

Transformations of the architecture of mansions in the Wielkopolska Region in the First Half of the 20th Century, on the example of manors and palaces in the Środa Wielkopolska Region

Abstract

At the turn of the 19th century the pressure of civilization and changes in social conditions caused the urge to develop buildings in manor and palace estates in the Greater Poland region. This process varied in dynamics and continued until the late 1930s. The aim of the research was to identify landowners' building activity in the context of modernisation of manors and palaces in the first half of the 20th century. The research concentrated on analysis of different methods of developing buildings, which altered the outer image of the estate, i.e. extension, reconstruction or erection of a new building. So far research has usually been limited to the identification of transformations in individual landowners' estates, as often as not those of significant architectural value. The research was based on a synthetic approach, which consisted in identification of the scale and dynamics of building trends, rather than on a detailed overview of individual buildings. The research encompassed all landowners' estates surrounding the town of Środa Wlkp. in the central part of the Greater Poland Region.

Key words manor | palace | modernisation | extension | reconstruction | the Środa Wielkopolska region

Introduction

The landowner's house – the residence

Landowners' houses are integral elements of the rural landscape in Greater Poland region. As Władysław Łoziński¹ wrote in the early 20th century, traditional feudal superiority was attributed to landowners' houses, which had their biographies like humans. The history of their lives could be read in extensions and alterations of these buildings. Over the centuries manors or palaces, which were usually designed in compositionally completed forms, proved to be only superficially closed structures (Fig. 1). Landowners' houses with their numerous compositional layers added by consecutive generations were not always integral works of architecture. The long period of foreign occupation of the Polish land resulted in mythologisation of mansions², so in fact it was impossible to analyse their drawbacks and assess their utility value. Only the civilisation pressure at the turn of the 19th century and changes in social conditions verified the utility programme of the mansion, which was brought down from the pedestal of the centre where the authorities were seated to the concept of a place to live. The stately zone was reduced to provide more comfort to the

¹ W. Łoziński, *Życie polskie w dawnych wiekach*, Kraków 1978, s. 81.

² For more information on mythologisation of Polish mansions since the 17th century see: Marta Leśniakowska, "Polski dwór". *Wzorce architektoniczne, mit, symbol*, Warszawa 1992, pp. 20–22, 39–42.

owner's family³. New needs and the development of technologies showed the functional insufficiency and scarcity of the ancestral home. It was urgently necessary to develop landowners' buildings⁴. Polish manors and palaces passed this test because by definition these were individual forms, living organisms capable of development⁵. However, the modernisation of the old house, which sometimes involved its extension, may have been too burdensome or still insufficient. The antidote to the problem was the construction of new houses, which were usually large enough and fully met the requirements of living conditions in the 20th century. They followed foreign architectural models – some of them had bathrooms, pipelines, telephones and electric lights. However, they hardly ever met the aesthetic needs based on the national tradition⁶. The housing modernisation trend, which was common in the early 20th century, weakened when World War I broke out. During the interwar period there were still old houses which had been reconstructed many times. The absence of planning and the construction of extensions negatively affected the architectural value and appearance of these buildings⁷. Landowners were unable to continue reconstruction of their houses because of the economic crisis in the 1920s and new political conditions. 1939 definitely stopped the development of Polish manors and palaces.

³ The functions of salons began to be more diversified. They became places where guests were received, residents relaxed or even had entertainment. Vide: E. Jaworski, *Dom wiejski w traktatach architektonicznych*, in: *Polska kultura wiejska. Szkice i rozprawy*, ed. E. Kosowska, Katowice 1995, p. 69 and H. Muthesius, *Sztuka stosowana i architektura*, trans. J. Warchałowski, Kraków 1909, pp. 83–85.

⁴ For more information on modernisation of landowners' houses with case studies see: T. Jaroszewski, *Uwagi o modernizacji kilku siedzib wiejskich w Polsce na przełomie XIX i XX wieku*, in: *Dwór polski w XIX wieku. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe*, ed. J. Baranowski, Warszawa 1992, pp. 81–117.

⁵ Niew., *Obrona piękności kraju*, "Świat", Vol. 6, 1911, issue 1, p. 11.

⁶ Z. K., *O styl naszych dworów*, "Wieś i Dwór", Vol. 1, 1912, issue II, p. 5.

⁷ I. Lachertowa, *Nasze dwory*, "Organizacja Gospodarstwa Domowego", Vol. 2, 1928, issue 5, p. 79.

Prof. Tadeusz Jaroszewski postulated that we learn by experience and stressed that works of art commissioned by representatives of the disappearing world were always interesting⁸. Therefore, it is interesting to take a closer look at them.

State of research

Researchers of manors and palaces in Greater Poland region became interested in the works of well-known architects, such as: Roger Sławski, Stanisław Borecki, Stefan Cybichowski, Stanisław Mieczkowski, Kazimierz Ruciński, Juliusz Nagórski and Marian Andrzejewski. They wrote monographs describing their architectural activity, designing trends and analysing a wide range of their works in detail⁹. The works by Zofia Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska¹⁰ and Teresa Jakimowicz¹¹ were considerable contributions to the research on the history of landowners' houses. Thus, there is a large number of publications concerning landowners' houses, although they are usually described as 'residences'¹². This term was freely applied to refer to large manors and palaces.

⁸ T. Jaroszewski, *Koniec feudalizmu*, in: *Sztuka dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, ed. A. Marczak, Warszawa 1982, p. 246.

⁹ I.a.: G. Klause, *Roger Sławski 1871–1963. Architekt*, Poznań 1999 and J. Białkiewicz, *Stefan Cybichowski - jego twórczość na tle epoki*, manuscript of doctoral dissertation, Kraków 2015.

¹⁰ I.a.: Z. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska, *Architektura pałacowa drugiej połowy XVIII wieku w Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1969; Z. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska, *Pałace wielkopolskie z okresu klasycyzmu*, Poznań 1970; Z. Ostrowska-Kęmbłowska, *Siedziby wielkopolskie doby romantyzmu*, Poznań 1975.

¹¹ I.a.: T. Jakimowicz, *Renesansowe i manierystyczne rezydencje w Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 1971; T. Jakimowicz, Gołuchów, Poznań 1973; T. Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI (wieża, kamienica, kasztel)*, Poznań 1979.

¹² The author J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura Wielkopolski w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym* in: *Sztuka dwudziestolecia międzywojennego*, ed. A. Marczak, Warszawa 1982, pp. 257–275 concentrated on manorial architecture. However, he stated that the objects described in the study did not exhaust the list of buildings which were erected or totally reconstructed at the time. The main publication *Dwory i pałace w Wielkim Księstwie Poznańskim*, Miedzychód 1992, focused on at least medium-sized mansions, which were often designed by renowned architects. The series began with the publication: *Materiały do dziejów rezydencji w Polsce: województwo poznańskie*, ed. M. Strzałko, ed. J. Skuratowicz, Part 1, Warszawa 1991.

This freedom is caused by the fact that the term 'residence' becomes fully meaningful only when it is specified in the form of an indication of the social class represented by the owner¹³. When we take the issue discussed in this article into consideration, the term 'residence' will refer to large lodgings, usually palaces, which were the main house of a large family, e.g. the Mielżyńskis, Grudzińskis, Bnińskis or Żółtowskis. There are not many such mansions in Greater Poland region. Therefore, the tendency to modernise houses, manors and palaces¹⁴ was not so common and effective in Greater Poland as it was in other regions. Few magnates who owned conspicuous houses did not feel particularly attached to them. They usually treated them as a sign of prestige and capital investment¹⁵. Therefore, it is difficult to make general conclusions about the modernisation of landowners' houses in Greater Poland on the basis of their renovations, which usually took place at the turn of the 19th century¹⁶.

The issues concerning the erection of small manors and palaces or extensions of older buildings became marginal parts of studies related with architecture and history of art. On the other hand, there were studies concerning large objects. It is difficult to analyse building trends comprising a relatively large number and diversified group of

landowners' houses in Greater Poland and maybe for this reason researchers have not conducted such studies. Publications concerning Mazovia¹⁷ could be used as a methodological indication. Their authors see some general trends that could be commonly observed but they are careful when making general conclusions referring to the entire area of Poland¹⁸. There is no doubt that Greater Poland differed from other regions in landowners' situation and historical events. These differences affected the scale of the building trend. In contrast to the other sectors of Poland occupied by foreign empires, where only aristocrats' houses were modernised, in Greater Poland even middle-class estate owners commonly modernised their houses at the beginning of the 20th century¹⁹. While the first years after Poland regained independence were marked by dynamic building development due to the need to reconstruct manors and palaces destroyed during World War I²⁰, this trend was not particularly noticeable in Greater Poland²¹.

In order to identify the building trend in reference to landowners' estates it is necessary to identify its dynamics first. The issue is mentioned in numerous publications but it is usually limited to individual dating of buildings. The publications *Dwory i pałace wiejskie w Wielkopolsce* ('*Rural Manors and Palaces in Greater Poland*')²² and the

¹³ Prof. Teresa Jakimowicz indicated that historically the word 'residence' referred to a lodging in Poland. This meaning was still used in colloquial speech in the 18th century. According to Prof. Adam Miłobędzki, the word 'residence' can be used to refer to the main lodging of an owner of many lodgings. However, Teresa Jakimowicz postulated that there were no reasons to say that the owner of one lodging would not think it had a particular stately nature. Vide: W. Lipowicz, *Dyskusja*, in: "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", Vol. 24, 1979, issue 4, pp. 387–388.

¹⁴ T. Jaroszewski, *Uwagi...*, op. cit., p. 83, 116.

¹⁵ J. Skuratowicz, *Dwory...*, op. cit., pp. 129–130.

¹⁶ At the turn of the 19th century old palaces and manors built in the 18th century were renovated: Rogalin (since 1892), Objezierze (1904–1905), Siernik (1907), Turew (1908–1909) and Pawłowice (1910). Vide: J. Skuratowicz, *Dwory...*, op. cit., p. 116. During the interwar period the palace in Czarniejewo was reconstructed and enlarged (1926–1928). Vide: T. Jaroszewski, *Uwagi...*, op. cit., pp. 104–111.

¹⁷ Vide: M. Rozbicka, *Dom mieszkalny średniozamożnego ziemianina. Studia nad teorią i praktyką projektową (1918–1939)*, in: "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki", Vol. 48, 2003, issue 1–4 and W. Baraniewski, T. Jaroszewski, *Marzenie o białym dworze. Rozważania o pałacach i dworach powstałych na Mazowszu w dwudziestoleciu międzywojennym*, in: *Dwór polski w XIX wieku. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe*, ed. T. Hrankowska, Warszawa 1995.

¹⁸ According to Waldemar Baraniewski and Tadeusz Jaroszewski, there was a considerable building trend in the development of landowners' houses in Mazovia. The situation in Greater Poland may have been similar, but definitely this trend was not so dynamic. Vide: W. Baraniewski, T. Jaroszewski, *Marzenie...*, op. cit., p. 15.

¹⁹ G. Klause, *Roger...*, op. cit., p. 23.

²⁰ M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., p. 54.

²¹ The scale of destruction in Greater Poland was much smaller than in other regions.

²² The main assumption of the publication is to describe all

series *Majątki wielkopolskie ('Estates in Greater Poland')*²³ make a difference because they seem to be more reliable in dating different building development methods. However, the authors tend to provide general rather than specific dates, e.g. the late 19th century, the first quarter of the 20th century, the 1920s. It is so because they based their information on registry cards of monuments of architecture and building from the resources of the Voivodeship Monument Conservation Office. Popular science publications in the form of monographs and albums give the false impression of abundance of information. Undoubtedly, although these publications differ in quality and method of presentation of the problem, they have popularising value. However, they are not very useful to formulate research conclusions or present the problem.

Aim of the article, research material and initial identification of the building trend in the research area

The aim of the study was to identify landowners' building activity in the context of modernisation of manors and palaces in the first half of the 20th century. The main focus of the research was analysis of different building development methods, which led to changes in the appearance of the estate, i.e. extensions, major reconstructions and erections of new buildings. One- or two-level wings and other elements in the form of annexes or solids complementing the current composition of an estate were regarded as extensions. The study does not include an equally detailed analysis of elements added to the façade, accentuating the main entrance, i.e.

manors and palaces in the region which have been preserved. In fact, the author discussed slightly more than a half of all estates which have been preserved in the region under study. Vide: M. Libicki, P. Libicki, *Dwory i pałace wiejskie w Wielkopolsce*, Poznań 2008.

²³ Since 1994 studies concerning nine counties have been published – it is about 25% of the area of Greater Poland Voivodeship. Landowners' estates in Środa County have not been described so far.

vestibules, porticoes, porches, verandas, etc. It was difficult to date these elements and specify their cubic volume²⁴. All other elements were usually identified on the basis of registry cards of monuments of architecture and building²⁵, which provided information about the history of landowners' estates. Registry documentation of park estates was used as accessory material.²⁶ However, these data needed to be approached with due criticism. They were verified and the information was usually supplemented with data from available cartographic, cadastral and iconographic materials. The analysis of building tax books (*Gebäudesteuerrolle*, *Gebäudebuch*) also provided a lot of significant information. These sources are part of Prussian cadastral documentation, which gives a possibility to date transformations of buildings with accuracy of one year.²⁷

The problem of development of landowners' houses could be presented as a detailed overview of these estates. However, this study attempted to synthesise the scale and

²⁴ The form, character (open or closed space) and material of annexes varied considerably. In most cases it is impossible to specify the exact date when these elements were added due to their scale.

²⁵ There were 88 manors and palaces with registry cards in the research area. 39 of them were registered as monuments. There were 9 estates listed in grange registry cards. 2 of them were registered as monuments together with yards.

²⁶ There were 89 park estates with registry cards in the research area.

²⁷ Building tax books recorded between 1910 and 1939 were provided by County Geodesic and Cartographic Documentation Centres in Środa Wlkp., Września and Poznań. Building tax books recorded between 1865 and 1895 were provided for analysis by the State Archive in Poznań. The collected material allowed to recognize the construction history of most buildings of landowners' house in the research area. The result of the research on the information potential of the prussian building tax is the author's article *The dating of historical buildings based on information from prussian building tax books ('Gebäudesteuerrolle', 'Gebäudebuch') on the example of the landowners' estates in the Greater Poland Region*, in: "Biuletyn Historii Sztuki", in review. The applicability of this data is demonstrated in the article: D. Mikulski, "New" seats of landed gentry – remodelling or a new construction? *Studies on the identification and dating of manors and palaces in Greater Poland*, in: "Wiadomości Konserwatorskie", Vol. 30, 2019, is. 59.

dynamics of the building trend on a representative area of 1,000 km² in Greater Poland Voivodeship. The research was conducted on the area surrounding Środa Wielkopolska²⁸, which is a geographical and historical region situated in the central part of Greater Poland, east of Poznań (Fig. 2A). The landscape structure in this area, which is based on considerable concentration of medium-sized manors, is the result of grange economy which was developing intensively over the centuries. In 1900 115 landowners' estates²⁹ were identified in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. (Fig. 2B). Initial research showed that as early as the turn of the 19th century 7 manors were taken over by the Prussian Settlement Commission. The centres of those manors lost the status of a landowner's estate. Most of them were reconstructed and some of them were even liquidated. The research did not include 24 other estates due to the scarcity of information about their reconstruction. There was also another reason causing difficulties drawing the right conclusions – after 1945 9 estates underwent major reconstructions and 15 estates were not preserved. As far as the other landowners' estates are concerned, between 1899 and 1939 60% of them were transformed and changed their appearance. The estates located in the central part of the area surrounding Środa Wlkp., between Swarzędz and Miłosław, underwent the greatest transformations. The causes of a weaker building

trend in the other area are too complicated to draw general conclusions. Nevertheless, the manors in other dominions, especially those belonging to the centre of large estates (e.g. Kórnik, Nekla) were less frequently transformed. During the period under study multiple reconstructions of one estate rarely took place. When we combine information about the building development method, the cubic volume of a new building³⁰ (or its part) and the dating of changes, we can see some tendencies (Fig. 3). In the early 20th century the building trend mostly consisted in the construction of new buildings. Between 1912 and 1914 a few buildings of very large cubic volume were constructed. Mostly one-level wings were added. Multi-storey wings were rarely built. Before the outbreak of World War I the building trend was dynamic. Later individual buildings of relatively large cubic volume were constructed – mostly these were two-storey wings. The trends observed in the architectural transformations of landowners' estates deserve a broader analysis.

Building trend until 1918

New buildings

At the turn of the 19th century landowners' houses were usually modernised by providing running water and channeling it. Equipping a residential buildings with plumbing systems resulted in the appearance of bathrooms in homes. In the early 20th century heating systems were improved and electric lights were successively installed.³¹ Landowners became increasingly convinced that even small mansions should meet modern sanitary requirements.³² Modernisation plans were sometimes so

²⁸ The area surrounding Środa Wlkp. was included in the research on the identification of the durability and integrity of historical grange landscape structures as part of Daniel Mikulski's doctoral dissertation supervised by dr hab. inż. arch. Elżbieta Raszeja (PhD Eng Arch), who is a professor at the Poznań University of Fine Arts, Poland. In 2016 Daniel Mikulski was admitted to the PhD programme at the Faculty of Architecture, Cracow University of Technology, Poland.

²⁹ In few cases residential buildings belonging to a grange complex but not being large estate owners' main houses were qualified as landowners' estates. This remark does not apply to administrators' or officers' houses, whose appearance exhibited strict connotations with manorial architecture. By analogy, the buildings which belonged to accessory granges in the early 20th century but later became centres of independent manorial areas were categorised as mansions.

³⁰ The cubic volume of buildings or their parts was estimated upon registry cards of the Voivodeship Monument Conservation Office and *Instrukcje opracowywania kart ewidencyjnych zabytków nieruchomości wpisanych do rejestru zabytków (Instructions for Preparing Registry Cards of Real Estates Listed as Monuments)* (by NID)). If a building was extended, only one- or two-storey wings were included in the diagram. Other forms of extension increased the cubic volume minimally.

³¹ T. Jaroszewski, *Uwagi...*, op. cit., p. 83.

³² M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., p. 7.

profound that the construction and shape of the building needed to be modified. It is not easy to determine which parts of old buildings were used and organically connected with new shapes. It is necessary to study the history of buildings, analyse their projects in detail and conduct architectural investigations. The construction of completely new manors or palaces was much less common.³³

The turn of the 19th century was accentuated by two projects in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. (Fig. 4A). In 1899 the manor in Szlachcin was reconstructed, using a variety of building developments, which became common among landowners in the 20th century. The old building was modernised and an additional storey was built. Column porches supporting balconies were added in the front and to the east. A two-storey wing was added to the west. For a short period of time there could be some influence of Art Nouveau observed in the stuccowork and door woodwork of the manor in Pławce (Fig. 5). However, it was not particularly noticeable in the architecture of landowners' houses. In the first decade of the 20th century manors (Fig. 4B) were built in Trzebisławki (1901), Sulęcín (1904), Rusibórz (1905), Ulejno (1905) and Murzynowo Leśne (1906). However, these were small and modest-looking buildings. The manor in Puszczykowo-Zaborze, which was built at the place of the former building that had burnt down in the late 19th century, and construction of a manor in Krerowo in 1906, where a large hall was designed instead of a vestibule (Fig. 6). Both manors had richer-looking interiors and marked

the beginning of the tendency to construct larger buildings (Fig. 4C). There were attempts to adopt the traditional English hall in Poland at the beginning of the 20th century³⁴, because many authors of building guidebooks appreciated this element³⁵. The adaptation of the hall to the needs of houses in Greater Poland was not based on copying the English original. The idea was to give the vestibule an extraordinary, stately appearance to balance the decreasing significance of the salon. The hall rarely had the full spatial dimension of a two-level anteroom³⁶. However, it is important that as far as the building development is concerned, when even a simplified scheme was used, it immediately caused an increase in the volume of the house designed. The hall became a common element of new buildings all over Poland as it provided living comfort³⁷. Roger Sławski, who designed the manor in Krerowo and a few other landowners' houses in Greater Poland, propagated this idea³⁸. Both the architect and his designs hypothetically matched the national style promoted by Prince Zygmunt Czartoryski. It was a reaction to the increasing trend to change the architectural style in Greater Poland, which was propagated by the occupants. The concept was primarily addressed to manors. It was supposed

³³ Gabriela Klause analysed the architecture of buildings designed by Roger Sławski and proved that only 3 out of 18 were completely new buildings. Vide: G. Klause, *Roger...*, op. cit., p. 32. Joanna Białkiewicz arrived at similar conclusions and found that Stefan Cybichowski's designs were usually reconstructions of existing buildings. Vide: J. Białkiewicz, *Stefan...*, op. cit. The analysis of building tax books of manors in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. reveals rare situations when buildings were erected on a so-called raw root. Finally, this trend has been abandoned until 1909. Vide: D. Mikulski, "Nowa"..., op. cit.

³⁴ M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., p. 9.

³⁵ The hall was mentioned by: Zenon Chrzanowski (Z. Chrzanowski, *Kultura mieszkania*, [s.n.], Warszawa 1911, p. 6), Karol Iwanicki (K. Iwanicki, *Budownictwo wiejskie. Poradnik przy wznoszeniu zabudowań na wsi*, Kijów, Warszawa 1917, p. 145), Józef Holewiński (J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo wiejskie. Podręcznik praktyczny dla właścicieli ziemskich*, Warszawa, Kraków 1919, p. 127), Władysław Borawski (W. Borawski, *Projektowanie budynków mieszkalnych*, Lwów, Warszawa 1923, p. 111) and Stanisław Turczynowicz (S. Turczynowicz, *Budowle wiejskie. Budynki wiejskie, drogi i mosty*, Warszawa 1927, p. 393).

³⁶ The research conducted in Mazovia and Lublin Region showed that a simplified scheme of the English hall could be found in landowners' houses. Vide: M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., pp. 57–58.

³⁷ T. Jaroszewski, *Siedziby...*, op. cit., p. 166.

³⁸ Roger Sławski designed 15 landowners' houses in the following estates in Greater Poland: Bonikowo, Chudopczyce, Cichowo, Dakowy Mokre, Dębno, Dłoń, Jankowice, Krerowo, Oporowo, Piotrowo, Skoraszewice, Stanisławowo, Swadzim, Węgierskie, Wolsztyn.

to include some family-related or national content in newly erected buildings.³⁹ New buildings in the national style began to look like palaces rather than manors. Therefore, in reference publications the manor in Winna Góra is often referred to as a palace. The new house belonging to the Mańkowski family was equipped with a huge hall and a conspicuous portico with columns in the front. Stanisław Borecki, who designed the building, made clear references to the shapes and elevations of buildings designed by Roger Sławski. The national style was a very broad term and it was difficult to interpret it. It is noticeable if we try to compare the appearances of houses in Winna Góra and Węgierskie (Fig. 7). The palace in Węgierskie, designed by Sławski, only partially made references to the national style and it was totally different from other buildings designed by the architect. However, it was a particularly interesting house. The façade was a combination of mannerist decorations, a classicist attic and a renaissance Serlian portico leading to an ample hall. The front elevation, which was full of decorative details, stood in contrast to the back one, which had no decorations. This seemed to be similar to a tenement house in a city rather than a landowner's house⁴⁰. We should not generalise that the national style became predominant in Greater Poland, because there were a lot of other buildings with different styles. The ample manor in Kopaszycze and the palace in Nagradowice were designed to look like villas. The house in Paczkowo, which was built in 1907, was also more similar to a villa with clear references to German architecture. The diversity of stylistic costumes was also notable in manors in Chwałkowo (an eclectic manor), Młodzikowo (a manor with classicist elements) and Robakowo (no style). In 1913 a large palace with eclectic elements was built in Czerlejno.

Designers hoped that the national style in Greater Poland would counteract the devastation

of landscape by new, cosmopolitan concepts of landowners' houses, which were often considered destructive. In all the sectors under occupation the 'manor' style, which began to develop in the first decade of the 20th century, was seen as a chance to save Polish tradition in architecture. There was only one house built in this style in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. In 1912 a manor was built in Bagrowo at the place of the former house, which had burnt down (Fig. 8). The 'manor' style reduced the spatial arrangement of a manor to the composition of a lodging⁴¹. However, this trend was consequent enough to eliminate designs of landowners' houses gradually. Simultaneously, the problem of development of their stylistic appearance was eliminated from guidebooks for designers. It caused changes in the architectural landscape of Poland both before and after World War II⁴².

Extension of old buildings

The manors in Dachowa, Libartowo and Biernatki (the last one was extended a few times in 1906, 1911 and 1914) are examples showing that the primary reason for extension was to satisfy residents' urgent needs. Consecutive annexes, which were added in a chaotic manner, changed the original appearance of these buildings. The manor in Koszutycze, which was built in the 18th century, was enlarged in 1902. Two of the corner extensions were widened and all four of them were covered with roof cupolas. The effect was a compositionally compact shape of a baroque manor (Fig. 9). The building works in the manor in Brodowo had supplementary nature and they were supposed to bring its owner closer to nature. Soon after 1900 porches,

⁴¹ According to Marta Leśniakowska, the 'manor' style was a Polish approach to modern concepts of rational residential architecture. Vide: M. Leśniakowska, "Polski...", op. cit., p. 54.

⁴² For more information on the 'manor' style see: D. Mikulski, E. Raszeja, G. Klause, *Ze studiów nad tożsamością miejsca. Problem kontynuacji formy dworu w krajobrazie wielkopolskiej wsi na obszarze ziemi średzkiej*, in: *Krajobraz Polski. Cudze chwalicie. Ochrona i kształtowanie rodzimego krajobrazu*, ed. P. Patoczka, Part I, Rzeszów 2016, pp. 97–114.

³⁹ J. Skuratowicz, *Dwory...*, pp. 125–128.

⁴⁰ G. Klause, *Roger...*, op. cit., pp. 170–171.

terraces and probably a gallery were added to the building. In Iwno a new orangery elongated the front elevation, which was of considerable length anyway. The appearance of terraces and steps on both parts of the façade changed. These extensions as well as sunrooms, terraces, balconies and loggias obliterated the border between nature and architecture⁴³. However, the main reason why older buildings were extended was to concentrate both their older and newer functions under the same roof. Annexes were usually added to the main building as it was the quickest way to meet the residents' expectations and it was less expensive than other building works. Zygmunt Czartoryski postulated that rural manors should stretch horizontally rather than vertically⁴⁴. Professional periodicals recommended that kitchens and staff rooms should no longer be located in the basement. The organisational concept of locating kitchen and utility rooms at one level facilitated household management considerably when landladies needed to inspect most housework. This solution was particularly recommended in small manors. Before World War I 8 buildings were extended in this way (Fig. 10A). There were only two cases where newly erected wings were located at the right angle to the main building (Ulejno⁴⁵) or deeply recessed (Januszewo). Wings were commonly added to gable walls in line with the manor façade (Babin, Dziecmierowo, Czarnotki) or with a slight fault (Bardo⁴⁶, Runowo, Dzierżnica). It resulted in optical elongation of the front elevation of the old building. There were different annexes, usually with simple forms and styles, which were covered by flat or slightly sloping roofs. There were similar modifications in the manor

in Dzierżnica (Fig. 11). This house underwent the greatest changes both in its interior and outer shape. At the beginning of the 20th century a large part of the building was transformed – the entrance zone was reconstructed and a one-level wing was annexed. All these modifications were made to the building composed according to the Swiss villa model, which failed to gain popularity in Greater Poland.⁴⁷ In 1915 another wing with an orangery was built. It was one of only four investments made in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. during World War I (Fig. 10C). In the same year a few annexes designed on the 'L' letter plan were added to a small manor in Kromolice. Extension works in the manor in Borzejewo started immediately after it burnt down in 1917. A one-level wing was uniquely composed by extending the current corpus of the manor. A year later the manor in Opatówek was analogically extended in for unknown reasons.

Houses were sometimes extended because their owners needed guestrooms and new stately interiors. These expectations could be met more effectively by building two-level wings (Fig. 10B), which increased the utility area considerably. A variety of styles were used in extensions. The new wing in the manor in Mączniki was composed without a particular style. The major extension of the Żółtowski's house in Nekla built in the 19th century could be categorised as eclectic. During the reconstruction the original house arrangement was slightly modified, but the location of the main entrance remained the same. Sometimes newly built wings were supposed fully to take over the stately functions of the old part of the building. These new extensions were usually taller and/or larger than the original building. For example, a multi-storey extension with a mansard roof was added to the small manor in Śródka. Another example is the two-storey wing of the manor in Pierzchno, which had elements of Dutch Neo-Mannerism.

⁴³ T. Jaroszewski, *Siedziby ziemiańskie w Polsce od schyłku wieku XVIII do roku 1914*, in: *Dziedzictwo. Ziemiaństwo polscy i ich udział w życiu narodu*, ed. T. Chrzanowski, Kraków 1996, p. 166.

⁴⁴ Z. Czartoryski, *O stylu krajowym w budownictwie wiejskim*, Poznań 1896, pp. 6–8.

⁴⁵ The wing connected the manor and outbuilding.

⁴⁶ A small annex with a lean-to roof was added at an unspecified time to the wing built in the early 20th century.

⁴⁷ For example, the manors in Dzierżnica and Kościanki designed by Zygmunt Gorgolewski.

Landowners' building activity between 1918 and 1939

The period of post-war stagnation

During the interwar period apart from few exceptions, the designs of landowners' new houses followed the baroque and classicist styles.⁴⁸ On the one hand, there were recommendations to build new houses which would follow the Polish building tradition based on valuable historical monuments. Simultaneously, authors of publications noted that some foreign styles, chiefly Renaissance and Baroque, which were brought to Poland by foreign architects, gained some unique characteristics, which could not be found in other countries and thus they marked Polish architecture⁴⁹. This architecture made clear references to the past. It continued the line of development initiated before 1918, but eliminated feudal forms from mansions.⁵⁰ The neo-baroque manor in Tulce, which was built in 1920, followed this trend. The composition of the building seemed to follow the idea propagated by Józef Holewiński, who advocated that in contrast to houses in cities, which were usually densely located along a line, rural houses were detached buildings, which could be seen from different sides together with the surrounding landscape. Therefore, they needed to be shaped appropriately and in harmony with the surroundings⁵¹. What gave some variety to the manor in Tulce was its wide avant-corps with the main entrance, a one-level annex to the west and a terrace overlooking the garden (Fig. 12A, B). Right behind the main entrance and vestibule was an ample hall, which stretched almost along the whole width of the first floor (Fig. 12C, D). It was the only building investment made by a house landowner in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. shortly after World War I when Poland regained independence. It may have been caused by the threat of an

agricultural reform and new political conditions, where landowners would not matter much. There were few manors and palaces built in Poland in the interwar period⁵². By analogy, the building trend in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. was poor and there were only a few new buildings erected (Fig. 13A). However, when buildings were modernised or designed, there was a wide range of new technological solutions to choose from: ventilation, central heating and pipelines⁵³. It cannot be ruled out that although the building trend was rather minimal⁵⁴, newly erected buildings may have been equipped with the latest facilities.

The period of economic prosperity

In 1923 the Polish agricultural economy achieved the pre-war profitability level. Two years later the economic situation of land estates improved considerably because prices of agricultural products went up⁵⁵. This resulted in higher intensity of the building trend all over Poland and Środa Wielkopolska Region (Fig. 13B,C). A newly built two-storey wing of the manor in Zberki had the composition of a German villa. The stately entrance consisted of an oval porch flanked by wide fan-shaped stairs. The whole construction was covered with a mansard roof, which seemed to overwhelm the old manor. A slightly different method was applied to extend a small manor in Wyzakowo, which was built in the 19th century. A large two-storey wing with a terrace was added transversely to the manor with a kitchen annex and a porch with four columns supporting a balcony. Like in Zberki, the stately part of the manor was located in a newly built space. Another small one-level wing was built and recessed from the façade (Fig. 14A–C). According to the authors of building guidebooks, inconsiderate construction

⁴⁸ T. Jaroszewski, *Koniec...*, op. cit., p. 225.

⁴⁹ J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 118.

⁵⁰ J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura...*, op. cit., pp. 258–259.

⁵¹ J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 115.

⁵² M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., p. 54.

⁵³ K. Iwanicki, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., pp. 136–161.

⁵⁴ Between 1918 and 1923 a manor was built in Tulce and a small annex with a bathroom was added to the manor in Kijewo.

⁵⁵ M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., p. 54.

or addition of annexes might make the house look ridiculous.⁵⁶ The extension of a building should enhance the static factor in horizontal lines and its one-level composition⁵⁷. Like old Polish mansions, such projects become fully integrated with rural landscape⁵⁸. A one-level wing was added to the manor in Murzynówko, or in fact, the current corpus was extended. The manor in Murzynowo Kościelne was extended by a full one-level wing. The new interiors housed the kitchen, which had been located in a small outbuilding to the west of the main building (Fig. 14D–F). Other locations of the kitchen in new buildings were questioned⁵⁹. The kitchen and storeroom complex (kitchen, pantry, buffet) was usually located under the same roof⁶⁰. Władysław Borawski, the author of *Projektowanie budynków mieszkalnych* (Designing Residential Buildings), postulated that for aesthetic reasons it was recommended to have one integral picture emphasising the main idea of the building⁶¹. Following these recommendations, the window lintels had similar frames to those in the original building. It was not the only modification. According to researchers, during the interwar period nearly every older manor received a portico supported by columns⁶². However, this trend could not always be observed in the landowners' houses in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. The research conducted in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. showed that houses built before 1900 were much more often enriched with a brick vestibule or wooden veranda rather than a column portico. At the time the authors of building guidebooks wrote that it was very necessary to accentuate the axis of symmetry in a residential building.

⁵⁶ K. Iwanicki, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 173.

⁵⁷ W. Borawski, *Projektowanie...*, op. cit., p. 28.

⁵⁸ J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 119.

⁵⁹ The location of the kitchen in the basement was questioned because of the distance from other rooms and the need to use stairs or a lift. Vide: J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 121.

⁶⁰ M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., p. 64.

⁶¹ W. Borawski, *Projektowanie...*, op. cit., p. 28.

⁶² J. Skuratowicz, *Architektura...*, op. cit., p. 263.

Władysław Borawski wrote that the accent should be dominant, serious and in harmony with the whole building⁶³. According to Karol Iwanicki, it could be not only a portico but also a well-shaped veranda or terrace, which would decorate the house more than a line of turrets, bay windows or balconies⁶⁴. Józef Holewiński expressed the same opinion and wrote that a porch was a graceful architectural motif⁶⁵. During the extension of the manor in Murzynowo the old wooden porch was replaced with a new one made of brick. On the opposite side of the axis going through the vestibule an ample porch with a portico was built. Occasionally the spaces between pillars and columns were glazed to provide shelter from rain and wind in summer. By analogy to the avant-corps of the palace in Komorniki, a wooden veranda was added in the interwar period. The manor in Rumiejki was enriched with a brick veranda with large glazed elements. The house in Drążgowo received a vestibule with a balcony. Thus, the space located inside (anteroom) became not only a passageway but it also functioned as a substitute of a stately residential space⁶⁶.

After 1925 the building trend in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp. was limited to a few extensions and the construction of three new buildings. The two-level wing, or in fact, the extension of the old corpus of the manor in Kruszewnia increased the cubic volume of the building by a third. The scale of the new multi-storey wing of the manor in Ulejno was similar. The new element was built opposite the one-level wing, which had been built more than twenty years earlier. As a result, the whole manor received a U-shaped plan. The new annex was rather overwhelming, so it was recessed to retain the appearance of a small and modest-looking building, as it was seen from the driveway. A modestly-decorated one-level annex was

⁶³ W. Borawski, *Projektowanie...*, op. cit., p. 97.

⁶⁴ K. Iwanicki, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 139.

⁶⁵ J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 126.

⁶⁶ M. Rozbicka, *Dom...*, op. cit., pp. 58–59.

added to the manor in Topola. Regardless of the scale of extension or construction of a new building these plans were strictly correlated with the landowner's financial capacity. This dependence was particularly noticeable during the construction of the palace in Połazejewo. The grange economy gave considerable profit, so in 1927 there were extensive building works conducted⁶⁷. The palace had a monumental shape and horizontal composition. The style was eclectic with some classicist elements (Fig. 15). The palace consisted of a two-storey corpus with a porch in the front and two symmetrically spaced one-level wings, which followed the tradition of old Polish manors that seemed to invite visitors⁶⁸. However, the composition of the building seemed to be the result of reconstruction of the old manor with the existing wings and its upward extension rather than the erection of a new building. Nevertheless, the project met the expectations of the authors of building guidebooks, who recommended the construction of larger houses. Later the extension of an existing building with a closed composition was much more difficult and expensive. It was doubtful that all elements in the old part could be successfully and logically connected without making big changes or disfiguring it⁶⁹. The concept of a house based on a two-level corpus and two wings was also used to make two other and last landowners' houses built in the area surrounding Środa Wlkp.

Modernist style- classification attempt

Władysław Borawski, the author of a building guidebook published in 1923, propagated simplicity of forms and proportions as well as limited use of stuccos and ornamentations

⁶⁷ The following information could be found about the land estate in Połazejewo. In 1926 and 1927 it gave the highest yield of sugar beets per ha among all suppliers of the sugar factory in Środa Wlkp. See: *Księga pamiątkowa polskiej administracji skarbowej w Wielkopolsce i na Pomorzu*, Part 3, ed. S. Obrzuda, Poznań 1929, p. 102.

⁶⁸ J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 119.

⁶⁹ Vide: W. Borawski, *Projektowanie...*, op. cit., pp. 97–98 and J. Holewiński, *Budownictwo...*, op. cit., p. 120.

in new residential buildings⁷⁰. The modernist style, which was seen as a modern concept of functionality and usefulness, was the response to these expectations. However, there was not much interest in Poland in using new forms to continue the form of the manor. The manor in Ciechanki, which was designed by Bohdan Lachert and built between 1924 and 1926, was one of few successful investments⁷¹. It is difficult to find other projects of this type in Poland⁷². The manor in Ciołkowo is allegedly the only example of a modernist landowner's house built in Greater Poland.⁷³ However, this house resembled a suburban villa rather than a rural estate. The palace in Chudzice (Fig. 16D–F), located a few kilometres away from Środa Wielkopolska, is an interesting example. The old mansion was reconstructed and extended upwards in 1931, two years before the wedding of the widow Jadwiga Kahlowa nee Nowotna and barrister Chłapowski. The new building was composed on the plan of an elongated rectangle. It had a central avant-corps and two side wings. Surprisingly, the plan of the palace, i.e. its size and interior layout, as well as its cubic volume resembled the manor in Zielniki, which had been built a few years earlier (Fig. 16A–C). The manor was symmetrically composed. The main entrance was located in the centre and closed with a section of the arch. The compositional axis went through an elongated vestibule with a lateral staircase, through an arcade and an ample salon. The

⁷⁰ W. Borawski, *Projektowanie...*, op. cit., pp. 28–29.

⁷¹ The mansion in Ciechanki was analysed by M. Rozbicka, *Dwór w Ciechankach czyli o modernizmie "w rzeczywistym zastosowaniu"*, in: *Dwór polski. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe*, ed. A. Sieradzka, Warsaw 2004, pp. 473–490.

⁷² Janusz Bogdanowski gave the example of the manor in Miłocice. See: J. Bogdanowski, *Park dworski i krajobraz kulturowy w okresie międzywojennym*, in: *Dwór polski w XIX wieku. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe*, ed. J. Baranowski, Warszawa 1992, p. 129.

⁷³ According to Rafał Nadolny, during the interwar period there were a few dozen landowners' mansions built but there was only one which was fully modern and followed the modernist style. See: R. Nadolny, *Modernistyczny dwór w Ciołkowie – dialog z tradycją?*, in: *Dwór polski. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe*, ed. A. Sieradzka, Warszawa 2004, p. 492.

axial character of the building was accentuated by a small annex overlooking the garden. It supported a terrace with three arcades that were built up. The layout of the corpus interior of the palace in Chudzice was different. The main entrance was located in a rectangular recess. Right behind it was the entrance closure and a large two-storey hall (now separated by a ceiling). Further, there was a transversely located dining room and a veranda with a terrace. The outer appearance of both houses accentuated their cubic shape. However, due to presence of one-level wings and simple architectural decoration (pilasters with Ionic heads) the manor in Zielniki was closer to the traditional appearance. The house was eleven-o'clock-oriented. The palace in Chudzice was more compact and austere. There were two-level side wings and a corpus covered by a flat roof. The whole building looked monumental. The window frames in the side wings had the traditional form. The eye-catching elements were narrow double windows in the avant-corps and triangular, rectangular or even rhombic attic windows. The garden façade with a recessed glazed veranda and a large loggia upstairs looked interesting. The similarity between the two houses could not have been coincidental. The axial character and composition of these landowners' houses were accentuated differently. The architect of the palace in Chudzice selectively used a variety of modernist forms and details. The presence of the hall and interior lighting solutions made the house modern and comfortable.

Summary

The specific character of the building trend in the development of landowners' houses in Greater Poland was in line with the tendencies observed by researchers in other regions of Poland. However, the research resulted in new, more detailed findings. Before World War I the number of new, usually large houses grew dynamically. Major reconstructions and constructions of new buildings were more

common than extensions of buildings by adding side wings, although these seemed to be easier and less expensive. Extensive building works were initiated due to the poor technical condition of older houses, which usually did not give a possibility to adjust them to standards of the 20th century. Another important reason for extension was the need to stress the prestige of the family house. The vast majority of houses was symmetrical. The composition of consecutive annexes was usually subordinated to the shape of the older part of the building. When Poland regained independence, landowners' building activity decreased considerably. It seems that due to the relatively precarious economic situation during the interwar period two-level wings were mostly built to maximise the extension of older buildings. Comfort and accentuation of the stately character of the building were important factors. The designing of halls was considerably limited due to the poor trend in building new houses. Anterooms and verandas, or less frequently, porticos were added to a large number of buildings to give at least a slightly stately appearance to the vestibule, as the salon decreased in significance. If we consider the construction of these small elements, which changed the appearance of the façade completely, we will see that about three quarters of the landowners' houses under study were reconstructed in the first half of the 20th century.

Architectural layers of landowners' houses reflect the requirements concerning residential buildings and architectural tendencies. They also show how landowners' expectations and aspirations changed over decades. The current appearance of some manors and palaces is adulterated. In 1939 the architectural composition of a large number of houses was based on more or less successful combination of a few shapes. The whole composition looked like a well-maintained and coherent estate. However, after the war numerous devastations and transformations generally blurred its

readability, making the now unused manor or palace an object its incomprehensible in space. This negative impression also results from the scale of the object and the change in its spatial context after 1945. Even the smallest buildings were characterised by large space, which was a few times bigger than the current standards concerning single-family houses. Therefore, an essential element accompanying the headquarters, adapted to its scale and thus ensuring a coherent spatial composition were park assumptions. Their devastation additionally contributed to a drastic change in the perception of the landowners' residence seat in the landscape of the Wielkopolska village.

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