoj drvenoj konstrukciji ili na konzolama s unutrašnje strane bedema.³⁷

Zaključak

U ovom radu se prvi put prikazuju povijest i graditeljski ostaci tvrdoga grada Mogorića kraj Gospića. Prema smještaju u prostoru i vrsti terena te tipologiji tlocrta, Mogorić se može svrstati u skupinu gorskih tvrdih gradova (kastruma), koji se grade na izduljenim grebenima ili brdskim odvojcima počevši od druge polovice 12. st. pa sve do 15. st., uključujući i njega.

Tvrđi grad Mogorić jedna je od najslikovitijih ruševina u Lici. On je doslovno srastao sa stijenom uz koju je podignut, zbog čega ima vrlo male dimenzije. Nije poznato tko ga je i kada izgradio. Prvi se put spominje oko 1522. na karti *Tuto el Cotado di Zara e Sebenicho*, koju je u tehničari drvoreza objavio tiskar Mateo Pagano u Veneciji, a u dokumentima tek 1577., u popisu utvrda koje su zaposjele Osmanlije.

Na osnovi njegova položaja usred posjeda plemićkog roda ili zajednice plemića Mogorovića te njegova imena, možemo pretpostaviti da su ga u nepoznato doba tijekom prve polovice 13. st. ili krajem 15., odnosno početkom 15. st., sagradili nepoznati pripadnici ovog roda.

U prilog prvoj tezi idu morfološke značajke skromno očuvanih zidanih struktura, koje su zbog svoje male širine karakteristične za tvrde gradove sagrađene prije provale Tatara 1241. godine. No sudeći prema rustičnoj i lošoj gradnji, kao i crtežu poligonalne ili okrugle branič-kule, koje također karakteriziraju protuosmanske utvrde u Lici i u Ravnim kotarima, vrlo je izgledno da su Mogorovići, odnosno danas nepoznati ogranak ovog roda

Fortified suburbium

Unlike the nucleus, there are almost no visible remains of the former defensive structures of the fortified suburbium.³⁶ The suburbium consisted of two fortified courtyards, built on natural steps below the south-western slope of the cliff on which the nucleus of Mogorić is located. The foundations of a section of their ramparts were visible as late as the 1920s and 1930s, but today their visible remains are rather modest.

Judging by earlier surveys of the ruins of Mogorić, the ramparts of the upper courtyard enclosed an area in the shape of an irregular quadrilateral, 32 metres long and 10 metres wide, while the ramparts of the lower courtyard surrounded an area also in the form of an irregular quadrilateral, about 25 metres long and 7.5 metres wide. According to Henneberg, the entrance to the fort was at the junction of both courtyards in the western part of Mogorić. It was flanked on two sides by semicircular ramparts, while on the outside it was also enclosed by another semicircular rampart.

As to the very appearance of the ramparts, Pagano's map depicts them as masonry structures with a battlement on top. Given the small width of the suburbium ramparts of one metre, it is very likely that the *chemin de ronde* could have been constructed on a separate wooden construction or on corbels on the inside of the ramparts.³⁷

Conclusion

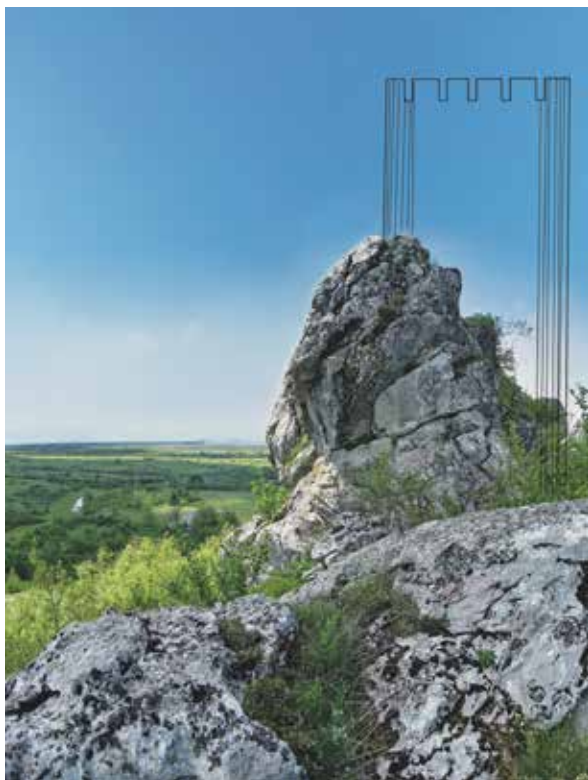
This paper presents for the first time the history and architectural remains of the burg of Mogorić near Gospić. According to its location and terrain type and the typology of the floor plan, Mogorić can be classified into a group of mountain burgs (*castra*), built on elongated ridges or mountain spurs from the second half of the 12th century up to and including the 15th century.

The burg of Mogorić is one of the most picturesque ruins in Lika. It is literally merged with the rock along which it was erected, which is why it is of very small dimensions. It is not known who built it and when. It was first mentioned around 1522 on the map *Tutto il Contado di Zara e Sebenicho*, made in the woodcut technique and published by the printer Matteo Pagano in Venice, whereas its first

³⁷ Horvat 1996, str. 178-180, 191-192.

³⁶ Horvat 2020, pp. 46, 49-50.

³⁷ Horvat 1996, pp. 178-180, 191-192.

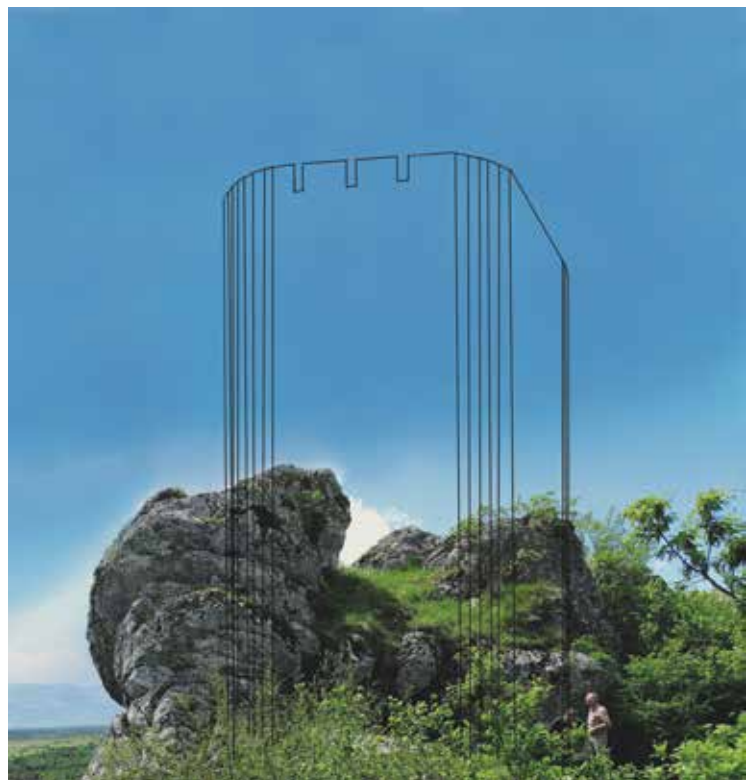


Sl. 16. Hipotetska rekonstrukcija branič-kule tvrdoga grada Mogorića, pogled sa sjeveroistoka
Fig. 16 Hypothetical reconstruction of the keep of stronghold Mogorić, view from the northeast

ili zajednice plemića, izgradili ovo utvrđenje kao protuosmansko pribježište tijekom druge polovice 15. st., vrlo vjerojatno u godinama nakon pada Bosne pod osmansku vlast 1463. godine, kada su se Osmanlije praktički našle u neposrednom susjedstvu Like, odnosno najkasnije nakon Krbavske bitke 1493. godine.

Za osmanske vladavine od 1527. do 1689. sjedište je jednog u nizu posjeda lokalnih osmanskih plemića. Za osmanske vladavine Mogorić se nalazio u sastavu nahije Bilaj-Barleta u sklopu Kliškog (do 1580.), a potom Krčko-ličkog sandžaka (1580. – 1636. i 1641. – 1685.), najprije kao dio kadiluka Skradin, a od oko 1580. u sastavu je kadiluka Krka ili Knin. Godine 1620. tvrđi grad Mogorić ušao je u sastav Udbinske ili Ličke kapetanije.

Mogorić je u posjedu Osmanlija sve do Velikog (Bečkog) rata za oslobođenje (1683. – 1699.), kada ga je oslobodio karlovački general Ivan Josip Herberstein za svojega drugog pohoda na Liku u lipnju 1689. Čini se da je za toga rata utvrda stradala ili bila ubrzo napuštena, jer se u znamenitome spisu *Brevis et compendiosa duarum Comitatum Regni*



Sl. 17. Hipotetska rekonstrukcija branič-kule tvrdoga grada Mogorića, pogled s istoka
Fig. 17 Hypothetical reconstruction of the keep of stronghold Mogorić, view from the east

mention in documents dates to as late as 1577, in the list of fortifications occupied by the Ottomans.

Based on its location in the centre of the estate of the Mogorović noble lineage or community of nobles and its name, it can be assumed that it was built by unknown members of this lineage at some unknown point in time during the first half of the 13th century or at the end of the 15th/the beginning of the 16th century.

The first proposition is supported by the morphological characteristics of modestly preserved masonry structures, characteristic of burgs built before the Tatar invasion in 1241 due to their small width. Notwithstanding, judging by the rustic and poor construction, as well as the drawing of a polygonal or round bergfried, also characteristic of fortifications in Lika and Ravni kotari built against the Ottoman threat, it is very likely that the Mogorovićs, or now unknown branch of this lineage or community of nobles, built this fortification as a refuge from the Ottomans during the second half of the 15th century, very likely in the years after the fall of Bosnia under Ottoman rule in 1463, when



Sl. 18. Hipotetska rekonstrukcija tvrdoaga grada Mogorića, pogled s juga (K. Regan 2021))

Fig. 18 Hypothetical reconstruction of the keep of stronghold Mogorić, view from the south (K. Regan 2021)

Croatie Likae et Corbaviae descripto (Krtak i sadržajan opis dviju županija Hrvatskog kraljevstva Like i Krbave 1695. godine), čije se autorstvo sve donedavno pripisivalo senjskome i modruškome biskupu Sebastijanu Glaviniciću, ova utvrda spominje u nizu drugih manjih nenastanjenih utvrđenja na području Ličkoga polja.

Još početkom 20. st. bili su vidljive ruševine ove utvrde, no tijekom istoga stoljeća uklonili su ih domaći seljaci, koji su njezinu građu iskoristili za podizanje svojih kuća i gospodarskih građevina.

Ostatci tvrdoaga grada Mogorića nalaze se na jugozapadnom rubu brežuljka Gradina, što se strmo uzdiže iznad desne obale rijeke Jadove te mogoričkih zaselaka Maljkovići, Buljmize i Basarići. Jugozapadni rub brda zapravo je četrdesetak metara dugačka i dvadesetak metara široka strma kamena litica. Konfiguracija terena na kojem leže ostatci utvrde uvjetovala je njezin tlocrt u formi dugačkoga i uskog nepravilnog četverokuta sa zaobljenim uglovima, koji se sa sjeveroistočne strane naslanja na strmu liticu. Na istočnoj strani litice nalazi se uz-

the Ottomans practically found themselves in the immediate neighbourhood of Lika, or no later than after the Battle of Krbava in 1493.

During the Ottoman rule from 1527 to 1689, it was the seat of one of a number of estates of local Ottoman nobles. During the Ottoman rule, Mogorić was part of the nahiye of Bilaj-Barlete within the Sanjak of Klis (until 1580), and then the Sanjak of Krka-Lika (1580–1636 and 1641–1685), first as part of the kadiluk of Skradin, and from around 1580 of the kadiluk of Krka or Knin. In 1620, the burg of Mogorić became part of the kapudanlik of Udbina or Lika.

Mogorić was in the possession of the Ottomans until the Great Turkish War (1683–1699), when it was liberated by Ivan Josip (Johann Joseph) Herberstein, General of Karlovac, during his second campaign to Lika in June 1689. It seems that the fort was destroyed or soon abandoned during this war, because the well-known document *Brevis et compendiosa duarum Comitatum Regni Croatiae Likae et Corbaviae descripto* (*A Short and Substantial Description of Two Counties of the Croatian Kingdom, Lika and Krbava, in 1695*), which has until recently been attributed to Sebastijan Glavinicić, the Bishop of Senj and Modruš, mentions this fortification as one of a number of other small and uninhabited strongholds in the area of Ličko polje.

The ruins of this fortification were still visible in the early 20th century, but they were removed during the same century by local peasants, who used its material to erect their houses and outbuildings.

The remains of the burg of Mogorić are located on the south-western edge of the hillock of Gradina, which rises steeply above the right bank of the river Jadova and the Mogorić hamlets of Maljkovići, Buljmize and Basarići. The south-western edge of the hill is in fact a steep cliff about forty meters long and twenty meters wide. The lay of the land on which the remains of the fortification are located affected its floor plan. It is in the form of a long and narrow irregular quadrilateral with rounded corners. Its north-east side rests against the steep cliff. On the east side of the cliff there is an elevated cave, which was walled up on both sides. It was the entrance to the bergfried, which stood at the highest point of the cliff. Although only modest remains of the bergfried foundations have been preserved, as well as some wall-work on the cliff, judging by their disposition it was a massive masonry mul-

dignuta pećina, koja je s obje strane bila zazidana i kroz koju se ulazilo u branič-kulu, koja se uzdizala na najvišoj točki litice. Premda su se od branič-kule očuvali tek skromni ostatci temelja i nešto zida na samoj litici, sudeći prema njihovome razmještaju to je bila masivno zidana višetažna građevina poligonalnog tlocrta, promjera oko 8 m. Ispod jugo-istočnih padina litice nalaze se ostatci utvrđenoga predgrađa, koje čine dva zasebno utvrđena dvorišta podignuta na dvije prirodne kamene stube, od kojih su se također očuvali tek skromni ostatci temelja.

ti-storey building with a polygonal floor-plan, about eight metres in diameter. Below the south-eastern slopes of the cliff there are the remains of a fortified suburbium, consisting of two separately fortified courtyards erected on two natural stone steps, of which only modest foundation remains have been preserved.

(D. G.)

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