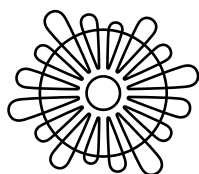


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In this paper (based on processed cranium fragments) the authors posit that the remains in question may be those of Archbishop Petar Bogdani. Special attention is paid to the general overview of the political situation in the territory of what is present-day Kosovo in the late Middle Ages, where (due to riots and political transition during the Ottoman occupation) persons appeared on the political scene who influenced the formation of a modern ideology. This undoubtedly influenced the consciousness of the population and left traces that, depending on the geopolitical context, do not differ all that greatly from the situation in 20th century Kosovo. The story of Pjetër Bogdani and the mystery of his tomb, presented briefly in this article, should be considered as catalyst for arousing academic research inside and outside of the country—especially for archivists.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI:

*Pjetër Bogdani, Priština,
kosti, mjesto ukopa,
crkva sv. Franje
Ksaverskog*

U radu autori zastupaju tezu da su analizirani dijelovi lubanje mogli pripadati nadbiskupu Pjetëru Bogdaniju. Posebna pozornost posvećena je općem prikazu političke situacije na području današnjeg Kosova u kasnom srednjem vijeku, gdje su se zbog nemira i političkih mijena u doba osmanske okupacije na političkoj sceni pojavljivali pojedinci koji su utjecali na formiranje moderne ideologije.

To je nedvojbeno utjecalo na svijest stanovništva i ostavilo tragove koji koji pokazuju sličnosti sa situacijom na Kosovu u 20. stoljeću, ovisno o geopolitičkom kontekstu. Priču o Pjetëru Bogdaniju i zagonetci njegove grobnice, ukratko izloženu u ovom članku, treba smatrati katalizatorom domaćih i međunarodnih znanstvenih istraživanja, posebice za arhiviste.

INTRODUCTION

The medieval history of the Balkans, particularly in regions where geopolitical, socio-economic, and demographic factors resulted in intense conflict, has left behind lingering tensions that continue to reverberate in contemporary politics and often erupt with high intensity. As a result of these conflicts, certain individuals were able to dedicate their entire lives to causes they believed were just. After many centuries, it is evident that their paths of humanism represented a valiant effort towards morality and the preservation of values for their people.

Pjeter Bogdani was precisely this kind of humanist, and thus, the possibility of locating his grave cannot be ignored. Acknowledging the potential significance of such a discovery, this study seeks to elucidate the historical context surrounding Bogdani's life and death. Despite the inherent limitations and uncertainties of this investigation, it is deemed imperative to shed light on the possible whereabouts of his grave, which would otherwise remain unknown to the wider public. Accordingly, this research aims to provide a comprehensive understanding of the life and accomplishments of Pjetër Bogdani, thereby highlighting the potential implications of discovering his remains. Ultimately, this study endeavors to enrich our knowledge of the past and contribute to a more nuanced understanding of the cultural and historical milieu that has shaped our world.

THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF KOSOVO IN THE 17TH CENTURY:

At the end of the 16th century, the Ottoman government increased its taxation on all Jizya, and was effectively four or five times higher for the Christian population. Despite this egregious imbalance, the government was still not satisfied. The "Avariz" annual tax was added and was made mandatory to be paid in cash.

UVOD

Srednjovjekovna povijest Balkana, osobito u područjima u kojima su geopolitički, socioekonomski i demografski čimbenici rezultirali intenzivnim sukobima, ostavila je iza sebe napetosti koje nastavljaju odjekivati u suvremenoj politici i često izbijaju na površinu s velikim intenzitetom. Kao rezultat tih sukoba, neki su pojedinci mogli posvetiti cijeli život onom za što su vjerovali da je pravedno. Nakon mnogih stoljeća vidljivo je da su njihovi putovi humanizma predstavljali hrabar iskorak prema moralnosti i očuvanju vrijednosti svojeg naroda.

Pjetër Bogdani bio je upravo takav humanist, pa je važno obratiti pozornost na mogućnost lociranja njegova groba. Priznajući potencijalno značenje takvog otkrića, ova studija nastoji razjasniti povijesni kontekst koji okružuje Bogdanijev život i smrt. Unatoč inherentnim ograničenjima i neizvjesnostima ovog istraživanja, smatra se važnim rasvijetliti moguće mjesto gdje se nalazi njegov grob, što bi inače ostalo nepoznato široj javnosti. U skladu s tim, cilj je ovog istraživanja pružiti sveobuhvatno razumijevanje života i postignuća Pjetëra Bogdanija, čime se ističu potencijalne implikacije otkrivanja njegovih ostataka. U konačnici, ova studija nastoji obogatiti naše znanje o prošlosti i pridonijeti boljem razumijevanju kulturnog i povijesnog miljea koji je oblikovao naš svijet.

POVIJESNI OKVIR KOSOVA U 17. STOLJEĆU

Krajem 16. stoljeća osmanska je vlada povećala porez koji je zapravo bio četiri ili pet puta veći za kršćansko stanovništvo. Unatoč ovom nečuvenom nerazmjeru, vlada još uvijek nije bila zadovoljna. Dodan je godišnji porez zvan avariz koji se morao plaćati u gotovini. Zamjena poreza plaćenih robom porezima koji su se plaćali isključivo novcem

Replacing taxes paid with goods by taxes paid explicitly in cash was a progressive step, but paying those heavy taxes was a burden, especially for the Christian population in medieval Kosovo, and thus this situation caused dissatisfaction and incited revolt. In addition to these taxes other measures were added, wherein the Beys were not only authorized to collect local taxes but to also register "Sekban" military troops. This enabled the commanders to plunder the local population for their personal gain.¹

To cope with this dire situation, at the end of the 16th century, the Catholic Albanians formed a military alliance with armies of the Italian and Spanish states. Mark Gjini, who in 1595, in the project of Plesha and in collaboration with the Bishop of Korçula, was charged with the task of speaking with Bertuç in Ragusa, stands out in this period. A letter sent to the Senate on October 9th from Budva (sender unknown but of Albanian descent) states that Mark Gjini was sent to Rome by the Bishop of Korçula. Gjini asked the Pope to send 300 soldiers to Brindisi in support of the Albanians who at that time wanted to occupy Shkodra. Mark Gjini also asked for assistance from the Kingdom of Naples.²

In the summer of 1602, Gjini had gone to Lezha to recruit soldiers, but the exact purpose of why these troops were provided: for the Albanian cause or for the benefit of the Pope of Naples, is not known.³

In 1603 an agreement was reached between the knights of Malta and the Albanian rebels. However, when the cavalry from Malta directed their ships and forces to the shores of Albania, a betrayal occurred and thus in 1606, their landing failed. Many of the Albanians who had taken part in organizing this uprising were killed. A captive Albanian priest was enslaved and tortured and his skin, along with his severed head, was sent to Istanbul.⁴

¹ INALXHIK 2002: 70, 71.

² INALXHIK 2002: 143.

³ INALXHIK 2002: 135.

⁴ ANGELY 1998: 305.

bio je napredan korak, no plaćanje tih teških poreza bilo je teret, posebno za kršćansko stanovništvo srednjovjekovnog Kosova, pa je takvo stanje izazivalo nezadovoljstvo i revolt. Uz ove poreze dodane su i druge mjere, prema kojima su begovi bili ovlaštene ne samo ubirati lokalne poreze već i novačiti vojne jedinice, takozvane sekbane. To je zapovjednicima omogućilo pljačku lokalnog stanovništva za osobnu korist.¹

Kako bi izašli na kraj s ovom teškom situacijom, krajem 16. stoljeća Albanci katolici oformili su vojni savez s vojskama talijanskih i španjolskih država. U tom se razdoblju ističe Mark Gjini, koji je 1595. godine, u projektu Plesha i u suradnji s korčulanskim biskupom, dobio zadatak da razgovara s Bertuçom u Dubrovniku. U pismu upućenom senatu 9. listopada iz Budve, čiji je pošiljatelj nepoznat, ali albanskog podrijetla, stoji da je Marka Gjinija u Rim poslao korčulanski biskup. Gjini je tražio od pape da pošalje 300 vojnika u Brindisi kao potporu Albancima koji su u to vrijeme namjeravali zauzeti Skadar. Marko Gjini također je zatražio pomoć od Napuljskog Kraljevstva.²

U ljeto 1602. Gjini je otišao u Lješ kako bi novačio vojnike, ali ostaje nejasno jesu li se ove jedinice trebale boriti za albansku stvar ili u korist napuljskog pape.³

Godine 1603. postignut je sporazum između malteških vitezova i albanskih pobunjenika. Međutim, kad su se malteški brodovi približili albanskoj obali 1606. godine, dogodila se izdaja zbog čega njihovo pristajanje nije uspjelo. Mnogi Albanci koji su sudjelovali u organizaciji ustanka ubijeni su. Zarobljeni albanski svećenik je mučen, a njegova koža, zajedno s odsječenom glavom, poslana je u Istanbul.⁴

Nadalje, 17. svibnja 1606. novi papa Pavao V. pisao je Filipu III., španjolskom kralju

¹ INALXHIK 2002: 70, 71.

² INALXHIK 2002: 143.

³ INALXHIK 2002: 135.

⁴ ANGELY 1998: 305.

Further, on May 17, 1606, the new Pope Paul V, wrote to Philip III of Spain requesting he receive, "Mark Gjini, commander of Epirus and Anton Nicholas of Budva, Count of Podgorica", and to support their demands as the representatives of Catholics in Macedonia, Albania, and Serbia.⁵

The attempt to expel the Turks from Southern Europe came from two directions: firstly, from Western Europe, where projects were initiated by the Pope, the king of Spain, and the Italian princes. Secondly, from Southeastern Europe by the leaders of the Christian peoples in the Balkans. This also included those who adventured to the Balkans seeking a new fortune in Christian states, as well as those emigrating from Southeastern Europe (who ultimately entered the service of Spain, Naples, and Venice).⁶

As previously mentioned, the heavy "Avariz" tax began being collected in 1636. In opposition, the Albanians of Shkodra blocked the roads to disable the collection of this tax. In response, the Ottoman government appointed Vizier Mehmet Pasha (the governor of Bosnia) to suppress these Albanian insurgents.⁷

The social circumstances created in the seventeenth century caused the number of the Christian population in Albania to decline rapidly. It is estimated that from 1620 to 1650, approximately 300,000 Albanians embraced Islam.⁸

The beginning of the 17th century is also characterized by the spread of Bektashism⁹ among Albanians. The liberal nature of Bektashism gained popularity as it introduced a fluid cohesion between the Christian religion and powerful elements of pagan heritage inherited from the prehistoric period.¹⁰

In one report are listed the names of heads of families who had converted to Christianity through sacrament and baptism. These reports

tražeći da primi, „Marka Gjinija, zapovjednika Epira i Antona Nikolasa iz Budve, grofa Podgorice“, i da podrži njihove zahtjeve kao predstavnika katolika u Makedoniji, Albaniji i Srbiji.⁵

Pokušaj protjerivanja Turaka iz južne Europe dolazio je iz dvaju smjerova: prvo, iz zapadne Europe, gdje su takve inicijative pokretali papa, španjolski kralj i talijanski prinčevi, i drugo, iz jugoistočne Europe od vođa kršćanskih naroda na Balkanu. Tu su pripadali i svi oni koji su pustolovno dolazili na Balkan u potrazi za bogatstvom u kršćanskim zemljama, kao i oni koji su emigrirali iz jugoistočne Europe, i koji su konačno završavali u službi Španjolske, Napulja ili Venecije.⁶

Kao što je već spomenuto, teški porez avariz počeo se ubirati 1636. godine. Kao izraz nezadovoljstva, Albanci iz Skadra su blokirali ceste kako bi onemogućili naplatu ove dažbine. Osmanska vlada imenovala je vezira Mehmed-Pašu, namjesnika Bosne, da se obračuna s pobunjenicima.⁷

Društvene prilike u 17. stoljeću utjecale su na nagli pad broja kršćanskog stanovništva u Albaniji. Procjenjuje se da je od 1620. do 1650. oko 300 000 Albanaca prhvatilo islam.⁸

Početak 17. stoljeća obilježava i širenje beктаšizma među Albancima. Liberalna priroda beктаšizma⁹ stekla je popularnost jer je uvela fluidnu koheziju između kršćanske religije i izraženih elemenata poganskog nasljeđa iz prapovijesnog razdoblja.¹⁰

U jednom izvješću navedena su imena glava obitelji koje su se sakramentima i krštenjem obratile na kršćanstvo. Ti izvještaji iz sredine 17. stoljeća sačuvani su u arhivu Kongregacije za širenje vjere (*Congregatio de*

⁵ ANGELY 1998: 145.

⁶ ANGELY 1998: 245.

⁷ KYLCE 2004: 40.

⁸ ARNOLD 2004: 176.

⁹ An Islamic Sufi mystic movement.

¹⁰ KORKUTI et al. 2010: 88.

⁵ ANGELY 1998: 145.

⁶ ANGELY 1998: 245.

⁷ KYLCE 2004: 40.

⁸ ARNOLD 2004: 176.

⁹ Islamski sufijski mistični pokret.

¹⁰ KORKUTI et al. 2010: 88.

(from the mid-seventeenth century) are preserved in the archives of the Congregation for the Evangelization of the Peoples (Propaganda Fide).¹¹

As this was a period when the Albanian population had entered the phase of Islamization, there were reactions from the Albanian Catholic clergy and from the Vatican. In a report written in 1610 by the Archbishop of Bar Marin Bici, a great deal of theistic variety was described to be present in Albania.¹²

In order to prevent Albanians from converting to Islam, some Albanian youths attended classes at the "Illyrian College of Fermo" in 1633. These classes were led by Jesuit missionaries. They would then go on to study at the "School of Montoriso" in Rome under the direction of Franciscan missionaries and continue on to schools with curriculums dedicated to the rites of the Basilicas. Distinguished students pursued higher education at the "Urban College of Fide Propaganda".¹³ One of these Albanian students was Pjetër Bogdani, born in Gur i Hasit near Prizren around 1630 who, through his work entitled "*Çeta e Profetëve*" and his lifetime of literary activity, marked a great leap in the development of Old Albanian literature.¹⁴

Bogdani started primary school in his hometown and continued on in Bulgaria, (Ciprovec).¹⁵ He completed his studies in philosophy and theology at the Propaganda Fide College in Rome, Italy. During his lifetime of scholarship, he served in various ecclesiastical duties: he was head priest in the parish of the Catholic Church in Prizren, Bishop in Shkodra, and was in charge of the administration of the Diocese of Bar, and finally Archbishop in the city of Skopje.¹⁶

The matters of education and culture were sacred to Pjetër Bogdani. In 1647, Bogdan sent

propaganda fide).¹¹

Budući da je u ovom razdoblju albansko stanovništvo bilo izloženo pojačanoj islami-zaciji, reakcije albanskog katoličkog klera i Vatikana nisu izostale. U izvješću iz 1610. barski nadbiskup Marin Bici spominje izraženu teističku raznolikost u Albaniji.¹²

Kako bi se spriječilo obraćanje Albanaca na islam, neki su mladi Albanci pohađali Ilirski kolegij u Fermu (1633.) koji su vodili jezuitski misionari. Školovanje su nastavljali u Školi Montoriso u Rimu pod vodstvom franjevačkih misionara, a zatim su išli u škole s programima posvećenim crkvenom nauku. Istaknuti studenti stekli su visoko obrazovanje na Urbanom kolegiju za širenje vjere.¹³ Jedan od tih albanskih učenika bio je Pjetër Bogdani, rođen u Gur i Hasitu kod Prizrena oko 1630. godine, koji je svojim djelom pod naslovom *Çeta e Profetëve* i svojim cjeloživotnim književnim djelovanjem označio veliki skok u razvoju staroalbanske književnosti.¹⁴

Bogdani je osnovnu školu započeo u rodnom mjestu, a nastavio u Bugarskoj (Ciprovec).¹⁵ Završio je studij filozofije i teologije na Kolegiju za širenje vjere u Rimu, u Italiji. Tijekom svoje stipendije obavljao je razne crkvene dužnosti: bio je poglavar u župi Katoličke Crkve u Prizrenu, biskup u Skadru, bio je zadužen za upravu Barske biskupije, te konačno nadbiskup Skoplja.¹⁶

Pjetër Bogdani posvećivao je posebnu pozornost pitanjima obrazovanja i kulture. Tako je godine 1647. poslao pismo tajniku kongregacije Rimske kurije u kojem je izrazio želju da studira ne samo etiku već i medicinu, kako bi stekao znanja kojima bi se mogao boriti s praznovjerjem koje su poticali Romi.¹⁷ Nakon završetka studija Bogdani se zaredio 1649. godine, a od 1651. do 1654.

¹¹ ARNOLD 2004: 142.

¹² ZEFI 2000b: 139.

¹³ BUXHOVI 2012: 207.

¹⁴ BALA et al. 1989: 45.

¹⁵ GJINI 1982: 197.

¹⁶ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 351.

¹¹ ARNOLD 2004: 142.

¹² ZEFI 2000: 139.

¹³ BUXHOVI 2012: 207.

¹⁴ BALA et al. 1989: 45.

¹⁵ GJINI 1982: 197.

¹⁶ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 351.

¹⁷ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 197.

a letter to the secretary of the Congregation of the Holy Regiment, in which he expressed his desire to study not only morality but also medicine, to gain knowledge that would combat the superstitions raised among the people by the Roma.¹⁷ After finishing his studies, Bogdani was ordained in 1649, and between the years 1651-1654 he was engaged as a missionary in the area of Pulti and Prizren. In 1652, he returned again to Kosovo to serve his religious and educational duties.

In one of his letters, Bogdani outlined his fight against the darkness of ignorance. He constantly sought various literature for missionaries and priests.¹⁸ In his lifetime he published the aforementioned seminal work *Cuneus Propetarum* (eng. Prophets Squad). The “*Cuneus Propetarum*” is a theological-philosophical polemic that deals with issues of theology, complete biblical history, as well as complex problems of scholasticism, cosmogony, astronomy, etc. Through this work, Bogdani brought to the Albanian culture the Humanist spirit, centering the role of knowledge in human life and culture.¹⁹

In one report, which Bogdani sends to Propaganda Fide from Shkodra, he mentions various books with which he was familiar that were available in the Albanian language. Bogdani lists the following: the Gospels in the Albanian language and the books of Budi (to mention a few). Bogdani was also familiar with Buzuku's book from the library of the Urban College of Fide Propaganda, where he later discovered Kazazi.²⁰

In 1654 Bogdani went to Rome to complete his higher studies, and after two years he returned to his homeland to serve as a doctor of philosophy and theology.²¹ In 1656, after the death of the Bishop of Shkodra Gërgur Fransini, the Vatican named Bogdani as his succes-

godine bio je misionar na području Pulta i Prizrena. Godine 1652. ponovno se vraća na Kosovo obavljati svoje vjerske i prosvjetne dužnosti.

Bogdani je u jednom od svojih pisama ocrtao svoju borbu protiv tame neznanja. Stalno je tražio raznu literaturu za misionare i svećenike.¹⁸ Za života je objavio već spomenuto kapitalno djelo *Cuneus prophetarum* (*Četa proroka*), teološko-filozofsku raspravu koja se bavi pitanjima teologije, cjelokupne biblijske povijesti, kao i složenim problemima skolastike, kozmogonije, astronomije itd. Svojim je radom Bogdani albansku kuturu priveo humanističkom duhu, dajući znanju središnje mjesto u kulturi i životu čovjeka.¹⁹

U izvješću koje je Bogdani poslao iz Skadra u sjedište Kongregacije za širenje vjere spominje razne knjige koje su bile dostupne na albanskom jeziku: evanđelja, i knjige autora Budija, da spomenemo samo neke. Bogdani je poznavao i knjigu koju je napisao Buzuku, iz knjižnice Urbanog kolegija za širenje vjere, gdje je naknadno otkrio i Kazazija.²⁰

Godine 1654. Bogdani odlazi u Rim završiti studije, a nakon dvije godine vraća se u domovinu kao doktor filozofije i teologije.²¹ Godine 1656., nakon smrti biskupa Skadra Gërgura Fransinija, Vatikan je imenovao Bogdanija za njegova nasljednika. Jedno vrijeme bilo mu je povjereno i vodstvo nadbiskupije u Baru. I u vrlo teškim uvjetima Bogdani je vodio Skadarsku biskupiju punih osam godina.²²

Papa Inocent XI. je 8. studenog 1677. imenovao Pjetëra Bogdanija skopskim biskupom nakon što se Andrea Bogdani, gramatičar i prelat rimske katoličke Crkve, povukao s čela Skopske biskupije. Kada je 1678. godine izabran za skopskog biskupa, pravoslavni patrijarh grada Peći zahtijevao je zatvaranje

¹⁷ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 197.

¹⁸ MERQUET 2016: 20.

¹⁹ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 352.

²⁰ SHUTERIQI 1976: 44.

²¹ GJINI 1982: 197.

¹⁸ MERQUET 2016: 20.

¹⁹ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR 2002: 352.

²⁰ SHUTERIQI 1976: 44.

²¹ GJINI 1982: 197.

²² GJINI 1982: 197.

sor. For a time he was also entrusted with the leadership of the Archbishopric of Bar. Even in very difficult conditions Bogdani led the Diocese of Shkodra for full eight years.²²

At the time when Andrea Bogdani, the grammarian and prelate of the Roman Catholic Church, resigned from the throne of the Bishopric of Skopje, Pope Innocent XI, on November 8, 1677, appointed Pjetër Bogdani as Bishop of Skopje. When he was elected Bishop of Skopje in 1678, the Orthodox patriarch of the city of Peja demanded the closure of Catholic churches, increased taxes for Catholics, and strengthened cooperation with the Ottomans.²³

The researcher Odette Marquet published her book "Pjetër Bogdani, Letters and Documents", which included 302 written letters outlining the activity of Pjetër Bogdani as a clergyman in Northern Albania.²⁴ From these letters we gather that on September 15, 1661, and April 2, 1666, Bogdani proposed that Nik Grubesa be elected Bishop of Pult, yet in both instances his proposal was not accepted.²⁵

On February 23, 1686, Pjetër Bogdani, (then Bishop of Skopje), proposed to the Holy Seat to appoint his nephew Dom Gjon Bogdani as Bishop of Pulti, but again his request was rejected.

In a letter dated April 25, 1651, it is written that: "Pjetër Bogdani, as a student at the College of Propaganda Fide, announced that he was defending his doctorate". After the defense, Bogdani made another request in writing, "Please send me to Gash, to the Bishopric of Pult, which is under Ottoman rule. There I will dedicate myself to the education of the people and to religious service".²⁶ As can be deduced, his desire was to protect the Albanian population of Pulti from the assimilation and conversion to Islam. In 1675 Bogdan was continually interested in the protection of ecclesi-

katoličkih crkava, povećanje poreza za katolike i jačanje suradnje s Osmanlijama.²³

Autorica Odette Marquet objavila je knjigu *Pjetër Bogdani, pisma i dokumenti*, koja uključuje 302 pisma koja ilustriraju djelovanje Pjetëra Bogdanija kao svećenika u sjevernoj Albaniji.²⁴ Iz ovih pisama razabiremo da je Bogdani 15. rujna 1661. i 2. travnja 1666. predložio da se Nik Grubesa izabere za biskupa Pulta, ali u oba slučaja njegov je prijedlog odbijen.²⁵

Dana 23. veljače 1686. Pjetër Bogdani, tada biskup Skoplja, predložio je Svetoj Stolicu da imenuje njegova nećaka Dom Gjona Bogdanija biskupom Pulta, ali je njegov zahtjev ponovno odbijen.

U pismu od 25. travnja 1651. stoji: „Pjetër Bogdani, student Kolegija za širenje vjere, objavio je da brani svoj doktorat.“ Nakon obrane, Bogdani je uputio još jedan pismeni zahtjev: „Molim vas da me pošaljete u Gash, u biskupiju Pult, koja je pod osmanskom vlašću. Tamo ću se posvetiti obrazovanju puka i vjerskoj službi.“²⁶ Kako se može zaključiti, njegova je želja bila zaštititi albansko stanovništvo Pulta od asimilacije i prelaska na islam. Godine 1675. Bogdani se neprestano zanimao za zaštitu crkvenog života u Pultskoj biskupiji. Bogdani je poslao niz prijedloga u Rim s nadom da će urediti crkvene prilike u biskupiji.²⁷

U posljednjim dvama desetljećima 17. stoljeća Osmansko Carstvo proširilo je bojišta u raznim smjerovima. Nakon poraza osmanske vojske pred vratima Beča 1683. godine, kao i velikih gubitaka osmanske vojske protiv Mlečana u bitci kod Moreje 1684. godine, pritisak na albanske katolike da prijeđu na islam samo se pojačao. Mnoge albanske obitelji preselile su se na sjever kako bi izbjegle pritiske osmanske vlade.

²² GJINI 1982: 197.

²³ MERQUET 2016: 27.

²⁴ PALNIKAJ 2017: 18.

²⁵ PALNIKAJ 2017: 110.

²⁶ PALNIKAJ 2017: 272.

²³ MERQUET 2016: 27.

²⁴ PALNIKAJ 2017: 18.

²⁵ PALNIKAJ 2017: 110.

²⁶ PALNIKAJ 2017: 272.

²⁷ PALNIKAJ 2017: 282.

astical life in the Diocese of Pult. Bogdani sent a large body of information to Rome in various proposals with the hope to regulate the ecclesiastical situation in the Diocese.²⁷

In the last two decades of the seventeenth century, the Ottoman Empire had expanded fronts in various directions. After the defeat of the Ottoman Army at the gates of Vienna in 1683, as well as the great losses for the Ottoman Army against the Venetians at the Battle of Morea in 1684, the pressure on the Catholic Albanians to convert to Islam only increased. Many Albanian families moved north to escape the pressures of the Ottoman government.

After losing the battle at the gates of Vienna in 1684, Austria and Poland formed an alliance which also included Venice. This alliance marked the first phase of losses for the Ottoman Empire.²⁸ Due to political developments and the military defeats of the Ottoman Empire in Vienna in 1683 and Morea in 1684, as well as ongoing fights with the Habsburg Empire, Poland and later Russia, the Treaty of Karlovac was signed in 1699. According to this treaty, Albanians would establish friendly relations with the Austro-Hungarian Empire, granting Austria-Hungary the right of the Cult Protectorate over Albanians and Albania (more specifically, an alliance in favor of the Catholic Church). By default, the Austro-Hungarian Empire became the protector of the linguistic and cultural heritage for Catholic Albanians. This treaty lasted 219 years: from 1699 through to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918.²⁹

When Piccolomini's army had arrived in Prishtina in October 1689, Bogdani (now leader of Albanian uprisings against the Ottoman Army) joined Piccolomini's army with 5000 Christian Albanians in resisting the Ottoman occupation of Prizren. In the city of Prizren, General Piccolomini³⁰ was triumphantly received by the

Nakon poraza pod Bečom 1684., Austrija, Poljska i Venecija su oformile savez koji je označio prvu fazu gubitaka za Osmansko Carstvo.²⁸ Mir u Srijemskim Karlovcima sklopljen je 1699. zbog političkih događanja i vojnih poraza Osmanskog Carstva u Beču 1683. i u Moreji 1684., kao i zbog tada još aktualnih bitaka s Habsburškom Monarhijom, Poljskom i poslije Rusijom. Prema ovom sporazumu, Albanci su trebali uspostaviti prijateljske odnose s Austro-Ugarskom koja je trebala dobiti pravo kulturnog protektorata nad Albanijom i Albancima, točnije, savez u korist Katoličke Crkve. Time je Austro-Ugarska Monarhija postala zaštitnicom jezičnog i kulturnog nasljeđa katoličkog stanovništva Albanije. Ovaj sporazum bio je na snazi 219 godina: od 1699. do pada Austro-Ugarske Monarhije 1918. godine.²⁹

Kada je Piccolominijska vojska stigla u Prištinu u listopadu 1689., Bogdani, sada vođa albanskih ustanika protiv osmanske vojske, pridružio se Piccolominijskoj vojsci s 5000 Albanaca kršćana u otporu osmanskoj okupaciji Prizrena gdje su generala Piccolominija³⁰ slavodobitno dočekali katolički narod i biskup.³¹

Austrijska se vojska 12. listopada 1689. približila Kačaniku čije je stanovništvo bilo pretežno kršćansko, kao i ono okolnog područja. Osmanske su snage bile smještene u gradskoj utvrdi koju su albanski pobunjenici iz ovog kraja već dugo opsjedali. Uz pomoć Albanaca, Piccolominijska vojska zaposjela je utvrdi bez poteškoća.³²

²⁷ PALNIKAJ 2017: 282.

²⁸ SCHEVILL 2002: 217.

²⁹ VICKERS 2004: 47.

³⁰ A Siense nobleman whose lineage included two popes, and who served in the Habsburg army of Leopold I, Holy

²⁸ SCHEVILL 2002: 217.

²⁹ VICKERS 2004: 47.

³⁰ Sijenski plemić čija je loza uključivala dvojicu papa, služio je u habsburškoj vojsci Leopolda I., cara Svetog Rimskog Carstva. Poznat je po tome što je vodio pohod protiv Osmanlija u Bosni, Makedoniji i Kosovu 1689. godine, i po paleži Skoplja, današnjeg glavnog grada Republike Sjeverne Makedonije.
[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enea_Silvio_Piccolomini_\(general\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enea_Silvio_Piccolomini_(general))

³¹ KARASTOJANOV 2007: 88–89.

³² TĚRNAVA 1995: 43.

Catholic people and the Bishop.³¹

On October 12, 1689, the Austrian army neared Kačanik. Most of the population in Kačanik and the surrounding area were Christians. Ottoman forces had been concentrated in the city castle, which had long been under attack by Albanian insurgents in the area. With the help of the Albanians, Piccolomini's army quickly seized the castle without difficulty.³²

However, upon entry into the city of Skopje, Piccolomini's army was faced with a city ravaged by plague, seeing the dire situation, on October 26, 1689, ordered the burning of Skopje.³³

In 1685 in Padua Pjetër Bogdani published his book entitled: "Cuneus Proletarum" in Italian and Epirotic. There he also published various lectures in both languages. In addition, Bogdani published another book entitled: "The Infallible Truth of the Catholic Faith, Against Muslims and Heretics". The book was published in 1691 in Venice, indicating a continued correspondence between him and Rome.³⁴

During his tenure as Bishop in Skopje, war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and Austria. Catholics from the Skopje Diocese took an active part in the war against the Ottomans.³⁵ During this crisis between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, Bogdani was settled in Padua (Padova) Italy. In 1685, he looks to return to his Diocese.³⁶

At the time he was operating in Albanian territories, Bogdani, due to his active ecclesiastical and patriotic activities, lived under constant surveillance and persecution of the Ottoman invaders. Bogdani's ecclesiastical, literary, and political activity took place on three fronts

Roman Emperor. He is known for leading a campaign against the Ottomans in Bosnia, Macedonia and Kosovo in 1689, and for setting on fire Skopje, the present day capital of the Republic of North Macedonia.

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enea_Silvio_Piccolomini_\(general\)](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enea_Silvio_Piccolomini_(general))

³¹ KARASTOJANOV 2007: 88, 89.

³² TËRNAVA 1995: 43.

³³ TËRNAVA 1995: 511.

³⁴ FAVERIAL 2004: 358-359.

³⁵ GJINI 1982: 197.

³⁶ GJINI 1982: 197, 198.

Međutim, nakon ulaska u Skoplje, Piccolominijevu vojsku dočekaao je grad pokošen kugom, pa Piccolominiju nije preostalo ništa drugo nego da 26. listopada 1689. izda naredbu da se Skoplje spali.³³

Pjetër Bogdani 1685. u Padovi je objavio knjigu pod naslovom *Cuneus prophetarum* na talijanskom i epirotskom. U istom je izdanju objavio i različita predavanja na obama jezicima. Objavio je još jednu knjigu *Nepogrešiva istina katoličke vjere nasuprot muslimana i heretika*, godine 1691. u Veneciji što upućuje na neprekinutu korespondenciju koju je održavao s Rimom.³⁴

Za vrijeme njegove biskupske službe u Skoplju, izbio je rat između Osmanskog Carstva i Austrije. Katolici Skopske biskupije aktivno su sudjelovali u ratu protiv Osmanlija.³⁵ Tijekom ove krize između Austrije i Osmanskog Carstva Bogdani je bio u Padovi u Italiji. Godine 1685. nastoji se vratiti u svoju biskupiju.³⁶

Dok je bio aktivan na albanskom teritoriju, Bogdani je zbog svojeg vjerskog angažmana i domoljubnih nastojanja, bio pod stalnim nadzorom i prismotrom osmanskih zavojevača. Bogdanijeve vjerske, literarne i političke aktivnosti odvijale su se na trima stranama s ciljem zaštite albanskog stanovništva od triju mogućih asimilacija: osmanske, slavenske i grčke.³⁷

Neko se vrijeme skrivao od progona u zabačenim planinskim krajevima među civilima. Pokazao je snažnu osobnost kad se, usprkos patnjama, poteškoćama i progonima koji su ga čekali u domovini, nije oklijevao vratiti. Boravak među narodom pomogao mu je u upoznavanju kulture, običaja, tradicija, folkloru itd.³⁸

Biografija, život i djelovanje Pjetëra Bog-

³³ TËRNAVA 1995: 511.

³⁴ FAVERIAL 2004: 358-359.

³⁵ GJINI 1982: 197.

³⁶ GJINI 1982: 197, 198.

³⁷ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I, 2002: 351.

³⁸ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I, 2002: 351.

with the aim to protect his population from: Ottoman assimilation, Slavic assimilation, and Greek assimilation.³⁷

To escape persecution he hid for a time in remote mountainous regions among civilians. He had a strong personality, however. Despite the sufferings, hardships and persecutions that awaited him in his homeland, he did not hesitate to return. His stay among the people helped him to get acquainted with the culture of the local population; with customs, traditions, folklore, etc.³⁸

The biography, life and activities of Pjetër Bogdani, definitely give us a portrait of an Albanian intellectual at the time; one which was formed in relation to the high Catholic clergy. Bogdani was a speaker of the northeastern "Geg", or Kosovar (alb. Kosovarçe) dialect.³⁹ Old Albanian literature (mid-sixteenth-mid-seventeenth century) was borne of, and developed through, the writing of mainly religious content.⁴⁰

"Cuneus Prophetarum" (or in Albanian "Çeta e Profetëve", as the title was given in its first translation by Justin Rrota), is the most complex work of Old Albanian literature, was published in 1685 in Padua and twice again in Venice in 1691 and 1702- 6 and 11 years after publication respectively.

The last six years of his life were spent in a period of great war and conflict such as the Second Siege of Vienna (July 13 - September 12, 1683) and the beginning of the war between the Holy League of European powers and the Ottoman Empire (1683-1699). He describes the tensions of late December 1683, when he was often forced to seek refuge in the mountains and hide his library in crates and sacks clandestinely locked in basements.

General Piccolomini, the Commander of the Austrian Army, contracted possibly the Great Plague caused by the bacterium *Yersinia Pestis*⁴¹

danija nesumnjivo nam pružaju portret albanskog intelektualca tog vremena, koji se formirao u odnosu na visoki katolički kler. Bogdani je govorio sjeveroistočnim gegijskim, odnosno kosovskim (alb. Kosovarçe) dijalektom.³⁹ Staroalbanska književnost (sredina 16. – sredina 17. stoljeća) nastala je i razvila se kroz tekstove religioznog sadržaja.⁴⁰

Cuneus prophetarum ili *Çeta e Profetëve* na albanskom što je naslov koji je dao autor prvog prijevoda Justin Rrota, najsloženije je djelo staroalbanske književnosti, objavljeno 1685. u Padovi i dvaput u Veneciji 1691. i 1702., šest odnosno jedanaest godina nakon objave.

Posljednjih šest godina Bogdanijeva života obilježili su ratovi i sukobi kao što je Druga bitka kod Beča (13. srpnja – 12. rujna 1683.) i početak rata između Svete lige kršćanskih zemalja i Osmanskog Carstva (1683. – 1699.). Bogdani opisuje napetosti iz prosinca 1683., kad je bio prisiljen tražiti utočište u planinama i skrivati svoju knjižnicu u kutijama i vrećama po podrumima.

General Piccolomini, zapovjednik austrijske vojske, vjerojatno se zarazio kugom uzrokovanom bakterijom *Yersinia pestis*⁴¹ koju su širile buhe koje su živjele na štakorima. Nakon Piccolominijeve smrti u Prizrenu 9. studenoga 1689. Bogdani mu je odao posljednju počast na grobu. Međutim, nekoliko dana nakon ovog događaja i sam Bogdani se razbolio. Pokušaji austrijskih liječnika u Prištini da ga izliječe nisu urodili plodom. Umro je 6. prosinca 1689., a pogrebni obred

³⁷ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 351.

³⁸ HISTORIA E POPULLIT SHQIPTAR I 2002: 351.

³⁹ ARAPI 2015.

⁴⁰ ARAPI 2015.

⁴¹ *Yersinia pestis* is a highly virulent Gram-negative bacteri-

³⁹ ARAPI 2015.

⁴⁰ ARAPI 2015.

⁴¹ *Yersinia pestis* vrlo je virulentna gram-negativna bakterija odgovorna za razornu epidemiju kuge u 17. stoljeću (bubonska kuga). Epidemija je odnijela veliki broj života što je bitno utjecalo na Europu tijekom tog razdoblja. Godine 1630. izbijanje kuge dogodilo je sjevernu Italiju, a broj umrlih se procjenjuje na 45 000. Slično tomu, 1656. epidemija izbija u Napulju u Italiji, uzrokovana istom bakterijom, s procijenjenim brojem umrlih od 300 000. Bakterija se prije svega širi preko buha koje žive na štakorima, koji zatim svojim ugrizima prenose bolest na ljude BYRNE 2004; SLACK 2018.

which was spread by fleas that lived on rats and eventually passed away in the city of Prizren. Following Piccolomini's demise on November 9, 1689, Bogdani paid his last respects at his grave. However, a few days after this event, Bogdani himself also contracted the illness. Attempts were made to cure him, and he was sent to Austrian doctors in Prishtina. Unfortunately, Bogdani did not survive and passed away on December 6, 1689. The ceremony of his death was performed by a German Jesuit, and he was buried in the courtyard of the Great Mosque in Prishtina.⁴²

UNCOVERING THE SECRETS OF PJETËR BOGDANI'S FINAL RESTING PLACE: A JOURNEY THROUGH THE HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

It should be noted that after the arrival of the Austrians in Prishtina, namely during the Austro-Turkish wars at the end of the XVII century, the Great Mosque was turned into a church and dedicated to the Holy Saint Francis Xavier.⁴³

In the report he sent to the "Kong Regiment of Propaganda", Pjetër Bogdani's nephew wrote that the Ottomans removed Pjetër Bogdani's body from the grave and threw it in the main square of Prishtina to be dismembered by dogs.⁴⁴ This event took place immediately after the defeat of the Austrian Army in 1690, subsequently returning the building to its former function.

um responsible for the devastating outbreaks of the Great Plague, also known as bubonic plague, in the 17th century. The disease had a profound impact on Europe during this period, resulting in significant loss of life. In 1630, an outbreak of bubonic plague struck northern Italy, leading to an estimated 45,000 deaths. Similarly, in 1656, an outbreak in Naples, Italy, caused by the same bacterium, resulted in an estimated 300,000 deaths. The bacterium is primarily spread through fleas that live on rats, which then transmit the disease to humans through their bites, BYRNE 2004; SLACK 2018.

⁴² MALCOLM 1998: 151.

⁴³ MALCOLM 1998: 157.

⁴⁴ GJINI 1982: 197.

predvodio je njemački isusovac. Bogdani je pokopan u dvorištu Velike džamije u Prištini.⁴²

OTKRIVANJE TAJNI POSLJEDNJEG POČIVALIŠTA PJETRA BOGDANIJA: PUTOVANJE KROZ POVIJESNI I GEOGRAFSKI KONTEKST

Treba napomenuti da je nakon dolaska Austrijanaca u Prištinu, odnosno za vrijeme austrijsko-turskih ratova krajem 17. stoljeća, Velika džamija pretvorena u crkvu i posvećena svetom Franji Ksaverskom.⁴³

U izvješću koje je poslao Kongregaciji za širenje vjere, nećak Pjetëra Bogdanija napisao je da su Osmanlije ekshumirali tijelo Pjetëra Bogdanija iz groba i bacili ga psima na glavni trg u Prištini.⁴⁴ Taj se događaj zbio neposredno nakon poraza austrijske vojske 1690. godine, čime je objektu vraćena prijašnja funkcija. Frrok Kristaj navodi da je nakon povlačenja Austrijanaca osmanska vojska ušla u Prištinu 20. prosinca.⁴⁵

Točno 319 godina nakon njegove smrti, zagonetka nestanka njegovih posmrtnih ostataka ponovno je aktualna. Ipak, prvo ćemo iznijeti neke podatke o džamiji koja je danas u punoj funkciji.

Džamija sultana Mehmeda II. (Fatiha) u Prištini, popularno poznata kao Kraljeva džamija ili Velika džamija, nalazi se u središtu onoga što je nekada bila stara gradska uprava Prištine u blizini Velikog hama (15. stoljeće), Sahat kule (19. stoljeće), te zgrade Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti Kosova (19. stoljeće), što su sve spomenici kulturne baštine. Ova je džamija izgrađena po nalogu sultana Mehmeda II. Natpis u šest

⁴² MALCOLM 1998: 151.

⁴³ MALCOLM 1998: 157.

⁴⁴ GJINI 1982: 197.

⁴⁵ KRISTAJ 2015: 109.

Frrok Kristaj writes that after the withdrawal of the Austrians, the Ottoman army entered Prishtina on December 20.⁴⁵

Exactly 319 years after his death, the mystery over the disappearance of his remains once again resurfaces. However first, we will outline some information concerning the Mosque that is in full function today.

The Mosque of Sultan Mehmed II (Fatih) in Prishtina, popularly known as the King's Mosque or the Great Mosque, is located in the center of what was once the old city ordinance of Prishtina near the Great Hammam (15th century), the Clock Tower (XIX century), and the building of the Academy of Sciences and Arts of Kosovo (19th century), all declared monuments of cultural heritage. This Mosque was built by order of Sultan Mehmed II. The inscription of six lines is located above the entrance portal and is written in the Arabic alphabet. Inscribed upon the edifice is also the exact date of construction in the year 1461 (according to the Gregorian calendar).

The whole monument, with auxiliary facilities, occupies an area of 577 m². In the courtyard of the mosque there is a fountain that was built in 1996. The mosque is constructed of carved yellow sandstone, while the walls on the inside are lined with bonded bricks and plastered with lime mortar.

The thickness of the walls reaches 180 cm. The mosque consists of a rectangular space measuring 14.14 x 14.14 m, a dome with a diameter of 13.50 m erected on four pendants, a high minaret of 38.20, and a representative portico. In architectural, morphological, spatial, structural and decorative terms, the building retains all its features from the time of original construction. It is a unique and dominant building in the landscape of the city of Prishtina.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ KRISTAJ 2015: 109.

⁴⁶ Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sports, Database of Cultural Heritage. https://web.archive.org/web/20160304075402/http://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk_objekti_en.aspx?id=8622

redaka na arapskom pismu nalazi se iznad ulaznog portala, a naveden je i točan datum izgradnje u godini 1461. prema gregorijanskom kalendaru.

Cijela građevina, s pratećim sadržajima, zauzima površinu od 577 m². U dvorištu džamije nalazi se šadrvan sagrađen 1996. godine. Džamija je građena od klesanog žutog pješčenjaka, dok su zidovi s unutarnje strane obloženi ciglom i prekriveni vapnenom žbukom.

Debljina zidova doseže 180 cm. Džamija se sastoji od pravokutnog prostora dimenzija 14,14 x 14,14 m, kupole promjera 13,50 m podignute na četirima pandativima, minareta visokog 38,20 m i reprezentativnog trijema. Ova jedinstvena građevina koja dominira pejzažem Prištine zadržala je sva obilježja iz vremena prvotne gradnje, u arhitektonskom, morfološkom, prostornom, konstruktivnom i dekorativnom smislu.⁴⁶

Spomenik se očuvao do danas zahvaljujući popravcima od kojih treba istaknuti restauraciju iz 1682./1683., napravljenu za vrijeme vladavine sultana Mehmeda IV., kao i obnovu 1955. godine nakon potresa.⁴⁷ Džamija je bila u lošem stanju i poremećene statike u doba kad ju je Republički zavod za zaštitu spomenika stavio pod zaštitu (1953.). Ova je institucija poduzimala zahvate djelomične obnove između 1955. i 1990. Godine 2004. tim stručnjaka iz Turske izradio je studiju konzervacije i restauracije koju su 2006. prihvatile nadležne institucije za kulturno nasljeđe iz Kosova i Turske.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ministarstvo kulture, mladeži i sporta, baza podataka o kulturnoj baštini. https://web.archive.org/web/20160304075402/http://dtk.rks-gov.net/tkk_objekti_en.aspx?id=8622

⁴⁷ Kulturna baština u jugoistočnoj Europi 2003.: UNESCO-ov ured u Veneciji i Regionalni ured za znanost u Europi (Italija) [11] Kosovo, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001344/134426e.pdf>.

⁴⁸ TİKA (Turska agencija za suradnju i koordinaciju) radi na očuvanju zajedničkog kulturnog nasljeđa na Balkanu. https://www.tika.gov.tr/en/news/tika_works_to_preserve_common_cultural_heritage_in_balkans-73114

Nowadays, this monument lives on through a series of repairs, among which is worth mentioning the restoration of 1682/83, undergone during the reign of Sultan Mehmed IV, as well as the restorations of 1955 following the earthquake.⁴⁷ At the time the monument was declared under protection (1953) by the Provincial Office for the Protection of Monuments, the Mosque was in poor condition and unstable. Thus, between 1955 and 1990, partial reconstructions were carried out by the institution. In 2004, a specialized team from Turkey prepared the Conservation / Restoration Study / Plan, which in 2006 was approved by the cultural heritage authorities of Kosovo and Turkey.⁴⁸

THE POSSIBILITY OF REDISCOVERING THE GRAVESITE OF P. BOGDANI

In 2008, the Ministry of Culture, Youth and Sport, in cooperation with the Turkish NGO "TIKA"⁴⁹, formalized a cooperation agreement for the study and conservation of the Mosque of Sultan Mehmet Fatih II in Prishtina.

Initially, conservation work was accompanied by excavations to isolate the building's foundations. During the first phase of excavations, a human skeleton was discovered near the foundations of the Great Mosque. However, the discovery only came to light thanks to the good will of a worker who unofficially informed the

⁴⁷ Cultural heritage in South-East Europe 2003: UNESCO Office Venice and Regional Bureau for Science in Europe (Italy) [11] Kosovo, <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001344/134426e.pdf>.

⁴⁸ TİKA Works to Preserve Common Cultural Heritage in Balkans 2022: Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency. https://www.tika.gov.tr/en/news/tika_works_to_preserve_common_cultural_heritage_in_balkans-73114

⁴⁹ Turkish Cooperation and Coordination Agency, Focusing on development cooperation, TİKA works in more than 150 countries, including the ones where their offices are located. <https://www.tika.gov.tr/en>

MOGUĆNOST PONOVRNOG OTKRIVANJA MJESTA UKOPA P. BOGDANIJA

Ministarstvo kulture, mladeži i sporta je 2008. godine u suradnji s turskim NGO-om „TIKA“⁴⁹ formaliziralo sporazum o suradnji za istraživanje i konzervaciju džamije sultana Mehmeda Fatiha II. u Prištini.

U početnim fazama konzervaciju su pratila iskopavanja koja su bila usmjerena na otkrivanje temelja građevine. U prvoj fazi iskopavanja ljudski je kostur nađen u blizini temelja Velike džamije. No, za otkriće se doznalo tek zahvaljujući dobroj volji radnika koji je neslužbeno obavijestio Arheološki institut Kosova. Nejasna ugovorna politika između stranaka, organizacije TİKA i Ministarstva kulture dovela je do ovakve situacije. Zbog nedostatka potpune kontrole od relevantnih lokalnih institucija za kulturnu baštinu, izgubljene su vrlo važne arheološke informacije, posebno u povijesnom kontekstu srednjovjekovnog razdoblja na Kosovu. Štoviše, ugovori između strana ograničavali su mogućnost profesionalnog pristupa proučavanju nalaza. Iako je tim iz Arheološkog instituta Kosova i Instituta za zaštitu spomenika Kosova uložio napore da prouči nalaz, vrata zgrade gotovo su uvijek bila zatvorena.

Međutim, tim se suočio s brojnim izazovima u identifikiranju lokacije kosturnih ostataka. Radnici nisu bili voljni ponuditi bilo kakve informacije o pronađenim fragmentima kostiju. Osim nekoliko dijelova koje su strani radnici stavili u običnu plastičnu vrećicu, nedostajao je gotovo cijeli kostur. Jedini ostatci sačuvani u plastičnoj vrećici bili su dijelovi lubanje.

Iako su uloženi naponi da se provede sveobuhvatno ispitivanje u skladu s relevantnim forenzičkim propisima i metodologijama,

⁴⁹ Turska agencija za suradnju i koordinaciju, fokusirana na razvojnu suradnju radi u više od 150 zemalja, uključujući i one u kojima se nalaze njihovi uredi. <https://www.tika.gov.tr/en>

Archaeological Institute of Kosovo. The unclear contractual policies between the parties, the TIKA organization and the Ministry of Culture, led to this situation. Due to the lack of a full control approach by relevant local cultural heritage institutions, very important archaeological information was lost, particularly in the historical context of the medieval period in Kosovo. Moreover, the contracts between the parties limited the possibility of a professional approach to study the find. Although a team from the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo and the Institute for the Protection of Monuments of Kosovo made efforts to study the find, the doors of the building were almost always closed.

However, the team faced numerous challenges in identifying the location of the skeletal remains. Workers were reluctant to share any information about the bone fragments found. Except for a few fragments that were put into a simple plastic bag by non-native workers, almost the entire skeleton was missing. The only remains found in the plastic bag were parts of the skull.

Although efforts were made to conduct a comprehensive examination in accordance with relevant forensic regulations and methodologies, time constraints and pressure from employees of the organization in question prevented the full implementation of these procedures. The circumstances and policies of the contracting parties limited the receipt for further treatment of those osteological findings. A standard recording of findings, identification for possible trauma, and a detailed anthropological description with standard methodology were not possible due to the short available time. The substandard photo quality can be attributed to rules and policies put in place by outside companies that prohibit detailed photography within the workspaces. These regulations prohibit the taking or photographing of any possible findings without the express approval of the management of the respective companies. This limitation resulted in only a few poor-quality photographs, (Fig. 1.), overlooking the small possibility for a visual

vremenska ograničenja i pritisak zaposlenika dotične organizacije spriječili su punu provedbu ovih postupaka. Okolnosti i pravila ugovornih strana ograničili su daljnju obradu tih osteoloških nalaza. Standardno snimanje nalaza, identifikacija mogućih trauma i detaljan antropološki opis standardnom metodologijom nisu bili mogući zbog kratkog raspoloživog vremena. Lošija kvaliteta fotografija može se pripisati pristupu i pravilima koje su uspostavile vanjske tvrtke koje zabranjuju detaljno fotografiranje unutar radnih prostora. Ovi propisi zabranjuju snimanje ili fotografiranje bilo kakvih mogućih nalaza bez izričitog odobrenja uprave tih tvrtki. Ovo ograničenje rezultiralo je samo s nekoliko fotografija loše kvalitete (Sl. 1), ostavljajući tek malu mogućnost vizualnog pregleda dokaza.

ANALIZA OSTEOLOŠKIH FRAGMENTA KROZ VIZUALNO PAMĆENJE I FOTOGRAFIJU

Zbog vremenskih ograničenja i konteksta u kojem su fragmenti lubanje otkriveni, samo su dijelovi nalaza bili dostupni za analizu u ovoj studiji. S obzirom na ta ograničenja, provedeno je ubrzano ispitivanje analitičkim metodama kako bi se utvrdio biološki identitet, dob i spol pojedinca. U ovoj analizi korištene su morfološke karakteristike lubanje, počevši od najosnovnijih obilježja. U fizičkoj antropologiji, stupanj obliteracije na lubanji odraslih pojedinaca dugo je služio kao pouzdan pokazatelj dobi u trenutku smrti.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ U fizičkoj antropologiji razvijene su različite metode za određivanje spola kosturnih ostataka. To uključuje ispitivanje morfoloških značajki, kao što su veličina i oblik lubanje, zdjelice i dugih kostiju, te tehnike kao što su analiza DNK-a, radiografija i osteometrijska analiza. U literaturi koja se bavi antropološkim istraživanjima, rad Buikstre i Ubelakera (1994.) standardna je referencija koja se upotrebljava za dokumentiranje spolnih razlika na kosturnim ostacima, BUIKISTRA, UBELAKER 1994: 32–38.



FIGURE 1 Part of the skull and various bone fragments (photo: Luan Gashi dhe Emin Sallahu 15. 7. 2008.)
 SLIKA 1. Dio lubanje i različiti dijelovi kostiju (fotografija: Luan Gashi i Emin Sallahu, 15. 7. 2008.)

examination of the evidence.

“Analyzing Osteological Fragments Through Visual Memory and Photography”

Due to time constraints and the context in which the skull fragments were discovered, only partial fragments were available for analysis in this study. Given these limitations, an accelerated examination was conducted using analytical methods to determine the biological identity, age, and gender of the individual. The morphological characteristics of the skull were utilized in this analysis, beginning with the most fundamental traits. The *obliteration* patterns in adult *crania* have long served as a reliable age-at-death indicator in physical anthropology.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ In physical anthropology, a variety of methods have been developed to identify the gender of skeletal remains. These include the examination of morphological features such as the size and shape of the skull, pelvis, and long bones, as well as techniques such as DNA analysis, radiography, and osteometric analysis. In the realm of anthropological research, Buikstra and Ubelaker's (1994) work is the standard reference used for documenting sex differences in skeletal remains, BUIKISTRA, UBELAKER 1994: 32-38.

Pregledom kosturnih ostataka utvrđena je uznapredovala obliteracija sagitalnog, lambdoidnog i koronarnog šava, koji su bili gotovo zatvoreni. Iako nije bilo vremena za sveobuhvatnije ispitivanje kosturnih ostataka, provedena je ubrzana analiza temeljena na morfološkim karakteristikama. Ova je analiza dala pozitivnu procjenu starosti pojedinca u trenutku smrti, koja je bila relativno visoka, između 56 i 70 godina.⁵¹

Pri određivanju spola pojedinca oslanjamo se na studije i metode razvijene za ispitivanje *supraorbitalisa* na lubanjama iz antropološke zbirke Sveučilišta u Tübingenu.

Kod muških lubanja dio gornjeg ruba ima ravnomjerno okrugao presjek poput kore, dok kod ženskih lubanja kontinuirana formacija bora ide cijelim tokom prema unutra. Ta su otkrića bila ključna u ovom radu, omogućivši da se točno identificira spol pojedinca, čak i kad se radi s djelomično sa-

⁵¹ KHANDARE, BHISE, SHINDE 2015: 192-202.

The examination of the skeletal remains revealed an advanced *obliteration* of the *sagittal*, *lambdaoidal*, and *coronal sutures*, which were nearly closed. Although time constraints prevented a more comprehensive examination of the skeletal remains, an accelerated analysis based on morphological characteristics was conducted. This analysis yielded a positive estimate of the individual's age at the time of death, which was relatively advanced, between 56-70 years.⁵¹

When determining the gender of an individual, I rely on studies and methods developed for examining the *supraorbitalis* in skulls from the anthropological collection of the University of Tübingen.

In male skulls, a portion of the upper edge exhibits a uniformly round and crust-like cross-section, whereas in female skulls, a continuous formation of wrinkles runs along the entire course inward. These findings have been instrumental in this work, enabling me to accurately identify the gender of individuals even when working with partial skulls. Fortunately that the left part of the *supraorbitalis* has been well-preserved. This allowed for the accurate identification of the gender of the individual based on the shape and structure of the *supraorbital* ridge.

After a careful examination of the skull fragments, it can be concluded with absolute certainty that the two *cranial* grooves, often mistaken for fractures, were, in fact, *vascular* grooves of the external skull table caused by the *supraorbital* artery in the frontal region.⁵² These grooves, approximately 10 cm in length, were observed on both sides of the *cranium* passing from the *OS frontale* along with the *OS parietale*. It is important to note that these grooves cannot be considered signs of postmortem violence.

In addition, several conical holes with a regular structure were discovered, indicating

čuvanim lubanjama. Na svu sreću, lijevi dio *supraorbitalisa* dobro je očuvan. To je omogućilo točnu identifikaciju spola pojedinca na temelju oblika i strukture supraorbitalnog grebena.

Nakon pažljivog pregleda fragmenata lubanje može se s apsolutnom sigurnošću zaključiti da su dva kranijalna žlijeba, koja se često pogrešno smatraju frakturama, zapravo vaskularni žljebovi na vanjskoj ploči lubanje u vezi sa supraorbitalnom arterijom u frontalnoj regiji.⁵² Ovi žljebovi, otprilike 10 cm dugi, uočeni su s obje strane lubanje prolazeći od čeone kosti uz tjemenu kost. Važno je napomenuti da se ovi žljebovi ne mogu smatrati znakovima postmortalnog nasilja.

Osim toga, otkriveno je nekoliko stožastih rupa pravilne strukture, što upućuje na izravan ugriz na lubanji. Ove strukture upućuju na to da je leš možda bio plijen mesojeda s čeljusti sa snažnim ugrizom. Komparativno su upotrijebljeni tipični postmortalni dokazi koji su rezultat nasilja nad životinjama što je omogućilo identifikaciju životinje odgovorne za tragove ugriza. U ovom slučaju struktura tragova vrlo je slična onima uzrokovanim ugrizom psa.⁵³ Ne zaboravimo potvrđenu činjenicu o oskvrnuću Bogdanijeva leša od pasa.

Mogući elementi koji pokazuju da bi ostatci kostiju mogli pripadati Pjetëru Bogdaniju su:

- Lokacija: Kostii su pronađene na lokaciji koja je u skladu s povijesnim zapisima o tome gdje je Pjetër Bogdani pokopan.
- Bogdani je sahranjen u dvorištu Velike džamije u Prištini.
- Dob i spol: Kostii pripadaju muškarcu⁵⁴ koji je u vrijeme smrti imao otprilike između 60 i 70 godina, što je u skladu s dobi Pjetëra Bogdanija u trenutku smrti.

⁵¹ KHANDARE, BHISE, SHINDE 2015: 192-202.

⁵² SCHUNK, MARUYAMA 1960: 189-192.

⁵² SCHUNK, MARUYAMA 1960: 189-192.

⁵³ INDRA et al. 2022.

⁵⁴ GRAW, HAFFNER, CZARNETZKI 1997: 121-126.

a direct bite on the skull. These structures suggest that the corpse may have been preyed upon by a carnivore with a specialized biting jaw. The typical postmortem comparative evidence resulting from animal bone violence allowed the identification of the animal responsible for the bite marks. In this case, the structure of the traces is very similar to those caused by a dog bite.⁵³ Let's not forget the confirmed fact about the desecration of Bogdan's corpse by dogs. It is important to recall the confirmed fact of Bogdan's corpse desecration by dogs.

The possible elements that raise suspicion that the bone remains may belong to Pjetër Bogdani are:

- Location: The bones were found in a location that is consistent with the historical record of where Pjetër Bogdani was buried.
- Bogdani was buried in the courtyard of the Great Mosque in Prishtina
- Age and sex: The bones belong to a male⁵⁴ who was approximately between 60 – 70 years old at the time of death, which is consistent with the age of Pjetër Bogdani at the time of his death.
- The Ottoman authorities exhumed the body of Pjetër Bogdani from its original burial site and discarded it in the central square of Prishtina, where it was left to be mutilated by dogs.
- Trauma: The bones show postmortem evidence of trauma, including the conical holes with a regular structure that suggest a carnivore with a specialized biting jaw was responsible, which is consistent with historical accounts of Bogdani's body being desecrated by dogs.
- Based on local folklore, it is believed that following the aforementioned propagandistic action by the Ottomans, the local population or lowest-ranking officials anonymously

- Osmanske vlasti ekshumirale su tijelo Pjetëra Bogdanija iz prvotnog grobnog mjesta i ostavile ga na središnjem trgu u Prištini psima da ga sakate.
- Trauma: Kostii pokazuju postmortalne tragove traume, uključujući stožaste rupe pravilne strukture koje upućuju na ugriz mesojeda, što je u skladu s povijesnim zapisima o Bogdanijevu tijelu koje su oskrvnuli psi.
- Na temelju lokalne predaje smatra se da je nakon navedenog propagandnog djelovanja Osmanlija osakaćeno tijelo Pjetëra Bogdanija u znak poštovanja ponovno anonimno pokopano od lokalnog stanovništva ili najnižih službenika, negdje u dvorištu džamije.

ZAKLJUČAK

Za razliku od mnogih drugih zaraznih bolesti, poput gube ili tuberkuloze, kuga u većini slučajeva ne ostavlja nikakav trag na kostima ili u njima. Samo molekularno-genetičkim testom, kojim se otkrivaju specifični fragmenti DNK-a, može se identificirati uzročnik nekadašnje bolesti, točnije, varijanta bakterije *Yersinia pestis*.⁵⁵ Teško je izdvojiti detaljne antropološko-pravne informacije iz osteoloških nalaza, 14 godina nakon inicijalnog površnog pregleda i uz ograničeno vrijeme za proučavanje. Međutim, uzimajući u obzir sve navedene indicije i oskudne dostupne izvore o kronologiji događanja, vjerojatnije je da je Bogdani ponovno pokopan u dvorištu džamije nego da su njegovi posmrtni ostatci premješteni na drugo mjesto.

Džamija, koja je prvotno pretvorena u crkvu svetog Franje Ksaverskog, a poslije joj je vraćena izvorna funkcija te postaje Carska džamija Murata I. (Fatihova džamija), obnovljena je 1690. godine, godinu dana nakon Bogdanijeve smrti. Važno je napome-

⁵³ INDRA et al. 2022.

⁵⁴ GRAW, HAFFNER, CZARNETZKI 1997: 121-126.

⁵⁵ HAENSCH et al. 2013.

reburied the mutilated body of Pjetër Bogdani as a sign of respect, somewhere within the courtyard of the Mosque.

CONCLUSION

Unlike many other infectious diseases such as leprosy or tuberculosis, the plague, in most cases, does not leave any trace on or in the bones. Only a molecular genetic test, which detects specific fragments of DNA, can identify the pathogen of the former mortar, specifically the variant of the bacterium *Yersinia Pestis*.⁵⁵ Extracting detailed anthropological-legal information from the osteological findings, 14 years after the initial superficial examination and with limited examination time, is challenging. However, taking into account all the above indications and the scarce sources available on the timeline, it is more probable that Bogdan was reburied in the Mosque courtyard than that his remains were moved elsewhere.

The Mosque, which was initially converted into the Church of St. Francis Xavier and later restored to its original function as the Imperial Mosque of Murat I (Fatih Mosque), underwent restoration in 1690, a year after Bogdan's death. It is noteworthy that the lowest-ranking officials and employees in the Ottoman administration were likely Albanians who held Pjetër Bogdan in high esteem. This assumption aligns with the Albanian tradition of respecting national figures irrespective of religious differences.

It is essential not to overlook the possibility that these officials organized the reburial and concealed the grave's location after the relocation.

The theory that the remains were sent to the courtyard of the church of St. Veneranda, as suggested by some researchers, poses a challenge to our theory. There are no legitimate sources relating the Church of St. Ndout to the reburial of Peter Bogdani. Frok Zefi, in

nuti da su službenici i zaposlenici najnižeg ranga u osmanskoj administraciji vjerojatno bili Albanci koji su Pjetëra Bogdanija visoko cijenili. Ova je pretpostavka u skladu s albanskom tradicijom poštovanja nacionalnih ličnosti bez obzira na vjerske razlike.

Bitno je uzeti u obzir mogućnost da su ti službenici organizirali ponovni ukop i prikri-li lokaciju groba nakon premještanja.

Teorija da su posmrtni ostatci poslani u dvorište crkve sv. Venerande, kako predlažu neki istraživači, dovodi u pitanje našu teoriju. Ne postoje legitimni izvori koji povezuju crkvu sv. Ndouta s ponovnim ukopom Pjetëra Bogdanija. Frok Zefi u svojoj knjizi *Skopsko-prizrenska nadbiskupija u 18. stoljeću* piše da je crkva svete Venerande preživjela Austrijsko-turski rat (1689.) neoštećena, ali da su 1710. godine od crkve svete Venerande ostali samo nosivi zidovi.⁵⁶ Međutim, važno je napomenuti da iako se ova crkva spominje u pisanim izvorima tog vremena, njezina je ubikacija nepoznata. Osim toga, ni katoličko svećenstvo ni Katolička Crkva sa sjedištem u Prištini nemaju nikakvih informacija o njezinoj lokaciji. Postoje teorije da se možda nalazila u blizini današnjeg hotela Grand ili na mjestu katoličke crkve sv. Ndouta, također poznate kao crkva „Kisha e Stakajve“, ali te teorije također nisu potvrđene. Riječ je o crkvi sagrađenoj 1927. godine koju su Srbi srušili 1957. godine zbog neusklađenosti s urbanističkim planovima grada 50-ih godina prošlog stoljeća.⁵⁷

Nema dokaza o mogućoj građevini ispod temelja spomenute crkve. Fenomen tolerancije i suživota među Albancima različitih vjerskih uvjerenja vrijedan je spomena.

Shyqri Beg Ramadani i drugi islamski velikaši pružili su financijsku pomoć tijekom iz-

⁵⁵ HARBECK et al. 2013.

⁵⁶ ZEFI 2000: 147–148.

⁵⁷ ARIFI, 2023: Opinione, Pse regjimi komunist serbo-sllav në vitin 1957 e rrënoi kishën katolike shqiptare në Prishtinë ?! <https://dardaniapress.com/pse-regjimi-komunist-serbo-sllav-ne-vitin-1957-e-rrenoi-kishen-katolike-shqiptare-ne-prishtine/>

his book “Archbishopric Skopje-Prizren in the 18th century”, writes that the Church of St. Veneranda survived the Austro-Turkish War (1689) unscathed, yet in 1710 of the Church of St. Veneranda only structural walls remained.⁵⁶ However, it is important to note that while this church is mentioned in written sources of the time, its location remains unconfirmed. Additionally, neither the Catholic clergy nor the Catholic church based in Pristina has any information about its location. There are some theories that suggest it may have been situated near today’s Grand Hotel or on the site of the Catholic Church of “Saint Ndout,” also known as the “Kisha e Stakajve” church, but these theories are also unconfirmed. The church in question was built in 1927 and was demolished by the Serbs in 1957 due to its incompatibility with the urban plans of the city in the 1950s.⁵⁷

There is no evidence of any possible construction under the foundations of the church in question. The phenomenon of tolerance and coexistence among Albanians of different religious beliefs is noteworthy.

During the construction of the church of Saint Ndou by Stak Mirdita, Shyqri Beg Ramadani and other Islamic nobles provided financial assistance. It is worth mentioning that until the church’s demolition in 1957, Albanian workers who were of the Islamic faith refused to participate in its desecration. As a result, the regime had to resort to employing workers of different faiths and nationalities to carry out its destruction.⁵⁸

Luigj Marlekaj, in his book “Pjetër Bogdani and Albania in His Time”, based on authentic sources culled from manuscripts by Pjetër Bogdani’s nephew, writes that Bogdani’s remains were reburied in the right corner of the Imperial Mosque (or the Church of St. Francis Xavier).⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the day of July 2008, during the reconstructions in the Great

gradnje crkve svetog Ndouta koju je izgradio Stak Mirdita. Vrijedno je spomenuti da su sve do rušenja crkve 1957. albanski radnici islamske vjere odbijali sudjelovati u njezinu oskrvuću. Kao rezultat toga, režim je morao pribjeći zapošljavanju radnika različitih vjera i nacionalnosti da sruše crkvu.⁵⁸

Luigj Marlekaj u svojoj knjizi *Pjetër Bogdani i Albanija u njegovo doba*, temeljenoj na autentičnim izvorima iz rukopisa nećaka Pjetëra Bogdanija, piše da su Bogdanijevi posmrtni ostatci ponovno pokopani u desnom kutu Carske džamije (ili crkve sv. Franje Ksaverskog).⁵⁹ Nažalost, u srpnju 2008. godine, tijekom rekonstrukcije Velike džamije, nije nam bilo dopušteno prenijeti pronađene fragmente u Arheološki institut Kosova na temeljitu analizu (ne isključujući i genetička istraživanja). Nikad nije postignuta formalna koordinacija za vađenje kostiju s turskom organizacijom TIKA, koja je financirala konzervatorske radove na džamiji.

Nakon posjeta radionici glavna vrata džamije još su jednom zatvorena. Kostiju su nestale i nikada nisu pronađene. Unatoč službenom zahtjevu, do danas ne postoji ni jedan dokument koji potvrđuje pronalazak ili nestanak ovih kostiju. Unatoč znanstvenim ograničenjima ove studije, kao što su nepotpuni ili netočni povijesni zapisi i rezultati bez odgovarajuće antropološke analize, njezino objavljivanje ima svoje opravdanje. Bez objavljivanja ove informacije, mogućnost pronalaska groba ove važne povijesne osobe bila bi zauvijek izgubljena.

Ovo istraživanje naglašava važnost očuvanja kulturno-povijesne baštine koja može pružiti vrijedne uvide u našu prošlost, oblikovati našu sadašnjost i usmjeriti našu budućnost. Daljnja istraživanja i razvoj smjernica u području baštine, posebice u arhivskom području, mogli bi pomoći u otkrivanju izgubljenih ili zaboravljenih povijesnih detalja u

⁵⁶ ZEFI 2000a: 147-148.

⁵⁷ ARIFI 2023.

⁵⁸ ARIFI 2023.

⁵⁹ MARLEKAJ 2008.

⁵⁸ ARIFI, 2023.

⁵⁹ MARLEKAJ 2008.

Mosque, we were not allowed to transfer the found fragments to the Archaeological Institute of Kosovo for advanced research (not excluding genetic research). Formal coordination for the bone extraction with the Turkish organization, TIKKA, which funded the conservation work on the Mosque, was never achieved.

After the visit to the workshop, the main gate of the mosque was closed once more. The bones had vanished and were never recovered. Despite an official request, there is still not a single document confirming the discovery or disappearance of these bones to this day. Despite the scientific limitations of this study, such as incomplete or inaccurate historical records and results without proper anthropological examination, its publication serves a critical purpose. Without disseminating this information, the possibility of finding the grave of this important historical figure would be lost forever.

The study emphasizes the importance of preserving cultural and historical heritage, which can provide valuable insights into our past, shape our present, and guide our future. Further research and development of frameworks in the field of heritage, especially in the archival field, can potentially help uncover lost or forgotten historical details in future efforts. However, regardless of the methods used, it is essential to continue efforts to find and preserve historical objects and sites that form the foundation of our shared cultural heritage.

Finally, to emphasize the greatness of Pjetër Bogdani's figure, we can quote Ismail Kadare: "The emptiness of the grave proves his holiness."

budućnosti. Međutim, bez obzira na metode koje se koriste, ključno je nastaviti s naporima za pronalaženje i očuvanje povijesnih objekata i mjesta koji čine temelj naše zajedničke kulturne baštine. Na kraju, da bismo naglasili veličinu lika Pjetëra Bogdanija, citirat ćemo Ismaila Kadarea: „Praznina groba dokazuje njegovu svetost.“

Prijevod: Marija Kostić

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