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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA ON SOME FORTIFICATIONS OF SCANDERBEG'S PERIOD IN DIBRA'S REGION[1]

An adequate correlation between the historic and archaeological sources would help us to obtain new data about Scanderbeg epopee.

This thing requires archaeological research in castles, fortresses or other structures, that chronologically refer to the period taken into examination. As it is only a 25-year period (1443-1468), which is very limited in archaeological terms, the solution is a detailed study of archeological sources and historic geography and the cooperation among the archeological scholars involved in medieval history. This collaboration is necessary when it comes to archaeological-historic monuments, chronologically connected to Scanderbeg's period and to subjective and voluntarism viewpoints, sourcing from the lack of this cooperation and ignorance of terrain[2]**.** The archaeological research on Scanderbeg's fortifications has been limited only in some castles of this period or in structures within them. From 1964 to 2018 archaeological excavations were carried out in the town of Stelush (1964-1966)[3], in the town of Lissos (1968-1970)[4], in the castle of Kruja (1977-1980)[5], in Scanderbeg's secret castle in Daula, Kurbin (1983-1985)[6], in the castle of Matrica in Rubik (2016)[7], and cleaning works are carried out at the fortifying system of Petralba castle (Gur i Bardhë) from the Institute of Cultural Monuments.

[1] Paper presented in the scientific conference dedicated to the 550-death anniversary of Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg, Tirana, 01-02. 11. 2018.

[2] Biçoku 2002, 410-411; Biçoku 2003, 7-29; Biçoku 2005, 68; Biçoku 2006a 61-82; Biçoku 2006b, 79-82; Biçoku 2016, 89-121; 122-133; 163-168.

3 Anamali, 1967, 105-112.

4 Prendi 1969, 241-247.

5 Komata 1982, 221-228.

6 Saraçi 1987, 203-214.

7 Hoxha 2016,151-171.

The present paper informs about the outcomes of superficial observation carried out from the author in some fortifications of this period, topographically localized in Dibra's region, to clarify the historic truth. Since the beginning we have to put in evidence our finding in complete accordance with Barleti's writing with the topography of Scanderbeg's castles on the terrain, as often to remain surprised from their details and accuracy. The castles and the fortifying structures that are related with Scanderbeg's period in Dibra's region are: the castle of Koxhaxhik (Zhupa-Dibra), the castle of Modriçi (Dibra), the castle of Skudrina (Lower Reka-Dibra), Scanderbeg's secret castle in Çidhna e Poshtme (Lower Kidhna), the town of Stelush (Qafë-Murrë) in the border between Dibra and Mat districts, the town of Valikardha (Bulqiza) as well the Tower of Scanderbeg (Vajkal-Bulqiza), and could be chronologically classified into two categories:

a. Earlier prehistoric fortifications of late and medieval antiquity, responding to Scanderbeg's period.
b. Fortifications exclusively related to the Scanderbeg's period.

The first category includes the castle of Koxhaxhik, the castle of Skudrina, the town of Valecarda, the town of Stelush. The second category includes the castle of Modrica, the secret castle of Scanderbeg in Lower Kidhna and the tower of Scanderbeg in Vajkal (fig. 1). This paper provides a brief information about these monuments.

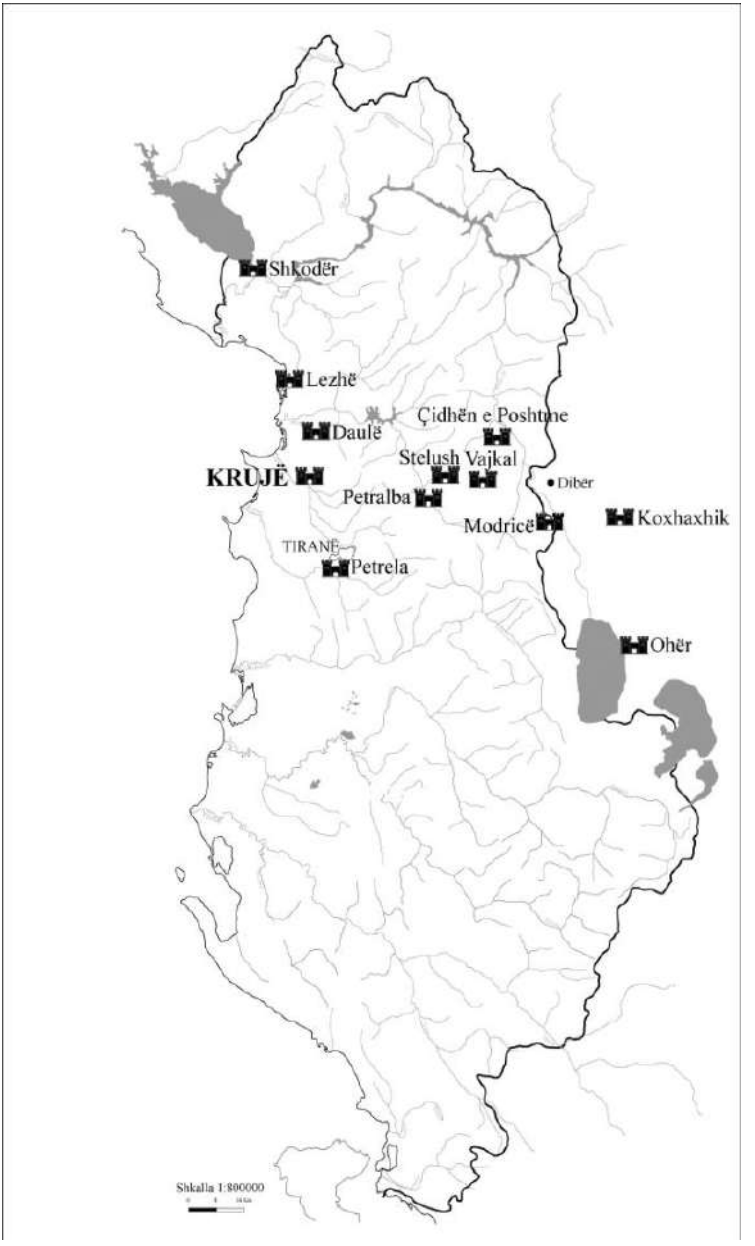


Fig. 1: Scanderbeg's period fortifications map.

1. The castle of Koxhaxhik (Dibra)[8]

(x-41°44', y-20°59', z-1160m).

The castle of Koxhaxhik is situated in the region of Zhupa, between Dibra and Struga, at the right side of Drini i Zi River, at the eastern edge of Dibra region (North Macedonia). It has been established on a rocky ridge with absolute height of 1160m and relative of 360m, that is raised in the valley between the villages Koxhaxhik in southeast and Breshtan in northwest, mount of Stogova in east and the torrent of Koçista in the north. (fig. 2-4a-b). The castle has a favorable strategic position in possession of the road Ohrid-Dibra. From its surface is easily controlled all the Drini i Zi river's right side, from Zhupa's hills in the south to the town of Dibra e Madhe in the north, from where was passing the ancient and the medieval road Koxhaxhik-Dibra. The road of Drini i Zi united both important arteries of the trans-Balkanic roads of the Roman period: via Egnatia on the south (Ohrid) and Lissus-Naissus on the north (Kukës). Being the northern branch of via Egnatia, the road of Drini i Zi valley represents a very strategic corridor for all the prehistoric and historic periods. The topographic position of Koxhaxhik castle completely matches with Barleti's description on the town of Sfetigrad, as looks like its photocopy. He describes the town as "*a country heavily protected and nearly inapproachable,"*[9] and shows that ,"*...the place over there was that thick that were not place to walk and nowhere to hold, except with a strong rope*" [10], and that: "*around the walls there was nothing but a narrow stripe that was a square, while the other part of the mountain that was right away, was tremendous scarp*"[11]. He says: "*The town (of Sfetigrad) was mountainous and constructed on the top of a very high rock, with no water source within, and also no river close by for use. There was only a well inside, opened and built in the middle of the city,*

[8] The author owes a debt of a special gratitude to his friends and collaborators for accompanying him during his visits in this castle: 1993: Prof. Selim Islami (Tirana), Fisnik Cami, Nazif Tominaj and Naim Fetahu (Dibër); 2006: Moisi Murra (Peshkopi), Pëllumb Naipi (Tirana), Hysen Prapadniku, Qeram Lleshi, Sazan Prapadniku and Bardhyl Skara (Dibër); 2007: Sazan Prapadniku, Bardhyl Skara and Atli Dema (Dibër).

9 Barleti (1537) 1964, VI, 235.

[10] *Ibid*, V, 198.

[11] *Ibid*, VI, 237.

from the old care of the people for personal and people's benefit, and for war necessities in particular …The guards were all soldiers from Dibra region"[12]. According to Barleti, the castle of Sfetigrad (Koxhaxhik) had similar the size with the Stelush castle and a topographic position totally similar to it, which is confirmed from the archaeological excavations.[13] The castle of Koxhaxhik preserves the traces of its inhabitancy during the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, the late antiquity period and medieval age, as well as parts of the fortification system of both last periods.

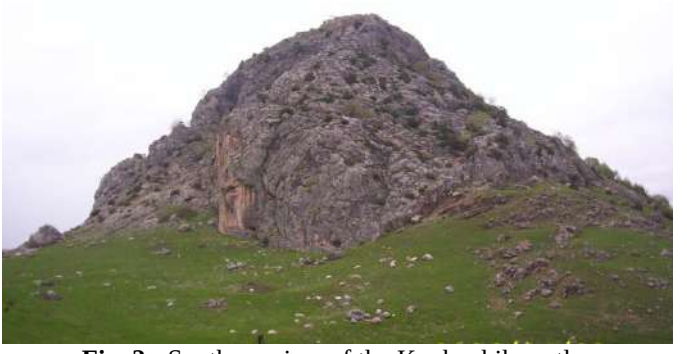


Fig. 2: Southern view of the Koxhaxhik castle.

Fig. 3: View of the interior surface of the citadel.

[12] *Ibid*, V, 220.
[13] Anamali 1967,105-110.

Fig. 4a: Western view of the Koxhaxhik castle.

Fig. 4b: Northern view of the Koxhaxhik castle.

a. The period of Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (XII-IX centuries BC.)

Some fragments of vessels, which date in this period, were found in the castle's surface and in its southern flanks. Three of them are worked with red clay stuff, mixed with sand granules and small pebbles, with uniform baking but not complete, on a par polished aspect, and brown color to reddish, while are met also those on brown

stuff to beige. They represent the type of the double-handed vessels, with raised handles on the edge (fig. 4, 1-2, fig.5,1-2), a very spread type in the Late Bronze Age and that of the transition from Bronze Age to Iron Age, as in the territory of Albania (Maliq IIId[14], Nezir VI (Mat)[15], Gajtan III[16], Zagorë II (Shkodra)[17] and of Kosova (Vlashnje, Hisar)[18], also in that of Pelagonia (Pelagonia group)[19] etc. Only the walls preserves the stripes décor in form of plastic sides, decorated with fingerprints and forked deepening (fig. 5, 3, fig. 6, 5), a decoration technique very characteristic on the pottery of Bronze age in Albania[20] and in a very wide Balkan realm[21]. Nonetheless few, the castle of Koxhaxhik is considered a hilly inhabitancy of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron age. Such inhabitancies constructed on the top of the hills and fortified with prehistoric walls represent a usual type of fortification of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age[22], where also should be included Koxhaxhik. However, the lack of prehistoric fortification, due to the powerful natural protection, seems that has not been necessary.

[14]Prendi 1977-1978,13, tab. VIII, 2, IX, 5; Prendi 1966, pl. XVII, 1, 6; Prendi 1982, pl. IV, 9; Prendi 1974, 107, tab. VIII, 1-5, IX, 3.

[15] Andrea 1990, 38, tab. XVI, 15-16.

16 Jubani 1972, tab. X, 5.

17 Andrea 1996, 31, tab. VII, 3.

18 Bunguri-Gashi 2004, "AiA",Tiranë, Prishtinë; Bunguri-Gashi 2006,"AiA", Tiranë, Prishtinë.

19 Garaśanin 1983b, 788, tab. CIX, 1-2.

20 Prendi 1977-1978, 13.

21 Garašanin 1983a, 463-470, fig. 33, II, 1, 4 and III, 1, 4.

22 Islami- Ceka 1965, 448-449.

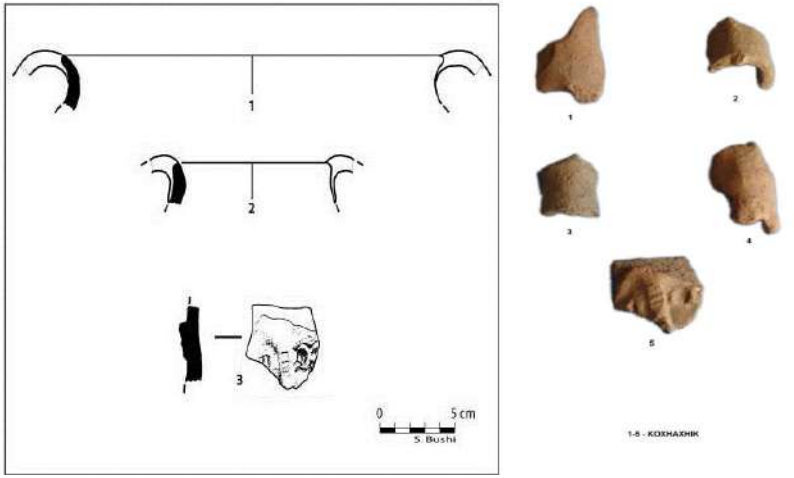


Fig. 5-6: Fragments of Late Bronze Age pottery (drawings and photos).

b. The late antiquity period (V-VI centuries AD.).

The castle preserves a simple fortifying system, dating in the late antiquity and medieval age. This fortification is found in the highest part of the rocky ridge and is compound from the encircling wall, a square tower and the entrance near it. The castle's ridge is closed with a flat platform approximately polygonal, with smooth passages in the corners, that within the walls has dimensions 58x34m, perimeter 145m and the enclosed surface around 1600m^2. This fortified platform, known as "the citadel", has completely rocky roots from the southwest, west and northwest, while from the other side its slops are very high and almost impossible to climb. The only path that makes the climbing into the castle possible, is found in the northwestern side of the citadel, where is realized the communication with the outskirts and the territories around. The citadel's walls line follows the ridge bordering line, except the southern side, where they includes within the protected surface also two narrow terraces, suitable for inhabitancy. The wall exploits the protection capability of the ground, including within high natural rocks, when they are found in the wall's line, and is interrupted where there are fallings of impossible to climb edges and there was no

need for protection. There are 7 tracts of encircling walls are preserved today that are nominated after the alphabet letters: A, B, C, D, E, F and G, with respectively length 2.00m, 3.50m, 6.00m, 2.10m, 9.00m, 6.00m and 22m and readable perimeter 50.60m (fig. 7-9). Their current dimensions are in the following table given:

Tracts	Wall A	Wall B	Wall C The Tower	Wall D	Wall E	Wall F	Wall G	Sum
Length	2.00m	3.50m	6.00m	2.10m	9.00m	6.00m	22m	50.60m
Height	1.50m	1.20m	1.50	0.50m	3.00m	3.00m	0.40m	0.40-3.00m
Width	?	?	1.40m	?	1.70m	1.60m	?	1.40-1.70m

In the conditions of the superficial observation, is difficult the selection of the late antiquity and the medieval typological walls, because the walls of the first period are more covered than those of the later one, and crumbled or damaged. Nevertheless, basing on safer technical elements, we think that the first external wall of the tract C, with general longitude 6m, dates in the late antiquity period belongs. We are referring here to the outer wall of the only fortification tower, on which are preserved two wall façades that sheathe each-other, connected with the late antiquity and the medieval periods, respectively. The detached traces of the southern wall, more within the establishment rather than the medieval wall might date in this period. Cleaning excavations were made to clarify the dating period required, however. The wall is built up with fluvial and ground stones, connected with abundant lime mortem, according the technique *opus incertum*. The mortem is of good quality, mixed with fine river sand and few lime seasoned in advance. The height of the wall preservation varies from 0.40 to 0.80m, while the precise width is immeasurable, because the inner side is covered by the soils. Currently, the earlier fortification of Koxhaxhik castle dates in late antiquity age, as also confirmed by other researchers[23]. Nevertheless in some cases, this castle has been described also as "*urban agglomeration of the Illyrian halshtat*,

[23] Микуљчич 1999, 404.

fortified with quadratic stone blocks."[24] Traces of fortifications of the earlier Illyrian periods or the urban ones were not found, in addition to vessel fragments of the late antiquity period.

c. The medieval period (XIV-XV centuries AD.)

1. *The fortifying system.* The caste was almost re-fortified entirely during the medieval age; the damaged walls were repaired, and new tracts of them were rebuilt. They are in the major part of the perimeter imposed in the line of the late antiquity walls, completed in their collapsed parts, and in the best case, reinforced with outer sleeves, as in the southern façade of the only tower of the castle. With this period are connected all the preserved tracts, A-G, 50.60m long, including here also the second outside wall of the above mentioned tower. The *opus incertum* technique using fluvial and ground stones, tied with abundant lime mortem, of a good quality was applied to build up the walls. In addition to the fine river sand, the mortem contains very seasoned lime, also. It has been widely used, and except the whirligig 2-3cm wide, it covers a part of the outer side of the stones. The stones do not create horizontal lines, and are not leveled with pieces of broken stones. The outer stones of the wall often have fallen in the slopes of the ridge and the wall is not entirely preserved.

Fig. 7a-b: Southern wall tracts E.

[24] Bitrakova – Groždanova 1966, 199.

The preservation of the wall height varies from 0.40 to 2.50-3.00m, while its thickness, with difficulties measured only in three points is 1.40-1.70m. It should be emphasized that the wall's thickness is difficult to be accurately measured, because its internal side is covered by the soils of hill's sloping.

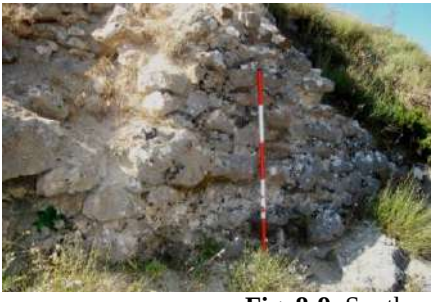



Fig. 8-9: Southern wall tracts F and D.

An approximate thickness of the encircling walls could be met in other medieval castles in Albania. Here we can mention Kruja (0.80-1.50m), Shurdhah (1.30-2.60m), Daula, Kruja (0.75 m, 0.90 m, 1.10m, and 1.80m)[25], Stelush (1.50-1.80 m), and Petralba (Gur i Bardhë)[26] etc.

The only southeastern tower, 6.00x6.00m in dimensions, clearly seems to be re-fortified in the medieval age, because the wall of the late antiquity is protected in this period on the outer southern side from a secondary enforcing wall with 1.40m of thickness (fig. 10-11).


Fig.10-11: The external wall I and II of the tower-tract C.

[25] Saraçi 1987, 205; Adhami 1971, 87; Spahiu - Komata 1974, 263.

26 After the author's observations in the castle of Stelush and in castle of Gur i Bardhë (Petralba).

The entrance of the castle should be at the left side of this tower, because there passes the only path that connects the castle with the varosh/outskirts. In the external side of the southern wall, in the segment E is seen a cylindrical hole with 6cm diameter and readable depth 1.00m, which belongs to the metallic remnants of the construction scaffold (fig. 12). Such scaffold holes, in circular forms and same dimensions (6x6cm), that permeate the wall in all its thickness, are also seen in some other Albania's medieval fortifications, as in the city of Stelush[27], the castle of Ndroq etc. Their similar section in all the wall thickness, proves that iron tubes, a technique introduced in the construction of the castles by the byzantine architects, were used for the scaffolds.

Fig.12: Perforation view of the scaffolding construction.

[27] After the author's observations in the second encircling wall of Stelush castle.

Fig. 13: Tract of a building within the citadel.

In the northern internal part of the "citadel" are found the ruins of a building, from which can be seen only a wall tract of 1.70m length, and 1.10m height of the external side. The width cannot be precisely measured because the internal side is covered by the soils, but it's not higher than 1.00m. The technique *opus mixtum* of its construction changes from that of the encircling walls. In its structure, except the stones, are also rarely found bricks with 4cm thickness, of the late antiquity age, used against without any rule, connected with lime mortem and a lot of lime and less sand (fig. 13). In advance, it can be supposed that the construction might be connected to any cult object, perhaps with the church of Saint Mary[28]. Here, further excavations would be needful. In the southern side of the castle, in its lowest part, and at the same time the most protected from the winds, are found substructures of buildings, 0.60m wide and apparently of military character (fig. 14).

[28] Barleti 1537 (1964), IV, 192. "*Perlati (Pjetër Perlati-commander of the Sfetigrad-AB) took the precautions....then from a small gate, named "Dibrane", welcomed the barbarians in the town. Was welcomed only the purpurati (one of the sultan Murat II's advisors-AB) together with three soldiers and two servants, which through the town square, escorted them in the sanctuary of Shën Mëri (Saint Mary), where, after calling on the elders of the town, ordered to start the meeting*".

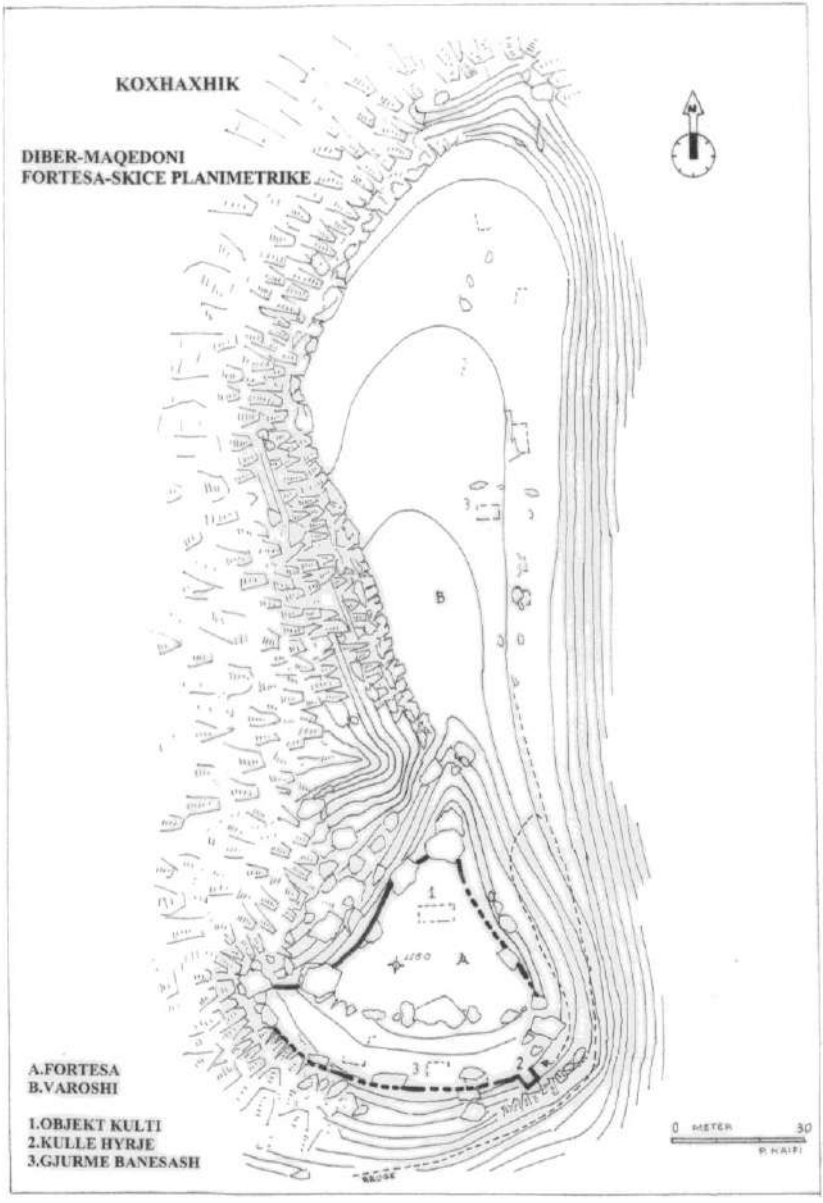


Fig. 14: Plan of the Koxhaxhik castle.

Also in the southern half of its topside of the castle everybody can see in situ, close to each other two big natural stones, of flat surface, preserving in their middle a cylindrical hole of 0.30x0.30x0.20m and 0.20x0.16x0.15m dimensions, used as pounders to pestle the powder[29] *(fig. 15*), identical with a stone lately discovered in Scanderbeg's Tower in Vajkal (Bulqizë).

Fig.15: Pounder stone nr. 1-2.

Chronologicaly, we believe that the medieval fortification of Koxhaxhik castle is connected with the period of Scanderbeg and is at the same time simultaneous with the fortifications made by him in castels such as Kruja, Petrela, Guri i Bardhë (Petralba) and Stelush[30]. With this period coincide the technique of encircling walls construction which we mentioned above, their small thickness, the disuse of the bricks in building the walls, mortem's technical qualities, that are distinguished because of lime overuse comparing with the sand, the use of iron tube scaffolds, and also the majority of the fine ceramics material found in this castle. In the medieval age, the castle is thought to have been equipped with two underground passages in form of secret tunnels, an element that was present in many medieval fortifications.

[29] LLESHI 2005, 205, fig. 8.

[30] KARAISKAJ 2016, 155: "The fortifications on which Scanderbeg worked were first of all: Kruja, Petrela, Guri i Bardhë (Petralba), Stelush and Sfetigrad".

2. The Varosh. On the northeastern side of the castle, after a narrow corner, in a disparity of quota of nearly 20m, is opened a wide terrace with very suitable conditions for dwelling, known as the "*varosh*", discovered by us for the first time. It's been discovered for the first time from the author of this paper. In this terrace with a surface of nearly 0,7 ha (diameter north-south 145m, the diameter east-west 47m) was found the medieval city, organically connected to the castle. Also, the Varosh has a brilliant natural positions and very strategic one. Protected from the west and north by the rocky roots of its sides, it has a light eastern tilt. (fig. 16a). In Varosh are found many traces of dwellings square forms, oriented to the east, usually based on natural rocks. In the most visible central part of it, are seen the substructures of square building with 7.00 x 4.50 m of external dimensions, marked by big stones, of 0.90m width (fig. 16b).

a: View of Varosh. **b**: Foundation of a building in Varosh

Fig. 16

The eastern side of the Varosh is bordered by the traces of a long terrace wall, that has served as track for the square road of the chariots climbing to Varosh, which is clearly visible (fig. 17).

Fig.17: Varosh route traces.

Tracts of this road could also be seen in the field lawn in the south of the castle, meanwhile their unification through the slope side of the hill, still has not been found. Dwelling traces or different buildings are also preserved in the southern foot of the castle's ridge, outside varosh, there where does begins the big lawn of some hectares. Seems that they are constructed there at the time of city's blossom, the time when it experienced its highest growth. According to some scholars, the city has been supplied with potable water from the spring "*Këmzesu*"(in Turkish-*red water) of the Byk-Duruk hill*, only 4km east of the castle[31]. The water supply was of ceramic shafts, fragments of which are found time after time from the local inhabitants, but unattended for their chronological assessment. The supply of the medieval castle with water from external sources was realized by ceramic shaft pipes, while its preservation was made through carefully constructed shores within the military area[32].

3. The cemetery. In the great hilly level laying south of Koxhaxhik castle, exists a big cemetery with a surface of over 2ha. Its compound of lower cemeteries in the south and the above one in the north, with clear distinctions between them, as in the architectonic aspects also in the conceptual, religious and chronological one. According a

[31] LLESHI 2005, 200; MURRA 2005, 134.
[32] KOMATA 1982, 225-226, fig. 6-7; KARAISKAJ 1985, 59 vv, fig. 5.

preliminary assessment, they seem connected in two different periods of use, that chronologically refer to the XV and XVIII centuries AD. To the first period of the XV century, we think that belongs the lower cemetery, in the southern part of the tombs lawn. It is compound from hundred of tombs with the same construction and east-west orientation. The tombs are contoured with stones all around, without special bordering stones on the top and bottom. *(fig. 18a).* In parallel of the individual tombs, there are a lot of massive tombs. They have rectangle or tetragonal shape and change only in their dimensions, some of them are: 2.00x2.90m, 3.50x4.00m, 4.00x5.50m, 4.00x6.00m, 6.00x4.50m, 5.00x8.80m etc. *(fig. 18b).* Nonetheless unstudied in the archaeological point-of-view, the lower tomb paves the way for discussions and needs archaeological excavations[33]. The second period of the XVIII century, belongs the above tomb, established in the eastern part of the tombs lawn, where is used the type of the individual grave with bordering stones only on the top and the bottom, and in some of them are found epitaphs in the Ottoman language.

a- Partial view of the lower cemetry **b-** Partial view of the massive graves

Fig. 18

[33] The hypothetical possibility of the lower cemetery in the middle of the XV century AD is not archaeologically confirmed and it was based only on the construction type of the graves and in the logic principle that the massive graves were used only in the case of wars, epidemic diseases or natural disasters, as well as in the historical sources. So, according to Barlet, in the two battles of Sfetigrad, within 5 months of 1448 (June-October), 2272 soldiers and captains from both war camps had been killed and about 1000 others had been wounded. Krhs. BARLETI 1537 (1964), VI, 231.

4. *The pottery.* The pre Ottoman medieval age (XIV–XV centuries AD.) belong the fragments of most of the vessels, gathered in the castle and varosh's surface, as on the eastern and southern sides of its ridge. In the chronological view, are separated two group of vessels:

a. The vessels of the first group, that prevail, are worked with beige clay in grey and grey in black, cleaned from the external materials, and have a good decrepitating and refinement. Are mainly kitchen vessels, used for boiling and often preserve the stains of the smoke and fire.

b. The vessels of the second group are of open pink ocher, are more rare. They have clean dough on pink, good decrepitating and refinement and garnished presence of white pastry. Belong to the table and drink vessels. The main forms of the first group vessels are the jars met in two versions: jars of conical neck and profiled edges for tightly fitting the lid, on wider use *(fig. 19a, 1-5; fig. 19b, 1-5, 7-8)* and jars on conical neck with opened edges at the sides *(fig. 19a, 6; fig. 19b, 6)*. Both versions are based on flat ends or light concave *(fig. 20a, 1-3).* They are equipped with vertical strip loom, under the neck, in some case embellished with knife deepening *(fig. 20a, 4-5).* A part of the jars are presented decorated with engraved stripes of wheel, that horizontally encircle the vessel (fig. 20a, 6-10; fig. 20b, 1-4). In a single case is met the old wheel combination and of a fork deepening line, a known décor in our medieval cultures of the XII-XIV centuries[34]. (fig. 20a,11; fig. 20b, 5) and also the plastic stripe decorated with finger pressure (fig. 20b, 6). Similar jars, decorated with these motives, are also discovered in Scanderbeg's castles in Stelush (Qafë-Murrë)[35], in Guri i Pishkashit (Prrenjas), in the castle of Petrela (Tirana) and in the town of Shurdhah[36], in the castle of Kruja[37], in the secret castle of Scanderbeg in Daulë of Kruja[38], in Symyza's ruins (Korça)[39] etc, dated on the XIV-XV centuries AD. In the second group

[34] KOMATA 1969, 222-226, tab. VII,1-7, 10-14, VIII, 16-17, 20-23; KARAISKAJ 1979-1980, tab. IX, 3.8.
[35] ANAMALI 1967, 4, 106 ; ANAMALI 1969,249 – 253
[36] KOMATA 1969, 222-226, tab. II, 1,4, 6, 7 ; IV, 1,3, 7 ; V, 1-4 ; VII, 1-4, 8, 10, 11; VIII, 4.
[37] KOMATA 1982, tab. V,1-4, 7, 9-10.
[38] SARAÇI 1987, 211-212, tab. II,1-7, III, 1-7, IV, 1-6.
[39] KARAISKAJ 1979-1980, tab. IX, 3.

of pottery with ocher dough in pink, we mention the conical neck of a jug, with clean pink dough, decorated with white mat of horizontal and vertical stripes (fig.20a, 8; fig. 20b, 9).

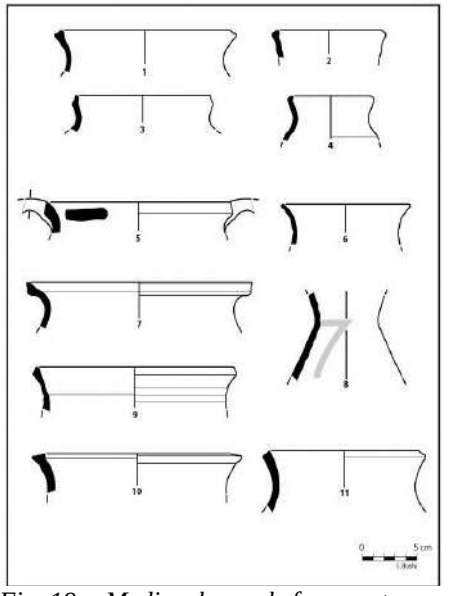


Fig. 19a- Medieval vessels fragments

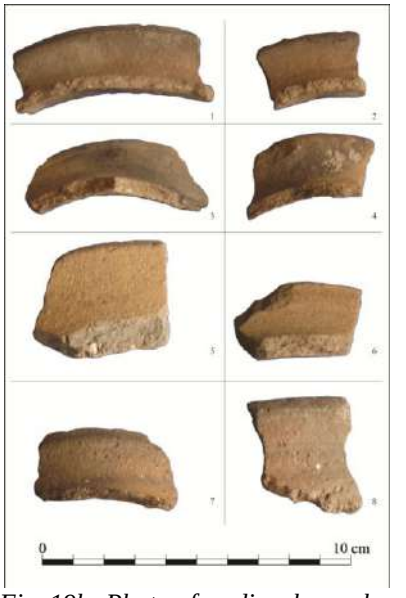


Fig. 19b- Photo of medieval vessels

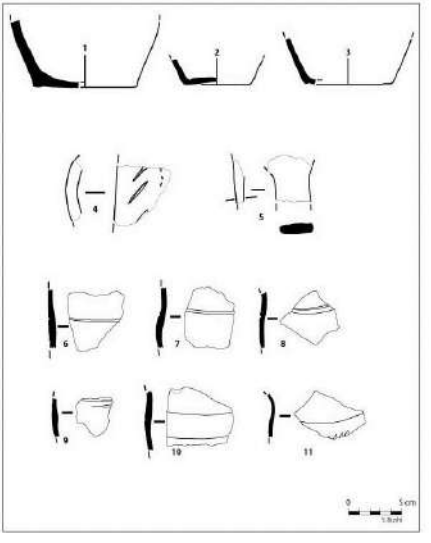


Fig. 20a- Bases, handles and vessels decorated fragments

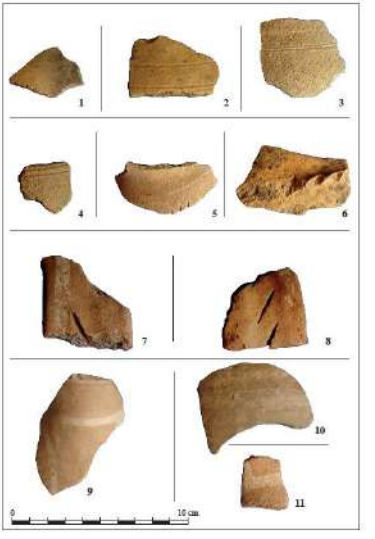


Fig. 20b- Photo of medieval decorated vessels fragments

The type of jug long neck continues from the late antiquity ceramic in the medieval one which is met in the castle of Stelush, Pishkash and Petrela[40], in the castle of Kruja[41], as in other regions of the Balkans[42]. From the dough and the analogies, represents an import on Eastern Mediterranean origin, likely from Cyprus ceramic workshops and is dated after the XIV century[43]. To the same period also belong two fragments of decorated vessels with white stripes painting *(fig. 20b, 10-11)* and also two vertical stripe ribbon loom, with deep knife decoration in center and embellished with lateral bands painted with white pastry *(fig. 20b, 7-8).*

The above presented archaeological data, prove that the castle of Koxhaxhik represents an Illyrian castle of the Late Bronze and Earlier Iron. In the late antiquity period it is fortified for the first time with defense walls, and re-fortified in the medieval age during the XIV-XV centuries AD. This is the most intensive period of life in this castle, where we think that is totally possible the localization of the medieval town of Sfetigrad[44], a question that has been treated in a previous paper[45]. These archaeological data refute the false assertion of K. Biçoku that: ***"Close to this village is high rock that has served as observation point. It is said that there has been the castle…In Koxhaxhik there are not traces of castle build with stones and couldn't be raised a castle in such a high place. In Koxhaxhik the castle has been of wooden"*** [46].

[40] KOMATA 1969, 226.
[41] KOMATA 1982, 1, 227, tab. II,1-2.
[42] KOMATA 1969, 226, note nr. 21.
[43] STERN 1997, 48-50, fig. 9, a-b.
[44] HYSA 2005, 103-117; MURRA 2005, 133-134; BISLIMI 2005, 167-170.
[45] BUNGURI 2009, 27-56.
[46] BIÇOKU 2003, 26-27, 29. With this inaccurate affirmation, he continues to defend it even in a recent paper when writes: "*Near this village in the north is a high rock (when watching in the western side), which, when is seen from the east, can be individualized the pointed top of a foothill, which can be climbed only by the alpinists and in it there are not construction traces* " (Krhs. BIÇOKU 2016, 89), this conclusion is repeated again in the following lines: "*There are not stone traces in the castle of Koxhaxhik, even why it has been mentioned until the beginning of the XVIII century, what shows that it was not build with stones".* (Krhs. BIÇOKU 2016, 91-92). Nevertheless such anti scientific assertions, the castle of Koxhaxhiku is there and preserves a part of the once fortifying system, that can be seen from anybody who wants to study this castle. The identification or not with Sfetigrad, nonetheless for me is out of any doubt, is a secondary question and controversial among the scholars. What is important and compulsory for the scholars is the accurate presentation of the monument we are referring, because the

2. The castle of Modrica (Dibra) (x-41°36', y-20°57', z-996m)

The castle of Modrica[47] is situated on the top of a rocky ridge of 996m height, close to the homonymous village on the left side of Drini i Zi and the torrent of Modriça (Northern Macedonia). Upraised in front of Koxhaxhik castle, with which has a visible communication, the fortress has a strategic position and controls the valley of Drin and the road Ohrid-Dibra. *(fig. 21).* The ridge where the fortification is found has strong natural protection, a small surface of nearly 300m^2, perimeter 102m, diameter north-south 50m and that east-west 45m. It has been fortified with walls, whose ruins can be followed only in the eastern side and the northeastern one, in a length of 26m. The wall has exploited the ground defensive capability and has filled the opened gaps between the natural rocks. *(fig.22, 24).* The best preserved tract, of length 2.00m, height 0.80m and width 1.00m is found on the northeastern side close to the shore. The wall has been build according the technique *opus incertum* with fluvial and ground stones, tied with lime mortem mixed with unsifted river sand pebble, of a very poor quality, that has influenced in the non preservation of the wall's line. This technical particularity shows the precipitancy of its building (the lime has been immediately used after the quenching), which coincides with the historic sources, after which, this fortress was build in hurry by Scanderbeg, after the fall of Sfetigrad, to control the line of Drini i Zi, that for Scanderbeg had strategic importance[48]. The description of this castle by Barleti is actual and complete: "*It was a mountain, the inhabitants called it Modrisë, a slope, which because of its height, observed the land of the Turks in a big space. There he decided to*

opinion's freedom is relative and is required to be in complete coherence with the archaeological and historic facts.

[47] The fortress of Modrica has been visited by Jastrebov (Krhs. JASTREBOV 1904, 125) and later from H. Sharofi, who writes the following: "*Scanderbeg to face the danger that caused him the loss of Sfetigrad, quickly founded and established the stronghold of Modrici, at the right side of Drin, face to face with Sfetigrad, that was at the right side of Drin. This fortress closed to Drin outfall and controlled the movement of the Turkish army and informed the other castles through the cannon shots*".(Krhs. SHAROFI (1968), 2003, 49) etc.

[48] By showing on the movements of Scanderbeg's army against the enemy camp in Ohrid, afer the fall of Sfetigrad, Barleti writes the following: "*he (Scanderbeg) at nighfall of that day travelled with more than 1000 knights to Ohrid, by carefully leading the armies through the forests and unsuitable places, for not being encircled by the enemy between Sfetigrad and its guards*" (Krhs. BARLETI (1537) 1964, IX, 383).

establish a castle, and to fill it with warriors, which on the stone-throwers shoot informed when the enemies were coming. There would find shelter everyone in the vicinities" [49]. In the following lines he adds that the building of the castle "*started and concluded on great tranquility, nothing happened during that time from the side of the enemies*"[50]. On the northeastern side of the fortress, was found a water tanker of rectangular planimetry, with angle 1.80x2.50m, measurable depth of 3.30m[51] and volume over 14,85m^3, with a capacity of water-collecting around 15.000 liters. *(fig.23).* The width of the shore walls is nearly 1.00m. Its internal space has been plastered with whitewash waterproofing mortar, made of dust tiles, very strong and impenetrable from the water, that has created a very strong strata of granite form, in red. In context with the fortifying system, this shore has been prepared with all the possible care. Such a thing is explainable, if we remind that this fortress served to Scanderbeg as observation point, where the necessity of potable water was permanent. In this castle, according to historic sources, was installed for the first time by Scanderbeg the system of cannon intercommunication, or as Barleti calls it "*stone-thrower*"[52]. Also for the localization of this castle, is proposed an unlocalized toponym in the region of Tetova[53], that does not responds neither to historic geography nor Barleti's descriptions.

[49] BARLETI 1537 (1964), VII, 293.

[50] *Idem*, VII, 293. The researcher Gj. Karaiskaj thinks that the castle of Modrica has been build immediately after the first siege of Kruja, around 1451-1452. He points out that the castle of Modrica, wa ssituated in the eastern border of Albania, still unidentified. Krhs. KARAISKAJ 2016, 157.

[51] The shore's floor is occupied by rockfalls and soils.

[52] BARLETI 1537 (1964), VII, 293.

[53] Is mentioned an unlocalized toponym in Tetova's region "*approximate with the form of the name Modrishë of M. Barleci*", "*that can be read: Mdrushte, Modorishte, Morovishte and Medrovishte*". Krhs. BIÇOKU 2016, 130, note 407.

Fig. 21. View of Modrica castle

Fig. 22. Traces of the eastern wall of Modrica castle

Fig. 23. View of the water tanker *of Modrica*

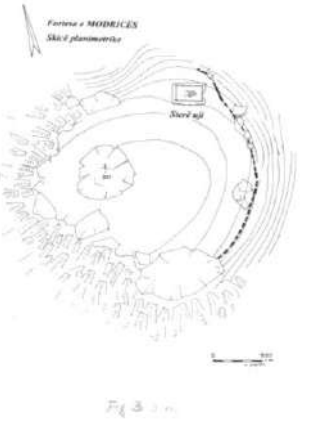


Fig. 24. Plan design of Modrica stronghold

3. The castle of Skudrina (Lower Reka)[54] (x-41°57', y-20°59', z-1180m)

The ruins of the castle of Skudrina are found in the eastern side of the Kërçini mountain, near the village Skudrina of Lower Reka in the area of Dibra (Northern Macedonia). The castle is build up in a slopery rocky ridge established between two deep brooks coming down from the mountain of Kërçin and bordered it from the northwestern and

[54] I thank my friends and collaborators for coming along with me in the visit of 2009 in this castle during the years: Jakup Markja, Dashamir (Dibra), Moisi Murra (Peshkopia), Pëllumb Naipi (Tirana).

southeastern side. It has been previously visited by the Macedonian scholars, that mark as its absolute height of 1180m and the relative of 500m[55]. The castle enjoys a brilliant natural defense and a very dominant control of the valley of Radika in the area of Lower Reka, connecting the basin of Dibra with that of Pollog and Vardar's valley. *(fig.25).* The crest of the castle is closed with a flat surface approximately polygonal, with smooth paths on the corners. It has a length of 55m and width moving from 29-40m and a surface around 2200m^2. In the southern side and the eastern side is comes down with slopery rocky sides of 500 m high on the gradishta torrent. Also in the northern side, the slope is very high, while in the western one, establishes the only communication path with a suitable terrace for inhabitancy, and also with the ground around. The castle preserves traces of its fortification, chronologically connected with three different phases, respectively referring to the Late Bronze Age, of the late antiquity[56] and of the Medieval Age. The last period, we think that is chronologically connected with the XIV-XV centuries AD, and mainly with Scanderbeg's age. In the fortifying system it is represented by a circular tower established in the highest point of the internal surface of the castle. The tower of circular shape, has an external diameter of 7.80m, and internal 3.00m and walls' width 2.40m. The walls of the tower were builded with normal stones tied of lime mortar, with thickness of the mortar grout 2-2.5cm. The plaster is made of unseasoned lime, mixed with fluvial sand sifted, and of poor quality moldered by the friction. In topological view and topographic position, this tower is completely similar with that of the medieval castle of Daule in Kurbin, and as such towered of XIV-XV centuries

[55] MIKULČIĆ 1999, 410.

[56] The was of the late antiquity who encompasses the northern and the western side with small interruptions achieving 82.5m perimeter. It is preserved in all the northern side, with longitude 57m and height 0.30-0.50m. Its build with medium stones tied with good quality limestone mortar after the technique *opus incertum.* It exploits the defensive capabilities of the ground, by being placed on the natural rocks of the ground, while in some cases even being superimposed on the prehistoric wall. The western wall, of general longitude 25.5m, in the southwestern corner, at the only incoming path, creates an interruption with longitude around 4-5 m, that should have served as entrance in the castle. The castle is registered by the Caesarea Procop in the list of the rebuild fortresses by Justinian in the middle of the VI century AD, with the name "*Skydreon polis*". Krhs: Proc. Ceaz. *De Aedificis* (*On constructions)*, IV, 4, 39). We think that the today name *Skudrine* of the castle and village eponym close to it, is directly inherited from the name *Skydreon* of this late antiquity period.

fortification of Kruja, Stelush, Rodon, Durrës, Preza, Shkodra[57], Petralba[58] etc. To this period we also think that belongs a water tanker situated in the southwestern side of the castle. It has rectangular form of angles 7.00x4.50m and readable depth 2.20m. The particularity of this shore is that on its three sides, respectively in the eastern, northern and southern, is carved on a rock, and only its western side is occupied by a wall of 4.50m length, build with normal stones tied by lime plaster. The internal side of this wall was found crumbled and were not ascertained plaster traces with roof tiles dust, usually used for the shores' waterproof, which role apparently was played by the rocky sides of the three part of it. The castle has served as defense fortress of the traditional road Dibra-Pollog-Skupi, passing through the Radika river valley.

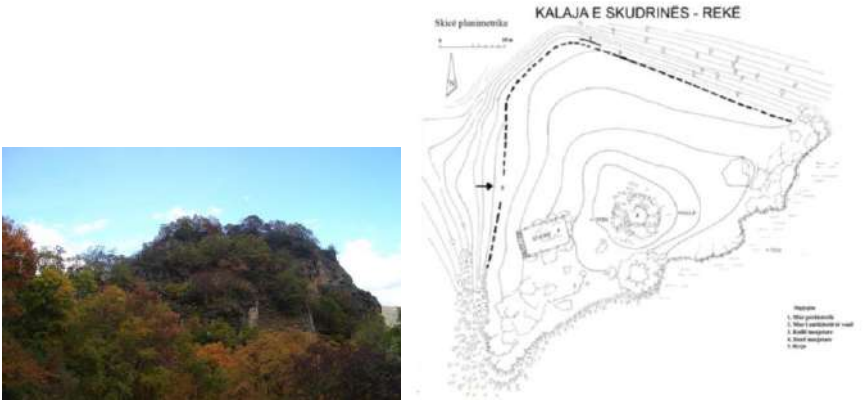


Fig. 25. General view and plan design of Skudrina castle (Lower Reka)

4. The secret castle of Scanderbeg (Kidhna) (x-41^{o}75': y-20^{o} 24', z-1205m)

The ruins of Scanderbeg's secret castle[59] are found in a rocky ridge of 1205m height, in depth of the Seta valley, in the southeastern side of

[57] SARAÇI 1987, 207, note 16.

[58] *Individual observations on the ground*.

[59] The castle is otherwise called of the "***Sheu i thatë***" *(of the dry brook).* The name "***Sheu***" has the meaning "***brook"*** and is kept as an old word of the Albanian lexicon in that area. Other

Xharxhisht mount, part of Pllaja pastures, heightening in the west of Çidhna e Poshtme and Gjalica canyons. It has a small surface and possessing position, very protected by nature, in control of Çidhna e Poshtme and secondary roads connecting this area with Lura (the medieval city of Livadh i Xharrit), the castle of Stelush (Qafë-Murra) and that of Guri i Bardhë (Petralba) in Mat *(fig. 26)*. The only path to enter the castle passes through the castle's track, on the southwestern side. In the highest part of the castle are preserved the remnants of a circular tower. Detached tracts of medieval walls are seen only in the eastern and the southeastern side, of nearly 72m of length. They surround "the citadel" with a limited surface, around 500m^2. The wall is build with *opus incertum*, normal and small stones, tied of weak lime plaster. The wall achieves 1.30-1.50m of thickness. An approximate thickness has been ascertained in other medieval castles of our country as in Shurdhah (1.30-2.60m), in Kruja (0.80-1.50m) and Daulë of Kruja (0.75m, 0.90m, 1.10m, and 1. 80m)[60], in Stelush and in Petralba of Mat (1.50-1.80m)[61], in Koxhaxhik of Dibra (1.40-1.70m)[62] etc. In the northeastern side of the castle, is preserved a water shore of quadrangular form, with angles 1.80 x 2.20m, measurable depth of 2.90m and volume water over 11.484m^3. *(fig. 27).* The internal sides have been plastered with waterproofing lime, prepared of roof tiles which crumbled leaving its traces of brick color on the wall sides. In the surface of this castle have been also found some fragments of medieval vessels, mainly jars and bowls, of similar form and décor with those of Stelush, Koxhaxhik castles, etc, connected to the XIV-XV centuries AD.[63]. This castle served as observation and information point through signals and shelter in case of danger. Is thought that through has passed the road of Scanderbeg connecting Lura with Stelush. In the XV centuries AD., Çidhna e Poshtme, together with Çidhna e Epërme (today Grykë-Nokë) and the villages of Sinjë e Epërme and Sinjë e Poshtme, Gurrë, Arras, Shashari i Ruse, part of the famous medieval

toponyms related to this castle are:"*Qafa e kalasë*", "*Arat e kalasë*", "*Gurra e Skënderbeut*", "*Rrafsha e Topit*" etc. Krhs. HOXHA 1979, 236; HOXHA 1989, 571.

[60] SPAHIU-KOMATA 1974, 263; ADHAMI 1971, 87; SARAÇI 1987, 205.

[61] According the author's observations on the ground.

[62] BUNGURI 2009, 31.

[63] ANAMALI 1967, 95-112; BUNGURI 2009, 34.

Kidhna[64], played an important role in the Scanderbeg epopee against the Ottoman power[65].

Fig. 26a. General view of the ridge

Fig. 26b. Traces of the medieval wall

Fig. 27. View of the water tanker

5. The valley of Bulqiza and Vajkal

The valley of Bulqiza geographically extended in all the space from Qafa e Buallit (844m) in the west to Ura e Qytetit (609m) in the

[64] In the Middle Ages this region was known with the name "***Kidna"*** (Krhs. BARLETI 1537 (1964), XIII, 469; INALÇIK 1969, 188). We think that this denomination sources from the Illyrian onomastics, respectively from the castle "***Kithinas***" of the VI century AD, at the center of this area, which the Caesarea Procop, included it in the 32 castles build by Justinian in the province *Epirus Nova* (Krhs. Proc. Caes. *De Aedeficis*, IV, 29; BUNGURI 2011, 197, 208).

[65] In August 1466 its people faced the inhuman massacre of the sultan Mehmet II, who after failing in the second siege of Kruja, during the retreat to Istanbul, returns to Elbasan and kills 8000 men, women, elderly people and children sheltered in Lower Kidhna as revenge against Scanderbeg and the men of his lands. (Krhs. BARLETI 1537(1964), XII, 469; NOLI 1962, 111).

east, in both sides of the Bulqiza river (the river "Ebu"), between the mount of Dhoksi in the south and that of Allamani in the north. According to our opinion, the name of Bulqiza derives from the medieval name "Ebu"[66] of Bulqiza's river, which passes through the same valley. It has been established in a valley of glacial origin of washtub form with length 25km, 3-5km of width and altitude 600-800m. The geo-morphological configuration is defined by Bulqiza pebble valley (46.5km) and by the bordering mountains in south and north, known for the big supplies of chrome. In this valley are extended from the west to the east these residential centers: the city of Bulqiza, the old and the new and the villages Duriçaj, Dragu, Koçaj, Vajkal 1 and Vajkaj 2, Fushë Bulqiza, Dushaj and Lepurak, the latter known as neighborhood of the Dushaj village. The valley of Bulqiza has a favorable geographical position and free communicating posture with the neighboring and far away regions. It is run through by the most important corridor connecting Dibra with the Adriatic, known as "The Arbër's Road". For the working out of this road corridor that in prehistory and especially since the XI century BC., are brought as evidence the archaeological findings that would be mentioned in the following lines, and also the two bronze helmets of the Illyrian type of the V-IV centuries BC[67] and the vessels with black varnish[68] found in Sofraçan, in the track of "Arbër's Road" on 2008. The eastern part of this valley, from "Gurët e Skënderbeut" in the west to the Ura e Qytetit (of Valikardha) in the east, is known with the name Fusha e Vajkalit. Only in the eastern corner of it, are preserved the archaeological-historic monuments, chronologically connected with the late antiquity age (the town of Valikardha) with the medieval one (the town of Valikardha, The Tower of Scanderbeg and the church of Kojzak). *(fig. 28).*

[66] BUNGURI 2018, 241.
[67] BUNGURI 2010, 261-264, tab.CX, 1-2, CXI, 1-4.
[68] *Idem*, 265-267, tab. CXIII, 1-6.

Fig. 28-View from the Tower of Scanderbeg, the town of Valikardha and the church of Kojzak

5a. The town of Valikardha (x-41^{o} 30' 32", y-20^{o} 18' 53", z-609m)

The name of this town has been known for the medieval ages, as is proved by a document of 1464, where is mentioned the camp of Scanderbeg with the name "*Vale Carda*"[69]. Has been visited on 1951 from H. Ceka and J. Adami, that have put in evidence that the city was found in the eastern side of the valley of Vajkal, in a foothill, with mortar wall remnants, in front of the Tower of Scanderbeg[70]. In the later years, the monument has been also visited by other scholars[71].The town is established on the right side of the Bulqiza's river and Arbër's

[69] PALL 1965, 202-204 (quoted after BIÇOKU 2006, 81, note 65).

[70] CEKA-ADAMI 1951, 3. "*The valley of Vajkal in the eastern side has a low hill with wall remains of mortar, that is called* "town", *while in front of it is the unclimbed rock called* "*Scandederbeg's tower*".

[71] SADIKU 1971, 222; KACA 2003, 114; KACA 2012, 69; BUNGURI 2014, 297-299.

Road, on a rocky foothill of absolute height 609m close to the "Ura e Qytetit" (“Bridge of the town”) *(fig. 29).*

Fig. 29-northern and internal view of Valikardha town.

Fig. 30a-Track of the western wall.

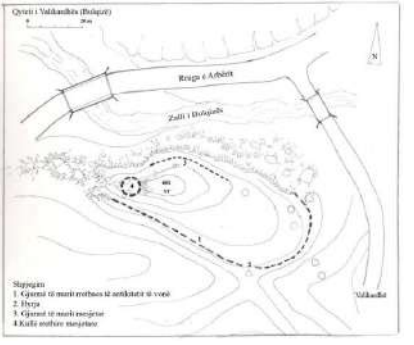


Fig. 30b-Plan design of Valikardha town

It has a favorable strategic position and in a certain degree, protected by the natural point-of-view. In the northern side it's entirely rocky sloping on the pebble of Bulqiza, separating it from the Rock of Scanderbeg. With rocky sides it also slopes on the near field. City's area smoothly slopes towards the east and south, while its entrance, considering from the topographic view, should have been on its southern side of it. City's area has approximately an elliptic form, of 82.5m northwest-southwest diameter and 25m north-south. *(fig. 30a)* The city preserves traces of fortifying system of the late antiquity and of medieval age. The walls of the first period surround an area of nearly 0.2ha and follow the isobaric line of the hill in elliptical form. Today it can be spoken only for detached traces of it, in the southwestern,

northeastern and northern side. The best preserved tract of this wall, of 1.50-1.60m length, 0.80-1.00m of height, is found in the southwestern part, but its external side is damaged. The wall is build with normal ground and fluvial stones, tied of lime plaster, with the technique *opus incertum.* The plaster contains many unsifted fluvial sand, it's not so strong and does not have good quality. The traces of this wall can be also seen in the northeastern side, in the spaces between the natural rocks. To the medieval age we think that belong traces of the northern side surrounding wall, that could be followed in line of 22m, and also a square tower which traces are found in the highest part of the town's northwestern extreme, chronologically connected with the XIV-XV centuries AD. *(fig. 30b).* With this period are also connected with the ruins of a medieval church, preserved till late down town, on the left side of the Bulqiza river[72] and also the ruins of the Kojzak's Church[73] in the southern suburb of Valikardha town. The town of Valikardha controlled the main road connecting Dibra with Durrës, known as "Arbër's Road". On the southern side of the city is found the today village of Valikardha, which inherited the name of the medieval town *Vale Carda*, while 2-3 km in the west the Vajkal village, very known names of our medieval history. We agree with the previously opinion that exactly here should be localized the medieval town of *Getie*, that according to the historic sources was found near the road Sfetigrad (Koxhaxhik)-Kruja, a name that later was appropriated by the village ***Godvi*** near this town[74]. In supporting this localization are the historic sources of the medieval age[75].

[72] SADIKU 1971, 222.

[73] CEKA-ADAMI 1951, 6.

[74] The publishers of the Byzantine sources have said that for the localizaation of the town of Getie in the village Godvi of Bulqiza, which is found near the road from where were passing the Turkish armies against Kruja, and is found nearly 50km in the west of this city. Krhs. BOZHORI-LIÇO 1975, note 76, 330.

[75] According to L. Chalkokondyles "*Murat by advancing, first of all encircled the city of Sfetigrad* (in original: Sfeti) *and offered to the besiged to surrender it and each of them would go their homes. They refused. Therefore* (Murat) *attacked with jainassaires and completely occupied and enslaved the city; he killed all the men. Then advancing he in agreement with* ***Getie,*** *and after turning to slavery those who were found within the city, led the army towards Kruja*". Krhs. Chalkokondyles, *The war of Sfetigrad on 1448*, Quoted by BOZHORI-LIÇO 1975, 330.

5b. The tower of Scanderbeg[76] (x-41°30'47'', y-20° 18'46'', z-978m).

The rocky ridge known as "*The Tower of Scanderbeg*" with absolute height 978m, is positioned in front of Valikardha's town, on the left side of Bulqiza's river (medieval "Ebu" river) *(fig. 31a-b).*

Fig. 31a- View of Scanderbeg's tower rock;

Fig.31b- View of the western ridge of Scanderbeg's tower

On 1951, H. Ceka-J. Adami have noted that "*The Tower of Scanderbeg*" is found on an unclimbed rock in front of Valikardha "town"[77]. It has a very protected natural defense, of full control on Vajkal's field, all the valley of Bulqiza and "Arbër's Road", passing beneath it. The platform of this ridge of polygonal plan, of 16x65m east-west and north-south diameters, and exploitable area of nearly 1000m^2, it has a light southern slopery. The rock of Scanderbeg's tower has rocky sloppery precipices on three sides, the southern, western and eastern, while on the northern side, is divided from the highest part of it, by a rocky canyon with depth 3.50-4.00m and width 10-12m. Further

[76] I thank my friends and collaborators for coming along with me in both visits realized at this monument: (August 2018): Gazmend Sejdi (Director of the primary school "Sh. Tançi" Bulqiza), Sami Curri and Geri Emiri (journalists), Lulzim Hupi (owner of the gesthouse "Hupi") as well as Ma. Ervin Kujtila (archaeologist); (September 2018): Gazmend Sejdi (Director of the primary school "Sh. Tançi" Bulqiza), two students of the Middle School in Bulqiza, Renis Isufi and Bleon Zogu and also Dr. Elio Hobdari-archaeologist (IA-Tirana) (*fig. 40a-b).*

[77] CEKA-ADAMI 1951, 3.

north is heightened "Maja e Tëmblave" under which is found "Çardaku/the Balcony" (of Scanderbeg), a small square, with a very big view space. The ridge where is found "The Tower of Scanderbeg" has a very dominant position. From there is easily controlled the whole valley of Bulqiza, from Qafa e Buallit in the west (844m) till the valley of Drini i Zi and the city of Dibra in the east. The visual communication is visible not only for the town of Valikardha on "Ura e Qytetit" and "Vajkal's Field" near it, but also the cities of Krajka and Sofraçan, at the left side of the pebble of Bulqiza and Gurra's Field (Strikçan) on the right side of this river valley. The climbing on "The Tower of Scanderbeg" starts from the village Lepurak of Vajkal, from when you have to walk in a slopery path for nearly 1.5-2 hours, until on "The Secret road of Scanderbeg", nearly 200m under the rocky ridge platform where the tower is situated. This secret road of 50-60m length and 2.00-2.50m width, has a strong slope around 30-35^{o}. It starts from "The stone of pounder" and achieves the western side of the ridge. The secret road has been opened in the rock and has been paved of stone tiles *(fig. 32a).*

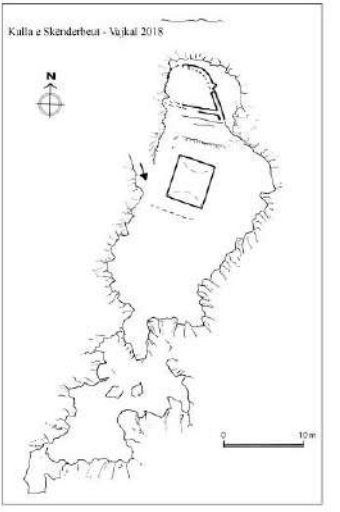
Fig. 32a. View of the secret road of Scanderbeg's Tower;

32b. Pounder stone

The pounder's stone is found nearly 200m under the western side of the tower, in a landing close to "*The secret road of Scanderbeg*". It's about a natural rock with flat sides, of 2.20x1.10x0.70m dimensions, which central part is carved a cylindrical cavity of 23x23cm diameter, depth 5.6cm and with polished sides. It's identical with both pounder

stones of Koxhaxhik castle and is thought that has served to gunpowder suppression *(fig. 32b).* The rocky ridge known as *"The Tower of Scanderbeg*" has an approximately polygonal surface *(fig. 33a-b).*

Fig. 33a-General view of Scanderbeg's water tunker and Tower;



33b.Plan design of Scanderbeg's Tower

During the survey of August and September 2018, were noticed two construction structures, as the integral parts of the medieval monument:

a. The observation tower. In the highest and extreme part of the Tower of Scanderbeg rock, are found the ruins of a defensive tower. The tower has rectangular form of arched forefront, adapting to the ground form and included in the type of form "U" towers or of horseshoe form. The tower has northern orientation, 5.50m length and 6.70m width. *(fig. 34a-b).* The walls build with lime plaster stones, are preserved in ruin situation, with readable width of 0.40m. In the eastern side of the tower, is preserved a wall tract of 2.00m length and 0.40m width, vesting the external side of the natural rock, which before this has a vertical cut *(fig. 34c).* In the length of 5.50m, the southern side of the tower is closed through a transversal wall east-west. The traces of this fortification eastern wall, in form of ruins, continue towards south

and are followed until the length of 10m. On the western side of the ridge, traces of ruin forms of this defensive wall, can be followed till 16m of length, only at the entrance path of the Tower of Scanderbeg rock's ridge. The preserved traces of the defensive wall traces, show that the fortification has been partial and has very good exploited the defensive characteristics of the ground. This architectonic situation, implies us to believe that the essence of this fortification is represented by a tower of "U" or horseshoe form, where could be sheltered a small group of soldiers, of mainly watching and signaling duties. (watching tower). The tower of "U" or half circular form are an usual plane type in the medieval fortifications, also including those exclusively connected with Scanderbeg's time. The type of the half circular tower is met in the castles of Petralba[78], Petrela[79], Kruja[80], in the lower stronghold of Durrës' castle[81], while the towers in U form protect the upper city's entrance of Shurdhah's castle (Sarda)[82] etc.

Fig. 34a-b-View of the northern and eastern wall of Scanderbeg's tower

[78] Seen on the ground by the author.
[79] KARAISKAJ 2016, 118, fig. 128.
[80] *Idem*, 141, fig. 157.
[81] *Idem*, 161, fig. 185.
[82] *Idem*, 129, fig. 140.

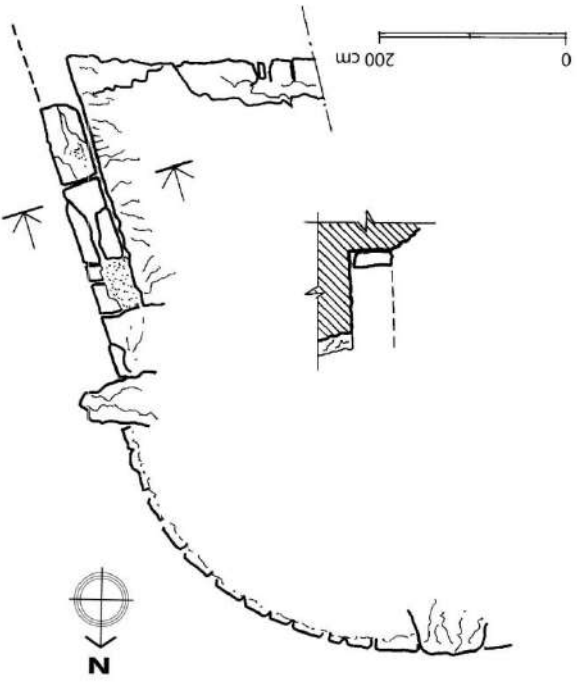


Fig. 34c-Plan design of the northern wall of Scanderbeg's tower

b. The water tanker. In the half of the southern rocky ridge, are preserved the underground structure of a water tanker, build with stone walls tied of lime plaster. The shore has been covered with lengthwise cylindrical arch, today almost totally destroyed by clandestine treasure hunters. It's about a structure of rectangular plan, of northern orientation, of 5^{o} eastern deviation from the northern axes. The internal dimensions of it are 3.97x3.47x2.50m (4.00x3.50x2.50m). The approximate volume of the shore is $35m^{3}$, with 35.000 liter of water-collecting *(fig. 35a-b).*

Fig. 35a-General view of the water tanker

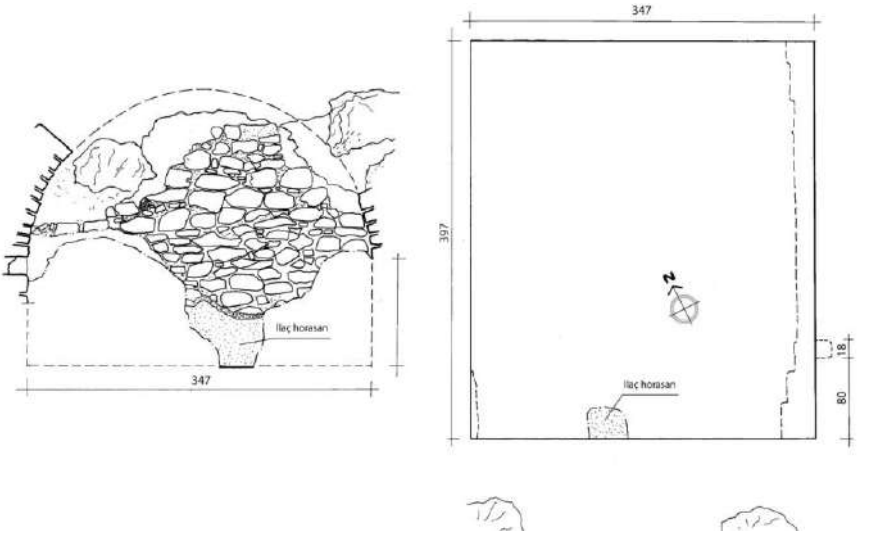


Fig. 35b- Water tanker's plan & section

The internal space of the shore has been plastered with tiles dust wall-plaster of waterproof resistance. Remnants of this mortem of well refined surface and in reddish ocher, today are preserved only the flat and the terminal parts of the shore, respectively in the southern and

eastern wall, while the upper parts of the walls, nonetheless is fallen, this mortem has left in the stones sides, the ocher color of its, easily readable. The floor of the shore has been paved with mortar plaster prepared of tiles dust of waterproof characteristics, the same with that of the internal side of the collateral walls, which surface is tight enough and strong. In the terminal parts of the shore, is preserved the waterproofing plaster's layer of 2.5-3cm thickness and reddish ocher, that has plastered its internal walls *(fig. 35c).*

35c- Details of water tanker*'s waterproof plaster*

The width of the collateral walls is 0.60m, while the width of its southern wall is 2.00m. This southern external wall might have served as amplifier of the shore's structure or accessory of the excess water removal. The shore's walls are build with ground lime stones, tied with abundant lime mortar, plenty of lime and few river sand. While the southern and northern walls have vertical sides, the eastern and western walls are lightly arched to form the cylindrical or half circular archway. The arch-line starts in the 0.98m altitude(1.00m) on the flat level. The preserved altitude of the arch in the eastern side is 1.00m and in the western side 0.45m, while the arrow of the arch proves to have been 1.40m. All the internal part of the structure, is full of wall lime stones and of sandy arch crust stones. The latter are carved, with flat sides and light in weight, in accordance with their use at the arch vault. Stones of both kinds are also found in the western and northern side of this

structure. The water shores have been necessary and indispensable organic part of the medieval fortification in general, also including the fortifications build at Scanderbeg's time. Knowing that the utmost physiological necessity for a person are 2 liter of water per day[83], it can be counted that the shore of Scanderbeg's tower, with a general capacity of 35.000 liters of water-collection, could fulfill the necessities of group of 50-60 soldiers for 30 days, even without a single rain drop. In the planimetric and typological view, shore of Scanderbeg's tower is similar with that of Scanderbeg's secret castle shore in Daulë of Kurbin[84], with that of Modriça[85], of Skudrina[86] in the lower valley of Radika (Dibra),with the shore of Scanderbeg's secret castle[87], in Çidhnë e Poshtme, with the small shore of crust stones in the city of Stelush (Mat)[88], with the shore nr. 1 of cylindrical arc of Shkodra's castle[89] (build before the first siege of Shkodra)[90], with the shore of cylindrical archway of Matrica castle[91] in Rubik etc. Both the above mentioned structures of this monument, the tower of horseshoe form and the water shore, in the chronological point-of-view, are exclusively connected with Scanderbeg's time. Except the technical characteristics and their above mentioned analogies, we can also mention two medieval objects connected with the Tower of Scanderbeg, respectively a pounder stone (fig. 32b) and a millstone grinder (fig. 38c).

In conclusion we have to put in evidence a particularity of the fortifications build or rebuild at the time of Scanderbeg. It's about the similarities of the topographic and planimetry scheme of the castle of Koxhaxhik with other castles genuinely accepted as refortified or build by Scanderbeg, as the castles of Stelush (Qafë-Murrë), Petralba (Mat), Kruja, Daule (Kurbin), Petrela (Tirana)[92] etc. Needless to say that the all above-mentioned castles of Scanderbeg are found on mountainous regions, protecting the internal strategic roads from where the armies

[83] KARAISKAJ 1985, 66.
[84] SARAÇI 1987, 210.
[85] BUNGURI 2009, 47, fig. 32.
[86] BUNGURI 2014, 297, fig. 8.
[87] BUNGURI 2011, 215, fig. 11.
[88] ANAMALI 1967, 106.
[89] KARAISKAJ 1985, 60-61, 66-67, tab. I.
[90] *Idem*, 67.
[91] HOXHA 2016, 163, fig. 8b.
[92] ANAMALI 1967, 108 ; SARAÇI 1987, 205-206.

were passing. The main part of these castles, some of which were at the same time medieval cities, was compound the most fortified area or "the citadel", that is found at the top of the hill and plays the role of "acropolis" and the "varosh" or the city out of the surrounding walls, the outskirt, where are found the dwellings if inhabitancy and the social and craftsmanship ones. The citadel had modest dimensions, of size from 0.1-0.2ha. As integral element it always possessed the well or the water shore, usually equipped with ceramic shafts from external springs, and in some cases also by rain. The citadel's small dimensions are in accordance with Scanderbeg's military art, who never concentrated its forces within. He left there a small garrison, while with the main forces trapped the enemy, by surprisingly striking, at night, or during the camping or march, by piece by piece annihilating it. As illustration, we are bringing this table on the altitude heights of some of Scanderbeg's castles in the Dibra, Mat and Kruja regions:

Nr.	Castle or fortification	Region	Absolute height (m)
1.	The city of Stelush	Qafë-Murrë/Dibra-Mat	1225
2	The castle of Çidhnë e Poshtme	Çidhën/Dibra	1205
3.	" Koxhaxhik	Zhupë/Dibra	1160
4.	" Modrica	Golloborda/Dibra	996
5	" Skudrina	Reka/Dibra	1180
6.	Scanderbeg's Tower	Vajkal/Bulqiza	978
7.	The castle of Petralba (Guri i Bardhë)	Gur i Bardhë/Klos	878
8.	" of Kruja	Krujë/Kruja	610
9.	" Daule	Kurbin/Kruja	527
10.	" Petrela	Tiranë/Tirana	329

5c. The church of Kojzak (x-41^{o} 29' 49"; y-20^{o} 18' 32"; z- 843m)

The church of Kojzak, known as "Kisha e Kodrës së Gjelit/The Church of the Rooster's Hill", is found at the top of a conical foothill, nearly 1 km in the south of Valikardha town *(fig. 36a).* Established between the torrent of Valikardha in the east connecting it with Tërnova in the west, the foothill has a dominant position and controls a very wide space. The hill is leafed with a dense vegetation of oak and other bushes. In its topside are found ruins of lime plastered walls, that the people calls them "church". The monument has been firstly visited by the scholars H. Ceka-J. Adami[93]. During our visit, we noticed that it's about the ruins of a medieval one side church of small dimensions, unfortunately destroyed by the clandestine treasure hunters. In its ruins were found some fragments of polychrome plaster that have decorated the internal sides of naos. The remained fragments of the plaster, preserve geometric motives of linear belt painted of reddish brick, dark grey and white *(fig.36b).* On its dominant position, it's not excluded the possibility that during the Ottoman period, after the convertion to Islam, the church maybe have been turned to any military barracks controlling the short road Dibra-Tirana, in the line Valikardha-Tërnovë-Martanesh-Bizë-Shëngjergj-Tirana.

Fig. 36a. View of the hill of the church of Kojzak

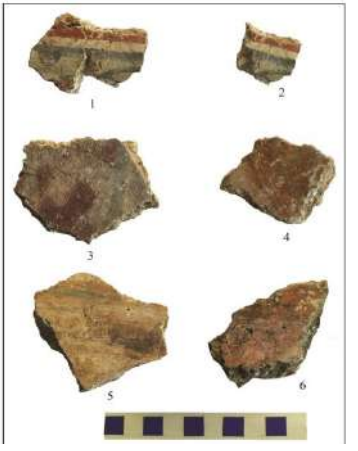


Fig. 36b. Polychromes plaster of the Kojzak

[93] CEKA-ADAMI 1951, 6.

6. Archaeological objects:

According to the archaeological data, the earlier traces of the valley of Bulqiza inhabitancy belong to the XII-IX centuries BC. and topographically connected with the territory of the Vajkal village (x-41°31'9'", y-20°17'13", z-750-800m). Except them, in the vicinities of Vajkal are found other objects, proving the inhabitancy of this area, in the following prehistoric and historic periods:

a. The transitional period from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age (XII-IX centuries BC.) To this period belong two prehistoric objects, respectively a bronze spearhead and pseudo-Mycenaean cantharis, that represent the inventory of a destroyed Illyrian grave of the sub-Mycenaean period (1125-1050 BC.) or proto-geometrical one (1050-900 BC.).

a1. Bronze spearhead. Found at the "Suka e Lepurit" foothill of the Vajkal village near Bulqiza town. Is preserved in the Historic Museum of Peshkopia (hereinafter: HMP), nr.inv.1472, fig. 36a, 1. It has a narrow sheet of willow leaf size of pipe form tail and of circular cut. The whole sheet is permeated by a pipe-like conical crest, of also circular cut. It has round shoulders, while the pipe-like very close to the sheet, is horizontally permeated by two perch holes. The general length is 20.5cm, while the sheet length is 10cm, the maximal width of sheet is 2.4cm, weight-90gr. It's a version of spear top with sheet at leaf form. Its similar with analogue spears of the tumulus IV of Pazhok[94] etc. The most possible dating: sub-Mycenaean period (1125-1050 BC.) or proto-geometrical (1050-900 BC.)[95].

a2. Double-handled canthar. Found together with the uppercited spearhead, at the "Suka e Lepurit" foothill of the Vajkal village near Bulqiza town. It is restored and preserved in the HMP. Nr.inv.1471, fig. 37a, 2. Height 9cm, the edge diameter 6cm and of body 11cm, weight-240gr. Has stressed double-conical body, short neck, right edges and concave end. The vertical handles of elliptical section, raising above the rim, join at the shoulder level, above the very stressed line of carrination. It's been working with cleaned clay dough, few quartz

[94] BODINAKU 1982, 79, pl.V,3.
[95] BUNGURI 1989, 67-69, pl. I, 1; BUNGURI 2010, 253, pl. CIII, 1.

motes, with good decrepitating and refinement. The lack of décor and the stressed byconical body, give to the vessel of Vajkal, local characteristics in relation with the analogue vessels of Illyrian culture of this period. It is dated in the sub-Mycenaean or proto-geometrical period, from its accompanying with the spearhead mentioned above[96].

Fig. 37a1-2. Vajkal: Illyrian bronze spearhead and doublehandled vessel

b. The developed period of the Iron age (VIII-VII centuries BC.)

b1. Iron spearhead of leaf form. Has been found in Qafa e Buallit, in the western edge of the valley of Bulqiza (x-41°28'54", y-20° 11' 43", z-844m). Its preserved at MHP. Nr.inv.1471, fig. 37b. The general

[96] BUNGURI 2010, 253, pl. CIII, 2.

length is 19cm, the length of the sheet is 11.5cm and the length of the thick edge 7.5cm. Is included on the spear type of poplar leaf form, of maximal width 4.2cm, permeated by the lengthy back of rhombic cut, pipe-like thick edge of circular cut and maximal diameter of 2cm, weight-93gr. In the external side, respectively at the 1/3 of its length, the thick edge is opened. The raport between the thick edge with the general length of the spearhead is 1:2.5. It was dated in the period of development phase of the Iron Age, VIII-VII centuries BC.[97].

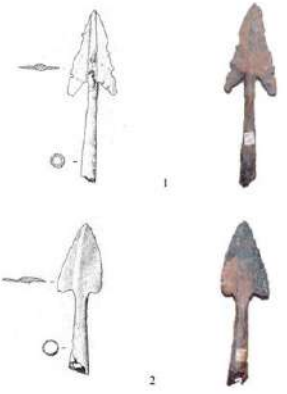


Fig. 37b. Iron spearhead point (Qafë Buall);

36c. Medieval arrowheads (Vajkal)

c. The pre-Ottoman medieval period and Scanderbeg's period (XIV-XV centuries AD).

c1. Iron arrowhead. Discovered from the agricultural workings in the field of the Vajkal village. Are preserved at the MHP, nr. inv. 44, fig. 37c, 1. Dimensions: general length 8.5cm, sheet's length 4cm, sheet's width 2cm, conical tail length 4.2cm, tail's diameter 0.6-0.8cm, weight-9gr. It's of leaf form type, of raised doubles, of pipe-like conic tail. The leaf of triangular cut, is permeated by a lengthy back of oval cut in all its length.

[97] BUNGURI 2010, 256, pl. CVI, 12.

c2. Iron arrowhead. Discovered by the agricultural workings in the field of the Vajkal village. Are preserved at the MHP, nr. inv. 45, fig. 37c, 2. Dimensions: general length 7.2cm, sheet length 3.2cm, sheet's width 1.7cm, conical tails length 3.6cm, tail's diameter-0.8-1cm, weight-9gr. It's of leaf form type, without doubles, of pipe-like conical tail. In distinction by the nr.1 spear point, has sheets of extended triangular cuts and of very light lengthy crest. Similar forms of arrows are known in the early medieval ages, discovered in the Albanian grave cultures of Kruja[98], Lezha[99], of the Dalmace castle[100], Pogradec castle[101] etc, and continue to be used even during the XIV-XV centuries AD.

c3. Valikardha (x-41^{o} 30' 24"; y-20^{o} 19' 8", z-625m). Vessel of oinoche type. Discovered by the agricultural workings in the Valikardha village of Zerqan near Bulqiza town (x-41^{o} 30'24"; y-20^{o} 19' 8", z-625m). Its preserved at the Archaeological Museum, Tirana, nr. inv. 16478. Dimensions: height 13.5cm, body's diameter-9cm, last diameter 7cm, weight 290gr., fig. 38a. The vessel has three-ply mouth of 5.5cm diameter, diluted neck at the top, spherical swollen body, that is separated by the throat by a light profile, flat ending and broken biforate handle. It was worked from well levigated clay of light brown colour and was baked very well. It is colored with slim reddish in pink angobe-slip and is decorated with polychrome glaze of the type "*maiolica arcaica"* [102]. The decorated area includes the whole body of the vessel, from the bottom to the top. The motives of geometric character are represented by two stripes of the letter "U", alternated with vertical waved stripes between them, all these realized of green paste. The stripes field of "U" form, is full of white paste, which from the decrepitating in some areas has gained orange vitrification. It's an expensive import vessel, perhaps brought from the Italian shores, where such vessels are found in Puglia, Bari, Venice etc., and are dated between 1350-1450 AD.[103]. Its discovery in the vicinity of the Valikardha town, proves for a relatively high economic and cultural

[98] ANAMALI-SPAHIU 1979-1980, 57, tab. IV, 7.
[99] PRENDI 1979-1980, 131, tab. XVII; 1-3.
[100] SPAHIU 1964, 82.
[101] ANAMALI 1979-1980, 231, tab. XI, 5.
[102] CRESCENZO 1992, 38-49.
[103] *Idem.*

standard of its users. Similar vessels decorated with "*sgraffito polychrome*" continue to be also used during the XV century and in the beginning of the XVI century AD., where mark a very wide spread in all the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean[104]. Its discovery near the town of Valikarda, proves for a relatively high economic standard of its users.

Fig. 38a-Oinoche (Valikardha)

c4. Millstone grinder, fragmented. Found during the survey of 2018, at the crest of "The Tower of Scanderbeg". Dimensions: diameter 52cm, thickness 6cm and the axes hole diameter -5cm (fig. 38b). Such

[104] VROOM 2005, 143, tab. 2.3.

grinder millstones are usual in the medieval localities all over in Albania and wider.

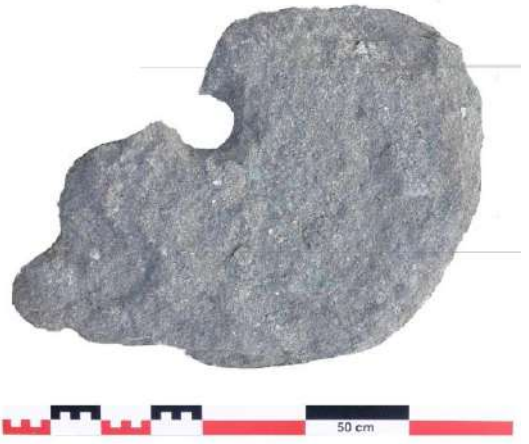


Fig. 38b-millstone grinder (Scanderbeg's tower)

7. Once again on Vajkal localization

On the Vajkal field within five months during 1465 are fought two bloody battles between the Albanian army leaded by Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg and the Ottoman armies. In the first battle (April 1465), the Sultan Mehmet II, sent against Scanderbeg an army of 15.000 knights and 3000 foot-soldiers, under the leadership of Ballaban Pasha (Badera)[105], while Scanderbeg's army was compound of only 4.000 knights and 1.500 foot-soldiers[106]. According to Barleti, Scanderbeg "*had chosen all the veterans and the prime of youth, on which courage he trust the most*"[107]. Also according to Barleti, "*The camp of Scanderbeg soldiers was in a pleasant and opened valley, that extended forward and was named Valkali*"[108], while the Ottoman army "*had raised its tents on the other side of the valley, near a mountain, which ended Valkalia and through which could be passed across mountain*

[105] BARLETI (1537), 1964, XI, 449.
[106] *Idem*, 449.
[107] *Idem*, 449.
[108] *Idem*, 450.

gorges and straits."[109]. The battle was severe and bloody. Scanderbeg won, even why with great losses. Except hundreds of soldiers, from Scanderbeg camp fell in the battlefield the general commander of the army, Moisi Golemi or "Dibra's *Moisi, the most beloved and most faithful to Scanderbeg*", and seven other distinguished commanders, respectively "*Vladan Gjurica, which has blood relations with Scanderbeg, Muzaka of Angjelina* (Muzakë Arianiti)*, nephew of Scanderbeg from the side of his sister, Gjin Muzaka, Gjon Perlati, Nikollë Berisha, Gjergj Kuka and Gjin Maneshi, which with their death made Albania shed more tears than ever before*"[110]. In the second battle of Vajkal, August 1465, the Ottoman army had 20.000 knights and 4.000 infantrymen and that of Scanderbeg 8.000 knights and 4.000 infantrymen[111]. Some of the commanders of Scanderbeg army cohorts in this war were: Tanush Topia, Zaharia Gropa, Pejko Manueli etc. We are presenting here some lines from Barleti on this battle: "*Between Scanderbeg and Ballaban began a very big clash. The carnage from both sides was becoming unusual. ....Finally, when he realized that the victory was beyond any doubt at the side of the Epirotes* (*Albanians*) *and that couldn't face it anymore, he (Ballaban) rode the horse and run as fast as he could and all the army in all its lines was dispersed here and there, mixed and confused, fled in the valley, in the field and through the mountains. Few were them who....could come out alive...all the barbarians* (*the Turks*) *were either killed or captured alive*"[112]. This battle ended with the victory of the Albanian army and the defeat of the Turks and of the renegade B. Pasha (Badera) and reconfirmed Scanderbeg's invincibility and the continuation of Albanians' anti Ottoman resistence.

Vajkal's localization was made by Barleti himself, when he writes on the first battle of Vajlkal, between Scanderbeg and the renegade B. Pasha (Badera): "*Scanderbeg's camp soldiers was in a pleasant and opened valley, that extended forward and was named Valkali*" while the Ottoman army "*had raised its tents on the other side of the valley, near*

[109] *Idem*, 450.
[110] *Idem*, 451.
[111] *Idem*, 458-459.
[112] *Idem*, 462.

a mountain, which ended Valkalia and through which could be passed across mountain gorges and straits".[113] *(fig. 39).*

Fig. 39. View of the Vajkal valley (Bulqiza)

In our time this localization is supported by H. Ceka-J. Adami[114] and in the linguistic point-of-view as been also argued by E. Çabej, that has noted that "*the oldest form of his should have been Valkal, Valchalia (on Marin Barleti (1537), the name of a valley in the region of Dibra, constituting a passage", name as "valley, path, passage*", *that might derive from the Latin "vall(is) callis "valley, road"*[115]. Meanwhile, O. Schmitt establishes it in the village Valikardha, eastern neighbor of Vajkal[116]. A totally different viewpoint has manifested K. Biçoku, who thinks that Vajkali should be located somewhere on the

[113] BARLETI (1537), 1964, XI, 450.

[114] CEKA- ADAMI 1951, 3:"Valchalia. Completely responds to Vajkal. The strait on one side has a low hill with wall remnants of mortem, that is called "town", and in the other side the unclimbed wall "Scanderbeg's tower".

[115] ÇABEJ 2008, 587.

[116] SCHMITT 2014, 171.

east of Ohrid town, a hypotheses which also had been reflected in the History of Albania(edited on 2002)[117]. According to him, the name *Valkal-Vajkal* derives from the union of the names "*val*" *and "kal"* meaning "*luginë e kuajve/valley of horses*", toponym that it had to be located somewhere east of Ohrid, where "*was plenty of grass to nourish the animals*"[118](!), which is a repeated opinion, even in a recent publication[119]. An incontestable argument of the Vajkal's battle localization in Vajkal, its beyond any doubt the Vajkal village itself and Fusha e Vajkalit/The Field of Vajkal, as their complete match with Vajkal described by M. Barleti. "The Tower of Scanderbeg" build on the Vajkal's valley, in control and defense of Vajkal valley and of "Arbër's Road" passing through it, it's beyond any doubt a new argument enforcing the identification of Vajkal in Vajkal. At the best of this identification, also speak a series of toponyms from the geographical history, as "Vajkal", "Fusha e Vajkalit", "Valikardhë", "Fusha e kalasë/Castle's field" (Valikardha), "Shkëmbi i kullës së Skënderbeut/The rock of Scanderbeg's Tower", "The Tower of Scanderbeg", "Çardaku i Skënderbeut/Scanderbeg's balcony", "Liqeni i Skënderbeut/Scanderbeg's lake", "Përroi i Skënderbeut/ The Brook of Scanderbeg", "Gurra e Kuqe/The Red waterspring", "Gurët e Skënderbeut/Scanderbeg Stones"[120] etc.

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[117] BIÇOKU 2002, 449-450. The presentation of a researcher individual and subjective viewpoint, as official and institutionalized opinion of the Albanian historiography, is according to our opinion wrong and not compatible with the scientific criteria and institutional publishing. In an official edition, at least is required to be presented two different hypotheses on the localization of a battleground or a historic location, and not to be presented as authentic one of them and ignoring the opposite opinion, as has happened in this case, moreover, when the second alternative is, according to our conviction, completely true.

[118] Moreover we are quoting the author of this hypotheses: "*When describing Valkalin, M. Barleci shows that was a valley near the mount Bigë (Furkë), mountain and ridge name in the east of the city of Ohrid....M. Barleci himself has shown that Valkali was a valley, therefore the latinized toponym is compound by two words (Val and Kal), from which, the first for sure is translated into Albanian "luginë/valley" and the second is related to the word "kalë/horse". Both are analyzed in Albanian "Lugina e Kuajve/The valley of horses". This names proves that in this valley the armies' horses rested and there had abundant grass to feed the animals"*. Krhs. BIÇOKU 2006a, 81-82; BIÇOKU 2006b, 82.

[119] BIÇOKU 2016, 163.

[120] In the place called "Scanderbeg's Stones", in the southern side of Vajkal valley, on 27.05. 2017 has been inagurated the monument of Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg, in the memory of two Vajkal battles leaded and won by our National Hero. The monument of Scanderbeg has height of 3.00m and width of 2.50m. It has been worked by the student of sculpture from Vajkali's village (E. Balja) *(fig. 41).*

The above mentioned medieval fortifications and the archaeological data presented, prove that during the epopee of Scanderbeg, is sensitively grown the number of the military localizations and fortifications, a phenomenon that matches with the historic sources, according to which Dibra turns in this period in a strategic region of the liberation wars of the Albanian people, under the leadership of our National hero, Gjergj Kastrioti Scanderbeg. The future archaeological researches, would beyond any doubt bring more complete data on the fortifications of Scanderbeg period even in the Dibra region.

Fig. 40a. Archaeological team at the top of "Scanderbeg's tower"(August 2018)

Fig. 40b. Archaeological team at the top of "Scanderbeg's tower"(September 2018)

Fig. 41. Scanderbeg's monument in Vajkal

Abbreviations

AiA:	Arkivi i Institutit Arkeologjik
Bark:	Buletin Arkeologjik
BSHSH:	Buletini i Shkencave Shoqërore
Candavia:	Revistë arkeologjike
Iliria:	Revistë arkeologjike
KSA (I):	Konferenca e Parë e Studimeve Albanologjike

KSA (II):	Konferenca e Dytë e Studimeve Albanologjike
KSI:	Kuvendi i Studimeve Ilire
Monumentet:	Revistë e Institutit të Monumenteve
PJZ:	Praistorija Jugoslavenkih Zemalja
SSHSH:	Seria e shkencave shoqërore.
StAlb:	Studia Albanica
StHist:	Studime Historike

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