

Fig. 1 The valley (Wojtaszek, n.d.)

The Social, Cultural and Environmental effects of the Czorsztyn Dam on the local area

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Introduction

Life before the introduction of the Czorsztyn Dam was simple and idyllic, a bustling small village community who's local residents have resided for many generations. This took a dramatic shift in year of 1975 when construction finally began that would cause the displacement of thousands of families, the Czorsztyn lake in southern Poland is a result of this.

The two medieval castles on both edges of the valley create a truly beautiful scenery, however the development of the mega project had major impact on local communities, heritage and the environment. This thesis concentrates on the area that has been flooded as a consequence of this structure. To be able to have a particular example for analysis of the cultural and social phenomenon involved with the flooding of the entire settlement, the village of Maniowy is introduced as a case study. As a result of the construction, the whole population had to be relocated, this resulted in an in-depth documentation of the displacement process.

The main themes analysed are social, environmental and cultural.

Social - The thesis paper explores the aspects of a lost place. This is analysed in terms of relationship-making, social intercourse and general attachment to such a place. This aspect is then confronted with the design and opinions on the newly -relocated village. The first video reportages by Kamienska (1976) and Jerzy Ossowski (1975) allow us to go through those events with a retrospective of 50 years. The interviews contain opinions by locals about the construction of the dam and their fears. Then those fears and opinions are confronted with recent reportages – one from 2022 taken on the 25th anniversary of flooding the lake by Monika Chrobak (2022) and the works of Maria Godyn (2011), an ethnographer who concluded the interviews and analysed the aspect of the lost space. The social aspect in this paper will then cover the issue of losing existing relationships with



Fig. 2 Own photograph of the Czorsztyn lake. Taken from the Czorsztyn Dam. (Waszkiewicz, 2023)

people and places as a result of relocation and top-down planning by authorities.

Environmental - The effects of the Czorsztyn Dam on the Pieninski Mountains National Park and areas around the dam are analysed. Wrobel and Zarzycki (2010) cover a wide range of forms of vegetation which have been lost as either the direct effect of flooding but also through less obvious means. To name one, the change of climate as a result of introducing such a body of water in the area. Birkenmajer (2010) however, concentrates on inanimate forms of nature which even nowadays, are often overlooked. He gives a broad overview of the geological spots lost under the dam or water and are therefore inaccessible. Both sources help to understand the scale of such an enormous project on the environment.

This then helps to think not only about what is being gained but also what has been lost.

Cultural - The thesis is rich in the use of photographs, video materials and newspaper articles as a means for visual and oral research. Particularly, the amazing works of Kaj Romeyko-Hurko and Marek Wojtaszek. Romeyko-Hurko has documented the whole process with his photographs since the 1960s creating a beautiful journal of over 300 photographs. Marek Wojtaszek creator of staremaniowy.pl has managed to collect and archive over 1000 photographs of the Old Maniowy and the area before flooding. In addition, interviews and reportages by Chrobak (2022), Ossowski (1975), Kamienska (1976) and Godyn (2011) are analysed.

In regards to translation, most of the interviews have been translated by me, Mikolaj Waszkewicz, as are the other sources. The interviews are of a rather emotional nature due to the events, thus making it hard to capture in text. Certain qualities such as nostalgia or anger can often be heard in the voice of the interviewees and are hard to transcribe on paper. My intention in the translation is to best capture the feelings of these people as authentically as possible, with the more emotional interviews quoted in full. Some interviews, however, could not be entirely translated or used and are therefore missing some words or phrases, this is because of the presence of a strong dialect specific to the region that is hard to decipher even by a native speaker. However, this does not affect the overall outcome of what is intended.



Fig. 3 Scan of a photograph from Old Maniowy
In the distance New Maniowy (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014)

History

To introduce the history of the event mainly Ciolek (1948) and Rebowska(2004) are confronted, these two sources are of particular value. This is mainly because Ciolek writes about the dam almost 30 years before the construction started yet his writing foreshadows the events that would occur/be an issue in the future. Rebowska on the other hand covers a very wide spectrum of history about 30 years after the construction started. This creates an interesting dichotomy which helps to approach this subject from those specific time frames and perceive these two events from different perspectives.



Fig. 4 Church in Debno and unique polychromos (Laczykowski, n.d.)

The decision to build the dam in 1975 was controversial from the very start, this is because the construction was to happen in the Pininski National Park creating a major disturbance to the natural environment. The landscape was of high cultural and historical value containing two castles which protected the Via Regia – one of the oldest trading routes in Europe. In addition, the area of the new water reservoir interfered with the church in Debno causing high controversy in regards to cultural heritage. The church was listed as a UNESCO heritage site in 2003 but the cultural and heritage values were recognised in the planning process (Parafia, n.d.)

Maniowy was the most affected village by the construction of the Czorsztyn dam as it was situated in the middle of the valley, this caused village's relation with water to often be catastrophic. In his book, Niemiec (2014 p.3) traces the flood from 1564 which destroyed the whole Maniowy leaving no house standing resulting in the village's relocation. The new location had a much higher river bank - perhaps to establish better flood protection (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014 p.3). Between 1889-1895 a series of smaller investments were made to minimise the impact of flooding, this has not however eliminated the problem altogether. Another major flood in 1934 was also devastating for Maniowy, impacting half of its area and taking several houses and a mill (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014).

Even though life next to the river was harsh, it must have been favourable for the people as they carried on living there. The river was a necessary part of their daily life; it provided them with water for their stock and could power the aforementioned destroyed mill. However, perhaps the most fascinating attachment to the water has also become a cultural phenomenon – still present today. A group of raftsmen **flisacy** made their income by transporting the goods through the river. When the transport of goods was no longer needed they used their old boats to carry tourists which has allowed many people to see the beautiful landscape of Pieninski National Park from Dunajec's perspective. The original route however is no longer possible as it has been flooded and the original raftsmen's harbour has been relocated as a result of protest and negotiations with authorities.

The truck on the figure 5, visible in the distance indicates that the photo was taken when the construction was already happening. The trees have not yet been cut. Eventually they will be as it is necessary for filling the artificial lake. Seen rock formations on the photograph are a result of spring ice clearing up the banks of the river. According to Wrobel & Zarzycki(2010), as a consequence of the dam there could be forms of vegetation growing on those



Fig. 5 Rafting before flooding (Wojtaszek, n.d.)

banks hence the rock formations known as **żwirowiska** might disappear. This is because the dam slowed down the river therefore the ice has more time to melt away. Somehow, the traditional timber boats with the raftsmen dressed in traditional clothes seen in figure 6 are more appealing and authentic in this landscape. Even though still picturesque, the original route now flooded by the Czorsztyn lake lead through even more beautiful rock formations and presented views of the two medieval castles.

The dam was meant to regulate the river and solve the problem of flooding. Ciolek (1948) mentions that the first plans were drafted before World War II and Rebowska(2004) indicates that some actions were already taken before World War I in 1905. Better documented is the set of plans made in 1919 by Gabriel Narutowicz and his team (Rebowska, 2004 p. 24). Narutowicz was a famous polish hydro engineer, the constructor of similar objects in Switzerland. Involving such a figure in this process can indicate the significance of the project. Nonetheless, the major flood from 1934 resulted in significant action. The first water reservoir was constructed in Roznow and

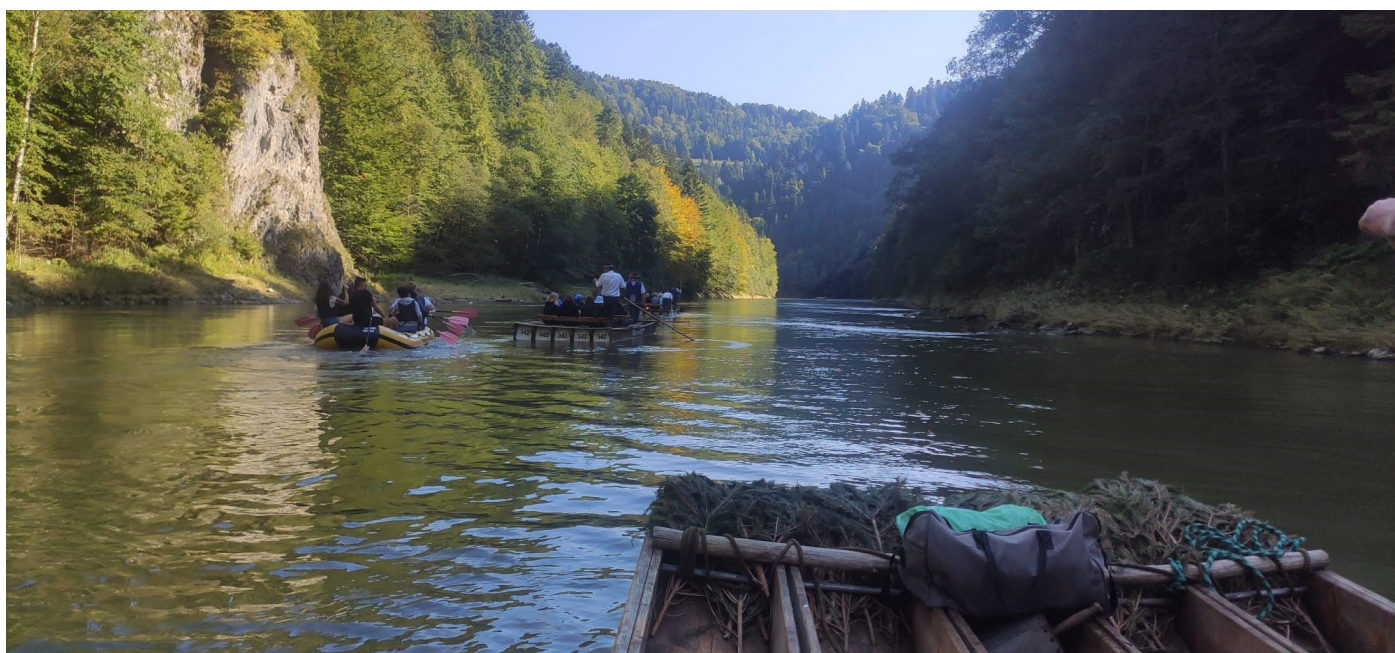


Fig. 6 Flisacy contrasted with a modern rafting boat. (Waszkiewicz, 2013)

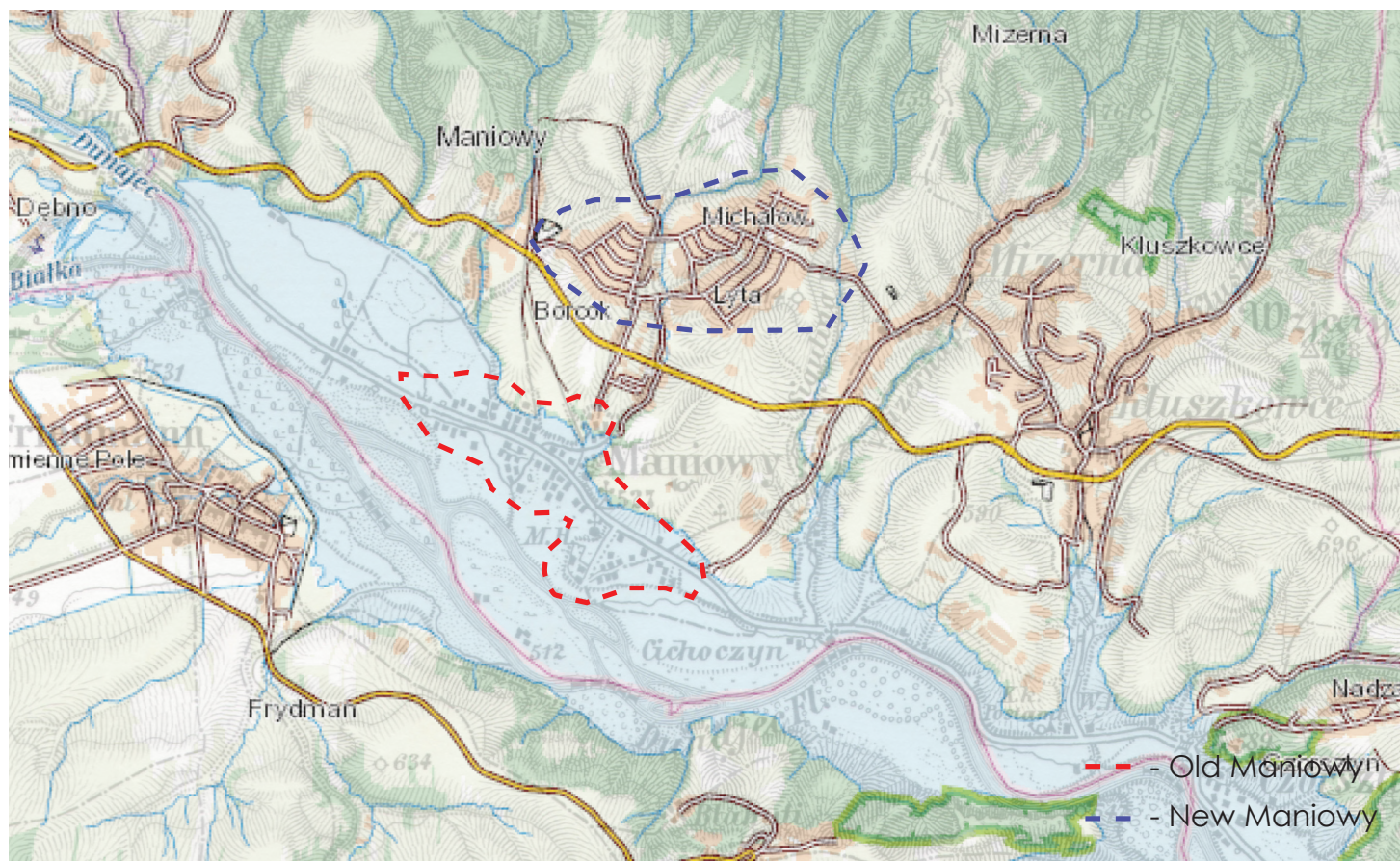


Fig. 7 Maniowy and location in 1879 (Mapster, 1879) and **Fig. 8** Map from 2022 (Geoportal, 2022)

This is the oldest map available in the archives. Photoshopped over is the most recent map which shows the new location of the village. In this case it can be seen that Mizerna has not been relocated. The dashed lines indicate the location of both new and old Maniowy, as indicated in the bottom right.

it was meant to be a part of a Roznow-Niedzica complex (located on the opposite side of the valley to Czorsztyn) meant for regulating the Dunajec river. Ciolek in the article from 1948 stated that the initial plans were for a recreational water reservoir which was designed as a part of a larger scheme of tourist attractions which were supposed to transform the region's economy. Ciolek states that those initial plans for the dam were much smaller and the water level was designed to reach 25 metres. Due to its depth then, the proposal did not consider retention and hydroelectricity which is a benefit of today's dam. Ciolek claims that during the war, works on plans continued and the idea of a much higher water level was introduced for hydroelectric purposes. After 1945 when the war ended planning continued, Rebowska claims that the new proposal was meant to come back to the concept of the smaller reservoir from before the war, however, according to Ciolek (1948) the plans from 1945 already proposed a water level of 60m meaning a much larger area

affected by flooding. Nonetheless, a new project for the dam from 1964 was disastrous for the villages of Maniowy Frydman, Debno, Harklowa, Lopuszna and other villages with uniquely built heritage (Rebowska, 2004, p. 25) but most importantly, the environment.

From the very start, the decision to build near Niedzica or Czorsztyn (the second proposed location) was a disputed issue. In the article from 1948 Ciolek already points out that the changes in the landscape and the loss of cultural goods have to be considered. Ciolek states that the new water reservoir can create an attractive asset for the region, however, later he elaborates that in the case of Czorsztyn, one would be flooding a beautiful valley than enriching its landscape. He points out that building dams would "heals the symptoms" (Ciolek, 1948 p.107) instead of fixing the causes as floods are often a result of deforestation in the region for agricultural purposes. In 1960 a special committee proposed a series of smaller dams instead of one larger, however,

a study showed that this concept would not provide enough flood protection and would fail to provide energy-making benefits of the dam (Rebowska, 2004, p.26).

Until 1963 many houses were still built in Maniowy and the village was prospering but not for long as the authorities decided to build the dam and therefore relocate the village (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014 p. 4). However, from the interviews concluded by Monika Chrobak (2022, 16:46) one recalls that already since the 1950's people could no longer build there, but I believe they were hesitant knowing the village will be destroyed anyway. Initially, people were meant to be relocated to a whole different region of Poland or to a new housing estate, Bor in the nearby city of Nowy Targ (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014 p.4). Eventually, the 'New Maniowy' was relocated above the water level of the new reservoir and in 1974 the first buildings were constructed. The decision to relocate people to the same place but higher could have been based on the social aspect. Perhaps a certain attachment to a place or the land played a crucial role here. This argument proves to be especially valid in light of the interviews with the people. *"- Some people said that they will move out when the water comes to the windows,"* says one of the interviewed (Chrobak, 2022, 0:19). Other interviewees describe the events showing a strong attachment to the place:



Fig. 9 House in Maniowy (Wojtaszek, n.d.)

"- Some people moved the day before the flooding. She was an older lady - Stolarczykowa they had to remove from her house almost forcefully [...]. She said that she will die there and to leave her be. Well you see, she was 80-something years old, you don't replant an old tree." (Chrobak, 2022, 0:30).

The following quote concludes the faith of Maniowy well. The tone in which the quote is said indicates lightheartedness from the initial disbelief. The dates the man mentions correspond with planning by Narutowicz in 1919.

"- In 1925 or 1924 they started to do something around that dam. So I thought now they will do the same as before the war – there would be no dam because until now there was no construction. Now it turns out that eventually they will build it and they will flood this beautiful plain." (Kamienska, 1976, 11:02)

Regarding the history then, the construction of the dam seemed inevitable. The plans for construction and flood management date back to the 19th century and at the start of the 20th century, the planning intensified. The decision to build in this area brought controversy in the aspect of loss to the culture and the environment. There was very little to no care considered towards the social aspect and people affected by the relocation mainly due to the argument that the dam was meant to save lives.

Figure 10 shows a different house than the one presented previously. However to show a similar house, ideally the same demonstrates the consequence the dam had on the village. The houses were simply abandoned for a long time until they were destroyed before filling the reservoir.



Fig. 10 Decay of Maniowy house (Romeyko-Hurko, n.d.)



Fig. 11 Ice barking (Wojtaszek, n.d.) People developed own methods of food protection.

Social and Cultural Aspect

The old Maniowy could be considered a rural and relatively poor farming village. Many houses were simple, yet beautifully crafted timber cottages, and the documentaries show a strong attachment to the land and farming industry is present. This attachment to land plays a crucial role in the unhappiness with the design of the new village which has not accommodated farming features.

In a documentary from 1976 which records the talks of the locals with authorities along with the architect, the issues that often rise regard farming. This is due to the plans for a new village which were inspired by suburbia leaving very little to no room for buildings required for farming and stock keeping, thus taking away from the authentic image of

a highlander village. The idea seemed to be particularly outrageous for the people for numerous reasons. One – they simply thought that tourists would not come to visit because there would be no food, especially because of the situation at the time and the lack of food in the shops (Kamienska, 1976). The comments of the interviewees indicate reliance on farming as a source of food. One of the interviewees indicates that he still has some land and he can produce something with that “- but when spring comes I will not have anywhere to buy any milk – you want to make a city from a village and it will never be a city” (Kamienska, 1976, 2:27). The argument of food production is of debatable relevance today, especially due to higher reliance on supermarkets instead of local food production. However, ecotourism is relevant and appealing to many people nowadays and can be used to attract people to more rural areas at the same time helping to maintain the authentic image of the village. This has not seemed to be the idea for the architects at that time as they preferred to modernise the village and create more of a suburbia style – hence buildings such as barns which would add to the authenticity are not present but instead hidden deeply behind the rows of buildings. This is different in Mizerna which has not been relocated and traces of organic growth associated with rural villages still exist.

The interview from 1976 particularly points to farming as a certain source of grief. Farming at that time was still not very industrialised and mainly consisted of hard and intensive labour as a way of life. One of the farmers states “- everything goes into nothing, all our labour everything we worked towards from our young age goes into nothing, it is somewhat painful – damning in one word”, “- it is sad, really” someone else adds (Kamienska, 1976, 10:40). More extreme example of such attachment is represented by one of the ladies. What she said is worth quoting in full as it might explain, to the extreme, the attitude of the residents.



Fig.12 Old Maniowy (Wojtaszek, 1982)

Village plan is a result of 'organic' growth. The barns are visible from the streetscape. Some buildings are already dismantled as the faith of Maniowy was already foredoomed.

"- I wanted to ask, what do you think about us old and abandoned who are left without care, that we do not have children but we have land and we still cultivate it because we have grown on it and we have gotten it from our fathers and grandfathers because our fathers and grandfathers and maybe even our husbands and maybe some people here who pondered around the world and they shed their blood so we can have this land and so we can be happy and until we live we will have this land and we will not give it away even if you will take it by force we will fight and we will not give it away." (Kamienska, 1976 3:19)

I suppose this represents what many people felt and I believe this was fear and over-protectiveness. Especially, as the lady points out, the fear of not being taken care of and going into the unknown. Maybe even justified fear as in an interview from 2022 one remembers:

"- They told us myths, that the state will take care of us, [...] eventually they gave people a few pennies for their old house because the house is old so it won't cost much and they told them to manage themselves. Buy a plot, buy materials, employ a crew and build the house, for a fraction of money we gave you." (Chrobak, 2022, 14:58)



Fig. 13 New Maniowy (Wojtaszek, 1982)

The plan was designed top-down by urbanists and architects. The rows of houses create an impression of modern suburbia. The barns are hidden behind the houses – perhaps they didn't show progress and were too backward.

The people then had very little to say about what is going to happen and how they are going to live in the new place. Godyn (2011, p. 202) even suggests that this lack of the ability to decide for themselves was a source of trauma.

Figure 14 shows a request for repricing submitted to local authorities on the left. The authors believed that the first pricing was

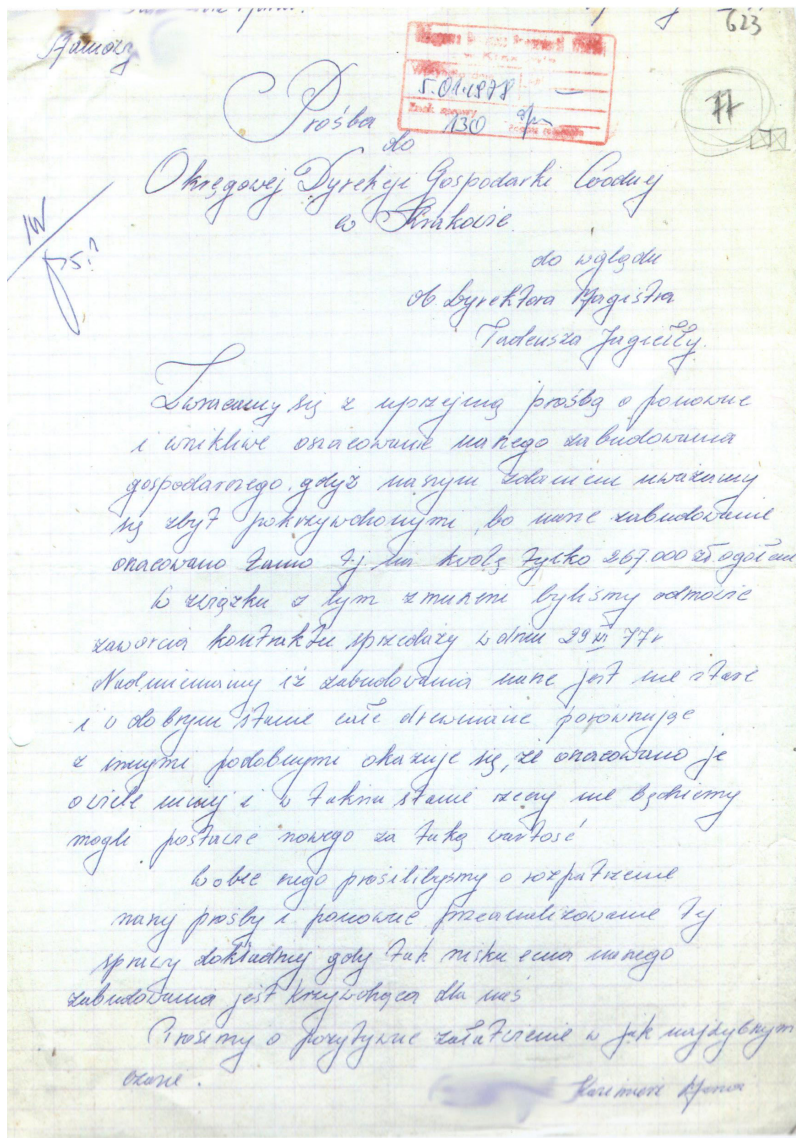


Fig. 14 Request for repricing ((Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014))

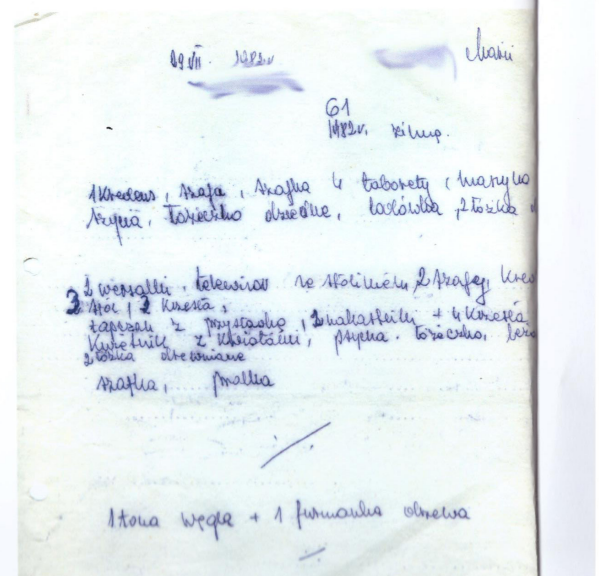
unfair, mentioning that their house is in good condition, not old and not timber like others but compared to them it was priced less, because of that they will not be able to build a new house for this amount of money. The letter on the right shows stock-taking before buy out; things like tables, chairs, TV units are mentioned.

Church itself played major life in the cultural and social life of the village. It was a place of weekly gatherings, cultural events like processions. Locals were baptised and married there, many positive memories must have been attached to this building which was built in 1826 (Niemeic, 2014, p. 4). The cultural events happening around church where an occasion to manifest culture and tradition as shown in figure 15 and 16. It was planned then at first that the church would not be destroyed. One of the interviewees

Inwentaryzacja dobytku przed wykupem/
przenosinami

*Stock-taking of property before buyout and
relocation*

Prośba o ponowne oszacowanie wykupywanego gospodarstwa. Było ich wiele.
*A request for repricing of a bought out farm.
 Many farmers applied*



says:

“- So, at first, people defended the church against demolition, they interceded so much, let the church be, if there's water, then all right, but at low water let there be masses in the church at times. And so it was planned that the church would stay and that for Christmas and for the Resurrection the masses would be held in the old church. That the water would not come there.” (Godyn, 2011, p. 214-215)



Fig. 15 Before the procession (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014)

will reach that high (Chrobak, 2022, 12:00). But eventually a decision came that the building has to be destroyed for the new reservoir. No wonder then that the event of destroying the church was a sad one for the locals.

"- We knew that and we stood on the road. Jesus and Mary Mother of God, how this happened. Just one cloud of smoke. Jesus, how I wept, how people wept [the woman weeps], if you could see it, it seemed the heart would break." (Godyn, 2011, p. 214-215)

According to the interview by Chrobak (2022, 12:00) one of the interviewees documented with a photograph that in 1997 at the event of opening the dam the water level reached about 30cm below the arms of the cross which was built in the place of old church. The cross apparently was about the height of the old windows. He says that it was when he realised how dangerous the flood can be. Unfortunately, I was not able to find the photograph.



Fig. 16 Traditional outfits. (Wojtaszek, n.d)



Fig. 17 Old Maniowy before flooding (ZdzichuPetarda, 2016)

A different fate luckily occurred for the smaller timber church at the cemetery. This one was relocated to the new village (Godyn, 2011 p. 216-217). The church dating back to 1720 is a reminder of the old village and its beautiful, traditional architecture (Niemiec, 2014, p.3).

The old manor in Maniowy and the unique barn based on a plan of a square called **Czworaki** unfortunately did not survive. The buildings were flooded in 1992 and after the flood the barn was set on fire, unfortunately those two cultural heritage buildings were not fit to be relocated as initially planned (Staryczorsztyn, 2022).

Another important aspect not considered in the new design was the existing life in the village. A life characterised by certain habits and actions which promoted and allowed for social interaction. In her ethnographic study Godyn (2011) finds that "those meetings and neighbourly contacts are the dominating elements of the recollections in the interviews with the inhabitants of the relocated village" (Godyn,

2011, p. 208). From the interviews conducted by her, we find out that "The places of those meetings were usually benches (M/4); the road (M/17); at the well (M/29)" (Godyn, 2011, p. 209). Those places are easy to miss out on by an architect or urbanist responsible for a master plan, and therefore if not planned and accommodated they are harmful to the creation of relationships in society.



Fig. 18 Saint Sebastian Chapel in New Maniowy (Bielamowicz, 2018)



Fig. 19 Saint Sebastian Chapel in Old Maniowy (Niemiec & Urbanik, 2014) A careful eye can spot the church on the image.

Though beauty is not everything, the idyllic and romantic vision of the traditional highlanders village with beautiful timber cottages is often confronted with reality. Common motive in the interviews by Chrobak is that people preferred to live in New Maniowy. One recalls that his house in Old Maniowy was lacking running water and central heating. He remembers that the roads in the village were not asphalt but dirt and mud (Chrobak, 2022, 17:08) which to



Fig. 20 Drohojowski's barns (Kramarz, n.d)

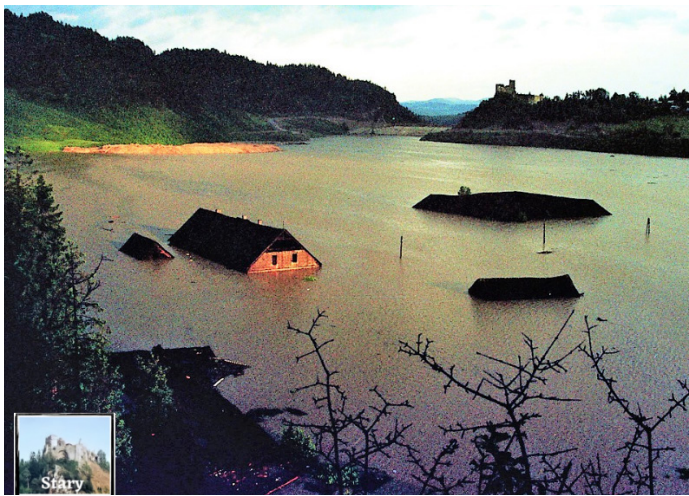


Fig. 21 Drohojowski's barns on the day of the flood (Mikolajewicz, 1992)

some extent might point to poverty. Earlier in the interview the same man recalls the amount of effort he had to go through in order to achieve those means. He describes that in his childhood they had to bring timber from a forest with a horse then cut it to size and store it prepared for winter, that water had to be brought from the well. He recalls that the work on the farm was hard and at the end of the day he ran with a towel to the river to wash (Chrobak, 2022 6:35). The construction of the new brick and mortar houses in the New Maniowy then modernised and simplified the way of living in the village and was definitely of benefit to the people.

Yet, particularly fascinating is the fact that major grief and pretenses are involved to an enormous extent with the architecture, something which might not appear obvious at first. Architecture played such a crucial role that it was mentioned both in the interviews

from 1976 and 2022. In 1976 one resident said “-Why do you not let us build the houses we want? Highlander's houses!” - someone shouts” (Kamieniska, 1976, 5:55). Same motive appears in an interview from 2022: “everything from a string like matchsticks boxes, no chance to do something highlander” (Chrobak, 2022, 18:35). This points out to certain unhappiness with the inability to express the culture and tradition in architecture. Another important aspect seems to be the lack of old neighbours. This was most mentioned in the conversations with locals. This is because old relationships were often formulated since childhood, therefore it was harder to get a similar type of bond with new neighbours (Chrobak, 2022).

Environment

The damage to the environment involved with the building of the dam was very contentious and the source of many protests. The required change in infrastructure such as new roads, bridges, buildings, dikes and more tourist traffic have interfered with the ecosystem. According to Wrobel and Zarzycki (2010) those changes have been visible in flora and fauna. Their report compares the predicted changes to the environment together with the observed changes after filling the reservoir with water. Such investment has a major impact on the ecosystem and a loss is inevitable, especially in this case as around 1200ha have been flooded. Of course, most construction projects have involved harm to the environment to some extent but this particular scenario also affected the ecosystem of a river and national park. Around 50 species of algae have been lost together with forms of vegetation living in the water, some however survived and were found further down the river. Many species have been lost but also new forms of water life have been introduced. What's important to note is that the investment was also harmful to unique forms of vegetation which migrated to the Pieniny from the Tatra mountains (Wrobel & Zarzycki, 2010). Some species in this area have been lost and some have faded away



Fig. 22 Construction (Romeyko-Hurko, n.d.)
The poles with signs indicate the border of the Pieninski National Park.

as a result of the construction and change of climate. This seems to be especially strange due to the presence of the investment in a National Park.

There are also some side effects of the new reservoir itself. Tourism in fact resulted in more stock farming for the production of local cheese which resulted in floury meadows being converted into pastures with the monoculture of species (Wrobel & Zarzycki, 2010). The open area of the water reservoir also has a negative effect on the forests; the deforestation for the purpose of the water reservoir destroyed the natural edge of the forest. As a result, too much wind from the open area of the reservoir results in spruce trees falling out on the edge of the forest.

According to Wrobel and Zarzycki (2010), it is too early to decide what damage has been done or what can still be done as a result of the dam, more time still has to pass.

Not all effects on the environment can also be attached to the dam as some might be a result of extensive human expansion in the area.

As a consequence of the flooding, monuments of inanimate nature have also been lost. Those are the less obvious forms of nature such as geological formations. According to Birkenmajer (2010), five sites are flooded, therefore not available for further research. Two of those sites are partly hidden under the buildings and installations assisting the dam. Only 3 sites remain and have not been damaged by the dam works or have not been flooded.

The geological aspect was widely considered before the construction of the dam (Birkenmajer, 2010) resulting in two places being chosen for the construction. The site considered at first was **Zielone Skalki**, mainly due to the geological formation of the soil. According to Birkenmajer, the

location was not opposed so much for its loss of cultural heritage as this could be relocated to an open-air museum. However, the location presented major issues for Pieninski National Park. On the other hand, the second proposed location, **Niedzieca Castle**, presented more issues concerning the loss of cultural heritage and building it next to the Pieninski National Park would interfere more with the protected areas. Also, the geological conditions in this area were much worse than in the other variant. However, the proposed height of the water level for the new reservoir was to be a lot smaller to protect the old castle.

In the end, the second location was chosen. This meant flooding several geological posts. A rescue program has been set up before the filling of the new water reservoir. The samples were collected and are stored now in numerous institutions. (Birkenmajer, 2010)

The environmental impact of the investment was so disputed that it led to many protests who's main intention was to stop the construction and flooding of the valley. Many organisations with people from all over the country and some people from abroad came to Czorsztyn in the summer to protest (Payerhin, 2007). In due course, many people joined also because of the cultural aspect which would be lost (Annon A, 2022). One of the campaigns against the investment was **Dam to the Dam - Tama tamie**. The way the environmentalists opposed the protests was different to the locals. The locals threw themselves in front of the bulldozers, sneaked back into their doomed houses and attended masses in the church in the old village as a sign of protest. The environmentalist protested on the construction site, they set up camps and occupied old guesthouses. The protesters organised road blockades leading to the construction site and in July 1990 succeeded in blocking the access road to the dams for a week. Interestingly, the blockades lead to skirmishes with truck drivers who were not happy with their loss of income. Given that many of the people working on the site were locals this maybe shows a conflicting view

towards the dam between environmentalists and locals.

Many protesters were arrested, many faced fines, they have not succeeded in talks with government officials. The concept of smaller dams was yet once again introduced but resulted in nothing. Particularly puzzling is the fact that those responsible for the construction was the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources (Payerhin, 2007). The minister at the time faced a hard decision as the project was already advanced, his response was that the important issue to him was the dangerous floods and he says: "I had a well-formulated opinion that the arguments for completing the construction were far more important than those for stopping it. I found no crucial argument to stop such a well-advanced project" (Nowicki, 2006 as cited in Payerhin, 2007 p.13). In the end, the opinion of Nowicki seems reasonable as the



Fig. 23 Road blockade 2 (Hubert, 1991)

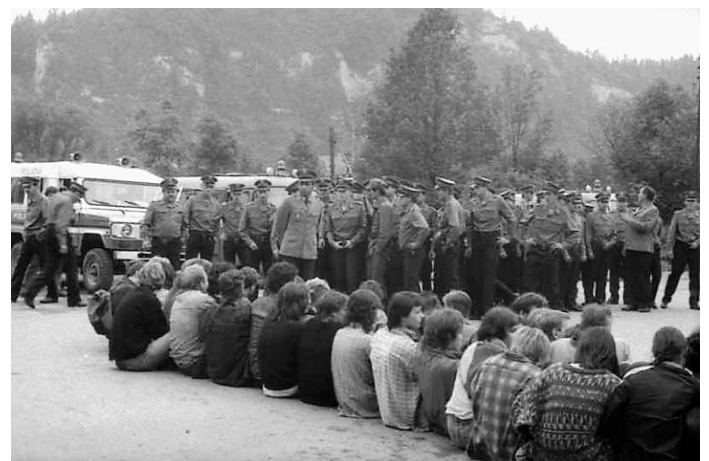


Fig. 24 Road blockade "Tama Tamie" (Techniczny, 1991)



Fig. 25 Protestors (Romeyko-Hurko, n.d.)
The sign says following "statue of stupidity of communism and not only..."

project can save human lives.

The protest by environmentalists leads to many positive outcomes. Nowicki, the Minister of the Environment, gave his "public word of honour" that the reservoir will not be filled "until a comprehensive water treatment facility and supporting system of smaller facilities has been built and all the monuments of history contained therein are absolutely safe" (Zubek 1997, as quoted in Payerhin, 2007 p.14), thus a good quality of water was ensured. Also the minister appealed to the regional court to dismiss the fines and penalties against the protesters as he believed that they were acting in good faith; "These youngsters acted in defence of the highest natural and cultural values of our country" (Platta 1992 as cited in Payerhin, 2007 p.15)

The aspect of the landscape has to be also considered with figure 25 showing the extensive man-made dike around 2 km long and up to 27m high in Frydman that had to be put in place in order to protect some villages from the flood. Similar dike protects Debno with UNESCO church and Kluszkowce (Kubik, 2013, 6:34). The dike,



Fig. 26 Frydman dike (Wojcik, 2016)

however, leaked several times in 2010 leading to partially flooding the village of Debno (Dziennik Polski, 2010). Rescue action had to be put in place and water from the reservoir released in order to save the village and the church with polychromies. In figure 7 and 8 one can see that **Friedman** visible in figure 25 lay by the river. Now the view at the river has been replaced with a rather strange looking green wall with concrete on the other side. Occasionally leaking and not protecting people from what it was meant to protect from in the first place. Figure 34 also shows that the new dam is blocking the view of the valley. Positively the edge of the dam was planted with local species and rocks to minimise its impact on the environment (Kubik, 2013, 7:12).

National Context

The construction of the dam was to be of major benefit not only locally but to the whole country (Ciolek, 1948). This then played a role in a way the event was being received by the local community. The interviews in the documentary by Kamienska (1976, 1:14) start with an interviewer saying: “- We were not interested with the construction of the dam as a local necessity, we were making compromises because we know the dam is necessary for the country”. The argument of the wider context might be then used against the local community, in a sense, a mindset like this might be used to shame people as they are not ready to make sacrifices for the country. Consequently, the people living there can be accused of being non-patriotic and the like. Ultimately, the reason why this is mentioned is to show that in a way **higher goal** can be used as a tool to get the investment going.

According to Ciolek (1948). There were four arguments behind the construction of the dam. One argument is that the dam will help to regulate the Wisla river, thus helping the waterway transportation, energy production, flood protection, lastly, the dam will create new landscape qualities, therefore helping to develop a form of tourism and recreation.

Undoubtedly, the dam succeeded in that. According to Rebowska (2004) as of 2004 there were 137 agritourism spots in the municipality of Czorsztyn. On top of that about 3 guesthouses, a skiing station on the Widzar mountain with a view on the reservoir, restaurants, a ferry on the reservoir, an ethnographic museum, and an open air museum. The majestic views attract people from other parts of the country and one-of-a-kind forms of architecture are being built.



Fig. 27 Pod Kurpiokiem (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014)



Fig. 28 Pod Kurpiokiem today (Niemiec & Urbaniak, 2014)

Post Factum

From time to time, when the drought comes or maintenance work has to be done the water goes down revealing what was once lost. Figure 27 and 28 show the same place before and after identified by Niemiec. On the right side of those figures the unique storage buildings are visible, some of those storage units were rebuilt in the open air museum as seen below. The stone part of the building partially underground served as a cold food storage whereas the above timber part was used for storing of hay.

The mentioned open air museum was a place where some of the buildings with higher cultural value were preserved. Some of the buildings serve as Hotel and some are used for an ethnographic museum showing the life that once happened in Maniowy. Around 11 of those old storages and cottages were preserved (Lewicka et al., 2009).

Such preservation of buildings followed with relocation of some more important buildings like previously mentioned little church, help to maintain the old spirit of the place. They enrich the quality of the region by telling its history.

To mention is that the complex **Osada Turystyczna Czorsztyn** is out of use today. In 2021 private investor closed off the buildings, with plans to intensify the area with modern hotel complex, with swimming pools and sport infrastructure (24tp, 2021). Whether it is going to be built is still questionable due to discussions with heritage protection. However looking at the area now it is clear that mentioned by Wrobel & Zarzycki(2010) urbanisation of the region is apparent. The case shows that much care has to be taken for such object to function. Without proper investments from subjects which are interested in maintaining the authentic cultural image of the region the survival of such objects is in danger.



Fig. 29 Old storages (Happa, 2014) visible in figure 27 in their original location

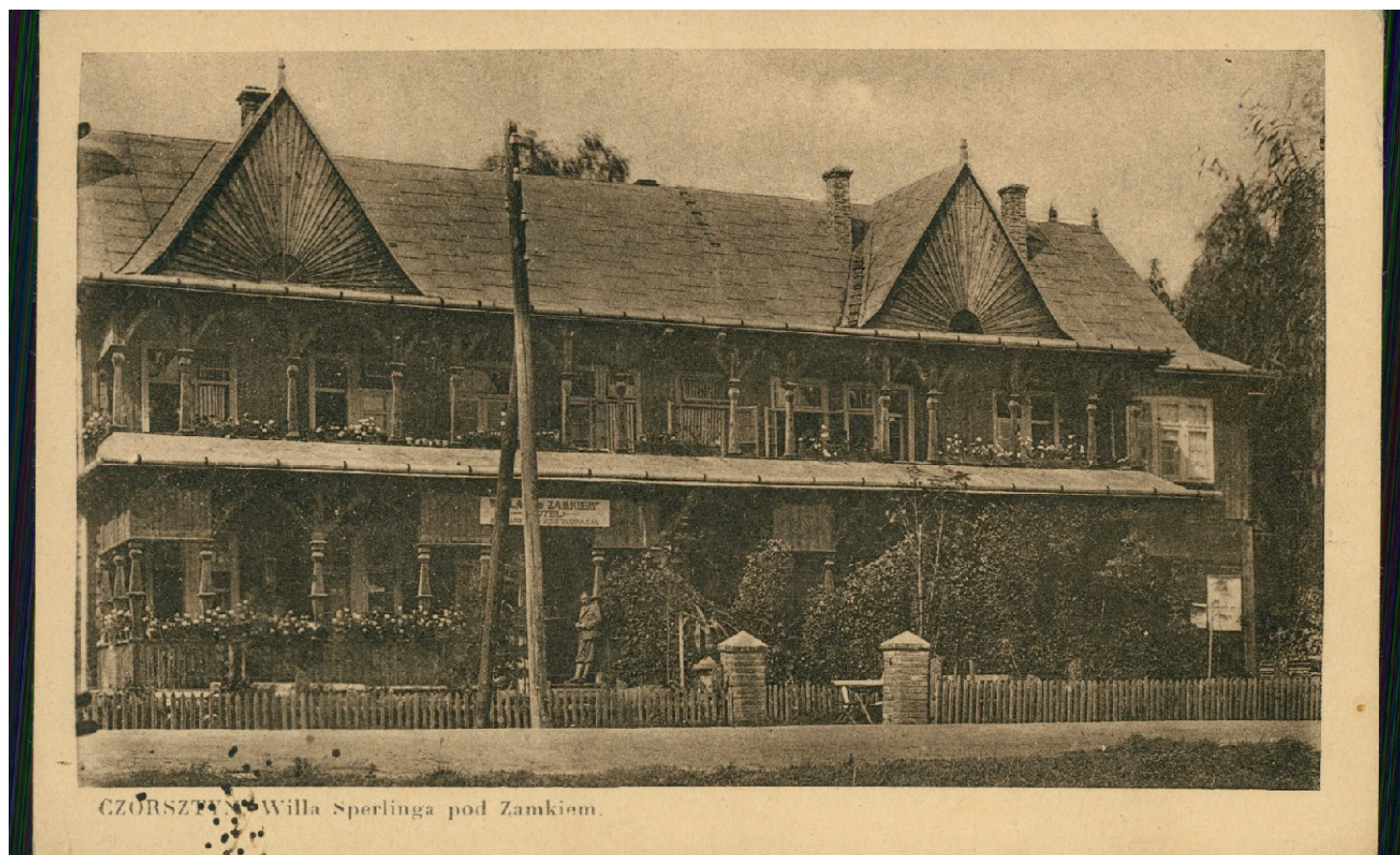


Fig. 30 Villa Sperlinga (Polona, 1906)



Fig. 31 Villa Sperlinga in Osada Turystyczna Czorsztyn (Happa, 2014)



Fig. 32 View at two castles (Polona, 1830)



Fig. 33 View at two castles II (Romeyko-Hurko, n.d.)



Fig. 34 View today (SARP, n.d.) - the last castle is pretty much gone from this historic view.

Conclusion

In summary, the introduction of the Czorsztyn dam to the local area drastically altered the various aforementioned themes discussed throughout this thesis.

In regards to the environment, the ecosystems were changed and some destroyed. In some instances like with the forest, actions had to be taken to solve the problems thus imploring additional financial resources which had to be spend. However, new forms of biodiversity and underwater life also emerged and enhanced the local flora and fauna.

Unfortunately, historic landscape was also destroyed in the process. The famous Via Regia, the heritage buildings lost, centuries of organically grown villages. This undoubtedly proved to be a major loss for the cultural aspects.

In terms of social consequences of the dam one must consider that it did indeed save lives as on the very day of its opening in 1997, a flood of a century responsible for destroying many cities in Poland and costing many lives occurred, however, in that region the dam did its job and saved many towns along the Dunajec river. More than that, the people of Maniowy were safe.

Alternatively, the dam negatively impacted the mental wellbeing of the residents due to the unconsenting displacement from generation long homes, inability to decide the architecture of the new location as well as the loss of older neighbours. This ultimated resulted in the downgrade of the social structure within the new neighbourhood.

During my first visit to Czorsztyn in 2009 I was still a child. It was not apparent to me what was once there, the life that was once below the lake. The serene valley that was buried beneath the water. Yet, I remember that I felt in love with what I saw. It is possible many tourists would have the same opinion. However, I do think that the story of the

place is beautiful and this should be present in the identity of the region. Currently this is not apparent when visiting.

To look at the dam is to experience it from different perspectives. The engineer, the architects, the environment, the urbanist, the local, the outsider, the politician, myself. It is how the mutual interest of these different groups is compromised that determines the success of the dam itself.

More then that, the social aspect of such a project has to be consider through the right of rural areas to develop. The overprotection of the environment presented in some views does not propose a plan on how the region should develop which ultimately lead to investments which can improve the social wellbeing of the residents (Rebowska, 2004, p.34). In this instance the dam and tourism involved with it offered the region and incredible chance to prosper.

Overall, the case is complicated and the fact that the span of the investment was so long does not help. The dam has good qualities, it produces green energy although with the construction and assisting infrastructure, its carbon footprint is possibly far greater than the benefits of energy produced. A major advantage of the dam is that it saves human lives along the full length of the river. The disadvantage might be that the modernisation of the traditional village was in the eyes of the people to some extent unsuccessful. The top-down planning enforced a way of living not understood and not suitable for the local community. Even though it had certain advantages such as central heating and better standard of living it seems that if designed in deeper collaboration with the people the reception could be far better. Perhaps this is a lesson to take note of throughout, especially because new dams and new investments will be built, and therefore they will pose more threats to social, cultural and environmental aspects.

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