

# BURNING ALT-WARTENBURG. ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE TEUTONIC ORDER AND THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA FROM A DESERTED MEDIEVAL TOWN NEAR BARCZEWKO (WARMIA, POLAND)

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*In the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Teutonic Order and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania engaged in severe armed conflicts whose central element was raids on enemy territory. Since nearly all written evidence was authored by one side in the conflict, the chroniclers of the Order, the reliability of the reports in respect to violence and cruelties is not clear. Therefore, archaeological discoveries are of great importance for understanding these wars and their reality. An instructive example is the deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg in Warmia (Barczewko near Olsztyn, Northeast Poland), which was captured and destroyed in 1354 by a Lithuanian army and afterwards abandoned. Recent research has revealed considerable traces of the town's violent end: burnt houses, weapons, skeletons of the victims, and other traces of ravages and violence. The site and the finds are discussed against the background of the written record, the warfare of its time and region, and other archaeological witnesses of this period.*

**Keywords:** Wars of Teutonic Order and Grand Duchy of Lithuania; conflict archaeology; Middle Ages; deserted town; Warmia.

*Plačiausiai ir geriausiai žinomas Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijos etapas yra kovos su Vokiečių ordinu. Intensyviausios vyko XIV a. Vienu svarbiausių šių kovų elementų tapo plėšiamieji ir siaubiamieji žygiai prieš teritorijoje. Šiame straipsnyje yra nagrinėjami archeologiniai Varmijos Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miesto (prie Olsztyno, Šiaurės rytų Lenkija) duomenys, puikiai atskleidžiantys Lietuvos kariuomenės antpuolio pasekmes ir pobūdį.*

*Istoriniai šaltiniai rodo, kad miestas buvo užpultas ir sunaikintas 1354 m. ir šioje vietoje nebebuvo atkurtas. Archeologinių tyrimų metu buvo surinkta daugybė duomenų: sudegusių namų fragmentų, ginklų, žuvusiųjų kūnų palaikų ir kitų su miesto sunaikinimu susijusių radinių. Šie duomenys nagrinėjami rašytinių šaltinių, karybos ir archeologiniame kontekste, siekiant parodyti kraupias tokių antpuolių pasekmes ir pobūdį.*

**Reikšminiai žodžiai:** Lietuvos ir Vokiečių ordino karas; konfliktų archeologija; viduramžiai; apleistas miestas; Varmija.

## INTRODUCTION

The Teutonic Order fought gruelling wars with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the 14<sup>th</sup> century: the pagan regime was the Order's main opponent. Each year, the Teutonic Knights, supported by nobles from the Holy Roman Empire and other European countries on a 'Prussian pilgrimage' or 'Lithuanian pilgrimage', attacked in crusader campaigns in Lithuanian territory, mainly against Samogitia (*Žemaitija*), but without being able to defeat the opponent. Lithuania's Grand Dukes responded with military assaults in the territory of the Order and its associated bishoprics, also without decisive success. The warfare of both sides in this 'hundred year war' (Housley 1992, p. 338; Pósan 2014, p. 51) was characterised, according to written sources, mainly by looting and arson, the taking of captives, and slaughters in enemy territory (Boockmann 1981, pp. 151–169; Paravicini 1989/1995; Gudavičius 2001, pp. 73–79; Trupinda 2009, p. 23; Pósan 2014, pp. 51–52; Herrmann 2015, pp. 14–15). However, the written sources of the German chroniclers involved in the conflict are uncertain in respect to their reliability: they definitely exaggerated the cruelties to blame the enemy, badmouth the pagans, and support the Christian approaches. What are the true facts of the matter?

Archaeological finds and features contribute to that question, delivering 'neutral' witnesses of military events, for instance of attacks on towns or castles. The research in the deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg near the village of Barczewko not far from Allenstein (Olsztyn, Warmia–Masuria

Voivodeship, Northeast Poland) offers outstanding archaeological insights into the reality of these violent times. Alt-Wartenburg (Wartenburg at that time)<sup>1</sup> was founded in the 1320s by the bishop of Ermland (Warmia) and was destroyed in the course of a Lithuanian raid in 1354. Because the town was rebuilt afterwards at another place (the still extant town of Barczewo), the remains of the first town have remained well preserved since the day of its destruction. A joint Polish–German 2013–2019 research project, supported by a Lithuanian team in the summer 2018,<sup>2</sup> provided insights into the conquest and violent extinction of the settlement during that event. The Alt-Wartenburg findings are presented and contextualised here against the background of the history of the town, the German–Lithuanian conflicts, and the Lithuanian warfare of that time.

## THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF ALT-WARTENBURG

Ermland Diocese consisted, at its southeast edges, of sparsely populated, densely forested areas contemporarily termed *große Wildnis* (the great wilderness) (Szorc 1990; Herrmann 2015, pp. 12, 20–21). Beginning in the 1280s, this region was colonised step by step. The castle and town of Alt-Wartenburg were founded in that context in the 1320s, in the territory called *Gunelauken* in Northwest *Galinden*. The initiators and organisers were Eberhard von Neisse (d. 1326), bishop of Ermland, and his reeve, the Teutonic knight, Friedrich von Liebenzell (SRP I, pp. 192–193). The colonists probably came from

<sup>1</sup> The town was established under the name Wartenburg, the nearby village later taking the name Alt-Wartenburg to differentiate it from newly founded Wartenburg, approximately 6 km away (the still extant town of Barczewo); for this reason the name of Alt-Wartenburg was used for the site of the first town.

<sup>2</sup> The Polish–German research project 'Alt-Wartenburg / Barczewko – das ermländische Pompeji', was funded by the Bundesbeauftragte für Kultur und Medien (Bonn) and supported by the Universities of Gdańsk, Göttingen, and Greifswald, the town of Barczewo, and the Historischer Verein für Ermland. In August 2018, all the authors of this paper cooperated in the investigation of the site of Alt-Wartenburg, together with Polish, Lithuanian, and German students. The project will be continued.



Fig. 1. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). 2018 aerial view of the site from the west showing the rampart and excavation trenches. Photo by L. Plith Lauritsen.

Silesia (Röhrich 1916; Riemann 1965). The castle was definitely not far from the town, but it has yet to be located; it perhaps was built 1.6 km to the east at the site of a former Prussian hill fort called *Wachthügel* (Guard Hill) or *Schlossberg* (Castle Hill) prior to 1945 (Klimek 2008, pp. 216–217; 2013, pp. 214–216, Figs. 16, 17), but this has not been confirmed. In any case, in the textual record the castle is eclipsed in the following years by the town and not mentioned again after 1325.

The urban settlement, however, initially developed satisfactorily, according to some written sources and the archaeological evidence. But in 1354, Herald Wigand von Marburg, a contemporary chronicler

of the German–Lithuanian conflicts, reported that Lithuanian Grand Dukes Kęstutis (d. 1382) and Algirdas (d. 1377) captured the town, capturing and probably killing all the inhabitants (SRP II, p. 520; von Bönigk 1883; Szorc 1990, p. 166; Klimek 2008, pp. 214–217): ‘In 1354 Kęstutis and Algirdas, along with their nobles etc., rushed to Wartenberg in the land of Gunelauken, which they destroyed in a hostile manner with fire, etc. and nobody escaped their hands’ (*„Anno 1354 Kynstute, Algard cum bayoribus etc. festinant in Wartenberg in terram Gunelauken, quam hostili more, igne etc. devastant, et nemo evasit manus eorum’* (Scriptores 1863, p. 520; Raczyński 1842, pp. 96–99).

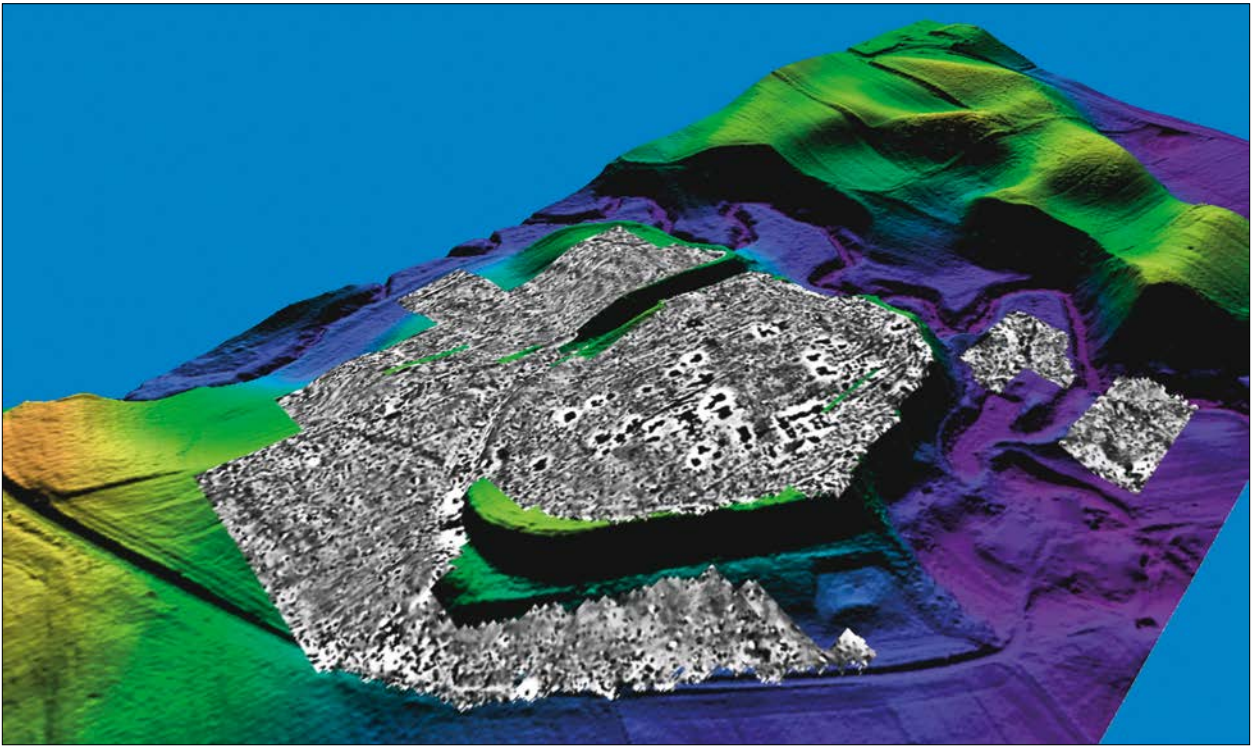


Fig. 2. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Digital terrain model (superelevated) on LIDAR base with a geomagnetic plan of the medieval town and its surroundings. Created by P. Wroniecki.

The deserted town (Figs. 1, 2) lies on a promontory 350 m northeast of a large body of water, Lake Wadąg. Its ramparts and moats form, due to the natural relief, a roughly 220 x 160 m oval site. Aerial photos and geophysical discoveries indicate that parts of the surrounding area were enclosed with a ditch and also sparsely settled. The town was small but it had all the elements of an urban settlement: a central 40 x 60 m rectangular market square bordered on three sides by house cellars and on the fourth, the south side, by a large, three-winged building complex, i.e. the town or market hall (*mercatorium*) (Fig. 3). Moreover, there was a regular road network with two main streets running parallel to each other from the market place to the west, while the northern row ended at the town gate. The fortifications consisted of strong ramparts, moats, and a gate, which last is still recognizable today as a depression in the bank's western remnants. A church and a cemetery

were located in the northeast part of the town, in the regionally characteristic peripheral position. A bathhouse cum tavern operated at the town's east rampart and about two dozen houses stood alongside the market and streets. The town, which was professionally planned and surveyed from the beginning, was built on virgin soil in the vicinity of a rather sparsely populated Prussian settlement area (Klimek 2008). All of the buildings were made of wood or wood and loam in half-timber constructions. So far, bricks have been found only in the base of the bathhouse hearth. Before artificial stone became common in rather peripheral settlements, the town was destroyed. The 2013–2018 research confirmed the identification of the site, traditionally called *Altstadt* (Old Town) (von Bönigk 1883), with the first founding of Wartenburg: the finds show an urban environment with fashionable late Gothic clothing accessories, imported ceramics from Germany, and



Fig. 3. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). 2014 excavation in the *mercatorium* area showing the cellars and fire debris in the north and west wings. Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.

trade and craft-related finds. They were dated to an appropriate time span, especially by the silver coins (mainly from the Teutonic Order) and a multitude of dendrochronological data from burned timbers, the data from both the coinage and the tree rings being exclusively pre-1354 (see Biermann et al. 2016a; 2016b; 2018a; 2018b).

In the given context, the fortification was of special interest. In the east and west, the town was naturally protected by steep hill slopes; the excavations in this area produced the remnants of a low rampart, which probably had a palisade originally. In the north and west, especially on the very vulnerable west side where the land outside the town steadily rose to an elevation west of the town, massive fortifications had been constructed: a semi-circular

rampart-ditch-fortification with a gate. The rampart and moat were investigated by a trench at its strongest part in the west. It had been a roughly 1.10 m high, 8 m wide rampart and 2.80 m deep, roughly 9 m wide, V-shaped ditch. The moat held water at least temporary, as evidenced by the dark sediment on its bottom (Fig. 4). A plank fence or palisade definitely stood on the rampart, but no traces of it were recorded, which is not astonishing in view of the later erosion and disturbance through agrarian use. The moat's V-shaped profile is unusual in the region, but parallels exist in the moats of High and Late Medieval towns in Northern Germany, for instance in Braunschweig and Hannover (Rieger 2010, p. 140, Fig. 101; Brückner 2016, p. 59) and at Late Medieval German castles (Schütz 2007, p. 330; Rosmanitz 2009); thus, it is



Fig. 4. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Panorama from the town's west rampart across the moat (with its profile in trench 1/14) to the terrain west of the town, the side of the main attack. *Photo by F. Biermann.*

perhaps a western tradition. The existence of towers or further fortification elements is uncertain, as the gate's construction is unknown. On the whole, the site was well chosen for natural protection and was strong, but not very elaborately fortified. That this was insufficient became apparent during the 1354 Lithuanian assault.

#### THE MILITARY CONFLICTS OF THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The conquest of Alt-Wartenburg falls in the zenith of the conflicts between the Teutonic Order and its associated dioceses on the one side and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania on the other (Boockmann 1981, pp. 151–169; Paravicini 1989/1995;

Gudavičius 2001, pp. 124–128, 130–131). For both opponents, this was more than just power politics. For the Order, these struggles were its religious *raison d'être* and its prestige as a defender of Christianity. The 'Lithuanian pilgrimages', popular with the Central European nobility, were of great diplomatic importance in maintaining the Order's ties with the realms of the West as well as attracting young recruits. The Order's main political target was Samogitia, which would enable it to link its possessions in Sambia and Livonia. For the Lithuanians, prestige and religious reasons were also essential. Moreover, the targets of these attacks were not only to weaken the enemy by devastating fields and settlements, but also to strengthen their own economy. Loot and slaves were crucial for the

economy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania at that time (Rowell 1994, pp. 74–76).

An example for such raids was the assault by Kęstutis and Algirdas on Alt-Wartenburg in 1354. The brothers, sons of famous Grand Duke Gediminas (d. 1341), had been initially only the Dukes of Trakai and Krėva, but had together become Grand Dukes of Lithuania in 1345/1347, after revolting against their brother Jaunutis (d. after 1366). Algirdas became the Grand Duke and Kęstutis sub-monarch. While Algirdas concentrated on ruling and expansion to the east, Kęstutis dealt mainly with matters in Samogitia and West Lithuania, which made Kęstutis the Order's main opponent (Gudavičius 2001, pp. 131–132). Thus, Alt-Wartenburg was destroyed by an army led by Lithuania's supreme rulers; due to matters of prestige and charisma, the Dukes shared important campaigns and had to lead their warriors into battle. Such campaigns were regularly organised by both sides; war was a permanent condition. For example, the Teutonic Order conducted 96 raids during 1345–1382, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania 42 such raids during 1345–1377. All in all, 138 raids by both sides have been documented in less than 40 years (Ivinskis 1978, pp. 255–256). In a wider time frame, between 1305 and 1409, over 300 Teutonic attacks have been documented on Lithuanian territory (Pósán 2014, p. 51).

The Order's chronicles are full of reports of cruel events in the second third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century; however, because the Lithuanians did not record any chronicles, the written sources enlighten only one side of the conflict. To understand the capture of Alt-Wartenburg, it is instructive to focus on the German-Lithuanian conflicts in Warmia and the neighbouring territory between the 1340s and 1370s, as documented by contemporary German chronicles. The events in the Warmian town in 1354 were only a minor aspect and were a more or less usual incident in these tumultuous times marked by violence and warfare (Fig. 5).

Kęstutis and Algirdas attacked Rastenburg (Kętrzyn) in 1345. On the Order's side, 45 men were killed in front of the town gates and the remaining inhabitants were deported to Lithuania (Voigt 1832, pp. 35–36; Scriptoros 1863, p. 508). The two Grand Dukes moved against Rastenburg once more two years later, 1347 (Voigt 1832, pp. 59–60; Scriptoros 1863, p. 508). On their way, they besieged the castle of Gerdauen (Железнодорожный) and burned down four neighbouring villages. Afterwards the Lithuanian forces moved to Leunenburg (Sątoczno), where the Order retained the main castle while the outer bailey and the church were destroyed. After destroying Rastenburg a second time, the Lithuanians moved on Rößel (Reszel), 40 km northeast of Alt-Wartenburg. In Rößel, the town and castle were devastated. The numerous villages on the way met the same fate. That autumn, a Lithuanian army again attacked the Order's territory, this time in the region of Sambia between Ragnit (Неман) and Insterburg (Черняховск) (Voigt 1832, pp. 59–60; Scriptoros 1863, p. 509). As a result of the crushing Lithuanian defeat at the hands of the Teutonic knights and their allies in a battle on the River Strėva on 2 February 1348 (Voigt 1832, pp. 61–65; Scriptoros 1863, pp. 510–513), Lithuanian incursions into the Order's lands paused for a certain time.

A new wave of attacks, mostly co-led by the ducal brothers Kęstutis and Algirdas, began in 1352, first with an assault on Sambia (Voigt 1832, p. 93; Scriptoros 1863, pp. 518–520), then Rößel in 1353 (Voigt 1832, pp. 103–104; Scriptoros 1863, p. 520). After the town and castle of Rößel had been destroyed, the inhabitants were led back to Lithuania as captives. A group of Teutonic Knights followed and attacked them, but the Lithuanians emerged victorious. In order to hasten their return, all of the prisoners, according to chronicle reports, were executed. The following year Alt-Wartenburg was attacked (Scriptoros 1863, p. 520), marking the farthest west the Lithuanians had advanced up until

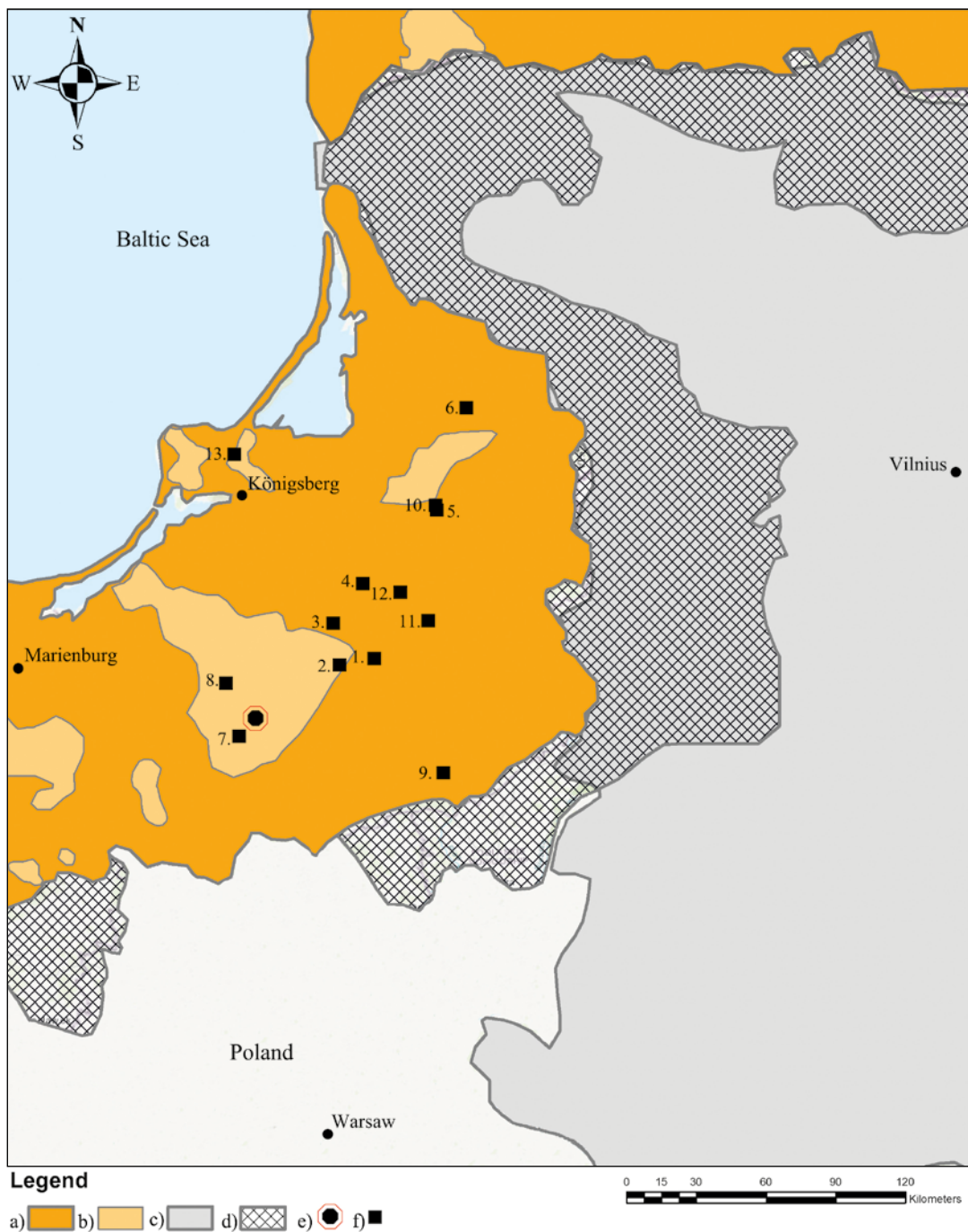


Fig. 5. The 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> century dominions and the targets of Lithuanian military campaigns mentioned in the text: a) Lands under the rule of the Teutonic Order; b) Episcopal territories in Prussia and Livonia; c) Lands under the rule of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; d) Lands under the temporary influence of the Teutonic Order; e) Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko), which was attacked in 1354; f) sites of attacks and battles (with year specified): 1) Rastenburg (Kętrzyn), 1345, 1347; 2) Rößel (Reszel), 1347, 1353; 3) Leunenburg (Sątoczno), 1347; 4) Gerdaunen (Железнодорожный), 1347; 5) Insterburg (Черняховск), 1347; 6) Ragnit (Неман), 1347; 7) Allenstein (Olsztyn), 1356; 8) Guttstadt (Dobre Miasto), 1356; 9) Johannsburg (Pisz), 1361; 10) Georgenburg (Маёвка), 1364; 11) Angerburg (Węgorzewo), 1365; 12) Nordenburg (Крылово), 1366; and 13) Rudau (Мельниково), 1370. *Plan and drawing by Ch. Herrmann and E. Ubis.*

then. During this attack, the chronicle mentions that apparently no prisoners were taken, the inhabitants being killed immediately. Possibly the Lithuanian leaders concluded from the previous year's experience that taking prisoners so deep in enemy territory and marching them back was too dangerous. As the prisoners had to walk, this slowed the pace considerably and increased the risk of being caught and attacked by the Order's forces.

The next Lithuanian invasion was documented in 1356 when Kęstutis and Algirdas struck Allenstein about 10 km southwest of Alt-Wartenburg (Voigt 1832, pp. 119–120; *Scriptores* 1863, p. 522), but the town and the castle were able to repulse the siege. So the Lithuanians devastated the area between Allenstein and Guttstadt (Dobre Miasto), destroying 17 villages. The intensity of the Lithuanian attacks decreased in the following years. Kęstutis destroyed Johannsburg (Pisz) in 1361 (*Scriptores* 1863, pp. 530–531), but was then captured by the Order and imprisoned at Marienburg (Malbork) Castle, from which he soon escaped. In 1364 he invaded the area of Georgenburg (Маёвка) in Sambia; the following year he devastated the areas around Angerburg (Węgorzewo) and Scalovia (Skalva) (*Scriptores* 1863, pp. 548–550). In 1366 the Lithuanians attacked Nordenburg (Крылово) and Johannsburg (*Scriptores* 1863, pp. 554–555, 557–558). Kęstutis and Algirdas prepared a great invasion of the Teutonic Order's territory in the winter of 1370 and with the assistance of Russian and Tatar forces, assaulted North Sambia. On 17 February 1370, a large battle took place at the small town of Rudau (Мельниково) north of Königsberg (Калининград). The Lithuanians and their allies suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the Teutonic Order's forces led by Grandmaster Winrich von Kniprode (d. 1382) and the Grand marshal of the Order, Henning Schindekopf, who died on the battlefield (Voigt 1832, pp. 212–219; *Scriptores* 1863, pp. 565–567). This by no means ended Lithuanian incursions into the Order's territory; attacks occurred

almost every year of this decade, just as the Order's military expeditions into Samogitia continued.

The Lithuanian incursions into the Order's territory were usually conducted in winter (as were most of the Order's campaigns in Lithuania) because it was easier to ride on the frozen paths and wetlands; Chronicler Heinrich von Lettland (d. after 1259) notes that already in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century the Lithuanians used sleighs to move in their operational area and to carry away the booty from their raids on Christian territories in Livonia (Heinrich von Lettland 1959, XI. 5). Wigand von Marburg reports exact dates for some of the Lithuanian attacks on towns and castles, such as the destruction of Rastenburg on 22 February 1347 (*Scriptores* 1863, p. 508), the invasion of Sambia in February 1352 (Voigt 1832, p. 93), the attack on Rößel in 1353 (*Scriptores* 1863, p. 520), and the raid in the area of Allenstein in January 1356 (*Scriptores* 1863, p. 522). On 14 February 1370, a large Lithuanian army invaded Prussia followed three days later by the decisive battle at Rudau. It can, therefore, be assumed that Alt-Wartenburg was also attacked in the winter, probably in early spring 1354.

#### LITHUANIAN WARFARE IN THE 14<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

It is unknown whether there were Teutonic Order troops or regular Episcopal forces in Alt-Wartenburg on the day of the attack. If the nearby castle still existed, such units were probably billeted there, but Wigand says nothing about it and, as discussed above, no archaeological evidence points to their existence. The presence of a powerful Lithuanian army, in contrast, is mentioned explicitly by the chronicler. The Lithuanian forces were rooted in martial retinues that undoubtedly existed in the Roman period (1<sup>st</sup>–5<sup>th</sup> centuries) at the latest, but had probably arisen even earlier (Michelbertas, Vitkūnas 2003; Merkevičius 2005). However, the transformation of tribal warrior companions into an effective army: the

steps in the process and the extent of any side effects and changes, are still hotly debated (Dediala 2018). Effective, well-organised armed forces already existed indisputably in the 10<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries. Their genesis was influenced by social and environmental changes in the tribal Baltic communities. According to the scarce written sources, the Grand Duke's armed forces were created during the development of the kingdom of Mindaugas (d. 1263) and the internal conflicts between various dukes in the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Nikžentaitis 1992, p. 5). The army's basis was a general military obligation in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: every man had to defend the land in the event of an enemy invasion. Such defensive forces assembled only temporarily, of course (Batūra 1964, pp. 84–85; Gudavičius 1992, pp. 43–44). The obligation for the noblemen and their retainers, i.e. the '*bayores, etc.*' mentioned by Wigand von Marburg in his short description of Alt-Wartenburg, to participate in offensive raids declined. These raids, like in Alt-Wartenburg in 1354, were mostly organised under the direct command of the Grand Dukes or their close relatives.

The tactics and combat methods of the Lithuanian raids can only be determined ambiguously. From written sources, it is known that the infantry was the basis of the armed forces of the Baltic tribes until the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Nikžentaitis 1992, p. 7), cavalry being of minor importance. There is, however, a written record of horsemen armed with spears and maces on a battlefield already in the early 13<sup>th</sup> century. Chronicler Heinrich von Lettland described the fast horses the Lithuanians used in raids in Livonia and the tactics of the Lithuanian cavalry (Heinrich von Lettland 1959, XI. 5 [1207], XII. 2 [1208]; Vitkūnas 2011). On the other hand, cavalry was of major importance to the Teutonic Order (Nowakowski 1994, p. 105).

Archaeological discoveries have been of limited significance in understanding Lithuanian warfare because most of them cannot be dated precisely.

However, the spear was apparently the dominant Baltic weapon during the 9<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup> centuries (Kazakevičius 1998, p. 39). In addition, swords, arrowheads, and battle axes are frequent finds. The crossbow was an innovation derived from western practices and used by Lithuanian warriors at the latest from the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (Vaičenonis 2011, p. 24).

However, the Lithuanian military experienced major changes in the 14<sup>th</sup> century due to the rising confrontation with the Teutonic Order, the concentration of power in the Grand Duchy, the expansion into Russian lands and the confrontation with the Golden Horde Khanate, and general economic and social developments. The crossbow became the dominant distance weapon in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania starting in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. An analysis of various types of bolt heads showed that the majority of the Lithuanian bolts had tanged heads, with a gradually increasing percentage of socketed heads (Rackevičius 2002, pp. 62–67). The artefacts associated with bows, crossbows, and arbalests showed that, in many respects, the Lithuanian army used armaments similar to those of the German knights and other Central European forces. This dovetails especially well with the weapon finds from the northwest part of the Grand Duchy, the scene of many warlike and peaceful contacts, there being not just martial, but also diverse cultural interactions between the communities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Teutonic Order (Urbonaitė-Ubė 2018; Ubis 2018). Chivalric values and the art of jousting emerged among Lithuania's elite at that time (Pósán 2014, pp. 52–58), but the Teutonic knights also adopted weapons common in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and further east (Vaičenonis 2011, p. 39). In the course of the endless wars between them, both sides assimilated to each other. Thus, at the 1410 Battle of Tannenberg (Grunwald/Žalgiris), for example, it was nearly impossible to distinguish the best-equipped Lithuanian units from their German opponents (Nikžentaitis 1992, p. 31).

Moreover, in the second half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the use of armour and its variety increased among Lithuanian warriors. The most popular being scale and plate armour, chain mail, and brigandines (Bugys 2014). The complex armour indicates new influences on Lithuanian armour from the east and west. These changes were linked to transformations in Lithuanian tactics and combat methods. While the use of crossbows is mostly interpreted as a change in the defensive aspects, the rise of armour is explained by the increasing importance of cavalry in the grand duke's army; cavalry may have had special importance in raids such as the one at Alt-Wartenburg because of its quickness and agility. The spear was still the predominant Lithuanian weapon, as archaeological grave finds from the 14<sup>th</sup>–15<sup>th</sup> centuries indicate (Kuncevičius 2005, pp. 128–129; Petrauskas 2017, pp. 123–124). The complexity of the armament also grew. In the mid-14<sup>th</sup> century, Lithuanian armed forces consisted of light cavalry, crossbowmen, infantry, and siege machines such as catapults. On the whole, Lithuania's armed forces became more and more like the continental European armies in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, with one exception: the Eastern European expansion of Lithuania's Grand Dukes led to strong eastern influences in cavalry weapons and armour, as is shown by the archaeological data. Not only were elements of the weaponry of the equestrian nomads adapted (Bugys 2014), but some Lithuanian warriors apparently also dressed in an Eastern Slavic style (Nowakowski 1994, p. 111). Others, however, were hardly distinguishable from their German or Western European opponents (Batūra 1964, p. 93).

The attack on Alt-Wartenburg was one of many raids surely executed with the usual combat methods and tactics. The attacking forces were composed of various military units. Fast, mobile cavalry was the most important component during such raids while crossbowmen and infantry played a lesser role, but such units probably used horses to reach the target and dismounted before the battle.

## TRACES OF THE SAVAGERY AND VIOLENCE AT THE ALT-WARTENBURG SITE

Herald Wigand von Marburg gives no details about the event in 1354. He only describes the conquest of Alt-Wartenburg by the ducal brothers, the nobles, and their retinues and the fact that none of the inhabitants escaped. What that meant is shown by the archaeological findings, which present a picture of devastation: completely destroyed houses with all their burned furniture preserved in a 'Pompeii effect', the bodies of the dead in the rubble of the burned cellars, the numerous bolt and arrowheads witnessing to the wild free-for-all in the town's streets, and the silver coins hidden by panicked inhabitants behind cellar walls.

Apparently, the inhabitants of Alt-Wartenburg were taken by surprise and quickly enveloped because no one escaped, as Wigand states. When there was advance warning, the townsfolk unable to fight would have probably fled and hid in the then still dense forests; this was a usual practice, as is shown, for instance, by the reports of Heinrich von Lettland roughly 150 years before (Heinrich von Lettland 1959, XI. 5, XII. 2). The assumption of a successful Lithuanian surprise attack is also suggested by the archaeological findings, because no precautions had been taken to hide valuable equipment: iron-tipped ploughs and other farming equipment, iron skewers, a bronze kettle, etc (Figs. 6, 7), which were still in the cellars where they had been deposited before the unexpected disaster. Likewise, things suitable as weapons, such as heavy axes, remained inaccessible in the cellars on that day. Artefacts pointing to a siege: earthworks, breaches in the rampart, and stone catapult balls or similar items used by siege machines, have also yet to be found, which may also corroborate the assumption of a lightning-fast Lithuanian conquest. Another indication of a surprise coup could be that the 2013–2019 detector surveys showed the majority



Fig. 6. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). An iron pick with a burnt wooden handle and a barrel lid in a cellar, obj. 158. *Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.*

of the bolt and arrowheads to be inside the town, rather than outside it or the fortifications, but this is ambiguous because of several reasons discussed below. The town's rapid capture is also confirmed by finds of food and food remnants in several houses, which indicates that the supplies had not yet been used up. The bathhouse, for instance, yielded about two dozen jugs and pitchers, which had been sunken into the tavern's ground floor above the cellar's ceiling (Figs. 8, 9) and contained a large quantity of chicken eggs as witnessed by thousands of small shell fragments. Another cellar contained large quantities of grain, which had been spread by the firestorm, yet another, still standing barrels that might have contained beer (Fig. 6), and yet others, the remnants of wickerwork baskets (Fig. 10) that perhaps held fruit.



Fig. 7. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). A bronze cauldron with an iron handle and ceramic vessels in an outhouse, obj. 234. *Photo by F. Biermann.*



Fig. 8. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The cellar of the bathhouse, obj. 224, with a collapsed timber and sunken clay vessels cellar. *Photo by F. Biermann.*



Fig. 9. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Ceramics in the fire debris of a cellar, obj. 224, including an imported, glazed semi-stoneware jug. *Photos by F. Biermann.*

How the attackers overcame the town's fortifications is not yet clear. The distribution of bolt and arrowheads in the systematic detector surveys do not show any definite concentrations indicating fighting

hot spots at specific fortification locations; in the strict sense, as emphasized above, there were no projectiles at all at the town's main ramparts (Fig. 11). But this result is probably not significant: the entire



Fig. 10. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Wickerwork from a basket in a cellar, obj. 566. Photo by F. Biermann.

area had sparse metal finds in the beginning of the research. Metal objects were preserved virtually only in the cellars and deeper cultural layers. The rather poor results of the detector survey could have had several reasons, of course. A plausible explanation, however, is the assumption that the widely known, but remote site was already the target of intensive illegal metal detector activities, which distorted the historical distribution. Therefore, it is nearly impossible to draw conclusions from the metal find distribution pattern.

The number of crossbow bolts was indeed conspicuous on the southeast slope of the town hill and the adjacent area of the town. The sparse concentration of projectiles might indicate that fights had occurred there. Possibly a smaller group of attackers entered the town from the rear, unseen by the defenders, concealed by the main force attacking

the west rampart. In any case, the attackers entered the town and heavy fighting occurred there; since the fire debris of most of the ten excavated houses contained bolt and arrowheads, it can be assumed that street fighting occurred inside the town. The distribution of these weapons suggests that the centre of these violent events was, unsurprisingly, the market place with the *mercatorium* on its south side. The inhabitants, scared to death with good reason, probably fled to the central point of their community and defended themselves there for a while. Since far more bolt heads have been found inside the town than outside it, this corroborates the idea of a successful coup de main.

As has already been emphasized, however, the incidence of the projectiles cannot deliver more than an adumbration of the events of 1354 due to





Fig. 12. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Iron bolt and arrowheads. *Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.*

are represented less at the Alt-Wartenburg site than bolt heads: about two-thirds of the heads can be attributed to crossbows, a third to bows, which corroborates the decreasing importance of the bow among Lithuanian and German fighters in favour of the crossbow. The effective, pinpoint accurate crossbow with its enormous penetration power had already prevailed for military purposes.

This applied to both, Lithuanians and Germans; in every age military opponents assimilate to their opponents' armaments. It is, therefore, nearly impossible to attribute the individual bolt or arrowhead by type to the attackers or defenders. In the case of Alt-Wartenburg, of course, there is considerable reason to believe that most of the projectiles were shot by the men of Kęstutis and

Algirdas and on the whole the specimens are very comparable to Lithuanian finds. Moreover, several relatively light iron arrowheads with a tanged tetragonal head or rhomboid blade correspond very well to known Lithuanian military equipment, the latter type having been adapted from the Lithuanians by equestrian Nomads (cf. Медведев 1966; Świętosłowski 2011; Napierała 2019, p. 48).

Some of the projectiles, indeed, may have also belonged to the stock kept for hunting purposes at Alt-Wartenburg. However, the majority of the iron projectiles attest to the brutality of the town's demise in 1354, several bearing traces of the conflict. An iron catch for spanning a crossbow was discovered near the inner face of the town's west fortification and was therefore perhaps used by the defenders.



Fig. 13. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The iron *Bauernwehr*, a full view and a detail. Photo by J. Strobin.

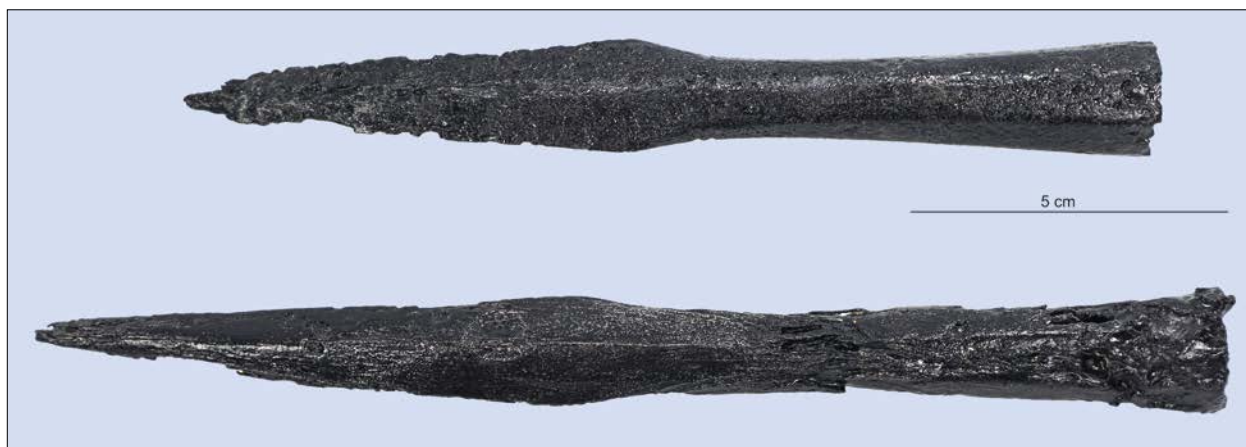


Fig. 14. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Two iron spearheads. Photo by M. Pacholec.

A long knife, a so-called *Bauernwehr* ('farmer's protection') (Fig. 13), may well have belonged to an Alt-Wartenburg inhabitant; such a weapon was often worn as a multipurpose tool, but also as a social emblem. It has a simple hand protection in the form of a separate, elongated rivet with a round head,

which was rose from the hilt where it met the blade. It was found in the vicinity of the *mercatorium*. It is, therefore, uncertain as to whether it had been used at the last fight by its owner or not. Two small spearheads belonged to light throwing weapons (Fig. 14); spears were, as mentioned above, still one



Fig. 15. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). Iron rings from chain mail (1) and the bronze ring from the young woman in a cellar, obj. 576 (2). *Photo by J. Strobin and A. Koperkiewicz.*

of the main weapons of the Lithuanians in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. Several riding spurs and spur fragments were, just like a ring-shaped part of a bridle, used by well-equipped cavaliers, i.e. Teutonic knights, representatives of the Bishop, and wealthy citizens. In addition, a small piece of iron chain mail was discovered (Fig. 15.1). These finds, of course, are not necessarily connected with the last day of Alt-Wartenburg.

The clearest evidence of the terrible destructive rage that hit the town in 1354 is the burnt houses. The town was virtually wiped out by fire: all of the previously excavated building structures had become victims of fire as shown by the completely carbonized wooden cellar structures and the burnt clay of the collapsed walls and ceilings (Figs. 16–19). In the absence of stone and brick buildings, the town was easily destroyed by fire. The arson apparently occurred during the conquest, not later, i.e. after the extensive plundering of the houses and as the completion of the destructive event. One Lithuanian war aim was usually looting and marauding, as emphasized above, but in Alt-Wartenburg this aim was obviously not foremost. Numerous useful tools as well as other objects and valuables had survived

under the fire debris: the ceramic pots were still in the places where they had been on the morning of that fateful day. The kettle with its paraphernalia had been waiting for over 660 years; axes, scythes, a plough, and a pick were still leaning against the walls. Apparently, the fire started right at the onset and then no one bothered to look for anything valuable in the rubble. The ability to search for booty after the attack would have been questionable because the enormous heat that arose during the burning of the half-timbered houses severely damaged everything. For instance, many pottery vessels had softened and become deformed.

While a fire could have unintentionally started during the fighting, the young town was not yet densely developed and thus, a burning house would not have automatically resulted in a conflagration that would destroy the whole town. This suggests that the Lithuanian warriors systematically set fire to each house in turn. Alt-Wartenburg must have lit up the sky like a torch over wintry frozen Lake Wadag. Perhaps the invaders were nervous because of their raid so deep in enemy territory. The foreseeable difficulty in returning was perhaps the reason they refrained from looting and displacing people like they



Fig. 16. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The cellar, obj. 224, of the burnt bathhouse with a collapsed stone oven and large quantities of timber and clay behind the stairs. *Photo by F. Biermann.*



Fig. 17. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). A cellar, obj. 16, filled with masses of fire debris, as seen through the entrance. *Photo by F. Biermann.*



Fig. 18. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). A burnt cellar, obj. 566, with timber and clay from the walls and ceiling. *Photo by F. Biermann.*



Fig. 19. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). A completely burnt cellar, obj. 158, with fire debris and the remnants of various containers and tools. *Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.*

usual did. It is also possible that Kęstutis and Algirdas were in extraordinary hurry because of approaching German knights and so they eschewed looting, took no prisoners, burned everything down, and departed quickly.

The fear and fate of the inhabitants of Alt Wartenburg is evident in two groups of finds. On the one hand, small concentrations of silver coins (usually Teutonic Order and Warmian Bishopric bracteates), obviously small change and wealth, which had been lost or hidden when the owners were in mortal danger, were found on numerous occasions, beneath else hidden behind the timber of wall structures in various cellars (including those of the *mercatorium*).



Fig. 20. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). A cellar, obj. 576, with a collapsed wooden structure; on the left the skeleton of the young woman is visible. *Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.*

About 20 such concentrations, numbering from a few coins to up to 17, were recovered; in all, the Alt-Wartenburg project has resulted in 157 silver coins until 2018.

On the other hand, two cellars contained the human remains of inhabitants who tried to hide in the hour of their greatest need: hopeless attempts to pluck themselves from the jaws of death. In a cellar at the market place, a young woman of 18–20 years was found under the collapsed timber walls with her face to ground and her skull shattered, probably by falling beams (Figs. 20–22). Her arms were folded in front of her



Fig. 21. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The skeleton under a collapsed timber in the same cellar. *Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.*



Fig. 22. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). A complete view on the skeleton. *Photo by A. Koperkiewicz.*



Fig. 23. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The skull of a child under fire debris in a cellar, obj. 162, together with ornaments and iron tools. *Photo by F. Biermann.*

chest and she had a bronze ring on her right hand (Fig. 15.2). That this ornament had not been taken by a looter could indicate that the woman had not been robbed and killed directly, but had hidden herself in the cellar and died of the flames, smoke, and collapsing parts of the burning house. On the floor of another fire-damaged market place cellar lay the bones of a year-old child, buried under fire debris (Fig. 23).<sup>4</sup> Nearby were two silver rings, which had certainly not been worn by this toddler. Therefore, it is possible to speculate whether they had been left there, together with the child, by the desperate mother, who had escaped, been captured, or been killed elsewhere.

The skeletons were found only at the bottom of debris-filled cellars, where they had been missed during the salvage and clean-up work following the massacre. The great mass of bodies had likely been recovered and buried at the order of the Episcopal reeve, probably in the yard of the destroyed church. However, the current excavations in the cemetery have yet to produce a mass-grave, but they have covered only a small part of the cemetery. It is also possible that the bodies had been taken to the yard of another, intact church in the vicinity of the henceforth lost town of Alt-Wartenburg.

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

The archaeological results presented here assign Alt-Wartenburg to a group of early historical and medieval era sites in the wider region, which reveal evidence of war and violence. Excavations at castles have repeatedly yielded large numbers of bolt and arrowheads as well as human remains, for example: Kaukai hillfort (Alytus District in Lithuania) where the skeletal remains of 25–30 individuals were found alongside numerous arrowheads in the courtyard, probably the victims of an 11<sup>th</sup>-century attack by

Kiev Rus' warriors (Vitkūnas, Zabiela 2017, p. 57), Maišiagala hillfort (Vilnius District in Lithuania) where burnt buildings, burnt food supplies, and other artefacts associated with attacks by the Order from 1365 and 1390 were discovered (Kulikauskienė 1972; 1974), the 14<sup>th</sup> century castles, which were built by the Order on the River Neman and were where large quantities of crossbow bolts, remnants of the constant fighting for these military bases, were found (Tautavičius 2001), and the motte castle at Plement (Plemięta) near Graudenz (Grudziądz), which was destroyed at the latest during the Hunger War of 1414 by Lithuanian and Polish troops, but potentially already some decades earlier since. Large quantities of burned timber, several iron chain mail remnants, helmets, weapons such as swords and axes, numerous bolt heads, and nine burnt human bones were found there (Nadolski 1985). Hence, Alt-Wartenburg is in general no exception. Remarkable archaeological evidence actually exists from many sites, attesting that the masses of weapons found in the graves from that period were used for their real purpose, that the many strong hillforts and castles in this region were not only symbols of power but also sorely needed in a warlike era, and that the comprehensive written record about martial events reflects the real circumstances of that time.

However, the finds from Alt-Wartenburg provide exceedingly impressive insights into a dramatic event in a violent epoch: the numerous weapons and burned buildings at the site as well as the isolated forgotten victims of violence present a scene of total destruction. The excavations have enabled archaeologists to retrace the conquest and destruction of the town in 1354, have produced extensive insights into the course and details of these cruel events and allow the incidents to be imagined (Figs. 24, 25). In particular, the site indicates that the brutal details of the Order's chronicles were, at

<sup>4</sup> Anthropological determination: Alicja Drozd-Lipińska.



Fig. 24. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The town during the Lithuanian attack in 1354 as seen from the west, an artist's impression. *Drawing by L. Plith Lauritsen.*



Fig. 25. The deserted town of Alt-Wartenburg (Barczewko). The main street during the Lithuanian attack in 1354 as seen from the west, an artist's impression. *Drawing by L. Plith Lauritsen.*

least in principle, no exaggerations to slander the opponent, not only given the completely burned down town and the traces of suddenly interrupted everyday life, but also given the numerous bolt and arrowheads as well as the finds of human remains in the cellars. On the whole, the research verifies and supplements the historical record concerning the fall of Alt-Wartenburg and its circumstances as evidence for a warlike era.

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## LIEPSNOJANTIS ALT VARTENBURGAS – ARCHEOLOGINIAI DUOMENYS APIE KARINĮ VOKIEČIŲ ORDINO IR LIETUVOS DIDŽIOSIOS KUNIGAİKŠTYSTĖS KONFLIKTĄ IŠ APLEISTO VIDURAMŽIŲ MIESTO (DAB. BARCZEWKO, VARMIA, LENKIJA)

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### Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjama Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės ir Vokiečių ordino karo tikrovė. Siekiant šį karą įvertinti kitaip – neromantizuotai ir nepolitizuotai, pasitelkiami archeologiniai duomenys – materialieji įrodymai. Archeologiniai Alt Vartenburgo duomenys teikia naujų žinių apie 1354 m. Algirdo ir Kęstučio surengto žygio į Prūsijos žemes pasekmes. Viduramžių miesto šalia dab. Barczewko miestelio (Lenkija) tyrimai yra Vokietijos

ir Lenkijos 2013–2018 m. vykdyto mokslo projekto rezultatas.

XIV a. pagrindiniu karo veiksmu buvo tapę žygiai į priešininko teritoriją. Tyrimai Alt Vartenburgo gyvenvietėje atskleidė, kad čia yra gerai išlikę per šį antpuolį sunaikinto miesto relikantai: atidengta sudegusių namų liekanų, ginklų, aukų palaikų ir kitų radinių, liudijančių siaubimo ir smurto veiksmus. Taip pat pateikiamas istorinis kontekstas apie Vokiečių

ordino ir Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštijos kari-  
nio konflikto ir žygių pobūdį; įžvalgų apie karinę  
lietuvių taktiką bei ginkluotę.

Daugiausia dėmesio skiriama 1354 m. Alt Var-  
tenburgo miesto apgulties, užėmimo ir sunaikini-  
mo rekonstrukcijai pagal archeologinius duomenis.  
Medžiaga įgalina atkurti miesto užėmimo ir jo su-  
naikinimo eigą bei kraupų likimą. Ši rekonstruk-  
cija yra bene pirmas toks detalus tyrimas apie to meto  
užimamų miestų likimą. Duomenys padeda suvokti  
ne tik bendrą karo vaizdą, bet ir atskirų miesto gy-  
ventojų žūties istoriją.

### ILIUSTRACIJŲ SĄRAŠAS

1 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Vaizdas iš oro iš vakarų pusės su matomu  
pylimu ir 2018 m. tyrimų vietomis. *L. Plitho Laurit-  
seno nuotr.*

2 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Skaitmeninis ekstrapoliuotas žemės pavir-  
šiaus modelis pagal LIDAR duomenis su viduram-  
žių miesto ir jo aplinkos magnetometrinių tyrimų  
planais. *P. Wroniecki nuotr.*

3 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Prekyvietės šiaurinės ir vakarinės dalies  
2014 m. archeologinių tyrimų vieta su atidengtais rū-  
siais ir gaisro liekanomis. *A. Koperkiewicziaus nuotr.*

4 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Panorama nuo vakarinio gynybinio grio-  
vio (su matomu perkastos 1/14 profiliu) į lauką va-  
karinėje miesto pusėje – pagrindinė antpuolio vie-  
ta. *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

5 pav. XIV–XV a. valdos ir Lietuvos kariuome-  
nės antpuolių vietos, minimos tekste: a) Vokiečių  
ordino valdomos žemės; b) Vyskupų valdomos  
žemės Prūsijoje ir Livonijoje; c) Lietuvos Didžiosios  
Kunigaikštijos valdomos žemės; d) Vokiečių ordino  
laikinei valdytos žemės; e) Alt Vartenburgas (Bar-  
czewko), užpultas 1354 m.; f) Antpuolių vietos ir mūšiai  
(metai): 1) Rastenburg (Kentšynas) 1345, 1347; 2) Rößel

(Rešlius) 1347, 1353; 3) Leunenburg (Sątoczno) 1347;  
4) Gerdauen (Железнодорожный) 1347; 5) Inster-  
burg (Черняховск) 1347; 6) Ragnit (Неман) 1347;  
7) Allenstein (Olštynas) 1356; 8) Guttstadt (Dobre  
Miasto) 1356; 9) Johannsburg (Pisz) 1361; 10) Geor-  
genburg (Маёвка) 1364; 11) Angerburg (Węgorzewo)  
1365; 12) Nordenburg (Крылово) 1366; 13) Rudau  
(Мельниково). *Ch. Herrmann ir E. Ubis sud.*

6 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Geležinis kirtiklis su sudegusiu kotu ir sta-  
tinės dangtis, aptikti rūsyje (objekte 158). *A. Koper-  
kiewicziaus nuotr.*

7 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Bronzinis katilas su geležinėmis rankenė-  
lėmis ir keraminiai indai aptikti ūkiniame pastate  
(objekte 234). *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

8 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Pirties pastato rūsys (objektas 224) su su-  
virtusiomis medinėmis konstrukcijomis ir kerami-  
niais indais. *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

9 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Keraminiai indai, aptikti gaisro liekano-  
se rūsyje (objekte 224). Tarp indų dažnas radinys –  
glazūruoti beveik akmens masės indai. *F. Bierman-  
no nuotr.*

10 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Pintinės fragmentai, aptikti rūsyje (objek-  
te 566). *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

11 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczew-  
ko) miestas. Ištirtų plotų planas su pagrindinėmis  
struktūromis ir arbaletu, taip pat lanko strėlių ant-  
galių radimvietėmis. *A. Koperkiewicziaus ir A. Na-  
pierałos nuotr.*

12 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Geležiniai arbaletu ir lanko strėlių antga-  
liai. *A. Koperkiewicziaus nuotr.*

13 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Geležinis *Bauernwehr* tipo peilis, bendras  
vaizdas ir detalės. *J. Strobino nuotr.*

14 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko)  
miestas. Du geležiniai ietigaliai. *M. Pacholeco nuotr.*

15 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Žiedinių šarvų fragmentai (1) ir smulkus bronzinis žiedas (jaunos moters?), aptiktas rūsyje (objekte 576). *J. Strobino nuotr.*

16 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Priešais sudegusios pirties rūsio (objektas 224) įėjimą įgriuvusi akmenų krosnis, medinės konstrukcijos ir sienų užpildas (molis). *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

17 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Rūsio (objektas 16) vaizdas nuo įėjimo pusės su mase gaisro liekanų. *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

18 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Sudegęs rūsys (objektas 566) su medinėmis sienų bei grindų konstrukcijomis ir moliu. *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

19 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Visiškai sudegęs rūsys (objektas 158), įvairių rakandų ir įrankių liekanos. *A. Koperkiewicziaus nuotr.*

20 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Rūsysis (objektas 576) su sugriuvusiomis

konstrukcijomis ir kairėje pusėje aptiktais jaunos moters palaikais. *A. Koperkiewicziaus nuotr.*

21 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Žmogaus palaikai aptikti rūsyje po namo konstrukcijomis. *A. Koperkiewicziaus nuotr.*

22 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Žmogaus palaikai. *A. Koperkiewicziaus nuotr.*

23 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Rūsysis (objekte 162) – vaiko kaukolė, papuošalai ir geležinis įrankis. *F. Biermanno nuotr.*

24 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Artistinė Lietuvos kariuomenės antpuolio rekonstrukcija-piešinys, vaizdas iš vakarų pusės. *L. Plith Lauritseno nuotr.*

25 pav. Apleistas Alt Vartenburgo (Barczewko) miestas. Pagrindinės gatvės vaizdas užimant. Artistinė Lietuvos kariuomenės antpuolio rekonstrukcija-piešinys, vaizdas iš vakarų pusės. *L. Plith Lauritseno nuotr.*