Department of Landscape Architecture, Planning and Management

Dowspuda and its broken heritage

Dowspudas splittrade kulturarv

Kamil Chojnowski



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Note: Unless otherwise referenced or acknowledged, all photos are taken by the Author.

Any landscape is a condition of the spirit (Henri Frédéric Amiel)

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Abstract

The catalyst for this Thesis was a recognised issues with managing cultural landscape in today Poland and the recent selling of Dowspuda to a private owner. The aim of the paper is to examine how a multidisciplinary approach can give better understanding of a historical landscape and can contribute to creation of a resilient cultural landscapes in a Polish setting. The paper reviews political perturbations in Central Europe and makes connection to history of Dowspuda, as changes that occurred throughout the history led Dowspuda into deterioration. Beyond the examination of literature, graphical material has been used to complement the historical narrative about the site. The discussion raises the subject of heritage ownership, establishing a matching management plan for the landscape heritage of Dowspuda, as well as participation of people in order to secure Dowspuda's heritage and identity. The conclusions resulting from this work have the potential to guide future actions into relevant cultural landscape management in Poland.

1. Introduction

Prologue

Nov 2018

It was a grey November forenoon with a dull sky threatening rain. A brisk wind was sweeping through the farmland and the air was cold and wet. I passed through the main gate of Dowspuda's Vocational School. To my right, there was a guardhouse which, during the high season, offers catering and accommodation. It is also an information centre about the local communities and their attractions. To my left, I saw a memorial with a bust on top of it. I decided to get closer to it. The bust depicted Ludwik Michał Pac, a man who lived long time ago and was once the owner of the very grounds I was visiting. There are stories and rumours about his lost treasures and the mysterious ruins hiding in the thicket. The memorial had nostalgic vibe and it triggered a vivid flashback.

May 2001

A boy was reading a richly illustrated book and it was about archaeology. The boy was preparing for a school assignment. It was given by his history teacher who talked about Suwalki Region the other day at school. The aim was to present an interesting story about the region. The boy chose to talk about an old burial ground that he visited last summer with his father and sisters during their cycling excursion. Since then, he had the burrow ground on his mind. Boy's father saw that his son derived pleasure from studying geography and history of the region, so he gave him an old travel guide that he bought in the 1980's.

And little did he know, this curiosity was the spark that caused the burning desire to learn more about culture, people, and environment. By reading about regional physiography, history, nature, monuments, and legends, the foundation for his professional interest was laid.

I am writing this passage and the travel guide is laying on the desk, ready to accompany me during my research journey.

Landscape, a rapidly changing phenomenon in need of protection

A first image of many that people get when asked about landscape would most likely be: fields of wheat, livestock pasturing on meadows, or a charming farm with arable land around it. All the elements would be framed in a picturesque scenery and be the embodiment of Stephen Switzer's idea of the *ferme ornée*, literally meaning ornamented farm (Thompson, 2014, pp. 38, 41). However, land and landscape are two different concepts and they ought to be differentiated (Antrop, 2003, p. 2). Land is related to physical and abiotic elements of environment, like soil, ground, physiography (ibid, p. 2), whereas landscape, according to definition of European Landscape Convention (Council of Europe, 2000, p. 2), is "an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors". It is worth mentioning that, similar definition can be traced back to the

19th century, when Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) implied that landscape is a summation of all features perceived in an area (Antrop, 2003, p. 3; see von Humboldt, 1995). Due to those interactions between natural and human factors, landscapes are never frozen in time, not like paintings in a museum, but changing images observed by people. Currently, cultural landscapes dominate worldwide due to thousands of years of human interference in the environment (Mander & Antrop, 2003, p. ix). There is a strong interdependence of landscape and society. If the latter undergoes profound changes, such as technological, cultural, political, or economic changes, consequently, changes in landscape are triggered. Changes in landscape that are extreme, simultaneous, and on a big scale, increase the risk of breaking the continuity in landscape. In most cases in history, landscape has had long continuity with few, short, and infrequent changes. However, since the Age of Revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries those changes have started to appear more frequently and with an increased magnitude. Landscapes that were formerly shaped by slow processes and old traditions were radically replaced by new ones. Nowadays, it is believed that this trend will increase even more and the old landscapes that survived to our time, will be highly threatened (Antrop, 2003, p. 8). It has become imperative to protect and conserve such landscapes, thereby maintaining "the significant or characteristic features of a landscape, justified by its heritage value derived from its natural configuration and/or from human activity" (ELC, 2000).

On the conservation of landscapes in Poland

Heritage can be defined as any value (intangible) or any object (tangible) that one wishes to pass on to the next generations, and it is usually considered to bear positive message (Howard, 2003, p. 6). This is a relevant and useful description of cultural landscapes which are valuable for future (Antrop, 2005, p. 21). The legal system of Poland recognises several acts concerning landscape, its management and conservation. All of them contain parts focusing on protecting natural, historical, and cultural values within the landscape.

The Heritage Conservation Act of Poland (Ustawa z dnia 23 lipca 2003 r. o ochronie zabytków i opiece nad zabytkami)

It is the main act that regulates the rules concerning cultural heritage and forms of its protection. The act has been revised and came into force in 2003. The revised version broadens the context in protecting cultural heritage, i.e. protecting areas in order to preserve

their rare and unique features. It is specified that cultural landscape, urban or rural layout, complex of buildings, park, garden, and any other form of designed greenery holds eligibility criteria for legal protection (Art. 6.).

State authorities involved in management of cultural landscape:

- The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage
- Chief Heritage Conservator on behalf of the minister
- Province Heritage Conservator (Polish: *wojewódzki konserwator zabytków*) on behalf of the voivode (Polish: *wojewoda*)
- National Heritage Board of Poland

Forms of protection and conservation:

- Monument record as a fundamental form of protection (Polish: rejestr zabytków)
 Subcategory from 2016, Valuable Movables record (Polish: Lista Skarbów Dziedzictwa)
- Historic Monument (Polish: *pomnik historyczny*)
- Cultural Park (Polish: park kulturowy)

The Nature and Wildlife Protection Act of Poland (Ustawa z dnia 16 kwietnia 2004 r. o ochronie przyrody)

Landscape and protection of are the most frequently mentioned in this act. From the beginning it is highlighted that this act's focus is to define purpose, rules, and different ways of protecting biotic and abiotic elements of the environment, including landscape which is waged equal with the nature (Art 1.) because it is one of the resources and components of the nature and by that its values must be protected (Art. 2.). It is read that landscape protection is meant to preserve distinctive qualities of a landscape (Art. 5.).

The Environmental Protection Law of Poland (Ustawa z dnia 27 kwietnia 2001 r. Prawo ochrony środowiska)

This is another act that recognise landscape as a vital component of nature and environment (Art. 3.). It addresses issues of well-balanced uses of natural resources in order to protect landscape values (Art. 72.). Spatial planning strategy, detailed urbanist plan, local development framework, and regional planning encompass those issues and serve as guidelines and strategy for planners, architects or authorities that are concerned with issues of responsible environmental stewardship (Art. 72.).

The Spatial Planning and Land Development Act of Poland (Ustawa z dnia 27 marca 2003 r. o planowaniu i zagospodarowaniu przestrzennym)

This act ascertains the fact that spatial planning and development framework of a community must have regard to architectural and landscape values present at a site or a region (Art. 1., 15., 39.). These values can be found in acclaimed and distinguishable built-up and urban spaces as well as in open rural landscapes (Art. 2.). A word 'modern cultural goods' is used in the act which means that both old and newly established landscapes should be protected as long as they are of social, ecological, and/or cultural importance (Art. 2.)

The Florence Charter

In 1981, ICOMOS–IFLA (International Federation of Landscape Architects) produced a document concerning issues about conservation of historic parks and gardens. It became an important addition to Venice Charter which is a document on conservation of monuments and areas of historical interest (ICOMOS, 1981). The document describes criteria that delineate proper ways of handling heritage of parks and gardens with respect to their continuous growth and change (ibid.). Article 1, 6, 7, and 15 are strongly applicable to Dowspuda.

- "Art. 1. An historic garden is an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public ... it is to be considered as a monument."
- "Art. 6. The term, 'historic garden', is equally applicable to small gardens and to large parks, whether formal or 'landscape'.
- "Art. 7. Whether or not it is associated with a building in which case it is an inseparable complement, the historic garden cannot be isolated from its own particular environment, whether urban or rural, artificial or natural."
- "Art. 15. No restoration work and, above all, no reconstruction work on a historic garden shall be undertaken without thorough prior research to ensure that such work is scientifically executed and which will involve everything from excavation to the assembling of records relating to the garden in question and to similar gardens. Before any practical work starts, a project must be prepared on the basis of said research and must be submitted to a group of experts for joint examination and approval." (ibid.).

European Landscape Convention (signed and ratified 2004)

The convention represents revolutionary approach of protection, maintenance, and planning of all the types of landscapes in Europe by using national measures and international

cooperation. Each country that ratified ELC is obligated to include landscape in their regional and local planning. It must be also covered in environmental, cultural, agricultural, social, and economical policies of a given country (Jones, Howard, Olwig, Primdahl & Sarlöv, 2007, p. 207).

A new palace

The subject of this thesis, the Pac mansion and park in Dowspuda, are located in Suwałki County, Poland. This unit is situated in the north-eastern part of the country (Figure 1). There are 35 955 residents in this area and with 27 people per km² it makes it one of the least populated counties in Poland (GUS, 2018). Farming is the biggest occupation in the local economy, and it is an integral part of a diverse and rich landscape of Suwałki Region (Powiat Suwalski, 2015). Despite development of farming in this region, many ecosystems are protected (Figure 2), including landscapes. Rospuda and its valley is an area of protected landscape and it covers 25250 ha. This protected area has been established in 1991 in order to protect and to conserve the valley, which has been barely affected by human hands. Peat bogs and forests have a great diversity with numerous biological communities (Lasy Państwowe, 2016). People, whilst visiting Suwałki Region, can spot numerous lakes, rivers, erratic boulders, eskers, hanging valleys, kames, and moraines (Filipowicz, 1980, p 4-8). Amongst all the beautiful features of those landscape, there is an underappreciated gem hidden within Dowspuda, namely the ruins of the Pac palace. Once a bold, large-scale enterprise, over time was reduced to a pile of rubble and an overgrown park. Suwałki County has struggled for many years to find money for maintenance in order to secure the remaining elements of the monument. The county government conducted a few public auctions to no effect. On 12 October 2016, the palace was bought by a private owner who is involved in hotel business. The buyer comes from capital city of the province, Białystok and is very concerned about local cultural heritage. His vision is to recreate the palace and then adapt it to hotel rooms, restaurants with banqueting hall, conference rooms, and a place where people can meet and experience one of the most valuable cultural heritage in the region. The owner wishes to finish the reconstruction of the main building by 2023, exactly 200 years after the original palace was commissioned (Niebywałe Suwałki, 2017).



Figure 1: The location of Dowspuda on the map of Poland (Adapted from Location map of Poland by NordNordWestm, CC BY-SA 3.0 de)

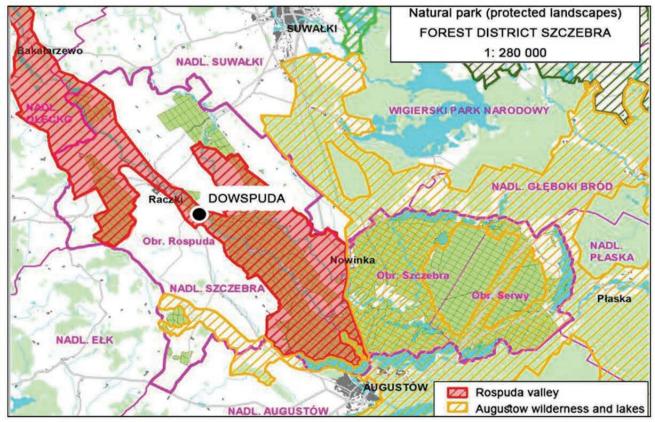


Figure 2: Dowspuda is a part of a scenic landscape of Suwałki Region (adapted from Lasy Państwowe, 2016)

Research questions, aim, and purpose

Research questions

- How history of Central Europe has affected Dowspuda?
- How has the palace landscape changed since Pac's days?
- What are its values?
- How the values of Dowspuda landscape, and the palace's future as a resilient heritage site can be ensured?

Aim

The current policies and management within conservation in Poland is probably the cause of the deterioration of many historical landscapes. Those in charge of historical monuments, seem to choose to do nothing about the wider context, which is the landscape, and instead focus solely on singular, physical objects, like buildings and monuments (Górka, 2016; Górka, 2018). This thesis seeks to examine how a multidisciplinary approach can give better understanding of a historical landscape and can contribute to a creation of resilient cultural landscapes in a Polish setting.

Purpose & Objectives

The main purpose of his thesis is to use the case study of Dowspuda which will propagate Polish landscape heritage on an international level in order to get wider audience on that matter, and to make locals proud of their heritage. The objective is to contribute to widening of knowledge on constituents of Polish landscape heritage and exploring new ways of understanding landscape conservation and management in Poland.

The discussion in this thesis primarily deals with three topics

- Overall perspectives for Dowspuda as an owned property
- The complexness of cultural heritage hidden in Dowspuda's landscape and its focal point for different fields of science
- The interplay between society and the identity of Dowspuda which have affects on its future

Method and material

Overall, the foundation for the method of this thesis is the heritage conservation management policy (Taylor, 2017, p. 220). Firstly, the historical documentation of Dowspuda and Pac's palace was performed. The methodological approach to this consisted of two trajectories. The first one, a comprehensive literature review, has aimed at collecting and combining relevant written sources that apply to the cultural landscape of Dowspuda, whereas the second trajectory employed analysis of graphical references and an observation to complement written sources previously reviewed. The documentation trajectories were then analysed to obtain the second step in the model (and in the research questions), which is assessment of the values of the Dowspuda landscape. In a third step, theoretical literature was added to discuss the possibilities to keep the value and to ensure the resilience of the Dowspuda landscape and Pac's palace park.

<u>Literature review (first trajectory)</u>

The literature study began with reading relevant books, articles, acts, and documents. Information collected from them allowed to outline events that occurred in the history of Europe and had influence on cultural heritage in Poland. Given the background, the next procedure was to gather relevant material concerning Dowspuda; this included archive records, books, articles published in scientific journals, studies, and reports published by governmental institutions. This stage enables an application of the retrospective method of historical analysis, which peels off layers in the landscape and organises facts into a narrative (Stahlschmidt, 2017). This narrative, consequently, allowed to pinpoint the causes of enabled to pinpoint causes of Dowspuda's degradation and which values are still there today.

Place observations (second trajectory)

To support the findings from the literature review, a field study was performed in November 2018. The field study was needed to investigate the site and personally assess the landscape's current status. During the field study, photographical documentation was conducted. Furthermore, plans, maps, old photography, and inventories of Dowspuda were collected, thereby revealing much about the design, layout, and evolution in the studied landscape, including buildings, infrastructures, and plant material (Lockwood, 2000).

Accordingly, and logically, both trajectories headed together towards the next phase, namely a comparison of collected data. This multi-source approach greatly diminishes the possibility of

arriving at erroneous conclusions, a risk that exists when focusing an analysis on a single source, particularly artistic representations of sites and landscapes (Williamson, 1992). The multi-source verification led to new observations concerning the cultural landscape in Dowspuda, which in turn has opened a discussion on future of Dowpsuda, need to revaluate landscape heritage present at the site, and that social sustainability, as an aspect in resilient cultural landscapes which can help manage the site so the values could be kept for the next generations.

2. COMPLEXITY OF POLISH HERITAGE

European perspective

There is no single and final definition of Central Europe, and while some researchers dispute existence of Central Europe, and correctness of its definition (see Hroch, 2000; Todorova, 2000), It was chosen to use a definitions presented by Johnson (1996, pp. 11-12) in order to delineate the boundaries of the area that is about to be discussed (see Figure 3). Nowadays, Austria, Germany, Slovenia, Switzerland, Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, and Slovakia cover the part of Europe which was always facing clashes of Eastern and Western cultures and Konrad (1995, p 157) defines this area as "neither East nor West; it is both East and West". The origin of East and West demarcation can be seen in the ancient Roman Empire and its breakup in year 395. As the individual states became more tied either to the Frankish (Western culture) tradition or to the Byzantine (Eastern culture) tradition (Hroch, 2000), polarisation between those states grew stronger. By exposure to both worlds, Central Europe has a very dynamic and distinct history, and also multiplicity of ethnic and religious groups. Central Europe is like a nexus where various ideas meet, cross over the borders, and form new definitions (Murzyn, 2008; Sucháček, 2006). When Europeans entered the early Modern Age, the Western countries were marked by Roman Catholic and Protestant Christianity (caused by Reformation and Counter Reformation), early stages of modern democracy and selfgovernment, whereas the Eastern countries developed in accordance with the legacy left by the Byzantine Empire, and supported by Orthodox Christianity as a successor (Murzyn, 2008; Bideleux & Jeffries, 1999). The other process that had substantial impact on Europe was overseas discoveries. Access to the Atlantic, rapid expansions of colonies in the New World, wave of new and exclusive goods welded Western societies, and at the same time put Eastern Europe away from market interests and doom at the periphery of the new order. Formerly mentioned Reformation either achieved the goal and Protestantism became the state religion, for example, in Sweden, England or Denmark or eventually the movement was superseded by Counter-Reformation and Catholic Church regained its influence, for example in France and in Southern Netherlands. However, these religious movements marked out distinct course of things in Central Europe and partly led to a recognition that war machine would not provide with unanimous solution and truce in religious dispute. Instead, mutual understanding was created and sovereign and gentry of states in Central Europe tolerated each other religious denomination. Of course, this liberal solution did not take conflicts out of equation but, like in Polish Commonwealth multi-faith became part of the national identity (Hroch, 2000, p. 24-



Figure 3: Present borders in Europe. The red-hatched area indicates countries of Central Europe (Adapted from Johnson, 1996, p. 2)

25). According to Murzyn (2008), Johnson (1996), and Wandycz (1992), this part of Europe has, at the same time, special charm of modernity and tradition. In the 19th century, one might have seen advances of the Industrial Revolution but also vestiges of the old system, namely feudalism. Another characteristic feature of Central Europe is its richness in ethnic groups, and only in central parts of Europe there was a great involvement and participation of Jewish in respective ethnic groups (Hroch, 2000, p. 27). This unusual concentration of Jewish communities was found during the early Modern Age on the outskirts of the eastern part of Central Europe.

Moving on now to consider political situation in Europe. When exploring history of Central Europe, it is important to note that there is a certain lack of continuity, and in fact not a single state has developed undisturbed since Middle Ages. Unlike France, England, or Spain, at some point, Czechs, Polish, Lithuanian, Hungarian were conquered and became part of a greater and stronger state. (Hroch, 2000, p. 26). In the XIX century, this discontinuity promotes growth of national spirit in conquered nations and led to uprisings, for instance, a fierce wave of fights and riots on European scale – Spring of Nations in years 1848-1849 (Johnson, 1996; Hroch, 2000). These fights and patriotism manifestations occurred also in two big powers in Europe of that time, namely Prussia (later Second Reich) and Austrian Empire, later remoulded into Austro-Hungarian Empire (Hroch, 2000). Around this time, the concept Mitteleurope began to circulate in German culture. The term has been a reference to a more traditional notion of das Land der Mitte (Eng. the country in the middle) which was used to describe central location of German nation and the ambition of their state to dominate in this part of Europe. (Johnson, 1996). Moreover, last 200 years brought both boarder instability and political transformations. Administrative, artificial borders that were imposed on the map during the Interwar Period in Europe, never reflected the complexity of the cultural canvas and situation of ethnic groups which inhabited Central Europe (Murzyn, 2008). Pick (2000) also point out the ignorance in the process of determining boarders. According to him the false assumption, that political and ethnic frontiers coincide in Central Europe, created the foundation for 'the ethnic cleansing' which happened two decades after the Paris treaty. The Interwar Europe (1918-1939), and its twenty years truce, erased multinational Habsburg Empire and formed many new countries. The newly established states were facing many problems, like instability, and the time-consuming creation of governmental structures so, as a result they were all slowly subdued, first by Third Reich and later by Soviet Union, and Central Europe as a region ceased to exist once more after the year 1939. When the horrors of World War II ended in 1945, a new kind of Europe was decided by "Big Three" – Winston Churchill, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Joseph Stalin – during a summit meeting held at Yalta. In the process, Europe was divided "into two ideologically opposed military and economics blocks" (Johnson, 1996, p. 223). As indicated previously, east, and west has already been highly polarised by different ideologies, and Yalta Conference was just another version of that cleavage. However, the Post-War order differs from the original model, and it created an "Iron Curtain" where the east side of the Europe was highly controlled by Communists. Another implication of the conference was enormous displacing of population. Over 11 million Germans alone were banished from the territories annexed by the Soviet Union and from the German territories incorporated into Poland (Johnson, 1996, p. 233-235). The revolutionary wave (Revolutions of 1989), which eventually resulted in collapse of Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), brought hopes for resurrecting the idea of a 'Central Europe'. Soon after, a goal of forging relations between countries was set in order to achieve pan-European cooperation (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 386; Pick, 2000, p. 10).

"Attempts to revive the post-war cultural identity of Central Europe are therefore little more than an exercise in nostalgia. Perhaps the time has come to encourage the adoption of a completely fresh approach to cultural cooperation, based on shared historical experience, but free from any attempt to mythologise the past" (Pick, 2000, p. 13).

Polish perspective

The previous section has reviewed broadly the European history with focus on its central part as well as the factors that caused numerous, dynamic transformation within that region. Various ethnic groups in Central Europe were subjects of different powers throughout the centuries. This fluidity had an immense impact on culture and societies. In the following pages, the Polish history will be described in order to put this into context of cultural landscape and its transformation in Poland.

The great expansion of Kingdom of Poland started as the heir of Piast dynasty, Jadwiga (Hedvige) ascended the throne in 1384 and became the king of Poland. The Grand Duke of Lithuania Jagiello (Jogaila), accepted the agreement in Kreva which united Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Kingdom of Poland. In the year 1386, he married Jadwiga, he baptised and assumed the name of Ladislaus and after that he was known as king Ladislaus Jagiello, ruler of Poland and Lithuania. These historical events started a long relation between those two states. (Topolski, 1986, pp. 52-53). In the Late Middle Ages (1440-1526), the Jagiellonians' ambition formed a superpower (see Figure 4, Figure 5) which had influence over a third part of the entire European mainland (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 42). Moreover, for a time, the Polish royal family ruled in 6 dominions (Figure 6) stretching from Baltic Sea, Adriatic Sea, to Black Sea (Zamoyski 2015, p. 49). All important aspects of culture were thriving because of the German settlers, and Poles who studied and taught at foreign universities (Topolski, 1986, p. 66).

In the 16th century, The Commonwealth of the Two Nations was among the biggest states in Europe and covered 990,000 km², and that statement is not far from the historical records. In the country with the population at nearly 10 million, Poles constituted merely 40 per cent of that society, moreover, they were mainly situated in 20 per cent of the vast kingdom (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 92). Numerous Jewish communities where present in whole Polish Commonwealth (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 93; Lukowski & Zawadzki, 2001, p. 54). As many as six languages were recognised as official: Polish, Latin, Belarusian, Hebrew, German, and Armenian. Peasant class was formed by three/four biggest ethnic groups in the state: Polish, Lithuanian, Belarusian, and Ukrainian. The same kind of inhomogeneous society was present in bourgeoise (urban population). Free city Gdańsk, a great trading centre to the north of the domain, was driven dominantly by German. In the vicinity of Gdańsk lay Elbląg. In this harbour many settlers from England and Scotland had their houses. Kraków was strongly influenced by Hungarians and Italians. Lwów, the city that is located to the east of



Figure 4: In year 1466, Poland and Lithuania borders stretched out far to the east parts of Europe (adapted from Cussans, 1998, p. 105)

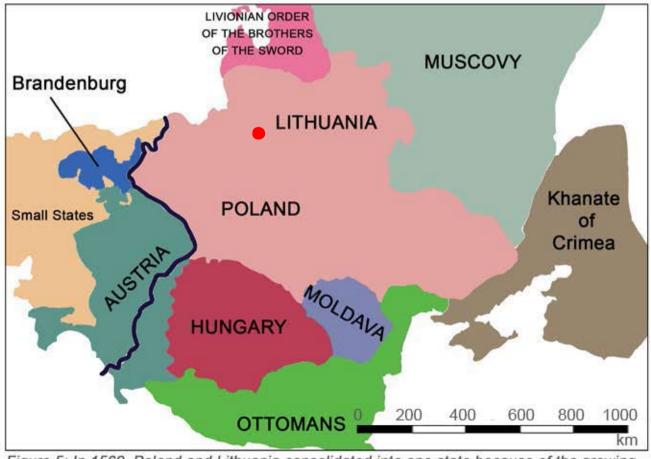


Figure 5: In 1569, Poland and Lithuania consolidated into one state because of the growing powers pressing westwords and northwords (adapted from Cussans, 1998, p. 113)

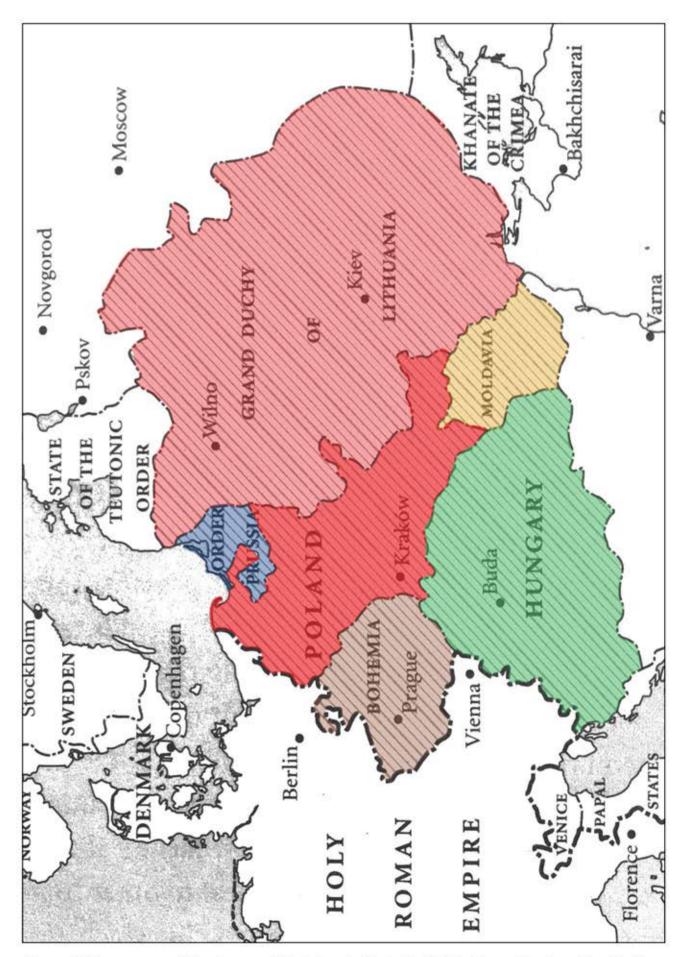


Figure 6: Supremacy of the house of Jagiellon in the Late Middle Ages. Shades of red indicate states linked by union (adapted from Zamoyski, 2015, p. 49)

Kraków, was quite unusual among other European cities of that time. It was rich in culture and open in political way and its inhabitants were Polish, Germans, Italians, and Armenians. Its religious characteristics were as rich as Rome's; Lwów had archbishopric of Roman Catholic Church, Orthodox Church, and Protestant Church (Zamoyski, 2015, pp. 92f). The system, that was a conglomeration of different people with different traditions and systems, was embodied by one person, the ruler (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 78). Prosperity during the Renaissance granted substantial influence on magnates and gentry. This social stratum sponsored many projects in the kingdom, and gradually wealthy and privileged families got enough power to influence politics and the king (Topolski, 1986, pp. 76, 79). Lukowski and Zawadzki (2001) dare to describe The Commonwealth as 'a cumbersome federation than a unified state' (pp. 68f), and with weakening, decentralised system, it became an easy prey for neighbouring states that grew stronger under the absolutism (Topolski, 1986, p. 93). In 1569, Poland and Lithuania relationship had closened in Lublin by signing a real union in Lublin (Topolski, 1986, p. 70) and the Jagiellonian dynasty was facing decline (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 78).

Heirless Zygmunt Augustus died in 1572 and a new ruler would be selected through an election. The first one elected king was Henri de Valois from France. When Henri decided to seize the opportunity to ascend French throne, Bàthory of Transylvania replaced him as a king of Polish Commonwealth. After his death, Bàthory's wife Anna Jagellon supported nomination of her nephew Sigismund III Vasa to become a new Polish monarch. For eighty years, Vasa ruled Polish Commonwealth. Unfortunately, this period was disastrous for the country. Series of wars, like Northern Wars and Cossacks rebellion caused destruction, decline in economy, famine, and plague. The population from 10 million decreased to 6-7 million. In order to revive the economy, many settlers were invited to Poland, mainly Germans, and Pomeranians. During the Baroque, Poland was an important connection between the west and the east of Europe by being a 'connector' for cultural attainments. Vasa's reign brought Sweden and Swedish culture closer to continental part of Europe (Topolski, 1986, pp. 93-98). Augustus II the Strong, a member of the house of Wettin was elected King of Poland in years 1697-1733. He decided to use Poland as a tool to gain more power as a dynasty and to secure strong position of Saxony among other small states within the Holy Roman Empire. The king wished for absolutism in both Saxony and Poland. This idea created great disapprobation among Poles because in Poland magnates hold the power (oligarchy). For comparison, Saxony was open for reforms, bourgeoisie had a strong position in the society, and it was a Protestant state. Nevertheless, during his reign, Poland was highly

influenced by German culture by inviting many artists, architects, and craftsmen. His son Augustus III managed to be elected but he mainly stayed in Dresden and let Poland be governed by magnates. During his reign 1733-63 (Figure 7), magnates strived and successfully introduced a new law that degraded a king to be just a mere representative who performs only ceremonial functions (ibid., pp. 94-95).

In years 1733-1795, Polish state was in a very difficult position because the system was incapable of reforms and the society was busy with domestic issues and disputes between the noble houses. All three neighbouring superpowers saw an opportunity and a common interest in this weakness which resulted in the Partitions (Figure 8) in 1772, 1793, 1795 respectively (Topolski, 1986, pp. 131, 141; Johnson, 1996, p. 108). Polish territory and Polish people were divided like a 'tasteful cake'. The various part of the country were parts of three different countries with disparate systems and cultural policy. The Austrian-held part of Poland was the poorest and the most backward. Agriculture was a dominant sector of its economy, but it was very inefficient. Most peasants were small holders with areas below an average holding. In addition, no major industrialisation was observed which resulted in lack of working class and almost zero growth of the cities. Austria never interfered with minor conflicts, between peasants and the nobility, which focused around serfdom and its abolition. The tension between those two groups ended up with Galician Slaughter. On the other hand, Austrian indolence and concerns of the empire gave substantial freedom for people in Galicia: Polish was an official language, lectures at universities held in Polish. Culture life was thriving in Cracow and Lviv. The situation was quite different in the Prussian-held part. Prussia as a well-developed country supported efficient farming, industry, financial institutions, and transportation. Regrettably, progress and economic advances had a high price. Prussia proceeded at once with Germanisation of Poles. German colonists were moving to West Prussia, South Prussia, and Silesia mob-handed in order to speed up the process of Germanisation (Topolski, 1986, pp. 187-191). Furthermore, Polish language was replaced with German and everyone was obliged to use it in all public institutions, like offices, courts, and schools. Land that owned Polish gentry, was bought up by Prussian Settlement Commission, and in years 1885-1890 almost 30, 000 Poles who had other citizenship than Prussian were deported. Unlike in Austria, Prussian agriculture thrived, and average holding there was 33 hectares. (Topolski, 1986, pp. 187-191; Ziemie Rzeczypospolitej pod zaborami, 20 Aug 2019; History of Poland 1795-1918, 10 Aug 2019). As explained earlier, Prussia and Russia had great ambitions of becoming the greatest power in Europe which built up tension between those two states (Pick, 2000, p. 12). An example of this is the multiple raises of duty



Figure 7: Year 1721. Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with its corrupted system and tardy monarchs became a titbid for the neighbours (adapted from Cussans, 1998, p. 137)

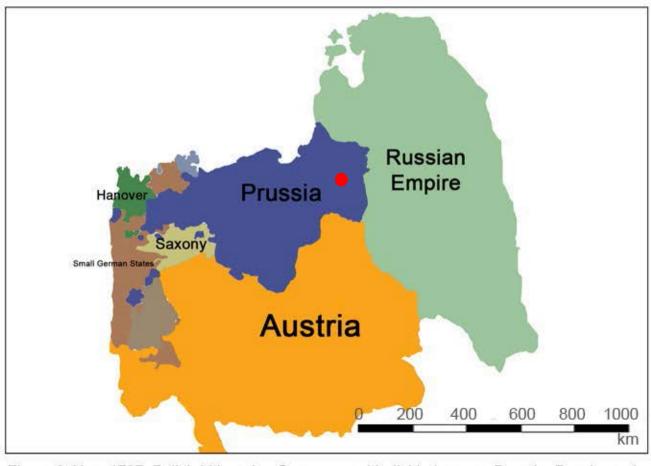


Figure 8: Year 1797. Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth divided among Prussia, Russia, and Austria (adapted from Cussans, 1998, p. 145)

between those two countries. In addition, the industrialisation came to Russian-held part of Poland later than it did to the part held by Prussia, therefore, many of craftsmen emigrated to the Russian side in search for work (Topolski, 1986, p. 171). It is necessary to mention Napoleon because this prominent leader had, for a time, a considerable influence over Russia. Due to many, successful campaigns, Napoleon as a token of gratitude for helping in his wars, helped to create Congress Poland so Polish could get a second-best version of their lost country. This polity existed between 1815-1864 and gave considerable rights and freedom (ibid., p. 146-147, 151-153). Despite the delay, Industrial Revolution reached this part of Europe and had transformed all the sectors of economy. The old-fashioned and inefficient three-field system was gradually replaced by a new crop rotation (four-field rotation). This new system was the key in agrarian revolution in England. It was brought from England to Congress Poland by Polish researchers and nobility. In addition, new plants, like potatoes and other root crops were introduced. Increase in fodder crop production allowed to increase the breeding of livestock. Between 1814 and 1843, the population of sheep increased almost 250% and oxen were replaced by horses as draught animal. The agrarian reforms had also influence on Polish society and, by abandoning feudal system, capitalism was introduced. Rich gentry with lands became entrepreneurs and peasants were turned into producers. This transformation did not eliminate the gentry, but the development of bourgeoisie resulted in closer relations between those two groups. The worst situation was among the working class that was a very tiny (2-3%) part of the society of Congress Poland. No legislation and low wages imposed long working days and exploitation of women and children (ibid., pp. 169-173). However, Polish people were not satisfied with the tiny country, which was under a Russian influence anyway, and two uprising broke out, in years 1830-31 and in 1863-64; both turned out to be disaster. Congress Poland became an integral province of Russian Empire and the Russian government started fierce repression and Russification (Topolski, 1986, p. 173; Zamoyski, 2015, pp. 260-261). The defeat and repressions caused enormous emigration of Polish people to the other countries. (Topolski, 1986, p. 167; Zamoyski, 2015, p. 263). Since 1864, Russian monarchy tried to incite peasants against the Polish gentry (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 271). The Tsar decided to 'free the poor peasants from their masters' with hopes to ruin the most obstinate, patriotic social class (ibid., p. 272). New rules dropped the law of labourrents, gave opportunity of owning a piece of land even to the landless peasants. In terms of landscape, peasants were given grazing and wood-gathering rights on manorial lands and the rights to form councils deciding over village affairs, and thereby ending gentry families' influence over land (ibid., 272). The captivity of former Polish Commonwealth had continued

until 1918, successfully alienating one region from the other (ibid., p. 258, 292, 297). The Second Polish Republic (Figure 9) existed between the First and the Second World Wars; 1918-1939 (Topolski, 1986, p. 205; Zamoyski, 2015, p. 312). Those 21 years were filled with uneasiness because Polish government was incapable of addressing pressing needs, and instead individual political parties sought to overthrow government time after time (Zamoyski, 2015, pp. 298-299). The Great Depression induced the owners of large estates to sell some of their land (Topolski, 1986, p. 226). Consequently, the land market's crisis aggravated the problem of dividing large estates into multiple, tiny, and inefficient farms (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 308). The hopeless political and economic situation resulted in the coup d'état of May 1926 from which Piłsudski emerged as an authoritarian political leader who led the country until 1935 (Topolski, 1986, p. 225). In fact, the whole Europe was feeble and unstable during this time, and year 1939 brought no ordinary war because WWII was a villainous act that had two aims: to conquer 'rightful lands' and to eradicate disqualified, inferior nations within Europe (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 313). Poland once again was split between big superpowers (Figure 10). History might say that the WWII ended in 1945 but Poland regain actual independency in 1989 (ibid., p 313). In years 1947-1989, Poland was a satellite state, i.e. independent state but under a heavy political, economic, and military control of USSR (ibid., pp. 334-336). The aftermath of the WWII brought bittersweet victory because, despite of being a member of the victorious alliance, Poland lost vast amount of its national assets. According to the calculations (ibid., p. 338), the United Kingdom and France lost 0,8 and 1,5 per cent of their valuable assets respectively, whereas Poland's loss was estimated as much as 38 per cent. The loss was reporter mostly in cultural heritage. Museums, libraries, palaces, and churches were destroyed, and precious heirlooms stolen and exported to other countries (Topolski, 1986, p. 260; Zamoyski, 2015, p. 338). In the 1950s, the government began work on the agrarian reform (Topolski, 1986, p. 267). Within the period of 4 years, 9707 landed properties (3,49 million ha) were seized by government (Basista & Chwalba, 2000, p. 718). Around 1,2 million ha of agriculture land was parcelled out and distributed among farmers and the remaining 2,29 million ha became stated-owned land (ibid., pp. 718-719). After 1949, most of this land was turned into collective farming (Polish: Panstowe Gospodarstwo Rolne, PGR), like Soviet sovkhoz and East German Volkseigenes Gut. Many acted in defiance of that law, and large number of estates and mansions, which had nothing to do with agriculture production, were turned into government properties. Moreover, the owners were deprived of valuable heirlooms and displaced with some cases where people got



Figure 9: Many independent countries were the aftermath of the First World War (adapted from Cussans, 1998, p. 173)



Figure 10: Obliteration of the order set by the Treaty of Versailles. Third Reich and USSR conquered Central Europe (adapted from Cussans, 1998, p. 177)

even incarcerated (Wiktor, 2008; Łuczak, 2002). Consequently, landed gentry ceased to exist as a social class in Polish society (Wiktor, 2008; Łuczak, 2002).

The breakup of the Soviet Union was followed by the first, completely free general election to parliament (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 400). Already in 1994, the application for a membership in European Union was submitted and after 10 years, Poland was formally accepted to the UE (ibid., p. 402).

3. History of Dowspuda

Pristine woodland of Sudovia

From the very beginning, Suwałki Region (lat. Sudovia) was densely forested part of the Europe. First documented presence of human in this region is estimated around 9000 BC (Maciejewski, 1998, p. 32) when the receding glacier started to move back towards the north. After that, a very young and dynamic landscape occurred and the ice front left floodplains rich in sediments and rocks deposits. Something in between tundra and boreal forest was formed where people, first hunter-gatherer tribes, then settlers, started to domesticate species and practice agriculture and animal husbandry. As the temperature gradually were rising, tundra and boreal vegetation was replaced by pine forests enriched by, e.g. birch European white birch (Betula pendula), European aspen (Populus tremula), and European oak (Quercus robur). Simple agronomic activities were found in vicinity of hills that were dry (free from flooding) and well-isolated (Filipowicz, 1980, pp. 9-10). According to archaeologists, between 1000 BC-500 BC, first Baltic tribes came from the Dnieper River basin to this region, among them, Yotvingians and it was the first tribe that created organised but still loose type of statehood (Maciejwski, 1998, p. 33-34). These people where thriving and raiding adiacent countries until the 13th century. Teutonic Order was brought to Poland by a Kondrad I of Masovia in 1226. He saw the order as an additional army that could be useful in his fights with Yotviningians on the boarder of his duchy. At the same time, Teutonic Order was looking for a place to settle and create their own country. On the pretext of converting, the Order invaded Yotviningian's land. By the year 1283, Yotviningians ceased to exist or by assimilation they forgot about their heritage and became part of the State of the Teutonic Order. For many centuries Sudovia and its wilderness was only a hunting ground for kings and magnates (Maciejwski, 1998, p. 33-34).

Agriculture which is the base of the region's economy has never gotten any good condition to thrive. Due to glacial landscape and Podzol, poor soils with structure mainly built of sands, resulting in poor chemical and physical properties, a low level of moisture and nutrients are observed, and so a big part of agronomic areas are comprised of meadows and pastures. These circumstances caused the region to be left in a primitive way. It is a reason why before the 19th century, no major investments were recorded in this region (Filipowicz, 1980, p. 7).

Dowspuda as Pac's domain

Pac was one of the most prominent families of Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Wolff, 1885, p. VI). Many members of that family contributed greatly to the kingdom and its development: as chiefs during the war times, as wise administrators, and as hierarchs in the church. There are different sources about founders of this noble family, and it is inconclusive who might be the first one. However, all the sources indicate that the family was founded around the 14th century (Wolff, 1885, p. VI; Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 7).

First properties of Pac family in Suwałki Region were granted in the beginning of the 15th century (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 17). It all started with colonisation of backwoods in Berżniki (near Sejny) where the first wooden manor house was built. The creator of Pac's fame was Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac (1621-1684) who started his career during John II Casimir Vasa's reign (1648-1668) and eventually, he became one of the most influential personality in the country. He was statesman of Grand Duchy of Lithuania and in years 1658-1684, he held the position of the Chancellor of Grand Duchy of Lithuania. He received education on national and international universities which was helpful in building the family empire. He also got married to Klara Izabella de Mailly Lascaris, an important lady-in-waiting from king's court, which gave further benefits to reassure his high position. He was also a contributor to cultural heritage and its demonstration is Pažaislis Monastery. It is the largest monastery in Lithuania and today, it is the most grandiose monument of Italian Baroque architecture in the country. His cousin, Michał Kazimierz Pac (1624-1682), founded another church, namely Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Vilnius. Its coping is famous for numerous stucco figures made by Giovanii Pietro Perti and ornamentation by Giovanni Maria Galii. Unfortunately, death of Michał and Krzystof ended the great hegemony of Pac family in Grand Duchy. Nevertheless, succeeding members of this house left traces of great deeds as a continuation of Chancellor Krzystof's vision (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, pp. 11-13). In 1639, Dowspuda was incorporated into Pac's wealth. Town Raczki was added in 1748. Antoni Michał Pac (1722-1774) was a successful soldier and charismatic statesman. He was decorated with the Order of the White Eagle (the highest order in Poland). He is also known for creation of palace in Jezno which became his greatest architectural creation and the main seat of the Pac family in Lithuanian Dutchy (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014). His grandson, Ludwik Michał was the last heir of this big, noble Lithuanian family. He was born in 1778 in

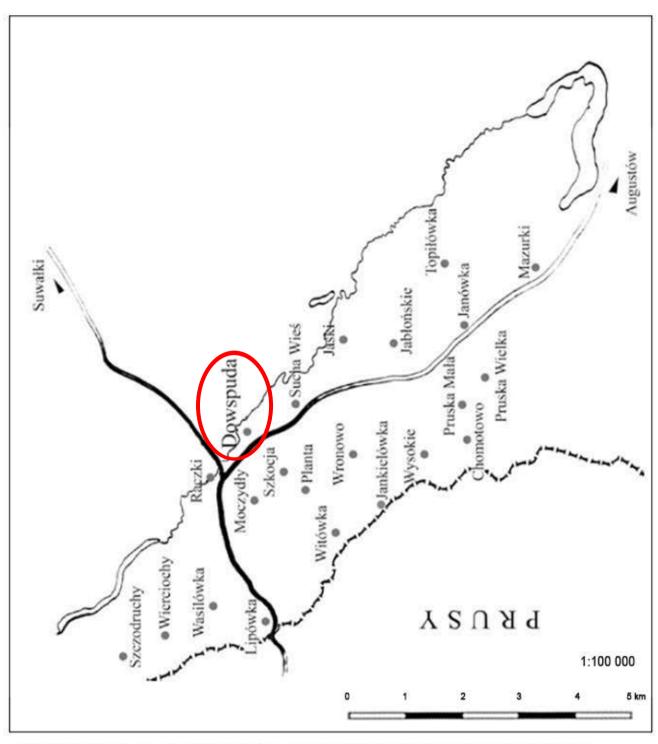


Figure 11: The most propable locations of all the villages under Pac's administration (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 21)

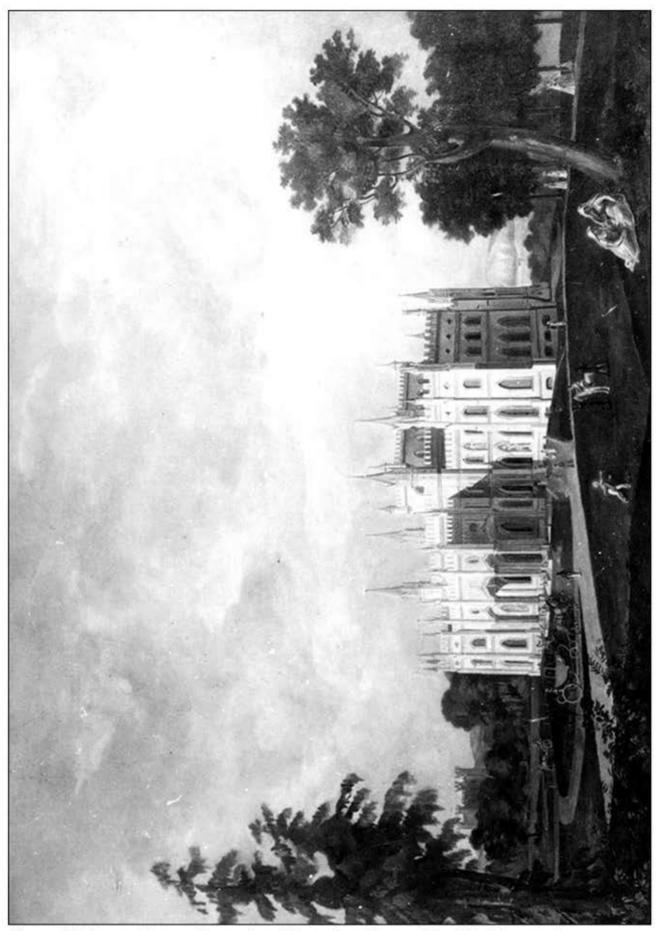


Figure 12: Dowspuda mansion and park (seen from the south) painted by an unknown artist. The mansion is perfectly incorporated to the landscape which was a specific feature of English gardens (author unknown, circa 1820-1830, Raczki Archive)

Strasbourg (Filipowicz, 1980, p. 86). He grew up in France and already in 1797, as a 19-yearold man, he inherited vast domain and a healthy family fortune: the readies, archives, and substantial collection of art (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 24). In 1807, as a soldier in Napoleon's troops, he started his military career (Filipowicz, 1980, p. 86) and at the same time he was the owner (Figure 11) of 3 towns, over 20 granges, and several dozens of villages (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 25). He fought with Russia and Prussia, two of three oppressors of Polish Kingdom. In 1810, he came back to Poland and until the end of Napoleon's campaign, he was a close associate and general officer in Napoleon's army. After Napoleon's defeat, he moved to England and there he studied and observed closely modern changes within agricultural and industrial sectors (Filipowicz, 1980, p. 86). It was in that moment when Pac's vision to improve his domain started to form. In year 1815, Tsar Alexander I of Russia declared amnesty and returned domains to the rightful owners, including Michał Pac (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 39). Between 1815 and 1821, the owner of Dowspuda invited colonists from England, Scotland, and Prussia. He offered lend tenancy for newly arrived colonists and he started to implement ideas he copied from British Isles during his stays there (Filipowicz, 1980, p. 86; Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, p. 43; Ambrosiewicz, Fiedorowicz, Chełmicka-Bordzio, Świerubska & Krzywicki, 2005, p. 13). His bold vision pioneered introduction of wool growing on Polish countryside. Merino were brought to Dowspuda, and beside that, homebred cows were crossbred with foreign dairy cows and stud farms were created, in order to drive modern farms (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014, pp. 50-51).

Count Pac was not only interested in economic aspects. In 1820, together with architect Henryk Marconi, Pac began construction of his new palace in Dowspuda. By the year of 1823, the body of the building was finished (Figure 12). The main part of the body had shape of a letter 'T', where both wings were enclosed by two octagonal pavilions. The main body and pavilions were two-storey and decorated by peaked towers and pinnacles. The roof was a butterfly roof type (V roof) and it was fenced with crenulation. The front was luxuriously finished with a portico. The entire palace was plastered. The interior of the mansion was decorated by many pieces of art, e.g. by Carlo Aurelii, Nicola de Angelis, and Giovanni Batista Carelli. The mansion was surrounded by a beautiful English landscape park designed by an English gardener, John Heiton (Ambrosiewicz et al. 2005, pp. 14-16; Filipowicz, 1980, pp. 88-92). Gerard Ciołek (1954, p. 166), as a leading historian of Polish parks and gardens, describes it as "a large Romantic garden founded by Ludwik Pac around his palace in

Dowspuda. There are numerous canals and ponds fed by the waters of the Rospuda River towards which the garden descended in broad terraces."

Pass the point of splendour

In 1824 Ludwik Michal Pac received the tittle of Count and a year after tittles senator and chatelaine of Congress Poland which granted him rights to sit in the Senate of Poland. At first very reluctant to join the conspiracy against the Russian Empire, Pac was incorporated to insurgent forces on 29 November 1830 and became one of the chiefs, for the armed rebellion lacked experienced leadership. On 3 December, he became a member of the Provisional Government under the chairmanship of Prince Adam Jerzy Czartoryski. Count Pac's financial support was the biggest among all members as well as his strong supporter of the tsar's dethronement. After his unsuccessful courting to become a chairman of the national government, Pac decided on rejoining the military. On 25 January 1831 tsar Nicholas I of Russia was dethroned whereby the uprising turned into an open war between Congress Poland and Imperial Russia. Polish forces won several major battles, but the count was heavily injured (two bullet wounds to the chest and arm) in a battle on 26 May 1831, hence his withdrawal from active duty. (Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014;). Count Pac crossed the border to Prussia on 4 October 1831 due to crushing supremacy which Russia achieved in the war and following ignominious terms of surrender. Poland became integral part of Russia once again (Topolski, 1968; Zamoyski, 2015). Michal Pac's departure was one of the reasons that began tragical series of events in Dowspuda. The others reason were the war and the legal issue of land confiscation regarding participants of the uprising. During the Polish-Russian conflict, Pac's domain suffered from armies marching towards central part of Poland where fighting took place. Deliberate destruction, terrorising locals to weaken support for the rebels, simple retribution and looting were drivers for the deeds done by soldiers. According to Ciolek (1978), the English park degraded to a major degree during this war. There is no documented evidence that shows what exactly got destroyed in Dowspuda. The oldest preserved map from 1839 shows the actual form of the original layout of Dowspuda mansion (Figure 13). Only by using the assessments made before the war and after the war can exemplify the destruction. The assessment before 1830 shows that the estate was worthy 2,6 million (2600 thousand in the document) and after the war the assessment dropped by almost 46%. At first, Dowspuda's domain was administrated by local government. The legal sequestration came into effect on 11 June 1832 and stated that all the properties owned by conspirators, that left the country and rejected Tsar's amnesty, are being transformed into properties of State Treasury. Most

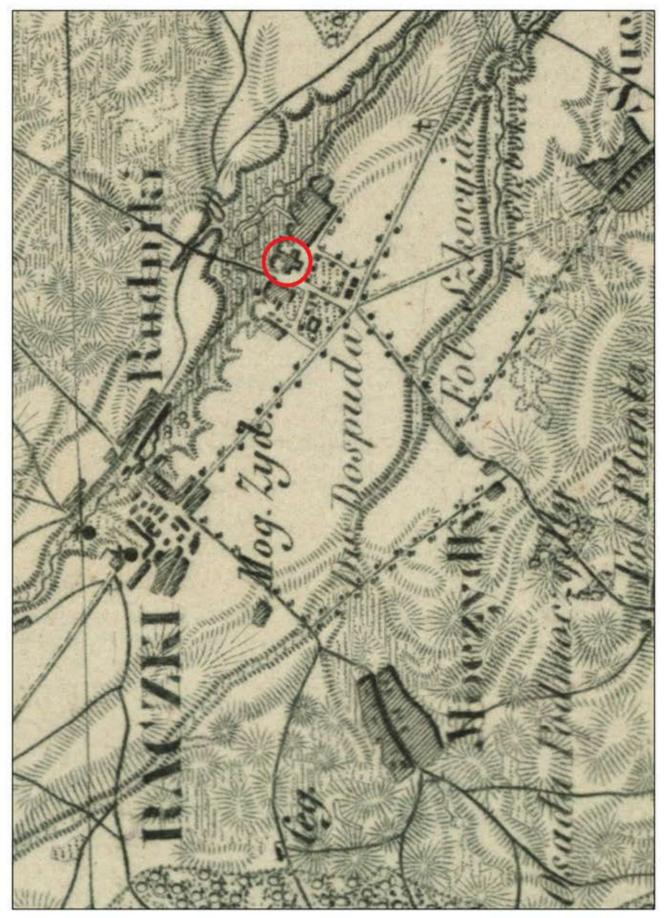


Figure 13: A map created by an unknown land surveyour. It ilustrates well Pac's vision for a large-scale, designed landscape. The red circle marks the mansion (author unknown, 1839, Raczki Archive)

valuable movables and livestock were sold during many auctions and only a small part survived hidden in different locations, for instance in the Raczki church. However, an official list of confiscated properties was not released until 10 June 1835. In the same year, in August count Michal Ludwik Pac died in Smyrna (today İzmir), Turkey. Despite several announcements, no one attended auction in 1833. First tenant, Horaczko, signed a lease in 1834. Then, tsar Nicholas I donated Dowspuda's domain to lieutenant Nikolai Sulima (Figure 14). The owner decided not to terminate the contract and made just few modifications to the lease contract, e.g. rental rate, Sulima's obligation to build barns in Szkocja and pigsty in Planta. In 1840, Horaczko's lease expired and a new tenant was chosen. His name was Benedykt Narbutt and his contract was drawn up for six years (1841-1847). This lease differed from the one that Horaczko signed with Nikolai Sulima. Narbutt's lease excluded administration of the woodlands and adjacent hamlets with fields and meadows, palace in Dowspuda with brick-built stables and the house before the palace. Unfortunately, lieutenant Sulima died on 21 October 1840 and his oldest son Semen Sulima inherited former Pac's domain. Despite initial pretences and misunderstandings, Narbutt signed the lease in 1842. Disagreements resumed shortly and the lease was terminated in 1845. Semen Sulima decided to extend his search for a new tenant and event published announcements in Warsaw press. The contract stated 12 years of lease (1846-1858) but the leaseholder died suddenly in November 1846 and his sons undid the contract in 1852. After that luckless venture, Semen chose to divide the Dowspuda domain into smaller leases, and he brought it to a conclusion in 1853, by signing needed documents in Suwalki. In 1861, Tsar Alexander II of Russia established Emancipation reform. The reform effectively abolished serfdom in whole Russian Empire, including Polish part (Zamoyski, 2015, p. 272). Sulima turned away from donation for unknown reasons in 1864 and his property was added to the public treasury. Around this time, Dowspuda and its fate received attention on a national level. Aleksander Osipowicz (1865), a committed ethnographer, local historian, and chronicler, ponders over the ruins of the mansion in his article in *Dziennik Illustrowany*. The article is kept in the vein of Romanticism because the writer glorifies ruins and their function in the landscape as a testament of past time and people who lived then. His article contains description of the original project that corresponds to the 1839 map, and condition as of 1865. In addition, lithograph complement his rich description and represent the wholeness of Dowspuda, namely landscape and building. On the lithograph (Figure 15) one can see the decay of the building: some rubble just outside of the park, lack of roof cover or windows. Semen Sulima was the last person that owned most of the land that once formed Michal Pac's domain and after him

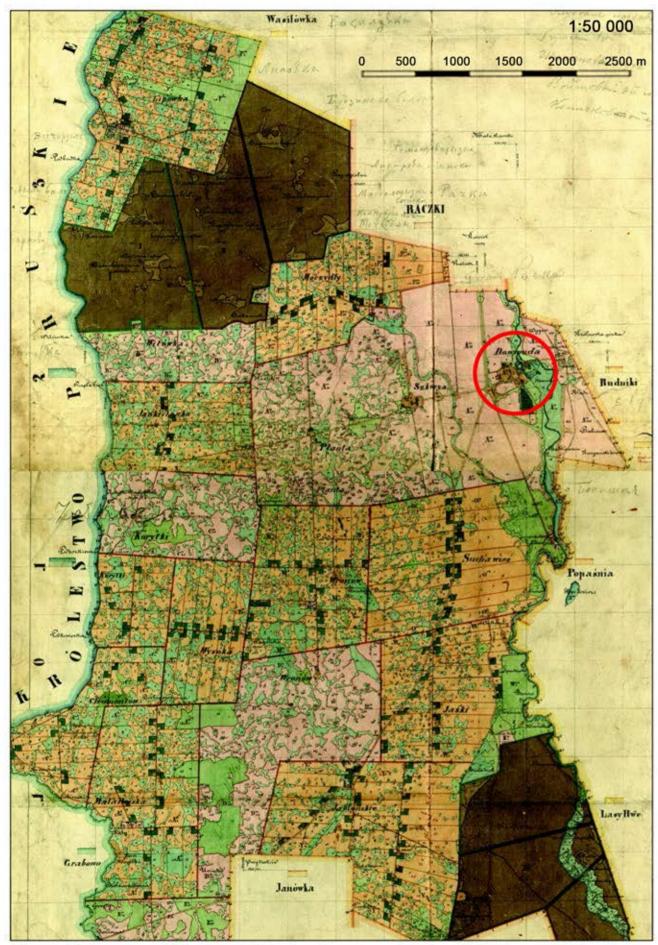


Figure 14: The map which shows all the land that was given into Sulima's possession. Dowspuda is marked with the red circle (author unknown, 1846, National Archive in Suwałki)

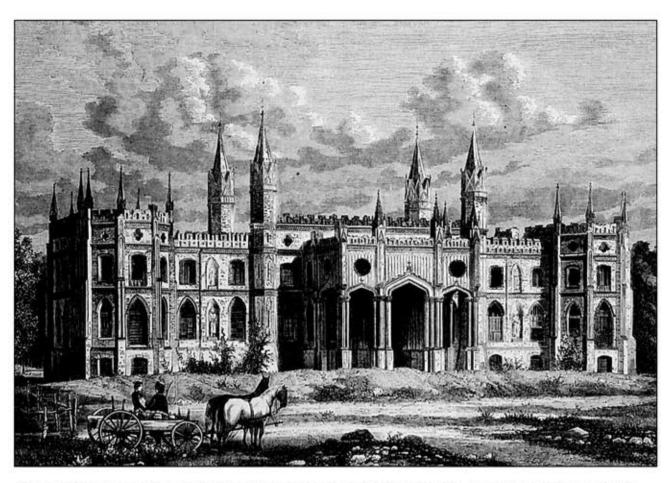
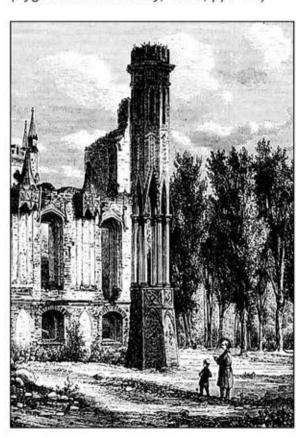
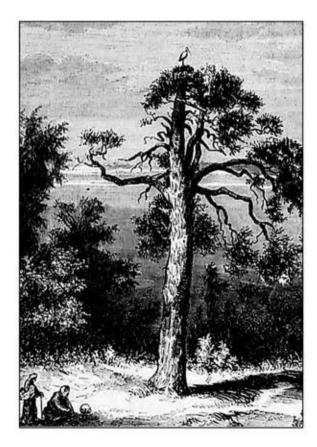


Figure 15: Litographies depicting Dowspuda. Top: the front of the mansion, bottom left: the rear side of the mansion with destroyed, upper storey, bottom right: a view over the Rospuda valley seen somewhere from the park (Tygodnik Ilustrowany, 1865, pp. 4-5)





some of the land was owned by the state and some by private people, e.g. from 1871 Mazurki and Neü-york v. Gawenlogh were owned by Glebow, from 1873 Szkocja, Szczebra, and Dowspuda were owned by minor Yuri Karcow. The administrator was Walenty Markowski until 1879 (Matusiewicz, 2011, p. 18). Andrei Karcow, brother to Yuri, described him as a good and fair trustee, open for technical innovations. In that description, it also says that Markowski considered palace in Dowspuda as a reminder of wasted labour and absolutely useless. He would rather convert the palace into more useful resources, such as livestock, fertiliser, tools, and machines as well as into a military unit. Markowski died in 1879 and his adoptive son became a new trustee. Aforementioned Andrei described him as an unwise, profligate, and bad steward. From 1890, Yuri Karcow decided to be personally responsible for administration (Figure 16) of the property (Matusiewicz, 2011, pp. 20-21). Yuri left diaries in which he reflects on Dowspuda and what it meant to him. According to him, before he became the owner of Dowspuda, no one from the state aspired to rebuild or to secure the remains of the palace. The situation was similar in the park; trees grew, produced saplings, and overgrew the site. The thicket was full of European black elderberry (Sambucus nigra) and English dogwood (*Philadelphus coronarius*). In few parts of his diary, he gets more personal and reflect what he enjoyed in Dowspuda. One of the things was walking through alleys of lime (Tilia) trees which were complemented with horse-chestnuts (Aesculus hippocastanum), maples (Acer), and other "rare and unspecified cultivars". He also glorifies opportunities to meditating in solitude. Another example are nights in spring, when he would walk through the orchard where apple (Malus) trees and tart cherries (Prunus cerasus) were in full bloom. He listened to nightingale song which was like a siren call that never wanted to release him. Back to more formal statements, Yuri believes that the palace would survive the test of time if it were not for the fire that some soldiers started in 1885 (Bukriejewa, 2011, pp. 140-150). All the remaining wooden parts of the construction were lost in that fire and only smoked walls survived. Soon after, bricks from the remaining walls were used to build Russian barrack in Suwalki. In 1890, Yuri Karcow built a house on one part of the foundation, probably using bricks from the palace as well, and only the main entrance (portico) and one tower was left intact (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005; Sidor & Matusiewicz, 2014; Bukriejewa, 2011). He also listed things that he did in order to improve his property. He mentions that he renovated old buildings (including portico and the tower), built new buildings and a new vaulted stone bridge down to the Rospuda river. Sandy banks of the river and empty spaces of the park were planted out with pine trees. Old fruit trees were replaced with new ones. Drainage canals were reamed out, which might indicate that Karcow maintained the ponds

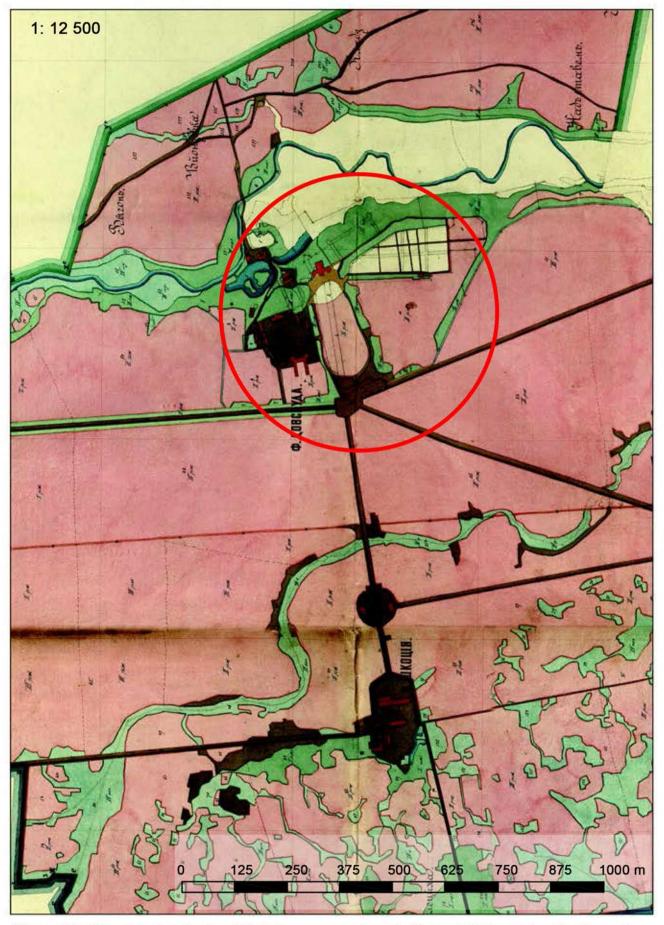


Figure 16: Map showing the land that Karcow purchased. Dowspuda is marked by the red circle. It is visible that only a tiny fraction of the original size of Pac's estate was acquired by him (author unknown, 1904, Raczki Archive)

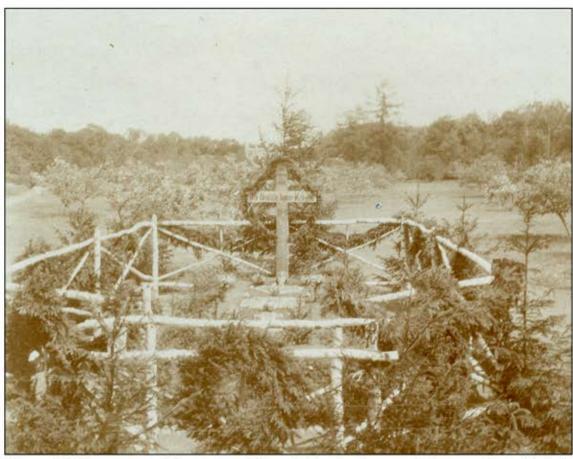


Figure 17: The grave of German soldiers. In the background: the opening with fruit trees leading the eye towards the portico and the park (author unknown,1915, Raczki Archive)



Figure 18: Soldiers bathing in the ponds. In the background: the road leading from the ruins down to the ponds.

(author unknown, 1915, Raczki Archive)



Figure 19: People gathered in front of the portico. In the background: Karcow's house (author unknown, 1920s ,Raczki Archive)



Figure 20: Karcow's house seen from one of the linden alleys in the park (author unknown, 1960s, Raczki Archive)

that were created in Dowspuda valley. Surprisingly, Karcow invested not only in Dowspuda but also in Raczki. The town was then administrated by the state and it was far from a perfect place to live. Thanks to his efforts, the main street was cobbled because inhabitants and their carts often were bogged down during the spring melting. A new building with two storeys (timber framing) was built and used as a local loom. He covered the costs for starting a school in the town (Bukriejewa, 2011, pp. 140-150). After the outbreak of WWI in 1914, Karcow together with his family fled deeper into Russian territory leaving Dowspuda behind. The arboreous area around the ruins was of a strategical value and during the WWI, trenches and ramparts were constructed in Dowspuda. In 1914 and 1915, warfare took place around Dowspuda. German and Russian troops had their posts and some soldiers were buried (Figure 17, Figure 18) just outside of the main road (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, p. 10). After four years, the war was over and Poland regained independence as Second Polish Republic (1918-1939). Karcow had to accept the termination of Dowspuda's donation that was issued by Polish Regency Council in 1919. Family Karcow lived for a while in Raczki but in 1920, they sold the house and they moved to Germany, and in 1924, to France. The relics of Pac's estate (Figure 19, Figure 20) became once again state-owned and in year 1928, a nearby agriculture school has been established (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, p. 9). In period between the First and Second World Wars, for the first-time values of the park were recognised. The park, covering 12,67 ha, became a natural monument. Unfortunately, World War II brought further destruction in Dowspuda. Suwalki region was under Nazi occupation and after the Operation Barbarossa, the front line between Nazi and Soviet Union was formed just 10 km away from Dowspuda. In 1943, Germany were forced to change their original plan and switch into more defensive tactics. At that point, new entrenchments around Dowspuda were constructed. Many trees were damaged or destroyed by explosions. Both World Wars left many marks in the ground (Fig) and some are noticeable (shell holes, trenches), whereas others were hidden in the ground (personal belongings of soldiers and their military equipment) and they were found during excavations later on (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, p. 10). In 1946, the agriculture education in Dowspuda has been re-established. Palace, park, and remaining outbuilding became integral parts of the school, and soon the school started to expand by building a new hall of residence in 1958, then in 1964, a new school, new houses for employees, and outbuildings. The new buildings were located on the opening (both sides of the existing alley of lime trees) from the palace towards the main gate and village Szkocja (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, p. 11). In 1963, researchers from University of Cracow initiated work about the historic site in Dowspuda. Bartkowicz and Ciolek (1964) made terrain and pavement analyses of the

park as well as a complete design for the park's revitalisation (Figure 21) which, in terms of documents, makes it the first and the most extensive report that was made after XIX century. Multiple recommendations were included in the document, together with a chart of the path system and a project for park's revitalisation. It read that due to lack of any consistent management, there are many suckers and self-seeded plants in the park, and approximately 16. 000 m² of the park require clearing. The clearing was recommended in order to restore the original layout, axis, and overlooks. Furthermore, soil analysis is required in order to estimate an extent of a soil reclamation in the park. After that, new plant material should be planted. Bartkowicz and Ciolek (1946) advised to maintain original vegetation and the empty spaces should be replenished with species like, lime tree (*Tilia*), cultivars of maple tree (*Acer*), European ash (Fraxinus), cultivars of poplar (Populus), cultivars of oak (Quercus), elm (*Ulmus*), pine tree (*Pinus*), spruce (*Picea*), larches (*Larix*), pear tree (*Pyrus*), apple tree (Malus), laurel (Daphne), Forsythia (Forsythia), English dogwood (Philadelphus), rose (Rosa), Spiraea (Spiraea), lilac (Syringa), juniper (Juniperus). In the post-war period, the guardhouse (Figure 22, Figure 23) was administrated by the school and it is the only surviving structure from Pac's time (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, p. 17). Minor maintenance works were conducted in order to preserve ruins (Figure 24) In 1979, the ruins and the park were put into the monument record (Figure 25, Figure 26) and, in 1980, prevailed part of the linden alley (Figure 27, Figure 28) was registered as a nature monument. In 1990s, a minor restoration of the foundation was done. Around the same time, clearings, were performed in the linden alleys (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, pp.18-22). In the 1990s and in year 2005, minor restoration and clearing took place. Year 2005, was also a year when a group of specialists suggested a major restoration and conception so the park could regain lost charm, but the scale and the cost calculation of such a project left the county board disenchanted, no steps were taken after that (Ambrosiewicz et al., 2005, pp. 18-22). Until 2016, Pac's estate was under Suwałki Region County's jurisdiction. During the meeting with an official of Suwałki County (Chełmicka-Bordzio, 2019), it was stated that the ruins and the precincts park were sold to a private owner in autumn 2016. Right now, preliminary works are held at the site because the new owner pledges to rebuild the palace (Figure 29). The field study was conducted on November 15, 2018 in order to get a photographical material and to prepare a graphical report (Figure 30). Personal investigation of the place was helpful in capturing not only the physical appearance of the place but also the totality of the place that any visitor can experience. It provided with invaluable information for readers, especially those who are not familiar with the place and have never visited Dowspuda.

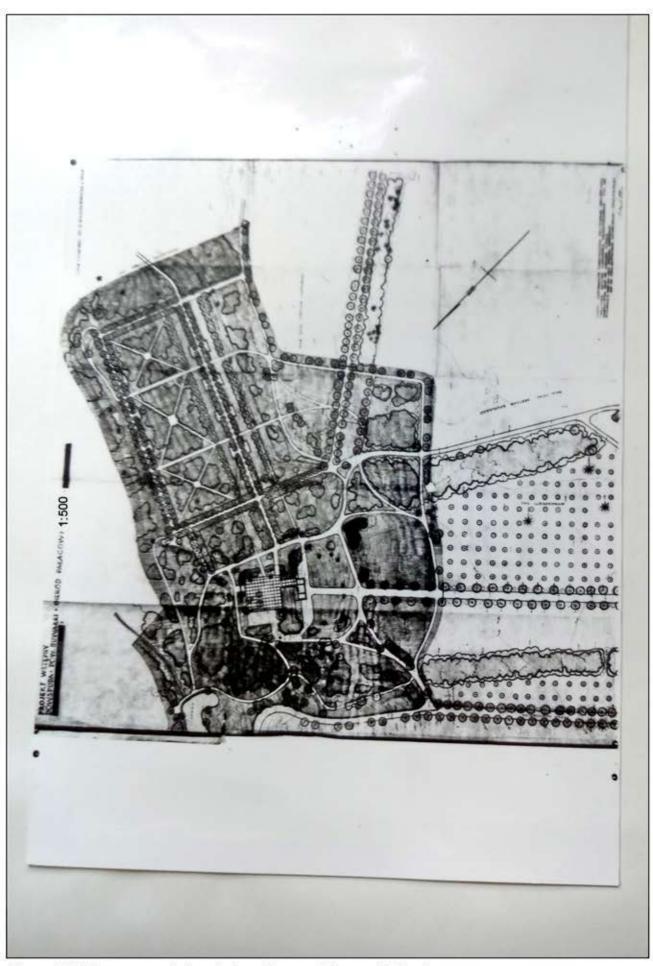


Figure 21: The proposal of restoring Dowspuda's scenic landscape (Ciołek, 1960s ,The National Heritage Board of Poland)

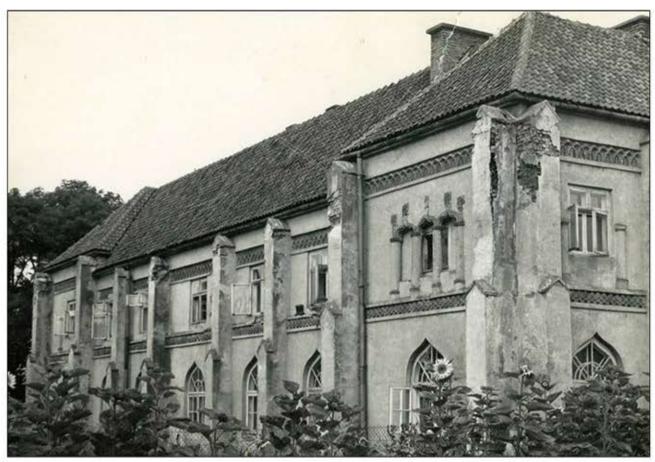


Figure 22: The guardhouse seen from the road 664. It was utilised in numerous way, like an employees accommodation, a lazaret during the wars (1950s ,Raczki Archive)



Figure 23: The gate to the Vocational School in Dowspuda (1960s ,Raczki Archive)



Figure 24: Preservation work performed around the Stork Tower (1980s ,Raczki Archive)

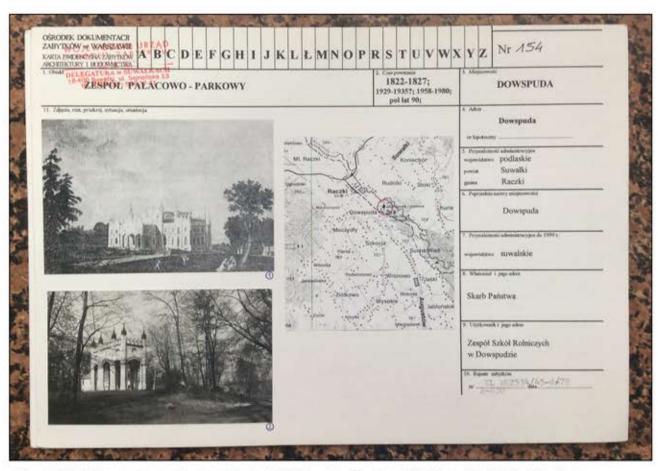


Figure 25: The monument record card of Dowspuda from 1979 available in Province Heritage Conservator Office, Suwałki

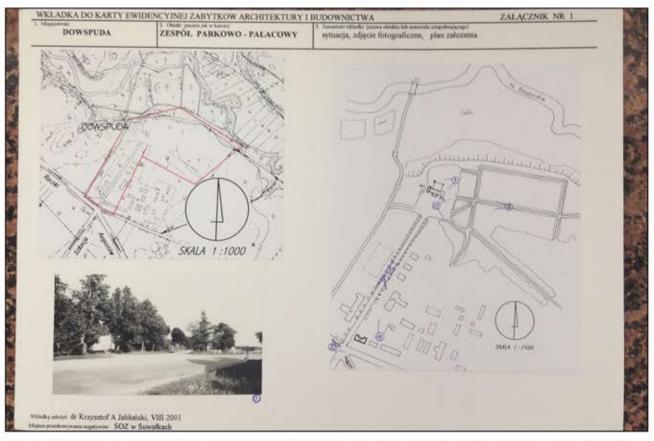


Figure 26: Appendix 1 to the monument record card of Dowspuda. The red line specifies the area that is under protection. Available in Province Heritage Conservator Office, Suwałki

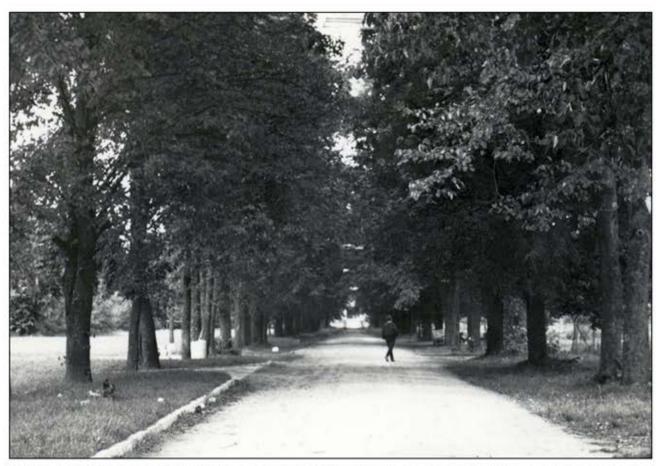


Figure 27: The view on the linden alley which leads to the ruins and at the same time being a major alteration of the original layout (author unknow, 1970s, Raczki Archive)



Figure 28: Peeking into the Dowspuda's park through one of the linden alleys (Fiedorowicz, 1990s, Raczki Archive)



Figure 29: The photo collage of renders made by Rogala and his team at TT&B Studio in Białystok in 2018. The project has been made on commission of the new owner of the property. The objective is to reconstruct Pac's mansion and to adapt for the commercial use.





Figure 30: Location of all views and objects documented during field study in November 15, 2018

The map key

- X. location
- X. view

- 1. The gate
- 2. The guardhouse
- 3. Torso of Michał Ludwik Pac
- 4. Linden alley
- 5. School building
- 6. Student house
- 7. Front side of the ruins with portico
- 8. Understructures of the original mansion
- 9. The Stork Tower
- 10. Stairs to a cellar, entrance to the cellar, well-preserved vaults and walls
- 11. View on the ponds from above the hillside
- 12. Ponds connected with Rospuda River by canals
- 13. Northern linden alley
- 14. View on Rospuda Valley
- 15. Middle linden alley
- 16. Southern linden alley
- 17. Traces of trenches and shell holes in the park
- 18. Clearing in the park, currently cultivated or grazed
- 19. The sign sais: "The thickest lime tree"
- 20. Perpendicular linden alley

































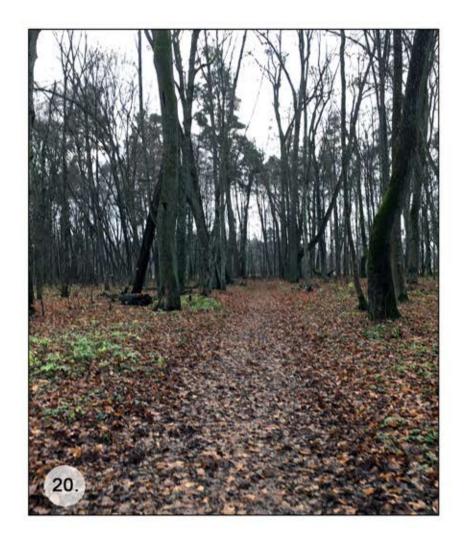












4. Discussion

So far, chapter *Complexity of Polish heritage* has focused on introducing the eventful history of Central Europe and, therefore, this chapter provides explanation to how that tumultuous history had affected Polish cultural heritage and Dowspuda. It is also a chapter that provides with a wider perspective for those who are not familiar with the history of Poland so they can navigate easier in the presented narrative.

History of Dowspuda is the chapter where all the available knowledge concerning Dowspuda's history is gathered and systematised. By creating a narrative about Dowpsuda, the chapter presents how the landscape of Dowspuda have changed during centuries. Moreover, the chapter identifies numerous values embedded in Dowspuda's landscape. The following discussion chapter focuses around the last research question, namely possible steps that can be taken in order to ensure survival of Dowspuda and its heritage. It unravels different dimensions hidden in Dowspuda landscape and ponder on innovative approaches, like place attachment and landscape consciousness, that might help in setting new goals in the future.

'To own or not to own?'

One of the issues that emerges from the literature findings is that ownership is one of the vital concepts of heritage studies that ought to be inquired when discussing Dowspuda's future. There is a common view that art and nature are beyond any material and tangible estimates (Howard, 2003, p. 102). As the art market and the property market are flourishing, it makes heritage more accessible to people with money, and many of them are ready to pay handsomely for an unique piece of art or a property with an exquisite and rare view (Howard, 2003, pp. 9, 102). Olwig uses a term "Midas effect" to describe a process in heritage conservation that relates to people with substantial funds who can and desire to own a valuable piece of land (2001, p. 349). The mythological reference indicates that the author sees it both as an opportunity and a danger. The former means an opportunity of funding for keeping the site, whereas the latter implicates the risk of petrification of the place, i.e. in the sense that it could be transformed into a site that people cannot relate to anymore (Olwig, 2001, p. 349). This thin line between opportunity and danger emphasises an importance of historically conscious owners that also want to be involved in heritage management. Whether by a resale or an exploitation, any heritage that is used to generate

income can be regarded commercialised because as long as capital and labour are involved in the process, the heritage is under the influence of the market (Howard, 2003, p. 103). It is also common that the same heritage is used in different sectors of marketing in order to generate multiple income sources (ibid., p. 103). That is possible because heritage can relate to different scales, fields of science, and users (Howard, 2003, p. 54). As stated in reports in the media (Gazeta Współczesna, 2016; Gazeta Współczesna, 2018; Niebywałe Suwałki, 2017; Polskie Radio Białystok, 2018), the new owner of Dowspuda has a clear vision for the property in which they aims to use the different fields of Dowspuda's heritage as assets that can rebuild its long-lost status by exploiting them (Table 1). Unfortunately, it seems that the key to that strategy is the copy of the Pac's mansion but there has been no allusion to the existing park so far.

Table 1: Assets found in Dowspuda's heritage

Nature	Fresh air, fauna, flora, geology, water
Landscape	Designed landscape of the property and park, Rospuda valley
Monuments	Copy of the mansion, existing guardhouse, old trees (<i>Tillia</i>)
Sites	Traces of the World Wars (shell holes) in the park
Artefacts	Items related to the site gathered and exhibited to the public
Activities	Tourism, sport, education, cultural events
People	Pac family

Owning a heritage has usually complex relations and management abilities of the owner are often tested on numerous occasions (Howard, 2003, p. 106). One of the trials is the financial one because capability to pay for all the conservation that are needed is the key to the heritage continuing (ibid., p. 106). Howard (2003, p. 106) argues that there is a common presumption that people want heritage for mere purpose of their financial benefit. In fact, the owner is actually interested in protecting and enhancing the heritage appearance while retaining or installing modern conveniences at the same time cutting financial disbenefits for

necessary actions (ibid., p. 107). Some people decide to own heritage in order to gain prestige and cultural capital, like a company placing their head office in a marvellous, old building (ibid., p. 109). With all fancy and absorbing aspects of owning heritage, there is a delicate balance that needed to be kept, namely keeping the security of the site, and facilitating the access to people (ibid., p. 111). A proper heritage management should make various users feel welcome to explore and enjoy the site and social issues of heritage are discussed in the further part of the discussion. To sum up, owners that are aware of the history and rareness of the heritage they possess, can create a bright future for their assets.

The future of landscape heritage in Dowspuda

All acts reviewed in the introduction of the paper indicates a solid frame and foundation that landscape architects can use in order to underpin reasons for protecting important sites. In reviewing the literature, no data was found on any conservation management plans, tree inventories, and sustainable development plans which would involve the totality of cultural landscape present in Dowspuda. Alas, only minor, essential, and pressing measures have been taken, such as the protection of the mansion's remains. According to Matusiewicz (2018, p. 7), mansions are not part of the region where Dowspuda is situated, i.e. Suwałki Region. This statement can be identified as passive euthanasia which describes people who accept decay of a valuable place (Howard & Ashworth, 1999, p. 45). Accordingly, Matusiewicz chooses to passively accept the present state of Suwałki's landscape heritage and let the past stay in the past. However, cultural landscape is more than just mansions and historical records. It is a result of a sustained reorganisation of the land performed by its inhabitants, in order to meet current demands of the constantly changing society (Antrop, 2005, p. 22). Locals and also many tourists know about the famous ruins hidden in Dowspuda, but just few people are fully aware that the ruins are the remnants of a once vibrant and diverse region (Matusiewicz, 2018, p. 7). Matusiewicz (2018, p. 7) points out that this part of the landscape was slowly eliminated due to deliberate actions; ideology- and political-driven actions. As mentioned in the literature review, the turbulent history of Central Europe had impact on many regions within Poland, including Suwalki Region. Because of the conflicts and disturbance, the cultural landscape is shattered and without continuity. The question now arises as of how to deal with a heritage that seems to be irretrievably lost? Lockwood (2000, p. 34) explains that a restoration plan is a definitive and reliable source for site owners and managers. As the staff changes and people in charge are being replaced occasionally, such a plan is usually the only

reliable source of a place's continuity. It can also convey meaning, present values, and discuss the site's magnitude of importance. A consistent record keeping, which must be scrupulous in its detail, can be a contributor to the enhancement of cultural landscapes. Developing a restoration plan for Dowpsuda would mean developing an instrument which can enable a productive dialogue between different actors, like owners, insiders (locals), outsiders (tourists), and authorities (National Heritage Board of Poland and Province Heritage Conservator Office) (Howard, 2003, p. 104). A successful dialogue can lead to a shared vision for Dowspuda's future. Shared vision for Dowspuda's future can guarantee more understanding and attention from the owners and support from the authorities, both on local and national level (Lockwood, 2000, p. 34).

The next valuable finding to emerge from the literature is that any work with landscape ought to be seen as a multidisciplinary task (Taylor, 2017, p. 219; Roe, 2012, p. 301; Ipsen, 2012, p. 61-62). When analysing a cultural landscape, Taylor (2017, p. 220) suggests assembling a multidisciplinary team which will be able to investigate issues in the most comprehensive way possible. One example is dendrology which can help in reading landscape by analysing vegetation (Schmidt, 2012, pp. 47-48). As the photographic documentation in field study section shows, what is left from the designed landscape of Dowspuda, excluding the ruins and buildings, are trees, shrubs, some paths, and roads, and also canals with ponds. The existing woody plants around the ruins, represent the green skeleton of the man shaped landscape of Dowspuda. They play a major role through their longevity because dendrologists are able to assess their age and origin, hence giving a great advantage in studying deteriorated landscape of Dowspuda (ibid., 2012, pp. 47-48). Another field that might be relevant when dealing with cultural landscape of Dowspuda is archaeology. Most people may see this field as one that reads the past and preserves it but there are some that prefer an alternative approach and use the field to witness the change in history and landscape (Fairclough, 2012, pp. 94-95). Simply put, landscape is a matrix where archaeologists can recognise different time layers, identify human influence on them as well as prefigure cause and effect of such influence on landscape, therefore, it is suggested that archaeology and its practitioners can contribute to planning process and understanding future changes in landscape (ibid., 2012, pp. 94-95). In close relation to archaeology lies a narrow discipline of geography, i.e. historical geography. Kleefeld & Schenk (2012, p. 155) describes this discipline as one that sees landscape as 'an outdoor archive' which was written over centuries by generations of people. Hernik, Dixon-Gough & Uruszczak (2015, p. 186) use a metaphor

of cultural landscape being like an onion because it has many layers, both old and new that grow from the centre and forms a unity. Landscape archaeology can be most useful for Dowspuda because conducting excavations would help in establishing, for example the original layout of the mansion's landscape, since most of the original plans have been destroyed or lost. Furthermore, results of excavations would complement the restoration plan and facilitate future planning processes (Lockwood, 2000, pp. 35, 38, 39).

Dowspuda as part of local and regional identity

As it was stated earlier in the introduction of this work, cultural heritage is usually associated with positive meaning (Howard, 2003, p. 6). However, that is not always the case, and some heritage can be difficult, unpleasant, and be a remainder of sad events, and atrocities that were committed during these events. The important thing to be mindful of is, that any heritage is at the mercy of people, and if no one cares enough to ensure a heritage to be conserved, it could be obliterated and forsaken (ibid., 2003, p. 6). This short passage explains why people are an important and vital piece of the heritage puzzle. It is recognised that there is a growing notion of collaboration between different actors that are involved in design and landscape (Cumberlidge & Musgrave, 2007, p. 14). The main characteristic of that new mindset is the openness between people of different professions. What is surprising is that the field of practice is shifting away from a top-down approach and favours more bottom-up efforts. Moreover, the new approach underpins the significance of distinctiveness and symbolic values within each place (Cumberlidge & Musgrave, 2007, p. 15). In 1992, The United Nations assigned local communities a fundamental and active role in decision-making processes within the local governments. Departing from a passive role of local communities means that we are moving towards a new model of society where the dominant models of hierarchy are in decline (ibid., p. 15). Besides, rapidly developing technology and the mass media have become the main instruments of social change and, since a wide range of information is easily accessible, the society has entered a participative culture (ibid, p. 16). Increased participation can result in more dynamic and complex environment for planning and management of landscape; hence the environment must be able to accommodate room for conflict, friction, debate, difference, and multiplicity (ibid, p. 17). According to this description, it can be inferred that developing similar environment in Dowpsuda can empower the collective engagement of different groups in collaborative planning process (Stahlschmidt, 2017, pp. 56-57). Good examples of measures, needed to reach the dynamic

and creative environment, are focus group interviews, workshops, public meetings, and debates (ibid, pp. 57-58). They must be genuine, open, timely, well-prepared and have clear objectives so that the participators can feel that their time will not go in vain (ibid, p. 59). Place attachment is a powerful, useful driver for communities, especially for the ones that lack a sense of security and common purpose, such as Dowspuda (Hester, 2014, p. 192). A well-established place attachment within locals improve the ability to buffer negative effects of hardships that might hit a community (ibid., p. 192). Numerous surveys conducted by Hester (ibid., p. 195) helped him to identify several techniques that not only facilitate finding strong connections between people and places, but also documenting legitimate date concerning such connections, and putting gathered data into practice. By doing so, he was able to embed values of place into 'explicit landscape design' (ibid., p. 196). Using the example of the town Manteo, North Carolina, behaviour observations, behaviour mapping, listening interviews, and newspaper surveys were used to provide with wide range of information and led to creation of a legit, definitive evidence of rituals that people perform in place as well as relationship between people and landscape. To underline the evidence, Hester's team drew a map called 'Sacred Structure' that represented their findings. Using the word sacred, this method is a provocative and, in the result, very powerful and engaging one (ibid., p. 196). The result of this method is a design that is unique and far from generic, corporate design that can literally kill the spirit of a place (ibid., pp. 198-99). This finding has important implications for Dowpsuda because it proves that finding a sacred structure within Dowpsuda is needed. A legit document that verifies intangible values embodied in the landscape of Dowspuda is a strong complement to Dowspuda's restoration plan because the sacred structure can become a vital part of public debate and decision-making (ibid., p.199). In addition, over his 30 years' experience, Hester (ibid, p. 194) found that mapping sacred structure of a place exhibits patterns, and it can be easily anticipated. For the most part, sacred places have personal ties; some are connected to experiences from childhood or adolescence, when home and moral lessons shape one's personality, and which often represent growth and identity. Other are associated with nature and outdoor activities. As it was stated earlier, landscape is a product of enduring interplay between nature and people, and that makes people a vital part of landscapes (Mander & Antrop, 2003, p. ix; Council of Europe, 2000, p. 2). People usually care more about what they do rather than what they own (Howard, 2003, p. 9). Hence, practice and rituals, personal engagement and contribution in creation of a landscape are tremendously important in place attachment (Hester, 2014, p. 194) and this statement is credible, since people experience space through all the senses in the

human body (Tuan, 1974, pp. 213-214). That allows people to sense, perceive, and conceptualise logical and mathematical system of geographical coordinates and consequently it leads to creation of a sense of place in one's mind and memory (ibid., pp. 213-214). To enhance the importance of people in ensuring continuation of cultural landscapes, Ipsen (2012, p. 77) discusses a concept of 'landscape consciousness'. According to this concept, the totality of values found in a landscape become relevant, if and only if they are present in the consciousness of actors involved in each landscape. In order to form landscape consciousness, three cognitive components are required. First one is knowledge about landscape, which is usually diversified among the people, therefore the paramount goal is to determine whether this knowledge 'belongs' to an inner circle, or whether it is easily accessible knowledge. Another piece of the landscape consciousness is aesthetic which helps to identify things that people value the most along with people's ability, or its lack, to perceive and evaluate landscapes. Finally, there is an emotional aspect which is expressed by personal connection to a place. The most relatable connection is archetype of home which is a symbol of origin and secure attachment to a place for every human. Similar ties can be created by a prolonged history one can develop with a place through professional occupation, leisure time or relationship with other people (ibid, p.77). The above description of landscape consciousness allows to connect abstract image of the landscape with its physical manifestation. Landscape picture in one's mind remains mostly unaffected, whereas a physical landscape undergoes perpetual changes. Antrop (2003, pp. 6-7; 2005, pp. 27-28), likewise, differentiates two distinct aspects of changes in landscapes. They can be compared to changes that one can observe in a person (Antrop, 2003, pp. 6-7). Although a person changes physically whilst aging, relatives and friends of a given person can still recognise the person, thanks to familiar features, and personality of this person. Consistently, those two components – physical features and personality – can be found in a landscape (ibid., pp. 6-7). It is possible to hypothesise that propagating and facilitating access to the information about Dowpsuda can trigger the creation of a well-established landscape consciousness in relevant actors, i.e. owner, locals, tourists, authorities. This outcome can help in building and securing strong awareness about the unique character of Dowspuda (Ipsen, 2012, p. 78).

5. Conclusions and final comments

In this study, the aim was to examine the case of Dowspuda as an example of a neglected cultural heritage in need of protection. It was found that generally Polish cultural heritage, due to the energetic and sometimes brutal history of Central Europe, has been also dynamic and difficult to manage. Much of the cultural landscape and many objects have been damaged or lost over the course of the history, and that relates to Dowspuda as well. Schama (1995, p. 23) encapsulates the complex history of Poland in this short passage: 'The same fields of wheat and rye moving in slow waves with the rhythm of the breeze had been Lithuanian, German, Russian, Polish'. Zamoyski (2015, pp. 408-409) concludes that Poland and Polish society are currently facing challenges of fostering their identity and cohesion induced by the process of globalisation. The best form of commemoration is to look to the future (Pick, 2000, p. 13). The second major finding was that Dowspuda carries a rich legacy of Suwałki Region, strongly connected to the rural landscape and its management, and it needs a proper strategic planning in form of a conservation management plan. This finding has also several important implications for future practice with cultural heritage in Poland. Dowspuda has a potential to become the precursor of the modern management of cultural landscape in Poland. Furthermore, the study contributes to our understanding of people's part in maintaining cultural landscape. Place attachment, knowledge, and coherence are the keys to the identity of the place. Greater efforts are needed to ensure all discussed issues and, therefore, a natural progression of this work is to develop an actual conservation management plan for Dowspuda. Finally, I wish to present some final comments that came up whilst working on this thesis. The major limitation was the bureaucracy encountered in Polish institutions. It was a considerable setback that influenced writing of this thesis. i.e. some materials applicable to my thesis are scattered across the country or located in foreign institutions. Moreover, most of them has no digital copies which creates further obstacles in acquiring needed data. Another facet of the bureaucracy is the staff involved in managing cultural heritage. People from small organisations, like Raczki municipality office or Raczki Community Centre were most cooperative and eager to help. On the opposite site, there are some higher ranked officers who show bad attitude towards too curious people. My experience with Province Heritage Conservator Office is a perfect example. My credibility as a student from foreign university asking for material was questioned. When eventually requested materials were given to me for studying, creating copies of them was out of the

question. I was forced to take pictures by stealth. Information is not to be kept under a lock, especially when it comes to the information about common, shared heritage.

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Archives

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Dowspuda mansion and park on the painting Map from 1839 Map of Karcow's land from 1904

Photos:

Grave of German soldiers, 1915 Ponds of Dowspuda, 1915 People gathered in front of the portico, 1920s Karcow's house seen from one of the linden alleys, 1960s Guardhouse, 1950s The gate of the Vocational School in Dowspuda, 1960s Stork Tower, 1980s Linden alley, 1970s

National Archive, Suwałki

Map over Sulima's possession from 1846

The National Heritage Board of Poland

Ciołek's proposal, 1960s

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